

After Oswald: cults and community among the
Benedictine monasteries of eleventh-century Mercia

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Abstract

This thesis considers the textual exchanges between four English Benedictine houses - the abbeys of Evesham, Ramsey and Winchcombe and the community at Worcester Cathedral priory - during the late tenth and eleventh centuries. The four communities had all fallen under the protection of Oswald (bishop of Worcester 961-992 and archbishop of York 971-992) during the period commonly known as the 'English Benedictine Reform'. The thesis examines the liturgical and hagiographical texts associated with three saints' cults: those of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm. All three cults were variously connected to the four monasteries that form the heart of this study. By examining sources for the veneration of the three saints across the communities (rather than focusing on the sites which possessed their remains), this thesis highlights the intertextuality of the liturgical and hagiographic literature surrounding the cults. Not only does this methodology offer fresh insights into the tenth- and eleventh-century development of the cults themselves, it also posits a new approach to exploring questions about monastic relationships.

Thus this study also explores whether sharing an interest in the same saints' cults can shed light on the communities' perceptions of sharing in a common recent history and the implications this had for the monasteries' relationships in the century following Oswald's death. By examining whether a sense of shared history could nuance monastic exchanges, it explores the nature and range of relationships monastic institutions could foster. Consequently, the thesis offers original contributions that begin to bridge the gap between local studies focused upon individual monasteries and scholarship which examines formal monastic orders like the Cistercians. Finally, the thesis emphasises how engaged these local cults were with broader contemporary religious and social concerns and how intimately the communities were connected to major players in the politics of eleventh-century England.

Contents

ABSTRACT	2
CONTENTS	3
LIST OF TABLES	6
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	7
AUTHOR'S DECLARATION	8
A NOTE ON CONVENTIONS	9
INTRODUCTION	11
I. The Parameters of the Study	12
II. The Study of Monastic Institutions in eleventh-century England.	17
<i>Attitudes towards the Worcester diocese in the post-conquest Period</i>	24
III. The 'Oswaldian' Monasteries	28
<i>Oswald and the English Benedictine Reform</i>	28
<i>The Monasteries</i>	37
IV. Methodologies and Thesis Structure	45
<i>Why Cults of Saints?</i>	45
<i>Thesis Structure and Outline</i>	47
CHAPTER ONE. THE WORCESTERSHIRE CULT OF BEDE.....	54
Introduction: the Refoundation of the North	54
I. Uncovering a Cult of Bede.....	59
<i>The Medieval Cult of Bede in England and on the Continent</i>	61
<i>The Cult of Bede in eleventh-century England</i>	65
II. <i>Sanctus Beda presbyter</i> : Liturgical Evidence for the Cult of Bede in Worcestershire	77
<i>Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 2^r-7^v: The Corpus Kalendar</i>	78
<i>Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v: The Hatton Kalendar</i> ...	95

<i>Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391: The Portiforium of St Wulfstan</i> .	102
<i>Patterns for the Liturgical Evidence</i>	108
III. <i>Imitabilis vitae monachus: Bede's place in the Vita Wulfstani</i>	114
<i>William, Coleman or Wulfstan? Bede in the Vita Wulfstani</i>	114
Conclusions	123
CHAPTER TWO. CONTEXTUALISING CONFLICT: THE AFTERLIVES OF ST ECGWINE OF EVESHAM	126
I. The Evesham-Worcester Dichotomy	126
<i>Introducing Ecgwine</i>	130
II. Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the <i>Vita Sancti Ecgwini</i>	134
<i>The date and context of Byrhtferth's Vita Sancti Ecgwini</i>	134
<i>Sources for Byrhtferth's Vita Sancti Ecgwini</i>	143
<i>Gaps in Byrhtferth's narrative</i>	148
<i>Byrhtferth and the Worcester Archive</i>	155
<i>Ecgwini Episcopi: Worcester and the Vita Sancti Ecgwini</i>	161
<i>'The obduracy of an evil ealdorman'</i>	164
III. A Worcester Bishop: The Cult of Ecgwine at Evesham in the Later Eleventh Century.....	166
<i>Dominic of Evesham and the Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini</i>	166
<i>The Contents of Dominic's Vita Sancti Ecgwini</i>	171
<i>Redrawing the Boundaries? Dominic's changes to Vita Sancti Ecgwini</i>	174
Conclusions	177
CHAPTER THREE. RECONSIDERING THE CULT OF KENELM	181
I. Classifying Kenelm: the Impact of Historiography concerning the Royal Cult of Saints.....	183
II. Kenelm of Winchcombe? Sources for the Cult Reconsidered.	188
<i>Early sources for Kenelm of Mercia</i>	189
<i>The Cult of Kenelm: Later Evidence</i>	193

<i>Litanies and Liturgies</i>	196
<i>Kenelm at Winchcombe</i>	202
III. The <i>Vita brevior</i>	205
<i>The Manuscript Context of Vita brevior</i>	213
<i>Cambridge Corpus Christi College 367, vol 5 (ff. 98^r-105^v): description and quiring</i>	215
<i>The Provenance and Date of CCCC 367, vol 5</i>	223
<i>Osbert of Clare and the Transmission of the Vision of Leofric</i>	227
<i>Wulfsige the Hermit and the crufta sancti Kenelmi</i>	231
IV: Positing Alternative Contexts: Kenelm and the Bishops of Worcester	238
<i>Winchcombe Abbey in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries</i>	242
<i>Clent in the early Eleventh Century</i>	247
<i>The Cult of Kenelm and Episcopal Oversight</i>	250
<i>Wulfwine's Memoranda: a legenda Kenelmi?</i>	250
<i>The Men of Gloucester and of Worcester</i>	253
<i>A Tale of Two Popes</i>	255
Conclusions	257
CONCLUSION	260
BIBLIOGRAPHY	271

List of tables

Table 1: concordances between CCCC 9 (no. 20) and other Anglo-Saxon kalendars printed by Rushforth	93
Table 2: The contents of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, vol 5.....	215
Table 3: foliation and length of lections in <i>Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi</i>	217

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Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is wholly the product of my own work and that I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, university. Some aspects of this thesis have been presented as conference papers or at public speaking competitions but these have not been published. No part of this work has been published prior to this time, nor is it under consideration for publication at this time. Sources are acknowledged as references and are listed in the bibliography.

A note on conventions

Out of consideration for clarity and consistency, I have given the modern names and spellings for churches, towns and other named places whenever possible. Where a church, monastery or other site under discussion lies in a different county today than it did during the eleventh century, I have noted both the historic and modern county. One exception to this is discussion of sites that may or may not have once been in the short-lived county of ‘Winchcombeshire’. As the physical borders of this administrative district and the dates of its existence are uncertain, I have preferred to associate sites formerly in Winchcombeshire with the counties to which they belonged during the late eleventh-century Domesday survey.

There is a large degree of inconsistency in the orthography of Anglo-Saxon names, particularly in the case of saints who have been subject to study in both pre- and post-Conquest scholarship. In cases where names can be spelled in multiple ways, I have followed the conventions used in contemporary Anglo-Saxon scholarship, which tries to follow Old English orthography closely. So, for example, I call Oswald’s successor at Worcester and York Archbishop *Ealdwulf* rather than Archbishop *Aldulf*. I have also made full use of the Old English letters *Æ*, *Ð*, *Þ* and *ƿ*, both when citing Old English or Anglo-Latin sources and when spelling Old English names such as *Æthelwig*. On the rare occasions where I have been uncertain of the orthographical conventions among contemporary Anglo-Saxonists, I have been guided by *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* website, based in King’s College London and the University of Cambridge. There is one exception to the above principles: I have chosen to use the post-Conquest name *Kenelm* for the saint discussed in chapter three, rather than the Old English *Cynehelm*. In so doing, I am following the main scholarship on the saint (such as Rosalind Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*) in order to avoid confusion.

My study concerns two bishops of Worcester called Wulfstan: Archbishop Wulfstan (*d.* 1023), who held the see of Worcester in plurality with York 1002-1016 and ‘Saint’ Wulfstan, who was bishop 1062-1095. Generally, my discussion should make it evident which bishop is being referred to. However, where necessary I differentiate between the two individuals by naming the earlier bishop ‘Archbishop Wulfstan’ or ‘Wulfstan I’ and the latter ‘Bishop Wulfstan’ or ‘Wulfstan II’. I will avoid calling the latter ‘Saint Wulfstan’ when discussing his career and life, as this epithet developed after his death and should not be allowed to colour discussions of his episcopacy.

All Anglo-Saxon charters are identified wherever possible by 'S number', referring to Peter Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography*. My use of Sawyer's catalogue derives from the online website *The Electronic Sawyer*, edited by Susan Kelly and Rebecca Rushforth, as this has continued to modify, correct and add new data to Sawyer's original research.

As I am dealing with a large range of sources, I have made use of scholarly transcriptions and translations wherever possible. The edition and translation that I have used is referenced in the footnotes. Where I have had occasion to translate a text myself, this will always be indicated in the footnotes.

A number of my analyses have been enriched by the recent trend to digitise manuscripts. Where I have examined a text in its digitised context, I refer to the manuscript using its traditional shelf mark and folio numbers, followed by a reference to which scholarly website has made the digital facsimile available. When my observations stem from seeing a manuscript in person, the place and date of my visit will be indicated in the footnotes.

Introduction

This thesis is a study of three locally celebrated saints' cults, which played an important role in the spiritual life and literary output of the Benedictine monks based at the abbeys of Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester Cathedral priory. I will analyse evidence for the cults of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm in order to explore aspects of institutional identity and memory, as well as whether the four above-mentioned monasteries engaged in shared 'textual communities' during the late tenth and eleventh centuries.¹ Thus, the main aim of this thesis is to consider the relationships between these four communities in order to ask how institutional relationships formed and were maintained during the period. In this way, the four houses under scrutiny function as a case study for asking broader questions about monastic identities and institutional exchanges during the eleventh century.

The study does not focus on one particular individual, monastery, or region, but rather traces the monasteries' common institutional history and shared interest in particular saints' cults, in order to see what role each saint was given in the houses' collective consciousness. Furthermore, by using saints' cults as a prism through which to study the relationships formed between Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester, this thesis unites one of the most important aspects of monastic life with key questions about how members of monastic institutions perceived themselves and their neighbours in the decades following the English Benedictine Reform. I also hope to develop a methodology that makes use of a fresh body of evidence (in comparison to studies that depend primarily upon house histories and cartularies) to study institutional relationships. Engaging with hagiographical and liturgical texts rather than historical sources like chronicles circumvents assumptions that 'nationalistic spite' or 'Anglo-Saxon partisanship' were significant driving factors behind the monks' behaviours and sense of identity following the Norman Conquest.²

By studying the cathedral community of Worcester equally alongside Evesham, Ramsey and Winchcombe, the thesis will also engage with some of the

¹ Stock, *Implications of Literacy*, esp. 88-92.

² Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ,' 40; and Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North: the Last Bulwark of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism?' 94. For a discussion on attitudes towards post-Conquest Worcestershire see section two below.

challenges posed by the uneven distribution of surviving sources. As Neil Ker observed, Worcester Cathedral ‘by the fallacious test of surviving books’ appears to have possessed one of the most important libraries in medieval Britain.³ In comparison, the pre-1100 collections at Evesham, Ramsey and Winchcombe have all endured significant depredations and many of the literary productions of their own monks only survive in late copies or copies preserved by other monastic libraries.⁴ The imbalance in textual survival can easily be confused with an original imbalance in textual production, leading scholars to assume that major scriptoria like Worcester must have produced texts for monasteries where less evidence for active scriptoria survive. I would like my thesis both to draw attention to how vibrant all four of the Benedictine houses under study were during the period and to situate them within the wider context of the eleventh-century English Church. In order to prevent the rich library at Worcester from dominating the discussion, therefore, I have explored the notion that closely associated monasteries may have shared textual points of contact and that some of our written evidence (such as the *vitae* of Kenelm) were therefore the product of a common narrative that developed over multiple sites.⁵ If the sources at Worcester can be supposed to function as a repository, not merely of its own literary output and interests, but also that of neighbouring and associated monasteries, then this theory may give us more insight into those monasteries whose libraries have barely survived.

I. The Parameters of the Study

The starting point for this thesis is the death of Oswald, archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester, on 29 February 992. Oswald had been one of three bishops who, during the second half of the tenth century, were heavily involved in a period of monastic revival commonly known as the English Benedictine Reform. The three reformers, Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury and Oswald were responsible for (re)founding monastic houses and reforming cathedral priories to replace the canons with a Benedictine presence, particularly

³N. R. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed. London: Offices of the Royal Historical Society, 1964, xi.

⁴This is particularly true for Byrhtferth of Ramsey and Dominic of Evesham: see chapters two and three below.

⁵See chapter three, section four.

during the reign of King Edgar (959-975).⁶ The actual speed and success of the reformers' endeavour was variable, but their work was continued by their students into the eleventh century, such as Wulfsgie, a protégé of Dunstan who reformed the cathedral priory of Sherborne c.993.⁷ It seems very possible that some of the monasteries were reformed collaboratively during this time. However, it also appears that the three bishops and their protégés had authority over different monasteries and thus developed discrete spheres of influence.⁸ When Dom David Knowles studied the spread of Benedictine foundations during this period, he divided the houses into three rough groups according to whether they descended from the communities at Glastonbury, Abingdon or Westbury and thus whether the monastery 'owed some kind of spiritual allegiance' to Dunstan, Æthelwold or Oswald.⁹ Whilst Knowles stressed that 'there was no direct system of filiation' of the kind between the parent and daughter houses of movements like the Cluniacs and Cistercians, the notion of owing 'spiritual allegiance' to a specific reformer is an intriguing one.¹⁰ The interests and influences of monasteries were not curbed by the compound walls, nor did their literary and liturgical output spring from a cultural vacuum. Knowles' expression allows for the possibility of familiar monastic networks that were less formalised (and perhaps less conscious) than those emanating from Cluny and Cîteaux. Furthermore, the unifying power of a single, charismatic leader also raises the question of how long such spiritual allegiances may have continued after the leader's death.¹¹ Knowles' depiction of three familial

⁶ See Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine Reform,' 217-222, for a clear and concise narrative of the English Benedictine Reform.

⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* ii. 81, ed. and trans. Winterbottom, 1:280.

⁸ *Sunt denique in prouincia Merciorum, que Hwicces dicitur, septem monasteria constructa que sub regimine tanti pontificus stabant, constituta a rege et patribus, sicut superius exorsi sumus.*

'Accordingly, in that province of the Mercians which is called Hwicce, seven monasteries were built which were under the authority of the great bishop, having been established by the king and the bishops, as we said previously.' Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 110-113.

⁹ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 48-49. Also see Table I, 'The derivation of the English monasteries, 943-1066 (v. chaps III and IV)' in the same work, 721.

¹⁰ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 49.

¹¹ Nb. Jaeger, *The Envy of Angels*, esp. 7-15.

groups thus provides us with an interesting starting point from which to explore questions about institutional memory and its impact on monastic identity.

The (re)foundation of the four monastic communities under scrutiny here – Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester Cathedral priory – have all traditionally been associated with the activities of Oswald. Oswald was bishop of Worcester from 961 and held the see in plurality with the archbishopric of York from c.972 until his death two decades later.¹² It is evident from the early eleventh-century *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey that Oswald was directly responsible for the foundation of Ramsey Abbey, and for the refoundation of Winchcombe. He also introduced some Benedictine monks to Worcester Cathedral priory. In all three cases, Byrhtferth states that the fledgling community was put under the care of one of Oswald's followers.¹³ As will be seen below, the case of Evesham is more difficult.¹⁴ Nevertheless, it will become evident during this study that even if it was not refounded by Oswald, the church of Evesham soon fell under the direct control of the Worcester bishops, a state which had profound implications for the relationship between the two churches in the centuries to follow.

An important component of this thesis is exploring to what extent the eleventh-century exchanges between the 'Oswaldian' communities were based upon a collective memory of their roots in the English Benedictine Reform. The monasteries that were founded or refounded by Archbishop Oswald during the English Benedictine Reform remember Edgar's reign as a golden age, which was quickly shattered following the king's untimely death in 975. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, John of Worcester and the Evesham historian Thomas of Marlborough record similar accounts of how monastic life flourished until Edgar's death, at which point it was disrupted by depredations led by Ealdorman Ælfhere.¹⁵ These accounts suggest that the Worcestershire houses shared (or at least remembered) a similar pattern of expulsion, dependency (on Ramsey or Worcester) and reestablishment.

¹² Brooks, 'Oswald [St Oswald] (d. 992),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 15 January 2018, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20917.

¹³ Eadnoth at Ramsey, Germanus at Winchester and Wynsige at Worcester. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100-102.

¹⁴ See section three, below.

¹⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.11-12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 122-126; John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 974, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:424-426; Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.134, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 142-144.

Furthermore, there is a reasonable amount of evidence to demonstrate that the four communities continued to influence each other until at least the late eleventh century: as we will see, the houses exchanged personnel, *vitae*, liturgical texts and histories. There were also periods when two communities were temporarily unified under one leader. In the late tenth century, the monks of Winchcombe fled to Ramsey Abbey and remained there for several years.¹⁶ Evesham Abbey spent time under the direction of the bishops of Worcester, and the early Worcester monastic community was formed using Ramsey monks. By the late eleventh century the heads of Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester were engaging in formal confraternity agreements and allowing representatives to found (or refound) monastic sites at Jarrow, Wearmouth, Tynemouth and Whitby in Northumbria, as well as Westbury-on-Trym (Gloucestershire), Malvern (Worcestershire) and Odense (Denmark).¹⁷ The northern refoundations ultimately led to the foundation of communities at St Mary's Abbey, York and at Durham Cathedral too. Evesham continued to maintain its connection to both of these abbeys as well as with the priory at Odense into the twelfth century.¹⁸ Knowles was among one of the earliest to note the 'vitality' of Benedictine monastic life in Worcestershire in the decades after the Norman Conquest, which he attributed particularly to the merits and collaboration of Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062-1095) and Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham (1059-1077/8).¹⁹ However, Knowles interpreted this as a 'wholly spontaneous revival' of English Benedictine monasticism.²⁰ Consequently, he does not associate the late eleventh-century relationships between Worcester, Winchcombe and Evesham to the events that connected them during the tenth and earlier eleventh century. This thesis will examine both whether the monasteries shared a collective memory of Oswald and whether the houses continued to directly influence each other's literary outputs and behaviour until at the least the late eleventh century.

I wish to stress at this point that it would be easy in this thesis to overstate the significance of the English Benedictine Reform. As with any other point in

¹⁶ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 407-408.

¹⁷ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 164-171.

¹⁸ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecwine*, lxxxvii.

¹⁹ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 74.

²⁰ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 58.

history, there are challenges with treating the tenth-century reform as a pivotal moment. Some of the monks at the new Benedictine foundations had previously been secular clerics and there was a high level of continuity among the personnel at pre- and post-reform Worcester.²¹ Furthermore, the reformers themselves were already part of numerous political and ecclesiastical networks of friendship and affiliation before the monasteries were reformed. Thus the Benedictine reform was in no way a clean slate, as pre-existing relationships and alliances had a significant impact on both the reforming process and its aftermath. Nevertheless, the English Benedictine Reform marks a number of important developments. It stimulated the use of both Old English and of hermeneutic Latin among Benedictine communities.²² The new communities also encouraged the spread of a particular script, Caroline minuscule. We have far more extant evidence for the period following the English Benedictine Reform than preceding it. Crucially for this thesis, the period saw the foundation of Ramsey Abbey. Most important, however, the years of reform and particularly the reign of Edgar were quickly commemorated as a high-point of spiritual life in writings such as those by Byrhtferth of Ramsey.²³ The reform appears to have had a profound conceptual impact on the development of monastic identity in the decades that followed.

My study will thus focus primarily on the century between the death of Oswald in 992 and that of Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester in 1095. This was a period of great political uncertainty: during the lifetime of Wulfstan II (c. 1008-1095), England had ten different kings from four different dynasties.²⁴ As scholars of the Norman Conquest have long been aware, uncertainty can be a powerful creative context as monasteries adapt to the changing circumstances.²⁵ This period is also bounded by ‘reforming’ movements – the English Benedictine Reform and the Gregorian Reform – in which powerful individuals (kings, archbishops, bishops and

²¹ Barrow, ‘The Community of Worcester, 961-c. 1100,’ 84-99.

²² Stephenson, *The Politics of Language: Byrhtferth, Ælfric and the Multilingual Identity of the Benedictine Reform*, 5-6.

²³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 120-122.

²⁴ Æthelred II ‘the Unready’ (978-1013, 1014-1016); Sweyn ‘Forkbeard’ (1013-1014); Edmund ‘Ironside’ (1016); Cnut (1016-1035); Harold I ‘Harefoot’ (1035-1040); Harthacnut (1042-1042); Edward ‘the Confessor’ (1042-1066); Harold II Godwineson (1066); William I ‘the Conqueror’ (1066-1087); William II ‘Rufus’ (1087-1100).

²⁵ E.g. Southern, ‘Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past,’ 243-263, esp. 246-256.

popes) tried to navigate ideas of what the church should be and how it should interact with royal power. Finally, it is the period immediately before Europe saw the rise of the Cistercians and the proliferation of new monastic orders. All these contexts created a century of dynamism, in which a broad spectrum of overlapping ideas about the role of religious life were explored. By taking a long view across the conquests of the century, I have the opportunity to examine how adaptable monastic relationships could be and how effectively they endured.

II. The Study of Monastic Institutions in eleventh-century England.

Students of the eleventh-century monastic textual production today face an opportunity – and a challenge – that did not exist for our forebears in the 1980s and 1990s. It is that the eleventh century, which was once treated as a period of stagnation between the ‘renaissances’ of the Carolingian period and the twelfth-century, has now become a rich topic for scholarly discussion. In the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, much of the credit for this shift in foci is due to the work of Michael Lapidge and his students, who have brought the fascinating products of Anglo-Latin hagiography to the fore.²⁶ Many of the eleventh-century hagiographies have become widely available over the last two decades thanks to the same body of scholars, often working in conjunction with Oxford Medieval Texts.²⁷

Furthermore, the study of Anglo-Latin hagiography is only one amongst a wide range of research concerning England in the eleventh century that has gathered momentum in recent years. Another field that has been transformed is the study of Old English during the late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods. The last two decades of scholarship have broken down many of the assumptions that Old English quickly became obsolete following the Norman Conquest.²⁸ Very recently, a

²⁶ For example, the wide range of articles in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1993; and idem, *The Cult of St Swithun*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2003.

²⁷ For example, Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely*, ed. and trans. Rosalind Love. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004; and Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Miracles of St Edmund*, ed. and trans. Tom Licence. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2014.

²⁸ See in particular Treharne and Swan (eds.), *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*; Treharne, Da Rold and Swan (eds.), *Producing and Using English Manuscripts in the Post-*

new generation of scholars have begun to disentangle the continued use of Old English texts from discourses about national identity and cultural resistance to the Conquest. One prominent example is George Younge, who has explored the religious and economic factors that drove twelfth-century Old English literary production in monastic cathedrals.²⁹ Scholarly proceedings like the Battle Conference have also done much to break down some of the old nationalist perspectives about the Danish and Norman conquests by creating a body of scholarship that crosses the traditional 1016 and 1066 divides and that explores a range of interdisciplinary topics that cover the whole of the eleventh century and often the twelfth century and beyond.³⁰ The interdisciplinary creativity and sensitivity to context with which modern scholarship tackles the challenges of studying identity in the eleventh century has been an important influence on my own study. Thus this thesis attempts to understand the post-Conquest literary productions (at Evesham and Worcester in particular) by taking account of their tenth- and earlier eleventh-century history. This long perspective allows us to nuance our understanding of the impact of the Conquest by identifying some of the deeper factors and religious ideals that drove the behaviours of churchmen like Æthelwig of Evesham and Wulfstan of Worcester in the wake of current political change.

A field of study that has been pivotal for developing my methodology is the research into early medieval book production and dissemination. Despite the fact that many of his studies are now over sixty years old, the extensive research by N. R. Ker into Old English manuscripts, manuscripts produced after the Conquest, and English medieval libraries are still extremely valuable resources for scholars studying monastic manuscripts.³¹ In the case of many manuscripts, no scholar has yet had the opportunity to examine the codex with the same attention to detail and

Conquest Period; and Treharne, *Living Through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020-1220*.

²⁹ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 39-82.

³⁰ See, for example, Andrew Wareham, 'The Redaction of Cartularies and Economic Upheaval in western England c.996-1096,' *Anglo-Norman Studies* XXXVI (2013); and Nicola Jane Robertson, 'Dunstan and Monastic Reform: Tenth-Century Fact or Twelfth-Century Fiction?' *Anglo-Norman Studies* XXVIII (2005).

³¹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*; idem, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest*; idem, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: a List of Surviving Books*, 2nd ed.

discernment as shown by Ker.³² However, other libraries have been more fortunate. Teresa Webber's monograph on the manuscript collection at Salisbury Cathedral c.1075 – c.1125 not only offered an in-depth analysis of Salisbury's extant manuscript collection during the late eleventh and early twelfth century, but was also a vivid demonstration of how palaeographical evidence could be drawn upon 'in order to gain an insight into the canons' intellectual and spiritual interests'.³³ As well as offering a detailed palaeographical analysis of the evidence, Webber engages with historical and literary criticism within her study too. This helps her to effectively tie her discussion of the Salisbury canons' book collection into the broader contemporary context of late eleventh- and early twelfth-century intellectual life on England and the continent. Whilst my own study does not focus exclusively on developing an in-depth palaeographical analysis of the libraries at Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester, studies like Webber's have encouraged me to utilise details about book production and scribal activity where pertinent in order to assess the value of particular texts to the communities under discussion.

Scholarship on book production and dissemination has also increasingly confronted the difficulties associated with traditional methods of identifying manuscripts' place of origin and provenance. A recent article by Julia Crick provides a useful overview of developments in research, such as recognising that periods when an early medieval scriptorium produced manuscripts that were homogenous in style or script (a 'house style') were exceptional, and were the product of focused 'campaigns of construction, restitution or renewal', driven by a particular need or belief-system.³⁴ Thus this increase in homogenous scribal production appears to be the result of an active policy of creation, as we see in certain monasteries like Canterbury and Rochester after the Norman Conquest.³⁵ In comparison, the English manuscripts (in both Latin and Old English) that date to the early eleventh century demonstrate a disorienting level of diversity that defy assignation to a particular institution on script alone.³⁶ Crick identifies Worcester as an example of this, stating

³² For example, the twelfth-century manuscripts attributed to Evesham. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 80-81.

³³ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075 – c. 1125*, 4.

³⁴ Crick, 'The Art of Writing: Scripts and Scribal Production,' 67.

³⁵ Crick, 'The Art of Writing: Scripts and Scribal Production,' 66-67.

³⁶ Crick, 'The Art of Writing: Scripts and Scribal Production,' 70-71.

that ‘some scribes adhere to a recognizable style but they constitute a minority.’³⁷ The early eleventh-century scribal diversity, even between manuscripts that otherwise appear to originate from the same scriptorium, is in accord with the high level of mobility that we see between the communities of Ramsey, Winchcombe, Worcester and Evesham during the late tenth and early eleventh century. It is clear, therefore, that a creative approach is necessary to start reconstructing the context of certain early medieval manuscripts.

The challenges of script have encouraged scholars begin the process of rethinking how we can classify manuscript origins and provenances. For example, an article by Mary Swan engages with the notion of ‘mobile libraries’: that is, the movement of scribes and texts between religious institutions.³⁸ Swan’s study, like my own, uses Worcester and monasteries associated with the bishopric to explore the problem with assigning manuscript origins and provenance. Her choice of Worcester is due to its ‘centripetal force’: the cathedral is often quickly assigned as the place of production of West Midland manuscripts by default.³⁹ Furthermore, Swan also identifies Worcester’s ‘strong and interesting links’ with other communities founded by Oswald during the tenth century, which she treats as a tradition of textual movement between Worcester and neighbouring churches that Wulfstan II inherited as a legacy.⁴⁰ However, Swan does not develop the notion of institutional relationships any further. Rather than exploring whether there is evidence for continued exchange between the Worcestershire houses, Swan studies the script and contents of a number of individual manuscripts to judge whether they were connected to Worcester Cathedral library. In these discussions, Swan still tends to assign the manuscripts to a single, discrete, origin and/or provenance and does not develop a fresh methodology for identifying textual exchange. Consequently, the conclusion leaves us much where the introduction does: aware that Worcester was probably involved in the dissemination of texts to and from

³⁷ Crick, ‘The Art of Writing: Scripts and Scribal Production,’ 70.

³⁸ Swan, ‘Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,’ 29-42.

³⁹ Swan, ‘Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,’ 30.

⁴⁰ Swan, ‘Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,’ 30-32.

other centres around the West Midlands.⁴¹ Currently, there is still a gap in our understanding of how the institutions' common historical context may have impacted on later book production and textual dissemination. My thesis will attempt to develop Swan's theories further by exploring whether we can apply the notion of a textual community that transcends a single point of origin, in cases where the level of textual and interpersonal exchange seems to have been particularly intense.

Despite the vivacity of modern scholarship on eleventh-century textual production, there are still areas that have not yet received detailed attention. For example, it is notable that many of the interdisciplinary analyses of religious communities focus closely on a single institution. This was the case for many earlier studies, such as Gordon Haigh's monograph, *The History of Winchcombe Abbey* and Nicholas Brooks' research into Christ Church, Canterbury.⁴² These types of study tended to examine historical sources like chronicles and charters for a particular church over a long period of time. Whilst modern scholarship has innovated source-use, the popularity of looking at a single institution has continued: the excellent interdisciplinary studies by Francesca Tinti and by David Cox focus of Worcester Cathedral and Evesham Abbey respectively.⁴³

Studies on single institutions have many advantages: they can offer an intensely detailed look at all aspects of the community which makes full use of a broad range of evidence. By analysing single sheet charters, cartularies, saints' *vitae*, letters, architecture and many other sources side by side, single institution studies offer a rounded understanding of how different aspects of monastic life like prayer, saints' cults and privileges all impacted on each other. Furthermore, single institution studies are often excellent at tracing how a community developed over a period of time and to what extent it was responding to contemporary social, economic or political pressures. However, this type of project has disadvantages too. Often scholars tie the community's sense of past and identity to ideas of place and

⁴¹ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,' 42.

⁴² Haigh, *The History of Winchcombe Abbey*; Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*.

⁴³ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*; Cox, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700-1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer*.

sacred spaces.⁴⁴ Whilst there is no doubt that theories of sacred space are an extremely valuable and effective way of understanding monastic identities, they have to work from the assumption that membership to the community is tied to a single site, to one particular monastery and its subordinate holdings. Furthermore, studies that focus on the workings within a single monastery necessarily defines the house against neighbouring communities that exist outside the precinct walls. This dynamic of ‘us’ and ‘them’ means that relationships between monasteries are often discussed in terms such as collaboration and competition, which depend upon two clearly separate communities. Thus, these kinds of studies begin with the assumption that whatever the monastic identity was, it was distinct from those of neighbouring and associated communities. This means that many of the external influences and nodes of contact that affect the records of an institution lose much of the immediacy and relevance that they carried in the moment of exchange.

At the other end of the spectrum, there is of course a large body of research that encompasses entire religious networks or monastic orders. This field varies in range: there are sweeping studies like Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, which covers the Benedictine houses in England from 960 to 1215 and which does not focus on the monasteries’ relationships to one another but rather on the spread of a particular religious ideal.⁴⁵ Similar studies sometimes choose to focus on a specific region, such as Janet Burton’s monograph, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*, or *The Monastic Order in South Wales* by F. G. Cowley.⁴⁶ This scale of study is valuable for its ability to draw patterns of behaviour whilst tying the monasteries more closely to the specific demands of the regional context. There are also studies which focus very specifically on how and when new monastic orders came into being, such as Constance Hoffman Berman’s analysis of the rise of the Cistercian Order.⁴⁷

Modern studies on the early development of the Cistercian Order has been a useful foil for my own research, as scholars begin to question whether early

⁴⁴ E.g. Jennifer A. Lorden, ‘Landscapes of Devotion: the Settings of St Swithun’s early *Uitae*,’ *Anglo-Saxon England* 45 (Dec. 2016): 285-309; or Ellen F. Arnold, *Negotiating the Landscape: Environment and Monastic Identity in the Medieval Ardennes*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013.

⁴⁵ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*.

⁴⁶ Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*; Cowley, *The Monastic Order in South Wales*.

⁴⁷ Berman, *The Cistercian Evolution*.

reforming movements and religious experimentation could transform into a fully institutionalized monastic order. For example, an article by Martha G. Newman has begun to break down the dichotomy between two different but idiosyncratic aspects of early Cistercian life – the monks’ administrative practices and their spirituality – by examining how spiritual writings like Gregory’s *Moralia in Iob* could be imbued with the charismatic qualities of the monks’ leaders, thus uniting individuals ‘within a geographically diffuse organization’.⁴⁸ Newman recognises that relationships between communities can be nascent, informal, perhaps united by a single charismatic leader and in a state of transformation.⁴⁹ By utilising religious texts to explore the beliefs of the early Cistercians, Newman also develops an innovative method of studying the new religious order that does not rest on the reliability of legislative texts. Newman’s work, therefore, offers a useful comparative tool for this thesis, which likewise uses primarily spiritual texts in order to gauge the relationship between monasteries that were certainly not a formalised order, but which seem to have been too involved in each other’s thought-worlds to be treated purely as autonomous institutions.

However, studies like Newman’s are drawn to re-examine the texts and monks of Molesme and Cîteaux from a position of hindsight. The Cistercian Order became a powerful, international and self-conscious family of monks that came to adhere to a specific way of life and set of ideals. Thus scholarship looks for a certain set of beliefs and interactions that can explain the Cistercians’ later success. Nuanced attitudes towards communality and identity, therefore, tends to be limited to scholarship focused on the inception of formal monastic orders. My thesis applies similar notions about institutional relationships to a collection of monasteries that did not become a formal order. I do not here mean that the communities under Oswald’s care constitute a failed attempt at creating an early monastic order.⁵⁰ Rather, my thesis attempts to understand the variability and depth of the potential relationships between “normal” monastic institutions. By focusing on a small number of monasteries, I hope also to maintain much of the depth achieved by scholars studying a single institution. Thus this thesis begins to bridge the gap between the research on single institutions and that on formalised monastic orders.

⁴⁸ Newman, ‘Text and Authority in the Formation of the Cistercian Order,’ 174.

⁴⁹ Newman, ‘Text and Authority in the Formation of the Cistercian Order,’ 175-176.

⁵⁰ In comparison, see Constable, *The Reformation of the Twelfth Century*, 5.

Attitudes towards the Worcester diocese in the post-conquest Period

Most of the detailed studies concerning the monasteries of Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester consider a single institution.⁵¹ Some have focused even more deeply on a particular individual or text, such as J. C. Jennings' research on Dominic of Evesham or Paul Hayward's critical edition and analysis of the Winchcombe chronicle.⁵² However, the particular relationships between the Worcestershire monasteries – and especially between Evesham and Worcester – have drawn some discussion. As we have already seen, Knowles saw post-Conquest Worcestershire as an unusually rich area for English Benedictinism and noted 'there was something peculiar to the houses of Worcestershire and Gloucestershire which fostered this austere spirit'.⁵³ We have also noted that Swan identified links between the Worcestershire houses that had been refounded by Oswald and connected these to a high degree of textual exchange from the late eleventh to early thirteenth centuries.⁵⁴ Other scholars have also noted idiosyncrasies that appear to be peculiar to the Worcestershire houses. Anne Dawtry, like Knowles, sees Bishop Wulfstan and Abbot Æthelwig as particularly active and influential on western monastic life in the decades following 1066.⁵⁵ Jane Sayers similarly associates 'the remarkable spiritual revival in the Severn and Avon valleys' with the figures of Wulfstan and Æthelwig.⁵⁶ More recently, Ian Styler argued in his MPhil thesis that Bishop Wulfstan drew upon the legacy of Oswald in his decision to develop a confraternity agreement with the houses at Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, Gloucester and

⁵¹ For example: Cox, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700-1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer*; Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England and the Influence of Ramsey Abbey on the major English Monastic Schools*; Haigh, *The History of Winchcombe Abbey*; and Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*.

⁵² J. C. Jennings, 'The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham,' *EHR* 77: 303 (April, 1962): 298-304; Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 2 vols.

⁵³ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 75.

⁵⁴ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,' 30-32.

⁵⁵ Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North,' 87-88.

⁵⁶ Sayers, *The Making of the Medieval History of Evesham Abbey*, 2-4.

Worcester in c.1077, as well as when he formed a confraternity agreement between the Worcester community and Ramsey Abbey shortly after.⁵⁷

Although the relations between the Oswaldian monasteries have thus been noted by scholars on occasion, the context in which these late eleventh-century relationships existed has not yet been thoroughly examined. Indeed, as we will see in chapter two, many studies that discuss monastic relationships in the west midlands focus simply on the disputes over land between Evesham and Worcester. There is no doubt that the relationship between Evesham and Worcester included rivalry: for instance, the dispute over possession of the vill at Hampton is particularly well-documented.⁵⁸ However, antagonism between the houses is only one aspect of a much more complex dynamic that existed during the eleventh century. By placing the disputes back into their broader historical context, this study challenges over-simplified perceptions of the houses as neighbouring rivals. It also attempts to understand how a common history shaped later dynamics when the political context changed: this was one reason perhaps why later disputes between the houses would become so intense.

Oversimplification of the relationship between Evesham and Worcester is not the only scholarly assumption we see in studies about the Worcestershire monasteries during the post-Conquest period. The nuanced arguments about literary production and questions of monastic identity that are becoming increasingly common in scholarship on the eleventh-century church have not yet altered the general perception that the post-Conquest Worcestershire monasteries were drawn together by their 'Englishness' in the face of the encroaching Normans. Indeed, scholars have often explained the peculiar relationship between the Worcestershire houses in terms of Anglo-Saxon nationalism or cultural nostalgia. Anne Dawtry differentiated between what she saw as the 'truly Anglo-Norman houses' like Durham and those of Evesham and Worcester, which she described as 'the last bulwark of Anglo-Saxon monasticism.'⁵⁹ Emma Mason consistently interprets Wulfstan's Worcester in light of Anglo-Saxon national sympathies, for example by interpreting Wulfstan's translation of the relics of St Oswald as

⁵⁷ Styler, 'Establishing and Analysing the Sphere of Influence of Saints Oswald and Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 950 to c. 1400' (M.Phil. thesis, University of Birmingham, 2014), 36-37.

⁵⁸ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 167.

⁵⁹ Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North,' 98.

motivated by 'local patriotism'.⁶⁰ In another study, Mason explains that by promoting the cult of Oswald, 'Wulfstan was making a stand for the traditional values of the English church in face of its infiltration by foreigners and their alien values.'⁶¹ She also interprets the c.1077 confraternity agreement between Bath, Chertsey, Evesham, Gloucester, Pershore, Winchcombe and Worcester as motivated by the same concerns.⁶² Building on Mason's work, C. A. Jones suggests that this confraternity and others by Worcester 'fostered a recusant identity'.⁶³ Even a recent monograph by Treharne, though offering a much more detailed and balanced analysis of the confraternity agreement, argues that it 'seems designed to promote a particularly English sense of Benedictine monastic identity' and 'an implicit resistance to perceived Anglo-Norman threats' in the face of cultural trauma.⁶⁴

There are perhaps two main reasons why the Worcestershire monasteries are perceived as particularly conservative. One is that Bishop Wulfstan was the longest surviving Anglo-Saxon churchmen after the Norman Conquest, governing his see until 1095. For example, Brooks describes Wulfstan as 'a relic from an Anglo-Saxon past'.⁶⁵ The second is that Worcester Cathedral library had one of largest collections of Old English manuscripts that are still extant today.⁶⁶ As we have seen, scholarship (such as that by George Younge) on the economic and religious factors behind the post-Conquest production and use of Old English is still in its infancy.⁶⁷ Thus many of Worcester's Old English texts are yet to be studied from a non-nationalist perspective. For example, in his generally excellent article on the Worcester monk Coleman's lost Old English *Life of Wulfstan* (written c.1095×1113), Andy Orchard suggests that Coleman's decision to write in English appears 'self-consciously anachronistic' and was determined by 'piety and nationalistic spite'.⁶⁸ The work of

⁶⁰ Mason, 'Change and Continuity in Eleventh-Century Mercia,' 171.

⁶¹ Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, 120.

⁶² Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, 197-199.

⁶³ Jones, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, 84.

⁶⁴ Treharne, *Living Through the Conquest*, 113-121, quotes at 118.

⁶⁵ Brooks, 'Introduction: how do we know about St Wulfstan?' 2.

⁶⁶ Thomson and Gullick, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library*, xxi.

⁶⁷ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 39-82.

⁶⁸ Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ,' 39-40.

scholars like Wendy Collier and Christine Franzen have shown that the Worcester community continued make use of Old English texts until the time of the Tremulous Hand in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century, suggesting that Coleman's choice to write in the vernacular would not have appeared unusual.⁶⁹ Furthermore, Orchard's association between the use of Old English and 'nationalistic' feeling is distinctly anachronistic in its alignment of language use with national identity and more deeply reflects the modern equivalency between language and state than its significance in the late eleventh century.

It is important to stress at this point that some scholarship – like that by Francesca Tinti – does not engage with the narrative that Worcestershire was a bulwark of pro-Anglo-Saxon sentiment in the decades following the Norman Conquest.⁷⁰ However, as Tinti focuses largely on the archives of Worcester Cathedral, her work is not able to fully counter perceptions of the entire west midlands region as replete with particularly conservative Anglo-Saxon monasteries. Thus there are still many pre-conceptions about the monasteries of eleventh-century Worcestershire that this thesis will attempt to reassess.

Overall, the preceding discussion demonstrates that there are two main areas of current scholarship to which this thesis will contribute. The first is that I attempt to negotiate the intellectual space between how we tackle questions of identity in individual, autonomous monasteries and in formalised monastic orders. By selecting a small group of monasteries that share a common recent history and benefactor, I will be able to achieve a good depth of analysis whilst exploring important questions about how the houses communicated and to what degree they shared in a textual community. These questions also open up discussion on larger issues, such as how we can ascertain monastic identities. The second is that, by studying the monasteries across the entire eleventh century, I hope to bring perceptions about Worcestershire's post-Conquest beliefs in-line with modern scholarship concerning nationalism and cultural resistance. I will try to understand the relationships between the houses on a deeper level, that takes into account their

⁶⁹ Christine Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester: a Study of Old English in the Thirteenth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991; and Wendy Collier 'The Tremulous Worcester Hand and Gregory's *Pastoral Care*,' in *Rewriting Old English in the Twelfth Century*, ed. Mary Swan and Elaine Treharne, 195.

⁷⁰ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*; idem, 'Si litterali memorię commendarentur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-Century Worcester'; idem, 'From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in Context,'; idem, 'The Reuse of Charters at Worcester Between the Eighth and the Eleventh Century'.

tenth-century histories, their liturgical practices and their interest in particular saints. In so doing, I hope to demonstrate that the peculiar behaviours associated with Worcester, Winchcombe and Evesham in the decades after 1066 do not only stem from the current political situation, but are also the result of the complex and sustained relationships that the houses had fostered since the time of Oswald.

III. The ‘Oswaldian’ Monasteries

Oswald and the English Benedictine Reform

This thesis will focus on four of the monasteries that appear to have fallen under Oswald’s influence during the English Benedictine Reform: Ramsey, Worcester, Winchcombe and Evesham. Oswald’s life and career has been subject to numerous studies, so only his role in refounding a number of Benedictine monasteries during the reign of Edgar will be addressed here.⁷¹ Oswald’s involvement in the tenth-century Benedictine reform is primarily known from the near-contemporary *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, which was probably written between 997 and 1002 by the monk Byrhtferth of Ramsey.⁷² According to Byrhtferth’s narrative, Oswald had spent several years as a young man at the monastery of Fleury-sur-Loire, where he developed a desire to teach the Benedictine coenobitic life to his own people.⁷³ Upon his appointment to the bishopric of Worcester (c.961), he gathered a number of clerics and oblates who wished to be instructed in the monastic life according to the Benedictine Rule.⁷⁴ These men were installed at Oswald’s first monastic foundation, at Westbury-on-Trym (near Bristol) for about four years.⁷⁵ However, as the church at Westbury belonged to the bishopric of Worcester, Oswald was concerned that the monastery might be dissolved by his successors should they wish to reclaim the vill.⁷⁶ Consequently, Oswald asked King Edgar for some land to found a monastic foundation and was offered three possible

⁷¹ See for example, *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Brooks and Cubitt.

⁷² Lapidge, ‘Byrhtferth and Oswald,’ 65.

⁷³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* ii.9 and iii.2, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 50 and 52-54.

⁷⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.7-8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 64-68.

⁷⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 68-70.

⁷⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.9, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 70-72.

sites: the churches at St Albans or Ely, or the former Viking fort at Benfleet, Essex.⁷⁷ None of these were suitable for Oswald's wishes, but shortly after he was offered the island of Ramsey, Huntingdonshire by Æthelwine, ealdorman of East Anglia.⁷⁸ Oswald accepted the proposal, and immediately ordered one of his monks – Eadnoth *Senior* – to begin building the monastery.⁷⁹ Within a few months, the monks of Westbury were able to move into the temporary buildings at Ramsey.⁸⁰ Both Barrow and Lapidge estimate that the move to Ramsey occurred c.965.⁸¹ Oswald remained abbot of Ramsey for the rest of his life.⁸²

Thus Byrhtferth reports that Oswald was engaged in founding Benedictine communities in the archdiocese of York (at that time under the control of his kinsman Oscytel), even before King Edgar decreed that monks and nuns should be established in all minsters.⁸³ Edgar's order to restore the monasteries probably occurred in the spring of 966, 'at the same time' (*eadem tempestate*) as building in stone began at the site of Ramsey Abbey.⁸⁴ In the next section of the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, Byrhtferth attributes the establishment of two monasteries to Oswald: the monastery at Winchcombe and the Church of St Mary in Worcester.⁸⁵ Oswald installed his follower Germanus, prior of Ramsey, as abbot of Winchcombe; while Wynsige, a former clerk who had been trained in the regular life at Ramsey, was installed as head of the new Worcester community, which was staffed with Ramsey monks.⁸⁶ It is evident that the 'Oswaldian' abbeys shared personnel (including

⁷⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 78-80.

⁷⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.13-15, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 80-86.

⁷⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.16, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 88.

⁸⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.17, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 88-90.

⁸¹ Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine Reform,' 219-220; Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xviii.

⁸² Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xviii.

⁸³ Brooks, 'Oswald [St Oswald] (d. 992),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 15 January 2018, doi:10.1093/ref:odnb/20917.

⁸⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.3, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 98-100; Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine Reform,' 219.

⁸⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100.

⁸⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100-102.

Oswald himself in the case of Worcester and Ramsey) while the early communities were being formed.

Byrhtferth does not explicitly attribute the foundation of any other monasteries to Oswald. However, he does state that seven monasteries that had been established by the king and the bishops in the province of the Hwicce (meaning here the diocese of Worcester), were put under Oswald's control (*sub regimine*).⁸⁷ Writings by Byrhtferth display a distinct penchant for numerology, so the choice of seven monasteries may be rhetorical.⁸⁸ However, a number of scholars have entertained the possibility that Byrhtferth's account is historically accurate.⁸⁹ If Byrhtferth is literally referring here to seven monasteries in the diocese of Worcester that were refounded by the reformers during the 960s and 970s, then two of those houses would be Winchcombe and Worcester. Westbury-on-Trym is another possible candidate, although it is uncertain whether monastic life continued there after Oswald transferred the monks to Ramsey. Indeed, the early twelfth-century *Vita Wulfstani* by William of Malmesbury describes the church at Westbury as 'half ruined and its roof half gone' (*semiruta et semitecta*) by the episcopacy of Wulfstan II (1062-1095).⁹⁰ This implies that the church had been abandoned for some time before the second half of the eleventh century. According to the Worcester monk Hemming, who compiled a cartulary in the 1090s or early 1100s, Westbury was laid waste by pirates after the death of Oswald, 'so that no one remained there except a single priest, who rarely completed the office of divine service'.⁹¹ However, this does

⁸⁷ *Sunt denique in provincia Merciorum, que Hwicces dicitur, septem monasteria constructa que sub regimine tanti pontifices stabant, constituta a rege [et] patribus, sicut superius exorsi sumus.* Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 110-112. The province of the Hwicce roughly covered the counties of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire and some of Warwickshire: see Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 5.

⁸⁸ For a suggestion of why Byrhtferth displays such an interest in numbers and computistical concerns see: Stephenson, 'Saint Who? Building Monastic Identity through Computistical Inquiry,' 118-137.

⁸⁹ E.g. Brooks, 'Oswald [St Oswald] (d. 992), archbishop of York,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/20917>, accessed 1 February 2018; Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 51-2; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 22-23.

⁹⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.10, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 120.

⁹¹ *Verum post obitum illius sic a perversis Diaboli filiis, scilicet a piratis, vastatum est, ut non remaneret in eo nisi unus solummodo presbiter, qui divine servitutis officium raro explevit.* Hemingi *chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 2:408.

not necessarily mean that the church, which Byrhtferth describes as a *parrochia* (probably meaning ‘parish’ in this context), remained a monastic site between the foundation of Ramsey and its spoliation.⁹²

The abbey of Pershore seems more certain. Byrhtferth mentions a miracle concerning Foldbriht, abbot of Pershore, immediately after claiming that Oswald was put in authority over seven Hwiccian monasteries.⁹³ An early, though problematic, charter of King Edgar to Pershore Abbey dated to 972 refers to Foldbriht as the current abbot of the house.⁹⁴ Knowles and Lapidge have each plausibly suggested that Abbot Foldbriht of Pershore was perhaps the same individual as a monk of that name who had previously followed Bishop Æthelwold from Glastonbury to Abingdon, c. 954.⁹⁵ The name Foldbriht is extremely uncommon: the follower of Æthelwold and the abbot of Pershore are the only two examples of this name extant in Anglo-Saxon sources.⁹⁶ The rarity of the name and the fact that both individuals flourished in the second half of the tenth century in association with the monastic reform means that we can be reasonably confident that Pershore’s abbot in the 970s was a follower of Æthelwold. Later, the abbey was closely associated with the bishops of Worcester: the monk Brihtheah, a nephew of Wulfstan the Homilist (archbishop of York, 1002-1023 and bishop of Worcester 1002-1016) seemingly became abbot of Pershore in the early eleventh century.⁹⁷ Brihtheah’s subscription while a monk to a charter of Archbishop Wulfstan (S 1459) and an Evesham charter (S 1423) have raised speculation about whether Brihtheah was previously a monk at Worcester or Evesham.⁹⁸ Even after his accession to the bishopric of Worcester in 1033, Brihtheah maintained some influence over Pershore

⁹² Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 248.

⁹³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 112.

⁹⁴ S 786. For an analysis of the extant recensions of this charter, see Stokes, ‘King Edgar’s Charter for Pershore (AD 972),’ 31-78.

⁹⁵ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 51; Lapidge, notes to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbine*, 112-113, n. 74.

⁹⁶ *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, www.pase.ac.uk, accessed 18 January 2018.

⁹⁷ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:518-19; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 44.

⁹⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 44-46; Williams, ‘Spoliation of Worcester,’ *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19 (1997), 395; Atkins, ‘The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part I,’ 17-18.

Abbey, as he granted a Pershore manor, Hawkesbury, to the priest Wulfstan (later bishop of Worcester, 1062-1095) to hold.⁹⁹ Given its tenth-century connection to Æthelwold and eleventh-century association with Worcester, it seems reasonable to suppose that Pershore is one of the reformed monasteries to which Byrhtferth was referring.

Another candidate for one of the seven monasteries that fell under Oswald's care is Evesham Abbey. An account of Evesham's tenth-century history is recorded in the *Historia abbatiae de Evesham*, written by the Evesham prior (later abbot) Thomas of Marlborough in the early thirteenth century, but which incorporates earlier texts.¹⁰⁰ According to the author of the Evesham *Historia*, it was Æthelwold who, on the orders of Edgar, Dunstan 'and the other magnates' (*et aliorum magnatum*), reinstated monks in several churches including Evesham, where a certain Osweard was installed as abbot.¹⁰¹ The instalment of Osweard as abbot of Evesham during the reign of Edgar is corroborated by *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, which was written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey in the early eleventh century.¹⁰² An Abbot Osweard witnesses five extant charters of King Edgar that are dated between the years 970 and 974.¹⁰³ This evidence supports Barrow's suggestion that Evesham was refounded in 970.¹⁰⁴ Both Oswald and Bishop Æthelwold witness all the charters in which Abbot Osweard appears, but we have no evidence about whether Osweard was a follower of either bishop. Indeed, there is no known connection between Osweard and his supposed patron Æthelwold beyond the above-mentioned statement in Thomas of Marlborough's *Historia abbatiae de Evesham*.¹⁰⁵ David Cox

⁹⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.2, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 108; Barrow, 'Wulfstan and Worcester,' 153.

¹⁰⁰ Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, Part I,' 1-10.

¹⁰¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.133, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 142.

¹⁰² Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 300.

¹⁰³ S 777, S781, S 788, S795 and S 799. S 1294, dated to 966, also mentions Abbot Osweard of Evesham, but is almost certainly a post-Conquest concoction. *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 18 January 2018, www.pase.ac.uk.

¹⁰⁴ However, charters S 777 and S 781 are problematic for Barrow's suggestion that Evesham was reformed only upon the death of its former holder, Bishop Oswulf of Ramsbury, as both he and Abbot Osweard witness these two charters in 970.

¹⁰⁵ David Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester at Evesham Abbey: Cult and Concealment,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 53:02 (Apr. 2002): 272.

has argued that the later monks of Evesham deliberately suppressed the role played by Oswald in the refoundation of Evesham during the tenth century.¹⁰⁶ For the purposes of this section, however, the evidence for Abbot Osweard's career is enough to state with some confidence that Evesham was indeed one of the seven monasteries in the diocese of Worcester that was reformed during Edgar's reign, and thus could have been put under Oswald's authority following its refoundation.

It appears that four of the seven Hwiccan monasteries can be established with reasonable confidence: Evesham, Pershore, Winchcombe and St Mary's, Worcester. Brooks included Westbury as one of the seven, despite its probable reversion to an episcopal church following the foundation of Ramsey, as well as suggesting Deerhurst and Gloucester.¹⁰⁷ Indeed, scholars have struggled to identify any other foundations in the Worcester diocese that could qualify for inclusion among Oswald's seven monasteries, except for Deerhurst and Gloucester.¹⁰⁸ The tenth-century history of both Deerhurst and Gloucester is uncertain. However, according to a *Vita Sancti Alphegi* by Osbern of Canterbury, Ælfheah, who was archbishop of Canterbury from 1006-1012, had begun his monastic life at Deerhurst.¹⁰⁹ Osbern was precentor of Christ Church, Canterbury and composed this *vita* in the 1080s or 1090s: however, he apparently knew very little about Ælfheah's career.¹¹⁰ Ælfheah seems to have been abbot of Bath from c.970 and became bishop of Winchester following the death of Æthelwold in 984.¹¹¹ As bishop, he was active in

¹⁰⁶ Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester at Evesham Abbey: Cult and Concealment,' 269-285.

¹⁰⁷ Brooks, 'Oswald [St Oswald] (d. 992), archbishop of York,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/20917>, accessed 1 February 2018.

¹⁰⁸ E.g. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 51-2; Lapidge, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, 112, n. 72; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 22-23.

¹⁰⁹ Osberno, *Vita Sancti Alphegi archiepiscopi Cantuariensis*, in *Anglia sacra*, ed. Wharton, 2:123-124.

¹¹⁰ Rubenstein, 'Osbern (d. 1094?), Benedictine monk, hagiographer, and musician,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 29 January 2018, <https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/20865>.

¹¹¹ Leyser, 'Ælfheah [St Ælfheah, Elphege, Alphege] (d. 1012), archbishop of Canterbury,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 29 January 2018, <https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/181>.

promoting his predecessor's cult.¹¹² This supports the notion that Ælfheah was a product of the monastic reform movement. However, Ælfheah's connection to the Benedictine reform does not necessarily mean that Deerhurst was a reformed monastery: as Wormald suggested, it could have been a secular college that Ælfheah left to pursue a monastic life at Bath.¹¹³ We see parallel trajectories in the career of Wynsige, first prior of Worcester St Mary's and even for Oswald, who had first lived among secular clerks at a church in Winchester before learning the monastic way of life at Fleury.¹¹⁴ Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that Deerhurst was a reformed Benedictine house and where Ælfhere received his training. We simply do not know. By the mid eleventh century Deerhurst appears to have been a monastic site, as Earl Odda died there in 1056 after becoming a monk.¹¹⁵

The history of St Peter's, Gloucester, is particularly shadowy until 1022, at which point Wulfstan I (archbishop of York and former bishop of Worcester) appears to have instituted the Rule of St Benedict and appointed an abbot, Eadric.¹¹⁶ Worcester seems to have exercised influence over Gloucester for several decades in the eleventh century: following the death of Abbot Eadric in 1058, Bishop Ealdred of Worcester rebuilt the abbey church and appointed a senior Worcester monk, Wilstan as its abbot.¹¹⁷ Ealdred also gained control over a number of Gloucester's manors, which were still held by his successor, Archbishop Thomas I of York, in 1086.¹¹⁸ While we do not know whether Æthelwold, Dunstan or Oswald reformed Gloucester in the tenth century, the influence of Oswald's successors in the sees of York and Worcester perhaps supports the notion that the monastery had fallen under his protection during the English Benedictine Reform.

