Old English Front Vowel Orthography in the 7th and 8th Centuries

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Per la nonna.

Guarda che ho finito!

Contents

Abstract

This study examined the ways in which the three Old English front vowels /æ(:)/, /ø:/ and /y(:)/ were orthographically represented in the 7th and 8th centuries. Data was collected from manuscripts, epigraphy and coin-legends; it was analysed first by Anglo-Saxon region before turning to consider wider, pan-Anglo-Saxon trends.

/æ(:)/ was represented almost universally by ‹ae› in manuscripts. Allographic variation in the representation of this vowel was found to be systematic; it was suggested that the variation was symptomatic of the ecclesiastical background of scribes, with the ligature «æ» being disfavoured by scribes who had been trained in regions which had been reached first by Continental (rather than Irish) Christian missionaries. Despite the variety in allographs, an explanation for orthographic consistency was sought in the phonology of contemporary Latin, which contained a vowel acoustically very similar to Old English /æ(:)/. In contrast, numismatic evidence returned significant variation between ‹AE› and ‹E›, some of which was understood to reflect limitations relating to the medium of writing.

The vowel exhibiting the most conspicuous orthographic variation was /ø:/, for which ‹oe› and ‹oi› were both found to be common representations. While ‹oe› was used across Anglo-Saxon England, ‹oi› was limited to Northumbria, and was therefore considered to be a uniquely Northumbrian representation. The variation between ‹oi› and ‹oe› in Northumbria was associated, on the one hand, with competing traditions (Continental and Irish) in the teaching of Latin literacy, and the lack of a model in Latin orthography for the representation of /ø:/ on the other.

The orthographic representation /y(:)/ was discovered to be strikingly uniform both diatopically and diachronically. With very few exceptions, this vowel was represented by ‹y› in manuscripts and ‹Y› or ‹ᛠ› in epigraphy and coin-epigraphy. This uniformity in the use of

‹y›/‹Y› was attributed to the availability of Greek language education in the 7th century at Archbishop Theodore's school in Canterbury.

Through the analysis of early Old English orthography, this study was also able to differentiate between related but separate Old English protothemes with important implications for our understanding of the Old English onomasticon.

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List of abbreviations

CH	*Cædmon's Hymn*
Cp	Corpus glossary
EE	Épinal-Erfurt
EMC	*Corpus of Early Medieval Coins*
Ép	Épinal glossary
Er	Erfurt glossary
FC	Franks casket
HE	*Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
LALME	*Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English*
PASE	*Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*
PDE	Present-Day English
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
RC	Ruthwell cross
S	Sawyer
SCBI	*Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*

Notes on terminology and presentation

A note on the term *Anglo-Saxon*

The term *Anglo-Saxon* has been the subject of varied controversies. A common criticism appeals to its focus on the Angles and the Saxons to the exclusion of the Jutes and other Germanic peoples who emigrated to England in the 5th century AD. In spite of this limitation, the term has remained a convenient and well-established shorthand for all Germanic culture in early mediaeval England. A more serious problem has been the use of the term in rhetoric intended to propagate an ethnic superiority of the Anglo-Saxons (mediaeval and modern), which has led many scholars to abandon the term altogether and opt for alternative terminology, such as *early English* (see e.g. Ellard 2019: 20-4, Rambaran-Olm 2021: 389). While an association of the Anglo-Saxons with ethnic superiority (medieval or modern) is unacceptable, in this study I have retained the use of *Anglo-Saxon* because its primary meaning, which refers to Germanic culture as it evolved in the context of mediaeval England, is difficult to replace without resorting to awkward circumlocutions. Moreover, in a study which discusses Old English, *early English* is too ambiguous since it is easily confounded with 'the early English *language*'.

A note on the terms *roman* and *Roman*

In this study, *roman* is never capitalised when it refers to writing in the roman alphabet. When capitalised, *Roman* is used in its typical sense of referring to something relating to Rome or the Roman Empire. Therefore, *roman orthography* indicates an orthography based on the roman alphabet (cf. *runic orthography*), and similarly, *roman epigraphy* refers to inscriptions written in the roman alphabet, not inscriptions produced by the Romans or during the Roman

occupation (cf. *runic epigraphy*). Lowercase *roman literacy* means literacy in the roman alphabet (cf. *runic literacy*).

A note on the presentation of Old English words

The letters ‹æ› (‹Æ›) and ‹œ› (‹Œ›) are used in all Old English words (names and lexemes) referred to in the text. Following convention, ‹þ› is not used in the names of individuals (‹th› being opted for instead), but it is used in lexical material and rune-names. ‹ƿ› has not been adopted at all (‹w› being opted for instead). Length-marks are provided in lexical material, but not onomastic material (including rune-names). The nomenclature of nonroyal coinages largely follows the example of Naismith 2017.

A single asterisk ‹*› signals a reconstructed form.

Two asterisks ‹**› signal an incorrect or unattested form.

Unless otherwise indicated, all dates are AD.

1. Introduction

When the conversion of Anglo-Saxon England began in 597, the Christian missionaries brought with them more than just a religion. They transmitted a whole Western European 'cultural package' which included not only Christianity, but also learning in a variety of subjects as well as literacy in Latin. It was in this context that the Anglo-Saxons first acquired the roman alphabet. More precisely, the roman alphabet was acquired by the small section of Anglo-Saxons who were in receipt of a Christian education and who came to be heavily involved in the studying, reading, copying, composition and propagation of texts in the Latin language. In such an environment, it did not take long for these Anglo-Saxons to begin using the roman alphabet to write their own native language, Old English. This marked the beginning of an unbroken tradition, soon 1500 years old, of recording the English language in the roman alphabet. The adoption of the roman alphabet did not, however, mark the first time that Old English had been put into writing. The Anglo-Saxons possessed an indigenous alphabet, the runic alphabet, brought to England by the waves of Germanic immigrants who began settling the island following the end of Roman rule in Britain in the 5th century. The runic alphabet was not displaced in the wake of the adoption of the roman alphabet. Quite the contrary: the historical runic alphabet of the Anglo-Saxons continued to be in use until, roughly, the time of the Norman Conquest in the 11th century, enjoying a golden age between the 8th and 10th centuries. This means that for at least four centuries—from the 7th century, when the roman alphabet first started to be used for Old English, until the 10th century, after which the number of known runic inscriptions decreases dramatically—the ancestor of Present-Day English (PDE) was written in two alphabets.

The study of orthography ought to be of special interest to any student of Old English. The surviving texts are our only direct points of access to the language, and so the study of Old English at every linguistic level hinges on written evidence. An understanding of how Old

English orthography and (more generally) written Old English work is of the utmost importance when interacting with the language, and a misunderstanding of the functions and aims of writing can lead to mistakes on other levels of analysis. On the other hand, the study of orthography should not be reduced to merely a lens through which we interpret Old English to other ends. It is a worthy linguistic pursuit in its own right. The inherent worth of the study of historical English orthography was recognised in the *Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English* (*LALME*; McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986), whose editors, while acknowledging that the evidence of orthography for reconstructing (especially) historical phonology is indispensable, were keenly aware that such evidence is always indirect: orthography is direct evidence only of orthography, which in itself merits independent linguistic enquiry (ibid.: 5). Some such enquiry had already started to emerge in the early-to-mid-20th century (see Section 3.3). One of the editors of *LALME*, Angus McIntosh, had demonstrated interest in the study of historical English orthography much before the publication of *LALME* (see e.g. McIntosh 1956, 1963, 1974) and—fortunately—the neglect of orthographic study which he often lamented (see e.g. McIntosh 1956: 37, McIntosh 1963: 3) is no longer as relevant today as it was around the middle of the last century. The works of Fran Colman (see e.g. 1992, 2004, 2014), Anne King (1986, 1991) and Thomas Toon (1983), though not always specifically on orthography, have touched on a number of relevant issues. Runic Old English orthography has received attention from the likes of R. I. Page (see e.g. 1961, 1968, 1999a), David Parsons (see e.g. 1999) and, most recently, Gaby Waxenberger (see e.g. 2006). The work of Annina Seiler on the orthography of early Old English consonants, especially her 2014 monograph *The Scripting of the Germanic Languages*, has marked a significant development in the study of roman Old English orthography. Unlike much of the late-20th-century scholarship which has informed our understanding of Old English orthography, Seiler's work, as well as that of Philip Shaw, is not intended to serve phonological ends. Instead of asking what the orthography of Old English can tell us about Old English phonology, Seiler's approach has been to investigate

how certain phonemes were recorded in Old English writing, where these letter–sound combinations came from and what they reveal about the history of the language and its writers. These aims are orthographic and sociolinguistic—but not phonological.

In spite of the steady increase of interest in the study of Old English orthography, the number of scholars engaged in this area remains small, and the approach to orthographic investigation adopted by Seiler and Shaw is rare. Moreover, both scholars have restricted their scope to the orthography of consonants. In some ways this is understandable. Seiler 2014 is a comparative study of three early Germanic orthographies, and "since the consonantal system is more stable, the different languages can be compared more easily" (Seiler 2014: 29; see also Section 4.1). It is also the case that variation in consonant orthography, particularly given the occurrence of the characteristically Old English rune-derived letters ‹þ› and ‹ƿ›, is more conspicuous than any variation typically associated with vowel orthography (see Sections 2.3.2, 3.3, 3.4.1, 4.3). In an attempt to begin addressing this neglected aspect of Old English orthography, and thus contribute to a more comprehensive grasp of the Old English language at all linguistic levels, the present study examines the orthographic representations (that is, the letters and combinations of letters used for the representation) of three Old English monophthongal front vowel phonemes, namely /æ(ː)/, /øː/ and /y(ː)/. These vowels have been selected for the same reason that Seiler 2014 focuses on the Old English consonants /w/, /θ/ and /x/. These consonants were not part of Latin phonology at the time when the roman alphabet was adopted for the writing of Old English, which meant that, when it came to representing these consonants in vernacular roman writing, Anglo-Saxon scribes could not simply copy the way in which the same three *Latin* phonemes were orthographically represented in written Latin, as they were able to do with the orthographic representation of the many other phonemes which occurred in both Old English and (contemporary) Latin. Terming such consonants 'spelling difficulties', Seiler anticipated—and found—variation when it came to the orthographic representation of these consonants in roman Old English.

The three target vowels of this study were never part of Latin phonology, and so I anticipate that they, too, presented similar 'difficulties' for writers of Old English.

This study examines how /æ(ː)/, /øː/ and /y(ː)/ were orthographically represented in the first two centuries of roman literacy in Anglo-Saxon England, with the aim of uncovering any patterns in the use of orthographic representations; what such patterns tell us about Anglo-Saxon literacy in the early mediaeval period; and how roman Old English orthography was established.

2. The study of written language

2.1 Terminology

The study of written language suffers from a lack of standard terminology, and so all such studies usually begin with a definition of terms. Where possible, I have adhered to definitions which have now become conventional in the literature in order to make this study as readable as possible to an audience with a background in graphemics. In some instances, however, I have decided to simplify my use of terms for the benefit of my mediaevalist audience. This involves ignoring certain specialised meanings which some terms have developed, and which are irrelevant to this study. Most key terms (in bold) will be introduced in this section; others are introduced further on in the chapter and in Section 5.1.

A **grapheme** is the technical term for a contrastive unit of writing (see Rogers 2005: 10, Crystal 2008: 220). In the roman alphabet, for instance, the grapheme ‹d› is distinct from not only a grapheme such as ‹s›, but also the similarly shaped ‹b›. As seen here, graphemes (and sequences of graphemes) are enclosed in angle brackets ‹ › when referred to in text. The term *grapheme* finds conceptual parallels in *phoneme*, in that, just like a phoneme is an abstraction, a grapheme "is not an individual letter occurring in some particular place, but a class or type of such letters" (Haas 1970: 7). The audible realisations of a phoneme, which are defined as "non-contrastive variants occurring in complementary distribution", are called *allophones*. The visual realisations of a grapheme are analogically referred to as **allographs** (Rogers 2005: 10; see also McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986: 5–6). There is no standard notation for allographs. Double angle brackets ‹‹ ›› (and even << >>) have sometimes been used, but these can look awkward on the page. In an attempt to preserve the form of double angle brackets while choosing something more streamlined, I have adopted guillemets « » to refer to allographs. With these conventions in place, it is possible to state, for example, that

«a», «ɑ», «**a**», «*ɑ*», «ą», «ə» are all allographs of the same grapheme ‹a›, in that anyone literate in the roman alphabet would recognise these allographs as a realisation of ‹a›.

The term **script** (or **writing system**) refers here to a systematic set of graphemes used to write a language. Although some scripts are closely associated with a particular language—the Greek and Armenian alphabets, for instance, are only used for Greek and Armenian respectively—any script can, in theory, be used to write any language (see Bunčić 2016d: 20). The world's scripts can be grouped according to their graphemes' linguistic level of reference. For instance, in **phonographic** scripts, graphemes refer to the "phonological units (phonemes, moræ, syllables) of a language" (Rogers 2005: 296; for overviews on the taxonomies of scripts, see e.g. DeFrancis 1989: 56–64, Daniels 1996: 8–10, Sproat [2016] 2020: 27–31). An **alphabet** is a specific type of phonographic script where graphemes refer, largely, to the phonemes of a language, both vowels and consonants (see e.g. Rogers 2005: 289; but see Pulgram 1976: 7). The two scripts relevant to this study, the roman alphabet and the Anglo-Saxon runic alphabet (also known as the *fuþorc*), are alphabets, and therefore also phonographic scripts. A grapheme belonging to an alphabet is more specifically called a **letter** (see Rogers 2005: 14), and a letter belonging to a runic alphabet has an even more specialised term: a **rune**.

The question of whether uppercase and lowercase variants of the same letter are separate graphemes or allographs of the same grapheme is an open one. Some have argued that since they are often found in complementary distribution (uppercase letters are usually situated at the beginning of a word), they should be considered allographs of the same grapheme (see e.g. Rogers 2005: 11, who, however, is not dogmatic; see also Haas 1970: 23, Sgall 1987: 3–4). In contrast, Geoffrey Sampson argues that since the uppercase–lowercase distinction is "significant in our script", given that it can sometimes differentiate between lexical classes, it should not be treated as allographic (2015: 16; see also Henderson 1985). Still others maintain that allographic sets can be defined "on the basis of similar graphic form"

(Liuzza 1996: 28), which would mean that highly distinct upper- and lowercase forms of certain letters, such as «G» and «g», are allographs of the graphemes ‹G› and ‹g› respectively, while «S» and «s» are, presumably, allographs of the same grapheme. When dealing with mediaeval texts, distinguishing between upper- and lowercase letters is not relevant. The issue is brought up, however, because in this study, I use upper- and lowercase letters to distinguish between references to manuscript texts on the one hand, and (roman) epigraphic and numismatic texts on the other. Lowercase graphemic notation is used for the former, and uppercase graphemic notation for the latter. This is done mainly for the sake of convenience, so that the reader can visually differentiate between text produced on parchment versus text inscribed on a hard surface. For example, the upper text in Figure 1 would be graphemically transcribed as ‹hierusalem› and the lower text as ‹HIERUSALIM›.[1]
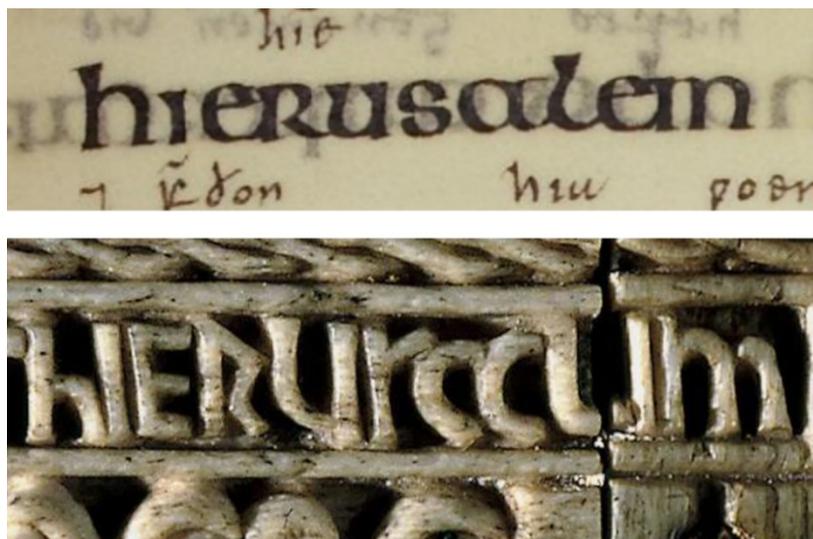
*Figure 1: ‹hierusalem› in the Lindisfarne Gospels (above) and
‹HIERUSALIM› on the back panel of the Franks casket (below).*

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[1] The sole exception to this rule is ‹ð›, which (to the modern reader) is the lowercase counterpart of ‹Ð›. Since all numismatic texts of the period of this study use ‹ð›, never ‹Ð› (but see Section 7.3.2.1), and the two forms differ starkly in shape, numismatic notation here includes ‹ð›. Two other graphemic conventions adopted in this study are also noted here. Firstly, abbreviated letters are included in italics (e.g. ‹aedilberctu*m*›, where the manuscript refers to the final ‹m› through an abbreviatory mark on the preceding ‹u›). Secondly, superscript additions are incorporated by including them between a backslash \ and a slash / (e.g. ‹soęr\g/ęndi›, where a superscript ‹g› has been inserted above the word in the space above and between ‹r› and the second ‹ę›).

It is also noted that, in this study, *script* is never used in the sense in which it is often found in manuscript studies to refer to a particular style of calligraphy, such as uncial or insular minuscule. Here I reserve the term **hand** for such purposes. Palaeographers sometimes use *hand* to refer synecdochally to a scribe (stating, for instance, that a particular manuscript was copied by several different *hands*). This sense of *hand* has not been adopted in this study. When speaking of individual (manuscript) writers, I refer to **scribes**. In this context, it is also appropriate to delineate a mediaeval distinction between two main types of hand, majuscule and minuscule. The letters of **majuscule** hands, also termed **bilinear** hands, are generally of the same height; a majuscule hand can be written, in its entirety, 'between two lines' (hence *bilinear*). By contrast, the letters of **minuscule** hands, also termed **quadrilinear** or **quattrolinear** hands, are typically distinguished from majuscule letters by their frequent **ascenders** and **descenders**, i.e. strokes that extend, respectively, above and below the 'two lines' between which majuscule hands are written (but see Roberts 2005: 13). A minuscule hand is therefore written 'between four lines' (hence *quadrilinear*; see Brown 1990: 8, Brown 1993: 346; see Figure 2). The use of upper- and lowercase graphemic notation outlined in the previous paragraph is partly intended to mirror the (very loose) trend of epigraphic texts (including coin-legends) being predominantly written in majuscule hands, and manuscript
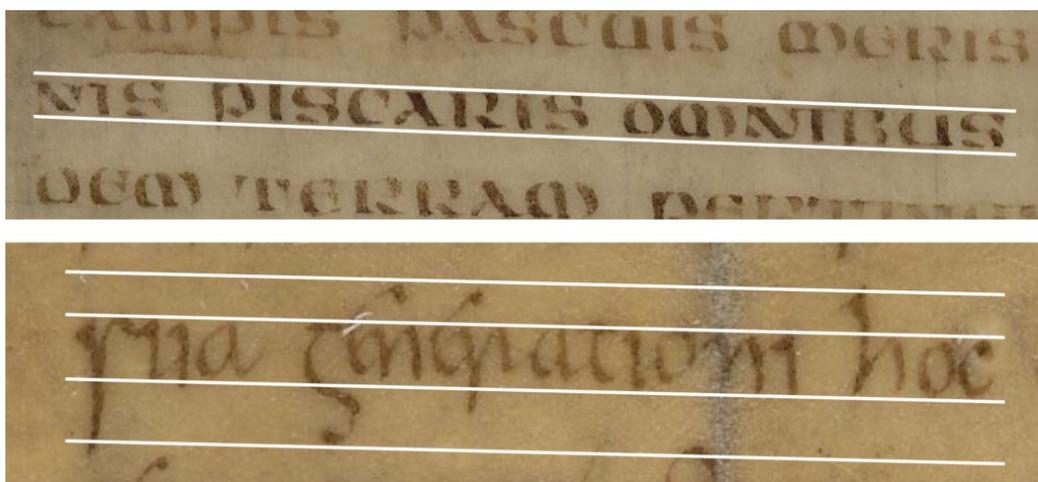
*Figure 2: A majuscule text between two superimposed lines (above) and
a minuscule text between four superimposed lines (below).*

texts in minuscule hands—although plenty of exceptions exist, such as (parts of) the manuscript text in Figure 1 above. In manuscript-writing, majuscule hands were typically the more prestigious ones, reserved for manuscripts of the highest value (see Lowe 1972: xv).

Two further terms are useful in discussing letters: *digraph* and *ligature*. A **digraph** is a sequence of two letters used to refer to one phoneme (see Rogers 2005: 292). In English texts, the digraph ‹sh› refers to the single phoneme /ʃ/. A digraph has a **protograph** and a **deuterograph**, that is, the first and the second letters of the digraph, respectively (see Seiler 2008: 150). A **ligature** also combines two letters, which then refer to one phoneme, but in a ligature the two letters are written together, so that they effectively form a new letter out of recognisable constituent parts (see e.g. Rogers 2005: 12). In the Danish and Norwegian alphabets, for instance, the ligature ‹æ› is a distinct letter form, separate from its identifiable constituent letters ‹a› and ‹e›.

The terms *orthography* and *spelling* have been understood in different ways by different scholars. In this study, **orthography** is used to refer to the pairings between the phonemes of a spoken language and the graphemes of the alphabet(s) used to write it (see e.g. Vachek 1982: 38, Sebba 2007: 10). **Spelling** is here considered more specified in its meaning and can be defined as the "writing of *words* of a language according to the norms or conventions of that language" (Sebba 2007: 10, emphasis mine). These "norms or conventions" can be understood as orthographic conventions.[2] Spelling is therefore an

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[2] Florian Coulmas defines orthography as "the standardized variety of a given, language-specific writing system" (2003: 35; see also Rutkowska & Rössler 2012: 214). The use of the word *standardised* is problematic. We ought to be able to speak of the phoneme–grapheme pairings between spoken and written language even in cases where no standardisation has taken place (see Sebba 2009: 36; see also Bunčić 2016d: 20). Later in the same work Coulmas states that "[t]o list phoneme-grapheme [sic] correspondences and reveal their underlying regularities is the main task in analysing alphabetic orthographies" (2003: 93). With this statement he is closer to the definition of *orthography* adopted in this study. It is presumed that we will find Coulmas's "underlying regularities" in phoneme–grapheme correspondences. Indeed, without them, the spelling of words cannot take place, even when spelling itself has not been standardised. But this is far from asserting that "underlying regularities" in phoneme–grapheme correspondences constitute a 'standard', at least in the typical sense of the word. (Elsewhere he defines *standardisation* as "the process of consciously

application of orthography for the rendering of words into writing (see ibid.: 10–11). **Scripting** is understood as the process through which these phoneme–grapheme pairings are assigned; in other words, orthography is the product of scripting (see Seiler 2014: 31–5). Orthography is necessarily language-specific. It is nonsensical to speak of 'the orthography of the roman alphabet'—we can only speak of the orthography of the roman alphabet *as applied to* a language, because the letters of the roman alphabet are mapped onto different phonemes in different languages: while ‹s› refers to /s/ in PDE orthography (and in most other roman orthographies), it refers to /ʃ/ in Hungarian orthography.

A key concept in the study of alphabetic writing is that of **orthographic depth**. A **shallow orthography** is an orthography with a high number of one-to-one correspondences between grapheme and phoneme: a letter will typically refer to one phoneme only, and each phoneme is referred to by one grapheme only. A language is said to have a **deep** (or **opaque**) **orthography** when it has a high number of one-to-many, many-to-one, or many-to-many correspondences between grapheme and phoneme. In one-to-many correspondences, a grapheme has multiple phonemic referents. In PDE, ‹c› can refer to /k/ (and in <u>c</u>at), /s/ (as in <u>c</u>ider) or /ʧ/ (as in <u>c</u>ello). In many-to-one correspondences, multiple graphemes refer to the same phoneme. PDE /k/ can be referred to by ‹k› (as in <u>k</u>ite), ‹c› (as in <u>c</u>old), ‹ch› (as is <u>ch</u>aracter) or ‹qu› (as in <u>qu</u>inoa). Both one-to-many and many-to-one correspondences coexist in orthographies with many-to-many correspondences, as in that of PDE. Orthographic depth is a spectrum, but importantly, no orthography is *maximally* shallow; even the common textbook examples of very shallow orthographies, such as those of Finnish and Italian, have some measure of depth to them (see Haas 1970: 7–8; see also Rogers 2005: 6). Shallow orthographies are considered to be particularly beneficial to writers, since a high number of

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intervening in the development of a language in order to determine a norm and secure compliance with it by means of a 'visible hand'" (ibid.: 227). Such conscious intervention cannot be presumed, especially for early orthographies.)

one-to-one correspondences between phoneme and grapheme means that the spellings of words are typically predictable from their phonemic form. Readers are at a slight disadvantage, because homophones may not be distinguished in spelling, and the meanings of such words can only be determined with context. Deep orthographies often do not have this problem, as readers can benefit from "greater visual distinctions, such as different spellings for words with the same pronunciation", which require many-to-many correspondences; the disadvantage of deep orthographies to writers is that more spellings must be individually memorised since they are not phonemically predictable (DeFrancis 1989: 206; see also Cahill 2014: 16–18).

2.2 The study of written language in the 20th century

The views of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, collected posthumously in *Course in General Linguistics* (originally published in 1916), set much of the tone for the study of linguistics in the 20th century and beyond. One of the principles ingrained into a new generation of linguists was that their field of study is concerned exclusively with spoken language: "[t]he subject matter of linguistics comprises all manifestations of human *speech*" (Saussure [1959] 2011: 6, emphasis mine). This view is closely related to another of Saussure's tenets, according to which language (*langue* in the French) is defined as "a well-defined object in the heterogenous mass of *speech* facts" (ibid.: 14, emphasis mine). Saussure's *langue* is a collection of *signs*, that is, associations between *signifieds* (mental concepts) and *signifiers* (sound-images; see esp. ibid.: 65–7). While no one member of a speech community has an exhaustive knowledge of all the signs of their language, it is nevertheless possible to attain a comprehensive profile of all the signs through the study of the speech of multiple members of the community: "language is not complete in any speaker; it exists perfectly only within a collectivity" (ibid.: 14). One of the effects of this emphasis on the primacy of spoken language was the rise of synchronic and descriptive linguistics in the 20th century, which contrasted

with the heavily diachronic (and text-reliant) focus of the previous century (see Sampson 1980: 13). Defining spoken language as the sole object of linguistic focus legitimised the serious linguistic study of all languages, not just those traditionally considered prestigious due to their established written form or longstanding literary history.

It is easy to appreciate the positive effect that Saussure's definition of the remit of linguistics has had on the study of language, especially in its inclusion of undocumented languages and the broadening of horizons beyond the linguistic paradigms of Western languages. However, students of writing are left in an awkward position. Saussure did not merely exclude written language from his definition of the scope of linguistic study—he was overtly critical of the perceived shortcomings of writing, and his views are fundamentally pejorative. He spoke of writing as "not a guise but a disguise" for language and a cloak that "obscures language" ([1959] 2011: 30) and urged linguists to approach their work without the preconceptions that "the tyranny of writing" may impose on an understanding of the spoken form, the only true object of linguistic study (ibid.: 31; see also Coulmas 2013: 2–4). The effects of this "tyranny of writing" include not only spelling pronunciations (Saussure [1959] 2011: 31–2), but a historical indifference towards intonation (see Sampson 2015: 31). It is true that writing, unlike speech, is not an innate human ability or a technology that all speech communities make use of. This fact alone shows that writing cannot be an integral part of language. This is uncontroversial and has been affirmed time and again by scholars of writing, who stress that writing is not language, but an artefact, a technology used to represent language (see e.g. Ong 2002: 80–2, Coulmas 2003: 10, Rogers 2005: 2, Sampson 2015: 10). However, given that written language not only represents speech (as was also admitted by Saussure, see e.g. [1959] 2011: 23), but it does so through "more or less *systematic* mapping relations between sound, meaning and graphic sign" (Coulmas 2013: 3, emphasis mine), it seems reasonable to approach the study of writing first and foremost on linguistic terms (see also Daniels 1996: 3, Sampson 2015: 2). Considering how pervasive Saussure's influence on

the field has been—his attitude on written language surviving even the "Chomskyan revolution" in the second half of the 20th century, in which "[m]any key principles of Saussurean linguistics were overthrown" (Sampson 2015: 1)—it is necessary to examine and question his reasons for dismissing written language and make an argument for its rightful inclusion as part of the study of language.

2.2.1 Approaches to the function of written language

Saussure viewed writing *only* as a representation of speech. If this were true, it ought to follow that "[t]he efficiency of a written system, […] must be judged by its consistency and completeness in transcribing the elements of spoken language; in an alphabetic system, this means that a linear sequence of graphic signs must match a temporal sequence of phonemes" (Liuzza 1996: 27). In other words, if the only function of written language is to reflect spoken language, then only shallow orthographies come close to doing it well. The conundrum faced by Saussure and adherents of his view is that "in so many instances writing appears actually to *mis*represent speech" (Harris 1995: 99, emphasis original). If it is the function of writing to represent speech, any deviation from a maximally shallow orthography—which is a reality for *all* orthographies, not just deep ones—poses a problem; it seems to indicate that writing cannot be trusted to ever fulfil its designated purpose as efficiently as possible. Saussure's mistrust of the written form was therefore fundamentally rooted in the fact that writing does not accurately reflect speech. And since speech was Saussure's only entry-point into the study of language, the warped evidence of writing had to be ignored. However, linguists in the second half of the 20th century began questioning whether the expectations placed on the function of written language were wholly justified. If writing does not *only* serve as a representation of speech but has other functions too, we can no longer expect writing to

represent speech accurately; it would also mean that Saussure's aversion to writing was fundamentally illegitimate.

In order to begin untangling the question of the function of written language, we must first address the critical issue of the nature of graphemes as signs (*sign* is not here used in the Saussurean sense outlined above, which refers to a *signifier–signified* pairing, but in its more generic sense). Graphemes can be understood to be signs of the first order or signs of the second order. In the latter case, graphemes are signs of phonemes which, when combined, directly (and uniquely) refer to meaning. That is, only phonemes can combine to refer to meaning; graphemes can only combine to refer to phonemes. Saussure and other structuralists, such as Leonard Bloomfield, subscribed to this view, which has been termed the *referential approach* to graphemes (see Haas 1970: 9). Since this approach maintains that graphemes cannot directly refer to meaning, it follows that written language can only ever represent spoken language. There are numerous challenges to this approach. One has already been mentioned: if writing can only represent speech, how do we theoretically account for divergences from maximal orthographic shallowness, which results in speech being represented inconsistently or unfaithfully? In other words, why does writing fail to perform its function properly? Another challenge is that it is not always necessary to assign phonemes to graphemes in order to make sense of a text. W. Haas wrote that "it is possible, in understanding a written message, to ignore the phonetic realisation of it—or, indeed, as in the case of dead languages, to be simply ignorant of the corresponding sounds and yet understand what is written" (ibid.: 11; see also Coulmas 2003: 214–15). A further challenge is that there are features in writing with no counterpart in speech, such as the capitalisation of words and the marking of word boundaries through punctuation, including blank space (Rogers 2005: 15).

The alternative approach, termed the *autonomistic approach* to graphemes, argues that graphemes are signs of the first order. What this entails is that, in addition to referring to phonemes, graphemes, when combined, can refer *directly* to meaning with "no detour by way of spoken language" (Vachek 1945–9: 90; see also McIntosh 1961: 108, Coulmas 2003: 16).[3] This approach seems to better account for the behaviour of written language and offers a solution to all the problems of the referential approach outlined above. If writing can refer directly to meaning, we can easily account for features such as capitalisation differentiating between word classes, as in German, or between common and proper nouns, as in English. There is no difference between the phonemic referents of ‹hull› and ‹Hull›, but the choice between ‹h› and ‹H› marks a semantic difference with no analogue in speech. Moreover, the autonomistic approach helps explain our tolerance of non-homographic homophones, the plight of many non-native learners of PDE. Both the spellings ‹meet› and ‹meat›, for example, refer to /miːt/. The meaning of either of these two words is unclear in speech if occurring in isolation (consider also the homophones *night* and *knight*, where a little bit of context does not always help, e.g. *a dark* /nait/). In writing the meanings of the two words are easily distinguished, but—crucially—not because of their phonemic referents. It is their graphemic form which assigns semantic content *independently* of phonemic referents: the meaning of /miːt/ is unclear, but both the reader and writer know that ‹meet› means 'to encounter' and ‹meat› means 'flesh'.

If graphemes do not *exclusively* refer to phonemes, we need not think of deviance from maximal orthographic shallowness as a defect or an obfuscation. It must be stressed, however, that even though it is possible for writing to refer directly to meaning without the

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[3] This phenomenon by which graphemes can refer directly to *both* phonemes and meaning is referred to as *double articulation* (see McIntosh 1961: 108, Liuzza 1996: 28). Autonomists generally argue that graphemes have double articulation while phonemes have single articulation: while the former can refer to phonemes *and* meaning, the latter can only refer to meaning. However, phonemes do have a kind of second articulation too, since often, when hearing a phoneme, literate people will automatically associate it with a grapheme (Liuzza 1996: 29).

intermediary of speech, it does not change the fact that writing is dependent on spoken language. Writing can only operate because graphemes are systematically correlated with phonemes (see e.g. Sgall 1987: 1–2, Robertson 2004: 20). Nevertheless, as has been discussed, alphabetic orthographies always fall short, to different extents, from being maximally shallow. The fundamental reason is that orthographic depth brings some benefit, as was already seen above with the distinguishing of ‹meet› and ‹meat›. There are "non-phonological factors"— i.e. grammatical, lexical and social factors—which make it "advantageous for an orthography to deviate from a phonetically faithful representation of speech", i.e. from being maximally shallow (Haas 1970: 3–4). The advantage may come about "either by increasing the capacity of the orthography for signalling lexical and grammatical values, or by extending its social and cultural uses" (ibid.: 4). The former case encompasses features such as morphophonemic spelling, where the semantic relationship between words is highlighted by the spelling of a morpheme even where its pronunciation differs depending on its lexical context, as with ‹nation› in _nation_ and _nationality_ (see e.g. Rogers 2005: 275, Rutkowska 2012: 228). The latter case taps onto one of the main advantages of writing over speech as a system of communication. Barring very recent technological innovations (particularly speech recording and instant messaging), speech is immediate and ephemeral, while writing is permanent and can travel through time and space (see e.g. Rogers 2005: 1). If orthography were to 'keep up' and reflect all the changes in spoken language, the orthography of a text could be obsolete within a decade, and perhaps unreadable within some centuries. There is thus a social incentive for orthography to remain stable even when spoken language is continually changing, and in consequence, orthographies often become deeper with time.

2.3 Script adoption

Many of the world's scripts are shared by multiple languages, the roman alphabet being the prime example. The use of a single script by more than one language is brought about when a speech community starts using an existing script to write their language. This is called **script adoption**. Script adoption can occur when a language has no pre-existing script of its own, but it can also take place where a language already uses some other script. In cases where a pre-existing script is discarded and replaced by an adopted script, we may speak of **script change**, a subcategory of script adoption. In order for a script to be adopted, two speech communities must first come into contact. This can happen through various means, such as geographical proximity, political dominance or the spread of religion (see Dale 1980), but on their own, these conditions are not sufficient to effect script adoption. A script is adopted because it is advantageous for the members of a speech community at a particular time. In cases where there is no pre-existing script, it is a question of considering the advantages of literacy over nonliteracy. Any adopted script "enlarges [a language's] sociocultural potential, offers a precondition for language use in higher social functions, and enables the users of the language to gain literacy through the channel of the mother tongue" (Haarmann 2006: 2418; see also Ong 2002). The reasons behind script change are more complex. More often than not, the adoption of a script (and the discarding of an old one) signals acceptance (or rejection) of especially political or religious ideologies (see e.g. Tigger 2004: 66–7, Sebba 2009: 42). A speech community may want to rid itself of a script which is ideologically incompatible with its self-image or its aspirations for the future and opt for one which is more in line with its ideals. Such a motivation reveals the role of scripts as "powerful identity markers", communicating aspects of identity not only to the people who use the script, but also to surrounding speech communities and, in a digital age, the rest of the world (Sebba 2009: 39; see also Baker 1997: 95, Spolsky 2004: 29–31, Sampson 2015: 4).

2.3.1 Biscriptality

As outlined above, in cases of script change, the pre-existing script is discarded in favour of the newly-adopted script. In some instances of script adoption, however, a pre-existing script continues to exist side by side with the new one. A stable situation where two (or more) scripts are used to record the same language at the same time is called **biscriptality** (see e.g. Dale 1980: 5–6, DeFrancis 1984: 59, Bunčić 2016b: 53–4; see also Coulmas 2003: 231).[4] Such a situation arises when there are multiple competing influences on the choice of script operating on the same language community, "and none can dominate all groups of speakers of the language in question" (Dale 1980: 12). Instances of biscriptality can be categorised broadly into two types, *use-oriented* and *user-oriented*.[5] In the former case, the script is selected based on the function of the text, while in the latter, script-selection is dependent on the (geographical, religious, ethnic, social) circumstances of the writer (or reader). A European example of use-oriented biscriptality comes from late mediaeval to early modern Poljica, a region in present-day Croatia, where the Glagolitic alphabet was used for liturgical texts, and the Cyrillic alphabet for everything else (Bunčić 2016e). User-oriented biscriptality covers a range of historical and modern arrangements, one of the most well-known examples being contemporary Serbo-Croatian, which is written in the Cyrillic alphabet by the Serbs and in the roman alphabet by the Croatians, the choice of script being thus both geographical and ethnic (Bunčić 2016b: 60). A final type of biscriptality which does not comfortably fit either of these categories is *medial* biscriptality, which involves cases where the choice of script depends on

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[4] Some further notes on terminology are necessarily. Firstly, some literature prefers the term *digraphia* over *biscriptality* (on the history of the terminology around biscriptality, see Bunčić 2016c). Secondly, when defining biscriptality, the term *stable* is of considerable importance. In every case of script change there will be a short overlapping period where two scripts are used concurrently. This is not considered to be a true example of biscriptality because it is not stable (see Dale 1980: 5–6, Bunčić 2016b: 53). Thirdly and finally, in the study of epigraphy and numismatics, *biscriptal* is often used to refer to inscribed objects or inscriptions which make use of two different scripts, regardless of the language(s) they represent. This sense of *biscriptal* has not been adopted in this study.

[5] What follows draws closely on Bunčić 2016b: 54–62, although the typology offered therein is overly specific for the purposes of this study and is presented here in simplified form.

the material of writing. An early mediaeval example from the British Isles is the distribution of the roman alphabet and ogam (also known as *ogham*) for the writing of Old Irish, with ogam being reserved (at least for a time) for lapidary inscriptions (Bunčić 2016a; see also Section 3.2).

2.3.2 Orthography in script adoption

Since orthography is language-specific and not an inherent feature of any script, it is necessary to consider the question of the establishing of orthography (in other words, scripting) separately from script adoption. Where scripters are literate in the donor language (i.e. the language from which the new script is adopted), as is usually the case, the orthography of the donor language is typically implemented as closely as possible for the adopting language (see e.g. Bunčić 2016d: 22). Scripting is straightforward when the two languages share phonemes. If both have the phoneme /m/, which in the orthography of the donor language is referred to by ‹m›, the simplest solution for the scripting of /m/ in the adopting language is to also use ‹m›. Such a mechanism is economical because scripters do not have to master two completely different orthographies; by maintaining overlap between the orthography of the donor language and that of the adopting language, both scripters and learners who are already literate in the donor language can "transfer reading knowledge from one well-learned language to the new system" (Hinton 2014: 145). Problems arise when the phonologies of the adopting and donor languages do not match. In some cases, the donor language will have phonemes which the adopting language does not have, and so the adopting language will have no use for those particular phoneme–grapheme pairings. The scripters must decide what to do with 'superfluous' graphemes, whether to discard them completely or assign them new phonemic referents. Another problem is when the adopting language has phonemes which the donor language does not have. In these cases, there will be no model phoneme–grapheme

pairing in the donor language for the scripters to copy, and the adopting language will have to find other ways of scripting these phonemes in a process of 'tinkering' the script (see Stenroos & Smith [2016] 2020: 125). Solutions include appropriating a 'superfluous' grapheme, modifying an existing grapheme (for example by means of diacritics) and inventing a new grapheme. It is also possible to adopt a grapheme from another script: the runes ‹Þ› and ‹Ƿ› were adopted from the runic alphabet to refer to the phonemes /θ/ and /w/ in roman Old English (see e.g. Seiler 2008: 148–9, Fairfax 2014: 197; see also Section 3.3).

Scholarship aimed at modern scripters stresses that an orthography must be linguistically sound. This can be measured by such criteria as "scientifically adequate in order to get the best and fastest results in the teaching of reading" and "reflect[ing] the actual linguistic structure of the vernacular spoken by the people" (Pike [1947] 1975: 208). It has also been argued that since "motivated readers can probably learn to read well with almost any type of orthography", an orthography should be designed in such a way that it "poses as few problems as possible for *writers*" (Snider 2014: 29n1, emphasis mine). On the other hand, the scholarship is also at pains to emphasise that no matter how linguistically sound an orthography is, if it is not accepted by the community it is designed for, it is inadequate (Pike [1947] 1975: 211, Cahill 2014: 16). Just like scripts, orthographies too are identity-markers. Both the choice of script and choices regarding orthography involve a speech community's "decision[s] about how to visually represent their language, to represent their identity", and are therefore cultural and social issues as much as a linguistic ones (Unseth 2008: 1; see also Sebba 2009: 39–40). Unless a speech community is satisfied that an orthography is an appropriate reflection of its identity, it will be rejected. The present study is not concerned with professional scripters in the modern sense, and it is important to highlight that the methods and aims of mediaeval scripters—who might not even have been conscious of their role—may have differed drastically from those of modern scripters. Likewise, the expectations

of would-be literate people may also have been different. After all, "[m]ost people do not think to question systems that have been handed down to them" (DeFrancis 1989: 262). The following chapter explores the script adoption which took place in early Anglo-Saxon England for Old English and takes a closer look at the social contexts out of which the scripters, as well as the rest of the literate population, sprang.

3. Historical-linguistic context

3.1 The early history of Anglo-Saxon England

The Germanic tribes who began their migration to England in the first half of the 5th century embarked on their journey from various points of departure. In a famed passage of his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* (*HE*), Bede tells us that the Anglo-Saxons

> came from three very powerful Germanic tribes, the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes. The people of Kent and the inhabitants of the Isle of Wight are of Jutish origin and also those opposite the Isle of Wight, that part of the kingdom of Wessex which is still today called the nation of the Jutes. From the Saxon country, that is, the district now known as Old Saxony, came the East Saxons, the South Saxons, and the West Saxons. Besides this, from the country of the Angles, that is, the land between the kingdoms of the Jutes and the Saxons, which is called *Angulus*, came the East Angles, the Middle Angles, the Mercians, and all the Northumbrian race (that is those people who dwell north of the river Humber) as well as the other Anglian tribes (1:XV; from Colgrave & Mynors 1969: 51).

Bede wrote in the early 8th century, about three centuries after the events he describes. His narrative is hardly a contemporary account, and it is suspected that it "sprang from a wish to account, in tribal terms, for the origins of kingdoms important at his own time rather than from any genuine knowledge of tribal events taking place two or three hundred years prior to his time of writing" (Nielsen 1998: 92; see also Myres 1970: 147–51, 173, Hines 1994: 50–1). In spite of Bede's personal agenda and the long timespan between the arrival of the Germanic tribes and his composition of *HE*, Barbara Yorke writes that Bede "does seem to have been broadly correct in identifying the main North Sea provinces from which the bulk of the Germanic settlers in Britain came and their main areas of settlement within Britain" (1990: 6). Archaeology has confirmed the diverse cultural backgrounds of the Germanic immigrants (see e.g. Myres 1970), and in addition to the peoples named by Bede in the above passage, it is likely that other groups, such as Frisians and Franks, were also part of the Germanic migrations to England (see e.g. Campbell 1982c: 30–1, Hawkes 1982: 70–2, Brugmann 2011: 33)—indeed, Bede himself also acknowledged this (*HE* 5:IX). However, although the immigrants came from

ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds, in England they were thrown into a melting pot. Cultural hybrids were formed and "[n]ew identities were created in Britain", these identities being described collectively as *Anglo-Saxon* to distinguish them from Scandinavian and Continental Germanic identities (Hills 2011: 10; see also Hines 1994: 49).

The Anglo-Saxons remained in close contact with their neighbours across the sea on the Continent and in Scandinavia, but they also made new acquaintances in Britain. The immigrants encountered an indigenous British population that had inhabited the island before and throughout its Roman occupation, a period which lasted nearly four centuries from the mid-1st century to the very beginning of the 5th century. The relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and the British has undergone a great deal of revision in the past sixty years or so. An outdated view—called the Germanist view—held that the Germanic peoples eliminated and replaced the native British population as they advanced across the island (for a comprehensive account of this view, see Higham 1992: 4–8). However, the cumulative evidence drawn from a range of sources, including place-names, burial practices and settlement patterns, has been taken to suggest that there was no widespread extermination, and that people of Germanic and British stock enjoyed a relatively peaceful coexistence in regions of Anglo-Saxon occupation, allowing for continuity in such things as farming (see Chadwick 1963a, Yorke 1990: 6–8, Higham 1992: 8–10, Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2008: 14–18, 131–2). The indigenous population would have been "gradually assimilated to their new Germanic neighbours both linguistically and culturally" (Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2008: 259), although the lawcode of the West Saxon king Ine differentiated between Anglo-Saxons and Britons, implying that some explicit ethnic differences lingered at least into the 7th century (see Yorke 1990: 138, Filppula, Klemola & Paulasto 2008: 16). Indeed, this revised view of Anglo-Saxon settlement cannot tell us the whole story and no doubt glosses over the extensive use of violence and forced acculturation in the advance of the Anglo-Saxons (for a dispassionate and up-to-date

summary of the early relationship between the Anglo-Saxons and the British, see Naismith 2021: 105–11; see also Higham 1992: 11–15, Dumville 2018: 75).

Over the course of the 5th century and into the 6th century, Anglo-Saxon England—by which is meant the part of the island of Britain which was under Anglo-Saxon control—was "fragmented into many small autonomous units", which in the 6th century developed into kingdoms (Yorke 1990: 13). Since there was no substantial market economy, early Anglo-Saxon communities were "noncentralized" and so the kingdoms which emerged are best conceptualised as "units of government, in which royal power was exercised over territories on which were imposed fiscal and military obligations" (Kirby 2000: 3). The borders between kingdoms were often contested and seldom fixed (see e.g. Hart 1977: 43–4). Some kingdoms quickly rose to prominence, and the concept of the heptarchy has dominated much of the scholarship on early mediaeval England. The heptarchy refers to seven kingdoms which gained political (and, to some extent, ecclesiastical) predominance in Anglo-Saxon England: Kent, Essex, Sussex, Wessex, East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria (see Kirby 2000: 5–6; see Map 1). More recent scholarship, however, has highlighted the limitations of this concept. The idea of a heptarchy gives the false impression of clear-cut geographical and ethnic divides, and completely overshadows a number of smaller contemporary kingdoms (see Kirby 2000: 4, 6–7; see also Hart 1977, Toon 1992: 418–20, Dumville 2018: 101–2). It also does not take into account the complex and dynamic relationships between the kingdoms, especially concerning overlordship. During the 8th century, for example, Mercia exercised overlordship in most of the kingdoms of Southumbria (the region south of the Humber; see Section 9.1). In spite of its flaws, the heptarchy represents a division of Anglo-Saxon England which has become ubiquitous and unavoidable, and as such does have its practical merits—as, indeed, will be seen in the structure of this study (see Chapter 5).

Map 1: The kingdoms of the heptarchy.

3.2 Languages and scripts in Anglo-Saxon England

It is against this backdrop that we can consider the linguistic landscape of Anglo-Saxon England and examine the languages and scripts which were used by the Anglo-Saxons and the people around them. The focus of this study is Old English, the language of the Anglo-Saxons and the ancestor of PDE. Old English was an Indo-European language, and as such it was related to most other languages spoken in both mediaeval and modern Europe (and beyond). It belonged to the Germanic subfamily of Indo-European languages, the very first speakers of

which have been associated with the Jastorf culture "which extended from southern Denmark to central Germany" (Ringe 2017: 85; but see ibid. for some complications with this association). It is possible that there were various "Germanic speech communities" across a wide region of northern Europe at the time that the proto-language that is labelled *Proto-Germanic* (PGmc) emerged and the use of which was concentrated somewhere "near the western end of the Baltic" (ibid.; see also Robinson 1992: 16, Nielsen 1998: 40–2, Fortson 2004: 300, Prokosch [1939] 2009: 25–7). Two of the main features which distinguish Germanic languages from other Indo-European languages are first-syllable stress and the effects of Grimm's Law, a sound change by which Indo-European voiced aspirated stops were unaspirated, voiced stops were unvoiced, and voiceless stops became voiceless fricatives (see Bammesberger 1992: 30–1; Fortson 2004: 301–2; see also Fulk 2018: 4–5, 102–5). The Germanic branch is further divided into East Germanic, North Germanic and West Germanic. East Germanic, of which the most prominent representative was Gothic, is now extinct. North Germanic developed into Old Norse, spoken in Scandinavia contemporaneously with Old English in the 7th and 8th centuries and into the later mediaeval age, and presently comprises the Germanic languages spoken in Scandinavia, Iceland and the Faeroe Islands. Old English belonged to the West Germanic branch, together with languages such as Old High German, the ancestor of German, and Frankish, spoken in the kingdom of Francia across the Channel from England. The West Germanic languages can be further divided into three groups: Ingvaeonic (North Sea Germanic), Istvaeonic (Weser-Rhine Germanic), and Irmionic (Elbe Germanic) (see e.g. Robinson 1992: 16–18). Together with Old Frisian and Old Saxon, Old English belonged to the Ingvaeonic group, characterised, among other things, by the Ingvaeonic nasal spirant law. This had the effect of lengthening a short vowel before a nasal consonant followed by a fricative, the nasal consonant being lost in the process (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §3.14; see also Section 3.6.2). The Ingvaeonic nasal spirant law accounts for the differences between the PDE and German words for *five* (< PGmc **fimf*). As PDE is a

descendant of an Ingvaeonic language, PDE *five* has a long (now diphthongised) vowel and no nasal consonant. German does not descend from an Ingvaeonic language, and so German *fünf* has preserved both the short vowel and the nasal consonant of the PGmc.

It is unlikely that the Germanic tribes who emigrated to England spoke a common, uniform language. Rather, it is assumed that they spoke a number of closely-related Ingvaeonic dialects, which in England converged into a distinct and coherent language, albeit one admitting a degree of linguistic variability (Nielsen 1998: 78–80; see also Hines 1990a: 31, Hines 1995: 38). Whether it is this variability which gave rise to Old English dialects has been a bone of contention. Frank Stenton warned against "assum[ing] that the features which distinguish one Old English dialect from another go back to the age of the migration" (1971: 9), and indeed, it seems intuitive to ascribe the dialectalisation of Old English to tribal, political and economic divisions which arose in England (see e.g. Robinson 1992: 137). However, it is not unreasonable to acknowledge that pre-migration differences did play a role in dialectal development, at least to some extent. Jeremy Smith (2007: 92–103) has argued that some shared Old English sound changes had varying reflexes across England due to inherited pre-migration dialectal differences (see also Samuels 1971: 6–7). Old English has traditionally been divided into four main dialects: Kentish, West Saxon, Mercian and Northumbrian (see e.g. Sweet 1876, Toon 1992: 416). Due to certain phonological similarities, the last two are collectively known as Anglian. Similarly, due to some unique features of West Saxon, the other three dialects are collectively known as non-West Saxon. It is important to note that these dialects are largely defined on the basis of surviving, provenanceable textual evidence (see Campbell 1959: §256, Hogg 2006: 397–9; see also Smith 1996: 17–19). Because of the relatively small amount of such texts, as well as their limited textual genre and the restricted social background of their authors, we can only have, at best, a very incomplete view of any Old English dialect (see e.g. Toon 1992: 414–15, Hogg 2006: 395). Moreover, we are completely in the dark regarding the dialects of many smaller areas from which little or no

written evidence survives, and there can be no doubt that the dialectal landscape of England was far more complex than the typical fourfold division allows for (see King 1991: 70–1, Toon 1992: 420–1, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 8). A further problem with these four dialect areas is that they very explicitly reflect Anglo-Saxon political divisions. As will be discussed below, writing happened predominantly in an ecclesiastical context, not a political one (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §1.6). It cannot be presumed that political boundaries coincided with dialectal ones—or, indeed, that the major dialect groups listed above represent homogenous dialects (see Toon 1983: 25, Hogg 1988: 189). Still, the term *dialect* is useful "to describe a bundle of shared linguistic characteristics that differs from one or more other synchronic bundles of shared linguistic characteristics, even failing precise geographical location of those characteristics" (Colman 1988: 112; see also King 1991: 69).

In addition to bringing a Germanic language to Britain, the immigrants also brought a Germanic alphabet. The Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc* derived from the Elder *fuþark*, the oldest attested form of the runic alphabet, and parent also to the Younger *fuþark* used in Scandinavia. The origins of the Elder *fuþark* are obscure. The shapes of runes betray the clear influence of ancient Mediterranean alphabets—the similarities in form and phonemic referent between runic ‹ᚱ ᛁ ᛏ ᛒ› and roman ‹R I T B› are among the most conspicuous—although identifying the precise model alphabet has proved challenging (for recent attempts and summaries of earlier scholarship, see e.g. Mees 2000, Salomon 2020). This has also made it difficult to assign a place and a date for the inception of runes. Another part of the difficulty involves the use of our earliest runic evidence, which is far from straightforward. In the broadest of terms, the Elder *fuþark* is generally believed to have been a Germanic creation from around the turn of the 1st millennium AD (see e.g. Elliott 1959: 11, Williams 1997: 179–81, Looijenga 2003: 91–2, 100–1), but it remains to be seen how the recent discovery of what is believed to be the oldest datable rune-stone in the world, potentially from as early as the 1st century, will change our understanding of the early history of runes (Gulliksen 2023). Also mysterious are two features

which set the runic alphabet apart from other contemporary European alphabets (with the notable and curious exception of ogam; see Musset 1965: 172, McManus 1989): letter-order on the one hand, and letter-names that are cognates with lexemes on the other (see Williams 1997: 181–4; see also Section 5.1.1). Just like the word *alphabet* comes from the names of the first two letters of the Greek alphabet, the name *fuþark/fuþorc* comes from the (transliteration of) the first six runes of the rune-row. With both names beginning *fuþ-*, it is evident that the runic letter-order was markedly different from that of the roman and Greek alphabets. With regard to letter-names, it is true that roman and Greek letters have names: *a*, *bee*, *cee*, *alpha*, *beta*, *gamma*, etc. However, these names only refer to letters, whereas the names of (for instance) the Anglo-Saxon runes, *feoh*, *ur*, *þorn* were not only rune-names referring to ‹ᚠ ᚢ ᚦ›, but were also cognates with the Old English lexemes *feoh* 'cattle', *ūr* ?'aurochs' and *þorn* 'thorn'. Individual runes could therefore refer to lexemes as well as phonemes (for more or Anglo-Saxon rune-names, see esp. Page 1999a: 60–79). Table 1 presents the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc* as it appears on the 10th-century Thames scramasax, the only extant and complete epigraphic *fuþorc* (some of the runes on the scramasax are allographs of the runes given in Table 1).[6] The function of the *fuþorc* as an epigraphic alphabet and its role in Anglo-Saxon society will be explored further in Sections 3.3–5.

On the eve of Germanic settlement, the indigenous population of Britain spoke British and Latin, two Indo-European languages belonging to the Celtic and Romance subfamilies respectively.[7] Moreover, a significant proportion of British Christians (both Latin- and British-

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[6] The names of the runes are not known from any contemporary sources but have been reconstructed from Old Norse rune poems and an 18th-century transcription by George Hickes of an Anglo-Saxon rune poem which was later lost in the Cottonian fire (see Page 1999a: 63–6). There are also numerous indirect witnesses to Old English rune names in the Old English corpus, such as the inscription on the right panel of the Franks casket (see Section 10.3.4.1).

[7] The term *British*, when referring to a language, is used here as an umbrella term for closely related dialects which, at this point, had begun differentiating into the ancestor language of Welsh and Cumbric in the west, and Cornish and Breton in the south-west (see Jackson 1954: 67–8).

Rune	Name	Phonological referent	Rune	Name	Phonological referent
‹ᚠ›	*feoh*	/f/	‹ᚣ›	*eolhx*	/ks/
‹ᚢ›	*ur*	/u(:)/	‹ᛋ›	*sigel*	/s/
‹ᚦ›	*þorn*	/θ/	‹ᛏ›	*tir*	/t/
‹ᚩ›	*os*	/o(:)/	‹ᛒ›	*beorc*	/b/
‹ᚱ›	*rad*	/r/	‹ᛗ›	*eh*	/e(:)/
‹ᚳ›	*cen*	/k/	‹ᛝ›	*Ing*	[ŋ]
‹ᚷ›	*gifu*	/ɣ/	‹ᛗ›	*dæg*	/d/
‹ᚹ›	*wynn*	/w/	‹ᛚ›	*lagu*	/l/
‹ᚻ›	*hægl*	/x/	‹ᛗ›	*man*	/m/
‹ᚾ›	*nyd*	/n/	‹ᛟ›	*œþel*	/ø(:)/
‹ᛁ›	*is*	/i(:)/	‹ᚨ›	*ac*	/ɑ(:)/
‹ᛉ›	*ger*	/j/	‹ᚫ›	*æsc*	/æ(:)/
‹ᛇ›	*eoh*	?	‹ᛦ›	*yr*	/y(:)/
‹ᛈ›	*peorþ*	/p/	‹ᛠ›	*ear*	/æ(:)ɑ/

Table 1: The fuþorc *as it appears on the 10th-century Thames scramasax. The phonological referents are pre-9th-century. The names have been adopted (sometimes adapted) from Page 1999a: 65–76. For the referent(s) of* ‹ᛇ›, *see Page 1968.*

speaking), who had converted during the Roman occupation, were literate in the roman alphabet, and short inscriptions containing both British and Latin names are known from England (see esp. Jackson 1953: 149–51, 157–8; see also O'Neill 2009: 12, Schrijver 2014: 32). This bilingual situation had come about as a result of the Roman occupation of Britain (see Nielsen 1998: 61–2). While British was the language of the common people, Latin was spoken by members of the upper and more educated classes, particularly in the so-called Lowland Zone (see Jackson 1954: 61–2; see also King 1991: 154–5, 179–81). In relation to its indigenous inhabitants, Britain is conventionally divided into the Lowland Zone and the Highland Zone. Broadly speaking, the former encompasses the south and east of the island, while the latter encompasses the west and the north (see e.g. Higham 1992: 36–7). Since the Lowland Zone was more urbanised, it is likely that British Latin was more common there, while the Highland Zone was almost exclusively British-speaking (see e.g. Laing & Laing 1990: 96–7, Higham 1992: 196–7, Schrijver 2014: 32). Things may have changed considerably with the arrival of the Germanic immigrants, who first landed in the Lowland Zone. It has been suggested that the upper-class, Latin-speaking Britons of the Lowland Zone retreated to the Highland Zone when

their independence and status came under threat upon the foreign intrusion (Jackson 1954: 62). According to this theory, the Anglo-Saxons would not have come into much contact with British Latin (at least until extending their territory into the Highland Zone) and were predominantly exposed to British, spoken by the remaining, lower-class population (which was eventually linguistically assimilated to speaking Old English in areas of Anglo-Saxon occupation; ibid.: 66). Peter Schrijver has argued for an alternative approach, in which British Latin was the common language of *all* classes in the Lowland Zone, meaning that Anglo-Saxons would have come into early contact with lower-class speakers of British Latin who did not flee the incoming Germanic tribes (2002, 2014: 33 and passim). Even if this had been the case, Anglo-Saxon individuals and communities would have been exposed to British through interactions with their British neighbours in the Highland Zone.

The other Celtic languages of Britain would have been heard by Anglo-Saxons to different extents. They would seldom have come into contact with Pictish, the language spoken by the Picts in northern and north-eastern Scotland. The Northumbrians, the Picts' closest Anglo-Saxon neighbours, appear to have ventured into Pictland more often than the Picts ventured south: in the first half of the 7th century, King Eanfrith spent time in exile in Pictland and had a son with a Pictish princess, and Bede speaks of a Northumbrian embassy to a Pictish king in the early 8th century (*HE* 5:XXI), where "a letter brought by the envoys was first translated into Pictish", implying some limited degree of bilingualism (Lockwood 1975: 19). Exposure to Old Irish was much more common (see esp. Dumville 1981: 110–16). Speakers of Old Irish were frequent visitors and permanent residents across Anglo-Saxon England, from ecclesiastics who arrived at Lindisfarne in Northumbria to students who "hastened to Canterbury to study under the Mediterranean scholars Theodore and Hadrian" (Law 1997: 36; see Sections 6.3.3, 10.2.2, 10.3.2). Anglo-Saxon students also travelled to Ireland to study (see esp. Hughes 1971), and the Irish kingdom of Dál Riata, which extended to both sides of the North Channel and comprised north-eastern Ireland and western

Scotland, was a popular destination among many members of the Bernician royal family who were forced into exile (see also Section 10.2.2). During this time away from Northumbria, many learned to speak the local language (see e.g. King 1991: 193). In terms of writing, Old Irish made use of two alphabets, one predominantly found in manuscripts and the other in epigraphy (see Section 2.3.1). The former was the roman alphabet, which the Irish had adopted from Britain, together with Christianity, in the 5th century. The epigraphic script, ogam, was a pre-conversion script which continued to be used well into the post-conversion period in Ireland (see e.g. Harvey 1990, McManus 1991: 128–46). It was an alphabet where letter-forms consisted of notches along a central line (see Harvey 2001: 38), and it is found to a limited extent also in Britain, but only in areas of Irish settlement (see e.g. Jackson 1953: 151–7, Thomas 1973).

Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, trade and missionary work in particular brought in overseas visitors who spoke a variety of Germanic languages. Frankish, which is believed to have afforded some mutual intelligibility with Old English, was heard especially in Kent (see Chaplais 1969: 527n6, Brooks 1984: 7; but see King 1991: 185). So close were the relations between Kent and Francia that there was a community of Frankish speakers who had settled in Kent, and it is possible that Christian missionaries from Rome brought Frankish interpreters not to communicate with the Anglo-Saxons, but with the local speakers of Frankish (King 1991: 195; see also Kelly 1990: 58). Precious little is known of runic Frankish, but runes were much used by other Germanic peoples with whom the Anglo-Saxons had dealings. Frisian runes were nearly identical with Anglo-Saxon runes—the runes used in England and Frisia are collectively referred to as the Anglo-Frisian runes, such was the extent of their overlap (see e.g. Looijenga 1996). Some runic inscriptions, believed to have been Frisian in origin, made their way into England, such as the **æniwulufu** coins (see Insley in Blackburn 1991: 172–4) and perhaps also Southampton bone I (see Section 7.3.1). Speakers of Old Norse used another variation of the runic alphabet, the Younger *fuþark*. There are inscriptions in Anglo-Saxon

England which are clearly Old Norse and written in this alphabet, but these belong to the later Anglo-Saxon age beyond the year 800. Still, speakers of Old Norse may have had a stronger presence in East Anglia than elsewhere, if the heavy Scandinavian colouring seen in the local runic corpus is anything to go by (see Section 8.3.1).

Finally, the coming of Christianity from the end of the 6th century onwards brought Latin to Anglo-Saxon England. As outlined above, the Germanic immigrants may have been met by Latin-speaking Britons, but the Latin transmitted by Christian missionaries came to occupy a unique and instrumental role in Anglo-Saxon society. Since Christianity centres on the written word, a significant part of the missionary agenda, in addition to the conversion of the heathen Anglo-Saxons, was to disseminate Latin literacy. Writing was a crucial skill for the operations of the Church as it allowed the copying and propagation of religious texts (see Wormald 1977: 99), and so, the (admittedly limited number of) Anglo-Saxon students who were educated by the Church acquired Latin, including the roman alphabet and Latin orthography. Latin became the language of the Church and of learning, reflecting the role it had in other contemporary Christian(ised) societies in Western Europe (see Brown 1995: 114). The first generation of students may well have reached an exceptionally high level of proficiency, considering that their Continental teachers were native Latin speakers and almost certainly taught by immersion (see ibid.: 116). Successive generations would have received instruction increasingly from (non-native) Anglo-Saxon teachers, although Latin books brought from the Continent continued to "[serve] […] as models for English scribes once they had been taught how to write" (Lendinara 2013: 297). The Irish from Dál Riata, who started their evangelism of the Anglo-Saxons in the north of England in the first half of the 7th century (see Section 10.2.2), were likewise non-native teachers of Latin. Latin–Old English glossaries, where Latin lemmata were given Old English glosses, betray "a bilingual context, mostly one in which Latin was being learnt as a second language", and fluency in spoken Latin was generally poorer than fluency in written Latin (McKitterick 2012: 42; see also King 1991: 194).

Even so, the quality of Latin teaching was presumably high (especially in the south), given that missionaries "insisted on the use of Latin in the liturgy and in the study of the Scriptures" and did not revert to the vernacular (Law 1983: 44; for the pronunciation of Latin among Anglo-Saxon clergy, see e.g. Brittain 1934: 17, Fowler 1937: 97–102, Allen 1978: 102).

We also find very limited use of the Greek alphabet, although the instances are so infrequent and the texts so incidental that they cannot be taken as signalling communities that were highly literate in Greek (see Bodden 1988; see also Higgitt 1990: 158). The *alpha* and *omega* ‹ΑΩ› on two name stones from Hartlepool (see Figure 3) and the *chi-rho* symbol ‹☧› prevalent in manuscripts, though Greek letters, are perhaps better understood as Christian letter-symbols (both referring to Christ), since the contexts in which they appear are limited and formulaic. There is no doubt, however, that as one of the three *linguae sacrae* of the Church (together with Latin and Hebrew), a Christian education brought with it some familiarity with Greek—this can also be inferred from Anglo-Saxon glossaries (see Pheifer 1987: 41, *pace* Lindsay 1918: 10)—although it was never mastered to a level matching that of
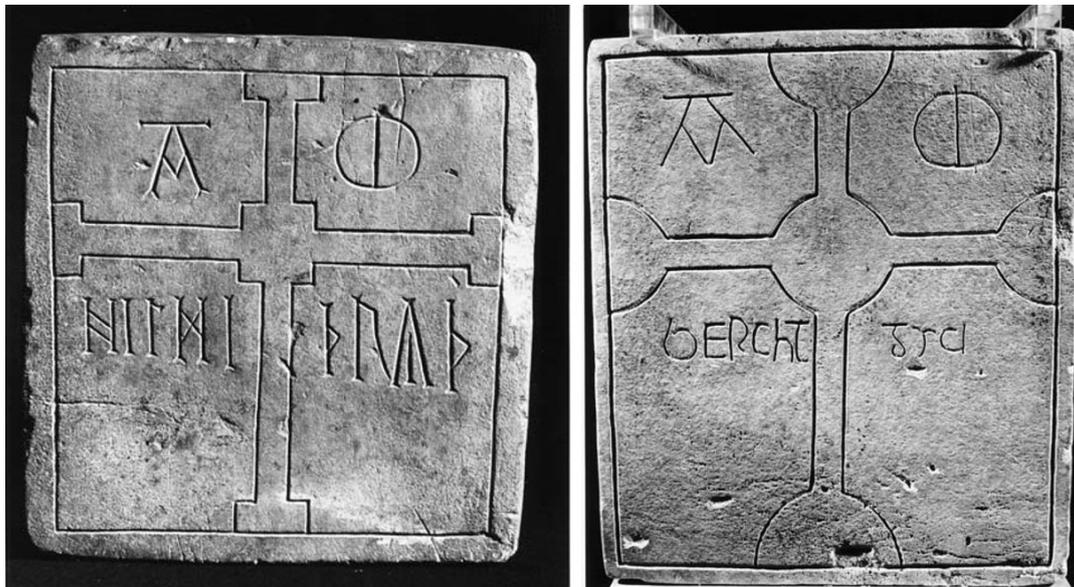
Figure 3: Two name stones from Hartlepool, Northumbria.

Latin. The driving force behind Greek language education was Archbishop Theodore, who taught it at his school in Canterbury in the second half of the 7th century (see Section 6.3.3) and after whose death the level of Greek learning fell (see e.g. Zaffagno 1976: 327, Brooks 1984: 99, Orchard 2003: 208; see also Bodden 1988). Nevertheless, the use of letters which were not part of the standard roman alphabet, such as ‹Ω›, does suggest a "familiarity with the concept of variety" in the use of alphabets, and an understanding that "[t]he new Christian learning and literacy did not associate with one script only" (Fell 1994: 122). Hebrew, on the other hand, was hardly learned at all (Brown 1995: 114).

3.3 The adoption of the roman alphabet

After the turn of the 7th century, the Anglo-Saxons began using the roman alphabet for the recording of their own language. A handful of legible (though often unintelligible) runic inscriptions aside, this marked the beginning of Old English written records, which give us our first proper glimpse into how the Anglo-Saxons put their mother tongue into writing.[8] (In philological terms, the adoption of the roman alphabet is also the point at which the stage of the English language that we call *Old English* can properly be said to begin; anything from before the appearance of attested written forms of the language deals only with reconstructed proto-Old English.) As discussed in the previous section, the Anglo-Saxons had first learned to use the roman alphabet for the writing of Latin. Initially this involved ecclesiastical texts, but it was not long before the use of written Latin was extended to purposes of administration, as rulers in particular "were not slow to see, and make the most of, the obvious benefits" of Latin literacy (King 1991: 163; for the variety of texts produced, see ibid.). Old English started making its way into these otherwise Latin texts through

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[8] Non-native speakers may have put Anglo-Saxon words into roman writing before this, but the events discussed in this paragraph represent the first time that Old English was written in the roman alphabet *by its native speakers* (see e.g. Kelly 1990: 58).

vernacular names of people and places, and a large portion of our surviving Old English evidence from the earliest period is onomastic. Longer texts soon followed. Although the original copy has not survived, the lawcode of the Kentish king Æthelberht, from the turn of the 7th century, was written in Old English (see e.g. Stenton 1971: 60, Derolez 1990: 399). There are three other Southumbrian lawcodes from the 7th century, written in Old English (including the aforementioned lawcode of Ine) and extant only as later copies, and although there is no direct evidence, it is unlikely that these lawcodes were the only vernacular texts written at this early stage of roman literacy in Anglo-Saxon England (see Kelly 1990: 57–9). So while it could be supposed that the recording of Old English names in Latin texts "might well prompt little anxiety over the lack of precise representations of some Old English sounds in the roman alphabet", this same laissez-faire attitude can hardly be evoked for longer texts, especially ones of a legal nature (Shaw 2013: 119). There is therefore reason to presume that already in the early 7th century, from the beginning of roman Old English writing, thought and care was put into the scripting of Old English so as to "provide adequate or unambiguous ways of representing Old English sounds" (ibid.).

However, Old English was not without a script at the time of the adoption of the roman alphabet, and it is well worth asking why the *fuþorc* was not used to meet the vernacular textual demands of an emerging Christian society. Indeed, Bruce Dickins saw the *fuþorc* as "vastly superior as an instrument for recording the sounds of Old English" (1932: 15; see also King 1986: 77–8). The Old English phoneme /w/, for instance, was referred to by ‹ᛈ›. Contemporary (Mediaeval) Latin did not have /w/ (see Seiler 2014: 99), which meant that, when it came to scripting /w/ in the roman alphabet, there was no obvious phoneme–grapheme pairing in Latin orthography for Old English to copy. Anglo-Saxon scribes made use of ‹u› (also used to refer to /u(:)/) and the digraph ‹uu› before adopting the rune and adjusting its shape to fit the profile of roman letters, creating a new roman letter ‹ƿ› (see ibid.: 98–107). If we were to suppose that, given the choice, a language community always opts for the script

which offers the shallower orthography, we would be baffled by the Anglo-Saxons' adoption of the roman alphabet given the availability of the *fuþorc*. However, much like orthographies diverge from being maximally shallow for extralinguistic reasons (see Section 2.3.2), a script which offers a shallower orthography with no need for 'tinkering' can also, for extralinguistic reasons, be overlooked in favour of a script imposing a deeper orthography and/or requiring 'tinkering'. And indeed, there were good reasons for the Anglo-Saxons to adopt the roman alphabet. They had been taught Latin literacy. All the teaching they received from the missionaries must have made practically exclusive use of the roman alphabet, and so, in the minds of the Anglo-Saxons, it was the roman alphabet which was most closely associated with this new culture of writing.[9]

Above all, there are issues of medium to consider. The angular profile of runes, made up of straight lines at sharp angles, as well as the conspicuous absence of curves (especially among pre-conversion inscriptions), are typical features of epigraphic scripts, designed for writing on hard surfaces such as stone, metal and bone (see Coulmas 1999: 444).[10] The lack of horizontal lines could indicate that runes were specially designed for carving on wood, since horizontal lines would get lost in the grain of the wood (see e.g. Elliott 1959: 15, Rogers 2005: 255, Sampson 2015: 124; but see Williams 1996: 213, Williams 1997: 184). The *fuþorc* was unideal for the manuscript culture introduced by the Church, because the very same feature which made epigraphic writing convenient—angular profile—made writing on parchment laborious, especially because of frequent pen-lifts. The roman alphabet was also in origin an

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[9] According to a popular misconception, runes were replaced by the roman alphabet upon conversion because of their alleged pagan associations (see e.g. Blomfield 1935: 26, Crystal [2012] 2013: 13). There is no evidence to support this view. Not only was the runic alphabet by no means discarded following the arrival of Christianity, but runes are found in explicitly Christian contexts, such as the religious poem carved onto the Ruthwell cross; the Franks casket, which, in addition to portraying scenes from Germanic myth, also depicts scenes from Christian history; and St Cuthbert's coffin. The coffin of such a venerated saint would hardly have been adorned with runic inscriptions, had they been thought of as pagan (see Page 1964a: 27).

[10] It is regrettable that this angularity is not represented in some of the runes of the Runic Unicode block, which is used in this study (Unicode Consortium 2014).

epigraphic script, but with changes in technology, it had developed a form which was more suitable for manuscripts (see e.g. Sampson 2015: 121). Curved lines meant that there were fewer pen-lifts, which made writing quicker and more efficient. Instead of developing the *fuþorc* in a similar, more manuscript-friendly direction, it was much more convenient for the Anglo-Saxons to simply adopt the roman alphabet. (Something of the changes which would have been necessary can be seen, for instances, in the ‹p› mentioned above. In the formation of roman ‹p› on the basis of runic ‹ᚹ›, the angular pocket of the rune was replaced by a rounded loop, which in epigraphic writing would have been time-consuming to carve, but which, when writing with a pen, was much quicker than drawing two straight lines at an angle.)

Since the literacy taught by Christian missionaries was Latin literacy, it served as the obvious model for the orthography that Old English came to adopt with the roman alphabet (see e.g. Seiler 2014: 217). The phonologies of Old English and Latin largely overlapped, and so, for the most part, the adoption of Latin phoneme–grapheme pairings was straightforward, and preserving a uniformity between Old English and Latin orthography also had the benefit of retaining mutual intelligibility between the two orthographies—a reading knowledge of Latin transferred into a reading knowledge of Old English. Some of the leading philologists of the first half of the 20th century or so considered specifically Hiberno-Latin orthography (that is, the orthography of Latin as spoken by the Irish) to have been the model for Old English orthography (see O'Neill 2009: 3–4). The certainty of this theory was shaken by the publication of Alistair Campbell's *Old English Grammar* in 1959, where Campbell "implicitly rejected the notion that the Latin alphabet that underlay the Old English alphabet was the one taught (and pronounced) by the Irish" (O'Neill 2009: 5) and asserted that Old English orthography was based on "the Latin [system] as preserved in grammatical tradition" (Campbell 1959: §55). Effectively, this meant that Old English orthography was modelled on Continental Latin, not Hiberno-Latin. This has been the view accepted by the majority of subsequent scholars (for more on the Latin grammatical tradition, see Section 3.6.1). The area in which we find a great

deal more controversy is the model that the Anglo-Saxons used in the face of 'scripting problems'. In spite of their great similarity, the phonologies of Old English and Latin were not identical, and Latin orthography could not serve as a model for the scripting of the handful of phonemes which appeared in Old English but not Latin. The scripting of the labiovelar approximant /w/, found in Old English but not (Mediaeval) Latin, has already been brought up.

While Campbell rejected the theory of a Hiberno-Latin model for Old English orthography, he did advocate for another type of Irish influence. He raised the possibility that, to solve the 'scripting problems' of Old English, Anglo-Saxon scripters turned to Old Irish for models (Campbell 1959: §55; see also O'Neill 2009: 4–5). The idea in itself was not novel. An argument for Old Irish influence on Old English orthography had already been developed by Marjorie Daunt (1939, 1952; see also O'Neill 2009: 5). And although her particular theory was staunchly rejected on linguistic and palaeographic grounds (see Samuels 1952, Kuhn & Quirk 1953; see also Wrenn 1943: 32, O'Neill 2009: 5–6), this did not put an end to the 'Old Irish view', and the possibility of Old Irish influence on certain features of Old English orthography remained alive (see e.g. Kuhn & Quirk 1953: 148, Kuhn 1970: 30, 33; see also Kelly 1990: 38–9, King 1991: 252–67, Shaw 2013: 118). The view no doubt appears especially attractive given that there was much interaction between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons in the early mediaeval period; and since Irish-brought hands came to dominate Anglo-Saxon manuscript-writing (see e.g. Scragg 1974: 3, Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.1, Upward & Davidson 2011: 18–19; see also Section 10.3.2.1), many have reasoned that Anglo-Saxon scripters would have copied the Irish in matters orthographic too. Recent adherents of the 'Old Irish view' include Lisi Oliver (1994, 1998), David White (2000, 2017) and Patrick O'Neill (2009). All of them maintain that Old English was scripted under Old Irish influence, although Oliver and White believe that this was done in England, while O'Neill argues that it was done in Ireland (O'Neill 2009: 21; cf. White 2017: 9–10). Moreover, White considers it probable that it was the Irish, not the Anglo-

Saxons, who first scripted Old English (2017: 22). On the other hand, Annina Seiler, the only scholar (to my knowledge) to have published a monograph-length study on the scripting of Old English (Seiler 2014), has put very little stock in any Irish background for Old English orthography, looking instead to the Continent (but see Seiler 2014: 144). She sees the distinct influence of Latin orthography as applied to Frankish onomastic material as a source of inspiration (cf. O'Neill 2009: 11–12). Indeed, it is worth bearing in mind that, as close as connections were between the Irish and the Anglo-Saxons, the Irish "wrote principally Latin before the 8th century", not Old Irish (Kuhn & Quirk 1953: 148) and—most importantly of all—the Irish missionaries came to the Anglo-Saxons to teach Latin not Old Irish (and least of all Old English) literacy (but see Blomfield 1935: 60–1, Dumville 1981: 111).

The merits and demerits of views outlined above are not assessed here in depth. What is interesting, however, is that both White and Seiler, though differing in many ways in their respective approaches to Old English orthography, have noticed phases in the development of Old English orthography and advocate for patterns of change over the first few centuries of roman Old English literacy. Seiler divides the early history of Old English orthography into three stages (2014: 204–6). The first stage is "characterised by a lack of any graphs beyond the Latin alphabet" and is "attested in some very early Kentish charters and in the Northumbrian Bede manuscripts. Some of its features are still recognisable in later Northumbrian sources" (2014: 205). This stage is rife with one-to-many correspondences, with single roman letters mapping onto more than one Old English phoneme (see ibid.). The second stage "shares similarities with Continental Merovingian orthography, and its introduction may have been triggered by contacts with Merovingian Gaul. This system favours digraph spellings such as ‹uu›, ‹th›, ‹ch›, while the single graphs are now only used for their traditional sound value. It is used in Mercian sources throughout the 8th century" and is found also in Kent (ibid.). Finally, in the third stage, the digraphs of the second stage "give way to a new series of specialised single graphs: the runic character *wynn* ‹ᵽ›, the newly-created letter

eth ‹ð›", and so forth, making the orthography slightly shallower with the introduction of new one-to-one correspondences between phoneme and grapheme (ibid.). In contrast, White sees two main stages. The first, very short stage (an orthographic "dead end", White 2017: 11) was modelled on Continental precedents and comprised the orthography of King Æthelberht's lawcode. It can probably be identified with Seiler's first stage, although White would not agree that this early orthography was found in Northumbria. The second stage began when Irish ecclesiastics in both Northumbria and Mercia introduced a new Old English orthography, inspired by Old Irish orthography, in the second half of the 7th century. The Northumbrian and Mercian styles were not identical, and White argues that from the turn of the 8th century onwards, we witness the Mercian style gaining ground in Anglo-Saxon England (ibid.: 11–13). White's Northumbrian style can, I believe, be broadly identified with Seiler's second stage, and White's Mercian style with Seiler's third stage.

