Primary Source bibliography – revised Oct 2018

This bibliography is not comprehensive. Its primary goal is to give some pointers for the sources for the Norman Conquest that we discuss in class, including all those in the sourcepack. For these it gives details of translations, and a selection of the most recent or relevant historiography. A second section covers a few other important or interesting texts for the study of the Norman Conquest and its impact.

General background reading


**Aelfric of Eynsham, Homilies (The Lives of Saints – Maccabees)**

Aelfric was a pre-conquest English abbot (d. 1010) who wrote numerous hagiographies, homilies (a sermon on a biblical text) and biblical commentaries, as well as treatises on language. Of particular interest for this course is a passage in one of his homilies (no. 25, on Maccabees, one of the books of the Bible), in which he talks about the roles of the ‘three orders’ of society, a concept being discussed by a number of writers both in England and on the continent around this time.


**The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle**

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is the label for a set of related chronicles with shared material which go back to an ‘ancestor’ begun in the late 9th century. Some versions were kept up to date into the eleventh century.

Historiography: it’s difficult to know where to begin. But try P. Stafford, ‘The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles after Alfred’, *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 27 (2017), 65–86 as a great one-stop shop. Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. A. Jorgensen (Turnhout, 2010), is a recent collection of studies with further references; M. Home, *The Peterborough version of the Anglo-Saxon chronicle* (Woodbridge, 2015) is a good if rather literary study of Chronicle E.

**Battle of Maldon**
This is a poem written in Old English celebrating a real battle fought in 991 at Maldon (Essex) against Viking invaders. It was probably written soon afterwards. Translation: D. Scragg, *The Battle of Maldon* (London, 1991). 2 copies in Western Bank, 829.1 (M)


**The Bayeux Tapestry**
The Bayeux Tapestry is properly speaking an embroidery, recounting the events of the Norman Conquest over around 70 metres. Now in Bayeux in Normandy, it is generally thought that it was made in England, perhaps in Canterbury, by English seamstresses, but doubtless was commissioned by a Norman, possibly Odo of Bayeux.

Editions: a range of facsimiles is available; that by D. Wilson, *The Bayeux Tapestry: the complete tapestry in colour* (London, 1985 – 1 copy in Western Bank) is recommended (and should be used for citation purposes). But now there are several versions online; the best is probably [http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost11/Bayeux/bay_tama.html](http://www.hs-augsburg.de/~harsch/Chronologia/Lspost11/Bayeux/bay_tama.html)

It’s also now available on Wikipedia.

Historiography: a lot has been written! Some of the more important recent studies:


**Brut y Tywysogion**
The Brut is a Welsh text which is in part based on a lost Latin set of annals, also written in Wales. It is a major source for early Welsh history. Its author is anonymous.


**De Obitu Willelmi/On the Death of William**
A short Latin poem describing the death of William the Conqueror, possibly in the context of disputes over his succession. Its author is anonymous.


**Dialogus de Scaccario, by Richard fitzNigel**

A late 12th century Latin treatise explaining how the Exchequer (ie, royal revenue office) worked. Doesn’t sound relevant to the Conquest? Most of it isn’t, but there are one or two important passages.


Historiography: see Greenway’s introduction to the translation.

**Domesday Book**

Properly speaking, two books: Great Domesday and Little Domesday. They record the landholdings of everyone in England, and were written up in the 1080s.

Translations: you’ll find various editions and translations in Western Bank: 942.021 (D). A handy one is A. Williams and G. Martin, *Domesday Book: a complete translation* (London, 2002). Two copies in 942.021 (D) in Western Bank; CW also has a copy

An online version gives the whole text, but not yet in translation [http://opendomesday.org/](http://opendomesday.org/)


David Roffe’s work has an idiosyncratic approach, and perhaps isn’t the best place to start. For the absolute beginner, try [http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday/](http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/domesday/) which is I think better than the confusing Wikipedia page.