¹¹² Leyser, 'Ælfheah [St Ælfheah, Elphege, Alphege] (d. 1012), archbishop of Canterbury,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 29 January 2018, <https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/181>.

¹¹³ Wormald, 'How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?' 234.

¹¹⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* ii. 1-4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 34-40.

¹¹⁵ Wormald, 'How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?' 235.

¹¹⁶ Barrow, 'Wulfstan and Worcester,' 153-154.

¹¹⁷ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1058, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:584-85. King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: the Worcester years,' 129.

¹¹⁸ King, 'Ealdred, Archbishop of York: the Worcester years,' 130.

Due to the political upheavals following the death of Edgar in 975, which have traditionally (if not very correctly) been described as ‘the anti-monastic reaction’, the Benedictines seemingly lost control of most of the monasteries in the Worcester diocese.¹¹⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey blamed the expulsion of monks from monasteries on Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia (*d.* 983).¹²⁰ Whilst it is evident that Ælfhere was a far more complicated character than Byrhtferth portrays, the ealdorman does seem to have directed his attack specifically on monasteries associated with Oswald.¹²¹ Byrhtferth records that the Winchcombe monks and their abbot Germanus were expelled and fled to his own abbey at Ramsey.¹²² Evesham and Pershore have similar, though late, traditions. According to Thomas of Marlborough’s *Historia abbatiae de Evesham*, Ælfhere ‘expelled monks from many churches’ including Evesham, where he installed canons in their place.¹²³ Pershore’s annals have been lost, but according to Leland they recorded that a wicked earl ‘Delfer’ had despoiled the abbey following its reform.¹²⁴ As a two-compartment Caroline minuscule ‘a’ could easily be confused for a ‘d’, it seems very likely that this story about ‘Delfer’ is a garbled tradition about Ealdorman Ælfhere. As we have already seen, both Gloucester and Westbury were re-established in the eleventh century, suggesting a cessation of earlier monastic life. Thus, if Oswald did oversee seven Benedictine monasteries, then most of them were alienated from his control soon after the death of Edgar in 975.

It may seem strange to study the monasteries of Evesham and Winchcombe in relation to their reform under Oswald, as his influence over the sites must have been for a limited duration. However, the memory of his role as a monastic reformer appears to have endured. The early twelfth-century hagiographer Eadmer of Canterbury, who made use of Byrhtferth’s *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* to write an updated *Vita et miracula Sancti Oswaldi*, credited Oswald with establishing (*instituere*)

¹¹⁹ For information about the anti-monastic reaction, see: Fisher, ‘The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr,’ 254-270.

¹²⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.11-12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 120-126.

¹²¹ See Williams, ‘*Princeps Merciorum gentis*: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83,’ 143-172, esp. pp. 155-167.

¹²² Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.11 and v.14, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 122 and 184.

¹²³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.134, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 142-143.

¹²⁴ Williams, ‘*Princeps Merciorum gentis*: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83,’ 168.

seven monasteries in his diocese, and explicitly names both Winchcombe and Pershore as being among the seven.¹²⁵ Eadmer also increases Oswald's importance in refounding English monasteries more generally. Byrhtferth had stated that Edgar's order to restore the monasteries was levied at Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald:

*Precepit facundissimo pastori ecclesie Christi (que est in Cantia ciuitate) ut ipse et Æpēluuoldus Wintonie ciuitatis decus, set et Osuualdus Wigornensis episcopus scirent, ut omnia monasterii loca essent cum monachis constituta pariterque cum monialibus; quod mox mira et constanti uelocitate patrauerē, quia ardentē errant 'in operibus suis' et sancti in actibus suis.*¹²⁶

Byrhtferth's inclusion of *ipse* here seems to refer back to Archbishop Dunstan, thus implying his involvement in refounding the monasteries. In comparison, Eadmer states that Dunstan advised Edgar to enjoin the task upon two men: bishops Oswald of Worcester and Æthelwold of Winchester.¹²⁷ It was perhaps with Eadmer in mind that Barrow, though ostensibly using Byrhtferth's *Vita*, interpreted the passage above as an order by Edgar to Dunstan to see that Æthelwold and Oswald established monasteries and argued that these two bishops would have been singled out 'because they alone controlled sufficient pools of monk-power.'¹²⁸ Eadmer also credits Oswald with installing monks and abbots in the churches of St Albans, Ely and Benfleet, whereas Byrhtferth had merely said that Oswald was offered use of one of these sites, but they had not suited his purpose.¹²⁹ Eadmer's misreading of

¹²⁵ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 18, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, 250-252.

¹²⁶ Translated by Lapidge as: 'It was enjoined upon the eloquent pastor [Dunstan] of Christ Church (which is in the city of Canterbury) that he and Æthelwold, the glory of Winchester, as well as Oswald bishop of Worcester, should know that all monastic sites should be established with monks and likewise with nuns; they straightway implemented this injunction with astonishing and unwavering speed, because they were ardent in their good works and venerable in their deeds.' Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.3, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100-101.

¹²⁷ *Qui rex ipsius patris consilio utens, curam exequendi decreti huius super totum regnum duobus uiris iniunxit, Osuualdo scilicet episcopo Wigornensi, et Athelwoldo Wintoniensi.* Translated by Turner and Muir as: 'This king, following the advice of father Dunstan, enjoined the task of carrying out this decree throughout the whole kingdom upon two men, namely Oswald, bishop of Worcester, and Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester.' Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, 250-251.

¹²⁸ Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine Reform,' 219.

¹²⁹ Eadmer of Canterbury, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, c. 19, ed. and trans. Muir and Turner, 253-255; Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 78-80.

Byrhtferth's *Vita* suggests that by the twelfth century, Oswald's role in the monastic reforms was remembered as more proactive than the near-contemporary (but also very partisan) Byrhtferth had recorded.

Orderic Vitalis developed Oswald's memory even further: in book iv of his *Historia ecclesiastica* he states that the bishop had been put in charge of all the monasteries of England, refounding communities with the help of Dunstan and Æthelwold.¹³⁰ We know that Orderic had visited the cathedral priory of Worcester before writing book iv, so his impression of Oswald's role in refounding England's Benedictine monasteries may well come directly from the Worcester community.¹³¹ It seems possible, therefore, that Oswald was increasingly remembered as a holy father of the monasteries as his posthumous reputation developed during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. The evolution of Oswald's memory as a father of monasticism following his death is one reason why it is valuable to study the eleventh-century relationships between monasteries that have historically been associated with his career. By selecting monasteries that were connected to Oswald and the bishopric of Worcester, this thesis can assess how each community engaged with their common history as circumstances changed during the eleventh century.

The Monasteries

It is apparent from the preceding discussion that at least eight monasteries could be associated with Oswald and the English Benedictine Reform.¹³² However, in this thesis I have chosen to focus on four: Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester. This decision was partly taken so that I could discuss a narrower range of evidence in greater detail. However, the choice to largely exclude the monasteries at Deerhurst, Gloucester, Pershore and Westbury-on-Trym from the discussion is also based upon the quantity and quality of extant sources. As we have seen, the evidence for Deerhurst and Gloucester's association with Oswald is highly circumstantial and

¹³⁰ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iv, ed. and trans. Chibnall, 242. My thanks to Tom Powles for directing me towards this passage.

¹³¹ Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica*, iii, ed. and trans. Chibnall, 186-188. Orderic mentions that he saw the Chronicle of John at Worcester near the end of book iii, which was written before book iv. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, vol. i: General Introduction, 46.

¹³² These are: Deerhurst, Evesham, Gloucester, Pershore, Ramsey, Westbury-on-Trym, Winchcombe and Worcester.

depends upon a literal reading of Byrhtferth of Ramsey's description of the establishment of Benedictine monasteries in Mercia. Byrhtferth's fondness for numerology and the 'suspiciously mystical' potential of the number seven must make any connection between Oswald, Deerhurst and Gloucester dubious.¹³³ Westbury-on-Trym seems to have sunk into disuse until it was refounded for a second time by Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester c.1093.¹³⁴ During the episcopate of Wulfstan, Westbury was seemingly never more than a cell of the cathedral: if any texts were composed there or manuscripts inscribed there, then they have either not survived or are indistinguishable from those produced at Worcester. This cell was closed down once again during the episcopacy of Wulfstan's successor, Samson (1096-1112).¹³⁵

The early evidence for the refoundation of Pershore in Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* means that my decision not to study the house needs to be explained more fully. Overall, we have very little evidence for the late tenth and eleventh centuries. William of Malmesbury, writing in the 1120s, states that since the time of Edgar the monastery at Pershore had 'decayed to a pitiful extent' (*quanto succubuerit detriment miserabile*) and had lost much of its land to wealthy landowners and to Westminster Abbey.¹³⁶ This is supported by a number of charters concerning Edward the Confessor's grants of Pershore land to Westminster.¹³⁷ After the brief tenth-century abbacy of Foldbriht, no abbot of Pershore appears in the extant evidence until Brihtheah, whose abbacy began at an unknown date.¹³⁸ We are also unsure of the exact dates for the next known abbot, Ælfric. There are a number of charters witnessed by abbots named Ælfric between 1033 (when Brihtheah became bishop of Worcester and thus might have ceased to be abbot of Pershore) and the 1050s.¹³⁹ However, some of these could be another Ælfric, who may have

¹³³ Wormald, 'How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?' 234.

¹³⁴ *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. Cheney, no. 11, 13-14.

¹³⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum* iv.150, ed. and trans. Winterbottom, 1:440.

¹³⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, iv.162, ed. and trans. Winterbottom, 1:454.

¹³⁷ S 1040, S 1043, S 1143, S 1144, S 1145, S 1146, Bates 295 and Bates 318. *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 4 February 2018, www.pase.ac.uk.

¹³⁸ Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:58.

¹³⁹ S 969, S 975, S 1002, S 1004, S 1010, S 1057, S 1058, S 1226, S 1396, S 1397, S 1406, S 1475. *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 4 February 2018, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk>.

been abbot of St Albans in the middle of the eleventh century.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, Ælfric is a very common Anglo-Saxon name, so there could also be abbots of other monasteries named Ælfric whose records are poorly preserved. Nevertheless, a Worcester charter of Bishop Ealdred (S 1406, dated 1046×1053) includes a subscription by *Ælfric abbot. 7 se hired on Persceoran*. (Another charter, S 1002, also lists Ælfric as abbot of Pershore, but some other of its subscriptions are inconsistent with the purported date of 1044.) Consequently, it seems likely that five of the above-mentioned charters, which refer to transactions by Worcester or Evesham and that collectively date between 1042 and 1059, are also witnessed by the Pershore abbot Ælfric rather than by an abbot from further afield.¹⁴¹ We know little more about the later eleventh-century abbots, Edmund (before 1058-1085), Thurstan (1085-1087) and Hugh: in the case of Hugh, we have no evidence for the dates of his abbacy at all.¹⁴²

The paucity of evidence for late tenth and eleventh-century Pershore is epitomised by how few manuscripts or texts have been associated with the house. Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* was unable to assign a single manuscript to Pershore that was written before the twelfth century.¹⁴³ (In comparison, Ker identified five Pershore manuscripts dated s. xii.¹⁴⁴) One Pershore charter survives in early copies. This is S 786, which as mentioned above, is a charter by Edgar to Pershore Abbey, dated to 972. This is one of the six so-called *Orthodoxorum*

¹⁴⁰ Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:65.

¹⁴¹ S 1057 (1044×1059): King Edward confirms that Abbot Mannig and the monk Æthelwig of Evesham have bought land at Evenlode, Gloucs., from Eanmer; S 1058 (1044 x 1051): King Edward grants land to Osfrith at Lench, Worcs, includes a note concerning a lease by Bishop Lyfing of (?the same) 5 hides at Lench, Worcs; S 1396 (1042): Bishop Lyfing leases land to Æthelric for three lives at Elmley Castle, Worcs, with reversion to the bishopric; S 1397 (1045): Bishop Lyfing leases land at Saberton in Beckford, Gloucs., for three lives with reversion to the bishopric; S 1475 (1051×1053): restoration of land at Condicote (Gloucs.) to Worcester by Æthelwine, dean of Worcester, and Ordric his brother. *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 4 February 2018, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk>.

¹⁴² Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:58-59.

¹⁴³ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 150.

¹⁴⁴ Cambridge, Emmanuel College, 38; Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. misc. 114; Oxford, Jesus College, 4 and 47; Oxford, St John's College, 96. Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 150.

charters, which means that its authenticity has been debated for many years.¹⁴⁵ However, regardless of whether S 786 was written at the command of Edgar in 972 or not, the single sheet copy (London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii.6) was probably written in the later tenth century, or at the beginning of the eleventh century at the very latest.¹⁴⁶ An alternative recension of the charter appears to have been in Worcester by the late eleventh century, when the monk Hemming copied the boundary-clause for Acton Beauchamp (formerly in Worcestershire, now Herefordshire) into his cartulary.¹⁴⁷ Furthermore, Stokes has argued that a third recension was copied within a few years of the single sheet Cotton Augustus ii.6 and used by the Worcester monks to write S 788, which was based on S 786.¹⁴⁸ The various copies of S 786 are thus the earliest and most detailed evidence we have for eleventh-century Pershore and, as Stokes suggested, seem to point to the instability of the abbey during the first half of that century.¹⁴⁹ To this I would like to add a second observation: that the charters' intimate connection to the Worcester archives also points to a close, perhaps even dependent, relationship with the cathedral during the same period.

Most of the other information about tenth- and eleventh-century Pershore Abbey survives in late traditions. John Leland, writing in the sixteenth century, is a particularly important, although partial, witness to a now lost *historia* which continued down to the fourteenth century.¹⁵⁰ Leland conjectured that the text had been written by a monk of Evesham or Pershore. It is clear, however, that the tradition in these annals was rather late and garbled, as the account of the depredations by earl 'Delfer' suggests.¹⁵¹ The annals go on to state that the abbey's possessions were subsequently restored by Delfer's successor, Odda, who died in

¹⁴⁵ Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972),' 31-32. See Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready,' 978-1016*, 98-104 and Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, cxv-xxxii.

¹⁴⁶ Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972),' 33-36.

¹⁴⁷ London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, 163^v-164^r. Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972),' 40.

¹⁴⁸ This recension of S 786 is now only extant in London, British Library Cotton Vitellius D. vii, 29v-39v, a paper manuscript written by John Joscelyn in the sixteenth century. Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972),' 40-42 and 65-66.

¹⁴⁹ Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972),' 72-73.

¹⁵⁰ Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 1:240-53.

¹⁵¹ Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 1:244.

1056 among the monks of Deerhurst and whose body was carried to Pershore.¹⁵² Aspects of this account are corroborated by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which recorded Earl Odda's death in 1056, adding that his body lies at Pershore and that he was admitted to become a monk before he died.¹⁵³ However, as Ann Williams has pointed out, Odda could not have been the son of Ælfhere, as Leland concluded, and could only be described as his successor in a more abstract sense.¹⁵⁴ The absence of books and early traditions from Pershore is perhaps due to two major fires, which burnt down the monastery in the early eleventh century and again in 1223.¹⁵⁵ According to Leland, the eleventh-century fire destroyed Pershore, which was then reoccupied in 1020.¹⁵⁶ The second fire in 1223 appears to have destroyed Pershore's archive of deeds and charters of privileges: witnesses were thus examined in an attempt to make a record of the abbey's liberties, customs and possessions.¹⁵⁷

The annals recorded by Leland have a great deal of potential, as the entries are reminiscent of those of Thomas of Marlborough's *Historia abbatiae de Evesham* and also refer to and quote from a *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* when recounting the death of Abbot Foldbriht.¹⁵⁸ However, it is not in the remit of this study to analyse the historical writings that may have been shared between the Oswaldian monasteries. Whilst we do have some sources that demonstrate Pershore's association with the other houses (such as the community's involvement in Bishop Wulfstan's confraternity agreement of c.1077), we lack evidence for the tenth- and eleventh-century religious practices of the abbey.¹⁵⁹ Neither Francis Wormald nor Rebecca Rushforth were able to connect a single liturgical kalendar dating before 1100 to

¹⁵² Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 1:244.

¹⁵³ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, CD, s.a. 1056.

¹⁵⁴ Williams, 'Principes Merciorum gentis: the family, career and connections of Ælfhere, ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83,' 168.

¹⁵⁵ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 162. Tinti dates the first fire to 1002, but does not explain why.

¹⁵⁶ Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 1:242.

¹⁵⁷ The document survives as London, British Library, Add. Ch. 42605. Stokes, 'King Edgar's Charter for Pershore (AD 972),' 73, n. 77. See also Dodsworth and Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, 3 vols. (London, 1655-73) I, 21 (nos. 205-8).

¹⁵⁸ Leland, *Collectanea*, ed. Hearne, 1:241-244.

¹⁵⁹ *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. Cheney, 5-7 (no. 7).

Pershore Abbey.¹⁶⁰ Wormald was also unable to identify a Pershore kalendar dated after 1100.¹⁶¹ Likewise, Lapidge could not assign a single Anglo-Saxon litany to Pershore.¹⁶² The earliest evidence for any saints' cult celebrated at Pershore is a *vita* of St Eadburh of Nunnaminster written by Osbert of Clare (*d.* in or after 1158).¹⁶³ Osbert's *vita* claims that Pershore had surreptitiously acquired relics of St Eadburh in the late tenth century.¹⁶⁴ However, Ridyard has shown that while it is probable that Osbert drew upon an eleventh-century source, it offered no information about the Pershore cult and was almost certainly a Winchester document.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, we know so little about any pre-Conquest cult at Pershore that scholars have entertained the possibility that Pershore's St Eadburh was a forgotten Mercian saint, whom the monks conflated with the better-known Eadburh from Nunnaminster.¹⁶⁶ Consequently, there is simply not enough extant evidence for the Pershore monks' spiritual practices or sense of identity for the abbey to become a central part of the thesis.

Thus the thesis focuses primarily on the literary productions and members of Ramsey, Worcester, Winchcombe and Evesham. Whilst the quantity of extant evidence for each house varies tremendously, we are fortunate to have extant *vitae* and kalendars written in the late tenth and early eleventh-centuries that can shed light on the religious life at all four communities. Furthermore, there is a great deal of evidence for the religious practices and cross-institutional relationships between the four communities at Ramsey, Worcester, Winchcombe and Evesham. We have already seen some of the evidence that demonstrates the extent of the monasteries' relationships. Among the earliest members of the Ramsey community was Wynsig, e

¹⁶⁰ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*; Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*.

¹⁶¹ Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, 2 vols.

¹⁶² Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*.

¹⁶³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 114, ff. 85-120. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 17-18; Barlow, 'Clare, Osbert of (d. in or after 1158), prior of Westminster Abbey and ecclesiastical writer,' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi-org.libproxy.york.ac.uk/10.1093/ref:odnb/5442>, accessed 26 Jan. 2018.

¹⁶⁴ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 19; Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints,' 526.

¹⁶⁵ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 29-36 and 129-131.

¹⁶⁶ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 134-138; Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, 139; Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints,' 526-527.

a former clerk from Worcester. Once he had received training at Ramsey, Wynsige returned to Worcester, along with a number of Ramsey monks, to found the cathedral community of St Mary's.¹⁶⁷ Another Ramsey monk, Germanus, became abbot of Winchcombe around the same time.¹⁶⁸ The Winchcombe abbot and his monks were destined to return to Ramsey, following the suppression of Winchcombe in or after 975.¹⁶⁹

Connections between the houses continued after the death of Oswald. At the end of the tenth century, Evesham Abbey fell under the protection of Ealdwulf, Oswald's successor to the sees of York and Worcester.¹⁷⁰ Evesham remained subjected to the bishops of Worcester until the abbacy of Ælfweard (c.1014-1044).¹⁷¹ Winchcombe Abbey spent periods of time in the mid eleventh century when its abbacy was vacant and it was administered externally. Upon the death of Abbot Godwine in 1053, Winchcombe Abbey seems to have spent a period time under the protection of Archbishop Ealdred, who held the sees of Worcester and York in plurality.¹⁷² Following the Norman Conquest, the next abbot of Winchcombe, Godric, was deposed and the abbey was entrusted to Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham for almost three years before Galandus was appointed abbot of Winchcombe.¹⁷³ Abbot Godric himself was also put under the care of Abbot Æthelwig, and appears to have lived among the Evesham monks.¹⁷⁴ Winchcombe was managed by Æthelwig for a second time, following the death of Abbot Galandus c.1075.¹⁷⁵ According to the *Historia abbatiae de Evesham*, as a monk Æthelwig had also administered the see

¹⁶⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100-102.

¹⁶⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100.

¹⁶⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.11 and v.14, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 122 and 184.

¹⁷⁰ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.139, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146.

¹⁷¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152.

¹⁷² Barlow, *The English Church*, 86-90.

¹⁷³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164.

¹⁷⁴ *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. Cheney, 5-7 (no. 7).

¹⁷⁵ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164-166.

of Worcester for Archbishop Ealdred, although the chronicler does not expand upon when this occurred or why.¹⁷⁶

The above-mentioned examples concern external administration of one church by the bishop or abbot of another and do not necessarily guarantee close textual exchanges between the houses. However, there is also evidence for far more personal and conscious connections between the monasteries. Evesham's first independent abbot after its dependency on the Worcester bishops ended was Ælfweard (c.1014-1044), a former monk of Ramsey.¹⁷⁷ Ælfweard maintained his connection with Ramsey later in life, and died there in 1044.¹⁷⁸ It was perhaps during the early years of Ælfweard's abbacy that Wulfstan, later bishop of Worcester (1062-1095) received his early education at Evesham.¹⁷⁹ Episodes recounted in the *Vita Wulfstani* suggest that Bishop Wulfstan visited Evesham Abbey regularly during his episcopacy.¹⁸⁰ Perhaps the visits were partly due to the fact that the bishop was Abbot Æthelwig's confessor, or because Æthelwig allegedly offered Wulfstan financial and legal assistance during his dispute with Archbishop Thomas of York.¹⁸¹ Wulfstan seems to have been eager to formalise the relationships between Worcester and some of the local houses, as in c.1077 he presided over a confraternity agreement that encompassed the abbots and monks of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, Gloucester and Worcester.¹⁸² A few years later, Wulfstan and the monks of Worcester took part in another confraternity agreement with the abbot and monks of Ramsey. The document which records this agreement refers back to the period when the communities' were jointly under

¹⁷⁶ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.151, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 160.

¹⁷⁷ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 148.

¹⁷⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.148, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 156.

¹⁷⁹ If Wulfstan was born c.1008 and received his formative education between the ages of about five and eight, as Mason suggests, then he may have studied at Evesham c.1013-1016. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, 28, 34; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 14.

¹⁸⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.15 and ii.4, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 54-56 and 68-70.

¹⁸¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164.

¹⁸² *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. Cheney, 5-7 (no. 7).

Oswald who ‘embraced them as one in the Lord.’¹⁸³ It appears that the communities were not only aware of their past association, but were inspired by their history to form new confraternities.

This thesis will build on the above-mentioned evidence, by exploring the extent to which the communities also exchanged *vitae* and liturgical texts. The potential interactions between the houses will prompt many questions about how institutional relationships formed and were maintained during the eleventh century. By seeking to understand the extent to which the houses shared *vitae*, liturgical calendars and computistical material, we can start to ask how frequently textual exchanges of this kind occurred. And by comparing the intertextuality between *vitae* produced or possessed by two or more different communities, we will be able to question whether the monks partook in common textual communities that contributed to the development of hagiographical narratives. In the final section of this introduction, I will explain why I have decided to approach questions about institutional identity and relationships through the prism of the cults of saints, as well as what methods I will use to select and organise the evidence for this aspect of monastic life.

IV. Methodologies and Thesis Structure

Why Cults of Saints?

It will be evident by now that this thesis seeks to examine the relationship between multiple monastic communities with similar recent histories, rather than focusing on a single institution. Accordingly, I have chosen to prioritise evidence for the role played by specific saints’ cults – those of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm – in the religious lives of monks, rather than studying local cult centres or the saints’ resting places. This means that although I use the term ‘cult’, I will not study the physical shrine, the architecture of the saint’s resting place, nor the appeal of saints’ cults to lay pilgrims. There are many excellent studies that explore these aspects of

¹⁸³ *Hec est conventio inter episcopum W(ulstanum) et priorem T(homam) et fratres de Wirecestra et inter abbatem Alwinum et fratres de Rameseya quatinus utrumque monasterium in omnibus commune sit et unum in gratia videlicet beati presulis Oswaldi qui Ramesense monasterium primitus construendo et dedicando et Wigornense possidendo utrumque in Domino complectitur. English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185, ed. Cheney, 4-5 (no. 6). Translation is my own.*

medieval life already.¹⁸⁴ Furthermore, as discussed above, I do not want my research to be tied to particular sites or sacred spaces. Instead, my use of the word cult is akin to Francis Wormald's term 'sympathetic cultus', which he used to discuss monastic interest in particular saints entered into Benedictine kalendars.¹⁸⁵ Thus, my focus will be the religious experience of the monks who lived in monasteries that particularly celebrated the saint's feast as part of the liturgical year. When I do touch upon the popularity of a cult beyond the monastic setting, my focus remains the impact on the monks.

This approach to saints' cults naturally affects the kind of evidence that I will use. The thesis will focus primarily on contemporary *vitae* and liturgical evidence for specific cults. The celebration of saints' feasts was both a very normal part of monastic daily life and an aspect of the religious life that could become very idiosyncratic to a local area. Consequently, the exchange of *vitae* and liturgical texts could demonstrate close connections between the Oswaldian houses. There is a rich collection of religious texts that originate from eleventh- and early twelfth-century Worcestershire that are yet to be fully edited and translated, including certain saints' lives.¹⁸⁶ Many of the local saints' *vitae* survive in legends that are often also of local provenance and which themselves have not yet been subject to detailed study.¹⁸⁷ There are a number of challenges with using both kinds of evidence, which will be addressed as necessary in the following chapters. Where relevant, I will also make use of house histories, chronicles and charters that shed light on the monasteries' attitudes towards, or relationship with, the saint under discussion. I will consider evidence for the saints' relics and resting-places when either is discussed in *vitae* or relevant written sources: here, however, my focus will not be on understanding the physical cult of the saint, but on considering what the evidence suggests about contemporary values, influences and relationships. As my thesis thus makes use of a wide scope of evidence, I will introduce the sources that are being analysed in the relevant chapter. When a text or manuscript is discussed in multiple chapters (such as the manuscripts of the 'Cotton-Corpus legendary'), the

¹⁸⁴ For example, John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300-1200*. New York: Oxford University, 2000; idem, *English Medieval Shrines*. Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2011.

¹⁸⁵ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, vii.

¹⁸⁶ For example, the *vitae* attributed to Dominic of Evesham.

¹⁸⁷ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xviii.

primary analysis will be in the earliest of these chapters, which I will refer back to in later sections.¹⁸⁸

There are clear advantages to studying saints' cults in this way. Whilst the resting-place of a saint's relics is an unavoidably important aspect of any cult, sidelining the physical evidence will encourage this study to look beyond the cult centres. This allows the thesis to overcome certain anachronistic assumptions about when and where the relics of particular saints were venerated: for example, we will see that the evidence for the cult of Kenelm situated at Winchcombe Abbey is actually quite late. Furthermore, looking beyond the shrines discourages my analysis of the saint's cult from forming expectations about which monasteries *should* be interested in that saint. Studies of *vitae* tend to focus on understanding the text from the perspective of a single institution.¹⁸⁹ In comparison, this thesis will ask where a saint was important beyond the site of their shrine and attempt to understand the relationship between the saint and other churches. Asking why a community was interested in a saint that they did not claim to possess will allow me to explore the relationships between communities that shared in the veneration of a saint, beyond the simple presumption that they formed rival cults. Thus studying monasteries that were united by a common interest in the same saint offers a prism through which to examine institutional attitudes and relationships in a rounded manner.

Thesis Structure and Outline

As my focus will be on the celebration of saints' cults across a collection of Oswaldian monasteries, I have chosen to organise my thesis into three case studies. Each case study is oriented around a different saint, and each chapter looks at the literature surrounding one of them. The saints in question are Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm. This is a pragmatic alternative to studying each monastery individually that still allows me to manage a wide range of material. As with studies on individual monasteries, case studies of single saints encourage an interdisciplinary approach that assesses different types of sources and how they interact. A comparable approach is used in Ridyard's monograph, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon*

¹⁸⁸ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 9 and London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i. For an introduction to the Cotton-Corpus legendary, see chapter one below.

¹⁸⁹ For example, Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*; or Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*.

England, which used a small number of cults as case studies in order to draw wider conclusions on the phenomenon of the royal cult of saints in Anglo-Saxon England.¹⁹⁰ In my own thesis, arranging material around particular saints has the advantage that I can study evidence from several monasteries simultaneously and comparatively. Studying one saint at a time also allows me to understand each in greater detail on their own terms, and without presupposing that evidence for the connections between houses is the same regardless of the saint under discussion.

Each chapter begins simply by exploring what available evidence we have for the importance of Bede, Ecgwine or Kenelm at the monasteries of Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester during the eleventh century. Once the evidence has been laid out, the chapter proceeds to analyse key sources in order to explore whether the communities' relationships with that saint can shed light on their interactions with each other. The uneven distribution of the extant evidence means that each case study will throw light on a slightly different combination of monasteries, and on different aspects of institutional relationships. For example, the sources from Worcester Cathedral stretch across most decades of the period 992-1095, whereas evidence for Ramsey Abbey favours the late tenth and early eleventh century, when the monk Byrhtferth flourished there. The prominence of each monastery will also depend, of course, on how actively the community engaged with the saint's cult under discussion. A consequence of this approach is that some chapters will focus more closely on certain Oswaldian communities than others and I will not be able to study each monastery to an equal extent. This is not because any community is more important than the others, but rather because each house possesses a different quantity of evidence that demonstrates contemporary interest in the saint.

I define 'demonstrate contemporary interest' to mean monasteries whose archives possessed or produced texts referring to the saint during the late tenth or eleventh centuries. I generally accept Sims-Williams' argument that manuscripts that were not produced at a particular house may still 'testify to receptivity rather than creativity' and can thus provide us with vital information about the region's religious culture.¹⁹¹ Exchanges between the houses do more than simply demonstrate a relationship: the connections are themselves productive. However, I have also been influenced by Teresa Webber, who pointed out that manuscript

¹⁹⁰ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 3-4.

¹⁹¹ Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 327.

possessions do not necessarily reflect the contemporary interests of the community. This is particularly a concern if the library had built its book collection over several centuries, or had been endowed with books by their bishops, abbots or external patrons.¹⁹² Consequently, I am open to using texts (and indeed manuscripts) that were not produced at Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe or Worcester, or which pre-date the period 992-1095, providing there is evidence that they were known to and used by members of one of these communities during the eleventh century. Occasionally I have recourse to later evidence too, if we have good reason to believe that it can shed light on the eleventh century.

A second consequence of beginning by laying out what extant evidence we have for saints Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm is that each chapter ends up asking different questions and looking at a specific aspect of how saints' cults can act as a prism for understanding monastic relationships. This means that the chapters are to some extent cumulative: later chapters build on preceding questions to create a deeper understanding of how monastic relationships could manifest, and how they developed in the context of a politically eventful century. Approaching each saint differently will help to demonstrate the complexity of the communities' relationships, both with other institutions and with the saints themselves. Naturally the nature of a particular saint's cult has a significant impact on the kind of evidence it leaves and so I have had to think carefully about which saints to study. My choice of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm is based on a number of different considerations. The first of these is, necessarily, whether there is sufficient evidence that the saint was known to and celebrated at a minimum of two of the four Oswaldian houses under discussion. I also wanted the saints to share some common features, but not too many, so that I can draw comparisons between their cults but still expect them to raise very different questions.

All three saints predate the period of monastic disruption that is traditionally ascribed to intensifying Viking incursions from the second half of the eighth century. Whilst this disruption did not mark a total hiatus in monastic life, this was a narrative that was accepted and internalised by the monks of the Benedictine Reform and their successors.¹⁹³ Thus the lives of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm all look

¹⁹² Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*, 5.

¹⁹³ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 7; Bartlett, 'The Viking Hiatus in the Cult of Saints as Seen in the Twelfth Century,' 13-26; Barrow, 'Danish Ferocity and Abandoned Monasteries: The Twelfth-Century View,' 77-94.

back to a better time, when miracles were more common and kings were more generous in their gifts of land to religious houses. The sense of distance and discontinuity between the early saints and their biographers increases the likelihood that our sources will be more grounded in the needs and priorities of the late tenth- and eleventh-century context. As we will see particularly in the case of Ecgwine, the less that the monks knew about the saint, the more we can learn about what they needed him to be in the moment of writing. In other ways, however, Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm were very different. Bede was a monk who died in eighth-century Northumbria, and who is generally studied more for his impact as a scholar than as an intercessory saint. Ecgwine, a supposed Mercian contemporary of Bede, was a little-known bishop whose story appears to owe as much to folklore as to any contemporary texts. Kenelm lived and died in early ninth-century Mercia and was a child-king murdered by the ambitions of his sister. Unlike Ecgwine, we do have some evidence for his life, however, it completely contravenes the legends surrounding his cult.

Given the centrality of Oswald to my thesis, it may seem surprising that I have not included chapter that directly addresses his posthumous influence at Ramsey, Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester. I have made this decision for a number of reasons. In the first case, Oswald's role in the recent histories of the monasteries disqualifies him from being treated as a case study in the manner that Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm are being used. Memories of Oswald's life and how his cult was developed potentially have an effect on monastic identity among the houses that fell under his protection, as well as the relationships between interested monasteries. Thus there would be a danger of circularity by using the cult of Oswald to study these questions. Furthermore, as the refounder of the communities, I would certainly engage with sources for his cult in a very different manner to those for the cults of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm. This would make him a problematic case study for comparison. However, the impact of Oswald will be discussed intermittently throughout this thesis when pertinent.

Another consideration is that the cult of Oswald was based at Worcester, where the archbishop had died in 992.¹⁹⁴ The library and archives of Worcester have preserved far more evidence for the eleventh century than Evesham, Ramsey or Winchcombe. Consequently, I decided that choosing a saint belonging to the cathedral could make the study too imbalanced and oriented towards Worcester. By

¹⁹⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.16-17, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 188-192.

selecting saints that appear among the Worcester litanies, kalendars and legendaries, but whose cult centres lay elsewhere, I can make use of a much wider selection of evidence that sheds light on Worcester's interactions with other Oswaldian houses. Finally, the scholarship on the cult of Oswald is far more comprehensive than that concerning Bede and Ecgwine; this perhaps is the case for Kenelm too, though less certainly. Consequently, by choosing these saints, I anticipate that this thesis will shed more light on the literary and religious activities of the monks at Evesham and Winchcombe in particular. I hope this will encourage scholarship to recognise their contributions to monastic culture in late Anglo-Saxon England.

Chapter one considers evidence for a Worcestershire cult of Bede. Despite Bede's fame amongst scholars of Anglo-Saxon England, there are relatively few studies that engage with his posthumous cult. Fewer still have noticed his prominence in liturgical and hagiographical texts that were written in eleventh-century Worcestershire. This chapter will explore evidence for Bede's treatment as a saint by the communities of Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester, in the context of a late eleventh-century mission led by Winchcombe and Evesham monks to refound northern monasticism. It will do so by examining his inclusion in kalendars and litanies, church dedications, and the use of Bede as an exemplar in William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*. This chapter will explore the degree of interaction that we can trace between the Worcestershire foundations, and will ask whether there is much evidence for a particular relationship or for idiosyncratic shared interests. As the relics of Bede lay far to the north, first at Jarrow and later at Durham, his cult stems from more than a purely local interest and thus allows us to explore the monasteries' sense of self and sense of the past.

The second chapter examines the cult of St Ecgwine, the third bishop of Worcester and founder of Evesham Abbey. This section takes an in-depth look at the multi-faceted relationship between two particular communities, Evesham and Worcester. The relationships between these two communities have been studied before and are usually portrayed in terms of local rivalry over land and Evesham's struggle for independence from the diocesan. By closely analysing the earliest *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey, this chapter explores early eleventh-century attitudes at Evesham towards the Worcester bishops. My analysis of this text is juxtaposed with evidence for the later relationship between Evesham Abbey and the bishops of Worcester, in order to examine how the interactions between the houses developed and changed as the eleventh century progressed.

Thus, this chapter asks what do we mean by an ‘institutional relationship’ and considers to what extent anachronistic assumptions about the houses have oversimplified our interpretation of Evesham and Worcester’s attitudes towards one another.

The final chapter considers the cult of Kenelm, a martyred prince associated with Winchcombe Abbey. Kenelm was the most widely venerated – and is also the most widely studied – of the saints under discussion. Despite this, we know far less about the eleventh-century community and library of Winchcombe Abbey than about Evesham, Ramsey or Worcester. The success of Kenelm’s cult seems inconsistent with the early dependency of Winchcombe on other communities, and scholars have sought to understand the cult in terms of local popular devotion or encouragement by kings for political purposes. This chapter will reassess evidence for the cult of Kenelm within the context of Winchcombe’s dependent relationships with Ramsey, Worcester and Evesham. It will attempt to understand what influence these other centres had on the cult of Kenelm based at Winchcombe, but will also explore the extent to which these houses fostered his cult at their own churches. I will also consider the level of intertextuality between sources written for the Worcester, Ramsey and Winchcombe communities and use these to question whether the monasteries contributed to a common legend of Kenelm. The chapter will use this analysis in order to posit an alternative context in which the cult of Kenelm could have developed.

Overall, this thesis will use the three case studies outlined above in order to assess the relationships between four monasteries that resembled one another in their common tenth-century history and their subscription to the ideals that the Benedictine reform promoted. However, it is important to stress that even if we can identify evidence that the Oswaldian communities shared bonds of affiliation, this does not mean that they were conscious of them. The periods when one house was under the direct control of another and the later confraternities suggest that a relationship would have been acknowledged up to a point, but it would be reductive to minimise the communities’ relationships to a steady acknowledgement of common origins. By using saints’ cults to explore the nuances of the communities’ relationships, I hope to advance scholarship that focuses on rivalries between local monasteries as well as theories on networks of exchange. On the other hand, if my analysis of these saints’ cults does not demonstrate that the Oswaldian houses shared particularly strong or unique relationships with one another, I believe that this thesis will still prove a valuable study for exploring new questions about who or

what defined monastic identity and what forms institutional relationships could take. The thesis will also shed light on the literary productions emanating from Evesham, Ramsey and Winchcombe, which are so easily obscured by cathedral communities like Worcester, but which all contributed to developing the religious culture of eleventh-century England.

Chapter One. The Worcestershire Cult of Bede

Introduction: the Refoundation of the North

In the early 1070s, three monks left the monastery of Evesham and headed north. Two of the men, a deacon called Ælfric and a former knight, Reinfrid, were Evesham monks. They were led by the third, Aldwin, who had been the prior of the neighbouring monastery of Winchcombe.¹⁹⁵ The three men travelled on foot, bringing one donkey with them to carry their books. According to Symeon of Durham, the group walked to ‘Monkchester’ (modern day Newcastle), a journey of about 230 miles. The monks were quickly summoned by the incumbent bishop of Durham, Walcher, who allowed them to settle at the ancient monastery of Jarrow, once home to the Venerable Bede.¹⁹⁶ Jarrow by this date had been abandoned and the monks found the site overgrown and neglected. They re-roofed the church, then built a hut where they could sleep and eat.¹⁹⁷ ‘There,’ Symeon continues, ‘they lived and endured for Christ in cold and hunger and penury, although in the monasteries which they had left they could have had abundance.’¹⁹⁸

The narrative by Symeon of Durham written 1104-7 is probably the earliest account of how monastic life was re-established in eleventh-century Northumbria.¹⁹⁹ In the decade following their journey, Aldwin, Ælfric and Reinfrid, along with followers who were attracted to their way of life, established Benedictine communities across much of the north-east of England. Thus the Worcestershire monks’ expedition ultimately led to the refoundation of monasteries at Jarrow, Wearmouth, Whitby and Tynemouth Priory, as well as the foundation of new Benedictine communities at St Mary’s Abbey, York and at Durham Cathedral.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁵ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.21, ed. Rollason, 200; Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 166-167.

¹⁹⁶ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.21, ed. Rollason, 200-202.

¹⁹⁷ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.21, ed. Rollason, 203.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibi pariter in frigore ac fame et rerum omnium penuria pro Christo residentes degebant, qui in monasteriis que reliquerant, omnem rerum affluentiam habere poterant.* Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.21, ed. Rollason, 203.

¹⁹⁹ Burton, ‘The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire,’ 42.

²⁰⁰ Baker, ‘The Desert in the North’, 5.

Later chroniclers from the new foundations at Durham, York and Whitby each composed their own slightly divergent account of the trios' journey.²⁰¹ Between them, the sources paint an elaborate picture of the various motivations and movements of the monks' journey north.

It is not in the remit of this chapter to examine the intricacies of the refoundation movement or the variations between the Durham, Whitby and York sources, which have already been discussed in several studies.²⁰² However, a question this chapter will consider is what could have inspired Aldwin, Ælfric and Reinfrid to leave their homes. Travelling to the north of England in the early years of William the Conqueror's reign was potentially very dangerous. About four years before the monks' journey, the northern counties had been ravaged in the infamous 'Harrying of the North'. As Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham had received and given protection to refugees fleeing from the Harrying, the Evesham monks would have been very aware of this event.²⁰³ There were rebellions against Norman rule; attempted invasions by the Danish king Sven II; and intermittent raiding by the Scots. In 1080 Walcher, the bishop who had granted the monks permission to settle Jarrow, was murdered.²⁰⁴ In comparison, the Worcester diocese enjoyed a generally high level of stability during the same period, thanks in part to the skill with which Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester and Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham navigated the political situation in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest.²⁰⁵ The decision of the monks to exchange their situations at Evesham and Winchcombe for the potential hardships that lay ahead indicates that the journey had strong ideological underpinnings.

²⁰¹ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.21-22, ed. Rollason, 200-210; *Cartularium abbathiae de Whiteby*, ed. Atkinson, 1:1-10; a Whitby account of uncertain date that now only survives in two seventeenth-century transcripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 159, f. 115^v and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Dodsworth 9, ff. 127-9; and an 'Account of the Foundation of St Mary's Abbey,' attributed to Stephen of Whitby and printed in Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 3:544-546. See Burton, 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire,' 42-43.

²⁰² Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 164-171; Baker, 'The Desert in the North,' 4-6; Burton, 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire,' 41-51; Davis, 'Bede after Bede,' 105-111; Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North,' 87-98.

²⁰³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.159, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 167.

²⁰⁴ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.24, ed. Rollason, 216-218.

²⁰⁵ Clarke, 'The Norman Conquest of the West Midlands,' 17-26; Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, Part 1,' 10-22; Williams, 'The Cunning of the Dove,' 23-38.

The Whitby, York and Durham chroniclers all suggested explanations for the monks' journey. An anonymous late twelfth-century account entered into a Whitby cartulary focuses on the Evesham monk, Reinfrid, who had refounded Whitby Abbey.²⁰⁶ Reinfrid had seen the ruins of Whitby Abbey when he was a knight in the service of William I and was distressed by their desolation.²⁰⁷ He subsequently became a monk at Evesham Abbey, where he was instructed in the monastic discipline. He then returned to the North with Prior Aldwin and Ælfric 'in order to awaken monastic life' (*ad suscitandam monachicam religionem*).²⁰⁸ The York account, which is attributed to Stephen, the first abbot of St Mary's and a former monk of Whitby, similarly focuses on the role played by Reinfrid.²⁰⁹ This version emphasises that Reinfrid and his companions came first to Jarrow, driven by a desire to restore the place that had once housed men and women of religion, including the venerable priest Bede.²¹⁰ Once Jarrow had become an established monastic community living according to the Rule, Reinfrid withdrew to Whitby in order to live a solitary life of divine contemplation. This attempt to live as a recluse once again failed as followers, attracted to his reputation for spirituality, settled at Whitby.²¹¹ This account suggests that Reinfrid was drawn to the austerity of an eremitical life; however it is also clear that he was equally attracted to the ruins of ancient monasteries that flourished in the time of Bede. Both accounts share similarities with Symeon of Durham's explanation of the monks' motivation. Symeon credits Prior Aldwin of Winchcombe with leading the mission, and states that he had been inspired to seek an eremitical life. Aldwin had learned from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* that Northumbria had once been full of monks and saints 'who lived a heavenly life on earth' and he wished to live in poverty in imitation of their exemplary lives.²¹² Thus, according to Symeon, Bede was more than simply

²⁰⁶ Burton, 'The Monastic Revival in Yorkshire,' 42. Printed in Atkinson, *Cartularium abbathiae de Whiteby*, 1:1-10.

²⁰⁷ Atkinson, *Cartularium abbathiae de Whiteby*, 1:xxxii and 1.

²⁰⁸ Atkinson, *Cartularium abbathiae de Whiteby*, 1:1.

²⁰⁹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 3:544-546.

²¹⁰ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 3: 545.

²¹¹ Dugdale, *Monasticon*, 3: 545.

²¹² *Didicerat ex Historia Anglorum quod prouincia Northanhymbrorum crebris quondam choris monachorum, ac multis constipata fuerit agminibus sanctorum, qui in carne non secundum carnem uiuentes celestem in terris conuersionem ducere gaudebant. Quorum loca (uidelicet monasteria) licet iam in solitudinem sciret redacta, desiderauit inuisere,*

part of the religious history of the landscape: his writings were the inspiration that led Aldwin to leave his home and ultimately re-establish religious life in Northumbria.

The emphasis in these sources on the monks' twofold desire to lead an eremitical life and to restore the ancient Northumbrian foundations is striking. Between them, the sources attribute these motives to both Reinfrid, an Evesham monk, and to Aldwin, former prior of Winchcombe. Whilst each account naturally focuses on telling the story of those most closely associated with their foundation, together they form a narrative of a cross-institutional project led by monks who were driven by specific religious ideals. This raises many questions about the monasteries they had come from. Some scholars have attempted to explain the northern refoundation as an outcome of conservative sympathies for Anglo-Saxon monastic life, despite the fact that Reinfrid was a Norman.²¹³ By contrast, this chapter will shift the focus towards the monks' spiritual concerns. It will explore possible reasons why monks from different communities cooperated in the restoration of the ancient Northumbrian monasteries, and will ask whether the monasteries shared a particular religious ideology that prompted such a journey. It will ask why the monks were inspired to travel to Northumbria in order to imitate the saintly lives described by Bede. We know that other Worcestershire monks chose to found hermitages in the eleventh century, but these men stayed in the local vicinity.²¹⁴ In order to address these questions, the chapter will attempt to understand the journey within the context of a particular saint's cult that was celebrated in the Worcester diocese: the cult of Bede himself.

Thus the primary aim of this chapter is to explore whether there is evidence to support the notion that the Oswaldian monasteries were bound together by religious ideals. This aim addresses one of the most fundamental questions of the thesis: whether the communities had peculiarly close ties or a broader sense of

ibique ad imitationem illorum pauperem uitam ducere. Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.21, ed. Rollason, 200-202.

²¹³ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 164-171; Dawtry, 'The Benedictine Revival in the North,' 87-88.

²¹⁴ Evesham had three hermits in the mid to late eleventh century, called Wulfsize, Basing and Ælfwine. Cox, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700-1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer*, 84-85. A Worcester monk Ealdwine, founded a hermitage at Malvern with the encouragement of Bishop Wulfstan. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, iv.145, ed. and trans. Winterbottom, 434.

community in the decades following the death of Oswald. The cult of Bede is a particularly valuable case study to address this question, as shared veneration for this saint cannot be explained as purely local attachment. Bede's bones have no obvious association with any of the churches under discussion: interest in the cult at Evesham and Winchcombe did not derive from prior ownership of either the relics or their resting place. Rather, Aldwin, Reinfrid and Ælfric's journey seems to be the product of a local phenomenon, which the monks' superiors – Æthelwig of Evesham and Wulfstan of Worcester – either encouraged or permitted. A secondary aim of this chapter will be to contextualise the events that occurred in Northumbria in the 1070s and 1080s, by asking whether Bede was merely the catalyst for this mission through his writings, or whether the saint held greater significance to the monasteries from which Aldwin, Ælfric and Reinfrid originated.

Section one will lay out the development and reception of the cult of Bede in medieval England, with a particular emphasis on evidence for the popularity of the cult from the late tenth to twelfth centuries. The section will make use of liturgical and literary evidence to assess the extent to which Bede was perceived as an intercessory saint, rather than as a scholar and role model. The purpose of the discussion will be to understand how the cult of Bede was generally received amongst English Benedictine monasteries, as this will offer a useful context within which any evidence for the cult of Bede in the Worcester diocese can be understood. Section two will then examine liturgical texts that were produced or used by the monasteries of Worcester, Evesham or Winchcombe, in order to assess whether the houses demonstrated a distinct interest in the cult of Bede. This evidence will be analysed within the broader eleventh-century context laid out in section one, in order to gauge whether the monasteries' commemoration of the cult of Bede is typical or idiosyncratic. In the final section, I will examine William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani* (BHL 8756). Although this is a twelfth-century text that focuses on the life and deeds of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (d.1095), the insertion of Bede into the *vita* may shed light on the religious interests and attitudes of the Worcester community in the later eleventh century. Furthermore, the *vita* mentions a unique medieval dedication of a church to Bede by Wulfstan, which raises questions about the spiritual significance St Bede held for this famous Worcester bishop.

I. Uncovering a Cult of Bede

This section examines the medieval cult of Bede. Bede was a monk who lived from the age of seven at the joint monastery of Wearmouth and Jarrow, which had been founded by Benedict Biscop in 674 and 681 respectively.²¹⁵ Most of our knowledge about his life and works come from Bede's own writings.²¹⁶ These included saints' lives, commentaries of the scriptures and treatises on chronology. Today, Bede is best known for his *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*, which is one of our most important sources for Anglo-Saxon England up to the eighth century.²¹⁷ Bede died in Jarrow in 735, and an account of his death survives a letter by Bede's student Cuthbert to a fellow pupil called Cuthwine.²¹⁸ According to Symeon of Durham, the relics of Bede lay at Jarrow until the first half of the eleventh century, when they were secretly translated to Durham by a priest called Elfred, son of Westou, who then hid them in the tomb of Cuthbert.²¹⁹ Evidence that the relic theft narrative predates Symeon's *Libellus* is found in the Old English poem *Durham*, which is also mentioned in Symeon's text.²²⁰ While there is little other evidence to support Symeon's claims, most historians have accepted the basic historicity of the tradition.²²¹ Following the translation of Cuthbert in 1104 Bede's bones were enshrined separately and probably remained in the sanctuary until moved to the Galilee Chapel in 1370.²²²

Bede was officially proclaimed a saint and Doctor of the Church by Pope Leo XIII in 1899.²²³ Prior to this his feast had been kept by both the Benedictine and

²¹⁵ Mayr-Harting, *The Coming of Christianity to Anglo-Saxon England*, 40.

²¹⁶ Colgrave and Mynors, introduction to *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, xix.

²¹⁷ Colgrave and Mynors, introduction to *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, xviii.

²¹⁸ Printed by Colgrave and Mynors, *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, 579-587.

²¹⁹ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.7, ed. Rollason, 165-167.

²²⁰ 'Durham,' in *The Anglo-Saxon World, An Anthology*, trans. Kevin Crossley-Holland. Oxford: Oxford University Press, reissued 2009, pp. 204-205. Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii. 7, ed. Rollason, 167.

²²¹ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 172.

²²² Rollason, 'The Cult of Bede,' 197.

²²³ Farmer, 'Bede, the Venerable,' in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, accessed 12 February 2018,

Cistercian Orders: Benedicta Ward described Pope Leo's proclamation as no more than the formal recognition 'of a long-existing fact'.²²⁴ However, although Bede is well-known to scholars for the enormous impact of his writings, his role as a saint was apparently far less influential. Consequently, whilst scholarship on the writings of Bede is extensive, research concerning the extent and impact of the cult of Bede is relatively rare. There are three modern studies that particularly focus on the posthumous role of Bede as an intercessory saint, by R. H. C. Davis, Richard Bailey and David Rollason.²²⁵ Each examines the cult of Bede by focusing primarily on the cults based at the site of Bede's corporeal remains (first at the community at Jarrow and later at Durham Cathedral). Bailey and Rollason also explore the possible cults based at Glastonbury, Salisbury and Waltham.²²⁶ Both Bailey and Davis pay some attention to the saint's reception in Worcestershire. Bailey touches briefly on the interest in Bede shown by Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062-1095).²²⁷ Davis takes the point further and discusses Bede's influence on the refoundation of northern monasticism by Aldwin, Ælfric and Reinfrid extensively.²²⁸ However, the article's main focus remains the Northumbrian centres for the cult of Bede, leaving Davis with little space to explore the causes and significance of the cult of Bede in Worcestershire.

Benedicta Ward also discusses the cult of Bede in the final chapter of her monograph, *The Venerable Bede*. Ward outlines the general progression of Bede's cult in England and on the continent from the eighth century onwards and argues that the cult's success was intimately connected to Bede's reputation as a Christian scholar.²²⁹ Ward also touches briefly on Bishop Wulfstan's regard for Bede, but the majority of her treatment focuses on the whether Bede's relics really were stolen from Jarrow by Elfred, a Durham priest in the first half of the eleventh century.²³⁰ Indeed, the relic theft narrative, which is recounted by Symeon of Durham, is the

<http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-161>.

²²⁴ Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, 134.

²²⁵ Davis, 'Bede after Bede'; Bailey, 'Bede's Bones'; Rollason, 'The Cult of Bede'.

²²⁶ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 174; Rollason, 'The Cult of Bede,' 197-198.

²²⁷ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 170-171.

²²⁸ Davis, 'Bede after Bede,' 105-111.

²²⁹ Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, 134.

²³⁰ Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, 140-142.

one aspect of the cult of Bede that has provoked detailed discussion.²³¹ Several scholars, including Offler, Kendall, Grossi, O'Donnell, and most recently Evan, have considered evidence for when the relics of Bede were translated to Durham in conjunction with an Old English poem called *Durham* or *Carmen de situ Dunelmi*.²³² As these studies all primarily analyse the Old English poem, their discussions concerning the cult of Bede specifically focus on the relics and cult of Bede based at Durham.

Overall, therefore, scholarship on the cult of Bede has not yet closely assessed evidence from the Worcester diocese. This is unsurprising, given that the centre of the cult lay far to the north, first at Jarrow and later at Durham. However, the intimate role played by the Evesham and Winchcombe monks in refounding these two communities in the late eleventh century means that they need to be studied in order for the eleventh- and twelfth-century northern cult of Bede to be fully appreciated. By approaching the topic from this regional perspective, therefore, I hope to achieve a deeper understanding of this aspect of the cult of Bede. I will also explore whether the Worcestershire Benedictines show a distinct interest in Bede due to their literary and liturgical exchanges. In order to fully appreciate any extant evidence that demonstrates interest in the cult of Bede in eleventh-century Worcestershire, I will first briefly discuss the general progression and reception of the cult across the medieval period, then evidence for eleventh-century England in particular.

The Medieval Cult of Bede in England and on the Continent

An early cult of Bede at Jarrow – the existence of which is suggested by the monk Cuthbert's *Letter* on the death of Bede – appears to have been promoted soon after his death.²³³ That Cuthbert's description of Bede's death was either written to stimulate a cult, or in response to an early demand for one, is suggested by another

²³¹ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.7, ed. Rollason, 165-167.

²³² Offler, 'The Date of *Durham* (*Carmen de situ Dunelmi*),' 591-94; Kendall, 'Dry Bones in a Cathedral: The Story of the Theft of Bede's Relics and the Translation of Cuthbert into the Cathedral of Durham in 1104,' 1-26; Grossi, 'Preserving the Future in the Old English *Durham*,' 42-73; and O'Donnell, 'The Old English *Durham*, the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto*, and the Unreformed in Late Anglo-Saxon Literature,' 131-155; Evan, 'Wordplay as Evidence for the Date of *Durham*,' 314-317.

²³³ Cuthbert, *Epistola de obitu Bedae*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, 580-587.

of his extant letters that thanks Archbishop Lull of Mainz for a gift of silk for the relics of Bede.²³⁴ This cult must have enjoyed some success on the continent: when Fulda's new church was consecrated in 819 the house claimed to possess a relic of Bede, as well as relics of Boniface and Cuthbert.²³⁵ Interest in Bede's cult on the continent might have been encouraged by the monk and scholar Alcuin (*fl.* c.740-804), whose poem *Versus de patribus regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* includes the only known miracle attributed to Bede.²³⁶

However, the early cult does not appear to have achieved widespread importance, like those of saints Cuthbert and King Oswald. Liturgical commemoration of the feast of Bede's deposition (that is, the date of his death) on 26 May is absent from every extant English kalendar dated to the eighth and ninth centuries.²³⁷ Furthermore, Bede is also omitted from the *York Metrical Calendar* (composed 754-66) and from continental copies of the text which had been augmented.²³⁸ The *Old English Martyrology*, composed in the later ninth century, omits Bede, as do numerous ninth-century Latin martyrologies from Ireland and the continent.²³⁹ Overall it appears that a formative cult of Bede was encouraged soon after his death, perhaps while his students were still alive. By the ninth century the cult had been largely overlooked, doubtless partly because the monastery at Jarrow itself was abandoned during this century.²⁴⁰

Following the English Benedictine Reform, the cult of Bede enjoyed what Richard Bailey described as 'a modest revival'.²⁴¹ During the eleventh century, the feast of Bede's deposition was entered into seven extant liturgical kalendars from

²³⁴ Rollason, 'The Cult of Bede,' 196-197.