3.4 Anglo-Saxon literacy

Much has already been made of *literacy* without offering a precise definition of the term. When exploring the literature on and around the topic of literacy even in a purely Anglo-Saxon context, it quickly becomes obvious that it is not at all self-evident what kinds of skills it encompasses. Tim Pestell observes that the term "obscures a broad spectrum of abilities in which the capacity to read and write might have ranged from the use of writing inscriptions on objects (that 'so and so made me'), to accomplish biblical exegeses written in classical Latin" (2004: 36–7). Patrick Wormald distinguished between pragmatic and cultured literacy, both of which cover a range of skills: while the former "may extend from the capacity to recognize, if not sign, one's own name, to the ability to write a formal document in Latin", the latter "could range from reading free prose in the vernacular to composing Latin in the classical tradition" (1977: 95; see also Brown 1995: 110, Brown 2011: 7–11). For the purposes

of this study, Pestell's suggestion of understanding the term *literacy* "in its most general sense, […] the ability to read and write" (2004: 37), although masking much variety in ability, seems the most useful one (see also Derolez 1990: 399, Hines 1997: 79–81). It allows us to engage with texts from not only highly learned contexts, which often comprise manuscripts tens or even hundreds of folios long, but also shorter, often engraved texts, some of which have no seeming connection with the sophisticated Latinity of the scriptorium. On a similar note, it also strips the term of any inherent value-judgement with respect to the language in which one was literate. A person literate in Old English and a person literate in Latin were, for all intents and purposes, just as literate, although the contexts in which they practised their respective literacies might have differed.

There are two caveats to the broad definition of *literacy* adopted here. Firstly, the ability to write must be distinguished from mere copying of text without comprehension, although, in practice, it is not always easy to make such distinctions, especially with short texts. Secondly and relatedly, a text displaying literacy must refer to natural language in a phonographic manner. The letters must be doubly articulate, with meaningful words in natural language referred to both directly by the combinations of letters and indirectly by the combinations of phonemes that they refer to (see Section 2.2.1). By this I do not suggest that texts which do not refer to natural language are not meaningful; I only suggest that such texts—let us call them nonliterate texts—do not, in themselves, represent *literacy* as defined in this study. For example, the runic inscription on the Chessell Down pail (see Section 6.3.1), which is transliterated by David Parsons as ‹bw ekkkaaa› or ‹bws ekkkaaa› (1999: 51), can hardly represent natural language if the text is interpreted phonographically, and does not exemplify *literacy* as understood here. This is not to say that the text did not serve a purpose or that it was not meaningful to the community from which it sprang (see Page 1999a: 158). Similarly, simply producing letters from memory in nonsensical sequences does not make someone literate—it is the sign of *il*literacy (although such displays of knowledge may have

been meaningful in other ways and may sometimes have performed the same functions as literate writing). In light of the caveats outlined here, however, it is crucial to recognise that we as modern readers, with our very limited knowledge of early Old English, are not always best placed to discriminate between literate and nonliterate or illiterate texts. Letters which refer to unlikely phonemic sequences are easy enough to identify, but in cases of phonemically tenable sequences, we cannot always tell if we are looking at real words or gibberish.

Even in light of the preceding discussion, it is far from straightforward to begin gauging the nature of Anglo-Saxon literacy. This is because there are multiple interrelated variables at play. The three main questions are: *Who was literate? In what language? In what script?* In response to the first question, the starting point has often been that, even broadly defined, literacy was only attained by a limited section of society, namely those in ecclesiastical circles. Because of the elevated role that literacy had in the Church, the early period of Anglo-Saxon literacy was largely confined to ecclesiastical establishments possessing the facilities and equipment for manuscript-writing (see King 1991: 163–4). Yet there is ample evidence for lay literacy, which operated outside the Church. The rest of this section examines the literacy that developed in these two social contexts, ecclesiastical and lay, and explores the answers to the second and third questions within these contexts.

3.4.1 Ecclesiastical literacy

The aim of the emerging Church, as far as the teaching of reading and writing was concerned, was to equip those entering the religious life with the necessary skills to practise and perform their religion. The duties to be carried out included the reading, close study and copying of Scripture and other Christian texts, and partaking in the activities of the Church, such as the delivery of liturgy. A high level of Latin literacy in the roman alphabet was therefore required of ecclesiastics, and given that the ability to read and write on the one hand, and the operation

of the Christian religion on the other, were so closely tied, education was put in place by the Church to fulfil these requirements (see e.g. Chaplais 1969: 531, Derolez 1990: 399, Orchard 2003: 207). Inevitably, Latin literacy became overwhelmingly the preserve of the ecclesiastical class (see e.g. Brown 1995: 114). Indeed, to the Anglo-Saxons themselves, *literacy* meant literacy specifically in Latin (see e.g. ibid.: 110–12). It is reasonable to assume that most ecclesiastics (who, it must be remembered, were themselves representative of a minority of Anglo-Saxon society as a whole) were literate in Latin. Naturally, the nature and depth of the skills of individuals will have varied. It is possible, for example, that someone skilled at reading Latin was not as comfortable writing it, and that some would have had a more sophisticated Latin vocabulary, or a more profound command of grammar, than others (see ibid.: 112; see also O'Brien O'Keeffe 1990: 12, King 1991: 167). As a generalisation, however, it can be said that Latin literacy in the roman alphabet was the rule in ecclesiastical contexts.

As discussed in Section 3.3, Old English was put into writing by Anglo-Saxon scribes (*pace* White 2000, 2017) who had acquired Latin literacy as part of their training and who applied predominantly Latin orthography in the scripting of their own language. Given the resulting overlap in Latin and Old English orthography, it can be presumed that, for a native speaker of Old English, to be literate in Latin meant basic literacy in Old English too. Any Anglo-Saxon with the ability to read and write Latin would have been able to at least read (and comprehend) Old English written in the roman alphabet, even if he had never had the inspiration or inclination to put his own tongue into writing. (The reverse is not true. Someone with the ability to read roman Old English would undoubtedly have had the skills to sound out Latin text, but since they would not have understood the meaning, it cannot be considered literacy.) It is tempting to wonder whether there were any Anglo-Saxons in this early mediaeval period who became literate exclusively in Old English written in the roman alphabet. After all, while the first generation of writers and readers of Old English must have been literate in Latin in order to script their language following Latin conventions, it is

theoretically possible that there were individuals in successive generations who were literate in roman Old English, but not Latin. This is a highly unlikely scenario for the first two centuries of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, however, not least given how central a role Latin played in ecclesiastical life. Moreover, the scripting of Old English was a dynamic process. As far as we know, the first generation of scripters did not leave any guidebooks or treatises on orthography, nor were all their choices by any means definitive. The orthographic representation of the phonemes which Old English shared with Latin—such as /l m n r s t/—remained stable throughout the first two centuries of roman Old English writing (and beyond) no doubt due to a strong parallel Latin literacy which kept the rules of Latin orthography fresh in the minds of the Anglo-Saxons.

Not only has the concept of *literacy* in an Anglo-Saxon context often implicitly meant Latin literacy (as is evident, for instance, in Wormald's definition of literacy quoted in Section 3.4 above), but it has frequently also been limited to literacy specifically in the roman alphabet. But although most writing and reading was done in Latin and thus the roman alphabet, there is reason to believe that some degree of runic literacy was not uncommon in ecclesiastical circles. The adoption of the runes ‹Þ› and ‹ᚹ› and their adaptation into roman ‹þ› and ‹ρ› shows not only some familiarity with runes and runic orthography, but an expectation of comprehension from readers. More tellingly, there are portable artefacts belonging to the world of the Church and learning which bear runic inscriptions, such as the Mortain casket and the Baconsthorpe clip (for the latter, see Section 8.3.1.1). In both these cases it could be argued that a rune-literate metalworker was commissioned to inscribe a text in runes for their aesthetic value, but especially in the case of the Mortain casket, it is curious that a memorial text should be written, on a liturgical artefact (see Cahen & Olsen 1930: 30, Blouet 1955), in an alphabet incomprehensible to most. An appeal to comprehensibility can be made also in the case of the runic name stones at the Northumbrian ecclesiastical centres of Hartlepool, Lindisfarne and Wearmouth (see Section 10.5.2). If, as seems likely, the

inscriptions had a memorial function, it would be counterintuitive to use an alphabet that would hinder rather than help (see Peers 1923–4: 258, Fell 1994: 125, Page 1999a: 140–1, Okasha 2002: 545, Okasha 2004b; but see Scott 1956: 197).

3.4.2 Lay literacy

The extent and nature of lay literacy is trickier to gauge. Lay literacy is here defined as literacy among the rest of the population, a literacy which developed in a non-ecclesiastical environment and was distinct from the academic and Latin-heavy milieu in which ecclesiastical literacy was fostered.[11] Any literacy which existed would necessarily have been Old English not Latin. As discussed above, Anglo-Saxon literacy has sometimes been understood as referring to *Latin* literacy, but the acquisition of Latin was restricted to those involved with the Church and in receipt of a Christian education, and incompetence in Latin has often been taken, even by modern scholars, as synonymous with illiteracy. But it is clear that it was not just ecclesiastics fluent in Latin who wrote in early mediaeval England—there was plenty of writing outside the context of the Church. Pre-conversion Anglo-Saxon society has been characterised as "functionally illiterate" because there is no evidence of any extension in the use of runes to similar ends that, for instance, the roman alphabet was to be used later, such as private correspondence and administration (Williams 1997: 187; see also Derolez 1990: 400, Page 1999a: 11). While this may have been the case, since *literacy* is here defined more broadly as the ability to read and write, it is legitimate to speak of literacy even in pre-conversion England. It is necessarily categorised as lay literacy because it predates the arrival of Christianity and the division of society into ecclesiastics and laypeople; and lay

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[11] The literacy of royalty is something of a grey area. Some members of royal families are known to have been educated by the Church without necessarily entering the religious life (see e.g. Gneuss 1990: 4, King 1991: 169), but many literate royals became involved with the Church (Wormald 1977: 111). Lay literacy as conceived here will not consider the literacy of royalty.

writing in this period was also necessarily both epigraphic, because manuscript-writing was a skill introduced by Church, and runic, because it predated the adoption of the roman alphabet following conversion.

However widespread runic lay literacy was, it must have been reasonably strong and well-established among the individuals and/or communities who did possess it. The survival of the traditional order of the rune-row and the knowledge of rune-names well into the post-conversion period "points to a solid, well-integrated runic tradition" (Derolez 1990: 409; see also esp. Section 10.3.4.1). The central question is whether runic literacy was limited to a select few individuals, or whether it was more dispersed within society. The existence of runic inscriptions is not necessarily proof of any substantial audience. It could be that there was a restricted class of specialists who were commissioned to inscribe runes on objects by individuals who, though unable to read them, still deemed runes prestigious and desirable— perhaps due to an amuletic, particularly apotropaic, function. Coin-legends, which occasionally featured runes in the post-conversion period, functioned as signals of authenticity, and are not indicative of literacy, runic or otherwise, among partakers of the monetary economy; and so the widespread reach of coins does not mean that there was a widespread audience for runic (or, for that matter, roman) legends (Metcalf 1998: 435, Naismith 2012b: 78–9, Naismith 2020: 491). A further reason for scepticism regarding a widespread runic literacy among the Anglo-Saxon population is that there is little indication of runes used for casual communication, in the way that many of the Bryggen inscriptions from Norway do (albeit in the later mediaeval period; see Liestøl 1964). There are no extant Anglo-Saxon rune-sticks similar to those found in Norway which would suggest that laypeople wrote in runes to convey and transmit short messages (for a response to the theory put forward in Page 1999a: 101–2, see Bragg 1999, Niles 2003). But there are also some problems with presuming a very limited runic lay literacy. As already discussed above in relation to runic inscriptions in ecclesiastical environments, the use of runes on monuments, especially for

memorial purposes, is difficult to explain if we assume that very few people could read them. Inscriptions such as that on the Bewcastle cross, which appears to have been erected in a non-ecclesiastical environment, demand a rune-literate audience in order to fulfil their purpose; they imply a "suitable reading public" (Page 1999a: 102). More pressingly, the biggest problem with seeing runic literacy as the preserve of a restricted class of professionals is that it fails to account for the runic competence among ecclesiastics discussed above. The abundance of runic inscriptions found in Christian contexts would be easily explained if runic literacy was common among ecclesiastics. And if runic literacy was common in the Church, it must follow that it was common among the rest of the population too, since the individuals entering the religious life were all once laypeople. It does not seem far-fetched to suggest that a basic ability to read and write runes was, if not widespread, at least not uncommon, perhaps a casual skill learned in the playground much like rules to children's games (see also Section 10.3.4.1).

Roman literacy among the lay population is another matter entirely. Instruction in Latin—which would have included learning the roman alphabet—was generally not accessible to laypeople (without turning them into ecclesiastics, that is), and so the starting assumption is that there was little roman Old English literacy outside ecclesiastical circles. But as was touched on earlier, roman Old English was soon adopted for legal texts, as rulers started taking advantage of roman literacy (see e.g. King 1991: 163). Roman letters are found in abundance in the coin-legends of converted kings. It is reasonable to assume that die-carvers, who were responsible for designing coin-legends, would have been most alert to changes in fashions of literacy (Naismith 2012b: 72–8). Professionally speaking, they had an incentive to learn the new alphabet so that they could produce dies with the sorts of inscriptions that the commissioners of the coins desired (see also Metcalf 1998: 435). How, in practice, the die-carvers came to learn the roman alphabet is a matter of conjecture. Lay roman literacy is very unlikely to have been widespread. There is precious little non-numismatic evidence of roman

letters having been used in lay inscriptions; the inscribed London fossil may be a rare example (Brown et al. 2001: 208; see also Section 7.3.2.1). Kathryn Lowe has appealed to chirographs, as well as vernacular bounds in otherwise Latin charters, as proof of "the growth of a literate mentality" (1998: 168) specifically among laypeople who were affected by these contracts (ibid.: 170). However, in addition to such features not proving literacy (ibid.: 178), the surviving examples are later than the period of this study, and her arguments cannot easily be applied to lay literacy in the 7th and 8th centuries. The (roman) names of laypeople on the charters of this period were usually recorded by a single scribe, suggesting that the witnesses were not able to write (see also Thompson 1963: 118).

3.5 Old English biscriptality in the 7th and 8th centuries

Since the roman and the runic alphabets coexisted in the first two centuries after the adoption of the roman alphabet, we can hardly speak of script change in Anglo-Saxon England, but rather an instance of script adoption with ensuing biscriptality. However, sketching the nature of this biscriptality, following the categories outlined in Section 2.3.1, is not straightforward because it is difficult to know how representative the surviving texts are of textual production at large. Still, from what survives and from what primary sources tell us, we know that Old English was written in both the roman and runic alphabets. Roman Old English was definitely used in manuscripts: although the original copies do not survive, we know that the vernacular lawcodes of Southumbria were written in roman letters (see Section 3.3). Runes, on the other hand, are not found in our extant manuscripts (‹þ› and ‹p› are considered to be romanised letters, not runes) and, given their status as epigraphic letters (see Section 3.3), I am confident that, even though our knowledge of early vernacular manuscripts is incomplete, runes were never used for long stretches of text in manuscripts (see Page 1999a: 186; cf. Clanchy 2013:

33).[12] They were used for long stretches of Old English text in epigraphy, however, on such monuments as the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses (see Sections 10.3.4.1 and 10.5.2). In contrast, the roman alphabet is not found in epigraphy for similar lengths of text before the 9th century. A preliminary analysis therefore points to Old English biscriptality having been medial, with the roman alphabet used in manuscript contexts and the *fuþorc* in epigraphic contexts.

Old English names appearing in isolation in both epigraphy and coin-epigraphy pose something of a problem, however. Without a proper textual context, it is not possible to tell whether we are to interpret such names as being part of an Old English or a Latin text. In the cases of some coin-legends, the use of Latin abbreviations suggests that the names are to be understood as belonging to a Latin text. Are we to presume that all other roman coin-legends, even those without Latin abbreviations, are also to be read as Latin? Conversely, are we to presume that all Old English names written in runes are to be understood as belonging to Old English texts? If this is the case—if the choice of script determines the language—then names appearing in isolation are not evidence of biscriptality (which, it is reminded, involves the use of two or more scripts for the *same* language). But what of coin-legends that mix runic and roman letters? Is their context to be interpreted as Old English or Latin? If it is Old English, then Old English biscriptality cannot have been completely medial, because roman letters are frequently found in Old English coin-epigraphy. Then again, if the context of such coin-legends is Latin, we may be looking at small-scale *Latin* biscriptality in Anglo-Saxon England. The upshot is that we simply do not know if isolated Old English names containing roman letters constitute evidence of pre-800 roman Old English in epigraphy and coin-epigraphy. The evidence of isolated names is considerable, but I believe that determining whether the

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[12] Runes are found in riddling and ludic contexts in works appearing in 9th- and 10th-century manuscripts such as *Solomon and Saturn I*, Cynewulf's poetry and the Exeter Book riddles (see esp. Symons 2016), and I do not exclude the possibility that this kind of use may have begun already in the 8th century—but even in these contexts, runes were embedded into roman Old English text.

context of some names is Old English or Latin is a matter of methodology more than linguistics or archaeology and falls outside the scope of this study. At present, we can only appeal to evidence of which the language is certain and reiterate the medial nature of Old English biscriptality in the 7th and 8th centuries. It is worth highlighting that medial biscriptality was not carried over into the later Anglo-Saxon period—at least not everywhere—since long stretches of roman Old English began to be produced in epigraphy (see e.g. Dewsbury I in Okasha 1971: 65–6).

3.6 Orthography in Anglo-Saxon England

3.6.1 The Latin grammatical tradition and the Anglo-Saxon response

There is no Anglo-Saxon treatise on Old English orthography or anything comparable to the *First Grammatical Treatise* which exists for Old Norse, but we have other, more indirect, ways of gauging what the Anglo-Saxons knew about orthography and how they approached written language. A great deal of their linguistic knowledge can be extrapolated from Latin grammars which circulated in England at the time, the most important of which were Donatus's *Ars minor* and *Ars maior* and Priscian's *De nomine, pronomine, et verbo* (for lists of the grammars known to the Anglo-Saxons, see Law 1982, King 1991: 174–7). These works, and the majority of the others, had been composed by Continental (in some cases North African) authors of the late antique and early mediaeval periods. They were in Latin, about Latin, and meant as aids in the learning of Latin for people who spoke (some form of) Latin as their native language (see Law 1983: 57–8).[13] They were therefore not always appropriate for the needs of non-native learners, as the Anglo-Saxons were (see e.g. Gneuss 1990: 9), but it must be borne in

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[13] Some roughly contemporaneous Irish works (in Latin) were also in circulation (see esp. King 1991: 176–7; see also Dumville 1981: 118). In addition, many of the same Continental grammars which were brought to England were known also in Ireland, and so the Irish grammatical tradition was very similar to the one reaching the Anglo-Saxons directly from the Continent (see Bergin 1938: 205–6, Ó Cuív 1965: 158, Ahlqvist 1983: 14–15; see also Hofman 2013).

mind that the learning of Latin grammar was not for the Anglo-Saxons an end in itself, but a means by which to better engage with Christian texts (Law 1997: 140, 184; see also Lendinara 2013: 309). Still, the Anglo-Saxons evidence a "continuous fascination with linguistic detail" (Lendinara 2013: 310), perhaps precisely because their education forced them to apply themselves to the close study of a foreign language in order to access other subjects of interest. This curiosity, combined with the availability and extensive copying of Latin grammars in England, meant that the grammars were bound to inform linguistic thought (Gneuss 1990: 4, King 1991: 175, Liuzza 1996: 35).

The doctrine of the *littera* was widespread in late antique and early mediaeval linguistic theory, and one of the most important concepts when it comes to understanding historical Western European approaches to orthography. The *littera* has been seen both as "a letter of the alphabet" (King 1991: 211) and a more complex entity, a unit mapping onto "both our 'letter' and our 'speech sound', and upon occasion even to 'phoneme'" (Law 1997: 262). In this latter sense, the *littera* was "[t]he minimal unit of a *uox articulata*, an 'articulate word'" and was divided into three elements: the *nomen*, its name, the *figura*, its graphic shape, and *potestas*, its sound-referent (ibid.). This final category has sometimes been defined with terms adopted from modern phonology (see e.g. Robins 1997: 69), but terms such as *phonemic* and *phonetic* are anachronistic, which is why others have preferred more generic translations such as *sound value* (Law 1997: 262) and *spoken manifestation* (Smith 2005: 20). For the sake of convenience, phonemic notation is used here for the *potestas* of a *littera*, but this should not be interpreted as a definitive comment on the nature of the *potestas*. As an example of the doctrine, we may consider the first *littera* of the alphabetic sequence as used in Latin: it had the *nomen a*, the *figura* ‹A› or ‹a›, and the *potestas* /ɑ(ː)/. The three elements of the *littera* were conceptually tied to each other; any one element inherently evoked the other two. For the purposes of this study, this is especially significant in the relationship between the *figura* and the *potestas*: writing and speech were in "a close relation of mutual translatability" within

the *littera*, in that a given written *figura* would always evoke a certain spoken *potestas*, and vice versa (Liuzza 1996: 35). With such a doctrine, we might expect a shallow Latin orthography, where every sound change effected a change in spelling. After all, if (say) the *figura* ‹a› in the spelling of a word was no longer sounded out with the *potestas* /ɑ(ː)/, but /e(ː)/, surely we would be looking at a different *littera* entirely, and would have to change the *figura* to ‹e›? However theoretically sound such reasoning may have been, it was not always followed (ibid.: 35–6). In practice, "evidence for the dependence of [Latin] orthography on tradition, etymology, and usage may be found on almost every page of classical and medieval grammars" (ibid.: 38), demonstrating "a series of lexical exceptions to phonemic expectations rather than a simple conjunction of *figura* and *potestas*" (ibid.: 40; see also King 1991: 118). While the doctrine of the *littera* was implicitly promoting one-to-one correspondences between *figura* and *potestas* (see also Stenroos & Smith [2016] 2020: 137), the reality of Latin orthography was concurrently familiarising students with orthographic depth.

Given that Latin orthography was not shallow and predictable at every turn, there was a demand for orthographic treatises for Latin, particularly among non-native learners. The orthography followed by the Anglo-Saxons was one codified in the 4th and 5th centuries, and because Latin pronunciation had changed since—we may call the spoken Latin of the 7th and 8th centuries *Mediaeval Latin* in contrast to the *Classical Latin* enshrined in the Latin grammatical tradition—guides were needed to help Anglo-Saxon writers navigate the depths of Latin orthography (see e.g. Zaffagno 1976: 338–9). Bede's *De orthographia*, written towards the turn of the 8th century, is such a guide, and served also as the model for Alcuin's work of the same name, written about a century later (see Section 10.3.3). In spite of the promising name, however, neither Bede's nor Alcuin's *De orthographia* deals with any orthographic *principles* of Latin as such. These works were meant to act as references for the spelling of particularly troublesome words, although their scope extended far beyond that—they functioned as handbooks for a range of linguistic problems (Dionisotti 1982: 120–2; see also

Jones 1975: x, Gneuss 1990: 27). Correctness in the spelling of words, following Continental models and traditions, was evidently important to Anglo-Saxons, who did not wish to come across as uneducated. Exploring the increasingly complicated relationship between *figura* and *potestas*, beyond simply listing words where this complicated relationship resulted in spelling difficulties, was not a major concern. The works of Bede and Alcuin and other contemporary Anglo-Saxon authors also do not contain any information on or contrasts with Old English orthography, and little wonder, because even Anglo-Saxon grammars and treatises on Latin were fundamentally meant to serve as means to theological and liturgical ends (see King 1991: 2, Law 1997: 200).

The Latin grammatical tradition drew a fundamental distinction between consonantal *litterae* and vocalic *litterae*. The distinction between vowels and consonants shows a sensitivity to the phonographic principle behind the roman alphabet, and so it can be expected that "the Anglo-Saxons were taught to approach spelling (at first Latin then Old English) in a primarily phonemic way" (King 1991: 209; see also Gneuss 1990: 10–11). The vowels of Latin are invariably identified through the *figurae* ‹a e i o u›.[14] ‹y› is often named separately as a Greek addition. This can be seen, for instance, in Donatus's *Ars maior* and Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae* (see Copeland & Sluiter 2009: 88–9, 239–40). The same division is followed in Latin grammars written by Anglo-Saxons and shows that the distinction between vowels and consonants was meaningful to them. Indeed, the alliterative tradition of Anglo-Saxon poetry, where a consonant could only alliterate with itself, but all vowels alliterated with each other, demonstrates that they already had acute awareness of the fundamental difference between vowels and consonants (see Gneuss 1990: 4). In *De arte metrica*, one of Bede's didactic works, ‹a e i o u› represent the five vocalic *litterae* of Latin, with ‹y› mentioned separately as a feature

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[14] For the sake of continuity, throughout this study I have given «u» and «U» graphemic status over «v» and «V» in both Latin and Old English orthography; this approach was also adopted in e.g. Gordon 1973, Copeland & Sluiter 2009 and Seiler 2014.

of Greek words. Further on in the text Bede summarises that a total of eight vocalic letters are used: ‹a e i o u η υ ω›, of which the final three are the Greek letters *eta*, *upsilon* and *omega* (see Copeland & Sluiter 2009: 261). It is telling that ‹υ›[15] is positioned in the middle of the group of three Greek letters, in accordance with its position between *eta* and *omega* in the Greek alphabet, rather than between the group of roman letters and Greek letters, which could have been taken to symbolise an ambivalent status between its use in Latin and Greek writing. Instead, Bede identifies it as a fully Greek letter. Neither Tatwine nor Boniface, the two Anglo-Saxon grammarians of the late 7th and early 8th centuries respectively (see Sections 7.3.2.2.3 and 9.3.2), begin their grammars with an overview of the *litterae* of Latin, although at a later point in Tatwine's work, ‹a e i o u› are listed, with the notable absence of ‹y›.

What the Latin grammatical tradition taught the Anglo-Saxons, especially through the doctrine of the *littera*, is that letters are closely tied to their sound-referents. This is, in simple terms, the principle behind phonographic scripts (see Section 2.1). As pointed out at the beginning of this section, the question of how the Anglo-Saxons put that knowledge into practice when scripting Old English cannot be learned from any treatise that they left behind but must be gleaned from the product itself, the earliest examples of written Old English. Before delving into the orthography of Old English front vowels, however, it is worth acknowledging some of the more creative ways in which the Anglo-Saxons interacted with their grammatical learning. Although it has been stressed on multiple occasions that the aims of the study of Latin were religious, it is evident that roman letters and the concept of the *littera* also managed to capture the Anglo-Saxon imagination. Their "penchant for acrostics [...] and cryptography" displays a sensitivity to the potential of the (roman or runic) alphabet

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[15] ‹υ› is the lowercase counterpart of Greek ‹Y›, from which roman ‹Y› and ‹y› are derived. The letters have here been given in lowercase following the convention put in place in Section 2.1, whereby lowercase graphemic notation is used for all manuscript texts.

as a phonographic script and the function of letters as sound-referents (Lendinara 2013: 308).

A number of Anglo-Saxon scholars tried their hand at Latin riddles, or *aenigmata*, including Aldhelm, Bede, Tatwine, Hwætberht, Boniface and Alcuin (see Orchard 2021: xiv–xv). The mechanisms and solutions of these riddles often betray a playful interaction with the Latin grammatical tradition which also gave the authors an opportunity to flaunt their learnedness. Bede wrote a series of riddles exclusively on the vocalic *litterae* (ibid.: 675–6), and the solutions to riddles by Tatwine and Alcuin include the words *littera* or *litterae*. Such works show something of their authors' engagement with not only Latin poetic forms, but also the linguistic theories underpinning the language itself.

3.6.2 Runic orthography

Since the Anglo-Saxons had a pre-existing runic tradition of writing, there is reason to inquire into the possible effect that runic orthography had on their overall perception and understanding of orthography. It has been argued (by e.g. King 1991: 213) that knowledge of runes made the Anglo-Saxons more receptive to alphabetic writing. It may be that any rune-literate Anglo-Saxons who entered the Church found, to their relief, that in circumstances where many things were unfamiliar and foreign, at least the writing of this new language followed the same principles as the writing of their own language, albeit in the different alphabet. However, considering especially that the mechanisms of manuscript-writing were altogether different from those of epigraphy, the extent to which any runic literacy was advantageous to an Anglo-Saxon student when it came to the practicalities of writing a foreign language is questionable. Still, there is scope in briefly examining some salient features of runic orthography, insofar as it can be known (see Page 1999a: 23). Roman and runic orthographies for Old English were not identical, which shows that roman orthographic practices were not automatically and wholly projected onto writing in the *fuþorc* (*pace* White

2000: 382). As has already been observed, the *fuþorc* provided a shallower orthography for Old English than the roman alphabet (see Section 3.3). ‹Þ› and ‹ᚹ› have been discussed; in addition, there were eight vocalic runes ‹ᚢ ᚩ ᛁ ᛖ ᚪ ᚠ ᚫ›, which provided the Old English vowel phonemes with more one-to-one correspondences with vocalic letters than the roman alphabet did.

The existence of eight vocalic runes for the eight phonemic vowel qualities of Old English is no coincidence, since the Elder *fuþark* as used by the Ingvaeonic peoples was amended to reflect certain Ingvaeonic sound changes (for what follows, see Looijenga 1996, Parsons 1996, Page 1999a: 43–5, Parsons 1999: 32–7). The Ingvaeonic nasal spirant law, introduced in Section 3.2, effected changes which had a trickle-down effect on the runic alphabet. In the PGmc name of the rune ‹ᚠ›, *ansuz*, the nasal consonant was dropped, and the preceding vowel was lengthened. Through regular sound change and the loss of the unstressed second syllable, the name of the rune in Old English became *os* (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §3.13). The runic alphabet operated on an acrophonic principle, whereby the first sound of a rune's name was the phoneme that the rune referred to (see also Derolez 1990: 405, Derolez 1998: 109). This meant that ‹ᚠ›, if attached to the name *os*, could no longer refer to the low vowel */a(ː)/ which it had referred to when its name was *ansuz*. A rune named *os* could only refer to */oː/ (PGmc did not have short **/o/). In order to maintain the traditional sequence of rune-names, a new rune ‹ᚩ› was created and given the name and position in the rune-row which ‹ᚠ› had previously held. ‹ᚠ› was given a new name *æsc* and a new position in the *fuþorc* towards the end of the rune-row. Its referent was a new phoneme */æ/ which had come about through a sound change known as first fronting. The back vowel */ɑː/ also needed a rune after the monophthongisation of PGmc */ai/, for which ‹ᚪ› was introduced and similarly appended to the end of the rune-row. The effects of i-mutation brought about yet new vowel qualities (for all the sound changes mentioned in the previous three sentences,

see Section 4.2.1). In the Elder *fuþark*, ‹ᛟ› had referred to */oː/. Not only did the new rune ‹ᚫ›

take on this referent, but i-mutation also affected the PGmc name of ‹ᛟ›, *oþila*, changing the

referent of ‹ᛟ›. The first sound of *oþila* was fronted from */oː/ to *[øː], with the name

eventually becoming *œþel* and referring to the new phoneme /ø(ː)/ in Old English. ‹ᛦ›,

seemingly a combination of ‹ᚢ› and ‹ᛁ›, was created for the final new phoneme /y(ː)/ (Page

1999a: 45; see also Campbell 1959: §67, King 1986: 57–8, Smith 1996: 82 Parsons 1999: 35;

see also Section 4.3). While most of these examples demonstrate a loyalty to the acrophonic

principle more than a striving for narrow orthography, the introduction of ‹ᛦ› was not the

result of a reshuffle of runes in response to sound change, and therefore evidences a clear

interest in the ideal of one-to-one correspondence between phoneme and grapheme (see

also Stanley 1988: 314). Moreover, the addition of new runes, and the repositioning of the

original rune ‹ᚪ›, all display a striking lack of concern for preserving an immaculate or

untampered rune-row.

It seems probable that the changes outlined above happened in England post-

migration (see Looijenga 1996, Parsons 1996, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 197; but see Odenstedt

1983, Hines & Odenstedt 1987), although ‹ᛦ› was undoubtedly an Anglo-Saxon creation

(Parsons 1996: 153, Parsons 1999: 35). We know also of other runic innovations which are

usually localised to England, and which prove further that those who were rune-literate did

not consider themselves to be confined by the rune-row that was handed down to them and

were not shy to make new additions to their alphabet (see also Section 8.3.1.2). For reasons

that are not clear, in none of the descendants of the Elder *fuþark* except for the Anglo-Saxon

fuþorc alone was there a separate rune ‹ᛠ› for the diphthong /æ(ː)ɑ/ (see Parsons 1999: 35;

see also Page 1961, Page 1999a: 44). This provided a single rune for the representation of one

diphthongal phoneme, while the other diphthongs of Old English required digraphs—a small

departure from a maximally shallow orthography. A bigger departure can be seen in the runes

‹ᛣ› *calc* and ‹ᚸ› *gar*, which were Anglo-Saxon creations and were sometimes used to refer to the velar plosive allophones of /k/ and /ɣ/ respectively. The *fuþorc* already had runes for these two phonemes, namely ‹ᚳ› and ‹ᚷ›, but because of the palatalisation of velar consonants before front vowels, the names of these two runes, *cen* and *gifu*, were affected. Perhaps it was the dissonance of using runes named [c]*en* and [j]*ifu* for the velar allophones [k] and [g] which sparked the invention of ‹ᛣ› and ‹ᚸ›, an example of allophonic orthography (see Page 1999a: 45, Hogg [1992] 2011: §7.15, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 203–4, 214; see also King 1986: 60–2). A further rune ‹ᚼ›, sometimes called *double calc* and found only on the Ruthwell cross (see Section 10.3.4.1), might refer specifically to [k] when it occurred before a front vowel that came about as the result of i-mutation and which developed too late to trigger palatalisation in the preceding velar consonant (see King 1986: 54, 60, Page 1999a: 45, 47, 148). Christopher Ball is very sceptical of this interpretation, saying that it effectively meant that ‹ᚼ› and ‹ᛣ› referred to the allophones [kʲ] and [kˠ] respectively—it would be like orthographically distinguishing between the two initial consonants of *King Kong* (1988: 115). He prefers to see ‹ᚼ› as an allograph of ‹ᛣ› (ibid.: 115–16; see also Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.50). While it is impossible for us to say whether ‹ᚼ› and ‹ᛣ› would have been recognised, by an Anglo-Saxon, as allographs of the same grapheme (see Section 2.1), I am inclined to disagree with Ball, for two reasons. Firstly, basing the shape of one letter on another letter does not make the two letters allographs of one grapheme. ‹ᚠ› and ‹ᚱ› were not allographs even though the shape of the latter was based on that of the former. Secondly, sharing a phonemic referent does not make two graphemes allographs. ‹þ› and ‹ð› were not allographs even though they both referred to /θ/ in Old English. I do accept the possibility, however, that ‹ᚼ› and ‹ᛣ› were two graphemes in free variation. In either case—whether these two runes referred to a rare allophonic distinction, or whether they were graphemes in free variation—it is clear that runic Old English orthography was not perfectly phonemic but had a measure of depth to it.

4. Towards an analysis of Old English front vowel orthography

4.1 The phonology of vowels

There is more than one way of outlining the difference between vowels and consonants. They can be distinguished by their position within syllables: the nucleus is typically occupied by a vowel, while consonants occupy the positions of onset and coda. Another way of distinguishing between the two is to appeal to their fundamental articulatory difference. Consonants require stricture at some point(s) in the vocal tract and are defined by their manner of stricture (plosive, fricative, approximant, etc.) and their location of stricture (labial, dental, palatal, etc.). In contrast, vowels as a group are defined by their *lack* of stricture. It has historically been challenging to find a systematic way of identifying and referring to vowels in scholarship, given that the differences between them are not physically as "tangible" as those between consonants (Abercrombie 1967: 55). The solution adopted in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) for discussing vowels meaningfully, and followed in all major modern scholarship, has been to divide the spectrum of possible vowel sounds into eighteen Cardinal Vowels, which are typically presented on a quadrilateral, as in Figure 4, a stylised diagram of the vowel space within a cross-section of the oral cavity. They do not represent the vowel phonemes of any language in particular, but act as reference points when describing the vowels of any language (see Abercrombie 1967: 151, Catford 2001: 133). The Cardinal Vowels are distinguished from each other according to the shape of the tongue within the oral cavity—specifically, the relative position of the highest point of the tongue on both a vertical and a horizontal axis—as well as lip-position. The vertical axis defines height, that is, the position of the highest point of the tongue between just below the palate (high) and the bottom of the mouth as low as the tongue will go (low). The horizontal axis defines frontedness, that is, the position of the highest point of the tongue between behind the

ɨ ʉ

i y   ɯ u

e ø   ɤ o

ɛ œ   ʌ ɔ

a Œ   ɑ ɒ
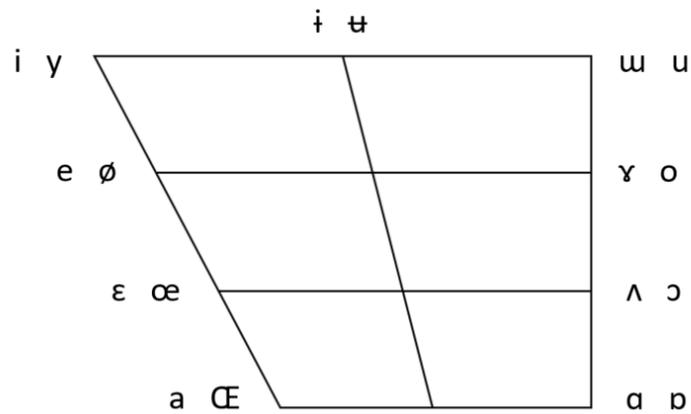
Figure 4: The Cardinal Vowels on a vowel quadrilateral. In each pair, the vowel on the left is unrounded and the vowel on the right is rounded.

FRONT   CENTRAL   BACK

HIGH

HIGH-MID

LOW-MID

LOW

ALVEOLAR
RIDGE

PALATE   VOWEL
                SPACE

VELUM

LIPS

HIGHEST POINT
OF THE TONGUE

TEETH

TONGUE
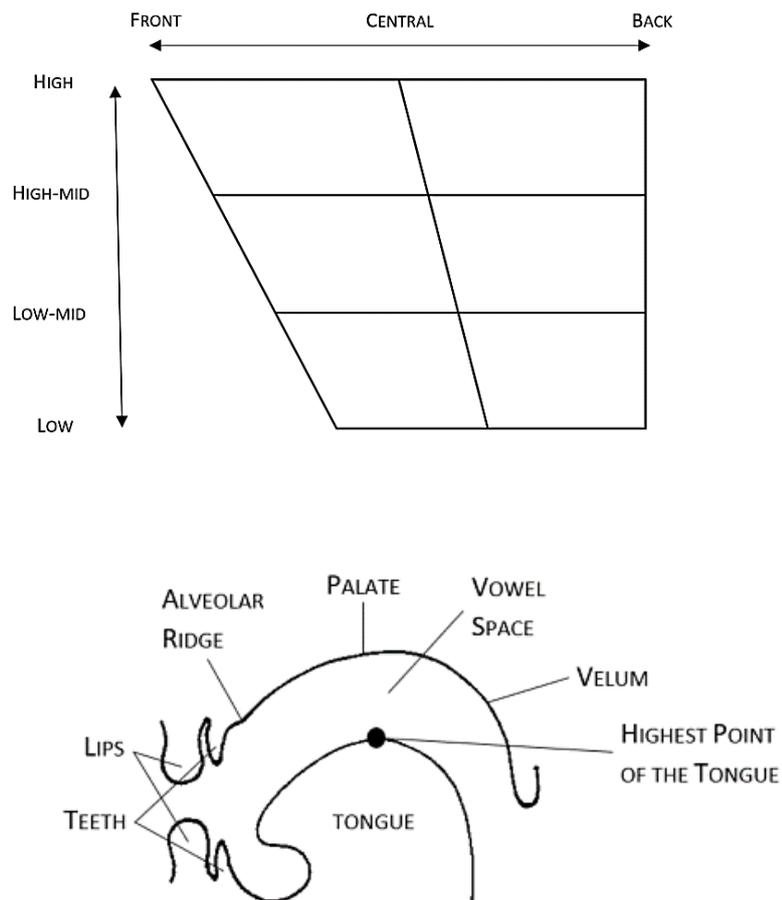
Figure 5: The vertical and horizontal axes of the vowel quadrilateral (above) and a simplified diagram of the oral cavity (below).

alveolar ridge (front) and close to the velum (back; see Figure 5). The third parameter, lip-position, defines the roundedness of a vowel, whether the lips are pursed (rounded) or not (unrounded; see Catford 2001: 119–20, 127–8).

4.2 The target vowels of this study

This section introduces the vowels examined in this study and outlines their history from PGmc to Old English. Only vowels in positions of primary and reduced stress are considered. The term *reduced stress* has been here adopted to refer to a degree of stress that is weaker than primary stress, but more prominent than the absence of stress—it covers both the secondary and tertiary stress of Old English prosody. As in other Germanic languages, primary stress fell typically on the first syllable of a word. Exceptions to this included verbal prefixes and the prefix *ge-*, which were unstressed and postponed the primary stress to the first syllable of the base morpheme (see esp. Campbell 1959: §§72–4, Hogg [1992] 2011: §§2.88, 2.91(2)). Reduced stress is here assigned to the main stress of the second component of compound words (compounds of two free morphemes), including compound place-names, as well as to deuterothemes (see Anderson 1941: 89, Campbell 1959: §§87–8, Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.87; for Old English compound words, see Kastovsky 1992: 362–4, Hogg & Fulk 2011: §§3.144–6; for deuterothemes, see Section 5.1.1). Reduced stress is also assigned to *æt* 'at'.[16]

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[16] In the material considered in this study, *æt* always introduces an Old English place-name in otherwise Latin text. Because it alerts the reader to a change in language, I have tentatively assigned it reduced stress (primary stress would be too strong, reserved, as it was, to the first syllable of the ensuing place-name). As a rule, Old English grammatical words were unstressed (see e.g. Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.85(3)), although there are occasional instances in verse in which non-postponed proclitics can be shown to receive metrical stress, as in *Andreas* 975a, *þurh mīnne naman*, and 1440a, *þe iċ þurh mīnne mūð*, both of which can be scanned only if the undisplaced proclitic receives stress (both are Type B half-lines with *m* alliteration). Such examples show that a speaker of Old English could occasionally stress a non-postponed proclitic. An additional point about stress should be made with regard to deuterothemes. Alistair Campbell (1959: §88) made the point that the half-stress on deuterothemes is considerably reduced as compared to that on second compound elements, but he nonetheless stated that metrical evidence reveals that second compound elements "retain a half-stress only when they are themselves disyllabic […] or have an inflectional syllable added". The

4.2.1 /æ(ː)/

/æ(ː)/ was a low front unrounded vowel.[17] Short /æ/ appeared in Old English by two processes, first fronting (also known as Anglo-Frisian brightening) and i-mutation. In the former, the PGmc low vowel */a/ was fronted to /æ/ except when followed by a nasal consonant, */w/ or (in certain dialects) */l/ and another consonant (Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.10–3, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 146, 150–1). The latter was a more extensive sound change affecting back vowels as well as diphthongs and the short front vowel */æ/. It is essentially a case of vowel harmony: a (usually) stressed vowel was assimilated, in terms of frontedness or height, to the trigger of the sound change, an unstressed high vocalic (typically */i/ or */j/, but on occasion also */y/). As illustrated in Figure 6, */æ/ which had arisen through first fronting was raised to /e/, and back vowels were fronted (see e.g. Campbell 1959: §190, Lass & Anderson 1975: 117–21, Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.74, Minkova 2014: 157, Ringe & Taylor 2014:

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implication of Campbell's analysis therefore seems to be that, when disyllabic or inflected—as many, but not all, of the deuterothemes considered in this study are—the deuterothemes of dithematic names are prosodically identical to structurally similar second elements of compound words. However, the evidence furnished by the poetry suggests contrariwise. Compounds and dithematic names evince different behaviours in regard to the regularity commonly known as Krackow's Law (Krackow 1903; see also Pascual 2020). As Otto Krackow observed, true compounds in verse systematically participate in the line's structural alliteration (e.g. *horn-reċed* in *Beowulf* 704a, *mān-scaða* in 712a, *wīn-reċed* in 714b, *syn-snǣdum* in 743a, etc.). Dithematic names, on the other hand, are often found in non-alliterating positions, even when the deuterotheme is disyllabic or inflected, as in 737a and 813b, *mǣġ Hyġelāces* (with alliteration on *m*), or 872a, *sīð Bēowulfes* (with *s* alliteration). Failure of dithematic names to comply with Krackow's Law indicates that the stress on deuterothemes is not as prominent as the secondary stress generally assigned to second elements of compounds, and that it is therefore better referred to as *tertiary stress*, a term first coined by A. J. Bliss (1958: 24–6, 113–17). For a comprehensive account of tertiary stress as both a linguistic and a metrical reality, see Chapter 7 in Fulk 1992.

[17] In the IPA, ‹a› not ‹æ› is the symbol used for the low front unrounded vowel. ‹æ› does not refer to a Cardinal Vowel but to a so-called floating vowel, which "represents a fully front vowel about half-way between half-open [ɛ] and open [a]" (Catford 2001: 151). However, because of the common use of the ligature ‹æ› in reference to this vowel especially in later Old English orthography, it has become conventional in the literature to refer to this Old English vowel with the phonetic symbol ‹æ›. I will adopt the same practice here. This also means that the symbol ‹a› is freed for a different use and will here refer to the PGmc low vowel. The notation */a(ː)/ has typically been used—and, indeed, was already used in Section 3.6.2—to refer to a low vowel which was probably fronted when long but produced further back in the oral cavity when short (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §§3.23–4; see also ibid.: §3.2, Campbell 1959: §§99, 129, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 12–13).
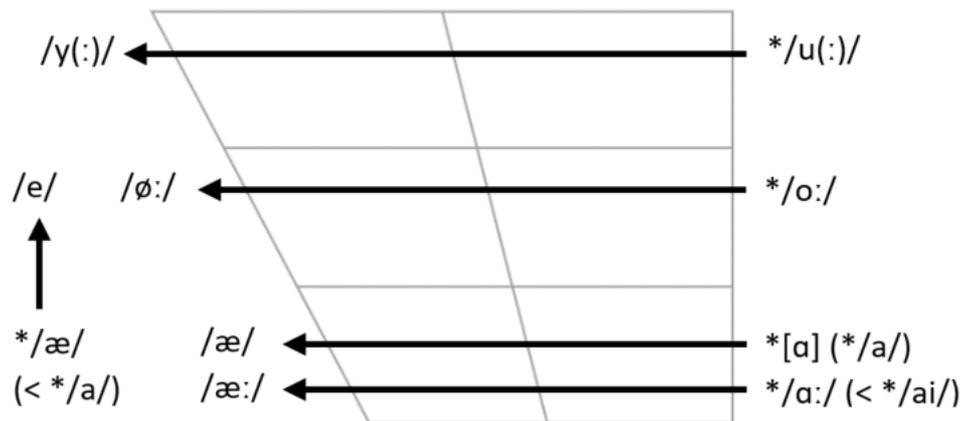
Figure 6: I-mutation (the positions of the phonemes around the quadrilateral is deliberately not in conformity with the quadrilateral in Figure 4 in order to make the arrows stand out).

222; the changes to diphthongs are not relevant here). Short /æ/ was therefore the i-mutation of *[ɑ], the short allophone of PGmc */a(:)/ (except before a nasal consonant, see below; it should be noted that the /æ/ produced by the i-mutation of *[ɑ] was not subject to further i-mutation to /e/). The history of long /æ:/ is slightly different. Since PGmc */a:/ was more fronted than its short counterpart (surfacing as *[æ:]), i-mutation had no effect on it (i-mutation affecting only the *short* low front vowel). It seems that this vowel quality was preserved in West Saxon, while in all other dialects, PGmc */a:/ was raised to /e:/.[18] However, i-mutation did operate on another phoneme to create Old English /æ:/. A long back vowel developed in the ancestor of Old English through the smoothing (monophthongisation) of the PGmc diphthong */ai/. The new phoneme */ɑ:/ (< */ai/) was i-mutated into /æ:/ (except before a nasal consonant, see Section 4.2.2). The Old English /æ:/ which was a reflex of PGmc */a:/ is often referred to as ǣ$_1$, while the /æ:/ which was a reflex of the i-mutation of PGmc */ai/ is referred to as ǣ$_2$. We can thus state that all Old English dialects had ǣ$_2$, but only West Saxon had ǣ$_1$.

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[18] Richard Hogg (1988: 196–7, [1992] 2011: §5.1n1) suggested that early Kentish also had /æ:/ < */a:/, but this has been contested (see e.g. Ringe & Taylor 2014: 149, 179).

More so than the other vowels of this study, /æ(:)/ was susceptible to a number of sound changes.

- In all Old English dialects, /æ(:)/ underwent breaking (diphthongisation) when occurring before a velar consonant or the liquids /r/ or /l/ followed by a consonant (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.16–21; see also ibid.: §§5.28–9 for the special case of combinative breaking). In Anglian, the resulting diphthong underwent smoothing (monophthongisation) back to /æ(:)/ in almost all environments (see ibid.: §5.93).

- In all Old English dialects, /æ/ in open syllables sometimes underwent *a*-restoration when followed by an unstressed back vowel in the following syllable, redacting the vowel to /ɑ/. $\bar{æ}_1$ was also susceptible to *a*-restoration, yielding /ɑ:/ (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.35–6, 5.39–40). This sound change frequently resulted in /æ(:) ~ ɑ(:)/ root vowel variation within nominal, verbal and adjectival paradigms, often giving rise to analogical levelling (see esp. ibid.: §5.37). Short /æ/ could also, in a similar environment, undergo back mutation (diphthongisation), but such instances are rarer (see Campbell 1959: §§205–6, Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.103, 5.106).

- In all Old English dialects, the i-mutation of PGmc */a/ before a nasal consonant was either *[æ] or *[œ]; whichever the precise quality, it swiftly merged with /e/ (Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.78(1)).

- In West Saxon, /æ(:)/ underwent palatal diphthongisation when occurring after an initial palatal consonant (see Campbell 1959: §185, Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.50–2, 5.56, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 215).

Because this study aims to examine the orthographic referents of vowels which can reasonably be expected to have had the same quality across Anglo-Saxon England, irrespective of dialect area, PGmc */a(:)/ appearing in a breaking environment, an environment of *a*-restoration or an environment of palatal diphthongisation will not be

considered in this study. PGmc */a/ is also excluded in environments where first fronting failed. $æ_1$ will likewise not be considered, restricted, as it was, to West Saxon. Short PGmc */a/ will not be considered when it appeared in front of a nasal consonant in an i-mutating environment, but the i-mutation of long PGmc */ɑː/ (< */ai/) will be considered even when it appeared in front of a nasal consonant, since the smoothing of */ai/ took place too late for a succeeding nasal consonant to affect its quality (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.79(1)). In more positive terms, all reflexes on PGmc */a(:)/ through first fronting and i-mutation will be considered, except in the environments listed above.[19]

4.2.2 /øː/

/øː/ was a high-mid front rounded vowel. The long vowel /øː/ appeared in Old English typically as the reflex of the i-mutation of PGmc */oː/, but it was also the reflex of the i-mutation of PGmc */ɑː/ before a nasal consonant.[20] In the previous section it was maintained that the long allophone of */ɑː/ was fronted. When appearing in front a nasal consonant, this fronting had been blocked, and so the prenasal allophone of */a/ was produced at the back of the oral cavity. Richard Hogg presumed that prenasal */ɑː/ had been raised and rounded to *[ɔː] by the time i-mutation took effect. The i-mutated reflex of *[ɔː], namely *[œː], would quickly have merged with /øː/, the i-mutation of */oː/ ([1992] 2011: §5.78(2); see also Campbell 1959:

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[19] The phonemic status of short /æ/ in Old English has been questioned, most extensively in Colman 1983, where it was argued that [æ] and [ɑ] were allophones of the same short low vowel phoneme. Similar sentiments are echoed in King 1991 (see e.g. pp. 128, 131), although there [æ] and [ɑ] are called "major allophones" (ibid.: 130), owing especially to the possibility that native speakers would have been sensitive to their contrasting frontedness due to the phonemic difference between their long counterparts /æː/ and /ɑː/ (ibid.: 131). In more recent times, the phonemic status of /æ/ has been affirmed (see e.g. Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.10n1, 5.37, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 193–8; see also Samuels 1972: 35–7), and I will continue to refer to /æ/ using phonemic notation. Ultimately, however, whether the short low front vowel was strictly speaking a phoneme or an allophone in Old English will not affect the methodology of this study.

[20] Note that this does not include the i-mutation of */ɑː/ (< */ai/) before a nasal consonant, which was /æː/ (Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.79(1)).

§197, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 228). The short counterpart /ø/ was rare. The PGmc vowel system did not have short **/o/, and since the instances of short */o/ in the ancestor of Old English arose from the lowering of PGmc */u/ before nonhigh front vowels, it follows that almost all instances of Old English short /o/ occurred in environments that were necessarily not i-mutating (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §§3.5, 3.10, 5.77). The few occasions where we do find short /ø/ were almost all reflexes of the i-mutation of */o/ in loanwords or in instances of analogical levelling (see Campbell 1959: §196, Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.77, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 225–6). Such instances are not considered in this study, and in consequence, only long /ø:/ is included.

4.2.3 /y(:)/

/y(:)/ was a high front rounded vowel. Both short /y/ and long /y:/ appeared principally as reflexes of the i-mutation of PGmc */u/ and */u:/ respectively. Some have considered the */u/ which arose from the combinative breaking of */i/ in non-West Saxon to also have been normally subject to i-mutation (Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.31, 5.75), but this has been contested (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 183), and the i-mutation of */u/ from combinative breaking will not be considered here. Neither will sporadic cases where /y(:)/ appears to have developed by means other than i-mutation, such as the contraction of */ui/ (ibid.: 225) or the rounding of */i/ in labial environments (see Pheifer 1974: lxxiv)

4.3 Old English front vowel orthography in Old English grammars

Table 2 presents the orthographic representations of the target vowels of this study as given in a selection of English and German grammars of Old English of the 19th, 20th and 21st centuries. Some grammars distinguish between early and late representations—in such cases,

Vowel	Sievers 1886	Wardale 1922	Wright & Wright [1925] 1934	Quirk & Wrenn 1955	Campbell 1959	Brunner 1965	Hogg [1992] 2011
/æ(ː)/	‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹ę›, ‹ai›	‹æ›	‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹ę›, ‹ai›	‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹ę›	‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹ę›	‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹ę›	‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹ę›
/ø(ː)/	‹oe›, ‹oi›	‹œ›	‹oe›, ‹œ›, ‹oi›	‹oe›	‹oe›, ‹oi›	‹oe›, ‹oi›	‹oe›, ‹oi›
/y(ː)/	‹y›, ‹ui›	‹y›	‹y›, ‹ui›	‹y›	‹y›, ‹ui›	‹y›, ‹ui›	‹y›, ‹ui›

Table 2: Orthographic representations of the target vowels in a selection of English and German grammars of Old English.

the early ones are included. Primers and textbooks have been avoided since the orthography is usually presented in a standardised form, and/or following the phonology of (early or late) West Saxon (although grammars are not always immune to these forces, see e.g. Mitchell & Robinson 2012: §3). It is also noted that, even though only /øː/ is included in this study, the table records the orthographic representation of /ø(ː)/ to highlight that there was not seen to be any difference in the orthography of the long and the short vowel.[21] As the table illustrates, grammars differ, sometimes dramatically, in their inventories of orthographic representations; only from Campbell 1959 onwards do we appear to have reached a standstill in the inventory provided. ‹æ› for /æ(ː)/ and ‹y› for /y(ː)/ are found in every grammar, but none of the other representations is universal. Some differences are probably due to simplicity. Wardale 1922 is much less comprehensive than Sievers 1886, and so some of the finer details of orthography may have been deliberately left out (although Quirk & Wrenn 1955, which is of a similar length to Wardale 1922, does not shy away from some elaboration). Other differences may be explained graphemically. Despite ‹æ›, ‹ae› and ‹ę› being all identified by Richard Hogg as ways to represent /æ(ː)/, he considered «ae» and «ę» to be

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[21] The grammar of Karl Luick ([1914–64] 1964) is conspicuously absent. This is because orthographic representations are not explicitly listed. In his discussion on i-mutation (esp. §§183–9), it is implied that ‹y› was the normal orthographic representation of /y(ː)/, with ‹u› as a rare early occurrence, and ‹ui›, ‹uy›, ‹wi› and ‹wy› as 'later' Northumbrian representation (see also Blomfield 1935: 118–19). The timeline is not explained. ‹oe› and ‹oi› are both given for /ø(ː)/. The orthographic representation of /æ(ː)/ is not explicitly discussed.

allographs of ‹æ› ([1992] 2011: §2.12n1). Perhaps the ligature ‹œ› in Wardale 1922 was likewise meant to include what was considered to be its allograph «oe», even though we are not explicitly told so. It is noteworthy that none of the grammars includes runes.

These grammars generally make little attempt to account for the origins of the orthographic representations. It is often observed that ‹oi› predated ‹oe› for the representation of /ø(:)/, but there is not much elaboration beyond ascribing the latter to "an intelligent use of a symbol which had become useless in Latin" (Campbell 1959: §42; see also Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.18). ‹ae› is likewise said to have come from Latin orthography (Campbell 1959: §40), but its history (or that of ‹oe›) in Latin is never touched upon in these contexts (cf. Upward & Davidson 2011: 23). ‹ę› is asserted to have followed "Latin practice" (Quirk & Wrenn 1955: §15), but elsewhere its use, as well as that of ‹æ›, has been associated with insular hands (Campbell 1959: §40, Brunner 1965: §4; see also Section 10.3.2.1). Both ‹æ› and ‹ę› may have been assumed to stem from 'quick' versions of ‹ae›, but this is never explicitly stated (but see Campbell 1959: §40). The history behind ‹y› and ‹ui› has received much more attention. ‹ui› has been ascribed to "a diacritic technique based on a simple 'feature' analysis. That is, ‹u› stands as it were for lip-attitude, and ‹i› for frontedness (two simultaneous features written in sequence)" (Lass 1994: 65; see also Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.18; *contra* Campbell 1959: §42). The rune ‹ᛟ› is also thought to have come about in the same way through the combination of ‹ᚢ› and ‹ᛁ›, possibly under the influence of roman Old English orthography (see King 1986: 57–8, Looijenga 1996: 112), although Alistair Campbell implied that it could have been roman orthography which copied the runic (1959: §67). Karl Brunner (1965: §4) and Roger Lass (1994: 65) thought that ‹ui› was a solution to an orthographic problem adopted from the Continent, perhaps replaced by ‹y› upon the arrival of Greek-speaking Theodore and Hadrian (see Section 6.3.3; cf. O'Neill 2009: 14), while Campbell's theory of runic origin would mean that ‹ui› was an Anglo-Saxon creation. Further suggestions

have involved Old Irish roots for ‹ui› and ‹oi› (see e.g. King 1991: 281, O'Neill 2009: 15). In brief, it is clear that unanimity regarding the origins of Old English front vowel orthography is rare—probably in itself an indication that the answer to the question is far from simple.

4.4 The target vowels in other languages

When examining the scripting of the three target vowels of this study, it is pertinent to examine whether the orthography of the target vowels in other languages which the Anglo-Saxons came into contact with could have had an influence. If so, it is most likely to have come from the direction of the language of the Church and education, Latin, or the languages spoken by the missionaries who first taught the Anglo-Saxons Latin literacy, namely Latin or Old Irish. This section briefly examines whether the target vowels are found in these languages, and how they were orthographically represented. It also outlines how, if at all, the letters, ligatures and digraphs listed in Table 2 were used in their orthographies.

4.4.1 The target vowels in Latin

**/æ(ː)/ is not thought to have ever been a Latin phoneme, but the acoustically adjacent /ɛ/ did develop as the result of the monophthongisation of Latin /ai/ through the intermediary stage /ae/. Up until the loss of phonemic length (see below), Latin had five monophthongal vowels, /ɑ(ː) e(ː) i(ː) o(ː) u(ː)/, which were referred to by ‹A E I O U› and later ‹a e i o u›, respectively (see e.g. DeFrancis 1989: 182, Herman 2000: 31). The nonlow vowel phonemes, however, are thought to have hidden a considerable degree of length-dependent allophonic variation. As illustrated in Figure 7, long /iː uː eː oː/ were more peripheral than their short counterparts, the laxer and lower /i u e o/ (produced approximately as [ɪ ʊ ɛ ɔ]). This meant
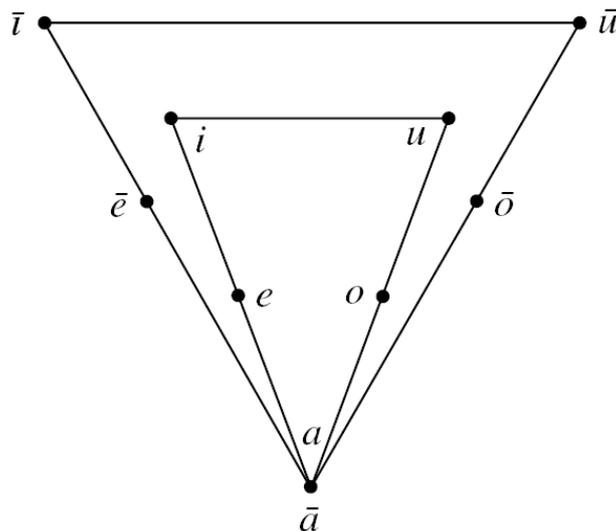
Figure 7: The vowels of pre-4th-century Latin (from Adams 2013: 38).

that, for instance, short /i/ was closer in height to /eː/ than to /iː/ (Allen 1978: 47; see also Grandgent [1907] 2009: 71). Around the 2nd century BC, the second element of the diphthong /ai/ was lowered, as evidenced by words spelled with ‹ae› where we would have expected ‹ai›. Later, in the 1st century AD, the use of ‹ae› and ‹e› interchangeably suggests that in the Latin spoken outside and around Rome—if not necessarily yet *in* Rome—the diphthong had monophthongised (Sturtevant 1940: 24, Adams 2013: 72–5). What started as a rural sound change was eventually adopted also into urban speech in Rome, and finally into educated speech around the turn of the 5th century (Bonioli 1962: 33, Grandgent [1907] 2009: 88; see also Sturtevant 1940: 127–9, Adams 2013: 76–8). The resulting long monophthong was lower than the /eː/ which Latin already had, and is likely to have been around the same height as short /e/, i.e. a low-mid front vowel around [ɛː]. This seems to have been soon shortened to [ɛ] (Allen 1978: 47–8, 60–1, Adams 2013: 78; see also Bonnet 1890: 97, Väänänen 1981: 31, 38). Moreover, as length lost its phonemic status in Latin stressed vowels between the 4th and 6th centuries, the nonlow front vowel phonemes of Latin were reorganised into /i e ɛ/, all unmarked for length (Herman 2000: 28–31, Grandgent [1907] 2009: 75–6; see also Adams

2013: 44–51). The new phoneme /ɛ/ was the convergence of the new [ɛ] (< /ae/) with the pre-existing short /e/. As a fossil from the intermediary stage /ae/, the digraph ‹ae› was retained for the representation of /ɛ/ (< /ae/), although its use was inconsistent and often alternated with the ‹e› that had always been used for short /e/.[22]

Latin did not have **/y(ː)/ and never developed the phoneme through sound change (see e.g. Allen 1978: 52). An allophonic [y] has been suggested for the so-called 'intermediate vowel' of Latin (Grandgent [1907] 2009: 92) but this view has not garnered much support (Sturtevant 1940: 120–1, Allen 1978: 57–9). /y(ː)/ did occur in Greek, however, and with the influx of Greek loanwords into Latin during the first and second centuries BC, a solution had to be devised for the representation of this vowel, since educated Romans preserved the quality of the Greek vowel in their pronunciation of loanwords (Sturtevant 1940: 122, Allen 1978: 52). The Greek letter ‹υ›, or rather its epigraphic equivalent ‹Y›, was adopted for this use around the 1st century BC (see Kent 1932: 40, Sturtevant 1940: 122, Bonioli 1962: 27, Allen 1978: 52, Sampson 2015: 117).[23] Even though it was incorporated into the orthography of Latin, ‹y› was

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[22] It seems reasonable to assume that the Continental missionaries and other Continental visitors to Anglo-Saxon England of the 6th, 7th and 8th centuries (and indeed for some centuries thereafter) would have had /ɛ/ in their Latin phonology (see Bonioli 1962: 34, Grandgent [1907] 2009: 91). It is also worth noting that the Latin pronunciation of ecclesiastics is not believed to have differed from that of the rest of the population (see Mohrmann 1957: 21–6). The pronunciation of Hiberno-Latin, on the other hand, has received very little attention and is much harder to gauge (but see Picard 1982, which briefly discusses the vowels pertinent to this study). The similarity between the Irish and British Latin traditions has often been highlighted, especially given the involvement of the British in the conversion of the Irish in the 5th century (see e.g. Jackson 1953: 122–5, Norberg 1968: 44, Bieler 1975: 29n1, Genee 2005: 41). In consequence, we might expect to glean something of Hiberno-Latin pronunciation from that of British Latin. Unfortunately, it is unclear whether [ɛ(ː)] (or /ɛ/) was part of British Latin (see e.g. Jackson 1948: 86–7, Gratwick 1982: 62, Schrijver 2014: 40; for a criticism of Jackson 1948, see Gratwick 1982, esp. pp. 45–7). Even if it had been, whether such a sound was retained by the Irish in the ensuing centuries is anybody's guess. If we go by F. Brittain's principle (1934: 17), whereby Latin in the mediaeval period was pronounced in conformity with the phonology of the surrounding vernacular, it is possible that [ɛ(ː)] merged with Latin /e/, since Old Irish did not have a phoneme **/ɛ(ː)/ or **/æ(ː)/ (see Section 4.4.2; but see Bieler 1975: 30).

[23] Roland Kent claimed that "Greek υ was often represented by Latin ui, and vice versa" (1932: 40), but this is somewhat misleading because it ignores the restricted environment in which this happened. It was specifically the Greek sequence ‹κυ› which was often rendered as ‹qui› in Latin loanwords, and vice versa (Battisti 1949: 127, Väänänen 1981: 37–8; see also Allen 1978: 17). It is also noted that Greek /y(ː)/ was sometimes—rarely—referred to by ‹oe› in Latin (Sturtevant 1940: 133n79, Battisti 1949: 127).

"never regarded as [a] properly Latin [letter]" but remained a marker of loanwords (Sturtevant 1940: 121n49; see also ibid.: 122, Bonioli 1962: 27–8; see also Section 3.6.1). While Greek retained /y(ː)/ almost throughout the first millennium AD (Allen 1987: 69), the Latin use of [y(ː)] in Greek loanwords started receding very early, giving way mainly to native Latin /i(ː)/. This seems to have become common currency by the 6th century (Bonnet 1890: 140, Bonioli 1962: 29–30). Finally, **/ø(ː)/ (or, for that matter, **/œ(ː)/) was not part of Latin phonology at any time. The only mention of the occurrence of such a vowel quality is as an intermediate stage in the monophthongisation of the (relatively rare) Latin diphthong /oe/ to /eː/, which merged with /e/ when phonemic length was lost in Latin (Allen 1978: 62, Grandgent [1907] 2009: 90). The monophthongisation of /oe/ began already in as early as the 1st century BC but is not acknowledged in grammars until towards the 7th century. However, confusion between ‹oe› and ‹e› is witnessed in the 6th century (Bonnet 1890: 104), which shows that monophthongisation was well underway before it was addressed by grammarians. It is also noteworthy that, in his *De orthographia*, Bede distinguishes between the correct orthography of two words ‹f**e**dus› and ‹f**oe**dus›, which etymologically ought both to have had ‹oe›, suggesting that the two words to him were homophones (Bonioli 1962: 36–7). In sum, it is likely that although the orthographic representations ‹y› and ‹oe› would have been in use in the 6th to 8th centuries as part of etymological spellings, their association with the sounds [y(ː)] and [ø(ː)] among educated speakers of Latin would, at best, have been acquired philological knowledge, rather than a reflection of their actual phonological referents.

4.4.2 The target vowels in Old Irish

Anne King has appealed to the similarities between the Old English and Old Irish vowel systems and believes that Old Irish orthography "could be expected to be a more likely source of vowel and diphthong spellings for Pre Old English" than Latin (1991: 280). However, Old

Irish had none of the target vowels of this study.[24] The letters and digraphs ‹æ›, ‹ae›, ‹oi›, ‹oe›

and ‹ui›, on the other hand, were used in Old Irish orthography. Of these, ‹æ› (rarely ‹ae›)

referred to /e(:)/ (ibid.: 253, 254n2, Thurneysen 1946: 18; see also Daunt 1939: 116, Brunner

1965: §4, Bieler 1975: 30n1, White 2000: 373). Otherwise, ‹ae›, ‹oi›, ‹oe› and ‹ui› all referred

to diphthongs, not monophthongs (although Old Irish /ui/, referred to by ‹ui›, could

sometimes develop into Old English /y:/, see Blomfield 1935: 120, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 225).

‹oi› and ‹oe› were interchangeable; ‹oe› was "probably modelled on Latin" (Thurneysen 1946:

42; but see White 2000: 373–4).

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[24] The allophone [ɛ:] could arise in very specific phonological environments (King 1991: 253, see also
ibid.: 254n3). The orthographic variants given by King for this allophone are ‹e›, ‹ee› and ‹ei›.

5. Methodology

This study examines the orthography of Old English front vowels /æ(ː)/, /øː/ and /y(ː)/ in the 7th and 8th centuries, the first two centuries of roman literacy in Anglo-Saxon England. Specifically, it examines the orthographic representations used to refer to these target vowels, and whether these representations display any diachronic, diatopic, medial or scriptal patterns. The motivation behind the choice of these three front vowels was already discussed in Chapter 1.

The 7th and 8th centuries have been selected as the timeframe for three reasons. Firstly, this study is primarily interested in how the introduction of roman literacy, which began at the turn of the 7th century, affected Old English vowel orthography (both roman and runic). The 'cultural package' alluded to in the first chapter brought not only roman literacy but, for the first time in Anglo-Saxon England, a formal system of education. Although we ultimately know very little of how Anglo-Saxon schooling worked in practice, it is the effects that the introduction of a formal system of education had on Old English orthography that are of interest. Pre-7th century material, all of which is runic, is therefore excluded. (Besides, it is unclear whether the reflexes of i-mutation had fully phonemicised in the 6th century. This is problematic insofar as the vowel qualities whose orthography is here examined were mostly the reflexes of i-mutation. Moreover, the interpretations of most pre-7th-century runic inscriptions are hotly contested. As will be elaborated below, for the purposes of this study the words in which target vowels appear must be identifiable.) The second reason for the timeframe of this study is that it gives some scope for the diachronic examination of orthography, and it allows us to track any changes in the earliest development of orthographic practices after the introduction of roman literacy. The cut-off date of 800 is arbitrary—it coincides with no major historical incident—and was chosen primarily for purposes of dating. Precise dating is a luxury that is hardly ever afforded to early mediaeval material, and often

the best we can do is assign an uncommittedly broad (and sometimes vague) period within a century, such as *early 7th-century*, *third quarter of the 8th century*, etc. A cut-off date at the turn of a century is in response to this problem of fuzzy dating; it presumes only the ability to date material to *a* century. The year 800 is also the cut-off date used in Seiler 2014. Thirdly and finally, the 7th and 8th centuries provide an adequately narrow scope for this study. Since not only manuscript, but also epigraphic and numismatic material are considered, the first two centuries of roman literacy have produced a corpus of material which is sufficiently large for a comprehensive study of the orthography of three Old English vowels without it being overwhelming. The 9th century and beyond saw a proliferation of the use of Old English, particularly in manuscripts, and so a more extensive timeframe would have necessitated further restrictive criteria for the inclusion of material. What such a study would have gained in chronological coverage it would have lost in comprehensiveness.

The scope of this study is purely orthographic. It is concerned with the way(s) that native speakers of Old English orthographically represented the target vowels as introduced in Section 4.2. Crucially, the vowels are, with some limited exceptions (which are discussed in the relevant chapters), presumed to have remained stable across the timeframe of this study throughout Anglo-Saxon England. Any variation, whether it be diachronic, diatopic or medial, in the representation of the target vowels is primarily assumed to have been orthographic—that is, without implications on phonology, although phonological explanations for orthographic variation are not excluded, and sometimes necessary (see Seiler 2014: 29). Put in mediaeval terms, we are looking for what Angus McIntosh referred to as "variation between *figurae* even when the alternative *figurae* have the same *potestas*, […] where the differences of spelling almost certainly have no phonic implication" (1963: 4; see also W-features in McIntosh 1974). In order to ensure that we are indeed studying the orthographic representation of vowel qualities which can reasonably be expected to have remained stable diachronically and diatopically throughout the timeframe of this study, the first step has been

to discard certain phonological environments where vowel qualities varied diatopically (see Section 4.2.1). As outlined in Section 4.2, this study is also limited to vowels in positions of primary and reduced stress, where the vowels would not have been reduced in quality. Because it is impossible to verify the phonemes of a language no longer spoken, the second step in ensuring the phonological stability of the target vowels has been to not examine Old English phonemes as such, but *etymologically expected* phonemes (see Seiler 2014: 85). What this means is that I have only recorded the orthographic representations of vowels that I can reasonably expect, given the reconstructed phonological structure of the PGmc etymon of a given word and the regular application of first fronting or i-mutation (considering also their regular *failure* to apply), to have been target vowels. It follows that, in order to be considered in this study, target vowels must appear in words that are both identifiable and etymologically transparent. Loanwords to Old English (but not PGmc) have been excluded due to the possibility of their unpredictable phonological behaviour.

It is hoped that the concept of etymologically expected phonemes will go some way towards combatting the risk of circular reasoning, an ever-present danger when studying the orthography of a historical language (see Seiler 2014: 80). The central problem is identifying deep orthography. How can we distinguish between cases where variation in orthography signals variation in pronunciation and cases where it does not (see McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986: 5; see also Ström 1939: xxviin1, Saussure [1959] 2011: 29)? It is no good assuming that Old English orthography was maximally shallow. Not only would this be highly improbable among phonographic orthographies (see Section 2.1), but Seiler 2014 has already shown that this was not the case for consonant orthography. There is no reason to presume that vowel orthography would have been any different in this regard. By studying the orthography of etymologically expected phonemes, rather than of the Old English phonemes we *believe* to encounter *given our preconceived notions of Old English orthography* ('this word must have the target vowel /y/ because it contains the letter ‹y›'; 'this word cannot have the

target vowel /y/ because it does not contain the letter ‹y›'), we can adopt a less prejudiced approach to Old English orthography with fewer expectations as to what we *ought* to find. Naturally, orthography cannot be ignored when reconstructing the PGmc proto-forms from which we derive etymologically expected Old English words. We cannot conduct an orthographic study that does not, in some way, require that the mapping of some letters to phonemic referents has already taken place. Fortunately, the comparative evidence of cognate languages is an integral component in the reconstruction of both PGmc words and pre-Old English sound change, which means that the process does not rely wholly on Old English orthographic evidence. This takes a considerable amount of pressure off orthography, shedding some of what C. L. Wrenn referred to as "an […] exaggerated sensitiveness on the part of the philologist to every kind of vagary of orthography" (1943: 37; see also the concept of the "philological scribe" in ibid.: 30). We are in a position to know which vowels to expect in a word *regardless* of its graphemic form in Old English.

The material is presented by region in which it was produced, with the aim of bringing to the fore any diatopic variation in orthography (see also McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986: 6). Although the regional division adopted in Chapters 6 to 10 coincides with the kingdoms of the heptarchy (see Section 3.1), this is merely out of expedience. This study is less interested in the orthography of the literate population of specific political units (or, for that matter, ethnic or dialectal units), and more interested in dividing the literate population of Anglo-Saxon England into geographical units based on patterns in the acquisition of literacy, which in turn overlapped with the introduction and spread of Christianity. Because of the deep-rooted concept of the heptarchy, however, much of the literature on the history of Anglo-Saxon conversion and literacy deals in the geopolitical categories of the heptarchy. If we wish to track diatopic trends in orthography following the patterns of Christianisation, adopting the

categories of the heptarchy is still the simplest way of doing so.[25] It follows that all evidence must be provenanceable to one of the regions of this study. Copies of earlier texts have been provenanced to the region in which the copy was made; the provenance of the exemplar, if known, is irrelevant. The (geographical, ethnic, dialectal) background of the writer, if known, is also insignificant, as long as he can be presumed to have been Anglo-Saxon (see Toon 1992: 414–15; see also Section 5.1.3). This study is interested in how the *Anglo-Saxons* wrote their own language; in order to minimise the risk of dealing with non-native writers, material produced outside England has been overlooked.

Only material dated to the 7th and 8th centuries has been considered. The study of Old English philology has witnessed the (even dramatic) redating of several texts and inscribed artefacts, and this study aims to follow the most up-to-date consensus for the dating of the material included. Post-800 copies of texts originally written before 800 have been excluded. Likewise, material dated to the '8th or 9th century' has been excluded, unless a good argument can be made for an 8th-century date. In order to track any diachronic variation, the data has been divided into three 50-year periods: 650–700, 700–750 and 750–800 (there is no data from the period 600–650). Much of the evidence can be easily assigned to one of these periods, but where the dating of a piece of evidence spans across two or all three of these 50-year periods, all things being equal, the latest period has been favoured. For example, anything dated '7th-century' is placed in the period 650–700; 'late-7th- or early-8th-century' in the period 700–750; and 'second third of the 8th century' in the period 750–800. It seems preferable to err on the side of lateness because even if the evidence were to actually date to the earlier end of a given chronological range, there is a better chance that any

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[25] The regions are here modelled on the heptarchy as it existed at the turn of the 7th century when missionary activity to the Anglo-Saxons began. Accordingly, London is considered with Essex, and the Hwicce, Magonsæte and Wreocensæte with Mercia. Lindsey was probably a Middle Anglian territory at this time, but since Middle Anglia came under Mercian dominance in the 7th century, Lindsey too is here considered with Mercia (see Eagles 1989: 211).

orthographic representation found in that piece of evidence was still used (or at least known) at the later end of the range, than for the converse to be true, i.e. that a representation found in evidence actually dating to the *later* end of a range was known already earlier than the time of its first attestation. Both provenancing and dating on orthographic or other linguistic grounds has been avoided except where all other avenues have been exhausted (see Section 9.5.2), and in one case (the Épinal glossary, see Section 9.5.1), it has been necessary to assign a provenance to an otherwise unprovenanceable piece of evidence based on where its exemplar is believed to have been produced. The final type of variation that this study considers is medial—that is, orthographic variation correlated to the medium of writing.

There are two broad categories of media: manuscripts and epigraphy. The former category comprises all texts written on parchment using ink. In this study, these texts are made up of charters, a letter, a glossary and four copies of *HE*. Charters are referred to by their Sawyer (S) number. Epigraphy comprises all texts inscribed, or carved, onto any hard surface, typically stone, metal or bone. Coins constitute a subcategory of epigraphy and will be discussed separately from other types of epigraphy. All coins included in this study were drawn from the *Corpus of Early Medieval Coins* (*EMC*) and *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* (*SCBI*), combined into a single online database of British coin-finds (emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk). Accordingly, coins are referred to by their *EMC/SCBI* number. Without specification, *epigraphy* here refers only to non-numismatic epigraphy. Numismatic epigraphy is specified as *coin-epigraphy*.

