







## ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE

ADVISORY EDITOR: BETTY RADICE

Bede was born in 673. He himself tells us that he became a monk at an early age and lived most of his life at Jarrow. Scholar, teacher and writer, he wrote biblical and other works. He has been described as the 'Father of English History'. His historical works include *Life of Cuthbert* and *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, both in *The Age of Bede* (a Penguin Classic). Bede died in 735.

Leo Sherley-Price served in the Royal Navy for twenty-seven years, his last appointment being with the Royal Naval College, Greenwich. Subsequently he has been Rural Dean and parish priest in Devon. He has translated Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*, Walter Hilton's *The Ladder of Perfection*, *The Little Flowers of Saint Francis* and a number of other historical and theological books. He is now retired and is Honorary Assistant priest at the church of St John the Evangelist, Bovey Tracey, in Newton Abbot, Devon, and he remains in active ministry.

D. H. Farmer (B.Litt. Oxon) was Reader in History at Reading University until 1988. He is author and editor of several books on ecclesiastical and monastic history such as *Benedict's Disciples* (2nd edition, 1999), *The Age of Bede* (a Penguin Classic, 1983), *St Hugh of Lincoln* (3rd edition, 2000) and *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (1978; 4th edition, 1997). This has been translated into Italian, Slovakian and Roumanian. A work on Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Europe is in preparation. He has also been principal consultant for the new twelve-volume edition of *Butler's Lives of the Saints* (1995–9).



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**BEDE**



ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

OF THE

ENGLISH PEOPLE

WITH

BEDE'S LETTER TO EGBERT

AND

CUTHBERT'S LETTER

ON THE DEATH OF BEDE



The History *translated by*

*Leo Sherley-Price*

*revised by R. E. Latham*

Translation of the minor works,

new Introduction and Notes

*by D. H. Farmer*

PENGUIN BOOKS

Published by the Penguin Group

Penguin Books Ltd, 80 Strand, London WC2R 0RL, England

Penguin Putnam Inc., 375 Hudson Street, New York, New York 10014, USA

Penguin Books Australia Ltd, 250 Camberwell Road, Camberwell, Victoria 3124, Australia

Penguin Books Canada Ltd, 10 Alcorn Avenue, Toronto, Ontario, Canada M4V 3B2

Penguin Books India (P) Ltd, 11 Community Centre, Panchsheel Park, New Delhi – 110 017, India

Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd, Cnr Rosedale and Airborne Roads, Albany, Auckland, New Zealand

Penguin Books (South Africa) (Pty) Ltd, 24 Sturdee Avenue, Rosebank 2196, South Africa

Penguin Books Ltd, Registered Offices: 80 Strand, London WC2R 0RL, England

[www.penguin.com](http://www.penguin.com)

This translation first published 1955

Reprinted with revisions 1965

Revised edition 1968

Revised edition 1990

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and *Cuthbert's Letter on the*

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EISBN: 9781101488102



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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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LIKE all previous editions of Bede's Ecclesiastical History this one depends on the pioneer work of Charles Plummer in *Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896 and 1956). Grateful recognition is also made to the edition and notes of B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969) and to the historical commentary by J. M. Wallace Hadrill (Oxford, 1988), which have been invaluable in providing much material for this work. Among more recent writers James Campbell, first in his essay on Bede in *Latin Historians* (ed. T. A. Dorey, 1966) and then in *The Anglo-Saxons* (1982), has placed all scholars in this field in his debt. At a late stage of preparation David Howlett and Richard Sharpe (of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*) gave generous help, especially in the preparation of the subsidiary texts and the footnotes. For any errors none of these benefactors are responsible.

# LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

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<i>AB</i>	J. F. Webb and D. H. Farmer, <i>The Age of Bede</i> (Penguin Classics 1989)
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i> (periodical, 1972–)
Campbell	J. Campbell, ed. <i>The Anglo-Saxons</i> (1982)
<i>CCSL</i>	<i>Corpus Christianorum Scriptorum Latinorum</i>
Colgrave and Mynors	B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, <i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History</i> (Oxford 1969)
<i>EHD I</i>	D. Whitelock, ed., <i>English Historical Documents</i> , vol. I (1968)
<i>Famulus Christi</i>	G. Bonner, ed., <i>Famulus Christi</i> (1976)
Kirby	D. P. Kirby, ed., <i>St Wilfrid at Hexham</i> (Newcastle 1974)
<i>ODS</i>	D. H. Farmer, <i>The Oxford Dictionary of Saints</i> (Oxford 1987)
<i>ODCC</i>	F. L. Cross and E. A. Livingstone, <i>The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church</i> (Oxford 1974)
<i>PBA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
Plummer	C. Plummer, <i>Beda's Opera Historica</i> (Oxford 1956)
<i>WH</i>	J. M. Wallace Hadrill, <i>Bede's Ecclesiastical History: a Historical Commentary</i> (Oxford 1988)