²³⁵ Colgrave and Mynors, introduction to *Bede's Ecclesiastical History*, xxii.

²³⁶ Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings, and Saints of York*, ed. Godman, 102-104.

²³⁷ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Table V.

²³⁸ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 167.

²³⁹ Bede is absent from the anonymous Lyons martyrology, c. 806; two recensions of the martyrology of Florus of Lyons dated c.815 and 840; the martyrology of Ado of Vienne, 855 × 875 and the martyrology of Usuard, composed after 858. He is also omitted from the Irish Tallaght martyrology, c. 826-33. Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 168.

²⁴⁰ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 169.

²⁴¹ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 169.

southern England.²⁴² As will be discussed below, the origin of these kalendars suggests that regard for Bede as an intercessory saint initially focused around communities in the vicinity of Winchester and Worcester. However, even sources originating from these two centres sometimes omit Bede: Winchester and Worcester each had one kalendar in which his feast is not commemorated.²⁴³ Furthermore, Bede is not entered into either extant copy of the Old English list of saints' resting places, *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, despite the fact that one was included in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* and thus was copied at Winchester.²⁴⁴

From the twelfth century onwards, Bede's status as an English saint seems to have become more secure. By the twelfth century, Bede appears in kalendars from across England.²⁴⁵ The increase in liturgical sources commemorating Bede generally mirrors the increased production of manuscripts containing his *Historia ecclesiastica* during the eleventh and especially twelfth centuries.²⁴⁶ Furthermore, the relics of Bede were discovered during the opening of Cuthbert's tomb in 1104 alongside those of the more famous saint.²⁴⁷ The discovery of Bede's relics marked the beginning of a publicised cult at Durham. Minor cults subsequently appear to have developed at Waltham and Glastonbury, perhaps during the twelfth centuries. The earliest extant evidence for Waltham Abbey is an audit-list of relics dated to 1204.²⁴⁸ This relic list is transmitted in London, British Library, Harley 3776, f. 32^v

²⁴² London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. II, ff. 3-8b; London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, ff. 3-8b; Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32, pp. 15-26; London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, ff. 2-7b; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422, pp. 29-40; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 9, pp. 3-14. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 3, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18.

²⁴³ London, British Library, Arundel 60, ff. 2-7b (Winchester, c. 1060) and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391, pp. 3-14. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 11 and 17.

²⁴⁴ London, British Library, Stowe 944, ff. 34^v-39^r (New Minster, Winchester, s. xi^{1/2}). The other extant copy is in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp. 149-51 (Exeter, s. xi^{mid}). The third copy in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius D. xvii was destroyed in the Cotton fire in 1731. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England,' 61.

²⁴⁵ Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, vols 1-2. See also: R. W. Pfaff, 'Bede among the Fathers? The Evidence from Liturgical Commemoration,' *Studia Patristica* 28 (1993): 225-9.

²⁴⁶ Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian,' 1-16.

²⁴⁷ Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de exordio*, iii.7, ed. Rollason, 167.

²⁴⁸ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 174.

and includes an entry for a bone of Saint Bede, doctor of the English.²⁴⁹ The claim by Waltham Abbey to a bone of Bede presumably stems from the community's historical links with Durham, as William I had formerly granted Waltham to Walcher, bishop of Durham (*d.*1080).²⁵⁰ Thus it is certainly possible that Waltham had acquired a relic of Bede at some point between the late eleventh and early thirteenth century.

The earliest evidence for the claim by Glastonbury Abbey to possess some relics of Bede dates from the twelfth century.²⁵¹ William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, which was composed in the second quarter of the twelfth century, states that the relics of Bede were brought to Glastonbury, along with those of Aidan, Ceolfrid, Benedict Biscop and Abbess Hilda, by Abbot Tica, who fled the ravages of the Danes in the mid eighth century.²⁵² Unfortunately William's original text is not extant: we only know of it because Adam of Damerham interpolated a copy of the text into his own chronicle in the thirteenth century.²⁵³ It also appears that William's work was extensively revised by the Glastonbury monks, so the claim to the relics of Bede could be somewhat later than William's original text.²⁵⁴ Analysis of the Glastonbury tradition that Abbot Tica rescued the bones from the Viking threat cannot be corroborated by external sources and can almost certainly be dismissed as mere opportunism. However, while Glastonbury's claims are not necessarily based upon sound historical evidence, they do demonstrate that the cult had become more widely venerated by the twelfth century.

Even during the twelfth century, however, the cult of Bede was far from universal. The kalendars printed by Wormald demonstrate that at no point after

²⁴⁹ *Os de Sancto Beda doctore anglorum*. The entire relic list from London, British Library, Harley 3776, ff. 31^r-35^v is edited and printed in the appendix to Rogers, 'The Waltham Abbey Relic-list,' 170-181. Translation is my own.

²⁵⁰ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 174-175.

²⁵¹ Rollason, 'The Cult of Bede,' 197-198.

²⁵² William of Malmesbury, *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, c.21, ed. Scott, 68.

²⁵³ The earliest extant manuscript containing Adam's chronicle is Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 5. 33 (s. xiii, Glastonbury - William's *De Antiquitate* is on ff. 1-19v). Two later manuscripts were copied from this: London, British Library Add. 22934 (s. xiv) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B 201 (s. xviii). Gransden, 'The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century,' 342-343; Scott, *William of Malmesbury: De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, 34-9.

²⁵⁴ Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 36.

1100 was Bede widely celebrated by the English Benedictine communities.²⁵⁵ Even at Durham – which was the centre of the cult of Bede from at least 1104 – the cult appears to have been subdued. Bede’s feast was initially omitted from one twelfth-century Durham kalendar (Cambridge, Jesus College, Q.B. 6, ff. 2-7^v) and was only eventually added in the fourteenth century.²⁵⁶ Other Durham kalendars (Durham, Cathedral Library, Hunter MS 100, ff. 2-7^v, s.xii^{1/2} and London, British Library, Harley 5289, ff. 2-7^v, s. xiv^{1/2}) mark the feast of Bede for commemoration.²⁵⁷ This is typically the lowest grade of liturgical feast-days and suggests the saint had no especial significance to the community.²⁵⁸ The cult of Bede continued to be venerated by certain churches until the Reformation. For example, a mid-fifteenth-century document belonging to Salisbury Cathedral demonstrates that by this period the canons believed that they possessed a ‘relik’ of the saint.²⁵⁹ However, the cult evidently remained modest and at Durham his importance was always eclipsed by his proximity to the cult of St Cuthbert. It is perhaps due to the contrast between Bede’s influence as a writer and as a saint that far less scholarly attention has been paid to the role of Bede as an intercessory saint than to Bede the historian, hagiographer and exegete.

The Cult of Bede in eleventh-century England

To fully understand the evidence for the reception of the cult of Bede in Worcestershire, it is expedient to first draw a somewhat clearer picture of the eleventh-century context. In this section I will consider the eleventh-century English sources for the cult of Bede in more detail. Not only will this give us more insight into whether the Worcestershire evidence is unusual or characteristic for the period, but may also inform us about what kinds of texts (specifically pertaining to saints’ cults) were being circulated in late Anglo-Saxon England. Among the liturgical

²⁵⁵ Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, vols. 1 and 2. Wormald’s proposed third volume unfortunately never appeared, but enough evidence can be gleaned from the first two books to demonstrate the inconsistency with which Bede’s feast was celebrated in England after 1100.

²⁵⁶ Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, 1:172.

²⁵⁷ Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, 1:172.

²⁵⁸ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 102-109.

²⁵⁹ Bailey, ‘Bede’s Bones,’ 174; Wordsworth, *Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury*, 39.

sources for the cult of Bede in the eleventh century are seven kalendars that record Bede's feast on the 26 May.²⁶⁰ These kalendars were edited by Francis Wormald and printed for the Henry Bradshaw Society.²⁶¹ More recently, Rebecca Rushforth compiled a comprehensive list of extant pre-1100 liturgical kalendars (including all seven that concern us), which she presented in tabular form for each month.²⁶² As will be discussed more fully below, the seven eleventh-century kalendars that contain Bede's feast generally fall within either a 'Winchester' or 'Worcester' sphere of influence.

There are potential difficulties in analysing liturgical kalendars in order to understand the popularity of specific cults. Kalendars were often copied from earlier exemplars, and entries that had no direct bearing on current liturgical practice could 'become fossilized' in the text.²⁶³ However, the tendency for feasts to become 'fossilized' in kalendar copies also provides us with opportunities: the consequent relative uniformity of the kalendars allows us to draw detailed comparisons between the texts. Such comparisons can help us to assess both the relationships of the extant kalendars to each other, and which feasts have been positively added to later copies (thus implying contemporary interest in that feast). Moreover, kalendars that include extremely uncommon feasts or commemorate individuals that have recently died can become useful tools for localising and dating the manuscripts that transmit them.²⁶⁴

It is important to stress that evidence for the commemoration of Bede as a saint is limited, even during the period of modest revival in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Extant sources concerning the cult of Bede cluster around the second half of the eleventh century and the beginning of the twelfth. Admiration for Bede becomes increasingly apparent in the later tenth- and eleventh-century writings of monks like Ælfric of Eynsham and Byrhtferth of Ramsey. Generally, however, late

²⁶⁰ These are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 9, pp. 3-14 and 422, pp. 29-40; Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15. 32, pp. 15-26; London, British Library, MSS Cotton Nero A. II, ff. 3-8v, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, ff. 3r-8v and Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, ff. 2r-7v; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 3, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18.

²⁶¹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 3, 9, 10, 12, 14, 16, 18.

²⁶² Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 22 and 23.

²⁶³ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 125.

²⁶⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 4.

tenth- and early eleventh-century interest in Bede appears to have been muted. For example, Bede was not entered into a late tenth-century metrical calendar, which adds many Anglo-Saxon saints not commemorated in its exemplar.²⁶⁵ Furthermore, fourteen of the extant late tenth- or eleventh-century liturgical calendars identified by Rushforth do not commemorate Bede's feast: twice as many as those that do.²⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the tenth-century Benedictine Reform may have helped to revive an interest in Bede that would come to influence the development of his cult. Some years ago Patrick Wormald argued that the English Benedictine reformer Æthelwold had instituted monastic cathedral communities – despite the fact that ran contrary to continental practice – because he sought to restore the 'Golden Age' of the English church set out in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*.²⁶⁷

It is perhaps no coincidence that the earliest English liturgical calendars to celebrate Bede's feast (26 May) originate from Winchester.²⁶⁸ These are the calendars in what is now volume one of 'Ælfwine's Prayerbook' (London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, ff. 3^r-8^v) and the 'Trinity Computus' (Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 15.32, pp. 15-26).²⁶⁹ Both of these calendars were written in the second quarter of the eleventh century and have been unequivocally attributed to New Minster, Winchester.²⁷⁰ Bede's feast is also entered into a third eleventh-century New Minster kalendar, London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xvii, ff. 2^r-7^v, written c. 1062.²⁷¹ Four more eleventh-century calendars celebrate Bede's feast: London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.ii, ff. 3^r-8^v ('the Leominster Prayerbook', s. xi^{2/4}); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422, pp. 29-40 ('the Red Book of Darley', c.1061); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v (Evesham

²⁶⁵ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 369-373.

²⁶⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 6-13, 17, 18, 21, 24-27

²⁶⁷ Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast,' 38-41.

²⁶⁸ Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast,' 39, n. 105.

²⁶⁹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, nos. 9 and 10.

²⁷⁰ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, vi; Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 34; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments written or owned in England up to 1100*, nos. 186 and 380; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, 94 (no. 77); Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 99 (no. 357).

²⁷¹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, no. 12.

or Worcester, 1064×1070); and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, pp. 3-14 (the ‘Cotton-Corpus legendary, s. xi^{mid}).²⁷²

The earliest kalendars in Ælfwine’s Prayerbook and the Trinity Computus appear to have been written by the same scribe, Ælfsige.²⁷³ The hand of this scribe was also found in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (London, British Library, Stowe 944) which includes, among other texts, the Old English list of saints’ resting places *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston* on ff. 34^v-39^r.²⁷⁴ Given the presence of the same scribe in all three manuscripts, it is interesting that the two kalendars commemorate *sanctus Beda presbyter*, whilst *Secgan* does not include Bede at all.²⁷⁵ Furthermore, it is likely that at least one of the two kalendars predates this copy of *Secgan*. The New Minster *Liber Vitae* which contains *Secgan* was probably compiled c.1035.²⁷⁶ Ælfwine’s Prayerbook was written for a dean called Ælfwine, who is identified in an inscription on f. 13^v and in a miniature on f. 19^v.²⁷⁷ Obits in the manuscript’s kalendar suggest that this is the Ælfwine who was abbot of New Minster c.1032-1057.²⁷⁸ As the ownership inscription was written before Ælfwine became abbot, the compilation of the Prayerbook has a *terminus ante quem* of c.1032. The Easter tables that were copied alongside the Prayerbook kalendar cover the years 978 to 1097, thus offer a *terminus post quem* of 978.²⁷⁹ The

²⁷² Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 3, 14, 16 and 18.

²⁷³ Keynes, ‘The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester,’ 150; Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 34-35; Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, 108 (no. 561).

²⁷⁴ Keynes, ‘The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester,’ 150; Rollason, ‘Lists of Saints’ Resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England,’ 61.

²⁷⁵ London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, f. 5^r. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 9 and 10; Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, 9-20.

²⁷⁶ Keynes, ‘The *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester,’ 150. But see Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 338-340 (no. 274).

²⁷⁷ Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, 94 (no. 77).

²⁷⁸ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 700-1600 in the Department of Manuscripts, the British Library*, 108 (no. 561); Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:81.

²⁷⁹ ‘Liturgical and computistical miscellany (‘Ælfwine’s Prayerbook’), including a calendar (3r-8v) and an Easter-table chronicle, AD 978-1097 (14v-21r),’ *British Library Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, accessed 29 July 2014, http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001103600&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001103600&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVe

date range can be narrowed further. The scribe Ælfsige, who wrote both the kalendar and the associated Easter tables, added annals to the table up to 1023.²⁸⁰ However, obits for Abbot Ælfwine's mother Wulfwynn (1029) and of Abbot Byrhtmær (1030) were added to the kalendar in a different hand.²⁸¹ The implication of this is that the kalendar was originally written c. 1023x1029.

Thus the New Minster copy of *Secgan* omits including Bede, despite the fact that the abbey already possessed a kalendar commemorating his deposition. This may be because the scribe who copied *Secgan* into the New Minster *Liber Vitae* chose not to update his text from an earlier exemplar. Rollason has shown that the latest entry added to *Secgan* is the translation of Florentius to Peterborough in 1013.²⁸² Other translations which occurred between 1013 and c.1035 when the *Liber Vitae* was compiled are not updated in the text: for example, the relics of Wigstan were granted to Evesham by King Cnut (r.1016-35), but *Secgan* still locates him at Repton.²⁸³ This suggests that the scribe made no alterations to his exemplar.

The kalendar entry for Bede in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, which as we have seen was probably written c. 1023x1029, appears to be the earliest extant evidence for the liturgical commemoration of Bede's deposition in England. The Trinity Computus kalendar was copied alongside Easter tables for the years 1025-1087.²⁸⁴ Consequently, 1025 is the *terminus post quem* for the kalendar's composition. However, a cross scratched in hard point beside year 1036 might suggest that the kalendar and computistical material were written between Easter 1035 and Easter 1036, as this mark in an Easter table usually indicated which Easter would follow next.²⁸⁵ As this kalendar was copied by Ælfsige, whose hand is also present in the

rsion=&dsent=1&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1406640908730&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&vl(freeText0)=Cotton+Titus+D.+xxvii&vid=IAMS_VU2.

²⁸⁰ London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, f. 16v.

²⁸¹ Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, 94-95 (no. 77).

²⁸² Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England,' 68.

²⁸³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 150-153; Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England,' 61.

²⁸⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 35.

²⁸⁵ A discussion of this method of dating is to be found in H. M. Bannister, 'Signs in Kalendarial Tables', *Mélanges offerts à M. Émile Chatelain* (1910), 141-9. P. R. Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600 in Cambridge Libraries*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1988), 99 (no. 357).

New Minster *Liber Vitae*, we know that this scribe was active c.1035.

Paleographically, then, the later date of 1035/6 is feasible. How does this compare to any evidence for a relationship between the two Winchester kalendars?

It is evident that the kalendars in Ælfwine's Prayerbook and the Trinity Computus were closely related to each other. Both kalendars are followed by the same computistical material, dubbed the 'Winchester Computus'.²⁸⁶ Furthermore, almost every entry in Ælfwine's Prayerbook is also found in the Trinity Computus.²⁸⁷ In comparison, the Trinity Computus includes a number of feasts that are not entered into Ælfwine's Prayerbook. These additions to the Trinity kalendar include both Anglo-Saxon saints (for example, Seaxburh, 6 July) and those from further afield (such as John Chrysostom, 27 January). Ælfsige's addition of certain feasts and rejection of others that are present in Ælfwine's Prayer suggests that the scribe selected which feasts were to be included in the Trinity Computus kalendar (rather than copying *verbatim*) and that Bede's presence is thus a positive assertion of acceptance.²⁸⁸ Among the additions are the translation of King Eadweard (13 February, c.981) and Archbishop Oswald (*d.* 28 February 992): both events occurred after the start date of the Easter tables (978) transmitted alongside the kalendar in Ælfwine's Prayerbook.²⁸⁹

Overall, it seems likely that the kalendar in Ælfwine's Prayerbook predates the version in the Trinity Computus and may well be its exemplar. Both contain very similar entries, although the Trinity Computus includes more feasts, some of which were relatively recent in date. The associated Easter tables in the Trinity Computus begin with 1025, whereas those of Cotton Titus D. xxvii range from 978 to 1097.²⁹⁰

²⁸⁶ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, nos. 186 and 380.

²⁸⁷ There are five feasts in Ælfwine's Prayerbook that have not been added to the Trinity Computus. Two of these are early additions in eleventh-century hands concerning the cult of the Virgin Mary (21 November, 8 December). The other three entries (*Dedicatio basilicę sanctę Marię*, 5 June; *Dedicatio monasterii saluatoris mundi*, 10 June; and Pope Damascus, 11 December) were entered by the original scribe Ælfsige. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 9 and 10.

²⁸⁸ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Tables VI: June and XII: December.

²⁸⁹ For these saints, see Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints,' 529, 550.

²⁹⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 35; 'Liturgical and computistical miscellany ('Ælfwine's Prayerbook'), including a calendar (3r-8v) and an Easter-table chronicle, AD 978-1097 (14v-21r),' *British Library Catalogue of Archives and Manuscripts*, accessed 29 July 2014,

This implies that Cotton Titus D. xxvii may be older, or at least copied from an older exemplar. The relationship between the two kalendars suggests that the scribe Ælfsige copied the Prayerbook kalendar from a tenth-century exemplar without adding more recent feasts or updating its Easter tables; in comparison, when he later copied the Trinity Computus kalendar he updated the entries as he wrote. If this is the case, then did the tenth-century exemplar also commemorate Bede? The entry for Bede in Ælfwine's Prayerbook is not an addition or written in a different hand, and so was presumably copied as part of the original text.²⁹¹ An early ninth-century kalendar from Auxerre or Fleury and a late tenth-century kalendar from Fulda testify to Bede's occasional veneration in early medieval kalendars north of the Alps.²⁹² However, the high number of Anglo-Saxon saints observed in both early Winchester kalendars suggests that the exemplar was probably English. It is interesting that evidence from Ælfwine's Prayerbook places this putative exemplar at Winchester in the 970s. Could the entry for Bede derive, therefore, directly from the influence of Bishop Æthelwold himself?²⁹³

The third and latest pre-1100 calendar from New Minster, Winchester that celebrates Bede's feast survives in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, ff. 2^r-7^v.²⁹⁴ Like the two Winchester kalendars above, the kalendar is followed by computistical material, again the 'Winchester Computus', this time a fragmentary version written in Latin and Old English.²⁹⁵ The manuscript's Easter tables cover

[http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001103600&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001103600&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dsent=1&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1406640908730&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&vl\(freeTextO\)=Cotton+Titus+D.+xxvii&vid=IAMS_VU2](http://searcharchives.bl.uk/primo_library/libweb/action/display.do?tabs=detailsTab&ct=display&fn=search&doc=IAMS040-001103600&indx=1&recIds=IAMS040-001103600&recIdxs=0&elementId=0&renderMode=poppedOut&displayMode=full&frbrVersion=&dsent=1&frbg=&scp.scps=scope%3A%28BL%29&tab=local&dstmp=1406640908730&srt=rank&mode=Basic&dum=true&vl(freeTextO)=Cotton+Titus+D.+xxvii&vid=IAMS_VU2).

²⁹¹ London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, f. 5^r. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 118 (no. 9).

²⁹² Rollason, 'The Cult of Bede,' 195-196.

²⁹³ It should be noted that an addition to the Trinity kalendar that is missing from Ælfwine's Prayerbook is Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, who died 12 March 951. The absence of Ælfheah from the Prayerbook kalendar might suggest that the exemplar did not come from Winchester Cathedral. However, as other evidence for the cult of Ælfheah of Winchester dates from the first half of the eleventh century, there is little reason to believe that the promotion of Ælfheah's cult dates to the episcopacy of Æthelwold (d.984). See Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints,' 504.

²⁹⁴ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, no. 12.

²⁹⁵ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 407.

1031-1145, but a cross in the Easter table grid above the column covering 1060-87 may indicate that the kalendar was copied between these dates. Rushforth suggested that the manuscript could have been copied in 1060 or later, closely following an exemplar dating from the abbacy of Ælfwine (d.1057).²⁹⁶ The kalendar shares many similarities with the two earlier Winchester texts discussed above, as well as with another Winchester kalendar, London, British Library, Arundel 60, 2^r-7^v which, however, does not include Bede among its feasts despite numerous similarities with Ælfwine's Prayerbook and London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii.²⁹⁷ Rushforth states that Cotton Vitellius E. xviii contains an inscription 'in secret writing' that the text was written by Ælfwine (she does not offer a folio number).²⁹⁸ This description sounds very like a garbled version of the colophon on f. 13^v of Ælfwine's Prayerbook described above. This, combined with the fact that Cotton Vitellius E. xviii shares far more similarities with Ælfwine's Prayerbook than the Trinity Computus kalendar, suggests that the Vitellius kalendar could have been closely copied from the former.²⁹⁹

Two more of the eleventh-century kalendars containing Bede might also derive from Winchester exemplars. One is the kalendar in 'the Red Book of Darley' (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422, pp. 29-40).³⁰⁰ The manuscript is made up of two composite parts, and the kalendar (along with its associated *computistica*) comprise the beginning of part two.³⁰¹ Part two, a missal which covers pages 27-570 of the manuscript, is an unusual combination of Masses and Offices written in the mid eleventh century, and has been described by Budny as a 'portable service book'.³⁰² The manuscript has an interesting provenance history: scholars seem agreed in placing its origin at an episcopal centre (either Sherborne or Winchester), but the manuscript appears subsequently to have had a far more

²⁹⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 48.

²⁹⁷ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 48-49.

²⁹⁸ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 48.

²⁹⁹ Comparisons were found through examination of the entries in each kalendar in Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Tables I: January – XII: December.

³⁰⁰ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, no. 14.

³⁰¹ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 111.

³⁰² Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 41 (no. 19); Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 645 (no. 44).

provincial provenance.³⁰³ A sixteenth-century inscription on the final page (p. 586), which reads: ‘The rede boke of darleye in the peake in darbyshire’ places the book’s early modern provenance at Darley Dale, near Matlock, in Derbyshire, where it was probably owned by the Church of St Helen.³⁰⁴ The presence of a mass for St Helen, added in an early twelfth-century hand, could suggest that the book had made it to Darley by the twelfth century: this would make the manuscript one of the rare surviving examples of liturgical medieval books used in a non-monastic setting.³⁰⁵ However, Richard Pfaff has identified that the lessons at matins in the two sanctorale offices (which make up part of the same twelfth-century addition as the mass for St Helen) add up to a feast of twelve lections, suggesting a monastic context for these additions as well as the eleventh-century material.³⁰⁶

Following the calendar comes further computus material in Latin and Old English (pp. 41-49), including Easter tables for the years 1061-3, 1064-82 and 1083-91 on page 44, and the table for the years 1092-8 on page 45.³⁰⁷ Scholars who study this manuscript are generally agreed that the kalendar is datable to 1061 or soon after, on account of the fact that the Easter tables on pages 44-45 cover the years 1061-98.³⁰⁸ The origin of the kalendar is unclear. Francis Wormald, on account of

³⁰³ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 111; Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 645 (no. 44).

³⁰⁴ ‘Manuscript Description: CCCC 422, The Red Book of Darley,’ *Parker Library on the Web*, http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=422. Accessed 1 August 2014; Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, 121 (no. 104).

³⁰⁵ Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 737-1600*, 59 (no. 165).

³⁰⁶ Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England*, 95-96. See also Helen Gittos, ‘Is there any Evidence for the Liturgy of Parish Churches in Late Anglo-Saxon England? The Red Book of Darley and the Status of Old English,’ in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (Woodbridge, 2006), 63-82.

³⁰⁷ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:319 (no. 422); Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 42 (no. 19); Owen Roberson, ‘Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CCCC.422.htm>. Accessed 1 August, 2014.

³⁰⁸ Robinson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts*, 59 (no. 165); Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, no. 104, 121; Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated*

the kalendar's feasts, argued it was written at Sherborne, but added that there were 'modifications attributable to Winchester.'³⁰⁹ A connection to Sherborne is evident, as the kalendar contains a unique and high-grade feast in honour of Wulfsgie, bishop of Sherborne (8 January) and the feast of St Aldhelm (another bishop of Sherborne) on 25 May. The unique feast for the translation of the anchorite Eadwold, celebrated locally at Cerne (12 August) may also point to Sherborne.³¹⁰ All three of these feasts were written in the original hand, which suggests the kalendar may well have been written at Sherborne.³¹¹ However, Temple suggested that the missal was written at Winchester, but written for use at Sherborne.³¹² This, too, seems reasonable, as the calendar contains several Winchester feasts, some of which were celebrated in majuscules.³¹³ The fact that Grimbald and Judoc (9 January) each have one feast written in majuscules supports the suggestion that the manuscript may have been written at New Minster for Sherborne use.³¹⁴

The fact that the Sherborne saints' feasts (who were less widely disseminated than those associated with late Anglo-Saxon Winchester) were added to the calendar by the original scribe seems good evidence that the kalendar may have been written at that centre. However, the main texts of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 show a distinct interest in the Winchester saints (Grimbald's name is again written in majuscules) and show no interest in the saints at or near Sherborne.³¹⁵ An examination of the three saints that support the Sherborne origin, two of the feasts (those of Wulfsgie, bishop of Sherborne and the Cerne anchorite Eadwold) are

Catalogue, 645 (no. 44); Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 111.

³⁰⁹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, vi.

³¹⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 19, 41.

³¹¹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, 184, 188, 191.

³¹² Temple, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 900-1066*, no. 104, 121. Also Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 111.

³¹³ From Old Minster: saints Swithun (2 July, trans. 15 July); Æthelwold (1 Aug, trans. 10 Sep); Birinus (trans. 4 Sep; 3 Dec); and Justus (2 Sep; 18 Oct). From New Minster: saints Grimbald (8 Jul); and Judoc (trans. 9 Jan, 13 Dec). From Nunnaminster: St Eadburga (15 Jun). Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 184-195.

³¹⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 19, 42.

³¹⁵ The contents of the missal are given in James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:316-322 (no. 422).

written on dates which are left blank in every pre-1100 New Minster kalendar.³¹⁶ The entry for the final Sherborne saint, Aldhelm, states: *Sancti Urbani . pape et martiris . et Sancti Aldhelmi . episcopi*.³¹⁷ It seems plausible, therefore, that a Sherborne scribe, copying directly from a Winchester exemplar, simply added the names of his saints into the available space in the kalendar while writing. This could explain why an apparently Winchester manuscript contains these unusual Sherborne feasts. The entry for Bede's feast was written by the original kalendar scribe and thus may have originated from its exemplar. It seems highly possible, therefore, that this evidence for the cult of Bede also derives from eleventh-century Winchester.

One final eleventh-century kalendar that commemorates Bede and that does not derive from a Worcestershire house remains. This is the kalendar in the 'Leominster Prayerbook' (now London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.ii, 3^r-8^v).³¹⁸ The kalendar, computistical texts and prayers in ff. 3^r-13^v do not belong with the other items in Cotton Nero A.ii. Instead, they have been tentatively assigned to London, British Library, Galba A.xiv, on the basis that the Prayerbook and kalendar quire share a scribe, as well as due to textual correspondences between the kalendar and two litanies and prayers in Galba A.xiv.³¹⁹ Interestingly, Galba A.xiv starts with computistical tables, which could support the theory that the manuscript was originally preceded by a kalendar.³²⁰ Rushforth has used these tables to estimate when the kalendar was written: those in Nero A.II range from 1029-46, and those in Galba A.xiv from 1029-1040.³²¹ It is reasonable, therefore, to date the kalendar's composition between 1029 and 1046.

The origin and provenance of Cotton Nero A.II, ff. 3^r-8^v and Cotton Galba A.xiv has been disputed. In the Galba manuscript, the mention of *hoc monasterium*

³¹⁶ London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii, 3^r-8^v (Ælfwine's Prayerbook, 1023x1031, Winch. New Minster); Cambridge, Trinity College, R.15.32, pp. 15-26 ('Trinity Computus', 1025x?, Winch. New Minster); London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius. E.xviii, 2^r-7^v (c. 1062, Winch. New Minster); London, British Library, Arundel 60, 2^r-7^v ('Arundel Psalter', c. 1073, Winch. New Minster). Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Tables I: January and VIII: August.

³¹⁷ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, 188.

³¹⁸ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, no. 3.

³¹⁹ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 342; Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 36.

³²⁰ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 333.

³²¹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 37.

on f. 89^v and a number of feminine singular forms (on ff. 6^v, 53^v, 85^v, and 125^v) have led to the supposition that the manuscript was used for personal devotion at a female religious house.³²² A series of invocations to Winchester saints led R. A. Banks to locate the manuscript at Winchester, probably Nunnaminster.³²³ Shaftesbury has likewise been suggested, due to the manuscript's prayers for Queen Ælfgifu and Edward king and martyr.³²⁴ However, J. G. Hillaby and Rushforth have argued that the manuscripts originate from Leominster, which was a female religious house during the reign of Edward the Confessor.³²⁵ This argument is based on the appearance of a number of extremely rare feasts in the kalendar for saints associated with the foundation at Leominster.³²⁶

Overall, the presence of extremely rare saints such as Æthelmod and Abbot Hæmma, offers stronger evidence for a Leominster origin than the far more widespread Winchester saints. Furthermore, the entries in the Nero A.ii kalendar have little in common with any of the kalendars discussed above.³²⁷ Indeed, the Leominster kalendar appears to be quite unlike any of the other pre-1100 English kalendars. Even the entry for Bede on 26 May varies from the other kalendars, as Nero A.II simply has *Bede . presbiteri*, without the inclusion of *sanctus* like every other version. It is evident therefore, that this kalendar derives from a different tradition to the other eleventh-century kalendars containing Bede discussed above. However, the invocations to Winchester saints in London, BL, Cotton Galba A.xiv suggest that perhaps even this unique kalendar was disseminated from Winchester.³²⁸

³²² R. A. Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS Galba A.XIV,' *Notes and Queries* 210 (1965): 207.

³²³ Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS Galba A.XIV,' 208.

³²⁴ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 333.

³²⁵ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 37.

³²⁶ Eadfrith (26 October), Leominster's founder; Æthelmod (9 January) and Deawig (David, 1 March) both of whose relics Leominster claimed to possess; and Abbot Hæmma, who is recorded as the first abbot of Leominster in a twelfth-century Reading relic-list. Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 37.

³²⁷ Comparisons were found through examination of the entries in each kalendar in Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Tables I: January – XII: December.

³²⁸ Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS Galba A.XIV,' 208.

The provenance of these pre-1100 kalendars suggests a striking trend: of the seven total, three are attributed to New Minster, Winchester. Another kalendar, although seemingly from Sherborne, demonstrates numerous shared elements with the kalendars from New Minster and may have been copied from a Winchester exemplar. The fifth kalendar, from Leominster, is very different from the New Minster kalendars, but appears to have been part of a manuscript that demonstrates influence from Nunnaminster, Winchester. The remaining two eleventh-century kalendars containing Bede will be discussed in section two, among the sources for the cult of Bede in Worcestershire. Consequently, the celebration of Bede's feast seems to have been confined to kalendars influenced either by the communities in Winchester, or those in Worcestershire. The total absence of liturgical evidence from Canterbury or the south east of England is notable. It suggests that, although where we find evidence for his cult we are likely to find knowledge and use of his works too, the development of Bede as an intercessory saint depended on more than the spread of his scholarly reputation.³²⁹ In the next section of this chapter, I will examine the Worcestershire evidence for the cult of Bede, to see whether this can give us some more insight into why Bede became important to specific religious centres.

II. *Sanctus Beda presbyter*: Liturgical Evidence for the Cult of Bede in Worcestershire

This section will consider evidence from Worcestershire for the veneration of Bede as an intercessory saint in the eleventh century. The primary aim of this section is to understand how sources from the Oswaldian houses compare with evidence for the cult of Bede in England during the same period. A subsidiary question that the section will consider is whether the evidence demonstrates a connection between the Worcestershire houses and New Minster, Winchester. As has been seen, Bede does not appear to have been widely culted in England before 1100. Furthermore, most of the eleventh-century evidence for a cult of Bede stems from New Minster, Winchester. Thus, this section will outline sources from the Oswaldian communities in order to compare the reception of the cult of Bede in Worcestershire with the broader eleventh-century context.

³²⁹ Ward, *The Venerable Bede*, 134.

There are a small number of important liturgical sources that shed light on the Worcestershire cult of Bede. As admiration for Bede's scholarship was apparently far more widespread than reverence for his cult, I have chosen to focus on those texts where his treatment as a saint is most direct. The liturgical sources for a Worcestershire cult of Bede comprise the two remaining eleventh-century kalendars that record Bede's feast on the 26 May.³³⁰ These are the kalendars in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 2^r-7^v and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v. Both of these kalendars have a medieval provenance of Worcester and thus may give valuable insights about how the Worcester monks perceived Bede. These two kalendars will be compared to other extant Anglo-Saxon kalendars in order to assess whether we can localise their influences and whether this can shed light on the dissemination of the cult of Bede. I will also briefly consider a collect and litany, both entered into Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 ('The Portiforium of St Wulfstan'). Following this analysis, the section will consider whether any broader patterns emerge from the liturgical evidence. I hope that by discussing this selection of texts alongside one another, certain parallels and comparisons can be drawn between them that demonstrate the vitality of the communities' textual exchanges, as well as whether they had a shared reverence for the life and feast of St Bede.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 2^r-7^v: The Corpus Kalendar

The earliest evidence for interest in the cult of Bede among the Oswaldian houses is a kalendar (now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 2^r-7^v).³³¹ This kalendar is in volume two of the 'Cotton-Corpus legendary,' which will be referred to on multiple occasions throughout this thesis and deserves a brief introduction. The Cotton-Corpus legendary is a collection of *passiones* and *vitae* that now survives exclusively in a number of eleventh- and twelfth-century English recensions.³³² The

³³⁰ These are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 9, pp. 3-14; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. 3^r-8^v. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 16 and 18.

³³¹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 18.

³³² Recension (a): London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i + Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (s. xi^{3/4}), and Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 221 + 222 (s. xi^{ex}, formerly Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 4 + 1); (b): Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 354 (s. xii²); (c): Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.7.vi (s. xii^{mid}), and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fell 2 (s. xii¹). Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saint's Lives*, xviii-xx.

extant recensions may derive from a continental legendary that, judging from its contents, was perhaps first compiled in the archdiocese of Reims in the late ninth or early tenth century.³³³ The legendary has been studied numerous times, including by Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, Rosalind Love, Gordon Whatley and Patrick Zettel.³³⁴ The theorised continental legendary appears to have contained about one hundred and sixty hagiographical texts, arranged according to the date of the saints' feasts.³³⁵ Zettel compared the extant manuscripts of the legendary to Ælfric of Eynsham's *Lives of Saints* and *Catholic Homilies*, suggesting that a collection similar to the legendary was available to Ælfric at the end of the tenth century.³³⁶ However, Whatley has cautioned that Zettel's evidence only demonstrates that Ælfric had access to certain *vitae* containing the same variants as the later Cotton-Corpus legendary manuscripts. This does not necessarily mean that the legendary existed in tenth-century England in its current form, or that Ælfric used the legendary as a source.³³⁷ Indeed, Martin Brett argued that the Worcester legendary was copied from exemplar that had only recently arrived in England and named Bishop Ealdred of Worcester (r. 1046-1061) as someone who may feasibly have had the opportunity and inclination to secure an exemplar.³³⁸ For now, all we can state with certainty is that a copy of the legendary had reached England by the third quarter of the eleventh century.

The earliest extant version of the legendary survives in three codices: London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.I, part 1, ff. 55-208 and part 2, ff. 1-155, 166-80 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 31^r-229^v.³³⁹ This recension of the legendary was assessed by Ker, who concluded that the legendary was written at

³³³ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 134-135.

³³⁴ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 131-146; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xiii-xxxiii; Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography, ca. 950-1150,' 429-99; Zettel, 'Saints Lives in Old English,' 17-37.

³³⁵ Zettel, 'Saint's Lives in Old English,' 18.

³³⁶ Zettel, 'Saint's Lives in Old English,' 17-37.

³³⁷ Whatley, 'Late Old English Hagiography, ca. 950-1150,' 480-482.

³³⁸ Brett, 'The Use of Universal Chronicle at Worcester,' 282-283, inc. n. 28.

³³⁹ Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,' 126.

Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, on the basis of its script.³⁴⁰ Indeed, Ker argued that the main hand of the Worcester legendary seemed to be identical to a hand found in a charter of Bishop Ealdred of Worcester dated to 1058 (S 1405).³⁴¹ Ker's analysis has generally been accepted by more recent scholars.³⁴² It is from this earliest witness that the name 'Cotton-Corpus legendary' is derived. Zettel, followed by Love, used the title to refer to the collection of *vitae* in general, rather than to the Cotton and Corpus manuscripts specifically.³⁴³ However, as my research will only consider this eleventh-century Worcester version of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, my use of the term will refer explicitly to the legendary transmitted in London, British Library Cotton Nero E.I and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9.

The Worcester legendary was divided into two volumes that each contained a contemporary contents list, the first covering January to September and the second October to December.³⁴⁴ London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero E.I contains volume one (January-September), and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 is volume two (October-December). Each of these volumes acquired accretions dating from the late eleventh century onwards and thus appear to have been separately bound since that time.³⁴⁵ Volume one (London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.I), was subsequently split into two codices (simply named parts 1 and 2). This probably occurred in the early modern period, as there are medieval accretions at the beginning of part 1, but not at its end, and at the end of part 2, but not at the beginning.³⁴⁶ It is with the legendary's accretions that this thesis is primarily concerned. As with the main legendary, the later additions were written by scribes

³⁴⁰ Ker, 'Membra disiecta, Second Series,' 82-83; and idem, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 41 (no. 29).

³⁴¹ Now London, British Library, Add. 19801. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 41 (no. 29).

³⁴² For example, Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 612 (no. 41); Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 133; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xviii; Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 43; Zettel, 'Saint's Lives in Old English,' 19.

³⁴³ Zettel, 'Saint's Lives in Old English,' 18, n. 1; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xviii.

³⁴⁴ Zettel, 'Saint's Lives in Old English,' 19.

³⁴⁵ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 132.

³⁴⁶ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 132.

connected to Worcester Cathedral and other of its manuscripts.³⁴⁷ Furthermore, among the additions to the legendary is a fragment of a late eleventh-century Worcester cartulary (London, BL, Cotton Nero E.I, part 2, ff. 181-84), which demonstrates that the legendary remained at Worcester when the accretions were attached.³⁴⁸ Thus these accretions can offer insight into the texts that the Worcester scribes acquired and copied during the later eleventh and early twelfth centuries.

The earliest Worcestershire kalendar containing Bede is in volume two of the Worcester Cotton-Corpus legendary, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. ff. 2^r-7^v. This manuscript was fully digitised in 2009 by a collaboration between Corpus Christi College and Stanford University.³⁴⁹ It measures 402 × 297 mm and its foliation is ff. a + i + 229 + ii + b. The manuscript collation is: 1 flyleaf, 1(8) 2(8) (wants 1, 2) 3(8) (+ six after 6: 7 canc.?) 4(4) (4 canc.) | A(10)-F(10) G(8)-M(8) N(10) O(12) (wants 1) P(8)-R(8) S(6) T(8) U(8) Y(8) Z(8), 1 flyleaf.³⁵⁰ Folios i and ii are endleaves taken from a twelfth-century Worcester lectionary and formerly served as pastedowns for the (lost) late-medieval binding.³⁵¹ The manuscript was rebound in 1937 or 1938, as part of the rebinding campaigns that occurred at Corpus Christi College in the twentieth century.³⁵² Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 covers the months October to December of the original legendary.³⁵³ The beginning of the manuscript acquired numerous accretions during the later eleventh and twelfth centuries.³⁵⁴ The contents are thus arranged as follows:

³⁴⁷ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecwina*, xcvi-xcviii.

³⁴⁸ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 132-133.

³⁴⁹ *Parker Library on the Web*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/>.

³⁵⁰ 'Manuscript Description: CCCC 9, The Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' *Parker Library on the Web*, http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=9, accessed 2 August 2014.

³⁵¹ These lections appear to be written in the hand of John of Worcester. Thus they were probably written c.1140 or before. See Turner and Muir (ed. and trans.), introduction to Eadmer of Canterbury, *Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, cxxii-cxxiv.

³⁵² Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 616 (no. 41).

³⁵³ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 609 (no. 41).

³⁵⁴ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 133.

f. i ^r	Fragmentary lections for an unnamed saint (s. xii ^{1/2}). ³⁵⁵
f. i ^v	Early modern contents list (s. xvi)
ff. 1-8 ^v (quire 1):	<i>Computistica</i> (f. 1); liturgical kalendar (ff. 2-7); Easter tables (f. 8 ^{r-v}).
ff. 9 ^r -30 ^v (quires 2-4):	<i>Passio, translatio et miracula Sancti Saluii</i> (ff. 9 ^r -13 ^v); <i>Vita et miracula Sancti Nicholai</i> (ff. 13 ^v -27 ^r); <i>Vita Sancti Rumwoldi</i> (ff. 27 ^r -29 ^v); <i>Passio SS. Ciryaci et Iulittae</i> (f. 30 ^{r-v}), (s. xi ² -xii ¹).
f. 31 ^r (quire A)	Contemporary contents list (s. xi ^{3/4}).
ff. 31 ^v -229 ^v (quires A-Z)	Cotton-Corpus legendary (October-December, s. xi ^{3/4}).
f. ii ^{r-v}	Fragmentary lections for the life and translation of Oswald (s. xii ^{1/2}). ³⁵⁶

The kalendar, along with associated computistical matter and Easter tables, comprise the first quire of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (folios 1^r-8^v).³⁵⁷ The kalendar quire is followed by three quires of later eleventh- and twelfth-century *vitae* before the original legendary contents' list begins on f. 31.³⁵⁸ The main legendary is laid out in double columns (the length of these vary to 43, 35, 42, 44 and 36 lines), while the kalendar and computistical tables are laid out in multiple columns of between 33 and 35 lines.³⁵⁹ The kalendar's format is unusual, as the

³⁵⁵ Part of lection 7 and lection 8 of a text excerpted from the *Vita Sancti Gudwali* (BHL 3687), but which does not name the saint for whom the lections were intended. Turner and Muir (ed. and trans.), introduction to *Eadmer of Canterbury, Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, cxxiii.

³⁵⁶ Abbreviated from Eadmer's *Vita et miracula Sancti Oswaldi* (written c.1113), perhaps by John of Worcester himself. Turner and Muir (ed. and trans.), introduction to *Eadmer of Canterbury, Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald*, cvi, cxxii-cxxiv.

³⁵⁷ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 133.

³⁵⁸ Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 133.

³⁵⁹ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 612 (no. 41).

space given to saints' days is limited to a column on the right-hand side of a lunar table, which dominate the page for each month. The associated computus material on f. 8^{r-v} includes two Easter tables that cover the years 1032-62 and 1063-1094. Rushforth used the date range of the earlier table to provisionally date the kalendar quire to 1032-62.³⁶⁰ The entry for Bede, on 26 May, follows the feast of St Augustine of Canterbury, which was celebrated on the same day. It reads:

SANCTI AGUSTINI EPISCOPI . 7 SANCTI BEDE . presbyteri.

The entry was written in brown ink by the original kalendar scribe. It is written in majuscules, suggesting a high grade feast. Interestingly, this is the only entry for Bede written in majuscules among the extant English kalendars dating before 1100.³⁶¹ This suggests that either the kalendar scribe's community or that of his exemplar venerated the feast of Bede to an unusual degree.

Comparison between the contents of the legendary and kalendar demonstrates that each text celebrates many saints that the other ignores.³⁶² Almost every saint that is named by both the kalendar and the legendary is widely, sometimes universally, celebrated in the other pre-1100 English kalendars. Easily the least common saint present in both the kalendar and the legendary is St Wandrille (22 July), whose feast is only entered in seven of the twenty-five pre-1100 kalendars that still retain the month of July. Moreover, the kalendar entry for Wandrille (*[S]ancti Uuandregisli episcopi*) was added to the original kalendar in a later eleventh-century hand.³⁶³ Overall, the kalendar has notably more insular saints' feasts, including saints Cuthbert (20 March), Edward the martyr (18 March) and Kenelm (17 July), who are not included in the Worcester Cotton-Corpus legendary.³⁶⁴

These discrepancies between the kalendar and the main legendary does not necessarily prove that the former was not written to preface the Cotton-Corpus legendary, as legendaries were also used outside of the liturgy (in the refectory

³⁶⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table V: May.

³⁶¹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 43.

³⁶² The following analysis compares Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, tables I: January-XII: December to Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 135-144.

³⁶³ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, 232.

³⁶⁴ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, 228, 232.

during meals) and hence often went beyond the local festal kalendar.³⁶⁵ However, when the level of non-concordance between the kalendar and legendary is placed alongside the fact that the kalendar was written on a self-contained quire that was separated from the main legendary by a series of later additions, it appears unlikely that they were initially composed together. Neither do the accretions to the legendary and the kalendar correlate closely: for example, the kalendar ignores the feasts of St Saluus (11 Jan; 26 June), whose *vita* was added to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 9^r-13^v in the later eleventh century; and the feasts of St Oswald (28 February; 15 April; 8 October), whose *vita* was added to London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.I, part 1, ff. 3^r-23^v by the same scribe.³⁶⁶

The presence of the later eleventh- and twelfth-century *vitae* on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, ff. 9^r-30^v suggest that the kalendar quire was not attached to volume two of the legendary in its current position until at least the early twelfth century. The staining and corrosion found in quire one and particularly on f. 1^r that is not present on later pages suggest that the kalendar was added to the beginning of the volume before the late medieval or modern rebinding episodes.³⁶⁷ There are also binding marks visible in both this quire and elsewhere in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, which demonstrates that the quire has been attached to a Worcester manuscript from at least the later medieval period.³⁶⁸ Thus the kalendar quire was probably initially added to the legendary in or soon after the twelfth century.

Despite showing no relationship to the legendary, the script of the kalendar quire suggests that it too was copied at Worcester during the third quarter of the eleventh century.³⁶⁹ However, the origin of the kalendar's content is more problematic. The kalendar is relatively bare, and includes few unusual saints' feasts that would help to localise the origin of its exemplar. Wormald suggested that the kalendar showed Ramsey influence, since the addition of saints Æthelred and

³⁶⁵ This allowed saints that were not celebrated liturgically to still be celebrated through readings at meals. G. Philppart, *Les légendiers latins et autres manuscrits hagiographiques*, *Typologies des sources du Moyen Age occidental* 24-25 (Turnhout, 1977), 106-116. My thanks to Teresa Webber for directing this to my attention.

³⁶⁶ For the identification of the *Vita Sancti Saluii* scribe with that of the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, see: Ker, 'Membra disiecta, Second Series,' 83, n. 1.

³⁶⁷ *Parker Library on the Web*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/>, last accessed 16 Feb. 18.

³⁶⁸ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 616 (no. 41).

³⁶⁹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 43.

Æthelberht in an eleventh-century hand could indicate a Ramsey connection.³⁷⁰ Wormald considered a possible context for the kalendar was following the foundation of St Mary's Worcester by Ramsey monks and suggested that 'some sort of sympathetic cultus for these two saints of the mother house must be supposed'.³⁷¹ However, the kalendar shows no internal evidence of an association to Worcester. For example, none of the feasts celebrating Oswald are included (even as additions) in the kalendar.³⁷² Among the original kalendar entries is Archbishop Ælfheah (d. 19 April 1012).³⁷³ This provides a *terminus post quem* for when the kalendar or its exemplar had last been updated. Thus, if the kalendar was composed at Worcester, we would expect it to include the feasts of Oswald, as it had been written after both Oswald's death in 992 and his first translation at Worcester in 1002.³⁷⁴ It appears likely, therefore, that the kalendar scribe copied from one or more exemplars that had not come from Worcester and did not update the kalendar with Worcester feasts during the copying process. Given the importance of Oswald at Ramsey, we might also expect his feasts to be celebrated by the kalendar if its exemplar came from there. Nevertheless, the presence of the feasts of Kenelm of Winchcombe (17 July) and Egwine of Evesham (30 December) indicate some interest in the Worcester diocese.³⁷⁵ Unlike the entries for Æthelred and Æthelberht of Ramsey, these entries are in the original hand. Could the kalendar's exemplar derive from Evesham or Winchcombe?

Excepting the deposition of Egwine (30 December), the kalendar does not include any other Evesham feasts (for example, those of Credan, Odulf or Wigstan). If the exemplar was an Evesham kalendar, then we would probably assume that it was written before Abbot Ælfweard of Evesham (r. c.1014-1044) acquired the relics of Odulf and Wigstan during the reign of Cnut.³⁷⁶ This would date the compilation of

³⁷⁰ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, vii.

³⁷¹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, vii.

³⁷² 28 February; 15 April (translation); 8 October.

³⁷³ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, 229.

³⁷⁴ Brooks, 'Oswald [St Oswald] (d. 992),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 15 Sept 2014.

³⁷⁵ The following discussion uses the printed edition of the calendar printed by Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 18, 225-237.

³⁷⁶ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. Sayers and Watkiss, 152.

the exemplar between 1012 (the year of Ælfheah's martyrdom) and 1016×1035. As the extant kalendar quire was copied 1032-62 (the parameters of the earliest Easter table), the supposition that its exemplar was composed during the earlier years of the abbacy of Ælfweard is possible. An Evesham origin would explain why the deposition of Ecgwine (30 December) was entered in majuscules. However, an Evesham origin does not fully explain the absence of Oswald from the kalendar. Evesham had been under the protection of the bishops of Worcester until c.1014, so we might expect Oswald's feasts to be celebrated there.³⁷⁷ It is also problematic to assign the kalendar to Winchcombe solely on the basis of the entry for Kenelm, because the kalendar includes a number of other Anglo-Saxon royal martyrs, perhaps indicating a general interest in that particular type of saint.³⁷⁸ Furthermore, the deposition of Kenelm (17 July) was widely commemorated in late tenth- and eleventh-century kalendars across southern England.³⁷⁹ Thus the presence of the slaughtered prince does not necessarily mean that the kalendar was produced in the vicinity of Winchcombe.

Whilst the Corpus kalendar contains few unusual feasts that could localise its origins, comparison to the other pre-1100 English kalendars printed by Rushforth yields some interesting observations. Firstly, given Wormald's theory of an association with Ramsey, it is worth comparing the Corpus kalendar to contemporary evidence from that house. There are no extant liturgical kalendars from Ramsey that date between the death of Oswald (992) and 1100. However, a tenth-century liturgical kalendar ostensibly from Ramsey is extant in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7299, ff. 3^v-9^r. This is a composite manuscript consisting of three parts: part one is the liturgical kalendar (ff. 1-12); part two (ff. 12^{bis}-27) is a *computistica* including Helperic, *De computo*; part three (ff. 28-71) contains Macrobius, *Commentarium in Somnium Scipionis*.³⁸⁰ Both parts two and three are

³⁷⁷ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.139-146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146-152.

³⁷⁸ For example, St Edward the Martyr (18 March, entered in majuscules), St Oswald king and martyr (5 August) and St Edmund of Bury (20 November). The martyred princes Æthelred and Æthelberht were added to the kalendar in an eleventh-century hand. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 18. For further discussion on Kenelm as a royal martyr, see chapter three below.

³⁷⁹ The deposition of Kenelm is commemorated in the vast majority of late tenth- and eleventh-century kalendars printed by Rushforth. Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table VII, nos. 6, 8-24.

³⁸⁰ Lapidge, 'The Library of Byrhtferth,' 687.

written in a Caroline Minuscule script characteristic of Fleury in the late tenth century.³⁸¹ Palaeographical evidence suggests that the kalendar in part one was written in England in the late tenth century; the kalendar also contains commemorations of several Anglo-Saxon saints, including Cuthbert, Augustine, Alban and Kenelm.³⁸² The computistical text by Helperic in part two may have been known in England: both this copy and the redaction used by Byrhtferth of Ramsey seem to have used an example of date reckoning that marks the current year as 978.³⁸³ From these cross-channel links, Michael Lapidge has argued that the manuscript was taken to Ramsey Abbey by Abbo of Fleury in 985, where the liturgical kalendar was prefixed and then returned to Fleury with him in 987.³⁸⁴ The absence of the feast for Oswald's deposition (28 February) points to a date of production before 992.³⁸⁵ Furthermore, the kalendar was certainly in Fleury by the early eleventh century, when an obit for Abbo (*d.* 13 November 1004) and entries for the Loire valley saint Genulf were added in a Fleury hand.³⁸⁶ Whether or not Abbo's trip marks the exact dates or direction of the manuscript's movement, it does seem likely that the computistical material to which this kalendar is attached demonstrates connections between the abbeys of Ramsey and Fleury.³⁸⁷

Wormald did not edit this kalendar, but it has since been printed by Rushforth.³⁸⁸ The manuscript has also been fully digitised by the Bibliothèque Nationale de France.³⁸⁹ This kalendar is very bare in comparison to the majority of the kalendars printed by Rushforth. Even the Corpus Christi College 9 kalendar contains considerably more entries. Like the Corpus kalendar, this earlier kalendar

³⁸¹ Lapidge, 'The Library of Byrhtferth,' 687.

³⁸² Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 27.

³⁸³ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 395-396.

³⁸⁴ Lapidge, 'The Library of Byrhtferth,' 687-688.

³⁸⁵ Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, f. 4^r. *BNF Gallica*, <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, accessed 20 February 2018.

³⁸⁶ Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, ff. 3^v, 6^r and 8^v. *BNF Gallica*, <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, accessed 20 February 2018.

³⁸⁷ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 888.

³⁸⁸ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 8.

³⁸⁹ With the support of the Polonsky Foundation and in partnership with the British Library. *BNF Gallica*, <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, accessed 20 February 2018.

contains very few unusual feasts.³⁹⁰ However, it does contain three feasts of St Benedict (21 March, 11 July and 4 December), all of which are entered in majuscules. As Ramsey was the only Anglo-Saxon monastery dedicated to Benedict this is indicative of a Ramsey origin.³⁹¹ Overall, Lapidge's theory that the kalendar had travelled to Fleury from Ramsey in the late tenth century seems highly plausible.

When the kalendar entries in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 are compared to those in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, we can see a high level of concordance between them.³⁹² Almost every one of the 153 entries in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299 were also copied into the Corpus kalendar by its original scribe. Whilst many of the feasts in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299 were widespread and found in many other extant English kalendars dating before 1100, where it does celebrate less common feasts (such as *Yppopantus* on 2 February, which is in six of the extant twenty-seven kalendars), the Corpus kalendar normally follows suite.

In total, there are seventeen entries in Paris, BNF, lat. 7299 that are not replicated by the Corpus kalendar. Of these, three had been added to the Ramsey kalendar later, at Fleury.³⁹³ Eight of the entries absent from the Corpus kalendar share an entry with one or more other feasts.³⁹⁴ Arguably, these eight entries were

³⁹⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 27.

³⁹¹ Lapidge, 'The Library of Byrhtferth,' 687-688.

³⁹² This analysis was undertaken using the tables in Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, which facilitates comparisons across large data sets. I have also checked Rushforth's entries against the digitised editions of each manuscript. *BNF Gallica*, <http://gallica.bnf.fr>, accessed 16 February 2018; and *Parker Library on the Web*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/>, accessed 16 February 2018.

³⁹³ *Genulfi. episcopi. & confessoris.* (17 January); *Genulfi. episcopi.* (20 June); and *Sci ABBONIS Abbatis* (13 November).