Individual pieces of orthographic data (referred to as *tokens*) were only collected when they satisfied the following criteria. Firstly, a token must itself be identifiable. Secondly, although parts of an identifiable token might be unclear or missing, it must be possible to make fine distinctions between similar letters, specifically between ‹ę› and ‹e›, as well as ‹Ᵽ› and ‹Ᵽ›. If a token appears in a word that is partly damaged or partly lost, this is not treated

as problematic if the word can nevertheless be identified, and the token itself satisfies all the criteria listed here. Thirdly, the letters on both sides of a token must be visible and broadly identifiable. This is to make sure that no digraphs are accidentally overlooked. In cases where a token is located at the beginning of a word, it must be clear that nothing could have appeared before it. Similarly, in cases where a token is situated mid-word but is followed by a substantial break in the text (including a line-break), it must be obvious that nothing intervened between the token and the rest of the word (see Figure 8). For the most part, tokens have been collected from primary sources. For manuscripts, this means digital editions (in most cases freely available, in other cases available upon request in exchange for a small fee), corroborated by first-hand study where necessary and possible. The St Petersburg Bede

Figure 8: Only three letters ‹aed› of the prototheme æþel- are properly visible in the above left image, but since context affirms that the visible portion is indeed part of the prototheme—and the space before the name ensures that nothing could have appeared in front of ‹aed›—it is considered in the data. The image directly beneath it shows the letters ‹aedi›, perhaps even ‹aedil›, of the same prototheme, but because of the tear in the manuscript between ‹e› and ‹d›, we cannot be certain that a letter did not appear between the two letters, and so this cannot be considered in the data. The first letter of the coin on the above right is partially cropped in its upper left-hand corner, but because the letter is clearly identifiable as ‹E›, it is considered. Conversely, the same prototheme in the coin in the lower right image cannot be considered, because the lower left-hand corner of the letter is unclear, making it difficult to tell whether the letter is ‹E› or ‹Ę›.

is the only exception and could only be consulted in microfilm and facsimile (Arngart 1952). Epigraphic evidence has been studied from high-quality photographs and 3D digitisations, corroborated by first-hand study where possible. Coin-epigraphy has relied solely on the high-quality photographs in the *EMC/SCBI* database. Transcriptions of epigraphic and numismatic inscriptions have also been useful; they are generally much more trustworthy than transcriptions of manuscript material presented in edited volumes (which were never used for data-collection). The interpretations of many inscriptions are contested, which means that skilled transcribers work dispassionately to record what they see, rather than what they think they see, and take great pains to record even the minutest of details in letter-forms. Inscriptions are also usually relatively short, which means that transcribers can concentrate their efforts on a faithful rendering of a limited piece of text.

The study of orthography is concerned with graphemes. Allographic variation is not recorded. However, distinguishing between graphemes and allographs presumes that "a process of [graphemic] analysis has already been carried out" (McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986: 7). The distinction between graphemes and allographs is far from straightforward in the context of early mediaeval writing, where the normative influence of dictionaries and mass printing was not a factor. Were ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę›, for example, separate graphemes or allographs of the same grapheme? We cannot ask an Anglo-Saxon. It is clear that they are related in form, but formal features are insufficient to distinguish between graphemes and allographs: in present-day Danish and Norwegian orthography, ‹o› and ‹ø› are distinct graphemes although they are formally related (see also Trager 1974: 411). Phonological referents are similarly of limited use: as already mentioned, even though ‹ð› and ‹þ› had the same phonological referent in Old English orthography, they were not allographs of a single grapheme. A graphemic analysis of Old English has not been done and is beyond the scope of this study—although it is hoped that the results will aid such a study in the future—and so the approach adopted here for the distinction between graphemes and allographs is necessarily

arbitrary. I have distinguished between graphemes and allographs by retaining the maximum

distinctions between orthographic representations observed in the grammars referred to in

Section 4.3. This means that ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› have all been granted graphemic status, while

'open ‹a›' (a ‹u›-shaped ‹a›), whether on its own or as part of ‹æ›, and ‹F›-shaped ‹y›, have

not. ‹æ› is distinguished from ‹ae› in that the two components of ‹æ› share a minim, while

those of ‹ae› do not, even though the proto- and deuterographs may touch. Sometimes, the

‹a› of the ligature ‹æ› is an 'open ‹a›' and may look similar to the hook of ‹ę›. In such cases,

‹æ› and ‹ę› are distinguished in that the hook of ‹ę› goes below the baseline of writing (see

Figure 9).

The combination of the many restrictions on the inclusion of data means that the

present study is very selective. This may give the impression of a study overly limited in scope,

but it is hoped that focusing on data that we can be reasonably confident with will yield results

which can then be used as a basis for investigating more complicated cases. Incorporating too

much evidence of uncertain validity would jeopardise the integrity of the entire study and

result in findings with little value because of being founded on too many assumptions and

unknowns. It is also recognised that the methodology of this study cannot secure stable

Figure 9: The top two images portray ‹ae›; the middle two images
portray ‹æ›; and the bottom two images portray ‹ę›.

vowels beyond *all* doubt. Certain later sound changes may have started operating on the target vowels of this study before the end of the 8th century, sometimes with no reflection in the orthography. It is impossible to be completely certain, even after our best precautions, that the target vowels discussed here were of the qualities we expect them to have had, but the alternative would be not to study Old English (or any other historical) orthography at all.

5.1 Evidence-sensitive issues

5.1.1 Onomastic evidence

The lion's share of the evidence considered in this study is onomastic, that is, consisting of personal names (and, to a much lesser extent, place-names) which appear either embedded into otherwise Latin text or in witness-lists of charters. Due to the preponderance of this type of evidence, it is important to understand, firstly, how Old English personal names worked, and secondly, how the linguistic behaviour of names differs from that of lexemes. Old English personal names are divided largely into two types, **dithematic** (compounded) and **monothematic** (uncompounded). Dithematic names, such as *Cynethryth*, were made up of two name-elements (or themes), the first one (*cyne-*) being referred to as the **prototheme**, the second (*-þryþ*) as the **deuterotheme**. The elements were usually in a cognate relationship with Old English nouns and adjectives: *cyne-* was cognate with *cynn* 'tribe, family', and *-þryþ* with *þryþ* 'force, power, strength' (see Colman 2014: 21). The etymologically expected vowels of name-elements are determined based on the etymologically expected vowels of their cognate lexemes. Monothematic names consisted of only one element, sometimes with an appended suffix. These names are notoriously opaque when it comes to identifying the cognate lexeme of the element (see e.g. all the names listed as "Unintelligible" in Redin 1919; see also Ström 1939: xxxviii), which is why monothematic names are not considered in this

study, and only Old English dithematic names with transparent cognate lexemes are included. Latinisations of Old English names are excluded, as are Frankish translations.

Name-elements differed from their cognate lexemes in crucial ways, however. When a lexeme extended its use and became a name-element, it lost its normal denotation or sense relation: as a name-element, it no longer *meant* anything, but (in combination with a second name-element) only had a reference, viz. the individual whose name was in question (Colman 2014: 21–2, 32–3, 118–19). Moreover, "the adoption of a common word as a name element alters the function of that word; its new function as (part of) a name may be reflected in syntactic, morphological and phonological behaviour different from that of its (initially) coexisting common-word forms" (ibid.: 28). The possibility of differing phonological behaviour between name-element and cognate lexeme is of chief importance. Such a difference is seen, for instance, in the contrast of PDE *mild* with the originally Old English but still somewhat common name *Mildred*. Unlike its cognate lexeme *mild*, the prototheme *mild-* was not affected by homorganic cluster lengthening and the Great Vowel Shift, which accounts for the present phonological difference between lexeme and prototheme (see Minkova 2014: 166, 168). Since the target vowels in name-elements are identified here on the basis of the cognate lexeme, and since the phonological development of a name-element could differ from that of its cognate lexeme, the orthographic evidence of names should be approached with due caution. We may be etymologically justified in expecting a target vowel in the cognate lexeme of an element, but because name-elements were not necessarily subject to the sound changes sweeping through the lexicon, or were not subject to them in the same way, there is no guarantee that the target vowel *necessarily* appeared in the name-element. In addition, the spellings of names, just as those of lexemes, could become fixed and be resistant to change even in the face of sound change (see e.g. Van Els 1972: xx). In spite of the potentially unpredictable phonological behaviour of names, onomastic evidence is not lightly dismissed

in a study of early Old English orthography, and so the study must proceed with these caveats in mind.

5.1.2 Numismatic evidence

Although this study refers to the evidence of *coins* throughout, it is not coins as such which constitute the primary numismatic evidence, but coin-dies. Coins were made by placing a metal disc, called a flan, between a lower die and an upper die. The upper die was then struck with a hammer so that the pattern on both dies would be cast onto the two sides of the flan. The lower die cast the **obverse** of the coin, which typically contained the name of the sovereign, and the upper die cast the design of the **reverse**, which sometimes contained the name of the moneyer responsible for minting the coin (see e.g. Gannon 2003: 13).[26] It is the coin-dies, then, not the coins themselves, which were inscribed; the coins merely contain an impression of the original engraving (which had to be cut in 'negative' on the coin-die so that it would display correctly on the coin). However, since very few mediaeval coin-dies survive, their evidence is accessed from the imprints they left on coins. The name carved onto one coin-*die* is considered to be a single item, regardless of the number of coins struck from the same die (see also Shaw 2013: 131). That is to say, if it is possible to show that five coins with the reverse legend ‹EÞELNOÞ› were struck from the same coin-die, we would not count five tokens of ‹E› for the orthographic representation for /æ(ː)/ in the prototheme *æþel-*, but only one. In such instances of **die-duplicates** (two (or more) coins struck from the same die), the coin with the clearest image in the *EMC/SCBI* database is selected to represent the orthography of the coin-die.

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[26] Moneyers were separate people from die-carvers (see e.g. Metcalf 1993–4: 16, Gannon 2003: 15; see also Section 3.4.2).

5.1.3 Copied evidence

Some of the manuscript texts considered in this study are known to have been copies. This means that we cannot always know whether their orthography represents that of the copyist or that of the author of the exemplar. This is a particularly pertinent question when an exemplar and a copy were produced in different locations: does the orthography of a copy *C* represent the orthography of 8th-century Mercia, where *C* was copied, or 7th-century Kent, where its exemplar *E* was composed? The concept of the **orthographic repertoire** helps untangle such issues. The term is here used to refer to the orthographic representations that a scribe is known to have produced (and which, therefore, he was familiar with). *LALME* draws a distinction between active and passive repertoires, with an active repertoire indicating the orthographic representations a scribe would have used in spontaneous writing, and a passive repertoire indicating the orthographic representations he would not have used spontaneously but would not have hesitated to reproduce from an exemplar (McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986: 14). An orthographic repertoire, as understood in this study, constitutes both *LALME*'s active and passive repertoires, although the distinction is useful and will be appealed to in this study. The editors of *LALME* outlined three approaches that a scribe might take when tasked with copying a text written by a scribe with a different orthographic repertoire from his own (the scope of the original argument has here been narrowed down to address orthography specifically). A scribe may have copied the orthography of his exemplar, thus enlarging his own repertoire if the exemplar contained representations that were new to him; he may have changed the orthography of his exemplar to fit his own repertoire; or he may have mixed these two approaches (ibid.: 13; see also Wrenn 1943: 23–4). Given the definition of *orthographic repertoire* adopted here, and to return to the hypothetical scenario presented above, it follows that whichever of *LALME*'s three approaches the scribe of *C* took when copying *E*, in *C* we encounter the orthographic repertoire of a Mercian scribe of the 8th century. This is obviously true if the scribe of *C* conformed the orthography of *E* to fit his own

scribal repertoire, but it remains true even if he reproduced all orthographic features of *E*, even those which had not previously been part of his repertoire. The fact that they were reproduced means that they became part of the repertoire of at least one scribe working in Mercia. The term **relict** can be adapted from *LALME* to signify an orthographic representation that did not originally belong to a scribe's own repertoire, but one that he came across in his exemplar and reproduced in his own copy, thereby incorporating it into his own repertoire (cf. McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986: 13–14, 19).

5.2 The structure of this study

The following five chapters present and discuss the orthography of the target vowels by region. Sections X.1 summarise the early mediaeval history of the region. Where they are known, the regnal dates of local rulers (drawn predominantly from Yorke 1990) are provided at their first mention. Sections X.2 give an account of the arrival and establishment of Christianity, the vector of roman literacy. Sections X.3 analyse local writing and literacy more closely, and Sections X.4 provide a short note on the regional dialect. Sections X.5 introduce the material consulted from the region, followed by Sections X.6, where the data are presented. The first of the tables in Sections X.6 plots all the orthographic representations of each target vowel by time-period and medium (MS = manuscript, Epi = epigraphic, Num = numismatic). The number following the representation indicates the amount of times it appears in the data gathered from the region (i.e. the amount of individual tokens). The tables that follow are more limited in scope and present the target vowels separately, stating the source(s) of the tokens for each orthographic representation. The representations of long and short /æ(:)/ and /y(:)/ are separated, and the former target vowel is further separated into reflexes: /æ/^{ff} indicates /æ/ by first fronting, and /æ(:)/^{im} indicates /æ(:)/ by i-mutation. Because /æ:/^{im} is the only type of long /æ:/ considered in this study, the superscript *im* is

sometimes omitted in discussion. The orthographic representations of all target vowels in all tables are also separated by stress position (PS = primary stress, RS = reduced stress). Finally, Sections X.7 offer a discussion of the regional data. A discussion of the combined Anglo-Saxon data is provided in Chapter 11.

6. Kent
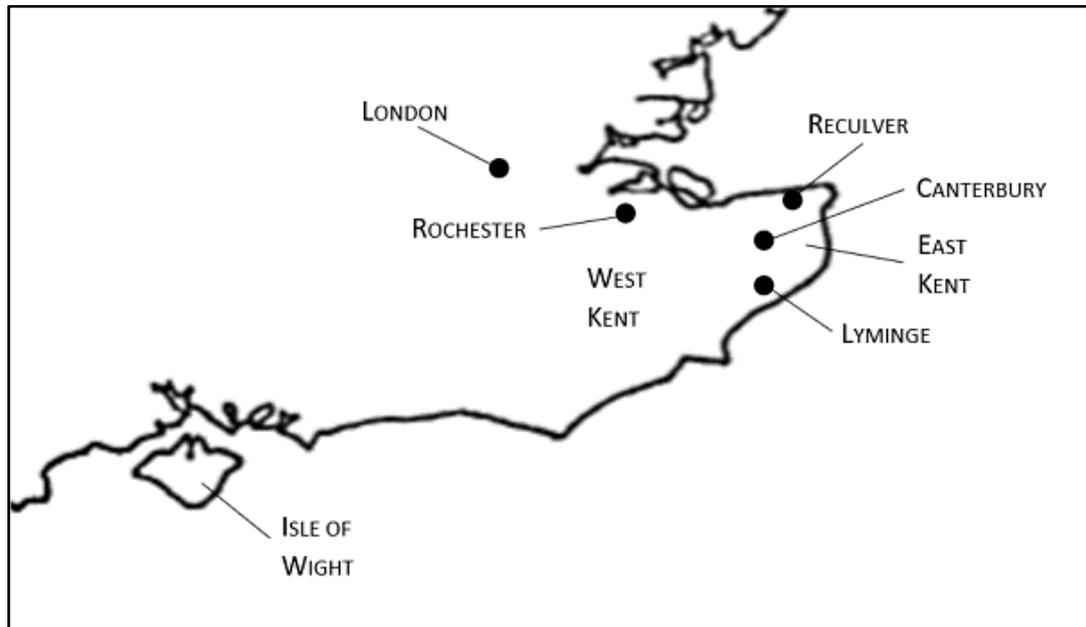
Map 2: Kent.

6.1 The early history of Kent

Kent had been a geographically and politically defined area long before its Anglo-Saxon occupation. Many of the cities which the Germanic invaders settled had been founded by the Romans, and the new occupants, who started arriving in the first half of the 5th century, "took over Kent […] in full working condition" (Hawkes 1982: 75; see also ibid.: 64, Brooks 1989a: 57). Even the name *Kent*, from British *Cantium*, predates Anglo-Saxon settlement and was adopted by the newcomers, signalling early interaction between the settlers and the native British population (see Jackson 1953: 600, Brooks 1989a: 57). The Anglo-Saxons of Kent were also in frequent contact with their maritime neighbours. Positioned in the south-eastern corner of Britain, Kent had access not only to North Sea trading routes (Hines 1992: 316), but, as the Anglo-Saxon kingdom geographically closest to the Continent, Kent was involved in much trade with the Franks on the opposite side of the Channel. The marriage of the Kentish king Æthelberht (died 616) to the Frankish princess Bertha in the second half of the 6th

century is best seen not as the forging of new relations, but as a strengthening of pre-existing relations—principally mercantile—that were already in place at the time of the union (see Hawkes 1969: 191; see also Brooks 1989a: 64). These connections are confirmed by the archaeological record (Hawkes 1986: 82, Brooks 1989a: 64), which specifically points to Frankish " 'influence' rather than settlement" (Yorke 1990: 26, see also Hawkes 1969: 190–1, Welch 1991: 265). With these overseas links in place, Kent, and Canterbury in particular (Higham 1997: 83), quickly became "the most cosmopolitan, prosperous, and influential of the English kingdoms" (Hawkes 1982: 64; see also Hawkes 1986: 71–2, Yorke 1990: 43, Welch 1991: 262–3), and consequently developed an identity which was very distinct from the other Anglo-Saxon regions, whose dealings with the Continent were more limited in the early years after Anglo-Saxon settlement (Higham 1997: 85; but see Hines 2007: 70).

The original occupation of Kent was limited to east Kent, but in the 6th century the occupation extended westwards (Hawkes 1982: 76, Yorke 1990: 27, 34). Although Kent remained a single, unified kingdom, it retained joint kingship between east and west Kent, reflecting not only the gradual Anglo-Saxon takeover of the region, but also its ancient division into an eastern and a western half (see Yorke 1983). The ruler of east Kent—the subregion closer to the Continent and the one containing Canterbury—was the dominant of the two kings (Yorke 1990: 32). The region did not expand much beyond western Kent, although Bede tells us that the Isle of Wight and the opposite mainland, present-day southern Hampshire, were reached by the Anglo-Saxons of Kent (see Hines 2007: 66; but see Arnold 1982: 97). Bede identifies the Germanic people of Kent as Jutish, and, although his account is oversimplified, archaeology affirms Jutish connections among the early immigrants (Hawkes 1969: 190, Myres 1977: 115, 118, Hines 2007: 65; *pace* DeCamp 1958: 237). Similar elements in the archaeological record of the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire support an ethnic connection with Kent, especially the "overwhelmingly Kentish" burial site in Chessell Down on the Isle of Wight (Yorke 1990: 27; see also Hawkes & Page 1967: 15, Hawkes 1982: 70, Yorke

1989: 88–9, Arnold 1990: 169, Welch 1991: 267; however, see also Sims-Williams 1983: 25 for a counterpoint on ethnic affiliation). Both the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire were lost in the second half of the 7th century, first to Mercia, then to Sussex and eventually to Wessex in the 680s (Hawkes & Page 1967: 18, Yorke 1990: 131; see also Yorke 1989; see also Sections 7.1.2–3).

The aforementioned Æthelberht, king of east Kent until his death in 616, was the third of Bede's *bretwalda*s, or Southumbrian overlords (see Kirby 2000: 17, Wormald 2006: 108).[27] His influence extended over a large geographical area, but the impact of his authority is best demonstrated through his success in spreading Christianity among his Anglo-Saxon neighbours. He was in a position to effect the conversion of Rædwald of East Anglia, his successor to the *bretwalda*ship (see Section 8.2), and he was also able to set up a bishopric in the East Saxon city of London (see Section 7.2.1). None of Æthelberht's successors to the *bretwalda*ship attained the same position of influence and control, and there were no more Kentish *bretwalda*s after him (Yorke 1990: 29). His son Eadbald (616–640), pagan upon accession but a later convert to Christianity, was unable to restore the London bishopric after a pagan uprising, which exposes the "serious limitations to his authority in territories formerly securely under the domination of a Kentish overlord" (Kirby 2000: 35). With a weakened position on the Anglo-Saxon political stage, exploitation gradually became a threat. Given its prosperity and numerous well-established trade links, Kent grew very attractive to its expansionist neighbours, particularly Mercia, an inland kingdom keen on securing coastal regions with ports and overseas access (see Section 9.1). Æthelbald of Mercia exercised some measure of overlordship in Kent from 725 to 757 (Brooks 1984: 111), but it was Offa's Mercia which eventually took control of Kent in the early 760s and established a dependency with local Kentish rulers (ibid.: 112; see also Section 9.1). The rest of the 8th century can only be

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[27] The dates of his life, rule, marriage and conversion have been the subject of much debate; see e.g. Brooks 1989a: 65–7, Kirby 2000: 24–7.

described as a tug-of-war between Kentish rulers and Mercian aggressors. The battle of Otford in 776 appears to have ended in Kentish victory, and Kent may have enjoyed a brief period of independence from Mercian overrule until 784, when Mercia conquered Kent and removed Kentish kingship altogether (Yorke 1990: 31). When Offa died in 796, Kent again slipped briefly out of Mercian control and was ruled by the Kentish usurper Eadberht Præn (796–798) before Mercian rule was again reinstated for the final few years of the century and beyond (see Brooks 1984: 121).

6.2 Christianity in Kent

6.2.1 Before the Augustinian mission

In Kent, perhaps more strongly than elsewhere in England, there is evidence for the continuation of British Christianity up to and into the period of Germanic invasion, particularly in the survival of the Romano-British cult of St Sixtus. It is therefore possible that British Christians and pagan Germanic peoples coexisted in 6th-century Kent, although the former do not seem to have engaged in any widespread conversion of the latter (Brooks 1984: 17–20). There was another early and foreign Christian presence in the person of Bertha, Æthelberht's Frankish wife, who practised Roman Christianity and arrived from across the Channel accompanied by her chaplain Liudhard upon her marriage to the Kentish king. This union, and the Christian personnel it brought to Kent, "must certainly have played a part in the opening up of Kent to Christian influences" (Kirby 2000: 28). Indeed, it may well be that part of the reason that Liudhard was sent to Kent was because the Franks wanted to establish Frankish Christianity in the region and thus gain an ecclesiastical, as well as political and economic, foothold in Britain (ibid.: 27). Still, it is unlikely that Bertha and Liudhard's presence resulted in any effective Christianisation. Even Æthelberht was not converted until after the arrival of the Augustinian mission (see below), although this had more to do with the fact that,

had Æthelberht been converted through the efforts of his wife and her chaplain, it could too easily have been perceived as Æthelberht's subjection to Francia—an image that the king was keen to avoid (see Mayr-Harting 1972: 63, Yorke 1990: 29). His son Eadbald's conversion, on the other hand, is likely to have owed much more to Frankish pressure (Brooks 1984: 64).

6.2.2 The Augustinian mission and subsequent Christian activity

It is no surprise that, with its close Continental ties, Kent was the first Anglo-Saxon kingdom to receive a Christian mission.[28] This mission arrived in Kent in 597. King Æthelberht was sympathetic to the activities of the missionaries, no doubt at least in part due to his wife's religion, and provided them with a base in Canterbury. He himself was also baptised shortly after the missionaries' arrival. The initial support and eventual conversion of the king—a *bretwalda*, no less—meant that the new religion was successfully established and rooted in Canterbury (Brooks 1984: 7), although not without some setbacks. Æthelberht's son and successor Eadbald was a pagan when he succeeded to the Kentish throne; his commitment to native Anglo-Saxon religious practice in the face of his own father's conversion gives us a glimpse of the continued presence of paganism (or lack of interest in Christianity) in Æthelberht's Kent (Mayr-Harting 1972: 64, Brooks 1984: 64). It was only Eadbald's son and successor Eorcenberht (640–664) who is said to have been "the first Anglo-Saxon king actually to suppress the older, non-Christian religion in his kingdom" (Hines 2007: 67; see also Kirby 2000: 25). By the time Christianity had a secure status in Kent, it was also clear that Canterbury was to remain the centre of Christian activity. Pope Gregory's original plan had been to eventually assign this role to London, but the presence that the mission established there had

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[28] The mission has been variously termed the *Augustinian* mission (in recognition of the missionary Augustine, who spearheaded the operation), the *Roman* mission (in recognition of the city from which the mission was dispatched), and the *Gregorian* mission (in recognition of Pope Gregory the Great, who was responsible for organising the mission and oversaw the early stages of the Christianisation of Anglo-Saxon England). For consistency, in this study I will only refer to the *Augustinian* mission.

to be withdrawn when the East Saxons led a pagan uprising, and the project was not resumed (see Yorke 1990: 48; see also Section 7.2.1). This sealed the fate of Canterbury as the sole heir of the Augustinian mission, and, throughout the 7th century and up to the beginning of Offa's overlordship, "the Kentish kings […] provided an era of relative political stability during which the church of Canterbury could be established and grow rich" (Brooks 1984: 100). The relatively small size of Kent thus stood in striking contrast to the ecclesiastical importance of its main city.

In spite of Augustine's mission having moved through Francia on its way to Kent (and potentially including more Franks than Italians, see Higham 1997: 80), and in spite of the very close connections between Kent and Francia, Kentish Christianity was not Frankish, but avowedly Roman in character (see ibid.: 96). This could be seen especially in the liturgy adopted in Kent (see Brooks 1984: 87–92; but see also ibid.: 93). All the archbishops of Canterbury up to Honorius (627–653) were Italians—according to N. J. Higham, "[t]his looks like such active discrimination against Frankish members of the mission that it may well have been Gregory's policy during these years to exclude Franks from diocesan rank within the new English church, so as not to compromise its new and separate identity" (1997: 96). The first Anglo-Saxon to be appointed bishop was the Kentish Ithamar, who received the west Kentish see of Rochester in 644 (Chaplais 1969: 532), and shortly afterwards, in 655, the West Saxon Deusdedit (born Frithona) was the first native Anglo-Saxon to become archbishop of Canterbury (see Brooks 1984: 67–8). The Roman character of the Kentish church was not only preserved but was propagated much beyond Canterbury and the borders of Kent. While Canterbury exercised ecclesiastical authority only over Kent and East Anglia (ibid.: 66), the other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms soon came to follow the lead of Canterbury in matters both liturgical and theological. The Synod of Whitby in 664 brought Northumbria and other strongholds of Irish Christianity theologically close to the Roman Christianity of Canterbury (see Section 10.2.3), and the Synod of *Clofesho* in 747 secured the status of Roman liturgy in

the Christianity emanating from Canterbury (Brooks 1984: 93). Moreover, the city itself attracted visitors from far and wide, be it for attendance at Theodore's school (see below) or as a stopover on travels to and from Rome. The aspects of Christian practice which these visitors experienced and perhaps adopted would have further extended the remit of Canterbury across much of England, and further (see Hawkes 2006: 106; see also Brooks 1984: 66).

6.3 Writing in Kent

6.3.1 The earliest Anglo-Saxon writing

When literacy in the roman alphabet was first introduced to the people of Kent through the Augustinian mission, this literacy did not, as René Derolez pointed out, "spring up in a scriptless desert" (1990: 400). The local Anglo-Saxons had engaged in writing, both in the runic and the roman alphabet, before their Christianisation, as evidenced by a number of surviving inscribed artefacts, with many dating to the 6th century. The early Kentish inscribed objects comprise the Dover brooch and the Sarre and Ash-Gilton pommels, inscriptions on sword-parts being a particularly Kentish feature (see e.g. Hawkes & Page 1967: 19, Hines 2006: 192–3). The Faversham pommel has what resembles an ‹ᚠ› (see Figure 10) and the Holborough spear-head has what resembles a ‹↑› inscribed onto it, but, especially in the latter case, it is difficult to ascertain whether it is indeed a rune or merely a decorative symbol (see Page 1999a: 92; see also Section 9.3.1). The much more westerly Kentish-occupied areas have also returned runic artefacts with longer inscriptions, the earliest being the Chessell Down pail and the Chessell Down scabbard mount from the Isle of Wight. There is reason to suspect that the Watchfield mount, discovered in an Anglo-Saxon burial site in present-day Oxfordshire (Anglo-Saxon Wessex), was also originally Kentish and travelled out of Kent, either with its owner or

Figure 10: The Faversham pommel.

through trade (Scull 1992b, Nedoma 2016). The Boarley brooch, which was found in Kent and which, like the Dover brooch, is inscribed on the reverse, may be from the 7th century, but fits the profile of the 6th-century material given its unintelligibility (see below). Finally, the Sandwich stone, the only rune-stone in the south of England, has proved impossible to date (see Parsons 1994b). If it is pre-conversion, it is the oldest rune-stone in England.

In an article on Kentish runes which revived an older discussion on the origin of runic writing in Kent, John Hines (2006) argues that, since the pre-conversion inscriptions are plagued with problems of illegibility and/or unintelligibility—more so than the early inscriptions found elsewhere in England, including the Isle of Wight—it is possible that the Kentish runic tradition was not introduced by the (predominantly) Jutish immigrants, and thus does not represent an unbroken tradition of writing from the times of the earliest settlers. Of the inscriptions which are over one rune in length, no sense has been made of those on the Dover brooch or the Chessell Down pail. Suggestions have been made for the inscriptions on the Ash-Gilton pommel, the Chessell Down scabbard mount, the Boarley brooch and the Watchfield mount, but none of these interpretations has gained universal acceptance (see e.g.

Odenstedt 1981, Odenstedt in Scull 1992b: 246–9, Parsons 1992, Page 1999a: passim, Parsons 1999: passim). Based on the definition given in Section 3.4, the early Kentish inscriptions hardly point to runic *literacy* as such. Moreover, many early inscriptions (including the Boarley brooch inscription, whatever date one assigns to it) do not occupy a prominent position on the artefact and are not easily visible, which suggests an incidental use of runes (see Figure 11): Hines states that "the early Kentish runic writing practices as we know them were characterized by experimentation, […] rather than a steady and logical evolution of a script within a firmly based tradition" (2006: 199–200). Finally, if Kentish runic writing *had* been a continuation of an earlier Jutish tradition, we would expect to find similarities in the forms and uses of runes in Jutland and Kent. This is not the case (ibid.: 192–3).

Instead, Hines suggests that the Anglo-Saxons of Kent adopted the use of runes from Germanic peoples on the Continent over the course of the 6th century (2006: 192–3; *contra* Hawkes & Page 1967). There would certainly have been ample opportunity for such an exchange of skills, given Kent's close connections with its Continental neighbours, Francia in

Figure 11: The Dover brooch. There is a runic inscription on the reverse (right) above the accession number, and another, shorter inscription below it, but it is barely visible in an image.

particular (Hines 2006: 191). The Dover brooch and its inscriptions, for instance, fit neatly into a Continental tradition of runic use, where inscriptions on disc-brooches are common (ibid.: 193). The Bateman brooch has been put forward as a possible link between Continental and Kentish runic practice. The brooch has a runic inscription on the reverse; it contains no runes which would make it unequivocally Anglo-Saxon, and so it is impossible to tell whether the inscription is Continental or Anglo-Saxon. Its find-spot is unclear, but if the brooch was found in Kent, as is suspected, and especially if the runes are Continental, it could be an example of the sort of import which triggered in Kent a similar practice of inscribing runes on brooches, as seen in the Dover brooch and the Boarley brooch (ibid.: 202; see also Looijenga 2003: 65–6). (On the other hand, given the Kentish penchant for inscriptions on swords, the threshold would have been low for extending the practice to other metallic artefacts without the need for an explicit Continental model of brooch inscriptions; see Hawkes & Page 1967: 21.) Finally, if the Sandwich stone is pre-conversion, "the nearest parallels for inscribing stones – albeit not with runes – are again to be found across the Channel" (Hines 2006: 193).

In sum, the high degree of illegibility among Kentish pre-conversion runes, as well as the irrefutable Continental parallels of the inscriptions, have called into question whether runic literacy was an indigenous skill in Kent (see also Derolez 1990: 400).[29] If runes were adopted from the Continent, their early use in Kent might represent a gradual acquisition of literacy, with the earliest inscriptions being the products of illiterate metalworkers keen to emulate Continental models, and only the slightly later inscriptions demonstrating real literacy. There is some evidence to suggest that at least on the eve of the Christianisation of Kent, Kentish metalworkers had acquired some degree of literacy and were able to produce

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[29] I am hesitant to accept the unintelligibility of pre-conversion inscriptions as a criterion for a non-indigenous runic tradition, given how common it is across Anglo-Saxon England.

Figure 12: The Liudhard medalet.

spontaneous runic inscriptions. The Liudhard medalet, containing the name of the Frankish bishop Liudhard, is another example of Kentish writing which predates, though only just, the arrival of the Augustinian mission (see Figure 12). Although the legend on the medalet represents a Frankish not an Old English name, it is generally accepted that the medalet is an Anglo-Saxon artefact, and in fact "[t]he earliest coin believed to have been struck in an Anglo-Saxon context" (Hines 2007: 71; see also Grierson 1952–4). The text is in the roman alphabet, making it also the earliest (known, surviving) roman text produced by an Anglo-Saxon. However, the die-carver's unfamiliarity with the roman alphabet is apparent from some of the letter-forms, which seem awkward even by early mediaeval standards—intriguingly, some of the letters seem to imply a much greater familiarity with the runic alphabet (Grierson 1952–4: 41–2). This is seen particularly in the angular letter-forms at the start of the inscription: the first letter of the bishop's name, ‹L›, resembles ‹ᛏ› more than anything else, and the second letter, presumably ‹E›, is missing one of its horizontal strokes and looks more like ‹ᚠ› with its twigs perpendicular to the main stave. This does not prove that Kentish metalworkers were fully rune-literate, of course, but it does suggest that, when faced with the task of writing, at least one Kentish epigrapher was automatically drawn to rune-like letter-forms. We can also

consider the popularity of runic writing as indicated by the sheer volume of Kentish pre-conversion inscriptions, which is relatively high compared to the rest of England, as well as the development of a particularly Kentish tradition of sword-inscriptions. Also, the perfectly legible inscription on the Chessell Down scabbard mount includes the Anglo-Frisian ‹ᚠ› as well as an ‹ᛜ› which is very likely to refer to [øː], if not yet a fully phonemicised /øː/ (see Page 1999a: 229, Parsons 1999: 49–50; see also Section 3.5). If the Vectensian tradition of runic writing was inherited directly from Kent, along with many other aspects of the culture of the Isle of Wight, then it does suggest that, in its incorporation of Anglo-Frisian runes, runic practice in Kent was more than (at best) a semi-literate imitation of Continental runic practice.

6.3.2 The introduction of roman literacy

Whatever the exact status and nature of runic literacy in pre-conversion Kent, it is clear that runes "did not serve as a medium of clear record or communication in any natural idiom" (Hines 2007: 70). Likewise, although Bertha and Liudhard were both undoubtedly literate, their presence in Kent does not appear to have inspired literacy in Æthelberht or more generally among the people of Canterbury and Kent to any significant degree, any more than their presence seems to have encouraged conversion (Chaplais 1969: 527–9, Hawkes 1982: 67). It was the arrival of the Augustinian mission which marked the beginning of a more practical and widespread literacy. Since the literacy introduced was part of a 'cultural package' dispatched from Rome, it follows that it was essentially Roman in character. This manifested itself in both *what* was written (see e.g. Hawkes 1982: 75), as well as *how* it was written. The early Kentish charters show adherence to "traditional Italian formulae" (Chaplais 1969: 535), and close examination of their contents and stylistic features, which emulate Italian practice from the turn of the 7th century, has helped palaeographers date the introduction of charters to the time of Augustine (Chaplais 1969; see also Wormald 2006: 147–8). No original charters

survive from before the archiepiscopate of Theodore, but one explanation for this is that charters in the first half of the 7th century may have been written on papyrus, a highly perishable material (Thompson 2006: 4).[30] The hand used for writing also betrays Roman roots. The hand of the earliest surviving Kentish charter, Hlothhere's charter from 679 (S8; London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 2), is uncial, which originated from Rome (see Lowe 1960: 6, Bischoff 1990: 70–1). It was a majuscule hand characterised by such features as twin-arched ‹m›s, and ‹a›s formed of a slanting line and a bow (Bischoff 1990: 68–9; see Figure 13). Its use continued into the 8th century: the Vespasian Psalter (London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian A I), written in Canterbury in the first half of the 8th century, was written in uncial, and also features text in rustic capitals, another typically Roman hand (see Parkes 1987: 25, Brown 1993: 195, Hines 2007: 67). These hands are likewise found in the contemporary Stockholm Codex Aureus (Stockholm, National Library of Sweden, A 135), which is believed to be partly modelled on the St Augustine Gospels (Cambridge, Corpus
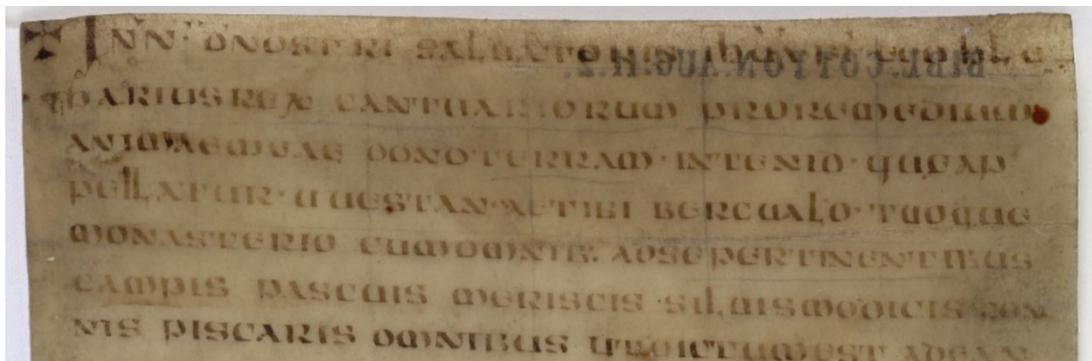
Figure 13: The first seven lines of S8. The ‹a› and ‹m› characteristic of uncial can be seen, for example, in ‹cantuariorum› on the second line.

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[30] The shortage of early Kentish written material has been noted elsewhere. Since Kent was Christianised before any other Anglo-Saxon kingdom, it has "an earlier 'historical threshold' – that is the period from which written sources first survive – than any other" (Brooks 1989a: 55). While it is the case that the earliest Anglo-Saxon written document is Kentish, there are much fewer 7th-century written documents from Kent than what we would expect, given the early introduction of literacy. There is indirect evidence for only two pieces of text from the early 7th century, Æthelberht's lawcode as well as "one Latin letter sent in 610 by Laurentius, Mellitus and Justus to the Irish bishops and abbots" (Chaplais 1969: 535). It is nevertheless reasonable to except that at least charters and letters were being written at this time (ibid.; see also Thompson 2006: 3). As mentioned, the material of writing may have been a contributing factor to their loss, but the fires of 756 and 1067, Eadberht Præn's uprising at the peak of anti-Mercian feeling in 796, and the Viking raids of the 9th century are among the events in the history of Canterbury which may well have led to the destruction of much written material (Brooks 1984: 30, 121).

Christi College, MS 286), a Latin gospel-book written on the Continent and possibly brought to England already by the Augustinian mission (Brown 1991f: 195).

Not all early Kentish writing followed the Roman model in everything, however. Kent was not closed off from the rest of England, and, as the 7th century progressed, the region was subject to cultural influence from the north and north-west as much as from the Continent. The Vespasian Psalter and the Codex Aureus are considered to be among the earliest representatives of the so-called Tiberius group, a collection of Southumbrian (mostly 9th-century) manuscripts which merged Irish-inspired palaeographical and artistic elements from central and northern England with those from the Continent as practised at Canterbury (see e.g. Brown 1991b, Brown 2001). Moreover, all the Kentish charters considered in this study, apart from S8 mentioned above, were written in some variation of insular minuscule, which must have reached Kent from another Anglo-Saxon region (Brown 1993: 196; see also Sections 7.3.2.2.3 and 10.3.2.1). S19, produced at Lyminge, has a particularly Northumbrian flair to it, which is unsurprising given that the monastery in Lyminge housed Northumbrian exiles and may have been founded by Æthelburg, the Kentish widow of King Edwin of Northumbria (Chaplais 1969: 538–9, Brown 1993: 196, Wormald 2006: 151–2, Brooks & Kelly 2013: 290–1; but see Brooks & Kelly 2013: 28–30). It has also been argued, most prominently in Toon 1983, that during the time of Mercian supremacy in Kent, Kentish scribes adopted Mercian spelling-forms, and so some aspects of Kentish vernacular writing reflect Mercian, instead of Kentish, pronunciation. While many aspects of Thomas Toon's work are justly criticised in Lowe 2001 and Colman 2004, it is not controversial to claim that in a city as dynamic and cosmopolitan as Canterbury many dialects co-existed, and that regional differences were not only reflected in palaeography, but also in spelling (see e.g. Sisam 1956: 124, Toon 1983: 128–9, Hines 2007: 85, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 184n6, Hines 2019: 287).

Finally, in spite of the inherently Roman character of the emergent Kentish church and the apparently active discrimination of Frankish traits, Frankish models influenced and informed Kentish practices in literacy, if not liturgy. Æthelberht's lawcode, now only surviving in the 12th-century *Textus Roffensis* (Rochester, Cathedral Library, A. 3. 5.), was the earliest of the Anglo-Saxon lawcodes and the earliest known text which was written in Old English in its entirety. Although according to Bede the lawcode was written in imitation of Roman models (*HE* 2:IV), "in practice the king seems to have been more influenced by Frankish than Roman forms" (Yorke 1990: 41). Similarly, for its early coinage, Kent followed the lead of Francia. One of the earliest Kentish coins, bearing the non-Old English name *Eusebius*, shows Frankish influence in "[b]oth the design of the coin and the style of lettering" (Hines 2007: 71; see also Naismith 2017: 51). Frankish models continued to inspire Kentish coinages beyond these initial stages, and the legends on Offa's Canterbury coinages show similar abbreviations and abbreviatory techniques as contemporary Frankish coins (Naismith 2012a: 324). Features of Frankish orthography have also been identified in Kentish writing; as already observed, many from Augustine's company were Frankish, and "the Kentish court was the one place in England where Frankish is likely to have been fashionable" (Higham 1997: 87). This can be seen already in S8, where the name of the Kentish king Hlothhere is rendered ‹hlotharius›, preserving a Latinate spelling of a Continental Germanic cognate of the Old English deuterotheme *-here* (see Hines 2007: 84–5; see also Shaw 2008: 99–100, van der Schee 2015: 229–30). Finally, although Ireland was not involved in the evangelisation of Kent, Canterbury did draw Irish students; and there have even been arguments for some Irish traits in Kentish scribal practice (Oliver 1998).

6.3.3 The schools of Canterbury

Education was a part of the programme of conversion, but it was not undertaken in the same way or to the same effect by the different waves of missionaries. The notion of *the* School of Canterbury is primarily associated with the school established by Archbishop Theodore and Abbot Hadrian, but this ought not to give the impression that no education was taking place in Kent prior to their arrival. Not only was Æthelberht's lawcode written, in the vernacular, shortly after the arrival of Augustine and his companions, but charters were introduced already at the earliest juncture (see above); and their "birth and evolution […] was intimately bound up with the introduction and progress of literacy" (Chaplais 1969: 526; see also Hawkes 1982: 75). We know that King Sigeberht of East Anglia established a school "with teachers sent from Kent" (Orchard 2003: 207; see Section 8.3.2), which must indicate a high level of literacy in Kent already in the first half of the 7th century, before the archiepiscopate of Theodore. Moreover, given that "Augustine and his colleagues came from a highly literate church culture" (Higham 1997: 107), books were presumably brought to Kent already with the first wave of missionaries, although we do not know for certain what these books were (Brooks 1984: 9, 93, 95, Mayr-Harting 1972: 63, Backhouse 1991f; but see Backhouse 1991a). However, although some form of training in literacy must undoubtedly have taken place in Canterbury, the primary aim of the first mission was not education for the sake of education. For instance, the extent to which Augustine and his colleagues taught Latin *as a language* has been questioned, even though they were undoubtedly fully fluent in Latin (see Brooks 1984: 94). To quote Pierre Chaplais:

> Until 601 Augustine and his colleagues had been so occupied with their preaching and pastoral duties that, even if we suppose that they already had books at their disposal, they would have had little time to use them for teaching purposes. The harvest was so abundant and the workers so few that human reinforcements were required just as urgently as books. As soon as the second Roman mission, headed by Mellitus, Justus and Paulinus, had arrived in Kent, in the last quarter of 601, both these needs had been temporarily satisfied. It would be wrong to assume, however, that the Roman missionaries had either the qualifications or the inclination to embark on a

> grandiose scheme for the education of the masses. They had come to England to spread the word of God, not to teach letters. If they decided to add teaching to their other numerous and onerous tasks, it was out of necessity rather than by choice. Their aim was to educate a small group of potential missionaries, not to transform the rugged English laity into a polished, lettered society, a goal which in any case was beyond the resources at their disposal (1969: 531)

Augustine's school at Canterbury, such as it was, was therefore limited in its aims and its curriculum, as well as in terms of the amount of people which it drew.

Theodore's school was very different in nature, for two reasons. Firstly, by the time Theodore was made archbishop in 668, the urgency of the initial stages of the mission was over. Christianity had been successfully rooted in Kent, and there was more time for extracurricular pursuits. A second reason was Theodore himself. Although Augustine was certainly literate, "his literacy could not be compared with that of Theodore, the last 'Roman' archbishop of Canterbury, who was versed in the profane as well as in the divine literature and who knew both Greek and Latin" (Chaplais 1969: 530; see also ibid.: 530–1). In being made archbishop, he had two main objectives. One was to "reconstruct the diocesan organization of the church in the various English kingdoms", which he single-handedly, and not without opposition, managed to accomplish at the Synod of Hertford in 672 (Brooks 1984: 71; see also Mayr-Harting 1972: 130–2). This had long-lasting effects on English ecclesiastical culture, but his other objective, "to encourage and establish centres of learning capable of instructing English-born clerics" (Brooks 1984: 71), was perhaps an even greater contribution. The school offered a wide range of subjects (see ibid.: 94–5), and gave students the opportunity to learn not only Latin, but also Greek. It is possible that Theodore further contributed to a linguistically rich academic milieu by "deliberately encourag[ing] the use of written English" (ibid.: 95). Such an environment was conducive for the emergence of glossaries (ibid.: 96), and the so-called Leiden family of Anglo-Saxon glosses can be traced back to "the glossographical activity that went on in Canterbury under Theodore and Hadrian" (Pheifer 1987: 24; see also ibid.: 41, Lapidge 1986: 58–9; see also Section 9.5.1). Although short-lived (see Brooks 1984: 97), the

school left a permanent mark on Anglo-Saxon literacy and intellectual culture. Students were drawn from far and wide, and included Oftfor (later bishop of the Hwicce), John of Beverley (later bishop of Hexham), Ceolfrith (later abbot of Wearmouth–Jarrow), Bede's Kentish informant Albinus, and Aldhelm—students even came from as far as Ireland (see e.g. ibid.: 94, Oliver 1998: 104). The school reinforced Canterbury's status as a cosmopolitan and multilingual centre by bringing together people of various ethnicities, many of whom, having completed their education, were again dispersed, thus extending the cultural impact of Theodore's school well beyond the borders of Kent.

6.3.4 Post-conversion runic literacy

Runes continued to be used in Kent after the introduction of Christianity and roman literacy. They feature in 7th- and 8th-century coin-epigraphy in the coinages of the moneyers Witmen, Pada, Æpa/Epa and Æthiliræd, which has been taken as indicative of a "strong runic presence" in Kent at the turn of the 8th century (Blackburn 1991: 167; see also Hawkes & Page 1967: 24).[31] Not only do they prove that runes were used, but there is evidence to show that a knowledge of the phoneme–grapheme pairings of the *fuþorc* was retained. In the coins of Æpa/Epa, the spelling of the name changed diachronically from ‹ᚠᚳᚠ› to ‹ᛗᚳᚠ›, which "suggests that the coins were official products striving to reflect accurately the spoken form of the name" (Blackburn 1991: 152; but see Archibald & Fenwick 1995: 8, Naismith 2013: 143; see Figure 14). It is difficult to imagine what else this change could signify, especially since the switch did not gain the die-carver any space on the limited surface area of the die. There are no more runic coinages after those of Æpa/Epa and Æthiliræd—Mark Blackburn observed "a

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[31] The coins of Æpa/Epa have been found in both Kent and East Anglia, but it is believed that both the coins and the spelling change from ‹ᚠ› to ‹ᛗ› are Kentish in origin (Blackburn 1991: 149–53; see also Naismith 2017: 97). An earlier theory which associated Pada's coins with Penda's son Peada has been all but discarded (Page 1999a: 122).

*Figure 14: Two coins of Æpa/Epa. Note the ‹ᚠ›-spelling on the coin
on the left and the ‹ᛗ›-spelling on the coin on the right.*

retreat in the use of runes in Kent" (1991: 167; see also Page 1964b: 67). After a period of

uninscribed coinages in the 8th century, the next inscribed coinage was issued by the Mercian

king Offa during his overlordship of Kent. His coin-legends are exclusively roman.[32] This is likely

to be a result of an imperial preference for roman writing (see Blackburn 1991: 167), which,

apart from following the model of Charlemagne (see Section 9.1), would have brought a

measure of uniformity to the coinages of Offa minted in various Southumbrian locations (see

Section 8.3.1).

This phasing out of runic use during the 8th century is also supported by the almost

complete lack of (non-numismatic) epigraphy. There are no secure attestations of Kentish

runic inscriptions from the first two centuries after conversion, although the Boarley brooch

is very possibly an exception, and a 7th- or 8th-century dating for the Sandwich stone cannot

be ruled out (but only by virtue of it being branded as 'undatable'). Whatever date one assigns

to these inscriptions, it is clear that there is a significant difference in the number of runic

inscriptions between the two centuries before conversion on the one hand, and the two

centuries after on the other. Even after 800, all the way to the end of the Anglo-Saxon age,

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[32] There is one exception, a single coin by the moneyer Beagheard (*EMC/SCBI* 2009.0344), which the *EMC/SCBI* database assigns to the Canterbury mint. The reverse die (with the rune) is identical to many of Beagheard's London coins, and better studied in a Saxon context (see Section 7.3.1). ‹Þ› also appears in moneyers' names on Offa's coins from Canterbury, and it is difficult to know for certain whether the die-carvers considered it runic or roman. Given that it is the only runic letter appearing in otherwise roman contexts, it is perhaps most simply interpreted as a roman (though rune-derived) letter.

the corpus of Kentish runes is paltry. It consists of only two securely datable artefacts, the Dover stone and the Orpington sundial. The Dover stone, which has been dated to between the 7th and the 12th centuries—although more recently to the latter end of the range, see Tweddle, Biddle & Kjølbye-Biddle 1995: 144)—bears the inscription ‹ᛡᛁᛋᚷᚻᛏᚱᛗ›, albeit upside-down, on a cross-beam. The use of ‹ᛡ›, a uniquely Anglo-Saxon rune, is considered a marker of advanced runic literacy, given that the rune is orthographically opaque and that its referent diphthong /æ(:)ɑ/ could be, and was, also referred to by the more transparent ‹ᛗᚠ› or ‹ᚠᚠ› (see Page 1961: 70, Page 1964b: 73). No signs of orthographic sophistication can be detected in the Orpington sundial inscription. Beside longer stretches of Old English and Latin texts in the roman alphabet, the sundial, dated to between the 10th and 12th centuries, has three runes which are legible and recognisable, but which do not spell a word and the function of which is unclear (see Bowen & Page 1967).

From this brief discussion it can tentatively be concluded that, while the introduction of Christianity did not put an immediate end to runic use, post-conversion runic literacy was limited to die-carvers before eventually dying out, probably at some point in the 8th century. Die-carvers can be seen as the professional heirs of the Kentish metalworkers of the 6th century, who had acquired some level of runic literacy (see Section 6.3.1). The Liudhard medalet, not a coin in the monetary sense, yet very coin-like in appearance and method of production (Williams 2006: 165), would certainly provide a link between a rune-literate, pre-conversion and pre-currency Kent, and a rune-literate, post-conversion Kent. It could also hint at a lack of familiarity with the roman alphabet (see Section 6.3.1; see also Holder 1998: 90–1, 93 on the garbled roman legends on Pada's coins). Runic literacy may thus have been passed on within the community of metalworkers, some of whom became involved in coin-production at the start of Kentish minting, and it was in their midst that runic literacy was kept alive for a time even after the introduction of Christianity and roman literacy. Such a chain of

events would explain why runes disappeared, seemingly in the 8th century. If the Mercian occupation forced the only demonstrably rune-literate portion of society—namely, die-carvers—to switch to roman writing, it stands to reason that runic use stopped when they stopped carving runes.[33] It is also telling that the runic letters ‹þ› and ‹ρ› do not appear in Kentish manuscripts of the 7th and 8th centuries.[34] This offers further credence to the argument that runic literacy in Kent was a restricted skill (and also that die-carvers were unlikely to abandon their profession and join the ranks of the Church as scribes!).

Runes are encountered again, briefly, centuries later, when they are found on stone. This complete break from the Kentish custom of inscribing on metal makes it very probable that the inscriptions on the Dover stone and the Orpington sundial were not part of a single, unbroken tradition of Kentish runic writing. Rather, they are best interpreted as representing a short-lived, and by all accounts unsuccessful, reintroduction of runes to Kent after a loss of runic literacy following the Mercian takeover of Kent. One of the runes on the Orpington sundial, «ᛁ», is a rare allograph of ‹ᛇ›, found also on the 10th-century Thames scramasax and perhaps on the 6th-century Sarre pommel. R. I. Page has suggested that the allograph is distinctly Kentish (Bowen & Page 1967: 290), although much of the argument relies on it appearing on the Sarre pommel, which is far from certain (see e.g. Parsons 1999: 60). Even if the allograph were originally Kentish, however, it need not imply a continuous runic tradition

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[33] I use the word *demonstrably* to highlight that, while non-numismatic metalworkers may have retained runic literacy too, there is no evidence that they did. Apart from the Boarley brooch, there are no runic (or, for that matter, roman) non-numismatic inscriptions from the 7th and 8th centuries, which might indicate a loss in demand (because of Christianisation?) for these previously favoured features on swords and other artefacts.

[34] Annina Seiler's results show that ‹þ› is not found at all, while ‹ρ› occurs seven times in the final quarter of the 8th century (2014: 102–3, 128). However, these attestations are from S153 and S155, which in this study are considered 9th-century (see Section 6.5.1). In S19, a 7th-century Kentish charter, we do find the place-name ‹pieghelmestun›, but the initial ‹pi› appears to be a later correction (Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 132); and in S21, which is a copy of S19, the name appears as ‹pleghelmestun›. It is probable that the name in S19 was changed from ‹pleghelmestun› to ‹pieghelmstun› by a later hand to reflect a change in place-name (see Cox 1980: 46, Sawyer 1998: 152, Seiler 2014: 102–3). Indeed, as Seiler shows, ‹ρ› in an early Kentish charter would be very much out of place (2014: 102).

restricted to Kent, spanning nearly the entire Anglo-Saxon age. On the other hand, it is equally possible—and, I think, more likely—that the Thames scramasax is a better clue regarding the geographical focus of the allograph in post-conversion times. The same allograph is found in another London inscription as well as further north (see Sections 7.3.1 and 9.5.2), which suggests that it was known in London and from there taken further afield (or, indeed, brought to London from somewhere other than Kent, if the Sarre pommel does not contain «ᛁ»). The rune-carver responsible for the Orpington sundial inscription could have been exposed to London trends in runic orthography, or to trends that by his time had become common across England. The runes certainly do not evidence a profound runic literacy, given that the inscription is not meaningful. The Dover stone inscription, on the other hand, which bears an intelligible name, does point to a rune-literate engraver and/or commissioner. Since it is the only Kentish post-conversion inscription to do so, it is entirely possible that the rune-master behind it was from outside Kent. It could be argued that a name on a cross-beam implies a rune-literate audience for memorial reasons, but such arguments are easier to make in regions like Northumbria where we find a concentration of inscribed stones with an apparent memorial function (see Sections 3.4.1–2, 10.3.4.1).[35]

6.4 Kentish

Kentish was both non-West Saxon and non-Anglian, and so did not exhibit the peculiarities of West Saxon or Anglian dialects. A sound change unique to Kentish was Kentish raising, where /æ(ː)/ was raised to /e(ː)/, /ø(ː)/ was unrounded to /e(ː)/ and /y(ː)/ was unrounded and lowered to /e(ː)/. This resulted in Kentish having just two contrasting monophthongal front

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[35] The rune ‹ᛉ› on the Dover stone is rare but found also on Thornhill stone III from southern Northumbria (see Parsons 1994a: 202–5, Parsons 1999: 124–6). The inscribers of these two stones are unlikely to have been contemporaries, but could conceivably both have hailed from a similar area with a runic tradition incorporating ‹ᛉ›.

vowel qualities, /e(ː)/ and /i(ː)/. In the 9th century, these mergers resulted in a great deal of variation in the orthographic representation of the nonhigh front vowel, as inverse spellings became common (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.188, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 336). The 9th-century date of these spelling variations has led to the 9th-century dating of the sound change itself, although this has not gone unchallenged. Alistair Campbell wondered whether, in material from the 9th century onwards, we are seeing "the gradual emancipation of [Kentish] spelling from [Mercian] tradition", so that we are not in fact witnessing sound change in real time, but Kentish orthography catching up with sound changes that had already happened (1959: §290). Similarly, Don Ringe suggests that Kentish raising started already in the late 8th century, even though its effects on orthography are first seen in written material from the following century (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 336; see also Campbell 1959: §§288–90). Orthography is conservative and lags behind phonological change, and so it can be taken as read that Kentish raising started before it was first reflected in orthography. However, no target vowels are here discarded on account of the possible interference of Kentish raising. This is partly because this sound change affected all instances of each of the target vowels of this study, and we would be left with no Kentish data to examine. Another reason is that it is possible that Kentish raising began to be reflected in orthography only once the sound change started affecting the speech of the educated stratum of society. While it is perfectly possible that the uneducated classes (which would have included die-carvers) exhibited Kentish raising already in the 8th century, the target vowels of this study may still have been unaffected in the mouths of the (educated) people responsible for recording relevant words in manuscripts. The majority of the Kentish data is admittedly numismatic, and die-carvers would have belonged to the uneducated stratum because they were not in receipt of an ecclesiastical education, but there is enough Kentish manuscript material to warrant the study and comparison of all target vowels found on all media. The possible effects of Kentish raising on any of the results are addressed in the discussion.

6.5 Kentish material

6.5.1 Manuscripts

The manuscript material consists entirely of charters granting land to Kentish ecclesiastical establishments (see Table 3). They are all written in Latin, but they contain Old English personal names both in the main text and the witness-lists, as well as two lexemes.[36]

The provenancing of the charters poses few problems. All except one were issued by Kentish kings to beneficiaries located in Kent and can therefore be assumed to be Kentish texts. Only S128 is a charter issued by Offa. While the kingdom of the issuing king was, in some early scholarship, taken as indicative of the place where the charter was composed, Kenneth Sisam has pointed out, with special reference to the charters issued under Mercian hegemony, that "[t]here is no evidence that Mercian kings kept a scriptorium or a regular staff for the purpose"; we only have evidence for an emerging chancery practice starting in the 10th century. Instead, royal charters up to the early 9th century seem to have been written by their beneficiaries (1956: 115). Whether every beneficiary institution had its own scriptorium, or

Charter	Shelfmark	Date of charter	Date of manuscript
S8	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 2	679	s. vii^2
S19	London, British Library, Stowe Ch 1	697/712	s. vii^2
S21	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 88	700/715	s. viii^1
S23	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 91	732	s. viii^1
S24	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 101	741	s. viii^2
S31	London, British Library, Stowe Ch 3	748×762	s. viii^2
S35	London, British Library, Cotton Ch VIII 34	778	s. viii^2
S128	Canterbury, Canterbury Cathedral Archives, Chartae Antiquae M 340	788	s. viii^2

Table 3: The Kentish manuscript material.

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[36] I have left out some charters which are included among Kentish data in Seiler 2014, namely S123, S153, S155 and S1428b. Both Kathryn Lowe (2001) and the British Library's *Digitised Manuscripts* catalogue (bl.uk/manuscripts) consider S153 to be a 9th-century charter. *Digitised Manuscripts* also assigns a date between the late 8th century and the early 9th century to S123 and S155. Annina Seiler considers S1428b to be a late 8th-century copy of an early 8th-century letter, but if the letter is original, as is more commonly presumed, then it is more appropriately placed among the Saxon material (see Section 7.5.1).

whether some were written at centres like Canterbury, is not possible to ascertain. In any case, the beneficiary of S128 was in Kent, which allows for a Kentish provenance for the charter.

All the manuscripts considered here are contemporaneous, or near-contemporaneous, with the date of the charter itself, with the exception of S21, which is a copy of S19. Since S21 was copied before 800, it is included in this study. S8 has been subject to the most scrutiny of all, since—if the manuscript is indeed contemporaneous with the 679 date of the charter—it is the oldest surviving document written by an Anglo-Saxon, and contains the oldest specimens of roman Old English. Numerous features point to S8 being an original. The use of uncial is consistent with what we would expect from the earliest documents written in Kent (see Section 6.3.2); it is riddled with mistakes in Latin grammar and spelling, which is not surprising if the charter was written in the location of the beneficiary, namely Reculver, removed from the high literacy of Canterbury; and, most tellingly of all, some time would appear to have lapsed between the writing of the main text and the addition of the witness-list (Brooks & Kelly 2013: 36, 265–6). This in particular is a strong indication that S8 is the original working copy of the charter, and it is therefore dated to the second half of the 7th century. The only other charter dated to before 700 is S19; the month and indiction given in the charter could indicate a date either in 697 or 712 (both of which fall within the regnal dates of Wihtred, the issuing king), but the earlier date is preferred since "the majority of Wihtred's surviving diplomas belong to the 690s, a period of political turbulence which prompted a spate of charter-production" (ibid.: 288).

S21, the copy of S19 with some amendments, has proved difficult to date. The problems in dating were recently reviewed by Nicholas Brooks and Susan Kelly, who were unable to specify the date of the manuscript beyond situating it in the 8th century (Brooks & Kelly 2013: 294). They note formulaic parallels between S21 and charters from the second half

of the 8th century, which is as close as they get to narrowing down on the date of copying (ibid.: 296), but the line of reasoning that they adopt had been criticised already half a century earlier (Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 38). Since Brooks & Kelly 2013 does not give a definite date, and other scholars of repute have leaned towards an earlier 8th-century date (see e.g. ibid., Wormald 2006: 151, Brown in Brooks & Kelly 2013: 296), I have included S21 with evidence from the first half the 8th century. This also conforms with the charter's dating in Seiler 2014. S23 was compiled by three scribes and is considered contemporary; the third scribe, however, may have worked post-800, and so only the stints of the first two are considered (see Brooks & Kelly 2013: 328–9). S24 is the oldest Kentish original charter to give its date as an incarnation year (which is 741), but it appears to be inconsistent with the date suggested by the indiction date as well as with other dates indicated in the text (ibid.: 334–6). Here I follow Seiler 2014 in treating S24 as a late 8th-century copy. S31 is from a date between 748 and 762; it is difficult to obtain a date more specific than this, but the 760s were a politically turbulent time, which often resulted in a high number of charters. It would therefore conform to a general trend in Anglo-Saxon charter-writing if S31 were also from this period (ibid.: 356–8). The manuscript of S35 has been accepted as contemporary to the 778 date of the charter (see e.g. Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 57, Bruckner & Marichal 1967: xviii; see also Sawyer 1998: 102). This dating for the manuscript is not universal: Alistair Campbell (1973: xiv) remarked that he "would not […] place this manuscript before 800", but for what reasons, he does not say. The bounds of S35 are unquestionably a later addition, however, and will not be considered here (see ibid.: xiv, xxiii). Finally, S128 is thought to be an "undoubted original" (Brooks & Kelly 2013: 411).

6.5.2 Epigraphy

No Kentish epigraphic material is considered.

6.5.3 Numismatics

The numismatic material is drawn from the issues of Kentish and Mercian rulers, Kentish moneyers and one archbishop of Canterbury, all of whom minted in Kent, mostly Canterbury. These issues consist of the runic coinage of the moneyer Æthiliræd; Archbishop Æthelheard's joint coinage with the Mercian king Offa; Offa's coinage by the moneyers Æthelnoth and Dægmund; the coinage of Offa's queen Cynethryth; the coinage of Eadberht Præn by the moneyer Æthelmod; and a small number of coins by the moneyer Sæberht for the Mercian rulers Cœnwulf and Cuthred.

In lieu of an explicit mention of the mint-place on any of these coins, their provenancing must depend on other factors which indirectly point to a Kentish mint. The coins of Æthiliræd have been provenanced to Kent based on find-locations, which are heavily concentrated in east Kent and therefore indicate a local place of minting (Metcalf 2001: 45, 47). The coins of Æthelheard, the archbishop of Canterbury, can be presumed to have been minted in Canterbury where the archbishop resided, and similarly, a Canterbury (or, at the very least, Kentish) provenance can be expected from the coins of Eadberht Præn, the short-lived ruler of Kent (see Naismith 2017: 139). Æthelnoth, who minted some of Offa's coins, is believed to have been based in Canterbury due to a die-link with the coins of Archbishop Jænberht, which, like the coins of Archbishop Æthelheard, were presumably minted in Canterbury (see Metcalf 2009: 30; see also Naismith 2010: 82, where Æthelnoth's Canterbury attribution is given as "Very probable"). All of Cynethryth's coins were minted by the same moneyer, Eoba, who also minted for Ecgberht II of Kent (*circa* 764–785) and was therefore most likely based in Canterbury (Chick 2010: 2, Naismith 2016: 97). Sæberht, who minted for Cœnwulf, is again highly likely to have been based in Canterbury, given that he minted also for Cuthred (798–807), subking of Kent during Mercian overlordship, who is assumed to have resided in Canterbury (see Blunt, Lyon & Stewart 1963: 7).

The dating of coinages is made easy in many cases by the regnal dates of the issuing rulers. All coins of Offa, Cynethryth and Eadberht Præn are securely dated to the second half of the 8th century. Less obvious are the coins of Æthiliræd, who may have been a non-royal moneyer issuing coins in his own name (see Metcalf 1993–4: 120), and so his coinage cannot necessarily be identified with the reign of any ruler. Based on considerations of weight and metallurgy, as well as the fact that these coins are not present in "any of the of the major late […] hoards", which were deposited in approximately 710 or earlier, Æthiliræd's coins have typically been dated to around 715 (Naismith 2017: 97; see also Metcalf 2001: 47). The coins of Cœnwulf pose the biggest problems in dating. Cœnwulf rose to the Mercian throne in 796, and regained control of Canterbury in 798 after the deposition of Eadberht Præn. Since his accession is so close to the end of the century, it can be very difficult to decide which side of 800 his coins belong to (his reign lasted until 821). However, coins of the moneyer Sæberht which have a bone-like feature on the reverse are believed to be very early. This feature has also been associated with the coinages of Offa and Eadberht Præn, Cœnwulf's direct precursors at the Canterbury mint, which makes a strong case for continuity in the use of the design when coins began to be minted for the new overlord, Cœnwulf. For this reason, these particular coins with the bone-like feature have been considered to be Cœnwulf's earliest coins, produced directly after the recovery of the Canterbury mint in 798 (Blunt, Lyon & Stewart 1963: 7; see Figure 15). On similar grounds, two coins by Sæberht for Cœnwulf's brother Cuthred are also included.

Figure 15: The bone-like feature on the reverse of Sæberht's coins.

6.6 Kentish data

The tables below present the orthographic representations found in Kentish manuscript and numismatic evidence of the 7th and 8th centuries. The manuscript material for 650–700 consists of S8 and S19, the manuscript material for 700–750 consists of S21 and S23, and the manuscript material for 750–800 consists of S24, S31, S35 and S128. The numismatic material for 700–750 consists only of the coins of Æthiliræd; the rest of the numismatic material is assigned to 750–800.

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ(ː)/	PS	‹ae› ×4	-	-	‹ae› ×9	-	‹Ⅎ› ×22	‹ae› ×6 ‹e› ×1	-	‹E› ×29 ‹AE› ×17
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/øː/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹OE› ×2
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/y(ː)/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹y› ×2	-	‹Y› ×24
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹y› ×1	-	‹Y› ×21

Table 4: Kentish orthographic representations by time-period and medium.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/æ/[ff]	PS	‹ae› S8×1, S19×3, S21×3, S23.1×4, S23.2×2, S24×4, S31×1, S128×1 ‹e› S35×1	-	‹E› O^Æn×19, O^D×1, EP^Æ×5 ‹Ⅎ› Æ×22 ‹AE› O&Æ×17
	RS	-	-	-
/æ/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-
/æː/[im]	PS	-	-	‹E› Cœ^S×2, Cu^S×2
	RS	-	-	-

Table 5: Orthographic representations of /æ(ː)/ in Kent.
(Æ = Æthiliræd; Cœ^S = Cœnwulf by Sæberht; Cu^S = Cuthred by Sæberht; EP^Æ = Eadberht Præn by Æthelmod; O^Æn = Offa by Æthelnoth; O^D = Offa by Dægmund; O&Æ = Offa with Archbishop Æthelheard.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/øː/	PS	-	-	‹OE› Cœ^S×2
	RS	-	-	-

Table 6: Orthographic representations of /øː/ in Kent.
(Cœ^S = Cœnwulf by Sæberht.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/y/	PS	‹y› S128×2	-	‹Y› Cy×24
	RS	-	-	-
/yː/	PS	-	-	-
	RS	‹y› S128×1	-	‹Y› Cy×21

Table 7: Orthographic representations of /y(ː)/ in Kent.
(Cy = Cynethryth.)

6.7 Kentish discussion

The early Kentish data is concentrated to the second half of the 8th century, although Kent alone has produced manuscript data from the 7th century—Kent therefore has the widest span of relevant manuscript data of any of the regions considered in this study. This is not surprising, since Kent was the first of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms to undergo Christianisation and the introduction of roman literacy and manuscript culture. It should be remembered, however, that even the earliest piece of evidence, S8, was composed over half a century after the adoption of the roman alphabet for the writing of both Latin *and* Old English, and so the data collected and presented here does not represent the earliest roman orthography in Anglo-Saxon England.

The most conspicuous diachronic change is among the numismatic data, where runes are found in the first half of the 8th century, but not in the second. The 22 instances of ‹ᚠ› are all from the legends of the coins of Æthiliræd, which are runic throughout. It is not therefore the case that runes were mixed with roman letters, or that ‹ᚠ› was used to avoid a roman spelling of /æ/. As much as we are often led to believe that post-conversion Kent, and Canterbury in particular, was very Roman in its literary culture, the appearance of runes up to the beginning of the 8th century is a sober reminder that Kent did have a measure of runic literacy in place before the arrival of the first Christian mission, and, whatever the original source of the Kentish runic tradition, it is clear that by the time of Augustine's arrival, the practice was sufficiently established in Kent for it to withstand the introduction of a new script.

What it could not withstand was Mercian hegemony. Runes are absent from the data from the second half of the 8th century, which ties in neatly with the theory presented in Section 6.3.4, whereby runes were disfavoured during Mercian overlordship and were seemingly displaced altogether by the roman alphabet. It appears, then, that runic usage in Kent was not incompatible with Christianity, but it was incompatible with the agenda of Mercian overlords wishing to create a coinage worthy of contemporary Continental examples. Indeed, Mercian rule seems to have effected the change of Kent from a (diastratically) biscriptal society into a monoscriptal one which only employed the roman alphabet.[37]

Intriguingly, when the roman alphabet began to be used by die-carvers in the second half of the 8th century, there were two representations for /æ(ː)/. As Table 5 shows, while ‹AE› only referred to /æ/[ff], ‹E› was used for both /æ/[ff] and /æː/, the latter found only in the prototheme *sǽ-* of the name of Cœnwulf and Cuthred's moneyer Sæberht. The representation could be explained as Kentish /æː/ merging with /eː/, perhaps an early instance of Kentish raising. If so, this spelling cannot be accepted as evidence for the vowel /æː/. However, Archbishop Wulfred's coinage in the 9th century was minted by a Sæberht, who always spelled the prototheme of his name with ‹AE›. Whether the moneyer of Cœnwulf and Cuthred on the one hand, and the moneyer of Wulfred on the other, were the same person, is unknown, although the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (*PASE*) database (pase.ac.uk) treats them as two different people. If they were the same person, monographic ‹E› could be explained as a space-saving technique, as one letter took less space on the coin-die than two. However, the reverse legends on Sæberht's coins (as seen in Figure 15 in Section 6.5.3) are not compact and could easily have accommodated another letter. ‹E› was also the

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[37] In Section 6.3.4 it was mentioned that in between the coins of Æthiliræd and the first Kentish coins of Offa, there was a period of uninscribed coins. It could be argued that runes were abandoned among laypeople, perhaps due to Christian pressure, already in this interim period before Offa's occupation of Kent and its mints. On the other hand, the lack of legends could also be attributed to changes in fashion, not a discrimination against runes. It is certainly strange to imagine that, in a bid to avoid runes, Kentish die-carvers deliberately produced uninscribed dies for the best part of a generation and did not learn the roman alphabet until it became mandatory under Offa.

majority representation of /æ/[ff], although the variation between the use of ‹AE› and ‹E› was very systematic. While ‹AE› was used for the prototheme *æþel-* in Archbishop Æthelheard's name, ‹E› was used for the same prototheme in the names of the moneyers Æthelnoth and Æthelmod. Again, it could be that a sound change—most likely Kentish raising—had affected the names of the moneyers, but not that of the archbishop, reflecting the class difference in the early distribution of the sound change in Kent alluded to in Section 6.4. Alternatively, the die-carvers may have opted for the space-saving representation ‹E› for moneyers' names (applicable also to Sæberht), but chosen longer, digraphic ‹AE›-representations for the names of higher-ranking individuals such as archbishops, in order for their names to physically take up as much space as possible on the obverse of the coin for increased visibility.

It may be significant that the prototheme of Archbishop Æthelheard's name is always (when completely visible) ‹AEDIL›, with ‹D› representing the medial consonant, whereas the protothemes of the names of Æthelmod and Æthelnoth are always (when completely visible) ‹EÞEL› with ‹Þ› representing the medial consonant. Unless the orthographic difference is symptomatic of a phonemic difference, ‹D› may have been seen as a more prestigious representation because it was part of Latin orthography, while ‹Þ› was a native addition. Nevertheless, we must exercise caution when analysing what is ultimately a small pool of evidence. We find ‹AE›/‹E›-variation in the joint coinage of Offa and Archbishop Jænberht, Æthelheard's predecessor. The coins are not considered as part of the data because the /æ:/ in *jæn-* appears in an environment of palatal diphthongisation; however, Kentish being a non-West Saxon dialect, we do not expect to find a diphthong in the prototheme, but rather the monophthong /æ:/. Out of nine clear visible images of Jænberht's coins in the *EMC*/*SCBI* database, six have ‹AE› for the vowel in *jæn-*, while three have ‹E›. It may be that this again demonstrates Kentish raising in action. Alternatively, the coins could evidence variation between ‹AE› and ‹E› for space-saving or purely stylistic reasons. Seeing that both the monographic and digraphic representations are found in an archbishop's name, the social

status of the person named need not have an effect on the type of representation used, neither in Archbishop Jænberht's coins nor, more relevant to this study, in the coins of Archbishop Æthelheard.

In a parallel fashion, the manuscript evidence exhibits ‹ae› and ‹e› for /æ/, although ‹ae› is by far more common than ‹e›. ‹ae› is only found for primary-stressed /æ/[ff], while ‹e› is found once for reduced-stressed /æ/[ff] in S35, copied some twenty years before the turn of the 9th century. By this date, Kentish raising could conceivably have started infiltrating the speech of educated scribes, but the phonological context of the vowel may also be significant. ‹e› in S35 is drawn from ‹**e**scuuald›, where the sequence ‹sc› immediately succeeding the target vowel referred to a consonant cluster which had probably started palatalising in the 8th century (see Ringe & Taylor 2014: 204). One of the instances of ‹E› for expected /æ/[ff] among the numismatic data is drawn from a similar phonological environment, namely ‹DEG›, where ‹G› referred to a consonant which must have undergone palatalisation (see ibid.: 203–4). The rest of the manuscript data is strikingly uniform, especially considering that other representations were available to some of the charter scribes. Table 8 presents the orthographic repertoire of each scribe with regard to representations typically used for /æ(:)/: it shows which representations are found in the text, regardless of language or phonetic referent.[38] As can be seen, ‹ę› was known to the scribe of S8, and ‹æ› was known to the scribes

	S8	S19	S21	S23		S24	S31	S35	S128
				S23.1	S23.2				
‹ae›	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
‹æ›			x				x		
‹ę›	X								

Table 8: The orthographic repertoires of Kentish charter-scribes.

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[38] A representation may appear in an Old English word in the text but not be found in the data as presented in Tables 4 and 5. For example, if the prototheme of the Old English name ‹gębredi› in S8 was in a cognate relationship *giefu* 'gift' (see Ström 1939: 17), then its stressed vowel was a reflex of PGmc **/e/*, and therefore not a target vowel (see Ringe & Taylor 2014: 288). The representation ‹ę› is nevertheless recorded in Table 8 as one familiar to the scribe. Where more than one scribe worked on the same manuscript, the stints of the scribes are distinguished, as with S23.

of S21 and S31; yet neither representation appears for a target vowel in any of the charters, respectively.[39] It seems, then, that the scribes of early charters aligned themselves very closely with ‹ae› for the representation of /æ(ː)/, reflective of their overwhelming collective preference for ‹ae› in the Latin which they were writing. The sole exception is S35 with its ‹e›-spelling. The fact that ‹ae› was available to the scribe of S35 strengthens the possibility that ‹e› did genuinely signal the raising of /æ/ to /e/. (Moreover, since ‹ę› was never used in S35, ‹e› is unlikely to be a mistake for ‹ę›.) There is also no variety in the orthographic representation of the nonlow vowels, not only among the manuscript data, but across media (discounting minuscule–majuscule distinctions). For /ø:/, it is true, this uniformity may well be attributable to the small number of tokens, both drawn from the coinage of Cœnwulf. /y(ː)/, however, has a much larger number of tokens, found both in manuscripts and on coins, but exhibits no graphemic variation whatsoever (although allographic variation between «Y» and «F» is rife).

Although we do not find perfect uniformity in the orthographic representations of the three target vowels, what we do find is uniformity in the representation of each target vowel within the texts of individual Kentish writers: the die-carver of Æthiliræd always represented /æ/ with ‹F›; the scribe of S19 always represented /æ/ with ‹ae›; and so forth. This may speak somewhat to the strong presence of Latin education and roman literacy in Canterbury, perhaps reinforcing notions not only of correctness but of consistency. The exceptionless representation of /y(ː)/, a sound foreign to Latin, is also unsurprising given the presence and knowledge of Greek in Canterbury.

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[39] In S21 and S31, ‹æ› is never found in an Old English word; it only occurs once per charter in a Latin word at the end of a line, and so its use may be explained merely as a shorthand for ‹ae› to save space. In S8, on the other hand, ‹ę› occurs in both Latin and Old English words.

7. The Saxon regions

Map 3: The Saxon regions.

This chapter covers the history of, and the material from, the predominantly Saxon-occupied regions of Essex, Sussex and Wessex. Individually, these regions have yielded a very small overall amount of early writing. They are grouped together here because their Germanic settlers shared a common ethnic background reflected not only in the suffix *-sex* in the names of the kingdoms,[40] but also in the archaeological finds of the early period from all three regions, which have been characterised as indistinguishable from each other (see Yorke 1990: 131; *pace* DeCamp 1958: 237). In combining the Saxon regions into one chapter it is not implied that they formed a single, coherent 'region of literacy'. Being neighbours, it is inevitable that there was interaction after the introduction of literacy, with movement of both people and texts between Essex, Sussex and Wessex, but this need not have been any more significant than the interaction that the Saxon regions had with the rest of Anglo-Saxon England. Relations between the Saxon regions were not always peaceful, either; around the year 620, the three joint rulers of Essex were killed by West Saxons (Kirby 2000: 47). It is also

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[40] Essex was the region inhabited by the East Saxons, Sussex by the South Saxons and Wessex by the West Saxons. The compass points refer to the positions of the regions in relation to each other in England rather than on the Continent.

crucial to emphasise that a shared ethnic background is not, *in itself*, expected to have affected the development of literacy or orthography in any way. Ethnicity does not have any bearing on how literacy is learned, nor does it 'predispose' towards certain patterns of orthographic development. Still, as an ethnic group the Saxons of England did share a *cultural* and *linguistic* background, which may be relevant when investigating the early development of Old English literacy in Essex, Sussex and Wessex. The Saxon regions thus formed a culturally coherent macroregion. This chapter demonstrates the range of orthographic practices which developed among the English Saxons, who, for various political reasons, founded kingdoms which remained independent of each other during the period of this study. Although this study considers no West Saxon material, Wessex is here discussed due to the part the region played in the development of literacy in its neighbouring regions.

