THE TERMS USED FOR THE PRIESTS AND OTHER CLERGY IN THE ANGLO-SAXON PERIOD

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Abstract

Although the priests and other clergy of the Anglo-Saxon Church have received far less attention from modern scholars than the institutions which they staffed, attention is now turning again to these personnel, and especially to the ordained clergy below the rank of bishop. As yet, however, no new systematic survey has been carried out of the uses made in our primary sources for the Anglo-Saxon Church of the Latin and the Old English terms for these religious. Only by a fresh examination of each term, informed by our recently much improved understanding of how the Anglo-Saxon Church###s organisation for the delivery of pastoral care evolved from multi-priest minsters towards single-priest churches, and of how the roles of its personnel changed accordingly, may we test long-established ideas about how and why particular words were used and therefore how they should be translated into modern English. Whilst word constraints have limited the number of sources studied here, some tentative but potentially important conclusions have been reached on these various terms### usages by early medieval writers. Regrettably, however, no significant new light has been thrown on the hard question of how the Old English word *preost* is best understood and translated.

Contents

Abbreviations

ASLC1   F. L. Attenborough (ed. & trans.), *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922).

ASLC2   A. J. Robertson (ed. & trans.), *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925).

C&M   B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (eds. & trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969).

CCHS   ###*Council of Clofesho*###: A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), pp. 360-376.

CCGH   ###*Council of Clofesho*###: H. Gee & W. J. Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1896), pp. 15-32.

LL   *Venerabilis Beda Presbyter: Historiam Ecclesiasticam Gentis Anglorum,* (http://www.thelatinlibrary.com/bede.html, 2008-2009).

M   T. Miller (ed. & trans.), *The Old English Version of Bede###s Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1890).

OE   Old English.

OEH   ###*Old English Homilies*###: R. Morris (ed.), *Old English Homilies*, The   Early English Text Society, 34, Series I (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868).

RC   ###*Regularis Concordia*###: Dom T. Symons (trans.), *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London:

                      Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1953).

VW   ###*Vita Wilfridi*###: B. Colgrave (trans.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

W   D. Whitelock (ed. & trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

WBB   D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, I, AD 871-1204, Part I, 871-1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

WCLC   ###*Wulfstan*###*s Canon Law Collection*###: J. E. Cross & A. Hamer
(eds.),   *Wulfstan*###*s Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999).

Chapter I

Whilst the Anglo-Saxon Church has interested scholars over the past few decades, the personnel themselves have not received as much attention as the institutions which they inhabited. Whilst the bishops are fairly well documented, the priests and other clergy are not. Over the course of the Anglo-Saxon period, as the Church and parochial system evolved, we know that the roles of the bishops changed from the very hands-on approach to pastoral care of the seventh and eighth centuries, to the administrative and delegatory roles necessary in the more complex eleventh-century Church. If the bishops' roles changed, then surely that of the priests and other clergy under them must have changed considerably too. This thesis proposes to take a semantic approach, by looking at the sources for the Anglo-Saxon period and examining the Latin and Old English terms used for the Church personnel. The various terms used for the ordained clergy, from the lowliest door-keeper to the highest archbishop, along with those for monks, will be investigated. A meticulous trawl through the sources selected will reveal all the instances where each term is used and in what context. The main focus will be on the priests and other clergy, although all the religious will be looked at, as it is impossible to consider any in isolation, especially as there may be some significant overlap in the use of certain terms.

In the late twentieth century, texts such as Bede###s Ecclesiastical History have been read more closely as historical sources rather than as authoritative works, and more attention has been given to the vocabulary used.[1] This new climate of interest in the study of the individual terms used in the sources for the Anglo-Saxon period has seen

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[1] N. J. Higham, *(Re-) Reading Bede: The Ecclesiastical History in Context* (London: Routledge, 2006),

a more recent change of focus away from the institutions themselves, which have now largely been sorted out, and towards the terms used for the Church personnel. This rising wave of interest in the personnel has led to an increasing awareness by scholars that they must be more careful in their use of the terms when writing about the Anglo-Saxon Church. No longer can it be assumed that a certain term found in the sources equates to a modern-day one within the Church. I shall start by looking at how modern scholars have understood and used these terms over the last few decades, and whether or not they consider that their usage remained unchanged throughout the period. Although more interest is now being shown in this topic, there appears to have been no exhaustive systematic survey of the use of these terms in all the relevant sources, which I feel is necessary to see if there were any changes in their usages. An article by Barrow,[2] published during my research, shows that this approach to Church personnel is highly beneficial if we are to make any kind of informed decisions. She demonstrates the importance of attention to detail and pulls together a large amount of interesting information on clerical progression by focusing on individual careers. I intend to collect together every instance of each term for the personnel that I can find in the selected sources, and examine each one in its context. Looking at the use of these terms may improve our understanding of the organisation of the Anglo-Saxon Church, which we know changed considerably from the seventh to the eleventh centuries, and of how pastoral care was organised and delivered. We know that the Church on the eve of the Conquest was a very different one from that of Bede's time, and that it must have been necessary for the roles of the personnel to change and adapt to this new environment.

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p. 37.

[2] J. Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers, c.900-c.1200', *Anglo-Norman Studies,* 30

I shall look at a wide range of primary sources relating to the whole Anglo-Saxon period, including homiletic, legal, hagiographical and conciliar ones. There are advantages and limitations in the use of these sources as they were each produced for very different reasons and audiences. Many of these selected sources were written by religious men, for religious purposes, where the ideology may not have always lived up to the reality. Also many documents may have been written with political motives in mind; therefore, none can be taken at face value. There will be a certain amount of bias in each document according to the purpose for which it was produced. For instance, the official Church documents which were written to impart the rules and customs of the Church are very different from the hagiographical ones. Time and word constraints, and the availability of published translated texts, will limit the amount and variety of sources that can reasonably be studied here.

Most of the documents that we have from the eighth and ninth centuries are written in Latin,[3] with Old English sources only becoming more numerous from the late ninth century onwards. What survives is often through chance, not choice, as unfortunately many OE documents were discarded, or destroyed due to such things as fires and Viking raids.[4] Many of the surviving documents have only come down to us in later copies, where the language has often been modernised, making it more difficult to determine the dates at which the terms were used. As the language evolved, not only could words be spelt differently but the meaning of words could change. The twelfth

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(Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008).

[3] F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), p. 3.

[4] M. Swanton (ed. & trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Prose* (London: Dent, 1975), pp. ix-x.

century in particular was a transition period in the written English language when the grammar and phraseology were beginning to change under the influence of the popular forms of speech.[5] This will therefore affect the reliability of the sources which only come down to us in twelfth-century, or later, copies. However, this is a problem that cannot be easily overcome in a study of this length. Also the terms I shall be looking for may have meant something else to the Anglo-Saxons by the eleventh century than they had in the previous centuries. This also applies to the roles of the men being studied, as although they may still be called by the same term, their roles may have changed considerably over time. The lack of original extant OE sources will constitute one of the major problems for this research.

Throughout this thesis, whenever a priest is referred to, it will be to the specific rank (as distinct from that of bishop) and to the modern interpretation of the word: an ordained man who could celebrate mass, administer penance, and perform the sacraments, especially baptism. The term 'priest' (i.e. with inverted commas) will be used for the far greater number of men in the Church who were ordained and able to administer the rites: the archbishops, bishops and priests. When pastoral care is discussed it will be in general terms so as to include all the activities carried out by the clergy to assist and support the religious life of the laity,[6] and not be restricted to the sacramental pastoral care of baptism, provision of the sacraments and administration of penance.[7] Therefore, teaching, preaching, care of the sick and dying, and alms-giving will all be included. Although the spelling of the terms which

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[5] R. Morris (ed.), *Old English Homilies*, The Early English Text Society, 34, Series I (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868), p. xvii.

[6] Tinti, *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 1.

[7] J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press,

I shall be looking at, in Latin and OE, did change over the Anglo-Saxon period, for consistency the same spelling will be used throughout, despite how the words may have appeared in the individual sources. There was especially little consistency in the spelling of the OE words, with variations seen not only over time, but also regionally.[8]

The focus of Chapter II will be on how modern scholars have perceived the Church personnel, and of their understanding of how the various terms were used in the primary sources. It will also consider how far they give the impression of thinking that the meaning of the terms stayed unchanged throughout the period, even though the parochial system was evolving, which brought about a change in the way in which pastoral care was delivered. The next two chapters will examine the terms used for the personnel in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*,[9] using both the original Latin text and the later OE translation. The first of these (Chapter III) will focus mainly on the bishops, and the second (Chapter IV) on the priests and other clergy. Comparisons will be made between the Latin terms used by Bede and the OE terms used by the later translator. Although this should show how the translator perceived the use of Bede's terms by giving what he thought was the OE equivalent term, it may also show how things had changed in the Church in the intervening period. Although Bede wrote a range of historical works, only this one will be considered here, mainly due to the fact that there is a later OE translation of it which

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1992), p. 1.

[8] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 2nd. edn., 1950), p. vi.

[9] Latin text from: *Venerabilis Beda Presbyter: Historiam Eccleciasticam Gentis Anglorum* (http://thelatinlibrary.com/bede.html, 2008-2009). Latin text and English translation from: B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (eds. & trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). Old English text from: T. Miller (ed. & trans.), *The Old English Version of*

allows for comparison over time, and that there is also a reliable concordance available.[10]

Moving on from Bede, the next two chapters will focus on a range of documents from across the whole Anglo-Saxon period, written in Latin or OE. Chapter V will look at *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*,[11] the canons from the Council of Clofesho,[12] the *Regularis Concordia*,[13] Anglo-Saxon wills, a few miscellaneous documents,[14] and some Old English Homilies.[15] Chapter VI will then examine the Anglo-Saxon royal law-codes,[16] two of Ælfric's OE pastoral letters,[17] the so-called *Canons of Edgar*,[18] *The Northumbrian Priests' Law*,[19] and Wulfstan's *Canon Law Collection*.[20] Finally in Chapter VII, the findings of all this research will be discussed, showing what conclusions can be reached on the use of these terms. The more that we can find out about the religious personnel, the better our understanding of the Church will be,

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Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1890).

[10] P. F. Jones, *A Concordance to the Historia Ecclesiastica of Bede* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1929).

[11] B. Colgrave (trans.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927).

[12] Latin text from: A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), pp. 360-376. English translation from: H. Gee & W. J. Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1896), pp. 15-32.

[13] Dom T. Symons (trans.), *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1953).

[14] D. Whitelock (ed. & trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, I, AD 871-1204, Part I, 871-1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

[15] R. Morris (ed.), *Old English Homilies*, The Early English Text Society, 34, Series I (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868).

[16] F. L. Attenborough (ed. & trans.), *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922); A. J. Robertson (ed. & trans.), *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925).

[17] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, no. 40, pp. 191-226 & no. 46, pp. 255-302.

[18] *Ibid*., no. 48, pp. 313-338.

[19] *Ibid*., no. 63, pp. 449-468.

[20] J. E. Cross & A. Hamer (eds.), *Wulfstan###s Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999).

which in turn will impact on our greater understanding of the whole Anglo-Saxon period.

Chapter II

This chapter will look at how consistently, and convincingly, modern scholars have shown an understanding of the terms found in the primary sources for the different sorts of Anglo-Saxon religious, examining their reasoning and justifications for doing so. It is also important to consider to what extent scholars have given the impression that they think that the meaning of each term has stayed the same throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, even though it is now widely agreed that the Church and the parochial system changed considerably, impacting on how pastoral care was delivered. Then by studying how the Anglo-Saxons themselves used these terms we can discuss if modern scholars have understood the terms correctly. As the Anglo-Saxon Church changed from the original 'multi-priest' system towards the beginnings of the 'single-priest' system in the eleventh-century,[1] the roles and lives of the priests and clergy must have changed dramatically. This in turn would have considerably altered the nature of the pastoral care available to the laity between the seventh and twelfth centuries.[2]

The modern English word priest seems to be used by many scholars for the modern-day definition of an ordained man, below the rank of a bishop, who was licensed to perform the mass and administer the sacraments and penance. But there may have been many differences between the seventh- and eighth-century minster priests and the eleventh-century parish priests, especially in their duties, education and roles in

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[1] T. Tatton-Brown, 'The Churches of Canterbury Diocese in the 11th Century', J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), p. 105.

[2] S. Bassett, 'Boundaries of Knowledge: Mapping the Land Units of Late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England', W. Davies, G. Halsall & A. Reynolds (eds.), *People and Space in the Middle Ages, 300-1300*

the delivery of pastoral care. However, this change from the 'age of minsters' to the 'age of local churches' was a slow process.[3] Where our primary sources use the Latin term *presbyter*, it is generally translated by most scholars as the word priest. There are exceptions: for example, Reynolds, writing in the late 1990s,[4] when discussing bishops and priests, used the words bishop and *presbyter* throughout, which suggests that he did not think that the modern meaning of the word priest was a direct equivalent of the Latin *presbyter*. Perhaps he felt that it was safer to use *presbyter* than to get embroiled in any arguments over the use of the word priest. This is not only a recent development, as three decades earlier Deanesly had used the term *presbyter* for those men who had assisted the bishops in their teaching.[5] However, most scholars use the word priest for any man who, they think, equates to the modern-day priest, often including the Latin term *presbyter* and the OE ones *mæssepreost* and *preost*.

The OE word *preost*,[6] from which modern English priest comes, has received much attention of late. It is no longer automatically assumed that the term means priest in the strict sense of the word. In the 1960s, Deanesly argued that the Anglo-Saxon laity had considered the term *preost* to mean both a priest and a clerk, with the *mæssepreost* being the clerk in the highest clerical order,[7] and the clerics as those in

(Turnhout, Belgium: Brepols, 2006), p. 117n.

[3] J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), p. 453.

[4] R. E. Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 1999), pp. 311-342.

[5] M. Deanesly, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962), p. 5.

[6] The translation of *preost* is given as 'priest' and *presbyter* in: J. R. Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 4th edn., 2008), p. 274.

[7] M. Deanesly, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 2nd. edn., 1963), p. 150.

minor orders from exorcists upwards.[8] Then in the late 1980s, Brooke said that the term *preost* meant clerk, not priest, whether or not in an order, and that the term clerk had various 'shades of meaning', being used for anyone who was not a layman, and at times for any 'clergyman' who was not a monk.[9] He saw the *mæssepreost* as being a priest in the modern sense.[10] In a recent publication, Pickles gave the meaning of *preost* as, 'the clergy in general, clergy living commually according to a rule and, of course, clergy who were ordained to the level of priest',[11] and Bassett stated that with reference to place-names 'we cannot assume that every *preost* concerned was a priest', preferring to use the term cleric instead.[12] The recent interest in the study of place-names may prove useful not only for their origins, but also for details of the organisation of the Church. However, one problem is that it is impossible to date exactly when a name was formed, and by the time the name appears in written sources it is likely to have been in use for some time.

Blair used the term priest for those ordained men of the seventh- and eighth-century Church who were expected to live in communities and behave like monks, and to lead a common life but as members of a 'canonical order' as opposed to a 'monastic order'.[13] He believed that the minsters were founded in the seventh and eighth

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[8] *Ibid.*, p. 193.

[9] C. N. L. Brooke, 'Priest, Deacon and Layman, from St. Peter Damian to St. Francis', W. J. Shiels & D. Wood (eds.), *Studies in Church History: The Ministry: Clerical and Lay*, 26 (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), p. 72.

[10] C. N. L. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1999), p. 240.

[11] T. Pickles, '*Biscopes-tun*, *muneca-tun* and *preosta-tun*: Dating, Significance and Distribution', E. Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names* (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, Extra Series 4, 2009), p. 71.

[12] S. Bassett, '*Prestetone*: the land of the clerics of Wootton Wawen (Warwickshire)', E. Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names* (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, Extra Series 4, 2009), p. 23.

[13] J. Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', P. Sawyer (ed.), *Domesday Book: A*

centuries as the 'primary foci' for the religious organisation in their localities, and that these priests served the needs of the laity in large parochial areas.[14] He thought that the larger minsters contained 'non-professed priests' and various grades of subordinates.[15] However, Blair saw these communities as difficult to define because they varied greatly in size, wealth and character,[16] and argued that there was no clear line between the 'minsters' which had parochial duties and the 'monasteries' which did not.[17] He saw most of the minsters of the tenth and eleventh centuries as housing 'secular' communities of men in priests' orders who were often married.[18] He gave the descending hierarchy of churches in the eleventh century as: minster; independent church with a priest; dependent church with a priest; dependent church without a priest.[19] By using the term priest in all the different sorts of churches, it suggests that he saw them as performing the same, or at least a similar, role to each other.

Blair saw the *mynster-preost* or *riht-canonicus* of the early eleventh century as having a distinct status, higher than that of the mass-priest, and having to lead a stricter life.[20] Here it appears that by using mass-priest he was referring to priests of single churches. He thought that by 1066 many old minsters and some new colleges were staffed by groups of canons which were only communities in the loose sense of the word, and the majority of which would not have been active in the delivery of pastoral

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Reassessment (London: Edward Arnold, 1987), p. 115.

[14] *Ibid*., p. 104.

[15] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 164.

[16] J. Blair, 'Debate: Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care in Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe*, 4 (Harlow: Longman, 1995), p. 193.

[17] Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 115.

[18] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 342.

[19] J. Blair, 'Local Churches in Domesday Book and Before', J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987), p. 275.

[20] Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 123.

care.[21] In 2005, Blair said that by 900 the majority of the clergy lived in, or were attached to, minsters, but that by 1000 many priests were based in small manorial households or local churches.[22] Here he seems to have used the term clergy loosely for all the religious personnel, including men regarded as priests. He then said that the minster-priests of 1100, although still numerous, were substantially outnumbered by the local church priests,[23] suggesting that by this time there was a considerable difference between the priests of the minsters and those of the small, local churches. Although Blair used the term priest for men of the seventh- and eighth-century minsters as well as of the tenth- and eleventh-century single churches, he was well aware of the considerable differences in their roles and lives.

One of the main problems in deciding who inhabited the minsters is that 'the organisation of early Anglo-Saxon religious communities is poorly documented',[24] and Hase stated that there is little surviving evidence prior to the eleventh century of what life had been like in churches staffed by colleges of secular clerks.[25] Bond called the inhabitants of the minsters 'secular clergy',[26] and Godfrey saw the minsters as staffed either by secular clerks or by monks living according to a rule.[27] Use of the terms clergy and clerk suggests a more general description of the men who were based there than the term priest would. Croom used the term clergy for the men who

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[21] *Ibid*., p. 124.

[22] Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 491.

[23] *Ibid*., p. 491.

[24] Pickles, '*Biscopes-tun*, *muneca-tun* and *preosta-tun*', p. 44.

[25] P. H. Hase, 'The Mother Churches of Hampshire', J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), p. 51.

[26] C. J. Bond, 'Church and Parish in Norman Worcestershire', J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), p. 133.

staffed the seventh- and eighth-century minsters, and who carried out missionary work in extensive areas, and then used the term priest for the men who were based in the small, local churches that became necessary after the initial conversion period.[28] By using two different terms, it suggests that she saw a distinction between the roles of the men of the early religious establishments and those of the later single churches. Brooke, taking a broad view, saw the minster churches of 600-1100 as being staffed by monks, nuns or canons, the latter either following a rule or not.[29] However, the term canon was not used in seventh- and eighth-century sources,[30] and by lumping the whole of the Anglo-Saxon period together, he seemed to be suggesting that there was no change in terminology or personnel across the period.

Scholars have always used the modern term deacon where the primary sources used the Latin term *diaconus* or the OE *diacon*, but deacons do not seem to generate as much discussion or interest amongst scholars as bishops and priests do. This may be either because the term does not appear as frequently in the primary sources studied, or because scholars are not particularly interested in these men. However, Barrow has recently taken more of an interest in all the religious grades, noting that deacons apparently had more freedom than priests, since the latter, being allowed to celebrate mass, were attached to certain altars and so were more tied to their role and place than

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[27] J. Godfrey, *The English Parish 600-1300* (London: S. P. C. K., 1969), p. 17.

[28] J. Croom, 'The Fragmentation of the Minster Parochiae of South-East Shropshire', J. Blair (ed.), *Minsters and Parish Churches: The Local Church in Transition 950-1200* (Oxford: Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1988), pp. 67-68.

[29] C. N. L. Brooke, 'Rural Ecclesiastical Institutions in England: The Search for their Origins', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo*, 28 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1982), p. 698.

[30] The term *canon* for a member of a cathedral community does not occur in England before 966: M. Lapidge, J. Blair, S. Keynes & D. Scragg (eds.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999), p. 86. However, Sims-Williams said that the term *canonicus* is not heard of before 786: P. Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature in Western England 600-800*

deacons were.[31] This clear distinction between the grades of priest and deacon seems to be one recognised by all scholars.

The terms clergy and cleric are used generally by scholars for any religious, sometimes for those in minor orders, and sometimes for all orders when no specific mention of their rank is necessary. For example, Barrow believed that the eleven or twelve *clerici* found in the witness lists of tenth-century Worcester charters covered all those in minor orders, including subdeacons.[32] Blair stated that *clerici*, as listed in Archbishop Oda's classification of the ascending order of religious (*presbyteri*, *clerici*, *monachi*), must be 'minster-priests'.[33] Here he seems to be suggesting that *clerici* were ordained priests living in minsters, who were seen as separate to those called *presbyteri*. Cubitt defined the clergy as 'those consecrated to the service of the altar but not necessarily pledged to Benedictine or other norms of community life'.[34] She also referred to evidence which suggests that in the seventh and eighth centuries communities of clergy did not always live as part of the bishop's *familia*,[35] and she saw the clergy as being very important in the early Church, perhaps outnumbering the monks.[36] Here she seemed to be including all the ordained ranks below that of bishop.

Lapidge defined the Latin term *clericus* as a religious man of any order, major or

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(Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), p. 116.

[31] Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers' p. 51.

[32] *Ibid*., p. 59.

[33] Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 118.

[34] C. Cubitt, 'Images of St. Peter: The Clergy and the Religious Life in Anglo-Saxon England', P. Cavill (ed.), *The Christian Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2004), p. 41.

[35] *Ibid*., p. 48.

[36] C. Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *Historical Research*, 78 (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), p. 287.

minor, as distinct from a layman.[37] Rosser wrote of the 'minster clergy' (the minority

in priests' orders) and 'clerics of all kinds', secular or regular, being expected to

participate in pastoral work.[38] He referred to 'priests and clerks in minor orders'

based in central places,[39] and said that the clergy referred to by the Council of

Clofesho (747) were bishops, local priests or members of the religious communities.[40]

Barlow believed that the secular clergy lived either in secular society or, more often,

in communitites.[41] Foot said that an important aspect of the active clergy's role in

pastoral care was baptism,[42] and so it appears that here she used the term clergy for

the 'priests'. She added that many primary sources, including the pronouncements of

the Council of Clofesho and Bede's Ecclesiastical History, assumed baptism to be

performed by priests,[43] which suggests that she was using the term priest here for

both bishops and priests. She thought that in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period clerics

who carried out pastoral work must have been based in minsters as there is no

evidence to suggest otherwise.[44]

Thacker argued in 1992 that the term *clericus* at some times covered all the

ecclesiastical grades, and at other times only those in minor orders;[45] but he often

used the term when referring to the lesser grades below bishops and priests but

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[37] Lapidge, Blair, Keynes & Scragg, *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, p. 106.

[38] G. Rosser, 'The Cure of Souls in English Towns before 1000', J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 267-268.

[39] *Ibid*., p. 284.

[40] *Ibid*., p. 280.

[41] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066* (London: Longmans Green & Co. Ltd., 1963), p. 2.

[42] S. Foot, '"By Water in the Spirit": The Administration of Baptism in Early Anglo-Saxon England', J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 183.

[43] *Ibid*., p. 185.

[44] *Ibid*., p. 185.

[45] A. Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care in Early Anglo-Saxon England', J. Blair & R.

without specifying if the term included deacons or not.[46] Cubitt observed that the Anglo-Saxon clergy had been neglected in Bede's Ecclesiastical History as they had no prominent place in it,[47] seemingly meaning those below the bishop since bishops were mentioned frequently by Bede. She suggested that clergy were infrequently mentioned by writers in the early Anglo-Saxon period in general because they were viewed as irrelevant or unremarkable.[48] She believed that the study by modern scholars of Bede's reform ideals had led to an emphasis on the roles of monks and monasteries in the delivery of pastoral care, with scholars avoiding distinguishing between clergy and monks when looking at the seventh to ninth centuries.[49]

There have been many studies of Anglo-Saxon monks, with the word monk used for any mention in the primary sources of the Latin term *monachus* or the OE term *munuc*. It is now widely acknowledged that there were considerable differences between the seventh- and eighth-century monks and the ones following the tenth-century monastic reformation. What has attracted more debate in recent years, however, is how much involvement the monks had in delivering pastoral care, especially in the conversion period. Barlow was of the opinion that monks were rarely completely cloistered then and would have undertaken some limited ministry.[50] However, Coates believed that the primary literary sources suggested that it was mainly the ordained who carried out pastoral work.[51] Constable said that from the

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Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 139.

[46] *Ibid*., pp. 137-170.

[47] Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', p. 273.

[48] Cubitt, 'Images of St. Peter', pp. 53-54.

[49] Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', p. 273.

[50] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 2.

[51] S. Coates, 'The Role of Bishops in the Early Anglo-Saxon Church: A Reassessment', *History*, 81 (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), p. 196.

eighth century many monks were ordained as priests who then carried out pastoral work, and that it was often hard to distinguish monks from canons and clerics.[52] He believed that, later in the period, when there was a shortage of secular clerics to serve the parish churches, ordained monks, 'priest-monks', were used instead, who were still considered to be monks although they no longer lived in communities.[53] Brooke said that 'When we read about their claims to lead the apostolic life we wonder if monks are not clerks after all.'[54] So whilst the two terms monk and cleric may be clearly distinguished in the primary and secondary sources, their roles are not so clearly understood or defined, with perhaps some overlap in their duties.

The majority of scholars now recognise that the interpretation of the terms used in the primary sources for the religious is no longer a simple one, and that their roles changed considerably over the Anglo-Saxon period. Macy believed that the role of ordained women has been overlooked and that 'One should not assume, therefore, that all references to ###clerics### or ###the ordained### from that period imply only men.'[55] Blair saw the life and roles of the priest of the seventh- and eighth-century minsters as very different from that of the priest of the eleventh-century single church. Most scholars acknowledge that in the seventh and eighth centuries there appeared to be less distinction between the priests, clergy and monks than there was by the eleventh century. This may have been reflected in their roles and duties. Scholars often use the terms clergy and cleric in a very loose sense, perhaps when they are

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[52] G. Constable, 'Monasteries, Rural Churches and the Cura Animarum in the Early Middle Ages', *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'alto Medioevo*, 28 (Spoleto: Presso la Sede del Centro, 1982), pp. 349-352.