**Dudo of Saint-Quentin, History of the Normans**

Dudo of St Quentin was the first historian of Normandy, writing down a legendary account in the decades around 1000. He was not himself Norman, but was part of the Norman ducal court. His chronicle is a key source for early Norman identity formation.


**Eadmer of Canterbury, History of recent events**
Eadmer was an English monk who wrote his History around 1122. He was a staunch supporter of Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, though also had English sympathies. In addition to the translation by G. Bosanquet, History of Recent Events in England (London, 1964) (one copy in Western Bank: 942.02 (E)) see S. Vaughn, ‘Eadmer's Historia Novorum: a reinterpretation’, Anglo-Norman Studies 10 (1987), 259-89, available as an e-offprint. The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography entry for Eadmer should also prove helpful.

**Eadmer, Life of St Anselm of Canterbury**

**Ermenfrid, Penitential Ordinance**
Ermenfrid was a bishop of Sion, now in Switzerland: he was sent by the Pope to England to investigate the state of the Church soon after the conquest, in 1070. The penitential he confirmed, in collaboration with the Norman bishops, sets out the penance (atonement) to be done by those guilty of violence during the conquest.


**Gerald of Wales, Description of Wales**
An Anglo-Norman cleric of Welsh descent, who spent time at the court of Henry II in the later 12th century. He wrote his description of Wales around 1194.

Translation: L. Thorpe, The journey through Wales; and, The Description of Wales (London, 1978): a copy in WB and in the IC.

**Gerefa, on the responsibilities of the reeve**
An anonymous tract written sometime in the tenth or eleventh century detailing some of the tasks of a reeve (the gerefa named in the title) relating to the management of an estate in the later Anglo-Saxon period.

Translation: M. Swanton, Anglo-Saxon Prose (1975), pp. 25-27, of which there are two copies in Western Bank: 829.08 (S). Also see pp. 21-25 for Gẹþyncðo, another tract on a similar topic often dealt with in combination with Gerefa.

Historiography: a detailed commentary of both Gẹþyncðo and Gerefa is available in T. Gobbit, ‘Gerefa (RSP+Ger)’ in Early English Laws: http://www.earlyenglishlaws.ac.uk/laws/texts/rspger/#print-editions (focus on the Commentary on the Text and Edition section).

**The Gesta Herewardi**
A rather controversial text, the *Gesta Herewardi* is a 12th-century (?) Latin text that claims to be a translation of an earlier lost text in Old English. Its author is anonymous.

A full translation is in M. Swanton, *Three Lives of the last Englishmen* (New York, 1984), in Western Bank 942.013 (T); and also in Robin Hood and other Outlaw tales, ed. S. Knight (Kalamazoo, 1997), also in Western Bank at Q 820.8 (R). This latter version is also online, http://d.lib.rochester.edu/teams/text/hereward-the-wake


**Henry of Huntingdon, History of the English**

Henry was an Anglo-Norman historian who was a cleric, but not a monk, who lived in the diocese of Lincoln. His *Historia* was written around 1150, but preserves much earlier material.


**History of the Church of Abingdon**

A chronicle written at Abingdon Abbey (Oxfordshire) probably in the 1150s. The anonymous author relied on many of the abbey’s old documents, including some dating to before the Conquest.


**Hugh the Chanter, History of the Church of York**

Hugh was a cleric working at York, who wrote his history around 1130. It is aimed primarily at defending the privileges of the archbishop of York against the claims of the archbishop of Canterbury.

Translation: C. Johnson, *Hugh the Chanter, the History of the church of York, 1066-1127* (London, 1961)

Historiography: not much has been written about Hugh! Try the Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.

**John of Worcester, Chronicle**

An English monk who wrote his wide-ranging history around 1140 at Worcester (West Midlands).

The standard translation is by P. McGurk, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester* (Oxford, 1995) (OMT), which is in the IC at 940.1 (M)


**Joseph of Canterbury, Visit to Constantinople**
Joseph was an English monk from Canterbury who lived through the Norman Conquest and travelled to Jerusalem on pilgrimage around 1090. The extract describes a part of his return trip where he meets some fellow (or former?) Englishmen in Constantinople.