³⁹⁴ 25 January (includes conversion of St Paul, but misses Proiectus); 15 June (celebrates Vitus and Modestus, but excludes the uncommon entry for Crescentia); 1 August (celebrates St Peter in chains, but not Maccabees); 28 August (celebrates St Augustine the bishop, but not Hermes); 29 August (includes decollation of John the Baptist, excludes Sabina); 8 September (entry for Nativity of St Mary, does not commemorate Adrian); 7 October (celebrates St Mark the Pope, excludes Marcellus and Apuleius); 1 November (Feast of All Saints, does not enter specific commemoration for Cesarius). Note that Rushforth lists the entries on 25 January, no. 8 as '*Conv. Paul. Peter*'. Having looked at the digitised Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, I can confirm that this is a minor error by Rushforth and the entry reads: *Conuersio s[an]c[t]i pauli & s[an]c[t]i p[ro]iecti*. See Paris, BNF, lat. 7299, f. 3^v: *BNF Gallica*, <http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b10542286q/f14.item.r=7299>, accessed 16 February 2018.

omitted from the Corpus kalendar due to a lack of space: as mentioned above, the Corpus kalendar layout is unusual, with feasts entered into a narrow column to the right of a much larger lunar table. Even a single entry often fills the entire line, and the kalendar scribe may have had to prioritise which feast to commemorate. Two of the entries were perhaps initially missed by accident: the original scribe of the Corpus kalendar does not enter the feasts for Nereus, Achilleus and Pancras (12 May) or the Dedication of the church of Mary (13 May), despite the fact that both were quite widely celebrated among Anglo-Saxon kalendars.³⁹⁵ As the two omissions are on concurrent lines, it seems possible that the scribe made an error (perhaps homeoteleuton) while copying his exemplar. We see similar minor errors elsewhere in the same kalendar: at the end of April for example, both Vitalis (27 April, *recte* 28) and Ercewold (29 April, *recte* 30) have been placed one day earlier than in any other pre-1100 kalendar. These anomalies perhaps point to scribal error or a faulty exemplar. Interestingly, Wormald and Rushforth interpret the addition of the feasts on 12 and 13 May into the Corpus kalendar slightly differently: Rushforth marks the feasts as later, eleventh-century additions, whilst Wormald interprets the entry on 12 May as a correction by the original hand.³⁹⁶ Either way, it appears that the feasts were not omitted intentionally.

Overall, therefore, only four of the entries found in the tenth-century Ramsey kalendar (Paris, BNF, lat. 7299) have been omitted in the Worcester kalendar for reasons that are less explicable. Two of these entries mark the end of Ascension (3 June) and Pentecost (13 June). The third is the feast for the martyr Theodore (9 November), which has been left inexplicably blank in the Corpus kalendar despite the fact that the feast was almost universally celebrated by other extant Anglo-Saxon kalendars.³⁹⁷ Perhaps this feast was missed accidentally, though if so the error was not rectified by any later scribe.³⁹⁸ Finally, the feast of the Translation of Paul, bishop and confessor (10 October) has been replaced in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, f. 6^v with an entry for St Gereon (*S[an]c[t]i gereonis*), a martyr of Cologne that is very rarely celebrated in extant Anglo-Saxon

³⁹⁵ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table V: May.

³⁹⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table V: May; Wormald, *English English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, 230.

³⁹⁷ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table XI: November.

³⁹⁸ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, f. 7^r. *Parker Library on the Web*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/ty948rv7120>, accessed 16 February 2018.

kalendars.³⁹⁹ The entry for Gereon in the Worcester kalendar perhaps indicates the influence of Ealdred (bishop of Worcester from 1046-1061), who had spent a year in Cologne in 1054 and who brought liturgical and possibly literary texts back to England.⁴⁰⁰

The above analysis shows it is plausible that the Corpus kalendar derived from an exemplar related to the tenth-century Ramsey kalendar in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7299. In light of this argument, it is particularly interesting that Lapidge noted a high level of concordance between the Corpus kalendar and the *Metrical kalendar of Ramsey*, which was probably composed at Ramsey c. 993. According to Lapidge, the kalendar in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 lacks only five feasts found in the *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey*: Oswald of York, Patrick, Samson, Eadgyth and Budoc.⁴⁰¹ Neither Ramsey's tenth-century liturgical kalendar nor metrical calendar include an entry for Bede, however, so if the Corpus kalendar did derive from a Ramsey exemplar, the addition of Bede may have derived from a different source.

The Corpus kalendar contains ninety-three religious feasts that were not included in the Ramsey kalendar in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7299, including that of Bede. Thus it seems possible that the text was compiled using a second exemplar. In order to test this theory, I compared the contents of the Corpus kalendar that were independent of Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 7299 with the other Anglo-Saxon kalendars printed by Rushforth.⁴⁰² This appeared to be one way of assessing whether the Corpus kalendar demonstrated any local affinities without relying upon unusual localisable feasts, which the kalendar lacks. The comparison only considers which feasts celebrated in the Corpus kalendar were also present in other texts. It does not take into account that some Anglo-Saxon kalendars celebrated many feasts that were not entered into the Corpus kalendar. Thus this

³⁹⁹ The feast is only celebrated in three of the twenty-seven kalendars printed by Rushforth – nos. 20, 25 and 1 (added in a later hand). Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table X: October.

⁴⁰⁰ Raine, *The Historians of the Church of York*, II, 344-54; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.9, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 40. See Lapidge, 'Ealdred of York and MS. Cotton Vitellius E. XII, 453-467; and Tyler, 'German Imperial Bishops and Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture on the Eve of the Conquest: *The Cambridge Songs* and Leofric's Exeter Book,' 177-201.

⁴⁰¹ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 372-373, esp. n. 121.

⁴⁰² Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, tables I: January – XII: December.

method cannot positively identify putative exemplars or relationships between kalendar. Nevertheless, it may allow the Corpus kalendar to be roughly grouped with kalendars of more certain origin.

The results of my analysis demonstrated some interesting patterns (see Table I). These kalendars are arranged by the number given to them by Rushforth, as not all were initially printed by Wormald. Please note that the Corpus kalendar is number 20 and that I have omitted the tenth-century Ramsey kalendar (no. 8) because this analysis considers those feasts that do not derive from the latter. Firstly, the level of concordance between the independent Corpus feasts and other kalendars was very variable. The highest level of concordance was with the kalendar in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 ('The Red Book of Darley', no. 19), which celebrated almost sixty-nine percent of the feasts entered in the Corpus kalendar. At the opposite end of the scale is the fragmentary eighth-century Northumbrian kalendar in Regensburg-Hauzenstein, Gräfllich Walderdorffsche Bibliothek (no. 2). This kalendar survives in a bifolium and only contains the feasts for July to October. However, when these months are compared to exactly the same months in the Corpus kalendar, the texts still share less than 0.5 percent of the feasts. Other early Anglo-Saxon kalendars (nos. 1, 3, 4, all dating to the eighth or ninth centuries) had some of the lowest degrees of concordance with the Worcester Corpus kalendar. Interestingly, almost every kalendar that has been connected to Canterbury (both Christ Church and St Augustine's) showed a low degree of concordance with the Corpus kalendar (nos. 5, 9, 10, 11, 26). The exception is the kalendar in Cambridge, University Library, Kk.v.32, ff. 49-60 (no. 13), which was written 1012x1030 and has variously been assigned to a Canterbury or Glastonbury provenance.⁴⁰³ Interestingly, this kalendar is transmitted alongside computus material that includes excerpts from Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and thus demonstrates a connection to Ramsey Abbey.⁴⁰⁴ Given the prominence of the Evesham saint Ecgwine and inclusion of St Kenelm in the Corpus kalendar, perhaps a Ramsey exemplar travelled to Worcestershire with the former Ramsey monk Ælfweard when he became abbot of Evesham c.1014. If this were the case though, then why would the Corpus kalendar omit the feasts for Archbishop Oswald?

In comparison, almost every kalendar that was written at New Minster, Winchester or derived from a Winchester exemplar demonstrated some of the

⁴⁰³ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 33.

⁴⁰⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 33.

highest degrees of concordance with the Corpus kalendar (nos. 14, 15, 19, 23 and 24). Unsurprisingly, the Corpus kalendar also demonstrates some of the highest concordance with two other kalendars that were produced in the Worcester diocese during the second half of the eleventh century: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (nos. 21 and 22). In light of the previous patterns we have seen concerning the cult of Bede, it is fascinating that this relatively sparse kalendar shows much higher commonality with kalendars deriving from New Minster, Winchester than it does with those of Canterbury. It seems highly possible that the Corpus kalendar, like the mid eleventh-century kalendar in the Red Book of Darley (no. 19, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422), commemorated the feast of Bede due to the influence of a New Minster source. However, as none of the extant Winchester kalendars discussed above enter the feast of Bede in majuscules, it seems possible that the importance of his feast in the Corpus kalendar was the initiative of the Worcester scribe.

Table 1: concordances between CCCC 9 (no. 20) and other Anglo-Saxon calendars printed by Rushforth

Kal. no.	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec	Tot	%
1	2	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	0	0	0	1	9	9.7
2	-	-	-	-	-	-	0	1	0	0	-	-	1	0.04
3	-	-	-	-	2	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	23.5
4	4	2	7	2	3	2	3	2	2	6	1	3	37	39.8
5	0	1	1	1	1	1	2	0	1	0	1	0	9	9.7
6	4	3	7	5	4	4	6	2	2	7	2	4	50	53.8
7	4	4	8	7	3	3	3	1	2	5	1	2	43	46.2
9	5	4	5	2	6	4	8	1	1	1	1	0	38	40.9
10	-	-	-	-	2	3	3	1	-	-	-	-	9	31.0
11	2	3	3	4	2	4	8	1	3	2	2	3	37	39.8
12	5	3	3	4	3	7	8	2	3	5	2	4	49	52.7
13	4	2	9	9	5	7	8	3	3	4	4	3	61	65.6

14	5	3	3	4	7	5	6	1	3	6	6	5	54	58.1
15	6	3	3	6	6	5	7	1	3	6	6	4	56	60.2
16	4	3	5	3	5	6	2	1	3	7	4	4	47	50.5
17	4	3	3	4	2	6	8	2	2	5	3	6	48	51.6
18	8	4	4	4	3	6	9	2	2	6	3	4	55	59.1
19	7	3	5	8	7	7	7	2	4	5	4	5	64	68.8
20	9	6	11	11	9	8	9	3	4	11	6	6	93	100
21	7	5	9	10	3	5	8	2	3	2	3	4	61	65.6
22	7	3	4	5	7	7	8	2	3	8	3	5	62	66.7
23	5	3	2	3	4	8	7	1	3	6	6	4	52	55.9
24	7	3	4	4	5	7	7	2	3	6	5	4	57	61.3
25	4	2	2	3	3	5	6	1	2	6	5	4	43	46.2
26	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	13.3
27	5	4	7	6	5	6	5	1	3	4	5	5	56	60.2

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v: The Hatton Kalendar

The second kalendar from the Worcester diocese containing Bede is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. iii^r-viii^v. This kalendar, like the Corpus kalendar above, will be referred to in later chapters of my thesis and thus will be fully introduced here. The manuscript, which is sometimes called ‘St Wulfstan’s Homiliary’ is a volume of Old English homilies (particularly those by Archbishop Wulfstan and Ælfric), palaeographically dated to the third quarter of the eleventh century.⁴⁰⁵ This volume was originally bound with a second volume of homilies, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, although the manuscripts appear to have been separated by the early thirteenth century.⁴⁰⁶ The manuscripts’ written space is a single column of 23 lines, measuring 200 × 110 mm.⁴⁰⁷ The manuscripts’ folios are also a similar size (MS 113: 255 × 155 mm; MS 114: 267 × 157 mm), and the size difference between them can probably be explained by the fact that Hatton 114 was rebound in the nineteenth century, while Hatton 113 retains a medieval binding dated c.1200.⁴⁰⁸ Ker argued that the homiliaries were intended as a continuation of the volume of ecclesiastical institutes and homilies found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121.⁴⁰⁹

The foliation of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 is i + 154 + iii. Folios i and 147 are medieval parchment flyleaves, while folios 145-46 are seventeenth-century paper leaves inserted by Dugdale.⁴¹⁰ The manuscript folios are numbered

⁴⁰⁵ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, St Wulfstan’s Homiliary, part 1,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.113.htm>, accessed 2 August, 2014.

⁴⁰⁶ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, St Wulfstan’s Homiliary, part 1,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, <http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.Ox.Hatt.113.htm>, accessed 2 August, 2014.

⁴⁰⁷ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴⁰⁸ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520); Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian, Hatton 114,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴⁰⁹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 412.

⁴¹⁰ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

(by modern commentators) as i-xi, 1-147, the Roman numerals being used to differentiate the first quire from the rest. The calendrical material (ff. ii^v-viii^v) and computus tables (ff. ix^r-xi^r) fill the majority of the first quire (ff. ii-xi), along with a contents-list (f. xi^v). The preceding page (f. ii^r) contains unspecified prayers and a copy of a summons to Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062-1095) to attend the 1070 Council of Winchester. Its position in the volume suggests that this text was an early addition rather than an original component of Hatton 113.⁴¹¹ The script of the main hand in Hatton 113 (ff. 1-144^v) is of a 'Worcester' type, and the same scribe probably also wrote much of the companion volumes, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 and Junius 121.⁴¹² The occurrence of additions and notes in known Worcester hands, such as those of the monks Hemming (*fl.* c.1095) and Coleman (*d.*1113), demonstrate that the manuscript had a very early Worcester provenance (by the late eleventh century).⁴¹³ The manuscript subsequently remained at Worcester throughout the later medieval period, as is demonstrated by the presence of the late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century annotations by the Tremulous Hand of Worcester; a sixteenth-century inscription, *Liber Ecclesiae Wygorn*, on f. ii^r; and its presence in Patrick Young's catalogue of Worcester manuscripts, made 1622-23.⁴¹⁴ The manuscript was borrowed by Lord Hatton at some point before August 1644, and was given to the Bodleian by Hatton's son in 1675.⁴¹⁵

Rushforth dated the kalendar quire to between 1064 and 1095, as a computistical table on f. xv in the original hand covers these years.⁴¹⁶ Rows for 1062 and 1063 were then added above the first line, apparently by the original scribe, who marked 1062 with *ORWE*. This perhaps stands for *ORdinatio Wulfstani Episcopi*: the years were seemingly added to the computistical table so that it would begin

⁴¹¹ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 637; Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴¹² Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 412.

⁴¹³ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴¹⁴ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,' *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴¹⁵ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,' *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴¹⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 47.

with the ordination of Bishop Wulfstan in 1062.⁴¹⁷ The appended letter summoning Bishop Wulfstan to the Council of Winchester in 1070 may offer a rough *terminus ante quem*, as the letter appears to have been inserted into a blank leaf of a book that had already been completed.⁴¹⁸ A dot made to the left of the year 1070 on f. xv might suggest that 1070 itself was the year when the kalendar was written.⁴¹⁹ Thus the outer limits for the writing of this kalendar are the years of the computistical table (1064-1095) and internal evidence tentatively suggests that the kalendar was copied c.1070. The entry for the commemoration of Bede on 26 May follows that of St Augustine celebrated on the same day. The entry reads as follows:

Sancti Agustini anglorum episcopi . et Sancti Bede presbyteri.

The entry for Bede in this kalendar is not marked as particularly important, as unlike the entry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 discussed above, the feast is not entered in majuscules. However, the feast was entered by the original kalendar scribe and it is worth examining the kalendar's origin in case this can shed light on its inclusion of the cult of Bede.

There is some debate about whether the kalendar is a Worcester or an Evesham text.⁴²⁰ An obit added on 23 November (f. 8^r), *Obiit Eadricus monachus et sacerdos. qui scripsit hunc compotum*, apparently names the kalendar's author or scribe.⁴²¹ However, this name is relatively common and the communities at both Worcester and Evesham included a monk called Eadric during the eleventh century.⁴²² A colophon in the sister volume, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121 (*Me scripscit wulfgeatus scriptor wigornensis*) appears to have been copied from its exemplar. This suggests that some proportion of the exemplar(s) for the

⁴¹⁷ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 47.

⁴¹⁸ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴¹⁹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 47.

⁴²⁰ E.g. Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part I,' 28-29. Compare to Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 46; and Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, vi-vii.

⁴²¹ 'Eadric monk and priest who wrote this computus'. Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴²² For the Evesham Eadric, see *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. Cheney, 5-7 (no. 7). For the Worcester Eadric, see Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part I,' 15.

collection of homiliaries came from Worcester itself.⁴²³ However, the kalendar and computus tables were written on a separate quire (ff. ii–xi), added to the beginning of the manuscript, and were also copied by a different scribe.⁴²⁴ The collation of the kalendar quire is different to the main body of the manuscript, containing ten folios while the quires of the homiliary proper typically contain eight.⁴²⁵ The kalendar quire also lacks any quire signatures: in contrast, quires 3–16 are marked ‘p’-‘p’ in the bottom margin of their first recto.⁴²⁶ Quires 2–14 in Junius 121 are marked ‘a’-‘n’, so it is reasonable to assume that the second quire in Hatton 113 was once marked ‘o’ and that the kalendar quire interrupts this sequence.⁴²⁷ This suggests that the kalendar was initially produced independently of the other texts in Hatton 113.

On the other hand, there is a contents-list for the homiliary on the final page of the kalendar folio (f. xi^v), written in the same hand as the preceding kalendar and computistical tables.⁴²⁸ Thus it seems likely that the kalendar quire, although added after the manuscript’s completion, was written with the intention of being attached to the homiliary.⁴²⁹ The kalendar scribe also makes additions in several other Worcester manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Hatton 114 (ff. 230^r-35^v, 242^v-46^v) and Junius 121 (f. 120^v); London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.i, part 1, ff. 24-24^v; and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 9, ff. 9^r-13^v and 146.⁴³⁰ The scribe was evidently working at Worcester at some point during the later eleventh century. Further, obits were added in the hand of the Worcester monk Coleman (*d.*

⁴²³ The colophon appears to be from an exemplar because it ‘begins on the same line as the end of the preceding text’ and is at a point that lacks a decided break or change in the writing’s appearance. See Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 417.

⁴²⁴ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴²⁵ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴²⁶ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴²⁷ Swan and Foxhall Forbes, ‘Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,’ *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴²⁸ Watson, *Catalogue of Dated and Datable Manuscripts c. 435-1600 in Oxford Libraries*, 1:85 (no. 520).

⁴²⁹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 46.

⁴³⁰ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, 399; Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xcvi-xcvi.

1113) on ff. ii-viii, who also added marginal notes to the homiliary proper.⁴³¹ This suggests that the kalendar quire was attached to Hatton 113 when Coleman was using the manuscript in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.

Whilst palaeographical evidence suggests that the kalendar quire was copied at or for Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, the contents of the kalendar point to the possibility of an Evesham exemplar. The kalendar includes a high number of Evesham saints' feasts, such as Wigstan (1 June), Credan (19 August), Odulf (24 November, *trans.* 10 October) and Ecgwine (30 December, *trans.* 10 September and 10 October).⁴³² All three of the feasts of Ecgwine are entered in majuscules, denoting that he was a high-ranking saint at the institution. The feast commemorating St Credan, an eight-century abbot of Evesham, is also entered in majuscules. The importance given to these saints strongly suggests an Evesham origin. Furthermore, a comparison with other surviving pre-1100 kalendars demonstrates that none of these Evesham saints' feasts were widely celebrated. For example, neither of the two other contemporary Worcester kalendars (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391) originally celebrated the feasts of Credan, Wigstan and Odulf, nor the translations of St Ecgwine (10 September, 10 October) or Odulf (also 10 October).⁴³³ As we will see, both of these Worcester kalendars survive in manuscripts associated with Wulfstan's episcopate and were copied at a very similar date to the Hatton kalendar. Consequently, the absences of these Evesham feasts suggest that the kalendar in Hatton 113 had a different, though local, origin. Some of the feasts celebrated in Hatton 113 are not found in any other known English kalendar dating before 1100, but do appear in later kalendars from Evesham (for example Wigstan on 1 June and Abbot Brendan on 16 May).⁴³⁴ This strengthens the argument that the

⁴³¹ Coleman's hand is found on fol. 78^v signed as '[c]plfman'; he also added notes on folios 39^v-40^r and marginalia on fols 70^v, 78^r, 108^v, 128^v and 134^r. Swan and Foxhall Forbes, 'Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113,' *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*.

⁴³² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, ff. v^v, vi^v, viii^{r-v}. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 16, pp. 203, 205, 208, 209.

⁴³³ The 10 September translation of Ecgwine was, however, added to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 in a later hand. Comparisons were found through examination of the entries in each kalendar in Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Tables I: January-XII: December.

⁴³⁴ Also the Translation of St Ecgwine on 10 September, although this feast was added to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 in a slightly later hand. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100*, 2:21-38.

Hatton kalendar derived from a text of Evesham origin. The Hatton kalendar does enter both the deposition and translation of Archbishop Oswald (28 February and 15 April) in majuscules, marking them particularly high ranking feasts.⁴³⁵ The only other kalendar that also enters these feasts in majuscules in the Portiforium of St Wulfstan (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391).⁴³⁶ The importance of Oswald need not undermine the argument that the Hatton kalendar derives from an Evesham exemplar, as we have already seen that the scribe was working at or for Worcester, and could have entered the feasts as high grade.

The kalendar includes some interesting high grade feasts for saints other than those from Evesham. This includes the feast for St Osgyth entered in majuscules on 7 October. The feast of St Osgyth offers an unlikely clue into the kalendar's origins. She was a little known abbess at Chich (now St Osyth's), Essex, who was killed by pagan 'pirates'.⁴³⁷ As no other pre-1100 kalendar celebrates St Osgyth at all, her high veneration in the Hatton kalendar appears surprising. However, during the late Anglo-Saxon period the church at Chich fell within the diocese of London. Wulfstan (*d.*1023) had been bishop of London from 996-1002, before becoming bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York.⁴³⁸ Ælfweard, abbot of Evesham c.1014-1044, also held the bishopric of London in plurality from 1035-1044.⁴³⁹ Thus there are tenuous links between St Osgyth and both Worcester and Evesham during the early eleventh century. However, a tradition connected to Ælfweard gives preference to an Evesham origin. This tradition records that Ælfweard contracted leprosy near the end of his life. He wished to die at Evesham, but the fearful monks refused to receive him. Instead, Ælfweard retired to Ramsey Abbey, where he had formerly been a monk, bringing with him gifts and relics formerly intended for Evesham.⁴⁴⁰ According to the *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, it had been Ælfweard's interest in collecting relics that had caused his

⁴³⁵ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 16, pp. 199 and 201.

⁴³⁶ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 17, pp. 213 and 215.

⁴³⁷ Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints,' 549. See D. Bethell, 'The Lives of St Osyth of Essex and St Osyth of Aylesbury,' *Analecta Bollandiana* 88 (1970): 75-127.

⁴³⁸ Wormald, 'Wulfstan (d. 1023),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/30098>, accessed 4 Aug 2014.

⁴³⁹ Hunt, 'Ælfweard (d. 1044),' rev. Costambeys, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/195>, accessed 5 Aug 2014.

⁴⁴⁰ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.148, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 156.

leprosy, which was a punishment for his removal of some relics of St Osgyth from Chich to St Paul's, London.⁴⁴¹ This tradition, consequently, demonstrates that even some non-local saints in the Hatton kalendar support the theory that it derived from an Evesham exemplar.

Finally, it is worth considering the possible relationship between the Hatton kalendar and the early eleventh-century kalendar in Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Y.6 (274), ff. 6^r-11^v. Wormald did not print this kalendar, but argued that it was closely related to the kalendar in Hatton 113.⁴⁴² Comparison of the two kalendars demonstrates that they have numerous entries in common, including a number that are relatively rare among Anglo-Saxon kalendars.⁴⁴³ The manuscript in question is a sacramentary that was given to Jumièges by Robert of Jumièges when he was bishop of London (1044-1051): it is commonly called the 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges'.⁴⁴⁴ Rushforth tentatively dated this sacramentary to the first half of the eleventh century.⁴⁴⁵ The kalendar's origin has been variously suggested as Ely, Peterborough or Canterbury.⁴⁴⁶ Peterborough and Worcester had links very early in the eleventh century, as the Worcester bishop (and York archbishop) Ealdwulf (*d.*1002) had previously been monk, then abbot of Peterborough. This and the fenland connections to Worcester and Evesham via Ramsey may explain the relationship between the two kalendars. Alternatively, it is interesting that Robert of Jumièges' immediate predecessor at London was Ælfweard, abbot of Evesham. Could, then, the Hatton kalendar and Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale, Y.6 have shared a common exemplar owned by the bishops of London and then have been adapted to local or personal interests?

The earlier kalendar in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges does not contain the feast of Bede on 26 May, although it shares many other feasts with the Hatton

⁴⁴¹ *Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis*, c. 93, ed. Macray, 157-158.

⁴⁴² Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, vi.

⁴⁴³ For example: Cuthman c. (8 February); Radegund v. (11 February); Uuihtburga v. (17 March); Borontus mk. (1 April); Peter dcn (20 April); Apollonaris m. (21 June); and Adrian m. (8 September), which only these two kalendars mark in coloured ink. Comparisons were found through examination of the entries in each kalendar in Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Tables I: January-XII: December.

⁴⁴⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 31-32.

⁴⁴⁵ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 32.

⁴⁴⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 32.

kalendar. Bede's feast, then, was either added by the Worcester scribe who copied the Hatton kalendar, or in the decades of manuscript transmission that occurred between when the sacramentary was copied in the early eleventh century and the writing of Hatton 113. Did the scribe (at whichever point of transmission) add Bede because he wrote at a centre that celebrated his feast, or was he influenced by two or more exemplars? It is interesting that the Hatton kalendar (Rushforth no. 22) shows a higher degree of concordance with the Corpus kalendar (no. 20) for the month of May than almost any other kalendar (see Table I). As the Corpus kalendar was most probably copied at Worcester before 1062, it would have been available for consultation by the Hatton kalendar scribe writing c.1070.⁴⁴⁷ Furthermore, Ker postulated that the Hatton kalendar scribe also wrote some of the accretions to the Cotton-Corpus legendary: the *Vita Ecgwini* (London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.i, part 1, ff. 24-34^v) and the *Vita Sancti Saluii* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 9, ff. 9^r-13^v): today, the latter of these is bound immediately after the Corpus kalendar itself.⁴⁴⁸ It seems plausible, therefore, that the Hatton kalendar scribe could have had access to the earlier Corpus kalendar. Perhaps this is the source for the Hatton kalendar's entry for Bede on 26 May; if not, then the feast could have been carried over from the scribe's Evesham exemplar. In either case, it seems very likely that the feast of Bede became part of liturgical life in Worcester by the 1060s. It was seemingly in this decade that two of the three extant eleventh-century Worcester kalendars were written, both of which commemorate Bede's feast.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391: The Portiforium of St Wulfstan

The final eleventh-century liturgical manuscript that will be briefly considered is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391.⁴⁴⁹ This manuscript is commonly known as the 'Portiforium of St Wulfstan', although some early scholarship refers to it as the *Portiforium Oswaldi* or the 'Oswald Breviary' due to a

⁴⁴⁷ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, table V: May.

⁴⁴⁸ Ker, 'Membra disiecta, Second Series,' 83, n. 1.

⁴⁴⁹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 67; Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 104.

late medieval inscription that erroneously assigns the book to Archbishop Oswald.⁴⁵⁰ Study of this manuscript has been complicated by the fact that it has been edited in a very piecemeal manner.⁴⁵¹ Fortunately, the manuscript has now been fully digitised and is available to view online, which allows researchers to see the edited texts within their manuscript context.⁴⁵² The manuscript is small, measuring 225×137 mm, with a written space of 175×95 mm, arranged as a single column that is normally 27 lines to the page.⁴⁵³ However, it is also very a very thick codex, containing 362 folios that have been paginated 1-724.⁴⁵⁴ The manuscript was written at Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century, largely by two principal scribes.⁴⁵⁵ The manuscript also contains additions by known Worcester scribes, such as Hemming (*fl. c.1095*).⁴⁵⁶

The date of the manuscript can be established by the calendrical table (p. 22), which covers the years 1064-1093.⁴⁵⁷ This date range might be narrowed slightly, as a later hand enters the feast of the translation of St Oswald (8 October) to the kalendar (pp. 3-14), which occurred in 1089.⁴⁵⁸ Rushforth has argued that an obit for Archbishop Ealdred (*d. 1069*) entered after the kalendar was written does not necessarily date the manuscript to 1064-1069, because obits were not necessarily entered immediately and Ealdred's obit would have remained important at Worcester for many years.⁴⁵⁹ Instead, she proposes that the manuscript was written after Lanfranc became archbishop of Canterbury in 1070, because the

⁴⁵⁰ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 2:v; see, for example, Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, 1:xvii-xix; and James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:241-242.

⁴⁵¹ Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, 2: 589-600 and 602-4; Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 2 vols; Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. VI; Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 17.

⁴⁵² *Parker Library on the Web*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/th313vp6557>, last accessed 20 March 2018.

⁴⁵³ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, v.

⁴⁵⁴ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, v.

⁴⁵⁵ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:242.

⁴⁵⁶ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 45.

⁴⁵⁷ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, vi.

⁴⁵⁸ Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, xix.

⁴⁵⁹ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 44.

readings in the Office for the Dead (pp. 705-11) show an influence from Caen.⁴⁶⁰ If the Caen influence can confidently be attributed to Lanfranc, then this would narrow the date of composition to 1070-1089. A further detail allows us to pinpoint particular years in which the manuscript may have been being copied. An antiphon for the magnificat on the fourth Sunday in Advent, *O radix Iesse*, was for use on either the 18 or 19 December.⁴⁶¹ According to Rushforth, these dates fell on a Sunday in 1064, 1065, 1070, 1071, 1076, 1081 and 1082.⁴⁶² Thus, depending on whether we accept Rushforth's argument about the added obit for Ealdred, the date range could either be 1070-1082, or 1064-1065. Now that the manuscript has been fully digitised, further evidence may come to light that can date the manuscript with greater certainty.

The contents of the manuscript comprise a compendium of texts needed for performing the Office and includes a kalendar and computistical tables, a psalter with canticles and a litany, a hymnal, collectar and private prayers, as well as numerous other items.⁴⁶³ Consequently, the Portiforium was described by Gneuss as 'the first example of a 'primitive' breviary', in which Office-books are bound together.⁴⁶⁴ The size and contents of the Portiforium have given rise to the suggestion that it may have been designed as a portable service-book for the use of an itinerant priest – perhaps even for the use of Bishop Wulfstan himself.⁴⁶⁵ The Portiforium contains a third Worcester kalendar (pp. 3-14), which has many similarities to the kalendar in Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 113 that we have just discussed.⁴⁶⁶ Nevertheless, the kalendar does not include an entry for Bede (25 May). It may be pertinent to observe that in Table I (in my discussion of the Corpus kalendar above), the Portiforium (no. 21) had a far lower degree of concordance with the kalendar in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 (no. 20) for the month of May

⁴⁶⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 44.

⁴⁶¹ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, vi.

⁴⁶² Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 45.

⁴⁶³ Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, xviii.

⁴⁶⁴ Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,' 111.

⁴⁶⁵ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 65-66; Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 44.

⁴⁶⁶ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 66.

than the kalendar in Hatton 113 (no. 22). Perhaps, therefore, the kalendar's exemplars differed more widely for some months than for others.

Despite the absence of Bede in the kalendar, a litany in the *Portiforium* (pp. 221-5) does include the saint.⁴⁶⁷ Among the litany's entries is an invocation for Bede (*S[an]c[t]e Beda or[a]*) on p. 223.⁴⁶⁸ The invocation is noteworthy because this is the only known manuscript from Anglo-Saxon England that contains Bede among its litany.⁴⁶⁹ However, many of the names in the original litany were erased and rewritten in the first half of the twelfth century, including the entry for Bede.⁴⁷⁰ The fact that Bede's name is entered in a twelfth-century protogothic hand means that we cannot confidently state that Bede had originally been entered in the eleventh-century litany. However, as Lapidge has pointed out, the updated litany contains invocations to many saints that we know were culted in the pre-Conquest period.⁴⁷¹

Another point in favour of the possibility that this litany did originally include an invocation for Bede is that a collect (a short prayer) for Aldhelm and Bede is entered into the same manuscript.⁴⁷² This is on pp. 507-508 and was written in one of the two main eleventh-century hands that wrote the *Portiforium*.⁴⁷³ The collect for Bede on pp. 507-508 is part of a larger collectar that covers pp. 295-559 of the volume.⁴⁷⁴ Dewick and Frere divided the collectar into smaller chunks, and identified pp. 496-543 as a series of supplementary collects of saints.⁴⁷⁵ This series is arranged in calendrical order, with the collect for Aldhelm and Bede following

⁴⁶⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 221-225. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. VI.

⁴⁶⁸ CCC 391, p. 223. *Parker Library on the Web*, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/th313vp6557>, last accessed 20 March 2018.

⁴⁶⁹ Michael Lapidge edits a total of 46. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*; Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 170-171.

⁴⁷⁰ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, 65.

⁴⁷¹ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, 65.

⁴⁷² Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 1:125.

⁴⁷³ Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, xviii.

⁴⁷⁴ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 1:vi.

⁴⁷⁵ Dewick and Frere, *The Leofric Collectar*, xviii.

immediately after three collects in honour of Augustine of Canterbury, apostle to the English (all three feasts were celebrated on 25 May).⁴⁷⁶ The collect runs as follows:

*Eodem die Aldelmi et Bedae. Beatorum confessorum tuorum aldelmi et bedae nos domine / quesumus intercessione laetifica, quorum nos pia tribuisti et doctrina proficere, et iocunda sollempnitate gaudere.*⁴⁷⁷

‘On the same day Aldhelm and Bede. We beseech you Lord to give joy through the intercession of your blessed confessors Aldhelm and Bede, whose accomplishment through pious instruction and joy in pleasant religious observance you bestowed upon us.’

This collect emphasises that both Bede and Aldhelm were remembered as teachers and as models of a pious life. Crucially, it also demonstrates that Bede was given an intercessory role in the religious activities of Worcester Cathedral during the time of Bishop Wulfstan. Thus this collect mitigates the possibility that the commemorations of Bede’s feast in the Worcester calendars were passively copied from the Winchester exemplars, without having any liturgical significance at Worcester. Instead, the liturgical evidence from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 suggests that the cult of Bede was received and cultivated by the cathedral community during the episcopacy of Wulfstan.

When we consider this collect, there are reasons to think that the absence of Bede’s feast in the manuscript’s kalendar is not necessarily problematic. This is because Augustine of Canterbury, Aldhelm and Bede all share the same feast. There is a heavy emphasis on the celebration of Augustine’s feast in the collectar, as he receives three collects while Bede and Aldhelm share one.⁴⁷⁸ Given Augustine’s place in Bede’s *Historia ecclesiastica* as apostle to the English, it is unsurprising that these two confessors are given lesser status. When we look at the corresponding feast (25 May) in the manuscript’s kalendar (p. 7), we can see that Augustine’s name has been entered in majuscules that fill almost the entirety of the ruled line.⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷⁶ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 1:125.

⁴⁷⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 507-508. Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 1:125.

⁴⁷⁸ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, p. 507. *Parker Library on the Web*, last accessed 20 March 2018, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/th313vp6557>.

⁴⁷⁹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, p. 7. *Parker Library on the Web*, last accessed 20 March 2018, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/th313vp6557>.

Neither Aldhelm nor Bede are entered into the kalendar. Whilst the scribe could have chosen to enter these confessors' feasts into the margin, the dominance of St Augustine's feast may have deemed this unnecessary.

Overall, the fact that this collect naming Bede was entered by one of the two original eleventh-century scribes suggests that an invocation to Bede may also have been part of the manuscript's original litany. This is compounded by the fact that this litany is unique among those from Anglo-Saxon England in its invocation to Bede, which suggests a pointed interest in the saint.⁴⁸⁰ At the very least, the litany's invocation demonstrates that the cult of Bede continued to establish itself at Worcester during the early twelfth century. It is also possible that this manuscript contains the earliest extant collect for Bede – I know of no other – but this type of liturgical material has generally received limited study and there may be other collects yet to be discovered.

Given that many of the eleventh-century kalendars containing Bede derive from New Minster, Winchester or show Winchester influence, it is interesting to note that the Portiforium of St Wulfstan may have also been based on a Winchester exemplar.⁴⁸¹ Dom Anselm Hughes identified similarities in the manuscript's private prayers with London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xiv.⁴⁸² This manuscript, sometimes called the 'Leominster Prayerbook' may have originally been accompanied by one of the kalendars containing Bede discussed in section I above (that in London, British Library, Cotton Nero A.ii, 3^r-8^v). Whilst the provenance of this prayerbook may have been the nunnery at Leominster, the invocations in this manuscript do suggest some influence from Winchester.⁴⁸³ Hughes also identified similarities between the tables of the *Commune Sanctorum* (pp. 544-559, and thus part of the collectar section of the manuscript in which the collect for Bede also appears) and the breviary of Hyde Abbey, Winchester.⁴⁸⁴ As the monks of New Minster, Winchester were relocated to Hyde Abbey in the early twelfth century, this evidence, like so much else, indirectly points to the influence of New Minster.

⁴⁸⁰ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 170-171.

⁴⁸¹ Orchard, 'Parallel Lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ,' 51-52.

⁴⁸² Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, vi-vii.

⁴⁸³ Banks, 'Some Anglo-Saxon Prayers from British Museum MS Galba A.XIV,' 208.

⁴⁸⁴ Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, vii.

Patterns for the Liturgical Evidence

From the preceding discussion, we can see that the evidence for acceptance of the cult of Bede in Worcestershire dates from the mid eleventh century. There is no extant evidence for the Oswaldian houses that suggests a veneration for the cult of Bede earlier. The absence of Bede from tenth- and early eleventh-century liturgical manuscripts suggests that Bede was still primarily remembered as a writer rather than a saint among the Oswaldian foundations at that time. This includes the litany in a psalter that may have belonged to Archbishop Oswald himself.⁴⁸⁵ Oswald was certainly interested in early Northumbrian saints such as Bishop Wilfrid and according to Byrhtferth of Ramsey even attempted to refound Ripon with Benedictine monks.⁴⁸⁶ At this point, however, Bede seems to have been a facilitator for other cults rather than the object of one himself.

The theory that Bede had not yet become a significant intercessory saint for the Oswaldian houses in the early eleventh century is supported by the terms applied to Bede by Byrhtferth in his *Enchiridion*. This computistical work, written c.1011 in Latin and Old English, draws widely on the works of Bede (among others), including his *De temporibus*, *De temporum ratione* and *De schematibus et tropis sacrae scripturae liber*.⁴⁸⁷ Byrhtferth also quotes Bede's *De arte metrica* in both the *Enchiridion* and in the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*.⁴⁸⁸ Byrhtferth mentions Bede a number of times in the *Enchiridion*, giving him several different titles.⁴⁸⁹ Byrhtferth describes Bede as *se arwurða Beda* (the 'esteemed' or 'revered' Bede); *reuerentissimus Beda* ('the most reverent Bede'); and *se eadiga wer* ('the blessed man') once each.⁴⁹⁰ However, epithets pertaining to his status as a scholar and teacher are far more prevalent. For example, Bede is described as *astrologus*

⁴⁸⁵ British Library, MS Harley 2904, ff. 209-13. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. xxiv.

⁴⁸⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.9, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 170-172; Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 254.

⁴⁸⁷ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbine*, xxxi-xxxii; Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St John's College 17,' 123-142.

⁴⁸⁸ Lapidge, 'The Library of Byrhtferth,' 689.

⁴⁸⁹ Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual (A.D. 1011)*, 226.

⁴⁹⁰ Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual (A.D. 1011)*, 180, 226, 76.

uenerandus ('the venerable astronomer'); *se arwurða rímcraeftiga* ('the esteemed computist'); *þæs æðelan boceres* ('the noble scholar') and *gumena se getyddusta* ('the most learned of men').⁴⁹¹ One particularly unusual description of Bede, *se æglæca lareow*, received detailed analysis from Alex Nicholls, who concluded that in this context *æglæca* is used to describe Bede as a formidable or awe-inspiring teacher, in order to emphasise the scholar's 'fierce intellect'.⁴⁹²

Theoretically, the emphasis on Bede as a teacher in the *Enchiridion* could derive from the scholarly nature of that work. However, Byrhtferth also mentions Bede once in the *Vita S Oswaldi*, where Byrhtferth describes him as *dignissimus Beda doctor* ('the distinguished scholar Bede').⁴⁹³ This is strikingly different to Byrhtferth's description of Cuthbert in the same work, whom he calls *sanctissimus uir Cuthberhtus* ('the most holy man Cuthbert'), before continuing: *Ambo monachi, ambo pontificalis laudis redimiti podere in aruis, simul et simili gloria gratulantur in astris*.⁴⁹⁴ Whilst Cuthbert is held up as a model of saintliness whom Oswald emulated, in Byrhtferth's hagiography Bede remains inspirational for his learning, rather than for living a Christ-like life. Byrhtferth's tendency to describe Bede as a scholar rather than a saint aligns with the latter's absence among the saints commemorated on the *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey*, which was written at Ramsey c. 992×993.⁴⁹⁵ It appears, therefore, that during the time that Byrhtferth was working, the perception of Bede as an intercessory saint had not yet developed. It is only during the later eleventh century that we begin to see evidence for Bede being culted at the Oswaldian monasteries.

Evidence from the eleventh-century kalendars in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 indicates that Worcester and perhaps Evesham embraced the celebration of Bede's feast that had stemmed from New Minster, Winchester shortly before. Early twelfth-century sources suggest that

⁴⁹¹ Crawford, *Byrhtferth's Manual (A.D. 1011)*, 40-41, 42, 72-73, 44-45.

⁴⁹² Rather than meaning 'monstrous' or 'fierce opponent' as it is typically translated in editions of *Beowulf*. Alex Nicholls, 'Bede 'Awe-inspiring' not 'Monstrous': some problems with Old English *æglæca*,' *Notes and Queries* (June 1991): 147-148.

⁴⁹³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 112.

⁴⁹⁴ 'Both [Cuthbert and Oswald] were monks, both were crowned with the robe of pontifical glory while on earth, and likewise they share a similar glory in heaven.' Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.16, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 134-135.

⁴⁹⁵ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 369.

from this point, the Worcestershire cult of Bede solidified. As we have seen, a litany entered in the *Portiforium of Wulfstan* included an invocation for Bede on p. 223.⁴⁹⁶ Whilst I have argued that there is a reasonable chance that Bede was entered into the original eleventh-century litany, the fact that his name – like many other invocations – was entered in a twelfth-century hand over an erasure means this must remain uncertain. What the entry does demonstrate, however, is an active desire to either perpetuate or integrate the invocation to Bede by the twelfth-century scribe.

There is also evidence that the continued interest in the cult of Bede at Worcester went beyond that of other monastic houses in the first half of the twelfth century. This is a Worcester copy of the anonymous *Vita Bedae* (BHL 1069). This is the earliest extant hagiographic text dedicated to the life and death of Bede.⁴⁹⁷ The *vita* demonstrates local knowledge of Jarrow and appears to have been written in Northumbria, but makes no mention of Durham Cathedral and was thus probably written before the ‘discovery’ of Bede’s bones at the cathedral in 1104.⁴⁹⁸ Copies of the *Vita Bedae* are extant in nine manuscripts, most of which had the medieval provenance of Durham or a neighbouring community.⁴⁹⁹ One of the earliest copies, however, was added to volume one of the Cotton-Corpus legendary (London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i. part 2, ff. 187-8) in the twelfth century. It is in a hand datable to the second quarter of the twelfth century and ascribed to John of

⁴⁹⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, p. 223. *Parker Library on the Web*, last accessed 20 March 2018, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/th313vp6557>.

⁴⁹⁷ BHL 1069. *Bollandists, Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae Et Mediae Aetatis*, 160.

⁴⁹⁸ *Vita Baedae, Auctore Anonymo Pervetusto, Incertæ Ætatis*, ed. Smith, 815-22.

⁴⁹⁹ Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 21245 (formerly MS. Mostyn MS 181: north-east England – Hexham?, s. xiii²); Cambridge, Pembroke College, 82, ff. 124^r-130^v (Tynemouth, s. xii); Durham, Cathedral Library, B.ii.35, ff. 119-23 (Durham, s. xi^{ex}-s. xii¹); London, British Library, Burney 310 (Finchale, 1381); London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i. part 2 (Worcester, s. xi²); London, British Library, Harley 322 (England, s. xiii^{3/4}); London, British Library, Harley 526, part 2 (Durham?, s. xii¹); London, British Library, Harley 4124 (St Mary, Worksop, s. xii^{mid}); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 6, ff. 179^r-184^r (Durham, s. xiv^{mid}). Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, 1:451, no. 985. For descriptions of these manuscripts, see Mynors, *Durham Cathedral Manuscripts*, 32, 41; Rozier, ‘The Importance of Writing Institutional History in the Anglo-Norman Realm,’ 148, 282; Rollason, introduction to *Symeon of Durham, Libellus de exordio*, xxxix; Colgrave and Mynors, introduction to *Bede’s Ecclesiastical History*, xlix-l; and Grocock and Wood, introduction to *Bede, Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ci-cv.

Worcester.⁵⁰⁰ Thus the text was known to the Worcester monks by the first half of the twelfth century.

Two factors distinguish the Worcester copy of the *Vita Bedae*. The first is that the majority of the extant copies were transmitted together with Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and *Historia abbatum*.⁵⁰¹ In comparison, the Worcester *Vita Bedae* has been added to a legendary. It is tempting therefore to associate the Worcester copy with a more active interest in commemorating the cult of the saint than those copies that were transmitted together with Bede's historical works. Secondly, comparison between the earliest Durham copy (Durham, Cathedral Library, B.ii.35, ff. 119-23) and John of Worcester's copy demonstrates a high level of concordance: there are very few variants between the two texts.⁵⁰² This makes a variant in the opening sentence particularly notable. Here, where the Durham copy describes Bede as *sacræ eruditionis Presbyter ac imitabilis vitæ Monachus* ('the priest of sacred erudition and monk of imitable life'), John of Worcester has written *mirabilis vitæ monachus* ('monk of miraculous life').⁵⁰³ This single change strongly suggests that at Worcester at least, the image of Bede had moved from that of a worthy monk and scholar towards sainthood.

A final piece of early twelfth-century evidence suggests that the cult of Bede, once firmly established at Worcester, spread to other Worcestershire houses during the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries. This is the *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe*, which is unique amongst the early English metrical calendars for its inclusion of Bede. This text survives in a twelfth-century Winchcombe manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. iv, ff. 35^r-40^v. This metrical calendar is important because it is one of the only pieces of evidence for the celebration of Bede's feast at Winchcombe in the years following Prior Aldwin's journey to refound

⁵⁰⁰ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, no. 397, 101.

⁵⁰¹ This is the case for 6 of the nine manuscripts: Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales 21245; Cambridge, Pembroke College, 82; Durham, Cathedral Library, B.ii.35; London, British Library, Burney 310; London, British Library, Harley 4124; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Fairfax 6. Grocock and Wood, introduction to *Bede, Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, ci-cxiv.

⁵⁰² London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i. part 2, ff. 187-8; Durham, Cathedral Library, B.ii.35, ff. 119-23. Available to view digitally on 'Durham Cathedral Library MS. B.II.35 Bede and other historical texts,' *Durham Priory Library Recreated*, accessed 12 April 2018, <https://iiif.durham.ac.uk/index.html?manifest=t1mth83kz326&canvas=t1tms35t895r>.

⁵⁰³ London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i. part 2, f. 187^{ra}; *Vita Baedae, Auctore Anonymo Peruetusto, Incertæ Ætatis*, ed. Smith, 815.

monastic life in northern England. The calendar was edited and analysed by Michael Lapidge.⁵⁰⁴ He argued that London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. iv was an early twelfth-century Winchcombe copy of Byrhtferth of Ramsey's lost computistical common-place book, which had initially contained the *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey* mentioned above.⁵⁰⁵ The Winchcombe copy of Byrhtferth's commonplace book included an Abbonian kalendar (ff. 35^r-40^v), into which an updated metrical calendar – the *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe* – was interpolated.⁵⁰⁶

This metrical calendar includes an entry for Bede on 26 May: *Hic flos scriptorum Beda plaudit in arce polorum*.⁵⁰⁷ The calendar was composed, presumably at Winchcombe, using leonine hexameters with bisyllabic rhyme: Lapidge assessed on palaeographical and metrical grounds that it was written in the early twelfth century.⁵⁰⁸ The incorporation of Wulfstan of Worcester in the calendar gives the composition a *terminus post quem* of 1095.⁵⁰⁹ Hayward has closely analysed the twelfth-century *Winchcombe Chronicle* which was entered on ff.1^r – 27^v16 of the same computistical manuscript.⁵¹⁰ His analysis demonstrated that the metrical calendar and the entries in the *Winchcombe Chronicle* down to 1122 were both written by the same scribe.⁵¹¹ This implies that the metrical calendar probably was not copied until the second quarter of the twelfth century, and Hayward has suggested that the texts could have been copied considerably later, as the scribe's hand is also found in a forged Gloucester charter written c.1147.⁵¹² It is interesting that this metrical calendar containing Bede should have been copied by the same scribe as the *Winchcombe Chronicle*, as Hayward has demonstrated that this text derived from a 'common root' that was probably written by John of Worcester.⁵¹³

⁵⁰⁴ Edited by Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 383-386.

⁵⁰⁵ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 376-377.

⁵⁰⁶ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 377.

⁵⁰⁷ Which I translate as: 'Here Bede, the flower of writers, is lauded in the celestial city.' *The Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe*, ed. Lapidge, 385.

⁵⁰⁸ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 377-378.

⁵⁰⁹ *The Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe* 1.7, ed. Lapidge, 384.

⁵¹⁰ Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, esp. ch. 3.

⁵¹¹ Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 106-107.

⁵¹² Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 112-117.

⁵¹³ Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 110-117.

Given its manuscript context and early inclusion of an entry for St Wulfstan, it is tempting to speculate that this twelfth-century metrical calendar may also derive from Worcester, despite its relationship to the tenth-century *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey*. Overall, the *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe* demonstrates Worcester and Winchcombe's extremely close relations in the late eleventh or early twelfth centuries and may suggest that Winchcombe's adoption of the cult of Bede derived from Worcester. Whilst Worcester's copy of the *Vita Bedae* and the *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe* both date to the twelfth century, together they contextualise the later eleventh-century interest in Bede and indicates that the cult continued to solidify in the succeeding decades.

There are only a few extant liturgical sources that hint at an eleventh-century cult of Bede in Worcestershire. What has remained, however, is suggestive. Of the three extant eleventh-century Worcestershire kalendars, two contain entries celebrating the feast of Bede on 26 May. Both seem to date from the 1060s, suggesting that liturgical celebration of Bede's feast was accepted in Worcester from about the mid eleventh century onwards. This is about a quarter of a century after the earliest evidence for the liturgical commemoration of Bede at New Minster, Winchester. It is also a very similar date to the composition of the Red Book of Darley (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422), which shows a high level of concordance to the Worcester kalendar in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9. The collect in the Portiforium of Wulfstan was also written at a similar period, and may also demonstrate use of a Winchester exemplar. Perhaps a Winchester-influenced liturgical text arrived in Worcester via bishops Lyfing or Ealdred, both of whom had links to the West Country.⁵¹⁴ Once the cult had arrived at Worcester, it appears to have been accepted to an unusual degree. One of the Worcester kalendars (that in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9) is the only entry for the feast of Bede in majuscules among any English kalendar dating before 1100.⁵¹⁵ Worcester may have also produced an eleventh-century litany in Wulfstan's Portiforium that was unique in its invocation of Bede.⁵¹⁶ Both the litany and the Winchcombe metrical calendar point to solidification of Bede's position as an intercessory saint in Worcestershire during the last decades of the eleventh century or first decades of the twelfth. Whilst it appears that the initiative to treat Bede as an intercessory saint started at

⁵¹⁴ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 48-50.

⁵¹⁵ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 230.

⁵¹⁶ Bailey, 'Bede's Bones,' 170-171.

Winchester, once the cult reached Worcestershire it quickly took root. It is perhaps in this context that Aldwin, Ælfric and Reinfrid's refoundation of the North may be understood.

III. *Imitabilis vitae monachus*: Bede's place in the *Vita Wulfstani*

Throughout this chapter, it has become increasingly evident that a liturgical cult of Bede developed in Worcestershire during the third quarter of the eleventh century. However, why this cult emerged is less clear. The careers of the Worcester bishops Lyfing and Ealdred might provide plausible contexts for the circulation of liturgical exemplars from Winchester to the Worcester diocese. Yet this does not explain the continued localised interest in the cult in subsequent decades. Thus the circulation of exemplars was only one aspect of why the Worcestershire houses venerated Bede as an intercessory saint. This section will explore what role Bede played in the religious lives of the Worcestershire monks, in order to consider why his cult was developed there. I will do this by considering the *Vita Wulfstani* by William of Malmesbury (*BHL* 8756). Whilst this *vita* arguably constitutes early twelfth-century evidence, I believe that it can shed light on the religious interests and concerns of the Worcester monks in the late eleventh century. Thus I will examine William's *Vita Wulfstani* in order to consider how and why Bede is depicted as a foil for the *vita*'s main object, Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062-1095). By asking this question, I hope to shed light on why the cult of Bede was encouraged in the Worcester diocese, seemingly in a manner unique in eleventh-century England.

William, Coleman or Wulfstan? Bede in the Vita Wulfstani

This section examines the *Vita Wulfstani* (*BHL* 8756) in order to explore how Bede was portrayed in this text. Although the *Vita* concerns the life of Bishop Wulfstan, Bede is mentioned in the text in a manner that suggests that he held spiritual significance for that bishop of Worcester, as well as for his biographer. By analysing the place of Bede in the *Vita Wulfstani*, this section will address a number of important questions. It will consider what aspects of sainthood or imitable life were attributed to Bede by the author of the *Vita Wulfstani*. It will compare these to how other saints are used and portrayed in the same text. Finally, the section will

consider what the portrayal of Bede in the *Vita Wulfstani* may be able to tell us about the interests and concerns of the Worcester monks at the end of the eleventh century. This discussion will thus consider a possible context for why the cult of Bede was encouraged in Worcestershire during the third quarter of the eleventh century.

The *Vita Wulfstani* is an important source for the career of Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1062-1095). Not only does the career of Wulfstan coincide with the period when the cult of Bede was being developed in Worcestershire, but it was also during his episcopacy that the Evesham and Winchcombe monks ventured north to refound the monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. It was also at Wulfstan's Worcester that the kalendars in Corpus Christi College 9 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and the collect in the Portiforium of St Wulfstan were copied. My analysis of the *Vita Wulfstani* will question whether the development of the cult of Bede during the career of Wulfstan was incidental, or whether there is evidence that the bishop encouraged the cult. To examine this question, the section will also need to consider whether the evidence in the *Vita Wulfstani* can offer us insight into the attitudes of Bishop Wulfstan, or whether the treatment of Bede in this text is more clearly attributable to one of Wulfstan's biographers: Coleman or William of Malmesbury.

The *Vita Wulfstani* is a Latin prose account of the life, death and miracles of Wulfstan of Worcester. It was written by William of Malmesbury during the priorate of Warin (c.1124-c.1142) at the request of Warin and the cathedral community.⁵¹⁷ The *Vita* was most recently edited by Michael Winterbottom and Rodney Thomson.⁵¹⁸ According to William, his *Vita* was largely a translation of an Old English Life of Wulfstan written by the Worcester monk Coleman, who had been Wulfstan's pupil and chaplain for fifteen years.⁵¹⁹ The *Vita Wulfstani* is split into three books, preceded by a short prologue and a letter by William of Malmesbury to Prior Warin and the Worcester monks. In William's version, book one covers Wulfstan's family, childhood, and progression through the church until the time of

⁵¹⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* Ep.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 8.

⁵¹⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, in *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, 1-155. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002).

⁵¹⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* Ep. 3, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 10.

the Norman Conquest.⁵²⁰ Book two narrates Wulfstan's time as bishop under the Norman rule, and largely consists of a long list of miracles performed by the bishop during his lifetime.⁵²¹ Book three describes 'his inner life and character.'⁵²² Book three also gives an account of Wulfstan's death, funeral and posthumous miracles.

By William's own admission, this structure is slightly different to Coleman's original text, in which book one ended 'at the point where Wulfstan was elected bishop.'⁵²³ As Thomson and Winterbottom observed, William's comment here on Coleman's structure suggest that in general he followed it quite closely.⁵²⁴ Here we see a divergence in the two biographer's interests: while William emphasises the division between pre- and post-Conquest England, Coleman was more interested in dividing Wulfstan's life into before and after his elevation to the bishopric. Antonia Gransden suggested that Coleman's structure could have been modelled on the *Vita Æthelwoldi*, which was also divided into the bishop's life up to consecration, his episcopate and his lifestyle.⁵²⁵ Indeed, Andy Orchard has convincingly argued that the *Vita Wulfstani* makes use of other *vitae* and comparisons to other saints throughout the text to an unusual degree; he also suggested that this feature was carried over from Coleman's Old English original.⁵²⁶ This active and self-conscious comparison in the *Vita Wulfstani* between Wulfstan and other saints is an important context for interpreting the author's inclusion of Bede.

Near the end of book one of William's *Vita*, Wulfstan is elected bishop of Worcester. The *Vita* records that, upon becoming bishop, Wulfstan's first act was to dedicate a church in honour of Bede:

⁵²⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1-16, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 15-60.

⁵²¹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.1-22, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 60-106.

⁵²² *Nunc interiorem eius uitam et mores dicere aggrediar*. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.1-29, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 106-154, quote at 106-107.

⁵²³ *Colemannus enim in episcopatus eius electione decisionem primam fecit*. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.16, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 58-59.

⁵²⁴ Thomson and Winterbottom, notes to *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, 58, n. 3.

⁵²⁵ Gransden, *Historical Writing in England*, 67-91.

⁵²⁶ Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ,' 39-57.