[53] *Ibid.*, p. 360.

[54] Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, p. 240.

[55] G. Macy, *The Hidden History of Women###s Ordination* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008),

unsure as to whom precisely the sources are referring. The term that appears to be giving scholars the most problem at the moment is the OE *preost*, with scholars unsure as to whether it referred to a priest or to a cleric in minor orders. The use of this term by the Anglo-Saxons may well have changed over the centuries in which case scholars need to be careful in how they interpret it, depending on the period they are writing about. The use of the modern term priest is also causing problems, as the image it conjures up may not be the correct one for the tenth and eleventh centuries, let alone for the conversion period. It has long been recognised that the monk of the seventh and eighth centuries was not the same as the late medieval monk, and it may be that the same needs to be acknowledged of the priest.

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p. 35.

Chapter III

The obvious place to start any study of the Anglo-Saxon Church has to be *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People*.[1] Written in Latin and completed in 731, the work has the added advantage of having been partly translated into Old English in the late ninth or early tenth century[2] - possibly by or for King Alfred (r. 871-899) for the instruction of the English,[3] although Alfred's authorship has been much debated since the late nineteenth century.[4] In the ninth century the English felt threatened by the Danish invasions, and the translation of important texts into the vernacular may well have been in response to this threat.[5] Taylor believed that 'the translation of an authoritative text such as the *HE* into their own language must have had great symbolic significance'.[6] Whilst neither work comes down to us in its original manuscript there are numerous surviving copies of Bede's text, two close in date to its original composition,[7] and five known manuscripts of the OE version from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[8]

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[1] Latin text from: *Venerabilis Beda Presbyter: Historiam Eccleciasticam Gentis Anglorum* (http://thelatinlibrary.com/bede.html, 2008-2009). References to this text will give the book and chapter numbers. Latin text and English translation from: B. Colgrave & R. A. B. Mynors (eds. & trans.), *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969). References to this text will give the page numbers where the Latin and the English translation appears. Old English text from: T. Miller (ed. & trans.), *The Old English Version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (London: N. Trübner and Co., 1890). References to this text will give the Old English book and chapter numbers with the even page numbers where the OE translation appears.

[2] N. G. Discenza, 'The Old English *Bede* and the Construction of Anglo-Saxon Authority', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 31 (2002), p. 71.

[3] S. Foot, 'The Making of *Angelcynn*: English Identity before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society,* 6th series, VI (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 35.

[4] D. Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 48 (London: Oxford University Press, 1962), p. 57.

[5] L. Taylor, 'The Old English Bede Texts: Negotiating the Interface', *Proceedings of Borderlines Interdisciplinary Postgraduate Conference 2003,* (http://epu.ucc.ie/borderlines/taylor, 2009), p. 2.

[6] *Ibid*., p. 2.

[7] J. McClure & R. Collins (eds.), *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. xxii.

As with any translation of a work it can never be a literal translation of the original, and many parts of Bede's text were completely missed out of the OE version, including most of the letters, documents, epitaphs and poems quoted by Bede,[9] and most of the Easter controversy. Although written in OE there is a discernible Latinate style and syntax to the text.[10] Stenton believed that 'there are many passages in which Bede's indications of rank or order become clearer through a rendering into ninth-century English'.[11] By using both works a comparison can be made between the Latin terms Bede used for the religious and the OE terms which the later translator chose to use. This should give an insight into how the late ninth-century Anglo-Saxons viewed Bede's religious personnel and may also throw light on what had been happening in the Church in the intervening period.

The translator of the OE version chose not to translate Bede's work in its entirety, but was very selective about which parts he did choose, possibly for religious and/or political reasons. The omission of the Synod of Whitby from the OE version, which had been so important to Bede, may have been because it was seen as a local issue of interest only in Northumbria, or, as Taylor suggested, because for political reasons it was not thought appropriate to include material on dissent within the Church.[12] The majority of the letters and documents which were not included were those written outside England, thereby emphasising the interest in specifically 'English' history and

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[8] Taylor, 'The Old English Bede Texts', p. 1.
[9] Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 62.
[10] Discenza, 'The Old English *Bede*', pp. 72-73.
[11] Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 270.
[12] Taylor, 'The Old English Bede Texts', p. 3.

authority.[13] Higham said that the OE version omitted virtually all of the material which was not central to the English conversion and was far more concerned with southern cults and church sites than with the Northumbrian examples.[14] Discenza believed that by the omission of the documents which Bede had chosen as supporting evidence, the OE translator sought to establish Bede as the sole authority for the work.[15]

Whilst my main concern is with the priests and lesser clergy, I feel it is important to start by looking at the bishops as no one group existed in isolation. The role of the bishops is fairly well documented, and by looking at it, especially in their delivery of pastoral care to the laity, an idea can be gained as to what they did, or were expected to do, which can then be compared with that of the priests and clergy. How and why Bede used various terms for bishops may also throw light on why he chose certain terms for the other personnel. The Latin words used by Bede for men whom we would call bishop are: *episcopus*, *antistes*, *pontifex* and *praesul*. *sacerdos* too was originally used for bishop, but during the sixth century it also came to be used for priest,[16] and so this will be dealt with when looking at priests in the next chapter. The Latin words which Bede used for the other religious are: *sacerdos*, *presbyter*, *diaconus*, *clericus*, *pastor*, *rector*, *minister* and *monachus*. The minor clerical orders, in descending order after deacons and subdeacons,[17] were *acolytus*, *exorcista*, *lector*, and *hostiarius*

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[13] Discenza, 'The Old English *Bede*', p. 77.

[14] Higham, *(Re-) Reading Bede*, p. 25.

[15] *Ibid*., p. 73.

[16] Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', p. 42n.

[17] Until the early eleventh century, the subdeacon was often considered to be a minor order: *Ibid*., p. 49.

(acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper[18]), but these do not appear anywhere in Bede's text, which suggests that such men were too inconsequential to write about, even in passing, or maybe none of them happened to do anything memorable. However, as Bede was concentrating on the public activities of the Church in this work it is unlikely that these lower orders would be mentioned. Also it is known that from the ninth century onwards individuals were often ordained through the minor orders on the same day,[19] and this may also have been the case in Bede's day.

episcopus[20] is the most common word used by Bede for the men whom we would today call bishop, with nearly four hundred examples. *archiepiscopus*[21] is often used for the archbishops, and occasionally *coepiscopus*[22] for fellow-bishops. Sometimes Bede would refer to the same man, for example Augustine, as both *archiepiscopus* and *episcopus* in the same paragraph,[23] confirming that *episcopus* was seen as a general term for a bishop of any rank. However, in several examples Bede used *archiepiscopus* for the archbishop in the same sentences and passages as he used *episcopus* for the other bishops,[24] which seemed to be a deliberate attempt to

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[18] These listed grades can be found in: G. W. O. Addleshaw, *The Beginnings of the Parochial System* (London: Charles Birchall & Sons Ltd., 1953), p. 5; Barrow,#'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', pp. 41-44; Lapidge, Blair, Keynes & Scragg, *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia*, p. 106; H. R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940-1154* (London: Longman, 2000), pp. 41-42. For a much more detailed discussion on the various ecclesiastical grades including the very minor orders throughout western Europe in the Middle Ages see: Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*.

[19] Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', p. 48.

[20] The Greek *episkopos*, meaning 'one who looks down or keeps watch on others', was the translation of the Hebrew *mebaqqer* or *paqid*, used by unofficial Judaism for the head of a community: Deanesly, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 6.

[21] There are fifty-five examples of the word *archiepiscopus* throughout the whole text.

[22] There are seven examples of the word *coepiscopus* which can be found in: LL I.24 (C&M pp. 70-71); LL I. 28 (C&M pp. 102-103); LL I.29 (C&M pp. 104-105); LL II.4 (C&M pp. 146-147); LL II.5 (C&M pp. 152-153); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 522-525).

[23] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 78-79) (M I.16 pp. 62-64).

[24] Examples can be found in: LL II.3 (C&M pp. 142-143) (M II.3 p. 104); LL II.9 (C&M pp. 164-165) (M II.8 p. 120); LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 370-371) (M IV.16 p. 300); LL IV.15/17 (C&M pp. 384-385) (M

differentiate the more important archbishop from the ordinary bishops. Bede often used a variety of terms within a sentence or passage for the same men, but there are also examples where he only used *episcopus* several times in quite long passages.[25] On one occasion, he used *episcopus* for the bishop of Rome, even though in the previous sentence *pontifex* had been used for pope Boniface.[26] Then in the address of the papal letters to Edwin and Æthelburh, *Bonifatius episcopus seruus seruorum Dei* appears,[27] whilst elsewhere *pontifex* or *papa* is used for Boniface. However, as Bede copied these letters into his own text[28] they do not necessarily reflect his own usage of the terms. The word *episcopus* is also used for the British bishops, *Brettonum episcopi* (OE translation *Bretta biscopas*).[29] Despite Bede's lack of respect for the British bishops, he used the same word to describe them as he did for the English bishops.

Where Bede used *archiepiscopus*, *episcopus* and *coepiscopus* in his work, in the passages which have been translated into OE, the translator mainly used some form of *ærcebiscop*, *biscop* or *efnbiscop*.[30] Generally in the OE version, *biscop* was used more frequently as a title, every time a bishop was mentioned by name, than in the Latin text where often the bishop's name was used without his title. Therefore, in similar passages, the word *biscop* can appear many more times than the equivalent word in the Latin text. Perhaps by the late ninth century the names of earlier bishops were not so well known as in Bede's day, and so the readers needed to be informed of

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IV.19 p. 310); LL IV.21/23 (C&M pp. 408-411) (M IV.24 pp. 334-336).

[25] For example in LL I.27 (C&M pp. 86-87) (M I.16 p. 72) where *episcopus* was used twelve times in one passage.

[26] LL II.4 (C&M pp. 148-149) (M II.4 p. 108).

[27] LL II.10 (C&M pp. 166-167) (no OE translation); LL II.11 (C&M pp. 173) (no OE translation).

[28] Discenza, 'The Old English *Bede*', p. 75.

[29] LL II.2 (C&M pp. 136-137) (M II.2 p. 100).

[30] *efnbiscop* for *coepiscopus* appears in: LL II.5 (C&M pp. 152-153) (M II.5 p. 112); LL V.19 (C&M

the individual's rank. Often a suffix or prefix was added to *biscop*: *seðl*,[31] *setl*[32] or *stol*,[33] to give the meaning bishop's see;[34] *had*[35] or *scir*[36] to give the meaning bishopric;[37] and *efn*[38] or *aldor*[39] to give the meaning fellow or chief bishop.[40] For example, where Bede wrote about Godwin, *metropolitano episcopo Galliarum*, the OE translator used *aldorbiscop*.[41] Very occasionally, where Bede used *episcopus* the OE translator used *ærcebiscop*,[42] and in three cases where *archiepiscopus* was used, this was translated simply as *biscop*.[43] The OE translator may have considered the context carefully before deciding on which word he thought was the most appropriate to use.

The Latin word *antistes*[44] is the second most used term by Bede for bishop,[45] being

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pp. 524-525) (M V.17 p. 460).

[31] *seðl* or *setl* could mean seat, stall, sitting, place, residence, throne or see: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 304.

[32] Please see note 29 above.

[33] *stol* could mean stool, chair, seat, throne or bishop###s see: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 322.

[34] Examples can be found in: LL II.15 (C&M pp. 190-191) (M II.12 p. 142); LL IV.27/29 (C&M pp. 438-439) (M IV.30 p. 370); LL V.23 (C&M pp. 558-561) (M V.22 p. 478).

[35] *-had* could mean state or condition: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 164.

[36] *scir* could mean office, appointment, charge, authority, supremacy, district, diocese, see, province, shire or parish: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 296.

[37] Examples can be found in: LL III.7 (C&M pp. 234-235) (M III.5 p. 168-170); LL IV.21/23 (C&M pp. 408-411) (M IV.24 pp. 334-336).

[38] *efn* or *efen* could mean even, equal, like or level: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 100.

[39] *aldor* or *ealdor* could mean elder, parent, ancestor, civil or religious authority, chief, leader, master, lord, prince or king: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 94.

[40] Examples can be found in: LL II.5 (C&M pp. 152-153) (M II.5 p. 112); LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 328-329) (M IV.1 p. 252).

[41] LL V.8 (C&M pp. 474-475) (M V.8 p. 408).

[42] Concerning the church at Canterbury: LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 328-329) (M IV.1 p. 252); and concerning Theodore: LL V.20 (C&M pp. 530-531) (M V.28 p. 464).

[43] Concerning Theodore: LL preface (C&M pp. 2-3) (M preface p. 2) and LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 370-371) (M IV.16 p. 300); and concerning Willibrord: LL III.13 (C&M pp. 252-253) (M III.11 p. 188).

[44] *antistes* originally meant foreman, overseer, president of a temple or high-priest: W. Smith & J. Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary* (Edinburgh & London: Chambers Murray, 2007), p. 51.

[45] There are 108 examples of the word *antistes* throughout the whole text.

used occasionally for archbishop,[46] and with one instance where it is used for Pope Sergius in his epitaph,[47] and one for the bishop of Rome.[48] In the latter case, in the rest of the passage *episcopus* is used several times for men who were bishops, which may suggest that Bede specifically chose to use a different word for the bishop of Rome to distinguish him from the other bishops, although he had earlier used *pontifex* for the pope. *antistes* was a classical Latin word, and so it is surprising to find it regularly used by Bede for Christian religious, but never for pagan ones. By this period it may have lost all its pagan connotations, but Bede could have simply chosen to use *episcopus* throughout. Maybe he perceived a slight difference between the meanings of *episcopus* and *antistes*, which is no longer apparent to us today. Or maybe he used different words simply for variety or stylistic reasons, as there often appears to be no difference between the status of the men to whom he refers as either *episcopus* or *antistes*.

In V.2, when Bede was recounting the story of the youth who was healed by Bishop John, the latter is always referred to as *episcopus* except on one occasion when Bede uses *antistes*.[49] There is no apparent reason for this one exception, which obviously related to the same person. Then in a passage about various bishops, *antistes* is used only twice whereas the word *episcopus* is used thirteen times, with one instance each of *pontifex* and *praesul*.[50] There are several other examples where Bede uses both

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[46] LL II.18 (C&M pp. 196-197) (M II.15 p. 146); LL III.29 (C&M pp. 322-323) (M III.21 p. 248); LL IV.19/21 (C&M pp. 400-401) (M IV.22 p. 324).

[47] LL V.7 (C&M p. 470) (no OE translation). However, as this example is in text copied by Bede into his own work it does not necessarily reflect his own usage of the term.

[48] LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 330-333) (M IV.1 p. 256).

[49] LL V.2 (C&M pp. 458-459) (M V.2 p. 390).

[50] LL V.23 (C&M pp. 558-561) (M V.22 p. 478).

antistes and *episcopus* for bishops within the same passage.[51] Wilfrid is referred to as *antistes*[52] but also as *episcopus*,[53] and so Bede did not even use one term for the same man. It appears that *antistes*, like *episcopus*, was always used for the higher clergy, the archbishops and bishops, and occasionally the pope. When passages containing *antistes* were translated into the OE version, the translator nearly always translated them as *biscop*, with just one instance of *ærcebiscop*[54] and one of *halgan fæder*.[55] This suggests that the OE translator understood *episcopus* and *antistes* to have the same meaning, since he translated both as *biscop*, or he may simply have had less choice of terms to use than Bede had had.

The Latin words *pontifex*[56] and *praesul*[57] appear less often than *episcopus* and *antistes*. *pontifex*[58] is used mainly for popes, archbishops and bishops, and *praesul* mainly for bishops. There are five occasions where *pontifex* is used for a pagan religious officer,[59] including the reference to Coifi,[60] and from the context it is clear that the men referred to were pagan and not Christian. *pontifex* seems to be the only word which Bede used when writing about the pagan priests, even though *antistes* had

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[51] LL III.14 (C&M pp. 258-261) (M III.12 p. 196-198); LL III.29 (C&M pp. 318-319) (M III.21 p. 248); LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 368-369) (M IV.16 p. 298); LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 370-371) (M IV.16 p. 300); LL IV.21/23 (C&M pp. 408-411) (M IV.24 pp. 334-336); LL V.11 (C&M pp. 484-487) (M V.12 p. 420); LL V.18 (C&M pp. 514-517) (M V.16 p. 448); LL V.23 (C&M pp. 558-559) (M V.22 p. 478); LL V.24 (C&M pp. 564-565) (no OE translation).

[52] LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 370-371) (M IV.16 p. 300); LL IV.15 (C&M pp. 380-381) (M IV.17 p. 306); LL IV.27/29 (C&M pp. 442-443) (M IV.30 p. 374).

[53] LL IV.14/16 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 306); LL IV.17/19 (C&M pp. 390-391) (M IV.21 p. 316); LL V.11 (C&M pp. 484-485) (M V.12 p. 420); LL V.18 (C&M pp. 514-517) (M V.16 p. 448).

[54] LL II.20 (C&M pp. 204-205) (M II.16 p. 150) where Honorius is referred to although not named.

[55] LL preface (C&M pp. 6-7) (M preface pp. 4-5) for Cuthbert.

[56] There are fifty examples of the word *pontifex* throughout the whole text.

[57] There are thirteen examples of the word *praesul* throughout the whole text.

[58] *pontifex* originally meant bridge-maker and only later came to mean Roman high-priest or pontiff: Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, pp. 552-553.

[59] One example can be found in: LL II.6 (C&M pp.154-155) (M II.6 p. 116); and four in: LL II.13 (C&M pp. 182-187) (M II.10 pp. 134-138).

a similar meaning. Why Bede chose to use *pontifex* in both its pagan and Christian senses, when he could have chosen to use it exclusively for the pagan priests and other terms for the Christian ones, is not clear. On one occasion *pontifex* is used for the 'patriarch of Alexandria' although a few lines later, he is then called *praesul*,[61] again for no apparent reason. Although this is another example of a letter copied by Bede into his work, there is a suggestion that Bede may have been involved in its composition.[62] This passage is in one of the letters omitted from the OE version, and so we cannot see how the translator would have understood it.

In one passage, Bede uses *pontifex* twice, *episcopus* six times, and *praesul* and *sacerdos* once, all seeming to refer to bishops, and for all of which the OE translator chose to use *biscop*.[63] However, *pontifex* and *sacerdos* are only used here for Agilbert, a Gaul who had lived in Ireland, whereas *episcopus* is used for Wine, with *praesul* used for bishop in a general sense, which suggests that in this case Bede specifically used different words to distinguish the two men. The OE translation of *pontifex* was always *biscop* or *papa*, with either being used even when the context evidently referred to the pope. On the five occasions where Bede uses *pontifex* for the pagan priests, the OE version translated it as *biscop*,[64] with the OE translation of the Latin *idolatris magis pontificibus* being *deofolgelda*[65] *biscopum*.[66] In this example a clear distinction is made by using another word with *biscop*, but this was not the case

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[60] LL II.13 (C&M pp. 182-183) (M II.10 p. 134).

[61] LL V.21 (C&M pp. 544-547) (no OE translation).

[62] McClure & Collins, *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History*, p. 417.

[63] LL III.7 (C&M pp. 234-235) (M III.5 pp. 168-170).

[64] One example can be found in: LL II.6 (C&M pp.154-155) (M II.6 p. 116); and four in: LL II.13 (C&M pp. 182-187) (M II.10 pp. 134-138).

[65] *deofolgelda* could mean devil-worship, idolatry, idol or image of the devil: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 84.

for Coifi, *primus pontificum*, where the OE translator used *ealdorbisceop*.[67]

By Bede's time the classical Latin word *praesul*[68] was being used for men who held the rank of bishop, although it may have not been a popular term in the early eighth century as Bede only uses it infrequently. There are a couple of examples where the word *praesul* is used in the same sentence as *episcopus*. In the first example, the clergy are not to leave their *episcopus* to go wandering unless they have a letter from that *praesul* allowing them to do so,[69] although it would appear that here Bede is following the usage in the documents he copied. In the second he refers to *episcopus* Eata dying and John becoming *praesul* of Hexham in his place.[70] It is not clear in either case why Bede chose to use two different terms, especially as both were in short sentences and about the same bishop or position. In the passages chosen for translation into the OE version, the translator always chose to use *biscop*[71] for *praesul*, even though sometimes the men referred to held the rank of archbishop[72] or pope.[73]

Of all the four Latin terms looked at so far (*episcopus*, *antistes*, *pontifex*, *praesul*) which Bede mainly used for archbishops and bishops, in the OE version most were

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[66] LL II.6 (C&M pp. 155) (M II.6 p. 116).

[67] LL II.13 (C&M pp. 182-183) (M II.10 p. 134).

[68] *praesul* originally meant 'one who leaps or dances before others at the games, a public dancer': Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 570.

[69] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-351) (M IV.5 p. 278).

[70] LL V.2 (C&M pp. 456-457) (M V.2 p. 386).

[71] Examples can be found in: LL preface (C&M pp. 4-5) (M preface p. 4); LL III.7 (C&M pp. 234-235) (M III.5 p. 170); LL III.28 (C&M pp. 316-317) (M III.20 p. 246); LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 368-369) (M IV.15 p. 298); LL V.8 (C&M pp. 474-475) (M V.8 p. 408); LL V.23 (C&M pp. 556-557) (M V.21 p. 474).

[72] LL V.8 (C&M pp. 474-475) (M V.8 p. 406).

[73] LL II.17 (C&M pp. 194-195) (M II.14 p. 146); LL II.18 (C&M pp. 196-197) (M II.15 p. 146).

translated as *biscop*. For example, in one passage in III.28,[74] *episcopus* is mainly used for the bishops, but Bede also uses *antistes*, *pontifex* and *praesul*, all appearing to refer to men of the rank of bishop or archbishop, and *presbyter* when referring to the priests, although he did not use the term *sacerdos*. In contrast, the OE translation of the passage just used the one term, *biscop*, except where *mæssepreost* was used for *presbyter*. In a passage in II.18,[75] there was a mixture of *archiepiscopus*, *antistes*, *praesul* and *sacerdos*, all referring to men who were archbishops and bishops, with the OE text using *ærcebiscop* and *biscop* throughout. The translator appeared to have had less choice than Bede of different terms to use for bishop, giving the appearance of more consistency in the OE text where *biscop* appeared most of the time. If the translator was aware of slight differences in the meanings of the various Latin terms which Bede had used, then this lack of OE terms may have hindered him.

Whitelock's research into the OE version showed that the translator did use fixed renderings for a number of Latin words but also often used two synonyms for one Latin word.[76] An example of the latter appears in II.1 where for the Latin *ad pontificem Romanae*, the translator used *to ðæm biscope and to ðam papan* to describe the pope.[77] The Anglo-Saxons liked to use as many different words as they could to describe the same thing,[78] and so perhaps this was why Bede often used a number of different terms, even though he was writing in Latin. Although Bede was very proficient in Latin, English was his native tongue and he probably would still

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[74] LL III.28 (C&M pp. 314-317) (M III.20 pp. 244-248).
[75] LL II.18 (C&M pp. 196-197) (M II.15 p. 146).
[76] Whitelock, 'The Old English Bede', p. 76.
[77] LL II.1 (C&M pp. 134-135) (M II.1 p. 96).
[78] P. Semper, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

have thought as an Anglo-Saxon. However, Cubitt believed that Bede was 'careful to describe an individual's clerical and regular status precisely',[79] and if this is the case, it suggests that he took care when selecting each term.[80] There may well have been slight differences in the meanings of the terms Bede used of which we are no longer aware today, with the translator having a more limited range of technical terms available to him. It may have been that Bede's own perception of what terms to use for the different religious personnel was very different from that of the later translator's, or that on occasion the translator simply mistranslated.

Before moving on to the priests and other religious in the next chapter, the roles of these higher clergy and their involvement in pastoral care will be briefly examined. It may well be that what Bede described as their roles was normal practice for the bishops or it may simply be what he believed they should be doing. The bishops are mentioned mainly when they are consecrated and when they died, and this is to be expected as the work was after all a chronological account of the early Church, and details of the main personnel in the form of archbishops and bishops would have been considered important.[81] The bishops consecrated not only other bishops,[82] but also churches as when Archbishop Mellitus consecrated a newly built church in a *monasterium*,[83] and Bishop Wilfrid was said to found a *monasterium*[84] on land he had

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[79] Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', p. 275.

[80] However, Foot believed that Bede's typical style of Latin was to use a range of expressions: Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', p. 218.

[81] 'The idea of apostolic and episcopal succession had been fundamental for the development not only of the Church itself, but also of ecclesiastical historiography': W. Levison, 'Bede as Historian', A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 142.

[82] Examples can be found in: LL I.27 (C&M pp. 86-87) (M I.16 p. 72); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 522-523) (M V.17 pp. 456-458).

[83] LL II.6 (C&M pp. 156-157) (M II.6 p. 116).

[84] Blair believed that *monasterium* was used broadly for any religious establishment with a church and

received.[85] After Cedd was made bishop, he returned home and established churches[86] where he ordained priests and deacons to help in his ministry by preaching[87] and baptising.[88] While he was acting as bishop of the East Saxons, he would return to his own kingdom of Northumbria to preach.[89] In the same example, Cedd said that it was the custom of those who had learned the discipline of a rule to consecrate, by prayer and fasting, any site received for a *monasterium uel ecclesiam*.[90]

There are details on how bishops should behave and conduct themselves - for example, when such questions are asked by Augustine of Gregory.[91] It was important that bishops only looked after the people in their own diocese, that they did not intrude into other bishops' dioceses,[92] or claim priority over other bishops.[93] When Laurence became *archiepiscopus* he took charge of the new church, and was said to bestow pastoral care upon the people of Britain and Ireland,[94] although there are no details of what this actually involved. In III.3 an *antistes* was requested so that through his teaching and ministry the people could learn the faith and receive the

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that the best modern English word to use in such contexts is 'minster': Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 3.

[85] LL IV.13 (C&M pp. 374-375) (M IV.17 p. 304).

[86] Bede seems to suggest that establishing churches was a normal role of the bishops: Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', p. 280.

[87] In the eighth-century 'preaching' may have been used for 'ministry', which included all the duties of the bishops and priests: S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c.600-900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), p. 291.

[88] LL III.22 (C&M pp. 282-283) (M III.16 p. 226).

[89] LL III.23 (C&M pp. 286-287) (M III.17 p. 230).

[90] LL III.23 (C&M pp. 286-287) (M III.17 p. 230).

[91] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 78-89) (M I.16 pp. 64-74).

[92] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-351) (M IV.5 p. 278).

[93] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 352-353) (M IV.5 p. 278).