7.1 The early history of the Saxon regions

Our knowledge of the early history of the English Saxons is woefully incomplete due to very few surviving written sources, but it seems that Saxon immigration to England goes back to the early 5th century. Based on similarities between the archaeological finds in the Saxon areas in England and the Saxon areas on the Continent, the homeland of the English Saxons can be traced back to the coastal regions of present-day north-western Germany (Yorke 1995: 44). The Franks enjoyed close and historically far-reaching connections with the Continental Saxons, and, in consequence, the Saxon regions of England experienced heavy Frankish immigration (Hawkes 1982: 70–2), although an increasingly powerful Kent was able to keep

the English Saxons "from maintaining any direct contact with the Continent" (Hawkes 1986: 82). The following three sections outline the early history of each individual region.[41]

7.1.1 The early history of Essex

The first 5th-century Saxon settlers founded a kingdom which comprised the areas of not only present-day Essex, but also London and the southern part of Hertfordshire.[42] The region was surrounded by other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms on all sides, and so there were no opportunities for further expansion into British territory; nor did the kingdom of Essex conquer land at the expense of its Anglo-Saxon neighbours, although, in the second half of the 7th century, the East Saxons did exercise a degree of control over Kent (Yorke 1985: 29). During this period Essex also began to feel the threat of Mercian expansionism, and at least London and the greater Middlesex area fell under Mercian overlordship. We should not make too much of this period of Mercian presence in London, however, since the East Saxon king Sæbbi (*circa* 664–693/4), whose rule coincided with Mercian overlordship, was residing in London when he died. He was buried in London, even giving rise to a local cult. By the end of the 7th century, then, the city cannot have been completely incorporated into Mercia (ibid.: 33; see also Yorke 1990: 57). The time for this came during the reign of the 8th-century Mercian king Æthelbald, who took over the greater Middlesex area, including London, as is most apparent in the use of local mints for the production of Mercian coins (Yorke 1990: 50, Naismith 2019: 67; see also Section 9.1). The rest of the kingdom of Essex continued its existence to the end of the century and beyond (Yorke 1985: 35–6, Yorke 1990: 50).

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[41] The first two sections of this chapter contain terms such as *Saxons of England* and *English Saxons* to distinguish the Saxon settlers in England from Continental Saxons. Henceforth, *Saxon* should be understood as relating to English Saxons, unless otherwise specified.

[42] London was part of the smaller East Saxon subregion of Middlesex. The Middle Saxons were probably at one point separate from the East Saxons, but even so, "their incorporation into the East Saxon kingdom must have taken place before the conversion period, as London was considered to be an East Saxon *civitas* from the time of its first bishop" (Yorke 1985: 28; see also Yorke 1990: 47).

7.1.2 The early history of Sussex

The South Saxons occupied the area between the Weald to the east and the Jutish area of southern Hampshire to the west. 5th-century Saxon settlement appears to have been limited to "a restricted area between the rivers Ouse and Cuckmere" (Welch 1971: 232), but by the early 6th century, the settlement "had spread along the entire length of the South Downs in Sussex" (Welch 1989: 83). Very little is known about the South Saxons. Their kingdom seems to have been both powerful and prosperous from its founding up until the early 6th century: early archaeology reveals "flourishing contacts by land and sea" (Mayr-Harting 1981: 5), and Bede's first *bretwalda*, Ælle, who ruled at the turn of the 6th century, was South Saxon. Indeed, after such a promising start, the subsequent cultural isolation of Sussex is nothing short of perplexing (ibid.). Particularly surprising, given the coastal location, is the rarity of foreign imports in the 6th-century archaeological record (see Welch 1991: 267–8)—this is perhaps somewhat attributable to the increasingly closer links between Kent and the Continent, to the exclusion of Saxon regions (see Section 7.1). The South Saxons, like the East Saxons, were not ideally positioned for expansion, but things took a turn in the second half of the 7th century, when the Mercian king Wulfhere granted the Isle of Wight and southern Hampshire—historically Jutish territories—to the South Saxon king Æthelwealh (*circa* 660– 685), and so the kingdom of the South Saxons once again became a player of some consequence on the Anglo-Saxon political stage (Mayr-Harting 1981: 5; see also Section 7.2.2). Shortly afterwards, however, Cædwalla of Wessex conquered Sussex and killed Æthelwealh, which brought Sussex briefly within the West Saxon sphere of influence. In the 8th century the South Saxons were subjected to Mercian overlordship, which ultimately marked the end of the kingdom of Sussex proper (John 1966: 24–5, Welch 1989: 83; see also Section 9.1).

7.1.3 The early history of Wessex

It is possible that the Saxon settlement in the upper Thames valley, the heartland of what became the kingdom of Wessex, was initially occupied by a conglomeration of small polities which merged into a more or less coherent West Saxon kingdom (see Yorke 1990: 132, Kirby 2000: 44–5).[43] Unlike Essex and Sussex, Wessex bordered British peoples and was able to grow its territory at their expense. The south-western expansion of Wessex began in the 7th century, and although the details of the conquest of northern Hampshire, southern Wiltshire, Dorset and eastern Devon are not clear, it seems that the West Saxons had a presence in all these areas by the 680s—Exeter at least was part of Wessex by 680 (Yorke 1990: 137; see also Finberg 1953: 109, Todd 1987: 267, Yorke 1995: 67). Anglo-Saxon neighbours also bore the brunt of the advances of the West Saxons. Even before becoming king, Cædwalla (685/6–688) had amassed an army and conquered Sussex, no doubt in response to Wulfhere of Mercia granting the Jutish areas to the South Saxons, with the effect of cutting Wessex off from coastal trading links (see Welch 1991: 268; see also Section 7.1.2); and "[w]ithin a couple of years Cædwalla had taken control of all the other provinces south of the Thames and established himself as ruler of the South Saxons, Surrey, and the Jutish provinces in Hampshire and the Isle of Wight" (Yorke 1990: 137). Essex was likewise under Cædwalla's overlordship (see ibid.: 48–9, Yorke 1995: 59), and he briefly exercised control also in Kent through his brother Mul (Yorke 1990: 30, 137). The short but eventful rule of Cædwalla laid the basis for the reign of his successor Ine (688–726). The latter was proactive in modernising Wessex: he produced a lawcode and introduced a coinage, and during his reign Hamwic became one of the biggest and most important trading centres in 8th-century England (Hinton 1982, Kirby 2000: 107). The South Saxons, whom Cædwalla had subjugated, remained under West Saxon

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[43] The West Saxons were known as the *Gewisse* until the 680s (the decade of the reign of Cædwalla and the move of the West Saxon see to Winchester; see Section 7.2.3), when the term *West Saxons* begins to appear (see Yorke 1990: 132, 138; see also Kirby 1965: 12, Yorke 1995: 59). For the sake of consistency, in this study I use *West Saxons* exclusively.

control during Ine's reign, and although Ine fought the Mercians, the East Saxons and the British, only Kent was lost (Yorke 1990: 138). Less is known about Ine's 8th-century successors—D. P. Kirby called West Saxon history of the second half of the 8th century "a virtual blank" (1965: 14)—except that Wessex had to contend with an ever-expanding Mercia, and first lost Sussex and then Wiltshire and adjoining areas in the west (see Yorke 1990: 140–1; but see also Finberg 1953: 110–11). Mercia even gained indirect control over Wessex after the death of the West Saxon king Cynewulf (757–786), but, unlike some less powerful kingdoms which were engulfed by Mercia, Wessex was never stripped of its independence (see Yorke 1995: 141).

7.2 Christianity in the Saxon regions

There was no one single mission to the Saxon peoples—the East, South and West Saxons were all converted to Christianity separately. There is evidence of a British Christian presence in some of the Saxon regions, particularly St Albans in Essex, which may have been the site of continued Christian worship from the time of the Roman occupation of Britain (Campbell 1982b: 51). The area which became the core region of Wessex may also have been home to a Christian minority (Yorke 1995: 149–50, 153). Furthermore, as the West Saxons advanced westwards, their territory would have come to include British Christians (Campbell 1982b: 51; but see Todd 1987: 240). In spite of these circumstances, which may have exposed the Saxons to Christianity, the British ecclesiastical establishments were not involved in the conversion of their Saxon neighbours (Todd 1987: 244).

7.2.1 Christianity in Essex

Since the Kentish king Æthelberht, the first of the Anglo-Saxon convert kings, exercised some measure of overlordship in neighbouring Essex, it followed that Essex was the first of the Saxon regions to receive a Christian mission. Æthelberht effected the conversion of his nephew, the East Saxon king Sæberht (died *circa* 616), in 604, less than a decade after his own conversion, and the Kentish king was also responsible for the construction of St Paul's minster in London (Yorke 1990: 47; see also Yorke 1985: 31). The missionary Mellitus, who had been sent from the Continent by the same Pope Gregory who had sent Augustine, was appointed as bishop (see Brooks 1984: 11). The first Christian mission in Essex was short-lived, however. Sæberht's three sons, who jointly succeeded their father to the East Saxon throne, were all pagan, and led an uprising in Essex which caused the missionaries to flee in 616 or 617 (see Mayr-Harting 1972: 64, Whitelock 1975: 4; see also Bruce-Mitford 1975: 704–5, Yorke 1990: 48). It may be that the influence of the East Anglian king Rædwald and the Mercian king Penda, the latter pagan and the former perhaps only superficially Christian, enabled the survival of paganism in Essex for nearly four decades after the uprising (see Sections 8.2 and 9.2.1). It was not until *circa* 653 that the East Saxon throne was occupied by a converted king, when Sigeberht 'Sanctus' accepted Christianity while visiting King Oswiu's court in Northumbria (see e.g. Bruce-Mitford 1975: 704, Yorke 1985: 31). Oswiu dispatched a company of missionaries to Essex following Sigeberht's conversion, including the Irish-trained Cedd, who became bishop of the East Saxons and brought about a shift in East Saxon Christianity (Yorke 1990: 48; on Cedd being Irish-trained, see Chadwick 1963b: 337, Chaplais 1969: 532). In contrast to his predecessor Mellitus, who practised Roman Christianity and had been "answerable to Augustine of Canterbury", Cedd was Northumbrian: he adhered to Irish Christianity and his ecclesiastical allegiance was to Lindisfarne in Northumbria (Mayr-Harting 1972: 100; see also Section 10.2.2). Cedd's Northumbrian approach can be seen, for example, at the level of ecclesiastical organisation, as he "established no see amongst the East Saxons [...]; he was not

bishop of a place but simply bishop of the East Saxons", although he did establish "monastic centres". Cedd thus emulated the model of Lindisfarne, which "itself had been founded as a monastic centre, for a bishop who was a monk, rather than as a seat of episcopal government" (Mayr-Harting 1972: 100; but see West & Scarfe 1984: 297).

Sigeberht's successors to the throne were not uniformly Christian, however, and Essex underwent another relapse into paganism in 664. Cedd, who had been provided with only one priest for his labours, was hardly in a position to combat this onslaught against East Saxon Christianity, and the East Saxons once again became bishopless (Mayr-Harting 1981: 12). Sigeberht himself was murdered, allegedly because he was "too ready to pardon his enemies", which exposes the stark dissonance between Christian and pagan values which must still have been conspicuous in the second half of the 7th century (Yorke 1990: 48). Cedd's eventual successor Wine was not wholly orthodox, as he offered money in exchange for his appointment as bishop by Wulfhere of Mercia, who was exercising a measure of overlordship in Essex in the period following the pagan relapse (see e.g. Whitelock 1975: 5). It was only during the episcopate of Wine's successor Eorcenwald, starting in 675 after yet another short period where Essex was without bishop, that East Saxon Christianity was truly revived, and London rose to be a significant force in Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical affairs (Bailey 1989: 113–14). After Wulfhere's death, Kent regained some of its previous influence over Essex and London in particular. Eorcenwald is believed to have been associated with the Kentish royal house (ibid.: 113; see also Whitelock 1975: 5), and the ecclesiastical centre at Barking which he founded for his sister Æthelburg has been interpreted as a Kentish foothold in East Saxon territory (Kirby 2000: 83). Eorcenwald was active in his duties and is credited with drawing London and Essex back from the sphere of Lindisfarne into the sphere of Canterbury, thus ensuring that the Christianity practised in Essex was once again Roman (see Whitelock 1975: 9).

7.2.2 Christianity in Sussex

Sussex (including the Isle of Wight) was converted only in the second half of the 7th century, and so was the last of the Anglo-Saxon regions to be evangelised (see Blair 2005: 9). Damianus, bishop of Rochester in the mid-7th century, was South Saxon, but it is very unlikely that he converted to Christianity in Sussex or that he received his education there (see Mayr-Harting 1981: 13). The conversion of King Æthelwealh marked the beginning of Christian exposure. He was baptised under the sponsorship of the Mercian king Wulfhere, and received in marriage Eaba, a Christian princess from the Hwicce. Upon conversion, he also received the Isle of Wight and the southern Hampshire lands (see e.g. Kirby 1978: 169, Mayr-Harting 1981: 4–5, Bassett 1992: 18). However, it does not appear that many of the king's subjects followed his example in pursuing baptism. This could have been due to anti-Mercian feeling within his circle and among the South Saxons more generally, and a perception of Christianity as the imposed religion of a foreign overlord. It is also difficult to assess how genuine Æthelwealh's own conversion was, since it came with so many benefits. Eventually, it was the arrival of the exiled Northumbrian ecclesiastic Wilfrid around the year 680 which triggered a more widespread conversion (Mayr-Harting 1981: 5; see also Sims-Williams 1990: 57). Wilfrid may have been seen as a more politically neutral herald of the new religion than Æthelwealh, and one the South Saxons thought "could bring them closer to a larger world of which they were by then beginning to feel a part" (Mayr-Harting 1981: 5), without feeling that in adopting Christianity they were subjecting themselves to the Mercians (ibid.: 6). Henry Mayr-Harting has also noted that "Wilfrid's arrival […] coincided with a time when the South Saxons were probably peculiarly free from external pressure", given that Wulfhere's successor Æthelred was a considerably more hands-off overlord than Wulfhere had been (ibid.). Æthelwealh granted Wilfrid land in the Selsey area, where he established a monastery—though not a bishopric, which was founded after 705 (Welch 1989: 79; see also Kirby 2000: 100).

7.2.3 Christianity in Wessex

The conversion of the West Saxons was not undertaken from Canterbury or any other Anglo-Saxon base, but directly from Rome. Pope Honorius I sent Birinus, possibly a Frank, as missionary to the area of Wessex in the 630s (Brooks 1984: 65; see also Yorke 1995: 171), and upon the conversion and baptism of King Cynegils (611–642), Birinus was made bishop of the West Saxons with his see at Dorchester-on-Thames, where his activities had been centred (Kirby 1965: 12–13, Kirby 2000: 38). Around 650, Cynegils's son and successor Cœnwealh (642–673), who had converted to Christianity while in exile in King Anna's court in East Anglia, appointed Agilbert as Birinus's successor (see Kirby 2000: 48). Agilbert, like Birinus, was foreign—he was Frankish and had studied in Ireland (see Kirby 1965: 13; see also Hammer 2011–12). It is commonly thought that Cœnwealh dismissed Agilbert because the Frankish bishop did not learn Old English (or did not learn it well; see e.g. Brooks 1984: 7), but it is possible that Agilbert's departure had more to do with the relocation of the West Saxon see to Winchester without him being consulted (Yorke 1990: 136; see also Yorke 1995: 58, Kirby 2000: 48). Indeed, due to an increasingly threatening Mercia, in the third quarter of the 7th century the West Saxons moved their see southwards to Winchester, further away from the Wessex–Mercia border, where Dorchester-on-Thames was located (Welch 1991: 268; see also Mayr-Harting 1972: 117, Yorke 1990: 136–8). As part of his initiative of aligning the West Saxon church more closely with that of Canterbury (see Finberg 1953: 105), Cœnwealh oversaw the appointment of Wine, an adherent of Roman Christianity (and later bishop of the East Saxons, see Section 7.2.1), as the first bishop of Winchester. In a similar vein, Wine's successor Leuthere, though Frankish, was consecrated by Archbishop Theodore, demonstrating the supremacy of Canterbury over West Saxon religious affairs (Yorke 1995: 172). Winchester remained the only see of Wessex until 705, when the sees of Sherborne and Selsey were created, the former for the more western regions of an expanding Wessex, and

the latter for the South Saxons, who at this date were under West Saxon rule (see Section 7.1.2).

Although converted kings took steps to maintain a close association with the Roman Christianity of Canterbury, Wessex as a region was not devoid of competing religious influences. It is true that "[a] number of key missionaries in southern England were Irishmen or Franks" (Yorke 2006: 124), but even more significantly, "the Britons of the west country were Christians long before the conversion of the West Saxons" (Yorke 1990: 139). As was already mentioned in Section 7.2, these British Christians were not involved in the conversion of the West Saxons in any substantial way, but it is important to acknowledge their coexistence alongside their Christianised Anglo-Saxon neighbours. It is likely that British ecclesiastical structures survived to the Anglo-Saxon age in the area which came to be occupied by Wessex. British origins have been argued at least for the ecclesiastical centres at Exeter, Sherborne and Glastonbury, but there may be many more (Todd 1987: 248, Yorke 1990: 139, Yorke 1995: 177). We know of two British bishops, believed to have come from south-west Britain, who were present at Chad's consecration as bishop of Lichfield in 664 (see Section 9.2); we also know that British ecclesiastics met with Augustine, and while some of them are likely to have been from Wales, others are thought to have been south-western Britons (Yorke 1995: 158; see also ibid.: 177). Moreover, in addition to competing traditions of Christianity, paganism was not easily abandoned by the West Saxons: "although some individuals responded quickly to the new religion, Christianity was only gradually absorbed into Wessex as a whole in the course of the second two-thirds of the seventh century" (ibid.: 176). Something of this is seen in the succession of West Saxon kings, as Cœnwealh, Centwine and Cædwalla, the three major kings of the second half of the 7th century before the reign of Ine, were all pagans when they ascended the throne. Only from Ine onwards were the West Saxon kings Christian. Ine not only patronised many churches (Kirby 2000: 106), but his lawcode points to a Christian society (Yorke 1990: 139, Yorke 1995: 173).

7.3 Writing in the Saxon regions

7.3.1 Early Saxon runic literacy

The complete lack of 5th- or 6th-century Saxon inscriptions is a strong indicator that the Saxons were illiterate upon arrival, with no tradition of runic writing brought from the Continent. Although some early runic epigraphy has been recovered from Saxon-occupied areas, none of it is securely Saxon.[44] And yet, the Saxon macroregion was not "a rune-ignorant zone" (Nedoma 2016: 22). Despite a lack of evidence for an *indigenous* runic tradition, runic writing did take place in Saxon regions in the 7th and 8th centuries. The earliest of these are the **benutigo** coins, a group of four coins with a runic legend ‹ᛒᛗᚻᚾᛏᛁᚷᚠ› (or variants thereof), which have been assigned a West Saxon provenance based on find-spots (Yorke 1995: 298, Naismith 2017: 52; but see Blackburn 1991: 144). The coins are dated to the 620s and thus predate the first Christian mission to Wessex. This creates a conundrum. If, as the lack of evidence to the contrary suggests, the Saxons were completely illiterate before the arrival of Christianity, and if the West Saxon provenance of the **benutigo** coins is correct, how is it that we find runes on Saxon coins *before* the arrival of Birinus, the first Christian missionary? It is unlikely that the coins are the earliest surviving evidence of an indigenous runic tradition in Wessex, because they are the *only* West Saxon runic inscriptions from the entire Anglo-Saxon period—there is no continuity into the later 7th century or beyond. I believe a more fruitful line of reasoning is the association of coin-epigraphy with lay literacy (see Section 3.3.2). The literacy that the **benutigo** runes represent is likely to have been entirely independent of any Christian involvement in Wessex. They point to a very short-lived runic tradition, one which

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[44] The Watchfield mount, though recovered from the historical Wessex region, is more likely to be Kentish. The inscribed artefacts from the Isle of Wight belong to areas which came under South Saxon (and eventually West Saxon) rule, but they all predate a Saxon presence, and are associated with the Jutish settlement of these areas from Kent (see Section 6.3.1). The date of the Selsey fragments is not certain (see e.g. Parsons 1999: 71). If they are 6th- or early-7th-century, a Jutish context would be highly likely; but whatever the date, the fragments (perhaps of a ring) are very small and may have travelled from elsewhere.

would fit well with a scenario where the moneyer or (more probably) the die-carver was a rune-literate non-Saxon, or a Saxon who had learned runes from a non-Saxon. As, for example, the Kentish owner of the Watchfield mount shows, Wessex was not cut off from the rest of Britain before the arrival of Birinus, and such exchange of knowledge with rune-literate Anglo-Saxons could certainly have taken place.

Slightly later runic inscriptions have been found in the East Saxon city of London (for images of the inscribed artefacts discussed in this paragraph, see Figure 16). Although they postdate not only the introduction of Christianity to Essex but also the Christian recovery of London after the pagan relapses of the 7th century, in lieu of any cues, such as inscribed crosses, that would point to a religious association, they are all considered lay texts (see Holder 1998: 93). Two are relatively short and were carved on bone. The National Portrait Gallery bone inscription, dated to the 8th century (see Leary 2004: 143), consists of two Old English names, probably written by two different people, perhaps two men taking turns to

Figure 16: The three pre-800 runic inscriptions from London: the National portrait gallery bone (top), the Royal Opera House bone (middle) and the Thames mount (bottom). The images are not to scale.

write their own names (Page 1999b: 9, Page 2004: 104; see also Holder 1998: 93). The Royal

Opera House bone inscription, similarly 8th-century (see Page 1997: 12; see also Blackmore

2003: 313), is far more complicated. It has a legible sequence of runes (separated by vertical

lines) read from right to left, which, read plainly, does not spell any Old English (or Latin) word.

The bone could be a practice piece, but it has also been suggested that the inscription

represents a personal name, if we imagine the doubled «ᛁ» (an allograph of ‹ᛟ›, see Section

6.3.4) at the start of the inscription to be a special mechanism activating the runes' reference

to their rune-name *œþel*, rather than to the phoneme /ø(:)/. There is no (other) proof of such

a mechanism, but it would yield a vaguely intelligible inscription, possibly spelling a name like

Œthelward (see Page 1997: 13, Holder 1998: 85). It would also imply some sophistication on

part of the inscriber. The third and final London inscription is very different in type, though no

less enigmatic. The Thames mount is an impressive work of metallurgy. It was probably a

sword fitting, complete with an elaborate head of a fanged animal at the end of a prominent

runic inscription. Unlike the National Portrait Gallery and Royal Opera House inscriptions, the

runes are clearly part of the decorative design of the mount. However, although the runes are

perfectly legible, they do not spell any recognisable words. The runes could have been purely

ornamental, a display of runic literacy (Parsons 1999: 119), or perhaps amuletic, especially

since the inscription "contains sequences of the roman alphabet when transliterated", which

suggests that the order of the runes was meaningful (Holder 1998: 84; see also Page 1964a:

28–9, Parsons 1999: 114–15).

At first blush, the presence of these runes might inspire us to envision a localised runic

lay literacy which emerged in London around the beginning of the 8th century, probably as a

result of contact with rune-literate people coming to London. The National Portrait Gallery

and Royal Opera House bones in particular could point to "a degree of spontaneous and

confident literacy" (Holder 1998: 92), and, if it represents the names of two writers, the

National Portrait Gallery bone may display "conscious experimentation or even a competition

of literacy" (ibid.: 93). However, there are multiple factors which suggest that runic literacy in London remained highly constrained and was, perhaps, only rarely picked up by the native East Saxons, being mostly limited to non-Saxons visiting or settling in London. Firstly, it is sobering to bear in mind that there are only three pre-800 runic inscriptions, and that only one of them is an inscription where the runes are an integral part of the artefact and clearly meant for display. Only the Thames mount is evidence of the sort of confidence in runic ability which renders a prominent inscription which, at least in theory, calls for a reader. The use of bind runes in the inscription might also be considered a sign of an experienced rune-master. Even then, since the meaning of the inscription is unclear, it is possible that the runes were meant to create merely an illusion of literacy.[45] Secondly, if runic literacy had become established among the lay population, we could reasonably expect to find runes on coins minted in London, as we do in East Anglia (see Section 8.3.1). We only have one London moneyer, Beagheard, who made use of runes in names (but see the reference to Ibba in Metcalf 1998: 437). Beagheard opted for the rune ‹X› rather than a roman ‹G› for the last letter of the prototheme of his name (see Stewart 1986: 36, Blackburn 1991: 162; see Figure 17). Such a restricted use of one rune could easily have been adopted from elsewhere and need not represent a native East Saxon tradition of runic literacy.

Thirdly and most importantly, post-800 inscriptions from London are very few in number, and so it is unlikely that the three 8th-century inscriptions represent the hesitant but promising beginnings of a burgeoning local runic tradition. The 10th-century Thames scramasax contains the *fuþorc*—the only complete Anglo-Saxon epigraphic *fuþorc*—and an

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[45] It has been suggested that the Thames mount could be a Kentish artefact (Page 1999a: 29). If so, it would bring the number of pre-800 inscriptions from London down to just two very short casual inscriptions, unlikely to have been imported due to their low status. Kentish connections have also been drawn for the Royal Opera House inscription, where the two *œþel*s are the so-called Kentish allographs of the rune. However, even if the allograph were Kentish (which is not certain), it does not necessarily follow that the bone was inscribed in Kent. At best, the allographs may only indicate that the inscriber was Kentish or had been taught in the Kentish tradition (see Section 6.3.4).

Figure 17: Beagheard's reverse legend mixing a rune with roman letters.

Old English name, while the 10th- or 11th-century London ring might contain the beginning of

the *fuþorc* and an Old English name (see Holder 1998: 84–5). In using the rare rune ‹ᛇ› to refer

to the diphthong in the name *Beagnoth*, the Thames scramasax reflects a fairly high level of

runic competence (see Section 6.3.4). Ultimately, however, neither on the Thames scramasax

nor on the London ring are the runes employed for communicative purposes, and so it is very

difficult to infer a widespread runic literacy from these inscriptions. The runic artefacts

recovered from Hamwic, the South Saxon (later West Saxon) trading port, are no more

promising. Both artefacts are portable and could well have been imported. Southampton

bone I (also known as the Hamwic bone) is broadly dated to the post-650 period (Page 1999a:

29–30). Whichever side of 800 it is from, it cannot represent a strong runic presence in the

area, since the only other local inscription, the 9th-century Southampton bone II, is

unintelligible and points not to runic literacy but illiteracy (see Section 3.4). Moreover, the

short inscription ‹ᚳᚠᛇᚠ› on Southampton bone I may be Old Frisian not Old English (see esp.

Page 1999a: 30, 169, Looijenga 2003: 69, 324). In sum, then, some Londoners (and, perhaps,

some people of Hamwic) were unquestionably familiar with runes, even literate, but it would

be an exaggeration of the evidence to claim that runic literacy in 8th-century London was

widespread, or that it came to characterise the East Saxons. It may be that all that the London

inscriptions show—perhaps all that any Saxon runic inscription shows—is that the Anglo-

Saxons were mobile, and that the movement of literate people was not confined to roman-literate ecclesiastics. It would not be unreasonable to suppose that most Saxon runic inscriptions were written by non-Saxons. Moreover, what runic literacy there was in London (or Hamwic) was not the result of Christian education but had everything to do with London's status as a centre for commerce, drawing in people from all over England (and abroad) by land and sea. If any Saxons were taught runes, the teaching most likely operated on a one-to-one basis of lay apprenticeship.

7.3.2 Early Saxon roman literacy

7.3.2.1 Epigraphy and coin-epigraphy

The state of runic literacy can be contrasted with the state of roman literacy in the Saxon regions, particularly as seen in coin-epigraphy. In the first half of the 7th century, gold coins of Eadbald of Kent were minted in London (see Naismith 2017: 52). Intriguingly, on these coins, the legend ‹AUDUARLD› does not record the name of the king in Old English, but Frankish (see ibid.). The use of Frankish can, no doubt, be attributed to the Frankish associations of the Kentish court—Eadbald himself had a Frankish mother and a Frankish wife—and so, at a time when Kent exercised considerable influence over London, it is not surprising to find Frankish by extension (not to speak of the Frankish connections of the Saxon regions, see Section 7.1). There is another reason, however, why Eadbald's coins have attracted a great deal of scholarly attention. There is a roughly horizontal crossbar across the last letter of the king's name (see Figure 18). Some have interpreted this letter as a capital *eth* ‹Ð›, referring to a dental fricative (see e.g. Shaw 2013), which would make it the earliest monographic roman representation of the dental fricative in Anglo-Saxon England. Others have argued that the crossbar represents a sideways ‹I›, and that the name should be interpreted as a Latin genitive *Audubaldi* (Archibald 1997), agreeing grammatically with the

genitive *reges* which follows it in the legend. This is a more satisfactory explanation for the crossbar, which means that these coins cannot be taken as proof of especial orthographic precociousness in London. Indeed, another early gold coinage from London has been used to argue the opposite. The LONDVNIV coins, not attributable to any king but provenanced to London because of their legend, appear to display degeneration in the orthography of the inscription over time, which could point to a decrease in roman literacy in London (Blackburn 1991: 168)—although the find-spots for all the later London-marked coins "are more scattered" and so "may not come from London" but from further afield, and so are not necessarily indicative of the level of literacy in London but rather its environs (Naismith 2017: 53).

Figure 18: The obverse of a coin of Eadbald.   *Figure 19: The obverse of a coin of Beorhtric.*

The coins minted in the second half of the 8th century provide more robust evidence for roman literacy, not only in London, one of the main minting centres of the Mercian king Offa and his successors, but elsewhere too. Legends are almost universally in the roman alphabet. We also find clever manipulation of letters in coins of the West Saxon king Beorhtric (786–802), minted in Hamwic or Winchester (see Naismith 2017: 145): the uncial ‹M› (an abbreviation of Latin *Merciorum* 'of the Mercians'), characteristic of the Mercian coins on which Beorhtric's coins were modelled, was reappropriated as a Greek *omega* ‹ω› (given here

in lowercase despite appearing in epigraphy because the uppercase ‹Ω› is significantly different in shape) and paired with ‹A› to create an alpha and omega symbol (Naismith 2012b: 103–4; see Figure 19), thus "transforming the political overtones of the design into a religious emblem" (ibid.: 104). The overall picture is one of confident roman literacy among the 8th-century die-carvers of London and Wessex, and it also appears that Saxon moneyers and/or die-carvers overwhelmingly preferred the roman alphabet to the *fuþorc*. This preference can be attributed to a combination of two factors: the lack of an autochthonous runic tradition to draw on, and the scriptal preferences of the foreign overlords who were heavily invested in Saxon minting and who commissioned legends in the roman alphabet (see Sections 6.3.4 and 8.3.1). With no epigraphic tradition of their own, the lay literacy of the Saxons thus came to be defined by the preferences of non-Saxon overlords. It seems that this lay literacy in the roman alphabet was restricted only to die-carvers. There being no evidence of a historical Saxon custom of inscribing objects, it is not surprising that such a practice was slow to develop outwith the context of coin-production, where inscriptions served a utilitarian purpose. (There was roman literacy among ecclesiastics, of course, but the lack of a Saxon epigraphic tradition, coupled with a strong pagan presence (especially in London) and the difficult beginnings of the Christian mission (see Section 7.2.1), meant that evangelising efforts would have concentrated on the essentials of Christianity and Christian culture. Manuscript-writing was much more urgent than epigraphy.)[46] The London fossil bears the only surviving, pre-800, non-numismatic roman inscription from any of the Saxon areas, and it is unique also in that it is the only Anglo-Saxon inscribed echinoid. The inscription is not intelligible and the language is uncertain, but the letters are legible and the text combines "capital and Insular letter forms" (Brown et. al 2001: 208; see also Okasha 2004a), which point to some exposure to the activities of the scriptorium. Given the singularity of the artefact, an amuletic function has

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[46] Inscriptions from later centuries attest to the development of Saxon (non-numismatic) epigraphy especially in Wessex, as evidenced by artefacts such as the Alfred jewel, but circumstances were apparently not favourable in the 7th and 8th centuries.

inevitably been suggested, although it is possible that the echinoid was merely a practice piece (Holder 1998: 85–6, Okasha 2004a), or, judging from the smoothness of the base, a game-piece;[47] but whether or not it was inscribed anywhere near its find-spot, we do not know (cf. Notton 2002, where it is argued that the fossil was not inscribed).

7.3.2.2 Manuscript culture

7.3.2.2.1 In Essex

Tied as it was to the arrival of Christianity, the production of manuscripts in Essex had a rough start due to the pagan reactions during the first three quarters of the 7th century and the subsequent instability of the East Saxon Church (see Section 7.2.1). Such circumstances were hardly conducive to the development of manuscript culture, and, in consequence, London scriptoria "do not seem to have specialised in the production of books of religious or literary material" (Holder 1998: 88). Styli found in the monastery at Barking (in present-day Greater London) do show, however, that the Church in Essex rose to the challenge of providing education in literacy (see Yorke 1990: 52, Holder 1998: 87). Manuscript-writing did eventually take off. Essex may have had a lawcode (Yorke 1990: 56), and Bede's confident listing of East Saxon kings could be indirect proof that a regnal list once existed (see Yorke 1985: 13). The lion's share of the surviving evidence, however, consists of diplomatic texts (Holder 1998: 88). Charters began to emerge from the final quarter the 7th century onwards, following the appointment of Eorcenwald, who "played a major role in the development of the diplomatic of the English charter and influenced charter production in Mercia and Wessex as well as in his own diocese" (Yorke 1990: 56; see also Prescott 1991a, Wormald 2006: 142–5). The type of literacy fostered by Eorcenwald was not only roman, but *Roman* in character, attributable

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[47] I am indebted to Alan Pipe, Senior Archaeozoologist at Museum of London Archaeology, for this observation and suggestion.

to his connections with Kent, where Roman missionaries had first landed (see Section 7.2.1). This is seen in S1171, written in the final quarter of the 7th century and one of a very limited number of Anglo-Saxon uncial charters (see Kuhn 1948: 595–6; see also Section 6.3.2). The inclusion of a proem also "show[s] an even more pronounced Italian influence" than what is seen in S8, the earliest surviving Anglo-Saxon charter (Prescott 1991a: 44; see also Wormald 2006: 142). But within a short span of time, as London grew into a centre of Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical activity (see Brooks 1984: 124), native hands were introduced: S1428b, a letter written at the turn of the 8th century, is in an insular hand (see Chaplais 1978: 5).

7.3.2.2.2 In Sussex

Through Wilfrid and King Æthelwealh's wife Eaba, Sussex was exposed to both Northumbrian and Mercian manuscript culture (see Bruckner & Marichal 1967: xvii, Chaplais 1969: 538, Kelly 1998: 51, Brooks & Kelly 2013: 291), but the level of roman literacy in Sussex is difficult to gauge due to a dearth of evidence. South Saxon literacy was still in its infancy in the late 7th century and into the 8th century, a symptom of the late evangelisation of the region, and so it is likely that not much was written over the period of this study. The most important clue to the state of South Saxon literacy is S1184, which gives a unique glimpse into the variety of hands used in Sussex, presumably at Selsey, in the second half of the 8th century (see Figure 20). Various scholars have commented on the highly unusual hand of the main text: Nicholas Brooks and Susan Kelly speak of "a curious and rather crude script [read: hand, AEM] which resembles half-uncial" (Brooks & Kelly 2013: 291); elsewhere Kelly refers to the hand as "clumsy" and calls it "a debased version of half uncial" (1998: 48); and Andrew Prescott describes it as "an archaic hand which fuses uncial, half-uncial and minuscule features as well as some continental elements to form a most unusual provincial script" (1991b: 203). The

+ REGNANTE Inperpetuum dno no ihu xpo ac guber
nante · Ego Orlac dux suthsaxorum aliquam terre
partem pro remedio anime meae uenerabile ecclesi
erci pauli apostoli libenter concede id est duo nomini
bus earnaleach tiele fora cum omnibus ad eum pertin
... Reg ... ab incarnatione dni · dcc lxxe
factum est in loco q. appellatur siolesael +

+ Ego Orla hanc donationem propria manu subscripsi ·
+ Ego Sigheri epis consensi et subscripsi + Ego ealduulf
consensi et subscripsi + Ego æthualdd consensi et subscripsi +
Ego uermund consensi et subscripsi + Ego beornnod consensi
et subscripsi + Ego uuerffrid consensi et subscripsi + Ego uun
obscan consensi et subscripsi + Ego beffa consensi et subscripsi
+ Ego ealdheard consensi et subscripsi + Ego aedelmund
consensi et subscripsi + Ego beornheard consensi et subscrip
si + Ego beorhtnod consens et subscripsi + si ce re talis
omni dignitas dicit si quis uero hoc decretum irritum fa
cere ... s ... uppo ... u ... er ... erit
noverit se tremendo cum ... orum examine con a txpo ra
tionem redditurum et habere partem cum iuda tradito
re dni in inumfern inferiori · :·

Figure 20: S1184 recto (above) and verso (below).

hand stands in stark contrast to Offa's confirmation, a Mercian text written on the same manuscript "in a practised Anglo-Saxon minuscule" (Colman 2004: 195; see Section 9.5.1), and so it may seem that, compared to the Mercians, the South Saxons had not quite mastered the art of handwriting.

However, the same manuscript contains yet other South Saxon hands. In addition to the main text, there are two short contemporary endorsements, one of which was written in "a competent minuscule" and must predate Offa's confirmation, since Offa's confirmation was positioned around it (Kelly 1998: 49). Moreover, S1184 was written on recycled vellum from a psalter which can reasonably be expected to have been written in the area around Selsey (see ibid.: 48–9; see also Chaplais 1968: 334–5). The portions of the Psalms visible on the verso are in "a very respectable formal minuscule"; and so it would seem that the main text of S1184 "may not provide an entirely fair guide to the expertise of the Selsey scriptorium at this time" (Kelly 1998: 49). The other South Saxon texts on the manuscript give a strong indication, firstly, that more manuscript-writing took place in Sussex than what survives (although it may not have been *much* more), and secondly, that the awkward hand of the main text was not the only one available. It could be a unique, one-off instance of an innovative hand which did not (or apparently did not) succeed. Such an innovation might have developed due to a shortage of teachers and/or a laxer attitude in Sussex towards established hands. It is unclear how well-developed an academic curriculum, or how advanced a tradition of roman literacy, we ought to expect from this region. It is also possible that the scribe of the main portion of S1184 was "using an unfamiliar and archaic majuscule script because it was believed appropriate for a royal diploma" (ibid.: 50), but with so little with which to compare the charter, this must all remain speculative.

7.3.2.2.3 In Wessex

The golden age of West Saxon writing, with its epicentre at Winchester, was to begin only after 800, with works such as King Alfred's Old English *Pastoral Care* and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle having been produced in the 9th and 10th centuries. Very little manuscript evidence survives from before this. Deusdedit, archbishop of Canterbury in the mid-7th century and the first native Anglo-Saxon archbishop, was West Saxon, but very probably trained outside of Wessex. The mission there was still very young in the second quarter of the 7th century and can hardly be expected to have had the resources for advanced education (Brooks 1984: 67–8). Still, Barbara Yorke maintains that the "surviving remains do not do justice to the achievements of the early West Saxon Church" (1995: 190; see also ibid.: 188). Indirect evidence suggests that in the second half of the 7th century West Saxon literacy went through a period of rapid development. It is likely that annalistic writing took place: although the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle only survives in later copies, the compilation of its annals probably started in the 7th century (Stenton 1926: 163–6, Harrison 1976: 132–41, Yorke 1995: 52). Ine's lawcode is also believed to date to the 7th century (Stenton 1971: 72). The greatest indication of the growth of literacy, however, is the emergence of West Saxon men of letters, who attest to very high levels of learning. Daniel, bishop of Winchester for nearly all of the first half of the 8th century and correspondent of Bede and others, received his training in Wessex (see e.g. Welch 1989: 75, Yorke 1990: 130).

The most prominent of the West Saxon scholars were Aldhelm and Boniface (see Brown 1993: 153). Much of Aldhelm's background and early life is unclear, but we know that he was born in *circa* 639 and over the course of his life served as both abbot of Malmesbury and the first bishop of Sherborne (Lapidge & Herren 1979: 5–9). He is thought to have been educated in Malmesbury in Wessex by the historically elusive Irish ecclesiastic Maeldub (see Yorke 1995: 162, 181, Herren 1998: 30; but see Lapidge & Herren 1979: 6–7 and Lapidge 2004

for a sceptical view on Aldhelm's association with Maeldub, Maeldub's association with Malmesbury, and indeed Maeldub's existence). He also spent time at Theodore's school in Canterbury and had ties with Northumbria, Iona and Ireland (see Lapidge 2007, Lapidge 2010, Yorke 2010). The Irish connections are especially important because they confirm an Irishness in Aldhelm's educational background without necessarily attributing it to the problematic Maeldub (Yorke 2010: 178–9). Aldhelm has been described as "[t]he most significant scholar of the early West Saxon church" (Yorke 1990: 130). He became a prolific writer of Latin poetry and prose—so advanced was his Latinity that he was the first non-native speaker of Latin to "compose Latin verse on any substantial scale" (Lapidge 1991: 72)—and corresponded with his contacts in England, Ireland and the Continent (Herren 1998: 53; see also Yorke 1995: 162, 181). Saxon learning was brought up to a very high standard through the works of Aldhelm, which also paved the way for such non-Saxon contemporaries as Wilfrid and Bede (Todd 1987: 249, Yorke 1995: 187).

It is from this scholarly environment that Boniface emerged. Born Winfrid in *circa* 675, he grew up and was trained in Exeter, then a recent West Saxon acquisition, as well as at Nursling, outside Hamwic (Levison 1946: 70, Law 1997: 189).[48] The beginning of his career coincided with the rule of King Ine, whose vision was to turn Wessex into "a Christian realm in which monasticism and men of letters flourished amid active involvement in overseas mission" (Kirby 2000: 107). Something of the international outlook of Wessex can also be gauged from the use of hands: some texts associated with Boniface were written in a minuscule hand called insular minuscule, which had roots in Ireland and was growing in popularity in contemporary Northumbria; but since the development of insular minuscule in

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[48] While Christian British neighbours had little to do with the evangelisation of the Saxon regions (see Section 7.2), this is not to say that they did not have any influence over both religious and literary developments. Barbara Yorke notes that "[i]t may be no coincidence that the two most learned West Saxon churchmen of the late seventh and eighth centuries, Aldhelm and Boniface, seem to have received their initial education in *western* Wessex", where British influence would have been stronger (1995: 181, emphasis mine; cf. King 1991: 181).

Northumbria and Wessex appears to have been independent, it hints at 7th-century connections directly between Wessex and Ireland (Brown 1993: 191, 213–14, 224–5, Crick 1997: 63–5, 71–2, Dumville 1999–2007: 104, 107–8; see also Section 10.3.2.1). Boniface is primarily known for his correspondence with his countrymen while serving as a missionary on the Continent (Yorke 1990: 130), but he also penned a Latin grammar and followed Aldhelm's example in composing Latin riddles (see Yorke 1995: 188, Law 1997: 189–90). Boniface's grammar was aimed at an advanced readership, which gives us a glimpse of the level of literacy which was, if not always attained, nevertheless aimed at (see Law 1997: 182–4). This era of great literary achievements in the late 7th century and first half of the 8th century was a high point in Anglo-Saxon scholarship before the dip later in the 8th century, which lasted until the late 9th century and was eventually addressed by King Alfred (ibid.: 201; see also Irvine 2013: 210–11).

7.4 Saxon Old English

South and East Saxon textual evidence is made up of only a small amount of onomastic material, insufficient to form a profile of either dialect. West Saxon is the only one of the Saxon dialects of which we have any comprehensive knowledge. Although there are next to no pre-800 attestations of West Saxon, King Alfred's efforts to support Old English literacy led to a boom in textual production in the post-800 period, which has made it possible to reconstruct earlier stages of the dialect. The main features of West Saxon, namely /æː/ < */aː/ (also known as $\bar{æ}_1$) and palatal diphthongisation, are outlined in Section 4.2.1.

7.5 Saxon material

7.5.1 Manuscripts

The manuscript material, presented in Table 9, consists of two charters (S1171, S1184) and one letter (S1428b), all written in Latin but containing Old English personal names. S1171 and S1428b are East Saxon, while S1184 is South Saxon.[49]

Charter	Shelfmark	Date of charter	Date of manuscript	Provenance
S1171	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 29	685×693	s. vii[2]	Essex
S1184	Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap I/17/2	780	s. viii[2]	Sussex
S1428b	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 18	704×705	s. viii[1]	Essex

Table 9: The Saxon manuscript material.

S1171 grants land to the minster at Barking, and so can be assumed to be East Saxon. Furthermore, Bishop Eorcenwald is in the witness-list, which supports an East Saxon provenance (see Prescott 1991a: 44). The dating of the charter is based on "the presence of witnesses with West Saxon connections", which points to a date during the West Saxon king Cædwalla's brief overlordship of Essex in the 680s (Yorke 1985: 5; see also Yorke 1990: 48–9). The use of uncial strongly suggests that the manuscript is contemporary or near-contemporary with the charter (see Sections 6.3.2 and 6.5.1), as does the fact that the charter was composed in two stages, since a later copy would have been written in a single stint (Wormald 2006: 142; see also ibid.: 139). Although both of the stints were written in uncial,

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[49] S65 has sometimes been considered to be an 8th-century East Saxon text (see e.g. Gelling 1979: 95–6). More recently, however, the manuscript has been thought to originate from between the late 8th century and early 9th century, and so it is excluded here (see e.g. Yorke 1985: 6, Brooks & Kelly 2013: 109, 321; see also Lowe 2001, where it is grouped with 9th-century copies of earlier charters). Similarly, the West Saxon charters S96 and S264 have been variously dated to both sides of 800, which is why they too are excluded (for the dating of S96, see Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 50, Edwards 1988: 124; for the dating of S264, see Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 53). S106 (London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus ii 27, fol. 1r) is an East Saxon charter from the second half of the 8th century (see e.g. Brucker & Marichal 1963: 29), but it contains no target vowels.

roughly a century separates the writing of the main text by a 7th-century scribe from the addition of the boundary clause and witness-list by a scribe from the second half of the 8th century (Chaplais 1968: 331). It is possible that the second stint was copied from "a separate schedule originally attached to the charter" (Yorke 1985: 5). The uncial used by the 8th-century scribe is "ugly and unskilled" and "undoubtedly imitative" in an effort to preserve unity of hand across the document (Chaplais 1968: 331; see also Wormald 2006: 143). The only target vowel in S1171 is found in the witness-list, and so, although in Table 9 this charter is marked as being from the second half of the 7th century, the token from S1171 in Table 12 is dated to the second half of the 8th century.

The exact location of the beneficiary of S1184, the church of St Paul the Apostle, is unknown. However, the grant is concerned with a portion of land named ‹earnaleach›, which has been identified as present-day Earnley. Presuming that the lands granted to the church of St Paul the Apostle were not very far from the church itself, this place-name locates the church to Sussex (see esp. Kelly 1998: 52; see also Chaplais 1968: 333–4, Prescott 1991b). The charter dates to 780; that the manuscript is contemporary with the charter is confirmed by the way in which the sheet has been folded and the way the two endorsements and Offa's confirmation have been added with respect to the folds and each other (Chaplais 1968: 334, Kelly 1998: 48).[50] Finally, the place of writing of S1428b can be reasonably expected to be London, since it is a letter from Waldhere, bishop of London at the turn of the 8th century, to Berhtwald, archbishop of Canterbury. Its date is not explicitly given, but it can be pieced together from the circumstances under which the letter was written. The episcopal dates of Waldhere place the time of writing to between 693 and 705×716. The letter refers to an assembly organised by the Mercian king Cœnred, who ruled from 704 to 709, and Waldhere

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[50] Offa's confirmation is recorded as having been written in Irthlingborough, which was located in Mercia. The confirmation is therefore considered as part of Mercian evidence (Kelly 1998: 49; see Section 9.5.1). Neither of the two South Saxon endorsements contains target vowels, and so all material from S1184 is from the main text of the charter.

seeks advice regarding Hædde, bishop of Winchester until the latter's death in 705. With these parameters in place, the time of writing of S1482b can be narrowed down to 704 or 705, and the letter is therefore considered with data from the first half of the 8th century (see Chaplais 1978: 4). The letter has been thought to be a late-8th-century copy (see Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 29 (no. 185)), but Pierre Chaplais has convincingly argued that it is contemporary, and may even be a holograph (1978: 7–9).

7.5.2 Epigraphy

No Saxon epigraphic material is considered.

7.5.3 Numismatics

The numismatic material is drawn entirely from coins which Mercian overlords minted in London. The majority of these are from Offa's coinage by the moneyer Æthelwald, but a number of Cœnwulf's early coins are also included.

Æthelwald's association with a London mint is merely "Possible" (Naismith 2010: 82) and so classifying his coins as Saxon requires some justification. Æthelwald's coins closely resemble the coins of another moneyer by the name of Dud. With the provenancing of Dud we are on slightly firmer ground, since his coins are similar to those of moneyers such as Ealhmund and Eadhun, whose coins in turn are similar to the coins of Eadberht, bishop of London—and a bishop of London can be presumed to have minted in London (ibid.: 81). The evidence for a London attribution is indirect and somewhat convoluted, but in lieu of any contradicting evidence, Æthelwald's coins for Offa are provenanced to the London mint in Essex. As Offa's coins they are necessarily dated to the second half of the 8th century. After a

Figure 21: Cœnwulf's three-line coinage.

short-lived hiatus in Mercian overlordship in Kent and London following the death of Offa, Cœnwulf regained control first of the London mint and then of the Canterbury mint. Since London was regained first, "for the first years of his reign Coenwulf's coinage was restricted to London" (Naismith 2008: 216; see also Blunt, Lyon & Stewart 1963: 40). Cœnwulf's rule spanned from the end of the 8th century far into the first quarter of the 9th century, and so much of his coinage, in London as in Kent, was minted in the 9th century (see Section 6.5.3). It is possible, however, to identify Cœnwulf's earliest, pre-800 London coins. These have a three-line obverse, where the full name of the sovereign, including his regnal title, were carved across three rows of text (see Figure 21). The early date (and thus a London provenance) can be inferred from the fact that the design follows directly from the three-line coinages of Offa and Eadberht Præn, the predecessors of Cœnwulf at the Canterbury mint and possibly also the London mint (Naismith, pers. comm.; see also Stewart 1986: 33, Naismith 2008, Naismith 2017: 143).

7.6 Saxon data

The manuscript material for 700–750 consists of 1428b; the manuscript material for 750–800 consists of S1171 and S1184. All numismatic material belongs to the period 750–800.

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ(:)/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹ae› ×1	-	‹E› ×30 ‹Ę› ×2 ‹AE› ×2
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-		-	-
/ø:/	PS	-	-	-	‹oe› ×1	-	-	‹oe› ×1	-	‹E› ×8 ‹OE› ×6
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/y(:)/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹y› ×1	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	‹y› ×1	-	-	‹y› ×1	-	-

Table 10: Saxon orthographic representations by time-period and medium.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/æ/[ff]	PS	‹ae› S1184×1	-	‹E› O[Æw]×30 ‹Ę› O[Æw]×2 ‹AE› O[Æw]×2
	RS	-	-	-
/æ/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-
/æ:/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-

Table 11: Orthographic representations of /æ(:)/ in the Saxon regions.
(O[Æw] = Offa by Æthelwald.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/ø:/	PS	‹oe› S1171×1, S1428b×1	-	‹E› Cœ×8 ‹OE› Cœ×6
	RS	-	-	-

Table 12: Orthographic representations of /ø:/ in the Saxon regions.
(Cœ = Cœnwulf.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/y/	PS	‹y› S1184×1	-	-
	RS	-	-	-
/y:/	PS	-	-	-
	RS	‹y› S1184×1, S1428b×1	-	-

Table 13: Orthographic representations of /y(:)/.

7.7 Saxon discussion

The early Saxon data span all of the 8th century, although only a few tokens date to the first half of the century. The representations and tokens are exclusively from either Essex or Sussex—there is no West Saxon data. As expected from the Saxon regions, all orthographic representations are exclusively roman.

The number of manuscript tokens is very small, but the little data we have give a tentative impression of both diachronic and diatopic uniformity. None of the target vowels exhibits any variation in orthographic representation. /ø:/ is only referred to by ‹oe›, recorded once in the first half and once in the second half of the 8th century, both times in Essex. Similarly, /y(:)/ is only referred to by ‹y›, recorded once in Essex in the first half and twice in Sussex in the second half of the same century. In the case of /æ(:)/, there is only a single token on record, from Sussex, which happens to be ‹ae›. Table 14 gives a much fuller picture of the orthographic representations available to Saxon scribes.[51] Judging from the orthographic repertoire of Scribe S1184.1, it may appear random that he should have chosen ‹ae› for the one target vowel in S1184. A close study of the text of the charter reveals that he employed all three of ‹ae›, ‹ę› and ‹æ› in Old English names, although ‹æ› is extremely rare. Scribe S1184.1 used it just once, which makes it something of an anomaly, and it is similarly only

	S106	S1171		S1184		S1428b
		S1171.1	S1171.2	S1184.1	S1184.2	
‹ae›	x	x	x	x		x
‹æ›				x	x	?[52]
‹ę›		x	x	x		x

Table 14: The orthographic repertoires of Saxon charter-scribes.

[51] The orthographic repertoire of the scribe of S106 is also provided, since he was writing in the Saxon areas in the 8th century, although there are no target vowels in his text. Scribe S1171.1 is the 7th-century scribe of the charter, while Scribe S1171.2 is the 8th-century scribe whose stint contains all the manuscript data drawn from S1171 in Tables 10 and 12. Scribe S1184.1 is the scribe responsible for the main text of the charter, while Scribe S1184.2 wrote the Latin Psalms visible on the recto of the manuscript (see Section 7.3.2.2.2). Neither of the contemporary endorsements in S1184 contain any relevant orthographic variants and the stints are therefore not represented in Table 14.
[52] There may be one instance of ‹æ› in S1428b, but an ill-placed fold in the parchment makes it impossible to verify this.

found once in the (admittedly short) stint of Scribe S1184.2. The real competition seems to have been between ‹ae› and ‹ę›, and as such, S1184 is not so very different from contemporary East Saxon charters, whose authors had ‹ae› (always) and ‹ę› (often) in their repertoires. Finally, it is striking that neither scribe of S1171, the only Saxon charter to have been written in uncial, had ‹æ› in his repertoire.

The deceptive uniformity of the Saxon manuscript data, as represented in Table 10, is counterbalanced by the numismatic data. Though exclusively East Saxon and from the second half of the 8th century, they reveal much more diversity than manuscript data, not just in the orthographic representation of /æ(ː)/, but also in the representation of /øː/. /æ/ is represented by ‹E›, ‹Ę› and ‹AE›, all used in the same name *Æthelwald*, with ‹E› as the majority representation. The preference for monographic ‹E› over digraphic ‹AE› is potentially related to considerations of space on the coin (and coin-die)—this is also a plausible explanation for the preference (although by a much narrower margin) of ‹E› over ‹OE› for /øː/. What is unusual is the representation ‹Ę›, found nowhere else in Anglo-Saxon coin-epigraphy (or epigraphy more broadly; see Figure 22). Its use is in conformity with the orthographic representations common in London among manuscript scribes, as seen in Table 14: ‹ę› is the

Figure 22: A London coin with ‹Ę›.

predominant representation in S1428b, the earliest of the East Saxon manuscript texts. At best, the use of ‹Ę› on two coin-dies of the same moneyer testifies to the influence of the scriptorium on at least one East Saxon die-carver. Appending a hook to ‹E› when carving a small coin-die required dexterity and fine motor skills, and it could be that the reason we do not find any more numismatic tokens of this representation is that, for the purposes of coin-legends, carving the hook of ‹Ę› was more trouble than it was worth. The die-carver may have thought that if ‹E› was a good compromise for the digraph ‹AE›, then there was all the more reason to revert to ‹E› instead of carving a very similar-looking ‹Ę›. It is also noteworthy that runes went largely unused by London die-carvers. This fits well with what appears to have been a very restricted runic literacy in London and supports the notion that Saxon metalworkers had been wholly illiterate before the arrival of Christianity and that the literacy they acquired after Christianisation was roman.

The modest amount of manuscript material does not present us with any anomalous forms in the Saxon regions, which suggests that, even if the introduction of Christianity and literacy had had difficult or delayed beginnings, the orthography (if not necessarily the hands, as seen in Sussex) adopted by scribes seems to have been reasonably orthodox. The Saxon die-carvers, concentrated in London, operated loosely within the orthographic tradition of East Saxon scribes without being reliant on it, and made use of representations (namely ‹E› for both /æ(:)/ and /ø:/) not found in manuscripts.

8. East Anglia

Map 4: East Anglia.

8.1 The early history of East Anglia

As a region with a semi-circular coastline facing both Scandinavia and the Continent, East Anglia in the 5th century was settled by Germanic peoples from various points of origin. The first immigrants are believed to have been predominantly Saxon, and there is evidence of Scandinavian settlement too, but the archaeological profile of East Anglia came to be dominated by the Anglians (Carver 1989: 147–8, Scull 1992a: 8, Hines 2013: 38–9). Due to a lack of written records, we are almost completely in the dark regarding the details of the early history of the region, but we can infer that "state formation occurred, in the course of the sixth and seventh centuries, through the gradual amalgamation of a number of smaller and less hierarchical or sophisticated territories, as small tribes successively conquered and

absorbed their neighbours" (Williamson 2013: 60; see also Scull 1992a: 6–7).[53] The dynasty of the Wuffingas, which became dominant in the 6th century, was based in Suffolk (Yorke 1990: 61; see also ibid.: 69).[54] This region was ideal as a power-base, since it allowed easy access not only to the North Sea world but also to the rest of England, given that Norfolk was bordered by fenland to the west and therefore challenging to navigate (Carver 1989: 152, Williamson 2013: 47, 60; see also Scull 1992a: 22). Because of its strategic position, Ipswich in Suffolk became an important centre of trade in the 7th century (Yorke 1990: 65–6, Scull 1992a: 22); and, more generally, good farmlands allowed East Anglia to develop into "a more fluid, complex and market-orientated society than the west" (Williamson 2013: 51).

The Sutton Hoo ship-burial provides further evidence that, though situated on the eastern edge of England, East Anglia was by no means isolated. The burial gives us a glimpse of "the splendour and magnificence of the East Anglian court" and testifies to the varied contacts that the region enjoyed (Hart 1977: 56; see also Bruce-Mitford 1975: 688, Yorke 1990: 60). Dated to the 620s or 630s, it has been suspected to be the tomb (or perhaps the cenotaph) of Rædwald, king of East Anglia until his death in *circa* 627 (but see e.g. Stenton 1959: 52, Bruce-Mitford 1975: 705, 715). The grave-goods and type of burial attest to deep-rooted links with the material cultures of Scandinavia and the Continent, as well as profound "ideological interaction" across the North Sea (Carver 1989: 149; see also Yorke 1990: 65, Scull 1992a: 21–2, Hines 2013: 19). These overseas connections are manifested elsewhere too: the name of Rædwald's (?step)son Sigeberht was Frankish, and many female members of the East Anglian royal house settled in religious establishments on the Continent (Yorke 1990: 65; see also Yorke 2006: 125). The East Anglians also had dealings with other Anglo-Saxons. Rædwald

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[53] These neighbours would have included native Britons (see e.g. Scull 1992a: 12–14; see also Warner 1988: 11, Yorke 1990: 61).

[54] The modern division of East Anglia into Norfolk and Suffolk is an ancient one (Yorke 1990: 61), and the area around Ely may have constituted a third 'administrative subdivision' (Scull 1992a: 5–6; see also Hoggett 2010: 32). The joint rule of the three kings Hun, Beonna and Alberht in the 8th century perhaps mirrored this "tripartite division" (Yorke 1990: 69; see also ibid.: 63–4).

had been a protégé of Æthelberht of Kent (see e.g. Yorke 1990: 62), and King Anna, who ruled in the mid-7th century, is thought to have spent some time in exile with the Magonsæte in the west, establishing connections between the two peoples (West & Scarfe 1984: 294, Yorke 1990: 63; see also Yorke 1990: 66). The mother of King Aldwulf (663–713), the long-reigning monarch of the second half of the 7th century and the beginning of the 8th, was Northumbrian (Higham 2005: 86–7)—the relationship with Northumbria was particularly strong, perhaps due to a common Mercian enemy (discussed below; see Yorke 1990: 66; see also Whitelock 1972: 2–3, Hope-Taylor 1977: 321).

It seems reasonable to suppose that "both the formation of the [East Anglian] kingdom and its adoption of Christianity took place in extremely warlike, not at all peaceful, conditions" (West & Scarfe 1984: 293). It is difficult to imagine Rædwald's status as *bretwalda* after the death of his overlord, King Æthelberht of Kent, as anything other than hard-won through "fighting and the exercise of formidable strength" (ibid.; see also Williamson 2013: 61). Although the *bretwalda*ship was never held by an East Anglian ruler again, the rest of the 7th century and the 8th century were not a time of peace, as the kingdom was on the defensive against aggressive Mercian kings, first Penda in the mid-7th century and then Offa in the late 8th century (see Section 9.1).[55] Turbulent political conditions also meant that East Anglian royal succession was rapid, particularly in the decades up to the mid-7th century. Penda was responsible for the deaths of three successive kings (Whitelock 1972: 6, Yorke 1990: 63); and even King Æthelhere (653/4–655), whose accession may have been accomplished with Penda's help (Tyler 2005: 4), died as a result of his allyship with Penda

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[55] It may have been Mercian aggression which pressed East Anglians to develop increasingly close connections with their North Sea neighbours (see Hines 2013: 41). Successful overseas trade may also have made westward expansion less urgent and appealing (Yorke 1990: 71), which meant that the East Anglians were more invested in defending their existing territory than making new conquests at great expense. Some gains were nevertheless made. While the Middle Anglian territory of North Gyrwe was a bone of contention between the Mercians and East Anglians, South Gyrwe was absorbed into East Anglia in the late 7th century, bringing Peterborough and Ely under the East Anglian sphere of influence (ibid.: 108, Whitelock 1972: 7).

(Stenton 1959: 49n3). The dates of Offa's control over East Anglia are uncertain. It may only have been short-lived and limited to the 790s (Yorke 1990: 64), although it has also been suggested that his overlordship extended to as far back as 760s (Archibald & Fenwick 1995: 13). In either case, the native dynasty was not overthrown by the Mercians. East Anglian rulers were able to exercise some power, as evidenced by their coinages, such as those of Æthelberht II and Eadwald in the late 8th century (Yorke 1990: 64, Naismith 2014: 231).

8.2 Christianity in East Anglia

The first exposure to Christianity in East Anglia came with the conversion of Rædwald, who embraced the new religion from Æthelberht of Kent (see Section 6.1). However, the legitimacy of his conversion has been questioned (see Bruce-Mitford 1975: 700, Hoggett 2010: 29). Not only did Rædwald construct a pantheon, where the Christian God was worshipped alongside pagan deities (see e.g. Whitelock 1972: 3, Yorke 1990: 62), but the Sutton Hoo ship-burial, which may have belonged to him, was by all accounts a pagan burial (Hoggett 2010: 29). It could be that Rædwald only accepted Christianity as a "statement of allegiance to Kent" (ibid.: 28), or that he relapsed into paganism due to pressures from his inner circle (Whitelock 1972: 3). On the other hand, Henry Mayr-Harting points out that Rædwald did not reject Christianity outright (1972: 65), and he might have "considered himself a Christian of sorts" (Hoggett 2010: 29), if lacking in learnedness. Furthermore, it is possible that Rædwald's wife and son— who remained unconverted—were responsible for the king's funeral, which would account for its pagan character (Bruce-Mitford 1975: 703; see also ibid.: 705, Stenton 1959: 52). Whatever the status of Rædwald's conversion, it did not result in the widespread Christianisation of East Anglia. He brought no bishop back with him after his baptism in Kent (Brooks 1984: 63), and since "no steps were taken towards developing any kind of diocesan infrastructure" during his reign, Rædwald's (apparent) adoption of Christianity left no lasting

trace on his kingdom (Hoggett 2010: 29). Neither Rædwald's son and successor, Eorpwald (died 627/8), nor Eorpwald's successor, Ricberht (627/8–630/1), were Christians upon accession (although Eorpwald did accept Christianity later in life), demonstrating the hold that paganism still had on East Anglia towards the end of the 620s (Whitelock 1972: 3, Yorke 1990: 62).

In spite of the historical connection between East Anglia and Kent, Canterbury ended up having "only a very limited role [...] in the eventual conversion of the East Angles" (Brooks 1984: 65). The Christianisation proper of East Anglia started during the reign of Sigeberht, who became king in the very early 630s. The Burgundian missionary Felix was sent to the East Angles from Canterbury by the command of Pope Honorius I. Before rising to the throne, King Sigeberht had exiled in Francia, and it was there that he had accepted Christianity. It is no surprise, then, that he wanted a Continental bishop for his own kingdom (ibid.). Although Canterbury was not responsible for Felix's dispatch, the connection reinforced historical ties between Kent and East Anglia, and "for a period East Anglia was the only foreign kingdom to recognize the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury" (Yorke 1990: 66; see also Whitelock 1972: 3–4). Felix was granted a see in Suffolk (see Whitelock 1972: 4, Yorke 1990: 69), and a new see in Norfolk was created following the Synod of Hertford in the early 670s (Warner 1988: 11, Yorke 1990: 69). It did not take long for native interest in Christianity to grow, as Felix's successor to the Suffolk see, as well as the first bishop of the Norfolk see, were both Anglo-Saxons (Whitelock 1972: 8). Still, religious ties with the Continent were not lost. As already mentioned, female members of the East Anglian royal house often ventured to Continental monasteries (May-Harting 1972: 151), and Ely may have been the site of the first Anglo-Saxon double monastery, a typically Gaulish institution (Mayr-Harting 1972: 151, Yorke 1990: 70). Relationships were also forged with closer neighbours. King Anna was responsible for the conversion of a West Saxon king, and Anna's brother Æthelwald acted as sponsor at the baptism of an East Saxon king (Whitelock 1972: 9; see also West & Scarfe 1984: 297). The

Northumbrian Ceolfrith, later abbot of Wearmouth–Jarrow, and Hild, founder of the Whitby monastery, both spent time in East Anglia (Stenton 1959: 46, Mayr-Harting 1972: 148, 151, Yorke 1990: 66). A monastery at *Cnobheresburg*, probably located in Norfolk, was founded by the Irishman Fursa in the first half of the 7th century (Yorke 1990: 65; see also West & Scarfe 1984: 294, Hoggett 2010: 32). This drew more of his countrymen into the area, introducing the Irish strand of Christianity to a region otherwise loyal to Rome (Whitelock 1972: 5).[56]

While there is no reason to suspect any large-scale relapse to paganism after the conversion of Sigeberht (Bruce-Mitford 1975: 705), it is significant that he may have collaborated with "surviving pagan forces in the kingdom in order to secure its unity against the threat of the growing power of their western neighbours" (ibid.). Fursa and his Irish colleagues ended up fleeing East Anglia for fear of a pagan invasion (Whitelock 1972: 5–6; see also West & Scarfe 1984: 294), a real danger in the early-to-mid-7th century. Both contemporary and historical ties to pre-Christian Scandinavia are bound to have contributed to the strong and prolonged presence of paganism (Bruce-Mitford 1975: 703, Carver 1989: 155). The Sutton Hoo ship-burial, whoever it belonged to, shows clear evidence of "solidarity with the North" which could hardly have ended immediately after the completion of the burial-site (Carver 1989: 158). Although East Anglia seems to have been mostly Christianised by the end of the 7th century, it may be futile to attempt to determine whether the first half of the century was predominantly Christian or pagan, as it may be that, at least for a time, the East Anglians were "tolerant of the two traditions" (West & Scarfe 1984: 297). The success of Christianity in the second half of the century has been at least partly attributed to the pressure exerted by the pagan king Penda of Mercia, whose hostility inspired an association of

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[56] Given the papal endorsement and his association with Canterbury, Felix's Christianity must have been Roman rather than Irish (see Meaney 2005: 75). Nevertheless, it has sometimes been argued that Felix had had a connection with a Continental monastery founded by the Irish Columbanus (see e.g. Campbell 1971: 21, Yorke 1990: 65). While this is uncertain, "[e]ven if Felix did come from a Columban monastery, it does not follow that he observed Celtic practices to the extent of keeping the Celtic Easter, for this was given up by some of Columbanus's followers in Gaul" (Whitelock 1972: 5; see also Section 10.2.2).

paganism with the enemy, and, conversely, an association of Christianity with East Anglian nationalism (ibid.: 294).

8.3 Writing in East Anglia

8.3.1 Epigraphy, coin-epigraphy and runes

The history of writing in Anglo-Saxon East Anglia extends as far back as the 5th century, which is strongly indicative of the early Germanic settlers having brought literacy with them. The Caistor-by-Norwich astragalus was found in Norfolk and is among the oldest Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions (see e.g. Odenstedt 1983: 17). The rune-like imprint ‹↑› found on urns from the Spong Hill burial site may be a simple evocation of divine protection (especially in an area where Scandinavian influence was strong; see Page 1999a: 72, Hoggett 2010: 91), and the pseudo-runes on the Lackford pot and the Barrington bone are signs of early aspirations to runic competence (see Myres 1977: 66), implying the existence of genuine runes which inspired illiterate would-be writers. It is not clear whether the 5th-century Undley bracteate was struck in England or whether it was an import from the present-day areas of Denmark or Schleswig-Holstein (see e.g. Odenstedt 1983: 1, Hills 1991b: 147, 150; see also Nielsen 1991). If it is Anglo-Saxon (and thus perhaps East Anglian, in accordance with its find-spot), the elegance and neatness of the runes demonstrate "experience and tradition" (Hines & Odenstedt 1987: 86). If it was imported, as seems more likely, it is an example of the sort of literacy that the East Anglians might have been exposed to in the early mediaeval period. Overseas runic practice is almost certainly behind the 5th- or 6th-century Spong Hill urns, which feature a stamped inscription written in mirror-runes. The inscription itself is reminiscent of a Scandinavian magical formula (Page 1999a: 108, Parsons 1999: 60–2, Looijenga 2003: 194–5, Waxenberger 2018), while the mirror-runes, found nowhere else in

England, find parallels among runic inscriptions from the area of present-day Denmark (see Parsons 1999: 62, Looijenga 2003: 297).

East Anglian minting began after conversion (Williams 2013: 136, see also ibid.: 131). The inscribed coinages of Pada and Vanimundus, from the third quarter of the 7th century, are among the early East Anglian issues (see e.g. ibid.: 135). Vanimundus's coins have a roman legend, possibly drawing on inscribed Continental coins that made their way to East Anglia in the early 7th century, although they did not circulate as currency (Bruce-Mitford 1975: 686). The slightly earlier coins of Pada are runic, foreshadowing the "strongly East Anglian tradition" of completely or partially runic coin-legends (Hines 2011: 291; see also Page in Archibald 1985: 38, Blackburn 1991: 146–9, Hines 1996). The mid-8th-century coins of King Beonna, which were the first in Anglo-Saxon England to feature both the king's name *and* the moneyer's name (Archibald 2005: 129), often feature a mixture of runes and roman letters in the legends (see e.g. Archibald 1985: 19; see also Figure 23). The moneyer Wilred, who minted for Beonna and later also Offa, used runes for all his coins with the East Anglian king, but switched to an exclusive use of the roman alphabet for the few coins he is known to have minted for the Mercian overlord (ibid.: 32). The use of roman letters for Offa's name seems to have been an imperial requirement (see Metcalf 1998: 435, Naismith 2012b: 75; see also Section 6.3.4), and other East Anglian moneyers of Offa frequently retained runic or partially runic spellings for

Figure 23: One of Beonna's coins by Efe. The obverse (left) shows Beonna's name written ‹BEO�ᚠ›. The reverse (right) shows the moneyer Efe's name written in roman letters.

their own names while always reserving the roman alphabet for Offa's name (see Chick 2010: 28). It is evident, then, that 8th-century moneyers were comfortable using both the runic and the roman alphabets (see also Metcalf 1998: 435).

The rich runic record among coins points to a lay runic literacy which was at a reasonably high level of competence (see also Metcalf 1998: 436, 438). This is corroborated by East Anglian (non-numismatic) epigraphy, including artefacts like the Harford Farm brooch (also known as the Caistor-by-Norwich brooch), which contains an inscription presumably written by the craftsman responsible for the mending of the brooch in the mid-7th century (see Hines 1998: 189; see also Page 1999a: 217). Runic literacy is also evidenced in ecclesiastical circles. The Blythburgh writing tablet is the whalebone frame of what was a wax writing tablet, and it has runes "cut through the wax into the whalebone" with a stylus (Neuman de Vegvar 2013: 87; see also Parsons 1994a: 209–210). The impressions are all runic, and what coherent runic sequences there are seem to imply texts written in both Old English and Latin—although, with "texts written over the top of one another", it is impossible to be certain of the meaning of any sequence (Parsons 1994a: 210; see also Page 1991a). While some have understood the writing tablet as bridging the gap between scriptoria and epigraphic runes (see e.g. Page 1991b: 19), there is no evidence that the church at Blythburgh had a scriptorium (Parsons 1994a: 211). Moreover, since the writing tablet is made of whalebone and not wood (which was more customary), it was more likely "a high-status object, not a schoolbook for casual use" (Neuman de Vegvar 2013: 93). It may have been used in liturgy, as indicated by the decorative motifs on the verso (ibid.: 97; see also Webster 1991). The artefact is thus better seen as evidence for runic competence among ecclesiastics more broadly, rather than specifically those involved in manuscript-writing.

This is not to say that there were no links between runes and scriptoria. Brandon in Suffolk appears to have been a manuscript-producing community, "literate in both runes and

roman" (Parsons 1999: 121; see also Carr, Tester & Murphy 1988: 376, Parsons 1994a: 206, Page 2006: 227, Page 2014: 263; see also Section 8.3.2). Three runic objects from between the 7th and 9th centuries demonstrate runic literacy. The runes on the Brandon tweezers are seriffed, calling to mind "Roman inscription practices" (Page 2014: 263; see also Page 1990: 363). The second runic object, the Brandon pin, bears an incomplete but no less intriguing *fuþorc*. The final rune of the sequence, a *sigil*, has an atypical form which has been associated with the runes we sometimes find in manuscripts (see Looijenga 2003: 141; see also Page 2014: 261). Much has also been made of the inclusion of two allographs of *ger*, the epigraphic «ᛄ» and the manuscript «ᚸ» (Parsons 1991: 9, Parsons 1994a: 205, Parsons 1999: 123–4), which again suggests an overlap between epigraphic and manuscript culture in Brandon (see also Page 1991b: 18–19). In addition, the partial *fuþorc* consists of the first two subdivisions, or *ættir*, of the runic alphabet, which could indicate a level of advanced runic literacy beyond mere familiarity with the graphs or even their correct order (Parsons 1991: 8–9; but see Page 2014: 263). The last of the three runic objects, the Brandon antler handle, has an inscription which translates as "grew on a wild animal". David Parsons observes that if the antler handle "had been discovered without archaeological context its inscription would have been classed as likely evidence of simple secular literacy" (1994a: 206). Given the overall archaeological profile of Brandon, however, there seems little reason to separate the antler handle from the other inscribed objects found on-site, and the inscription can be taken as further proof of runic use in a religious, manuscript-producing community (ibid.; see also Page 2014: 262–3).

There are no secure attestations of roman epigraphy from the timeframe of this study (the 7th-century Postwick seal-die may not be Anglo-Saxon at all, see Okasha 2004c: 244–5, Kershaw & Naismith 2013: 294n10). Roman letters were used in coin-legends, however, and roman coin-epigraphy reveals an intriguing overlap between epigraphy and manuscript-writing. Above it was shown that runes and roman letters could be found on the same coin,

Figure 24: One of Æthelberht I's coins by Lul (left; obverse and reverse), and a portion of the incipit *page from the Gospel of Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels.*

sometimes in the spelling of a single name. Die-carvers were evidently comfortable using both alphabets, but this does not necessarily prove their familiarity with manuscript culture as such. A coin of the moneyer Lul for King Æthelberht II does, however, go some way towards closing the gap between the scriptorium and the die-carver's workshop. The coin features curved ‹L›s (resembling retrograde ‹J›s) in the king's and moneyer's names (see Figure 24). Not only do they "[contrast] with the runic or angular letters on Lul's other pennies", but also, more intriguingly, "a curved form of L can be found in non-numismatic sources of similar date, such as in the display script on the famous incipit page of Matthew in the Lindisfarne Gospels" (Naismith 2014: 230). It is possible, then, that letter-forms used in manuscript-writing were familiar to the die-carver. Of course, Lul's die-carver cannot have been the only Anglo-Saxon die-carver with some exposure or connections to manuscript culture, since the first roman-*literate* die-carvers (as opposed to die-carvers who merely copied roman legends without understanding their meaning) presumably had to learn roman literacy from individuals working in manuscript-producing (or at least manuscript-owning) environments. However, the curved ‹L›s of Lul's coins suggest a more prolonged access to manuscript culture and/or a die-carver keen on displaying his knowledge of letter-forms found in manuscripts. The exact locations of East Anglian mints are not known—although Ipswich is a likely candidate (see Naismith 2013: 138, 146, Naismith 2017: 133)—but it has been suggested that Lul minted in

a separate location from most other East Anglian moneyers (Naismith 2010: 79). This could explain the uniqueness of this allographic parallel between coin-legend and manuscripts.

8.3.1.1 The Baconsthorpe clip

The 8th-century Baconsthorpe clip is here treated separately because of its complexity as evidence for the interaction of runic and roman literacy. The clip is presumed to be an accessory used in the reading of manuscripts, which in itself implies that it is the product of "a literate community in which two scripts, as well as two languages, were in extensive use" (Hines 2011: 295)—two scripts because manuscripts were written in the roman alphabet while the Baconsthorpe clip has a runic inscription, and two languages because manuscripts were typically in Latin while the inscription is in Old English. Much of the scholarship around the clip is concentrated on roman orthographic features detected in the runic text. The more obvious of these is the use of a doubled ‹ᚾᚾ› to represent a geminate /nː/, a practice common in roman, but not runic, orthographies. Representing a geminate consonant using one consonantal rune is a well-attested feature of runic orthography (see e.g. Parsons 1999: 112; but see Page 1962), and can be seen in the Harford Farm brooch inscription. The word ‹ᚷᛁᛒᚩᛏᚪ› is typically read as the preterite of the verb *gebœtan* 'mend, repair', even though the preterite has a geminate consonant (which, following the rules of roman orthography, might have been rendered as **‹ᚷᛁᛒᚩᛏᛏᚪ›; Bammesberger 2003: 134). Unlike the inscription on the brooch, which exemplifies 'uncontaminated' runic orthography, the doubling of ‹ᚾ› in the Baconsthorpe clip inscription displays knowledge of and adherence to roman orthographic convention, which is indicative of the inscription having been made in an environment of roman literacy (see Hines 2011: 289, Waxenberger 2012: 185)

It has also been claimed that an alleged runic digraph ‹ᚢᛁ› reflects the conventions of roman orthography, where ‹ui› is used to refer to /y/ (Hines 2011: 290; see also Waxenberger 2012: 185, Waxenberger 2017: 637). I speak of the 'alleged' digraph because, although the ‹ᚢ› is legible in photographs, the rune that follows it—if it is a rune—is either irregular or incomplete, and its identification as ‹ᛁ› is only tentative (see Figure 25).[57] What can be seen is a short vertical incision, just a fraction of the height of the preceding ‹ᚢ›. The incision appears at the end of a row of text, where space is limited. If the incision is the lower part of the stave of a rune, it is most likely ‹ᛁ›, although it could also be another narrow rune, such as ‹ᛁ›, ‹ᚠ› or ‹ᛏ›. There is damage above the incision, which makes it impossible to rule out any of these possibilities, but ‹ᛁ› is considered most likely by default because no other alternative would render a meaningful text. Assuming that the incision does represent ‹ᛁ›, the immediate context of the digraph, without consideration for line-breaks, is as follows: ‹ᛋᛖᚦᛖᚴᚢᛁᚾᚾᛖ› (the digraph is underlined). John Hines (2011, 2020) has parsed the text as ‹ᛋᛖ ᚦᛖ ᚴᚢᛁᚾᚾᛖ› *se þe*

Figure 25: The Baconsthorpe clip (drawing by David Dobson, in Hines 2011: 284). The image on the right is a closeup photograph of the corner containing the alleged digraph ‹ᚢᛁ› (cf. the uppermost corner of the drawing of the inscription).

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[57] It has not been possible for me to examine the inscription in person.

cuinne (= *se þe cynne*) 'whoso may'.[58] The form *cynne* is interpreted as the present subjunctive

of the preterite-present verb *cunnan* 'to be able to'; however, there are no other attestations

of an i-mutated present subjunctive for this word (but see Bammesberger 2012: 533; see also

Hines 2011: 289, Hines 2020: 78–9). What makes the acceptance of the reading *cuinne* (=

cynne) all the more curious is that, if there was no deuterograph and the incision was just a

scratch, the resulting verb-form *cunne* would be "the regular subjunctive of *cunnan*"

(Bammesberger 2012: 533n2). To sum up, while the use of a double rune for a geminate

consonant reflects "standard Roman-script spelling practice" (Hines 2011: 290), it remains

uncertain whether the same can be said of the uncertain digraph ?‹ᚾᛁ› and its association with

the roman digraph ‹ui›.