*Nec mora in medio: altera enim ordinationis die beato Bedae dedicauit aecclesiam, pulchre illi primae dedicationis prebens principium, qui fuisset litteraturae princeps de gente Anglorum.*⁵²⁷

Wulfstan's choice is striking. Not only did the bishop dedicate this church the day after his ordination, but this is also the only known medieval dedication to Bede.⁵²⁸ The church itself has not been identified: Arnold-Forster's *Studies in Church Dedications* lists three English churches dedicated to Bede (at Wearmouth, Gateshead and Liverpool), but all of these dedications are modern.⁵²⁹ Here, as with the litany, we see a member of the Worcester community engaging with the cult of Bede in a manner unparalleled by other eleventh-century churches. In this case, the unique dedication indicates a particular regard for Saint Bede by the Worcester bishop himself.

William's *Vita Wulfstani* commends Wulfstan's choice of Bede for his first dedication, as Bede 'had been the prince of English letters'.⁵³⁰ Bede's own eloquence is here mirrored by Wulfstan's, for the *Vita* states that when Wulfstan preached flocks of people travelled to hear him, wherever he was intending to dedicate a church.⁵³¹ William remarks that there was no doubt that Wulfstan 'owed to the Holy Spirit his command of an eloquence that had once moved the tongue of Bede.'⁵³² This parallel drawn between Bede and Wulfstan mirrors an earlier comparison in the *Vita*, in which Wulfstan's virtues are likened to those of 'the fathers of old'.⁵³³ While it was normal for *vitae* to compare subjects to earlier saints, the choice of

⁵²⁷ 'There was no delay: the day after his ordination he dedicated a church to the blessed Bede, an excellent choice for his first dedication, for Bede had been the prince of English letters.' William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 50-51.

⁵²⁸ Farmer, 'Bede, the Venerable,' in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

⁵²⁹ Arnold-Forster, *Studies in Church Dedications*, 2:66.

⁵³⁰ *qui fuisset litteraturae princeps de gente Anglorum*. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 50-51.

⁵³¹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 50.

⁵³² *ut non dubitaretur Wlstanum per Spiritum sanctum eadem niti facundia quae quondam linguam mouisset in Beda*. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 50-51.

⁵³³ *ita priorum partum uirtuti non absimilis*. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.prol, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 12-14.

Bede – like Wulfstan’s dedication – is significant. The decision to reinforce Wulfstan’s sanctity through comparison to Bede (as well as to better-known saints like Oswald) demonstrates that either Coleman, William of Malmesbury, or their audience (the community of Worcester) had enough belief in the cult of Bede to consider him a suitable foil against which Wulfstan’s status as saint could be championed.

The comparison between the eloquence of Bede and that of Wulfstan does more than merely demonstrate that Bede was a suitable saintly exemplar for the *Vita Wulfstani*. It also emphasises the importance of Wulfstan’s role as an active pastor to his people. The comparison between Wulfstan and Bede is set during Wulfstan’s dedication of a new church, which highlights the bishop’s active interest in administering pastoral duties in his diocese. Furthermore, this dedication is Wulfstan’s first act as bishop, further emphasising his zeal for delivering pastoral care. Numerous miracles narrated in the *Vita Wulfstani* also take place in similar contexts. For example, Wulfstan is depicted consecrating several churches, both within and beyond his diocese, for both churchmen and for wealthy lay landowners.⁵³⁴ Amongst them is an account of Wulfstan’s refoundation of the church at Westbury-on-Trym, which Wulfstan repaired and staffed with monks, placing Coleman himself as its prior.⁵³⁵ The narratives regularly reiterate Wulfstan’s popularity as a preacher, that drew crowds of people to hear him.⁵³⁶ These accounts are in keeping with the studies by John Blair, which demonstrate that Anglo-Saxon minsters were gradually replaced by a network of parishes under the care of the bishop from the second half of the eleventh century.⁵³⁷

Similarly, the *Vita Wulfstani* reports that Wulfstan was very zealous in the consecration of stone altars (replacing uncanonical wooden ones) and in driving out clergymen who were married.⁵³⁸ Chastity is a recurrent theme throughout the *Vita*

⁵³⁴ For example, William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.9, ii.15, ii.17, ii.22 and iii.15, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 78, 88, 94, 104 and 128.

⁵³⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.10, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 120-122.

⁵³⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.15, ii.17 and ii.22, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 88, 94 and 104.

⁵³⁷ Blair, ‘Introduction: From Minster to Parish Church,’ 1-20; idem, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, 426-522.

⁵³⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani*, iii.14 and iii.12, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 128 and 124-126.

Wulfstani, but Wulfstan's behaviour also points to a very proactive interest in the contemporary reforming efforts of the later eleventh-century papacy. The replacement of wooden altars with stone was decreed at the Legatine Council of Winchester in 1070: these canons were copied by a contemporary scribe into the Worcester manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, ff. 2^v-3.⁵³⁹ The expectation that secular priests should repudiate their wives, though dating from the fourth century and promulgated in canons from numerous eleventh-century councils, appears to have been widely ignored well into the twelfth century.⁵⁴⁰ In this context Wulfstan's edict, which – according to the *Vita Wulfstani* – forced the secular clergy to renounce either their wives or their churches and led to some former priests becoming vagrants and dying of starvation, seems zealous to the point of cruelty.⁵⁴¹ As the delivery of pastoral care is so central to the *Vita Wulfstani*, Wulfstan's decision to dedicate his first church to Bede identifies the saint as an important influence on the Worcester bishop.

It appears from this discussion that the comparison between Wulfstan and Bede in the *Vita Wulfstani* belongs within a wider context of contemporary concerns about pastoral care. Though Wulfstan seems to have been particularly zealous, the activities described above are those we would expect of a bishop: the *vitae* written about the reforming bishops of the tenth century likewise portray their subjects involved in similar pastoral duties.⁵⁴² Consequently, we might doubt whether the preoccupation with pastoral care in the *Vita* really tells us much about the Worcester monks' religious interests during the time of Wulfstan. However, it has become increasingly evident through the efforts of scholars like Julia Barrow, John Blair and Francesca Tinti, that the line between secular and monastic communities was often blurred in the late Anglo-Saxon period, and consequently so were the duties of pastoral care.⁵⁴³ This is evident in the *Vita Wulfstani*, which

⁵³⁹ Thomson and Winterbottom, notes to *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives: Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, 128, n. 1.

⁵⁴⁰ For example, the Council of Lisieux (1064), the Council of Winchester (1070), the Council of Rouen (1072), and another Council of Winchester (1076). Whitelock *et al.*, *Councils and Synods*, 1(2):576 and 616-17. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, 162-4.

⁵⁴¹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.12, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 124-126.

⁵⁴² Tinti, 'Benedictine Reform and Pastoral Care in late Anglo-Saxon England,' 238.

⁵⁴³ Barrow, 'How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past,' 53-74; Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*; Blair and Sharpe (eds.), *Pastoral Care before the Parish*; Tinti, 'Benedictine Reform and Pastoral Care in late Anglo-Saxon England,' 229-251.

simultaneously champions the right of monks other than the monk-bishop to administer pastoral care, whilst also closely identifying Wulfstan as a member of the monastic community. According to the *Vita*, when Wulfstan was at Worcester he would act as celebrant at Mass, a duty that the monks would perform for a week on rotation, claiming that as he was a monk of the church but often absent, he would make up the duty that he owed to the church whenever he was present.⁵⁴⁴

Wulfstan's identification as a monk of Worcester was reported to William by Prior Nicholas (c.1113-1124) and thus was presumably not in Coleman's original text.⁵⁴⁵ However, two miracles that argue in favour of monks preaching may well derive from Coleman. One of these recounts the preaching activities of Wulfstan before he became bishop. Whilst he was the prior at Worcester Cathedral, Wulfstan took it upon himself to preach to the laity on Sundays and feast days, as he felt they were not receiving enough sermons.⁵⁴⁶ This activity by another Worcester monk, Winrich, who was from abroad and very learned (his name suggests that he was German).⁵⁴⁷ However, after confronting Wulfstan about his behaviour, which Winrich argued usurped the duties of the bishop, the monk was violently chastised and beaten in a dream.⁵⁴⁸ The author emphasises that Winrich was forced to promise both Wulfstan 'and others' (*et alios*) to preach, and ends by dwelling on the wickedness of discouraging preaching.⁵⁴⁹

The second miracle concerns Coleman himself. According to the *Vita*, as Wulfstan grew older, he began to delegate the task of preaching to Coleman. However, Coleman apparently lacked Wulfstan's talents: though the laity listened avidly to the former, when Coleman preached his audience tended to be

⁵⁴⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.13, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 126.

⁵⁴⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.13, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 126.

⁵⁴⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.8, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 34.

⁵⁴⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.8, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 36 (inc. n. 2).

⁵⁴⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.8, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 36-38.

⁵⁴⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.8, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 38.

discontent.⁵⁵⁰ A certain plasterer, who lived in Worcester and was employed by the cathedral, apparently snubbed Coleman's preaching to such an extent that God decided to make an example of him for ignoring those that preached in Wulfstan's name. Consequently, the man broke both his legs in an accident and was bed-ridden for a year, serving as an example to others who believed 'that what a monk said could safely be ignored'.⁵⁵¹ It seems highly plausible, as argued by Orchard, that this particular miracle was included in Coleman's original Old English *Life*.⁵⁵²

The manner in which preaching by monks is commended in the *Vita Wulfstani* is significant. Recently, George Younge published an article in which he argued that the continued use of Old English texts in the twelfth and even early thirteenth centuries was connected to the role played by English Benedictine cathedrals in the delivery of pastoral care.⁵⁵³ In this article, Younge highlights the fact that monastic involvement in the *cura animarum* was a well-established custom in Anglo-Saxon England, dating back to Augustine's mission to convert the Anglo-Saxons in 597.⁵⁵⁴ He argues that gifts from the laity also provided a powerful economic incentive for the monks to continue this tradition.⁵⁵⁵ By the twelfth century, however, the increasing separation between the contemplative and active lives led to criticism of Benedictine monks who preached by the secular clergy and new religious orders.⁵⁵⁶ Younge argues that in this context of increasing competition and scrutiny from new orders the nature of preaching shifted, and monks began developing strategies to entertain and manipulate their audience rather than simply instructing them.⁵⁵⁷

Although much of Younge's evidence focuses on Latin sources dating to the twelfth century, his theory offers a plausible context for the emphasis on monastic

⁵⁵⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.16, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 92-94.

⁵⁵¹ *propterea quod a monacho diceretur impune posse contempni*. William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.16, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 94-95.

⁵⁵² Orchard, 'Parallel lives: Wulfstan, William, Coleman and Christ,' 54.

⁵⁵³ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 39-82.

⁵⁵⁴ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 52.

⁵⁵⁵ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 43-48.

⁵⁵⁶ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 48-59.

⁵⁵⁷ Younge, 'Monks, Money, and the End of Old English,' 42.

preaching in the *Vita Wulfstani*. The miracle concerning Wulfstan's dispute with the monk Winrich about preaching is particularly defensive about the righteousness of Wulfstan's behaviour: here, God's approbation of Wulfstan and punishment of Winrich is employed as a counterargument to the complaints that Winrich raises.⁵⁵⁸ Other episodes within the text also corroborate Younge's theory. Not only do we learn from the *Vita* that Wulfstan was a very popular preacher, but an account of an episode from his youth also hints at some of the methods which the bishop employed. According to the *Vita*, Wulfstan retained 'unblemished virginity' throughout his life and was eager to encourage others to follow his example.⁵⁵⁹ As a youth, Wulfstan had narrowly avoided being seduced by a local girl and successfully maintained his chastity.⁵⁶⁰ After this day, Wulfstan was free from lustful impulses, and was never again distracted by beauty nor woke to a wet dream.⁵⁶¹

After recounting this episode, William records that Coleman claimed to have learnt the story from the Worcester sub-prior Hemming.⁵⁶² Apparently Hemming had heard the account from Wulfstan himself, many years after the fact, when the latter was bishop of Worcester. The bishop would tell different stories to his listeners, depending on their age and understanding.⁵⁶³ Sometimes these stories were autobiographical, designed to encourage his listeners to believe that such deeds were indeed achievable. So we are told that he used to tell this particular story ('with a pleasant twinkle') to youths.⁵⁶⁴ Here we see Wulfstan striving to entertain his audience by adapting the lessons to their level and needs. From this account it appears that the bishop may have used humour and a little self-deprecation (for he had almost been seduced) in order to educate young adults about chastity. In this

⁵⁵⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.8, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 36-38.

⁵⁵⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 16-17.

⁵⁶⁰ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 18-20.

⁵⁶¹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 20.

⁵⁶² William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 20.

⁵⁶³ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 21.

⁵⁶⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 21.

episode, we see a flash of Coleman's work, but also the notion that Wulfstan's life had been held up as an exemplar even during the bishop's lifetime. In these circumstances, Coleman's Old English *Life* perhaps performs a similar function to Hemming's *Codicellus possessionum*, an account of the spoliation of Worcester, designed to preserve the memories of monks like Bishop Wulfstan himself.⁵⁶⁵ In such a context, it makes sense that Coleman would record the stories in the language in which they had first been told.

The importance of preaching in the *Vita Wulfstani* offers another perspective from which Wulfstan's comparison to Bede might be understood. As we have seen, not only is Bede described as 'the prince of English letters', but Wulfstan's preaching was inspired by the same eloquence as 'had once moved the tongue of Bede'.⁵⁶⁶ This is reminiscent of the collect for Bede in the Portiforium of St Wulfstan (discussed in section II.), which described Bede's accomplishment in religious instruction as a gift bestowed upon the supplicants by the Lord.⁵⁶⁷ The association between Bede and preaching must have also been strengthened by the fact that it was apparently Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* that had inspired Bishop Æthelwold to institute the cathedral priory during the tenth-century monastic reform.⁵⁶⁸ Not only was Bede admired as a teacher, but his texts offered numerous saintly examples (such as Augustine, Cuthbert and Wilfrid) that monks may preach to the laity. As Bede's writings tied him more deeply to questions about questions concerning pastoral care and the contemplative life; his legacy would have increasingly become the *cura animarum* by English Benedictine monks.

Conclusions

In this chapter, I have examined how the communities at Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester engaged with the cult of Bede during the eleventh century. By

⁵⁶⁵ Tinti, 'Si litterali memorię commendarentur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-Century Worcester,' 477-478.

⁵⁶⁶ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.14, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 50.

⁵⁶⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 507-508. Hughes, *The Portiforium of Saint Wulstan*, 1:125.

⁵⁶⁸ Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast,' 25, 37-42.

considering eleventh-century Benedictine calendars, I have traced the spread of the cult, which was seemingly first encouraged at New Minster, Winchester and was adopted in the Worcester diocese around the middle of the eleventh century. When this kalendar evidence is juxtaposed with Bede's appearance in the litany and collects of the *Portiforium of St Wulfstan* and his significance to Bishop Wulfstan according to the *Vita Wulfstani*, it paints a picture of a precocious interest in St Bede that pre-dated the promotion of the cult at Durham from the early twelfth century. Looking forward into the first half of the twelfth century, the inclusion of Bede in the *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe* and the unique treatment of the Worcester copy of the *Vita Bedae* suggest that the communities in the Worcester diocese continued to treat Bede with greater reverence than even at Durham.

The early commemoration of Bede's feast in eleventh-century Winchester calendars raises some interesting questions about the textual exchanges between the Winchester and Worcester dioceses during the mid eleventh century, as Worcester appears to have been drawing on Winchester for its liturgical material. Perhaps more pertinent to this study, however, is the fact that the two localities for which eleventh-century evidence of the commemoration of Bede's feast survives are each closely tied to major players in the tenth-century Benedictine reform movement, Æthelwold and Oswald. Could the Winchester and Worcester dioceses' liturgical commemoration of Bede have stemmed from Æthelwold's endorsement of the vision of the church presented in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*?⁵⁶⁹ It seems possible that attitudes of the Benedictine reformers and their followers in the late tenth century could have laid the groundwork for the cult of Bede to develop at reformed sites in subsequent decades. A second possibility that deserves future study is whether the cult of Bede had been brought to England via continental liturgical exemplars, in much the same way as Æthelwold and his students seems to have acquired copies of Bede's works from the Continent.⁵⁷⁰ In both cases, the participation of the Worcester diocese in the tenth-century Benedictine reform may have had a profound impact on the later local cult of Bede, but whether this was due to particular spiritual interests inherited from the reform or the availability to exemplars is more difficult to determine. The two factors might not be mutually exclusive. Furthermore, neither factor can account for the fact that not all reformed houses included Bede in their liturgical texts, nor the fact that subsequent interest in

⁵⁶⁹ Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast,' 38-41.

⁵⁷⁰ Rowley, 'Bede in later Anglo-Saxon England,' 225-226.

the cult varied between each diocese. Whilst not the only factor in the development of a Worcester cult of Bede, the spiritual idiosyncrasy of the diocese does seem to have played a role in its success.

The chapter has also raised some interesting questions regarding the dissemination of the cult of Bede within the Worcester diocese. The shared interest in culting Bede among the monasteries of Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester demonstrates that saints' cults can be examined in order to study monastic relationships. However, given the physical proximity of the houses under consideration, it is difficult to distinguish between the impact of locality and that of a shared history. The evidence suggests two potential models of how the cult of Bede was disseminated. The first is that Worcester received liturgical texts celebrating the cult of Bede from Winchester Cathedral, then the cult was carried thence to neighbouring communities in the Worcester diocese. The other is that interest in Bede permeated through the diocese more organically, perhaps brought to multiple locations within the Worcester diocese by ecclesiastics with a prior connection to Winchester, such as Abbot Foldbriht of Pershore, or Bishop Ealdwulf of Worcester.

We have seen that, as in the case of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, the influences that affected a kalendar's contents could be complex and that it can sometimes be reductive to ascribe a kalendar to a single institution. Overall, however, it does appear that Worcester cathedral was the primary instigator in the establishment of a Worcestershire cult of Bede. Not only do the earliest liturgical texts from the Worcester diocese that celebrate the cult survive in manuscripts of a Worcester provenance, but analysis of the *Vita Wulfstani* suggests that Bishop Wulfstan himself may have encouraged the cult. This has interesting implications for the role of an influential individual such as the bishop of Worcester on disseminating texts to communities within the local diocese. Furthermore, it also raises questions about how ideas and texts travelled between houses, and what types of interactions between the communities encouraged their spread. In the next chapter, it is this question of what kinds of relationships could exist between monastic communities to which we will turn.

Chapter Two. Contextualising Conflict: the afterlives of St Ecgwine of Evesham

I. The Evesham-Worcester Dichotomy

On 16 February 1077 or 1078 Æthelwig, abbot of Evesham, died.⁵⁷¹ He had been abbot of Evesham for almost two decades and during that time had greatly increased the size and prosperity of the Evesham community. Æthelwig's life and death are recorded in a detailed biography. Today the biography is only extant in Thomas of Marlborough's thirteenth-century *Historia abbatiae de Evesham*, but R. R. Darlington has persuasively argued that it was composed in the eleventh century shortly after Æthelwig's death.⁵⁷² The level of specific detail, the author's claim to have witnessed some of the events with his own eyes, and his concluding statements at the end of the account all suggest that the biographical account was indeed once a discrete work written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century.⁵⁷³ According to this biography, in 1066 Æthelwig quickly submitted to William the Conqueror, who subsequently entrusted the abbot with judicial oversight of Worcestershire, Gloucestershire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Herefordshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire.⁵⁷⁴ Unlike many other abbeys and churches, Æthelwig had successfully protected his abbey from losing any lands or possessions following the Conquest.⁵⁷⁵ Furthermore, the biography states that the Evesham abbot had also protected many people who had suffered from the change in regime. This included sheltering and

⁵⁷¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.171, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 174.

⁵⁷² Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, Part I,' 2-10.

⁵⁷³ *Nunc igitur in fine huius operis uolumus per ordinem terras demonstrare quas ipse a rege Æduardo et ab aliis bonis hominibus laboriosissime maximaque pecunia redimendo adquisiuit huic sancte ecclesie.* Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.166, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 172.

⁵⁷⁴ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.155-156, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 162.

⁵⁷⁵ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.156, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 162.

feeding the people that had fled south from William's Harrying of the North.⁵⁷⁶ The abbot was remembered as a generous benefactor of the church, as well as a 'father to the poor, a judge of widows, wards, orphans, and foreigners, and with great gentleness consoled all who were wretched'.⁵⁷⁷ After suffering from gout for many years, the abbot finally succumbed to his affliction. He made confession, received the last rites and died surrounded by the monastic brethren whom he had loved as a father.⁵⁷⁸ In this biography, Æthelwig balances his political power with generosity and benevolence.

At the neighbouring church of Worcester, however, another late eleventh-century text remembers the Evesham abbot very differently. According to the monk Hemming, Æthelwig had made use of his political power following the Norman Conquest to defraud Worcester Cathedral of many vills.⁵⁷⁹ Following a bitter dispute between Evesham and Worcester, Æthelwig died (from his gout) without making peace with Bishop Wulfstan, nor having received absolution from him.⁵⁸⁰ Nevertheless, upon hearing of his death, Wulfstan prayed for the dead man's soul. Whilst praying, however, he was suddenly afflicted by an extremely painful attack of gout.⁵⁸¹ Physicians could not heal him and feared for Wulfstan's life. Turning to prayer where human help had failed, it was revealed to Wulfstan that the cause of the gout was because he had prayed for the abbot's soul: if he wished to be cured, he should desist.⁵⁸² Wulfstan stopped praying for the abbot and within a few days had returned to health. 'Thus,' concluded Hemming, 'we can gather how great the condemnation must be, to attack the lands and possessions of a monastery, and to

⁵⁷⁶ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.159 ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 166.

⁵⁷⁷ *Pater quoque pauperum, iudex uiduarum, pupillorum, orphanorum, peregrinorum, omnium miserorum consolatory erat piissimus.* Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.159, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 166.

⁵⁷⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.171, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 174.

⁵⁷⁹ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:270-272.

⁵⁸⁰ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:272.

⁵⁸¹ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:272.

⁵⁸² *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:272-273.

steal from a monastery, because even God rejects entreaties on behalf of the thieves.⁵⁸³

Hemming's account paints a bleak picture of relations between the two houses by the end of the eleventh century. The bitter condemnation of Æthelwig and Hemming's subsequent narrative about Wulfstan's partial success at reclaiming Worcester estates from Æthelwig's successor, Abbot Walter (1078-1104), suggest that during the final decades of the eleventh-century the houses' interactions were defined by strife.⁵⁸⁴ The career of Abbot Æthelwig is interesting, as his success seems to have made him a particularly contentious figure. He also lived at a politically unstable time that made his acquisitive behaviours expedient in order to protect and consolidate his abbey. Indeed, the extraordinary careers of both Abbot Æthelwig and Bishop Wulfstan II in the aftermath of 1066 have attracted the attention of commentators for many years.⁵⁸⁵ The charismatic presence of these two 'survivors' of the Norman Conquest and the abundance of extant evidence pertaining to the legal disputes that both men engaged in – sometimes with the assistance of and sometimes against the other – have naturally attracted a good deal of attention.⁵⁸⁶ The interactions between these two men have consequently coloured our understanding of the communities' relationships during and after the eleventh century deeply.

Of course, the relationship between Evesham and Worcester reached far beyond Wulfstan II or Æthelwig's career, to their earliest history. Evesham had been originally founded in the early eighth century by Ecgwine, the third bishop of Worcester, just fifteen miles from his episcopal seat. The little evidence that we have for Evesham's early abbots tends to portray them as members of the Worcester bishop's entourage.⁵⁸⁷ One ninth-century abbot in particular, Cynehelm, seems to have been a close companion of Bishop Wærferth of Worcester (872-915) and in one

⁵⁸³ *Unde colligere possumus, quante dampnationis sit, terras et possessiones monasteriorum invadere, et monasteriis auferre, quando etiam pro ipsis raptoribus exorari Deus aversatur. Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:273. Translation is my own.

⁵⁸⁴ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:270-273.

⁵⁸⁵ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 74-75.

⁵⁸⁶ E.g. Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, Part I,' 1; and Clarke, 'Uses and Abuses of Foundation Legends,' 134-135.

⁵⁸⁷ Clarke, 'Uses and Abuses of Foundation Legends,' 128-129.

charter is described as the bishop's kinsman (*propinquus*).⁵⁸⁸ As we saw in the thesis introduction, it is likely that during the tenth-century Benedictine Reform that Oswald was charged with care of the reformed houses in the Worcester diocese – which would include Evesham – regardless of whether or not he was directly responsible for the house's reform.⁵⁸⁹ This tenth-century community was probably driven out by Ealdorman Ælfhere following the death of King Edgar, removing the church from Oswald's influence.⁵⁹⁰ However, the *Historia abbatiae de Evesham* records that Evesham once again fell under direct episcopal oversight during the later 990s and remained under the bishop's protection until the installation of Abbot Æthelwig c. 1014.⁵⁹¹ Clearly, the relationships between the neighbouring communities were ancient and intimate.

The historic connections and geographic proximity between these two communities raise a number of questions about their eleventh-century relationship. By the time that Thomas of Marlborough was writing in the thirteenth century, Evesham had acquired considerable privileges and had recently won a serious dispute with the bishop of Worcester regarding the abbey's exemption from the bishop and its jurisdiction over the parish churches located within the Vale of Evesham.⁵⁹² Earlier periods of subordination or dependency upon Worcester were thus perceived as dark times in Evesham Abbey's history. It is unclear, however, both how the earlier Evesham monks had perceived this 'subordinate' relationship and when exactly independence from the bishop became an important matter to the community. To what degree did the houses' attitudes towards one another – and thus their relationship – alter or remain stable during the century between the deaths of Oswald and Wulfstan II? The houses' long shared history also raises the important question about the degree to which late eleventh-, twelfth- and thirteenth-century disputes prompted later members of each community to rewrite their past. How representative is Hemming's narrative of Bishop Wulfstan's

⁵⁸⁸ S 1282, *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 15 Jun 2018, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1282.html#>.

⁵⁸⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 110-112.

⁵⁹⁰ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.134, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 142.

⁵⁹¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.139-144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146-150.

⁵⁹² Sayers and Watkiss, introduction to *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, xv-xvi.

quarrels with the abbots of Evesham of the interactions between their communities during the eleventh-century? The challenges posed by the Norman Conquest were the finale of decades marked by political upheaval and factional disputes.⁵⁹³ It would be interesting to trace, therefore, the degree to which external cultural and political changes might have prompted monastic communities to reimagine their place in history and in relation to their neighbours. It is worth examining whether rivalries over land came to define the communities' perception of each other, or whether a productive undercurrent of exchange, or even friendship, lay beneath.

Thus in this chapter, I will offer an in-depth analysis of the changing relationships between the communities at Evesham and Worcester in particular. I will do this by examining the cult of the saint that had bound them together from the beginning of their history: St Ecgwine, who was remembered as the founder and first abbot of Evesham, but who was also a former bishop of Worcester. I will particularly focus on analysing the earliest *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, by Byrhtferth of Ramsey. I will explore what this text can tell us about the context in which this first *Vita* was written and whether it can shed light on the communities' relationships in the early eleventh century. By starting my analysis some decades before the late eleventh-century disputes between the two houses, I hope to trace the degree to which the community's relationship changed over the period. I hope this chapter will also shed light on what the communities shared, as well as how each house defined itself in opposition to its neighbours. By studying just two houses for a longer period, I will have an opportunity to analyse monastic interactions in greater detail, in order to consider whether the dynamics of the relationship were generally consistent or adaptable, and the degree to which they could change within the context of a politically turbulent century.

Introducing Ecgwine

At the heart of this chapter lies the cult of a very obscure saint, Ecgwine. According to his later biographers, Ecgwine had been the third bishop of Worcester and had also founded the abbey of Evesham.⁵⁹⁴ Writing in the twelfth century, John of Worcester calculated that Ecgwine had succeeded Offfor as bishop of Worcester

⁵⁹³ E.g. Baxter, 'MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Mid-Eleventh-Century England,' 1189-1227.

⁵⁹⁴ Lapidge, *The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine*, 77.

in 692 and died on 30 December 717.⁵⁹⁵ John's dates for the saint's career presumably derive from charter evidence, as Ecgwine appears as witness or beneficiary in several extant charters that are variously dated between 692 and 717.⁵⁹⁶ The earliest extant copies of many of these charters are transmitted in eleventh- and twelfth-century cartularies and are problematic in their current form.⁵⁹⁷ A slightly later date for Ecgwine's accession to the Worcester see is suggested by another charter, dated c.697, in which his predecessor Bishop Offfor is granted forty-four hides at Fladbury (Worcs.).⁵⁹⁸ As with many of the charters for Ecgwine, this earliest copy of this text is transmitted in the *Liber Wigorniensis*, an early eleventh-century Worcester cartulary.⁵⁹⁹

Other early evidence for Ecgwine's life is sparse. He is not mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, nor in the writings of Bede.⁶⁰⁰ There are four episcopal lists surviving in manuscripts dated to c.1100 or earlier that include Ecgwine.⁶⁰¹ Ecgwine is also named in the Old English resting-places list, *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum, þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, which states that he was buried at Evesham.⁶⁰² By the late tenth century Ecgwine's cult seemingly lay at Evesham. Ecgwine remained Evesham's primary saint (alongside saints Wigstan, Odulf and Credan) for the remainder of the abbey's history.

Overall, it seems unlikely that the author of the earliest known *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* had very much evidence upon which to base his text. This *vita*, which is transmitted in a single anonymous copy, was convincingly linked to Byrhtferth of

⁵⁹⁵ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 692 and 717, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:157 and 2:175.

⁵⁹⁶ S 22; S 54; S 62; S 64; S 75; S 78; S 79; S 80; S 81; S 83; S 97; S 248; S 1026; S 1174; S 1175; S 1177; S 1259; S 1251; S 1252; S 1255; S 1423; S 1430a. *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 20 Mar 2018, http://pase.ac.uk/jsp/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=4476&level=1&lbl=Ecgwine.

⁵⁹⁷ Lapidge, 'Ecgwine [St Ecgwine] (d. 717?)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁵⁹⁸ 'S 76,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁵⁹⁹ London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A XIII, ff. 1-118, at f. 9^{r-v}. *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:21-22.

⁶⁰⁰ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 293.

⁶⁰¹ Page, 'Anglo-Saxon Episcopal Lists, Part III,' *Nottingham Medieval Studies*, 4-21.

⁶⁰² Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, 17, 19.

Ramsey in a definitive article by Michael Lapidge in 1979.⁶⁰³ Byrhtferth wrote this *vita* for the monks of Evesham Abbey, whom he addressed in the text's penultimate line.⁶⁰⁴ Internal evidence implies that Byrhtferth was writing this *vita* after AD 1000, as he states that he and his readers have lived 'in the last part of the millennium and beyond'.⁶⁰⁵ As Lapidge points out in his introduction to the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, the paucity of information concerning Ecgwine's life meant that Byrhtferth had to resort to much ingenuity in order to work up the information available from a few charters and the testimony of the Evesham monks themselves.⁶⁰⁶ The resulting *vita* is rather generic, but was nevertheless largely followed by later hagiographers.

The outline for Ecgwine's life presented in Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is as follows: Ecgwine, whose episcopacy spanned the reigns of the Mercian kings Æthelred (675-704) and Cenred (704-709), was bishop of Worcester and built a minster at Evesham.⁶⁰⁷ He was born of royal stock and his childhood was enriched with religious instruction.⁶⁰⁸ During the reign of Æthelred, Ecgwine was made bishop.⁶⁰⁹ Before long, however, Ecgwine's practice of stern preaching turned some people against him, who accused him before a *witan* of unspecified 'deceits and crimes'.⁶¹⁰ Despite Ecgwine's innocence, both King Æthelred and the pope (whom Byrhtferth does not name) demanded that he should go to Rome.⁶¹¹

Ecgwine proceeded first to Canterbury, travelling in iron fetters that he had bound himself in before leaving his diocese.⁶¹² However, upon his arrival in Rome,

⁶⁰³ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 295-303.

⁶⁰⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 302.

⁶⁰⁵ *in ultima millenarii ... parte et ultra progressi*. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 280.

⁶⁰⁶ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, lxxxiii.

⁶⁰⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* pref., ed. and trans. Lapidge, 210-211, inc. n. 29.

⁶⁰⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 218-220.

⁶⁰⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.10, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 222.

⁶¹⁰ *fradues et uitia*. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 228-230.

⁶¹¹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230.

⁶¹² Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230.

Ecgwine's companions caught a fish that miraculously had the key to Ecgwine's chains in its stomach.⁶¹³ Rejoicing in this proof of his innocence, Ecgwine was kindly received by the pope, who presently sent Ecgwine back to his diocese with a full papal blessing.⁶¹⁴ King Æthelred received him joyfully, and reinstated Ecgwine to his office.⁶¹⁵ At an unspecified time after this one of Ecgwine's swineherds, called Eoves, had a vision of the Virgin Mary and duly informed the bishop.⁶¹⁶ Ecgwine proceeded to the site of the miracle, and after remaining there for a long time in prayer, he was granted a sight of the Virgin.⁶¹⁷ He founded a minster at the spot where the vision had occurred.⁶¹⁸ This site, named after the swineherd, was Evesham.

Ecgwine subsequently acquired lands for his monastery of Evesham, and presently returned to Rome in order to have the new monastery's liberty confirmed.⁶¹⁹ Once Ecgwine had returned, the papal grant was confirmed back in England at a synod at Alcester, after which Bishop Ecgwine and Bishop Wilfrid (here anachronistically called archbishop) brought the documents to Evesham and consecrated the monastery.⁶²⁰ Having attained a venerable age, Ecgwine was seized by illness, gave his monks a deathbed speech and died on 30 December. After his death Ecgwine performed miracles, four of which are described.⁶²¹ This summary of Byrhtferth's narrative demonstrates that Ecgwine's life was either rather uneventful or that Byrhtferth had very little information at his disposal when he wrote the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. Byrhtferth enriched this narrative by placing it within a complicated allegorical framework, replete with widespread hagiographical topoi and international popular tales.⁶²² For example, the miracle concerning the discovery of the key to Ecgwine's shackles in the belly of a fish has its roots in Herodotus'

⁶¹³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230-232.

⁶¹⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 232-234.

⁶¹⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii.1, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 236-238.

⁶¹⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 248.

⁶¹⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 250.

⁶¹⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 250.

⁶¹⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.1-3, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 252-258.

⁶²⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.4-7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 258-266.

⁶²¹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.5-11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 276-302.

⁶²² Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, lxxxiv-lxxxv.

account of the ring of Polycrates: varieties of this tale were employed by many medieval hagiographers.⁶²³

Byrhtferth's narrative was closely followed by later *vitae* of Ecgwine. The serious lack of evidence for Ecgwine's life prevented the later hagiographers of Evesham from substantially altering Byrhtferth's original model beyond stylistic improvement, as Lapidge has demonstrated in great detail.⁶²⁴ Consequently, the same outline of Ecgwine's career is present in the later *vitae* of Ecgwine.⁶²⁵ Nevertheless, Ecgwine's elusiveness also offered the hagiographers a great deal of narrative freedom and the details of Ecgwine's career were subtly adapted over the years according to contemporary beliefs and needs. In the following section I will examine the context in which Byrhtferth's own *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* was composed, in order to attempt to shed fresh light on the interests and relationships of the Evesham community in the early eleventh century.

II. Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*

The date and context of Byrhtferth's Vita Sancti Ecgwini

Until relatively recently, the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* by Byrhtferth of Ramsey received little scholarly attention.⁶²⁶ The *Vita* was edited by J. A. Giles in his *Vita [sic] Quorundum [sic] Anglo-Saxonum* (1854), and was described in some detail by Thomas Duffus Hardy in his *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*.⁶²⁷ Nevertheless, it wasn't until Michael Lapidge turned his attention to Ecgwine in the 1970s that the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*

⁶²³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230, inc. n. 69.

⁶²⁴ Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine,' 84-85.

⁶²⁵ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*. Book I edited as Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*, ed. Lapidge. Book II is unprinted and transmitted in Hereford, Cathedral Library, MS. P.VII.6.; Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss.

⁶²⁶ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 299.

⁶²⁷ Giles, *Vita [sic] Quorundum [sic] Anglo-Saxonum*, 349-396; Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue*, no. 942, 415-417.

received rigorous scholarly attention.⁶²⁸ Lapidge also edited the *vita* and translated the text for the first time.⁶²⁹ Recently, more scholars have begun to pay attention to Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. Notable examples are Catherine Cubitt, who studied the relationship between the text and folklore; and Rebecca Stephenson, who analysed the text in order to suggest a potential relationship between Byrhtferth's use of computus and Benedictine identity.⁶³⁰ However, Lapidge's contribution to scholarly understanding of Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* has been very substantial and his scholarship continues to dominate discussions about the date and origins of this text. Nevertheless, as Lapidge himself admits, the context in which he places the composition of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is theoretical.⁶³¹ Thus, in the following section I will examine the theoretical context suggested by Lapidge, which has received general acceptance, alongside other possible contexts in which Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* may have been written.

The sole surviving copy of Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is transmitted in ff. 24^r-34^v of London, British Library, Cotton Nero E.i, part 1. This manuscript is the first volume of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, a mid eleventh-century Worcester manuscript that I introduced in chapter one. As with the Worcester copy of the *Vita Bedae*, the quires containing Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Ecgwini* were later additions to the original legendary.⁶³² The *Vita S. Ecgwini* was one of four texts that were placed before the original content list (now ff. 55^{r-v}).⁶³³ Lapidge has argued that four contiguous accretions on ff. 3^r-53^r – Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi* (ff. 3^r-23^v) and *Vita S. Ecgwini* (ff. 24^r-34^v), and the Winchester texts Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* (ff. 35^r-52^v) and 'Aurea lux patrie' (ff. 52^v-53^r) – were written in Anglo-Caroline minuscule by a single scribe in the second half of the eleventh

⁶²⁸ From 1977-1979 Lapidge released three articles that all discuss Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*: 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine'; 'Dominic of Evesham "Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris"; and 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*.'

⁶²⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 205-303.

⁶³⁰ Cubitt, 'Folklore and Historiography,' 189-223, at 198-200; Stephenson, 'Saint Who? Building Monastic Identity through Computistical Inquiry,' 118-137.

⁶³¹ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 304.

⁶³² Jackson and Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary,' 132.

⁶³³ London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. 1, part 1, ff. 1-55. Observed during an examination of the manuscript at the British Library, 13th August 2015.

century, which provides us with a rough *terminus ante quem*.⁶³⁴ As we have seen above, internal evidence from the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* suggests that it was composed for the Evesham community after 1000 A.D., and stylistic evidence shows that it was almost certainly composed by the Ramsey monk Byrhtferth. Beyond these points, the *vita* offers little internal evidence that scholars can use to pinpoint the date and context of its composition. Nevertheless, it is possible to use other contextual information about early eleventh-century Evesham Abbey to build a hypothesis about when the *vita* was written, and for whom.

Michael Lapidge's suggestions about the date and context of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* have been fundamental. Since Byrhtferth's *vita* makes use of charter material and local folk tales, Lapidge argues that Byrhtferth would most likely have had to go to Evesham in order to write it.⁶³⁵ Furthermore, he tentatively suggested that Byrhtferth may have spent a period of time at Evesham in or after 1016, and have written the *vita* in recompense for the Evesham monks' hospitality.⁶³⁶ Lapidge's hypothesis is based upon the theory that Byrhtferth may have left Ramsey for a period of time after Cnut's victory at the battle of Ashingdon (1016): the *Chronicle* of Hugh Candidus claims that Cnut threatened to destroy Ramsey Abbey after the monks were accused of a 'grievous crime'.⁶³⁷ As the current abbot of Ramsey, Wulfsgie, and the former abbot, Bishop Eadnoth of Dorchester, were both killed at Ashingdon, it is easy to see why Lapidge could date Ramsey Abbey's alleged 'crimes' to 1016.⁶³⁸ Furthermore, in Hugh Candidus' account, this event follows immediately after Abbot Ælfsige of Peterborough had sent the relics of St Florentius to Peterborough.⁶³⁹ He had acquired these relics during Emma's exile to Normandy: he had accompanied her thence and remained there for three years.⁶⁴⁰ Consequently, the near-suppression of Ramsey Abbey presumably occurred soon

⁶³⁴ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xcvi.

⁶³⁵ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 303-304.

⁶³⁶ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xxix.

⁶³⁷ *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. Mellows and Mellows, 26.

⁶³⁸ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xxvii.

⁶³⁹ *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. Mellows and Mellows, 25.

⁶⁴⁰ *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. Mellows and Mellows, 25.

after 1013x1016. Ælfweard, a former monk of Ramsey, became abbot of Evesham c.1014 and thus gave Byrhtferth somewhere to stay.⁶⁴¹ As these events occurred shortly after the millennium, they fit neatly into an explanation about why a Ramsey monk wrote the *vita* of an Evesham saint.

When Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is classified as a straightforward institutional hagiography written for an independent Evesham, Lapidge's theory is certainly attractive. However, as Lapidge himself acknowledges, his explanation is entirely hypothetical. Hugh Candidus' *Chronicle* is our only source for Ramsey's crisis. Furthermore, even if Hugh's account is entirely accurate, we have no evidence that any Ramsey monks (Byrhtferth included) chose to leave their monastery during this time.

On the other hand, Cyril Hart, in an extensive study about Byrhtferth's involvement in the learning and literature of Ramsey Abbey, assumed that Byrhtferth was patronised by Wulfstan the Homilist (archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester from 1002) when writing the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*.⁶⁴² Hart also credited Wulfstan for commissioning the Ramsey monk to write the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, since Oswald had been one of Wulfstan's predecessors at both Worcester and York, as well as two recensions of Byrhtferth's *Northumbrian Chronicle* and Asser's *vita* of Alfred the Great.⁶⁴³

There are some serious problems with Hart's theory. Hart explained that the wider historical events recorded in Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* reflected 'the far-flung interests of Wulfstan, who commissioned it.'⁶⁴⁴ However, I have been unable so far to find Hart's explanation as to why a *vita* of Oswald written for Wulfstan did not recount Oswald's translation on 15 April 1002.⁶⁴⁵ Oswald's translation took place during the life of Wulfstan's predecessor, Ealdwulf (*d.* May or June 1002).⁶⁴⁶ Consequently, Hart would need to proffer an explanation as to why

⁶⁴¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 148.

⁶⁴² Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 1, 119.

⁶⁴³ Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 1, 229-230.

⁶⁴⁴ Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 1, 23.

⁶⁴⁵ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1002, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:453.

⁶⁴⁶ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:453, n. 5.

Wulfstan, then bishop of London, would go to the trouble of commissioning a *vita* for a former bishop of another see.⁶⁴⁷ There are also problems with the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. Hart discusses this *vita* with limited reference to the monks of Evesham, although he does suggest that the community was a Worcester satellite.⁶⁴⁸ He provisionally dates the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* to 1002-1008: although this would fit well with Byrhtferth's statement about progressing beyond the millennium, Hart can offer no evidence to support this estimated date.⁶⁴⁹ Even Hart's connection between Archbishop Wulfstan and Byrhtferth seems to be inferential, as I am yet to find a passage where he offers any solid evidence for Wulfstan's patronage. Despite the problems with the way in which Hart presented his theories, the idea that Byrhtferth wrote for Evesham Abbey during the period when it was under the protection of the bishops of Worcester (c. 997 – c. 1014) is interesting. It is true that direct proof that Byrhtferth was commissioned by a bishop of Worcester is lacking. However, a scholarly discussion about alternative contexts for the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* will demonstrate that Lapidge's hypothesis is not the only viable theory. It is important, therefore, to explore whether any other plausible contexts for the composition of Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* exist.

According to Thomas of Marlborough, Ælfweard was Evesham's first independent abbot since the late tenth century.⁶⁵⁰ Thomas states that Ælfweard, a former monk of Ramsey and kinsman of Cnut was made an abbot under the king's protection in 1014.⁶⁵¹ During his abbacy (c.1014-1044), Ælfweard enthusiastically improved his abbey through the (re-)acquisition of lands and the procurement of the relics of saints Wigstan and Odulf.⁶⁵² Consequently, he would seem to be the ideal candidate for commissioning a *vita* of his monastery's founder. His prior connection to Ramsey seems to favour Lapidge's theory and estimated dates. However, there

⁶⁴⁷ Furthermore, Wulfstan's origins in Ely or Peterborough make him a much more likely student of Æthelwold than of Dunstan or Oswald.

⁶⁴⁸ Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 2, bk. 1, 8.

⁶⁴⁹ Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 2, bk. 2, 509.

⁶⁵⁰ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152.

⁶⁵¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 148.

⁶⁵² Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.144-146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 148-152.

are questions about Ælfweard's abbacy that cannot be easily reconciled with Thomas of Marlborough's triumphant account.

One of the complications with Thomas of Marlborough's *History* is the reference to a familial relationship between Ælfweard and Cnut.⁶⁵³ Cnut was apparently instrumental in Ælfweard's acquisition of Broadwell [Glos.], Badby and Newnham [Northants.], and in Wigstan's translation from Repton to Evesham.⁶⁵⁴ This patronage could support claims of their relationship. However, Thomas of Marlborough also states that Ælfweard received the abbacy from King Æthelred II in 1014. Cnut's father Swein had invaded Æthelred's kingdom and driven him from the country.⁶⁵⁵ Why, then, would Æthelred patronise a relative of Cnut (and Swein) immediately after his return from exile?

Ann Williams has tried to reconcile these facts by suggesting that Ælfweard may in fact have been related to Cnut's first consort, Ælfgifu of Northampton.⁶⁵⁶ This suggestion makes more sense, although the strained relationship between Ælfgifu's family and Æthelred II in the early eleventh century may make the promotion of Ælfgifu's kinsman to the abbacy of Evesham unlikely.⁶⁵⁷ An eleventh-century Evesham charter, S 1423, complicates the picture further. This charter was preserved as a chirograph at Worcester (London British Library, Additional Charter 19796), and records an exchange between Abbot Ælfweard and the community of Evesham with a certain 'Æthelmær,' to whom Evesham let the estate at Norton for three lives.⁶⁵⁸ The witness list for this charter begins:

⁶⁵³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 150.

⁶⁵⁴ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 150-152.

⁶⁵⁵ Keynes, 'Æthelred II (c.966x8–1016),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶⁵⁶ Williams, 'Cockles amongst the Wheat,' 8.

⁶⁵⁷ Stafford, 'Ælfgifu (fl. 1006–1036),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. For details of Ælfgifu's family's fall from grace, see Insley, 'Politics, Conflict and Kingship in early Eleventh-Century Mercia,' 29-35.

⁶⁵⁸ Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 81, 156-157.

7 þis pæs gedon be þyssa pitena gepytnessæ þe herpið nyðan apritene
standað . þæt is ærest Ælfgeofu seo hlæfdie þe þæs mynstres walt .⁶⁵⁹

The identity of ‘the Lady Ælfifu’ is open to debate: whilst Pauline Stafford assumes she was Queen Emma, Baxter demonstrates some preference in favour of Ælfifu of Northampton.⁶⁶⁰ The absence of Ælfifu of Northampton amongst other contemporary charter witness lists, and fact that the title *seo hlæfdie* was frequently given to queens perhaps indicate that Queen Emma is the individual witnessing this Evesham charter.⁶⁶¹

The relationship that ‘Ælfifu’ has with Evesham Abbey is far from clear. The Old English verb *wealdan* has a range of meanings, including ‘to have power over/to possess/be in possession of/have at command/be master of’.⁶⁶² Consequently, it is very difficult to ascertain what Emma’s role at Evesham precisely was. Robertson wondered whether this could simply mean she was its patroness, or whether she was ‘actually lay abbess’.⁶⁶³ The comment could be nothing more than an ideological address, playing on the idea promoted by the English Benedictine Reform that kings and queens were protectors of England’s religious houses. However, the title could have been considerably more literal. Emma’s daughter-in-

⁶⁵⁹ ‘This was done with the cognisance of the councillors whose names are herewith recorded below, namely first the Lady Ælfifu, who governs the monastery.’ Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 81, 156-157.

⁶⁶⁰ Strangely, Baxter’s slight tendency to favour Ælfifu of Northampton is based on his belief that Norton lay in Northamptonshire, a theory that I have not found anywhere else. It is unclear why Baxter would favour a Northamptonshire Norton over that which lay just north of Evesham, especially as many of the witnesses have a local, Worcestershire bias. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia*, 165, n. 55; Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 140.

⁶⁶¹ Emma is frequently called ‘the Lady’ by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*: 1002 CDE, 1003 CDEF (OE), 1013 CDE, 1023 D, 1035 CD.

⁶⁶² Meanings of the verb *wealdan*: to have power over: i. to control the movements (of that which is moved)/ to regulate (+ gen or dat./instr.); ii. to have control of/ to govern (+ gen. or acc.); iii. (of the control exercised by one in authority) to rule/govern/have dominion over/bear sway/wield power (+ gen. or dat./instr., or acc., or preposition); iv. to have power over (things), to possess/be in possession of/have at command/be master of (gen, or dat./instr., or acc.); v. to have power to decide or choose (what shall take place), to determine/ordain/have the deciding/control of matters (gen., or dat./instr., or with clause, absolute; vi. to have power (that brings something to pass), to cause/be the cause/author/source of something (of persons, of things <with gen.>, of motives); vii. to have power (to do), to be able. *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, updated 11 November 2013, <http://www.bosworthtoller.com>.

⁶⁶³ Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 404.

law, Queen Edith, appears to have actively taken possession of the nunnery of Leominster after her brother Swein abducted its abbess in the later eleventh century. Furthermore, other considerations discussed elsewhere in this chapter suggest that in the early years of Ælfweard's, Evesham may have been far from independent.

The charter S 1423 has been dated c. 1017x1023 on account of its witness list, which includes Archbishop Wulfstan of York and Bishop Leofsige of Worcester. The possibility that Ælfweard was under the in some way under the rule of Emma around the early 1020s raises the question of when he became an 'independent' abbot of Evesham. Thomas of Marlborough does not state whether Ælfweard proclaimed the abbey's liberty immediately, but rather explains:

*Iste etiam abbas, postquam Aldulfus episcopus Wigornie hanc abbatiam sibi et successoribus suis subiecerat, primus abbatum in libertatem proclamauit, et in tantum optinuit quod uenerabilem uirum Auitium huius ecclesie priorem decanum Christianitatis tocius uallis constituit, quam nunquam libertatem ecclesia ista postea amisit.*⁶⁶⁴

Prior Æfic died in 1037.⁶⁶⁵ However, an Evesham charter (S 977) dating to 1021x1023 records a grant of land at Newnham (Northants.) by Cnut to *meo dilectissimo familiarissimoque monacho nomine Æuic*.⁶⁶⁶ This charter does not give Æfic a title other than monk. It is unclear, therefore, whether he was already dean by this time, or whether he was a granted land as a monk. Nevertheless, even if Æfic was dean in this charter, it is dated to almost ten years after Ælfweard supposedly became abbot and does not demonstrate that he acquired Evesham's liberty immediately upon becoming abbot. The nominal control of a church by another ecclesiastic does not seem to guarantee that Wulfstan had fully relinquished control.

⁶⁶⁴ Translated by Sayers and Watkiss as: 'Ælfweard was the first abbot, after Ealdwulf, bishop of Worcester, had subjected this abbey to himself and his successors, to proclaim its liberty; and so successful was his rule that he was able to appoint the venerable Æfic, prior of this church, as dean of Christianity in the whole of the Vale, and this church never again lost its liberty.' Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-153.

⁶⁶⁵ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1037, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:525.

⁶⁶⁶ 'to my most beloved and familiar monk named Æfic.' 'S 977,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

The difficulties with Thomas of Marlborough's account may stem from his desire to narrate a story of Evesham's success at gaining liberty from encroaching Worcester bishops.⁶⁶⁷ This motive may lead him to oversimplify the early years of Ælfwearð's abbacy and Evesham's transition from being a Worcester client to an independent abbey. Consequently, if the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* was written during Ælfwearð's abbacy, as Lapidge believes, then it may still have been written for an Evesham under the Worcester bishop's influence, as suggested by Hart. An alternative context for Byrhtferth's composition of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is that he wrote it at some point in the period 1002 x 1014, that is, before Ælfwearð's abbacy and when Evesham was under Archbishop Wulfstan's control. Wulfstan would have overseen the abbey for over a decade shortly after the turn of the millennium, which works well with Byrhtferth's internal dating. However, there is little reason (as yet) to suggest that the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* was any more likely to be written during these years than those of Ælfwearð.

Nevertheless, there is nothing to prevent us from asking whether Byrhtferth could have written the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* before Evesham was under Wulfstan's control. Thomas of Marlborough's *History* states that Ealdwulf (992-1002) was the first bishop of Worcester who had control of the abbey.⁶⁶⁸ It is possible to give an estimated date for Ealdwulf's acquisition. Before the abbey was granted to Ealdwulf it had been given by King Æthelred II to a Bishop Ælfstan, who held it until his death.⁶⁶⁹ There are two possible Ælfstans that this could mean: Ælfstan bishop of Rochester (*fl. c. 946x964-995*) or Ælfstan bishop of London (*fl. c. 961-996*).⁶⁷⁰ Either is a plausible candidate and it seems likely that charge of Evesham Abbey would have passed to Ealdwulf c.996. Thomas of Marlborough's allusions to multiple bishops of Worcester suggests that control of Evesham then passed to Wulfstan after Ealdwulf's death in 1002.⁶⁷¹ Notably, Thomas of Marlborough admits

⁶⁶⁷ Thomas of Marlborough's motives for writing are outlined in detail Sayers and Watkiss, introduction to *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, xv-lxiii. See also section one of this chapter, above.

⁶⁶⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-153.

⁶⁶⁹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.138-139, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146.

⁶⁷⁰ These are 'Ælfstan 39' and 'Ælfstan 40' respectively on *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*.

⁶⁷¹ Although it is unclear why Thomas put Ealdwulf's 'successors' (*successoribus*) in the plural, as Wulfstan the Homilist was the only bishop of Worcester between Ealdwulf's death

that it was during Ealdwulf's time that monastic life was restored at Evesham, even though Ealdwulf robbed Evesham of its liberty.⁶⁷²

Here then, is a stage in Evesham's history prior to the abbacy of Ælfweard when a *vita* of Ecgwine may have been desirable. Michael Lapidge has deduced that Byrhtferth composed the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* between 997 and 1002.⁶⁷³ If the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* was written for the Worcester monks (as its provenance suggests) then he presumably wrote it at the request of Bishop Ealdwulf. Furthermore, Lapidge's estimated date for Byrhtferth's *vita* on Oswald almost exactly matches the period that Evesham was under Ealdwulf's control (c. 997-1002). As Byrhtferth wrote shortly after the millennium, it is possible that he wrote the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* at some point in the final two years of Bishop Ealdwulf's life. If Byrhtferth wrote both *vitae* at the encouragement of Ealdwulf, then it offers an explanation why the extant copies of his *vitae* are transmitted together, despite being anonymous. Bishop Ealdwulf's heavy involvement in the translation of his predecessor, Oswald, at Worcester also marks an interest in developing and encouraging local cults.⁶⁷⁴ While the evidence that Bishop Ealdwulf controlled Evesham when Byrhtferth composed the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is by no means conclusive, it certainly suggests that Evesham did not need an independent abbot to promote Ecgwine's cult. This premise has been kept in mind during my following discussion of the text of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*.

Sources for Byrhtferth's Vita Sancti Ecgwini

With these different possible contexts in mind, how can we read *VSE*? As we have seen, Byrhtferth could find little information about Ecgwine's life and miracles when he composed the *vita*. Ecgwine is conspicuously absent from the usual sources: he is not mentioned by Bede or the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.⁶⁷⁵ Byrhtferth

and the commencement Ælfweard's abbacy. Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 150-152.

⁶⁷² Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.139, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146.

⁶⁷³ Byrhtferth uses Wulfstan's *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*, published in 996, but appears to have written before the translation of Oswald in April 1002. Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald,' 65.

⁶⁷⁴ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 264.

⁶⁷⁵ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, lxxxiii.

himself recognised the lack of written sources near the end of the *vita* when he explains that he was only able to include a few of Ecgwine's many miracles: 'because no one wrote them down, they have passed into oblivion'.⁶⁷⁶ He went on to say that the miracles he does record he heard from 'reliable men' or discovered in 'ancient documents'.⁶⁷⁷ Similarly, Byrhtferth states in his preface that he used 'ancient charters' and 'reliable witnesses' to compose the *vita*.⁶⁷⁸

The charters Byrhtferth used are sometimes very suspect, such as the privilege in favour of Evesham supposedly drawn up by the Canterbury archbishop, Berhtwald (693-731), during an historically implausible synod at Alcester.⁶⁷⁹ The *vita* also incorporates a lengthy first person account that Byrhtferth claimed was written by Ecgwine himself.⁶⁸⁰ Byrhtferth knew that Ecgwine had been the third bishop of Worcester, and may have used an earlier episcopal list.⁶⁸¹ Otherwise, Byrhtferth had very little information to go on other than local legends.⁶⁸² For instance, the story of Ecgwine's miraculous release when the key to his iron chains was found in the stomach of a fish is derived from an international popular tale that was widely employed in hagiographical texts.⁶⁸³ Finally, Byrhtferth bulked out his *vita* by adding complicated allegories and quoting from texts that did not originally concern Ecgwine: hence he extensively quotes Bede's *De die iudicii*, which he puts in the mouth of Ecgwine whilst preaching.⁶⁸⁴ Despite the lack of information that

⁶⁷⁶ *neglegente scriptore, tradita sunt in obliuine*. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 280-281.