[94] LL II.4 (C&M pp. 144-145) (M II.4 p. 106).

sacraments,[95] and the *antistes* could preach the gospel.[96] Chad was said to have carried out his evangelistic work on foot rather than on horseback,[97] which suggests that bishops often travelled around the district to minister to the people. The bishops baptised people into the faith, which of course was an essential part of their job and was one of the primary concerns of pastoral care. One such example was when an old man was baptised by Paulinus in the River Trent[98] near Littleborough.[99] Baptism was very important,[100] and especially in the early days of conversion it was initially adults who were being baptised into the faith, with the ceremony often performed outside. Later on more infants[101] than adults were baptised,[102] with more baptisms being performed inside once the number of churches had increased.

Bede mentions that bishops gave out alms to the poor and needy when he writes about the dumb youth who often went to the bishop to receive alms.[103] The bishop then cured the youth, showing that bishops were often involved in healing and miracles. The West Saxons were said to have received the faith through the preaching of *episcopus* Birinus, who had come to Britain on the advice of the pope,[104] and Putta

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[95] LL III.3 (C&M pp. 218-219) (M III.2 p. 158).

[96] LL III.3 (C&M pp. 220-221) (M III.2 p. 158).

[97] LL III.28 (C&M pp. 314-317) (M III.20 pp. 244-248); LL IV.3 (C&M pp. 336-337) (M IV.3 pp. 260-262).

[98] In the early period baptism was often performed outside in running water: Godfrey, *The English Parish*, p. 24.

[99] LL II.16 (C&M pp. 192-193) (M II.13 p. 144).

[100] Easter and Pentecost were seen as suitable times for baptisms to take place: Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 62n.

[101] Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 300.

[102] LL II.9 (C&M pp. 166-167) (M II.8 p. 124) where King Edwin's baby daughter was baptised by Paulinus.

[103] LL V.2 (C&M pp. 456-457) (M V.2 p. 388).

[104] LL III.7 (C&M pp. 232-233) (M III.5 p. 166).

was said to have gone around teaching church music.[105] Bishops delegated their duties - for example, in V.19, when Wilfrid sent *uerbi ministros* to the Isle of Wight,[106] although there is no indication of their clerical grade. Overall, there is little mention of bishops directly delivering pastoral care to the general laity, and Bede was more interested in writing about the conversion of the kings and nobles than of the ordinary people. As he was writing an account of the Church, the chronological order of events and details of the Christian personnel involved were of the greatest significance. It may have been that most of the day-to-day pastoral care, if available at all, was being delivered to the laity by the priests, lesser clergy and monks. The next chapter will examine the Latin and OE terms used for these religious, also considering their roles, especially in relation to the delivery of pastoral care to the laity.

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[105] LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 368-369) (M IV.16 p. 298).
[106] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 524-525) (M V.17 p. 460).

Chapter IV

Whilst the last chapter focused on the terms used for the bishops, this chapter will examine the ones used for the priests, deacons, lesser clergy and monks in Bede###s Ecclesiastical History, and in the Old English version of it. The first term to be looked at will be the Latin *sacerdos* which could refer to men who were of the level of bishop or priest.[1] The OE version translated *sacerdos* as either *biscop*,[2] *sacerd*[3] or *mæssepreost*.[4] As *sacerd*[5] is used with the OE case endings, it suggests that by the late ninth or early tenth century the word had been fully integrated into the language. In IV.5 Bede uses *consacerdos* (OE *sacerd*) for the bishops, but then uses *episcopus* (OE *biscop*) when stating their position (for example, bishop of the East Angles).[6] By using *consacerdos* instead of *coepiscopus* he may have been trying to emphasise their priestly roles rather than their specific rank, which the OE translator also appeared to do by his choice of words. In one passage, *sacerdos* is used five times[7] without any other word being used for the bishops, showing a level of consistency not always seen elsewhere.

Many of the examples of *sacerdos* in Book I refer to Germanus and Lupus,[8] although

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[1] 'Even the bishop frequently shared in the Latin west the title *sacerdos*': Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, p. 234.

[2] *sacerdos* was translated as *biscop* fourteen times in the OE text.

[3] *sacerdos* was translated as *sacerd* twenty-two times in the OE text.

[4] *sacerdos* was translated as *mæssepreost* eight times in the OE text.

[5] *sacerd* could mean priest or priestess: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 286. Tinti gave the meaning of *sacerd* as 'priest in charge': F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 36.

[6] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 348-351) (M IV.5 p. 276).

[7] LL I.21 (C&M pp. 64-67) (no OE translation).

[8] LL I.17 (C&M pp. 54-59); LL I.18 (C&M pp. 58-59); LL I.20 (C&M pp. 62-63); LL I.21 (C&M pp. 64-67) (no OE translations).

sometimes both *sacerdos* and *episcopus* are used for them in the same sentence.[9] In I.17, Bede refers to both Germanus and Lupus as *apostolici sacerdotes* but then specifically gives them the titles *Germanus Autissidorensis et Lupus Trecasenae ciuitatis episcopi*.[10] In I.29 Bede uses *episcopus* twice, once for the bishops consecrated by Augustine and secondly for the 'bishop of York', but then uses *sacerdos* when writing about the 'bishops of Britain'.[11] By *Brittaniae sacerdotes* did Bede mean specifically the British bishops, in which case he may not have liked to use *episcopus* for them, or all the bishops in Britain? However, he later uses *episcopus* for the British bishops (OE *Bretta biscopas*),[12] as well as *sacerdos* for them again.[13] The Irish came to Britain to preach, with those of the priesthood administering baptism (Latin *sacerdotali*, OE *sacerdhades*).[14] The *antistes* of Canterbury or York was to consecrate a *sacerdos* in the place of the one who died.[15] Then in a passage concerning Agilbert, a Gaul who lived in Ireland, *pontifex* and *sacerdos* are both used twice, with the latter in the form of *sacerdotali*, which the OE version translated as *biscoplicum*.[16] Bede tells us that *sacerdotes* performed miracles,[17] drove out evil spirits from possessed people, preached daily in churches and outdoors,[18] and baptised many people at Lent,[19] all activities of bishops or priests.

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[9] LL I.17 (C&M pp. 54-55) (no OE translation).

[10] LL I.17 (C&M pp. 54-55) (no OE translation).

[11] LL I.29 (C&M pp. 106-107) (no OE translation).

[12] LL II.2 (C&M pp. 136-139) (M II.2 p. 100).

[13] LL II.4 (C&M pp. 146-147) (no OE translation).

[14] LL III.3 (C&M pp. 220-221) (M III.2 p. 158).

[15] LL II.18 (C&M pp. 196-197) (M II.15 p. 146).

[16] LL III.7 (C&M pp. 234-235) (M III.5 p. 168).

[17] LL I.18 (C&M pp. 58-59) (no OE translation) where Germanus restored the sight of a blind girl with the aid of relics.

[18] LL I.17 (C&M pp. 56-57) (no OE translation).

[19] In this example, among the many people baptised were large numbers of the army: LL I.20 (C&M

Aidan was said to have had all the attributes of a *sacerdos* (OE *sacerd*), shown through his study, teaching, and care of the sick and poor.[20] Wilfrid was ordained a *presbyter* at Ripon,[21] because the king wanted a *sacerdos* and *doctor*,[22] and ordained as *episcopus* when he was thirty years old.[23] Here *presbyter* seems to refer to the rank of priest and *sacerdos* to 'priest'. However, the translator used *mæssepreost* in both cases which suggests that he did not always automatically translate all Latin words into what appears to us to be their OE equivalent but carefully considered the context first. He may have thought that Bede's use of the term *sacerdos* was ambiguous and therefore he made his meaning clearer by using the term *mæssepreost*. This rendering of *mæssepreost* for *sacerdos* appears again in other instances,[24] including where Adamnan went to confess his sins[25] and receive penance.[26] In Gregory's answers to Augustine's questions, *sacerdos* is used for an Old Testament 'priest', but with the OE translation of *sacerd* this time.[27] As it was an Old Testament 'priest', the translator may have felt that it was inappropriate to use the term *mæssepreost*. After giving them training and instruction, Aidan ordained the slaves whom he had redeemed to the priesthood (Latin *sacerdotalem*, OE *sacerhade*).[28] There were a number of *sacerdotes* at Bangor monastery, probably to minister to the hundreds of

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pp. 62-63) (no OE translation).

[20] LL III.17 (C&M pp. 266-267) (M III.14 p. 206).

[21] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 522-523) (M V.17 pp. 456-458).

[22] *doctor* originally meant a teacher or instructor: Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 214.

[23] For a discussion on the 'Appropriate ages for the various grades of ordination' see Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', pp. 44-46.

[24] LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 430-433) (M IV.28 p. 360); LL V.10 (C&M pp. 482-483) (M V.11 p. 416); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 522-523) (M V.17 p. 456).

[25] LL IV.23/25 (C&M pp. 422-425) (M IV.26 pp. 350-352).

[26] The administration of penance was initially confined to the bishops but in the sixth and seventh centuries the priests were allowed to administer it as well: Thacker, 'Monks, Preaching and Pastoral Care', p. 157.

[27] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 98-99) (M I.16 p. 84).

monks there, and these may have included both bishops and priests. However, in the OE version the translation is *sacerdas and biscopas and munecas*,[29] which suggests that the translator wanted to make the meaning clearer and that he saw a difference between a *sacerd* and a *biscop*.

In III.21 Bede uses the terms *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) and *sacerdos* (OE *sacerd*) for Cedd, Adda, Betti, and Diuma, who came to preach and baptise, whereas for the men who appear to be bishops, he uses *episcopus* (OE *biscop*), *antistes* (OE *biscop*) and *sacerdos* (OE *sacerd*).[30] Further on, the four brothers Cedd, Cynebill, Cælin and Chad are referred to as *sacerdos* (OE *sacerd*), of whom Bede said, *et duo ex eis etiam summi sacerdotii gradu functi sunt*, with the OE text *twegan wæron biscopas, twegan wæron mæssepreostas þa selestan*.[31] In III.5 when Oswald was sent an *antistes* from Ireland, this same man is then referred to as a *sacerdos*, with the OE translation giving *biscop* for both.[32] In V.6 Bede uses *presbyter* twice and *sacerdos* once when writing about the man who had not performed the baptism of Herebald correctly, with the OE version translating all three as *mæssepreost*.[33] In these examples, by choosing to translate *sacerdos* as *biscop* or *mæssepreost*, the translator was making a clear distinction between the different orders, and it may have been that by the late ninth century there was a more precise definition of the Church personnel.

Colgrave and Mynors had problems with the term *sacerdos* for although they

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[28] LL III.5 (C&M pp. 228-229) (M III.3 p. 162).
[29] LL II.2 (C&M pp. 140-141) (M II.2 p. 102).
[30] LL III.21 (C&M pp. 278-281) (M III.15 pp. 222-224).
[31] LL III.23 (C&M pp. 288-289) (M III.17 p. 232).
[32] LL III.5 (C&M pp. 228-229) (M III.3 pp. 162-164).

translated *sacerdos* (OE *sacerd*) Egbert, as priest,[34] in a footnote[35] they said that they should perhaps have translated it as bishop, 'for several early writers give Egbert that title'.[36] When Bede listed the people to accompany Æthelburh on her marriage to Edwin, *uiris siue feminis, sacerdotibus seu ministris*,[37] the OE translation was simply *geferum*.[38] Maybe the translator wanted to keep the text short, feeling that his choice of term was more than adequate. In III.30[39] where Bede uses the plural *sacerdotes doctoresque*, the translator uses the singular for bishop, *biscop and heora lareowas*.[40] Perhaps by the late ninth century it would have been more appropriate for just a single bishop to go out with his assistants, and so in this case the translator was updating the text. When Bede wrote about churchmen being murdered, he used *sacerdos*, whereas in the OE text, both *sacerd* and *mæssepreost* were used.[41] It appears that the term *sacerdos* was used by Bede for a 'priest', whether English, British or Irish, and, whenever there was any mention of their pastoral roles, such as preaching and baptising, it is what we would expect of a 'priest'. The OE term *sacerd* seems to have been used in a similar way to Bede's.

The medieval Latin word *presbyter*, originally from Greek meaning elder, appears to be used by Bede for a Christian priest. He rarely uses the term in the first part of the

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[33] LL V.6 (C&M pp. 468-469) (M V.6 p. 402).

[34] LL V.9 (C&M pp. 474-477) (M V.9 p. 408); LL V.22 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.20 p. 472).

[35] LL III.4 (C&M pp. 224-225) (no OE translation).

[36] Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 225n.

[37] LL II.9 (C&M pp. 162-163) (M II.8 p. 120).

[38] *gefer* could mean associate, comrade, fellow-disciple or servant: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 117.

[39] LL III.30 (C&M pp. 322-323) (M III.22 p. 252).

[40] *lareow* could mean teacher, master or preacher: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 212.

[41] LL I.15 (C&M pp. 52-53) (M I.12 p. 52).

text about the conversion period but uses it more frequently later on.[42] The OE version translated *presbyter* as *mæssepreost* in all but two cases,[43] with the emphasis in the word on *mæsse* suggesting that the translator clearly understood Bede###s *presbyter*[44] as being someone who could administer the mass and sacraments. Acca was first called a *mæssepreost* but then, a line or two later, a *preost*, where Bede used *presbyter* on both occasions.[45] Unusually, on one occasion the Latin term *presbyter* was used in the OE version where *Fortunatus presbyter* appeared to have been taken directly from the Latin text although the word order had been reversed.[46] *presbyter* was not an OE word in this period, but it was a 'Latin, Church-associated word used to describe a specific role, which only normally slips into Old English text insofar as it is part of someone's name'.[47] However, why it was used only once throughout the whole text is not clear, as elsewhere *mæssepreost* was used with individuals' names, as in *Uttan mæssepreoste*.[48] The consistency in the translation of *presbyter* as *mæssepreost* suggests that the translator saw the *mæssepreost* as his equivalent with both performing the same roles.

There is one example of an *archipresbyter* and one of a *conpresbyter* in Bede's text, but both are only mentioned in passing. The *archipresbyter*[49] appears in a list of

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[42] There are eighty examples of the word *presbyter* throughout the whole text with the breakdown as follows: preface, 2; book I, 4; book II, 5; book III, 34; book IV, 15; book V, 20.

[43] The two exceptions can be found in: LL I.7 (C&M pp. 28-29) (M I.7 p. 34) where *presbyter* was used; and in LL V.19 (C&M pp. 526-527) (M V.17 p. 462) where *preost* was used.

[44] 'Priests (presbyters) had begun to celebrate the Eucharist independently from bishops in churches other than cathedrals by the early fourth century': Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', p. 42n.

[45] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 526-527) (M V.17 p. 462).

[46] LL I.7 (C&M pp. 28-29) (M I.7 p. 34).

[47] P. Semper, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

[48] LL III.15 (C&M pp. 260-261) (M III.13 p. 200).

[49] LL II.19 (C&M pp. 200-201) (no OE translation).

individuals, amongst whom some are classed as *episcopus*, *presbyter* and *diaconus*, where Bede seemed to be making a clear distinction between their ranks. *conpresbyter* (OE *efenmæssepreost*) Eadgisl lived in the *monasterium*,[50] and there are other examples of a *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) being from a *monasterium*.[51] When Fursa became a hermit, he left his *monasterium* and 'its souls' in charge of his brother, Foillán, along with *presbyteris Gobbano et Dicullo* (OE *mæssepreostum*), who would have been needed to administer the sacraments to the inhabitants.[52] This suggests that Bede saw a *monasterium* as having at least one *presbyter* living in it. Some *presbyteri*, such as Herbert[53] and Oethelwald,[54] retired to live a solitary life as opposed to living in a religious community, but it is unlikely that they would have continued to perform any of their sacramental roles.

In III.4 Bede uses *presbyter* twice and *episcopus* twice, which suggests that here he wanted to make a clear distinction between the two orders of men, since if he had used *sacerdos* the meaning would have been less clear. In this example,[55] the ruler of Iona was an abbot who was also a *presbyter*, and not an *episcopus*, although the bishops came under his authority.[56] There are many examples where *presbyteri* were consecrated as bishops, the natural progression up the clerical orders, such as where Acca, the *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) of Wilfrid, was consecrated *episcopus*.[57] In

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[50] LL IV.23/25 (C&M pp. 426-427) (M IV.26 p. 356).

[51] LL IV.30/32 (C&M pp. 448-449) (M IV.33 p. 382); LL V.23 (C&M pp. 558-559) (M V.22 pp. 476-478).

[52] LL III.19 (C&M pp. 274-277) (M III.14 p. 218).

[53] LL IV.27/29 (C&M pp. 440-441) (M IV.30 p. 370).

[54] LL V.1 (C&M pp. 454-455) (M V.1 p. 384).

[55] LL III.4 (C&M pp. 222-225) (no OE translation).

[56] The idea that abbots had power that was superior to that of the bishops is seen as characteristic of the Celtic Church: E. James, *Britain in the First Millennium* (London: Arnold, 2001), p. 167.

[57] LL V.20 (C&M pp. 530-531) (M V.18 p. 466).

III.7 the *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) Leuthere was consecrated bishop, with the terms *episcopus* and *antistes* (OE *biscop*) being used,[58] although it is not clear why Bede chose to use two different ones. The *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) Wigheard was sent to Rome to be consecrated *archiepiscopus* (OE *ærcebiscope*) of the English Church.[59] These examples show a clear distinction being made between a priest and a bishop.

Regarding the roles of the men referred to as *presbyter*, Bede tells us that they could: celebrate mass and say masses for the dead;[60] preach by themselves,[61] or whilst travelling with a bishop;[62] baptise,[63] including the common people;[64] teach;[65] give sermons to villagers;[66] perform exorcisms;[67] pray for people;[68] administer the sacraments, to the king and his family;[69] write books;[70] consecrate sites for religious buildings in the bishop's absence;[71] and even pour oil on the stormy sea to calm it![72] In V.24 Bede writes *Columba presbyter de Scottia uenit Brittaniam, ad docendos Pictos, et in insula Hii monasterium fecit*.[73] Bede does not seem surprised that this took place, which suggests that it was considered normal behaviour for a *presbyter* to

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[58] LL III.7 (C&M pp. 236-237) (M III.5 pp. 170-172).

[59] LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 328-329) (M IV.1 p. 252).

[60] LL II.3 (C&M pp. 144-145) (M II.3 p. 106); LL IV.20/22 (C&M pp. 402-403) (M IV.23 p. 326).

[61] LL III.4 (C&M pp. 220-223) (no OE translation); LL V.10 (C&M pp. 480-481) (M V.10 p. 414).

[62] LL III.23 (C&M pp. 282-283) (M III. 16 p. 226); LL III.30 (C&M pp. 322-323) (M III.22 p. 250).

[63] LL III.21 (C&M pp. 278-281) (M III.15 pp. 222-224); LL IV.14/16 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 308).

[64] LL IV.13 (C&M pp. 372-373) (M IV.17 p. 302).

[65] LL III.21 (C&M pp. 278-281) (M III.15 pp. 222-224); LL IV.14/16 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 308); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 522-523) (M V.17 p. 456); LL V.24 (C&M pp. 562-563) (no OE translation).

[66] LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 432-433) (M IV.28 p. 362).

[67] LL III.11 (C&M pp.248-249) (M III.9 p. 184).

[68] LL III.11 (C&M pp. 248-251) (M III.9 p. 186).

[69] LL III.23 (C&M pp. 286-287) (M III.17 p. 230).

[70] LL V.18 (C&M pp. 514-515) (M V.16 p. 446).

[71] LL III.23 (C&M pp. 286-287) (M III.17 p. 232).

[72] LL III.15 (C&M pp. 260-261) (M III.13 p. 200).

[73] 'The priest Columba came from Ireland to Britain to teach the Picts and established a monastery on

establish a *monasterium*. Not all *presbyteri* were capable of performing their duties, for example where the bishop told Herebald that he had not been properly baptised since the *presbyter* who had originally baptised him was 'slow-witted' and could not learn the office of catechism and baptism.[74] However, *sacerdos* is also used in this passage for the same man, with both terms in the OE version being translated as *mæssepreost*.

diaconus appears only fifteen times in the Latin text, which suggests that as far as Bede was concerned the deacons did little of note, possibly due to their largely subsidiary role and their lack of sacramental powers. The absence of deacons from the text probably reflects its nature and purpose much more than any paucity or insignificance of the deacons themselves, as they do appear in others of Bede's works, if only in brief passing references.[75] Below the deacons were the subdeacons, who were considered to be the lowest of all the major orders.[76] Most of the examples merely refer to deacons in passing, and tell us little about what these men did or what their role was in the delivery of pastoral care. There is only one mention of an *archidiaconus*,[77] in Rome, but as Brooke thought that 'in essence the archdeacon came over with the Conqueror',[78] this is not surprising.[79] There is also only one

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Iona': LL V.24 (C&M pp. 562-563) (no OE translation).

[74] LL V.6 (C&M pp. 468-469) (M V.6 p. 402).

[75] For examples see: Bede, *Vita Cuthberti*, ch. 16 and Bede, *Historia Abbatum*, ch. 10. I am grateful to Dr. Thomas Pickles for these references.

[76] Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 330n. However, Barrow said that down to the early eleventh century the subdeacon was seen as a minor order: Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', p. 49.

[77] Archdeacon Boniface was a counsellor to the pope in Rome: LL V.19 (C&M pp. 520-521) (M V.17 p. 454).

[78] Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, p. 119.

[79] An archdeacon was a personal assistant of the bishop but there were not many of them in England prior to 1066: Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 247.

mention of a *subdiaconus*, when Theodore was ordained as one before being sent to Britain.[80] Concerning the latter, Colgrave and Mynors said that as Theodore was a monk he would have been in minor orders and therefore had to be ordained as a subdeacon, this being 'the lowest of all the major orders'.[81] They said that 'It is not clear whether he was then ordained successively through the intermediate grades or whether he was consecrated archbishop immediately.'[82] They thought that the wording suggested the latter,[83] although generally it is believed that it was necessary to be ordained through all the orders even if it took place the same day.

Winfrith, who had been Chad's deacon for a long time, was consecrated bishop in his place,[84] and the deacon Thomas was consecrated as bishop upon the death of Felix.[85] Although nothing is said about either of them becoming a *presbyter* first it is almost certain that they would have had to become one.[86] Popes, archbishops and bishops had deacons under them, but whether or not this was a universal practice and whether they would have had just one is unclear.[87] Bede tells us that he himself was ordained a deacon at the age of nineteen,[88] even though this was earlier than the usual canonical

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[80] LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 330-331) (M IV.1 p. 254).

[81] Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. 330n.

[82] *Ibid*., p. 330n.

[83] *Ibid*., p. 330n.

[84] LL IV.3 (C&M pp. 346-347) (M IV.3 p. 272).

[85] LL III.20 (C&M pp. 276-277) (M III.14 p. 220).

[86] However, Macy reports that 'Up until the eleventh century there was no necessary progression from deacon to priest to bishop. Deacons, even in the most important sees, could move directly to the episcopate and priests could be ordained without ever having been deacons.': Macy, *The Hidden History*, p. 25.

[87] LL II.1 (C&M pp. 124-125 & 128-129) (no OE translation), where Peter was the deacon of Gregory; LL II.16 (C&M pp. 192-193) (M II.13 p. 144), where James was the deacon of Paulinus.

[88] LL V.24 (C&M pp. 566-567) (M V.22 p. 482). Canon law forbade men to be ordained as deacons until the age of twenty-five although a few exceptions are known, and these were men of outstanding learning and holiness. As Bede was ordained six years earlier than normal, his merits must have warranted it: C. E. Whiting, 'The Life of the Venerable Bede', A. H. Thompson (ed.), *Bede; His Life, Times, and Writings* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1935), p. 10.

age of twenty-five.[89] A deacon called James converted many to Christianity by his teaching and baptising, and he also taught church singing.[90] Cedd ordained *presbyteros et diaconos* to help with preaching and baptising,[91] and this linking of priests with deacons appears again in IV.2.[92] The deacons were the lowest of the major ordained orders, reporting to their bishop, and at least some, if not all, were allowed to preach and baptise as part of their role. *diaconus* was rendered as *diacon* in the OE version, which may mean that the translator could think of no practical OE equivalent.

Bede appears to use the medieval Latin terms *clericus* and *clerus*[93] for a general not specific order of ecclesiastical men. The terms seem not to have had any precise definition, being used for all ecclesiastical orders below that of bishop, at times including priests and deacons, and at other times only the minor orders. To translate these terms, the OE translator sometimes used *gefer*[94] and *geferscip*,[95] but as these words[96] could encompass 'the heroic to the monastic',[97] they appear to have had no

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[89] Colgrave & Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, p. xx. For a discussion on the 'Appropriate ages for the various grades of ordination' see Barrow, ###Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers###, pp. 44-46.

[90] LL II.20 (C&M pp. 206-207) (M II.16 p. 150).

[91] LL III.22 (C&M pp. 282-285) (M III.16 p. 226).

[92] LL IV.2 (C&M pp. 334-335) (M IV.2 p. 260).

[93] Cubitt believed that *clericus* and *clerus* were used mainly for the bishop###s *familia* but also appeared to be used on occasion for clergy not in episcopal retinues: Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', p. 276.

[94] LL II.4 (C&M pp. 148-149) (M II.4 p. 108); LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-351) (M IV.5 p. 278); LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 434-435) (M IV.28 p. 364); LL V.6 (C&M pp. 466-469) (M V.6 p. 402).

[95] LL III.29 (C&M pp. 318-319) (M III.21 p. 248); LL IV.3 (C&M pp. 346-347) (M IV.3 p. 272); LL V.6 (C&M pp. 464-467) (M V.6 p. 398); LL V.20 (C&M pp. 532-533) (M V.18 p. 466).

[96] *gefer* could mean associate, comrade, fellow-disciple or servant; *geferscip* could mean fraternity, community, retinue, order, clan, society, fellowship or companionship: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 117.

[97] P. Semper, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

specific religious meaning. At other times he used *preost*,[98] which although it is sometimes assumed to mean priest,[99] is often best translated as cleric.[100] Occasionally the word *þeow*[101] was used with *God*, and also sometimes with *preost*.[102] In I.27 where Bede uses the words *clero*, *clericis* and *clerici*, the translator used *Godes þeowum*, *geferum* and *preostas and Godes þeowas* respectively.[103] In I.7 the *clericus* whom Alban entertained was initially referred to in the OE text as *Godes mann preosthades* and then as *Godes man*.[104] Wilfrid was described as the *clericus* of Bishop Dalfinus of Gaul, and in the OE text he became his *preost and his hondþeng*.[105] Words with more specific meaning were chosen for the translation of Bede's *sacerdotalia uel clericilia indumenta*, i.e. *biscopgegyrlan and diacongegyrlan*.[106] Here the translator obviously thought that deacons were included. On one occasion where Bede used *clericis*,[107] the OE text translated it as *gingrum*.[108]

Often someone was described as being one of the *clerus* (OE *geferscip*) of a bishop,[109] and at other times the clergy were just mentioned in passing such as when

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[98] LL III.5 (C&M pp. 226-227) (M III.3 p. 162); LL IV.14/16 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 308); LL V.12 (C&M pp. 492-493) (M V.13 p. 428); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 520-521) (M V.17 p. 456).