8.3.1.2 Runic innovation

The East Anglian runic record has often been discussed with a focus on the innovations of local

rune-masters (for images of the innovations discussed in this paragraph, see Figure 26). The

coins of the moneyer Wilred for King Beonna have a rune-like symbol which presumably

stands for Latin *rex* 'king' (see esp. Archibald 1985: 39). It is the only known (to me) runic

innovation which takes advantage of the ability of runes to refer to lexemes as well as

phonemes (see Section 3.2), which could indicate that such a function of runes was active in

East Anglia in the 8th century. The rest of the East Anglian innovations focus on vowel

representation (see Hines 2020: 85). The 8th- or 9th-century Sedgeford fragment has an

innovative rune with a vocalic referent, perhaps /y/ or a diphthong (see Waxenberger 2017,

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[58] There are other ways in which the text can be parsed. It is possible to read ‹ᛋᛖ ᚦᛖᚳ ᚢᛁᚾᚾᛖ› *se þec uinne* (= *se þec ynne*) 'whoever may grant you' or (= *se þec winne*) 'whoever may obtain you' (Waxenberger 2012: 185), although there are "no parallels of such formulas […] in the *DOE Corpus*" (ibid.: 191).

*Figure 26: Innovative East Anglian runes on (left-to-right) a coin of Beonna by Wilred,
the Sedgeford fragment, the Baconsthorpe clip and a coin by Eadnoth.*

Hines 2019). The Baconsthorpe clip, discussed above, has a rune which may refer to an

unstressed mid-central vowel in the region of [ə], which would make it an unusual example of

a letter referring to a vowel which "occurs only in unstressed positions" (Hines 2011: 289).

This theory has been met with scepticism, although it must be acknowledged that the

orthographic conventions around unstressed vowels in runic writing are poorly understood

(Waxenberger 2012: 189). According to another theory, the rune referred to a vowel around

[ɛ] (ibid.: 191), perhaps "an intermediary stage" in Mercian second fronting (ibid.: 192; see

Section 9.4). The same rune might also be found in the coins of the moneyer Eadnoth. The

rune looks identical to the Baconsthorpe clip innovation, except that it is bound to the

rightmost stave of ‹ᛗ› and is upside-down. If the runes are not the same, then Eadnoth's rune

represents yet another innovation (see Hines 2011: 287–8, Waxenberger 2012: 187).

The obvious question raised by these innovations is whether anyone apart from the

rune-masters themselves were expected to recognise them. Eadnoth may well have had an

unusual rune on his coins as a mark of authenticity and a way of visually setting his name apart

from that of other minters, with no expectation of intelligibility (see Naismith 2020: 516). The

same applies to Wilred's coins for Beonna, although the royal title was presumably not one

that any minter would have wished to deliberately obscure. It is simplest to assume that the

symbol was comprehensible to East Anglians, as it is to us, by virtue of its position on the

observe of coins next to the king's name where one would usually have expected to see the

word *rex*. The name on the Sedgeford fragment is most likely an owner's mark, but the significance of owner's marks in this period is poorly understood, and it is unclear who it was that such inscriptions were aimed at (see Hines 2019: 298–9; see also Hines 1998: 188). The Baconsthorpe clip inscription is the one which is most likely to have been intended for an audience. If it has been correctly identified as a page-holder or page-turner (Hines 2011: 282–3), it would have been a communal object, with every user a potential reader for the inscription. The most favoured parsing of the first part of the inscription is also an explicit invitation for a reader: "[r]ead whoso may" (ibid.: 289). The riddling quality of this invitation—specifically the use of the disconcerting modal *may* (Old English *cunne* or *cynne*, discussed in Section 8.3.1.1)—could be a hint that this inscription was unconventional, and that it took an educated or sharp-witted reader to understand the text fully (see Hines 2011: 295). Runes were so ubiquitous in East Anglia that their presence alone may not have made the inscription unconventional. But regardless of whether these innovations were everyday additions to the East Anglian rune-row, or whether they were esoteric curiosities, they strongly suggest a local runic tradition that was alive because it inspired creativity and did not limit itself to the common Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc*.

8.3.2 Manuscripts, roman literacy and education

East Anglian manuscript culture has been referred to much in the preceding sections. Due to the devastating effects of Viking raids on monasteries and other centres and repositories of writing in the 9th century, no East Anglian manuscripts have survived (the pre-Conquest charters discussed in Lowe 2010 are too late for this study), and so all evidence of a manuscript culture in the region is indirect. For example, it is safe to assume a tradition of charter-writing considering that East Anglia was able to remain an intact entity through periods of Mercian overlordship, a feat which implies "an effective royal administration and control of royal

resources" (Yorke 1990: 71). An East Anglian origin has been argued for *Beowulf*, with a possible East Anglian provenance for the first manuscript copy of the poem (Newton 1993). Although it has only survived in later copies, *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* is an important East Anglian work written in the first half of the 7th century by a monk named Felix (not to be confused with the first bishop of East Anglia; see Whitelock 1972: 15, Yorke 1990: 59, 71, Hoggett 2010: 34). It is obvious from his writings that Felix "was comparatively widely-read", and that he "presumably was (or had been) a member of a well-endowed school with a creditable library and scriptorium" (Higham 2005: 85; see also Whitelock 1972: 16, Meaney 2005: 75). Surrounded by rich resources, it is difficult to imagine that Felix alone attained high levels of literacy, and indeed, "[i]n his preface, Felix refers to other English scholars in their midst who could have written the work better, and, without our laying too much stress on this use of the modesty convention, one can assume that he could not have said this if he were the only learned man in East Anglia" (Whitelock 1972: 16).

And there is every reason to believe he was not. East Anglia is known to have supported education. King Sigeberht, whom Bede describes as "very Christian and learned" (West & Scarfe 1984: 293), established a school with teachers who were dispatched from Canterbury (Brooks 1984: 65, 94; see also DeCamp 1958: 239, Whitelock 1972: 4, West & Scarfe 1984: 293). Styli excavated around East Anglia show that writing tablets were commonly used (Pestell 2004: 37–45). There is also diverse evidence for manuscript ownership, which points to a general appetite for learning and literacy (Whitelock 1972: 10). Cuthwine, an East Anglian bishop, visited Rome and "collected illuminated manuscripts" (ibid.: 9). Some manuscripts were also taken from East Anglia to the Continent for safekeeping—an Irish ecclesiastic based in East Anglia transported "his church valuables and books away by ship to France" (West & Scarfe 1984: 294). The majuscule hand of the Brandon plaque inscription (see Figure 27) is associated with insular manuscripts (see Brown 1991a), and the

Figure 27: The Brandon plaque.

artistic style gives the impression that "the metalworker was closely familiar with manuscript art as the figure looks as if it has been drawn with ink" (Marzinzik 2013: 140; see also Parsons 1991: 8, Parsons 1994a: 207). Although the plaque is dated to the 9th century, it was probably made early in the century and thus perhaps gives a glimpse into the kinds of manuscripts available in Brandon at the time (see Pestell 2004: 37). Finally, if the Baconsthorpe clip was an accessory used in manuscript-reading (see Section 8.3.1.2), it implies the existence of manuscripts; moreover, the inscription refers to both reading and writing, not only evoking a culture of literacy, but also providing a vocabulary for literacy (see esp. Hines 2020: 85; see also Hines 2011: 293–4, Bammesberger 2012: 535).

8.4 East Anglian

East Anglian, like Mercian and Northumbrian, was an Anglian dialect, and as such, shared with them in Anglian smoothing as well as the fronting and raising of PGmc */aː/ to /eː/ (see e.g. Ringe & Taylor 2014: 8, Trudgill 2021: 27–9; see also Section 4.2.1). Gaby Waxenberger considers East Anglian to have been part of a "Mercian dialect area" (2012: 190), but this can hardly mean anything more than that both East Anglian and Mercian had Anglian features,

unless it is intended to reflect the hegemony that Mercia gained in East Anglia during the rule of Offa (in which case the concept is political, not linguistic). Unfortunately, since the written evidence from East Anglia is extremely limited, it is difficult to outline its distinctive features— but it is nevertheless extremely unlikely that Mercian and East Anglian were identical across the board, especially in Norfolk, which was separated from greater Mercia through the natural barrier of the Fens.

8.5 East Anglian material

8.5.1 Manuscripts

No East Anglian manuscript material is considered.

8.5.2 Epigraphy

The epigraphic data comprise only the Harford Farm brooch, recovered from Norfolk. The brooch has a runic inscription, as well as some decorative patterns, carved on the reverse (see Figure 28). While a small, portable artefact such as this may have been produced or inscribed far from its place of deposit and eventual recovery—and indeed this type of brooch is most closely associated with Kent—an East Anglian provenance has not been seriously doubted (see e.g. Hines 1991a: 6, Parsons 1999: 53). The brooch fits the general archaeological profile of the area, which has returned a high number of runic inscriptions. Comparison with other similar, metallurgically dated brooches has placed the Harford Farm brooch in the first half of the 7th century (Hines 1991a). The inscription is not part of the decorative design of the artefact, however, which means it is not necessarily contemporaneous with the manufacture of the artefact (see ibid.: 7). If the inscription has been correctly interpreted as "Luda repaired

Figure 28: The reverse of the Harford Farm brooch. The inscription is above the clasp.

the brooch" (ibid.; but see Bammesberger 2003), then the inscription "is quite reliably dated to the middle of the seventh century on the basis of the probable date of manufacture of the brooch and the purity of the gold found in the repair plate" (Hines 1998: 189; see also Parsons 1999: 53).

8.5.3 Numismatics

The numismatic material is drawn from the coinages of the East Anglian kings Æthelberht I and II, as well as from Offa's coinage by the East Anglian moneyer Œthelred.

All East Anglian coins are dated to the second half of the 8th century according to the regnal dates of the issuing rulers. Æthelberht I is believed to be the same person as Alberht, one of three rulers who rose to joint power in the mid-8th century (see Section 8.1). This is because his coins show "similarity to the known coins of Beonna", another of the three East Anglian co-rulers (Archibald & Fenwick 1995: 9; see also ibid.: 11–12, Archibald 2005: 128,

Naismith 2017: 136). Beonna was definitely East Saxon, and the similarity between his coins

and the coins of Æthelberht I, who shares a name with two Kentish rulers, can be securely

identified with the East Anglian king and therefore provenanced to East Anglia. The attribution

of two coins to Æthelberht II is likewise slightly convoluted. One of the two coins considered

in this study, *EMC/SCBI* 1016.0105, has a 'wolf and twins' design on the reverse, which is also

found in a coin minted for Offa (see Figure 29). Contemporaneity with Offa makes it likely that

the name of the sovereign on *EMC/SCBI* 1016.0105 refers to Æthelberht II, who reigned until

794, and not Æthelberht I. The East Anglian moneyer Lul was responsible for the 'wolf and

twins' coins of both Æthelberht II and Offa, which provenances *EMC/SCBI* 1016.0105 to East

Anglia (see Naismith 2014: 230; for Lul as an East Anglian moneyer, see Section 8.3.1). The

second of the two coins is different in design but was also minted by Lul. This, as well as some

other similarities between the legends of this coin and the 'wolf and twins' one confirms that

it belonged to Æthelberht II (Naismith 2014). Offa's moneyer Œthelred is identified by Rory

Naismith as a "Probable" East Anglian moneyer (2010: 82). His coins bear a resemblance to

the coins of the moneyer Wihtred, who also minted for Offa and who has a stronger East

Anglian connection, since he minted for King Eadwald of East Anglia in the late 8th century

(see Naismith & Naylor 2012: 212–13). No East Anglian coins from this period name the place

of minting, and so the precise location of the East Anglian mint (or mints) is not known,

although Ipswich is a strong possibility (see Section 8.3.1).

Figure 29: Æthelberht II's 'wolf and twins' coin (left) and Offa's 'wolf and twins' coin (right).

8.6 East Anglian data

The only epigraphic inscription is from the period 650–700, and all the numismatic evidence

belongs to the period 750–800.

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ(ː)/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹ᛗ› ×2 ‹ᛖ› ×2
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/øː/	PS	-	‹ᛟ› ×1	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹OE› x11
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/y(ː)/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 15: East Anglian orthographic representations by time-period and medium.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/æ/[ff]	PS	-	-	‹ᛗ› Æ1[EA]×2 ‹ᛖ› Æ2[EA]×2
	RS	-	-	-
/æ/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-
/æː/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-

Table 16: Orthographic representations of /æ(ː)/ in East Anglia.
(Æ1[EA] = Æthelberht I; Æ2[EA] = Æthelberht II.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/øː/	PS	-	‹ᛟ› HF×1	‹OE› O[Œ]×11
	RS	-	-	-

Table 17: Orthographic representations of /øː/ in East Anglia.
(HF = Harford Farm brooch; O[Œ] = Offa by Œthelred.)

8.7 East Anglian discussion

Given the destruction of all early manuscripts, the East Anglian data is exclusively epigraphic

and numismatic. The one epigraphic artefact is runic, while both runes and roman letters are

found in coin-legends. This aptly reflects the rich record of East Anglian runic epigraphy on the

one hand, and East Anglian die-carvers' characteristic mixing of runes and roman letters on the other.

The total number of East Anglian tokens is very small, which makes any definite statements about East Anglian orthography risky and only preliminary at best. A hesitant observation based on the data presented above is that, although both recorded vowels, /æ/[ff] and /ø:/, have two orthographic representations respectively, the representations differ only in script. There is no intra-scriptal variation: in roman texts, /æ/[ff] is *only* referred to by ‹E›, and in runic texts, /æ/[ff] is *only* referred to by ‹ᛗ›, etc. On the face of it, these results make East Anglian orthography seem highly regular. However, the dangers of making too much of scant data quickly become apparent when considering that ‹ᛗ›, ‹E›, ‹ᛟ› and ‹OE› are all drawn from discrete and restricted contexts. There is a high chance that behind these four representations are only four different writers, one per representation. ‹OE› is only found in the coin-legends of one moneyer. We do not know whether it would have been used by the die-carvers of other moneyers, or in roman (non-numismatic) epigraphy. We do not know whether ‹oe› would have been used in manuscripts. Conversely, ‹ᛟ› is only found on one epigraphic object. We do not know whether die-carvers would have used it for /ø:/ in runic coin-legends, or whether other rune-carvers would have used it in epigraphy. Similarly, the appearance of ‹ᛗ› and ‹E› for /æ/[ff] in coin-legends does not guarantee that they would have appeared in epigraphy. Moreover, ‹ᛗ› is restricted to the coins of Æthelberht I by the moneyer Tilræd, and ‹E› to those of Æthelberht II by the moneyer Lul. Would other moneyers (or their die-carvers) have opted from the same runic and roman representations of /æ/[ff]?

The fact that all instances of /æ/[ff] appear in the prototheme *æþel-* requires some further comment. It is striking that both ‹ᛗ› and ‹E› conventionally refer to /e/, not /æ/. The use of ‹E› for expected /æ/ on coins has previously in this study been provisionally thought to be a space-saving technique, given that digraphic ‹AE› (which is in line with the majority

manuscript representation for /æ(ː)/ in all regions so far studied) would have taken up more space on the die (see Sections 6.7 and 7.7). However, the use of ‹ᛗ›, which is spatially broader than the more expected ‹ᚠ›, casts doubt on this hypothesis, at least in the region of East Anglia. The selection of ‹ᛗ› over ‹ᚠ› gives rise to the possibility that the selection of ‹E› was an accurate representation of the quality of the vowel of the prototheme. Sensitivity towards vowel representation has been a noteworthy feature of East Anglian runic inscriptions (see Section 8.3.1.2), which is all the more reason not to dismiss ‹E› and ‹ᛗ› for expected /æ/ as anomalies in the data. It is possible that, in the East Anglian dialect, the stressed vowel of the name-element *æþel-* was raised from /æ/ closer to /e/. This could be attributable to Mercian second fronting, which would have easily reached East Anglia (see Section 9.4). Not only may the region have been part of the "Mercian dialect area" (Waxenberger 2012: 190), but, even if it was not, East Anglia—and Ipswich in particular, where most die-carvers are likely to have operated—was a vibrant trading centre, and could have attracted Mercians from early on.[59] Confidence in East Anglian die-carvers' commitment to faithful vowel-representation in orthography also prompts us to accept the name of the moneyer Œthelred at face value. The prototheme *œþel-* has sometimes been interpreted as a variant of *æþel-*, as in the *EMC/SCBI* database, where the moneyer is named *Æthelred*, or in *PASE*, where he is *Æthelred 48*. However, the orthographic representation for the stressed vowel of the prototheme, a representation that the moneyer himself was satisfied to appear on coins bearing his name, is without exception ‹OE›, which typically referred to /øː/. It is unlikely, then, that ‹OEðEL› was an alternative spelling of *æþel-*, or that ‹OE› was an orthographic representation of /æ(ː)/. Given the consistency in the spelling of the moneyer's name, as well as the lengths to which East Anglian epigraphers (numismatic and otherwise) appear to have gone in vowel

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[59] The extension of Kentish raising to parts of East Anglia in the Old English period has been discussed (see e.g. Fisiak 2001, Lowe 2010), but, if our dating of Kentish raising is correct (see Section 6.4), the sound change is too late to account for the raising of /æ/ to /e/ in East Anglian.

representation, it is assumed here that the prototheme was not *æþel-*, but *œþel-*, the cognate lexeme of which is *œ̄þel* 'native land' (see Colman 1988: 125–6). The reasoning is not circular insofar as *œþel-* is a known name-element, and the consistent spelling of the name *in the primary evidence* is strongly in favour of such a reading.

It is dangerous to claim that the East Anglian data necessarily 'shows' anything. Even 'points to' seems too definite in places. Perhaps it is safest to say that the East Anglian data 'hints at' faithful vowel representation in orthography, which in turn may give us new leads in our attempts to define the East Anglian dialect. It can be said with some more certainty that the chronological distribution of the East Anglian representations is in conformity with our overall profile of East Anglian runic use, namely: a strong runic tradition which, over the course of the 8th century, slowly made way for, but was not extinguished by, the roman alphabet. The choice of alphabet may have become especially significant as a marker of identity when Offa's Mercia took over East Anglia, but, if so, it is important to acknowledge that the East Anglians were not defined only by their use of runes. While we do not have surviving manuscripts, the coin-legends of East Anglian kings show that roman writing was an intrinsic part of East Anglian literacy.

9. Mercia
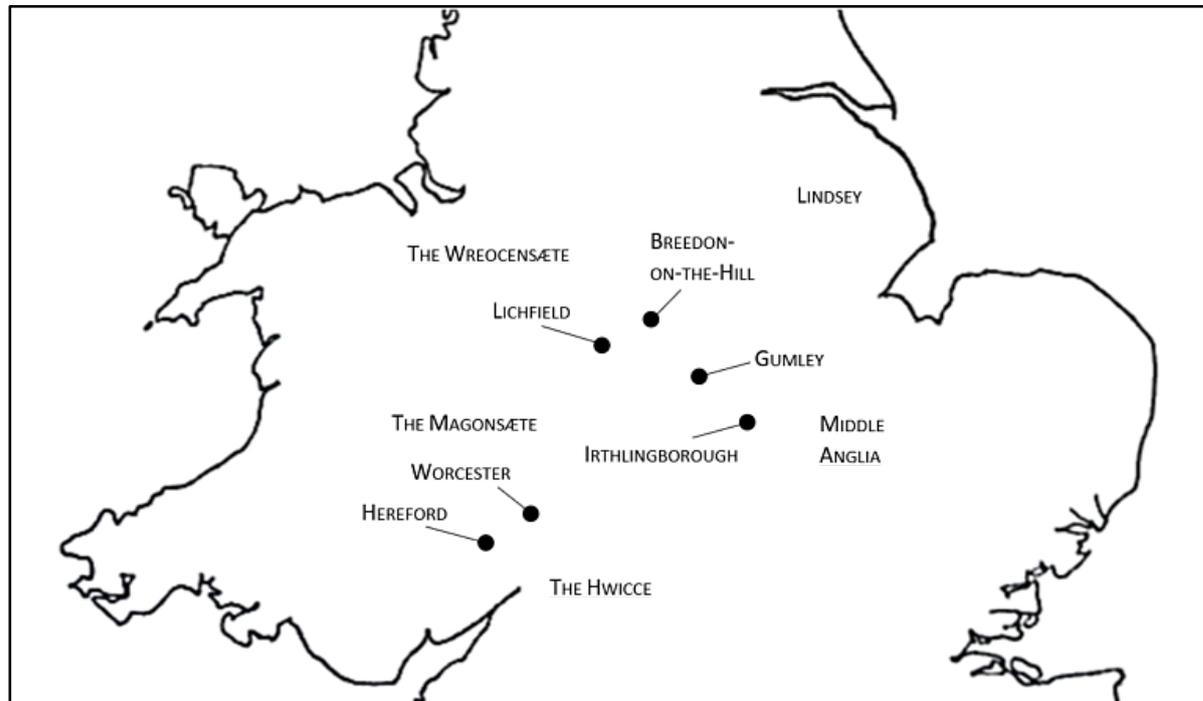
Map 5: Mercia.

9.1 The early history of Mercia

Mercia rose to be one of the great powers of Anglo-Saxon England, but as with many of the other kingdoms, we know relatively little about its origins due to a dearth of Mercian primary sources (see Dumville 1989a: 123–4, Yorke 1990: 100–2). Early Mercian history is reconstructed from various non-Mercian sources, some of them post-Conquest, which are not always consistent, and which present Mercians to us "through the eyes of outsiders (and frequently enemies)" (Tyler 2007: 91). Place-name evidence and the archaeological record have also been used to piece together early Mercian history, although their witness is inevitably incomplete (see Tyler 2007). What can be said with confidence, however, based especially on the evidence of early funeral sites, is that the Mercians were Anglians, who arrived in (what became) Mercia via the eastern part of England starting in the 5th century, reaching the westernmost parts possibly as late as the 6th century (see Stenton 1971: 41–2,

Yorke 1990: 102; see also Hills 1991a: 54, Parsons 1996: 150, Parsons 1999: 103). The precise area of their original settlement is challenging to bring into focus not only because of our patchy historical knowledge, but also due to the considerable gains in territory made during the reign of the 7th-century king Penda (died 655) (see Davies 1977: 24). What has proved helpful is a document known as the Tribal Hidage, originally compiled in the 7th or 8th century, but only surviving in later copies (see Davies & Vierck 1974: 227, Hart 1977: 44). It is a tax list which names the peoples who had come under the Mercian sphere of influence (see Hart 1977: 46, Gelling 1989: 191), and by identifying the geographical spread of Mercia's tributaries, it allows us to situate the core region of Mercian settlement around "the modern counties of Staffordshire, Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire together with south Derbyshire and northern Warwickshire" (Brooks 1989b: 160–1)—although even this area might "itself have already been an agglomeration of earlier unrecorded peoples created primarily by military means" (ibid.: 160). Another pointer is the division of Mercia by the Northumbrian king Oswiu after his victory against the Mercians at the battle of the *Winwæd* in 655. The river Trent marked the dividing line between the two halves of the kingdom, and while it is unclear whether the division was an *ad hoc* creation by Oswiu or a reflection of an existing geographical distinction, "the fact of the division does suggest that the Trent flowed through the heart of the Mercian kingdom" (ibid.: 161).

Up to the mid-7th century, our knowledge of Mercian history is dominated by the actions of King Penda. His date of accession is unknown (see Yorke 1990: 103–4; see also Brooks 1989b: 164–6), but he is recorded to have fallen at the battle of the *Winwæd*. Like many Anglo-Saxon kings, Penda's outlook was military and expansionist, as is evidenced by the Tribal Hidage, which mirrors "[t]he greater Mercia which Penda created" (Gelling 1989: 191). The region consisting of the client kingdoms named in the document was too vast to be ruled as one political unit, and it was doubtless Penda's policy of allowing native dynasties to persevere (while exercising overlordship in aspects such as the collection of tribute and the

control of land) which made prolonged Mercian control sustainable and resulted in a coherent empire which could be passed down the line of succession (see Yorke 1990: 114, Tyler 2005: 6). Having Penda as overlord was no bad fate, however, since he was a generous ruler (e.g. Tyler 2005: 9), and, as a pagan king with seemingly no religious agenda, he was possibly more tolerant of diversity than some of his Christian successors "who were more directly exposed to biblical and Roman ideas about ethnicity", and so diversity of background and custom could peacefully coexist under Penda's rule (Tyler 2007: 101). And diversity certainly did exist. Like the immigrants to other areas, the Mercians did not occupy a deserted landscape, but one inhabited by the indigenous British, and the various kingdoms which came under Penda's rule "are likely to have been predominantly British creations", or the products of Anglo-Saxon immigrants mixing with native Britons (Yorke 1990: 107; see also Bassett 2000: 107–9, 116). Mercia's neighbours were also both British and Anglo-Saxon; the very name *Mercia* is etymologically related to Old English *mearc* 'boundary, border', and refers to the position of Mercia as sharing a border with the Britons to the west (i.e. the Welsh; see Brooks 1989b: 162, Yorke 1990: 102).

Although some aspects of Penda's rule, such as his allyship with the Welsh, ended with Penda (see Brooks 1989b: 168, Yorke 1990: 104), the empire which he built not only stayed intact, but grew under his successors. Even a three-year period of Northumbrian control following Penda's defeat did not cause the kingdom to disintegrate. The Northumbrian king Oswiu divided Mercia into a northern and southern region (see above) and allowed Penda's son Peada (655–656)—who was also Oswiu's son-in-law—to act as subking in southern Mercia (see Eagles 1989: 211, Bassett 2000: 116). Peada was soon murdered, and in 658 Oswiu was ousted from Mercia. That same year Wulfhere (658–675), another of Penda's sons, was made king of Mercia and "seems to have reasserted his father's control of the other kingdoms south of the Humber", and so Mercian expansionism could pick up from where it had left off before the brief period of Northumbrian rule (Yorke 1990: 105). A number of

permanent conquests were made during the nearly 30-year reign of Wulfhere's brother and successor Æthelred (675–704), whose victory against Northumbria at the battle of the Trent secured the contested area of Lindsey for Mercia (ibid.; but see also Mayr-Harting 1972: 117). Following the reigns of three relatively short-lived kings at the beginning of the 8th century (on whom see Yorke 1990: 111), the rest of the century was dominated by the lengthy rules of Æthelbald (716–757) and Offa (757–796), during which "[m]ost of the kingdoms peripheral to Mercia in the seventh century were absorbed into the kingdom of Mercia" (ibid.: 113), and much of Southumbria was brought under Mercian control. Mercia gained a foothold in London, and Offa in particular was responsible for furthering his dominion into Kentish, South Saxon and East Anglian territory (see ibid.: 112–14). These advances granted landlocked Mercia access to mints, ports and international relations. Offa was especially keen to emulate the policies and kingship of the Frankish king Charlemagne; and one of the more tangible products of these new resources and contacts was an extensive coinage under Offa modelled after that of Charlemagne (see Hart 1977: 56–8, Brooks 1984: 117, Yorke 1990: 115, Naismith 2016: 87).

9.2 Christianity in Mercia

9.2.1 Early exposure to Christianity

Relatively little is known of the Mercians' conversion to Christianity, given that Bede had no correspondents in the core region of Mercia (Kirby 1965–6: 368). What further complicates the question is that Mercia became an empire ruling over many peoples and client kingdoms, each with a unique history. Some of these kingdoms, such as those of the Hwicce, Magonsæte and Wreocensæte to the west, were still "ethnically British" in the mid-7th century, and their indigenous inhabitants are likely to have been British Christians (Tyler 2007: 93; see also Bassett 1992, Bassett 2000: 113). A proportion of Anglo-Saxon immigrants to these areas may

therefore have been converted by the British majority (see e.g. Bassett 1992: 18, 39; see also Pretty 1989), but it is unclear how common such an occurrence was. The role of the indigenous, Christian British population in the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons—particularly those in the west midlands—has attracted a great deal of scholarly scrutiny. The abrupt change in Anglo-Saxon funerary customs, from furnished to unfurnished burials, has been taken by some as an indication of changing Anglo-Saxon traditions in response to exposure to British Christianity. While it is acknowledged that "[d]oing away with grave-goods and becoming a Christian are not the same thing", nevertheless, arguably "the changes were rapid and wholesale enough for us to conclude that they must reflect the Anglo-Saxons' coming into contact with organized Christianity" (Bassett 1992: 16; see also Yorke 2006: 120). However, this theory has not gone unchallenged. Burials without grave-goods could just as well "be those of local [British] Christian elites who had temporarily adopted some elements of Anglian culture" (Tyler 2007: 96). It is therefore difficult to assess the extent to which the Christianity of the British subjects of the Mercian empire affected their ethnically Anglian compatriots. On the other side of the empire, the arrival of Christianity in Middle Anglia is much better understood. Shortly after his father Penda made him subking of the Middle Angles in 653, Peada accepted Christianity from Oswiu of Northumbria as a condition for marrying Oswiu's daughter; and so, missionaries from Lindisfarne were brought to work among the Middle Angles from early on in Peada's reign (Tyler 2005: 7–8).[60]

Although Penda was not opposed to Christianity, as can be seen in his tolerance of Christian missionaries in his son's subkingdom (see Ozanne 1962: 33, Sims-Williams 1990: 56), the core region of Mercia remained largely unaffected. As already discussed above, Penda does not appear to have had any religious agenda, and, perhaps in consequence, his network

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[60] It is also acknowledged that the Continental missionary Paulinus sojourned briefly in Lindsey in 627, sent by the Northumbrian king Edwin at a time when Lindsey was still a Northumbrian region (see e.g. Stafford 1985: 98, Eagles 1989: 210, Sims-Williams 1990: 58; see also Section 10.2.1).

was "ethnically and ideologically pluralist, embracing British kings as well as Anglo-Saxon, non-Christians as well as Christians. It is likely that Penda's court, used to visits from these other kings and their retinues, was a cosmopolitan centre, multi-ethnic and multi-lingual, and tolerant of religious diversity" (Tyler 2005: 11). His close collaboration with the Welsh king Cadwallon may have exposed him to Christianity (Ozanne 1962: 33), which led to Penda not perceiving the religion as a threat. We also do not exactly know what the nature of paganism in Mercia was and how widely it was practised at this time (see Bailey 1980: 12). Place-name evidence has often been evoked to shed light on the issue. The historical areas of the Wreocensæte and the Magonsæte are devoid of pagan place-names, which gives the impression that paganism, if it was practised in these areas at all, "was so short-lived as to leave no trace on the nomenclature of the landscape" (Tyler 2007: 98). This is in contrast to the core area of Mercia, where pagan place-names indicate some pagan worship, although "it is not easy to say how and when the places were associated with the gods, nor when the pagan shrines may have ceased to be used. Some of these names may already have been fossils in the seventh century, and others may allude to pagan practices that continued for centuries" (Sims-Williams 1990: 55; see also Gelling 1992: 92–4). Moreover, the pagan place-names of Mercia must be juxtaposed with place-names with the British element *eccles*, "generally thought to indicate 'British' church sites" (Tyler 2005: 3; see also Gelling 1997: 98–101). Given that both Christian and pagan names are found in much the same areas, this has led some to wonder if perhaps "the elites of early Mercia were more ethnically mixed than is generally assumed" (Tyler 2005: 3).

9.2.2 Christianisation proper

Despite Penda's tolerance of Christianity and the presence of British Christians in the Mercian empire in the first half of the 7th century, it is only Penda's death in 655 which marked the

"official introduction of Christianity into Mercia" (Ozanne 1962: 20; see also Dumville 1989a: 131, Bassett 1992: 18). The region was evangelised over the three years between 655 and 658 that Oswiu controlled Mercia after having defeated Penda. As discussed above, Oswiu collaborated with Peada to create "a joint Middle Anglian and Mercian bishopric under Northumbrian influence" (Sims-Williams 1990: 56), and Diuma, an Irishman and one of the missionaries who had been sent to Middle Anglia from Lindisfarne, became the "first bishop of the Middle Angles and of the Mercians" (Dumville 1989a: 131). Oswiu's hand in the Christianisation of Mercia, as well as Diuma's appointment, meant that early Mercian Christianity had a strong Northumbrian—and, especially since Diuma and his immediate successor were both Irish, a distinctly Irish—flavour (see Bailey 1980: 4–5). Traces of Irish tradition may be seen in the eventual selection of Lichfield as the episcopal seat in 669 at the beginning of the episcopate of Chad. Though English, Chad was "trained in the Irish tradition at Lindisfarne" (Mayr-Harting 1972: 88), and he had also been one of Aidan's pupils (ibid.: 96; see also Hughes 1971: 50, Gelling 1992: 96; see also Section 10.2.2). Ecclesiastics of the Irish persuasion gravitated towards religious centres set on islands, either real or metaphorical— and Lichfield, "[g]irt by forest and marsh" as it was, "was perhaps the nearest approximation Chad could find" (Brooks 1989b: 169; see also Sisam 1956: 130; see also Section 10.2.2). Christianity thus took root in Mercia, and there is evidence of conversion at least in the upper echelons of society: Peada's brother Wulfhere was Christian upon accession in 658, and it seems that a Christian enclave of the Mercian court was instrumental in ensuring his rise to power and the ousting of Oswiu (Mayr-Harting 1972: 117; see also Tyler 2005: 14). However, in spite of a conspicuous transition from pagan to Christian kingship, the details concerning the conversion of the Mercian populace more generally are less clear, and no single Mercian mission as such has been identified.

Irish or Irish-trained bishops saw to the religious needs of the Mercians up to the end of the 660s, and we know of no communication between them and the Southumbrian centres

of Roman Christianity (Stenton 1971: 120–1). The tide turned following the Synod of Whitby in 664, after which no part of Anglo-Saxon England was exempt from the Romanising influence of Canterbury (see e.g. Stafford 1985: 179, Gelling 1992: 95; see also Section 10.2.3). Indeed, before the end of the 7th century "the Irish connections of the English church had been eclipsed by those of Rome" (Stafford 1985: 99). The effects of the shift towards Roman customs can be seen in church architecture (Bailey 1980: 14–15, Stafford 1985: 99) and, to some extent, in the written tradition which emerged (see Section 9.3.3). It can also be seen in the authority with which Canterbury reorganised the Mercian diocese. In approximately 680, the decisions made at the Synod of Hertford in 672 (see Section 6.3.3) were actioned, and "the great see of Mercia was separated into smaller diocesan units" (Bailey 1980: 6; see also Brooks 1984: 74–5). The see of Lichfield continued its existence, and new sees were created at Worcester and Hereford, which oversaw the regions of the Hwicce and the Magonsæte respectively; the rest of Mercia stayed under the control of Lichfield (Brooks 1984: 75, Hart 1977: 49). The ecclesiastical situation in Mercia remained relatively stable for over a century, until in 787, after the Council of Chelsea, Lichfield was promoted into being the third Anglo-Saxon archiepiscopal see, beside Canterbury and York. This elevation of status had not been on the agenda of the Church. Rather, it was the brainchild of Offa, arguably motivated more by a spirit of retaliation than a genuine concern for the souls of the Mercians. The archbishop of Canterbury at the time, Jænberht, had successfully opposed Offa's schemes of moving the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury to London, closer to the heart of Mercia (Yorke 2006: 275–6; see also Brooks 1984: 119). In response, Offa sought to "create at Canterbury's expense a new midland province of the English church with a metropolitan see at Lichfield" (Brooks 1984: 111). Not only were the circumstances of the establishment of this new archiepiscopate contentious, but its new status was also dependent on the direct control and support of Offa. As soon as he died, "Mercian bishops made their professions of obedience to the archbishop

of Canterbury" (Sisam 1956: 130), and Lichfield was officially demoted back into a bishopric in 803 (see Brooks 1984: 119, 123).

9.3 Writing in Mercia

9.3.1 Mercian runic literacy

The 5th-century Loveden Hill urn, from the historical area of Lindsey, features what is arguably the most well-known Anglo-Saxon runic inscription of the pre-conversion era (see Figure 30). The inscription is unique among early runic texts in terms of its length, with a total of fifteen (mostly) clearly-carved runes divided into one string of seven and two strings of four. Many—but not all—of the runes are easily identifiable, which has encouraged attempts at interpretation, although no consensus has been reached and the various suggestions have differed drastically (see Page 1999a: 11). What complicates matters is that the function of the text is similarly elusive. The Loveden Hill urn is a cremation urn, and so a communicative

Figure 30: The Loveden Hill urn.

function is unlikely, since "for what readership would one inscribe a cremation pot?" (ibid.: 217). The runes vary considerably in size and spacing, as if the inscriber had not planned their layout properly before getting to work. Perhaps "his work was complete once the runes were cut" (ibid.: 114; see also Page 2001: 626). Another urn from the Loveden Hill burial site bears pseudo-runes (Page 1999a: 92, Page 2001: 626), which gives the impression that the function of the runes was fulfilled simply by their presence, not by any linguistic message the runes may have conveyed (see also Owen 1981: 92). Their presence may have communicated high status (see Hines 1991b: 73), or they could have had an amuletic function relevant to local funerary practices—perhaps the runes were meant to protect the deceased (or, indeed, the living; on Anglo-Saxon cremation burials, see Owen 1981: 67–95). Still other urns from Loveden Hill feature a decorative stamp resembling ‹↑› which, if it is a rune, may have been used to evoke divine protection as per Scandinavian runic practice (see Page 1964a: 30, Myres & Green 1973: 66, Page 1999a: 92; see also the Holborough spear-head in Section 6.3.1). As a whole, then, the inscribed urns—the Loveden Hill urn in particular—make it plain that runes were known to pre-Christian Mercians. Other, non-ceramic inscriptions corroborate this. Runes are found on the 6th-century Welbeck Hill bracteate, although its associations with Scandinavian rune-magic (see Hawkes & Page 1967: 22, Page 1996: 133, Looijenga 2003: 221) could make it a mere symbolic relic rather than a display of literacy. The 6th- or 7th-century Willoughby-on-the-Wolds bowl has a single rune which has been interpreted as a possible owner's or maker's mark (see Hines 1990b: 450–1, Kinsley & Page 1993, Page 1999a: 91), and the short, unsophisticated inscription on the 6th- or 7th-century Cleatham hanging bowl could likewise be an owner's mark (but see Hines 1989, Hines 1990b: 444–5, Looijenga 2003: 290–1).

The arrival of Christianity effected a thorough change in Mercian runic writing. The post-conversion inscriptions stand in stark contrast to their pre-conversion counterparts in terms of legibility and intelligibility, which is hardly surprising, considering that an aspect of

the literacy disseminated by the Church was a heightened awareness of the importance of uniformity in writing. Christian literacy presumed an audience of human (as opposed to divine) readers who must have been able to comprehend a text in order to be edified and educated. Neat, well-proportioned and relatively lengthy inscriptions are found on artefacts of such diverse materials as the Honington (metal) clip, the Derby bone plate the Overchurch stone (see Figure 31). Christianity had also brought stone epigraphy and an entire genre of memorial inscriptions, and although rune-stones did not become as widespread in Mercia as they did in neighbouring Northumbria, the "southern boundary" of Anglo-Saxon rune-stones is in Mercia (Page 1999a: 29). The Mercian post-conversion inscriptions mentioned here are all overtly Christian in content, reflecting the religious society out of which they sprang. In addition, the seriffed runes on the Derby bone plate, as well as on other inscriptions such as the Long Buckby strap-end and the Wardley metal plate, explicitly point to (direct or indirect) connections with the scriptorium. R. I. Page called such an association "too daring a conclusion" (1999a: 163), and while it is true that some serif-like markings could be chalked up to careless cutting, a consistent inclusion of serifs is a reasonably secure sign that the inscriber, or one of his instructors, had been exposed to the practices of the scriptorium and had some access to manuscript culture. Other signs of such exposure are the double runes on

Figure 31: The Overchurch stone.

the Honington clip inscription representing geminate consonants, an orthographic convention closely associated with roman orthography, and one which would have been adopted from the world of roman literacy (Hines 2015: 269; see Section 8.3.1.1). Finally, it is worth mentioning the poet Cynewulf, "an ecclesiastic, active in the early ninth century, and based in Mercia" (Fiona Gameson 2011: 665; see also Sisam 1953: 2, 7, 134, Fulk 2001). The highly sophisticated use of runes in his acrostic poetry may hint at a wider context of advanced runic literacy in late-8th-century Mercia, where Cynewulf and/or his target audience were educated.

A regrettable aspect of the early history of Mercian epigraphy is that there is no numismatic record. Because Mercian rulers minted their coins outside of Mercia (see e.g. Naismith 2010: 80), we lack the robust witness that coin-legends typically provide for the state of lay literacy after the adoption of Christianity. The vast majority of the intelligible post-conversion inscriptions are explicitly Christian. We cannot be certain of the genre of the numerous inscriptions that only survive as fragments, but perhaps they have come down to us as fragments precisely because they were secular inscriptions from lay contexts, which would have lost value with time as objects with writing for its own sake became less of a status symbol, or pagan apotropaic texts became less relevant, while demand rose for personal objects that expressed or facilitated Christian devotion. Mercian rune-stones could be indicative of a reading knowledge of runes among the general (lay) population, since they often imply a wide audience (although this is not always the case; see Section 10.3.4.1), but they are mostly from after the period of this study and cannot help our understanding of 8th-century lay literacy. (Moreover, the Overchurch stone, the earliest complete Mercian rune-stone, is from an area of Northumbrian involvement, which might have affected the level of local literacy.) As it stands, the runic record is not varied enough to give us a comprehensive view of runic literacy in both lay and ecclesiastical circles in post-conversion Mercia, but what

can be said with confidence is that runic literacy was a part of local culture both before and after conversion.

9.3.2 Learning and manuscript culture

Since Mercian Christianity was, at the first, Irish in character, the early education of Mercians must also have been at the hands of Irish or Irish-trained ecclesiastics. The standard of education cannot have been consistent in ecclesiastical establishments across the vast Mercian region, but it was sufficiently high at the monastery of Breedon-on-the-Hill to produce a man of as great learning as Tatwine (see Mayr-Harting 1972: 192, Bailey 1980: 18–19). A Mercian ecclesiastic born in the second half of the 7th century and archbishop of Canterbury from 731 until his death in 734, his Latin grammar, *Ars Tatuini*, shows clear parallels with the grammar of Donatus (Law 1997: 105–6, 132). He also penned Latin riddles following the example of Aldhelm (see Sections 3.5 and 10.3.3). Tatwine's work encapsulates the way in which roman literacy permeated parts of Mercia to the effect that a local ecclesiastic was able to produce writing merging both Continental and Anglo-Saxon features: "Tatwine of Breedon, with his Anglo-Saxon riddles and his Latin grammar full of classical reference, typifies this resulting blend" (Stafford 1985: 99; see also ibid.: 177, Orchard 2003: 210). There are indications that, in the second half of the 8th century, Offa deliberately fostered an environment where literacy could flourish (Wormald 1982b: 112). As with Offa's creation of the archbishopric of Lichfield (see Section 9.2.2), this was undoubtedly motivated by self-aggrandisement tied to the notion of literacy as a signal of power. But whatever his agenda, its fruits can be seen not only in the manuscripts produced in the decades following Offa's reign, but also in the strong Mercian contingent in King Alfred's efforts to revitalise Old English literacy in the 9th century (Stenton 1971: 270–1, Brown 2001: 289–90, Colman 2004: 194–5).

In spite of Mercian interest in literacy and education in the 7th and 8th centuries, Mercian manuscripts from this period are thin on the ground. This has been attributed to the devastating effects of the Viking invasions, which meant that no archives have come down to us from the great ecclesiastical centre of Lichfield (see Hart 1977: 59). The once archiepiscopal seat doubtless did produce manuscripts, at least charters, until the invasions (Kuhn 1948: 621, Wormald 1982b: 110); but, as it stands, most of the surviving Mercian charters from before 800 are from the archive in Worcester in the western client kingdom of the Hwicce, which was geographically further from the invading armies than the core Mercian region (see Hart 1977: 59; see also Brooks 1989b: 159). These charters offer precious insight into the history of roman literacy in Mercia. S89 is one of the few Anglo-Saxon charters written in the uncial hand, a diagnostic of the involvement of the Roman Church (see Section 6.3.2). Dating from 736, the use of uncial is late compared to the two other Anglo-Saxon uncial charters, S8 and S1171, both from the end of the 7th century (see Sections 6.3.2 and 7.3.2.2.1). This could either indicate that trends in charter-writing, which first arrived in metropolitan Kent and London, only reached Mercia after a lag (see Bruckner & Marichal 1967: xvii), or that Mercia developed its own 'palaeographic microclimate' and held on to uncial even when the more southern regions began to move away from its use. Adherence to old ways can also be seen in S56. Written some twenty years after S89, it has been described as "an exceptionally conservative document" which finds textual parallels among "Continental models that were used by the first generations of Anglo-Saxon charter-scribes" (Kelly 1998: xlix).

9th-century manuscripts can also help us paint a picture of the manuscript tradition of the 8th century out of which they sprang. The most prominent of these are four prayerbooks which have traditionally been assigned a Mercian, and probably a Worcester, provenance. They are collectively known as the Tiberius prayerbooks, and comprise the Harley Prayerbook (London, British Library, Harley MS 7653), the Royal Prayerbook (London, British Library, Royal MS 2 A XX), the Book of Nunnaminster (London, British Library, Harley MS 2965),

and the Book of Cerne (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ll.1.10).[61] Particularly in terms of their content, these works testify to the strong Northumbrian and Irish element which had defined Mercian Christianity from the mid-7th century onwards and which was not abandoned even with increasing Romanisation. The Book of Cerne may represent an originally Northumbrian assemblage of texts (Mayr-Harting 1972: 183; see also Kuhn 1948: 623), and the Book of Nunnaminster contains "prayers of Irish rather than Roman origin" which, unlike the Book of Cerne, "offers important evidence of *direct* contemporary Southumbrian use of Irish sources, rather than just of elements which had earlier been absorbed into Northumbrian culture" (Brown 1991d: 210, emphasis mine; see also Kuhn 1948: 624). Still, the same manuscripts also betray a connection with Roman Christianity. For example, the Royal Prayerbook includes "prayers and hymns from the Roman and Celtic churches", showing a marriage of both ecclesiastical traditions (Brown 1991c: 208). It has text not only in Latin but also in Greek, a specialist subject in Anglo-Saxon England, which can be traced back to Archbishop Theodore's school in Canterbury (see Bailey 1980: 17, Stafford 1985: 99, Brown 2001: 289; see also Section 6.3.3). The Book of Cerne has been described as precisely the type of work one would expect from Mercia during and after the reign of the Continentally-minded Offa: one "conflat[ing] Northumbrian, Kentish, Continental, Byzantine and Christian Orient ingredients" (Brown 2001: 285–6; see also Wheeler 1977: 241). If such manuscripts could be produced at Worcester after Offa's lifetime, we can only imagine what the output of Lichfield, Offa's archiepiscopate, would have been like in the heyday of his patronage.

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[61] The Harley Prayerbook and the Book of Nunnaminster may be from as early as the late 8th century. The Book of Cerne may have been written at Lichfield (Sisam 1956: 130, Brown 1991e).

9.4 Mercian

Mercia has been called "the least well defined of the [Old English] dialect areas, and indeed the term hides a degree of linguistic variation rather greater than elsewhere" (Hogg [1992] 2011: §1.8; see also Ringe & Taylor 2014: 7). The Mercian empire was so vast that it is impossible to envisage anything resembling a uniform Mercian dialect throughout the region. Insofar as it can be defined, however, Mercian was an Anglian dialect, and as such it was susceptible to Anglian smoothing (see Section 4.2.1). Mercian (or a subdialect of Mercian) also underwent a sound change known as second fronting, whereby the low front vowel */æ/ was raised to /e/ and, to a lesser extent, the low back vowel */ɑ/ was fronted to /æ/ (Hogg [1992] 2011: §§5.87–90). The principal evidence for this sound change is found in the 9th-century Vespasian Psalter gloss, although it probably began already in the 8th century, if not earlier (see Dresher 1980: 49–53, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 220–1; see also Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.92). In either case, it is possible that second fronting affected some or all instances of the target vowel /æ/ considered in this study, but instead of discarding the vowel from consideration altogether, I have included all cases of expected /æ/ as outlined in Section 4.2.1, and address the possible effects of second fronting in Section 9.7. /æ/ (< */ɑ/) as the reflex of second fronting is not considered.

9.5 Mercian material

9.5.1 Manuscripts

The manuscript evidence consists of six charters and a Mercian confirmation on a South Saxon charter (see Table 18), as well as the Épinal glossary (Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale 72(2), fols 94r–107v). The charters and the confirmation were all written in Latin with Old English

Charter	Shelfmark	Date of charter	Date of manuscript
S56	London, British Library, Add Ch 19789	759	s. viii[2]
S59	Worcester, Worcester Cathedral Muniments B 1598	770	s. viii[2]
S89	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 3	736	s. viii[1]
S92	London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A I, fol. 7	749	s. viii[2]
S114	London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 4	779	s. viii[2]
S139	London, British Library, Add Ch 19790	793×796	s. viii[2]
S1184	Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap I/17/2	780	s. viii[2]

Table 18: The Mercian manuscript material (charters only).

personal names, lexemes and one place-name, while the Épinal glossary is in part a Latin–Old English glossary. The charter material is therefore almost completely onomastic, while the Épinal glossary evidence is entirely lexical.[62]

The dates of the charters are largely unproblematic. S56, S59, S114 and S139, as well as Offa's confirmation in S1184, all acknowledge Offa's rule in some capacity, which dates the charters to the second half of the 8th century. These charters have typically been considered to be original, or very closely contemporaneous with the original manuscripts.[63] Some doubts regarding the manuscripts' originality or contemporaneity have been raised, but none which seriously challenge an 8th-century date. S56 has been speculated to be a 9th-century forgery (see e.g. Brown 1986: 120), but the claim is of questionable validity (Keynes 1996: 160n174). S59 has been called a possible "revised copy, not necessarily forged, issued late in Offa's reign", but its contemporaneity with Offa has not been questioned (Sims-Williams 1990: 155n61; see also Bruckner & Marichal 1967: 97, Wormald 1986: 157). The two remaining charters, S89 and S92, both acknowledge King Æthelbald, Offa's predecessor. His regnal dates

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[62] I have left out S1186a, which is included in Seiler 2014 and assigned a date in the last quarter of the 8th century, but in Lowe 2001 is listed as a 9th-century charter. The first Erfurt glossary (Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Amplonianus 2°42, fols 1r–14v), which is closely related to the Épinal glossary, was copied in the 9th century by a foreign scribe on the Continent, which is why it is excluded from this study. The Corpus glossary (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 144) was once thought to have been written in the 8th century, but is now more securely dated to the 9th (see e.g. Bischoff & Parkes 1988: 24–5, Seiler 2017: 154).

[63] For statements to this effect, see Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 2, Sims-Williams 1990: 156n64 (S56); Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 25, Sims-Williams 1990: 150n40 (S114); Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 5, Wormald 1986: 155 (S139). For a discussion on S1184, see Section 7.3.2.2.2.

span from 716 to 757, which means that the charters could be dated to either half of the 8th century. The date given in the main text of S89 places it firmly in the first half of the 8th century, and the charter has been considered to be original, especially given that the witness list has been written in two stints; a copy would have been written in one go (Wormald 1982a: 95–7; see also Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 22, Harrison 1973: 65, Wormald 2006: 157). The short grant on the verso of the manuscript is "slightly later" (Bruckner & Marichal 1963: 22), but still here considered to date to the first half of the 8th century.[64] S92 was written in 749, but is part of a manuscript believed to have been copied and compiled in the second half of the century (Keynes 1996: 139–40).[65] The Mercian provenance of all the charters is confirmed through their Hwiccian benefactors, with two exceptions. S92 is recorded to have been written in a location identified as present-day Gumley in Leicestershire (Keynes 1994: 49), while Offa's confirmation in S1184 names the place of writing as ‹yrtlinga burg›, present-day Irthlingborough in Northamptonshire (Kelly 1998: 49).

The Épinal glossary (Ép) is, for the most part, a Latin–Latin glossary, but between a quarter and a third of the lemmata have an Old English gloss (Pheifer 1974: xxi). Although the glossary has been in France for an unknown length of time (see Seiler 2017: 158, see also Pheifer 1974: xxiv), its Anglo-Saxon origin is confirmed through palaeography and codicology, which betray distinctly insular and Anglo-Saxon characteristics (Pheifer 1974: xxi–xxii). The more specific provenance of the glossary has sparked much debate, however, largely attributable to the complexities in the transmission and textual history of glossaries. Ép ultimately stems from an English family of glosses originally compiled in Canterbury in the second half of the 7th century (see e.g. Lapidge 1986: 58–9, Seiler 2017: 153). These glosses were gathered together in

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[64] *PASE* places the *floruit* of Cyneberht (*Cyneberht 3*), to whom the grants on both sides of the manuscript are addressed, between 736 and 749, i.e. into the first half of the century. The data from S89 are either by the main scribe of the recto (S89.1) or the scribe of the verso (S89.2). There are no target vowels in the short stint of the second scribe of the recto.

[65] The manuscript was seriously damaged in the Cottonian fire and only a small fraction of the charter survives, but a 17th-century transcript of the charter (Spelman 1639: 256–7) has allowed us to recover the full text, which contains information crucial for dating and provenancing.

glossae collectae, collections of marginal or interlinear glosses, which listed lemmata in the order in which they occurred in a specific text (see e.g. Seiler 2017: 157; see also Pulsiano 2001: 213–14). *Glossae collectae* were subsequently organised into *a*-order glossaries, where the lemmata were sorted into alphabetical order based only on their first letter: for example, *alium* and *aquilium* would appear in the same group, but not necessarily in that order. Later stages saw increasingly sophisticated organisation into *ab*-order (order based on the first two letters) and *abc*-order (first three letters). Ép is mostly an *a*-order glossary (see Lapidge 2010: 131–2), which implies that, by the time Ép was copied, the original Canterbury glosses had already gone through the *glossae collectae* phase. Ép was therefore not necessarily copied in Canterbury; it could have been based on *glossae collectae* which had travelled outside of Canterbury. We also know that Ép does not mark the transition from *glossae collectae* to an *a*-order glossary, because there is another *a*-order glossary, the first Erfurt glossary (Er), which is so similar to Ép that they must both stem from the same (now lost) *a*-order archetype.[66] Figure 32 visualises the relationship between Ép, Er and the Corpus glossary (Cp), according to which it was not just the exemplar of Ép and Er (Chadwick's *Archetype II*; typically referred to as *Épinal–Erfurt* or *EE*) which was in *a*-order, but the exemplar of EE (Chadwick's *Archetype I*) was in *a*-order too (Chadwick 1899: 189; see also Pheifer 1987: 36–7).
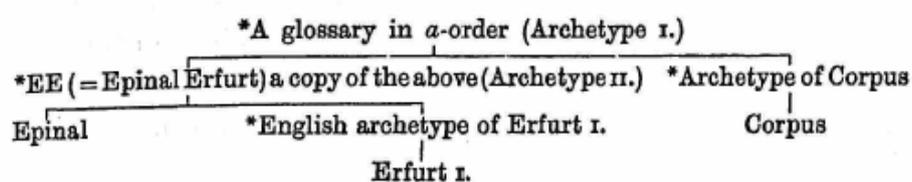
Figure 32: The relationship between Ép, Er and Cp (from Chadwick 1899: 189).
The tree "represents the minimum number of texts necessarily involved" (ibid.).

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[66] Certain differences between Ép and Er rule out the possibility that one is a copy of the other (see e.g. Pheifer 1974: xl–xli, Pheifer 1988: 49, Lapidge 2010: 130–1).

Ép has traditionally been considered to be a Mercian text on account of linguistic features in the Old English glosses, such as Anglian smoothing (see Section 4.2.1), which are undeniably Anglian, but which did not align with Northumbrian features. These leave Mercian as the most likely option in light of our current knowledge of Anglo-Saxon dialects (Pheifer 1974: xc; see also Campbell 1959: §12, Hogg [1992] 2011: §1.8). However, given the above discussion, it is very difficult to know whether Ép itself is a Mercian product, or whether it was one of the archetypes that was Mercian. It does not help that the single scribe responsible for the copying of Ép has been characterised as very conservative (Seiler 2017; but see Toon 1983: 77), and so he could easily have preserved Mercian features in his exemplar in spite of not writing in Mercia or being Mercian himself. The West Saxon monastery of Malmesbury has been nominated as a possible place of composition for EE (see e.g. Bradley 1919: 101, Pheifer 1974: lvii). This has won much favour due to an overlap between (on the one hand) the glosses in Ép and Er and (on the other) the vocabulary in the works of Aldhelm, the great West Saxon scholar who served as abbot of Malmesbury from 675 to 705 (see Section 7.3.2.2.3); there is also a small number of West Saxon features in the Old English glosses of Ép (Pheifer 1974: xci).[67] The direction of borrowing must have gone both ways: Aldhelm "undoubtedly borrowed heavily from the glossaries", but there is also reason to believe that EE contained glosses to Aldhelm's works (Pheifer 1974: lvi; see also Pheifer 1987: 44, Lapidge 2010: 139, 141). However, Aldhelm's writings "circulated widely in his lifetime", and so an association with Aldhelm does not guarantee a Malmesbury provenance to EE, much less to Ép, which could have been copied anywhere regardless of where its exemplar was composed (Pheifer 1987: 44). Furthermore, the West Saxon (as well as some Kentish) forms in Ép are not necessarily "the slips of a West-Saxon or Kentish scribe writing the Mercian *Schriftsprache*" —

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[67] The part of present-day northern Wiltshire where Malmesbury is located was "an area for which control was contested between Mercia and Wessex throughout the seventh to ninth centuries" (Yorke 1995: 53; see also ibid.: 61), which could explain the presence of both Mercian and West Saxon features.

they could just as well be orthographic fossils retained from West Saxon and Kentish source-material (Pheifer 1974: xci; see also Bischoff & Parkes 1988: 16).

In this study, I have attempted to group texts according to where they were written, disregarding any (apparent) dialectal or ethnic affiliations of the writer (see Chapter 5). Unfortunately, Ép has eluded all attempts of assigning it a provenance on textual, codicological or palaeographical grounds. Linguistic evidence points to Mercia (Pheifer 1974: xc–xci; see also Campbell 1959: §12, Hogg [1992] 2011: §1.8, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 8), but was it Ép itself which was written in Mercia, or just one of its exemplars? This is a question which the current extent of our knowledge cannot answer. Still, it would be regrettable to leave out as substantial and important a source of early Old English orthography as Ép, and for this reason, Ép is nevertheless included and assigned a Mercian provenance on account of the common assumption that a Mercian scribe was involved in its copying or in the copying of one of its exemplars. It is acknowledged that this approach is riddled with obvious uncertainties: How can we be sure that a scribe producing Mercian spellings was Mercian? Even granting a Mercian scribe, how can we be sure that he was writing in Mercia? And while the copyist of Ép evidently preserved Mercian spellings, is there any reason to presume that he would also have preserved Mercian *orthography*, if he himself was not Mercian or writing in Mercia? These are real issues to which no answer can be offered at this point (although some will be touched on later)—but in lieu of any other means of provenancing Ép, appealing to Mercian spelling-features seems to be the most straightforward (or least problematic) way of assigning a region to the text, if not necessarily the manuscript itself. The dating of Ép is much more straightforward. Because the glossary consistently retains archaic orthographic forms of Old English, especially in the representation of unstressed vowels and the bilabial fricative—forms which, were they not present in Ép and Er, "our philologists would have been compelled to give with an asterisk as the inferred forms in prehistoric Old English" (Bradley 1919: 101)—it is likely that it was copied not long after its exemplar (Pheifer 1974: lxxxix). EE is thought to

have been written in the late 7th century (see Pheifer 1987: 18), and so the dates for the copying of Ép have generally varied between the last quarter of the 7th century and the first quarter of the 8th century (see Pheifer 1974: lxxxix). Most recent scholarship prefers the first quarter of the 8th century, and Ép is here dated accordingly (see ibid.; see also Seiler 2017).

9.5.2 Epigraphy

The epigraphic data comprise only the Honington clip, an incomplete metal clip with a relatively lengthy runic inscription. The two 'prongs' suggest that the clip may have functioned as tweezers (see Figure 33). Apart from the inscription, the clip is very simple and devoid of distinctive features—so much so that dating or provenancing it on any grounds other than linguistic has not been possible (see Hines 2015: 269, Hines 2020: 74). The clip is small, making it easily portable, but John Hines has argued that it can be considered local to its find-spot in present-day Lincolnshire. Apart from the phonological features of the inscription which point to an Anglian origin, he writes that

Figure 33: The Honington clip (from Hines 2015: 260).

> a combination of affinities with Northumbrian and Mercian dialects is precisely what we might expect of the otherwise totally lost early Old English dialect of Lincolnshire itself, the kingdom known as Lindsey. In sum, there is no reason why this inscription, […] could not have been made close to where it was subsequently deposited – presumably lost – and found, notwithstanding the long life and heavy handling of the object that its worn state implies (2015: 270).

The inscription contains the allograph «ᛁ», which has sometimes been thought of as Kentish. This association between allograph and region was deemed problematic in Section 6.3.4, however, and so runological considerations do not negate a Mercian provenance. The clip has been dated to the second half of the 8th century in accordance with the representation of unstressed vowels (ibid.: 269). There is no reason to doubt that the inscription is contemporary with the manufacture of the clip, and the neat layout of the runes within horizontal borders which conform to the shape of the 'prongs' of the clip is suggestive of a planned and thought-out inscription.

9.5.3 Numismatics

No Mercian numismatic material is considered.

9.6 Mercian data

The manuscript material for 700–750 consists of S89 and the Épinal glossary; the rest of the manuscript material belongs to 750–800. The only epigraphic inscription is from the period 750–800.

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ(:)/	PS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×38 ‹e› ×2 ‹a\e/› ×2 ‹a› ×1 ‹ę› ×1	-	-	‹æ› ×5 ‹ae› ×2	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×5	-	-	‹æ› ×2	-	-
/ø:/	PS	-	-	-	‹oe› ×10 ‹e› ×1	-	-	‹oe› ×1	‹ꝋ› ×1	-
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/y(:)/	PS	-	-	-	‹y› ×45 ‹e› ×1 ‹i› ×1	-	-	‹y› ×5	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	‹y› ×17 ‹u› ×1	-	-	‹y› ×2	-	-

Table 19: Mercian orthographic representations by time-period and medium.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/æ/[ff]	PS	‹ae› S89.1×4, S92×1, S139×1, Ép×21 ‹æ› S59×3, S139×2 ‹e› S89.2×1, Ép×1 ‹ę› S89.1×1 ‹a\e/› Ép×1	-	-
	RS	‹ae› Ép×3 ‹æ› S56×1, S114×1	-	-
/æ/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-
/æ:/[im]	PS	‹ae› Ép×13 ‹a› Ép×1 ‹a\e/› Ép×1	-	-
	RS	‹ae› Ép×2	-	-

Table 20: Orthographic representations of /æ(:)/ in Mercia.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/ø:/	PS	‹oe› S139×1, Ép×10 ‹e› Ép×1	‹ᛟ› HC×1	-
	RS	-	-	-

Table 21: Orthographic representations of /ø:/ in Mercia.
(HC = Honington clip.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/y/	PS	‹y› S59×1, S89.1×1, S89.2×1, S139×3, S1184×1, Ép×38 ‹e› Ép×1 ‹i› Ép×1	-	-
	RS	‹y› S89.2×1, Ép×15	-	-
/y:/	PS	‹y› Ép×5	-	-
	RS	‹y› S59×1, S1184×1, Ép×1 ‹u› Ép×1	-	-

Table 22: Orthographic representations of /y(:)/ in Mercia.

9.7 Mercian discussion

Although it is possible that Ép preserves many or even most of the orthographic representations of its 7th-century exemplar, the Mercian data is all 8th-century. Most of the evidence is concentrated to the second half of the century, but because of the large number of words with target vowels in Ép, there are significantly more data from the first half of the 8th century. The only epigraphic text, the Honington clip inscription, was written in runes throughout.

Apart from there being more individual tokens from the first half of the 8th century, there are also more representations, with a noticeable bottleneck in their amount from one half-century to the next. Table 19 shows that all primary-stressed target vowels had a larger number of manuscript representations in the period up to 750, only one of which survived post-750 per vowel. (‹æ› for /æ(:)/ in the second half of the 8th century is not a survival, but
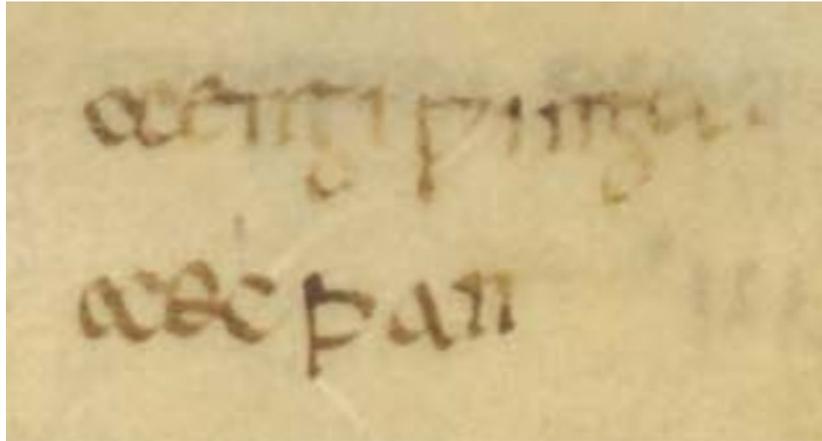
Figure 34: Two Old English glosses in Ép. The difference in shape between the ‹þ› in the higher gloss ‹aengiþinga› (845) and the lower gloss ‹aecþan› (846) is striking; the former resembles ‹p› more than ‹þ›.

the introduction of a new representation.) The proliferation of representations in the first half of the century is easily explained by the nature of the evidence. Ép represents the orthographic practices of multiple scribes, not all of whom can be presumed to have been Mercian, but whose orthography was preserved through the process of transmission, from glosses to *glossae collectae* to glossaries (see Seiler 2017: 160). Even if it could be proved beyond doubt that Ép was copied in Mercia and/or by a Mercian, the glossary must not be mistaken for a reflection of the orthographic representations which were in wide use in Mercia in the first half of the 8th century. If the glossary really was a Mercian production, then, at best, it demonstrates the orthographic repertoire of one scribe—and perhaps only his *passive* repertoire. Some of the representations he reproduced may have been relicts that never entered his active repertoire. Compelling evidence of just such a scenario is the use of ‹þ›. Judging from the awkward shapes of the letter, the Ép scribe appears to have been unfamiliar with ‹þ› and must have only copied it because it appeared in his exemplar (ibid.: 160–1; see Figure 34). Incidentally, such a commitment to the orthography of his exemplar might signal that the copyist of Ép, whatever his ethnicity, retained Mercianisms in the orthography, and not just the spelling, of the exemplar.

Because of the unique challenges involved in the study of Ép, aspects of its orthographic variety are discussed separately from the rest of the Mercian data. Table 23 below displays the orthographic representations found in Ép only. Each of the target vowels has a clear majority representation, but some of the anomalies merit further discussion. In the regions studied thus far, the orthographic representation of /y(ː)/ has been uniformly ‹y›, but in Ép we also find ‹e› and ‹i› for primary-stressed /y(ː)/, and ‹u› for reduced-stressed /y(ː)/. Richard Hogg suggested that the ‹i› in ‹c**i**stigian› (621) could be symptomatic of a West Saxon sound change where [i] was laxed to [ɪ] and [y] to [ʏ], leading to a degree of interchangeability between the use of ‹i› and ‹y› ([1992] 2011: §5.171). However, this sound change occurred too late to be a likely explanation (see ibid.: §5.175). An alternative suggestion saw ‹i› as a misspelling for intended ‹ui› (ibid.: §5.174). This approach fails to convince, however. There are no instances of ‹ui› for expected Old English /y(ː)/ in Ép (or, for that matter, in Er, Cp or in any of the Mercian charters). In other words, to suggest that monographic ‹i› (and perhaps ‹u› among the reduced-stressed representations) was a

Vowel	Stress	Ép
/æ(ː)/	PS	‹ae› ×34
		‹a\e/› ×2
		‹a› ×1
		‹e› ×1
	RS	‹ae› ×5
/øː/	PS	‹oe› ×10
		‹e› ×1
	RS	-
/y(ː)/	PS	‹y› ×43
		‹e› ×1
		‹i› ×1
	RS	‹y› ×16
		‹u› ×1

Table 23: Orthographic representations in Ép.

misspelling for ‹ui› is to suggest that there is not a single case where ‹ui› was written correctly. The numerous superscript amendments attest to the fact that the scribe made many mistakes, but no instance of ‹i› or ‹u› was ever corrected to ‹\u/i› or ‹u\i/›. A more persuasive explanation for ‹cistigian› follows the lines of J. D. Pheifer's compelling point regarding the spelling ‹soęr\g/ęndi› (79; not included in the data on account of its short /ø/), where we find ‹oę› for expected /ø/. He sees the use of ‹ę› in ‹oę› as a "scribal anticipation of æ [read: ę, AEM] in the following syllable" (1974: lxix).[68] Something similar may have happened in ‹cistigian›: an original ‹y›-spelling was erroneously changed to ‹i› under the influence of the ‹i› in the second syllable. In Cp, the same word is spelled ‹cystigan›, which strengthens the possibility that in the shared archetype of Ép and Cp—Chadwick's *Archetype I*—this gloss had a ‹y›-spelling (*contra* Herren, Porter & Sauer 2021, where the archetypal spelling is reconstructed as ‹cistigian›).

This does not account for the use of ‹e› for expected /y/ in ‹cendlic› (729). Pheifer presumes that it reflects Kentish raising (1974: lxix), but the glossary and all its exemplars were, in all probability, compiled too early to have been affected by this sound change (see Section 6.4). A possible clue in the search for an explanation is the spelling ‹uppae› (553). This word has not been included in the study on account of its opaque etymology, but it is striking that both Er and Cp have ‹yppe›, making it likely that both Chadwick's *Archetype I* and EE (Chadwick's *Archetype II*) had a ‹y›-spelling for this gloss (*contra* Herren, Porter & Sauer 2021). The fact that Er has ‹yppe› where Ép has ‹uppae› is particularly telling. If EE had had a ‹u›-spelling, it is difficult to see how the non-native scribe of Er could have corrected it to ‹y› (unless there was an intermediary, Anglo-Saxon-produced manuscript between EE and Er where this correction was made). It is more likely that the spelling in EE was ‹y›, and the scribe

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[68] It is very rare in Old English to find examples of short /ø/ (see Section 4.2.2), but there is no reason to suppose that the shortness of the vowel prompted the unusual orthographic representation (cf. another Ép gloss with expected short /ø/, the loanword ‹loerge› (1), which uses a more typical ‹oe› for the stressed vowel).

of Ép changed it to ‹u›. This may simply have been an uncorrected copying error, but another possibility is that the scribe of Ép amended the orthography of his exemplar in cases where it blatantly misrepresented his own pronunciation. The regions so far studied give us ample reason to believe that the ‹y› in ‹yppe› would have been interpreted as referring to /y(:)/, but it does not seem far-fetched to suppose that, for some speakers of Old English, the vowel has been retracted to /u/ by the analogy of the semantically related (and undoubtedly ubiquitous) adverb and prefix *up(p)* 'up'. If this was the case for the copyist of Ép, using ‹y› for a vowel he produced as /u(:)/ may have been awkward, leading to a divergence from his exemplar.[69] If the copyist of Ép was in the habit of modifying the orthography of his exemplar to better represent his phonology (as well as in the habit of correcting copying errors), it may be reasonable to interpret the ‹e› in ‹cendlic›, and perhaps some of the other minority representations in the data, as reflective of small-scale sound changes in the dialect of the scribe.

Table 24 is an updated version of Table 19 with all Ép representations removed, allowing us to restrict the second part of the analysis to the tokens which are unquestionably Mercian. There is complete uniformity in the orthographic representation of /y(:)/, but the representations for /æ(:)/ make it apparent that not all diachronic variation was due to the inclusion of Ép. ‹e› and ‹ę› were used in the first half of the 8th century but are not found in the second half, while ‹æ› was not used for target vowels in the first half of the century but was adopted in the second half. Table 25 reveals a more comprehensive picture: while ‹æ› was never used in S89, the only pre-750 charter, ‹ę› features in the orthographic repertoires of many post-750 charter-scribes and cannot be said to have been abandoned in the second half of the 8th century despite the fact that it is not found for target vowels. Table 25 could

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[69] Following this logic, the reason the scribe would have reproduced the relict ‹þ›, instead of changing it to a more familiar representation, could have been that ‹þ› was still recognisable to him as referring to /θ/, or did not *contradict* a reference to /θ/, which is the phoneme that his dialect also had for the words in question.

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ(ː)/	PS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×4 ‹e› ×1 ‹ę› ×1	-	-	‹æ› ×5 ‹ae› ×2	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹æ› ×2	-	-
/øː/	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	‹oe› ×1	‹ꝏ› ×1	-
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/y(ː)/	PS	-	-	-	‹y› ×2	-	-	‹y› ×5	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	‹y› ×1	-	-	‹y› ×2	-	-

Table 24: Orthographic representations in Mercian charters.

	S56	S59	S89		S92	S114	S139	S1184	Ép
			S89.1	S89.2					
‹ae›	x		x		x	x	x		x
‹æ›	x	x				x	x	x	x
‹ę›			x	x	x	x	x		x

Table 25: The orthographic repertoires of Mercian scribes. The stint of the second scribe of the recto of S89 does not contain any relevant orthographic representations.

appear to confirm that ‹æ› was unknown to pre-750 charter-scribes and that it was adopted only by post-750 scribes, but there might be another explanation. S89 is the only charter written in uncial (see also Section 7.7, where an uncial charter was the only one not to feature ‹æ›). All post-750 charters, with the exception of S92, the only post-750 charter whose scribe did not have ‹æ› in his repertoire, were written in minuscule hands; the hand of S92 appears to be Phase II insular hybrid minuscule, which retained many majuscule letter-forms, such as 'oc' ‹a› (see Brown 1990: 52, Doyle 1992: 17–18). A preliminary hypothesis might posit ‹æ› as a characteristically minuscule representation, entering the data as soon as minuscule hands were adopted for writing, and coexisting with digraphic ‹ae›. It would follow that, because we do not have securely-provenanced Mercian minuscule texts from the first half of the 8th century, it is impossible to tell from this data alone whether ‹æ› was known and used in Mercia before 750.

Finally, a short comment on second fronting in the early Mercian evidence. Although Thomas Toon came to the conclusion that "the second fronting is a relatively late change" (1983: 149), he nevertheless found some signs for the raising of */æ/ to /e/ in Ép and S89— but none of the other Mercian charters considered here (see ibid.: 142–53). Because of the nature of the evidence, it is not inherently suspicious that second fronting should have been reflected in pre-750 material but not post-750 material. The pre-750 words are mostly lexical, while the post-750 words are mostly onomastic. It would not be unusual for second fronting to have affected the lexicon first, before (if ever) reaching the onomasticon. And indeed, the findings of this study are somewhat in conformity with Toon's: ‹e› is found for expected */æ/ in two instances, once in Ép and once in S89 (see Table 20). It is worth drawing attention to the fact that *none* of the examples that Toon provides for the raising of */æ/ to /e/ in Ép are included in this study, because they are all loanwords—a peculiarity that Toon also acknowledges. Among the data considered here, ‹e› appears only in ‹hu**e**t› (604), not listed by Toon as evidence for second fronting. The reason for its omission by Toon is unclear. But while Ép could have at least one legitimate example of second fronting in a Germanic word, the one instance of ‹e› for expected /æ/ in the stint of S89.2 is unlikely to be an early example of second fronting, because it appears in the name of an individual that S89.1 spelled with both ‹ae› and ‹ę›. Even if some years had lapsed between the stints of S89.1 and S89.2, it is absurd to suppose that the pronunciation of the name of a contemporary individual had changed in the interim. Rather, one of three possibilities is likely: S89.1 was using conservative spelling for a name whose prototheme (in this case *æþel-*) had already undergone raising from */æ/ to /e/ in its stressed vowel (and not necessarily because of second fronting); S89.2 adopted an idiosyncratic spelling for the prototheme *æþel-*; or S89.2 made a mistake.

Considered together, the Mercian data present us with orthographic plurality which begins to show intelligible patterns once the multistratal evidence of Ép is separated from the tokens drawn from charters. The orthography of Ép makes the difficulties of dealing with

glossographic material painfully evident, but, especially through comparison with other, related glossaries, it is occasionally possible to interact with the orthography of the scribe himself, and not just that of his exemplar(s). However, only the charter-evidence gives us a genuine glimpse into the orthographic tradition of early Mercia, potentially highlighting an intrinsic link between hand and orthography.

10. Northumbria
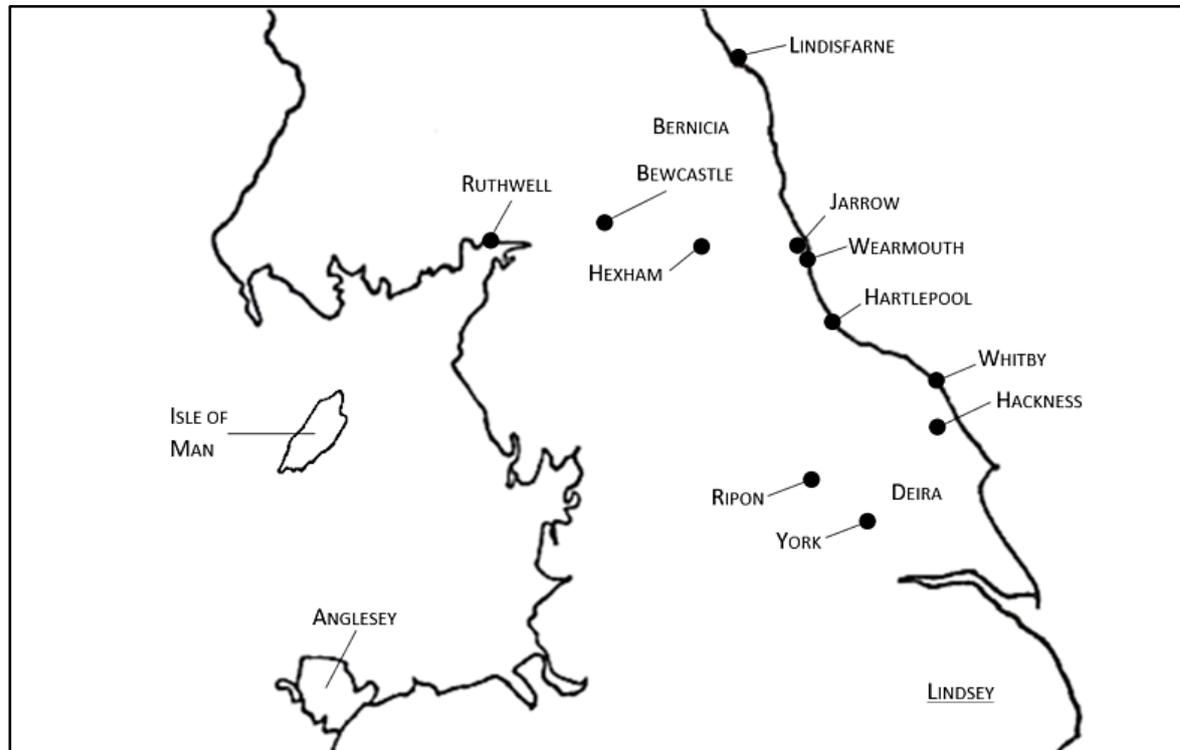
Map 6: Northumbria.

10.1 The early history of Northumbria

The Anglo-Saxon settlement of Northumbria began in the 5th century when seaborne, predominantly Anglian, incomers occupied land inhabited by native British peoples in present-day north-eastern England (see e.g. Stenton 1971: 13, Dumville 1989b: 218, Higham 1993: 62–71). The region which was eventually to be governed as a single Northumbrian kingdom began as a base for two adjacent but separate kingdoms, Bernicia and Deira, which reflected regions that were politically defined already prior to the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons (see e.g. Higham 1993: 80–1). Bernicia, located in the Tyne valley region, was the larger and more northerly kingdom of the two, and is believed to have originally been an offshoot of Deira (see Faull 1977: 2, Higham 1986: 257, 260, Yorke 1990: 74). Deira was centred immediately north of the Humber, in the present-day East Riding of Yorkshire (see Yorke 1990: 74). Contradictory 12th-century sources identify both the rivers Tees and Tyne as the border between Bernicia and

Deira (Hunter Blair 1949: 50), but, in all probability, there was no well-defined border, and any boundary that there was fluctuated over time within the area between the rivers (Foster 1956). History comes into focus during the reign of the expansionist Bernician king Æthelfrith (592–616) (Yorke 1990: 77), who occupied Deira, setting into motion the frequent shifts in the balance of power between the two neighbouring and competing kingdoms. When Æthelfrith was killed by Rædwald of East Anglia at the battle of the river Idle in 616, Æthelfrith's Deiran brother-in-law Edwin (616–633) took control of the entire territory that Æthelfrith had amassed during his reign (see Higham 1986: 260–1). Edwin continued in the same vein as his predecessor. He extended his territory to Lindsey in the south-east (although this was later lost to Mercia, see Section 9.1), as well as conquering the islands of Man and Anglesey to the west. It was possibly these very conquests which provoked the hostility of Cadwallon of Gwynedd, whose attack, in league with Penda of Mercia, led to the death of Edwin at the battle of Hatfield Chase in 633 (Higham 1986: 261; see also Yorke 1990: 84; Kirby 2000: 63).