⁶⁷⁷ *Hec autem, que hic curtim impressimus, a fidelibus audiimus uiris necnon in ueteribus inuenimus cartulis*. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 280-281.

⁶⁷⁸ *Non hic mea insero, sed que in priscis inueni cartulis uel que a fidelibus audiui*. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* pref., ed. and trans. Lapidge, 208.

⁶⁷⁹ The synod was convened by King Cenred upon his return from Rome, and attended by Bishop Wilfrid. However, we know from the *Liber pontificalis* that Cenred became a monk and stayed in Rome, while Wilfrid died shortly before the synod supposedly took place. Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 258-266.

⁶⁸⁰ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecwina*, lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

⁶⁸¹ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecwina*, lxxxiii.

⁶⁸² Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 1, 230.

⁶⁸³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230-231, n. 69.

⁶⁸⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 226-227, n. 56.

Byrhtferth's *vita* really offers about the saint, all later hagiography about Ecgwine derives from this *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*.

Undeterred by his meagre sources, Byrhtferth combined them with his broader knowledge of Anglo-Saxon saints and the church in order to fill out the narrative. As Ecgwine was so obscure, Byrhtferth had a great deal of freedom about how he narrated the saint's actions and who else he chose to include. It is unsurprising, therefore, that there are numerous places in the *vita* where Byrhtferth appears to have contemporary concerns in mind that determined his portrayal of the saint. For example, Byrhtferth emphasizes Ecgwine's enthusiasm and severity as a preacher and (as mentioned above) lifts lines from Bede's *De die iudicii* for Ecgwine's sermon.⁶⁸⁵ Ecgwine's preaching has a narrative function: it is the catalyst that turns some people against him.⁶⁸⁶ However, Byrhtferth's choice of *De die iudicii* is calculated, because he also includes a description of this poem in his *Enchiridion*, and copied it into his *Historia regum* wholesale.⁶⁸⁷ Byrhtferth's interest in this apocalyptic and penitential text means that he portrays Ecgwine in a manner reminiscent of Wulfstan the Homilist, who was either bishop of London or Archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester when the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* was composed.⁶⁸⁸ This does not necessarily mean that Byrhtferth intended to explicitly compare the Evesham saint with Wulfstan, but the concerns Wulfstan's writings raised must have deeply interested Byrhtferth too. By portraying the saint in this manner, Byrhtferth simultaneously put topics that were important to him in the mouth of an ancient, saintly authority and gave Ecgwine's career contemporary relevance.

Byrhtferth similarly addresses contemporary interests in the episode when Ecgwine travelled to Rome in chains.⁶⁸⁹ Because the miracle of the fish and the key is widely known, it is easy to dismiss the miracle as folklore without looking at its context. In this miracle, the bishop is accused of crimes and travels in chains first to Canterbury and then Rome.⁶⁹⁰ Despite the fact that Ecgwine is miraculously proven

⁶⁸⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 224.

⁶⁸⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 228-230.

⁶⁸⁷ Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 2, bk. 1, 85.

⁶⁸⁸ Wormald, 'Wulfstan (d. 1023),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁶⁸⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230.

⁶⁹⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230.

to be innocent, Byrhtferth is clearly describing a penitential pilgrimage: it is only when Ecgwine arrived at Rome that his bonds were unloosed. Byrhtferth includes a second penitential pilgrimage among Ecgwine's posthumous miracles: in this case, the penitent was divinely led from Rome to Evesham and his bonds were released in Ecgwine's church.⁶⁹¹ Thus the miracle comes full circle and Ecgwine, who was bound, is given the power, like Peter, of loosing.

This is a powerful comparison and speaks highly of the saint's effectiveness at performing miracles. However, the miracle once again gives Ecgwine contemporary relevance to the Anglo-Saxon church. While many earlier saints, such as Wilfrid and Benedict Biscop had made trips to Rome on behalf of their churches, penitential pilgrimages to the apostolic city emerged as a phenomenon in England by the tenth and eleventh centuries.⁶⁹² This style of 'confessional pilgrimage' seems to have been particularly important in Anglo-Saxon England, which has preserved far more evidence for the practice than continental Europe.⁶⁹³

What is particularly interesting about the evidence for penitential pilgrimage in Anglo-Saxon England is where the sources are preserved. The sources comprise two twelfth-century chronicles (that are nevertheless closely based on pre-Conquest material) and a series of tenth- and eleventh-century episcopal and papal letters.⁶⁹⁴ The chronicles in question are the Peterborough *Chronicle* of Hugh Candidus and the *Liber Eliensis*.⁶⁹⁵ Both chronicles, come from fenland abbeys situated close to Ramsey. The *Liber Eliensis* records that a certain Leofwine was advised to go to Rome and seek an appropriate penance from the pope after fatally injuring his mother.⁶⁹⁶ What is particularly interesting to us is that upon his return Leofwine generously endowed Ely with property in the presence, among others, of Archbishop Wulfstan.⁶⁹⁷ Unless Wulfstan's title is being anachronistically applied, Leofwine's

⁶⁹¹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 282.

⁶⁹² Cubitt, 'Individual and Collective Sinning in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England: Penance, Piety and the Law,' 61.

⁶⁹³ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 68-69.

⁶⁹⁴ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 69-70.

⁶⁹⁵ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 69.

⁶⁹⁶ *Liber Eliensis* ii.60, ed. Blake, 131; *Liber Eliensis* ii.60, trans. Fairweather, 157.

⁶⁹⁷ Cubitt, 'Individual and Collective Sinning in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England: Penance, Piety and the Law,' 62.

penance presumably occurred between 1002 and 1023, and may have occurred when Byrhtferth was a monk at Ramsey.

The episode in the *Chronicle* of Hugh Candidus is even more interesting. In this story, a ‘chancellor’ (*cancellarius*) of King Edgar called *Adulfus* loved his son so much that he let the boy share his and his wife’s bed. One night, when they drunkenly fell asleep, the child was suffocated and died.⁶⁹⁸ The chancellor then confessed to Bishop Æthelwold and expressed his desire to travel to Rome to obtain forgiveness. Æthelwold dissuaded the man and encouraged him to restore the abbey at Peterborough as penance instead.⁶⁹⁹ This example demonstrates the penitents’ belief that a pilgrimage to Rome would be the most effective manner of attaining forgiveness for his sins.⁷⁰⁰ What is particularly interesting is that this *Adulfus*, or Ealdwulf, was subsequently abbot of Peterborough and upon the death of Oswald in 992 became Archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester.⁷⁰¹ Thus, one of the potential patrons of Ecgwine’s *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* was remembered at Peterborough for his interest in penitential pilgrimage.

The final sources for penitential pilgrimage in tenth- and eleventh-century England are ten episcopal and papal letters concerned with penitential pilgrimages. These are transmitted in three manuscripts: Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595, ff. 41^r-42^r; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 265, pp. 110-113; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 (6464), ff. 12^r-13^v.⁷⁰² Two of these – Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 265 – are versions of Archbishop Wulfstan’s *Handbook* and the late twelfth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 37 also includes ‘Wulfstanian’ materials.⁷⁰³ Copenhagen, Kongelige Bibliotek, G.K.S. 1595 was probably written at Worcester (and possibly York) during Wulfstan’s career as

⁶⁹⁸ The *Chronicle* of Hugh Candidus, A Monk of Peterborough, ed. Mellows and Bell, 29; *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. Mellows and Mellows, 16.

⁶⁹⁹ The *Chronicle* of Hugh Candidus, A Monk of Peterborough, ed. Mellows and Bell, 29-30; *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*, trans. Mellows and Mellows, 16.

⁷⁰⁰ Aronstam, ‘Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,’ 70.

⁷⁰¹ Hunt, rev. Smith, ‘Ealdwulf (d. 1002),’ *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁷⁰² Aronstam, ‘Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,’ 70, n. 33.

⁷⁰³ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, nos. 814 and 73; and Wilcox, ‘Wulfstan and the Twelfth Century,’ 86.

archbishop (1002-1023).⁷⁰⁴ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 265 was also written at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh century.

Not only are the letters connected to Wulfstan's homiletic and pastoral works, some are explicitly associated with him.⁷⁰⁵ Three of the letters were written by Wulfstan (under the name *Lupus*), two as bishop of London (996-1002) and one at an unidentified date.⁷⁰⁶ Another of the letters was written by Pope John XVIII (1003-1009) to Wulfstan when he was archbishop.⁷⁰⁷ Finally, one of the letters was written by Pope Gregory V (996-999) to Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury (995-1005).⁷⁰⁸ Archbishop Ælfric seems to have been a friend of Wulfstan and bequeathed him a ring and psalter in his will; in turn, Wulfstan was one of Ælfric's executors.⁷⁰⁹ Thus we have a circle of ecclesiastics, including Wulfstan, that demonstrate concern about the practical application of penance and penitential pilgrimage who were active at exactly the same time as Byrhtferth was writing. Both early eleventh century bishops of Worcester had an interest in penitential pilgrimage, although Ealdwulf's concern was arguably more personal and Wulfstan's more pastoral. If either commissioned the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, Ecgwine's cycle of penitential pilgrimage and would have been significant. If neither bishop patronised Byrhtferth, then he still demonstrated his ability to put St Ecgwine at the centre of contemporary hagiographical discourse.

Gaps in Byrhtferth's narrative

Another way of exploring where Byrhtferth may have written the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is by asking what information he does not include in the text. Commentators agree that Byrhtferth had access to very few sources about Ecgwine and resorted to local legends in order to add substance to the saint's life.⁷¹⁰

⁷⁰⁴ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 814.

⁷⁰⁵ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 72.

⁷⁰⁶ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 72.

⁷⁰⁷ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 73.

⁷⁰⁸ Aronstam, 'Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the early Middle Ages,' 73.

⁷⁰⁹ Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, no. 18.

⁷¹⁰ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 304; Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 1, 230.

Consequently, we might expect Byrhtferth to deploy any opportunity to add more information about Ecgwine or his abbey at Evesham. We know that Byrhtferth was happy to include seemingly irrelevant extraneous material in his hagiographic works: his *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, which includes (among other things) accounts of King Edgar's gift-exchange with emperor Otto I, the martyrdom of King Edward and the battle of Maldon in 991, is a striking example.⁷¹¹

To a lesser extent, Byrhtferth also included material that does not strictly pertain to the saints' lives and miracles in his *Passio SS. Æthelberhti et Æthelredi* (BHL 2643), which survives embedded in Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum*.⁷¹² While this *vita* is very simple in comparison to the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, Byrhtferth nevertheless temporarily digresses from the martyred princes to the virtues of their sister Eormenburg (or Domneva), to the succession of her daughter Mildrith as abbess of Minster-in-Thanel and to a miracle performed by the same Mildrith.⁷¹³

Similarly, Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* includes some episodes that seem to have nothing to do with Ecgwine: for example, he includes extracts from a letter by Archbishop Boniface of Mainz and several other Continental bishops to King Æthelbald of Mercia, mistakenly claiming it was a letter by Pope Boniface to King Eadbald of Kent.⁷¹⁴ This letter follows Ecgwine's first visit to Rome, when the incumbent pope had established Ecgwine's innocence from unspecified crimes of which the bishop had been accused and sent him home with a letter to the Mercian king, Æthelred.⁷¹⁵ Byrhtferth seems to have been reminded at this point about other examples of papal letters to Anglo-Saxon kings, but the relevance of this example to the *vita* is very unclear. It would be reasonable to assume, therefore, that Byrhtferth would add every detail concerning Ecgwine and Evesham that he was able.

Sometimes, however, Byrhtferth inexplicably omits details that could have been included. Notably, Byrhtferth makes no attempt to describe the monastery at Evesham, either at its foundation or during the time of writing. We learn that the

⁷¹¹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.4, iv.18, and v.5, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 103, 136-140 and 156-158.

⁷¹² Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, 3.2: 425-432.

⁷¹³ Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, 3.2: 431-432.

⁷¹⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.14, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 234-236.

⁷¹⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* i.13, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 230-234.

site of the future church was called *Eoueshamm* or *Ethomme* and lay in Mercia.⁷¹⁶ Byrhtferth describes this site as a wooded area, full of dense brambles at the time of Eoves' vision of the Virgin Mary, and that Evesham lay in the vicinity of the river Avon.⁷¹⁷

Byrhtferth tells us even less about the church. According to Ecgwine's first-person account, a church was built there first and larger monastic buildings were subsequently added. None of the buildings are described and no building or consecration dates are given.⁷¹⁸ This is reasonable, as this church was no longer standing in Byrhtferth's time; the *vita* includes a miracle that the relics of Ecgwine had survived when the old church of Evesham had collapsed in the third quarter of the tenth century, during the abbacy of Osweard.⁷¹⁹ However, Byrhtferth omits any description of the new church or even of the translation of the relics that surely must have followed and the *vita* ends almost immediately after this episode. As this miracle happened as little as thirty years before Byrhtferth wrote the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* (depending on the date of composition), the paucity of information here merits investigation.

Byrhtferth fails even to describe the tomb and place in the church that St Ecgwine had been buried: he merely states that the holy man was buried at Evesham 'in that spot which he had previously chosen'.⁷²⁰ Dominic of Evesham's late eleventh-century account of Ecgwine's burial adds an epitaph that had supposedly been placed on his tomb, which Byrhtferth does not seem to have known.⁷²¹ This is probably, as Lapidge suggested, because the inscription was only added to the tomb after Byrhtferth had written the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*.⁷²² However, Byrhtferth demonstrates so little knowledge about Evesham and its environs in general that we should also entertain the possibility that the inscription was already there and

⁷¹⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* pref., ed. and trans. Lapidge, 208.

⁷¹⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii.7, ii. 10 and iii.2, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 244, 248 and 255.

⁷¹⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* ii.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 251.

⁷¹⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 300.

⁷²⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 281.

⁷²¹ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.17, ed. Lapidge, 94-95.

⁷²² Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 280-281, n. 54.

Byrhtferth did not know it because he had not visited Evesham in order to write the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*.

However, there are some passages in the *vita* that might suggest Byrhtferth in fact did know something about the saint's resting place. When taken together, comments in the accounts of two of Ecgwine's posthumous miracles could imply that the relics were at some time stored within the church's main altar. A detail in Ecgwine's first-person account suggests that Evesham had an altar with a compartment during the early eighth century: when consecrating the church, he and Bishop Wilfrid lay Evesham's newly acquired privileges and deeds *in altari* with a prayer and an anathema.⁷²³ Lapidge chose to interpret this as 'in the altar', although *in altari* could feasibly translate as 'on the altar' instead. However, as compartment altars had been in existence since late antiquity I am inclined to agree with Lapidge that the privileges were probably placed inside the altar, rather than upon it.⁷²⁴ Ecgwine's relics seem to have been placed very near the high altar at least. This is suggested in a miracle when the Evesham prior Wigred simultaneously approached the relics of Ecgwine and the altar in order to pray to Ecgwine for protection against a peasant that was attempting to encroach upon abbey land.⁷²⁵ Furthermore, after the collapse of the church in the later tenth century, the relics of Ecgwine were found, miraculously unscathed, buried underneath five rectangular stones.⁷²⁶ Could these be the remnants of a stone altar that had formerly surrounded the reliquary? Byrhtferth might therefore demonstrate some knowledge that the relics of Ecgwine had been stored at one time within the altar. However, these snippets are far from conclusive.

Overall, the contrast between Byrhtferth's knowledge of Ramsey Abbey in the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* and of Evesham in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is stark. In the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, Byrhtferth variously described: the island of Ramsey (iii.16); the initial building stage of Ramsey Abbey by Eadnoth *Senior* (iii.16); the poem written by Abbo of Fleury about the location of the isle of Ramsey (iii.18); the etymology of the name Ramsey (iii.19); and the building of a stone church at

⁷²³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 264-266.

⁷²⁴ Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints*, 68.

⁷²⁵ *At ille, adproprians proprius uiri Dei reliquiis piis et sancto altari, postulauit sanctum sibi in adiutorio esse, decantans (et genua curuans in conspectu Dei) septenos penitentiae psalmos.* Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.10, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 292.

⁷²⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 300.

Ramsey (iv.2).⁷²⁷ Byrhtferth could have taken this interest in the site even further if he had included details about the rebuilding of Ramsey's principal tower (which had cracked from weak foundations) when he described the new tower's dedication in 991.⁷²⁸ Nevertheless, space and place seem to have had an important role in Byrhtferth's narrative of the foundation of Ramsey Abbey. Undoubtedly, we should not expect Byrhtferth to demonstrate as much interest in the site at Evesham as he does for his own abbey at Ramsey. And yet the lack of even the most basic information makes it unlikely that Byrhtferth could have spent much time there during the composition of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* as Lapidge hypothesised.⁷²⁹ Byrhtferth had so few sources about Ecgwine that it is striking strange that he would leave much pertinent information out. It is possible, therefore, that Byrhtferth did not know Evesham Abbey very well and wrote the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* from a different location.

Other silences in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* are equally perplexing. Near the end of the *vita*, Byrhtferth includes an account of King Edgar's reign and support for the restoration of monasteries.⁷³⁰ This description dates the succeeding miracle, which had happened during the abbacy of Osweard. The account of Edgar's role in the tenth-century monastic reform may have also been meant as an implicit nod to the significance of the English Benedictine reform at Evesham, which would be in line with Byrhtferth's interest in the promotion of Benedictine monasticism more generally.⁷³¹ If this is the case, however, then why would Byrhtferth avoid discussing the tenth-century reform of Evesham directly? Thanks to Thomas of Marlborough, we know that Osweard was installed at Evesham as part of the Benedictine reform, but Byrhtferth does not allude to the abbot's reforming connections.⁷³²

⁷²⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.16, iii.18, iii.19 and iv.2, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 88, 92, 92-94 and 98.

⁷²⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge 172-178, inc. n. 107.

⁷²⁹ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xxix.

⁷³⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* v.11, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 296-298.

⁷³¹ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, lxxiii.

⁷³² Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.133, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 142.

Furthermore, the *vita* ends immediately following this final miracle. Byrhtferth only gives four miracles in total, and if they are arranged chronologically, then he offers no miracles or details about Evesham Abbey after the reign of King Edgar (959-975) at all. Byrhtferth does not date the three other miracles, which could plausibly have happened before or after Edgar's reign. Interestingly, Thomas of Marlborough's later *vita* of Ecgwine moved the episode involving Prior Wigred and the peasant that was encroaching upon the abbey's possessions to sit after a miracle dated to the reign of Æthelred II (978-1016) but before one dated to the reign of Edward the Confessor (978-1016).⁷³³ This could suggest that Wigred had been a prior at Evesham in the late tenth or beginning of the eleventh century, close to the time that Byrhtferth was writing.⁷³⁴ It is not clear why Thomas of Marlborough decided to move the miracle to this position, but it is possible that he had access to an earlier source that mentioned a Prior Wigred around that date.

It is worth considering the date of Prior Wigred at greater length. *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* only notes four 'Wigreds' in total (including our Prior Wigred at an undetermined date).⁷³⁵ Another of these entries is for a Wigred ('Wigred 3') who witnessed S 1442, a settlement of a dispute between the churches of Worcester and Winchcombe dated to 897, which was preserved at Worcester in the *Liber Wigorniensis* and the Nero-Middleton cartulary.⁷³⁶ We have already considered the possibility that Byrhtferth had access to the Worcester charters that were entered into the *Liber Wigorniensis*. Furthermore, this charter was witnessed during the episcopacy of Wærferth (bishop from before 872 – 907×915). J. Armitage Robinson deduced that two of Evesham's early tenth-century abbots, Cynelm and Cynath, had been trained at Worcester during Wærferth's time and had continued to be associated with the bishop after becoming abbots of Evesham.⁷³⁷ Indeed, charter S 1282 – a grant of land at Bengeworth by Bishop Wærferth to an Abbot Cynelm dated to 907 – states that Cynelm was Wærferth's

⁷³³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* ii.70-71, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 82-84.

⁷³⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 291, n. 81.

⁷³⁵ Database search, *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=7570&level=1&lbl=Wigred.

⁷³⁶ 'S 1442,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷³⁷ Armitage Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan*, 38-40.

kinsman.⁷³⁸ While this charter is of dubious authenticity, it was entered into the *Liber Wigorniensis*: the Worcester monks believed that Abbot Cynelm and Bishop Wærferth to be kinsmen from the early eleventh century at least.⁷³⁹ We can be confident that this Cynelm was abbot of Evesham as the land leased to him, Bengeworth, was hotly disputed by Worcester and Evesham in the post-Conquest period.⁷⁴⁰ Consequently, there was a close link between the personnel of Worcester and Evesham at the date that the Prosopography's 'Wigred 3' witnessed S 1442.

It is possible, therefore, that this Wigred and Prior Wigred of Evesham were the same individual, which would date the miracle to the late ninth or early tenth century. There is also an early tenth-century 'Wired', who witnessed S 221, a grant by Æthelred and Æthelflæd of Mercia to the community of the church of Much Wenlock, which took place at Shrewsbury in 901.⁷⁴¹ The relative proximity in place and time between the two charters suggests that Wired and Wigred could be the same individual. However, in neither case is 'Wired'/'Wigred' given any title, so it is possible that this witness was not a churchman at all. Nevertheless, even if Prior Wigred and 'Wigred 3' are different people, Byrhtferth could have thought that they were, and used the Worcester archives to date this account, thus placing it before the collapse of Evesham's church in the reign of Edgar.

Arguably, therefore, the miracle involving Ecgwine's punishment of a peasant that tried to unlawfully claim Evesham land should be viewed as a pre-English Benedictine reform miracle. This leaves us once again with no material from the final quarter of the tenth century. Given Byrhtferth's paucity of early material, his silence over the thirty or so years immediately before he wrote seems very suspicious. Fortunately, Thomas of Marlborough, although writing in the early thirteenth century, had access to sources that can help to fill in the silence left by Byrhtferth's *vita*. Thomas informs us that, following the death of Edgar, the Evesham monks were driven out by Ealdorman Ælfhere, who took the abbey's villas for himself and installed canons at Evesham.⁷⁴² This account complements

⁷³⁸ 'S 1282,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷³⁹ London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. XIII, ff. 17^v-18^r. 'S 1282,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷⁴⁰ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 215.

⁷⁴¹ 'S 221,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷⁴² Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.134, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 142-144.

Byrhtferth's own narrative in the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* of the so-called anti-monastic reaction at Winchcombe and other (unnamed) Mercian monasteries.⁷⁴³

Thomas's *History* proceeds to narrate how Evesham had remained dependent upon a succession of external landowners and bishops from the 970s until the abbacy of Ælfweard (1014-1044).⁷⁴⁴ Ælfweard was described as the first independent abbot of Evesham and we have already discussed some of the complicating factors about this narrative above. Furthermore, Ælfweard succeeded in expelling Godwine, ealdorman of Lindsey (who had despoiled the abbey's holdings since probably the 980s), from Evesham's lands.⁷⁴⁵ Godwine was killed soon after the commencement of Ælfweard's abbacy, at the battle of Ashingdon (1016).⁷⁴⁶ Thomas's account is one of slavery followed by rightful emancipation: this theme was highly topical as he wrote in the aftermath of a long dispute with the bishopric of Worcester concerning the exemption of Evesham from the bishop's jurisdiction.⁷⁴⁷ If Ælfweard had indeed liberated the abbey and then commissioned Byrhtferth to compose a *vita* for the founding saint, then we might expect to hear more about the emancipation of Evesham and reinvigoration of Ecgwine's cult in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. However, if the community was facing current difficulties, then it might have been preferable for Byrhtferth to end the *vita* at the monastic highpoint of Edgar's reign. It is time now to consider what Evesham's possible contemporary concerns could have been.

Byrhtferth and the Worcester Archive

The lack of sources about Ecgwine, and Evesham's tenth and early eleven-century dependency on Worcester raises the question of whether Byrhtferth made

⁷⁴³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, iv.11-12, 122-126.

⁷⁴⁴ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, iii.134-144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 144-148.

⁷⁴⁵ Godwine had encroached on Evesham early in the reign of Æthelred II (978-1016), who granted him control of the abbey. Æthelred had then proceeded to re-grant this abbey to Bishop Æthelsige of Sherborne during Godwine's lifetime (presumably without many of its possessions). As Bishop Æthelsige died 991×993, the outer dates for Godwine's initial spoliation are 978–991×993. Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.134-138, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 144-146.

⁷⁴⁶ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, s.a. 1016.

⁷⁴⁷ Sayers and Watkiss, introduction to Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, xx.

use of the Worcester archive. Indeed, the late tenth- and early eleventh-century history of Evesham's dependence on bishops Ealdwulf and Wulfstan could mean that the 'ancient charters' Byrhtferth claims to have used were preserved in the Worcester archive rather than at Evesham. If Byrhtferth used Worcester charters to compose his *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, then the hypothesis that Byrhtferth wrote the *vita* before Evesham gained independence (c.1014) would become more plausible. If Byrhtferth used Worcester sources for an Evesham *vita*, we will also need to ask if they can shed any light on the relationship between Evesham and Worcester at the time that Byrhtferth was writing.

Lapidge briefly suggested that Byrhtferth may have used materials from the Worcester archive concerning land at Fladbury.⁷⁴⁸ Nevertheless, he maintained that Byrhtferth's sources had been obtained from the Evesham archives.⁷⁴⁹ In response to Lapidge, Hart argued that it would have been unnecessary for Byrhtferth to visit Evesham at all and that he would have been able to obtain materials about Ecgwine and compose the *vita* without leaving Ramsey.⁷⁵⁰ Either suggestion is tenable within a certain context: Lapidge's theory works best if we assume that Evesham was an independent abbey that commissioned a professional hagiographer to promote the local cult. Hart's suggestion depends upon the assumption that Byrhtferth had an interested patron who was able and willing to obtain material and bring them to Ramsey Abbey. Nevertheless neither view can be proven, because so few pre-1100 manuscripts attributed to either Evesham or Ramsey survive.⁷⁵¹ It is thus worth exploring whether any of Byrhtferth's sources could have originated in Worcester.

⁷⁴⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 253, n. 3.

⁷⁴⁹ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, lxxxiii.

⁷⁵⁰ Hart, *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, vol. 2, bk. 1, 9, n. 15.

⁷⁵¹ Two Anglo-Saxon manuscripts have been given a Ramsey provenance: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.vii, ff. 1-112 (an incomplete pontifical dating from the first half of the eleventh century); and London, British Library, Harley 2904 (the 'Ramsey Psalter', dated to the third quarter or end of the tenth century). Evesham has even less manuscript evidence from before 1100: Oxford, Jesus College 51 is a twelfth-century copy of Bede's *De tabernaculo*, which transmits a fragment of an eleventh-century antiphoner on its flyleaf, folio 1. Gneuss dated this fragment to the second half of the eleventh century, so we currently know of no Evesham manuscripts that would have been available during Byrhtferth's lifetime. In comparison, Ker's *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain* identifies almost fifty Worcester manuscripts that he dated to the eleventh century or earlier. See Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 80-81, 153-154, and 205-215; and Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, nos. 397, 430 and 675.

As we have already seen, Byrhtferth made heavy use of Bede's *De die iudicii* when composing the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, a text that he also incorporated into his *Historia regum*.⁷⁵² Interestingly, Lapidge identified that the version of *De die iudicii* which occurs in the *Vita Ecgwini* derives from a continental redaction of the poem; this version differs from the English recension that Byrhtferth used in his *Historia regum*.⁷⁵³ It is evident, therefore, that Byrhtferth had access to a different version of *De die iudicii* when he wrote the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. As the process by which Byrhtferth composed his *Historia* is little understood, we cannot be certain whether he composed this text at Ramsey or not.⁷⁵⁴ Consequently, we do not know whether the version of *De die iudicii* used in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* was the version owned by Ramsey or came from elsewhere.

Versions of *De die iudicii* survive in a number of tenth- and eleventh-century manuscripts from England and the continent.⁷⁵⁵ The extant medieval copies of *De die iudicii* were grouped into five main recensions by Whitbread in a 1966 article about the Latin poem's relationship to the metrical Old English translation *Judgement Day II*.⁷⁵⁶ Whitbread classified the version used by Byrhtferth in his Northumbrian Chronicle (transmitted as part of Symeon of Durham's *Historia regum* in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139, ff. 57-58^v) as a member of 'Group III'.⁷⁵⁷ Group III also includes a thirteenth-century manuscript written at Worcester.⁷⁵⁸ As the Group III recension of the poem comes from a different tradition from the version in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, the source for the thirteenth-

⁷⁵² Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham,' 113-114.

⁷⁵³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 227, n. 56.

⁷⁵⁴ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham,' 118-122.

⁷⁵⁵ Laistner and King, *A Handlist of Bede Manuscripts*, 127-129.

⁷⁵⁶ Whitbread, 'The Old English Poem *Judgment Day II* and its Latin Source,' 651-654.

⁷⁵⁷ Whitbread, 'The Old English Poem *Judgment Day II* and its Latin Source,' 653-654.

⁷⁵⁸ *Group III*: London, British Library, Additional 11034, f. 2 (s. ix); Cambridge, University Library, Gg 5.35, ff. 416-18^v (s. xi, St. Augustine's, Canterbury); Salisbury, Cathedral Library 168, ff. 85^v-87 (s. xii, Salisbury); Manchester, John Rylands Library, Lat. 116, f. 11^v (s. xii, St. Maximin's, Trier); Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139, ff. 57-58^v (s. xii, Sawley, Yorks.); London, British Library, Additional 24914, f. 59 (s. xii, St. Trond); Worcester, Cathedral Library F.57, f. 70^v (s. xiii, Worcester). Whitbread, 'The Old English Poem *Judgment Day II* and its Latin Source,' 653-654.

century Worcester *De die iudicii* is not the same as that used by Byrhtferth's *vita Ecgwini*.

Whitbread also noted that the versions of *De die iudicii* in his Group IV were most closely related to the Old English translation *Judgement Day II*, which only survives in the composite eleventh-century manuscript Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 201, pp. 161-165.⁷⁵⁹ This Old English poem is interesting because it is transmitted alongside a number of texts associated with the activities of Archbishop Wulfstan (who, it will be remembered, was bishop of Worcester from 1002-1016 and seems to have remained influential there until his death in 1023).⁷⁶⁰ Furthermore, the contents of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 are closely connected to material transmitted in a near-contemporary Worcester homiliary, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, which includes a shortened prose version of the Old English *Judgement Day* on ff. 68-70v.⁷⁶¹ Thus both Whitbread's Groups III and IV include recensions of Bede's poem that are associated with Worcester in some way. It is evident that the community was very interested in *De die iudicii* and that more than one version of the poem circulated locally. It will be interesting to see whether a third recension of the poem was known at Worcester once Byrhtferth's source for the version of *De die iudicii* used in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* has been identified.

While Byrhtferth may have gone to Worcester to make use of texts such as *De die iudicii*, he may also have found Evesham charters there too. Not only was Ecwine an early bishop of Worcester, but the cathedral archives may have also been a repository of Evesham charters. For example, triplicate originals of S 1423 (a charter of Abbot Ælfweard and the Evesham community dated c. 1016 x 1023) were deposited for safe-keeping at Evesham, with the recipient Æthelmær, and at Worcester Cathedral: S 1423 is only extant today because the Worcester portion of this chirograph has survived.⁷⁶² It is notable that S 1423 was not copied into any of

⁷⁵⁹ *Group IV*: London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A.i, ff. 51-54^v (s. x, St. Augustine's, Canterbury); Cambridge, Trinity College 1135 (O.2.31), ff. 41-43^v, 45 (s. x, Christ Church, Canterbury?); Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek BPL 190, ff. 27-30 (s. xi, St. Bertin); London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra C.ii, ff. 167^v-70^v (s. xii); York, Chapter Library XVI Q.14, ff. 48^v-49 (s. xiii). Whitbread, 'The Old English Poem *Judgment Day II* and its Latin Source,' 647, 654.

⁷⁶⁰ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, 475-477 (no. 21).

⁷⁶¹ Whitbread, 'The Old English Poem *Judgment Day II* and its Latin Source,' 637.

⁷⁶² London, British Library, Additional Charter 19796. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 81, 156-157.

Worcester's eleventh-century cartularies, which means that Worcester could have possessed many Evesham charters in the early eleventh century that have been lost entirely. It is reasonable to suppose that Byrhtferth might have gone to Worcester to find information about Ecgwine and his Evesham foundation.

Similarities between aspects of 'Ecgwine's' first-person account of his career and certain extant Worcester charters suggest that Byrhtferth may indeed have made use of the cathedral archives. Ecgwine states that he had been granted an ancient monastery at Fladbury (Worcestershire) from King Æthelred of the Mercians.⁷⁶³ Presently, Ecgwine gave Fladbury to Æthelheard, the sub-king of the Hwicce and received from him a monastery at Stratford (Warwickshire). This exchange is very similar to that found in S 1252 (699×717), in which Bishop Ecgwine granted Fladbury to Æthelheard, with reversion to the church of Worcester, in exchange for twenty hides at Stratford-upon-Avon.⁷⁶⁴ S 1252 survives in the early eleventh-century cartulary known as the *Liber Wigorniensis* (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, f. 10^r), which may have been compiled under the supervision of Archbishop Wulfstan in or soon after 1002.⁷⁶⁵ Thus the cartulary is closely contemporary to Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* and we can suppose that the charters it contains would have been available to Byrhtferth if he went to Worcester. There is also an additional copy of S 1252 in London, British Library, Add. 46204, recto, a fragment of the mid eleventh-century Nero-Middleton cartulary.⁷⁶⁶

If Byrhtferth used S 1252 at Worcester (and there is no reason to think that Evesham or Ramsey would have owned a copy), then presumably other extant Worcester charters concerning Fladbury and Stratford would have been available to him there too. For instance, Byrhtferth may have known S 76, a charter by King Æthelred of Mercia granting Ecgwine's predecessor Bishop Oftfor forty four hides at Fladbury and dating c. 696×699.⁷⁶⁷ This charter immediately preceded S 1252 in the *Liber Wigorniensis* (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, f. 9^{r-v}) and

⁷⁶³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.1, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 252.

⁷⁶⁴ 'S 1252,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷⁶⁵ Baxter, 'Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God's Property,' 167.

⁷⁶⁶ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 126.

⁷⁶⁷ 'S 76,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

could perhaps also have been known to Byrhtferth.⁷⁶⁸ S 76 appears to contradict the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, in which Ecgwine states that Æthelred granted Fladbury to him without reference to Bishop Otfor.⁷⁶⁹ However, as Lapidge points out, Ecgwine would have ‘inherited’ Fladbury on behalf of the bishopric.⁷⁷⁰ Thus Byrhtferth may simply be referring to a confirmation by Æthelred of a pre-existing holding, or have left Ecgwine’s account of the confirmation purposely vague in order to emphasise the saint’s friendly relations with the Mercian king.

Byrhtferth might have had access to S 62, a lost Somers charter that demonstrated the bishopric’s continued possession of Fladbury in the late eighth century.⁷⁷¹ He may also have seen charters S 198, S 1257 and S 1310, which are all transmitted in the *Liber Wigorniensis* and which collectively demonstrate the bishopric’s continued control of Stratford during the eighth, ninth and tenth centuries.⁷⁷² It could seem incongruous, therefore, that Byrhtferth would include these grants in an Evesham *vita*. Here, knowledge of Evesham and Worcester’s later relationship might mislead us to anachronistically assume that Evesham had already begun to challenge Worcester’s possession of certain estates. Indeed, Ecgwine’s account seems to have spawned the later Evesham charters and narratives that laid claim to Fladbury, Stratford and other possessions that were still being disputed into the thirteenth century.⁷⁷³ However, there is no evidence to suggest that Evesham and Worcester’s frictions over their holdings had begun by the early eleventh century; these debates seem to have been a post-Conquest development.

Regardless of how it may have been used later, Byrhtferth’s *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* does not explicitly state that either possession was granted to the

⁷⁶⁸ Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 86-87 (no. 198).

⁷⁶⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.1, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 252.

⁷⁷⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 253, n. 3.

⁷⁷¹ A.D. 777 x 780. Ealdred, subregulus of the Hwicce, with the permission of Bishop Tilhere, to Æthelburh, his kinswoman; lease, for life, of the minster at Fladbury, Wores., with reversion to the bishopric of Worcester. ‘S 62,’ *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷⁷² ‘S 198,’ ‘S 1257’ and ‘S 1310,’ *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁷⁷³ For example, S 1250 and S 1251. See also Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.115, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 130.

community at Evesham.⁷⁷⁴ Furthermore, unlike the later *vitae Ecgwini*, Byrhtferth does not claim that Ecgwine renounced his bishopric upon founding Evesham Abbey (which would have meant that Fladbury and Stratford were granted to the abbot of Evesham rather than the bishop of Worcester). Indeed, Byrhtferth's own abbey of Ramsey had been held by Archbishop Oswald until the latter's death in 992 and Byrhtferth does not seem to have been opposed to this arrangement. For example, immediately after Oswald died at Worcester, the monks of that place sent news of his death to the monks of Ramsey: 'who thought it only right that their confreres should share in the weeping and should pray for him, whom they had loved equally during his lifetime.'⁷⁷⁵ Byrhtferth accepts Ecgwine's status as bishop of Worcester, which forms an unproblematic backdrop to his entire career. Thus Byrhtferth's inclusion of Fladbury and Stratford may not have been originally meant as a claim for Evesham, but rather as an example of Ecgwine's active acquisition for the church more generally; a way to make use of one of the few early sources that would have been available to Byrhtferth about the saint's life.

Ecgwini Episcopi: *Worcester and the Vita Sancti Ecgwini*

Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, like those that follow it, is clearly written for Evesham. Not only are the monks addressed directly in the penultimate sentence, but all of Ecgwine's posthumous miracles take place in or concern Evesham Abbey and its possessions.⁷⁷⁶ Worcester is relegated throughout the entire *vita*: it is neither treated as an ally or a threat. For example, Byrhtferth is very happy to recognise Ecgwine's status as bishop of Worcester and continues to describe him as *presul* and *episcopus* after Ecgwine had founded the abbey of Evesham.⁷⁷⁷ In comparison, Thomas of Marlborough makes a point of stressing that when Ecgwine became abbot of Evesham, he 'abandoned all concern for worldly matters' and resigned from the Worcester bishopric.⁷⁷⁸ Clearly the later concerns about

⁷⁷⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.1, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 252-254.

⁷⁷⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.20, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 199.

⁷⁷⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.12, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 302.

⁷⁷⁷ For example: Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.7-8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 282.

⁷⁷⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* i.18, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 22-23.

preserving Evesham's independence from Worcester did not exist at the time that Byrhtferth was writing.

Ecgwine's continued status as bishop is for the most part implicit. However, Ecgwine's continued connection to the outside world is very clear in the account of his death. When describing Ecgwine's deathbed, Byrhtferth states: *Fratres, quos dulci alloquio enutriuit et paterno more fouit, precepit ad se uenire* (He ordered the monks, whom he nourished with kindly conversation and cared for in a fatherly manner, to come to him).⁷⁷⁹ The implication that Ecgwine was not lying ill at Evesham is made more explicit after his death, when his body was carried (*delatum est*) to his monastery at Evesham.⁷⁸⁰

As it is unlikely that Byrhtferth was using a detailed written source about Ecgwine when he composed the *vita*, the decision to have Ecgwine die somewhere else and then be posthumously conveyed to Evesham was probably his. Why? Was Byrhtferth inspired by the bishop of Worcester that he had known best, Oswald, who had died at his bishopric? Byrhtferth does not state that Ecgwine died at Worcester but it seems a likely candidate for the location of his death. Or was Byrhtferth inspired by Bedan characters that would have lived at a similar time to Ecgwine, like Bishop Wilfrid? He had died at one of his more distant possessions at Oundle (Northants.) and had been carried by his brethren to his first monastic foundation at Ripon to be buried in the church there.⁷⁸¹ Byrhtferth certainly seems to have been very interested in Wilfrid, as will be laid out below.

Examination of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* demonstrates that Byrhtferth's conception of Ecgwine had many similarities to Bishop Wilfrid. Both were bishops and pluralists, both made trips to Rome to defend themselves from defamatory accusations and returned triumphant.⁷⁸² Both sought to protect the possessions and rights of the monasteries that they founded.⁷⁸³ Both bishops miraculously escaped their fetters, although Byrhtferth might not have had access to Stephen of Ripon's

⁷⁷⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.5, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 278-279.

⁷⁸⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 280.

⁷⁸¹ Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, v.19, 528.

⁷⁸² Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. Colgrave and Mynors, v.19, 526.

⁷⁸³ Stephen of Ripon, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, ch. xvii, 34-36; Thacker, 'Wilfrid [St Wilfrid] (c.634-709/10),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

vita of Wilfrid that described this miracle.⁷⁸⁴ These parallels between Ecgwine and Wilfrid supported the plausibility of Ecgwine's life, as Wilfrid offered a well-known example of the sorts of activities that late seventh- and early eighth-century saintly bishops might undertake. This would give Wilfrid a similar role in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* as kings Cenred and Offa, discussed above, who travelled with Ecgwine to Rome and contributed to Byrhtferth's development of a historical verisimilitude

However, Wilfrid also had a more active role to play in the *vita*. Upon Byrhtferth's return from Rome with King Cenred, the king called the (almost certainly fictitious) synod of Alcester to confirm Evesham's liberty (see §3.3 above).⁷⁸⁵ Wilfrid, whom Byrhtferth anachronistically calls 'archbishop', was among the supposed attendees.⁷⁸⁶ Furthermore, after the synod has broken up, Ecgwine's first-person account claims that Wilfrid had actually ridden to Evesham with Bishop Ecgwine in order to take the new privileges and deeds to the abbey.⁷⁸⁷ While there, Wilfrid had consecrated the new church and he and Ecgwine had jointly placed Evesham's privileges and deeds for 120 hides in the altar with a prayer and anathema.⁷⁸⁸

These events squeeze Bishop Wilfrid into the narrative; in his anachronistic role as archbishop, he is offered as an early example of Evesham's subordination to York. (Evesham appears to have been under the *de facto* jurisdiction of the archdiocese of York until the late eleventh century, when Archbishop Thomas of York lost the Worcester diocese to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury with the connivance of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester.⁷⁸⁹) When Byrhtferth was writing, the archbishopric of York and bishopric of Worcester were probably held in plurality by the same individual, regardless of whether that was Ealdwulf (992-1002) or Wulfstan (1002-1016). Byrhtferth's own previous religious head, Oswald, had likewise united the sees of Worcester and York. The unity of Wilfrid of York and Ecgwine of Worcester in blessing the new foundation of Evesham could therefore be

⁷⁸⁴ Stephen of Ripon, *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. Colgrave, ch. xxxviii, 76.

⁷⁸⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 258-260.

⁷⁸⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 261, n. 32.

⁷⁸⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 262-264.

⁷⁸⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 264.

⁷⁸⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 60-64.

significant. Here, bishop and archbishop work together to protect Evesham Abbey's rights and possessions – a twist that makes Byrhtferth's *vita* very different to the later hagiography on Ecgwine.

'The obduracy of an evil ealdorman'

If not the bishop of Worcester, who was it that Wilfrid and Ecgwine were sedulously guarding Evesham against? Encroachment by lay people seems to be a running concern through much of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. Thus during the miracle when Ecgwine foiled a peasant's attempt to despoil Evesham's lands, Byrhtferth exclaims:

Sacerdos uero pro iustitia et possessione sancti pontificis paratus extitit ad necem; iniquus et inimicus paratus erat ad predam: qui post exiguum interstitium predates est a demone – et apte, ut qui uiuentem cum Deo exspoliari desiderat sanctum, ipse despoliatus sit a sancto et commissus duro custodi, qui eius animam in misericorditer finetenus excruciet.

The priest was ready for death in defence of justice and possession of the holy bishop's relics; the foe and enemy was ready for plunder – he who after a brief interval was himself plundered by a demon! – and rightly so, that he who desires to despoil the saint living with God is himself despoiled by the saint and consigned to a severe guardian, who shall mercilessly torment his soul to the end of time.⁷⁹⁰

Soon after this warning, the peasant suffered an inglorious death when he accidentally cuts off his own head and his body is unceremoniously dumped beyond the abbey lands.⁷⁹¹ The *vita* is violently opposed to any such challenges by lay persons. Byrhtferth's serious warning is particularly interesting in light of the contemporary events that we learn from Thomas of Marlborough's *History*. Thomas informs us that in the late tenth century the abbey was purchased from King Æthelred II by a certain Godwine, whom Sayers and Watkiss identified as Godwine, ealdorman of Lindsey.⁷⁹² Although Evesham was presently granted again to Bishop Æthelsige of

⁷⁹⁰ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.10, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 294-295.

⁷⁹¹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iv.10, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 296.

⁷⁹² Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.137, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 144-146, inc. 145, n. 7.

Sherborne (bishop 978×979 – 991×993), Godwine does not seem to have lost all of his influence there, and he intermittently attempted to alienate the abbey lands until his death at the battle of Ashingdon in 1016.⁷⁹³ Thomas of Marlborough's account gives some idea of how the abbots of Evesham (even as a dependency) feuded with Godwine in a dispute that lasted a minimum of two decades and that may have lasted three.

Byrhtferth may also have had Godwine in mind when he narrated Ecgwine's journey to Rome to acquire Evesham's liberty and when he described the synod and privilege that resulted. The pope confirmed that Evesham was 'free of all burdens,' referring to the common secular burdens such as various taxes and the responsibility to provide hospitality for royal officers.⁷⁹⁴ Byrhtferth presently quotes from the (spurious) privilege that Archbishop Berhtwald of Canterbury had drawn up at the synod of Alcester.⁷⁹⁵ According to Lapidge, this diploma was apparently compiled by drawing on pre-existing texts, which used a clear diplomatic style.⁷⁹⁶ Byrhtferth quotes the prayer that Wilfrid and Ecgwine read together, which includes a section that reads:

Precipimus enim in nostri sanctissimi saluatoris nomine, ut neque regis fortis potentia neque iniqui ducis pertinacia neque astutia alicuius potentis militis inferat fraudem uel angustiam aut diminuat ex eo quod contulimus; sed seruis Dei sit concessa in sempiternam libertatem, qui desiderant sereno corde Domino militari, sicuti sacra promulgant patris atque abbatis Benedicti decreta.

For in the name of our most holy Saviour we command that neither the force of a mighty king nor the obduracy of an evil ealdorman nor the cunning of some powerful thegn perpetrate some fraud or indigence or diminish that which we have bestowed; but let this church be given in perpetual liberty to the servants of God, who seek with cheerful resolve to serve the Lord as

⁷⁹³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.138-144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146-150.

⁷⁹⁴ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.3, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 258, n. 19. For this interpretation of the term 'libertas', see also J. Crick, 'Pristina libertas: Liberty and the Anglo-Saxons Revisited,' *TRHS* 6th series 14 (2004): 47-71.

⁷⁹⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.6-7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 262-266.

⁷⁹⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.6, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 262-263, n. 45.

Christian soldiers, just as the holy decrees of our father, Abbot Benedict, require.⁷⁹⁷

This prayer epitomises the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*'s attitude to the many years that Evesham had been granted out by its king and despoiled by magnates. Furthermore, the sin ascribed to the ealdorman – obduracy – matches exactly with Thomas of Marlborough's account of decades of strife with Ealdorman Godwine. If Byrhtferth wrote before 1016, then this struggle may have still been ongoing. The stark contrast between the idealised career of Ecgwine and Evesham's own recent history could explain Byrhtferth's silence concerning the years following Edgar's death. Thus Byrhtferth wrote a *vita* filled with warnings to over-ambitious laymen, and yet contextualised Ecgwine's life in an idealised Bedan setting, when king, archbishop and bishop worked together towards the greater glory of God through their support of the monasteries. The presence of Wilfred, working alongside Ecgwine, may have been intended as a message: that cooperation between religious institutions was the best way in which the abbeys could overcome opposition and achieve the earlier ideal world portrayed by the *vita* and inspired by Bede. Whether this united outlook persisted in the later *Vita Ecgwini* of Dominic of Evesham remains to be seen.

III. A Worcester Bishop: The Cult of Ecgwine at Evesham in the Later Eleventh Century

Dominic of Evesham and the Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini

Among the sources for veneration of Ecgwine among the West Mercian Benedictine houses in the late eleventh century, one of the most significant is the *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini* by Dominic of Evesham.⁷⁹⁸ Dominic is an obscure figure, about whom we know little. The date of Dominic's birth is unknown. He is not named in the 1077 confraternity bond between the communities of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, Gloucester and Worcester, which lists the

⁷⁹⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.7, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 264-267.

⁷⁹⁸ Book I of this text has been edited by Michael Lapidge for *Analecta Bollandiana* under the name *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*, a title taken from the rubric at the opening of Book I. As Book II (which has not yet been published) concerns the miracles of Ecgwine, I have decided to call Dominic's text *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini* when discussing Books I and II together.

Evesham monks.⁷⁹⁹ Our earliest evidence for this monk is the list of Evesham monks entered into the Durham *Liber Vitae*, c.1104, which includes an entry for Dominic.⁸⁰⁰ Dominic had become prior by 1125, when he attended the consecration of the abbot of Tewkesbury.⁸⁰¹ Dominic attested two charters as prior during the abbacy of Reginald (1130-49), but had presumably died by 1145, from which year charters are attested by his successor, Prior Richard.⁸⁰²

A number of anonymous Latin works have been attributed to Dominic. These are the *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*; a *Vita Sancti Odulfi* (Odulf was a saintly bishop whose relics had been translated to Evesham in the first half of the eleventh century); a collection of accounts about holy members of the Evesham community called the *Acta proborum virorum*; and an early compilation of *De miraculis Virginis Mariae* (the *Miracles of the Virgin*).⁸⁰³ The only works by Dominic that will concern us here are the *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*. These can be attributed to Dominic for the following reasons. Updated versions of the *Vita et miracula* were edited by Thomas of Marlborough when he was prior of Evesham (1218-29). These recensions were appended to the beginning of Thomas' *Gesta abbatum* and survive solely in the early thirteenth-century manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson A 287, ff. 123^v-139^r.⁸⁰⁴ The rubrics at the beginning of both the *vita* (f. 123^v) and *miracula* (f. 132^v) in Thomas' recensions state that the text had been *editus a Dominico priore Eueshamie*.⁸⁰⁵ Thomas' recensions of the

⁷⁹⁹ 'Association of Bishop Wulfstan and the Abbots of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Gloucester, and the Dean of Worcester,' ed. Thorpe, 615-617.

⁸⁰⁰ London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A VII, f. 24^v, *British Library Digitised Manuscripts*. This list is discussed by Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part II,' 215-216, and Jennings, 'The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham,' 298, but note that Cotton Domitian A VII has since been repaginated, and that Atkins and Jennings both state that the list of Evesham monks is entered on f. 21^v.

⁸⁰¹ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1125, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 3:160.

⁸⁰² The charters are preserved in an Evesham cartulary, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian B. xxiv, ff. 5^v and 27^r. Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 68.

⁸⁰³ Jennings, 'The Writings of Prior Dominic of Evesham,' 298.

⁸⁰⁴ Sayers and Watkiss, introduction to Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, xxi.

⁸⁰⁵ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* i.1 and ii.65, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 2 and 76.

Vita et miracula are evidently an abbreviated and revised version of an earlier *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, which is anonymously transmitted in two manuscripts: Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, ff. 234^r-248^r (s. xii²) and Dublin, Trinity College, 172, pp. 317-35 (s. xiii, *vita* only).⁸⁰⁶ Thus the version transmitted in the Hereford and Trinity College manuscripts can be identified as Dominic of Evesham's work with relative confidence.

The *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini* by Dominic of Evesham consists of two short complementary works that narrate the life and miracles of Evesham Abbey's founder, Bishop Ecgwine of Worcester. The first volume, the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*, is largely based on the idiosyncratic early eleventh-century *vita* of the same bishop that has been attributed to Byrhtferth of Ramsey. The second volume, the *Miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, recounts a number of the bishop's posthumous miracles (most of which can be dated to after the time when Byrhtferth was writing), divided into twenty-five chapters.⁸⁰⁷ Dominic's *Vita* of St Ecgwine (book I) is transmitted in two manuscripts: Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, ff. 234^r-241^v, the final volume of a large legendary written in the second half of the twelfth century; and a later, thirteenth-century copy, in Dublin, Trinity College, 172.⁸⁰⁸ The *Miracula* (book II) is only extant in a single copy, immediately following book I on ff. 241^v-248^r of the above-mentioned Hereford legendary. The Dublin copy of book I may have always existed independently of book II, as Lapidge has argued that book I was in circulation before 1100, while book II was not composed until after 1104.⁸⁰⁹

Dominic's *Vita et miracula* have not received much scholarly study, perhaps because neither book has been translated and published in English. Book I, however, has been edited by Michael Lapidge: his edition was published with the Bollandists under the title *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*.⁸¹⁰ J. C. Jennings had previously transcribed book I for his B. Litt. thesis, but his transcription was

⁸⁰⁶ Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 70 and 75.

⁸⁰⁷ Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, ff. 241^v- 248^r.

⁸⁰⁸ Mynors and Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library*, 110; Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 75-76.

⁸⁰⁹ Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 73-74.

⁸¹⁰ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*, ed. Lapidge, 65-104.

never printed.⁸¹¹ Book II of Dominic's *Vita et miracula* has not yet been printed. Where scholarship on Dominic of Evesham's *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini* does exist, it has a tendency to discuss the lands and liberties found in book I to the exclusion of the miracles in book II.⁸¹²

As the Dominic's *Vita et miracula* is yet to be edited in its entirety, when I discuss book II I will refer to the extant manuscript which transmits the *Miracula Sancti Ecgwini* (Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, ff. 241^v-248^r). Where necessary however, I will cross-reference this against Thomas of Marlborough's later *Miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, as this incorporated Dominic's book II almost *verbatim*.⁸¹³ The title used by Lapidge's edition, the *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*, is taken from the rubric at the opening of book I in Hereford, Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, f. 234^v. As this title only pertains to book I of Dominic's *vita*, I have decided to call Dominic's text as a whole the *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini* rather than follow Lapidge, in order to acknowledge both books of the *vita* and to avoid any confusion between the manuscript text and Lapidge's edition. The title *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* will specifically refer to Lapidge's edition of the book I; when book II is being discussed in isolation I will simply call it the *Miracula*.

Dominic's book I is primarily based on the earlier *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey in the early eleventh century. While it largely contains the same information as Byrhtferth's earlier work, one of Dominic's additions is an account of Aldhelm's death and his body's transportation back to Malmesbury by Bishop Ecgwine.⁸¹⁴ Lapidge has observed that a late eleventh-century *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi*, written by a Malmesbury monk Faricius, refers to this anecdote and Ecgwine's role, *sicut in eius vitae legitur volumine*.⁸¹⁵ This apparently refers to a *Vita* of Ecgwine that contains the story and neither Byrhtferth's *Vita* nor an early twelfth-century recension of Dominic's work (the 'Digby-Gotha' recension)

⁸¹¹ Jennings, 'Prior Dominic of Evesham and the Survival of English tradition after the Norman Conquest' (Oxford B.Litt. Thesis, 1958).

⁸¹² For example, O'Rourke, 'Hagiography and Exemption at Medieval Evesham, 1000-1250: The Evidence of the *Vitae Ecgwini*.'

⁸¹³ *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. Macray; and more recently Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss.

⁸¹⁴ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.9, ed. Lapidge, 87.

⁸¹⁵ Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine,' 83.

include this detail.⁸¹⁶ As Faricius was appointed abbot of Abingdon in 1100, it is reasonable to assume he had written the *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi* (and read the *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*) before this date, when he was still a monk at Malmesbury.⁸¹⁷ Thus Dominic's book I has a *terminus ante quem* of 1100. It is notable that William of Malmesbury quotes this passage exactly in his *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, perhaps suggesting that Malmesbury possessed a copy of book I early in the text's history.⁸¹⁸

The case is slightly different with Dominic's book II, the *Miracula Sancti Ecgwini*. In the middle of this text, Dominic refers to Abbot Walter in the past tense, suggesting that the text had been written after Walter's death in 1104.⁸¹⁹ As Dominic's book II is not based on Byrhtferth's *Vita*, it is reasonable to suppose that they were written at different points. An early, separate, transmission of book I may also explain why the copy of Dominic's *Vita* transmitted in Dublin, Trinity College, 172, pp. 317-35 only contains the *Vita* and does not include the miracles from book II. Many of the miracles narrated in book II occurred during a fund-raising expedition, when some Evesham monks travelled much of southern England with some of Ecgwine's relics.⁸²⁰ The journey seems to have inspired many miracles, and it may have been necessary for Dominic to update and extend his *Vita* shortly afterwards, in order to take account of the cult's recent success.

Dominic's *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini* was seemingly written to update the early eleventh-century *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey.⁸²¹ Consequently, many of Dominic's changes to the *Vita* are stylistic: Dominic modernised and clarified Byrhtferth's hermeneutic language.⁸²² Other than language, Dominic's most substantial changes to Book I included adding an updated foundation charter in place of a similar charter used by Byrhtferth (which went into greater detail about Evesham's gifts and rights), as well as supplying more historical

⁸¹⁶ Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine,' 83.

⁸¹⁷ Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 72-73.

⁸¹⁸ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, ed. Winterbottom, v.230, 574.

⁸¹⁹ Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 73.

⁸²⁰ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, II.10. Hereford Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, f. 245^v.

⁸²¹ Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 66-67.