[99] Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 274; B. Mitchell & F. C. Robinson, *A Guide to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 6th edn., 2003), p. 366.

[100] Brooke said that the OE *preost* could be a clerk in any order or none, whereas a priest in the modern sense of the word was a *mæssepreost*: Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, p. 240.

[101] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 80-81) (M I.16 p. 64); LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-353) (M IV.5 p. 278); LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-353) (M IV.5 p. 278). *þeow* or *ðeow* could mean servant or slave: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 359.

[102] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 80-81) (M I.16 p. 64); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 532-533) (M V.19 p. 468); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.19 p. 470).

[103] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 80-81) (M I.16 p. 64).

[104] LL I.7 (C&M pp. 28-29) (M I.7 p. 34).

[105] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 520-521) (M V.17 p. 456).

[106] LL I.29 (C&M pp. 104-105) (M I.16 p. 90).

[107] LL III.5 (C&M pp. 226-227) (M III.3 p. 160).

[108] *gingrum* could mean youth, disciple, follower, dependant, servant, vassal, assistant or deputy: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 152.

[109] LL V.6 (C&M pp. 464-465) (M V.6 p. 398).

the bishop had his clergy with him.[110] On one occasion we are told that *clerici* liked

to go on pilgrimage to Rome,[111] with the OE version translating it as *bescorene*.[112]

The discussions on the correct method of tonsure tell us that all *clerici* were

tonsured,[113] with Peter[114] being seen in a vision tonsured like a *clericus*.[115] By the

late Middle Ages the tonsure was a mark of clerical status which gave jurisdictional

privileges, with 'first tonsure' around the age of seven, although there was no

commitment to celibacy until ordination to subdeacon, the lowest of the major

orders.[116] Answering Augustine's questions, Gregory said that bishops should live

with their *clerici* (OE *geferum*), except those *clerici extra sacros ordines* (OE

preostas and Godes þeowas) who could not be continent, and therefore could marry

and live outside the community.[117] Regarding all the money that the bishop received,

it was to be divided into four, with one portion going to his *cleri* (OE *Godes

þeowum*).[118] There are also references to bishops living with their *cleri* (OE

geferum),[119] and the assumption was that they slept in the same place.[120] Winfrith

was one of the bishop's *clerus* (OE *geferscip*), having been his deacon for some

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[110] LL III.25 (C&M pp. 298-299) (no OE translation).

[111] LL V.7 (C&M pp. 472-473) (M V.7 p. 406).

[112] *bescorene* was from the verb *bescieran* which could mean to shear, shave, cut hair or give the tonsure: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 44.

[113] LL V.21 (C&M pp. 532-533) (M V.19 p. 468); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 548-549) (no OE translation); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.19 p. 470). Tonsure for all clergy was adopted in the sixth-century and was a requirement from the early seventh century: Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', p. 41.

[114] Any references to the Petrine tonsure usually indicate that the man was a cleric and not a monk, as it was seen primarily as a clerical custom: Cubitt, 'Images of St. Peter', pp. 45-46.

[115] LL IV.14 (C&M pp. 378-379) (no OE translation). A similar example can be found in: LL V.12 (C&M pp. 492-493) (M V.13 p. 428).

[116] R. Swanson, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

[117] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 80-81) (M I.16 p. 64).

[118] The tithes were divided into four portions, with one going to the bishop and his household, one to the clergy, one to the poor and one to repair the churches: LL I.27 (C&M pp. 80-81) (M I.16 p. 64). However, by the eleventh century the tithes were only divided into three, with the bishop no longer receiving a portion: Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 160.

[119] LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 434-435) (M IV.28 p. 364).

time,[121] and Wigheard, a *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*), was one of the *clerus* (OE *geferscip*) of *episcopus* Deusdedit, and was sent to Rome to be consecrated *antistes*.[122] In these last two examples the term *clerus* includes priests and deacons and not just those in minor orders.

clerici were not allowed to leave their bishops and wander about,[123] although they were allowed to travel with their bishops, accepting the hospitality offered them.[124] In the latter case 'they' were not allowed to perform any *officium sacerdotale* without first gaining the permission of the bishop of that diocese. It is not clear if 'they' related to the bishops, or to the bishops and their clergy, and if it related to both, this suggests that here the *clerici* were in major orders. However, as this example appears to be in a copied document, is does not necessarily reflect Bede's usage of the terms. Wilfrid gave some land to one of his *clerici* (OE *preostas*), assigning a *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) to him to teach and baptise, which suggests that here the *clericus* was in minor orders and not able to baptise.[125] When a *clericus ... aut monachus* went anywhere, he blessed people and gave sermons in the church or *monasterium* on Sundays.[126] In the same passage *sacerdotibus aut clericis* went to villages to preach, baptise and visit the sick, *animas curandi causa fuit*.[127] In another passage, a *clerico uel presbytero* (OE *mæssepreost oðþe oðer*) visited villages where the people gladly

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[120] LL V.6 (C&M pp. 466-469) (M V.6 p. 402).
[121] LL IV.3 (C&M pp. 346-347) (M IV.3 p. 272).
[122] LL III.29 (C&M pp. 318-319) (M III.21 p. 248).
[123] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-351) (M IV.5 p. 278).
[124] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-353) (M IV.5 p. 278).
[125] LL IV.14/16 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 308).
[126] LL III.26 (C&M pp. 310-311) (no OE translation).
[127] LL III.26 (C&M pp. 310-311) (no OE translation).

listened to them speak.[128] These last three examples seem to suggest that priests, clerics and monks often went out on their own or in groups to minister to the laity.[129]

pastor,[130] a classical Latin word,[131] appears nine times in Bede's text,[132] always used in a Christian sense for a pastor or shepherd. All but two of these examples appear in the OE version, where the word *heord* or *hyrd*[133] is used for all of them. On one occasion the suffix *leas*[134] is added to indicate that the church had 'no pastor'.[135] In I.27[136] *pastores* could be present when bishops were consecrated, but it appears that Bede was still referring to bishops, even though he used *episcopus* twelve times elsewhere throughout the passage. The term *rector*[137] appears only five times in Bede's text, used mainly for religious rulers,[138] but once in relation to a king.[139] Only

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[128] LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 432-433) (M IV.28 p. 362).

[129] Peripatetic clergy were found in England after the initial conversion period: S. Foot, 'The Role of the Minster in Earlier Anglo-Saxon Society', B. Thompson (ed.), *Monasteries and Society in Medieval Britain: Proceedings of the 1994 Harlaxton Symposium*, (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1999), p. 55. However, the tenth-century monastic reform put an end to peripatetic ministry: R. E. Rodes, *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation* (Notre Dame, Indiana: University of Notre Dame Press, 1977), p. 27.

[130] Foot said that Bede extended the definition of *pastor* to include all bishops, priests, deacons, heads of ministers and all who had the care of small households: Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 291.

[131] *pastor* originally meant a feeder, herdsman or shepherd: Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 511.

[132] LL I.14 (C&M pp. 48-49) (M I.11 p. 48); LL I.27 (C&M pp. 86-87) (no OE translation); LL II.1 (C&M pp. 132-133) (M II.1 pp. 94-96); LL II.4 (C&M pp. 144-145) (M II.4 p. 106); LL II.6 (C&M pp. 154-155) (M II.6 p. 114); LL II.20 (C&M pp. 204-205) (M II.16 p.150); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 530-531) (no OE translation).

[133] *heord* or *hyrd* could mean herd, flock, keeping, care or custody: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 179.

[134] *leas* could mean without, free from, devoid of or bereft of: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 213.

[135] LL II.20 (C&M pp. 204-205) (M II.16 p. 150).

[136] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 86-87) (no OE translation).

[137] *rector* originally meant a guider or controller: Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 620.

[138] LL II.1 (C&M pp. 126-127) (no OE translation); LL II.2 (C&M pp. 140-141) (no OE translation); LL III.4 (C&M pp. 222-225) (no OE translation); LLV.21 (C&M pp. 550-551) (no OE translation).

[139] LL III.14 (C&M pp. 258-259) (M III.12 p. 198).

one example appears in the OE version where *reccend*[140] is used for Oswine.[141] It seems that *rector*,[142] although little used by Bede, could be used in a general sense for both religious and secular rulers.

minister,[143] another classical Latin word,[144] is used by Bede for both ecclesiastical and secular men, generally of a lower status. Apart from just three exceptions[145] when translating the Latin *minister*, the translator used the OE term *þegn*,[146] which could refer to a secular or ecclesiastical man. When Bede uses the term *minister* for ecclesiastics it is used mainly to describe these men as *uerbi ministros*[147] (OE *lareowas*,[148] and *þegnas*[149]), and once as *ministri altaris* (OE *sacerdas*).[150] Where *minister* is used for the attendants of religious men it is unclear as to whether or not they themselves had any religious role.[151] The same can be said for some of the uses of *minister* when referring to attendants of the king and queen,[152] although many

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[140] *reccend* could mean ruler or guide: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 278.

[141] LL III.14 (C&M pp. 258-259) (M III.12 p. 198).

[142] The term *rector* originally referred to a bishop but was then used for the head of a collegiate church: O. J. Reichel, *The Origin and Growth of the English Parish* (London: The Society of SS. Peter and Paul, 1921), p. 20n.

[143] There are twenty-three examples of the word *minister* throughout the whole text.

[144] *minister* originally meant an inferior, server, servant, attendant, helper or agent: Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 436.

[145] The three exceptions can be found in: LL II.1 (C&M pp. 124-135) (M II.1 p. 98) where the term *lareow* is used; LL II.9 (C&M pp. 162-163) (M II.8 p. 120) where the term *gefer* is used but to translate the whole of the Latin *uiris siue feminis, sacerdotinus seu minitris*; LL V.21 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.19 p. 470) where the term *sacerd* is used.

[146] *þegn* could mean servant, minister, retainer, vassal, follower, disciple, freeman, master, courtier, noble, military attendant, warrior or hero: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 357.

[147] LL I.29 (C&M pp. 104-105) (no OE translation); LL II.1 (C&M pp. 134-135) (M II.1 p.98); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 524-525) (M V.17 p. 460); LL V.24 (C&M pp. 562-563) (no OE translation).

[148] LL II.1 (C&M pp. 134-135) (M II.1 p.98).

[149] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 524-525) (M V.17 p. 460).

[150] LL V.21 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.19 p. 470).

[151] LL IV.11 (C&M pp. 366-367) (M IV.14 p. 294); LL IV.22/24 (C&M pp. 418-419) (M IV.25 p. 346); LL V.9 (C&M pp. 476-477) (M V.9 p. 410); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 526-527) (M V.27 p. 462).

[152] LL II.9 (C&M pp. 162-163) (M II.8 p. 120).

obviously had secular roles.[153] In one case it was the duty of the *minister* (OE *þegn*) to help the needy,[154] which suggests a religious role,[155] although Colgrave and Mynors apparently thought not as they translated the term as 'officer'.

monachus is, like *presbyter*, little used initially by Bede, but then appears more later on when the conversion is well under way.[156] In the OE version the translator always used the word *munuc* for *monachus*, sometimes with suffixes, such as *lif*,[157] *had*[158] or *stow*.[159] Monks had come over with Augustine to preach to and convert the English,[160] and the monk Peter was sent to Rome with the *presbyter* Laurence.[161] Many *monachi* were said to live at Bangor *monasterium*, carrying out manual labour,[162] and Irish monks were said to preach.[163] The *monachi* were expected to: pray,[164] fast and give alms;[165] seek isolation from the world;[166] live under a rule;[167]

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[153] LL III.14 (C&M pp. 258-259) (M III.12 p. 196).

[154] LL III.6 (C&M pp. 230-231) (M III.4 p. 166).

[155] Almsgiving, although the duty of every Christian, was especially considered the role of bishops and priests: Deanesly, *The Pre-Conquest Church in England*, p. 342.

[156] There are forty-three examples of the word *monachus* throughout the whole text with the breakdown as follows: preface, 0; book I, 3; book II, 2; book III, 8; book IV, 13; book V, 17.

[157] LL III.8 (C&M pp. 236-239) (M III.6 p. 172); LL IV.21/23 (C&M pp. 406-407) (M IV.24 p. 332); LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 434-435) (M IV.28 p. 364). *lif* could mean life, existence, lifetime, way of life or place where the life is according to rule: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 218.

[158] LL IV. 25/27 (C&M pp. 430-431) (M IV.28 p. 360); LL V.12 (C&M pp. 496-497) (M V.13 p. 434); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 516-517) (M V.17 p. 450). *-had* could mean state or condition: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 164.

[159] LL III.24 (C&M pp. 292-293) (M III.18 p. 236). *stow* could mean spot, site, station, locality, position or holy place: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 323.

[160] LL I.23 (C&M pp. 68-69) (M I.13 p. 54); LL V.24 (C&M pp. 562-563) (no OE translation).

[161] LL I.27 (C&M pp. 78-79) (M I.16 p. 62).

[162] LL II.2 (C&M pp. 140-141) (no OE translation).

[163] LL III.3 (C&M pp. 220-221) (M III.2 pp. 158-160); LL III.4 (C&M pp. 220-223) (no OE translation).

[164] LL III.24 (C&M pp. 292-293) (M III.18 p. 236); LL IV.4 (C&M pp. 346-349) (M IV.4 p. 274); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 526-527) (M V.17 p. 448).

[165] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 516-517) (M V.17 p. 448).

[166] LL IV.3 (C&M pp. 338-339) (M IV.3 p. 262).

[167] LL IV.4 (C&M pp. 348-349) (M IV.4 p. 274); LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 430-431) (M IV.28 p. 360).

take a monk's habit[168] and be tonsured.[169]

A *monachus* was not to leave his *monasterium* without permission,[170] but if he did go out he blessed people, and people went *ad ecclesiam siue ad monasteria* on Sundays to hear his sermons.[171] Andrew, a *monachus*, lived on the continent and was attached to a convent of nuns,[172] and was suggested to the pope to be consecrated *archiepiscopus* of the English Church.[173] Theodore was originally a *monachus* in Rome, and was said to be trained in Greek and Latin secular and religious literature.[174] A *monachus* could also be ordained bishop (*episcopus*,[175] *antistes*[176]), priest (*presbyter*)[177] or deacon (*diaconus*).[178] Others, like Tilmon, had previously been a soldier and noble,[179] or like Æthelred, a king.[180] Gregory was said not to have lost any of his *monachicae perfectionis* due to his pastoral work.[181] It appears from these examples that some monks did carry out pastoral work, especially those ordained to major orders, but it may have been that the others were involved in some

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[168] LL V.19 (C&M pp. 516-517) (M V.17 p. 450).

[169] LL V.21 (C&M pp. 548-549) (no OE translation); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.19 p. 470).

[170] LL IV.5 (C&M pp. 350-351) (M IV.5 p. 278). However, as this example is in a document copied by Bede into his own work it does not necessarily reflect his own usage of the terms.

[171] LL. III.26 (C&M pp. 310-311) (no OE translation).

[172] Presumably the monk Andrew was ordained as a priest as the only men allowed in a convent of nuns were those needed to administer the mass and sacraments, and therefore, as women could not be ordained, all nunneries needed resident male clergy: E. James, *Britain in the First Millennium* (London: Arnold, 2001), p. 184.

[173] LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 328-329) (M IV.1 p. 254).

[174] LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 330-331) (M IV.1 p. 254).

[175] LL III.3 (C&M pp. 220-221) (M III.2 pp. 158-160); LL III.21 (C&M pp. 280-281) (M III.15 p. 224); LL IV.1 (C&M pp. 330-331) (M IV.1 p. 254); LL IV.12 (C&M pp. 370-371) (M IV.16 p. 300); LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 434-435) (M IV.28 p. 364).

[176] LL V.24 (C&M pp. 570-571) (M V.22 p. 484).

[177] LL III.4 (C&M pp. 222-225) (no OE translation); LL V.12 (C&M pp. 496-497) (M V.13 p. 434).

[178] LL V.18 (C&M pp. 512-513) (M V.16 p. 446).

[179] LL V.10 (C&M pp. 482-483) (M V.11 p. 418).

[180] LL V.24 (C&M pp. 566-567) (no OE translation).

[181] LL II.1 (C&M pp. 124-125) (no OE translation).

minor pastoral care. Foot said that the care of the sick was considered the duty of all professed religious and not just of those who had been ordained,[182] and stated that 'if the *cura animarum* were solely the responsibility of those ordained to clerical orders, this would surely have been stated explicitly'.[183]

Bede often groups two orders together, such as *presbyter et abbas*,[184] when he is either describing one man, or describing two different men or groups of men. In only one case is *abbas et sacerdos* used.[185] In these examples Bede used *et* for 'and', but in the ones where he used different terms he also used *ac*, *atque* and *-que*, and *uel*, *seu* or *siue* when linking two groups of men. Originally *uel*, *seu* and *siue* meant 'or' but later on in the third and fourth centuries were often used for 'and'.[186] Some examples are *episcopis uel abbatibus*,[187] *sacerdotibus seu ministris*,[188] *diaconus siue monachus*,[189] and *uel episcopi, uel reliquorum ordinum*[190] when Bede is discussing the laws for theft from the Church and its personnel. Where *clerico uel presbytero* went to villages to preach,[191] if we understand *uel* to mean 'and', this would suggest that clerks and priests went out together to preach to the laity; whereas if we take it to mean 'or', it suggests that they went out singularly. Bede used *aut* when he wrote that *sacerdotibus*

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[182] Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 307.

[183] Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', p. 224.

[184] LL II.14 (C&M pp. 188-189) (no OE translation); LL II.16 (C&M pp. 192-193) (M II.13 p. 144); LL III.4 (C&M pp. 220-223) (no OE translation); LL III.5 (C&M pp. 226-227) (no OE translation); LL IV.24/26 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 308); LL IV.20/22 (C&M pp. 402-403) (M IV.23 p. 326); LL V.12 (C&M pp. 496-497) (M V.13 p. 434); LL V.15 (C&M pp. 504-507) (no OE translation); LL V.18 (C&M pp. 514-515) (M V.16 p. 446).

[185] LL V.21 (C&M pp. 550-551) (no OE translation).

[186] P. R. Taylor-Briggs, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

[187] LL II.4 (C&M pp. 146-147) (no OE translation).

[188] LL II.9 (C&M pp. 162-163) (M II.8 p. 120).

[189] LL V.18 (C&M pp. 512-513) (M V.16 p. 446).

[190] LL II.5 (C&M pp. 150-151) (M II.5 p. 110).

[191] LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 432-433) (M IV.28 p. 362).

aut clericis[192] went to villages to preach, baptise and visit the sick, and *aut* was only ever used for 'or'.[193] A full examination of the whole text would need to be made to come to any firm conclusion on exactly how Bede used these small, but potentially important, words, as they can have an effect on our interpretation of what Bede was telling us. In the majority of these cases the OE translator used the word *and*, but OE was even less precise than Latin and *and* could mean 'and', 'but' or 'or'.[194] On a couple of occasions where *uel* was used, *oðþe* appears in the OE version,[195] which could mean 'or' or 'and'.[196] From these examples, and taking into account the context, it would seem that *and* was used mainly to express the meaning of 'and', *oðþe* for 'or'.

To conclude, Bede seems to have used the term *sacerdos* for any sort of cleric who could administer the sacraments, for which the OE translator used either *sacerd*, *biscop* or *mæssepreost*, often choosing to show a clearer distinction in rank than Bede had done. *presbyter* appears only to be have been used for priest, and *diaconus* for deacon, with the translator using *mæssepreost* and *diacon* respectively. The terms *clericus* and *clerus* were used loosely for any religious man below the rank of bishop, at times including the major orders of priest and deacon, and at other times referring solely to those in minor orders. The translator used several different words, including *gefer*, *þeow* and *preost*, with the latter rarely meaning priest, as it appears that here it

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[192] LL III.26 (C&M pp. 310-311) (no OE translation).

[193] P. R. Taylor-Briggs, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

[194] Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 20.

[195] LL II.5 (C&M pp. 150-151) (M II.5 p. 110); LL IV.25/27 (C&M pp. 432-433) (M IV.28 p. 362).

[196] Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 271.

was mainly used for a cleric in minor orders. *preost*[197] was used infrequently in the OE text, with no clear definition. The terms *pastor* (OE *heord*), *rector* (OE *reccend*) and *minister* (mainly *þegn* in the OE version) appear only infrequently in Bede's text, with *monachus* (OE *munuc*) being used for monk. In the OE version the translator sometimes translated the Latin terms into what appears to us to be the equivalent OE word, but on other occasions he seemed to consider the context carefully before choosing what he reckoned to be a more appropriate word. By the late ninth century there may have been a clearer distinction between the Church orders than there had been in Bede's time. The translator may also have been trying to reflect the state of the Church of his own day, using terms that contemporaries would have easily understood. Whereas the translator may have been hampered by the lack of words available to him for bishop, this does not appear to have been the case for the other religious personnel.

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[197] There are nine examples of the word *preost* throughout the whole OE text which can be found in: LL I.7 (C&M pp. 28-29) (M I.7 p. 34); LL I.27 (C&M pp. 80-81) (M I.16 p. 64); LL III.5 (C&M pp. 226-227) (M III.3 p. 162); LL IV.14/16 (C&M pp. 382-383) (M IV.18 p. 308); LL V.12 (C&M pp. 492-493) (M V.13 p. 428); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 520-521) (M V.17 p, 456); LL V.19 (C&M pp. 526-527) (M V.17 p. 462); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 532-533) (M V.19 p. 468); LL V.21 (C&M pp. 552-553) (M V.19 p. 470).

Chapter V

This chapter and the next will look at various documents from throughout the Anglo-Saxon period. The first is *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*,[1] now attributed to Stephanus of Ripon and not, as previously, to Eddius Stephanus, and written in Latin probably soon after Wilfrid's death in 709,[2] and so contemporary with Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Colgrave believed that Bede knew of and used the work, when writing his account of Wilfrid, although he did not acknowledge the fact, and that whilst he altered the language, he kept the sense, adding additional details not found in the *Life*.[3] The original manuscript has not survived but two copies have, one from the ninth century with eleventh-century additions, and one from the late eleventh or early twelfth century.[4] The terms used for the religious personnel in the *Life* can be compared with those as used by Bede, although there is very little information on pastoral care.

In the *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede mainly used the term *episcopus* for men whom we would call bishop, but he also used *antistes*, *pontifex* and *praesul*, with *sacerdos* generally being used for 'priest'. Stephanus preferred to use *episcopus*, and rarely used *antistes*, with only three instances throughout the whole text.[5] In one passage where Wilfrid was presenting his case in Rome, *antistes* is used as well as *episcopus*, seemingly for the same men, and the word *pontifex* appears in the form of *vestrum*

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[1] B. Colgrave (trans.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1927). References to this text will give the chapter and the page numbers where the Latin and the English translation appears.

[2] Colgrave, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, p. xi.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. xii.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. xiii-xiv.

[5] There are three examples of the word *antistes* which can be found in: VW XXX (pp. 60-61); XLII (pp. 84-85); LV (pp. 120-121).

pontificale fastigium.[6] Later on *antistes* is used as *sanctus antistes Christi*,[7] and then as *apostolicus antistes*,[8] but neither refers to Wilfrid. Similarly Stephanus rarely used *praesul*[9] or *sacerdos*,[10] preferring to use *pontifex*[11] instead, and almost exclusively limiting its use to Wilfrid, as he mainly used *episcopus* or *archiepiscopus* for the other bishops. Like Bede, Stephanus would call the same man both *episcopus* and *archiepiscopus*, often within the same chapter, as for example when he wrote about Dalfinus.[12] Of the fourteen instances where *praesul* is used, only two relate to Wilfrid,[13] with the rest being used for men of the apostolic see,[14] such as Agatho,[15] John,[16] Benedict[17] and Sergius,[18] and for bishops such as Theodore[19] and Berhtwald,[20] and for men in general who may have been bishops, or at least of senior status.[21]

For Wilfrid, Stephanus uses the term *episcopus* approximately the same number of

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[6] VW XXX (pp. 60-61).

[7] VW XLII (pp. 84-85).

[8] VW LV (pp. 120-121).

[9] There are fourteen examples of the word *praesul* which can be found in: VW XXV (pp. 50-51); XXX (pp. 62-63); XXXVIII (pp. 76-77); XLIV (pp. 90-91): XLVIII (pp. 100-101); LIII (pp. 108-111 & 114-115); LIV (pp. 116-119); LVIII (pp. 124-127); LIX (pp. 126-127); LX (pp. 130-131); LXI (pp. 132-133).

[10] There are thirteen examples of the word *sacerdos* which can be found in: VW II (pp. 6-7); VI (pp. 14-15); XIII (pp. 28-29); XIX (pp. 40-41); XXIX (pp. 58-59); XXX (pp. 62-63); XXXIX (pp. 78-79); XLVII (pp. 96-97): LIV (pp. 116-119).

[11] There are 111 examples of the word *pontifex* throughout the whole text.

[12] Examples can be found in: VW IV (pp. 10-11); VI (pp. 12-15).

[13] VW XXV (pp. 50-51); XXXVIII (pp. 76-77).

[14] VW LIX (pp. 126-127).

[15] VW XLIV (pp. 90-91); LIII (pp. 114-115).

[16] VW LIII (pp. 108-111).

[17] VW LIII (pp. 114-115).

[18] VW LIII (pp. 114-115).

[19] VW LIV (pp. 116-117).

[20] VW LIV (pp. 118-119).

[21] VW XXX (pp. 62-63); XLVIII (pp. 100-101); LIV (pp. 118-119); LVIII (pp. 124-127); LX (pp. 130-131); LXI (pp. 132-133).

times as he uses *pontifex*. However, in the majority of cases where he uses *episcopus*

for Wilfrid he does so with his name, as in *Wilfrithus episcopus*,[22] and generally uses

pontifex when referring to Wilfrid without his name, for example when he writes

sanctus pontifex noster.[23] The latter is a favourite phrase of his, being used many

times. This level of consistency in the use of these two terms is maintained throughout

the whole text, with only a few exceptions,[24] including once where *sacerdos* is used

instead.[25] On one occasion, Stephanus uses both terms for Wilfrid in the same phrase,

sanctus pontifex noster Wilfrithus episcopus,[26] but only once throughout the whole

text does he use *Wilfrithi pontificis*.[27] Occasionally he uses a completely different

term, as in *sanctus vero praevius noster*,[28] perhaps simply for variety. The term

praevius,[29] which was never used by Bede, seems to have been used here to mean a

leader. This difference in usage by Stephanus of the two terms *episcopus* and *pontifex*,

seems to suggest that he saw nuances of meaning between them. It may be that he saw

episcopus as a statement of ecclesiastical rank and *pontifex* as relating to direct

leadership, especially as Stephanus was writing for all the religious communities

founded by Wilfrid to apologise for his behaviour and reputation.