# INTRODUCTION

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BEDE'S *History*, the first account of Anglo-Saxon England ever written, has always been highly esteemed. Bede was a monk of Jarrow who worked on this book for several years before completing it in 731. Over the next fifty years it was copied in Northumbria and elsewhere (four eighth-century manuscripts survive), and it became widely diffused in western Europe throughout the Middle Ages. It was first printed in c. 1480 and nowadays it enjoys a wider distribution than ever before.\*

The *History* is readable and attractive. Whether he writes of the geography of Britain (i. 1), the coming of Augustine (i. 26), the Northumbrian council concerned with the acceptance of Christianity (ii. 13) or the achievements of Abbess Hilda and the poet Caedmon (iv. 23–4), Bede's insight, empathy and concision are evident. Elsewhere his descriptions of natural phenomena such as the recovery of a horse from illness (ii. 9), the speech therapy provided for a boy (v. 2) and the supernatural experiences of the visionary Drythelm (v. 12) reveal his talent as a descriptive writer. Even more important, his power of synthesis, making a coherent whole from fragmentary elements, together with his telling use of original sources, make him a fine historian.

The few known details of his life are soon told. The last chapter of the *History* (v. 24) is our principal source, and this is completed both by Bede's *Lives of the Abbots* (AB, pp. 185–208) and by the monk Cuthbert's account of Bede's death (see below, pp. [357–60](#)).

Bede tells us that he was born in 673 on land owned by the monastery of Wearmouth. He was offered to its abbot, Benedict Biscop, seven years later for his education. A few years afterwards, he moved to the new foundation of Jarrow under the care of Abbot Ceolfrith: here he remained for the rest of his life. In his early days there, as the anonymous *Life of Ceolfrith* records, a young boy and the abbot were the only two monks capable of singing the Divine Office 'with antiphons' after the plague had swept through the monastery. It seems highly probable, if not absolutely certain, that this young boy was none other than Bede himself.\*

Bede was ordained as a deacon at the age of nineteen by John, Bishop of Hexham, and

priest at the age of thirty. For the rest of his life he gladly took part in the Liturgy and other exercises of the community, but was particularly drawn to study, teaching and writing. The study was concerned principally with Latin and the Bible. It may well be claimed that the principal element in his formation as a scholar was the Latin Bible. This was the central element of the monks' sacred reading. Its entire text was copied with meticulous care at least three times in Ceolfrith's abbey. One of these massive one-volume Latin bibles survives complete in the Bibliotheca Laurenziana at Florence; another fragment of a few pages is in the British Library. It is possible but not certain that Bede as a young monk worked on one or more of these volumes.\*

In Bede's lifetime, not only was Jarrow a centre of excellence for study, thanks to the acquisition of books from Italy and France by Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith, but the whole environment reflected a cultural standard achieved by few others at the time. The churches were built of stone and adorned with panel paintings brought back from the Continent, and it is now known, thanks to recent archaeological excavation, that there was a flourishing stained-glass workshop. In 716 the two abbeys of Wearmouth and Jarrow housed 600 monks. It is likely that Jarrow was the smaller monastery of the two: the restricted site (not yet fully excavated) would hardly be able to house 200 monks.\*

Bede's teaching and writing were based on the resources of the library. These included Latin grammars, books of computistics and chronology, history, hagiography and patristic commentaries on the Bible. Much of Bede's teaching must have been basic. Most monks, when they arrived at the monastery, would have been ignorant of Latin and may have been unable to read their native tongue. After some years of learning Latin they would advance to the other subjects already mentioned.

Bede regarded himself primarily as a biblical commentator: the number and size of these works far exceed his others. His sermons also reveal him as a contemplative scholar whose world was that of the mysteries of the Christian faith. Not being a speculative genius like Augustine or Aquinas, he might have been thought of (in patristic terms) as one who ruminated like the ox rather than one who soared like the eagle. His commentaries on nearly every book of the Bible have seemed unoriginal and derivative to many, but they at least provided admirable digests of patristic commentary to preachers in England and overseas in an age when books were very scarce and very expensive. Moreover Bede's use and skilful editing of his sources often makes his works more valuable than at first appears.