⁸²² Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine,' 85.

information taken from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or Bede that helped to contextualise Ecgwine's life.⁸²³

Book II of Dominic's *Vita et miracula* is almost entirely new: it narrates several new miracles that had taken place since Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* had been completed. Lapidge has argued that book II had no written source, as the majority of the miracles that Dominic recounts happened shortly before or during Dominic's career.⁸²⁴ However, there is a hiatus part-way through book II, where Dominic discusses his search for sources and the fact that many miracles took place 'before the coming of the Normans' in a manner reminiscent of a prologue.⁸²⁵ This apparent break may simply be to mark the beginning of the Norman regime (as most miracles after this point date from Walter's abbacy, while those before are seemingly all from the Anglo-Saxon period). However, the chronology is not perfect, and the detail and style of miracle in the first part of book II seems to differ slightly from those found in the second part. Consequently, it seems possible that Dominic may have incorporated a shorter, earlier *Miracula Sancti Ecgwini* into his extant work.

The Contents of Dominic's Vita Sancti Ecgwini

As mentioned above, the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* closely follows Byrhtferth of Ramsey's earlier *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*. I will outline the narrative of Dominic's book I, so that it may be compared with the summary of Byrhtferth's *vita* outlined earlier in this chapter. Overall, book I follows the same basic structure as Byrhtferth's *vita*: Ecgwine was born of royal stock, received excellent religious instruction as a child, and as a young adult worked his way up the orders of the church.⁸²⁶

He was made a bishop during the reign of King Æthelred of Mercia, and proved to be a vigorous preacher, delivering admonitory speeches still suspiciously

⁸²³ Lapidge, 'The Medieval Hagiography of St. Ecgwine,' 84; Sayers and Watkiss, introduction to Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, xxx-xxxi.

⁸²⁴ Lapidge, 'Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris*,' 72.

⁸²⁵ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, II.8. Hereford Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, f. 244r, col. 2.

⁸²⁶ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.1-3, ed. Lapidge, 78-79.

similar to Bede's *De die iudicii*.⁸²⁷ This angered his evildoing parishioners, who stirred up slander about the bishop and even turned the king against him.⁸²⁸ Despite his innocence, Ecgwine decided to travel to Rome fettered in irons and threw the key into the river Avon (Worcs.).⁸²⁹ Upon his arrival at Rome, one of Ecgwine's men bought a fish from a seller near the Tiber which contained the key to Ecgwine's shackles in its entrails.⁸³⁰ His innocence established, Ecgwine was received by the Pope with honour, and was presently sent back to England with the Pope's blessing and letters confirming papal privileges.⁸³¹

The king was delighted to welcome him back, and upon Ecgwine's request granted him land at *Æthomme* (Evesham).⁸³² One of the swineherds that Ecgwine established on this land was granted a vision of the Virgin Mary. He reported this miracle to Bishop Ecgwine.⁸³³ The bishop wished to see this miracle, and prayed at the spot where Eoves saw the Virgin until he too was granted a vision. Rejoicing at the miracle, Ecgwine realised that this place (Evesham) should be dedicated to God and his mother.⁸³⁴

At this point (I.9) Dominic inserted a first person charter of the possessions granted to Ecgwine, which replaces the first person 'Testament of St Ecgwine' included by Byrhtferth.⁸³⁵ Nevertheless, this document shares many similarities with the earlier account in Byrhtferth's *vita*: both concern the same lands and are granted by the same people.⁸³⁶ These grants were confirmed by Archbishop Berhtwald,⁸³⁷ After two years Aldhelm, bishop of Sherborne (who does not feature in

⁸²⁷ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.3-4 ed. Lapidge, 79-81.

⁸²⁸ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.5, ed. Lapidge, 81.

⁸²⁹ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.5 ed. Lapidge, 81-82.

⁸³⁰ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.6, ed. Lapidge, 82-83.

⁸³¹ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.7, ed. Lapidge, 83.

⁸³² Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.7-8, ed. Lapidge, 83-84.

⁸³³ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.8, ed. Lapidge, 84.

⁸³⁴ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.8, ed. Lapidge, 84-85.

⁸³⁵ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.9, ed. Lapidge, 86.

⁸³⁶ Dominic even states, like Byrhtferth, that King Æthelred of Mercia had inherited Fladbury from his wife; unlike Byrhtferth, however, he names her as Osthryth (*Ostrithis*), which he must have found out from elsewhere.

⁸³⁷ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.9, ed. Lapidge, 86.

Byrhtferth's *vita*) died, and Ecgwine conveyed the body back to Aldhelm's foundation at Malmesbury.⁸³⁸ Not long after, Ecgwine was invited to travel to Rome with kings Coenred and Offa. Byrhtferth's Ecgwine went to Rome this second time to confirm his monastery's freedoms (presumably meaning free from secular burdens).⁸³⁹ In comparison, Dominic's Ecgwine sought for the pope to confirm Evesham and to grant the church 'complete liberty from the exactions of bishops for posterity'.⁸⁴⁰

Ecgwine's visit was successful, and on the journey home Dominic adds a new miracle, in which Ecgwine's prayers make a spring appear from the rocks (they are travelling through mountains, presumably the Alps), helping him to nourish his hungry and thirsty companions.⁸⁴¹ Upon their return home, the council of Alcester was convened. Here, Dominic added a papal letter from Constantine (as Dominic had identified him) to Archbishop Berhtwald.⁸⁴² Afterwards, as in Byrhtferth's *vita*, Berhtwald confirmed the papal decree and Ecgwine and Bishop Wilfrid travelled to Evesham to dedicate the church, offering a similar dedication prayer to that found in Byrhtferth's *vita*.⁸⁴³

The section that follows (I.14) replaces a long excursus (about Ecgwine conquering the devil by storming the gates of Babylon) with a didactic passage that seems to be criticising the extravagance of 'poets' whose unnecessary pomp risks obscuring the truth.⁸⁴⁴ This is surely aimed at Byrhtferth. Returning to Ecgwine, Dominic states that once the health of his abbey was assured, the bishop focused on leading a contemplative life until he succumbed to a long illness. (Byrhtferth in contrast alluded to an illness, but did not make it into a virtue).⁸⁴⁵ After describing Ecgwine's funeral, Dominic adds a poetic epitaph that Byrhtferth must not have

⁸³⁸ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.9, ed. Lapidge, 87.

⁸³⁹ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.3, ed. Lapidge, 258.

⁸⁴⁰ *et ab ipso in posterum eidem ecclesie omnimodam libertatem ab episcoporum exactionibus optinere satagebam*. Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.9, ed. Lapidge, 87.

⁸⁴¹ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.10, ed. Lapidge, 88.

⁸⁴² Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.11, ed. Lapidge, 88-90.

⁸⁴³ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.13, ed. Lapidge, 90-91.

⁸⁴⁴ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.14, ed. Lapidge, 91-92.

⁸⁴⁵ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.15-16, ed. Lapidge, 92-94.

known (see further discussion earlier in this chapter).⁸⁴⁶ He then finishes with the same four miracles recounted by Byrhtferth, although he rearranges their order.⁸⁴⁷

Redrawing the Boundaries? Dominic's changes to Vita Sancti Ecgwini

It should be apparent from the above summary that a good deal of Byrhtferth's *vita* is retained in Dominic's text. This is not merely the case with narrative details: Dominic also reuses some of Byrhtferth's imagery, such as the Chaldean king in the prologue.⁸⁴⁸ Dominic preserves much of Byrhtferth's vocabulary too and yet manages to alter the style of the work from an hermeneutic text to a clear modernised *vita*. At times Dominic is careful to remain close to his exemplar, as in the case of Ecgwine's first person account or charter. Here, Dominic emphasizes his fidelity: 'We have followed this almost word for word, just as the holy man set it forth in his charters which he wrote for the most part himself'.⁸⁴⁹

In this case, the fidelity to Dominic's source was carefully managed in order to give his updated charter the greatest authenticity; but overall it is clear that Dominic was no slavish imitator. Dominic adds historical details to Byrhtferth's account to contextualise Ecgwine's career, such as his observation when dating the Evesham church's dedication to 714 that St Guthlac had died in that year.⁸⁵⁰ Dominic evidently made use of sources such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to contextualise Byrhtferth's unruly work and to offer it a creditable backdrop.⁸⁵¹ However, Dominic did not only alter Byrhtferth's story to make it more plausible. For instance, while giving Ecgwine a role in Aldhelm's death and funeral (I.9) ties the Evesham saint to another historical figure, the choice also gives him greater

⁸⁴⁶ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.17, ed. Lapidge, 94-95.

⁸⁴⁷ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.18-21, ed. Lapidge, 95-98.

⁸⁴⁸ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.Prol, ed. Lapidge, 77.

⁸⁴⁹ *Hec nos pene uerbum ex uerbo subsequuti sumus, sicut ipsemet uir sanctus in cartis suis ex maxima parte scribendo est prosecutus.* Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.10, ed. Lapidge, 88. Translation taken from Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* i.34, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 41.

⁸⁵⁰ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.13, ed. Lapidge, 91.

⁸⁵¹ Sayers and Watkiss, notes to Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham*, 39.

importance.⁸⁵² Aldhelm enjoyed a reputation as an immensely learned scholar and a saint (he had been translated fairly recently in 1078).⁸⁵³ By fixing on him as a friend and associate of Ecgwine, Dominic could boost his own saints' reputation in matters of learning and religion.

Some of Dominic's alterations are indicative of a change in the relationship between Evesham and Worcester since Byrhtferth wrote his *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* in the early eleventh century. This is certainly the case with the account of Ecgwine's second journey to Rome accompanied by kings Cenred and Offa. As mentioned above, the reason for Ecgwine's journey moved from a bid for freedom from general burdens in Byrhtferth's *Vita* to a specific intention to acquire liberty from episcopal requirements in Dominic's text.⁸⁵⁴ This suggests that the monks were readjusting their definition of the relationship between themselves and Worcester and beginning to value their independence from the diocesan. In the late eleventh-century context of land disputes between Evesham and Worcester, in which the Worcester bishops also tried to impose gelds and court attendances on the grounds that certain Evesham possessions (particularly over Hampton and Bengeworth) lay within Oswaldslow, this makes perfect sense.⁸⁵⁵ The desire to clearly define the possessions and privileges of two communities that had shared so much history was probably also accelerated by the incursions of Norman prelates like Odo of Bayeux and by the Domesday Survey, as these too would have required the abbey to clearly demonstrate their boundaries and possessions.⁸⁵⁶

Dominic adds another new claim in his version of the letter of Pope Constantine to Archbishop Berhtwald (I.11). This is that the archbishop of Canterbury, as the primate of Britain, is to have the jurisdiction of Evesham.⁸⁵⁷ As O'Rourke has pointed out, such a privilege would make Evesham exempt from the

⁸⁵² Yeager, 'Poetic Properties, Legal Forms and Literary Documents in early English Literature,' 172.

⁸⁵³ Lapidge, 'Aldhelm [St Aldhelm] (d. 709/10),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

⁸⁵⁴ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.9, ed. Lapidge, 87; Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini* iii.3, ed. Lapidge, 258.

⁸⁵⁵ O'Rourke, 'Hagiography and Exemption at Medieval Evesham, 1000-1250: The Evidence of the *Vitae Ecgwini*,' 292.

⁸⁵⁶ Clarke, 'The Norman Conquest of the West Midlands,' 21-23.

⁸⁵⁷ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita S. Ecgwini episcopi et confessoris* i.11, ed. Lapidge, 88-90.

correction and jurisdiction of Worcester.⁸⁵⁸ But events in late eleventh-century Worcester raise the question of whether this letter is also concerned with the archdiocese of York. We know from the *Vita Wulfstani* that Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester had been supported by Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury in the early 1070s, when the bishop had disputed Archbishop Thomas of York's jurisdiction over Worcester and reclaimed former Worcester possessions currently held by the archiepiscopate.⁸⁵⁹ To this should be added the life of Æthelwig that is embedded within Thomas of Marlborough's *History*. The author of this *vita* claims that during Wulfstan's dispute with Archbishop Thomas, Æthelwig had lent the Worcester bishop money and offered him assistance.⁸⁶⁰ The same passage also states that Æthelwig had aided Lanfranc in regaining alienated lands for Christ Church Canterbury.⁸⁶¹ Indeed, Sayers has argued that the Evesham monks were actually creating forgeries for Canterbury in support of its primacy.⁸⁶² It is possible, therefore, that these houses had some kind of alliance against the archbishopric of York in the 1070s. The special relationship it claims for Canterbury and Evesham could be about forging connections with Christ Church, not merely about distancing Evesham from the Worcester bishops.

While it is very likely that Evesham had begun to separate its liberties and rights from Worcester by the time that Dominic was writing, it is important not to overestimate the importance of this course of action. Evesham was by no means as concerned about the Worcester bishop in the time of Dominic of Evesham as it was in the early thirteenth century, when Thomas of Marlborough wrote his house history for the Evesham monks. For instance, we can see in Dominic's *vita Ecgwini* that the Evesham community had not yet developed the claim that Ecgwine abdicated from the Worcester bishopric upon becoming head of their house. While Thomas of Marlborough's version of the *vita Ecgwini* explicitly states that Ecgwine resigned his episcopal see (*episcopale sede dimissa*), Dominic's *vita* has nothing

⁸⁵⁸ O'Rourke, 'Hagiography and Exemption at Medieval Evesham, 1000-1250: The Evidence of the *Vitae Ecgwini*,' 295.

⁸⁵⁹ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.1, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 64.

⁸⁶⁰ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164.

⁸⁶¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164.

⁸⁶² Sayers, "'Original,' Cartulary and Chronicle: the Case of the Abbey of Evesham,' 375-77.

equivalent.⁸⁶³ Furthermore, Dominic continues to describe Ecgwine as ‘bishop’ and ‘prelate’ through both books, demonstrating that Ecgwine’s connection to Worcester was not yet perceived as problematic. For example, during one miracle, Ecgwine protected a knight from being ambushed and killed by Welshmen. Here the knight, William Thorn, called upon ‘St Ecgwine the bishop’ whom he had heard about when the Ecgwine’s reliquary had been in London, suggesting that the Evesham monks were calling him bishop whilst trying to spread his reputation abroad.⁸⁶⁴ Whilst Dominic’s work starts to delineate the possessions and privileges of Evesham abbey more clearly than Byrhtferth’s earlier *vita* had, Ecgwine’s connection to Worcester is by no means perceived as problematic by the Dominic as it became in later decades.

Overall, we find that Ecgwine’s position as bishop of Worcester is muted in Dominic’s *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, but not suppressed or set in opposition to his position as Evesham abbot (as we later find in Thomas of Marlborough’s version of the *vita*). Ecgwine’s relationship with Evesham Abbey also starts to become more distinct and his acquisition of privileges and lands are more explicit. As a result, his place in society is redefined (as his relationships with archbishops, popes and kings are subtly altered) as well as his respective roles as abbot and bishop. However, Dominic’s book I remains fundamentally very similar to Byrhtferth’s original *vita*. It appears that Dominic’s work was not designed to reimagine Ecgwine: rather, it redraws the boundaries of the saint’s relationships (with his churches at Evesham and Worcester but also within wider society) and clarifies the privileges and possessions Ecgwine acquired for Evesham. Whilst there deserves to be a detailed study of the relationship between books I and II of Dominic’s *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, Lapidge’s dating of each suggests that initially Dominic’s focus was to update Byrhtferth’s work in line with the abbey’s current requirements, rather than to promote the saint’s resting-place as a miracle-working cult centre.

Conclusions

The century between the deaths of Oswald in 992 and Bishop Wulfstan II in 1095 was one of dramatic change. The communities at Evesham and Worcester witnessed

⁸⁶³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* i.18, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 22.

⁸⁶⁴ Dominic of Evesham, *Vita et miracula Sancti Ecgwini*, Hereford Cathedral Library, P.VII.6, f. 246^r.

the Danish conquest of Cnut in 1016, and the Norman conquest of William fifty years later. They faced challenges from enormously powerful magnates such as Godwine, ealdorman of Lindsey, Eadric Streona and Odo, bishop of Bayeux. Not least among the deprecators of Worcester lands were archbishops of York like Ealdred, who had formerly been bishop of Worcester. There is no doubt that Evesham and Worcester weathered these changes with far greater stability than some of their contemporaries, both lay and ecclesiastical.⁸⁶⁵ However, the challenges that these external events presented did nevertheless affect the communities' consciousness of their past and future. In the *Enucleatio libelli* of his cartulary, Hemming states that he had begun this work on the request of many, and especially by the command of Bishop Wulfstan, who would warn them:

that in future times no small benefit, with God's favour, could be gained for this monastery if these things were committed to written record, just as, on the contrary, from neglect loss would be inflicted, as nobody would survive who could recall from memory or find out how to narrate the truth or order of the things done in that time.⁸⁶⁶

Comments such as these suggest a fear for the future, that could best be allayed by quickly making a clear record of the present and past.

It is in this context of uncertainty that the developing relationship of Evesham and Worcester is best understood. We have seen that at the time that Byrhtferth was writing the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* for the Evesham monks, there was a greater preoccupation with defending against the depredations of ealdormen and with attaining freedom from secular burdens than with defining Ecgwine's roles as bishop of Worcester and Abbot of Evesham. In the local context of Evesham Abbey's recent and prolonged struggle against Godwine of Lindsey, a focus on lay threat makes perfect sense.⁸⁶⁷ Furthermore, the preoccupations evident in Byrhtferth's

⁸⁶⁵ Clarke, 'The Norman Conquest of the West Midlands,' 17-26; Darlington, 'Æthelwig, Abbot of Evesham, Part 1,' 10-22; Williams, 'The Cunning of the Dove,' 23-38.

⁸⁶⁶ *Aiebat etiam non minimum posteritatis nostre temporibus si litterali memorie commendaretur huic monasterio euenire posse Deo donante proficuum, sicut e contrario si negligeret accideret damnum, dum nullus superesset qui memoria recolere posset aut ei etati rerum gestarum ueritatem uel ordinem narrare nosset.* Edited and translated by Tinti, 'Si litterali memorie commendarentur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-Century Worcester,' 494-495.

⁸⁶⁷ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.137-144, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 144-150.

Vita Sancti Ecgwini also conform with contemporary attitudes apparent in other late tenth- and early eleventh-century sources. In a 2012 article, Katy Cubitt linked the writings of Archbishop Wulfstan and Ælfric of Eynsham to the production of the ‘Orthodoxorum’ charters and to the King Æthelred II’s penitential style of leadership after 993, when he tried to make restitution for his ‘youthful indiscretions’ by restoring lands and privileges that had been alienated by his followers in the early years of his reign from recently reformed churches.⁸⁶⁸ A concern for the proper ordering of society is certainly evident in the career of Archbishop Wulfstan, and this theme is apparent in both his homiletic material and in the law-codes that he assisted in drafting.⁸⁶⁹ To this theory of the proper order of society, Wulfstan united a pro-active approach to recovering and defending church lands at both York and Worcester, leading at the latter to the compilation of the earliest extant English cartulary, *Liber Wigorniensis*.⁸⁷⁰ Thus Byrhtferth’s *Vita Ecgwini* responds to the local context faced by the Evesham monks, but also to broader concerns that were finding expression in the writings of Wulfstan and in the court of Æthelred II.

In comparison, the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* by Dominic of Evesham demonstrates a distinct shift in concerns. Whilst it was still important to Dominic to stress the acquisitions and privileges of the church at Evesham, he offers greater detail about what exactly these privileges and possessions entailed. Writing shortly after the Domesday survey in 1086, which had demanded the institutions to define the extent of their landed possessions, it is perhaps unsurprising that Dominic’s *vita* tries to lay out which of Bishop Ecgwine’s acquisitions had been gifted to his foundation at Evesham. In this context, it is interesting to note that Cyril Roy Hart argued that a series of Evesham land charters were forged between 1097 and 1104, contemporaneously with the composition of Dominic’s text.⁸⁷¹ It was around the time that Dominic was writing, moreover, that Hemming was compiling his cartulary. The hardening of boundaries between the Evesham community and Worcester in the final decades of the eleventh century appear to have been part of a process of tenurial and ontological disentanglement: a reponse to the changing

⁸⁶⁸ Cubitt, ‘The politics of remorse: penance and royal piety in the reign of Æthelred the Unready,’ 179-192.

⁸⁶⁹ Keynes, ‘An Abbot, an Archbishop, and the Viking Raids of 1007-7 and 1009-12,’ 170-189.

⁸⁷⁰ Baxter, ‘Archbishop Wulfstan and the Administration of God’s Property,’ 161-205.

⁸⁷¹ Hart, *The Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands*, 61-63.

socio-political context. The relations between the communities would become increasingly antagonistic into the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as new concerns (such as episcopal visitation) came to the fore.⁸⁷²

Thus this chapter has demonstrated how mobile and responsive relationships between the communities at Evesham and Worcester were during the eleventh century. The relationships were also complex: textual exchanges of the kind discussed in chapter one continued throughout the episcopacy of Wulfstan, despite his disputes with the Evesham abbots. It is imperative, therefore, that we are careful not to simply label the houses as rivals, but instead recognise that the communities could be engaged in multiple (ostensibly contradictory) interactions at the same time. It is also important that we take care when reading the later evidence. The attitudes towards Worcester that are apparent in Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* are far more intimate and cooperative than either Hemming's *Cartulary* or Thomas of Marlborough's house history would suggest. These later writings were responding to their communities' contemporary needs and it is important that we recognise the context in which they were written before using them to shed light on the preceding decades. Ironically, the high degree of intimacy evident between Worcester and Evesham in the early eleventh-century (and before) may have intensified many of the later disputes over possessions that has given these houses a reputation for antagonism. By putting both the earlier and later sources back into their contexts, not only can we avoid a teleological reading of the early eleventh century, but we can also begin to comprehend the deeper histories that drove later conflict.

⁸⁷² Cf. Cheney, *Episcopal Visitation of Monasteries in the Thirteenth Century*.

Chapter Three. Reconsidering the Cult of Kenelm

In the same shire is the monastery of Winchcombe, which was built by Cenwulf king of the Mercians, a piece of munificence on a scale inconceivable in our own times. ... Mortal things ever go downhill; and this monastery was hardly more than a name in King's Edgar's time. But thanks to Archbishop Oswald it enjoyed some recovery.⁸⁷³

Thus states William of Malmesbury in a cursory description of Winchcombe Abbey. The traditional history of this church is archetypal: initially founded in the eighth century by a local ruling family, the early minster was supposedly generously endowed and may have functioned as a royal *eigenkloster*.⁸⁷⁴ By the time of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform, however, much of the church's endowment had been alienated. In the late 960s, Winchcombe was one of the houses directly refounded by Oswald, who installed his protégé Germanus as abbot.⁸⁷⁵ Following the death of King Edgar in 975, however, Ealdorman Ælfhere seized control of Winchcombe and expelled the monks, who fled to Ramsey. As in the case of the neighbouring abbeys Evesham and Pershore, some years afterwards Winchcombe was again returned to the control of an independent abbot, but we do not have any evidence that explicitly tells us when or how this occurred.

The history of Winchcombe Abbey remains turbulent for most of the eleventh century and the house endured considerable periods of vacancy. Following the death of Abbot Godwine of Winchcombe in 1053, Bishop Ealdred of Worcester held the abbacy Winchcombe for a period of time.⁸⁷⁶ Winchcombe's next abbot, Godric, was deposed shortly after the Norman conquest and the abbey was put under the care of Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham.⁸⁷⁷ According to Thomas of Marlborough's *Historia abbatiae de Evesham*, Æthelwig proceeded to hold Winchcombe for almost three years before the next Winchcombe abbot, Galandus,

⁸⁷³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, iv.156, ed. Winterbottom, 449.

⁸⁷⁴ Basset, 'A Probable Mercian Royal Mausoleum at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire,' 82-84.

⁸⁷⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100-102.

⁸⁷⁶ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 72.

⁸⁷⁷ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 163.

was appointed.⁸⁷⁸ Æthelwig was once again given care of the monastery when Abbot Galandus died, c.1075; Winchcombe subsequently remained in the Evesham abbot's care until his death in 1077/8.⁸⁷⁹ From the perspective of twelfth-century commentators like William of Malmesbury, the last century and a half of Winchcombe Abbey's history was a catalogue of enforced change.

Nevertheless, during this period the abbey appears to have successfully promoted a strong cult for a resident martyred prince, Kenelm of Mercia. There are three main aspects to our knowledge of the cult of Kenelm. Little is known about the historical circumstances surrounding the prince's life; and the surviving traditions surrounding his martyrdom and miracles are unconventional. Finally, Kenelm was a murdered prince. These factors have encouraged some scholars to attempt to understand the prince and his cult within wider theories concerning the cults of royal saints. Scholarship on royal saints' cults has a significant bearing on studies concerning Kenelm, not merely because he was a murdered prince, but also because many scholars have used theories concerning royal saints in order to date and explain the origins of his cult.

Thus, in the first section of this chapter, I will briefly introduce the dominant theories about the cult of Kenelm and will consider how earlier scholarship – particularly that pertaining to the cults of royal saints – has understood the development of his cult. I will then examine the range and dates of sources that shed light on Kenelm or his cult that date between the death of the prince in the early ninth century and the end of the eleventh century. By laying out the extant evidence, I should be able to assess any patterns that the sources present and begin to draw conclusions about the origins and development of the cult. I will then discuss an anonymous eleventh-century *vita*, the *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi* in greater detail, as this text has not received much analysis heretofore. I will particularly consider the *Vita brevior* in its manuscript context and explore whether this can shed light on its uses or transmission. Finally, I will use the conclusions drawn from the extant evidence to posit an alternative context in which the cult of Kenelm may have originated and developed. By examining the sources for Kenelm's cult within the context of the abbey's tenth- and eleventh-century interactions with Evesham,

⁸⁷⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164.

⁸⁷⁹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164-166.

Ramsey and Worcester, this chapter will test whether my theories about monastic relationships can help us to shed further light on the factors that could encourage the development of a cult.

I. Classifying Kenelm: the Impact of Historiography concerning the Royal Cult of Saints

Kenelm is a murky figure. The traditions preserved in the earliest extant *vitae*, written in the eleventh century, have the air of a folk tale.⁸⁸⁰ According to these traditions, Kenelm (or Cynehelm) was the son and heir of King Coenwulf of Mercia (*d.* 821). Coenwulf died when Kenelm was just seven years old, which left the prince at the mercy of his older sister, Cwoenthryth. Cwoenthryth, jealous of her popular brother and ambitious to rule, bribed his tutor (*nutricius*) Æscberht to kill the boy in exchange for a share in the kingdom.⁸⁸¹ While hunting with Kenelm in a wooded valley in the Clent Hills (in modern-day Worcestershire), Æscberht beheaded the prince and buried him in an ignominious grave under a thorn-tree.⁸⁸² Following the crime, Cwoenthryth forbade anyone to search for, or even speak of, their lost prince. However, the crime refused to stay hidden. Miracles occurred at the site where Kenelm was buried and a snow-white dove brought a message to the pope in Rome informing him of the martyrdom.⁸⁸³ With papal encouragement, Kenelm was honourably translated to the monastery that his father had built at Winchcombe. As the procession approached the church Cwoenthryth, furious, tried to curse the saint by chanting Psalm 108 backwards. This backfired however when her eyes dropped out onto the psalter, which, blood-stained, was later displayed at the abbey.⁸⁸⁴ Cwoenthryth died soon after and (as no grave would hold her body) she was thrown

⁸⁸⁰ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* and *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, both edited by Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, 49-89 and 126-129.

⁸⁸¹ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, c. 2, ed. Love, 54-56.

⁸⁸² *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, cc. 5-8, ed. Love, 58-62.

⁸⁸³ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, cc. 8-11, ed. Love, 62-66.

⁸⁸⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*, iv.156, ed. Winterbottom, 450.

into a ditch. Once installed at Winchcombe, Kenelm continued to prove his sanctity through a variety of miracles down to the hagiographer's own time.⁸⁸⁵

Scholarship concerning the cult of Kenelm unanimously agrees that the *vitae Kenelmi's* narratives are late and problematic.⁸⁸⁶ Nevertheless, the cult of Kenelm has been considered in a broad range of scholarly discussions, perhaps thanks to the saint's enduring popularity throughout the later medieval period.⁸⁸⁷ Scholarly interest in the cult of Kenelm doubtless also derives from the fact that he was a murdered Mercian prince. It is widely recognised that many of the saints produced by Anglo-Saxon England were royal. There are numerous models for royal saints: these include martyred kings, murdered princes, monk-kings and virgin princesses. In her monograph, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, Susan Ridyard attempted to identify patterns within different groups of royal saints by examining case-studies from across the categories. She concluded that generally there were 'two distinct traditions' dividing royal ladies from martyred kings: cults of the former gained momentum through support from the monastic world, while cults of the latter were the products of 'the high politics in their former kingdoms.'⁸⁸⁸ More recently, Katy Cubitt argued that martyred and murdered saints collectively 'form a distinct group' with certain motifs and miracles particularly common among their cults.⁸⁸⁹ These common motifs include dismemberment (particularly decapitation), themes of betrayal, topographical features like holy springs and trees, the crime being revealed by a column of light and a penchant for revenge miracles. Furthermore, it seems possible that some contemporaries recognised that royal

⁸⁸⁵ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, cc. 17-31, ed. Love, 72-88.

⁸⁸⁶ For example, Farmer 'Kenelm,' in *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), last accessed 3 June 2017, <http://www.oxfordreference.com/view/10.1093/acref/9780199596607.001.0001/acref-9780199596607-e-942>; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xc; and Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 244.

⁸⁸⁷ Rollason, 'Cynehelm (*supp. fl.* 803x11),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/39213> (accessed March 13, 2017).

⁸⁸⁸ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 236.

⁸⁸⁹ These include dismemberment (particularly decapitation), themes of betrayal, topographical features like holy springs and trees, the crime being revealed by a column of light and a penchant for revenge miracles. Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints,' 59.

saints formed a distinct group, as the relationships of some of these saints are traced in the diverse early medieval texts that constitute the *Royal Kentish Legend*.⁸⁹⁰

In consequence of Kenelm's status as a murdered prince, therefore, numerous studies have considered his cult alongside those of other kings and princes who suffered an untimely death, such as the cults of Oswald (king and martyr), the Northumbrian prince Ealhmund, Æthelberht of Hereford, the Kentish princes Æthelred and Æthelberht and St Wigstan. During the twentieth century, two particularly significant schools of thought emerged that sought to explain the phenomenon of royal saints' cults. The theories divide roughly into 'popular' and 'political' explanations for the popularity of royal saints and both tend to encompass the entire Anglo-Saxon period. As both theories have an impact on how we understand the development of Kenelm's cult, it is worth briefly introducing some prominent studies that have looked at royal cults before we analyse the evidence.

A prominent study that promoted the theory that Anglo-Saxon royal cults were a manifestation of popular faith was Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England* (first published 1970). This monograph sought to rebalance the dominant scholarly emphasis on the 'Roman' impact on Anglo-Saxon Christianity by trying to understand how Germanic and pagan influences also contributed to insular Christian culture.⁸⁹¹ Chaney argued that Anglo-Saxon kings were themselves sacral figures who mediated between their subjects and their gods and that a societal cult of kingship made kings innately likely to become saints.⁸⁹² To Chaney, when kings suffered 'unjust and violent death' this was reason enough for 'canonization by the folk' and no other significant Christian qualities were required.⁸⁹³ Chaney's thesis is problematic in a number of ways, not least because he made use of evidence from widely differing times and regions to fill in the gaps in pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon religious history.⁸⁹⁴ Furthermore, his focus on the pagan and the popular was at the expense of understanding what relationship such cults may have had with royal or ecclesiastical authorities. As these are inevitably the people who recorded our extant

⁸⁹⁰ For example, *Pa Halgan*, edited in Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, 1-9.

⁸⁹¹ Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*, 1.

⁸⁹² Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*, 77.

⁸⁹³ Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*, 79.

⁸⁹⁴ For example, he makes use both of later medieval Scandinavian sources and Tacitus, *Germania*, neither of which refer to Anglo-Saxon England and which were written over a thousand years apart. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 4, 8.

sources Chaney's approach was very selective and undervalued some of our most important evidence for saints' cults.

The problems with Chaney's theory resulted in a powerful backlash by the second significant school: those that explained Anglo-Saxon royal saints' cults as politically driven and originated in royal sponsorship or with the ecclesiastical elite.⁸⁹⁵ Scholarship within this school has been very prolific, including prominent studies by Ridyard, Thacker and Rollason.⁸⁹⁶ In an article that specifically focused on the cults of murdered royal saints, David Rollason argues that the veneration of murdered royals as saints 'formed a consistent tradition' in Anglo-Saxon England that was driven by the cults utility during political conflict, either in order to damage political opponents or to bolster royal authority (depending on who encouraged the cult).⁸⁹⁷ Rollason includes Kenelm among his examples and – despite recognising that the traditions for this saint is late and problematic – argues that his cult grew out of the political turmoil between ruling families in ninth-century Mercia.⁸⁹⁸

Susan Ridyard's monograph uses case studies looking at a selection of the cults of both royal women and martyred kings to develop her model of Anglo-Saxon royal sanctity. She concludes that while the cults of royal ladies were promoted by the Church as examples of the religious life, the cults of martyred kings originated in the political conditions prevailing in their former kingdoms following their death.⁸⁹⁹ Thus for Ridyard, the cults of martyred kings were developed to promote the interests of their successors, regardless of whether the current rulers descended from the culted king or not.⁹⁰⁰ In this study, Kenelm is grouped within the 'martyred innocent' or 'innocent victim tradition' and Ridyard is willing to follow Rollason's

⁸⁹⁵ Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints,' 53; Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 236.

⁸⁹⁶ For example, Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*; Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in pre-Viking Mercia,' 1-25; Rollason, 'The Cults of murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England,' 1-22.

⁸⁹⁷ Rollason, 'The Cults of murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England,' 13-17.

⁸⁹⁸ Rollason, 'The Cults of murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England,' 9-10, 21.

⁸⁹⁹ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 240-241.

⁹⁰⁰ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 238-239.

theory that the cult of Kenelm was connected with the ‘dynastic turmoil’ of ninth-century Mercia.⁹⁰¹

In 2000, an article by Katy Cubitt attempted to resuscitate one of the more valuable aspects of Chaney’s theory, by asking whether recent scholarship had laid too much emphasis on political influences on the development of royal saints’ cults at the expense of understanding popular devotion.⁹⁰² She argued that common elements in the hagiographical texts of martyred and murdered kings demonstrate that the cults’ origins lie in lay and popular devotion of royals who suffered a violent and unjust death.⁹⁰³ By offering a close reading of near-contemporary *vitae* to identify popular or folkloric elements within the traditions of martyred and murdered royals, Cubitt avoided the problems with sources found in earlier studies like Chaney’s.

However, Cubitt applied her theories to the entire post-conversion Anglo-Saxon period, using the same arguments to explain the culting of Oswald of Northumbria in the seventh century as for the circulation of stories of miracles at the tomb of Alfred Atheling in the mid eleventh. All of the theories discussed also have a tendency to discuss royal cults of saints on a national scale. In this case, Cubitt discusses the ‘religious practices of the ordinary Anglo-Saxon’.⁹⁰⁴ However, it seems problematic to identify any such person when we have such a variation of extant evidence between different time periods and regions. The assumption that Anglo-Saxon Christianity consistently witnesses the same manifestations of popular, local piety throughout the entire Anglo-Saxon period and across every region is problematic unless we either assume that there was a common cultural tendency here (perhaps along the Germanic lines argued by Chaney), or that the local devotees were already familiar with the pattern of royal martyred saints. When it comes to non-elite Anglo-Saxon populations, the lack of evidence makes it unlikely that either assumption can be satisfactorily proven. A consequence of Cubitt’s theory for popular origins is that she places the origins of the cult of Kenelm ‘long before’

⁹⁰¹ Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, 244-247.

⁹⁰² Cubitt, ‘Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints,’ 53-54.

⁹⁰³ Cubitt, ‘Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints,’ 53.

⁹⁰⁴ Cubitt, ‘Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints,’ 58.

the composition of his *vitae* in the eleventh century and implies a ninth-century date.⁹⁰⁵

Overall, scholarship on the cults of royal saints necessarily makes a number of assumptions about Kenelm (based on his similarity to other royal cults) in order to posit an early date for his cult. In so doing, they use Kenelm to trace patterns and theories about royal cults, giving a distinct circularity to the theories. It is only by laying out the evidence without prior assumptions that we can then assess the relative impact of popular, political or other factors that drove the development of Kenelm's cult. When we approach evidence for Kenelm's cult without any expectations about how royal cults were developed, a very different picture emerges. Thus this chapter both uses Kenelm's cult to shed light on relations between Oswaldian houses and in so doing offers an alternative context in which the development of Kenelm's cult can be understood.

II. Kenelm of Winchcombe? Sources for the Cult Reconsidered.

So what evidence for the life and death of Kenelm – and for the development of his cult – exists? In this second part of the chapter, I go back to the early medieval sources that may shed light on either Kenelm or his cult. Any evidence for an early cult of Kenelm that developed soon after his death c.821 must shape our understanding of the cult during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Consequently, I have divided this section into two (very unequal) parts. The first explores early evidence for Kenelm or his cult: that is, sources that date between the life and death of Kenelm in the early ninth century and the installation of Abbot Germanus at Winchcombe by Oswald c.966.⁹⁰⁶ The second part outlines extant sources for the cult of Kenelm that date from the later tenth-century monastic reforms until the end of the eleventh century. Evidence that dates to the twelfth century or later is not considered, except where it arguably sheds light on either of the earlier time frames that I have just outlined. By systematically working through the evidence in this manner, I hope to lay out a fuller picture of when and how the cult developed. By

⁹⁰⁵ Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints,' 67.

⁹⁰⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita. S Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100-102.

assessing any patterns in the spread of evidence, this section should also allow me to start evaluating the merits of the various scholarly theories identified in section one.

Early sources for Kenelm of Mercia

Few early sources corroborate the later hagiographic traditions that grew up around Kenelm. Neither Kenelm nor his sister Cwoenthryth are mentioned in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which reports that their father King Coenwulf was immediately succeeded by his brother, Ceolwulf.⁹⁰⁷ Nor is Kenelm's feast commemorated in any extant Anglo-Saxon kalendar that dates before the third quarter of the tenth century.⁹⁰⁸ However, *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* notes that Kenelm is mentioned in the 'Northern Annals', now extant in the *Historia regum*.⁹⁰⁹ The *Historia regum* is a historical compilation traditionally attributed to Symeon of Durham (*d. c. 1129*).⁹¹⁰ The entry that names Kenelm primarily refers to the accession of his father, Coenwulf, who is described as 'father of St Kenelm the martyr' to the Mercian throne.⁹¹¹ This compilation is only extant today in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139, 52^r-129^r, which was probably copied 1164×c.1180 and which had the medieval provenance of the Cistercian abbey of Sawley (Lancs.).⁹¹² Although both this manuscript and the extant version of the *Historia regum* are dated to the twelfth century, Symeon's tendency to draw extensively on earlier texts, sometimes *verbatim*, means that the possibility that this entry draws on an early text needs to be briefly considered.⁹¹³ If the entry in the *Historia regum* does indeed derive from the earlier 'Northern Annals', then it might shed light on the date that Kenelm first started to be culted as a martyr.

The entry concerning Coenwulf that describes Kenelm as a martyr is dated to A.D. 796. This entry sits within the first five sections of the *Historia regum* (up to

⁹⁰⁷ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, s.a. 819 [*recte* 821].

⁹⁰⁸ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Table VII: July.

⁹⁰⁹ 'Cynehelm 1 Male),' *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 24 Jun 2018, http://pase.ac.uk/jsp/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=5607&level=1&lbl=Cynehelm.

⁹¹⁰ Arnold, *Symeonis monachis opera omnia*, vol. 2, s.a. 796.

⁹¹¹ Arnold, *Symeonis monachis opera omnia*, vol. 2, s.a. 796.

⁹¹² Rollason, 'Symeon of Durham's *Historia de regibus Anglorum et Dacorum*,' 102-103.

⁹¹³ Rollason, introduction to *Symeon of Durham: Libellus de exordio*, lxxviii-lxxvi.

887), which were all written in a distinctive Latin style.⁹¹⁴ In a detailed article, Lapidge demonstrated that the Latin style in these five sections can be attributed to Byrhtferht of Ramsey, and thus that an earlier *Historia regum* was compiled in the late tenth or early eleventh century.⁹¹⁵ It is demonstrable, furthermore, that Byrhtferth himself made use of several earlier texts, such as the *Historia abbatum* and *De die iudicii* (both by Bede) and Asser's *Life of King Alfred*: Byrhtferth appears to have compiled, edited and glossed his sources, but very little of the work appears to be an original composition.⁹¹⁶ The section which contains the A.D. 796 entry for Coenwulf appears to have derived from the so-called 'Northern Annals' or 'York Annals', which covered the years 732-802.⁹¹⁷ These annals are not extant in their original form, but have been preserved to varying degrees in several other sources: in some continuations to Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*; in the northern recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*; in Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*; in the *Chronicle of Melrose*; and in the work of Roger of Hoveden.⁹¹⁸ The accuracy of the Annals information about early Northumbrian princes and in recording astronomical information suggest that at least some of their information was written contemporaneously.⁹¹⁹ Thus, here we find a near-contemporary annal that appears to know Kenelm's martyrdom and celebrate him as a saint.

There is, however, a complication. Arnold's *Symeonis monachi opera omnia* currently offers the only complete edition of the *Historia regum*.⁹²⁰ It is this edition, therefore, that the editors of *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* – and every other commentator – have necessarily made use of. Arnold's edition is problematic, as he did not distinguish between the main text and later additions. The manuscript of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139 was recently digitised,

⁹¹⁴ Arnold, *Symeonis monachis opera omnia*, 3-91.

⁹¹⁵ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham,' 97-122.

⁹¹⁶ See Story, *Carolingian Connections*, ch. 4.

⁹¹⁷ Hart, 'The Ramsey *Computus*,' 41-42.

⁹¹⁸ Rollason, 'Northern Annals,' in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge et. al., 339-340.

⁹¹⁹ Rollason, 'Northern Annals,' in *The Wiley Blackwell Encyclopedia of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Lapidge et. al., 340.

⁹²⁰ A new edition and translation, which will be published as *Historia de regibus Anglorum et Dacorum* is currently in preparation by David Rollason and Michael Lapidge. Rollason, 'Symeon of Durham's *Historia de regibus Anglorum et Dacorum*,' 95.

and it is now clearly evident that the mention of Kenelm on f. 66^v is an interlinear addition.⁹²¹ The entry reads as follows:

Coenwlf quoq(ue) \ pat(er). s(an)c(t)i. kenelmi mar(tiris). / dehinc diadema
regni merciorum suscepit gl(ori)ose tenuitq(ue) inuicta uirtute potenti
uigore sui potentat(ur).

The phrase ‘father of St Kenelm the martyr’ was added above the initial entry after it had been copied. This might have been a simple error: however, the grammatical completeness of the missing phrase suggests that this was an addition rather than a correction. A second piece of evidence also suggests that the note about Kenelm did not occur in the scribe’s exemplar. This is a set of annals entered into an early twelfth-century manuscript, Oxford, St John’s College 17. As Peter Baker has demonstrated, this manuscript is a later copy of a computistical miscellany that was compiled by Byrhtferth of Ramsey as a companion to Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion*.⁹²² In the margins of the Easter Tables in Oxford, St John’s College 17, ff. 139-55 is a set of Latin annals, which were printed by Cyril Hart.⁹²³ For the period 732-900, the annals in Oxford, St John’s College 17 ‘march hand-in-hand’ with those in the *Historia regum*: it is plausible that both copies derive from a source available at Ramsey around the end of the tenth century, when Byrhtferth was writing.⁹²⁴ It is significant, therefore, that the entry for A.D. 796 mentions the accession of Coenwulf as king of Mercia, but does not mention his son. This may corroborate my theory that the mention of St Kenelm the martyr in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139 does not derive from its exemplar and that the mention of Kenelm in the *Historia regum* is a late interpolation. It appears, therefore, that no contemporary annals or chronicle recorded the existence of a Mercian prince Kenelm, son of Ceonwulf, let alone the circumstances surrounding his death.

At least one individual called ‘Cynehelm’ does, however, appear to have existed. This individual lived in early ninth century and witnessed several charters, sometimes as *dux* or *princeps*, alongside King Coenwulf, Kenelm’s supposed

⁹²¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139, f. 66^v. *Parker Library on the Web*, accessed 24 Jun 2018, <https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/catalog/qj220gv8417>.

⁹²² Baker, ‘Byrhtferth’s *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St John’s College 17,’ 123-142.

⁹²³ Hart, ‘The Ramsey *Computus*,’ 38-44.

⁹²⁴ Hart, ‘The Ramsey *Computus*,’ 37; Lapidge, ‘Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the *Historia regum* attributed to Symeon of Durham,’ 115-116.

father.⁹²⁵ These charters do little to corroborate the eleventh-century *vitae*, as they are variously dated between A.D. 797 and 811. Clearly, this Cynhelm certainly could not have been seven years old when Coenwulf died in 821. What's more, his disappearance from the charters after 811 may suggest that this Cynhelm predeceased King Coenwulf by a decade.⁹²⁶ Whilst some of these charters exist only in late and problematic copies, six date from the late eighth or early ninth century.⁹²⁷ Interestingly, all of the charters that are extant in their eighth- or ninth-century form come from archives at Canterbury or Rochester. In comparison, charters belonging to archives local to Winchcombe are only extant in copies dating from the eleventh century or later.⁹²⁸ Interestingly, the charters that describe Kenelm as the son of Coenwulf are all late witnesses: none of the early charters make any reference to a relationship between Cynhelm and Coenwulf, or to Winchcombe Abbey.

As we have seen, few early extant sources shed light on the historical 'Cynhelm'. What is perhaps more surprising, however, is that no early extant source denotes a familial link with King Coenwulf, or a personal connection to Winchcombe. Neither have we found any evidence at all pertaining to a cult of St Kenelm. These details only appear in extant evidence that dates from the second half of the tenth century or later. Absence of extant evidence, of course, does not constitute evidence of absence. There may well have been an earlier cult, that has been entirely subsumed into later texts. Perhaps more likely is that an early mausoleum at Winchcombe spawned stories about a prince struck down in his youth.⁹²⁹ However, attempting to place the origins of the cult shortly after the

⁹²⁵ S 40, S 106, S 152, S 156, S 159, S 161, S 163, S 164, S 165, S 167, S 168, S 184, S 1186a, S 1187, S 1260. *Prospography of Anglo-Saxon England*, www.pase.ac.uk.

⁹²⁶ Rollason, 'Cynhelm (*supp. fl.* 803x11),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/39213>.

⁹²⁷ S 40: London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 87 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. ix¹); S 161: London, British Library, Stowe Charters 9 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. ix¹); S 163: London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 98 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. ix¹); S 165: London, British Library, Cotton Charters viii. 31 (Rochester, s. ix¹); S 168: London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 10 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. ix¹); S 1186a: London, British Library, Cotton Augustus ii. 27 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. viii²). *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

⁹²⁸ S 167: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E. iv, ff. 13^v-14^r (Winchcombe, s. xii); S 1187: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, ff. 49^r-50^r (Worcester, s. xi¹); S 1260: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. xiii, ff. 8^v-9^r (Worcester, s. xi¹).

⁹²⁹ Basset, 'A Probable Mercian Royal Mausoleum at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire,' 82-100.

supposed date of Kenelm's death risks detracting from the context and significance of later sources, regardless of whether there was any earlier devotion or not. From where we stand today, the distribution of evidence suggests that the Winchcombe community had little material upon which to found Kenelm's legend and cult. Thus rather than examining later sources in order to construct an earlier cult, I will now lay out later Anglo-Saxon evidence for the development of Kenelm's cult and attempt to understand the contexts in which these sources were produced.

The Cult of Kenelm: Later Evidence

Far more evidence concerning Kenelm and his cult survives from the mid tenth century onwards. Interest in Kenelm's cult seems to have developed quite suddenly. Whilst no extant kalendar dating before the second half of the tenth century contains an entry for Kenelm, almost every extant kalendar written between the third quarter of the tenth century and 1100 celebrates Kenelm's feast on 17 July.⁹³⁰ At first glance, therefore, the cult of Kenelm appears to have become widely popular by the eleventh century. It is notable, however, that most pre-1100 kalendars are associated with Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, or one of their dependents. Consequently, there is a southern – and particularly south-western – bias among extant tenth- and eleventh-century kalendars, and celebration of Kenelm's feast was seemingly centred round houses that were closely connected to the tenth-century monastic reform.

Particular veneration for the feast of Kenelm is apparent in just two of the Anglo-Saxon kalendars that celebrate his feast. The first is an early eleventh-century kalendar transmitted in Cambridge University Library Kk. v. 32, ff. 50a-55b, which marks his feast in majuscules as *Sancti Kenelmi martiris Christi*.⁹³¹ The place of production of this manuscript is disputed, although Canterbury and Glastonbury are the most frequent suggestions.⁹³² Neither of these houses is known to have had a particular connection to Winchcombe.⁹³³ However, the kalendar is transmitted

⁹³⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, nos. 6, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24. Absent from nos. 7, 25 and 27. No. 26 is missing the month of July.

⁹³¹ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 6, 78.

⁹³² Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 33.

⁹³³ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 406-407, n. 85.

alongside computus material and excerpts of Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Enchiridion*.⁹³⁴ It is possible, therefore, that elements of this kalendar have been carried over from a liturgical compilation of Ramsey origin. Rushforth dated the kalendar to between 1012 (the martyrdom of Ælfheah, whose feast is included) and 1030 (the year that the first Easter table ended).⁹³⁵ As Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* was being written c.1011, this would mean that the kalendar and extracts of the *Enchiridion* would have to have been in circulation shortly after composition.⁹³⁶ As we will see, this scenario is feasible, as Ramsey was an active disseminator of computistical texts during the first half of the eleventh century.

A second pre-1100 kalendar that shows particular veneration for Kenelm is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, which also enters Kenelm's name in majuscules.⁹³⁷ The kalendar in this manuscript has already been discussed in some detail in chapter one, where its intimate connection to both Evesham Abbey and Worcester Cathedral was stressed. According to Rushforth, the kalendar was most likely produced between 1064 and 1070.⁹³⁸ Whilst Winchcombe fell under the protection of both Worcester and Evesham during the mid eleventh century, it is worth noting at this point that when Abbot Godric of Winchcombe was deposed in 1066 not only did Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham administer Winchcombe, but Godric also went to live at Evesham Abbey and witnessed a 1077 confraternity agreement as one of the Evesham brethren.⁹³⁹ It is perfectly reasonable, therefore, that the abbey of Evesham would have a particular interest in Kenelm during this time. The other two contemporary liturgical kalendars from Worcester, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, also commemorate Kenelm, but neither marks his feast as important.⁹⁴⁰ It seems possible, therefore, that the

⁹³⁴ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 33.

⁹³⁵ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 33.

⁹³⁶ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine*, xxxii.

⁹³⁷ *Sancti KENELMI MARTYRIS*. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*, no. 16, 204.

⁹³⁸ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 47.

⁹³⁹ 'Association of Bishop Wulfstan and the Abbots of Evesham, Chertsey, Bath, Pershore, Winchcombe, and Gloucester, and the Dean of Worcester,' in *Diplomatarium Anglicum ævi Saxonici*, ed. Thorpe, 617.

⁹⁴⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, Table VII: July.

high grade of Kenelm's feast in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 demonstrate that his cult was of particular interest to the Evesham community during this time.

Wormald's edited collations of post-1100 Benedictine calendars suggest that Kenelm was also commemorated widely during the later medieval period. Calendars commemorating Kenelm are extant from twelve Benedictine abbeys: Abbotsbury (marked as *Commemoratio*); Abingdon (three lections); St Albans (three lections); Chertsey (three lections); Chester; Crowland (*Commemoratio*); Dunster Priory, Somerset (twelve lections); Evesham (rubricated, twelve lections); St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester (marked as three lections in a later hand); Westminster (marked as three lections in a later hand); Malmesbury (twelve lections); and Muchelney.⁹⁴¹ Love has also identified two post-1100 calendars from Worcester that mark 17 July as a feast of twelve lections.⁹⁴²

The calendars commemorating Kenelm show a geographic pattern. It is notable that the calendars that have an entry for Kenelm tend to cluster in the west of England. Abbotsbury (Dorset), Dunster (Somerset), Evesham, Gloucester, Malmesbury (Wiltshire) and Muchelney (Somerset) all lie in west Wessex or south-west Mercia. Abingdon Abbey lies only a few miles east of the Cotswolds, while Chester sits on the north Welsh border. In comparison, several major communities based in eastern England – for example, both Christ Church and St Augustine's at Canterbury in the south and Durham Cathedral priory in the north – omit the feast entirely.⁹⁴³ In the case of the easterly abbeys that do commemorate the cult of Kenelm, there are often connections to Kenelm or to the Oswaldian houses that might explain the presence of his feast. For example, Crowland's proximity to the fenland abbey of Ramsey may explain the abbey's commemoration of Kenelm's martyrdom. Westminster Abbey's connection to the West Midlands was more direct, as it had held extensive lands around Pershore (Worcs) and Deerhurst (Gloucs) since the reign of Edward the Confessor.⁹⁴⁴ St Albans Abbey actually claimed to

⁹⁴¹ Wormald, *English Benedictine Calendars after A.D. 1100*, vol. 1: Abbotsbury – Durham, 8, 25, 40, 90, 106, 123, 155; and vol. 2: Ely – St. Neots, 33, 50, 69, 85, 98.

⁹⁴² Oxford, Magdalen College 100 (early thirteenth-century psalter); and Worcester Cathedral Library F. 160 (gradual and antiphoner, early thirteenth century). Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxvii, n. 139.

⁹⁴³ Other absences are: Deeping Priory, Somerset; Ely Cathedral Priory; and St Neot's. Wormald, *English Benedictine Calendars after A.D. 1100*, vol. 1: Abbotsbury – Durham, 57, 74, 139, 174; and vol. 2: Ely – St. Neots, 14, 113.

⁹⁴⁴ Mason, *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c.1214*, no. 4.

possess a relic of Kenelm.⁹⁴⁵ It is unclear how the cult of Kenelm came to be celebrated at Chertsey, however. The low survival rate of extant liturgical kalendars and possibility that the cults in some kalendars were merely copied from exemplars without demonstrating regard for the cult necessarily problematise this pattern. Nevertheless, it appears that generally many of the post-1100 Benedictine kalendars that culted Kenelm either lay in the western regions of England, had a particular link to the abbey, or had reason to celebrate royal martyrs.

Litanies and Liturgies

The kalendar evidence for the development and spread of the cult of Kenelm receives some corroboration from extant Anglo-Saxon litanies. Of the forty-six Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing one or more litanies that Lapidge identified and edited for the Henry Bradshaw Society, Kenelm is listed among the martyrs in fourteen.⁹⁴⁶ The earliest two of these are both transmitted in manuscripts written in the last quarter of the tenth century.⁹⁴⁷ One of these – London, British Library, Harley 2904 – is a Gallican psalter which, though palaeographically reminiscent of contemporary Winchester books, has also been connected to Ramsey Abbey on account of its content.⁹⁴⁸ The litany in this manuscript is unusual in marking the name of St Benedict as a triple invocation, a distinction normally reserved for Christ and the Virgin Mary.⁹⁴⁹ The litany has also added a select group of Insular saints to the bottom of the lists of martyrs, confessors and virgins. Thus Kenelm is preceded by Alban and Oswald (of Northumbria), then followed by Edmund king and martyr, and Æthelberht of Hereford.⁹⁵⁰ It is notable that this litany does not include the Ramsey martyrs Æthelred and Æthelberht: if the litany does have a connection to

⁹⁴⁵ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxxvii.

⁹⁴⁶ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, nos. I, VI, VIII.i, IX.i, XII, XVI.ii, XXI, XXII.i, XXIII, XXIV, XXVIII, XXXII, XXXVI, XLV.

⁹⁴⁷ London, British Library, Harley 2904 and Orléans, Bibliothèque municipale 127 (105). Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 391, 398.

⁹⁴⁸ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 399-401.

⁹⁴⁹ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 400.

⁹⁵⁰ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXIV, ll. 113-117.

Ramsey, perhaps it was composed before their translation thence in the late tenth century.⁹⁵¹

The other early litany is found in the 'Winchcombe Sacramentary' (s. x², now Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 127 (105)).⁹⁵² The litany transmitted in this sacramentary enters Kenelm's name in majuscules and places him remarkably high: second in the list of martyrs (following St Stephen).⁹⁵³ As with the litany in Harley 2904 above, the name of St Benedict is marked with a triple invocation.⁹⁵⁴ Benedict's sister Scholastica, and the martyrs of Agaune are also among those names entered in majuscules.⁹⁵⁵ Additions to the sacramentary demonstrate that this manuscript had reached Fleury by the first half of the eleventh century, having apparently been 'sent from across the sea' from England.⁹⁵⁶ Kenelm is the only insular saint commemorated in the litany at all, which generally has a Frankish character.⁹⁵⁷ As well as his prominence among the martyrs in the litany, the sacramentary also contains the earliest extant mass-set for the feast of Kenelm.⁹⁵⁸ The origin of this sacramentary has been subject to some debate. Due to the prominence Kenelm is given, Ker, Rollason and Pfaff have all suggested that the manuscript was probably written at Winchcombe and travelled to Fleury from there.⁹⁵⁹ However, Gneuss and Love are among those who have recognised the close connection between Winchcombe and Ramsey during the period to which the manuscript is approximately dated, and have been unwilling to rule out that it was

⁹⁵¹ Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints,' 507.

⁹⁵² Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXVIII.

⁹⁵³ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXVIII, l. 28.

⁹⁵⁴ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXVIII, l. 96.

⁹⁵⁵ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxv-cxvi.

⁹⁵⁶ *a transmarinis partibus misit*. Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 391-392.