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[22] Examples can be found in: VW XIII (pp. 26-29); XVII (pp. 34-37); XIX (pp. 40-41); XXXII (pp. 64-65); XXXIX (pp. 78-79); XLVI (pp. 92-93); LIX (pp. 126-127).

[23] Examples can be found in: VW XIII (pp. 26-29); XVII (pp. 34-37); XXI (pp. 42-45); XXIV (pp. 48-51); XXXVII (pp. 74-75); LV (pp. 120-121); LVII (pp. 124-125).

[24] Examples of where *episcopus noster* is used instead can be found in: VW XIV (pp. 30-31); XVIII (pp. 38-39); XXIII (pp. 46-47); XXIV (pp. 48-51); XLI (pp. 82-83). Also *sanctissimum sacerdotem nostrum* is used in: VW XXXIX (pp. 78-79); and *Wilfrithi pontificis* is used in: VW I (pp. 4-5).

[25] VW XXXIX (pp. 78-79).

[26] VW L (pp. 102-103).

[27] VW I (pp. 4-5).

[28] VW XL (pp. 80-81).

[29] The adjective *praevius* originally meant 'going before, leading the way': Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 573.

Stephanus tells us that Wilfrid was first ordained as *abbas* (c.660),[30] then as *presbyter* (663-664),[31] and finally as *episcopus* at the age of thirty (664),[32] all apparently within the space of a few years and at a young age for a bishop. Wilfrid received the see of York but as there was a long delay in his arrival from abroad, Oswiu, under the instruction of the Quartodecimans and in defiance of canon law, consecrated Chad in his place.[33] This later led Archbishop Theodore to depose and degrade Chad from the see but he was then given the see of Lichfield, when he was re-consecrated through all the clerical grades at once, *per omnes gradus ecclesiasticos*.[34] It is not clear if this was all the seven traditional orders,[35] or just the major orders, as it would usually take place over many years, although from at least the ninth century it is known that the three lowest orders were often bestowed in one day.[36] There is some mention of priests and other clergy[37] in the *Life* but very little on pastoral care. Stephanus only uses the term *sacerdos* infrequently and generally for a 'priest'. He uses it for a pagan 'priest' and for Wilfrid in the same chapter;[38] for 'priests' of the Old Testament;[39] and for the priestly office or position.[40] *consacerdos* appears three times, used for men who could be either fellow-priests and/or bishops.[41] Although nine *episcopi* were

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[30] *et abbas ordinatus est*: VW VIII (pp. 16-17).

[31] VW IX (pp. 18-19).

[32] VW XI (pp. 22-25).

[33] VW XV (pp. 30-31).

[34] VW XV (pp. 32-33).

[35] There were seven ecclesiastical grades because there were believed to have been seven gifts from the Holy Spirit: Reynolds, *Clerics in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 669.

[36] Barrow, 'Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers', pp. 41 & 48.

[37] The following terms appear in the *Life* with the number of instances in brackets: *presbyter* (32); *diaconus* (10); *clericus* (9); *pastor* (1); *rector* (1); *minister* (2); *monachus* (9); *hostiarius* (1).

[38] VW XIII (pp. 28-29).

[39] VW II (pp. 6-7); XIX (pp. 40-41).

[40] VW XXIX (pp. 58-59); XLVII (pp. 96-97).

[41] VW XXX (pp. 62-63); LIV (pp. 116-117).

slain by Baldhild, she spared the *sacerdotibus ac diaconibus*,[42] so the term *sacerdos* appears to be used here for men other than bishops. This again appears to be the case where *episcoporum et sacerdotum* is used on one occasion.[43]

presbyter and *diaconus*, as in the *Ecclesiastical History*, appear as two distinct orders of men, not only from each other but also from any other order. On three occasions *presbyter* is linked with *episcopus* with either *et*[44] or *aut*,[45] which suggests a clear difference between these two terms and orders. Individual men are called *presbyter*, referring to their rank, including Stephanus the author,[46] Wilfrid before he became bishop,[47] Agatho,[48] Acca,[49] Tatberht[50] and Hathufrith.[51] Acca, a *presbyter*, was bequeathed the *coenobium* at Hexham by Wilfrid, and later became an *episcopus*.[52] Often, as with Bede, men are referred to as *abbas et/vel presbyter*, either individually[53] or in groups.[54] As bishop, Wilfrid was in charge of abbots, priests and deacons,[55] and he dedicated churches.[56] He ordained many men as deacons and priests,[57] and here as elsewhere the term *diaconus* was normally linked with

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[42] VW VI (pp. 14-15).

[43] VW LIV (pp. 116-119).

[44] VW XXIX (pp. 56-57); LXVI (pp. 142-143).

[45] VW LX (pp. 130-131).

[46] VW (pp. 2-3); I (pp. 4-5).

[47] VW IX (pp. 18-19); X (pp. 20-23); XI (pp. 22-25).

[48] Agatho is described as the *presbyter* of the foreign *episcopus* Agilberht: VW X (pp. 20-21).

[49] VW LVI (pp. 122-123); LXV (pp. 140-141).

[50] VW LXIII (pp. 136-137); LXIV (pp. 138-139); LXV (pp. 140-141); LXVI (pp. 142-143).

[51] VW LXIV (pp. 138-139).

[52] VW LXV (pp. 140-141).

[53] VW X (pp. 20-21); XI (pp. 22-25); LVIII (pp. 124-127).

[54] VW XLIX (pp. 100-101).

[55] VW L (pp. 102-103); LIII (pp. 108-111).

[56] VW LXVI (pp. 142-143).

[57] VW XIV (pp. 30-31); XXI (pp. 44-45); LXVI (pp. 142-143).

presbyter,[58] which suggests that although these were seen as two distinct orders they had much in common. On one occasion instead of *presbyter*, *sacerdos* is used along with *diaconus*.[59] When he was dying Wilfrid ordained many bishops as well as priests and deacons (*episcopos et presbiteros et diacones*).[60] Unfortunately we learn little of what these priests and deacons did in terms of pastoral care, as they are only mentioned in passing. There were only two instances where *archidiaconus* is used, both for Boniface,[61] this being the same as the one instance in Bede's Ecclesiastical History.

Stephanus uses the terms *clericus* and *clerus* in a similar way to that of Bede, for a general but not specific order of ecclesiastical men,[62] with no precise definition. The term is used for men under Wilfrid,[63] but seen as distinct from monks,[64] and on one occasion from priests.[65] Bishops could be chosen from the *clerus*,[66] and the term is used for the British clergy, *clerus Bryttannus*.[67] *pastor* is used once for Christ in the sense of a shepherd looking after his sheep;[68] *rector* is used once in the phrase *sancto rectore nostro* as one of the occasional variations for referring to Wilfrid;[69] and

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[58] VW XXXII (pp. 66-67); LIII (pp. 108-111).

[59] VW VI (pp. 14-15).

[60] VW LXVI (pp. 142-143).

[61] VW V (pp. 12-13). *cf.* LL V.19 (C&M pp. 520-521) (M V.17 p. 454).

[62] VW XXXII (pp. 66-67); L (pp. 102-105); LIII (pp. 112-113).

[63] VW XIII (pp. 26-29).

[64] Wilfrid was said to depart with his *clerus*, leaving behind thousands of his *monachi*: VW XXV (pp. 50-51).

[65] Wilfrid was received by the pope *cum reverentissimis presbiteris et omni clero venerabili*: VW L (pp. 102-103).

[66] VW XXX (pp. 62-63).

[67] VW XVII (pp. 36-37).

[68] VW XXXV (pp. 72-73).

[69] VW XLVI (pp. 90-91).

minister is used once for referring to men of the king,[70] and once for referring to men of the bishop.[71] Stephanus' usage of these three terms is similar to Bede's. *monachus* is used mainly for the monks under Wilfrid's control or in a general sense,[72] and for Coenwald, a monk sent as a messenger.[73] However, one of the minor clerical grades is mentioned in a reference to Peter, *hostiarius et clavicularius*.[74]

By comparing the same terms as used by Bede and Stephanus, it appears that whilst there is some consistency of usage between these two writers, there are also some obvious differences. Bede frequently chose to use the terms *antistes* and *sacerdos* whilst Stephanus hardly uses them at all. As they were writing around the same time and in the north, the meaning and significance of such words will not have changed in so short a space of time. Stephanus shows a clear distinction in his use of the terms *episcopus* and *pontifex* when writing about Wilfrid, but occasionally displays the Anglo-Saxon love of using a different word for the same thing.[75] It is impossible to come to any firm conclusions about the roles of these different orders in the delivery of pastoral care as the *Life* gives too little relevant information.

The canons of the Council of Clofesho (747),[76] written in Latin, are considered a

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[70] VW XLVII (pp. 94-95).

[71] VW LIV (pp. 118-119).

[72] VW XXV (pp. 50-51); XXXII (pp. 66-67); XL (pp. 80-81); XLIV (pp. 90-91); XLVII (pp. 98-99); XLVIII (pp. 100-101); LXV (pp. 140-141).

[73] VW XXIX (pp. 56-57).

[74] VW X (pp. 22-23).

[75] P. Semper, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2009).

[76] Latin text from: A. W. Haddan & W. Stubbs (eds.), *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland*, III (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1871), pp. 360-376. English translation from: H. Gee & W. J. Hardy (eds.), *Documents Illustrative of English Church History* (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1896), pp. 15-32. References to these texts will give the number of the canon and the page numbers where the Latin and the English translation appears.

'milestone' in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church as they covered a wide-ranging set of reforms.[77] At the time the instruction of the laity was considered to be of great concern, and so they included the duties of the bishops and priests in the delivery of pastoral care.[78] In the canons the 'pastoral duties are not portrayed as devolving upon organizations and communities, but upon individuals by virtue of their ordination'.[79] They were written after a period of great change in the Church in an attempt to impose some order and uniformity, although there is little evidence of how successful they were.[80] *episcopus*[81] is mainly used throughout the text for bishops, with *archiepiscopus* being used for archbishops in general,[82] and for Cuthbert[83] and Augustine[84] in particular. *pontifex*[85] is used only once when referring to the pope. When listing the individual bishops present at the synod,[86] the author, as Bede did on occasion, uses several different terms within the same paragraph: *archiepiscopus* for Cuthbert;[87] *antistes*[88] for Dun;[89] *episcopus* for Totta,[90] Huita,[91] Podda,[92] Alwi[93] and

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[77] C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650-c.850* (London: Leicester University Press, 1995), p. 99.

[78] *Ibid*., p. 99.

[79] C. Cubitt, 'Pastoral Care and Conciliar Canons: The Provisions of the 747 Council of Clofesho', J. Blair & R. Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), p. 206.

[80] *Ibid*., pp. 122-123.

[81] There are fifteen examples of the word *episcopus* which can be found in: (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16); I (CCHS p. 363) (CCGH p. 17); 3 (CCHS pp. 363-364) (CCGH pp. 17-18); 4 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH p. 18); 5 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH p. 18); 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19); 7 (CCHS pp. 364-365) (CCGH p. 19); 9 (CCHS pp. 365-366) (CCGH p. 20); 12 (CCHS pp. 366-367) (CCGH p. 21); 20 (CCHS p. 369) (CCGH p. 23); 24 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH p. 25); 25 (CCHS p. 371) (CCGH pp. 25-26).

[82] 25 (CCHS p. 371) (CCGH pp. 25-26).

[83] (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16).

[84] 17 (CCHS p. 368) (CCGH p. 23).

[85] There is one example of the word *pontifex* which can be found in: (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16).

[86] (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16).

[87] *Cuthbeorht* is listed as bishop of Canterbury (740-760): F. M. Powicke & E. B. Fryde (eds.), *Handbook of British Chronology* (London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 2nd edn., 1961), p. 209.

[88] There is one example of the word *antistes* which can be found in: (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16).

[89] *Dunn* is listed as bishop of Rochester (741-747): Powicke & Fryde, *Handbook of British*

Sicga;[94] *praesul*[95] for Hunferd[96] and Herewald;[97] and *sacerdos* for Heardulf,[98] Ecgulph[99] and Milred.[100] As all these men are known to have been bishops, it would appear that the author used the different terms simply for stylistic reasons.

Where *episcopus* is used the bishops are to: defend pastoral care, preach and lead a good life;[101] visit their dioceses annually and teach the laity;[102] admonish the abbots and abbesses in their dioceses, and set a good example;[103] visit the *monasteria* possessed by secular men to minister to them;[104] make inquiry of the *monachi* and *clerici* before ordaining them to the order of *presbyter*;[105] promote reading and knowledge in their *familias*;[106] ensure that their *monasteria* were quiet places;[107] examine men before allowing them to join the monastic life;[108] and lastly, following a synod, arrange a meeting for all their *presbyteri*, abbots and *præpositis*,[109] so as to

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Chronology, p. 247.

[90] *Torhthelm is listed as bishop of Leicester (737-764): Ibid.*, p. 232.

[91] *Hwita is listed as bishop of Lichfield (737-749x752): Ibid.*, p. 232.

[92] *Podda is listed as bishop of Hereford (741-747x758): Ibid.*, p. 229.

[93] *Alwig is listed as bishop of Lindsey (733-750): Ibid.*, p. 238.

[94] *Sigga is listed as bishop of Selsey (733-747x765): Ibid.*, p. 253.

[95] There are four examples of *praesul* which can be found in: (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16); (CCHS p. 363) (CCGH p. 17).

[96] *Hunfrith is listed as bishop of Winchester (744-749x754): Powicke & Fryde, Handbook of British Chronology*, p. 257.

[97] *Hereweald is listed as bishop of Sherborne (736-766x778): Ibid.*, p. 254.

[98] *Eardwulf is listed as bishop of Dunwich and East Anglia (731x747-747x775): Ibid.*, p. 220.

[99] *Ecgwulf is listed as bishop of London (745-766x772): Ibid.*, p. 238.

[100] *Mildred is listed as bishop of Worcester (743x745-774x775): Ibid.*, p. 260.

[101] 1 (CCHS p. 363) (CCGH p. 17).

[102] 3 (CCHS pp. 363-364) (CCGH pp. 17-18).

[103] 4 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH p. 18).

[104] 5 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH p. 18).

[105] 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19).

[106] 7 (CCHS pp. 364-365) (CCGH p. 19).

[107] 20 (CCHS p. 369) (CCGH p. 23).

[108] 24 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH p. 25).

[109] *præpositus* originally meant chief, overseer or commander: Smith & Lockwood, *Latin-English Dictionary*, p. 567.

impart the injunctions to them.[110] The implication of these instructions is that many bishops were not doing these things.

sacerdos[111] appears nine times in the text, once in *cum plurimis sacerdotibus Domini, et minoribus quoque ecclesiastici gradus dignitatibus*,[112] with this same distinction between *sacerdos* and lesser men being made again later.[113] In this example *sacerdos* seems to refer to men who were 'priests'. Where *episcopi* were to visit the *monasteria* possessed by secular men they were to minister to them, to halt any decline, *ne sine sacerdotis ministerio*.[114] Similarly the term *sacerdos* is also used for the ministry of the *presbyter*.[115] Where *sacerdotes Dei* is used it seems to cover all men of the orders of bishop and priest.[116] Nuns, *sanctimoniales*, are said to be veiled by a *sacerdos*,[117] and as *episcopus* is not specifically used here, it seems to imply that *sacerdos* refers to bishops and priests, if priests were allowed to veil nuns.

presbyter[118] is used nine times for what we would call a priest. These men are to:

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[110] 25 (CCHS p. 371) (CCGH pp. 25-26).

[111] There are nine examples of the word *sacerdos* which can be found in: (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16); 5 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH p. 18); 11 (CCHS p. 366) (CCGH pp. 20-21); 14 (CCHS p. 367) (CCGH pp. 21-22); 26 (CCHS pp. 371-372) (CCGH p. 27); 28 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH p. 30); 30 (CCHS pp. 375-376) (CCGH pp. 31-32).

[112] 'with many priests of the Lord, and of those ecclesiastical order in lesser dignities': (CCHS p. 362) (CCGH p. 16).

[113] 30 (CCHS pp. 375-376) (CCGH pp. 31-32).

[114] 5 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH p. 18).

[115] 11 (CCHS p. 366) (CCGH pp. 20-21).

[116] 14 (CCHS p. 367) (CCGH pp. 21-22); 26 (CCHS pp. 371-372) (CCGH pp. 27); 30 (CCHS pp. 375-376) (CCGH pp. 31-32).

[117] 28 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH p.30).

[118] There are nine examples of the word *presbyter* which can be found in: 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19); 8 (CCHS p. 365) (CCGH pp. 19-20); 9 (CCHS pp. 365-366) (CCGH p. 20); 10 (CCHS p. 366) (CCGH p. 20); 11 (CCHS p. 366) (CCGH pp. 20-21); 12 (CCHS pp. 366-367) (CCGH p. 21); 14 (CCHS p. 367) (CCGH pp. 21-22); 25 (CCHS p. 371) (CCGH pp. 25-26).

preach, teach and give penance;[119] carry out their duties correctly, look after the places of worship, be assistants to their abbots and abbesses, read and celebrate mass;[120] discharge their duty in the area assigned to them by the bishop, leading a good life, baptising, teaching and visiting;[121] learn the correct rites, especially mass and baptism;[122] ensure uniformity, especially of baptism, teaching and giving penance;[123] behave in church and not do anything that only *episcopi* are allowed to do;[124] and remain in their *monasteria* and churches on Sundays and festivals, to celebrate mass and to preach to the laity.[125] These are the duties and activities which we would expect of a priest.

The terms *diaconus* and *subdiaconus* are never used, probably because the canons were directed at the bishops and priests. However, the terms *clericus* and *clerus*[126] are used for: the minor orders when talking about ordaining them to the rank of *presbyter*;[127] the clergy in general;[128] differentiating them from monks as in *sive clerici, sive monachi* where correct dress was discussed;[129] and again where *clericos, vel monachos* were to return to their original *monasteria*.[130] In the latter case it is

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[119] 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19).

[120] 8 (CCHS p. 365) (CCGH pp. 19-20).

[121] 9 (CCHS pp. 365-366) (CCGH p. 20).

[122] 10 (CCHS p. 366) (CCGH p. 20).

[123] 11 (CCHS p. 366) (CCGH pp. 20-21).

[124] 12 (CCHS pp. 366-367) (CCGH p. 21).

[125] 14 (CCHS p. 367) (CCGH pp. 21-22).

[126] There are four examples of the words *clericus* and *clerus* which can be found in: 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19); 16 (CCHS p. 368) (CCGH p. 22); 28 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH p. 30); 29 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH pp. 30-31).

[127] 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19).

[128] 16 (CCHS p. 368) (CCGH p. 22).

[129] 28 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH p. 30).

[130] 29 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH pp. 30-31).

clear that the clerks and the monks all lived in *monasteria*. *rector*[131] appears to be

used for a religious ruler,[132] but on one occasion specifically of a *monasterium* as

opposed to the *episcopus* being in charge of an *ecclesia*.[133] *minister*[134] is used as in

Dei ministri, for all religious men in general,[135] and for men of the rank of

presbyter.[136] A *monachus*[137] could be ordained as *presbyter*;[138] must live subject to

his superior and rule;[139] must dress properly;[140] and must live in his original

monasterium.[141] In this work the terms *monasteriales* and *ecclesiastici* are used for

the monastics and ecclesiastics in a general sense to cover all religious personnel who

were to lead good lives.[142]

Two centuries later, the anonymous[143] *Regularis Concordia*,[144] written in Latin in the

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[131] There are three examples of the word *rector* which can be found in: 7 (CCHS pp. 364-365) (CCGH p. 19); 22 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH pp. 24-25); 24 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH p. 25).

[132] 7 (CCHS pp. 364-365) (CCGH p. 19); 22 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH pp. 24-25).

[133] 24 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH p. 25).

[134] There are three examples of the word *minister* which can be found in: 2 (CCHS p. 363) (CCGH p. 17); 8 (CCHS p. 365) (CCGH pp. 19-20); 9 (CCHS pp. 365-366) (CCGH p. 20).

[135] 2 (CCHS p. 363) (CCHG p. 17).

[136] 8 (CCHS p. 365) (CCGH pp. 19-20); 9 (CCHS pp. 365-366) (CCGH p. 20).

[137] There are four examples of the word *monachus* which can be found in: 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19); 19 (CCHS pp. 368-369) (CCGH p. 23); 28 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH p. 30); 29 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH pp. 30-31).

[138] 6 (CCHS p. 364) (CCGH pp. 18-19).

[139] 19 (CCHS pp. 368-369) (CCGH p. 23).

[140] 28 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH p. 30).

[141] 29 (CCHS p. 374) (CCGH pp. 30-31).

[142] There are five examples where *monasteriales* and *ecclesiastici* appear together which can be found in: 15 (CCHS p. 367) (CCGH p. 22); 17 (CCHS p. 368) (CCGH p. 23); 21 (CCHS p. 369) (CCGH p. 24); 22 (CCHS p. 370) (CCGH pp. 24-25); 375 (CCHS pp. 375-376) (CCGH pp. 31-32); and one example where *monasteriales* appears with *sæculares* which can be found in: 9 (CCHS pp. 365-366) (CCGH p. 20).

[143] Although the *Regularis Concordia* is anonymous, it is believed to have been put together by Ethelwold under the influence of Dunstan: Symons, *The Monastic Agreement*, p. lii.

[144] Dom T. Symons (trans.), *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation* (London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1953). References to this text will give the item number or the chapter and item number, and the page numbers (which is the same on both sides) where the Latin and the English translation appears.

reign of Edgar (959-975),[145] was compiled by the author from various sources,[146] surviving in two documents from the tenth and eleventh centuries.[147] It appears that in the eyes of the leading reformers all was not well with the reform, and a bond of union among reformed houses was needed.[148] This was a period when the secular clerks were being evicted from religious foundations and replaced by monks.[149] However, this agreement had a lasting effect and the Benedictine monasteries replaced the older establishments, changing the nature of Anglo-Saxon religion. The main purpose of the *Regularis Concordia* is to give a detailed account of the lives the monks were to lead, and so most emphasis was placed on these men, and less on the ordained clergy. The terms *monachus*[150] and *frater*[151] are used for the monks, with a *decanus*[152] appearing only twice, once bearing a staff in one of the services,[153] and secondly in charge of the brother appointed as *circa*,[154] whose name was taken from 'his office of going rounds',[155] ensuring that the monks stayed awake during the offices.

The terms *archiepiscopus*,[156] *episcopus*,[157] *sacerdos*,[158] *presbyter*,[159] *diaconus*,[160]

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[145] *Ibid.*, p. x.

[146] 'It has been put together by a process of selection, adaptation, alteration and blending of the borrowed material on which it is largely based': *Ibid.*, p. li.

[147] *Ibid.*, p. li.

[148] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv.

[149] *Ibid.*, p. xix.

[150] There are only eleven examples of the word *monachus* throughout the whole text which can be found in: RC Title (p. 1); 2 (pp. 1-2); 5 (p. 3); 6 (p. 4); 7 (p. 4); 8 (p. 5); 9 (p. 6); V.50 (p. 49).

[151] Examples can be found in: RC 4 (pp. 2-3); 9 (p. 6); I.24 (p. 20); IV.40 (pp. 38-39); IV.42 (pp. 40-41); IV.43 (pp. 41-43); IV.45 (p. 44); V.48 (p. 47); V.49 (pp. 48-49); X.62 (p. 61).

[152] According to St. Benedict in large communities a *decanus* or dean was to be in charge of ten or more monks: Symons, *The Monastic Agreement*, p. xxx.

[153] RC IV.41 (pp. 39-40).

[154] RC VII.57 (p. 56). In the footnote the title of this brother is referred to as *circa* or *circator*.

[155] RC VII.57 (p. 56).

[156] There is one example of *archiepiscopus* which can be found in: RC 7 (p. 4).

clericus[161] and *minister*[162] all appear in the text, mainly to do with their roles in the performance of mass and the various services and festivals. Obviously only the ordained orders could perform such rituals, and once again it seems clear that *episcopus* and *presbyter* refer to bishop and priest respectively. The term *sacerdos*, although translated by Symons as priest, could often refer to either a bishop or a priest. However, as *presbyter* is only used twice throughout the whole text, in many instances *sacerdos* may have been used for the specific rank of priest, although it is often difficult to say from the context. *diaconus* and *subdiaconus* appear twenty-five times in the text, far more times than the other orders, which suggests that deacons and subdeacons may have had a more active role in the Benedictine monasteries, or that more of them chose not to become priests. The terms *clericus* and *clerus* seem to be used very loosely for men of any rank. *minister* appears to be used for the ordained clergy who could participate in the mass and services and on three occasions appear as *ministri altaris*.[163] An *acolytus* appears twice in the text, carrying a cushion for the cross[164] and holding candles.[165] The order of acolyte evidently still existed at this date and still actively participated in the services.

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[157] There are six examples of *episcopus* which can be found in: RC 4 (pp. 2-3); 9 (p. 6); IV.41 (pp. 39-40); including where the bishop consecrated the chrism.

[158] There are thirteen examples of *sacerdos* which can be found in: RC III.33 (p. 31); IV.34 (p. 38); IV.36 (pp. 34-36); IV.40 (pp. 38-39); IV.47 (pp. 45-46); V.49 (pp. 48-49); V.50 (p. 49); V.52 (pp. 50-51); VIII.58 (p. 57); XII.65 (p. 64); XII.66 (p. 65); XII.67 (p. 66).

[159] There are two examples of *presbyter* which can be found in: RC IV.41 (pp. 39-40); V.52 (pp. 50-51).

[160] There are twenty-five examples of *diaconus* and *subdiaconus* which can be found in: RC IV.34 (p. 33); IV.36 (pp. 34-36); IV.42 (pp. 40-41); IV.43 (pp. 41-43); IV.44 (pp. 42-43); IV.46 (pp. 44-45); IV.47 (pp. 45-46); V.48 (p. 47); IX.61 (p. 60); XII.67 (p. 66).

[161] There are four examples of *clericus*/*clerus* which can be found in: RC 2 (pp. 1-2); IV.44 (pp. 42-43); IV.45 (p. 44); V.51 (p. 50).

[162] There are sixteen examples of *minister* which can be found in: RC I.20 (pp. 15-16); I.23 (p. 19); I.24 (p. 20); I.25 (p. 21); III.31 (pp. 28-29); IV.34 (p. 33); IV.35 (p. 33); IV.40 (pp. 38-39); IV.42 (pp. 40-41); IV.43 (pp. 41-43); IV.47 (pp. 45-46); V.49 (pp. 48-49); VIII.59 (pp. 58-59); XII.65 (p. 64).

[163] RC IV.34 (p. 33); IV.40 (pp. 38-39); IV.43 (pp. 41-43).

[164] RC IV.44 (pp. 42-43).