After Edwin's death, Bernicia and Deira disintegrated again briefly into two separate kingdoms and were ruled by the Bernician Eanfrith and the Deiran Osric respectively. The separation lasted only a year, however. Both kings were slain by Cadwallon in 634, and the vacant thrones of the two kingdoms were immediately seized by Æthelfrith's son (and Eanfrith's brother) Oswald (634–642) (Kirby 2000: 69). Oswald pushed the northern frontier of his territory up to the river Forth, annexing the British kingdom of Gododdin in the process (Yorke 1990: 84; see also Jackson 1959), and during Oswald's reign and that of his brother and successor Oswiu, "Northumbrian control of south-east Scotland was consolidated […] by Anglo-Saxon immigration" (Yorke 1990: 84). Upon Oswald's death, Oswiu (642–670) initially assumed control of the whole region that his brother Oswald had ruled over, but in 644 Deira broke off and was ruled by a Deiran king, Oswine (644–651). Oswiu, determined to regain Deira, arranged the murder of Oswine and placed his nephew Œthelwald (*circa* 651–655) as subking at the beginning of the second half of the 7th century (ibid.: 78). Some historians, such

as N. J. Higham (1986: 262), have interpreted this event as marking the merger of Bernicia and Deira into a single, unified Northumbrian kingdom, while others have been more hesitant. Since Œthelwald appears to have pursued separatist agendas while in power, Barbara Yorke (1990: 78–9) considers Oswiu's authority in Deira to have been too ambiguous to name him ruler of both kingdoms. If we follow this line of reasoning, the merging of Bernicia and Deira took place some three decades later, in 679, when Ælfwine, the last Deiran subking, died, and King Ecgfrith (670–685), who had inherited his father Oswiu's throne, united Northumbria for good (ibid.: 79).

Ecgfrith's successor and brother Aldfrith (685/6–705) reigned for approximately twenty years, a length of time that was matched in the 8th century only by one other ruler. The 8th century was a politically turbulent time and saw fifteen different kings, almost all of whom held the throne for less than ten years, and the majority of whom were exiled or murdered (Stenton 1971: 90–4, Yorke 1990: 87–8, Higham 1993: 144–7, Kirby 2000: 118–33). Most claimants to the throne were members of the Bernician dynasty (Yorke 1990: 89), although some kings, such as Æthelwald Moll (758–765), may have been Deiran (Kirby 2000: 126). It is important to note that, although the former independent kingdoms of Bernicia and Deira were now united, their respective dynasties survived, and indeed, much like the division of Kent into eastern and western halves (see Section 6.1), "for administrative purposes the division into Bernicia and Deira seems to have remained significant" even after their unification (Yorke 1990: 79; see also Hunter Blair 1949: 53). Still, since almost all 8th-century kings were of Bernician stock, the high turnover of rulers had very little to do with any lingering animosity between these historically competing kingdoms. The difficulty that most 8th-century kings faced in their attempts to cling onto power has been attributed to their relative poverty compared to their 7th-century predecessors. This was partly due to a change in Northumbrian military fortunes. When Ecgfrith was defeated by the Picts at *Nechtansmere* in 685, "the Northumbrian kings lost some lands in the north and the ability to collect tribute

from their Celtic and Anglo-Saxon neighbours" (Yorke 1990: 91). With decreased revenue, the land-grants that late-7th-century rulers had made to the Church also created a substantial hole in the pockets of 8th-century sovereigns, and rewarding loyalty became increasingly difficult (ibid.; see also Higham 1986: 291).

10.2 Christianity in Northumbria

10.2.1 The mission of Paulinus

Northumbria and Kent share in having been exposed to Christianity before their conversion proper, and in both cases this exposure came about as a result of a king's marriage to a Christian noblewoman (see Section 6.2.1). King Edwin of Northumbria married twice. His second wife, Æthelburg, was a Christian princess from Kent, and, upon her marriage to Edwin "some time before *c.* 624" (Kirby 2000: 65), she brought with her the Roman missionary Paulinus, who became bishop of York in 625. Converting the king was a long-drawn-out process, even though Edwin had probably already been exposed to Christianity much earlier, during his exile in the courts of Kings Cadfan of Gwynedd and Rædwald of East Anglia (see Kirby 1977: 33, Higham 1986: 280, Higham 1997: 149). In spite of the considerable measures taken by Paulinus and others to bring about Edwin's conversion, this did not happen until Rædwald's death in *circa* 627. As Henry Mayr-Harting points out, there was a risk that Rædwald, who had previously offered Edwin refuge, may have become hostile if his once protégé accepted the Christianity brought to Northumbria by Kentish heralds. After all, Rædwald had assumed *bretwalda*ship in Southumbria after "shaking off the overlordship and the Christianity of [Æthelberht] of Kent" and was perhaps fearful of the formation of a Kentish–Northumbrian alliance (1972: 66; see also ibid.: 67, Yorke 1990: 60; see also Section 8.1). Bede is full of praise for the period of Christian rule which began at Edwin's baptism (see *HE* 2:XIV–XVI), but the period was to remain brief. When Edwin died in 633, both Bernicia and

Deira passed on to pagan rulers (Yorke 1990: 78). Paulinus fled, and his mission, such as it was, came to nought. It is interesting to note that Eanfrith, who took control of Bernicia following Edwin's death, had accepted Christianity earlier in his life, but was an apostate by the time he assumed Bernician kingship. This exposes "the strength of paganism in Bernicia and the cosmetic nature of the official Christianity imposed by Edwin" (Higham 1986: 281). Although Paulinus had a much more active role in evangelism than Bishop Liudhard had had in Kent, in both kingdoms it was a subsequent, dedicated and more organised mission which was to effect lasting change.

10.2.2 The Irish mission

Oswald, who became king of both Bernicia and Deira in 634 after the brief relapse into paganism following the death of Edwin, was a Christian upon accession. He had converted to Christianity during his exile in the Irish kingdom of Dál Riata, and, given his connections with the Irish monastery of Iona, it was there that "he looked […] for missionaries rather than to Canterbury" (Yorke 1990: 78). The arrival of the Irish bishop Aidan and his company at Lindisfarne, and the establishment of a monastery there in 635, mark the real beginning of Northumbrian conversion (see e.g. Mayr-Harting 1972: 94–9). In contrast to the Roman Christianity adhered to by Paulinus, the Christianity planted in Northumbria by the Ionan missionaries was Irish in character. In all ecclesiastical matters, Lindisfarne looked to Iona not Canterbury and observed customs such as the Irish reckoning of Easter and Irish tonsure (see ibid.: 103–4; see also Yorke 2006: 160). Irish Christianity was also defined by an asceticism in the lives of ecclesiastics, characterised by retreats to contemplative solitude and exposure to the harsh Northumbrian elements (see e.g. Hunter Blair 1970: 141–2, Mayr-Harting 1972: 97). The community at Lindisfarne soon became involved in the founding of daughter-establishments around Northumbria. The double monastery at Hartlepool was founded in

circa 640, and duly shows the tell-tale signs of an Irish establishment: "[l]ike Lindisfarne, and also the majority of the monastic centres of [Dál Riata], the monastery at Hartlepool was situated in an 'island' location" (see Loveluck 2007: 190; see also Section 9.2.2). Physical attributes, particularly of layout, also betray the Irishness of the double monastery at Whitby, founded in 657 (Peers & Radford 1943: 30–3, Mayr-Harting 1972: 150).

10.2.3 The Synod of Whitby and aftermath

The Irish-founded Northumbrian Church did not get to develop in isolation for long. Although there was "no attempt to revive the church of Paulinus at York" (Kirby 2000: 75), Northumbria was not cut off from the rest of Anglo-Saxon England and was soon exposed again to Roman Christianity. The pressure to address the differences between the Roman and Irish Christian traditions reached a tipping point during the reign of Oswiu. The king had married the Kentish princess Eanflæd who, like her mother Æthelburg, was a Christian of the Roman tradition. The most pronounced consequence of the king and queen adhering to different strands of Christianity was that Eanflæd and her retinue celebrated Easter on a different date from the king and his court. The situation became intolerable and ultimately led to the Synod of Whitby in 664. The purpose of the synod was to address the difference between the Irish and Roman customs for the dating of Easter and decide which tradition Northumbria would align itself with. The cases for both customs were presented before Oswiu, who finally decided in favour of the Roman reckoning of Easter (see Mayr-Harting 1972: 105–8). The consequences of this decision on Northumbrian Christianity and broader culture were cataclysmic and marked the start of a new era in Northumbrian ecclesiastical history. The Northumbrian Church began following the lead of Canterbury, rather than Iona, not only on the dating of Easter, but on other historical points of difference, including the shape of the tonsure and various aspects of liturgy (see Yorke 1990: 80–2; see also Stenton 1971: 119–20, Yorke 2006: 117–18).

This embracing of Roman custom was not universal. Colman, the Irish bishop of Lindisfarne at the time of the synod, left Northumbria with a number of both Irish and Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastics (see e.g. Mayr-Harting 1972: 110, Higham 1993: 135). The patronage of Northumbrian churches was transferred from their Irish and Irish-trained founders to "indigenous churchmen led by those with European or southern connections" (Higham 1986: 284), which drew Northumbria not only ecclesiastically but also culturally much closer to the Southumbrian kingdoms and the Continent (ibid.: see also Yorke 1990: 82). Among the most important Northumbrian ecclesiastics of this new age were Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid, both frequent travellers to Canterbury in Southumbria and the Continent. Benedict Biscop visited Rome and other Continental Christian centres on numerous occasions in the second half of the 7th century, bringing back expertise in "a range of crafts, including glass-blowing, totally alien to the asceticism of Celtic monasticism" (Higham 1986: 284) as well as "masonry, glazing and probably brick and tile manufacture" (ibid.: 296). These novel skills and techniques were applied in the construction of the stone-built twin monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which Biscop founded in the early 670s and early 680s respectively and which clearly emulate the architecture Biscop came to admire on his travels (see e.g. Mayr-Harting 1972: 153–4, Wormald 1982c; see also Hawkes 2006). Existing ecclesiastical centres, such as those at Ripon, where Wilfrid had been based before the events of 664, and Hexham, were transformed according to Roman models (see Mayr-Harting 1972: 156–8, Higham 1986: 296, Blair 2005: 95). York also became an archbishopric at long last in 735, fulfilling Pope Gregory's original plan for the ecclesiastical organisation of England (Brooks 1984: 83, Hawkes 2006: 105).

10.3 Writing in Northumbria

10.3.1 The earliest Anglo-Saxon writing

In contrast to the Anglian regions of Southumbria, where multiple runic inscriptions attest to a pre-conversion literacy, Northumbria has produced only one pre-conversion text. This is the short runic inscription on the West Heslerton brooch, dated to the first half of the 6th century (Hines 1990b: 446). Given that it is an outlier, it could be that the brooch was a Southumbrian import (cf. the Watchfield mount in Section 6.3.1), but John Hines has characterised the brooch as "typical of the general area in which it was found" (ibid.). The lack of any other pre-conversion inscriptions makes it very tempting to suppose that, even if the brooch was local to its find-spot, there was no indigenous runic literacy as such in Northumbria, and that the runes were inscribed either by a Northumbrian who acquired runic literacy from Southumbria, or by a rune-literate Southumbrian working in Northumbria. However, if we compare the development of post-conversion runic literacy of Northumbria and Wessex, where the **benutigo** coins emerged as similar outliers in an otherwise seemingly illiterate society, there is a significant difference. In Section 7.3.1 it was argued that the reason a West Saxon runic literacy failed to develop in the post-conversion period was the lack of an indigenous runic tradition. As will be seen below, Northumbria did not suffer the same fate. This could mean— although it does not, by any means, prove—that Northumbria, like the other Anglian regions, did have an indigenous epigraphic tradition of carving runes. The lack of survival could be attributed to the bulk of the writing having been done on perishable materials such as wood, which finds some credence in the case of Northumbria, because it is the only Anglo-Saxon region from where any runic inscriptions on wood survive, namely St Cuthbert's coffin and the York spoon. For the time being, however, this must all remain speculative, since the only positive evidence that the West Heslerton brooch provides is that runes were known at least at one time in one place (but see Section 10.3.4.1).

Figure 35: Tapering hands in a 7th-century Northumbrian fragment of the gospels (left) and the Cathach of St Columba, an Irish or Irish-produced manuscript from the late 6th or early 7th century (right; see Dumville 1999–2007: 19–30).

10.3.2 The arrival of roman literacy

The culture of roman literacy in Northumbria owed its existence and development to both the Irish and the Roman waves of Christianity. While Paulinus's short-lived mission no doubt led to some exposure to roman literacy,[70] it was the Irish missionaries who were the first to become involved in the education of the Northumbrians (see Hunter Blair 1954: 138–9). An early fragment of the gospels from the mid-7th century (see Lowe 1972: 9 (no. 147), Backhouse 1991b) evidences a culture of manuscript-writing that had developed in Northumbria prior to the Synod of Whitby. It betrays its Irish background in features such as its hand (see Section 10.3.2.1) and tapering hand size (diminuendo) after a large initial (Brown 1993: 204–5; see Figure 35). The Synod of Whitby brought to an end the monopoly of the Irish over Northumbrian teaching; it was followed by the departure of many Irish ecclesiastics and an influx of a more Continental literary culture, both directly from Rome and as filtered through Southumbrian practice and tradition. This was felt nowhere more keenly than at Wearmouth–Jarrow. The Codex Amiatinus, which was compiled at Jarrow around the turn of the 8th century and is the oldest surviving complete copy of the Latin Bible, famously imitates Italian manuscripts so closely that for much of its history it was mistaken for one (Lowe 1958:

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[70] Gareth Williams (2007) has speculated that a series of Northumbrian gold coins with a garbled legend (the 'York group') might be based on an intelligible roman precedent from the reign of Edwin or shortly thereafter (see also Naismith 2017: 54), perhaps signalling a very short window of roman literacy among Northumbrian die-carvers.

184, Wormald 1982a: 91; see also Lowe 1960: 10–13). And it was not only the institutions directly associated with Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid which experienced a wave of Continental trends: people, ideas and materials, particularly books, moved between ecclesiastical centres throughout the region, so that no corner of Northumbria was completely exempt from the effects of the Romanisation of the Church (Mayr-Harting 1972: 164–5, 167; but see Neuman de Vegvar 1987: 277). This included Irish-founded establishments. The canon tables of the Lindisfarne Gospels (BL, Cotton MS Nero D IV), for example, are presented between similar decorative columns and under similar vaulted arches as those in the Codex Amiatinus (Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1; but see Dumville 1999–2007: 76–80; see Figure 36). Lay circles were also affected as the north and the south of the island were brought culturally closer together. Minting moneyers' names on Northumbrian coins appears to have originally been a Southumbrian feature, and the use of "a monogram of Rx for *rex* in the centre of the obverse" may have been adopted from Kentish coins (Grierson & Blackburn 1986: 298; see also Naismith 2017: 114).
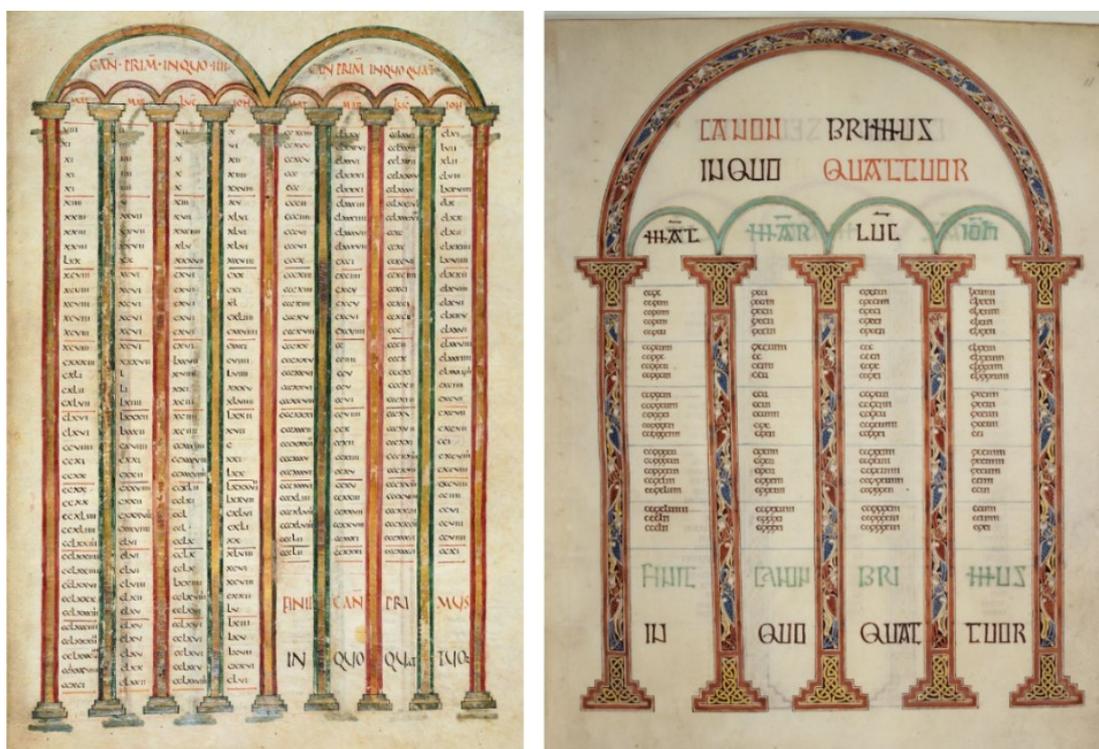
Figure 36: The canon tables in the Codex Amiatinus (left) and the Lindisfarne Gospels (right).

10.3.2.1 Northumbrian hands

The quintessential majuscule hands of the contemporary Roman literary tradition, uncial and rustic capitals, travelled to Northumbria through the books imported by Benedict Biscop and others, and were soon adopted by local scribes (see Lowe 1960: 8–9). The arrival of these hands did not, however, extinguish the use of insular half-uncial (also known as insular majuscule), another majuscule hand, which the Irish had brought to Northumbria in the 7th century and which had been used in Ireland following the conversion of the Irish in the 5th century (see e.g. Bischoff 1990: 83–4, Dumville 1999–2007: 7–16, Roberts 2005: 14; for the distinctive features of insular half-uncial, see e.g. Stokes 2020: 213). Insular half-uncial is attested in the mid-7th-century gospel fragment mentioned above (see the left image in Figure 35), but its use continued beyond the events of 664. It is the predominant hand of the Lindisfarne Gospels and the 7th- or 8th century Durham Gospels (Durham, Durham Cathedral Library MS. A.II.17), possibly also a product of Lindisfarne (Backhouse 1991c; for the Northumbrian development of insular half-uncial, see e.g. Brown 1990: 50, Brown 1993: 208–9). In addition to insular half-uncial, the Irish had also brought a minuscule hand, insular minuscule, the use of which similarly long outlasted the ecclesiastical dominance of the Irish Church in Northumbria. The Echternach Gospels (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 9389), provenanced to Lindisfarne towards the close of the 7th century or the beginning of the 8th, were written in insular minuscule (Bischoff 1990: 90–1, Backhouse 1991d, Brown 1993: 211). More specifically, in Julian Brown's typology, the hand of the Echternach Gospels represents Northumbrian (Type A) Phase I insular minuscule—that is, the earliest type of Northumbrian insular minuscule (see Brown 1993: 212–16).[71]

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[71] Insular minuscule also enjoyed an early existence in Southumbria, especially in connection with Boniface (see Section 7.3.2.2.3). In Brown's typology, this West Saxon hand represents Southumbrian (Type B) Phase I insular minuscule.

As the 8th century wore on, the hand began to be used more widely, probably as a result of the growing demand for copies of Bedan works both in England and on the Continent (Parkes 1982; see also Dumville 2007: 90–3). Insular minuscule was a considerably faster hand to write than any of the majuscule hands used in Northumbria at the turn of the 8th century and would thus have been particularly suited for rapid copying (see Parkes 1982: 17). As it grew in popularity, the hand underwent some slight but noticeable changes in its aspect. The Moore Bede, copied at an unidentified Northumbrian scriptorium (see Section 10.5.1), was written in an insular minuscule with letters that are wider, and ascenders and descenders that are shorter, than what we find in Phase I insular minuscule (Brown 1993: 216–17). The hand was also adopted at the heavily Romanised centre of Wearmouth–Jarrow, and at least one early (but lost) copy of *HE* (*β*; see Figure 41 in Section 10.7.1) is thought to have been written in insular minuscule (Parkes 1982: 7; see also Arngart 1952: 25, Brown 2009: 126). Eventually, the hand developed into what is termed Phase II insular minuscule, the earliest surviving 'regularised' examples of which are three manuscripts produced at Wearmouth–Jarrow in the second half of the 8th century: two copies of *HE* (L and B, see Section 10.5.1) and a copy of Bede's commentary on the book of Proverbs (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 819; see Dumville 1999–2007: 73–4; see also Parkes 1982: 12). The hand used in these manuscripts has ascenders and descenders that are longer than in the Moore Bede, but it still differs from Phase I insular minuscule in "the lightness obtained by the use of a thinner pen and the restful quality imparted by a preference for letter forms which are simple and aesthetically compatible with each other" (Brown 1993: 217; see Figure 37).

The use of insular minuscule at Wearmouth–Jarrow is a powerful example of a facet of Irish literary culture gaining a foothold in a historically Romanised centre. David Dumville (1999–2007: 67) has attributed this principally to the background of many of the scribes working at Wearmouth–Jarrow. The scriptorium of the twin monastery grew in importance
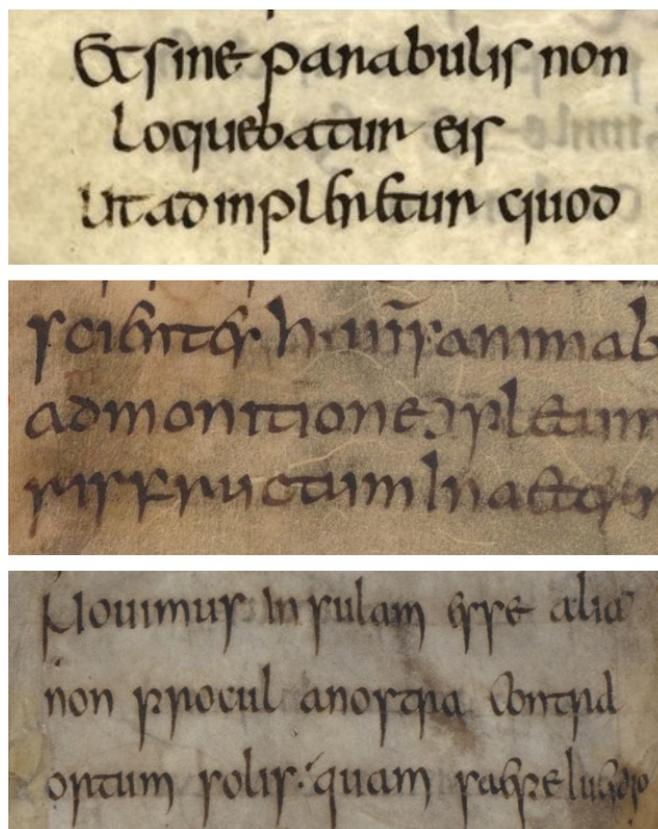
Figure 37: The development of insular minuscule: Phase I insular minuscule
(in the Echternach Gospels; top), transitional insular minuscule (in the Moore Bede; middle) and
Phase II insular minuscule (in London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV; bottom).

during the abbacy of Ceolfrith (688/9–716); by the end of his abbacy, Wearmouth–Jarrow had

over 600 members, and

> [o]ver that period there were probably many recruits who, like Ceolfrith, had previous
> experience in other houses. We must suppose, then – on both palaeographical and
> historical evidence – that from the first this monastery contained men who could
> write Insular script. However great the house's commitment was to Mediterranean-
> style book-production, it would be perverse of us to deduce that the relatively rapid
> and flexible script which we know as Insular minuscule was not practised there. To
> date, however, no Insular-script book written before the mid-eighth century has been
> convincingly attributed to Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. But the Uncial scribes' slips into
> Insular habits demonstrate beyond cavil that their first training was in Insular script
> (ibid.: 73; see also ibid.: 71–2).

In sum, then, although the Synod of Whitby resulted in a decision to adhere to Roman

Christianity, and even led to many Irish ecclesiastics leaving Northumbria, the Irish mission

left a mark on Northumbrian literary culture that was too strongly entrenched in the habits of

scribes for it to be completely displaced by Roman trends. While the effects of the

Romanisation of Northumbria are evident in the output of scriptoria across the region, it is important to recognise that features flowed both ways, and the legacy of an Irish literary tradition is perhaps most obvious in the inventory of Northumbrian hands.

10.3.3 Northumbrian learning

Considering the profound political disarray of the Northumbrian kingdom over the 8th century, it is no small miracle that Northumbrian learning flourished during this time. In part this was made possible by the generous land-grants of 7th-century Northumbrian rulers, which allowed ecclesiastical centres to operate largely unaffected by the tumultuous events in the political sphere. It was due partly also to the joint Irish and Roman ecclesiastical and academic heritage. The highly-developed Irish culture of learning which met the incoming Roman Church after the Synod of Whitby inspired the latter to work hard to match the intellectual achievements of the Irish-founded Church:

> [i]n Northumbria and Northumbria alone, the Roman church had to wage an intellectual struggle not with illiterate and unorganized pagan priests, but with another Christian church. The Irish church was as dedicated as the Roman, had a far greater number of learned and competent men at its immediate disposal, and was at the height of its missionary energy. To have any hope of ultimate success against it, Rome had to pursue a long-term policy of educating very many Northumbrians to at least the level of the Irish monks, and as far as possible with their aid. The resulting intellectual ferment, with its emphasis upon the dissemination of what was then the sum of human knowledge, in unison with the thirst of a new and advanced culture of a people developing out of barbarism, produced the Northumbrian renaissance (Mercer 1964: 274).

Several Northumbrian ecclesiastical centres could boast great contributions to Northumbrian, and even Anglo-Saxon, learning. Whitby trained five Anglo-Saxon bishops (Hunter Blair 1970: 148), and it is also where *Vita Gregorii*, one of "the oldest surviving pieces of literature written by an Englishman in an English monastery", was written (ibid.: 150). Cædmon, the 7th-century cowherd-turned-monk and the first named Anglo-Saxon poet, was also based at Whitby. Some of the manuscript-production at Wearmouth–Jarrow has already been discussed. The great

Anglo-Saxon scholar Bede was born in the 670s, around the time that the monastery at Wearmouth was founded, and it was there that he began his education at the age of seven. The fluency with which he came to write Latin tells us something about the high level of education at Wearmouth–Jarrow already in the 7th century (see Kendall 2010: 100–1). At the twin monastery Bede had access to the respectable collection of books which Benedict Biscop had amassed during his Continental travels, as well as to Irish books (see Hunter Blair 1954: 139, Love 2011: 610–12; for details on Bede's library, see Love 2011). Bede's *HE* has already been both referred to and referenced in this study, and his *De orthographia* was also briefly discussed (see Section 3.6.1), but these do not represent the full extent of his output: his many works "cover grammar and rhetoric, chronology and astronomy, history and hagiography" (Mayr-Harting 1972: 210).

Another Northumbrian scholar deserving especial mention is Alcuin, who was born in *circa* 735, the year of Bede's death. He was based in York, which had been promoted into an archbishopric in the year of Alcuin's birth. The first incumbents of the archiepiscopal seat, Ecgberht and Ælberht, were responsible for "buil[ding] up the school of York into a great institution of learning on the model of Jarrow" (Kendall 2010: 110). It is this school that Alcuin entered as one of Ælberht's students, and when Ælberht was consecrated as archbishop in *circa* 767, it fell on Alcuin to take control of the school (Stenton 1971: 189). The library at the school in York was well-stocked with books that Ælberht had brought from abroad (Garrison 2011: 651; for details on the library at York, see Garrison 2011), although, with the passing of time, both the library and the academic curriculum became a joint effort on which Ælberht and Alcuin collaborated (see ibid.: 636–8; see also Higham 1993: 159, Orchard 2003: 212). The curriculum was comprehensive, rivalling that of Theodore and Hadrian's school in Canterbury (see Garrison 2011: 637; see also Section 6.3.3), and attracted not only Anglo-Saxon students, but also students from Ireland and the Continent (Hughes 1971: 55, Garrison 2011: 634). Alcuin's career ultimately took him to the Continent in 782, where he became "director of the

Palace School of Charlemagne" (Kendall 2010: 110) and where most of his works, including various didactic and theological tracts, as well as his very own *De orthographia* emulating Bede's work of the same name, were written (Garrison 2011: 634; see also Wormald 1982b: 106; see also Section 3.6.1). Although the immediate beneficiaries of Alcuin's writings would have been students on the Continent (see Garrison 2011: 634), his role as a schoolmaster during his time in York should not be downplayed, and the position of prominence to which he rose in Charlemagne's court is a powerful witness to the learning he had already acquired in Northumbria.

10.3.4 Non-roman alphabets

10.3.4.1 Runic literacy

Northumbria experienced what can only be described as a runic boom from the 7th century onwards, with over forty rune-inscribed artefacts provenanced to the region. The timing of this upsurge coincides with the arrival of Christianity, and the vast majority of inscriptions are either explicitly Christian or were recovered from sites of Christian activity. The exact relationship between the conversion of Northumbria on the one hand and the increase in the use of runes on the other is unclear. If the West Heslerton brooch (see Section 10.3.1) does not represent indigenous Northumbrian runic literacy, or if it represents a dying tradition which had all but disappeared by the 7th century, it is likely that Roman Christians from Southumbria were responsible for (?re)introducing runes to a rune-ignorant region. Alternatively, Southumbrian Christians may, upon arrival, have discovered a Northumbrian runic literacy that was alive and well. In a such a case, the West Heslerton brooch may have been an exception in a tradition that carved runes only on perishable materials, a possibility already alluded to in Section 10.3.1. All that the Southumbrian Church would have done was provide a new, ecclesiastical context in which runes were written, and new, non-perishable

materials of writing.[72] As previous discussions have shown, stone-epigraphy was not an indigenous practice brought by Germanic immigrants, but one which arrived with Christianity. Inscriptions on metal could also have become more common due to southern (not necessarily ecclesiastic) influence, as connections between Northumbria and Southumbria grew closer after 664.

If there had been such a thing as an indigenous, pre-conversion runic literacy in Northumbria, it would presumably have lived on in lay circles after conversion. The numismatic record, which is usually a helpful starting point when gauging lay literacy, could be expected to show signs of a lay use of runes, but it turns out that runes are exceedingly rare on Northumbrian coins, and there are no exclusively runic coin-legends. Christine Fell spoke of "the firm adherence to an uncontaminated roman alphabet", so much so that even the runic ‹þ› is absent (1994: 132; see also ibid.: 133). The only coinage where we might see some runic influence at play is that of King Ælfwald I (779–788). Some letters in his coin-legends bear a striking resemblance to runes: the horizontal strokes of ‹F›, which are typically perpendicular to the stem, slant downwards so that the letter is more resemblant of the rune ‹ᚠ› than the roman ‹F› (see Figure 38). It has been suggested that this letter is, in fact, the rune *æsc* and referred to the vowel /æ/ in the prototheme *ælf-* (see Fell 1994: 132, Metcalf 1998: 436), but this cannot be the case because it would leave no obvious orthographic representation for the /f/ of the prototheme, and no obvious phonetic reference for the ‹E› in the same legend. For these reasons, «ᚠ» must be a roman allograph of ‹F›. However, the fact that the short horizontal strokes of ‹E› are perpendicular to the stem of the letter suggests

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[72] The practice of inscribing stone could conceivably have been adopted from Celtic (Irish or British) Christians, but no lapidary inscriptions in any script have been specifically dated to before the Synod of Whitby.

Figure 38: One of King Ælfwald I's coins with a possible ‹ᛁ›.

that the oblique strokes of «ᚠ» were a conscious choice, slanted not out of consideration for the curved shape of the rim of the coin(-die) but rather for some other, perhaps aesthetic, reason. It may be that the shape of the allograph was rune-inspired. Due to the oblique stroke forming an acute angle, the letter referring to /l/ in the same prototheme is also more resemblant of a runic ‹ᛁ› than a roman ‹L›, but given that the orientation of roman letters on coin-dies varied, we cannot tell whether the letter is roman or runic. Even if it were a rune, with so little to go on, it is possible that the "lure of runes" emanating from the ecclesiastical world inspired die-carvers to incorporate similar letter-forms into their own work (Abramson 2018: 49), without necessitating an indigenous runic tradition independent of the Church. The coin-legends of one short-lived 8th-century king feature "a blend of capital and uncial or half-uncial letter forms", linking them closely to the scriptorium and the ecclesiastical world (Naismith 2017: 116). It is worth noting, however, that if pre-conversion literacy had been practised mainly or wholly on perishable materials, metalworkers would not have been the sole (or perhaps even the primary) Northumbrian keepers of an indigenous runic literacy.

An investigation into the use of serifs does not take us much further. Serifs generally signal a connection, however indirect, between the rune-carver's workshop and the scriptorium, and their presence therefore implies some contact with Christianity (see Section 9.3.2). If the entire post-conversion runic corpus consisted only of seriffed runes, there would

be a strong case for arguing that the Church brought runic literacy to a rune-illiterate Northumbria. We do find seriffed runes in lay contexts, such as (possibly) Ælfwald I's coinage (see Figure 38), as well as the 8th-century Wheatly Hill ring and the Cramond ring, which could be as early as 7th-century (see Page 1999a: 36; but see Okasha 2003: 31). The Cramond ring is particularly interesting, since the inscription, though neat, is unintelligible, and could have been the product of a rune-illiterate metalworker copying runes at random. If so, his use of seriffed runes is intriguing. Runes of an indigenous, pre-conversion tradition would not have been seriffed, and so it might be that seriffed runes, emblematic of ecclesiastical involvement, were the *only* types of runes he had access to. However, we do also find unseriffed lay inscriptions, such as the potentially very early one on the Mote of Mark bone (see Parsons 1999: 71) as well as two very simple inscriptions from Whitby which, though recovered from an ecclesiastical site, do not show any explicit Christian associations (see Page 1999a: 35, 94). More pressingly, while the presence of serifs indicates some association with a Church context, the absence of serifs does not equal the absence of such an association, since the runes of the most well-known Christian inscriptions from Northumbria, namely the Franks casket and the Ruthwell cross, are unseriffed. It is impossible to say, then, whether unseriffed lay inscriptions evidence a lay runic literacy independent of the Church.

A different angle is to investigate whether there were inscriptions which required or anticipated a rune-literate audience outside ecclesiastical circles (cf. Section 3.4.1). The Ruthwell cross was "evidently a public monument" (Ó Carragáin 2003: 141), and while it was "profoundly relevant to the laity" (Ó Carragáin 2006: 37), it may not have been a preaching cross, which would mean that the runic inscription was not meant to be read. Parts of it were certainly too high to be read by someone standing in front of it (Okasha 1995: 72, Ó Carragáin 2005; see also Okasha 2006: 66). It has also been argued that the runes on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses functioned as graphic representations of Germanic domination in historically British areas, and their ability to be understood as *texts*, rather than as symbols,

was secondary (Loveluck 2007: 196; see also Wood 2003: 124, 128–9). The secular Bewcastle cross—more appropriately termed an obelisk—may be more promising. The monument is very worn, but the inscription is just legible enough to make out a memorial function (see Page 1960: 36–7, Page 1999a: 145, Orton 2003: 78, 80, Ó Carragáin 2006: 18). If its request to pray for the souls of the deceased is not just a formulaic phrase but does really plead for the intercession of readers (see Ó Carragáin 2006: 23), then the use of the *fuþorc* must not have been considered a hindrance. Since we do not know of any substantial ecclesiastical community at Bewcastle, we may at least tentatively presume that some laypeople may have been able to read the inscription (see Cramp 1959–60: 11, Page 1999a: 228). After all, while Ruthwell was newly-conquered territory at the time the two monuments were erected—and the subjected Britons cannot be expected to have been rune-literate—Bewcastle was not (see Ó Carragáin 2003: 178).

The most compelling argument in favour of a strong tradition of indigenous runic literacy is the exceptionally high literacy displayed by Northumbrian ecclesiastics, which could suggest that many Northumbrians were rune-literate before joining the ranks of the Church. There does not seem to have been a strict association of the *fuþorc* with Old English, but rather, it was seen as an alphabet capable of recording a variety of languages: the Franks casket and the Ruthwell cross both have short stretches of Latin written in runes, as does the 9th-century Whitby comb (see e.g. Page 1999a: 164, Okasha 1990: 145).[73] Furthermore, a highly learned technique has been used to obfuscate the runic text on the right panel of the Franks casket (Ball 1974), which strongly suggests that literacy in the standard *fuþorc* was generally at too advanced a level for runes in themselves to have been seen as cryptic or arcane for the intended readership (see Symons 2016: 38). Some rare runes are also found. St

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[73] The carver of the Franks casket is likely to have been working from a Latin exemplar in the roman alphabet and "translated and transliterated as he went" (Page 1999a: 176; see also Fell 1994: 130, Okasha 2006: 65). This would mean that the carver was sufficiently rune-literate to work without a runic exemplar.

Cuthbert's coffin includes ‹ᛉ› as part of the sequence ‹ᛉᚳᚻ›, a transliteration of Latin ‹XPS›, itself an abbreviation of Greek *Χριστός* 'Christ' (Page 1962: 901). It has been pointed out (see e.g. Page 1962: 901, Page 1989: 264) that the use of runes for the purposes of transliteration could indicate a community which lacked the literacy for spontaneous runic composition, but there is simply too little runic text on the coffin to warrant such an assumption. A more serious charge against the literacy of the epigraphers responsible for St Cuthbert's coffin is that certain runes were cut along the grain of the wood, which could be a sign of inexperience in rune-carving (Page 1989: 260; see also Section 3.3). However, since we have so few Anglo-Saxon inscriptions on wood, it is difficult to draw any definite conclusions.

David Parsons (1999) has persuasively argued for a 'runic reform' in Anglo-Saxon monasteries, whereby the *fuþorc* was standardised with respect to the allographic variation rife in pre-conversion inscriptions. He suggests that "the dissemination of the runic standard could be closely parallel to the dissemination of roman-script literacy" (1999: 92), by which he presumably means no more than that the reformed *fuþorc* spread via ecclesiastical networks (see ibid.: 93). There are, essentially, two ways in which the reformed *fuþorc* might have reached Northumbria. Either it was brought from Southumbria, or the runic reform occurred in Northumbria. There is some reason to favour the former scenario. To think that the reform occurred in Northumbria would necessitate strong connections between Northumbria and Southumbria before the Synod of Whitby, because the first secure instance of the reformed *fuþorc* in Southumbria dates to *circa* 660, that is, before the Synod of Whitby (see ibid.: 97). The location where the reform took place is of secondary importance, however. What is of much greater relevance is that the Northumbrian runic record provides a subtle hint that pre-reform runic forms were familiar to at least some Northumbrians. The cryptic runes on the right panel of the Franks casket (see Figure 39) were allographs that were cast aside as a result of the runic reform. It would be curious if the rune-master used rune-forms which he knew

Figure 39: The right panel of the Franks casket.

were unfamiliar to his audience, making it impossible for the encrypted text to be resolved.[74]

The inscription is a strong indication that pre-reform allographs were known in Northumbria, and it seems too incredulous to presume that Southumbrian educators made the *fuþorc* the subject of such a comprehensive curriculum as to include the whole gamut of runic allographs, especially since the *fuþorc* always remained a secondary alphabet in Northumbria.[75]

There is a possibility, then, that many Northumbrian ecclesiastics had grown up rune-literate. Indeed, there is something to be said for the pattern seen in other Anglian-occupied regions. Runic writing did not flourish in post-conversion Kent or in the Saxon regions, neither

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[74] In order to make sense of the inscription, the reader must go through two steps of decryption. First, he must be able to identify the referent of each cryptic rune. If this were the only step required to resolve the encryption, then it may well have been the case that the crypticity lay in the unfamiliarity of the allographs. But there is a second step: the reader must realise that each cryptic rune represents the final letter of the name of the intended rune. For example, «ᛣ» was an allograph of ‹ᚻ›, which in turn was the last rune needed to write the rune-name of ‹ᛁ›, namely, *is*—the allograph «ᛣ» therefore stood for ‹ᛁ›.

[75] It is possible, of course, that runic literacy arrived in a rune-ignorant Northumbria in two waves, the first bringing a pre-reform *fuþorc*, and a subsequent wave bringing the reformed *fuþorc*. If this had been the case, we might expect to see more pre-reform allographs (such as those on the right panel of the Franks casket) among Northumbrian ecclesiastical inscriptions in non-cryptic contexts.

of which had an indigenous epigraphic tradition. In contrast, East Anglia and Mercia, which were both argued to have had an indigenous tradition (see Sections 8.3.1 and 9.3.1), saw an uptick in runic use after their Christianisation. The success of runic literacy in post-conversion Northumbria matches—even exceeds—that in the other Anglian regions, which could mean that an indigenous, pre-conversion runic literacy was shared by all Anglian peoples. After the Synod of Whitby, the use of runes became more widespread and prevalent in Northumbria with the adoption of new technologies, especially stone-epigraphy. Moreover, if pre-conversion writing was done mostly on perishable materials, we could speculate a communicative function for runes in Northumbria, perhaps similar to the Bryggen inscriptions uncovered in Bergen in Norway. Pre-reform runes would have been abandoned in favour of the reformed *fuþorc* brought from Southumbria, at least in texts produced within the remit of the Church (which includes most surviving Northumbrian inscriptions)—although who is to say that the uniquely Northumbrian runes were not relicts from pre-reform times? For all we know, the ‹ᛤ› on the Ruthwell cross and the ‹ᚼ› on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle crosses (see Parsons 1999: 84; see also Section 3.6.2) could have been Northumbrian pre-reform allographs, still known and used among Northumbrian rune-carvers (cf. Ball 1988: 115–16); or else the two runes represent runic creativity of the kind seen in East Anglia, a highly rune-proficient region.

10.3.4.2 The Hackness stone

Northumbria is home to the Hackness stone, unique among the Anglo-Saxon runic monuments. The stone, which has suffered much damage and was, in all probability, originally a cross, has inscriptions in four different scripts (presumably all alphabets). Two substantial Latin inscriptions in the roman alphabet can be identified on the northern and southern faces of the stone. The western face contains two inscriptions in two related but distinct runic

alphabets. One of these runic alphabets is presumably the Anglo-Saxon *fuþorc*, although no diagnostic runes can be identified and its language cannot be ascertained, and so no sense has been made of the inscription (see Kilpatrick 2013: 6–7). The other appears to be in *hahal-runes*, a cryptic alphabet based on the runic alphabet (ibid.: 7; for the mechanism of *hahal-runes*, see Page 1999a: 83). The inscription has not been interpreted. Finally, there is an inscription on the southern face below the roman inscription. It is in a script which is unique to the Hackness stone, but certain structural features which it shares with ogam have led scholars to term it *pseudo-ogam* (see Haigh 1858: 194, Elliott 1959: 84, Kilpatrick 2013: 7–9). The language of the inscription is unknown, and no convincing interpretation has yet been offered. The Hackness stone has been dated to the 8th or 9th century, and so may be outside the strict temporal scope of this study, but nevertheless evidences an interest in "esoteric and presumably learned scripts" in the region, even if only for decorative not communicative purposes (Page 1999a: 86). As exceptional as the stone is, it is nowhere more at home than in Northumbria, whose 8th-century runic corpus testifies to an affinity for non-roman alphabets as well as to a degree of irreverence in their use, as the right panel of the Franks casket shows. The inscriptions may turn out to be gibberish, a gimmick to impress the illiterate or the barely literate, but this would not be in keeping with the profile of contemporary Northumbrian inscriptions and would surely defeat the purpose of a memorial monument. The Hackness stone may be further proof that, in Northumbria, simple and straightforward runic writing was insufficient to conceal the meaning of a text, and it might be that some communities developed unique orthographies and/or alphabets to keep certain information private (see Karkov 2003).

10.4 Northumbrian

Northumbrian was an Anglian dialect and therefore shared in certain sound changes with Mercian and East Anglian (see Section 4.2.1). What set Northumbrian apart from the other Anglian dialects was that the digraphs ‹ea› and ‹eo›, typically distinguishing between the diphthongs /æ(ː)ɑ/ and /e(ː)o/ respectively, were used interchangeably, at least in southern Northumbrian. Richard Hogg interpreted this as indicating a shared low-mid second element for both diphthongs ([1992] 2011: §5.44(1)). The opposite appears to have happened in northern Northumbrian: the target of the two diphthongs in question was /ɑ/ (ibid.: §5.44(2)). Northern Northumbrian also exhibited palatal diphthongisation of /æ(ː)/ to /æ(ː)ɑ/ (ibid.: §5.51; see also Anderson 1941: 137). While some scholars maintain that the dialectal division between northern and southern Northumbrian was in existence already in Bede's time (see e.g. Anderson 1941: 138), others have been more sceptical (see Dahl 1938: 19–21, Ström 1939: 147–8, Van Els 1972: 241). In either case, none of these sound changes affected the target vowels of this study.

10.5 Northumbrian material

10.5.1 Manuscripts

The manuscript evidence consists exclusively of four early copies of Bede's *HE*, an ecclesiastical history of the Anglo-Saxons compiled into five books. The manuscripts consulted here are listed in Table 26 and will be referred to according to their version letter. Copies of *HE* are conventionally divided into m-texts and c-texts, which are categories indicating textual traditions based on the M and C (London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius C II) versions of *HE* respectively. C-texts, represented here only by K, differed from m-texts mainly in the omission of material (for a list of differences, see Plummer [1896] 1946: xciv–xcv). M, L and K

Shelfmark	Version of *HE*	Type	Other names	Date of manuscript
Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16	M	m-text	Moore Bede	s. viii[1]
Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 4° Ms. theol. 2	K	c-text	Kassel Bede	s. viii[2]
London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV	B	m-text	N/A	s. viii[2]
St Petersburg, National Library of Russia, Lat. Q. v. I. 18	L	m-text	St Petersburg Bede (formerly Leningrad Bede)	s. viii[2]

Table 26: The Northumbrian manuscript material.

are all in good condition—although K only contains Books 4 and 5 of the complete work—while B was extensively damaged in the 18th-century Cottonian fire. All four manuscripts are in Latin, and the evidence therefore consists almost exclusively of Old English personal names and place-names. Beside the *HE* proper, M and L also include the Old English version of a poem editorially titled *Cædmon's Hymn* (*CH*), which supplements the otherwise onomastic Northumbrian data by providing a small amount of lexical evidence. Finally, M contains additional annalistic material after the *explicit* of *HE* not found in the other copies, namely, the Moore Annals and the Moore Memoranda, the latter of which contain a Northumbrian kinglist (see Story [n.d.]).

The Northumbrian provenance of these manuscripts, all written mainly or almost completely in insular minuscule,[76] can be ascertained through various textual and palaeographical cues. With regards to M, the Northumbrian kinglist and a Moore Memorandum referring to the founding of the Wearmouth monastery evidence a knowledge

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[76] The hand has sometimes been termed *Anglo-Saxon minuscule* (see e.g. Van Els 1972: xxviii–xxx, Lapidge 2008: lxxxvi–xci), but I follow Michelle Brown in situating the end of Phase II insular minuscule, and the beginning of Anglo-Saxon minuscule, into the 9th century (Brown 1990: 48, 58).

of and an interest in specifically Northumbrian history, which is likely to have been strongest in the region itself. These cues do not, however, necessarily guarantee a Wearmouth origin for M (see Dumville 2007: 63, 73). The specific scriptorium has not been identified, although York has been suggested as a possibility (see Brown 2009: 124). L has been uniformly assigned to Jarrow. Although a theory according to which Bede himself was one of the scribes responsible for writing the manuscript has been all but disproven (Meyvaert 1961), there are other signs which link L with Bede's own establishment. The manuscript makes use of uncial and rustic capitals, hands which point not only to a Romanised scriptorium, but which are found in the Codex Amiatinus (Lowe 1958: 185–6; see also e.g. Lowe 1960: 13, Wright 1961: 267–70, Lowe 1966: 12 (no. 1621), Parkes 1982: 5–6). The Northumbrian provenance of B and K is based on palaeographical features shared by many Northumbrian manuscripts, particularly those produced at Wearmouth–Jarrow. The ‹v›-shaped (as opposed to ‹u›-shaped) Roman numeral for the number *five*, as well as a distinctive shape of the letter ‹x›, are found in both K and the Codex Amiatinus, as well as in the stints of the first three scribes of L (Van Els 1972: 28; see also Lowe 1958: 188, Lowe 1959: 34; but see Lapidge 2008: lxxxvii–lxxxix, where K is provenanced to Southumbria). B and L are so similar in their orthography and palaeography that some have considered B to be a copy of L (see e.g. Lowe 1971: 11, Backhouse 1991e). Others have seen B and L as copies of the same exemplar (see e.g. Anderson 1941: 9–10, Lapidge 2008: lxxxvi, ci–civ). Whatever the exact nature of their relationship to each other, their similarity is such that they must have emerged from the same environment.

While scholars generally agree on the Northumbrian provenance of the manuscripts, their dating has been the cause of much controversy. The *terminus post quem* for all copies is 731, the year in which Bede completed his oeuvre. M is believed to be a very early copy on account of the additional material at the end of the manuscript, much of which points to the year 737 as the year of composition (the *HE* proper and the additional material were written

by the same scribe throughout). The last king to be included in the kinglist is Ceolwulf, who is stated as having ruled for eight years. Ceolwulf's rule must have already ended by the time the kinglist was compiled because he ruled for a total of eight years, from 729 to 737. The Moore Memoranda record various events accompanied by the number of years since they took place, often returning the year 737 (see e.g. Dumville 2007: 60; see also Story [n.d.]). Crucially, however, 737 is not the year returned by all the Memoranda (see Dumville 2007: 62–4), and so their validity for the precise dating of M has been called into question. It has been suggested that the additional material of M was collated from earlier marginal annotations without necessarily bringing the information up to date—that is, without making any additions to the kinglist beyond the reign of Ceolwulf, and without recalculating and updating the amounts of lapsed years for the events recorded in the Memoranda (see ibid.: 65). The latest of the Memoranda takes us to the year 748, and so M was either "written in 748 or rather was descended from a manuscript written or last augmented in that year" (ibid.; see also ibid.: 73, Kiernan 1990a). Since 748 is the date of the latest Memorandum, and because it seems unlikely that the kinglist and the Memoranda should have been copied unaltered for very long with no attempt to update them (see Story [n.d.]), M is here considered as part of the data from the first half of the 8th century.

Marginal calculations of years passed since certain events, listed in the last chapter of *HE*, were similarly used by Olga Dobiache-Rojdestvensky (1928) to determine 746 as the year of composition for L. This date has been widely accepted (see e.g. Ström 1939: xxxi, Anderson 1941: 3–4, Van Els 1972: xxviii), but more recent scholarship has identified an error in her calculations. The date of the latest entry—and thus the *terminus post quem* of the annotations—is 758 (Dumville 2007: 67–70; see also Kiernan 1990a: 50). The calculations were made by the rubricator of L after the main text had been completed (see Wright 1961: 271–2), and so, in theory, the main text of L could have been written in the first half of the 8th century, and the annotations only added in 758 or later. However, considering that in this

period the demand for Bedan manuscripts was high, it is unrealistic to suppose a gap of many years between the work of the scribes of the main text and the rubricator. It is also worth noting that the orthography of the Latin in L does not always follow the rules outlined by Bede himself in his didactic works, which gives the impression that some considerable time had lapsed between Bede's original copy and the composition of L (Dumville 2007: 72–3, 87). L is therefore here dated to the second half of the 8th century (see also Lowe 1958: 188, Dumville 1999–2007: 73–4, Dumville 2007: 92, Lapidge 2008: xc). *CH* in L, which appears in the lower margin of fol. 107r, is considered contemporary with the rest of the manuscript (see e.g. Dahl 1938: 2, Arngart 1952: 30; Okasha 1968a: 35), and most scholars agree that it was written by the same scribe responsible for the main text on the same folio (Anderson 1941: 2, Lowe 1966: 12, Okasha 1968a: 35). Kevin Kiernan has observed that the hand of *CH* is not identical with that used for the main text (1990b: 162, 172n16), but I am not convinced that this need necessarily mean that *CH* was added by a different scribe, which is what Kiernan suggests. Even in M, where *HE* and the additional material were written by the same scribe, *CH* is in a slightly smaller hand that the rest of the text, perhaps signalling the lower status of a vernacular poem (see Dumville 2007: 65–6). Since L and B are so closely connected, B can also be dated to the second half of the 8th century (see ibid.: 73–4, 93).[77] K has generally been dated to the second half of the 8th century on palaeographical grounds and, to a lesser extent, the use of abbreviations (Van Els 1972: 24–6; see also Lowe 1959: 34, Wright 1964: 116, Dumville 2007: 57–8).

M and B were written throughout by a single scribe, but four scribes have been identified for both L and K. In the case of K, there is little doubt that the scribes were working contemporaneously, so intermingled are their various stints (see Dumville 2007: 78). The four

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[77] Michael Lapidge has suggested a date in the early 9th century for B (2008: lxxxvi), but in a more recent handbook which he co-edited (Gneuss & Lapidge 2014), the date of B is firmly in the 8th century (see also Dumville 1999–2007: 73).

scribes of L, however, each copied a single stretch of continuous text, which opens up the possibility that the scribes were not strictly contemporaneous. M. B. Parkes has argued that the first two scribes (L1 and L2) may have written their stints some time after the third and fourth scribes (L3 and L4) had finished theirs, but before the rubricator got to work (1982: 6–7). This is because L4 wrote in Phase I insular minuscule, while the first three scribes wrote in Phase II insular minuscule, an advanced and later stage of the hand (Dumville 2007: 75; see also Van Els 1972: xxix; see also Section 10.3.2.1). Parkes considered L3 and L4 to have been necessarily contemporaneous, because the handover between their stints occurs mid-chapter (1982: 6). David Dumville has observed, however, that if L3 and L4, who wrote different types of insular minuscule, were contemporaneous, then there is no real reason to think that L1 and L2 must have worked significantly later than L4, on the basis that they wrote Phase II insular minuscule (2007: 83). Moreover, Parkes's scenario would force us to assume that an unfinished copy of *HE* lay untouched for years before the first two scribes of L finally completed the work and passed it on to the rubricator around 758. For the same reasons of high demand already mentioned, it is hard to imagine such a course of events; and so all four scribes can confidently be dated to the second half of the 8th century (see also ibid.: 83–4). At most, we may suspect that L4 could have been older than the first three scribes, and/or that he was trained at a different, more conservative, scriptorium (see Lowe 1958: 188, Parkes 1982: 7).

10.5.2 Epigraphy

Northumbria has the largest amount of epigraphic material from any of the Anglo-Saxon regions; the artefacts on which the inscriptions appear are listed in Table 27. Because the nomenclature around all the inscribed objects (with the exception of the Ruthwell cross) has

Artefact	Okasha 1971, 1982	Cramp 1984	Other names	Material	Script of data	Date
Franks casket (FC)	6 Auzon	N/A	Auzon casket	bone	runic	s. viii[1]
Hart1	N/A	Hartlepool 01	Hartlepool stone 1	stone	runic	s. viii[1]
Hart2	N/A	Hartlepool 02	Hartlepool stone 2	stone	runic	s. viii[1]
Hart6	48 Hartlepool VI	Hartlepool 06	N/A	stone	roman	s. viii[1]
Hart8	50 Hartlepool VIII	Hartlepool 08	N/A	stone	roman	s. viii[1]
Jar6	170 Jarrow VI	Jarrow 18	N/A	stone	roman	s. viii[1]
Lin1	76 Lindisfarne II	Lindisfarne 24	Lindisfarne stone 1	stone	roman, runic	s. viii[1]
Ruthwell cross (RC)	105 Ruthwell	N/A	N/A	stone	runic	s. viii[1]

Table 27: The Northumbrian epigraphic material.

historically been inconsistent across disciplines, I have resorted to shorthand labels unique to this study. These labels are listed in the 'Artefact' column and are used henceforth throughout. The data consist mostly of personal names, but the evidence from FC and RC is lexical. The inscriptions were written in both runes and roman letters, but Table 27 only marks the script used for the data extracted from each artefact. For example, both roman and runic inscriptions appear on RC, but the data from RC is all runic, and so its script is listed as 'runic'.

The Northumbrian provenance of most of these artefacts is evident from their location. RC is a fixed monument which would hardly have been transported to Northumbria from elsewhere (see Page 1999a: 27), although the stonemason(s) and rune-carver(s) probably hailed from Jarrow (see e.g. Cramp 1965: 10–11). All the other artefacts, except FC, are smaller name-bearing stones, which could theoretically have been imported (see Page 1999a: 27); but there seems no reason to doubt their Northumbrian provenance, since they were all found in the historical area of Bernicia, and thus point to a local tradition of commemorative inscriptions on stone. FC is the only object which is easily portable, and which

did travel. It was discovered in France in the 19th century, but the runes betray its origins as unquestionably Anglo-Saxon. The dialect of the inscription shows Anglian smoothing, which restricts its provenance (see Napier 1901: 379; see also ibid.: 368n1, 379–80 for a specifically Northumbrian phonological feature in the inscription), and art-historical evidence confirms a northern Anglian origin. The decorative profile of the casket finds parallels in Northumbrian manuscripts of the first half of the 8th century, and the inscription has been dated accordingly. Leslie Webster (2012: 45–8) has drawn attention to the animal motifs on the casket which are repeated in Northumbrian art, such as the double-headed beast found on the lid of FC and again in the Northumbrian manuscript of Cassiodorus's *Expositio psalmorum* (Durham, Durham Cathedral Library, MS. B.II.30). Noteworthy are also the triple-stepped arch bases on the structure depicted on the lid which resemble the bases of the arches framing the canon tables of the Codex Amiatinus (see also Wood 1990, esp. pp. 8–9; see Figure 40).

The name stones (Hart1, Hart2, Hart6, Hart8, Lin1) have proved much more challenging to date, especially because their connection with the typologically similar Clomacnoise stones is unclear (see e.g. Peers 1923–4: 264–5, Loveluck 2007: 192–4). In the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture,* Rosemary Cramp assigns all the name stones, save Hart1, a date between the mid-7th and the mid-8th century (1984: 98, 100–1, 203); Hart1 is dated to the 8th century (ibid.: 98). Following the principles set out in Chapter 5, I opt for a date in the first half of the 8th century for Hart2, Hart6, Hart8 and Lin1. In lieu of any features which exclude a date in the first half of the 8th century, Hart1 is dated similarly in order to keep the group of Northumbrian name stone chronologically intact (see also Page 1999a: 25). As for the claim that an allograph of ‹ᛗ› on Hart1 is later than another allograph of the same rune on Hart2 (Scott 1956: 202), it is noted that both allographs appear in inscriptions dated the first half of the 8th century, FC and RC. In a similar vein, the serifs on the runes on Hart1 (as opposed to the unseriffed runes on Hart2) do not warrant significant differences in date,
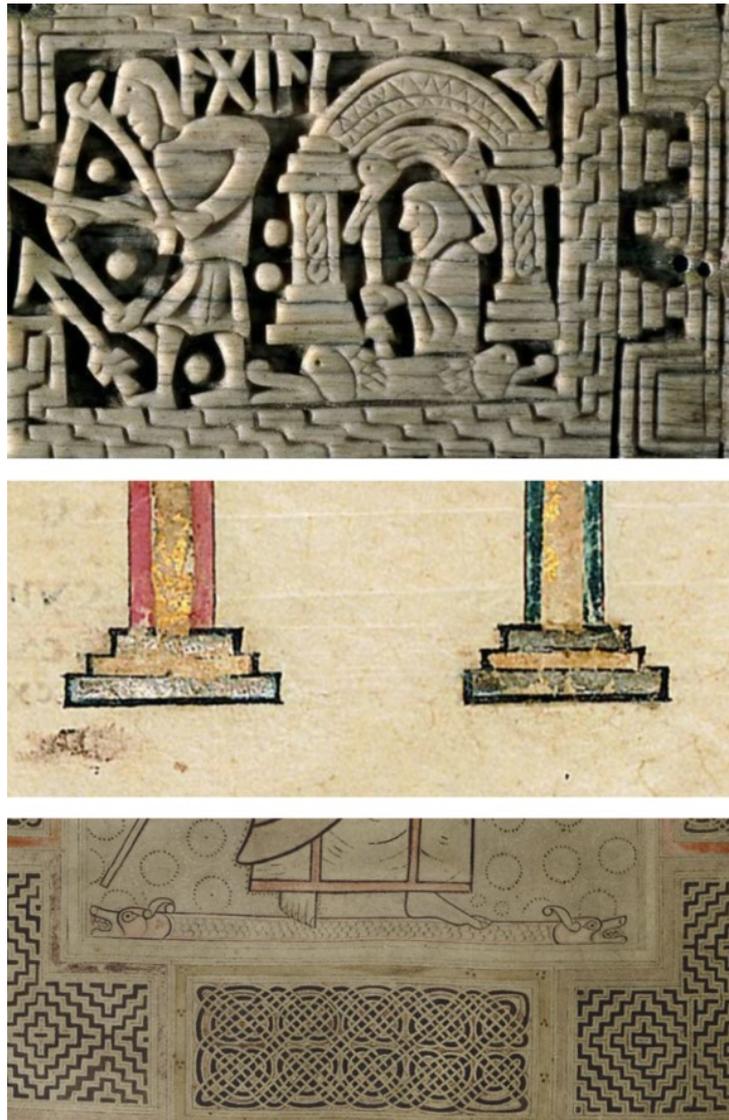
*Figure 40: Details from the lid of FC (top), the canon tables in
the Codex Amiatinus (middle) and Cassiodorus's* Expositio psalmorum *(bottom).*

since seriffed runes are also found on Lin1. Finally, Jar6 is not a name stone as such and does

not necessarily belong to the same group of commemorative inscriptions as the name stones

discussed above. While appealing to hands is an unideal method for the accurate dating of

inscriptions (see Okasha 1968b: 321), the stone is completely unornamented and undatable

on art-historical grounds. John Higgitt (1979: 360–3) has assigned Jar6 to the first half of the

8th century based on a mixture of hands which recalls the late-7th-century Stonyhurst Gospel

(London, British Library, Add MS 89000), and it is here dated accordingly.

The date of RC has proved to be another thorny subject, with most modern scholarship converging around the mid-8th century (see e.g. Mercer 1964: 273–4, Ó Carragáin 2003: 135). RC and the Bewcastle cross are generally considered contemporaneous or near-contemporaneous, and features from one have been used to date the other. For a long time, the Bewcastle cross was thought to have been erected in memory of Alhfrith, a 7th-century king, but this association was made obsolete in Page 1960, which meant that the date of both crosses was no longer restricted to the 7th century (see also Mercer 1964: 269–70, Cramp 1965: 3, Mac Lean 1992: 58–9). Indeed, the design of RC displays developments from that of the Acca cross, sculpted—possibly by Continental craftsmen—in Hexham in 740. The Jedburgh cross, tentatively also dated to the 8th century, shows even further stylistic developments, which would place RC chronologically somewhere between these two crosses (Cramp 1959–60: 13, Cramp 1965: 8). In a revision of the mid-8th century date that he had given the cross in 2003, Éamonn Ó Carragáin later suggested that RC was erected in Acca's lifetime in the first half of the 8th century, considering the "theological and liturgical interests" which are expressed on the cross and which matched Acca's interests (2006: 18; see also ibid.: 35). Douglas Mac Lean's (1992) extensive review of the date of RC also came to the same conclusion (see also Okasha 1971: 109, Page 1999a: 145). In spite of some suggestions that the runic inscription was a later addition (see e.g. Ball 1991: 109), most scholars have dismissed this possibility, deeming it a needless complication in the history of the monument (see e.g. Cramp 1959–60: 12, Mercer 1964: 270; see also Collingwood 1927: 118). More pertinently, the inscription "not only forms an integral part of the design of a great cross, but provides a guide to the conceptual structure of the monument", and was necessary for understanding how the imagery of the cross was to be 'read' (Ó Carragáin 2003: 176; cf. Okasha 2006: 66).

10.5.3 Numismatics

The Northumbrian numismatic material is drawn from the joint coinage of Æthelwald Moll with Archbishop Ecgberht, and the coinages of Æthelred I (774–779, 790–796) from both of his reigns, including his joint coinage with Archbishop Eanbald.

8th-century Northumbrian coins make no mention of their place of minting, but most if not all are presumed to have been struck in the originally Deiran centre of York, given that coin-finds are rarer in the historical area of Bernicia and there confined mostly to coastal trade centres (Higham 1986: 303, Naismith 2017: 114, Abramson 2018: 178; but see also Booth 1987: 68). The regnal dates of the issuing rulers allow us to place the Northumbrian numismatic data in its entirety in the second half of the 8th century. There is some ambiguity concerning the coinages of Æthelred I, since some coins could technically belong to his 9th-century namesake, Æthelred II. The attribution here follows that provided in the *EMC*/*SCBI* database.

10.6 Northumbrian data

The manuscript material for 700–750 consists of M; the other copies of *HE* (L, B and K) are considered with the manuscript material for 750–800. All epigraphic material belongs to the period 700–750, while all numismatic material belongs to the period 750–800. The four scribes working on L and K are distinguished in Tables 29 to 31. Their stints run as follows:

L1 fols 1r–32v,

L2 fols 33r–63v,

L3 fols 64r–68r,

L4 fols 68v–161r, including *CH* (see Arngart 1952: 18); and

K1 fols 1r–13v, 14v, 15v, 21r(ll. 6–30), 34r(ll. 8–42)–50r,

K2 fols 14r, 15r, 16r–21r(ll. 1–4),

K3 fols 21r(ll. 31–42)–24v,

K4 fols 25r–34r(ll. 1–8) (see Van Els 1972: 233).

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ(:)/	PS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×84 ‹e› ×8 ‹æ› ×7 ‹a› ×4	‹ꝼ› ×1	-	‹ae› ×152 ‹æ› ×24 ‹e› ×16 ‹a› ×9 ‹ę› ×7	-	‹AE› ×35 ‹E› ×17
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/ø:/	PS	-	-	-	‹oi› ×16 ‹oe› ×8	‹⊗› ×1 ‹ꝼ› ×1	-	‹oi› ×39 ‹oe› ×8 ‹\o/e› ×1	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	-	‹⊗› ×1	-	-	-	-
/y(:)/	PS	-	-	-	‹y› ×23 ‹ui› ×1	‹ᛚ› ×1	-	‹y› ×57	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	‹y› ×18	‹ᛚ› ×3 ‹Y› ×3 ‹UI› ×1	-	‹y› ×45	-	-

Table 28: Northumbrian orthographic representations by time-period and medium.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/æ/[ff]	PS	‹ae› M×80, L1×21, L2×24, L3×2, L4×8, B×59, K1×25, K2×4 ‹æ› M×5, L1×1, L4×20, B×1 ‹e› M×8, L2×3, L4×7, B×5, K1×1 ‹ę› K1×4, K2×1	‹ᚠ› RC×1	‹AE› Æ1^{N2}×27, Æ&E×8 ‹E› Æ1^{N1}×6, Æ1^{N2}×9, ÆM×2
	RS	-	-	-
/æ/[im]	PS	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-
/æː/[im]	PS	‹ae› M×4, L2×2, L4×1, B×5, K1×1 ‹a› M×4, L1×2, L2×1, L4×1, B×4, K1×1 ‹æ› M×2, L4×2 ‹ę› K1×2	-	-
	RS	-	-	-

Table 29: Orthographic representations of /æ(:)/ in Northumbria.
(Æ1^{N1} = Æthelred I (1st reign); Æ1^{N2} = Æthelred I (2nd reign); ÆM = Æthelwald Moll; Æ&E = Æthelred I (2nd reign)
with Archbishop Eanbald.)

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/øː/	PS	‹oi› M×16, L2×4, L3×2, L4×11, B×9, K1×8, K4×5 ‹oe› M×8, L2×1, L4×3, B×1, K1×2, K4×1 ‹\o/e› B×1	‹ᛟ› FC×1 ‹ᚠ› FC×1	-
	RS	-	‹ᛟ› RC×1	-

Table 30: Orthographic representations of /øː/ in Northumbria.

Vowel	Stress	Manuscript	Epigraphy	Numismatic
/y/	PS	‹y› M×22, L1×1, L2×2, L3×5, L4×14, B×19, K1×11, K2×1	‹ᛁ› FC×1	-
	RS	‹y› M×1, L4×1	-	-
/yː/	PS	‹y› M×1, L2×1, L4×1, B×1, K3×1 ‹ui› M×1	-	-
	RS	‹y› M×17, L2×3, L4×13, B×15, K1×9, K2×3, K4×1	‹ᛁ› Hart1×1, Hart2×1, Lin1×1 ‹Y› Hart6×1, Jar6×1, Lin1×1 ‹UI› Hart8×1	-

Table 31: Orthographic representations of /y(ː)/ in Northumbria.

10.7 Northumbrian discussion

Northumbrian material spans the 8th century and comprises manuscript, epigraphic and numismatic data. Manuscript evidence covers both halves of the 8th century. Epigraphic data is restricted to the first half of the century, and all the numismatic evidence is from the second half of the century. While the epigraphic material has returned both runic and roman representations, no token is drawn from a biscriptal text; that is, all runic tokens occur in a fully runic text, and all roman tokens occur in a fully roman text. The inclusion of no less than four copies of *HE* ensures that Northumbria has by far the largest amount of data of any of the Anglo-Saxon regions. In order to deal with the results comprehensively, this discussion is lengthier than the preceding ones and is therefore divided into subsections.

10.7.1 The orthographic representation of /ø:/ in *HE*

One of the most conspicuous features of the manuscript data is the presence of two representations ‹oi› and ‹oe› for /øː/, with a clear preference for ‹oi› in the output of every scribe who refers to this vowel in his stint. While Tables 28 and 30 do not reveal any patterns

Name	Individual	M	L			B	K	
			L2	L3	L4		K1	K4
Cwœnburg	wife of King Edwin (Northumbria)	‹oe› ×1	‹oe› ×1	-	-	‹\o/e› ×1	-	-
	daughter of Abbess Hereburg	‹oe› ×1	-	-	‹oi› ×1	‹oi› ×1	-	‹oe› ×1
Cœnred	King Cœnred (Mercia)	‹oi› ×4 ‹oe› ×3	-	-	‹oi› ×3 ‹oe› ×2	‹oe› ×1	‹oi› ×4 ‹oe› ×2	‹oi› ×1
	King Cœnred (Northumbria)	‹oe› ×3 ‹oi› ×1	-	-	‹oi› ×2 ‹oe› ×1	‹oi› ×1	‹oi› ×3	-
Œthelwald	hermit	‹oi› ×4	-	-	‹oi› ×4	‹oi› ×2	-	‹oi› ×4
	King Œthelwald (Northumbria)	‹oi› ×4	‹oi› ×2	‹oi› ×2	-	‹oi› ×3	-	-
Cœnwealh	King Cœnwealh (Wessex)	‹oi› ×3	‹oi› ×2	-	‹oi› ×1	‹oi› ×2	‹oi› ×1	-

Table 32: The names in HE *which contain /ø:/ and the variation in its orthographic representation. Only the scribes whose stint contains one of the names listed are considered.*

in the distribution of the representations, some systematicity begins to emerge in Table 32, where the tokens are divided by name and by individual. The names *Œthelwald* and *Cœnwealh* are always spelled with ‹oi›. The name of Cwœnburg, wife of Edwin, is spelled twice with ‹oe› and once with ‹e› with a superscript ‹\o/›, possibly added by the scribe of the main text himself. Variation between ‹oi› and ‹oe› only occurs in the name *Cœnred*, as well as *Cwœnburg* when it refers to the daughter of Hereburg (although this variation exists between manuscripts, never in the output of a single scribe). The likelihood of this variation signalling a vowel quality in flux is low. The principal sound change affecting /ø:/ was its eventual unrounding to /e:/, but this began in the 9th century in southern England and did not reach the more northerly Anglian dialects until later (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 225). The two names exhibiting variation both had /ø:/ in a prenasal environment, but nasalised and non-nasalised

allophones of /ø:/ (if such a contrast existed) are also unlikely to have been the cause of orthographic variation, because the representation of the /ø:/ in *Cœnwealh*, similarly prenasal, is uniform. It is worth pointing out that the /ø:/ in *Cwœnburg* is a reflex not of PGmc */o:/, but of prenasal */ɑ:/, in an i-mutating environment (see Section 4.2.2). Richard Hogg argued that the i-mutation of prenasal */ɑ:/ was likely to have been closer to [œ:] in height than [ø:], but that it quickly merged with /ø:/ < */o:/ ([1992] 2011: §5.78(2)). Even supposing that this merger did not happen in Northumbrian, it cannot have been the cause of ‹oi›/‹oe›-variation, because the variation is also evidenced in *Cœnred*, where the /ø:/ is a reflex of PGmc */o:/. The only possible phonetically-motivated explanation for the variation is that a prenasal allophone [œ:] < */ɑ:/ was slowly spreading to other prenasal environments, having affected some names (such as *Cœnred*) but not others (such as *Cœnwealh*)—but there are no other indications of such a sound change, and orthographic representation of allophones is typologically unusual. Alternative explanations for the ‹oi›/‹oe›-variation should be sought.

There is no obvious unifying factor between the individuals whose names exhibit variation. They include both Northumbrian and Southumbrian men and women living in the 7th and 8th centuries. It has been suggested that "the distribution of *oi-* and *oe-*spellings probably reflects their distribution in Bede's original" (Van Els 1972: 236). Is it possible that the orthographic variation stems from the variable orthography of his correspondents? There are two factors which make this unlikely. Firstly, some variation appears in the name of the Northumbrian king Cœnred, who was Bede's contemporary. Bede did not need correspondents to inform him of Cœnred's existence or name, and so the variety in the spelling of the sovereign's name in the surviving early manuscripts can hardly be attributed to Bede's sources. Secondly, as the results from other Anglo-Saxon regions have shown, ‹oe› is the only manuscript representation (and ‹OE› the only digraphic representation in coin-epigraphy) evidenced in Southumbria. This does not prove that ‹oi› was never used south of the Humber, but it does cast some suspicion over the use of ‹oi› in the name of the West

Saxon king Cœnwealh, as it appears perhaps more likely that Bede's Southumbrian correspondent would have spelled *Cœnwealh* with ‹oe›. If Bede 'Northumbrianised' this name by spelling it with ‹oi› instead of the ‹oe› of his source, why did he not do the same for other names with a 'Southumbrian' ‹oe›? Furthermore, variety in Bede's sources or confusion on Bede's part do not explain the variety in the name of Cwœnburg, daughter of Hereburg, whose name only appears once in *HE*. There would have been no opportunity for Bede to vary the spelling of this name, and so the variety between the existing copies cannot be attributed to him.

If there is no coherent reason for why Bede should have used ‹oi› in some names and ‹oe› in others, it is worth considering the possibility that Bede's orthography in his original manuscript was consistent, and the variation was introduced by subsequent copyists. Indeed, given everything we know about Bede's commitment to orthography from his *De orthographia*, it is difficult to imagine that he would have allowed many orthographic inconsistencies to creep into his work, and mention has already been made of scribes' divergences from the rules of Latin orthography taught by Bede (see Section 10.5.1). Considering the data in Table 30 and especially Table 32, I believe it is more in conformity with the evidence to reconstruct ‹oi› as Bede's default orthographic representation of /ø:/. This means that he could have changed any ‹oe›s of his correspondents into a more familiar ‹oi›.[78] It is likelier that an original ‹oi› was sometimes changed to ‹oe› in subsequent copies, than that an original ‹oe› was changed to ‹oi› with perfect consistency in some names and less-than-perfect consistency in others. The use of ‹oi› in *Œthelwald* and *Cœnwealh* is

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[78] Eric Stanley suggested that Bede preserved the dialectal name-spellings—i.e. spellings that betrayed phonological differences—of his sources, except where these names were "household names" (1988: 315; see also Van Els 1972: xx; but see Anderson 1941: 63–7, Lapidge 2008: cxxxii). The argument presented here does not contradict this, insofar as it is argued that Bede exchanged any ‹oe›-spellings for ‹oi›-spellings purely for orthographic (never phonological) reasons.
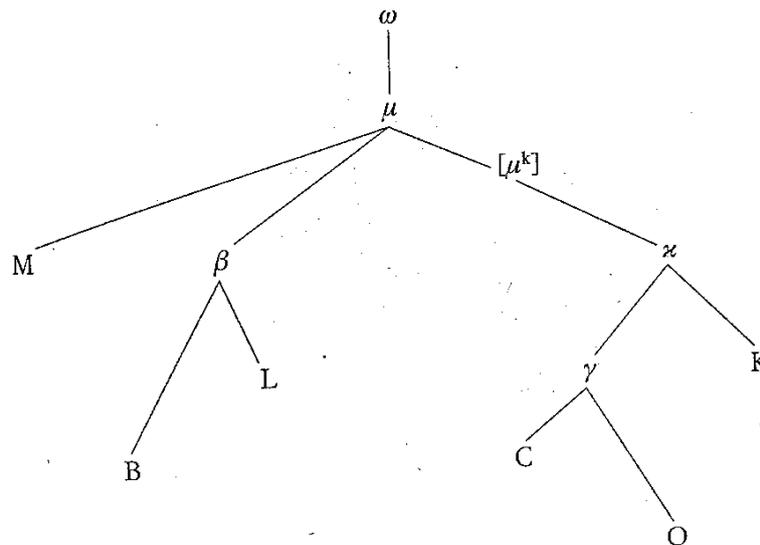
Figure 41: The first phase of the English transmission of HE *(from Lapidge 2008: cxv).*
(ω = Bede's original manuscript; μ = the exemplar at the Wearmouth–Jarrow scriptorium; μ^k = the copy of
μ sent to Albinus in Canterbury; κ = the Canterbury copy [Lapidge believes K to originate from Southumbria];
β = the exemplar of L and B (ibid.). The manuscripts in the γ-node are not part of this study.)

exceptionless across all four manuscripts in spite of numerous occurrences, so much so that

it must reflect the orthography of their common ancestor μ (see Figure 41 for a visualisation

of the early transmission of *HE*)—and since it was so consistent in μ, it is, I believe, reasonable

to assume that it issued from Bede's own pen in ω. It would follow, then, that every instance

of ‹oe› is an alteration of Bede's original ‹oi›, either in μ or in a subsequent copy of *HE*. Some

copyists may, of course, have re-inserted ‹oi› where their exemplar had changed Bede's

original to ‹oe›.

The argument finds support in the way representations are distributed across *HE*.

Table 33 displays each orthographic representation by its book and chapter of appearance in

HE. It is noteworthy that Books 3 and 4, and Book 5 up to the end of Chapter I, make exclusive

use of ‹oi› in all four manuscripts. ‹oe› is concentrated to specific books—even, in the main,

to specific chapters. If Bede always used ‹oi›, then some of the instances of ‹oe› could be the

insertion of a copyist of μ who consistently replaced Bede's ‹oi› with ‹oe›. μ would, then, have

been copied by at least two scribes. One had ‹oi› in his orthographic repertoire (whether

active or passive, we do not know) and preserved Bede's ‹oi›, while the other did not have

‹oi› in his active or passive repertoire and replaced Bede's ‹oi› with ‹oe›. This would be a straightforward explanation for instances where ‹oe› is shared across all four manuscripts, namely the ‹oe› in 2:XIV and 5:XIII. What of instances of ‹oe› that are not shared across all copies? The variation in 5:III could be explained by reconstructing ‹oe› in μ, which was then changed back to ‹oi› in β. The reason I believe that the change to ‹oi› was made in β and not by the scribes of L and B is that the scribe of B was not in the habit of standardising the orthographic representation of /ø:/ to ‹oi›, given that he used ‹oe› in 5:XIX. He was evidently copying merely what was in front of him. This leaves the variation in 5:XIX–XXIV in want of an explanation. Considering that M is the odd one out in 5:XIX–XXIII (the ‹oe› in 5:XXII in L has

Book	Chapter	M	L	B	K	Name
2	XIV	‹oe›	‹oe›	‹\o/e›	-	*Cwœnburg*
3	XXIII*	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	-	*Œthelwald*
	VII	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	*Cœnwealh*
		‹oi›	‹oi›	-	-	*Cœnwealh*
	XIV	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	*Œthelwald*
	XXIII	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	*Œthelwald*
	XXIV	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	*Œthelwald*
4	XII	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	*Cœnwealh*
5	I*	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	‹oi›	*Œthelwald*
	XIX*	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
	I	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	*Œthelwald*
		‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	*Œthelwald*
		‹oi›	‹oi›	-	‹oi›	*Œthelwald*
	III	‹oe›	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oe›	*Cwœnburg*
	XIII	‹oe›	‹oe›	-	‹oe›	*Cœnred*
	XIX	‹oi›	‹oi›	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
		‹oi›	‹oi›	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
		‹oi›	‹oe›	‹oe›	‹oe›	*Cœnred*
	XXII	‹oe›	‹oe›	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
	XXIII	‹oe›	‹oi›	‹oi›	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
		‹oe›	‹oi›	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
	XXIV	‹oe›	-	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
		‹oe›	-	-	‹oi›	*Cœnred*
MM		‹oi›	-	-	-	*Cœnred*

Table 33: The distribution of variation in the representation of /ø:/ in HE. Instances of ‹oe› are shaded in grey. Chapter summaries, which appear at the beginning of every Book, are marked with an asterisk. (MM = Moore Memoranda.)

been corrected to ‹oi›, probably by the scribe himself, see Arngart 1952: 28), we may presume, at least as a working hypothesis, that the last of the three references to /ø:/ in 5:XIX was ‹oe› in μ, while the references to /ø:/ in 5:XXII– XXIII were ‹oi› in μ. This would imply that there was a change of scribes in the middle of 5:XIX in μ, but this is not in the least improbable since the chapter is very long, and there is a significantly long stretch of text separating the first two instances of /ø:/ at the beginning of the chapter, copied by a scribe faithful to the orthography of ω, and the third towards the end of the chapter, copied by a scribe inclined to change an original ‹oi› to ‹oe›.