Archbishop Lanfranc, Letters

Lanfranc, Monastic constitutions

Orderic Vitalis, Ecclesiastical History
Orderic was a monk of Normandy, with an English mother and a Norman father. His history was initially designed as an account of his monastery, Saint-Evroul, but he got carried away, and it became a general history. The bulk was written in the 1120s. The edition and translation of this large work by Marjorie Chibnall (OMT) is the only one worth consulting. You will probably want to concentrate on volume II – of which there are six copies in Western Bank – unless you’re pursuing Welsh lines of enquiry.


Pope Gregory VII, Letters
Pope Gregory VII was an extremely active ‘reforming’ pope, who died in 1085. A copy of his ‘register’ (i.e. sent-mail) survives, and provides a very valuable insight into his activities.


Rhigyfarch’s Lament

St Frideswide charter (S.909)
A charter issued by King Aethelred II (‘the Unready’) to the church of St Frideswide in Oxford in 1004.


Historical context is provided by A. Williams, ‘Cockles amongst wheat: Danes and English in the western Midlands in the first half of the eleventh century’, Midland History 11 (1986), pp. 1-22 (online via STAR). You might also be interested in a 2012 archaeological discovery in Oxford of possible Viking bones: see this report by Pollard and others, in the Oxford Journal of Archaeology. For charters, have a look at http://www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk/

Snorri Sturluson, King Harald’s Saga
Part of the Heimskringla, a compilation of sagas made by the Icelander Snorri Sturluson in the 13th century. It draws heavily on (Scandinavian) oral legends to talk about the great Harald Hardrada.

Translation: M. Magnusson, King Harald’s saga (London, 1966). Other translations are available. Wikipedia is in this instance not a bad place to start.

Thomas of Monmouth, Life of William of Norwich
Despite his name, Thomas of Monmouth was actually a cleric in Norwich (Norfolk), who wrote this deeply inflammatory text around 1150. It concerns the murder of a boy called William in 1144, which Thomas of Monmouth attributes to the town’s Jewish community, apparently with the intention of stirring up racial hatred.


**Turgot (?), Life of St Margaret**
Margaret was the sister of Edgar Aetheling, and so a survivor of the old Anglo-Saxon ruling dynasty. Forced into exile by the Norman Conquest, she married the king of Scotland, Malcolm III. Her life was probably written by Turgot, a bishop of Durham, in the early 12th century.

Tr. in L. Huneycutt, Matilda of Scotland: a study of medieval queenship (Woodbridge, 2003): one copy in WB.


**William of Jumièges, Deeds of the Dukes of the Normans**
William was a Norman monk at Jumièges in Normandy, who wrote a history of the dukes of Normandy, probably intended as a continuation of the history written by Dudo of St-Quentin. William wrote his text around 1070, and dedicated it to William.

The standard translation of William’s history, which is textually intriguing (=difficult), is by E. van Houts in the OMT series: Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges (Oxford, 1995), 2 copies in 940.1 (M) (in Western Bank).


**William of Malmesbury, Life of Bishop Wulfstan**
Wulfstan was the bishop of Worcester until his death in 1095, and the last surviving English bishop. A saint’s life that was written about him in English is now lost; however, William of Malmesbury (see below) produced a Latin translation, probably in the 1130s.


**William of Malmesbury, Deeds of the Kings of the English**
Like Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury came from a mixed Anglo-Norman family. He was a monk at Malmesbury (Wiltshire). He wrote many historical works; this one he composed during the 1120s. He has a glowing reputation amongst many contemporary historians.
William of Poitiers, Deeds of Duke William

William was a Norman cleric and apparently the chaplain of William the Conqueror himself. He wrote his history probably in the 1070s. It survives only in an incomplete form (the end is missing, though can be reconstructed to some degree using Orderic Vitalis, who used it). Translation is by Davis and M. Chibnall, *The Gesta Guillelmi of William of Poitiers* (Oxford, 1998). 940.1 (M) (in the IC).