Although Anglo-Saxon wills[166] were not specifically concerned with the religious personnel the terms do turn up in them occasionally. The majority of the wills were written in Old English from the mid tenth century onwards,[167] only surviving in later copies,[168] and were the predecessors of the modern will.[169] *ærcebiscop*,[170] *biscop*,[171] *mæssepreost*,[172] *preost*,[173] *diacon*[174] and *munuc*[175] all appear as titles for named individuals, especially where they are listed as witnesses to the will. Bishops were often left estates and gold,[176] and in one case a tent and bed-clothing.[177] In one will an estate was left to St. Paul's for the bishop, for lights and for spreading the word of Christianity to the people, and to the *cirice* for the *preost* who served there,[178] but it is not clear what this *preost* did, and whether he was a priest or in minor orders.

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[165] RC V.48 (p. 47).

[166] The Anglo-Saxon wills studied here are from: D. Whitelock (ed. & trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930); D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, I, AD 871-1204, Part I, 871-1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). Please refer to Appendix I for a list of the specific wills used. References to these texts will give the number of the will and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.

[167] The majority of the wills are from the mid-tenth century and the end of the Anglo-Saxon period: Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. xli.

[168] *Ibid.*, p. xli.

[169] *Ibid.*, p. vii.

[170] Examples can be found in: XI (W pp. 28-29); XVII (W pp. 46-47 & 50-51); XXX (W pp. 78-79); XXXIV (W pp. 88-91).

[171] Examples can be found in: X (W pp. 24-25); XI (W pp. 26-27); XVI (W pp. 42-43); XX (W pp. 56-63); XXVII (W pp. 74-75); XXVIII (W pp. 76-77); XXX (W pp. 78-79); XXXI (W pp. 80-81); 21 (WBB pp. 76-79); 51 (WBB p. 383); 66 (WBB p. 514).

[172] Examples can be found in: XX (W pp. 60-61); 51 (WBB pp. 385-386).

[173] Examples can be found in: XI (W pp. 26-29); XIV (W pp. 36-37); XXVIII (W pp. 76-79); XXX (W pp. 78-79); XXXI (W pp. 80-81); XXXIV (W pp. 90-91); XXXVII (W pp. 92-93); 51 (WBB pp. 384 & 386); 66 (WBB p. 515).

[174] Examples can be found in: XXVIII (W pp. 76-77).

[175] Examples can be found in: XXXI (W pp. 80-81); 51 (WBB pp. 384 & 386); 66 (WBB p. 515).

[176] Examples can be found in: XI (W pp. 26-29); XVI (W pp. 42-43); XXVIII (W pp. 76-77); XXXI (W pp. 80-81).

[177] XXVII (W pp. 74-75).

Men referred to as *mæssepreost* or *preost* were left land, gold and horses,[179] and the *mæssepreost* Ælfwine[180] was left not only an estate but also a sword.[181] In the will of Siflæd, *min kirke* was to be free, with the *preost* Wulfmær and his issue, providing that they were in holy orders, to sing there.[182] All religious were supposed to live chastely, although often the minor orders were allowed to marry, and so the use of the term *preost* here suggests a man of lower rank, and not a priest, especially as there is only the mention of him singing at the church. In most cases where *preost* is used it is not clear from the context whether the term refers to a priest or to a cleric in minor orders. In two separate wills *hirdpreost*[183] is used, each time with *preost*, but for different men, and so the two seemed to be considered as different orders. The *hirdpreost* may have been the lord's own personal priest, as in both wills he is referred to as *mine hirdpreost* whereas the *preost* is not. Money was left to gilds of *mæssepreostas* and *diaconas*,[184] estates were granted to *prestes and diaknes*,[185] and in the will of Leofgifu, two *preostas* and one *diacon* were to have a *mynster*.[186] In these examples, by linking the term *mæssepreost* or *preost* with *diacon*, it suggests that both the *mæssepreost* and *preost* were priests, not clerics in minor orders.

Although monks were not supposed to have personal possessions, they were

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[178] XVI (W pp. 42-43).

[179] Examples can be found in: XIII (W pp. 32-33); XIV (W pp. 36-37); XXXIV (W pp. 90-91); 51 (WBB pp. 384-385); 66 (WBB p. 515).

[180] XX (W pp. 60-61).

[181] 'Æthelstan leaves this sword to his chaplain, though a priest was technically not allowed to wear weapons': Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 172n.

[182] XXXVII (W pp. 92-93).

[183] XXVIII (W pp. 76-79); XXXI (W pp. 80-81). *hirdpreost* could mean regular priest or chaplain: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 184.

[184] X (W pp. 24-25).

[185] XXIII (W pp. 66-67).

[186] XXVIII (W pp. 76-77).

sometimes granted items, such as in the will of Alfwold, Bishop of Crediton, where the *munuc* Alfwold was left gold, a horse and a tent.[187] In this same will, the terms *mæssepreost* and *preost* are used,[188] with the descending order in the witness list as *mæssepreost*, *munuc*, *preost*, which suggests a distinction between these terms and that the *preost* was a cleric in minor orders.[189] Gold was left to every *godes þeow*,[190] and Whitelock believed that the term was used for monks, nuns and priests.[191] Where the term *mæssepreost* appears in these wills it seems, from *mæsse*, to be a priest in the modern sense of the word, able to perform mass and administer the sacraments. However, where *preost* appears in the wills on its own, it may have the same meaning, although this is difficult to tell from the little information given. When both terms are used together, it seems more likely that *preost* was a cleric in minor orders.

The use of these terms will now be examined in a few miscellaneous documents[192] written in Old English. The Exeter Guild Statute,[193] from the first half of the tenth century, had the *mæssepreost* singing masses at meetings.[194] In the account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries (c.970x984)[195] the terms *ærcebiscop*,[196] *biscop*,[197] *canonic*,[198] *Godes þeow*[199] and *munuc*[200] are used. Edgar replaced the

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[187] 51 (WBB p. 384). Also in the will of Ælfric, Bishop of Elmham, the *munuc* Wulfweard was granted five pounds and the *munuc* Edwin a mill: 66 (WBB p. 515).
[188] 51 (WBB pp. 384-386).
[189] 51 (WBB p. 386).
[190] III (W pp. 10-11).
[191] 'This term included monks and nuns as well as priests (see V Ethelred, 4. 1)': Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, p. 110n.
[192] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*. References to this text will give the number of the document and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.
[193] *Ibid*., no. 16, pp.57-60.
[194] WBB16 (pp. 58-59).
[195] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, no. 33, pp. 142-154.
[196] WBB33 (pp. 149-150).
[197] WBB33 (pp. 143-144).

sinful *canonicas*[201] with *munucas*,[202] but as the document only comes down to us in an early twelfth-century manuscript,[203] the term *canonic* may possibly date from that period. In an early eleventh-century document on the examination of candidates for ordination,[204] the terms *biscop*,[205] *mæssepreost*[206] and *diacon*[207] are used, and when necessary, the bishop could ordain a man who was *samlæredne*.[208] From the same period is a document on betrothal,[209] where a *mæssepreost* should bless the marriage,[210] although this was not yet a legal requirement.[211] The endowment of Stow, Lincolnshire, by Earl Leofric, (1053x1055)[212] contains the terms *ærcebiscop*, *biscop*, *mæssepreost* (of the king) and *preost* (of the *mynster*, receiving a third of the dues), which suggests a clear distinction between the last two terms. In three writs of the 1060s, King Edward granted the see of Wells to his *preost* Giso,[213] the *mynster* at Axminster to the *diacon* of *ærcebiscop* Ealdred to hold as any *preost* had before him,[214] and the see of Worcester to the *munuc* Wulfstan.[215]

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[198] WBB33 (p. 150).

[199] WBB33 (pp. 144-145).

[200] WBB33 (pp. 147-150).

[201] *canonic* could mean canon or canonical: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 64.

[202] WBB33 (p. 150).

[203] Whitelock, Brett and Brookes, *Councils and Synods*, p. 142.

[204] *Ibid.*, no. 57, pp. 422-427.

[205] WBB57 9 (p. 424); 10 (p. 424); 17 (pp. 425-426); 19 (p. 426); 21 (pp. 426-427).

[206] WBB57 21 (pp. 426-427).

[207] WBB57 21 (pp. 426-427).

[208] WBB57 16 (p. 425). *samlæred* could mean half-taught or badly-instructed: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 289.

[209] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, no. 58, pp. 427-431.

[210] WBB58 8 (p. 431).

[211] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, p. 427.

[212] *Ibid.*, no. 73, pp. 540-543.

[213] *Ibid.*, no. 76, pp. 547-548.

[214] *Ibid.*, no. 82, p. 559.

[215] *Ibid.*, no. 83, pp. 560-561.

Old English Homilies[216] is a collection of homilies from the twelfth and thirteen centuries which display the changes in the language occurring at that time,[217] although they were compiled from eleventh-century documents.[218] The Church personnel are not mentioned very often, and usually it is with regard to shrift, where the term *preost*,[219] and not *mæssepreost*, is used. As only ###priests### could hear confession and give penance, *preost* here seems to refer to a priest and not a cleric in minor orders. *biscop* is used occasionally, including when concerning the baptised being confirmed,[220] and the *preost* was distinct from the *biscop*, being under him in rank.[221] In the homily *An Bispel*, *archebiscopes and biscopes, prestes, and hare gegeng*[222] are listed, which suggests that the term *preost* is being used here for priest. *diacon* appears three times, but only in a homily relating the story of the Good Samaritan.[223] The following terms appear occasionally in some of the homilies: *munuc*;[224] *Godes þeow*;[225] *clerk*;[226] *ihad*.[227] The last three terms seem to refer to clerks in general from the minor orders, who were to live chaste lives and teach the

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[216] R. Morris (ed.), *Old English Homilies*, The Early English Text Society, 34, Series I (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868). Please refer to Appendix II for a list of the specific homilies used. References to this text will give the number of the homily and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.

[217] *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

[218] *Ibid.*, p. xi.

[219] Examples can be found in: OEH I (pp. 8-9); II (pp. 16-17 & 22-23); III (pp. 24-25, 28-31 & 34-37); VIII (pp. 84-85); XV (pp. 148-149); XVI (pp. 152-153).

[220] OEH IX (pp. 100-101).

[221] OEH III (pp. 34-37).

[222] 'archbishops, bishops, priests, and their company': OEH XXV (pp. 236-237).

[223] OEH VIII (pp. 78-81).

[224] OEH IX (pp. 92-93); XIV (pp. 142-143); XX (pp. 198-199).

[225] OEH X (pp. 104-105).

[226] OEH XIII (pp. 132-133); XXIX (pp. 276-277).

[227] OEH XIII (pp. 130-131). *had* could mean person, individual, character, individuality, degree, rank, order, office (especially holy office), condition, state, nature, form, manner, sex, race, family, tribe or choir: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 164.

laity, with the Latin derived *cleric*[228] appearing to be a later term. In these homilies it appears that the term *preost*, and not *mæssepreost*, is used for priest, with the term *cleric* used for a man in minor orders.

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[228] *cleric*, from the Latin *clericus*, could mean clerk in holy orders, clerk in minor orders or educated person: Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 70.

Chapter VI

This chapter will now look at the law-codes[1] and regulations concerning the Anglo-Saxon clergy. Although the Anglo-Saxon law-codes[2] were written in Old English sometimes only a Latin translation has survived.[3] The early Kentish laws survive in manuscripts copied 400-500 years later where much of the language has been modernised.[4] As the 'text presents a mixture of forms of various periods from the seventh to the twelfth century'[5] it is impossible to date the terms used. In the law-codes of Æthelberht[6] (597x617) and of Wihtred (695), to judge from the context the terms *biscop*,[7] *preost*,[8] *diacon*[9] and *cleric*[10] are used for bishop, priest, deacon and clerk respectively. In Æthelberht###s code, different levels of compensation for property theft were given, with the amount decreasing down the list of *biscop*, *preost*, *diacon* and *cleric*.[11] In Wihtred###s code a *preost* must not refuse to baptise a sick man.[12] The term *preost* in both these law-codes appears to be used for a priest, with *cleric* for a man in minor orders. However, the use of both these terms in this way

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[1] For an in-depth discussion of the law-codes see: P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, Vol. I (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1999).

[2] F. L. Attenborough (ed. & trans.), *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922) & A. J. Robertson (ed. & trans.), *The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1925). References to these texts will give the law-code and the page numbers where the Old English or the Latin and the English translation appears.

[3] Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. vi & Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 5.

[4] Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 3.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

[6] Bede's reference to the codes of Æthelberht is the only explicit evidence that they were his: Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 93.

[7] ASLC1: Æthelberht 1 (pp. 4-5); Wihtred (pp. 24-25); 5 (pp. 24-25); 6 (pp. 26-27); 16 (pp. 26-27); 22 (pp. 28-29).

[8] ASLC1: Æthelberht 1 (pp. 4-5); Wihtred 6 (pp. 26-27); 17 (pp. 28-29); 18 (pp. 28-29).

[9] ASLC1: Æthelberht 1 (pp. 4-5); Wihtred 18 (pp. 28-29).

[10] ASLC1: Æthelberht 1 (pp. 4-5); Wihtred 19 (pp. 28-29).

[11] ASLC1: Æthelberht 1 (pp. 4-5).

[12] ASLC1: Wihtred 6 (pp. 26-27).

may be due to a later modernisation of the original language.

Ine's laws (688x694) only survive as an appendix to those of Alfred (892x893), with the terminology resembling that of later times as it was brought into conformity.[13] Therefore, the use and meanings of the terms in Ine's laws cannot be seen to be those of the late seventh century but those of two centuries later. The terms *ærcebiscop*,[14] *biscop*,[15] *preost*,[16] *munuc*[17] and *Godes þeow*[18] appear in both these codes. In one clause of Alfred's codes, the use of *cyninges preoste* suggests that some priests specifically served the king.[19] The *Godes ðeowas*[20] in Ine's code were to observe their *ryhtregol* ('proper rule').[21] From the context it appears that the term *preost* in Alfred's law-codes refers to a priest. However, this had not been the case in the OE version of Bede's Ecclesiastical History which dates from the same period, where *mæssepreost* appears to have been used for priest, with *preost* being used for a minor cleric. This may have been a transition period in the use of these two terms, or it may be that *preost* had always meant either a priest or a cleric in minor orders.

Two of Æthelstan's law-codes from the early tenth century survive only in Latin

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[13] Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, pp. 34-35.

[14] ASLC1: Alfred 3 (pp. 64-65); 15 (pp. 72-73); 40 (pp. 82-83).

[15] ASLC1: Ine (pp. 36-37); 1 (pp. 36-37); 13 (pp. 40-41); 45 (pp. 50-51); 76.3 (pp. 60-61); Alfred 1.2 (pp. 62-63); 3 (pp. 64-65); 5 (pp. 66-67); 8 (pp. 68-69); 15 (pp. 72-73); 21 (pp. 74-75); 40 (pp. 82-83); 41 (pp. 82-83).

[16] ASLC1: Ine 3.2 (pp. 36-37); Alfred 21 (pp. 74-75); 35.4 (pp. 78-79); 35.6 (pp. 78-79); 38.2 (pp. 80-81).

[17] ASLC1: Alfred 20 (pp. 74-75).

[18] ASLC1: Ine (pp. 36-37); 1 (pp. 36-37).

[19] ASLC1: Alfred 38.2 (pp. 80-81).

[20] *godes þeowas* denotes all clergy, both secular and regular: Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 183n.

[21] ASLC1: Ine 1 (pp. 36-37).

translations,[22] where the terms used are *archiepiscopus*[23] and *episcopus*[24] for archbishop and bishop. In the OE codes of Æthelstan, including a fragment of IV, *ærcebiscop*[25] and *biscop*[26] are used. *Godes þeow* appears twice,[27] and in one code he was to sing psalms in the *mynster* for the king.[28] *mæssepreost* appears in II Æthelstan where he was needed to witness cattle exchanges[29] and for his role in ordeals.[30] Although these laws are dated after those of Alfred, *mæssepreost* is used for priest with no mention of *preost* at all.

In the law-codes of Edmund from the mid tenth century, the OE terms *ærcebiscop*[31] and *biscop*[32] are used, with *episcopus*[33] in the Latin. Whereas in the corresponding clause in II Æthelstan a *mæssepreost*[34] was to witness cattle exchanges, in III Edmund it was a *sacerdos*,[35] which could refer to bishops and priests. Those in *halgan*[36] *hadas*, male and female, were to teach by example by leading a celibate life.[37] It is not

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[22] Attenborough, *The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*, p. 113.

[23] ASLC1: IV Æthelstan 6.1 (pp. 148-149).

[24] ASLC1: III Æthelstan (pp. 142-143); 6.2 (pp. 148-149).

[25] ASLC1: I Æthelstan (pp. 122-123); Ordinance Relating to Charities (pp. 126-127); II Æthelstan 23.2 (pp. 140-141); (pp. 142-143);VI Æthelstan 10 (pp. 166-167); 12.1 (pp. 168-169); Æthelstan appendix II 1 (pp. 170-171).

[26] ASLC1: I Æthelstan (pp. 122-123); 1 (pp. 122-123); Ordinance Relating to Charities (pp. 126-127); 1 (pp. 1256-127); 2 (pp. 126-127); II Æthelstan 14.2 (pp. 134-135); 25.1 (pp. 140-141); 26 (pp. 140-143); IV Æthelstan 6.1 (pp. 150-151); VI Æthelstan (pp. 156-157); 1 (pp. 156-157); 10 (pp. 166-167); 11 (pp. 168-169); 12.1 (pp. 168-169); 12.2 (pp. 168-169); Æthelstan appendix II 1 (pp. 170-171).

[27] ASLC1: Ordinance Relating to Charities (pp. 126-127); V Æthelstan 3 (pp. 154-155).

[28] ASLC1: V Æthelstan 3 (pp. 154-155).

[29] ASLC1: II Æthelstan 10 (pp. 132-133).

[30] ASLC1: II Æthelstan 23 (pp. 138-139); Æthelstan appendix II (pp. 170-171); 1.4 (pp. 172-173).

[31] ASLC2: I Edmund (pp. 6-7).

[32] ASLC2: I Edmund (pp. 6-7); 3 (pp. 6-7); 5 (pp. 6-7); II Edmund 4 (pp. 10-11).

[33] ASLC2: III Edmund (pp. 12-13).

[34] ASLC1: II Æthelstan 10 (pp. 132-133).

[35] ASLC2: III Edmund 5 (pp. 14-15).

[36] *halig* could mean holy, consecrated, sacred, venerated, godly, saintly, ecclesiastical, pacific or tame: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 167.

[37] ASLC2: I Edmund 1 (pp. 6-7).

clear whether this refers to just those in monastic orders or to those in clerical orders as well. In the mid tenth-century law-codes of Edgar, which survive in eleventh- and twelfth-century copies,[38] *mæssepreost*[39] and *preost*[40] are used along with *ærcebiscop*[41] and *biscop*,[42] and one example of *Godes þeow*.[43] The *mæssepreost* of the *mynster*, with the reeves, was to take the tithes[44] when they had been withheld,[45] and a lord could give part of his tithes to the *preost* of his *cirice* without a graveyard.[46] Here the *mæssepreost* was at the *mynster* whereas the *preost* was at the lord's *cirice*,[47] which may suggest that the latter was a cleric in minor orders.

Of all Æthelred's law-codes, from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, of which I to IV survive in twelfth-century manuscripts,[48] two survive in Latin translations[49] where *episcopus*[50] and *presbyter*[51] are used for bishop and priest. *diaconus* and *clericus* appear with *presbyter* in one code where the first two orders sang thirty

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[38] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, pp. 95 & 102-103.

[39] ASLC2: II Edgar 3.1 (pp. 20-23).

[40] ASLC2: II Edgar 2.1 (pp. 20-21); IV Edgar 1.8 (pp. 32-33). In the latter example, 'the reference may be specially to the priests of churches in private hands': Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 307n.

[41] ASLC2: IV Edgar 1.4 (pp. 30-31).

[42] ASLC2: II Edgar 3.1 (pp. 20-23); III Edgar 3 (pp. 24-25); 5.2 (pp. 26-27); IV Edgar 1.8 (pp. 32-33).

[43] ASLC2: IV Edgar 1.7 (pp. 30-31).

[44] Tithes only became a legal obligation and enforceable in the tenth century: Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 154.

[45] ASLC2: II Edgar 3.1 (pp. 20-23). See also ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 8 (pp. 120-121); I Cnut 8.2 (pp. 164-165).

[46] ASLC2: II Edgar 2.1 (pp. 20-21). See also ASLC2: I Cnut 11.1 (pp. 164-165).

[47] Gelling saw a *mynster* as a church served by a community of monks, nuns or priests, and a *cirice* as a subordinate church served by one priest: M. Gelling, 'The Word *Church* in English Place-Names', E. Quinton (ed.), *The Church in English Place-Names* (Nottingham: English Place-Name Society, Extra Series 4, 2009), pp. 8-9.

[48] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 320.

[49] ASLC2: IV Æthelred; VII Æthelred.

[50] ASLC2: IV Æthelred 8 (pp. 76-77); VII Æthelred 5 (pp. 112-113).

[51] ASLC2: VII Æthelred 2.2 (pp. 108-109); 2.2a (pp. 108-109); 2.5 (pp. 110-111); 3.2 (pp. 110-111).

psalms, whilst the latter sang thirty masses.[52] In another code, the *presbyter* in every *cenobio et conventu monachorum* was to celebrate mass.[53] In V and VI Æthelred, a *canon*[54] lived in a *mynster* according to a rule.[55] A *munuc* must return to his own *mynster*[56] and live according to the rule,[57] and, if he was without one, live according to his vows.[58] *Godes þeowas* are listed as: *biscopas 7 abbodas, munecas 7 minicena, preostas 7 nunnan*, who must live according to their rule and do their duty.[59] In a similar list in VI Æthelred *canonicas* replaces *preostas*,[60] and it appears that both terms are used for secular priests. *sacerdas*, who from the context appear to be 'priests', are also classed as *Godes þeowas*.[61] Unusually, *ciricðen*[62] is used for a 'minister of the church' who could not be evicted without the bishop's permission,[63] but it is not clear from the context if this referred to a priest or a cleric in minor orders, as *ðen*[64] could have many meanings, secular and religious. *mæssepreost* is used for priests who said mass,[65] who could live either according to a rule,[66] or not,[67]

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[52] *Et super hoc cantet omnis presbiter XXX missas et omnis diaconus et clericus XXX psalmos*: ASLC2: VII Æthelred 2.2a (pp. 108-109).

[53] ASLC2: VII Æthelred 3.2 (pp. 110-111).

[54] 'This is the first occurrence of the term 'canon' in the Laws and, apart from this context, it appears in only one other clause': Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 327n.

[55] ASLC2: V Æthelred 7 (pp. 80-81); VI Æthelred 4 (pp. 92-93).

[56] ASLC2: V Æthelred 5 (pp. 80-81); VI Æthelred 3 (pp. 90-91).

[57] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 31.1 (pp. 126-127).

[58] ASLC2: V Æthelred 6 (pp. 80-81); VI Æthelred 3.1 (pp. 92-93).

[59] ASLC2: V Æthelred 4 (pp. 80-81).

[60] ASLC2: VI Æthelred 2 (pp. 90-91). See also I Cnut 6 (pp. 162-163).

[61] ASLC2: VI Æthelred 5 (pp. 92-93). See also I Cnut 6a.1 (pp. 162-163).

[62] *ciricðen* could mean minister of a church: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 69.

[63] ASLC2: V Æthelred 10.2 (pp. 82-83); VI Æthelred 15 (pp. 96-97).

[64] *ðen* or *þegn* could mean servant, minister, retainer, vassal, follower, disciple, freeman, master, courtier, noble, military attendant, warrior or hero: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 357.

[65] ASLC2: VII Æthelred 6.1 (pp. 116-117).

[66] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 19 (pp. 122-123). *cf*. I Cnut 5 (pp. 158-159).

[67] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 21 (pp. 122-123). *cf*. I Cnut 5a.2 (pp. 160-161).

and a *diacon* could also live according to a rule.[68] If a *munuc oððe mæssepreost* became a *wiðersaca*[69] he was excommunicated.[70] From the context, *gehad*[71] appears to be used for a man in clerical orders, of no specific order, but distinct from a layman,[72] and *weofodþen*[73] for those in major orders.[74]

The so-called laws of Edward and Guthrum have now been attributed to a later date (1002x1008) than originally thought.[75] *mæssepreost*[76] and *preost*[77] are used in one law where the former must not misdirect the people, and the latter must fetch the chrism on the correct day[78] and not deny anyone baptism. Both seem to refer to a priest but there is no apparent reason why both terms are used. *gehadod man* is used generally for a 'man in orders',[79] appearing to cover all clerical orders below bishop, to whom he was subject if he commited a crime.[80]

The laws of the early eleventh century include the proclamations and laws of Cnut,

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[68] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 20 (pp. 122-123); 21 (pp. 122-123). *cf.* I Cnut 5a.1 & 5a.2 (pp. 160-161).

[69] *wiðersaca* could mean adversary, enemy, betrayer or apostate: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 415.

[70] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 41 (pp. 128-129).

[71] *gehad* or *had* could mean person, individual, character, individuality, degree, rank, order, office (especially holy office), condition, state, nature, form, manner, sex, race, family, tribe or choir: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 164.

[72] ASLC2: VII Æthelred 7 (pp. 116-117); VIII Æthelred 23 (pp. 124-125); 27 (pp. 124-125).

[73] *weofodþen* could mean altar-attendant or priest: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 403. 'In *Insts. of Polity*, 23, ed. Thorpe, *Anc. Laws*, II, p. 336, the term is explained: *weofodþen, þæt is biscop oððe mæssepreost oððe diacon*': Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 340n.

[74] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 18 (pp. 122-123); 22 (pp. 124-125); 28 (pp. 124-125).

[75] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, p. 302.

[76] ASLC1: Edward & Guthrum 3.1 (pp. 102-105).

[77] ASLC1: Edward & Guthrum 3.2 (pp. 104-105).

[78] Chrism was the holy oil used in baptism and other rites which had to be collected from the bishop on Maundy Thursday: Foot, 'By Water in the Spirit', p. 181.

[79] ASLC1: Edward & Guthrum 3 (pp. 102-103); 4.2 (pp. 104-105); 12 (pp. 108-109).

[80] ASLC1: Edward & Guthrum 4.2 (pp. 104-105).

which Wulfstan is known to have influenced.[81] In the proclamation of 1020, which survives in a mid eleventh-century copy,[82] the OE terms *ærcebiscop*,[83] *biscop*,[84] *mæssepreost*[85] and *gehad*[86] are used, and in the proclamation of 1027 the Latin terms *archiepiscopus*[87] and *episcopus*[88] are used. There is one extant code of Cnut in OE which is in two parts, the first ecclesiastical and the second secular.[89] As many of the laws were taken from those of Edgar and Æthelred,[90] with some clauses being 'outright quotations' of earlier texts,[91] they will not be discussed again here. This raises the problem that some of the terms in Cnut's laws may have been copied from the earlier codes and therefore may not reflect the usage or meaning of the early eleventh century. The following terms appear: *ærcebiscop*;[92] *biscop* (God's teacher, attends court);[93] *sacerd* (performs baptism and the Eucharist, lives according to a rule, must be celibate);[94] *mæssepreost* (does not live according to a rule);[95] *preost* (in a *cirice* without a graveyard, performs offices);[96] *diacon* (lives according to a rule);[97]

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[81] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 353.