If the scenario outlined in the previous paragraph is correct, it would mean that M has ‹oi› at the end of 5:XIX, where μ had ‹oe›, but ‹oe› in 5:XXII–XXIII, where μ had ‹oi›. This poses some awkward problems for the transmission of M—but only if M was a direct copy of μ. If there was no intermediary between μ and M, it would be very difficult to explain why a single scribe would sometimes preserve an ‹oe› of his exemplar, sometimes change an original ‹oi› to ‹oe›, and sometimes revert an original ‹oe› back to ‹oi›. As the results for the name of the Mercian king Cœnred in Table 32 above show, the scribe of M was not motivated by a desire to standardise the orthographic representation of the names of individuals. In order to account for this seemingly haphazard variation, I suggest that there was at least one intermediary copy between M and μ—let us call it μ^m. I further suggest that μ^m was copied by at least two scribes, one whose repertoire only had ‹oi›, and another whose repertoire only had ‹oe›. The one whose default was ‹oi› would have been responsible for copying 5:XIX in its entirety, which is where he substituted the single occurrence of ‹oe› in μ for ‹oi›. The scribe whose default was ‹oe› was responsible for 5:XXII–XXIV and changed the ‹oi› of μ into ‹oe› on every occasion. The scribe of M appears to have had both ‹oi› and ‹oe› in his repertoire, making him a faithful copyist of μ^m. If ‹oi› became part of his repertoire upon copying μ^m (in *LALME*'s terms, if ‹oi› was part of his passive repertoire), then perhaps such a rigid adherence to the orthography of his exemplar also makes it possible that the dates in the Moore

Memoranda were copied without being recalculated and updated. If the additional material at the end of M was retrieved from μ^m, then it means that 748 is the *terminus post quem* of μ^m, not M, which throws the date of M back into the melting pot.[79]

In the light of the above discussion, I suspect that ‹oi› was an older Northumbrian representation than ‹oe›, used predominantly by scribes of Bede's generation (see Brunner 1965: 14). ‹oe› was almost certainly familiar to Bede through his correspondence with Southumbrians and/or collaboration with Southumbrian colleagues, and it may have already become common in Northumbria during Bede's lifetime. It seems that as the 8th century progressed, ‹oe› became more common among Northumbrian scribes. The scribes of the generation of M, L, B and K, not all of whom were based at Wearmouth–Jarrow, might all have been inclined to opt for ‹oe› when given the option, but many chose to retain the orthographic representation of their exemplar instead of 'updating' the orthography. It was previously mentioned that in 5:XXII, L4 wrote ‹oe› and corrected it to ‹oi›. Might we here be looking at L4's default representation ‹oe›, written in a moment of absent-mindedness, and quickly corrected to the ‹oi› of the exemplar? It has been argued that L4 was an older scribe than the other three responsible for L (see Section 10.5.1), but if so, even he was not so geriatric as to use ‹oi› as his default representation (or even have it is his active repertoire). In any case, it seems safe to say that the names *Cwœnburg* and *Cœnred*, in which the ‹oi›/‹oe›-variation appears, were not specifically targeted for respelling. Rather, the names happened to occur in stints copied by a scribe or scribes *of intermediary copies* whose preferred representation was ‹oe›. If we look for any phonetic significance behind the variation, we look in vain. If the theory presented here is correct, it appears that the scribes of the earliest (now lost) intermediary copies had more restricted orthographic repertoires than the scribes of the

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[79] As for the variation between M and K in 5:XXIV, it is not possible to be sure whether μ had ‹oi›, which was preserved in K but changed to ‹oe› in μ^m, or whether μ had ‹oe›, which was preserved in μ^m but changed (back) to ‹oi› in K (or in either of the intermediary copies between μ and K).

slightly later (surviving) copies, most of whom had *both* ‹oi› *and* ‹oe› in their repertoires. It seems possible that, with time, ‹oe› became increasingly acceptable and was adopted into the repertoires of more and more scribes. Moreover, as the demand for copies of *HE* grew, it may have become expedient for scribes to broaden their orthographic repertoire. It was quicker and more efficient to copy what was in front of them without discrimination. It follows that, at least during the 8th century, both ‹oi› and ‹oe› were considered by Northumbrian scribes to be legitimate orthographic representations of /ø:/.

10.7.2 The orthographic representation of /æ/ in the prototheme *æþel-*

The results for /æ/ benefit from a similar close study of the onomastic environments in which the tokens occur. Particularly the occurrence of ‹e› as a high-frequency representation of expected /æ/[ff] requires further analysis. ‹e› only appears in the spelling of the prototheme *æþel-*, but from Table 34 below it is evident that it does not occur randomly but is restricted to the names of five people in *HE*: Æthelthryth the abbess of Ely, Æthelwine the reeve, Æthelwine the bishop of Lindsey, Æthelhun his brother, and Æthelwald the bishop of Lindisfarne. ‹e› also appears once in L for *Æthelfrith*, although O. S. Arngard claimed that an ‹a› was erased from in front of the ‹e›, making the original representation ‹ae› (1952: 28). This is impossible to confirm from the facsimile, and it is difficult to imagine the reason for such an erasure. However, it is striking that in all other cases where the name of an individual is spelled with an initial ‹e› in one manuscript, there are parallels in at least two other manuscripts. Since *Æthelfrith* is only spelled once with an initial ‹e› in L, with no parallels in any other manuscript, and with five other instances of the same name spelled with ‹ae› by the same scribe (L2), the ‹e›-spelling of *Æthelfrith* seems to be an outlier and is not considered further. As another initial remark, it is noted that, where ‹e› appears for the spelling of *æþel-*, it is in

Name	Individual	M	L					B	K	
			L1	L2	L3	L4			K1	K2
Æthelbald		‹ae›×2	-	-	-	‹æ›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-
Æthelberht	King Æthelberht I	‹ae›×21 ‹æ›×1	‹ae›×15 ‹æ›×1	‹ae›×5	-	-	‹ae›×20	‹ae›×1	-
	King Æthelberht II	‹ae›×1	-	-	-	‹ae›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-
Æthelburg	daughter of King Æthelberht I	‹ae›×5 ‹æ›×1	-	‹ae›×6	-	-	‹ae›×5	-	-
	daughter of King Anna	‹ae›×3	-	‹ae›×3	-	-	‹ae›×2	-	-
	sister of Bishop Eorcenwald	‹ae›×4	-	-	-	‹æ›×4	‹ae›×3	‹ae›×4	-
Æthelfrith		‹ae›×12 ‹æ›×1	‹ae›×6	‹ae›×5 ‹e›×1	-	-	‹ae›×9	-	-
Æthelhere		‹ae›×1	-	-	‹ae›×1	-	-	-	-
Æthelhild		‹ae›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-	-	‹ae›×1	-	-
Æthelhun	brother of Bishop Æthelwine	‹e›×2	-	-	-	‹e›×2	‹e›×1	-	-
	son of King Edwin	‹ae›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-	-	‹ae›×1	-	-
Æthelred		‹ae›×16 ‹æ›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-	‹æ›×7 ‹ae›×6	‹ae›×10	‹ae›×11 ‹ę›×1	‹ae›×3 ‹ę›×1
Æthelric		‹ae›×1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Æthelthryth	abbess of Ely	‹ae›×4 ‹e›×1	-	-	-	‹æ›×3 ‹e›×1 ‹ae›×1	‹ae›×4 ‹e›×1	‹ae›×4	‹ae›×1
	daughter of King Edwin	‹ae›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-	-	‹ae›×1	-	-
Æthelwealh		‹ae›×3	-	-	-	‹æ›×3	‹ae›×2	‹ae›×2 ‹ę›×1	-
Æthelwine	bishop of Lindsey	‹e›×2 ‹ae›×1	-	‹e›×1	-	‹e›×2	‹e›×2 ‹æ›×1	‹ę›×1	-
	reeve	‹e›×1	-	‹e›×1	-	-	‹e›×1	-	-
Æthelwald	bishop of Lindisfarne	‹e›×2	-	-	-	‹e›×2	-	‹ae›×1 ‹e›×1	-
	King Æthelwald	‹ae›×1	-	-	‹ae›×1	-	‹ae›×1	-	-

Table 34: The names in HE *with the prototheme æþel- and the variation in the orthographic representation of /æ/ff. Shaded squares include an ‹e›-spelling. Only individuals with the same name are disambiguated.*

most cases the majority representation. (The name of Æthelthryth, abbess of Ely, is the only exception.) This is significant insofar as it shows that ‹e› does not seem to have been generally used as a space-saving minority representation. Finally, we can be reasonably certain that the prototheme of every name in Table 34 is *æþel-* not *œþel-* (cf. Colman 1988: 125–6; see also Section 8.7). This is because most of the affected names in Table 34 display variation between the use of ‹e› and the use of ‹ae›, ‹æ› or ‹ę›, which typically refer to expected /æ(:)/. It is also to be remembered that all instances of *œþel-* in Northumbria were spelled with ‹oi›, never ‹e› (bar a single, and corrected, mistake; see Table 32).

There is nothing obvious that sets individuals with the ‹e›-representation in their names apart as a group from the rest of the people with *æþel-*names. They hail from at least two different regions, Northumbria and East Anglia, they lived in both the 7th and 8th centuries, and include both men and women. It could be that ‹e› was for some the default representation of /æ/, in the way that ‹oe› was some scribes' default representation for /ø:/. Perhaps Bede never used ‹e› for /æ/ at all, but one of the copyists of μ did, and many of the ‹e›s inserted into μ were subsequently copied by later scribes. An appeal to default representations is highly unlikely to be the explanation in this case, however, because names which systematically make use of ‹e› appear in the same chapters with names which systematically do *not* make use of ‹e›. Table 35 presents the distribution of the orthographic representations for *æþel-* by chapter in Books 4 and 5, the two books with the most frequent use ‹e› for expected /æ:/. In 4:XII, we first hear mention of King Æthelred, then of Bishop Æthelwine, and finally again of King Æthelred. All three names had expected /æ/[ff], but only the bishop's name is spelled with ‹e›. If we attributed the ‹e›-spelling to a change in scribes mid-chapter, we would be forced to suppose that a change occurred *twice* in the same, very of short, chapter—once between the first mention of King Æthelred and the mention of Bishop Æthelwine, and another time before the second mention of King Æthelred. Something

Book	Chapter	M	L	B	K	Name
4	XIX*	‹e›	‹e›	‹e›	‹ae›	Æthelthryth
	XXI*	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelred
	III	‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelthryth
	VI	‹ae›	‹æ›	-	‹ae›	Æthelburg
	IX	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
		‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	X	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	XII	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelred
		‹e›	‹e›	‹e›	‹ę›	Æthelwine
		‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelred
	XIII	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ę›	Æthelwealh
		‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	XV	‹ae›	‹æ›	-	‹ae›	
	XVII	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelred
	XIX	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelthryth
	XX	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	XXI	‹æ›	‹ae›	-	‹ae›	Æthelred
		‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	XXII	‹ae›	‹æ›	-	‹ę›	Æthelthryth
		‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	XXIII	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelred
5	XII	‹e›	‹e›	-	‹ae›	Æthelwald
	XIII	‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	Æthelred
	XIX	‹ae›	‹ae›	-	‹ae›	
		‹ae›	‹ae›	-	‹ae›	
		‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
		‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	‹ae›	
	XXIII	‹ae›	‹ae›	-	‹ae›	Æthelberht
		‹ae›	‹æ›	-	‹ae›	Æthelbald
		‹e›	‹e›	-	‹e›	Æthelwald
	XXIV	‹ae›	-	-	‹ae›	Æthelberht
		‹ae›	-	-	‹ae›	Æthelred
		‹ae›	-	-	‹ae›	
		‹ae›	-	-	‹ę›	
		‹ae›	-	-	-	Æthelbald

Table 35: The distribution of variation in the representation of /æ/[ff] in the prototheme æþel- in Books 4 and 5 of HE. ‹e›- spellings are shaded. Chapter summaries, which appear at the beginning of every Book, are marked with an asterisk.

similar happens in 5:XXIII, where we are first told of King Æthelberht, and then, later in the chapter, of King Æthelbald and Bishop Æthelwald in close succession. The name of the bishop was always spelled with ‹e›, while the two other names never were. The use of ‹e› in the names of Bishops Æthelwine and Æthelwald does not, therefore, seem idiosyncratic, and can hardly be attributed to the preferences of scribes in intermediary copies.

The simplest explanation for the systematic use of ‹e›, in the names where ‹e›-spellings are in the majority, is that there existed two parallel protothemes, *æþel-* and *eþel-*. The latter may have developed as a by-form of the former through sound change, or they may have developed independently from two related but phonologically distinct roots (see Ström 1939: 109–11, Anderson 1941: 93–4, Scott 1956: 204, Campbell 1959: §203n1, Van Els 1972: 119). The names of individuals with a majority ‹e›-spelling are likely to go back to *ω*, where Bede would have retained the spellings used by his correspondents. Unlike with any ‹oe›-spellings which he might have encountered in his sources, Bede would have had a *phonological* reason to adhere to any ‹e›-spellings, because these spellings clearly signalled a distinct phoneme from that referred to by ‹ae›, ‹æ› or ‹ę› (and, it is argued here, a distinct *prototheme*, namely *eþel-*). Considering that K1 almost always used ‹ae› or ‹ę› in *æþel-* for names which, in other manuscripts, have a majority-‹e›-spelling, it is possible that he (or the scribe of his exemplar) was less familiar with the prototheme *eþel-*; a detail which, with further research, might help localise his region of origin. Based on this argument, it is uncertain whether the ‹E›-spellings for expected *æþel-* in all of Æthelwald Moll's coins and some of Æthelred I's coins are merely a space-saving technique, or whether they too represent *eþel-*. It has been suggested that the ‹E›-spellings of *æþel-* in Northumbrian coin-legends were competing with the spelling of a phonologically similar but etymologically discrete prototheme *œþel-* (Colman 1988: 125–6; see also Section 8.7), but this seems unlikely, since—as already mentioned—a monographic reference to /ø:/ has no parallels in Northumbrian manuscripts (see Section 10.7.1), and the unrounding of /ø:/ to /e:/, a sound change common in Kentish and West Saxon, is not believed to have operated in Northumbrian at this period (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §5.74, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 225).

The names of Æthelthryth, abbess of Ely, and Æthelwine, bishop of Lindsey, both involve variety in the spelling of the same name within a manuscript (rather than across manuscripts). The name of Æthelthryth was always spelled with ‹ae› or ‹æ›, except in the

chapter summary of 4:XIX, where it appears with ‹e› in M, L and B. The consistency of the ‹e›-spelling across three manuscripts makes it likely that the name was spelled with ‹e› in μ. Whether the ‹e›-spelling in μ was a mistake or a space-saving spelling is impossible to know for certain, but since it appears in a chapter summary, it may be that the scribe was pressed for space. The name of Æthelwine, bishop of Lindsey, is a more complex case. His name appears three times in M, L and B, and once in K. In K, his name is spelled with ‹ę›. In L, all three instances are spelled with ‹e›. In M and B, the first occurrence is spelled using ‹ae› and ‹æ› respectively, with the second and third instances spelled with ‹e›. There is a distinct possibility that the ‹æ› of B was an emendation of an original ‹e›. Whether this emendation was done to better conform with the exemplar β or with some other copy of *HE*, is difficult to know for certain. The fact remains that there existed a minority tradition whereby the first instance of the name of Æthelwine was spelled with ‹ae› or ‹æ›. The likeliest explanation is that this minority tradition was rooted in a mistake. The first instance of the bishop's name occurs in 3:XI, only a few words after the name *Æthelhild*, which was spelled with ‹ae› in all the manuscripts which feature it. The spelling of *Æthelhild* may therefore have influenced that of *Æthelwine*. If the ‹æ› used for *Æthelwine* in B was copied from β (rather than, say, another contemporary or later copy of *HE*), then the error must have first been made in μ or even in ω (since it was shared by both M and β), with most—but, evidently, not all—subsequent copyists correcting the spelling to ‹e›. If the spelling in B was amended from ‹e› to ‹æ› under the influence of some other manuscript (perhaps a daughter of M?), then it is probable that the error was made in μ^{m} or M.

10.7.3 The use of ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę›

The implication of the arguments presented above has been that, at least in manuscripts, ‹e› was not in free variation with ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę›, but referred to /e/ in the prototheme *eþel-*.
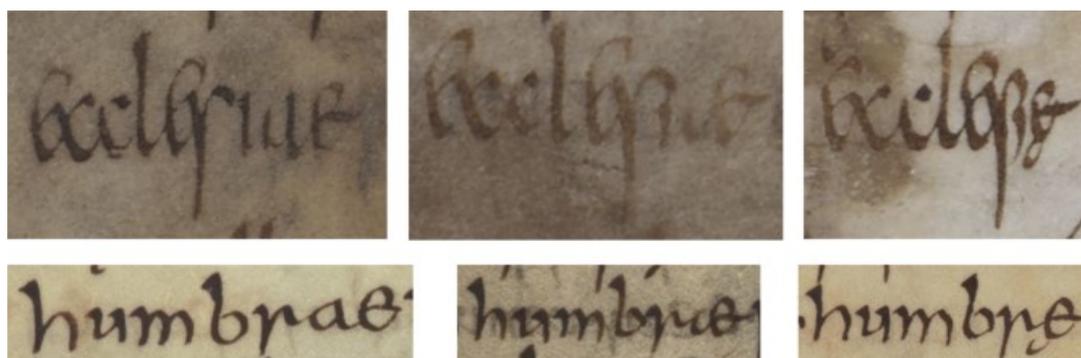
Figure 42: Latin ecclesiae *in B (above) and Latin* Humbrae *in M (below).*

The three graphemes ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę›, however, seem to have been entirely interchangeable (see e.g. Hunter Blair 1959: 16). This is seen not only very clearly in *æþel-* (see e.g. *Æthelred* in Table 34), but in many other words too. Figure 42 shows all three representations used for the same Latin words *ecclesiae* and *Humbrae* in M and B, the two manuscripts written throughout by a single scribe. Still, across the 8th century, the overwhelming majority representation was the digraphic ‹ae› in manuscript data and ‹AE› in numismatic data. A seeming diachronic change in the manuscript data, based on Table 28, was the appearance of ‹ę› in the second half of the 8th century, but as Table 36 shows, the representation was used in M and was therefore known in the first half of the century. Table 36 also reveals that all four scribes of L knew and used ‹ę›, even though it is never found for a target vowel in L. It is rare in the stints of L1 and L3, and its use by L4 was highly restricted (Arngart 1952: 19). The scribes of K were the most prolific in its use, and indeed, all tokens of ‹ę› in Tables 28 and 29 are from K. This copy of *HE* has been characterised as "a utilitarian book" (Wright 1964: 116), and as such, its compilation was presumably much speedier than that of some of the more elaborate copies of *HE*. A comparison of the relative effort required to produce ‹ae›, ‹æ› and

	M	L				B	K			
		L1	L2	L3	L4		K1	K2	K3	K4
‹ae›	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
‹æ›	x	x	x		x	x	x			x
‹ę›	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x

Table 36: The orthographic repertoires of Northumbrian scribes.

‹ę› will no doubt thrown more light on the role of economy of production in orthography and may reveal whether there was a correlation between the function of K as "a utilitarian book" and the popularity of ‹ę› amongst its copyists.

Moreover, it is evident from Table 36 that ‹æ› was not in the repertoire of every scribe. In fact, it is extremely rare in the stints of all but L4 (for its use in L, see Arngart 1952: 18–19). It is found only seven times for a target vowel in the entirety of M, once in B, no times in K and only once in the stints of the first three scribes of L combined. For L4, however, ‹æ› is the majority representation for target vowels. The reticence of L1, L2 and L3 to use ‹æ› may be explicable by considering the scribes' background. Since they all wrote in insular minuscule, their training—presumably at Wearmouth–Jarrow—evidently covered not just Roman hands, such as uncial, but insular minuscule too. However, the insular minuscule taught at Wearmouth–Jarrow may have been coloured by the Roman roots of the twin monastery. As has been seen in more than one instance in this study (Section 7.7 and 9.7), ‹æ› seems to have been avoided in uncial, and it could be that the insular minuscule taught and written at Wearmouth–Jarrow emulated the profile of uncial, favouring ‹ae› and ‹ę› over ‹æ›. Such a scenario would explain the orthographic repertoires of L1, L2 and L3, and it would also strongly imply that L4 was trained outside Wearmouth–Jarrow, perhaps at an Irish-founded centre, or in any case a centre with looser connections to Roman literacy, where ‹æ› played an active, perhaps even predominant, role in the house-style. If L4 was significantly older than the three other scribes of L and merely represented an earlier generation of insular minuscule training at Wearmouth–Jarrow, it is remarkable how extensive the eradication of ‹æ› was among subsequent generations of scribes throughout the 8th century; ‹æ› is conspicuously absent in Bede's commentary on Proverbs, a later 8th-century product of the scriptorium.

10.7.4 Other observations

Three more discrepancies must be addressed. One is the use of ‹ᚠ› for expected /ø:/. The representation appears in the word ‹ᚠᚦᛁᚠ›, on the left panel of FC, and has traditionally been identified as referring to * œ̄þel* 'native land'. This word seems to have had two PGmc roots, one with a trigger for i-mutation, and the other without (see e.g. Orel 2003: 290). Barring ‹ᚠ› being simply an error—not an impossibility, since FC has other oversights on part of the inscriber (see e.g. Page 1999a: 176)—the most probable explanation for this spelling is that it referred to /o:/ (the typical phonetic referent of the rune), and that the word was a reflex of the PGmc root which lacked the trigger for i-mutation. The second discrepancy is the representation ‹a›, found thirteen times for expected /æ:/[im]. The representation is restricted to the name *Sæberht* when it refers to the East Saxon king of the early 7th century— commonly, indeed, referred to as *Saberht*. The fact that the name is consistently spelled with ‹a› strongly suggests that the prototheme had /ɑ:/, not the expected /æ:/ (see also Anderson 1941: 106, Campbell 1959: §204(1)). Intriguingly, the same prototheme *sæ-* also features in the name of an East Anglian woman called Sæthryth, and is spelled ‹sae› in all the manuscripts in which the name appears. As with *æþel-*, there seems to be reason to posit the existence of two by-forms of this prototheme, perhaps with the ‹a›-form being lesser-known, since a confused amender has 'corrected' an original ‹sabercti› into ‹sæbercti› once in B (like *œ̄þel*, *sǣ* too had two PGmc roots, one of which did not have a trigger for i-mutation; see Orel 2003: 314). There is not enough data to be able to tell whether the proposed by-forms *sæ-* and *sa-* were in some meaningful distribution, perhaps dependent on the region of origin of the name-bearer, but, if the 'correction' in B is anything to go by, there does not appear to have been a gender correlation between *sæ-* and *sa-*.

The final discrepancy is in the orthographic representation of /y:/. While ‹y› is the overwhelming majority representation for this target vowel in manuscripts, a name which is

recorded as ‹thrydred› in both L and K is recorded as ‹thruidred› in M, providing the unique

digraphic representation ‹ui› for primary-stressed /yː/.[80] O. S. Anderson claimed that ‹ui›

appears in M "extensively" (1941: 130; see also Blomfield 1935: 117); however, ‹ui› does not

appear a single further time in M for expected Old English /y(ː)/, or in the place of expected

‹y› in the Latin text. Nor did Peter Hunter Blair (1959) speak a word on it in his edition of M.

The fact that the representation is digraphic makes it unlikely to be a mistake for monographic

‹y›, although it is possible that the scribe was anticipating the spelling of the following Latin

word ‹quin›. This would be the most likely scenario, were it not for a probable epigraphic

parallel. Hart8 is a roman name stone with part of the name obscured by damage (see Figure

43). Most of the prototheme in the lower left quadrant is lost; all that remains of the name is

‹UGUID› in the lower right quadrant. While the prototheme is irrecoverable, Forrest Scott has

shown that the deuterotheme must be -*gyþ* (1956: 202, 204; see also Okasha 1971: 79). As

Figure 43: Hart8.

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[80] Interpreting the name as *Thrwidred*, as has been done in King 1930, cannot be correct. No Old English word began with the sequence **/θrw/.

such, the representation for reduced-stressed /y:/ would here be ‹UI›, parallel to the manuscript ‹ui› for primary-stressed /y:/ in M. It is acknowledged that in neither case is the digraphic representation entirely clear or unproblematic—both are one-offs in their respective media, the manuscript representation might be a scribal error, the epigraphic representation comes from a damaged text and is not therefore identifiable with absolute certainty—but its appearance in two different contexts opens up the possibility that we are looking at a genuine Northumbrian minority representation. Insofar as M is believed to have been copied not at Wearmouth–Jarrow but at some other Northumbrian centre (and Hart8 is the product of an Irish-founded community) a digraphic representation could represent a less Romanised orthography than the ‹y› preferred at Wearmouth–Jarrow.

10.7.5 Northumbrian discussion summary

The large amount of data drawn from Northumbria, particularly the four earliest copies of Bede, has allowed for an exceptional amount of claims about the orthography of this northern Anglian region. In Section 10.7.1, it was argued that, while both ‹oi› and ‹oe› were known representations for the representation of /ø:/ in 8th-century Northumbria, ‹oi› may have been earlier, restricted to Northumbria, and Bede's default representation. In Section 10.7.2, two protothemes *æþel-* and *eþel-* were discussed at length, highlighting the notion that, sometimes, what we first expect to be orthographic variation does, in fact, represent a phonemic distinction. The theme of variation was discussed further in Section 10.7.3, where ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› were noted to occur in free variation, but not completely haphazardly—the neglect of ‹æ› in insular minuscule, it was argued, could be symptomatic of an environment where the use of majuscule hands determined the orthographic inventory of minuscule hands. In Chapter 11, these Northumbrian findings will be considered together with the findings from all the other Anglo-Saxon regions.

11. Discussion

The previous five chapters have explored the 7th- and 8th-century orthography of Old English /æ(:)/, /ø:/ and /y(:)/ by region. The uneven distribution of data meant that some regions received a more robust analysis of orthographic trends than others: because of the scarcity of data, it was impossible to make definitive statements about early East Anglian orthography, while Northumbrian orthography could be examined at length thanks to the hundreds of tokens drawn, for the most part, from copies of *HE*. The aim of this chapter is to bring all the Anglo-Saxon material together to make observations about supraregional trends in the orthographic representation of the target vowels and comment on the overall nature of early Old English front vowel orthography and its origins. The tables in Sections 11.1–3 present the data collected from each region by target vowel. The superscript notation on the numbers of tokens indicates the region from which the tokens were collected (K = Kent; S = Saxon regions; EA = East Anglia; M = Mercia; N = Northumbria).

11.1 The orthographic representation of /y(:)/

Table 37 below displays the totality of orthographic representations used across Anglo-Saxon England to refer to /y:/ in the 7th and 8th centuries. There is no data from the period 650–700.

These results show a very high degree of uniformity in the orthographic representation of /y(:)/. Monographic ‹Y› is the only representation used in coin-legends, and ‹y› is the overwhelming majority representation in manuscripts (cf. Blomfield 1935: 117, O'Neill 2009: 10). ‹Y› occurs in epigraphy too, but runic ‹ᛁ› is slightly more common. ‹e›, ‹i› and ‹u› in the manuscript data are all Mercian and drawn from Ép. As discussed in Section 9.7,

Vowel	Stress	700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/y/	PS	‹y› ×40^M, ×22^N ‹e› ×1^M ‹i› ×1^M	‹ᚣ› ×1^N	-	‹y› ×2^K, ×1^S, ×5^M, ×53^N	-	‹Y› ×24^K
	RS	‹y› ×16^M, ×1^N	-	-	‹y› ×1^N	-	-
/y:/	PS	‹y› ×5^M, ×1^N ‹ui› ×1^N	-	-	‹y› ×4^N	-	-
	RS	‹y› ×1^S, ×1^M, ×17^N ‹u› ×1^M	‹ᚣ› ×3^N ‹Y› ×3^N ‹UI› ×1^N	-	‹y› ×1^K, ×1^S, ×2^M, ×44^N	-	‹Y› ×21^K

Table 37: Orthographic representations of /y(:)/.

they may signal irregular phonological development, or they may simply be copying errors. The orthographic consistency in the rest of the data might appear to favour the latter interpretation, but it must be borne in mind that, apart from Ép, the data is almost completely onomastic and drawn from a limited set of name-elements. As such, names with /y(:)/ may not have been subject to phonological development analogous to what we may be witnessing with the anomalous representations from Ép. Finally, what is of especial interest is the rarity of ‹ui›/‹UI›. The notion of ‹ui› as an early but significant Anglo-Saxon representation of /y(:)/ seems to loom large in the collective consciousness of Old English philologists (see e.g. Samuels 1952: 40n3, Campbell 1959: §§42, 199, King 1991: 280, Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.18; see also the grammars listed in Table 2 in Section 4.3). The occurrence of ‹thruidred› in M is often referred to as a representative of a wider trend in early material to represent /y(:)/ with ‹ui› (see e.g. O'Neill 2009: 13), but as Table 37 shows, it is the *only* occurrence of ‹ui› for the target vowel in a manuscript. Even Ép, which presumably preserves earlier, 7th-century spellings, does not have it (see Section 9.7), and so the conception of ‹ui› as a significant early representation seems ill-founded. Indeed, the ‹ui› in M could be written off as an anomaly if it were not for the analogous ‹UI› appearing in an epigraphic context, which hints at ‹ui›/‹UI› having been a specifically Northumbrian minority variant.

11.1.1 The origins of the roman and runic orthographic representations of /y(:)/

The origin of ‹y›/‹Y› is easily determined. The letter was part of the roman alphabet insofar as it was used to transliterate Greek loanwords with ‹υ› into Latin (see Section 4.4.1). The referent of ‹y›/‹Y› may no longer have been /y(:)/ in the pronunciation of the Continental teachers of the Anglo-Saxons, but the presence and influence of Greek-speaking Theodore in Canterbury would have reforged the connection between Latin letter and Greek vowel (see Seiler 2020: 127; see also Section 6.3.3). The origins of ‹ui› and ‹ᛦ›, on the other hand, have been more difficult to gauge, and have attracted widespread interest. As discussed in Section 3.6.2, the rune appears to be a straightforward combination of ‹ᚢ› and ‹ᛁ› (see also Section 4.3).[81] What is unclear is whether the rune was modelled on the roman digraph, or the digraph on the rune, or if the two representations were independent and unrelated creations—although the principle behind the structure of the digraph and the rune is so similar that this last option seems untenable (see also Campbell 1959: §67). ‹ᛦ› is the more frequently occurring of the two, which could indicate that the digraph was a roman transliteration, as it were, of the rune (see also ibid.). This is not inherently unlikely—we have every reason to think that runic literacy among Northumbrian ecclesiastics was far from uncommon, and probably at a high level.[82] The earliest attestations of ‹ᛦ› are, incidentally, Northumbrian, and it may be that, faced with a 'graphemic gap', it was runic writers who developed the new rune ‹ᛦ› for the expression of the /y(:)/ which arose through i-mutation, combining the roundedness of the referent of ‹ᚢ› and the height and frontedness of the referent of ‹ᛁ› to

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[81] An older argument by which ‹ui› and ‹ᛦ› reflect an intermediate, diphthongal stage in the development of i-mutated vowels (see e.g. Blomfield 1935; see also Samuels 1952: 40n3, Campbell 1959: §42) has been rejected (see Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.18; see also King 1986: 58–9).

[82] Patrick O'Neill has questioned why only ‹ᛦ›, and not the runes referring to /æ(:)/ and /ø:/, should have been created by such a process of 'feature analysis' (2009: 14). The explanation is straightforward when considering how the *fuþorc* developed. Of the monophthongal reflexes of i-mutation, only /y(:)/ required a new rune. The runic referents of /æ(:)/ and /ø:/ did not have to be created. Sound changes in the names of the runes ensured that the runes for the unmutated vowels became the runes referring to the mutated vowels (see Section 3.6.2).

create a new rune to refer to a high front rounded vowel. This would imply very sophisticated

phonetic awareness on the part of rune-masters, but this is something we may already have

seen in Northumbria with the use of ‹ᛨ› (see Sections 3.6.2, 10.3.4.1)

It is also possible that ‹ᛦ› was created on the basis of ‹ui›. Roger Lass highlights a

Continental tradition of ‹ui›-spellings (1994: 65; see also Kyes 1967: 672, Robinson 1992: 211,

Hogg [1992] 2011: §2.18n2), but it would be curious if our only evidence for the imitation of

this tradition was from Northumbria, the Anglo-Saxon region furthest from the Continent. It

has also been argued that Old English ‹ui› owed its existence to the Old Irish orthographic

tradition, which also had ‹ui› (see e.g. O'Neill 2009; see also Section 4.4.2). This theory benefits

from the proximity that the Irish had to the Northumbrians. But if ‹ui› truly was an early

Northumbrian variant (*pace* O'Neill 2009: 19), why does Bede not appear to have used it? Or,

if he did, why does it not 'show through' much more frequently in the extant early copies of

HE, like ‹oi›? It was argued in Section 10.7.1 that, shortly after Bede's day, ‹oi› was on its way

out and began to be replaced by ‹oe› in Northumbria. ‹ui› may have been considered similarly

archaic; if so, the near-uniform use of ‹y› throughout all four copies of *HE* would mean that, if

Bede used ‹ui›, it was changed to ‹y› already in μ. I am inclined, however, not to assign ‹ui› to

Bede's active repertoire given, firstly, his association with the Roman centre of Wearmouth–

Jarrow; secondly, his high level of learning; and thirdly, his demonstrable and intimate

familiarity with the Continental grammatical tradition, of which ‹y› (with the referent /y(:)/)

was part (see also Seiler 2020: 127). It is possible that ‹ui› was an ancient Northumbrian

representation which was practised at Irish-founded centres—indeed, the two extant

digraphic representations of /y(:)/ could both be from such centres. Hartlepool was certainly

an Irish establishment (see Section 10.2.2), and, although the scriptorium where M was copied

has not been identified, it is not believed to have been Wearmouth–Jarrow (see Section

10.5.1). The inclusion of ‹ui› may help us identify M, or its exemplar μ^M, as the product of an

Irish-founded centre. ‹ui›/‹UI› would have quickly died out with the dissemination of Continental (as opposed to Irish) Latin literacy from the south of England, where ‹y› appears to have been the *only* available representation. On the present evidence, then, I consider it likeliest that ‹ui› was an early Northumbrian adoption from Old Irish orthography, but one which was supplanted early by ‹y›, a representation which took over roman orthography in Southumbria rapidly thanks to the presence of philologically-sensitive training in Latin pronunciation. In these circumstances, it also seems probable that ‹ᛁ› was modelled on the roman digraph.

11.2 The orthographic representation of /ø:/

Table 38 below displays the totality of orthographic representations used across Anglo-Saxon England to refer to /ø:/ in the 7th and 8th centuries.

‹oi› and ‹oe› are overwhelmingly the most common representations among manuscript data, with ‹oe› dominating in the first half of the 8th century, and ‹oi› in the second. Some have implied that ‹oi› was an early representation of /ø:/ used across Anglo-Saxon England but superseded completely by ‹oe› in our earliest Southumbrian records (O'Neill 2009). This seems improbable as there is no evidence that ‹oi› was ever used in

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/ø:/	PS	-	‹ᛟ› $\times 1^{EA}$	-	‹oe› $\times 1^{S}$, $\times 10^{M}$, $\times 8^{N}$ ‹oi› $\times 16^{N}$ ‹e› $\times 1^{M}$	‹ᛟ› $\times 1^{N}$ ‹ᚠ› $\times 1^{N}$	-	‹oi› $\times 39^{N}$ ‹oe› $\times 1^{S}$, $\times 1^{M}$, $\times 8^{N}$ ‹\o/e› $\times 1^{N}$	‹ᛟ› $\times 1^{M}$	‹OE› $\times 2^{K}$, $\times 6^{S}$, $\times 11^{EA}$ ‹E› $\times 8^{S}$
	RS	-	-	-	-	‹ᛟ› $\times 1^{N}$	-	-	-	-

Table 38: Orthographic representations of /ø:/.

Southumbria pre-800 (see also Section 10.7.1). It is surely significant that all instances of ‹oi›

are drawn from copies of *HE*; indeed, it was suggested in Section 10.7.1 that ‹oi› was Bede's

default orthographic representation of /ø:/, and Karl Brunner (1965: 14) also specified that

‹oi› belonged to Old Northumbrian. The geographical restriction in the use of ‹oi› strongly

points to it having been a Northumbrian variant, and the high level of consistency in the

Southumbrian use of ‹oe› speaks of a firm Southumbrian tradition which did not include ‹oi›.

It is worth noting that if the scenario presented here is accurate, it would mean that any

instances of ‹oe› in Bede's Southumbrian correspondence would have been transposed into

‹oi›, meaning that the orthography of Bede's correspondents would have been

'Northumbrianised' in *ω*. Monographic ‹e› is an outlier for primary-stressed /ø:/—indeed, the

Northumbrian token is a miscopying which has been corrected in the manuscript (see Section

10.7.1). The other ‹e› is from Ép, whose anomalous results were already commented on above

(see also Section 9.7). Since the Northumbrian ‹\o/e› is a corrected miscopying, there is no

reason to reject outright the possibility that the ‹e› in Ép is also a miscopying of ‹oe› (although

it is unwise to be dogmatic about this). It is also noted that a ligatured **‹œ› never appears

in the early manuscript data (cf. Wardale 1922: 6, Upward & Davidson 2011: 24; see also

Lindsay 1922: 11).

‹E› is a substantial minority representation among numismatic data, but ‹OE› is still

over twice as common. **‹OI› does not appear. It is difficult to know whether the relatively

high number of monographic ‹E›s in the numismatic data amounts to very early evidence for

the unrounding of /ø:/ to /e:/, believed to have taken place in West Saxon and Kentish "by

about AD 900" (Ringe & Taylor 2014: 225). All instances of ‹E› are drawn from the London

coinage of Cœnwulf, but not all of Cœnwulf's London coins have ‹E›s in the spelling of *cœn-*.

If the unrounding of /ø:/ began already as early as the 8th century and the ‹OE›/‹E›-variation

in Cœnwulf's London coins signals a vowel quality in flux, then coin-epigraphy was surely at

the forefront of the orthographic representation of this sound change—the sound change may even have started in London. S139, which was produced in Mercia at a date similar to the coinage, has ‹oe›, not ‹e›, for /øː/. Likewise, Cœnwulf's Kentish and East Anglian 8th-century coinages all have ‹OE›. Alternatively, ‹E› could have been selected for space-saving reasons with no implications on phonology, especially since ‹OI›, a representation more compact than ‹OE›, was seemingly not available to Southumbrian die-carvers. This question will be returned to in Section 11.5. Finally, the epigraphic data is exclusively runic, with ‹ᚩ› as the clear majority representation. ‹ᚠ›, appearing on FC, is either a mistake or reflects the reflex of unmutated */oː/. The latter option seems more plausible, not only because ‹ᚩ› and ‹ᚠ› are formally dissimilar and therefore not obvious candidates for confusion, but also because, in roman orthography, ‹o› does not usually appear for expected /øː/.[83] This is relevant insofar as the inscription on FC is suspected to have been copied from a roman exemplar (see Section 10.3.4.1). This study has found no instances of ‹o› for intended ‹oi› or ‹oe›, which makes it more probable, on balance, that the roman ‹o›, which the rune ‹ᚠ› implies must have appeared in the exemplar, reflected the phonology of the word in question—in this case not *œþel*, as was initially assumed, but a reflex of PGmc *ōþalan (see Holthausen 1974: 244, Orel 2003: 291).

11.2.1 The origins of the roman orthographic representations of /øː/

As in Section 11.1.1, here too orthographic differences align with a Northumbria–Southumbria divide: ‹oi› is only evidenced in Northumbria. While 'Irish influence' has often been a convenient scapegoat for all things unique to Northumbria, there are valid reasons to look to

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[83] However, in the 8th-century portion of S1171, the name *Œthelred* was spelled ‹odil redus›. ?‹hodiliredus› may also appear in the 7th-century portion. These spellings have been labelled unusual (Seiler 2020: 129) and may have been Frankish, which is why they were not considered in this study.

Ireland for the origin of ‹oi›. Firstly, ‹oi› did not appear in contemporary Latin orthography.[84]

Secondly, other Continental origins seem unlikely because of distance.[85] Thirdly, ‹oi› is

structurally similar to ‹ui›—argued above to have also been an exclusively Northumbrian

digraph with Old Irish origins—in that both feature ‹i› as the deuterograph. This makes the

shared origin of ‹oi› and ‹ui› an attractive hypothesis. ‹oi›, like ‹ui›, featured in Old Irish

orthography (see Section 4.4.2). There are several ways in which Old Irish could have inspired

these digraphs. Northumbrian scripters of Old English in the roman alphabet may have

adopted the Irish use of ‹i› as a diacritic in vocalic digraphs. While there is no reason to revive

the theory of vowel diacritics in Old English marking consonant colour as expounded by

Marjorie Daunt (1939, 1952; see also Section 3.3), I do not find it as problematic to consider

the possibility that ‹i› was incorporated from Old Irish as a general diacritic unmarked for a

specific function. Alternatively—and, I think, more probably—‹oi› and ‹ui› were adopted from

Old Irish as complete digraphs and assigned new phonological referents (see O'Neill 2009: 11).

The Old Irish digraph ‹oi› would certainly have been familiar to Northumbrians, as seen in the

Old Irish name *Boisil*, spelled with ‹oi› in all 8th-century copies of *HE* (see also ibid.: 13).

‹oe›, on the other hand, was a digraph used in Latin, and it seems likely that it was

adopted into Old English from Latin and assigned the referent /ø:/ (see also O'Neill 2009: 19).

Incidentally, although its phonological referent in the Latin of the early mediaeval period was

/e:/, the phoneme was a reflex of the diphthong /oe/ which monophthongised via [ø:] or [œ:]

(see Section 4.4.1). If, as is believed, monophthongisation began already in the 1st century BC,

it is highly improbable that the intermediate stage was still heard in the 7th century, when Old

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[84] ‹oi› had been a part of Latin orthography in the BC period when the diphthong /oi/ had still been part of Latin phonology, but the diphthong had long since changed to /oe/, reflected in the Latin digraph ‹oe› (see Section 4.4.1).

[85] It is also worth pointing out that there does not appear to have been a relationship between [ø(:)] and ‹oi› (or, for that matter, ‹oe›) in the orthographies of contemporary Continental Germanic languages (see Kyes 1967: 672, Robinson 1992: 119–20, Prokosch [1939] 2009: 112, Fulk 2018: 65). ‹oi› for [ø:] in Old High German presumably arose too late to have influenced early Old English orthography (see Prokosch [1939] 2009: 112, Fulk 2018: 66).

English was scripted in the roman alphabet, and so, there reference of ‹oe› to [ø:] (or a similar vowel quality) in both Latin and Old English orthography at different times would be mere coincidence. It may simply be that the formally similar ‹ae› adopted for /æ(:)/ (see below) encouraged the adoption of ‹oe› for /ø:/. (Considering that ‹oe› existed in Latin orthography, this seems preferable to suggesting that ‹oe› was an Anglo-Saxon creation modelled on ‹ae›, where the deuterograph ‹e› was analysed as a diacritic.) The fact that ‹oe› (unlike ‹oi›) was a feature of the orthography of Latin, the language of the pan-Anglo-Saxon Church, is most likely what caused it to slowly replace ‹oi› in Northumbria. In sum, the 8th century can be termed a time of Northumbrian *orthographic pluricentricity* (see Bunčić 2016b: 67), in that a scribe often had available to him the choice between Northumbrian ‹oi› and Southumbrian ‹oe› for the representation of /ø:/ (and, seemingly to a much lesser scale, between Northumbrian ‹ui› and Southumbrian ‹y› for the representation of /y(:)/). Where a single scribe had both ‹oi› and ‹oe› in his repertoire, this could be seen as two orthographic systems 'meeting' in his mind (cf. *Mischsprachen* in McIntosh, Samuels & Benskin 1986, esp. pp. 19–20).

11.3 The orthographic representation of /æ(:)/

Table 39 below displays the totality of orthographic representations used across Anglo-Saxon England to refer to /æ(:)/ in the 7th and 8th centuries.

The oldest representation, recorded already in the 7th century, is ‹ae›. Overall, it remained the most common manuscript representation throughout the time-period of this study, although ‹æ› gained considerable ground for the representation of /æ/[ff] in the second half of the 8th century. ‹æ› first appears in the data from first half of the century and was limited to Northumbria; by the end of the century, its use for the target vowel had spread to Mercia. ‹ę› occurs once in the data from the first half of the 8th century, in Mercia, with a

Vowel	Stress	650–700			700–750			750–800		
		MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num	MS	Epi	Num
/æ/[ff]	PS	‹ae› ×4[K]	-	-	‹ae› ×9[K], ×25[M], ×80[N] ‹e› ×2[M], ×8[N] ‹æ› ×5[N] ‹ę› ×1[M] ‹a\e/› ×1[M]	‹ᚠ› ×1[N]	‹ᚠ› ×22[K]	‹ae› ×6[K], ×1[S], ×2[M], ×143[N] ‹æ› ×5[M], ×22[N] ‹e› ×1[K], ×16[N] ‹ę› ×5[N]	-	‹E› ×25[K], ×30[S], ×2[EA], ×17[N] ‹AE› ×17[K], ×2[S], ×35[N] ‹Ę› ×2[S] ‹ᛗ› ×2[EA]
	RS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×3[M]	-	-	‹æ› ×2[M]	-	-
/æ/[im]	PS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	RS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
/æ:/[im]	PS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×13[M], ×4[N] ‹a› ×1[M], ×4[N] ‹æ› ×2[N] ‹a\e/› ×1[M]	-	-	‹ae› ×9[N] ‹a› ×9[N] ‹æ› ×2[N] ‹ę› ×2[N]	-	‹E› ×4[K]
	RS	-	-	-	‹ae› ×2[M]	-	-	-	-	-

Table 39: Orthographic representations of /æ(:)/.

slight uptick in the second half of the century and a spread to Northumbria. The numismatic evidence tells a very different story. The only representation from the first half of the 8th century is ‹ᚠ›, and while runes still feature in the data from the second half of the century, ‹ᚠ› is no longer found, only ‹ᛗ›. Digraphic ‹AE› is very common, with **‹Æ› not appearing at all (see also Naismith 2017: 379), but the most prevalent numismatic representation of all is ‹E›. ‹e› is also a significant minority representation among manuscript data. In some instances, we may be looking at genuine sound change in the raising of /æ(:)/ to /e(:)/. Second fronting, affecting short /æ/ only, may have already begun to operate in Ép, possibly accounting for all

but one of the Mercian instances of ‹e› for expected /æ/ (see Pheifer 1974: lx, Toon 1983: 142; see also Section 9.7). Moreover, the existence of a prototheme *eþel-* was argued in Section 10.7.2, accounting for most of the Northumbrian instances of ‹e›.

A Mercian ‹e› for expected /æ/[ff] in ‹**e**dilbalt› from S89 and a Kentish ‹e› for expected /æ/[ff] in ‹**e**scuuald› from S35 remain unaccounted for. ‹edilbalt› may be most readily explained by identifying the prototheme of the name as *eþel-*. ‹escuuald› is more challenging. As was suggested in Section 6.7, the following palatalised consonant could have effected the raising of a preceding */æ/. Other options include second fronting (perhaps by a Mercian scribe working in Kent) or even Kentish raising. It could also simply be a misspelling, although such judgements should not be too hastily made, especially when dealing with a name (cf. *æþel-* and *eþel-*). The ubiquity of ‹E› in the numismatic data is discussed in Section 11.5 below. Finally, the occurrence of ‹a› for expected /æ:/[im] requires some comment. It is found in all copies of *HE* in all instances of the name of the East Saxon king Sæberht. A possible explanation for this, also appealing to near-identical protothemes that had developed in parallel, was outlined in Section 10.7.4. The Mercian instance of ‹a› for /æ:/[im] appears in ‹f**a**\c/ni› (83) in Ép. Old English *fǣcne* 'deceitful' did have an alternative form with unmutated /ɑ:/ (see e.g. DOE1 2018), but since the lexeme appears elsewhere in Ép (679, 938) with an ‹ae›-spelling, and since ‹fa\c/ni› already features the accidental omission of another letter, supplied by a superscript, it may be more likely that an ‹a›-spelling for *fǣcne* is here a mistake. As a final note, the absence of ‹a› from the results for short /æ/ demonstrates that, whatever the phonemic status of short /æ/ in Old English (see Section 4.2.1), there was a clear commitment to orthographically signal the frontedness of the vowel.

A close analysis of the data in Table 39 reveals that ‹ae› was used in all Anglo-Saxon regions from which manuscript material has survived, while ‹æ› and ‹ę› were limited to Mercia and Northumbria. We can be more specific and observe that ‹ę› did not appear in

Mercia for a target vowel after 750 and, contrarily, ‹æ› did not appear in Mercia before 750. In other words, ‹æ› was limited to Northumbria in the first half of the 8th century, and ‹ę› was limited to Northumbria in the second half. Previous discussions have shown, however, that an analysis of target vowels does not give us a complete picture of the orthographic repertoires of scribes. Table 40 is a compilation of all the orthographic repertoires of the scribes responsible for the manuscript material considered in this study. Contrary to what Table 39 seems to show, ‹æ› and ‹ę› were known and used in all regions. However, ‹æ› and ‹ę› appear to have been exceedingly rare in Kent, and out of the Saxon regions, ‹æ› has been securely identified only in Sussex. Attention to this latter point was already drawn in Section 7.7, where an explanation for the presence of ‹æ› in S1184 was sought in the South Saxon connections with Mercia and/or Northumbria (see also Section 7.2.2). Indeed, based on the overwhelming concentration of ‹æ› and ‹ę› to Mercia and Northumbria, a strong argument could be made for ‹æ› having been originally limited to those regions. The two occurrences of ‹æ› in Kent, one in S21 and the other in S31, might then be explained as follows. S21 is a copy of S19, a charter produced at Lyminge, a Northumbrian outpost in Kent (see Section 6.3.2). It is reasonable to assume that S21 was copied at Lyminge too (since that was where S19 was kept), in which case the scribe responsible could have been Northumbrian, or a local scribe trained by a Northumbrian (see Chaplais 1969: 538). This would explain the otherwise irregular presence of ‹æ› in early-8th-century Kent. S31 is from much later in the century, a time in which ‹æ› had probably started to become more common outside Mercia and Northumbria—it is ubiquitous in Late West Saxon orthography. The possible ‹æ› in S1428b would, on the other hand, be a very early occurrence of ‹æ› in Essex. Julian Brown identified the hand of the letter as Phase I insular minuscule (1993: 191, 196; see also Crick 1997: 71, Dumville 1999–2007: 104–6), which would suggest that the scribe had not received his training in London.

Region	Material	Scribe	Hand of main text	‹ae›	‹æ›	‹ę›
Kent	S8		uncial	x		x
	S19		insular (hybrid) minuscule	x		
	S21		insular minuscule	x	x	
	S23	S23.1	insular minuscule	x		
		S23.2	insular minuscule	x		
	S24		insular minuscule	x		
	S31		insular minuscule	x	x	
	S35		insular minuscule	x		
	S128		insular minuscule	x		
Saxon regions	S106		insular minuscule	x		
	S1171	S1171.1	uncial	x		x
		S1171.2	uncial	x		x
	S1184	S1184.1	mixed majuscule	x	x	x
		S1184.2	insular minuscule		x	
	S1428b		insular minuscule	x	?	x
Mercia	S56		insular half-uncial	x	x	
	S59		insular minuscule		x	
	S89	S89.1	uncial	x		x
		S89.2	uncial			x
	S92		insular (hybrid) minuscule	x		x
	S114		insular minuscule	x	x	x
	S139		insular minuscule	x	x	x
	S1184		insular minuscule		x	
	Ép		mixed Anglo-Saxon majuscule	x	x	x
Northumbria	M		insular minuscule	x	x	x
	L	L1	insular minuscule	x	x	x
		L2	insular minuscule	x	x	x
		L3	insular minuscule	x		x
		L4	insular minuscule	x	x	x
	B		insular minuscule	x	x	x
	K	K1	insular minuscule	x	x	x
		K2	insular minuscule	x		x
		K3	insular minuscule	x		x
		K4	insular minuscule	x	x	x

Table 40: The orthographic repertoires of Anglo-Saxon scribes.

In order to gauge why ‹æ› should have been limited to Mercia and Northumbria, it is necessary to consider the way in which Christianity, and thus roman literacy, spread. Kent and

Essex were first reached by Continental missionaries, while Northumbria received Irish missionaries. The evangelisation of Mercia was Irish via Northumbria: after the downfall of Penda in 655, the Northumbrian king Oswiu, who took control of Mercia for a few years, handed the spiritual needs of the region over to the administration of the Northumbrian Church, which at this point was still thoroughly Irish (see Section 9.2.2). There is a correlation, then, between the regions that were in receipt of an Irish mission and the use of ‹æ›. What is more, the introduction of insular minuscule, the hand that took over all Anglo-Saxon England, is known to have originated with the Irish (see Section 10.3.2.1). It is therefore possible that ‹æ› was part of the orthographic profile of insular minuscule, which the Irish transmitted. It is suggested here, then, that regions which had *not* received a foundation in roman literacy *from the Irish* were much slower to adopt ‹æ› in insular minuscule writing than the regions which had received an Irish foundation in roman literacy.[86] Although closer to Canterbury and London, Sussex had been evangelised from Mercia. Whether this first Christian contact happened before or after the Synod of Whitby is unclear (see Kirby 2000: 96–7), but it matters little. Since Mercia had been in receipt of an Irish training in literacy, the literacy which it disseminated in Sussex was likewise Irish in flavour, if only in its inclusion of ‹æ›. Incidentally, the fact that S89, our earliest extant Mercian charter, was written in uncial—a sign of Continentally-transmitted literacy (see Section 6.3.2)—is not a problem, since the charter was issued well after the Synod of Whitby, at a time in which hands introduced by Continental missionaries had reached historically Irish-trained areas (see also Samuels 1952: 22). It also bears pointing out that S89 does not even come close to marking the beginning of a Mercian

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[86] If S1428b, which was written in London in the early 8th century, contains ‹æ›—and it is not certain that it does—this could be explained by the scribe having been Northumbrian or Mercian, or simply by the fact that the scribe chose to incorporate ‹æ› in his active repertoire in spite of his local, East Saxon training. The theory put forward here does not advocate the absolute avoidance of ‹æ› in the Continentally-trained South (i.e. Kent, Essex, Wessex and East Anglia) in the earlier 8th century. It just seeks to explain the relative scarcity of the ligature in the South by proposing that a Continental education in literacy caused Southern scribes to disfavour (if not completely dismiss) ‹æ›.

tradition of charters, although the earlier charters only survive as later copies. S89 does not, therefore, represent the earliest piece of Mercian writing, only the earliest surviving charter.

What of ‹ę›? It is found in S8, our earliest extant Anglo-Saxon document, written in Kent. There seems to be no reason to invoke Irish influence, especially since S8 was written in uncial. Although ‹ę› is not recorded in any other Kentish material, it does appear in both Essex and Sussex, as well as Mercia and Northumbria. While there is good reason to think that ‹æ› was limited to minuscule texts,[87] there is no correlation between the use of ‹ę› and the hand in which a text was written: ‹ę› features in both minuscule and majuscule writing. Since all our manuscript witnesses were written after the Synod of Whitby, it could be supposed that ‹ę› was originally a diagnostic of a Continental tradition of Latin literacy (paralleling ‹æ› as a diagnostic of the Irish tradition), but one which became popularised very quickly after 664 when the entire Anglo-Saxon Church was unified under Canterbury. Such a chain of events is unconvincing, however, since ‹ę› can be found in a pre-664 Northumbrian text (Durham, Durham Cathedral Library MS. A.II.10; see Figure 35 in Section 10.3.1; see also Brown 1993: 224). ‹ę›, therefore, seems to have been a 'neutral' orthographic representation insofar as it was used by both Continental and Irish missionaries and was adopted early in both Continental- and Irish-trained regions.

To conclude this section, two issues relating to the above discussion are addressed in order to avoid potential misunderstanding. Firstly, it must be stressed that ‹æ› was not historically confined to minuscule hands (see Robert 1895: 634, Lindsay 1922: 10, Bischoff 1990: 67; see also Wattenbach 1878: 39). For example, while uncial ‹æ› was never found in the material examined in this study, such a letter-form *is* attested and can be encountered in texts such as the St Augustine Gospels, a Continentally-produced book and an early arrival to Kent (see Section 6.3.2). A precedent for ‹æ› in the orthographic profile of uncial on the

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[87] Mixed majuscule hands included minuscule letter-forms (see e.g. Pheifer 1974: xxii).

Continent therefore existed, but it may be that—for whatever reason—Continental missionaries failed to transmit ‹æ› to the Anglo-Saxons. It is worth highlighting that the facsimiles of texts in E. A. Lowe's *English Uncial* (1960) contain many ‹ae›s and ‹ę›s but not a single ‹æ›. If ‹æ› was not in the orthographic profile of Anglo-Saxon uncial, this may have primed Continentally-trained Anglo-Saxons (that is, Anglo-Saxons trained in England in regions evangelised from the Continent, not Anglo-Saxons trained on the Continent) to prefer ‹ae› and ‹ę›, not only in uncial, but even when they adopted insular minuscule, where ‹æ› would have been available. It is also noteworthy that S89, written in uncial but in Mercia (where insular minuscule was, presumably, adopted early), does not feature ‹æ›, which could hint at a deep-seated notion of incompatibility in the minds of Anglo-Saxons between ‹æ› and uncial.

Secondly, it is pointed out that insular minuscule did not necessarily only spread from Northumbria and Mercia southwards. Minuscule writing—specifically, Southumbrian (Type B) Phase I insular minuscule—sprang up in Wessex (see Sections 7.3.2.2.3 and 10.3.2.1) and may have reached neighbouring Anglo-Saxon regions without any Mercian or Northumbrian involvement.[88] Moreover, southern Anglo-Saxons may have encountered insular minuscule in their dealings with Irish students visiting England or on their own journeys to Ireland. Kent

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[88] The question of whether ‹æ› belonged to the orthographic profile of Southumbrian (Type B) Phase I insular minuscule is an interesting one. On the one hand, if the adoption of insular minuscule from the Irish in 7th-century Northumbria brought with it ‹æ›, we may expect the same to have happened in Wessex. On the other hand, although an Irish presence in Wessex must have introduced insular minuscule to the region, the conversion of Wessex had a Continental basis (see Section 7.2.3), and as such, we might expect ‹æ› to have been disfavoured. M. B. Parkes (1976: 161–2) listed six manuscripts with marginalia attributed to Boniface and his circle, written in a hand identified as Southumbrian (Type B) Phase I minuscule (see also Brown 1993: 224–5). Out of the manuscripts available as online digitisations (the first, second and sixth manuscripts in Parkes's list), only one (Kassel, Gesamthochschulbibliothek, 2° Ms. theol. 65) contains ‹æ›. Incidentally, it is also the only manuscript which Parkes omitted from his study, which means that he did not offer a verdict on the attribution of the marginalia to Boniface or his circle. The other two digitised manuscripts only have ‹ae›, with ‹ę› as an extreme minority representation. As much as can be gauged on the hands used in the undigitised manuscripts from the images provided in E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini antiquiores* (Lowe 1959, 1966, 1971), they only contain ‹ae›. While this preliminary examination of a section of the material suggests that, even in Wessex, the foundationally Continental tradition of literacy may have hindered the adoption of ‹æ›, for any conclusive statement on the orthographic profile of Southumbrian (Type B) Phase I insular minuscule, it would be necessary to conduct a far more comprehensive analysis involving all six manuscripts.

may also have come into contact with minuscule hands (though hardly insular minuscule) from the direction of the Continent (see Chaplais 1965: 53, Bruckner & Marichal 1967: xvii; see also Brown 1993: 196). The question of *where* Kent and Essex received insular minuscule from is not in itself important to the question at hand, however. What is relevant is that roman literacy in neither region had been *founded* on an Irish tradition, which meant a delay in the incorporation of ‹æ›.

11.3.1 The origins of the roman orthographic representations of /æ(:)/

‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› were all used in Latin and can therefore be traced back to Latin orthography. While the history of the digraph ‹ae› is well understood, surprisingly little research has been done into the origins of ‹æ› and ‹ę› (but see Robert 1895, Lindsay 1922: 10–11). It is clear from their form that they are variations of ‹ae›. There appears to be no record of the time and place of the first attestation of ‹æ›, but ‹ę› is recorded already in material dating to the early 6th century (Lindsay 1922: 10). If the evolution of these graphemes followed the trajectory ‹ae› → ‹æ› → ‹ę› (see ibid.; see also Robert 1895), it would follow that ‹æ› was necessarily older than early-6th-century. The motivation behind their selection for the representation of /æ(:)/ appears to be reasonably straightforward. As discussed in Section 4.4.1, the Latin diphthong /ae/, referred to primarily by the digraph ‹ae›, had monophthongised to /ɛ/ by the 6th century. I believe that Latin /ɛ/ (which was unmarked for length) and Old English /æ(:)/ were acoustically similar enough for the Anglo-Saxons to adopt ‹ae› as the orthographic representation of /æ(:)/. Indeed, the acoustic similarity between the Old English referent of ‹ae› and the contemporary (Mediaeval) Latin referent of ‹ae› would seem to be too much of a coincidence otherwise (cf. ‹oe›, discussed in Section 11.2.1, which may have referred to [ø:] or [œ:] in Latin *centuries* before Old English was scripted in the roman alphabet). ‹ae› was therefore more than just "available" for the orthographic representation of /æ(:)/ (O'Neill

2009: 13)—given the similarity between the Old English and (Mediaeval) Latin unrounded front vowel phonemes, it was the most obvious solution for the roman scripting of Old English /æ(ː)/.

11.4 Towards a graphemic analysis of Old English

In Chapter 5, ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› were assigned graphemic status on what were admittedly arbitrary grounds. At this point in the study, it is possible to revisit and make some informed comments on this issue. As discussed in the previous section, ‹æ› and ‹ę› started out as allographs of ‹ae›, but this, in itself, is not enough to prove that they were allographs of ‹ae› in the minds of the Anglo-Saxons; ‹u› and ‹v› were initially allographs of a single grapheme but are separate graphemes in all modern roman orthographies. As the results of this study have shown, ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› all represented the same vowel /æ(ː)/, but as already observed in Chapter 5, an identical phonological referent is likewise not enough, in itself, to prove that ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› were allographs of a single grapheme (see also ‹þ› and ‹ð› in Section 3.6.2); neither is their free variation in the Northumbrian material (see Section 10.7.3; but see Stockwell & Barritt 1951: 8).[89] There are no formal criteria for distinguishing graphemes from allographs, and all the above avenues, if pursued individually, fall short. But as a starting point, the convergence of formal relatedness, agreement in phonological referent and interchangeability would seem—at least preliminarily—to provide defensible and reasonably well-defined parameters for this purpose. This would mean that «ae», «æ» and «ę» are better understood as allographs of a single grapheme (as presumed already in Kuhn & Quirk 1953: 152). But of which grapheme? «ae» was the most common allograph throughout the time-

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[89] The interchangeability of ‹ae›, ‹æ› and ‹ę› is more difficult to demonstrate in other regions because of the relative dearth of material, but the little evidence there is points in such a direction. In S89, the prototheme æþel- in the name of the Mercian king Æthelbald was spelled both ‹aethil› and ‹ęthil› in the stint of the same scribe. Similarly, in S21, we find Latin *Mariae* 'of Mary' spelled both ‹mariae› and ‹mariæ›.

period of this study, and it was the model for the other two allographs; «æ» became dominant post-800; «ę» was used for the earliest attestation of the target vowel. Because it was overwhelmingly the most frequently-used allograph, it seems sensible to assign graphemic status to ‹ae›. «æ» may have undergone graphemicisation in the later Anglo-Saxon period, and if so, this may have resulted in a complete merger between ‹ae› and ‹æ›, with all instances of «ae» becoming allographs of the latter.[90]

This is not to suggest, of course, that the distribution of «ae», «æ» and «ę» was random and therefore meaningless, or that they were interchangeable in *practice* as well as in theory (see Seiler 2020: 126). As argued above, while «ae» and «ę» appear to have been used across Anglo-Saxon England regardless of the inherited tradition of literacy (whether Irish or Continental), in the early period, perhaps up to the mid-8th century, «æ» appears to have been largely limited to regions which had inherited an Irish tradition of literacy. To reiterate the argument presented earlier but using more appropriate terminology and notation, «æ» was transmitted as part of the allographic profile of Irish hands, particularly insular minuscule. The reason it does not appear in Continentally-trained regions is rooted not only in the fact that insular minuscule reached such regions only after the teaching of literacy had already been established, but perhaps also because «æ» was not part of the allographic profile of uncial (or other hands) as taught to the Anglo-Saxons by Continental teachers. Whether or not a scribe used «æ» therefore tells us something about his educational background. To return to the vocabulary of biscriptality introduced in Section 2.3.1, the selection of «æ» up to around the mid-8th century can be described as having been user-

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[90] «ę» is sometimes found as the deuterograph of the digraph «ae», producing «aę». This can be seen, possibly, in S92, and definitely in K (e.g. fol. 20r). We even have examples of «ę» as the second component of the ligature «æ» (e.g. M, fol. 39r). In Ép we also find one instance of «oę» (fol. 94v; see also Section 9.7). «ę» was not an allograph of ‹e›, and so it may seem curious that an allograph of ‹ae› should be confused for expected ‹e› in these digraphs, unless «ę» was a grapheme in its own right. On the other hand, «ę» and «e» were very similar in shape, which could easily have led to scribal confusion. The appearance of «ę» in these digraphs (and the ligature) need not indicate that «ę» was a grapheme.

oriented, in that a scribe's use of «æ» depended on whether the region or the specific scriptorium in which he had been trained had originally adhered to Roman or Irish Christianity. The specific term for such instances of an allograph being in user-oriented opposition is *diglyphia* (Bunčić 2016b: 67) and so we may say that, in addition to Old English having been biscriptal, roman Old English up to the mid-8th century was diglyphic in terms of the representation of /æ(ː)/.

If «ae», «æ» and «ę» were allographs, it becomes considerably easier to account for the appearance of «æ» in Ép without being driven to problematic or misleading conclusions. As discussed in Section 9.7 with relation to ‹þ›, it seems that the scribe of Ép made a significant effort to reproduce graphemes which had not previously been part of his active—perhaps not even his passive—repertoire. Given this commitment on the part of the scribe to copy his exemplar, it may have been reasonable to conclude that wherever we find «æ» in Ép, it reflects «æ» in the exemplar. Based on the argument advanced here on the restricted, user-oriented distribution of «æ», the reproduction of «æ» in Ép might have helped us determine the location where EE was compiled (i.e. in a region or scriptorium where «æ» was part of the allographic profile). However, the crucial difference between ‹þ› and «æ» is that the former was a grapheme, the latter an allograph. The scribe of Ép may, for whatever reason, have wished to remain faithful to the *orthography* of his exemplar (with the caveats outlined in Section 9.7), but, by definition, orthographic faithfulness does not extend to the copying of allographs. Indeed, it would be surprising if the scribe of Ép had *not* exchanged certain allographs in the exemplar for his own: the effort required to incorporate *new* allographs into one's repertoire must have been much higher than simply exchanging them for familiar ones, since the acquisition of a new allograph required the alteration of a subconscious motor movement. To summarise, we need not assume that any of the exemplars in the transmission history of Ép had «æ». We certainly do not need to imagine that «æ» was used in Canterbury at the time when the first *glossae collectae* were recorded. The presence of «æ» in Ép does,

however, have interesting implications for the provenance of the glossary. Mercia remains a strong contender.

11.5 ‹E› in coin-legends

This section addresses the significant number of ‹E›-tokens for expected /æ(ː)/ and /øː/ among numismatic data. As Table 39 in Section 11.3 shows, ‹E› was the most common representation of /æ/[ff], and it was also the only representation used in the (very limited about of) coin-legends containing names with /æː/[im]. Table 38 in Section 11.2 shows that ‹E› is found for /øː/ in Saxon—more specifically, London—coin-legends more often than ‹OE›. The existence of the prototheme *eþel-* was argued in Section 10.7.2 to explain the frequent occurrence of ‹e› for expected /æ/ in the prototheme *æþel-*, and this may explain some of the instances of ‹E› for (what was previously thought to be) *æþel-* in the numismatic data, too. But it can only explain instances where the name of an individual was *only* spelled with ‹E›. The legends of Eadberht Præn's Canterbury moneyer Æthelmod, for instance, always represent the stressed vowel of the prototheme of the moneyer's name with ‹E›, which could be an indication that his name was in actual fact Ethelmod. The same applies to Offa's Canterbury moneyer Æthelnoth, who should perhaps be referred to as Ethelnoth, as well as Kings Æthelberht (?Ethelberht) II of East Anglia and Æthelwald (?Ethelwald) Moll of Northumbria. Things become more complicated with Offa's London moneyer Æthelwald and the Northumbrian king Æthelred I. For the most part, the stressed vowel of the prototheme in the name of the former is represented by ‹E›, but we also find ‹AE› (both «AE» and «Ę»). In the name of the latter, ‹AE› («AE» only) is the majority representation, although ‹E› also appears frequently. It seems more likely that the prototheme *æþel-* was sometimes orthographically 'truncated' to resembling *eþel-*, than for the prototheme *eþel-* to have been orthographically 'expanded' to resemble *æþel-*. After all, the coin-die offered a very restricted

space for writing and die-carvers made frequent use of abbreviations (see also Seiler 2008: 168). To save space in writing the prototheme *æþel-*, the die-carver may simply have spelled *eþel-*, a legitimate prototheme which, though phonologically slightly different to *æþel-*, was very obviously closely related to it. The individual bearing the name may have been identifiable regardless, although it must be remembered that coin-legends did not have an intended reading audience in the way that manuscript and most epigraphic texts did. Their primary function was to authenticate, not convey a linguistic message, and so any pressure to adhere to the regularities of Old English orthography for the sake of communicatory efficiency may not have been as keenly felt. Moreover, there is no reason to think that a die-carver would have had cause to spell the prototheme *eþel-* as if it were *æþel-*. If he wished to fill out empty space, the die-carver had any number of decorative features and symbols at his disposal. A preliminary conclusion could be, then, that protothemes which are uniform in their ‹E›-spelling represented *eþel-*, while protothemes exhibiting ‹AE›/‹E›-variation represented *æþel-*.

Such a hypothesis is attractive in its simplicity, but it is only useful as far as it goes. It implies that our identification of the prototheme *eþel-* is always one coin away from being wrong. If we were to discover even one coin of, say, Ethelmod, where the name of the moneyer was spelled with ‹AE›, we would have to seriously consider reverting back to calling him Æthelmod. To put it another way, if ‹E› was *sometimes* used as a shorthand to spell *æþel-* (as, presumably, in the coins of Offa's London moneyer Æthelwald), how do we know it was not used in such a way *every* time? The two runic coins of the East Anglian king Æthelberht (?Ethelberht) I are compelling evidence of the prototheme *eþel-* having had genuine representation in coin-legends (see Section 8.7). (Indeed, the ‹E›- and ‹ᛗ›-spellings in the coinages of Æthelberht I and II were preliminarily attributed to second fronting, but it seems more prudent to interpret them as the expected spellings not of *æþel-* but *eþel-*.) In sum, both numismatic and manuscript evidence (drawn from *HE*) support the existence of a prototheme

eþel-. And while we may not always have absolute certainty over whether we truly have identified an individual with *eþel-* (rather than *æþel-*) as the prototheme of their name, we may be confident in *eþel-* having been a legitimate prototheme. A name which is only attested with an ‹E›-spelling has, then, a good chance of containing *eþel-*.[91]

‹E› did not appear only in *æþel-* and *eþel-*, however. In Kent, ‹E› was used in the spellings of the names of the moneyers Dægmund and Sæberht. The name of Dægmund only appears once, which means that it is impossible to tell whether ‹E› was used for space-saving reasons or whether it reflects an expected /æ/ which had been raised to /e/ (see Section 6.7). ‹E›-spellings for Sæberht's name are only slightly more abundant, but since the prototheme always appears as ‹SE›, it could reflect a genuine by-form *se-* of the prototheme *sæ-*. The suggestion of a by-form, rather than the wholesale raising of the stressed vowel of *sæ-* from /æː/ to /eː/, is deliberate. As seen in Section 10.7.4, the prototheme of the name of the East Saxon king Saberht (previously Sæberht) was always spelled with ‹a› in *HE*. In contrast, the prototheme of the name of the East Anglian Sæthryth was always spelled with ‹ae›. It would appear that the original prototheme *sæ-* was particularly prone to developing by-forms through changes to the vowel quality, although the sample size is too small to offer any comment on regional or gender-based patterns in the selection (or even availability) of these three by-forms (see also Section 10.7.4).

‹E› for expected /øː/ is only found in the London coinage of the Mercian king Cœnwulf. The orthographic representation of the vowel of the prototheme *cœn-* alternates between ‹E› and ‹OE›, which is a strong indication that ‹E› was a space-saving technique, as already implied in Section 7.7. What is interesting is that the deuterograph ‹E› was selected as the 'truncated' version of the digraph ‹OE›. In Latin manuscript-writing, both ‹ae› and ‹oe› alternated with

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[91] The prototheme *æþel-* could also have produced a by-form *eþel-* (with a long stressed vowel) through the unrounding of /øː/ (Colman 1988: 125–6; see also Section 8.7).

‹e› (see Arngart 1952: 25), and so ‹E› might have been instinctively seen as the more salient of the two graphemes of the digraph. The seeming interchangeability of ‹OE› and ‹E› in Latin orthography may have been transferred into the orthography of Old English names in coin-epigraphy, with no analogous instances in early Old English manuscript orthography. Is it reasonable to expect die-carvers to have been aware that ‹E› and ‹OE› (and ‹e› and ‹oe›) often alternated in the orthography of even the most learned Latinist (see Section 4.4.1)? We know next to nothing of the training in literacy that die-carvers received, but they must have been in receipt of some manner of guidance in order to produce roman-inscribed coin legends. It may be significant that London is the only Anglo-Saxon region to have produced coin-legends with «Ę», a very rare find in numismatic (and epigraphic) evidence, but rife in manuscripts. It may be that there was an especially close relationship between Saxon—and specifically London—die-carvers and local scriptoria, which may, in turn, go some way towards lifting the veil on the educational background of die-carvers (see also the London fossil in Section 7.3.2.1).

11.6 Scripting Old English vowels in the roman alphabet

Up to this point, the following claims have been made regarding the scripting of the target vowels of this study based on the data collected:

- ‹oi›/‹OI› and ‹ui›/‹UI› were specifically Northumbrian representations for /ø:/ and /y(:)/ respectively. The digraphs were borrowed from Old Irish orthography.

- ‹oe›/‹OE› and ‹y›/‹Y› were the representations for /ø:/ and /y(:)/ respectively which were used in regions which initially received a Continental training in literacy (Kent and Essex; probably also Wessex and East Anglia). They eventually supplanted ‹oi› and ‹ui› in Northumbria.

- ‹ae›/‹AE› referred to /æ(ː)/ in all regions. On an allographic level, «ae»/«AE» and «ę» (and possibly «Ę») were universal, while «æ» was at first restricted to regions which had received an Irish training in literacy (Northumbria, Mercia and Sussex). There are no instances of «Æ».

Allographic variation aside, the orthographic representation of /æ(ː)/ was highly consistent. ‹ui› and ‹UI› only appear once apiece, and so it is fair to state that the representation of /y(ː)/ was likewise highly consistent. The representation of /øː/ is the most varied on a graphemic level, with ‹oi›/‹oe›-variation persevering into the second half of the 8th century. In her study of consonantal orthography, Annina Seiler observes that "[t]he generally high degree of consistency appears to be a result of a transfer of Latin orthographic rules to the vernacular" (2014: 231). This is borne out in the vocalic evidence also. The foundational presupposition of this study was that the target vowels had not been part of Latin phonology at the time when Latin had first been scripted, which meant that, when the time came for the Anglo-Saxons to script Old English in the roman alphabet, there was no Latin orthographic model to copy. In Section 4.4.1, it was outlined how ‹y› (and ‹Y›) came to refer to /y(ː)/ among educated speakers of Latin in loanwords adopted from Greek, and although this association between grapheme and phoneme may have become obsolete in Continental Latin pronunciation by the 7th century, the availability of Greek instruction in Canterbury meant that, for Anglo-Saxons, the association was restored. Moreover, /ɛ/ had become a phoneme in Latin by the 6th century, which meant that the threshold for adopting the orthographic representation of Latin /ɛ/ for the acoustically very similar Old English /æ(ː)/ was low. Since /øː/ is the only one of the target vowels which did not feature, and which did not have a close equivalent, in contemporary Latin phonology, it stands to reason that it was the target vowel whose orthographic representation remained varied for the longest.

The high quality of Greek language education in Canterbury, without which the association between roman ‹y›/‹Y› and /y(:)/ may not have been made as early as it was (or at all), has already been commented on.[92] The Latin literacy which the Anglo-Saxons acquired must likewise have been of a very high standard, with a great deal of exposure to spoken Latin, in order for the Anglo-Saxons to make the association between the *figura* ‹ae› and the *potestas* /ɛ/, which they could then transfer to Old English orthography. Indeed, the uniformity in the orthographic representation of /æ(:)/ throughout Anglo-Saxon England suggests that /ɛ/ was not only a feature of Continental Latin, but also of Hiberno-Latin (cf. the preliminary comments on Hiberno-Latin made in Section 4.4.1). It is always perilous to argue from silence, but the complete absence of **‹ai›, a representation analogous to ‹oi› and ‹ui›, in Northumbria (and elsewhere; *pace* Sievers 1886 and Wright & Wright [1925] 1934) could be a strong indication that the roman scripting of Old English /æ(:)/ in Northumbria was simply informed by Hiberno-Latin orthography and did not require an appeal to Old Irish orthography. On the other hand, if ‹ui› was the original orthographic representation of /y(:)/ adopted in Northumbria, this should tell us something about the pronunciation of Greek loanwords in Hiberno-Latin—namely, that the association between ‹y› and /y(:)/ in Latin orthography was not active in Ireland, and that the Irish had not had a Theodore of their own to instruct them in the learned pronunciation of Greek loanwords in Latin. This would explain why ‹y› would not have been an obvious or intuitive choice for the representation of Old English /y(:)/ in Northumbria, and another representation had to be developed. This does not mean that the training that the Northumbrians received in Latin literacy from the Irish was

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[92] Northumbrian scribes may have been much slower to exchange ‹oi› for the Southern ‹oe› than they were in exchanging ‹ui› for ‹y› precisely because the relationship between ‹oe› and /ø:/ was no more intuitive or endorsed by tradition that the relationship between ‹oi› and /ø:/. Runic ‹ᚩᛁ›, a straightforward transliteration of ‹OI›, still appears on the 9th-century Falstone stone in Northumbria (see Page 1984: 28–9, Fell 1994: 128). In contrast, ‹ui› may have started going out of fashion very soon after the Northumbrian Church started building bridges with Canterbury, because the association between /y(:)/ and ‹y› was historically and etymologically valid in and endorsed by Latin orthography. It therefore carried considerable authority.

inferior; it could only be an indication that the level of Greek competence in early mediaeval Ireland was low (*pace* White 2000: 374).