Most readers now think of Bede primarily as a historian. His *History* was the work of his mature years, completed when he was aged about sixty. His earlier works of chronology, computistics and hagiography prepared him, in different ways, for his masterpiece. The details of dating, including his personal contribution of popularizing 'AD' dating, carefully worked out in harmony with imperial 'indications', formed an indispensable tool for his task. Indeed his professional interest in computing Easter dates is sometimes obsessively present in the text of his *History*. His previous experience in recording the lives of Cuthbert and of the Abbots of his own monastery also prepared him well for narrating the achievements of other worthies. In addition to these works, his main output of biblical commentaries was completed and continued by the *History*.

This was entitled, very precisely, *An Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. It was a Church history, not a political, economic or social history. Inevitably, however, some of these elements were included in the story of the progress and development of the Christian Church. Also it concerned the English people, that is, the Germanic peoples who settled in England and who are generally known as the Anglo-Saxons (see i. 15, v. 9 and notes). The Church in Anglo-Saxon England, rather than the Church in Ireland, Scotland or Wales, was Bede's subject. Bede wrote in Latin like all scholars of his time and this ensured that his work would be read in western Europe as well as in England. He dedicated the work to Ceolwulf, King of Northumbria, who presumably knew enough Latin to understand it. The style was simple, the content attractive. Clerical readers would be much more numerous than lay ones. Bede, fine Latin scholar though he was, also understood and provided for laypeople's needs by translating prayers and the Scriptures (see pp. 340, 358–9). He also emphasized the importance of Caedmon and vernacular poetry in the spread of Christianity in his day (iv. 24). This was an integral part of the progress of the Church and so it deserved mention besides the other fine contemporary achievements. Bede completed his *History* in 731. His *Letter to Egbert* shows more clearly its enduring difficulties and limitations. This was written in 734, the year before he died. Cuthbert's moving account of his death (pp. [-60](#)) was written soon afterwards.

Sir Frank Stenton wrote of the *History* over fifty years ago:

The essential quality of Bede's *History* carries it into the small class of books which transcend all but the most fundamental conditions of time and place ... the quality which makes his work great is not his scholarship nor the faculty of narrative which Bede shared with many contemporaries, but his astonishing power of co-ordinating the fragments of information which came to him through tradition, the relation of friends, or

documentary evidence. In an age when little was attempted beyond the registration of fact, he had reached the conception of history.\*

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In most ways this judgement still stands, though Bede studies have moved fast in recent years. His text has been rightly subjected to much critical scrutiny. His motives, his limitations and his omissions have all been examined in detail. More clearly than formerly have his regional bias, his academic partisanship and the paucity of his sources been revealed.

There has also been enrichment from other directions. Archaeologists have made and are still making important discoveries. Sometimes these seem to contradict Bede's statements; often they simply complete them. Recent studies of Christianity in Ireland and Wales throw further light on realities adjacent to, rather than in the centre of, Bede's outlook.\* Bede did not know everything, nor did he always tell us all that he knew: sometimes he oversimplified complex realities, sometimes he concentrated on the didactic value (as he saw it) in a particular narrative.

Another valuable insight which has developed since Stenton's time is that Anglo-Saxon society is now seen to resemble Frankish society far more closely than was previously thought. The roles of the kings and the military aristocracy as well as the laws were similar on both sides of the English channel. The Frankish Church had a notable share in the development of the Church in Anglo-Saxon England. Gregory of Tours, its historian, was a bishop much involved with the Merovingian court. He explicitly narrated in considerable detail the frequent violence which took place there. Bede's treatment of court life (which he probably never experienced) gives the impression of far greater tranquillity. Was this because the realities were different, or because each writer reflected his own life-style in his narrative? It is not always easy to say, but it seems certain that Anglo-Saxon society was more violent than Bede makes out.\*

Yet a further growth point is the increasing realization of the importance of Bede's biblical works as a key to understanding the *History*. These throw light on Bede's purpose in writing and help us to understand him better as a person and a scholar. Sometimes they shed light on his miracle stories, his ideas of kingship and his concept of history in terms of the realization of the divine plan for mankind.\*

In the realization of his task Bede had to use the few sources available and was often at a considerable chronological distance from the events he related. It is easy to forget that he was 130 years distant from the coming of Augustine and 300 from the arrival of the Anglo-

Saxons in England. Hence Bede's first book has been criticized more than the others. Here he inevitably depended heavily on Gildas, whose *Liber querulus de excidione Britanniae* is more of a homily than a history. Explicitly dependent on the biblical account of Jeremiah, it saw the downfall of the British in terms of Israel's fall to the Assyrians. It had little good to say about the rulers of this people, and Bede shared the belief that the invaders, although pagan, were instruments of God's punishment of an unworthy people.\* Later, unknown to Bede, Gildas emerged as an important abbot and teacher who helped to link the churches of Ireland and Wales.