[82] Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 138.

[83] ASLC2: 1020 Cnut 1 (pp. 140-141); 3 (pp. 140-141); 8 (pp. 142-143).

[84] ASLC2: 1020 Cnut 1 (pp. 140-141); 8 (pp. 142-143); 9 (pp. 142-143); 11 (pp. 142-143); 14 (pp. 142-143).

[85] ASLC2: 1020 Cnut 1 19 (pp. 144-145).

[86] ASLC2: 1020 Cnut 1 (pp. 140-141); 9 (pp. 142-143).

[87] ASLC2: 1027 Cnut (pp. 146-147); 7 (pp. 148-149); 8 (pp. 148-149).

[88] ASLC2: 1027 Cnut (pp. 146-147); 8 (pp. 148-149); 16 (pp. 152-153).

[89] Robertson, *The Laws of the Kings of England*, p. 137.

[90] *Ibid*., p. 138.

[91] Wormald, *The Making of English Law*, p. 355.

[92] ASLC2: I Cnut 3a.2 (pp. 156-159); II Cnut 58.1 (pp. 204-205).

[93] ASLC2: I Cnut 5a.3 (pp. 160-161); 6a (pp. 162-163); 8.2 (pp. 164-165); 9 & 9.1 (pp. 164-165); 10 & 10.1 (pp. 164-165); 26 (pp. 172-173); 26.3 (pp. 174-175); II Cnut 18 & 18.1 (pp. 182-183); 36 (pp. 194-195); 42 (pp. 196-197); 43 (pp. 198-199); 48.1 (pp. 200-201); 53 & 53.1 (pp. 202-203); 54 & 54.1 (pp. 202-203); 56 & 56.1 (pp. 202-203); 58.2 (pp. 204-205.

[94] ASLC2: I Cnut 4.1(pp. 158-159); 4.2 (pp. 158-159); 5 (pp. 158-159); 6a.1 (pp. 162-163).

[95] ASLC2: I Cnut 5a.2 (pp. 160-161); 5a.3 (pp. 160-161); 8.2 (pp. 164-165); 26.3 (pp. 174-175).

[96] ASLC2: I Cnut 11.1 (pp. 164-165); II Cnut 39 (pp. 196-197); 54 & 54.1 (pp. 202-203).

[97] ASLC2: I Cnut 5a.1 (pp. 160-161); 5a.2 (pp. 160-161). *cf*. VIII Æthelred 20 & 21 (pp. 122-123).

canon;[98] *had* (appearing from the context to refer to all clergy in general when no rank needed to be specified);[99] *weofodþen*;[100] *Godes þeow*[101] and *munuc* (and a *mynstermunuc*).[102] *bisceopas 7 mæssepreostas*[103] are referred to as *hyrdas*.[104] In one clause concerning the killing of a *preost*, the term *weofodþen* is also used, seemingly for the same office,[105] and later a *weofodþen* is classed as one of the *gehadedum mannum*.[106] Whereas in VIII Æthelred the *mæssepreost* could live according to a rule or not, in I Cnut, a *sacerd* lived by a rule,[107] and a *mæssepreost* did not.[108] It may be that by this period different terms were beginning to be used for priests according to whether they were regular or secular.

In the late tenth and early eleventh centuries Ælfric wrote three pastoral letters, one in Old English for Wulfsige, and two in Latin for Wulfstan[109] which he later translated into OE at Wulfstan's request.[110] They were written in the form of instructions from the bishop to his clergy concerning their duties,[111] with the OE letters intended for the

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[98] ASLC2: I Cnut 6a (pp. 162-163).

[99] ASLC2: I Cnut 4 (pp. 158-159); 4.3 (pp. 158-159); 5a.1 (pp. 160-161); 5a.2b (pp. 160-161); 5a.3 (pp. 160-161); II Cnut 6 (pp. 178-179); 40 (pp. 196-197); 41 (pp. 196-197); 42 (pp. 196-197); 43 (pp. 198-199); 49 (pp. 200-201).

[100] ASLC2: I Cnut 5a.2a (pp. 160-161); II Cnut 39 (pp. 196-197); 41 (pp. 196-197).

[101] ASLC2: I Cnut 6a (pp. 162-163); 6a.1 (pp. 162-163).

[102] ASLC2: I Cnut 5a.2d (pp. 160-161); 6a (pp. 162-163).

[103] ASLC2: I Cnut 26.3 (pp. 174-175).

[104] *heord* or *hyrd* could mean herd, flock, keeping, care or custody: Clark-Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, p. 179. ASLC2: I Cnut 26.3 (pp. 174-175).

[105] ASLC2: II Cnut 39 (pp. 196-197).

[106] 'men in holy orders': ASLC2: II Cnut 41 (pp. 196-197).

[107] ASLC2: I Cnut 5 (pp. 158-159). *cf*. VIII Æthelred 19 (pp. 122-123).

[108] ASLC2: I Cnut 5a.2 (pp. 160-161). *cf*. VIII Æthelred 21 (pp. 122-123).

[109] Ælfric's pastoral letters in Latin only come down to us in Wulfstan's manuscripts: Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, p. 257.

[110] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, p. 192.

[111] Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 70.

less well educated clergy.[112] Hill said that in the letters the expectations of the priests'

competence in the services seemed to apply to all priests, whether 'regular canons in a

minster' or 'single mass-priests' in their own churches.[113] There was also the

assumption that they all lived by a rule and that this was not something new.[114] Two

letters will be examined here between which there are similarities. The first is the OE

letter to Wulsige, Bishop of Sherborne (993xc.995),[115] which survives in early and

late eleventh-century manuscripts,[116] and the second is the OE translation of a letter

for Wulfstan, Archbishop of York (c.1006),[117] which survives in mid eleventh- and

twelfth-century manuscripts.[118]

Both letters seemingly use *biscop*[119] for bishop and a combination of *mæssepreost*

and *preost* for priest. *sacerd* is also used, for instance where men referred to as *biscop*

and *sacerd* attended a synod,[120] which suggests that here the term *sacerd* is being

used for priest. The *sacerd* blessed the bread, performed services,[121] listened to

confessions of the sick,[122] and distributed the tithes,[123] all of which were duties of ###

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[112] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, p. 259.

[113] J. Hill, 'Monastic Reform and the Secular Church: Ælfric's Pastoral Letters in Context', C. Hicks (ed.), *England in the Eleventh Century* (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), p. 109.

[114] *Ibid*., pp. 109-110.

[115] D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, I, AD 871-1204, Part I, 871-1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981), no. 40, pp. 191-226. References to this text will give the number of the document and clause and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.

[116] *Ibid*., p. 191.

[117] *Ibid*., no. 46, pp. 255-302. References to this text will give the number of the document and clause and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.

[118] *Ibid*., p. 255.

[119] Examples can be found in: WBB40: 6 (p. 197); 7 (pp. 197-198); 18-19 (p. 200); 51-54 (pp. 206-207); 157-158 (p. 226); WBB46: 2-3 (pp. 260-261); 48-53 (pp. 272-273); 59 (p. 274); 60 (pp. 274-275); 62 (p. 275); 124-125 (p. 285); 128-129 (p. 286); 132 (p. 286).

[120] WBB46: 61 (p. 275).

[121] WBB40: 130-132 (pp. 221-222); 142-143 (p. 223).

[122] WBB40: 91-92 (pp. 214-215).

[123] WBB40: 68 (pp. 209-210). By the eleventh century the tithes were divided into three portions,

priests###. The *contra paganos* mass was to be sung on Wednesdays in every *mynster*, with the *mæssepreost* doing the same in his *cirice*,[124] although there is no mention of who specifically was to sing mass in the *mynster*. The term *mæssepreost* appears to refer to a priest here, and the reference to the church as *his cyrcan* suggests that this was where he was based, and not at the minster. This contradicts what was found in the law-codes of Edgar,[125] Æthelred[126] and Cnut,[127] where the *mæssepreost* was at the *mynster* and the *preost* was at the church without a graveyard. This suggests that the *mæssepreost* was based at the minster in the mid tenth century but at his own church by the end of the century, with the *preost* in the law-codes perhaps being a cleric in minor orders. Alternately, it may be that the sorts of churches referred to in these two contexts were not identical, or even that there was in effect no real difference between *mæssepreost* and *preost*.

In these two letters the *preost* was to: teach the faith, anoint the sick and impose penance;[128] look after the Eucharist;[129] not leave their *cirice/mynster* or have more than one;[130] not sell God's services;[131] dress correctly;[132] not live like a married man;[133] not steal corpses from another parish;[134] not be a trader, get drunk or carry

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instead of the earlier four, with one for the maintenance of the church fabric, one for its ministers and one for the poor: Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 160.

[124] WBB40: 157-158 (p. 226).

[125] ASLC2: II Edgar 2.1 (pp. 20-21); II Edgar 3.1 (pp. 20-23).

[126] ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 8 (pp. 120-121).

[127] ASLC2: I Cnut 8.2 (pp. 164-165); I Cnut 11.1 (pp. 164-165).

[128] WBB40: 83-84 (p. 213); 85-86 (p. 213).

[129] WBB40: 133-134 (p. 222); 122 (p. 220).

[130] WBB40: 73 (p. 211); WBB46: 207-210 (p. 301).

[131] WBB40: 72 (pp. 210-211).

[132] WBB40: 114-115 (p. 219).

[133] WBB40: 14 (pp. 198-199); 17 (pp. 199-200); 24-25 (pp. 200-201); 26 (p. 201).

[134] WBB46: 182-184 (pp. 295-296).

weapons;[135] and obey all these instructions.[136] In the first letter the *preost* was not to leave his *mynster*,[137] but in the second letter a similar clause used *cirice* once and *mynster* twice,[138] which suggests that a *preost* could be based at a minster or at his own church. The *mæssepreost* was to: command the people not to work at Easter;[139] carry out the church services correctly;[140] preach and instruct in English;[141] baptise and anoint the sick;[142] and wear the correct clothes and live chastely.[143] It appears from their duties that both *preost* and *mæssepreost* refer to a priest here, being used interchangeably. *Godes þeow* from the context is used for the clergy in general.[144]

Both letters listed the seven orders of the Church,[145] nearly identically, giving the Latin terms and then explaining each in OE: *hostiarius* (OE *durewerd*); *lector* (OE *rædere*); *exorcista* (OE *halsiend*); *acolytus*; *subdiaconus* (OE *underdiacon*); *diaconus* (OE *diacon* or *þegn*); and *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*) *sive episcopus*. I am not sure why *episcopus* was included in the second letter[146] as by this time it was not usually classed as one of the seven holy orders.[147] The *hostiarius* held the keys and unlocked

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[135] WBB40: 74-76 (pp. 211-212); 77-82 (p. 212); WBB46: 185-187 (p. 296); 190-193 (p. 297).

[136] WBB46: 2-3 (pp. 260-261); 211-212 (p. 301).

[137] WBB40: 73 (p. 211).

[138] WBB46: 207-210 (p. 301).

[139] WBB40: 150 (pp. 224-225).

[140] WBB40: 48-50 (p. 206); 51-54 (pp. 206-207); WBB46: 157-160 (pp. 291-292).

[141] WBB40: 61-62 (pp. 208-209).

[142] WBB40: 71 (p. 210); 87-90 (p. 214); WBB46: 175-177 (p. 294).

[143] WBB46: 11-12 (pp. 263-264); 206 (p. 300).

[144] WBB40: 12 (p. 198); 48-50 (p. 206); 68 (pp. 209-210); 72 (pp. 210-211); 77-82 (p. 212); WBB46: 43-44 (p. 271); 150 (p. 290).

[145] WBB40: 29 (p. 202); WBB46: 99 (p. 281).

[146] WBB46: 99 (p. 281).

[147] 'bishops, though they had originally been included in lists of the clerical grades, had ended up outside and above the list in order to allow a total of seven': Barrow, ###Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers###, p. 42.

the church doors for believers;[148] the *lector* read in church;[149] the *exorcista* drove out

evil spirits from the possessed;[150] and the *acolytus* carried the candle at services.[151]

Elsewhere there is mention of a *cantor*[152] who sang at the service, but this grade had

been absorbed into that of the *lector* by the end of the eighth century,[153] which

suggests that the role still existed in this period even if it was no longer considered to

be one of the seven orders. The *subdiaconus* served the *diaconus* in the services,[154]

whilst the *diaconus* served the *presbyter* (OE *mæssepreost*), read the gospel, baptised

children and gave the Eucharist to people.[155] *mæssepreost* is given as the translation

of *presbyter*, who consecrated the Eucharist, preached and taught the faith to the

people, and set an example by living a pure life.[156] Ælfric wrote that the *biscop* and

mæssepreost were classed as one order, the seventh, both being able to preach and

celebrate mass,[157] but that the *mæssepreost* was subject to the *biscop* who alone could

consecrate churches, ordain *preostas*, confirm and bless the oil.[158] Here *preost* seems

to mean all the clerical orders.

In the first letter the *diaconus* served the *mæssepreost*,[159] whereas in the second he

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[148] WBB40: 30 (p. 202); WBB46: 101 (pp. 281-282).

[149] WBB40: 31 (p. 202); WBB46: 102 (p. 282).

[150] WBB40: 32 (pp. 202-203); WBB46: 103 (p. 282).

[151] WBB40: 33-34 (p. 203): WBB46: 104 (p. 282).

[152] WBB40: 130-132 (pp. 221-222). The *cantor* was probably the cleric who just happened to be leading the singing and was not of any specific clerical grade: R. Swanson, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2010).

[153] 'It was also desirable to prove a link between each of the orders and the career of Christ: this helps to explain the disappearance of the cantor from the seven': Barrow, ###Grades of Ordination and Clerical Careers###, pp. 42-43.

[154] WBB40: 35 (p. 203); WBB46: 105 (p. 282).

[155] WBB40: 36-39 (p. 204); WBB46: 106-108 (p. 282).

[156] WBB40: 40-42 (pp. 204-205); WBB46: 109-110 (pp. 282-283).

[157] WBB40: 40-42 (pp. 204-205); WBB46: 111-114 (p. 283).

[158] WBB40: 43-44 (p. 205); WBB46: 115-116 (pp. 283-284).

[159] WBB40: 36-39 (p. 204).

served *þæm mæssepreoste oþþe þæm bisceope*.[160] The first then goes on to say that if the *sacerd*[161] does not have a *diacon*, *se hafað þone naman 7 næfð þa þenunga*,[162] which suggests that here *sacerd* means priest, as only *mæssepreost* has been previously mentioned. However, in the second letter, *mæssepreost*[163] is then used where one might reasonably expect to find *sacerd*, given that both *mæssepreost* and *biscop* are mentioned in the earlier part. The abbots and *munucas*, who lived by the rule of Benedict,[164] were not included in the seven orders. A *mæssepreost* could celebrate mass if he was a *munuc*, but a *munuc* could not unless he was a *mæssepreost*.[165] Many famous men are said to be both monks and bishops, with the term *munuchad* being used for the monastic orders and *preosthad* for the ordained orders.[166] In the first letter concerning no women being allowed, the orders are given as *biscop*, *mæssepreost*, *diacon* and *riht canonicus*[167] ('regular canon').[168] However, the second letter gives the Latin terms *episcopus*, *presbyter*, *diaconus* and *regularis canonicus*, with the OE translation of *biscop*, *mæssepreost*, *diacon* and *mynster-preost*.[169] The *mynster-preost* appears to be separate from the *mæssepreost*, which may suggest that the *preost*, not the *mæssepreost*, was based at the *mynster*, or it may simply be that the term was beginning to be used to mean a regular canon.

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[160] WBB46: 106-108 (p. 282).

[161] WBB40: 36-39 (p. 204).

[162] ###has the name but has not the services###: WBB40: 36-39 (p. 204).

[163] WBB46: 106-108 (p. 282).

[164] WBB40: 101-104 (pp. 216-217); WBB46: 42 (p. 271).

[165] WBB40: 45-47 (pp. 205-206); WBB46: 117-121 (pp. 284-285).

[166] WBB46: 135-139 (pp. 286-287).

[167] Blair saw the *riht-canonicus* as having distinct status in the early eleventh century, higher than that of the mass-priest, and having to live a stricter life: Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 123.

[168] WBB40: 13 (p. 198).

[169] WBB46: 82 (p. 278).

The so-called *Canons of Edgar* (1005x1008)[170] survive in eleventh-century manuscripts,[171] and Wulfstan probably used Ælfric's pastoral letters when drawing them up.[172] The canons looked backward, and were aimed at correcting the wrongs that had been criticised by Bede and Boniface in the eighth century.[173] They were directed specifically at the secular clergy who had received less attention than the regular clergy in the Church reforms,[174] with Wulfstan seeing it as their duty to look after the needs and morality of the laity.[175] The canons fall into two categories: the church practices to be carried out by the priest; and the lay activities which the priest must regulate.[176] *The Northumbrian Priests' Law*[177] was a later rewriting of these canons, being written for the secular clergy of the northern diocese.[178] The main term used throughout the *Canons of Edgar* is *preost* and not *mæssepreost*.[179] *weofodþen*[180] is used twice for what appear to be the major orders, since if they lived correctly, they were entitled to the full status and wergild of a thegn,[181] which would be unlikely for the lower orders. *gehad*[182] seems to be used in a general sense for all orders, who

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[170] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, no. 48, pp. 313-338. References to this text will give the number of the document and clause and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.

[171] *Ibid*., p. 313.

[172] *Ibid*., pp. 313-314.

[173] R. Fowler (ed.), *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, The Early English Text Society, 266 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. xxvi.

[174] *Ibid*., pp. xxxi & xlvii.

[175] *Ibid*., p. xlvii.

[176] *Ibid*., p. li.

[177] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, no. 63, pp. 449-468.

[178] Fowler, *Wulfstan's Canons of Edgar*, p. lxi.

[179] There are forty three examples of the word *preost*, but only five of *mæssepreost*, throughout the whole text.

[180] There are two examples of the word *weofodþen* which can be found in: WBB48: 68b (pp. 336-337); 68d (p. 337).

[181] WBB48: 68b (pp. 336-337); 68d (p. 337). *cf*. ASLC2: VIII Æthelred 28 (pp. 124-125).

[182] There are three examples of the word *gehad* which can be found in: WBB48: 47 (p. 330); 65 (pp. 334-335); 66 (p. 335).

must not conceal their tonsure.[183] In part of one canon when discussing different levels of penalties, *gehadod man* is given as *cleric*,[184] *diacon*,[185] *mæssepreost* or *biscop*,[186] which appears to be quoting from an earlier canon, with the term *preost* used elsewhere in the clause.[187] In the following clause *bisceop oððe mæssepreost oððe ænig gehadod man* is used.[188] The other three canons where *mæssepreost*[189] is used include his not celebrating mass alone[190] nor bearing weapons.[191] In all cases *preost* could just as easily have been used, and so perhaps these particular canons were copied from earlier ones where *mæssepreost* was the term used.

The majority of the canons use *preost* where they are to: look after, and not desert, their *cirice*;[192] not receive the scholar[193] of someone else;[194] learn a handicraft;[195] not scorn or despise others;[196] correctly carry out their duties of baptism, confession and penance, teaching, preaching, and celebrating mass and the services;[197] collect and distribute tithes and alms;[198] and set an example by living a good and correct life.[199]

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[183] WBB48: 47 (p.330).

[184] There is one example of the word *cleric* which can be found in: WBB48: 65 (pp. 334-335).

[185] There is one example of the word *diacon* which can be found in: WBB48: 65 (pp. 334-335).

[186] There are five examples of the word *biscop* which can be found in: WBB48: 5 (p. 316); 7 (p. 317); 15 (p. 319); 65 (pp. 334-335); 66 (p. 335).

[187] WBB48: 65 (pp. 334-335).

[188] WBB48: 66 (p. 335).

[189] WBB48: 35 (p. 325); 46 (pp. 329-330); 68c (p. 337).

[190] WBB48: 35 (p. 325).

[191] WBB48: 46 (pp. 329-330).

[192] WBB48: 8 (p. 317); 26 (p. 323).

[193] This suggests that 'rural priests' or 'canons' of a minster educated young clerks: Deanesly, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 130.

[194] WBB48: 10 (p. 318).

[195] WBB48: 11 (p. 318).

[196] WBB48: 12 (p. 318); 13 (p. 319).

[197] WBB48: 15 (p. 319); 16 (pp. 319-320); 30 (p. 324); 31 (p. 324); 32 (pp. 324-325); 33 (p. 325); 34 (p. 325); 37 (p. 326); 38 (p. 326); 39 (pp. 326-327); 40 (p. 327); 45 (p. 329); 48 (p. 330); 50 (pp. 330-331); 51 (p. 331); 52 (p. 331); 67 (p. 335); 68 (pp. 335-336); 69 (pp. 337-338).

[198] WBB48: 54 (pp. 331-332); 55 (p. 332); 56 (p. 333); 57 (p. 333).

The *preost* was to celebrate mass only in a consecrated *cirice*, unless a man was seriously ill,[200] when presumably he could do it anywhere. It appears that in these canons the terms *preost* and *mæssepreost* refer to a priest, but the latter is only used five times, which suggests that it may be copied from earlier canons.

The Northumbrian Priests' Law,[201] written in Old English in the early eleventh century,[202] and probably by Wulfstan,[203] survives in a mid eleventh-century manuscript,[204] and is a set of regulations for the priests of the York diocese, with the second part concerned with the religious behaviour of the laity.[205] The first part is a list of 'dos and don'ts' for priests,[206] and occasionally for deacons, with the relevant penalties. Throughout the first part, *preost* is always used, with *mæssepreost*[207] only appearing in the second part once. From the context it appears that *preost* refers here to a priest, and perhaps by the eleventh century it no longer meant a cleric in minor orders. The other terms used[208] are: *biscop*, *arcediacon*, *diacon*, *gefer* and *gehad*. From their context, the latter two terms appear to be used loosely for any religious

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[199] WBB48: 58 (p. 333); 59 (p. 333); 60 (pp. 333-334); 62 (p. 334); 63 (p. 334); 64 (p. 334); 68a (p. 336); 69 (pp. 337-338).

[200] WBB48: 30 (p. 324).

[201] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, no. 63, pp. 449-468. References to this text will give the number of the document and clause and the page numbers where the Old English and the English translation appears.

[202] *Ibid*., dated c.1008x1023. Previously dated 1020x1023 in: Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, p. 434.

[203] Whitelock, Brett & Brooke, *Councils and Synods*, p. 451.

[204] *Ibid*., p. 450.

[205] *Ibid*., p. 450.

[206] Deanesly saw the laws as intended for priests and not for bishops: Deanesly, *Sidelights on the Anglo-Saxon Church*, p. 131.

[207] One *mæssepreost* and two *þegnas* were to be nominated to the wapentake: WBB: 57.2 (p. 464).

[208] The following terms appear with the number of instances in brackets: *biscop* (12); *preost* (47); *mæssepreost* (1); *diacon* (3); *arcediacon* (2); *gefer* (4); *gehad* (2).

man associated with the *preost*,[209] but not the *biscop* or *preost* themselves who are given separately in these clauses. The *biscop*, to whom compensation and fines were paid, ultimately had authority over the *preost*.[210] An *arcediacon*[211] appears in two laws and although his precise role is not clear, he also had authority over the *preost*.[212] In three laws *diacon* appears with *preost*, where any compensation or fine for the *diacon* is exactly half of that for the *preost*,[213] which suggests that the *preost* was a priest and senior to, and more important than, the *diacon*.

The *preost*, who was based at a *cirice*,[214] was prohibited from such actions as: buying another's *cirice*;[215] celebrating mass after committing an offence;[216] refusing to baptise, hear confession or collect chrism;[217] misdirecting the laity concerning festivals and fasts;[218] celebrating mass in unconsecrated buildings or without a consecrated altar;[219] wrongly celebrating mass, conducting services or ordeals;[220] disrespecting his *cirice*;[221] fighting, insulting, getting drunk or assisting in any

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[209] WBB63: 1 (p. 452); 2.1 (pp. 452-453); 2.2 (p. 453); 5 (p. 454); 45 (pp. 460-461).

[210] WBB63: 1 (p. 452); 2.2 (p. 453); 3 (p. 453); 4 (p. 454); 12 (pp. 455-456); 23 (p. 457); 24 (pp. 457-458); 30 (p. 458); 45 (pp. 460-461); 57.1 (p. 464); 61.2 (p. 466); 65 (pp. 466-467).

[211] An archdeacon was a personal assistant of the bishop but there were not many of them in England prior to 1066: Barlow, *The English Church*, p. 247. Brooke thought that 'in essence the archdeacon came over with the Conqueror': Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, p. 119.

[212] WBB63: 6 (p. 454); 7 (p. 454).

[213] *preost* 12 ores, *diacon* 6 ores: WBB63: 12 (pp. 455-456) & 23 (p. 457); *preost* 24 ores, *diacon* 12 ores: WBB63: 24 (pp. 457-458).

[214] WBB63: 2 (p. 452); 2.2 (p. 453); 22 (p. 457); 25 (p. 458); 26 (p. 458); 27 (p. 458); 28 (p. 458); 37 (p. 459).

[215] WBB63: 2 (p. 452).

[216] WBB63: 3 (p. 453); 7 (p. 454).

[217] WBB63: 8 (p. 454); 9 (p. 454).

[218] WBB63: 11 (p. 455).

[219] WBB63: 13 (p. 456); 14 (p. 456).

[220] WBB63: 15 (p. 456); 16 (p. 456); 17 (p. 456); 18 (p. 456); 36 (p. 459); 38 (pp. 459-460); 39 (p. 460).

[221] WBB63: 25 (p. 458); 26 (p. 458); 27 (p. 458); 28 (p. 458); 37 (p. 459).

wrongdoing;[222] neglecting to shave his hair or beard;[223] and disobeying the bishop in any way.[224] Fines and compensation were to be paid for any wrongs committed against the *preost*, such as wounding and slaying.[225] The law prohibiting *preostas* from celebrating mass without a consecrated altar[226] suggests that they were doing this in small, local churches that had not been authorised, or even outside them. Although a *preost* should ideally be celibate, he was prohibited from leaving one woman for another.[227] All these laws suggest that the *preostas*, who were based at a *cirice*, were not living their lives as they should have been.