The availability of Latin orthographic models also goes some way toward explaining why runes were never adopted and adapted for the orthographic representation of the target vowels in roman writing. It is well-known that the Anglo-Saxons were not shy to appropriate runes when faced with scripting problems among consonants; the fact that they did not appropriate runes for vowels suggests that the scripting of the target vowels in the roman alphabet was not considered to be anywhere near as problematic. Since /æ(ː)/ and /y(ː)/ could be easily scripted following the example of Latin orthography, there was no need to resort to runes. Put differently, the lack of appeal to runes for the scripting of vowels—when such an appeal *was* made for some consonants—demonstrates the confidence that the Anglo-Saxons had in the adequacy of the roman alphabet to represent the target vowels. There was no need to turn to the *fuþorc* because, unlike for Annina Seiler's target consonants, Latin orthography was able to provide satisfactory models for the scripting of /æ(ː)/ and /y(ː)/ (after some training in Greek). At most, we may ask why ‹ᛟ› was not adopted for /øː/, since it is the one target vowel for which no suitable orthographic model existed in Latin. ‹oe› may have been considered an acceptable compromise because it was neatly analogous to ‹ae› in structure. It was also unambiguous in the sense that the phonological sequence **/o(ː)e/ did not exist in Old English. Furthermore, out of the target vowels, /øː/ was the one with the fewest occurrences, which could mean that it was not referred to frequently enough to warrant a revision of its orthographic representation at the time when the Anglo-Saxons turned to the *fuþorc* for inspiration in the scripting of /θ/ and /w/.

The end of Section 3.3 outlined two approaches to the division of the early history of roman Old English orthography into phases. Annina Seiler's first stage was limited to (polyfunctional) monographic representations, with the rise of digraphs characterising the

second stage. Her third and final stage was marked by the introduction of specialist graphemes. Seiler's framework was designed for consonantal orthography, and it is evident that it does not quite fit the findings of this study. There was no phase with polyfunctional monographs in the sense intended by Seiler. There was no roman letter which consistently referred to one of the target vowels *and* another Old English phoneme (monographic ‹E› in coin-legends for space-saving purposes constitute special, medium-dependent cases). There was no evolution from a monographic phase to a digraphic stage in vowel orthography. The roman representations of /ø:/ were always digraphic (save for considerations of space in numismatic evidence), and if the argument made in Section 11.1.1 is accepted, the earliest Northumbrian representation of /y(:)/ was also digraphic. Moreover, if ‹oi› and ‹ui› came about as part of the 'digraph stage' of early Old English orthography—which Seiler believes was "triggered by contacts with Merovingian Gaul" (2014: 216)—then why do we only see evidence for it in vowel orthography of the region furthest from the Continent? Finally, no specialist graphemes (i.e. runes) were adopted for the representation of target vowels.

David White, on the other hand, outlined two main stages, the first Continental and used briefly in the South, the second Irish and originating in Northumbria but eventually taking over the whole island. White's framework comes somewhat closer to the patterns found in this study. Old English was scripted more than once in more than one region (see also Stenroos & Smith [2016] 2020: 129), and regional differences brought about by different Christian heritages were reflected not only at the level of allographs, but also at the level of graphemes—that is, at an orthographic level. ‹oe› sprang from the Continentally-evangelised South, and ‹oi› from Irish-evangelised Northumbria. However, White believed that the orthography which emanated from Northumbria eventually took over all of Anglo-Saxon England, and that the 'Continental stage' of Old English orthography died out very early. It is true that «æ», whose early distribution is associated with Northumbria and other regions sharing an Irish Christian heritage, came to dominate the orthographic representation of

/æ(ː)/. While its wide adoption as an allograph did not constitute *orthographic* change (orthography being concerned with phoneme–*grapheme* pairings), its eventual graphemicisation did amount to orthographic change insofar as it effected a reorganisation of the graphemic inventory of the Old English roman alphabet—but this took place after 800. Over the course of the 8th century, we see orthographic change in the opposite direction. It has been argued here that Northumbrian scribes adopted ‹oe›, and possibly also ‹y›, for the expression of /ø:/ and /y(:)/ respectively from the South. If Northumbrian orthography eventually came to dominate, as White asserts, it only did so after Northumbrian orthography had itself adopted certain orthographic features which had been developed by the Continentally-evangelised scripters of the South. As far as vowel orthography is concerned, then, the model which took over Anglo-Saxon England was Southern not Northern in origin.

11.6.1 Direction in orthographic change

The move from ‹oi› to ‹oe› in Northumbria reflects a change towards closer conformity to Latin orthography, which demonstrates the superior status of Latin over Old Irish even in Irish-evangelised Northumbria. It also allowed for increased transfer between Latin and Old English orthography (see Section 2.3.2). However, changes in early Old English orthography can hardly be attributed to a more generalised drive to converge with Latin orthography, because simultaneous developments in the orthographic representation of Old English /θ/ and /w/ were moving away from Latin models (Seiler 2014: 206). At best, we may be able to hypothesise a drive towards a trend to deploying single graphemes in the orthographic representations of phonemes. Whether this is what we see in the change from ‹ui› to ‹y› is unclear, but it should be contrasted with the diachronic changes in the representation of /θ/. The adoption of ‹y› for Old English /y(:)/ has been attributed here in no small part to the Greek instruction provided at Canterbury. But if this was the case, why did ‹th› not emerge as the

dominant representation for Old English /θ/? The connection between Greek /θ/ (for that is what the phoneme can presumed to have been at this point in time, see ibid.: 143) and the Latin transliteration ‹th› must have been just as evident as the connection between Greek /y(ː)/ and ‹y›. A possible explanation is the preference for monographic representations, where such representations were available. That is, while the choice of ‹oe› over ‹oi› in Northumbria was most likely due to the appeal to conform to Latin orthography, the choice of ‹y› over ‹ui› (if such a choice did present itself in Northumbria) could have been due to either the prestige of the model that Latin orthography provided, or a preference towards a monograph over a digraph. A preference for monographs may also have been behind the eventual selection of «æ» as the dominant allograph for the representation of /æ(ː)/ and its graphemicisation after the timeframe of this study (see also Seiler 2008: 167). If /ø:/ had not been unrounded to /eː/, it is possible that it, too, would eventually have been represented by a single grapheme. But amidst much speculation, one plain fact is that ease of effort was not a driving force in the development of early Old English orthography. While ‹y› is clearly a simpler representation than ‹ui›, in that it required less effort, time and space to write, ‹oe› was adopted in Northumbrian even though it required *more* effort, time and space to write than ‹oi›. Even among allographs of ‹ae›, «ę» was structurally the simplest to write, yet the most seldom used to refer to /æ(ː)/.

11.7 Some practical applications

The findings of this study are valuable in their own right, but they are not an end in themselves. The previous sections have demonstrated how a study of Old English orthography can enrich our understanding in fields of enquiry beyond those directly associated with Old English philology, such as contemporary Latin phonology and the knowledge of Greek in early mediaeval Ireland. Closer to home, an examination of (what turned out to be) the allographs

of ‹ae› has shown how allographic choice might help localise early Anglo-Saxon scribes. This section provides three simple examples of how a more developed understanding of orthography and allography can contribute to our study of Anglo-Saxon textual and material culture.

Firstly, it has been claimed that the possible ‹ᚾI›-sequence in the Baconsthorpe clip inscription (see Section 8.3.1.1) referred to /y(:)/ and in this way reflected the manuscript tradition from which the inscription sprang (see Waxenberger 2012: 185, Waxenberger 2017: 637). The implication is that, since ‹ui› was common in contemporary manuscript orthography for /y(:)/, it was simply transliterated in the inscription. But given that we have only found one pre-800 example of ‹ui› referring to /y(:)/ in a manuscript, an appeal to manuscript culture is weak (although not, of course, impossible, given the connections between Northumbria and East Anglia, see Sections 8.1 and 8.2). If the inscription really does feature a digraph ‹ᚾI›, and if it referred to /y(:)/, the digraph could just as well have been an East Anglian reanalysis of ‹ᚾ› into its constituent parts, inscribed one after the other rather than one 'nesting' within the other. It does not *necessarily* point to ‹ui› having been common in East Anglian manuscripts. Secondly, the Hackness stone (see Section 10.3.4.2) has roman inscriptions on two sides, with the name *Œthelburg* appearing twice. Both times the name is incomplete due to damage, but the initial ‹OE› is evident. The Hackness stone was not considered in this study because it has been dated to both sides of 800, but the use of the representation ‹OE› could help us narrow down its date. If the claims made here on the displacement of ‹oi› (and, presumably, ‹OI›) by ‹oe› (and ‹OE›) in Northumbria are accepted, then it is difficult to imagine the Hackness stone being *earlier* than 8th-century (cf. the date given in Lang 1991: 140). It has been argued in this study that Bede used ‹oi› exclusively. If Bede, who was based in the Romanised centre of Wearmouth–Jarrow, had not yet adopted ‹oe› in the first third or so of the 8th century, what are the chances that Hackness, a daughter-house of Irish-founded Whitby, was using ‹OE› at

that time? Moreover, the name *Œthelburg* has frequently been presented in scholarship as *Æthelburg*, which has in turn made it possible to conjecture associations between Hackness and Æthelburg, the wife of the Northumbrian king Edwin (Karkov 2003: 58–9), as well as Abbess Æthelburg from Eddius' *Vita Wilfridi* (Kilpatrick 2013: 10). The findings of this study have shown that ‹OE› is never found for expected /æ(ː)/, which would make it highly unlikely that the inscription commemorated an *Æthelburg* (if the inscription is 8th-century, that is; research into 9th-century orthography will reveal whether such an association would have become realistic later). Thirdly and finally, it was mentioned in Section 10.5.1 that Michael Lapidge has provenanced K to Southumbria, most likely Kent (see Lapidge 2008: lxxxviii–lxxxix, civ–cxi). The examination of the orthographic repertoires of the scribes of K may offer some support for Southern involvement. Table 35 in Section 10.7.3 showed that «æ» did not appear in the orthographic repertoires of two of the scribes of K (although the stint of K3 is very short). The absence of «æ» could be a strong indication of Kentish or Saxon scribes, but the inclusion of «æ» in the orthographic repertoires of K1 and K4 would seem to be more compatible with Northumbrian or Mercian scribes. K has been dated to the second half of the 8th century; since «æ» was used in Kent in that broad period (as seen in S31), it is not impossible that K was copied in Kent by two local scribes who had branched out and incorporated «æ» into their repertoires (K1 and K4) and two who had not (K2 and K3). Alternatively, K may have been copied by two Northumbrian or Mercian scribes (K1 and K4) and two Kentish or Saxon scribes (K2 and K3) in Northumbria, Kent, or some other region. What seems certain is that the differing orthographic repertoires of the contributing scribes is significant.

11.8 Future research

Research into the field of this study as well as adjacent fields is rife with opportunity. The steady discovery of new Anglo-Saxon coins will undoubtedly shape our understanding of lay

literacy and the orthography of coin-legends, and it may not be too long before some of the suggestions made here will have to be revised in light of new findings.

The method adopted in this study can be applied to Old English orthography in the 9th century and beyond to track further orthographic developments. The analysis can also be extended to other vowels: it would be particularly interesting to contrast the 7th- and 8th-century representation(s) of the first element of the diphthong /æ(:)ɑ/ with the representations for /æ(:)/ found here. In light of this study, there is also much scope in examining the orthography of pre-800 material which was left out, namely loanwords, words with opaque etymologies, foreign names and monothematic names. The study of Old English material produced abroad—such as the Old English glosses in Er—will also provide interesting counterpoints to the findings made here. More urgent than these, however, is assembling a profile of Anglo-Saxon Latin (also called Anglo-Latin) orthography. A significantly larger amount of manuscript material was produced in Anglo-Saxon England during the timeframe of this study than was considered here, and unless we have a comprehensive picture of how Latin words were spelled in England at the time when Old English was scripted, it is impossible to make any definitive statements on how much Old English orthography truly relied on the orthography of Latin.

At the level of allographic study, an examination of Anglo-Saxon material in its entirety will reveal whether or not «æ» was part of Anglo-Saxon uncial. If the findings confirm the impression forged in this study, a developed understanding of the occurrences of uncial «æ» on the Continent will help us understand the significance of its absence in early Anglo-Saxon uncial documents. Quite independently of its use in England, there is also scope for a re-examination of the history of «æ» and «ę». Further, the consideration of manuscript material from Wessex (see e.g. Brown 1993: 224–5) will be a significant addition when mapping Anglo-Saxon allography. The distribution of two major allographs of ‹y› (and ‹Y›), namely «y» and

the so-called ‹F›-shaped ‹y›, will also no doubt uncover new twists in the history of Anglo-Saxon writing (see Lindsay 1922: 59–60, Blomfield 1935: 135–6).

Finally, a more demanding project—but, I believe, an incredibly fruitful one—will be to study the entire macrozone of contemporary roman orthographies in early mediaeval Western Europe to witness the full variety in vowel (and consonant) representations (see also Seiler 2014: 229; cf. Carver 2011: 935 on the study of Anglo-Saxon archaeology). Ultimately, only this type of study will allow us to determine where different representations were first used and track their movement on the map. Among many other things, a fuller understanding of Continental vowel orthography would reveal whether it is reasonable to expect that the apparent use of ‹ui› for expected /y(ː)/ Er, Cp and some of Alcuin's correspondence (see Blomfield 1935: 118, Lass 1994: 65) can be attributed to Continental (rather than, say, Northumbrian) practice—and if so, where such a practice originated.

11.9 Final thoughts

Was Old English orthography copied or created? Old English runic orthography was partly inherited and partly created. ‹ᚪ› and ‹ᛟ› had probably acquired their new referents /æ(ː)/ and /øː/ before the timeframe of this study, but it is possible that ‹ᚣ› was only created in 7th-century Northumbria on the basis of ‹ui›/‹UI›. The early history of roman Old English orthography is necessarily different. Old English orthography was not—indeed, could not be—a carbon copy of Latin orthography, but it was not created *ex nihilo* either. The consistency in the orthographic representation of /æ(ː)/ and /y(ː)/ seems to have been the result of copying the orthography of Latin /ɛ/ and Greek /y(ː)/ in Latin orthography, respectively. The Anglo-Saxons responsible for the scripting of Old English in the roman alphabet took advantage of the existence of precedents in Latin orthography. But although the orthography of Latin seems to have been followed where possible, the scripting of /øː/ shows us that *orthographic*

precedents—that is, phoneme–grapheme pairings— were not necessary. There was no model for the scripting of /ø:/ in Latin for the Anglo-Saxons to copy. In such a case, both the Continentally-trained and the Irish-trained Anglo-Saxons did the next best thing: they copied a digraph, which did not refer to /ø:/ in the donor language, and assigned it the new referent /ø:/ in Old English. In the South, the scripters of Old English looked to Latin orthography and adopted ‹oe›; in Northumbria, they looked to Old Irish orthography and adopted ‹oi› (cf. Seiler 2020: 135, where it is stated that, in comparison to the scripters of Old High German, "Anglo-Saxon scribes appear to have been less eager to use letter combinations that are not found in Latin orthography").[93] Following this same process, the Northumbrians adopted ‹ui› for /y(:)/. There is no reason to assume, as some do, that ‹oi› and ‹ui› were adopted because they referred, even briefly, to /ø:/ and /y(:)/ respectively *in Old Irish*. This is because ‹oe› was adopted from Latin orthography, where it had no association with /ø:/ (or [ø:]), demonstrating that *graphemic sequences* (in this case digraphs) *could be and* were *adopted and assigned phonological referents they did not have in the orthography in the donor language*. In a way, this happened even with the orthographic representation of /æ(:)/ to the extent that, in Latin orthography, ‹ae› referred to /ɛ/ not /æ(:)/—but the acoustic similarity was so striking that this seems like nit-picking. We may say, then, that while most aspects of Old English roman orthography were copied, some were also created, in the sense that existing digraphs in Latin and Old Irish were adopted but given new phonological referents in Old English.

Early Old English roman orthography was not maximally shallow. Manuscript orthography distinguished between vowel phonemes (see also Samuels 1952: 20), but the use of digraphs for the expression of particularly /æ(:)/ and /ø:/ introduced one-to-many correspondences. ‹e›, for instance, did not just refer to /e(:)/ but also referred to /æ(:)/ when in combination with ‹a›, and so on. Another way of saying the same thing would be that ‹e›

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[93] The early alignment of Irish-trained Mercia (let alone Sussex) cannot be determined from the data.

had no referent when combined with ‹a› but only acted as a diacritic—in such an instance, ‹e›

would have had two referents, ‹e› and *zero*, and ‹a› would have two referents, /ɑ(ː)/ on its

own and /æ(ː)/ when followed by ‹e›. However we interpret the structure of digraphs, they

had the effect of deepening the orthography. In addition, it appears that orthography could

be somewhat deeper in coin-legends than in other media, the combined effect of limited

space and limited readership. But this is not to say that Old English roman orthography in the

early mediaeval period was, overall, on the deep end of the spectrum. Apart from the use of

digraphs, the orthography was reasonably shallow. Above all, it was systematic, so much so

that it has allowed us to identify potential misspellings, changes in the quality of the expected

vowel, and even by-forms of common name-elements. Whether because of the alphabetic

precedent of the *fuþorc*; the reverence that the Anglo-Saxons had for the alphabets of their

teachers; or the sophisticated training the Anglo-Saxons received in grammar and linguistics—

maybe a bit of all three—the Anglo-Saxons shared a keen sense of identity between a *figura*

(or, in the case of digraphs, *figurae*) and a *potestas*.

     The grammars examined in Section 4.3 were not all designed for the same purpose or

with the same kind of student in mind. There is precious little Old English material from the

7th and 8th centuries, and there is no need for elementary grammars focusing on Late West

Saxon to confuse the student by introducing details of early Old English orthography which

did not survive or hardly survived into the 9th century and beyond. With this in mind, the

significance of ‹ui› in particular has been overplayed and is due revision in future work.

Providing «ae», «æ» and «ę» separately (not usually in that order), with no distinctions made

between graphemes and allographs, is perfectly excusable in earlier grammars, which lacked

the theoretical framework of graphemics, and is still understandable in the grammars of the

second half of the 20th century. But now that the study of written language has secured a

permanent place in linguistics—and primary texts are more accessible than ever before—

there seems to be increasingly little excuse for depriving students of an outline of graphemic

and allographic distinctions of Old English, especially if the same work explains (or assumes knowledge of) the distinction between phonemes and allophones. I believe that presenting particularly «æ» and «ę» separately is useful, since an enterprising student interacting with primary material is likely to be confused by «ę» and may mistake it for a strange ‹e›, with adverse effects on reading comprehension. Presenting both «æ» and «ę» is also the ideal segue into a discussion on graphemes and allographs. For the more advanced grammars which do wish to expound on historical orthography, it is hoped that studies such as this one will offer more context and help develop increasingly sophisticated narratives. Finally, a word on presentation. It would be ideal if the allographic distinctions between «ae», «æ» and «ę» were preserved in grammars, textbooks and other printed editions of Old English material, but this is, admittedly, difficult to realise in practice. Old English allography extended far further than the variation between these three allographs, and it may become methodologically difficult to justify the representation of some allographs but not others. The sociolinguistic significance of the variation is not an appropriate criterion at this point in time for the simple reason that not enough research has been done on Old English allography: we do not always know which variation was sociolinguistically significant and for what reason. At present, it is up to editors to decide which allograph of «ae», «æ» and «ę» is the most appropriate for their purposes. It is hoped, however, that this study has highlighted the relevance and worth of examining the allographs which orthographically standardised editions often hide. Indeed, a vast amount of work in palaeography has already proved the significance of the study of different hands and letter-forms, without necessarily discussing or presenting those findings in a linguistic framework or using terminology from the field of graphemics. Historical graphemics and palaeography are two sides of the same coin, and future work will hopefully see more collaboration between specialists in these fields.

12. Conclusion

> In the light of its linguistic consequences, the coming of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes to Britain must appear not only as the greatest event in our history, but as one of the most momentous ever to have happened anywhere (Lockwood 1975: 179)

Without a doubt, what W. B. Lockwood had in mind with this statement was the future of English, still very distant in the 5th century, as a global *lingua franca*. If the arrival of Germanic immigrants to England was a watershed moment in the linguistic history of the world, perhaps the Christianisation of England was not only a similar watershed moment in the history of written English—this seems uncontroversial—but also one of many landmark events in the global history of written language. English is heard the world over (and now also in space), but written English has reached just as many, if not more, communities and contexts as spoken English. The orthography of the 7th- and 8th-century front vowels /æ(:)/, /ø:/ and /y(:)/, it is true, has not outlasted the intervening centuries—indeed, for the most part, the vowels themselves have not made it. /ø:/ and /y(:)/ have not existed in English for nearly a millennium, and /æ/ is not represented orthographically in any of the main ways recorded in this study (its long counterpart **/æ:/ no longer exists in PDE). The Norman Conquest and the ensuing variability and changes in spelling that typifies orthography in the Middle English period ensured that much of what characterised Old English vowel orthography was lost. Nevertheless, the adoption of the roman alphabet at the turn of the 7th century had unforeseeable and permanent effects on the global linguistic landscape of the 20th and 21st centuries, and much beyond.

In Angus McIntosh's striking, but well-chosen, words, historical orthography has too often been "ransacked for information about spoken language" (1956: 42), with little consideration for all the other valuable information it contains. This study cannot inform our understanding of the thorny minutiae of PDE orthography, with which it does not form an unbroken tradition, in the same way that a study of Old English phonology might inform our

understanding of why PDE phonology is what it is today. But just like the study of English etymology, historical phonology, historical morphology or historical syntax can tell us about more than just the history of the English language—they can reinforce and reveal aspects in the history of English-speakers themselves—so too historical orthography can take us into the world of English-writers. It tells us not only which sounds of the language were considered salient enough to mark and visually distinguish on parchment and other media, but it gives us a glimpse into the society and broader culture that the writers inhabited.

13. Appendix

This appendix contains all the words from which orthographic representations were drawn in this study. Because of the variable direction of writing in coin-legends, where the word is a name from a numismatic context, only the relevant name-element(s) is (are) provided. The words are presented by region, medium and original source material. Alongside the individual words, the tables also specify the target vowel(s) in each word, its (their) orthographic representation(s), the lexical root of the word, and a short etymological bibliography (with notes, where necessary) for the lexical root. Etymological information is provided only once per lexical root, at its first occurrence in this appendix. For ease of reference, the first occurrence of each lexical root and its accompanying etymological information are shaded light grey. Upon any subsequent appearances of the same lexical root *in the same table*, no further etymological information is provided. Upon any subsequent appearances of the same lexical root *in other tables*, a reference is made (only for the first appearance of the lexical root) to the section of the appendix in which the etymological information is provided. Unlike in the thesis proper, references to sections of the appendix are preceded by a section sign ‹§› rather than the word *Section*. The column titled 'Other notes' (not present in each table) provides space for any relevant notes on the appearance of the item in its manuscript, epigraphic or numismatic context. It is also where possible die-duplicates are identified.

Letters that are not clear or which are unidentified are marked in the graphemic transcription with ‹.›, provided that these letters occur mid-word. Missing or unidentified letters at word-boundaries, *except where the missing letters border a target vowel*, are not recorded. Characters such as (in manuscripts) ‹·› and (in coin-legends) ‹+› are preserved when they occur mid-word. Line-breaks and spaces are also represented. Later modifications of items are not recorded in the transcription, whereas superscript additions are, where there is reason to believe that they were contemporary to the production of the original text.

13.1 Kentish data

13.1.1 Kentish manuscript data

Charter	Scribe	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
S8		‹**ae**dilmaeri›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*	Campbell 1959: §203n1, Lass & Anderson 1975: 63, Orel 2003: 27.	
S19		‹p**ae**d›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*pæþ*	Orel 2003: 291, Kroonen 2013: 396, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 147.	
		‹**ae**dilburgae›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹**ae**dilfridi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
S21		‹p**ae**d›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*pæþ*		The cross-bar on ‹d› may be a later modification (but see Anderson 1941: 86).
		‹**ae**thilburgae›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		The seeming hook in the left lower corner of the first ‹e› is a stroke belonging to the preceding ‹a›.
		‹**ae**dilfridi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
S23	S23.1	‹**ae**thilberhtus›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	S23.2	‹**ae**thilberhtus›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	S23.1	‹**ae**thilberhtus›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹**ae**thilberhti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹**ae**thilberhto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	S23.2	‹**ae**thiliaeardi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
S24		‹**ae**thilberht›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹**ae**thilberhtus›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹**ae**delhuni›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		The cross-bar on ‹d› may be a later modification.
		‹**ae**thelnothi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
S31		‹**ae**thelnothes›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		

Charter	Scribe	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
S35		‹**e**scuuald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æsc*	Orel 2003: 26, Kroonen 2013: 38.	
S128		‹celch**y**ð›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*hȳþ*	OED1 2023.	
		‹h**y**geberht›	PS /y/	‹y›	*hyge*	Orel 2003: 190, Kroonen 2013: 252, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 208.	
		‹**ae**thilmod›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹c**y**neberht›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	Orel 2003: 224, Kroonen 2013: 311, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 30.	

13.1.2 Kentish numismatic data

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthiliræd (Æ)	1002.0049	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
	1020.0312	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1036.0027	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1036.0028	⟨ᚠᚦᛁ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1986.0095	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1988.6004	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1988.9020	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1993.9135	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1994.0138	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛁᛁ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2001.0694 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1998.2065	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	1999.0110	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	2001.0544	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	2004.0201	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1997.0003, 2001.0678 and 2004.0063 are possible die-duplicates.
	2009.0042	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	2010.0288	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1997.0060 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2010.0297	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	2012.0032	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2006.0143 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2014.0238	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		
	2014.0256	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1020.0312 and 1994.0139 are possible die-duplicates.
	2017.0324	⟨ᚠᚦᛁᛘ⟩	PS /æ/^{ff}	⟨ᚠ⟩	*æþele*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthiliræd (Æ)	2021.0233	‹ᚠᚦᛁᛗ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ᚠ›	*æþele*		
	2022.0203	‹ᚠᚦᛁᛗ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ᚠ›	*æþele*		
Cœnwulf by Sæberht (Cœ[S])	2010.0138	‹COEN› ‹SE›	PS /ø:/ PS /æ:/[im]	‹OE› ‹E›	*cœne* *sǣ*	*cœne*: Onions 1966: 502, Orel 2003: 219, Kroonen 2013: 299. *sǣ*: Orel 2003: 314, Kroonen 2013: 423, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 234.	
	2018.0298	‹COEN› ‹SE›	PS /ø:/ PS /æ:/[im]	‹OE› ‹E›	*cœne* *sæ*		
Cuthred by Sæberht (Cu[S])	2005.0114	‹SE›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹E›	*sǣ*		
	2019.0394	‹SE›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹E›	*sǣ*		
Cynethryth (Cy)	1002.0328	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*	*þrȳþ*: Orel 2003: 428, Kroonen 2013: 548, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 224.	
	1002.0329	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1009.0014	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1011.0007	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1016.0093	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1036.0071	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1048.1910	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Cynethryth (Cy)	1973.6575	‹ðRYð›	RS /y:/	‹Y›	*þrȳþ*		
	1986.9132	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1989.0075	‹CYN.ðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	1990.0194	‹CYNE›	PS /y/	‹Y›	*cynn*		
	1998.0024	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		*EMC/SCBI* 2008.0332 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2001.0682	‹CYNE›	PS /y/	‹Y›	*cynn*		
	2002.0163	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		*EMC/SCBI* 1968.0007 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2003.0043	‹CYN.ðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2003.0141	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2004.0130	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2006.0113	‹CYNE›	PS /y/	‹Y›	*cynn*		
	2009.0183	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2011.0218	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2014.0019	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2014.0031	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2015.0266	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		
	2016.0258	‹CYNEðRYð›	PS /y/ RS /y:/	‹Y› ‹Y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Cynethryth (Cy)	2020.0099	‹CYNE›	PS /y/	‹Y›	*cynn*		It is unclear to me why *EMC/SCBI* marks the mint-place of this coin as London. I see no reason to separate it from the other, Kentish, coins of Cynethryth.
Eadberht Præn by Æthelmod (EP^{Æ})	1009.0037	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1020.0642	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1923.0157	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1985.0071	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2006.0238	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
Offa by Æthelnoth (O^{Æn})	1020.0571	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0005	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0089	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0090	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1789.0001 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1067.0091	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0092	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1995.0131	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1997.0111	‹EÞE›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1999.0075	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1999.1005	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1067.0088 and 1983.0002 are possible die-duplicates.
	2001.0792	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1067.0087 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2006.0166	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2008.0413	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2013.0368	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Offa by Æthelnoth (O^Æn)	2017.0226	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	æþele		*EMC/SCBI* 1067.0006 and 1964.0003 are possible die-duplicates.
	2017.0274	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	æþele		
	2021.0061	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	æþele		
	2021.0082	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	æþele		
	2023.0031	‹EÞEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	æþele		
Offa by Dægmund (O^D)	1997.0009	‹DEG›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*dæg*	Onions 1966: 246, Orel 2003: 66, Kroonen 2013: 86–7, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 147.	The ‹G› could either be a Greek ‹Γ› or a rare allograph of ‹G› (see G2 in Okasha 1968b: 324).
Offa with Archbishop Æthelheard (O&Æ)	1001.0436	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1016.0084	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1067.0745	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		*EMC/SCBI* 1988.0139 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1067.0747	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1067.0748	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1067.0749	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1967.0750	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		*EMC/SCBI* 1985.0073 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1068.0564	‹AED›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1969.9014	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1986.0049	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		*EMC/SCBI* 1923.0190 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1994.0177	‹AEDI›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	1996.0153	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	2005.0030	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	2010.0047	‹AEDI›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	2012.0007	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		
	2016.0323	‹AEDI›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	æþele		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Offa with Archbishop Æthelheard (O&Æ)	2020.0317	‹**AE**DIL›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹AE›	*æþele*		

13.2 Saxon data

13.2.1 Saxon manuscript data

Charter	Scribe	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes
S1171	S1171.2	‹**oe**delraedus›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*ǣþel*	Orel 2003: 290, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 270.
S1184	S1184.1	‹**ae**ðelmund›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1
		‹c**y**neðr**y**ð›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	*cynn*: See §13.1.1
			RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*	*þrȳþ*: See §13.1.2
S1428b		‹c**oe**nredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cǣne*	See §13.1.2
		‹aelfdr**y**dę›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*	

13.2.2 Saxon numismatic data

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Cœnwulf (Cœ)	1006.0058	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*	See §13.1.2	
	1009.0017	‹COEN›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*cœne*		
	1993.0197	‹COEN›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*cœne*		
	1997.0011	‹COEN›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*cœne*		
	1997.0115	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		
	2001.0776	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		
	2002.0169	‹COEN›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*cœne*		
	2005.0123	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		*EMC/SCBI* 2014.0119 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2006.0239	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		
	2009.0102	‹COEN›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*cœne*		
	2012.0121	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		
	2015.0001	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		*EMC/SCBI* 1999.0037 and 2014.0335 are possible die-duplicates.
	2016.0116	‹COEN›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*cœne*		
	2018.0347	‹CEN›	PS /ø:/	‹E›	*cœne*		
Offa by Æthelwald (O^Æw)	1002.0312	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
	1004.0056	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1009.0004	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1009.0005	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1020.0562	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1030.0186	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1030.0187	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1036.0069	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1050.0101	‹EðE›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1050.0102	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Offa by Æthelwald (O^Æw)	1067.0045	‹**AE**ðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1988.0144 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1067.0046	‹Ȩ̣ðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹Ȩ̣›	*æþele*		
	1067.0047	‹Eð›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0049	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0050	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1067.0051	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1986.5026	‹EðE›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1986.9128	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1989.0074	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1993.0191	‹EðE›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1996.0163	‹Ȩ̣ðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹Ȩ̣›	*æþele*		
	1997.0108	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2001.0685	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2005.0229	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2007.0225	‹**AE**ðIL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2009.0231	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2010.0287	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2011.0023	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2017.0210	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2020.0242	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2021.0071	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1067.0048 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2021.0158	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1036.0066 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2021.0410	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2022.0209	‹EðEL›	PS /æ/^ff	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1992.7638 is a possible die-duplicate.

13.3 East Anglian data

13.3.1 East Anglian epigraphic data

Artefact	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes
Harford Farm brooch (HF)	‹ᛉᛁᛒᛟᛏᚨ›	PS /øː/	‹ᛟ›	*bȫtan*	Orel 2003: 52, Kroonen 2013: 72.

13.3.2 East Anglian numismatic data

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthelberht I (Æ1ᴱᴬ)	1995.6002	‹ᛗᚦᚠᛚ›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ᛗ›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
	2017.0009	‹ᛗᚠᛚ›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ᛗ›	*æþele*		Since the expected consonant /θ/ does not appear to be orthographically represented in this prototheme, it is not possible to say with certainty how the sequence ‹ᛗᚠ› is to be understood (although it is highly unlikely to refer to a diphthong, since no diphthong */eæ/ is known to have existed in Old English). Specifically, it is unclear in which order the two runes should be read. If the sequence is to be read right-to-left, then the orthographic representation of the /æ/ of the prototheme was ‹ᚠ› not ‹ᛗ› (see Archibald & Fenwick 1995: 8, Archibald 2005: 125). However, since the moneyer Tilræd, who was responsible for minting both of the coins of Æthelberht I considered here, spelled the same prototheme ‹ᛗᚦᚠᛚ› in *EMC/SCBI* 1995.6002, it seems likelier that in this coin-legend, too, ‹ᛗ› referred to the stressed vowel of the prototheme and that the sequence ‹ᛗᚠ› should be read left-to-right.

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthelberht II (Æ2[EA])	1016.0105	‹EðIᚾ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹E›	*æþele*		The image for this coin in the *EMC/SCBI* database is difficult to interpret. The representation ‹E› for the target vowel is confirmed by an image of the same coin in Robertson 1961 (coin no. 413a; see also Chick 2010: 141 (coin no. 186a)).
	2014.0071	‹EðIL›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹E›	*æþele*		
Offa by Œthelred (O[Œ])	1067.0038	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*	See §13.2.1	
	1067.0039	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	1992.0255	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	1992.0256	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	1997.0112	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	1997.0113	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	2008.0320	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	2013.0113	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	2014.0027	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	2020.0001	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		
	2020.0005	‹**OE**ðEL›	PS /ø:/	‹OE›	*ǣþel*		

13.4 Mercian data

13.4.1 Mercian manuscript data

13.4.1.1 Mercian charters

Charter	Scribe	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
S56		‹æt›	RS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æt*	Orel 2003: 26, Kroonen 2013: 39.	
S59		‹æðelmundo›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
		‹æðelbaldi›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹æðelmundo›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹cyneðryð›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	*cynn*: See §13.1.1	
			RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*	*þrȳþ*: See §13.1.2	
S89	S89.1	‹aethilbalt›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹cyniberhtte›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
		‹aetdilbalt›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aethilbaldo›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aethil ric›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹ęthilbal›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ę›	*æþele*		
	S89.2	‹broc hyl›	RS /y/	‹y›	*hyll*	Onions 1966: 441, Orel 2003: 191–2.	
		‹edilbalt›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹e›	*æþele*		
		‹cyniberhttę›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
S92		‹aede›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*		
S114		‹æt›	RS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æt*		
S139		‹aeðelmundo›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹hygeberhti›	PS /y/	‹y›	*hyge*	See §13.1.1	
		‹æðelheardi›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹cyneberhti›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
		‹coenpalh›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cœne*	See §13.1.2	
		‹æðelmun›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹æ›	*æþele*		There is a macron on ‹n›.

Charter	Scribe	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
S139		‹uuynberh›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	Orel 2003: 475, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 223.	
S1184		‹cyneðryð›	PS /y/ RS /yː/	‹y› ‹y›	*cynn* *þrȳþ*		

13.4.1.2 Ép

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
94r	2	‹ry̌sil›	PS /y/	‹y›	*rysel*	Kroonen 2013: 418.	
	8	‹lynisas›	PS /y/	‹y›	*lynis*	Orel 2003: 529, Kroonen 2013: 344.	
	20	‹bio uuy̌rt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*	Orel 2003: 476, Kroonen 2013: 601, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 224.	
	22	‹boecae›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*bœ̄ce*	Onions 1966: 84–5, Orel 2003: 51, Kroonen 2013: 71–2, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 208.	
94v	50	‹aesil›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*hæsel*	Onions 1966: 432, Orel 2003: 164, Kroonen 2013: 213, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 329.	
	80	‹misby̌rd›	RS /y/	‹y›	*byrd*	Orel 2003: 63, Kroonen 2013: 84–5.	
	81	‹gidy̌rstig›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dyrstig*	Kroonen 2013: 110, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 335.	
	83	‹fa\c/ni›	PS /æ:/im	‹a›	*fācen*	Orel 2003: 90, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 331. This is a derived form demonstrating i-mutation (see Ringe & Taylor 2014: 310).	
	93	‹tony̌ttum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*nytt*	Orel 2003: 290, Kroonen 2013: 393.	

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
96r	124	‹hr**ae**brebletae›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*h**æ**fre*	Kroonen 2013: 198, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 147.	
96v	136	‹st**ae**blidrae›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*st**æ**f*	Orel 2003: 368, Kroonen 2013: 471, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 147.	
	155	‹ledir·uu**y**rcta›	RS /y/	‹y›	*w**y**rht*	Orel 2003: 476.	
97r	200	‹l**y**tisna›	PS /y:/	‹y›	*l**ȳ**tel*	Campbell 1959: §199, Onions 1966: 532, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 270.	
	205	‹gih**ae**plice›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*geh**æ**p*	Orel 2003: 161, Kroonen 2013: 210.	
	206	‹h**ae**tendae›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*h**ǣ**tan*	Onions 1966: 433, Orel 2003: 153.	
	210	‹gr**oe**tu›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*gr**ø̄**tan*	Onions 1966: 413, Kroonen 2013: 192, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 227.	
97v	217	‹l**y**tlae›	PS /y:/	‹y›	*lȳtel*		
	232	‹uu**a\e**/ter·truch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹a\e/›	*w**æ**ter*	Orel 2003: 451, Kroonen 2013: 575–6, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 147.	
	236	‹h**ae**sil›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*h**æ**sel*		
98r	403	‹t**ae**nil›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*t**ǣ**nel*	Orel 2003: 399, Kroonen 2013: 506.	
	413	‹unc**y**sti\g/›	RS /y/	‹y›	*c**y**st*	Orel 2003: 226, Kroonen 2013: 313.	
	417	‹b**oe**cae›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*b**ø̄**ce*		
	429	‹**ae**gergelu›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*ǣg*	Campbell 1959: §120(1), Onions 1966: 303, Orel 2003: 11, Kroonen 2013: 17, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 234.	
	440	‹**ae**tgaeru›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æt*	See §13.4.1.1	
	446	‹su**oe**g›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*sw**ø̄**g*	Orel 2003: 397, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 209.	

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
98v	474	‹smael›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*smæl*	Onions 1966: 837, Orel 2003: 353, Kroonen 2013: 456, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 148.	
	475	‹frecnis›	PS /ø:/	‹e›	*frœ̄cne*	Orel 2003: 115–6.	
	479	‹aedilra›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
	480	‹gecyndilican›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynd*	Onions 1966: 506, Orel 2003: 224.	
99r	488	‹astyn tid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*styntan*	Orel 2003: 383, Kroonen 2013: 487.	
	496	‹biscopuuyrt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*		
	499	‹uura\e/stendi›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a\e/›	*wrǣstan*	Onions 1966: 1014, Orel 2003: 471.	
99v	509	‹tyctaend›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tyht*	Orel 2003: 411, Kroonen 2013: 525, OED2 2023.	
	513	‹tyctin\n/um›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tyht*		
	516	‹tyctinnae›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tyht*		
	518	‹uualhuuyrt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*		
	522	‹unbryci›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*brȳce*	Ringe & Taylor 2014: 208.	
	523	‹uuaes›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*wæs*	Kroonen 2013: 582, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 147.	
	525	‹uuaes›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*wæs*		
	533	‹gitychtid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tyht*		
	539	‹baedendrae›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*bǣdan*	Orel 2003: 32, Kroonen 2013: 47.	
	544	‹taecnaendi›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*tǣcnan*	Orel 2003: 399, Kroonen 2013: 505, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 310.	
99v	560	‹firgingaett›	RS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*gāt*	Orel 2003: 123, Kroonen 2013: 163–4, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 170. This is a plural form demonstrating i-mutation (see Campbell 1959: §627).	
100r	571	‹crycc›	PS /y/	‹y›	*crycc*	Onions 1966: 232.	

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
100r	573	‹gyrdils› ‹broec›	PS /y/ PS /øː/	‹y› ‹oe›	*gyrdels* *brōēc*	*gyrdels*: Onions 1966: 399, Orel 2003: 147. *brōēc*: Orel 2003: 57, Kroonen 2013: 78. This is a plural form demonstrating i-mutation (see Campbell 1959: §627, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 208).	
	575	‹uuoendendi›	PS /øː/	‹oe›	*wōēdan*	Orel 2003: 469.	A misspelling.
	577	‹staebplegan›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*stæf*		
	579	‹thyctin›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tyht*		
	582	‹gyrdislrhingae›	PS /y/	‹y›	*gyrdels*		
	604	‹huet›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*hwæt*	Orel 2003: 199, Kroonen 2013: 264.	
100v	612	‹regenuuyrm›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrm*	Onions 1966: 1012–13, Orel 2003: 476, Kroonen 2013: 600, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 223.	
	621	‹cistigian›	PS /y/	‹i›	*cyst*		
	632	‹scytil›	PS /y/	‹y›	*scytel*	Onions 1966: 825, Orel 2003: 346–7.	
101r	642	‹uuaelreab›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*wæl*	Orel 2003: 443, Kroonen 2013: 569.	
	657	‹biouuyrt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*		
101v	670	‹mynit›	PS /y/	‹y›	*mynet*	Ringe & Taylor 2014: 135.	
	673	‹naecht\h/raebn›	RS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hræfn*	Onions 1966: 741, Orel 2003: 183, Kroonen 2013: 240, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 330.	
	674	‹naechthraebn›	RS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hræfn*		
	678	‹unny tnis›	RS /y/	‹y›	*nytt*		
	679	‹unfaecni›	RS /æː/[im]	‹ae›	*fācen*		

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
101v	694	‹scytihalt›	PS /y/	‹y›	*scyte*	Orel 2003: 347, Kroonen 2013: 451.	
102r	704	‹aeggimang›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*ǣg*		
	711	‹lybb›	PS /y/	‹y›	*lybb*	Orel 2003: 249, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 223.	
	723	‹genyctfullum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*genyht*	Orel 2003: 289, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 521.	
	728	‹saegesetu›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*sǣ*	See §13.1.2	
	729	‹cendlic›	PS /y/	‹e›	*cynd*		
102v	731	‹daeli›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*dǣl*	Onions 1966: 247, Orel 2003: 67, Kroonen 2013: 87, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 234.	
	733	‹hraedae›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hræd*	Orel 2003: 185.	
	742	‹hraed›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hræd*		
	743	‹tylg›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tylg*	Campbell 1959: §673, Kroonen 2013: 525.	
	751	‹styccimelum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*stycce*	Orel 2003: 383, Kroonen 2013: 487, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 209.	
	752	‹naetendnae›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*nǣtan*	Orel 2003: 280.	
	760	‹by\r/geras›	PS /y/	‹y›	*byrgan*	Onions 1966: 129, Orel 2003: 63.	
	764	‹uuyrdae›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wyrd*	Orel 2003: 475, Kroonen 2013: 600.	
103r	776	‹byrgea›	PS /y/	‹y›	*byrga*	Orel 2003: 63, Kroonen 2013: 85.	
	788	‹gycinis›	PS /y/	‹y›	*gyccan*	Kroonen 2013: 274.	
103v	809	‹styria›	PS /y/	‹y›	*styria*	Orel 2003: 384, Kroonen 2013: 488.	
	815	‹spoed›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*spȫd*	Kroonen 2013: 469.	
	823	‹g\r/ytt›	PS /y/	‹y›	*grytt*	Kroonen 2013: 193.	
	830	‹hunae\g/ aepl›	RS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æppel*	Onions 1966: 44, Orel 2003: 21, Kroonen 2013: 31–2.	

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
104r	835	‹uur**ae**ni›	PS /æː/[im]	‹ae›	*wrǣne*	Orel 2003: 470–1, Kroonen 2013: 596.	
	845	‹**ae**ngiþinga›	PS /æː/[im]	‹ae›	*ǣnig*	Campbell 1959: §197, Onions 1966: 41.	
	848	‹hr**ae**bnęs›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hræfn*		
	849	‹leciuu**y**rt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*		
104v	859	‹c**y**nidom›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	See §13.1.1	
	877	‹c**y**niuuithan›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
105r	881	‹thuerhf**y**ri›	RS /y/	‹y›	*furh*	Kroonen 2013: 160. This is an oblique case demonstrating i-mutation (see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §2.111)	
	889	‹gif**oe**gnissae›	PS /øː/	‹oe›	*fœ̄gan*	Orel 2003: 109, Kroonen 2013: 150, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 227.	
	891	‹b**y**ris›	PS /y/	‹y›	*byres*	Kroonen 2013: 85.	
	905	‹b**y**rst›	PS /y/	‹y›	*byrst*	Orel 2003: 64.	
	907	‹b**y**ris›	PS /y/	‹y›	*byres*		
	908	‹st**ae**r›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*stær*	Orel 2003: 372, Kroonen 2013: 475.	
	913	‹h**ae**gtis›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hægtesse*	Campbell 1959: §339, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 254.	
105v	915	‹anh**ae**bd›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*habban*	Kroonen 2013: 197. This is an inflected form demonstrating i-mutation (see Hogg & Fulk 2011: §6.124).	
	916	‹m**y**gg›	PS /y/	‹y›	*mycg*	Onions 1966: 575, Orel 2003: 275, Kroonen 2013: 380.	
	918	‹r**y**gi›	PS /y/	‹y›	*ryge*	Orel 2003: 308, Kroonen 2013: 416, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 223.	
	921	‹b**y**rg\e/a›	PS /y/	‹y›	*byrga*		

Folio	Number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
105v	929	‹ymbhringendu*m*›	PS /y/	‹y›	*ymbe*	Orel 2003: 434, Kroonen 2013: 558–9, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 30.	
	935	‹mundbyrd›	RS /y/	‹y›	*byrd*		
	936	‹tyc\h/tit›	PS /y/	‹y›	*tyht*		
	938	‹faecni›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*fācen*		
	939	‹faetmaendi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*fæþmian*	Orel 2003: 95, Kroonen 2013: 132.	
	940	‹spoed›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*spēd*		
106r	980	‹uuyd›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wyrd*		A misspelling.
106v	996	‹hrofuuy\r/cta›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrht*		
	997	‹ifaenu\cæ/›	RS /y:/	‹u›	*ȳce*	Kluge & Götze 1953: 822	
107r	1007	‹haeth›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*hǣþ*	Onions 1966: 433, Orel 2003: 154, Kroonen 2013: 202, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 234.	
	1017	‹baest›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*bæst*	Orel 2003: 38, Kroonen 2013: 55.	
	1020	‹ryae›	PS /y:/	‹y›	*rȳhe*	Orel 2003: 309.	
	1032	‹giscaduuyrt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*		
107v	1065	‹gloedscofl›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*glǣd*	Orel 2003: 137, Kroonen 2013: 182, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 227.	
	1078	‹speruuuyrt›	RS /y/	‹y›	*wyrt*		
	1080	‹ryhae›	PS /y:/	‹y›	*rȳhe*		
	1081	‹ryhae›	PS /y:/	‹y›	*rȳhe*		
	1084	‹hraefnaes›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hræfn*		

13.4.2 Mercian epigraphic data

Artefact	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes
Honington clip	‹ᛒᛁᚷᛏᚻᛁᛉ›	PS /øː/	‹ᚼ›	*blœ̄tsian*	Onions 1966: 100, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 228.

13.5 Northumbrian data

13.5.1 Northumbrian manuscript data

13.5.1.1 M

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
1v	‹**cyni** bercti›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	See §13.1.1	
3r	‹**æ** dilbercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹æ›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
15r	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilberctu*m*›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
23r	‹**ae**dilbercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
24r	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
24v	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilfridi›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
25r	‹**ae**dil bercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹s**a**bercto›	PS /æː/im	‹a›	*sǣ*	See §13.1.2	
28r	‹**ae**dilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
29r	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**æ**dil frid›	PS /æ/ff	‹æ›	*æþele*		
	‹s**a**berct›	PS /æː/im	‹a›	*sǣ*		
	‹**ae**dilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
29v	‹**ae**dilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilberctu*m*›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
30v	‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
31r	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹sabercti›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a›	sǣ		
33v	‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
35v	‹aedilberga*m*›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹ædilbergæ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
	‹aedilbergæ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
37r	‹aedilfrido›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
38r	‹aedilfridu*m*›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
39v	‹qu**oe**n burga›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cwǣn	Ringe & Taylor 2014: 12.	
	‹aedilbergia›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilhun›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilthr**y**d›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	æþele þrȳþ	þrȳþ: See §13.1.2	
40r	‹thr**y**duulfi›	PS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
43r	‹ha**e**th felth›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	hǣþ	See §13.4.1.2	
	‹aedilberge›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
43v	‹d**ae**gberecto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	dæg	See §13.1.2	
44r	‹aedilbergæ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹**oi**dilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel	See §13.2.1	
44v	‹aedilfridi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
44v	‹aedilfridi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
48v	‹cynigilso›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	‹coinualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cœne	See §13.1.2	
49r	‹coin ualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cœne		
49v	‹saethryd›	PS /æ:/[im] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	sǣ þrȳþ		
	‹aedilberg›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
50r	‹aedilberg›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
51v	‹osthrydae›	RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
52r	‹aedilhild›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
53v	‹oidilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
54r	‹ediluinum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	æþele		
55r	‹cynimund›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
59r	‹cyni burgam›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
60v	‹aediluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel		
61r	‹cynibillum›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
61v	‹cynibill›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
62r	‹cynuise›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel		
	‹aedilheri›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
63r	‹uynfridum›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn	See §13.4.1.1	
67v	‹edilhun›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	æþele		
	‹ediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	æþele		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
67v	‹edilhun›	PS /æ/^ff	‹e›	æþele		
70r	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn		
70v	‹hæthfelda›	PS /æː/^im	‹æ›	hǣþ		
	‹edilthryd›	PS /æ/^ff RS /yː/	‹e› ‹y›	æþele þrȳþ		
	‹aedilredum›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		
73r	‹aedilthryde›	PS /æ/^ff RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	æþele þrȳþ		
74v	‹hygbald›	PS /y/	‹y›	hyge	See §13.1.1	
	‹uynfridum›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn		
	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn		
75v	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn		
76v	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn		
	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn		
77r	‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		
77v	‹eadgyd›	RS /yː/	‹y›	gȳþ	Ström 1939: 19, Kroonen 2013: 196, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 140.	
	‹eadgyd›	RS /yː/	‹y›	gȳþ		
	‹eadgyd›	RS /yː/	‹y›	gȳþ		
78r	‹aedilburga›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹torctgyd›	RS /yː/	‹y›	gȳþ		
78v	‹torctgyd›	RS /yː/	‹y›	gȳþ		
	‹aedilburge›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilburgi›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		
80r	‹coin ualch›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	cœ̄ne		
	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		
80v	‹ediluini›	PS /æ/^ff	‹e›	æþele		
80v	‹cyniberctum›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/^ff	‹ae›	æþele		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
80v	‹**ae**dil ualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
81v	‹**ae**diluach›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
83r	‹**ae**dilualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹c**y**niberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
83v	‹**ae**dilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
84r	‹h**ae**thfelth›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*hǣþ*		
85r	‹**ae**dilthr**y**da*m*›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
86r	‹c**y**nifrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
87r	‹**ae**dilthr**y**da›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
	‹**æ**dil redum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
87v	‹osthr**y**d›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
	‹**ae**dilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilredi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
88r	‹**ae**dilthry d**æ**›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
89v	‹**ae**dilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
90r	‹frig**y**d›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
98v	‹thr**ui**dred›	PS /y:/	‹ui›	*þrȳþ*		
99r	‹**oi**diluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
99v	‹**coi**nred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		
	‹**oi**duald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
	‹**oi**dilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
100r	‹**oi**dilualdum›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
101v	‹qu**oe**nburg›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cwǣn*		
107r	‹bliththr**y**dae›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
110r	‹ediluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	æþele		
	‹drycthelme›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dryht*	Orel 2003: 77, Kroonen 2013: 104, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 223.	
	‹coenredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cœne		
	‹aedil redum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
114v	‹coinred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cœne		
	‹aedilredi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹coin redum›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cœne		
116v	‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
117r	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
117v	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹coinredum›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cœne		
124r	‹coenred›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cœne		
125r	‹coenredo›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cœne		
	‹aedilberctum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
125v	‹coenredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cœne		
	‹cyniberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	‹aedilbaldo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹ediluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	æþele		
126v	‹sabercto›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a›	sǣ		
	‹aedil\berct/›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
127r	‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹hæthfeltha›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹æ›	hǣþ		
	‹osthryd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹coenredo›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cœne		
	‹coenred›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	cœne		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
127v	‹**ae**dilbaldo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
128r	‹hu**ae**tbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*hwæt*	See §13.4.1.2	
128v	‹dr**y**ctin›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dryhten*	Orel 2003: 77, Ringe & Taylor 2014: 269.	The scribe corrected himself while writing this word, but it is clear that the intended representation of the stressed vowel was ‹y›.
	‹**ae**rist›	PS /æː/[im]	‹ae›	*ǣrest*	Onions 1966: 324, Orel 2003: 9.	
	‹monc**y**nnæs›	RS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
	‹dr**y**ctin›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dryhten*		
	‹**æ**fter›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æfter*	Orel 2003: 2, Kroonen 2013: 3.	
	‹**ae**dilric›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**co**inred›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*cœ̄ne*		

13.5.1.2 L

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
L1	2r	‹cynibercti›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	See §13.1.1	
	3r	‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
		‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	15v	‹aedil berct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilberctum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	24r	‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	25v	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	26r	‹aedilfridi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹sabercto›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a›	*sæ*	See §13.1.2	
	29v	‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	30v	‹aedilfrið›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	31r	‹aedilfrið›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹saberct›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a›	*sæ*		
		‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹ædilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
	31v	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilberctum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	32v	‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aediberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
L2	33r	‹aedilberht›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
L2	33r	‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	33v	‹sabercti›	PS /æː/im	‹a›	sǣ		
	36r	‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aedil berhti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	39r	‹aedilbergam›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aedil bergae›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	40v	‹aedilfrido›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	41v	‹aedilfridum›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	43r	‹quoenbur ga›	PS /øː/	‹oe›	cwǣn	See §13.5.1.1	
		‹aedilberga›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aeðilhun›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹aeðilthryd›	PS /æ/ff RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	æþele þrȳþ	þrȳþ: See §13.1.2	
	43v	‹thrythuulfi›	PS /yː/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	47r	‹haethfelth›	PS /æː/im	‹ae›	hæþ	See §13.4.1.2	
	47v	‹aedilberge›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹daegbercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	dæg	See §13.1.2	
	48r	‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	48v	‹oidilualdo›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	œþel	See §13.2.1	
	49r	‹edilfridi›	PS /æ/ff	‹e›	æþele		An ‹a› may have been erased from before ‹e› (Anderson 1941: 30n92, Arngart 1952: 28).
		‹aedil fridi›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
L2	52v	‹cynigislo›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
		‹coinualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*	See §13.1.2	
		‹coinualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		
	53v	‹saedryd›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*sǣ*		The first ‹d› has also been interpreted as ‹ð› (Anderson 1941: 32, Arngart 1952: 19).
			RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
		‹aedilberg›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	54r	‹aedilberg›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	55v	‹osthrydae›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
		‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	56r	‹aedihild›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹ediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
	58r	‹oidilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
		‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	58v	‹ediluinum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
	59v	‹cynimund›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
L3	64r	‹cyniburga›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
	66r	‹aediluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
	66v	‹cyni billum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
		‹cynibill›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
	67r	‹cynuisse›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
		‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
		‹aedilheri›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	68r	‹uynfri dum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	See §13.4.1.1	
L4	74r	‹edilhun›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
		‹ediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
L4	74v	‹edilhun›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
	78r	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	78v	‹hætfelda›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹æ›	*hǣþ*		
		‹edilthryd›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹e› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
		‹ædilredum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
	82r	‹aedil thryde›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
	84r	‹hygbald›	PS /y/	‹y›	*hyge*	See §13.1.1	
	84v	‹uynfridum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
		‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	85v	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	87r	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
		‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	87v	‹ædilburgæ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
	88r	‹eadgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	See §13.5.1.1	
		‹eadgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
		‹eadgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
	88v	‹ædilburga›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹torctgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
	89v	‹torctgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
		‹ædilburge›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹ædilburgi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
	91v	‹coinualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*		
		‹ædilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
	92r	‹ediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
		‹cyniberctum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
	92v	‹ædilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹ædilualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
L4	93v	‹ædilualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
	95v	‹ædilualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
	96r	‹cyniberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	96v	‹ædilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
		‹hæt\h/felth›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹æ›	hǣþ		
	98v	‹ædilthryda*m*›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
			RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	99v	‹cynifrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	101r	‹ædilthryda›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
			RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	101v	‹aedilredum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
		‹osthryd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
		‹ædilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
	102r	‹ædilredi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
	102v	‹ædilthrydæ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
			RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	104v	‹ædilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		
	106r	‹frigyð›	RS /y:/	‹y›	gȳþ		
	107r	‹dryctin›	PS /y/	‹y›	dryhten	See §13.5.1.1	
		‹aerist›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	ǣrest	See §13.5.1.1	
		‹moncynnæs›	RS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
		‹dryctin›	PS /y/	‹y›	dryhten		
		‹æfter›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æfter	See §13.5.1.1	
	118v	‹thrydred›	PS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	119r	‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	œþel		
	119v	‹coinred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cœne		
		‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	œþel		
	120r	‹oidilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	œþel		
		‹oidilualdu*m*›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	œþel		

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
L4	122v	‹qu**o**inburg›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cwǣn*		
	130v	‹bliththr**y**de›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
	135r	‹**e**diluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
	135v	‹dr**y**cthelme›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dryht*	See §13.5.1.1	
		‹c**oe**nredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cǣne*		
		‹**ae**dilredum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	141v	‹c**oi**nred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		
		‹**ae**dilredi›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹c**oi**nredum›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		
	145r	‹**ae**dilredo	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	146r	‹**ae**dilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹**ae**dilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		‹c**oe**nredum›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cǣne*		
	156r	‹c**oe**nred›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cǣne*		There are dots under and inside the first ‹e› and a superscript ‹i› above the letter.
	157r	‹c**oi**nredo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		
		‹**ae**dilberctum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	157v	‹c**oi**nredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		
	158r	‹c**y**niberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
	158v	‹**æ**dilbaldo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*æþele*		
		‹**e**diluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
	159v	‹s**a**bercto›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a›	*sǣ*		
	160v	‹hu**æ**tbercti›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	*hwæt*	See §13.4.1.2	

13.5.1.3 B

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
23r	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	
23v	‹**ae**dilberctum›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		The cross-bar on ‹d› may be a later modification.
36r	‹**ae**dilbercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
37v	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
38r	‹**ae**dil fridi›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
38v	‹**ae**dilbercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹s**a**bercto›	PS /æ:/im	‹a›	*sǣ*	See §13.1.2	
43v	‹**ae**dilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
45r	‹**ae**dilfred›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		The cross-bar on the first ‹d› is likely a later modification. It also seems that the ‹i› has been modified into ‹e›. The second ‹e› may have originally been ‹i›. The orthography of the stressed vowel has not been tampered with.
	‹**ae**dilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		The cross-bar on the first ‹d› is likely a later modification. Both ‹i›s have been modified into ‹e›s.
45v	‹s**a**berct›	PS /æ:/im	‹a›	*sǣ*		
	‹**ae**dilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		‹us› at the end of the word is likely a later addition.
46r	‹**ae**dilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
46r	‹aedilberctum›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
47v	‹aedil bercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbercto›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
48r	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
48v	‹sa bercti›	PS /æ:/im	‹a›	sǣ		The ‹a› has been modified into ‹æ›.
52r	‹aedilberge›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
55v	‹aedilbergam›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilbergae›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
57v	‹aedilfrido›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilfrid›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
59r	‹aedilfridum›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
61v	‹qu\o/enburga›	PS /ø:/	‹\o/e›	cwǣn	See §13.5.1.1	
	‹aedilberga›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilhun›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹aedilthryd›	PS /æ/ff RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	æþele þrȳþ	þrȳþ: See §13.1.2	
62r	‹thryth uulfi›	PS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
66v	‹haethfelth›	PS /æ:/im	‹ae›	hǣþ	See §13.4.1.2	
76r	‹cynigislo›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn	See §13.1.1	
77r	‹coinualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	cǣne	See §13.1.2	

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
78r	‹saedryd›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	sǣ		
		RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
78v	‹aed›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		Part of the prototheme of the name *Æthelburg*.
79r	‹aedilberg›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		A superscript ‹u› on the second ‹e› is likely a later addition.
81v	‹osthrydae›	RS /y:/	‹y›	þrȳþ		
	‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
82v	‹aedilhild›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹ædiluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹æ›	æþele		The cross-bar on ‹d› is likely a later modification. It also seems that the first ‹i› has been modified into ‹e›. It is possible that the ‹a› of the digraph ‹æ› is a later addition.
85v	‹oidilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel	See §13.2.1	A later scribe seems to have modified this into ‹aiðeluoldo›.
	‹aeðilberct›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
86r	‹ediluinum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	æþele		
88r	‹cynimund›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		The ‹i› has been modified into ‹e›.
95r	‹cyniburgam›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
97v	‹aediluald›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	æþele		
	‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel		
98r	‹cynibillum›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		There is a superscript ‹e› above the first ‹i›.
98v	‹cynibill›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
99v	‹cyn uisse›	PS /y/	‹y›	cynn		
	‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	ǣþel		
101r	‹uynfridum›	PS /y/	‹y›	wynn	See §13.4.1.1	

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
107v	‹edilhun›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
	‹ediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
112r	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	‹haeth›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*hǣþ*		Part of the place-name *Hæthfelth*.
	‹edilthryd›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		
		RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
112v	‹aedilredum›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
116r	‹aedilthryd›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
		RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
118v	‹hygbald›	PS /y/	‹y›	*hyge*	See §13.1.1	
119r	‹uynfridum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
120v	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
122r	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
	‹uynfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*		
123v	‹eadgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	See §13.5.1.1	
	‹eadgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
	‹eadgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
124r	‹aedilburga›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹torhtgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
124v	‹torctgyd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*gȳþ*		
125r	‹aedilburge›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹aedilburge›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		The second ‹e› may have originally been ‹i›.
127r	‹coinualch›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*		
127v	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
128r	‹ediluini›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹e›	*æþele*		The third ‹i› has been modified into ‹e›.
	‹cyniberctum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
128v	‹aedil red›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹aedilualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
129v	‹aedilualch›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
132v	‹cyniberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		
133v	‹aedilr.do›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		The unknown letter looks like ‹e›, but ‹a› may have been appended to it to form ‹æ›.
	‹haethfelth›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*hǣþ*		
136v	‹aedilthrydam›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
137v	‹cynifrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		The first ‹i› has been modified into ‹e›.
139v	‹aedilthryda›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		‹y› seems to have been written over another letter, perhaps ‹a› or ‹u›, but the ink appears to be the same.
140r	‹osthryd›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
141r	‹aedilthrydae›	PS /æ/[ff] RS /y:/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*		
142r	‹aed›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		Part of the prototheme of the name *Æthelred*.
158r	‹oidiluald›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		There is a superscript ‹æbe› above ‹oidil›.
	‹oidilualdo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*		
160v	‹quoinburg›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cwǣn*		
170r	‹blith thryde›	RS /y:/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*		
175r	‹drycthelm›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dryht*	See §13.5.1.1	

Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
175v	‹**ae**dilredu*m*›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		The cross-bar on the first ‹d› is likely a later modification
186v	‹**ae**dilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹**ae**dilred›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ae›	*æþele*		
	‹c**oe**nredum›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cǣne*		
198r	‹c**oi**n›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cǣne*		The prototheme of the name *Cœnred*.
199r	‹c**y**ni›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*		The prototheme of the name *Cyneberht*.
201r	‹s**a**berc›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹a›	*sǣ*		
201v	‹h**ae**thfelda›	PS /æ:/[im]	‹ae›	*hǣþ*		

13.5.1.4 K

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes
K1	1r	‹uynfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	See §13.4.1.1
		‹heᶷthfelda›	PS /æː/ⁱᵐ	‹ę›	*hǣþ*	See §13.4.1.2
		‹**ae**diltr**y**th›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*	*æþele*: See §13.1.1 *þrȳþ*: See §13.1.2
		‹**ae**dilredum›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	3v	‹**ae**dilthr**y**de›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*	
	5r	‹h**y**gbald›	PS /y/	‹y›	*hyge*	See §13.1.1
		‹u**y**nfridum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	
		‹u**y**nfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	
	6r	‹u**y**nfrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	
	7r	‹u**y**nfrido›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	
		‹u**y**nfrit›	PS /y/	‹y›	*wynn*	
		‹**ae**dilburgae›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	7v	‹eadg**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	See §13.5.1.1
		‹eadg**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	
		‹eadg**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	
	8r	‹**ae**dilburga›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹torctg**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	
	8v	‹torctg**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	
		‹**ae**dil burgae›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹**ae**dilburgi›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	9v	‹c**o**inuualch›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*cēne*	See §13.1.2
	10r	‹**ae**dilraed›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹ęᶷdiluini›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ę›	*æþele*	
		‹c**y**niberctum›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	See §13.1.1
	10v	‹**ae**dilraed›	PS /æ/ᶠᶠ	‹ae›	*æþele*	

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes
K1	10v	‹ẹdilualch›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ẹ›	*æþele*	
	11r	‹**ae**diualch›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹**ae**diualch›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	11v	‹c**y**niberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	
	12r	‹**ae**dilredo›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹hẹthfelth›	PS /æː/^{im}	‹ẹ›	*hǣþ*	
	13r	‹**ae**dilthr**y**dam›	PS /æ/^{ff} RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*	
K2	14r	‹c**y**nifrid›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	
K1	14v	‹**ae**dilthr**y**da›	PS /æ/^{ff} RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*	
K2	15r	‹**ae**dil redum›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹osthr**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*	
		‹**ae**dilred›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹ẹdilredi›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ẹ›	*æþele*	
	16r	‹**ae**dilthr**y**dae›	PS /æ/^{ff} RS /yː/	‹ae› ‹y›	*æþele* *þrȳþ*	
	17r	‹**ae**dilredo›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	17v	‹frig**y**d›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*gȳþ*	
K3	24v	‹thr**y**dred›	PS /yː/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*	
K4	25r	‹**oi**diluald›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*	See §13.2.1
		‹c**oi**nrẹd›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*cœ̄ne*	
		‹**oi**diluald›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*	
		‹**oi**dilualdo›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*	
		‹**oi**dilualdum›	PS /øː/	‹oi›	*ǣþel*	
	27r	‹qu**oe**nburg›	PS /øː/	‹oe›	*cwœ̄n*	See §13.5.1.1
	32r	‹bliththr**y**de›	RS /yː/	‹y›	*þrȳþ*	
K1	34v	‹**ae**diuald›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹ae›	*æþele*	

Scribe	Folio	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes
K1	34v	‹drycthelme›	PS /y/	‹y›	*dryht*	See §13.5.1.1
		‹coenredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cœne*	
		‹aedilredum›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	38r	‹coinred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
		‹aedilredi›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹coinredum›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
	40r	‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	40v	‹aedilred›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹aedilred›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹coenredum›	PS /ø:/	‹oe›	*cœne*	
	46v	‹coinred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
	47v	‹coinredo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
		‹aedilberc tum›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹coinredi›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
	48r	‹cyniberct›	PS /y/	‹y›	*cynn*	
		‹aedilbaldo›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹ediluald›	PS /æ/ff	‹e›	*æþele*	
	48v	‹sabercto›	PS /æ:/im	‹a›	*sǣ*	See §13.1.2
		‹aedilberct›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
	49r	‹aedilredo›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹aedilred›	PS /æ/ff	‹ae›	*æþele*	
		‹haethfelda›	PS /æ:/im	‹ae›	*hǣþ*	
		‹ędilred›	PS /æ/ff	‹ę›	*æþele*	
		‹coinredo›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
		‹coinred›	PS /ø:/	‹oi›	*cœne*	
	50r	‹huętbercti›	PS /æ/ff	‹ę›	*hwæt*	See §13.4.1.2

13.5.2 Northumbrian epigraphic data

Artefact	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
FC	‹ᚠᚹᛟᛞᛖᚠ›	PS /ø:/	‹ᛟ›	*fœ̄dan*	Onions 1966: 349, Orel 2003: 109, Kroonen 2013: 150.	
	‹ᚹᚢᛚᚠ›	PS /y/	‹ᚢ›	*wylf*	Orel 2003: 474, Kroonen 2013: 598.	
	‹ᚠᛈᛚᚠ›	PS /ø:/	‹ᚠ›	*ǣþel*	See §13.2.1	
Hart1	‹ᚺᛁᛚᛗᛁᚦᚱᚢᚦ›	RS /y:/	‹ᚢ›	*þrȳþ*	See §13.1.2	
Hart2	‹ᚺᛁᛚᛗᛗᛁᛉᛁᚷᛁᚢᚦ›	RS /y:/	‹ᚢ›	*gȳþ*	See §13.5.1.1	
Hart6	‹BERCHT GYD›	RS /y:/	‹Y›	*gȳþ*		
Hart8	‹GUID›	RS /y:/	‹UI›	*gȳþ*		
Jar6	‹HELMGYT›	RS /y:/	‹Y›	*gȳþ*		
Lin1	‹ᚠᛋᚷᚢᚦ›	RS /y:/	‹ᚢ›	*gȳþ*		
	‹OSGYÐ›	RS /y:/	‹Y›	*gȳþ*		
RC	‹ᚠᛏ .ᚠᛗ›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹ᚠ›	*æt*	See §13.4.1.1	Part of the word *ætgædere*.
	‹ᛚᛁᛗᚹ ᛟᚱᛁᛇ .ᚠ›	RS /ø:/	‹ᛟ›	*wœ̄rig*	Orel 2003: 470, Kroonen 2013: 593.	‹ᛟ› seems to have been written over ‹ᛇ› (see Page 1999a: 57, 154).

13.5.3 Northumbrian numismatic data

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthelred I (1st reign) (Æ1^{N1})	1068.0054	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*	See §13.1.1	*EMC/SCBI* 2001.0069 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2001.0129	‹EDI›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2008.0087	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2011.0038	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2012.0137	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2017.0426	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2016.0184 is a possible die-duplicate.
Æthelred I (2nd reign) (Æ1^{N2})	1020.0368	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1020.03681	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1050.0034	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1068.0059	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1068.0060	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1068.0061	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1068.0062	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2001.0111 is a possible die-duplicate.
	1068.0063	‹EDEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1068.0064	‹AEDL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1986.5015	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.0409	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.0410	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.0411	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.8204	‹ED›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	1997.8205	‹EDL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2001.0070	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2001.0109	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2001.0249	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2001.0528	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthelred I (2nd reign) (Æ1^{N2})	2001.0645	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2001.0146 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2005.0278	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2005.0125 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2006.0322	‹AEDI›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2006.0324	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2008.0085	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1999.0021 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2008.0090	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2008.0091	‹ED›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2008.0093	‹ED+L›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 2008.0092 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2008.0358	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1983.0128 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2010.0029	‹EDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2012.0039	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2015.0021	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2016.0049	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2017.0122	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2020.0163	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2020.0417	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2022.0131	‹EDEL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹E›	*æþele*		
Æthelred I (2nd reign) with Eanbald (Æ&E)	1068.0065	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.0408	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.8207	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	1997.8209	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2007.0026	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		
	2009.0361	‹AEDIL›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		*EMC/SCBI* 1997.8210 is a possible die-duplicate.
	2020.0263	‹AED›	PS /æ/^{ff}	‹AE›	*æþele*		

Coinage	*EMC/SCBI* number	Item	Vowel	Orthographic representation	Lexical root	Etymological bibliography and notes	Other notes
Æthelred I (2nd reign) with Eanbald (Æ&E)	2022.0456	‹**AE**DIL›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹AE›	*æþele*		
Æthelwald Moll with Ecgberht (ÆM)	2012.0036	‹**E**DIL›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹E›	*æþele*		
	2018.0322	‹**E**DIL›	PS /æ/[ff]	‹E›	*æþele*		

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15. Image references

Maps 1–6
 The author's own, based on Okasha 1971: 141.

Figure 1
 Above: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV, fol. 187r
 <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_fs001r> [accessed 15 April 2023]
 Below: Franks casket (back panel), © The Trustees of the British Museum
 <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1867-0120-1> [accessed 13 January 2023]

Figure 2
 Above: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Augustus_II_2> [accessed 15 April 2023]
 Below: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 4 <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Cotton_MS_Augustus_II_4> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 3
 Left: Hartlepool 01 (in the nomenclature of Cramp 1984)
 <https://chacklepie.com/ascorpus/corpus_images.php?set=198> [accessed 17 January 2023]
 Right: Hartlepool 06 (in the nomenclature of Cramp 1984)
 <https://chacklepie.com/ascorpus/corpus_images.php?set=203> [accessed 17 January 2023]

Figure 4
 The author's own.

Figure 5
 Above and below: The author's own.

Figure 6
 The author's own.

Figure 7
 Adams 2013: 38.

Figure 8
 Above left: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV, fol. 78v
 <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_xiv_fs001r> [accessed 15 April 2023]
 Below left: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A XIV, fol. 68r

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_xiv_fs001r>
[accessed 15 April 2023]
Above right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 1004.0056 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/10040056> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Below right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 1020.0561 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/10200561> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 9

Top and middle left and right: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 3r
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/13> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Bottom left: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 44v
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/96> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Bottom right: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 32r
<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/71> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 10

Faversham pommel <https://www.runesdb.eu/find-list/d/im/q////6/f/699/p/4515/c/0870953769c5cbbad7843864be22ec8a/> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 11

Dover brooch, © The Trustees of the British Museum
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1963-1108-583> [accessed 30 August 2022]

Figure 12

Courtesy of National Museums Liverpool, World Museum; Liudhard medalet
<https://www.liverpoolmuseums.org.uk/artifact/liudhard-medalet> [accessed 22 August 2022]

Figure 13

Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Augustus II 2
<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_augustus_ii_2_f001r>
[accessed 22 August 2022]

Figure 14

Left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 1030.0076 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/10300076>
[accessed 22 August 2022]
Right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2002.0241 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20020241>
[accessed 22 August 2022]

Figure 15

Far left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2010.0138 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20100138> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Mid-left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2018.0298 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20180298> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Mid-right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2005.0114 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20050114> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Far right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2019.0394 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20190394> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 16

Top: National Portrait Gallery bone, © Museum of London
<https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/744138.html> [accessed 22
August 2022]
Middle: Royal Opera House bone, © Museum of London
<https://collections.museumoflondon.org.uk/online/object/148653.html> [accessed 22
August 2022]
Bottom: Thames mount, © Museum of London
<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1869-0610-1> [accessed 22
August 2022]

Figure 17

EMC/*SCBI* 1002.0326 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/10020326>
[accessed 22 August 2022]

Figure 18

Shaw 2013: 129.

Figure 19

EMC/*SCBI* 1855.0001 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/18550001>
[accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 20

Chichester, West Sussex Record Office, Cap I/17/2 (Digitised images provided by the
West Sussex Record Office; reproduced with permission.)

Figure 21

Left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2020.0317 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20200317>
[accessed 15 April 2023]
Middle: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2006.0238 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-
record/20060238> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2016.0116 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20160116>
[accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 22

EMC/*SCBI* 1996.0163 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/19960163>
[accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 23

EMC/*SCBI* 2009.0376 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20090376>
[accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 24

Left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2014.0071 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20140071>
[accessed 15 April 2023]
Right: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV,
fol. 27r
<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_fs001r>
[accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 25

Left: David Dobson in Hines 2011: 284.

Right: Baconsthorpe clip <https://www.runesdb.eu/find-list/d/im/f/691/p/2634/c/8d3c49d1993cc00cda3f7fbd6c2be3a9/> [accessed 18 August 2022]

Figure 26

Far left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2001.0770 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20010770> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Mid-left: Sedgeford fragment, © Norfolk County Council <https://finds.org.uk/database/artefacts/record/id/830716> [accessed 19 August 2022]
Mid-right: Baconsthorpe clip <https://www.runesdb.eu/find-list/d/im/f/691/p/2634/c/8d3c49d1993cc00cda3f7fbd6c2be3a9/> [accessed 19 August 2022]
Far right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2018.0181 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20180181> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 27

Brandon plaque, © The Trustees of the British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1978-1101-1_1> [accessed 19 August 2022]

Figure 28

Hartford Farm brooch <https://www.runesdb.eu/find-list/d/im/q////6/f/614/p/2647/c/be7520459c4c7a4701e54320dfcc9fa8/> [accessed 20 August 2022]

Figure 29

Left: *EMC*/*SCBI* 1016.0105 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/10160105> [accessed 15 April 2023]
Right: *EMC*/*SCBI* 2003.0046 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20030046> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 30

Loveden Hill urn, © The Trustees of the British Museum <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1963-1001-14> [accessed 24 August 2022]

Figure 31

Overchurch stone <https://www.runesdb.eu/find-list/d/im/q////6/f/662/p/2653/c/6252b6dc301ffd6946c9ad92775e5453/> [accessed 25 August 2022]

Figure 32

Chadwick 1899: 189.

Figure 33

Hines 2015: 260.

Figure 34

Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale 72(2), fol. 104r <https://galeries.limedia.fr/ark:/18128/d0s75hg5922r9k39/p26> [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 35

    Left: Durham, Durham Cathedral Library MS. A.II.10, fol. 2r
    <https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1m8g84mm26d&canvas=
    t1tm039k5366> [accessed 01 December 2022]
    Right: Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, MS 12 R 33, fol. 48r, © Pádraig P. Ó Néill, 2021
    <https://www.isos.dias.ie/RIA/RIA_MS_12_R_33.html> [accessed 01 December 2022]

Figure 36

    Left: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 798v (World Digital
    Library) <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_20150/?sp=1594&st=pdf&r=-
    0.574,0.15,2.148,0.802,0> [accessed 26 September 2022]
    Right: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Nero D IV,
    fol. 11r
    <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_nero_d_iv_fs001r>
    [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 37

    Top: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. lat. 9389, fol. 39v
    <https://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b530193948/f84.item> [accessed 15 April 2023]
    Middle: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 14v
    <https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/36> [accessed 15 April 2023]
    Bottom: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius
    A XIV, fol. 2v
    <https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_xiv_fs001r>
    [accessed 15 April 2023]

Figure 38

    EMC/*SCBI* 2011.0037 <https://emc.fitzmuseum.cam.ac.uk/full-record/20110037>
    [accessed 16 April 2023]

Figure 39

    Franks casket (right panel), © The Trustees of the British Museum
    <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1867-0120-1> [accessed 16 April
    2023]

Figure 40

    Top: Franks casket (lid), © The Trustees of the British Museum
    <https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1867-0120-1> [accessed 16 April
    2023]
    Middle: Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1, fol. 799r (World Digital
    Library) <https://www.loc.gov/resource/gdcwdl.wdl_20150/?sp=1596&st=image&r=-
    0.226,-0.173,1.433,0.535,0> [accessed 16 April 2023]
    Bottom: Durham, Durham Cathedral Library MS. B.II.30, fol. 172v
    <https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t2mrn3011371&canvas=t2tcr56n1104>
    [accessed 16 April 2023]

Figure 41

    Lapidge 2008: cxv.

Figure 42

    Above left: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS

Tiberius A XIV, fol. 166r

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_xiv_fs001r>

[accessed 31 October 2022]

Above middle: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS

Tiberius A XIV, fol. 136r

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_xiv_fs001r>

[accessed 31 October 2022]

Above right: Courtesy of the British Library Board; London, British Library, Cotton MS

Tiberius A XIV, fol. 113r

<https://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/Viewer.aspx?ref=cotton_ms_tiberius_a_xiv_fs001r>

[accessed 31 October 2022]

Below left: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 29v

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/66> [accessed 31 October 2022]

Below middle: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 15r

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/37> [accessed 31 October 2022]

Below right: Cambridge, University Library, MS Kk. 5. 16, fol. 30v

<https://cudl.lib.cam.ac.uk/view/MS-KK-00005-00016/68> [accessed 31 October 2022]

Figure 43

Hartlepool 08 (in the nomenclature of Cramp 1984)

<https://www.britishmuseum.org/collection/object/H_1859-0707-1> [accessed 31

October 2022]