Relevant sources not represented in coursepack

If a source isn’t in the coursepack, it won’t be in the exam – but that doesn’t mean you should entirely ignore them!

**The Acta Lanfranci**
A Latin continuation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Probably composed around 1110.
Translation: EHD, pp. 676-81

**Ælfric of Eynsham, Colloquy**
As already mentioned, Ælfric was a late tenth-century English abbot and scholar (see his entry above for his homilies). He wrote this colloquy, designed for monastic novices (ie, boy monks) in the 990s.

**Amatus of Montecassino, The History of the Normans**

**Anna Comnena, Alexiad**
Anna was a Byzantine (Greek) princess who wrote an account of the reign of her father, Emperor Alexios I, which also famously mentions the Normans. She died around 1150.
Translation: there are several, but nothing wrong with E. Sewter, tr. *The Alexiad of Anna Comnena* (London, 1969). Three copies in IC, 959.503

**Carmen de Hastingae Proelio**
Ed. F. Barlow (Oxford, 2007). A defence of the authenticity of this much-debated source, which R.H.C. Davis (and others) have thought was a later medieval “forgery”, but which is now often thought to have been written by Bishop Guy of Amiens not long after the conquest. For a recent study, see T. O’Donnell, ‘The Carmen de Hastingae Proelio and the Poetics of 1067’, *Anglo-Norman Studies* 39 (2016), pp. 151-166

**Geoffrey Malaterra, The Deeds of Count Roger of Calabria and Sicily and of His Brother Duke Robert Guiscard**
The translation is by Wolf; see G. Loud, *Age of Robert Guiscard*, for details of the Normans in Sicily and Italy.

**Goscelin of St Bertin: The Book of Encouragement and Consolation (Liber Confortatorius)**
The translation is by M. Otter (2004); she provides a good introduction, too. See in addition O’Keeffe, ‘Goscelin and the consecration of Eve’, *Anglo-Saxon England* 35 (2006), and now,
M. Otter, ‘Entrances and exits: performing the Psalms in Goscelin’s Liber Confortatorius’, *Speculum* 83 (2008), 283-302

**Hugh Candidus, The Peterborough Chronicle**
A mid 12th-century record from Peterborough. A new translation by Edmund King is in progress.

**The Liber Eliensis**
An account of the monastery at Ely. Translation by Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005). A good intro is Paxton, ‘Monks and bishops’, *offprint*

**Liber Vitae of New Minster**
This manuscript, now stored in the British Library, was intended to hold names of people for the monks of New Minster in Winchester to pray for. It was made around 1057, and was then updated with new names. On folio 29 there is an entry listing King Edward, Queen Edith, and Edgar the Aetheling. For an introduction, see S. Keynes, ‘The Liber vitae of the New Minster, Winchester’, in D. Rollason et al., eds, *The Durham Liber Vitae and its context* (Woodbridge, 2004), 149-163

**Life of Edward the Confessor (Vita Aedwardi regis)**
This saint’s life was written almost immediately after the Norman Conquest, by an anonymous author in the retinue of King Edward’s wife, Queen Edith. It carefully skirts around the Conquest itself, which is why it’s not in the sourcepack.
Translation: F. Barlow, *Life of Edward*


**Rectitudines singularum personarum**
A pre-conquest guide to estate management written in (old) English, probably composed around Bath in the early eleventh century.

**Thomas of Marlborough, History of the Abbey of Evesham**

**The Warenne chronicle**
Also known as the Hyde Chronicle. It pays particular attention to the Warenne family; it was written around 1150, possibly for William of Blois. Translation: E. van Houts and R. Love (Oxford, 2013)

**Other kinds of evidence**
**Architecture**
For a case study, why not look at P. Ryder, *Saxon churches in South Yorkshire* (1982)

**Coins and mints**

**Writs**
Various writs are printed in EHD (*English Historical Documents*) II.

**Law codes and charters**
A selection available in EHD (*English Historical Documents*) II.
For commentary, see:

**Other sources (a fairly arbitrary list)**