A similar document is *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection*,[228] written in Latin, which is a guide to the rules and customs of the church.[229] Often items were copied or quoted from earlier councils and documents,[230] and although this may reflect the usage of the terms at the earlier dates they must still have been understood in this later period. The manuscripts survive in eleventh- and twelfth-century copies,[231] and two recensions are examined here.[232] The terms used in recension A[233] are generally what we would

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[222] WBB63: 29 (p. 458); 30 (p. 458); 31 (p. 459); 32 (p. 459); 33 (p. 459); 40 (p. 460); 41 (p. 460); 42 (p. 460).

[223] WBB63: 34 (p. 459).

[224] WBB63: 3 (p. 453); 4 (p. 454); 44 (p. 460); 45 (pp. 460-461).

[225] WBB63: 23 (p. 457); 24 (pp. 457-458).

[226] WBB63: 14 (p. 456).

[227] WBB63: 35 (p. 459).

[228] J. E. Cross & A. Hamer (eds.), *Wulfstan###s Canon Law Collection* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1999). References to this text will give the recension together with the number of the canon and the page numbers where the Latin and the English translation appears.

[229] *Ibid.*, p. 21.

[230] *Ibid.*, p. 13.

[231] *Ibid.*, p. 39.

[232] There are two recensions descending from the same collection, A (105 items) & B (167 items): *Ibid.*, pp. 6-7 & 12.

[233] The following terms appear in recension A with the number of instances in brackets: *episcopus* (58); *pontifex* (1); *sacerdos* (16); *presbyter* (20); *diaconus* (11); *archidiaconus* (1); *clericus/clerus* (26); *minister* (3); *monachus* (14); *exorcista* (1).

expect to find. *episcopus* is used for men whom we would call bishop, with *pontifex* only appearing once in a canon which also includes the one example of *archidiaconus*.[234] Both these latter terms seem to refer to a senior member of the Church, but *pontifex* need not be a bishop. The canons concerning *episcopi* generally exhort them to: lead good lives;[235] correctly perform their duties and offices, including pastoral care;[236] commit no offences;[237] have authority over abbots;[238] and look after their churches (*ecclesiae*, *basicilae*), monasteries (*monasteria*) and clergy.[239] *omnes basilice* were to be under the control of the bishop in whose territories they lay.[240] *sacerdos* seems to be used for a 'priest',[241] who was able to bless marriages.[242] In one canon referring to the Old Testament, the term *sacerdos* is used nine times.[243] Every *sacerdos* was to know the canons, but in the same clause only the *presbiteri* and not all *clerici* 'should practise or read the judgements of canon law'.[244] Where a specific order is meant, *episcopus* and *presbyter* are used, except in canons A102[245] and A103,[246] where *sacerdos* seems to be used for priest. In the first example *episcopi, uel sacerdotis* is used but *uel* could mean 'and' or 'or',[247] and in

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[234] WCLC: A67 (p. 95).

[235] WCLC: A5 (p. 68); A6 (pp. 68-69); A81 (p. 100); A84 (pp. 101-102).

[236] WCLC: A7 (p. 69); 17 (pp. 73-74); A18 (p. 74); A19 (p. 74); A22 (p. 75); A25 (p. 77); A26 (pp. 76-77); A30 (p. 78); A79 (p. 99); A100 (p. 108); B29 (pp. 123-124).

[237] WCLC: A10 (pp. 70-71); A80 (p. 100).

[238] WCLC: A33 (pp. 79-80); A34 (pp. 80-81); A35 (p. 81).

[239] WCLC: A27 (p. 77); A28 (pp. 77-78); A29 (p. 78); A35 (p. 81); A42 (p. 84); A103 (pp. 111-112); B29 (pp. 123-124).

[240] WCLC: A28 (pp. 77-78).

[241] WCLC: A1 (pp. 66-67); A55 (p. 90); A59 (p. 91); A86 (p. 102); A94 (pp. 105-106); B1 (p. 114); B2 (p. 114); B164 (pp. 168-169); B167 (pp. 171-172).

[242] WCLC: A59 (p. 91).

[243] WCLC: A49 (pp. 87-88).

[244] WCLC: A1 (pp. 66-67).

[245] WCLC: A102 (pp. 108-111).

[246] WCLC: A103 (pp. 111-112).

[247] WCLC: A102 (pp. 108-111); B167 (pp. 171-172).

the second example, the *episcopus* gave judgement on the *sacerdos*.[248] From the context *presbyter* always seems to refer to a priest.

Bishops and priests (*episcopus*, *sacerdos*, *presbyter*) could perform certain services which had to be carried out correctly,[249] and they were responsible for delivering pastoral care, such as administering the sacraments and penance,[250] baptising,[251] care of the sick,[252] and preaching and teaching.[253] But only bishops could appoint or dismiss *presbyteri* from churches,[254] and ordain other *episcopi*.[255] Bishops, priests and deacons should not buy or sell their office or services,[256] or be involved in secular affairs.[257] A *presbyter* was not to be ordained until the age of thirty,[258] a *diaconus*, twenty-five.[259] Both orders were to live a good life,[260] and if they committed certain crimes they could be removed from office and suffer penalties.[261] *diaconus* is often used with *presbyter*,[262] and sometimes with *presbyter* and *episcopus*,[263] when a canon refers to the higher orders as a group and not to one rank specifically.

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[248] WCLC: A103 (pp. 111-112).

[249] WCLC: A1 (pp. 66-67); A25 (p. 77); B3 (p. 115); B10 (p. 117); B29 (pp. 123-124); B62 (pp. 131-132); B109 (p. 141).

[250] WCLC: A9 (p. 70); A94 (pp. 105-106); A100 (pp. 108); B21 (pp. 120-121).

[251] WCLC: A103 (pp. 111-112); B11 (p. 117); B12 (p. 118).

[252] WCLC: B21 (pp. 120-121); B22 (p. 121); B23 (p. 121).

[253] WCLC: A7 (p. 69); A55 (p. 90); B4 (p. 115); B7 (p. 116).

[254] WCLC: A29 (p. 78); B24 (p. 121).

[255] WCLC: A11 (p. 71); B106 (p. 140).

[256] WCLC: A10 (pp. 70-71); B13 (p. 118).

[257] WCLC: A17 (pp. 73-74).

[258] WCLC: A14 (p. 72).

[259] WCLC: A15 (pp. 72-73); A63 (p. 93).

[260] WCLC: B19 (p. 120).

[261] WCLC: A17 (pp. 73-74); A42 (p. 84); A83 (p. 101); B166 (p. 171).

[262] WCLC: A78 (p. 99); A83 (p. 101); A102 (pp. 108-111); B108 (pp. 140-141); B159 (p. 167); B164 (pp. 168-169); B166 (p. 171).

[263] WCLC: A10 (pp. 70-71); A17 (pp. 73-74); A80 (p. 100); A84 (pp. 101-102); A102 (pp. 108-11);

clericus and *clerus* are often used in a general sense for clerics of any order[264] but as distinct from monks,[265] or laymen.[266] In canon A1 the *presbyteri* are singled out from the rest of the *clerici*,[267] so the term, at least here, includes the higher orders. However, later on *presbiterorum uel clericorum* is used concerning ordination,[268] and if *uel* means 'and', suggests a difference between priests and clerics. An *episcopus* needed the advice of the *presbyteri* before he could ordain *clerici*,[269] and he could not hear cases without the presence of his *clerici*.[270] Where penalties are discussed for homicide and wounding, different numbers of days' penance are given to clerics, deacons and priests.[271] Clerics could be removed from office for various crimes or misdeeds,[272] must obey the bishops to whom they were subject,[273] and must not grow their hair,[274] bear arms,[275] or condemn anyone to death.[276] The terms *clericus* and *clerus* seem to be used for ordained men, sometimes those in minor orders, and at other times for those of all orders. *minister* seems to be used loosely for religious assistants, separate from bishops and priests.[277]

B165 (pp. 169-171).

[264] WCLC: A2 (p. 67); A31 (p. 79); A84 (pp. 101-102); B70 (pp. 133-134); B119 (p. 144).

[265] WCLC: A37 (p. 79); A76 (p. 98); A102 (pp. 108-111); B67 (p. 132).

[266] WCLC: A22 (p. 75); A56 (p. 90).

[267] *Verumtamen non omnes clerici iudicia canonice constitutionis usurpare aut legere debent, sed solummodo presbiteri*: WCLC: A1 (pp. 66-67).

[268] WCLC: A13 (p. 72).

[269] WCLC: A18 (p. 74).

[270] WCLC: A19 (p. 74).

[271] *Si quis alium percusserit et sanguinem fuderit, quadragesimis diebus in pane et aqua peniteat; si diaconus, sex menses; si presbiter, annum unum*: WCLC: A102 (pp. 108-111). See also B167 (pp. 171-172).

[272] WCLC: A39 (pp. 82-83); A44 (pp. 84-85); A54 (pp. 89-90); B67 (p. 132).

[273] WCLC: A31 (p. 79).

[274] WCLC: A74 (pp. 97-98); B157 (p. 166); B158 (p. 166).

[275] WCLC: A75 (p. 98); B159 (p. 167). In B165 (pp. 169-171) 'it is made clear that bishops, priests, deacons or monks, are not to bear any arms in battle'.

[276] WCLC: A19 (p. 99); B160 (p. 167).

The canons concerning the *monachi* state that they were to obey their abbot and rule, and that they could not wander about or own personal property.[278] Once a monk, they could not abandon the life[279] or eat meat,[280] and if they committed adultery or theft, they could never become a cleric (*officium clericatus*).[281] It appears from this that *clericus* refers to any of the ordained ranks. Those monks who were able to baptise always had to be prepared to do so, and *omnibus licet fidelibus*[282] could perform baptism in an emergency.[283] The monks referred to here would presumably have been ordained as priests, or maybe deacons. Unusually *exorcista* is used in one canon, *omni die exorciste inerguminis manus inponant*.[284] Even if this canon was copied from an earlier one, as seems likely, the role of exorcist must still have existed in this period for it to have been included.

Many items in recension B are the same as, or similar to, those in A, and so only some uses of the terms will be discussed here. A *pontifex* governed the *sacerdos* who had to attend daily prayers,[285] where *pontifex* again need not mean specifically a bishop. *praesul* is used once for Felix of Messina,[286] perhaps because he was not English, and as *episcopus* is used otherwise for bishop, although *episcopus* is used for Felix in a later canon.[287] *sacerdos* is used more in recension B, for laws that could apply to

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[277] WCLC: A42 (p. 84); A49 (pp. 87-88); A51 (p. 89).

[278] WCLC: A33 (pp. 79-80); A37 (p. 82); A38 (p. 82).

[279] WCLC: A36 (p. 81).

[280] WCLC: A40 (p. 83).

[281] WCLC: A39 (pp. 82-83).

[282] WCLC: A103 (pp. 111-112).

[283] If a child was dying then anyone, even a non-Christian, could perform basic baptism: B. Hamilton, *Religion in the Medieval West* (London: Edward Arnold, 1993), p. 112.

[284] 'Exorcists are to lay their hands on the possessed each day': WCLC: 53 (p. 89).

[285] WCLC: B9 (p. 117).

[286] WCLC: B142 (pp. 155-156).

[287] WCLC: B148 (pp. 158-159).

'priests', concerning baptism,[288] penance,[289] attending the sick,[290] teaching and preaching,[291] divine offices,[292] tithes,[293] being of good behaviour and acting correctly.[294] Every so often, interspersed between the ones using *sacerdos*, are canons of a similar nature but using *presbyter* instead.[295] In many cases it is not clear whether *sacerdos* refers to a priest or a 'priest'.

In one canon the *sacerdos* was to 'build' his own church,[296] although there is no explanation why, and where a better translation of the verb *edifico* would surely be 'to establish' or 'to build up', or even 'to edify' if *ecclesia* referred to a 'congregation'.[297] Use of the term *sacerdos* may mean that both bishops and priests had a responsibility to establish their own churches. The *presbyter* was to remain faithful to the *ecclesia* where he was ordained,[298] and only receive the ecclesiastical income due to him.[299] *episcopi et presbiteri* were also called *confessores*.[300] No *presbyter* was to set out without the chrism,[301] or be sent elsewhere,[302] in case of an emergency when someone would need baptising. In one canon Gregory stated that if anyone married a

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[288] WCLC: B11 (p. 117); B12 (p. 118).

[289] WCLC: B21 (pp. 120-121).

[290] WCLC: B21 (pp. 120-121); B22 (p. 121).

[291] WCLC: B4 (p. 115); B7 (p. 116).

[292] WCLC: B3 (p. 115); B8 (pp. 116-117); B10 (p. 117); B62 (pp. 131-132); B109 (p. 141).

[293] WCLC: B5 (p. 115); B6 (pp. 115-116).

[294] WCLC: B15 (p. 119); B16 (p. 119); B17 (p. 119); B18 (p. 120); B20 (p. 120).

[295] *sacerdos* is used in: B1-B12; B15-B18; B20-B22; *presbyter* is used in: B13-B14; B19; B23-B24; B26-B28.

[296] *Vt unusquisque sacerdos ecclesiam suam cum omni diligentia edificet*: WCLC: B2 (p. 114).

[297] R. Swanson, University of Birmingham (personal communication, 2010).

[298] WCLC: B14 (pp. 118-119).

[299] WCLC: B26 (p. 122).

[300] WCLC: B29 (pp. 123-124).

[301] WCLC: B49 (p. 129).

[302] WCLC: B162 (p. 168).

presbitera[303] ('woman elder') he was to be excommunicated.[304] Apparently there were two types of *clerici - ecclesiastici* under episcopal rule, and *acephali*, 'without a head'.[305] The same canon writes about *extra sacros ordines constituti, id est nec presbiteri nec diaconi*,[306] who, if they could not remain celibate, could marry, unlike the *sacerdotes* who could not. *canonicus*[307] is used only once, at the beginning, where the term is defined, *id sunt regulares clerici*,[308] which suggests that at that time it may have been a new or little known term.

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[303] For an in-depth discussion on the role of ordained women in the medieval Church see: Macy, *The Hidden History*.

[304] WCLC: B144 (p. 157).

[305] WCLC: B164 (pp. 168-169).

[306] 'ordinary clerics appointed outside the sacred orders, that is, neither priests nor deacons': WCLC: B164 (pp. 168-169).

[307] The term *canonicus* had been adopted by those men living according to a rule, although some were more regular than others: Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe*, p. 46.

[308] WCLC: B (p. 114).

Chapter VII

So, what conclusions may be drawn from this research into the various Latin and Old English terms used for the Church personnel? Although, owing to time and word constraints, only a relatively small selection of the available sources for the Anglo-Saxon period have been examined, some useful conclusions may be reached, and an idea gained as to whether further, more extensive research of other primary sources would be useful.

Bede, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, used various terms for the men whom we would call bishop, with *episcopus* being the main one, and the others being *antistes*, *pontifex* and *praesul*. Generally I can see no reason why he used these different terms for men apparently of the same rank and even for the same individual, and it seems that he did it simply for variety or, as Foot has suggested of his and other authors' use of vocabulary, 'mainly for stylistic reasons'.[1] However, Cubitt has argued that Bede was very careful in his use of terms, especially when referring to religious institutions and communities,[2] and so this may also have been the case in his use of terms for the Church personnel. If once there had been slight differences of meaning between the various terms, then we are no longer aware of them today. Bede seems to have used *sacerdos* for 'priest', for all those men in the Church who were ordained and able to administer the rites, when he did not feel it necessary to state their individual rank. He used the term *presbyter* for the specific rank of priest, as distinct from that of bishop, with *monachus* for monk, and *clericus* and *clerus* for the clergy in general, sometimes for men of any order and sometimes specifically for those in minor orders. He never

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[1] Foot, 'Anglo-Saxon Minsters', p. 220.

used the terms *acolytus*, *exorcista*, *lector* or *hostiarius*, and infrequently used the terms *diaconus*, *minister*, *pastor* and *rector*. As his work was a chronological account of the early Church, he focused mainly on the higher orders, although it may be that at that time there were very few men in the lower orders or that they did little of note.

Whilst Bede used four different terms for bishop, Stephanus, in the *Life of Wilfrid*, used just two, *episcopus* and *pontifex*, with only occasional exceptions, and he also used *sacerdos* infrequently. When writing of Wilfrid, Stephanus generally used *episcopus* with his name and *pontifex* without his name. This suggests that he saw nuances in meaning between the two terms, perhaps with *episcopus* signifying ecclesiastical rank and *pontifex* referring more to direct, personal leadership. Stephanus used the terms *presbyter*, *diaconus*, *clericus* and *clerus* in a similar way to Bede's. However, *hostiarius* was used in the *Life*, and so the role must have existed in that period. The canons of the mid eighth-century Council of Clofesho almost exclusively used *episcopus* for bishop, which suggests that by this time the use of the other terms for bishop was declining. However, as it is an entirely different kind of source, being an official record of a synod's pronouncements, the terminology used was probably far more formal and precise. *sacerdos* is used for 'priest', with *presbyter* for priest, but *diaconus* does not appear at all, probably because these canons were written for the bishops and priests.

In the tenth-century *Regularis Concordia*, *episcopus* is the only word used for bishop, with *presbyter* for priest being used just twice, and *sacerdos* appearing to be used

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2 Cubitt, 'The Clergy in Early Anglo-Saxon England', p. 279.

sometimes for the specific order of priest, as well as for 'priest'. Perhaps by this later date, the use and meaning of the term *sacerdos* were beginning to change. In a work primarily about monks, the term *monachus* is still being used even though the lives of the tenth-century Benedictine monks must have changed considerably from that of the seventh- and eighth-century monks. The terms *diaconus* and *subdiaconus* appear far more frequently in this text than those for bishops and priests, suggesting that they may have had a more active role in the Benedictine monasteries, or that more of them chose not to become priests. *minister*, used infrequently in the other texts, is also used more, still in a general way but solely for the religious, who participated in the services.

Wulfstan's *Canon Law Collection*, from the eleventh century, shows many of the same Latin terms being used, with *episcopus* mainly for bishop, with only three exceptions, where *praesul* is used for a foreign bishop and *pontifex* for senior personnel who need not be bishops. *presbyter* is used for a priest and *sacerdos* for 'priest', similar to the way in which both terms are used in the eighth-century sources. The other terms, *diaconus*, *clericus*/*clerus*, *minister* and *monachus* are being used in the same way as previously, but a new term, *canonicus*, has been introduced, for men who appear to be regular clergy. The introduction of this term may have been in response to the tenth-century monastic reformation, when more emphasis was placed on the distinction between monks and the clergy, or to other changes taking place within the Church's structure and organisation. The term *exorcista* appears, showing that the order still existed in the eleventh century. It seems that by the tenth and eleventh centuries *episcopus* was the main term used for bishop, with the classical

Latin words *antistes*, *pontifex* and *praesul* declining and virtually dying out of use. However, as the nature and intention of the sources differed, so may have the language, with more formal and precise terminology being used in the official Church documents. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period the term *sacerdos* seems to be used for a 'priest', with occasionally a more specific meaning of priest, especially as seen in the *Regularis Concordia*, although it is impossible to say this with any certainty. The use of the terms *presbyter* and *diaconus* seem to remain constant throughout the whole period, even though their numbers and roles must have changed dramatically.

Whilst the Latin terms vary little in their spelling or meaning, the OE terms show more change and variation over the centuries. In all the OE sources studied here, the term *biscop* was used for bishop, including in the translation of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Although Bede used several terms for the bishops, his translator appears not to have had the same wide choice, and so, even if he saw nuances of meaning in the various Latin terms, he was not able to show this in his translation. The translator consistently used *mæssepreost* when translating Bede's *presbyter*, with *preost* mainly being used for the lesser clergy whom we refer to today as minor clerics. For the term *sacerdos*, the translator apparently considered the context carefully before choosing to use either *biscop*, *sacerd* or *mæssepreost*, instead of automatically translating every instance as *sacerd*, which appears to be the direct equivalent. Sometimes the translator seems to be making a much clearer distinction in the orders than Bede does, which may reflect the changes that had taken place in the Church since Bede's day. The translator uses various terms such as *gefer*, *geferscipe*, *preost* and *þeow* for the Latin *clericus*/*clerus*, which suggests that where there was a choice in the terms available to

him, he used them all.

In the royal law-codes contemporary with the OE version of the *Ecclesiastical History* *preost* is sometimes used instead of *mæssepreost* for priest. Words such as *gefer*, *had* and *þeow* are used for the clerics and clergy in general, whereas in the OE version of the *Ecclesiastical History*, *preost*, amongst others, is used. Law-codes from the tenth century onwards continue this trend, with *mæssepreost* and *preost* both being used for priest. In the seventh-century Kentish law-codes, *preost* is used for priest, but as these codes only survive in copies from 400-500 years later, this is probably misleading. If the language was updated for its audience, it may possibly be why we find *preost*, but not *mæssepreost*, being used in this way, and would also account for the use of the term *cleric*, which appears to have been a later term. Another term, *weofodþen*, appears only in the laws from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, seemingly used for those in major orders when no one order needed to be specified. In these same law-codes, a combination of *sacerd*, *mæssepreost* and *preost* appears to be used for priest. Sometimes more than one term is used, which suggests either a slight difference in meaning or that all terms meant the same but were used for variety, simply because they were available to the writers. However, as can be seen, one of the main problems with the sources of the Anglo-Saxon period is that many do not survive in their original manuscripts but only in much later copies, which makes it difficult to determine when terms were introduced and when their meaning may have changed, if at all.

The two Old English pastoral letters of Ælfric from the late tenth and early eleventh

centuries again seem to use *sacerd*, *mæssepreost* and *preost* synonymously for priest, but with *sacerd*, like the Latin term *sacerdos*, also meaning 'priest'. Where Ælfric lists the seven ordained orders in both letters, the OE term *mæssepreost* is used for the translation of the Latin *presbyter*. The term *mynster-preost* is given as the translation of the Latin *regularis canonicus*, which suggests that regular canons were based at minsters in this period. The so-called *Canons of Edgar*, and the later rewriting of the text in the form of *The Northumbrian Priests' Law*, were both written in the early eleventh century for the secular clergy, and used the term *preost* for priest. *mæssepreost* appears only occasionally, but when it does appear, it may be in clauses that have been directly copied from earlier texts. The term *mæssepreost* must have been in use and understood in this period since otherwise it would not have been used at all. The term *weofodþen* is used here for the major orders generally when no rank needs to be specified, and the term *cleric* for either all, or just the minor, orders.

The surviving Anglo-Saxon wills are mainly from the late tenth century onwards but again many only come down to us in later copies. As religious men are mentioned usually as receiving gifts or as witnesses, it is not always easy to work out precisely what their roles were and so thereby give their equivalent modern term. *mæssepreost* and *preost* are used, with the former likely to be a priest, but the latter could be either a priest or a cleric in minor orders. In one will, *hirdpreost* is used as well as *preost*, which suggests a difference between the meanings of these two terms as they both appear in a short document. The Old English homilies from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, although compiled from eleventh-century documents, are from a period when the English language was going through rapid change. *preost* is used

exclusively for priest, with no mention at all of *mæssepreost*, and with *biscop*, *diacon* and *cleric* being used for bishop, deacon and cleric respectively. Perhaps by the twelfth century, the term *mæssepreost* had fallen out of usage completely, although it is impossible to say with any certainty without first studying many more sources.

It appears that from the tenth century onwards, the use of *mæssepreost* for a priest was declining with *preost* being used more for this meaning, and not just for a cleric in minor orders. It is possible that the two terms had once had distinct meanings, but that over time, and as the Church and its personnel evolved, they came to mean the same thing. The single-church priest of the tenth and eleventh centuries was very different from the minster priest of the seventh and eighth centuries, and so the change in the use of the terminology may reflect this. Or maybe *preost* had always been seen as a shortened version of the term *mæssepreost*. *preost* seems to be the one OE term over which there is most debate concerning its meaning and usages, with my research showing that it could be used specifically for a priest, or for an ordained cleric in minor orders. Whilst more research is needed if we are to get much closer to understanding this term, the organisation of the Church and its personnel, from its early beginnings in the seventh and eighth centuries to the tenth and eleventh centuries, also needs to be more fully understood. Until we can properly understand what life was like within all the various Anglo-Saxon religious communities, it will be difficult to appreciate what roles the personnel played within them, including their part in delivering pastoral care. It may well be that as the Church evolved over the centuries, both the Latin and Old English terms were no longer adequate to describe the personnel, whose roles must have changed dramatically over the same period. Or

perhaps we are making the priest and his roles seem far more complicated than they really were, with the Anglo-Saxons seeing no difference in the priest, regardless of whether he was in a seventh-century minster or an eleventh-century church. Perhaps the problem lies with our using the modern English word priest which, in the picture that it conjures up, is simply too anachronistic.

Appendix I

Anglo-Saxon Wills from: D. Whitelock (ed. & trans.), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930).

III. The Will of Wynflæd.

X. The Will of the Ealdorman Æthelmær.

XI. The Will of Brihtric and Ælfswith.

XIII. The Will of Ælfhelm.

XIV. The Will of Æthelflæd.

XVI. The Will of Æthelric.

XVII. The Will of Wulfric.

XX. The Will of Ætheling Æthelstan.

XXIII. The Will of Mantat the Anchorite.

XXIV. The Will of Thurketel of Palgrave.

XXVII. The Will of Ælfric Modercope.

XXVIII. The Will of Leofgifu.

XXX. Thurstan's Bequest to Christchurch.

XXXI. The Will of Thurstan.

XXXII. The Will of Wulfgyth.

XXXIV. The Will of Ketel.

XXXVII. The Will of Siflæd.

Anglo-Saxon wills from: D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brookes (eds.), *Councils and Synods with other Documents relating to the English Church, I, AD 871-1204, Part I, 871-1066* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981).

21. The Will of Theodred, Bishop of London.

51. The Will of Alfwold, Bishop of Crediton.

66. The Will of Ælfric, Bishop of Elmham.

Appendix II

Old English Homilies from: R. Morris (ed.), *Old English Homilies*, The Early English Text Society, 34, Series I (London: N. Trübner & Co., 1868).

In Dominica Palmarum [For Palm Sunday]

Hic Dicendum est de Quadragesima [Quadragesima Sunday]

Dominica Prima in Quadragesima [First Sunday in Lent]

In Diebus Dominicis [On the Lord's Day]

De Natale Domini [The Nativity of our Lord]

In Die Pentecosten [The Day of Pentecost]

De Octo Uiciis & de Duodecim Abusiuis Huius Seculi [Concerning Eight Vices and Twelve Abuses of this Age]

Sermo in Epist. 2 AD Corinth. IX. 6 [Sermon on 2 Corinthians IX. 6]

In Die Dominica [The Lord's Day]

Sermo in Marcum VIII. 34 [Sermon on Mark VIII. 34]

Estote Fortes in Bello [Be Strong in War]

On God Ureisun of Ure Lefdi [A Good Orison of Our Lady]

An Bispel [A Parable]

Her Biginnes þe Wohunge of Ure Lauerd [The Wooing of Our Lord]

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