Bede's famous account of the Angles, Saxons and Jutes, however, reflected the political realities of his own time rather than the archaeological realities to which he had no access. It is now recognized that the Anglo-Saxon invasions were a long, gradual settlement lasting about 200 years, that the invaders were much more mixed in the same areas than Bede supposed, that the kingdoms were 'made in England' and that the native population survived especially in the West, in a stronger and more coherent state than was previously supposed. However, by the time Augustine arrived (and Columba of Iona died) in 597, the invaders were in firm political control of most of what is now England. Their settlements were numerous and were usually outside the decayed old Roman towns. Their living standards were reflected by the wealth of Sutton Hoo and the grandeur of the poem *Beowulf* royal level but also by ground-house settlements at Sutton Courtenay and elsewhere at a peasant level.\*

These considerations are largely supplementary to Bede's own information. What did this consist of? What sources were available to him? What was he trying to do? Bede gives us most of the answers in his Preface, which was addressed to the literate King Ceolwulf, who subsequently abdicated and became a monk at Lindisfarne.

Bede listed his contemporary sources not his ancient ones. The latter had included Orosius, Pliny and Solinus as well as Gildas and the *Life of Germanus* by Constantius. In the Preface Bede was concerned with more recent and regional correspondents. These came from different areas of Anglo-Saxon England, but none were from Celtic Britain.\* Abbot Albinus of Canterbury, who ruled there from 709 to 732, was not only the principal source for Kent, but also the animator of the whole project. His scholarly assistant, the London priest Nothelm, researched the papal archives at Rome for letters of Gregory the Great and later popes relating to England. These letters were inserted by Bede, it seems, into a narrative already begun. Bede may have lived long enough to learn of Nothelm's promotion to the See of

Canterbury in 735; he died in 739. Other correspondents included Daniel, Bishop of Winchester (who also wrote to St Boniface), the monks of Lastingham (who provided information about Chad, Cedd and the Mercian apostolate), the otherwise unknown Esi the abbot (who covered East Anglian affairs) and above all 'countless faithful witnesses' from Northumbria. These must have included members of his own community as well as that of Lindisfarne, where Bede was well known since he had written his *Life of Cuthbert* at their request in 721. Information concerning Columba, Aidan and the final reconciliation came from Iona. Other written sources included Eddius' *Life of Wilfrid* and the anonymous lives of Gregory, Cuthbert and possibly Ceolfrith. Bede was the most eminent writer in eighth-century Northumbria, but by no means the only one.

The Preface tells us not only about sources, but also about why Bede was writing. The modern reader cannot fail to notice Bede's explicit moral purpose. Glossing Tacitus, he wrote 'if history records good things of good men, the thoughtful reader is encouraged to imitate what is good; if it records evil of wicked men, the devout reader is encouraged to avoid all that is sinful and perverse.' Hence King Ceolwulf wanted Bede's *History* to be diffused for the good of the people over whom he ruled. The *History*, however, is not just a gallery of good and bad examples, but a coherent narrative in which these examples are introduced within the context of a fuller story. The examination both of Bede's models and of his limitations should throw further light on this topic\*

At first sight Bede had no models: his was a pioneering work without any exact precedent. In fact he owed much to earlier historians. The most important of these was Eusebius, the fourth-century Bishop of Caesarea, whose *Ecclesiastical History* recounted the story of the Christian Church from Pentecost until his own times: how it spread through the Roman Empire in spite of numerous persecutions, how the bishops succeeded one another and how they resisted the evil influence of heretics. Bede, who knew Eusebius in Rufinus' Latin translation, tried to do for the Church in Anglo-Saxon England what Eusebius had done for the Church as a whole. For each the history of the Church was simply a development of the story of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Just as Christ's apostles had worked, preached and suffered to establish the Church in obedience to Christ, so did their successors in whatever time or place. Bede wrote his commentary on *Acts* during part of the time when he was also writing the *History*. If persecution and martyrdom were lacking in the account of the Christianization of England, there was no lack of signs or miracles. Both Eusebius and Bede expected these to



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