⁹⁵⁷ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, 76.

⁹⁵⁸ According to Love 'including collect, secret, preface, and postcommunion'. Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxiv-cxv.

⁹⁵⁹ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 199. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in medieval England*, 93; Rollason, 'Cynehelm (*supp. fl.* 803x11),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed March 13, 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.ezproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/39213>.

written at Ramsey.⁹⁶⁰ Indeed, if the manuscript was written in the third quarter of the tenth century, then it might date to the period when the Winchcombe monks were stationed at Ramsey.

A second litany that treats Kenelm with particular reverence is transmitted in the Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1. 23, commonly called the Cambridge Psalter. There has been some debate concerning the date of this manuscript, which has been variously dated to either the late tenth / beginning of the eleventh century or to the second quarter / middle of the eleventh century.⁹⁶¹ Here, the names of Kenelm and St Peter are the only ones that have been rubricated and Kenelm is placed highest among the English martyrs (ahead of the Kings Oswald and Edmund and St Alban).⁹⁶² The name of St Benedict is also entered in capitals.⁹⁶³ Once again, therefore, scholarly debate has centred over whether this manuscript was produced at Winchcombe or Ramsey.⁹⁶⁴ Significantly, a detailed study of the Cambridge Psalter (and other related manuscripts) by Michael Lapidge led him to connect the manuscript, rather than simply to one institution or another, to the career of a specific monk, Germanus.⁹⁶⁵

Germanus' career brought him into close contact with most of the monasteries discussed in this thesis. Already an acquaintance of Oswald by the 950s, Germanus spent several years studying the Benedictine rule at Fleury. When Oswald, now bishop of Worcester, founded a small monastic community at Westbury-on-Trym, Germanus was summoned to become prior.⁹⁶⁶ A few years later, Oswald transferred these monks to Ramsey, where Germanus and another monk Eadnoth Senior were put in charge. Soon after, Oswald made Germanus abbot of Winchcombe, where he remained until after the death of Edgar in 975.⁹⁶⁷ When the monks of Winchcombe were expelled, Germanus initially returned to Fleury for

⁹⁶⁰ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 867; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxvi.

⁹⁶¹ Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 4.

⁹⁶² Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. I, ll. 18 and 60-63.

⁹⁶³ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. I, l. 72.

⁹⁶⁴ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxv.

⁹⁶⁵ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 403-404.

⁹⁶⁶ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iii.8, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 68-70.

⁹⁶⁷ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.4, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 100.

three years, before being summoned to rejoin the Winchcombe monks (now stationed at Ramsey) by Oswald.⁹⁶⁸ Germanus then stayed at Ramsey for well over a decade. Finally, sometime after the deaths of Oswald and Ramsey's patron Ealdorman Æthelwine in 992, Germanus was made abbot of Cholsey (Berks). He remained there until his death, c. 1016.⁹⁶⁹

This brief biography shows that there is a great deal of merit in sometimes interpreting text history through the influence of individuals rather than institutions. Lapidge's arguments about the role of Germanus allows us to understand the development of manuscripts like the Cambridge Psalter in a more flexible, organic way. However, when it comes to the cult of Kenelm, I believe that Lapidge's theory can be taken a little further. In the first place, we should avoid assuming that the career of Germanus was extraordinary. What makes his career unusual is how much we know about it, thanks to his close relationship to Archbishop Oswald. However, Byrhtferth's narrative makes it evident that Germanus was by no means the only trans-institutional monk of the late tenth and early eleventh century. Oswald himself also had training at Fleury and his (re)foundations always involved the transferral of monks from pre-existing Benedictine centres. Thus the monks of Westbury were moved to the new foundation at Ramsey. Some Ramsey monks were then placed at Worcester under Wynsig, while others were stationed at Winchcombe under Germanus himself. Similar examples can be found in the eleventh century, such as Ælfweard, the abbot of Evesham who had formerly been a monk of Ramsey. With so much interchange of personnel between the Oswaldian monasteries, the hybrid nature of manuscripts such as the Cambridge Psalter makes perfect sense even without Germanus.

Furthermore, Lapidge seeks to explain the veneration of Kenelm in manuscripts like the Cambridge Psalter as due to the Winchcombe monks' attempt 'to preserve their separate identity, by maintaining *inter alia* their own liturgical practices'.⁹⁷⁰ This interpretation assumes that the Winchcombe community necessarily caused tensions with the incumbent monks when they fled to Ramsey and sought to exist as a second discrete monastery under the same roof. However, some of these monks would have come from Ramsey only a few years before. Furthermore, for the first three years, the Winchcombe monks lived at Ramsey

⁹⁶⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* iv.11 and v.14, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 122 and 184.

⁹⁶⁹ Keynes, 'The Cult of King Edward the Martyr,' 119.

⁹⁷⁰ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 408.

without their abbot Germanus, which means that they did not have a competing authority to answer to during that period. All of the monks also ultimately owed obedience to Oswald, who acted as abbot to Ramsey. It seems unnecessary, therefore, for us to accept Lapidge's assumption that the former Winchcombe monks wanted to maintain a separate identity from those of Ramsey. Surely the hybrid litanies of Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 1. 23, London, British Library, Harley 2904 and Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 127 are more indicative that the religious practices of the Winchcombe and Ramsey monks merged rather than remaining independent?⁹⁷¹

Other extant eleventh-century litanies show less distinctive interest in Kenelm. Indeed, out of the eleven remaining eleventh-century litanies yet to be discussed, five are encyclopedic and do not demonstrate specific, local veneration.⁹⁷² Nevertheless, it is notable that – as with the kalendar evidence – the majority of the litanies that name Kenelm survive in manuscripts that have been associated with the West Country or fenland monasteries. Thus four litanies that name Kenelm are transmitted in eleventh-century manuscripts that have been connected to one of the Winchester monasteries or a Winchester dependency.⁹⁷³ Another litany, dated to the second half of the eleventh century, is transmitted in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 (the so-called Portiforium of St Wulfstan), which has a Worcester origin and provenance.⁹⁷⁴ There is a litany that includes Kenelm in London, British Library, Harley 863, a psalter dating to the third quarter of the eleventh century which was written at Exeter Cathedral.⁹⁷⁵ Two other litanies that contain Kenelm are

⁹⁷¹ Both the career of Germanus (*d. c.* 1016) and the fact that the Winchcombe monks first fled to Ramsey in the later tenth century suggest that Lapidge's theory is more credible if we accept an earlier dating for this manuscript. However, we must remain mindful that Lapidge's theories concerning this manuscript may in part have encouraged scholars to date it earlier. Whether an early or mid eleventh-century production, however, this kalendar nevertheless demonstrates a distinctive interest in the cult of Kenelm at Ramsey.

⁹⁷² London, British Library, Arundel 60 (s. xi²); London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xiv (s. xi¹); London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. vii, fols. 1-112 (s. xi¹); London, British Library, Harley 863 (s. xi^{3/4}); Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824 (s. xi^{mid}). Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, nos. XII, XVI.ii, XXII.i, XXIII, XXXVI.

⁹⁷³ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 (s. xi^{mid}); London, British Library, Arundel 60 (s. xi²); London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xiv (s. xi¹); London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi + xxvii (s. xi^{2/4}). Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, nos. VIII, XII, XVI, XXI.

⁹⁷⁴ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. VI.

⁹⁷⁵ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXIII.

also transmitted in manuscripts connected to Exeter: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. vii, ff. 1-112 and London, British Library, Add. 28188. The latter of these appears to have been written at Exeter during the second half of the eleventh century: the contents of this manuscript are closely related to those in the former, which may either be an Exeter manuscript or, based on the contents of its litany, originate from Ramsey.⁹⁷⁶ In the case of the litany in the mid-eleventh-century psalter Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824, the situation is uncertain: while art-historical evidence points to a Canterbury origin, the contents of the litany seem to favour the Glastonbury saints.⁹⁷⁷ One litany is transmitted in a manuscript that has been attributed to Crowland.⁹⁷⁸ The final remaining eleventh-century litany is transmitted in a psalter that was written at Bury St Edmunds in the second quarter of the eleventh century.⁹⁷⁹ This litany alone is not transmitted in a manuscript that originated in the west or the fenlands. However, Bury's interest may be explained by their own patron saint, Edmund, another royal martyr whose first *vita* was written by Abbo of Fleury when staying at Ramsey.

Of the above-mentioned litanies, that transmitted in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 perhaps demonstrates the most specific veneration for Kenelm. This manuscript, which we have already discussed in relation to saints Bede and Ecgwine, is a primitive form of breviary written at Worcester in the second half of the eleventh century, possibly for the use of Bishop Wulfstan.⁹⁸⁰ Although the entry for Kenelm (as with that for Bede discussed in chapter one) is written over an erasure in a hand dating to the first half of the twelfth century, the manuscript also contains three collects to say at mass on Kenelm's feast day and commemorates the saint in its kalendar.⁹⁸¹ Furthermore, the kalendar entry was later marked as a feast of twelve lections, demonstrating that Kenelm was particularly venerated at Worcester during that time.

An entry for Kenelm is also present in the *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey*, which was briefly introduced in chapter one. This text was analysed and edited by

⁹⁷⁶ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, nos. IX and XXII.

⁹⁷⁷ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXXVI.

⁹⁷⁸ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XXXII.

⁹⁷⁹ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, no. XLV.

⁹⁸⁰ Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, 65.

⁹⁸¹ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxv.

Michael Lapidge, along with the early twelfth-century *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe*.⁹⁸² This text is extant in Oxford, St John's College 17, ff. 16^r-21^v: the early twelfth-century Thorney manuscript which was discussed earlier in this chapter due to its inclusion of the 'Northern Annals'. Lapidge has convincingly argued that this calendar was composed at Ramsey shortly after the death of Oswald in February 992.⁹⁸³ The entry for Kenelm entered on 17 July reads: *Purpureis sanctis iunctus Koenelmus in arce*.⁹⁸⁴ The use of the adjective *purpureus* (clothed in purple or crimson) alludes to Kenelm's status as a martyr, but probably also alludes to his royal status. The entry does not connect Kenelm's cult to Winchcombe: however, this is in keeping with the other entries in the calendar and does not necessarily hold particular significance.

Kenelm at Winchcombe

It is notable that the sources for a cult of Kenelm described thus far have only identified Kenelm as a martyr, without linking his resting-place to Winchcombe. However, there is extant evidence for a cult based at Winchcombe dating from the first half of the eleventh century. This is an entry for *Kenelm cynebearn* ('royal child') in the Old English list of saints' resting places *Secgan be þam godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*.⁹⁸⁵ This entry identifies Kenelm's resting place as *Wincelescumbē (C)*.⁹⁸⁶ Kenelm's name is placed among the second half of the list, which Rollason dated in its present form to 1013 x 1031.⁹⁸⁷ Consequently, this source only definitively demonstrates interest in Kenelm's cult at Winchcombe from the eleventh century, as earlier recensions of the *Secgan* do not seem to have included him. Consequently, our earliest extant source that locates Winchcombe as the site of Kenelm's relics roughly is roughly dated to the reign of

⁹⁸² Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 343-386.

⁹⁸³ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 369.

⁹⁸⁴ Lapidge, 'A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,' 382.

⁹⁸⁵ *Secgan be þam godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, in Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, 17-19.

⁹⁸⁶ *Secgan be þam godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, in Liebermann, *Die Heiligen Englands*, 17-19.

⁹⁸⁷ As it was completed after the translation of Florentius to Peterborough in 1013, and before it was entered into Stowe 944, c. 1031. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England,' 68.

Cnut, about half a century after Oswald refounded the monastery during the reign of Edgar.

The most conclusive evidence that interest in Kenelm had developed into a formal cult by the eleventh century is the composition of two extant Latin *vitae*. Both were edited by Love in her *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, in which she named them the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* and the *Vita brevior*.⁹⁸⁸ As the *Vita brevior* will be discussed in considerable depth below, this section will focus primarily on introducing the *Vita et miracula*. Though both *vitae* generally follow the legend of Kenelm outlined in section one above, there are a few important differences. The *Vita brevior* focuses on the run up to and theological reasons for Kenelm's martyrdom and dwells on the site of Kenelm's death at Clent in Worcestershire.⁹⁸⁹ In comparison, the *Vita et miracula* is less interested in why the martyrdom was sanctioned by God and instead focuses on the martyrdom itself. This is followed by several posthumous miracles that bring the narrative up to the author's own time.⁹⁹⁰ These miracles, as well as a detailed description of Kenelm's translation, situate the cult of Kenelm very firmly at Winchcombe, for which monastery the text was almost certainly written.

The *Vita et miracula*, or fragmented witnesses to it, is transmitted in eight manuscripts, the oldest of which dates to the beginning of the twelfth century.⁹⁹¹ However, a reference to Queen Edith in the text that suggests she was still alive at the time of writing, suggests that it may have been composed after her marriage to Edward the Confessor in 1044 and before her death in 1075.⁹⁹² Love has suggested that the text may be dated yet more closely: when relating miracles that had occurred in his own time, the author mentions *abbate proximo Godrico*, referring to

⁹⁸⁸ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, 49-89 and Appendix D, 126-129.

⁹⁸⁹ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cv.

⁹⁹⁰ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xc.

⁹⁹¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 367, fo. 48^r (s. xiiⁱⁿ); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 368, fos. 79^r-83^v (s. xii²); Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 116, fos. 208^v-210^v (s. xii^{3/4}); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 285, fos. 80^r-83^v (s. xiiiⁱⁿ); Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 1, fos. 113^r-115^v (s. xiiiⁱⁿ); Oxford, St John's College, 149, fos. 72^v-81^v (s. xiii¹); London, BL, Harley 3037, fos. 157^v-163 (s. xiii²); Cambridge, UL, Ff. 1. 28, fos. 102^v-107^v (s. xiv); London, BL, Lansdowne 436, fos. 88^r-91^r (s. xiv^{med}); Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek, 1. 81, fos. 47^v-50^v (s. xiv^{3/4}).

⁹⁹² *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed, and trans. Love, 51-53; see also Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xc-xci.

Abbot Godric (1054-1066).⁹⁹³ This description of Godric can be compared to a later mention of the *presenti patri monasterii*, who is referred to in a miracle that had reportedly only occurred the year before.⁹⁹⁴ As the *Vita*'s preface looks forward to the recent miracles which are to be recounted at the end of the text, it seems likely that both the *Vita* and *Miracula* were written contemporaneously.⁹⁹⁵ Consequently, Love dates the composition of the *Vita et miracula* to c.1066×1075.⁹⁹⁶

Based on this date range, Love argued that the *Vita et miracula* must have thus been composed during the abbacy of the first Norman abbot, Galandus, whom she interprets as the *presenti patri monasterii* in the above-mentioned miracle.⁹⁹⁷ However, her dates for the abbacy of Galandus (1066-75) conflict with Thomas of Marlborough's claim that Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham administered Winchcombe Abbey for almost three years after the deposition of Godric in 1066 before a new abbot was installed.⁹⁹⁸ The same source also claims that Winchcombe Abbey was entrusted to Æthelwig for a second time following the death of Abbot Galandus, who then administered it for many years.⁹⁹⁹ If Thomas' history of the Evesham abbots can be trusted here, then it is possible that Winchcombe Abbey was administered for up to six years between 1066 and 1078 by Æthelwig – at more or less the same time period for when the *Vita et miracula* appears to have been composed. We have already seen that the Evesham kalendar transmitted in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 demonstrates a particular veneration for Kenelm and was probably composed between 1064 and 1070.¹⁰⁰⁰ While collectively this evidence is not enough to claim that the *Vita et miracula* was composed when Winchcombe Abbey was being administered by an Evesham abbot, it demonstrates just one of the ways in

⁹⁹³ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 84.

⁹⁹⁴ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 85.

⁹⁹⁵ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 53; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xci.

⁹⁹⁶ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xci.

⁹⁹⁷ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 85.

⁹⁹⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164.

⁹⁹⁹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164-166.

¹⁰⁰⁰ Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, 47.

which the eleventh-century *vitae Kenelmi* demonstrate a complicated connection to the other Oswaldian monasteries.

In this section, I have broadly laid out the extant sources that might shed light on the cult of Kenelm from the time of his death until the beginning of the twelfth century. As a result, I have three main observations. The first is that extant evidence for Kenelm or his cult that dates before the English Benedictine Reform is entirely limited to charters. These shed light on the presence of a ‘Cynehelm’ that witnessed a number of the same charters at King Ceolwulf of Mercia during the late eighth and early ninth century. However, none of these sources identify Kenelm as a martyr, or even as a kinsman of Ceolwulf. Furthermore, the majority of these charters – including all that survive in copies dating to before the eleventh century – are centred around the south east of England, at Canterbury and Rochester. My second main observation is that there is a relative explosion of liturgical evidence for the cult of Kenelm from the third quarter of the tenth century onwards. This suggests that the monastic reforms at that time had a profound impact on the development of Kenelm’s cult. However, my final observation is that the tenth-century evidence for this cult is heavily liturgical and shows no interest in the relics or resting-place of the saint. It is only in the eleventh century that evidence for a cult of Kenelm being promoted at Winchcombe begins to emerge.

III. The *Vita brevior*

We now turn to the shorter of the two eleventh-century *vitae Kenelmi*: the *Vita brevior*.¹⁰⁰¹ As we will see, this *vita* is solely transmitted in an eleventh-century Worcester manuscript. Consequently, it is worth asking whether this text is indicative of an early interest in the cult of Kenelm at Worcester. In the following section, I will particularly examine the *Vita brevior* in its manuscript context, as this may shed further light on the Worcester’s acquisition or composition of this text and the cathedral community’s interactions with Winchcombe during the eleventh century. Even if an examination of the *Vita brevior* cannot establish how the text came to be written for or acquired by Worcester, I hope that this discussion will improve our understanding of why the Worcester monks came to possess a copy of

¹⁰⁰¹ *BHL* 4641m. Edited in Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, appendix D, 126-129.

Vita brevior and how they engaged with the legends and liturgical texts about Kenelm that were developing during this time.

The *Vita brevior* is a (now incomplete) set of eight lections, which are transmitted in a single composite manuscript of Worcester provenance, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367.¹⁰⁰² The text has been given various other titles: the *Bibliotheca Hagigraphica Latina* calls it the *Vita antiquior*, whilst Paul Hayward has discussed it under the names *Vita prima S. Kenelmi* and also the *Lectiones S. Kenelmi*.¹⁰⁰³ In order to avoid confusion – and as both the *Vita antiquior* and *Vita prima* work upon the assumption that this text is the earlier of the two *vitae Kenelmi* – I have opted for the more neutral title *Vita brevior* that was adopted in Love’s edition.¹⁰⁰⁴

The content of the *Vita brevior* focuses solely on the martyrdom of Kenelm at Clent (Worcs.) and the theological reasons for the prince’s death.¹⁰⁰⁵ Unlike the *Vita et miracula*, it does not include a description of the discovery of his body nor an account of his posthumous miracles.¹⁰⁰⁶ Even details of the murder itself are confined to the final lection (viii). Lection i has been lost, but lections ii-vii slowly build up to the martyrdom. Lections ii-iii dwell on Kenelm’s purity, his father King Coenwulf’s intentions for his heir, and God’s plan to preserve the prince by taking him away ‘from corruptible kingship to the immortal sceptre’.¹⁰⁰⁷ Lections iv-v focus on Kenelm’s wicked sister Cwoenthryth, who snatched the throne after the death of Coenwulf and who envied Kenelm as a rival.¹⁰⁰⁸ In lection vi preparation for Kenelm’s murder begins, as Cwoenthryth bribes Kenelm’s tutor Æscberht to remove

¹⁰⁰² Gneuss and Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist*, no. 100. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 64.

¹⁰⁰³ *BHL* 4641m; P. A. Hayward, ‘The Kenelm Legend in Context: a Study in the Hagiography of Eleventh Century England,’ (M.A. thesis. University of Auckland, 1990); and P. A. Hayward, ‘The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology,’ in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, ed. D. Wood. *Studies in Church History* 30. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1993), 81-92.

¹⁰⁰⁴ I have likewise followed Love’s spellings of Anglo-Saxon names and places where there hasn’t been scholarly consensus on spelling-conventions.

¹⁰⁰⁵ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 126-129.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, xc.

¹⁰⁰⁷ *de corruptibili regno ad immortalia scepra. Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 126-129. Translations are my own.

¹⁰⁰⁸ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 127-128.

the prince in exchange for sharing her throne.¹⁰⁰⁹ The penultimate lection, vii, moves from the murderers to the martyr, as Kenelm recounts a premonitory dream of his death to his nurse.¹⁰¹⁰ In the final lection Æsclerht takes the prince out as if to hunt and orders a certain swineherd to kill the boy ignominiously under a thorn-tree. However, the site of the murder could not be concealed, as firstly a column of light and afterwards a holy spring and oratorium attracted the faithful thence.¹⁰¹¹

In her edition, Love proposed that the lections of the *Vita brevior* commemorate Kenelm ‘specifically in the context of his martyrdom at Clent’: not only is Kenelm’s translation to Winchcombe excluded, but lection viii also draws attention to the holy well that healed the faithful and its oratory.¹⁰¹² She also suggests that the eight lections were designed for a feast of twelve lections (to be joined by four others from biblical or exegetical texts) and that the choice of eight lections specifically commemorating Kenelm rather than twelve would suggest that the feast was not of the highest rank.¹⁰¹³ These factors, combined with the Worcester provenance of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, suggested to Love that the lections may have been intended for use at Worcester Cathedral, which had briefly possessed Clent.¹⁰¹⁴ Love’s theories seem to have a solid grounding. Her evidence for Worcester’s possession of Clent derives from a passage in Hemming’s chartulary which claims that the villas of Clent, Kingswinford and Tardebigge had been property of the monastery in the early eleventh century, but had since been dispossessed.¹⁰¹⁵

Furthermore, Love’s theories concerning the number of lections in the *Vita brevior* is also consistent with its use at Worcester. In the eleventh century the night office (Nocturns or Matins) in Benedictine churches was celebrated by either three or twelve lessons (as three groups of four lections) depending upon whether it was a weekday or a Sunday, and whether it coincided with another important feast. In comparison, either three or nine lessons (as three groups of three lections) were

¹⁰⁰⁹ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 128.

¹⁰¹⁰ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 128.

¹⁰¹¹ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 128-129.

¹⁰¹² Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, ci-cii.

¹⁰¹³ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, ci.

¹⁰¹⁴ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints’ Lives*, cii.

¹⁰¹⁵ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:276.

celebrated by the secular clergy.¹⁰¹⁶ On saints' feast days these lessons could be three lections taken from the specific saint's *vita*. However, if the feast was important then monastic churches might celebrate with twelve readings: these could either be taken entirely from the *vita* (as three sets of four lections); or two sets of four lections from the *vita* could be read in combination with a set of four lections taken perhaps from a homily.¹⁰¹⁷ Consequently, we can estimate the kind of religious community that used a text for a major feast according to how many lections it has been divided into.

As the *Vita brevior* was evidently marked into eight lections, the text was probably written for a monastery that celebrated Kenelm's feast as an office of twelve lections, but which was not the centre of his cult. It is significant, therefore, that the feast of Kenelm entered into the kalendar of the *Portiforium of St Wulfstan* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391) has been marked by a later hand as a feast of twelve lections.¹⁰¹⁸ The addition marking the feast as twelve lections is written in a protogothic hand which added gradings to several feasts throughout the kalendar.¹⁰¹⁹ It seems likely, therefore, that Worcester celebrated the feast of Kenelm's martyrdom with an Office of twelve lections from the twelfth century at least. In contrast to the eight lections on Kenelm in Cambridge Corpus Christi College 391, the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* by Byrhtferth of Ramsey which is transmitted in London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i, pt. 1 has twelve lections marked into the margins.¹⁰²⁰ As Oswald's cult actually lay at Worcester, there is a clear reason why the Office celebrating his feast would be commemorated more than that of St Kenelm: indeed, the kalendar in the Wulfstan Portiforium marks his feast and translation as celebrated *in cappis*.¹⁰²¹ Love's theories concerning a possible

¹⁰¹⁶ Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things?* 123.

¹⁰¹⁷ Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology,' 120.

¹⁰¹⁸ *Parker Library on the Web manuscript viewer*, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/zoom_view.do?ms_no=391&page=9.

¹⁰¹⁹ Such as, but not limited to: Barnabus (l. xii), 11 June; Cuthbert (l. iii), 4 September; Bishop Ecgwine (l. xii), 10 September; Bishop Wilfrid (l. xii) 12 October. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, pp. 8, 11, 12. For an attribution of a twelfth-century date, see Wormald, *English Kalendars before A.D. 1100*, no. 17, 220.

¹⁰²⁰ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, lxxviii, n. 206.

¹⁰²¹ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, pp. 4, 6.

Worcester use for the *Vita brevior* seem to have a solid foundation: thus it is from this point in the scholarship on *Vita brevior* that my own analysis shall begin.

Despite its brevity, the *Vita brevior* deserves to be studied in far greater depth than heretofore. Its transmission in an eleventh-century Worcester manuscript is tantalising, as it suggests that Worcester possessed a *vita* of Kenelm at least as early as Winchcombe did. Furthermore, the *Vita brevior* has complicated intertextual links with numerous other texts concerning Kenelm. Although the *Vita brevior* was ostensibly not composed at or for Winchcombe, it appears to have been known and used there by the twelfth century at least. Love has identified a number of correspondences between the *Vita brevior* and the antiphons and responsories for the *Office of St Kenelm* in a mid-twelfth-century Winchcombe breviary, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, 116 (109), ff. 208^v-210^v.¹⁰²² Interestingly, Love has pointed out that this Office's twelve lections are taken from the other eleventh-century *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* and that the manuscript's liturgical kalendar references the Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe too.¹⁰²³ The Valencienne's Office of Kenelm, therefore, creates a direct link between the *Vita brevior* and Winchcombe's liturgical and literary output in the twelfth century.

The *Vita brevior* also seems to have been used as a source for a short account of Kenelm in the annals attributed to John of Worcester, who presumably used the very recension extant in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367.¹⁰²⁴ John of Worcester's account of Kenelm was in turn later drawn on by the Annals of Winchcombe (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius E.IV, f. 15^r), as part of a series of textual exchanges between the communities that appear to have continued until at least the second half of the twelfth century.¹⁰²⁵ Finally, similarities in the text demonstrate that the *Vita brevior* and the *Vita et miracula* are closely related too, although a lack of datable evidence in the *Vita brevior* makes it very unclear which is older, and whether one text descended from the other, or both from a lost exemplar. It is to this debate about the *vitae*'s relationship that we now turn.

¹⁰²² Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cii-ciii.

¹⁰²³ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxix-cxxx.

¹⁰²⁴ John of Worcester's hand is found in the same manuscript. Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxi-cxxii.

¹⁰²⁵ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxi-cxxii.

Existing scholarship on the *Vita brevior* is very modest. Most recent scholarship which discusses the cult of Kenelm has either followed the detailed analysis offered by Love in her edition of the two eleventh-century *vitae* of Kenelm, or has failed to include the *Vita brevior* at all.¹⁰²⁶ However, Love's primary interest lay in editing the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* and thus her discussion of the *Vita brevior* was governed by this focus. Other than Love, the most detailed modern studies of the *Vita brevior* are the unpublished 1965 doctoral dissertation of Rurik von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende' and Paul Hayward's MA thesis (1990), which is also unpublished.¹⁰²⁷ The inaccessibility of von Antropoff's work means that it has had limited influence, other than through Love's discussion of it in her edition of the *vitae*.¹⁰²⁸ Hayward's MA and PhD theses played an important role in his 1993 article 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom,' but this published work does not discuss the *Vita brevior* at any great length.¹⁰²⁹ Consequently, detailed information about the *Vita brevior* has not been easily accessible until relatively recently. However, the manuscript itself was digitised in 2009 and is now freely available online.¹⁰³⁰ This valuable resource will hopefully encourage further research on the *Vita brevior* in future.

Despite the limited number of scholarly publications concerning the *Vita brevior*, Love, von Antropoff and Hayward have all offered different theories about how the text relates to the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*. Although the content of each has some important variations, it is evident that the *Vita brevior* and *Vita et miracula* are closely related. Von Antropoff, Hayward and Love have all identified a number of verbal parallels between the two texts and Kenelm's dream-vision is

¹⁰²⁶ Scholars such as Cubitt and Lapidge seem to have simply followed Love's lead.

¹⁰²⁷ R. von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende' (Inaugural-Dissertation zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät der Rheinischen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Bonn, 1965); P. A. Hayward, 'The Kenelm Legend in Context: a Study in the Hagiography of Eleventh Century England,' (M.A. thesis. University of Auckland, 1990).

¹⁰²⁸ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxxix.

¹⁰²⁹ Hayward, 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology,' 81-92.

¹⁰³⁰ 'CCCC 367: Miscellaneous Compilation including Old English Material and Historical and Philosophical Works,' *Parker Library on the Web*, last accessed 3 May 2017, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=367.

almost *verbatim* in each.¹⁰³¹ However, the exact nature of the texts' relationship is difficult to ascertain. In his dissertation, Hayward argued that the *Vita brevior* was earlier than the *Vita et miracula* and was used by the latter as a source.¹⁰³² Von Antropoff, like Hayward, was inclined to identify *Vita brevior* as the earlier of the two texts. His reasoning was based on the fact that Ker and James both dated Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 to the middle of the eleventh century, whereas internal evidence in the prologue of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* suggested that it had been written between 1045 and 1075.¹⁰³³ This would make the date of the two *vitae* very similar, but von Antropoff also argued that the fragmentary nature of the sole copy of the *Vita brevior* suggested an incomplete transmission of a text that was written earlier than the extant version.¹⁰³⁴ Based upon this reasoning and the belief that the *Vita brevior* must have been composed after the refoundation of Winchcombe Abbey, he suggested that the text dated from the first half of the eleventh century.¹⁰³⁵ However, unlike Hayward, von Antropoff concluded that a lost source common to both *vitae* was the most likely explanation.¹⁰³⁶

Love's analysis came to a third conclusion. Unlike the *Vita et miracula*, the content of the *Vita brevior* does not offer any clear datable reference points that might point to the date of its composition. Consequently, Love analyses the Latinity of the *Vita brevior*. She argues that there are too few hermeneutic features to suggest an early eleventh-century date, and that similarities between the Latinity of the *Vita brevior* and *Vita et miracula* could suggest that they were written at roughly the same period: that is, the third quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁰³⁷ Love tentatively suggests that either both texts could be the work of one author (i.e.

¹⁰³¹ Von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende,' 50-59; Hayward, 'The Kenelm Legend in Context: a Study in the Hagiography of Eleventh Century England,' 27; and Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ciii-civ

¹⁰³² Hayward, 'The Kenelm Legend in Context: a Study in the Hagiography of Eleventh Century England,' 26-29.

¹⁰³³ von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende,' 50 and 91.

¹⁰³⁴ von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende,' 50, n. 4.

¹⁰³⁵ von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende,' 59-60.

¹⁰³⁶ von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende,' 59.

¹⁰³⁷ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ci.

Goscelin of St Bertin), or the *Vita brevior* was a near-contemporary text based on the *Vita et miracula*, though reworked to serve a different purpose.¹⁰³⁸

These divergent theories need to be briefly assessed. Unlike the *Vita et miracula*, there are no clear datable reference points mentioned within the *Vita brevior*. The end of the *vita*, indeed, refers to the existence of both a place of prayer at Clent and that there was an active cult where Kenelm's body now lay at rest (presumably, though unnamed, at Winchcombe).¹⁰³⁹ However, as it is unclear when Kenelm's cult at Winchcombe first became active and neither Hemming nor Domesday Book refer to any church at Clent, neither of these markers can offer us a *terminus post quem*.¹⁰⁴⁰ The clearest *terminus ante quem* for the text is the mid- or late-eleventh-century date of the text transmitted in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 367, but as I will discuss below, this too has been open to some debate.

Hayward's theory that *Vita brevior* acted as a source for *Vita et miracula* is supported by the fact that where the texts share verbal similarities, it is normally the *Vita brevior* that has the longer version, despite being a shorter text overall.¹⁰⁴¹ This is suggestive that the sentences in the *Vita brevior* are closer to the original phrasing: as Lapidge and Winterbottom have shown, it is generally easier to abbreviate Latin sentences than to expand them.¹⁰⁴² Furthermore, Love acknowledges that the abrupt shift in chapter two of the *Vita et miracula*, which moves quickly from Cwoenthryth's jealousy of her brother to plotting with his tutor, could be explained by the author omitting Cwoenthryth's intervening speech in lection VI in the *Vita brevior*.¹⁰⁴³ The *Vita brevior*'s more accurate inclusion of a proverb from Boethius (lection VI) and the biblical quotation *preciosa in conspectu Domini* (lection VIII) may also point to *Vita et miracula*'s use of *Vita brevior*.¹⁰⁴⁴ However it is possible, as Love points out, that if the writer of the *Vita brevior* was

¹⁰³⁸ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxiii.

¹⁰³⁹ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 129.

¹⁰⁴⁰ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:276-277; *Domesday Book*, ed. Morris, 1:4, 1:6.

¹⁰⁴¹ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ciii-civ, cvi.

¹⁰⁴² Lapidge and Winterbottom, introduction to *Wulfstan of Winchester: Life of St Æthelwold*, cxlvi-clv.

¹⁰⁴³ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cvii.

¹⁰⁴⁴ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 128, 129.

working from *Vita et miracula* that he merely recognised the quotations and corrected them.¹⁰⁴⁵

Love's argument in favour of a single author relies in part on the texts' stylistic similarities, particularly the presence in both *vitae* of agentive nouns ending in '-or'.¹⁰⁴⁶ Her theory also posits that Goscelin had similarly written two different versions of the *Translatio SS. Ethelburge, Hildelithe ac Wlfhilde* of different lengths for Barking Abbey, and that Goscelin may therefore have been performing a similar service for Winchcombe (and possibly Worcester) in the case of Kenelm.¹⁰⁴⁷ However, unlike the Barking texts, the *Vita brevior* and *Vita et miracula* are not merely different lengths, but contain different content and were probably written for different institutions. There is nothing to connect Goscelin to the community at Worcester, any more than at Winchcombe. As Love's attribution of the *Vita et miracula* to Goscelin is only tentative, attributing both texts to him seems strained. Overall, there is little conclusive evidence in favour of any of the three theories suggested by von Antropoff, Hayward and Love, although the *Vita et miracula*'s abbreviation of common sentences (despite being the longer text overall) does suggest that it is unlikely to be a source for the *Vita brevior*. Whether the *Vita brevior* was a source for *Vita et miracula*, or whether both used a common text, remains an open question.

The Manuscript Context of Vita brevior

Whilst the verbal similarities between the *Vita brevior* and *Vita et miracula* have provoked some scholarly discussion about the origin and date of the former, the manuscript context has prompted almost none at all. Furthermore, not only have scholars not yet considered the *Vita brevior* deeply within its manuscript context, they are yet to really explore whether there are any ostensible connections between the *Vita brevior* and its neighbouring texts. This is probably because – as we will presently see – the quires which transmit the *Vita brevior* are fragmentary and are now bound as part of a composite manuscript assembled in the early modern period. This may have discouraged scholars from attempting to draw significance from the texts which were included and their position in relation to each

¹⁰⁴⁵ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cix.

¹⁰⁴⁶ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, ci.

¹⁰⁴⁷ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cix.

other. The fragmentary nature of both the *Vita brevior* itself and the manuscript that transmits it certainly complicate such a study, but do not negate its value.

Fortunately, an article by Peter Stokes on the manuscript context of a neighbouring text – the Old English *Vision of Leofric* – offers some useful insights.¹⁰⁴⁸ This text, like the *Vita brevior*, is uniquely preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 and contains an account of three miraculous visions witnessed by Earl Leofric, ealdorman of Mercia (*d.*1057). In his article, Stokes re-evaluates the dates that the *Vision of Leofric* and its neighbouring texts were written and uses this palaeographical analysis to offer possible contexts for why the *Vision of Leofric* was copied by the Worcester community. His re-dating of the only extant copy of the *Vita brevior* has potentially significant implications for why this text was copied. Furthermore, as we will see below, it is evident from an analysis of the quires in which the *Vita brevior* and the *Vision of Leofric* are transmitted that both texts belonged to the same manuscript and are closely contemporary in date. This means that the texts were placed together by their eleventh-century copyists: studying the *Vita brevior* in this context might advance our understanding of how and why it came to be copied into this manuscript. Thus in this section I will use Stokes' analysis of the *Vision of Leofric* as a platform to explore whether the *Vita's* relationship (or lack thereof) to its neighbouring texts can help us to develop a deeper knowledge of where and why the *Vita brevior* was used.

The *Vita brevior* is transmitted in a single manuscript: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, Part II. This is a composite codex that James divided into five volumes, each made from different fragmentary manuscripts of diverse dates and scripts.¹⁰⁴⁹ The codex, which includes both paper and vellum manuscripts ranging from the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries, appears to have been bound together in its current form by 1575 when it was bequeathed by Parker to Corpus Christi College.¹⁰⁵⁰ Thus the relationship between each volume in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 can only be securely dated from the sixteenth century.

¹⁰⁴⁸ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 529-50.

¹⁰⁴⁹ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:199-204; 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 367,' *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, last accessed 28 March 2017, <https://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/EM.CCCC.367.htm>. Stokes claims that CCCC 367 contains fifteen texts from seven different manuscripts, but does not explain his reasoning. Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, text and context,' 530.

¹⁰⁵⁰ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 64.

Consequently, the present study is concerned only with the fifth (and final) volume of the codex, which contains several items written between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries, the first of which is the sole extant copy of the *Vita brevior*.

Formerly, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 was divided into parts I and II, which were separately foliated. However, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 was recently refoliated into a continuous sequence throughout, meaning that the folios that make up volume five are now numbered ff. 98^r-105^v. These recent changes in foliation mean that previously published articles concerning Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 Part II are now fifty-three folios behind Corpus Christi College's *Parker Library on the Web* online catalogue.¹⁰⁵¹ Consequently, I have decided to give the modern foliation, followed in brackets by the former foliation, for ease of reference.

*Cambridge Corpus Christi College 367, vol 5 (ff. 98^r-105^v):
description and quiring*

Volume five is made up of eight leaves, which are collated as: a quire of eight (wants 1, 7, 8), followed by a bifolium and a singleton.¹⁰⁵² The leaves are ruled in drypoint 22 lines to a page, in a single column, and the writing-frame measures approximately 170 x 110 mm. Although the rulings on the singleton (f. 105, formerly vol. II f. 52) are very difficult to see, Stokes has tentatively stated that they match the rest of the volume, which suggests that the leaves were ruled together.¹⁰⁵³ The contents of volume five are as follows:

Table 2: The contents of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, vol 5

<i>Modern title</i>	<i>Current foliation</i>	<i>Former Foliation</i>
<i>Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi</i> (incomplete at beginning)	ff. 98 ^r -101 ^r	ff. 45 ^r -48 ^r

¹⁰⁵¹ 'CCCC 367: Manuscript Description,' *Parker Library on the Web*. Last accessed 4 October 2017.

https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/manuscript_description_long_display.do?ms_no=367.

¹⁰⁵² James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:199; Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, text and context,' 530-531.

¹⁰⁵³ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, text and context,' 531.

<i>Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi</i> (extract, continuing <i>Vita brevior</i>)	f. 101 ^r	f. 48 ^r
Old English booklist	f. 101 ^v 2–4	f. 48 ^v
Old English <i>Vision of Leofric</i>	ff. 101 ^v 5–103 ^v 15	ff. 48 ^v –50 ^v
Latin note on vesper	f. 103 ^v 17–20	f. 50 ^v
Neumed sequence: <i>Letabundus</i>	f. 104 ^r 8–19	f. 51 ^r
Neumed sequence: <i>Gaudete vos fideles</i> (with alternative ending)	ff. 104 ^r 20– ^v 13	ff. 51 ^{r-v}
Letter to the prior, cantor and monks of Worcester	f. 105 ^r 1–15	f. 52 ^r
Charm against fever	f. 105 ^r 16–17	f. 52 ^r
Monastic constitutions (incomplete at beginning)	f. 105 ^v	f. 52 ^v

Thus as volume five currently stands, *Vita brevior* is its first text. The script is Anglo-Caroline minuscule, written clearly and simply with minimal decoration: the numbers which mark each new lection are rubricated, as is the large opening letter of each lection (though otherwise undecorated) and majuscules are picked out in red.¹⁰⁵⁴ It is evident to me that the rubrication and decoration were filled in after the lections had been completed, as the red ink frequently overlays the brown (this is particularly noticeable at the beginning of lection vi, f. 99^v9, where the ‘V’ from *Videns* overruns into the final line of lection v above).¹⁰⁵⁵ Furthermore, the rubricated number marking the commencement of lection vii has been squeezed into the end of the first line of that lection (f. 100^r3), instead of being placed at the end of the final line of the preceding lection (f. 100^r2), as was usually the case.¹⁰⁵⁶ This demonstrates that the rubricator, finding there was insufficient space to mark

¹⁰⁵⁴ Stokes, ‘The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, text and context,’ 532.

¹⁰⁵⁵ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, f. 99^v. *Parker Library on the Web*, accessed 4 October 2017, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/zoom_view.do?ms_no=367&page=99V&type=TC.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, f. 100^r. *Parker Library on the Web*, accessed 4 October 2017, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/zoom_view.do?ms_no=367&page=100R&type=TC.

lection vii at the end of lection vi, entered the number at the end of the first line of lection vii, which offered slightly more space. The first occurrence of the names Kenelm (*et de corruptibili regno ad immortalia scepra Kenelmus raptus est*, f. 98^r10) and Coenwulf (*Sic, sancte Kenulfe, fideliter committis causam tuam nescius infideli*, f. 98^v2) are also underlined in red, but no other names or words are marked out thereafter.¹⁰⁵⁷ This simple observation has a confusing implication, as the beginning of the text is missing. Were the names of Kenelm and his father omitted from the first lection of the *Vita brevior*? Or was the beginning of the text already missing by the time that the rubricator underlined these names?

The *Vita brevior* begins mid-sentence. The lections are consistently preceded by a rubricated number and the first number is *.III.*, so we can be confident that the beginning of the extant text is fragmentary and that we are missing lection one and part of lection two. As long since stated by James, and reiterated by Stokes, it seems likely therefore that a single leaf is missing at the start of the quire.¹⁰⁵⁸ While we cannot be certain that there is definitely just one leaf missing from the start of the quire, a brief analysis of the length of the extant lections can offer some guidance as to how much might have been lost. The length of each extant lection is as follows:

Table 3: foliation and length of lections in *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*

<i>Lectio number</i>	<i>Folios</i>	<i>Number of lines</i>
.II.	ff. [missing]-98 ^r 15	15 (incomplete)
.III.	ff. 98 ^r 16-98 ^v 9	16
.IIII.	ff. 98 ^v 10-99 ^r 17	30
.V.	ff. 99 ^r 18-99 ^v 8	13
.VI.	ff. 99 ^v 9-100 ^r 2	16
.VII.	ff. 100 ^r 3-100 ^v 6	26
.VIII.	ff. 100 ^v 7-101 ^r 12	28

¹⁰⁵⁷ Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, f. 98. *Parker Library on the Web*, accessed 4 October 2017, https://parker.stanford.edu/parker/actions/zoom_view.do?ms_no=367&page=98V&type=TC.

¹⁰⁵⁸ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:199; Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 531-532.

<i>Totals</i>		
Nocturn One	ff. 98 ^r 15-99 ^r 17	61 extant
Nocturn Two	ff. 99 ^r 18-101 ^r 12	83

Whilst there is notable variation between lections iiiii and v, all other lections sit between their extremes of 30 and 13 lines, with a mean average of 21.5 (rounded to 22) if we discount the incomplete lection ii. As the folios are ruled 22 lines to a page, this equates to an average of one page per lection. Interestingly, if we divide the extant lections into their respective nocturns (that is, lections i, ii, iii, iiiii as nocturn one, and lections v, vi, vii, viii as nocturn two), we find that the length of the extant part of nocturn one is 61 lines, while nocturn two is 83 lines long. This means the difference in length between nocturn two and the incomplete nocturn one is 22 lines: the exact length of a single ruled page.

Historical evidence is rarely this neat and convenient and it is doubtful that each nocturn was exactly the same length. So what happens if we take another route, and estimate what the minimum and maximum amount of missing text is likely to be, according to the information available to us? Working on the (admittedly tenuous) assumption that lections i and ii are unlikely to sit drastically outside our current range of 13 to 30 lines, we find the following scenarios. Scenario one: the minimum amount of text likely to be missing. 1 line of lection ii (as a new lection always begins on a fresh line and lection ii begins mid-sentence), bringing the total of lection ii to 16 lines. 13 lines of lection i (assuming it is as short as our shortest extant lection, v). This would equate to 14 lines missing from the beginning of the *Vita*, which would mean that the lections began on the ninth line of the verso side of the missing page. It is possible that the lections were preceded by prayers or components of the Office of St Kenelm, but the lack of responsories embedded within the *Vita brevior* makes this scenario unlikely. However, when we consider that the *Vision of Leofric* begins on line 5 of f. 101^v, the possibility that the *Vita brevior* immediately followed on from a different text should not be discounted. Scenario two: the maximum amount of text likely to be missing. This works on the assumption that both lections i and ii were originally 30 lines long. This would mean there are 15 lines missing from lection ii, and 30 lines missing from lection i, bringing the total number of missing lines to 45. While this number, like that of scenario one, would mean that the lections began part-way down a verso page, it is very close to the 44 lines we would anticipate to be missing if the missing text of the *Vita brevior* was transmitted on both sides of a single folio ruled 22 lines to a page.

None of these calculations can be definitely proven. However, all three demonstrate that James and Stokes are very probably correct in their assertion that we are missing no more than one folio from the beginning of the *Vita brevior*, as both lections i and ii would need to be particularly long in comparison with the extant lections in order for two folios to be missing. Consequently, the internal evidence of the *Vita brevior* supports James' identification of quire one as a quire of 8 (wanting 1, 7 and 8) by ruling out the likelihood that we are dealing with a larger quire that is missing even more folios.

Furthermore, unless lections i and ii were both very long (29 and 30 lines in length) so that the *Vita brevior* began at the top of the recto page, then we may have a situation where the *Vita brevior* was preceded by another text. Whether this folio would have been at the beginning of the manuscript or was preceded by other quires is unclear. However, it is worth noting that the leaves containing the *Vita brevior* are relatively clean and unmarked, which suggests that they may have been protected from the kind of damage that we often find on folios placed at the beginning and end of manuscripts. In comparison, ff. 104 and 105 (51 and 52) at the end of volume five are notably stained and marked, and f. 104 has two large holes cut into the top of the page.

The *Vita brevior* ends about halfway down f. 101^r (48^r) on line 12 and is immediately followed by an extract from the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* in a twelfth-century hand.¹⁰⁵⁹ This addition is written in a close hand that fills the bottom and outer margin of the folio and some letters have been lost from each line written in the outer margin due to subsequent trimming. The extract ends on the same page (f. 101^r (48^r)) with the words *ad laudem et gloriam dei patris omnipotentis qui uiuit et regnat per omnia sec. sec. Amen.*¹⁰⁶⁰ The script is cramped because the scribe could not continue onto f. 101^v (48^v), which was already occupied by the eleventh-century booklist. Nevertheless, careful planning seems to have been involved in adding the text: the addition fits the available space almost perfectly, and ends with a summarising phrase not found in other recensions of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*. This extract was evidently intended to follow on from the *Vita brevior* and the final two words of lection 8, *martyrem suum*, are written in the

¹⁰⁵⁹ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:202; Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxxiii and cxxi, n. 173.

¹⁰⁶⁰ James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:202.

twelfth-century hand. It seems probable that the end of lection 8 was altered in order to accommodate the addition.¹⁰⁶¹ The *Vita et miracula* was also written directly over an earlier maze design, which was originally drawn in pencil in the blank space below the *Vita brevior*.¹⁰⁶² Overleaf, on f. 101^v (f. 48^v) ll. 2-4 is a booklist written in Old English in an eleventh-century hand (perhaps that of the Worcester monk Coleman).¹⁰⁶³ The fact that an extract of *Vita et miracula* was copied into a blank space beneath lection VIII of the *Vita brevior* at a later date than the Old English booklist copied on its verso suggests that the *Vita brevior* was always intended to be eight lections. Thus the twelfth-century addition of the *Vita et miracula* extract is indicative of a change in the *Vita brevior*'s function during the twelfth century, rather than evidence that the eleventh-century text is fragmentary at the end as well as beginning.¹⁰⁶⁴

The booklist is immediately followed on line 5 by the Old English *Vision of Leofric*, which covers ff. 101^v-103^v (ff. 48^v-50^v). The final folios include a number of shorter texts. There is a thirteenth-century note concerning the word *vesperus* on f. 103^v (f. 50^v); and two later eleventh-century Latin neumed sequences on ff. 104^{r-v} (ff. 51^{r-v}). The singleton contains a near-contemporary copy of a letter dating 1132-1138 to the prior, cantor and monks of Worcester from the abbot and prior of Westminster Abbey on f. 105^r (f. 52^r), which is immediately followed in a different twelfth-century hand by a short charm against fever.¹⁰⁶⁵ Finally, on f. 105^v (f. 52^v) are a set of monastic constitutions, written in two columns in a close late twelfth- or thirteenth-century hand.¹⁰⁶⁶ This text has lost the top of the first line and the outer edge of the first column to trimming.

¹⁰⁶¹ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxi.

¹⁰⁶² James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge*, 2:202.

¹⁰⁶³ Budny, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue*, xlii, 189 and 548.

¹⁰⁶⁴ A piece of palaeographical evidence that casts considerable – though not certain – doubt on von Antropoff's theory that this copy is incomplete at both the beginning and end. It is possible that the copyist worked from an incomplete exemplar or deliberately shortened the text, though here we stray deep into the realms of speculation. von Antropoff, 'Die Entwicklung der Kenelm-Legende,' 49-50.

¹⁰⁶⁵ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 536-537.

¹⁰⁶⁶ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 537-538.

Stokes' analysis of volume five shows that the quiring is very interesting. Volume five 'form[s] a distinct codicological unit', which – as mentioned above – comprises of one quire of eight (named hereafter 'quire one') that is missing its first, seventh and eighth folio.¹⁰⁶⁷ This quire is followed by a bifolium (ff. 103-104) and a singleton (f. 105). We can see that the bifolium was attached to the original quire at a very early date, as the eleventh-century Old English *Vision of Leofric* (ff. 101^v–103^v) straddles the two. As the *Vision* is transmitted on what would have been the fifth and sixth folios of quire one but is not missing any text, Stokes has reasonably deduced that the seventh and eighth folio of quire one must have been removed or lost before the *Vision* was added to it.¹⁰⁶⁸ The addition of the *Vision* presumably necessitated attaching the bifolium to quire one, but as Stokes has pointed out it seems strange that the addition is a bifolium rather than a singleton, as the text of the *Vision* ends half-way down the verso of the first leaf.¹⁰⁶⁹ The addition of the singleton at a similar time is less certain: all of the texts on f. 105 are self-contained and date from the twelfth century onwards. Stokes has argued that, even though the logic of adding f. 105 to the end of quire one and the bifolium is unclear, as the writing-frame is identical to the preceding leaves it seems likely that they were all ruled together.¹⁰⁷⁰ This argument is supported by the fact that the letter on f. 105^r and monastic constitutions (f. 105^v) do not make use of the rulings.¹⁰⁷¹ This suggests that the texts were added to the empty folio when the leaf was already attached to the *Vita brevior* manuscript: it was not ruled in imitation of the pre-existing pages and added at a later period when the texts on f. 105 were being copied.

It appears therefore that the *Vita brevior* was initially the only text transmitted in quire one, and was written on five folios (the first of which is no longer extant). Stokes has speculated thus: the last three leaves of the quire were initially left blank and the final two leaves were subsequently cut out for use elsewhere. Presently the Old English book-list was copied onto the *verso* of the final folio of *Vita brevior*, and the *Vision of Leofric* shortly after. However, as the quire was already missing its two final folios, the bifolium (now ff. 103-104) was added to replace them – even though a singleton would have sufficed as the *Vision of Leofric*

¹⁰⁶⁷ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 530.

¹⁰⁶⁸ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 538.

¹⁰⁶⁹ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 538.

¹⁰⁷⁰ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 539.

¹⁰⁷¹ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 537-538.

only extends to f. 103^v.¹⁰⁷² The self-contained texts on f. 104 (the eleventh-century neumed sequences) were presumably added to the final leaf of the bifolium at a similar time. However, as they don't interact with any of the other texts it is also possible that they had already been entered onto f. 104 before the bifolium was added to quire one. The ruling on f. 105 suggests that the singleton was also added around the same time, but as the texts it transmits are later and also self-contained it is unclear why.

There are some inconsistencies in Stokes' hypothesis. One is: as the writing-frame is 'identical on all eight leaves' Stokes thought it likely they were ruled together.¹⁰⁷³ However, as the two folios missing from the end of quire one were the penultimate and final folios, then the bifolium containing the end of the *Vision of Leofric* must have been added after their loss, as there is no text missing from the *Vision*. So were the leaves of the bifolium (and indeed the singleton) ruled in imitation of quire one, or at the same time as it? Stokes posited that perhaps the bifolium was originally the outer leaves of a full quire, which was intended to have further texts added, but which has now lost its central leaves. He argued that this would explain why f. 104 is in poor condition 'despite it now being an internal leaf'.¹⁰⁷⁴ This is an attractive theory, though an unprovable one. However, it depends upon f. 104 being the original end-leaf, to which the Latin sequences were soon added. This does not explain the presence of the singleton (f. 105). If the leaves of the bifolium were ruled in imitation of quire one, why did the scribes of volume five also add the singleton if f. 104 was initially blank? It seems to me most logical that f. 105 would only be added as an end-leaf if the neumed sequences were either already copied onto f. 104, or were added at the same time as the *Vision of Leofric*.

There are many unresolved questions concerning volume five. What does seem clear is that the *Vita brevior* was written first, either at the end of a larger manuscript, or perhaps as a stand-alone booklet. The fact that two of the final three folios soon became detached from quire one might suggest that initially nothing was planned to follow the *Vita brevior*: either the last leaves were cut out of the quire because they could be put to use elsewhere, or they were lost accidentally. Folio 102, however, remained. Presently, still in the eleventh century, the book-list, the *Vision of Leofric* and the two Latin sequences were added to the quire containing the *Vita*

¹⁰⁷² Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 538.

¹⁰⁷³ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 539.

¹⁰⁷⁴ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 538.

brevior, possibly using folios that had been purposely ruled in the same format to imitate quire one. Probably at the same time, f. 105 was added, possibly to form an end-lead for the manuscript. The leaves continued to be intermittently used and added to throughout the twelfth century and into the thirteenth.

The key point to take note of here is that the quiring evidence suggests that certainly the *Vision of Leofric* and perhaps also the neumed sequences were purposefully added to the quire containing the *Vita breviar*. We can say this because they were not simply added onto a spare leaf, but required new leaves to be attached to the quire. Furthermore, these leaves were ruled 22 lines to the page, to fit in with the pre-existing format. Consequently, it is only right that we consider the possibility that these texts do not coexist together by accident. By examining the content of the texts and the circumstances that caused them to be copied, we may find a link between them – some common purpose or shared reason for being copied. It is to the possible contexts in which the *Vita breviar* and *Vision of Leofric* were copied that we will now turn.

The Provenance and Date of CCC 367, vol 5

There is abundant reason to believe that the medieval provenance of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 367, volume five was Worcester. The most explicit evidence for this is the inclusion on f. 105^r of a letter to Prior Warin, Uhtred the cantor and the brothers of Worcester from Abbot Herbert and Prior Edwy of Westminster. This letter, which concerns a truant monk who had fled from Great Malvern Priory to Westminster, can be textually dated to 1124 × *ante* August 1134.¹⁰⁷⁵ Palaeographically, the letter can be dated to s. xii^{2/4} which means that this is a near-contemporary copy.¹⁰⁷⁶ Thus it is highly likely that Worcester possessed volume five of CCC 367 by the mid twelfth century at the latest. This evidence for the manuscript's Worcester provenance in the first half of the twelfth century is also supported by the contents of the Old English booklist, which indicate a later eleventh-century provenance of Worcester. Lapidge's discussion of the booklist identified several of its entries with surviving manuscripts from Worcester.¹⁰⁷⁷ As

¹⁰⁷⁵ Mason, *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c.1214*, no. 248A.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 290, n. 41.

¹⁰⁷⁷ Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,' no. IX, 63-64. The manuscripts in question are: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MSS 12 and 178, pp. 287-

there is reason to believe that the booklist was copied before the *Vision of Leofric* was added to the quire, Lapidge's identification strongly suggests that the quires containing the *Vita brevior* were at Worcester from the eleventh century.

Even though most scholars have generally agreed that the texts of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, vol. 5 were copied at Worcester, there is some debate about the precise age and origin of the unique texts that it contains. It is in this debate that the most interesting implications for the manuscript context of the *Vita brevior* are to be found. Many commentators have followed Ker in dating the *Vita brevior* and booklist to s. xi^{med}.¹⁰⁷⁸ However some scholars, particularly those who have studied the *Vita brevior*, are more inclined to agree with E. A. McIntyre, who dated the *Vita brevior* and Old English booklist slightly later to s. xi^{3/4} in her 1978 doctoral thesis.¹⁰⁷⁹ This date has been accepted by both Hayward and Love.¹⁰⁸⁰

For the *Vision of Leofric* Ker suggested a slightly later date of s. xi².¹⁰⁸¹ As the text mentions Leofric's death and burial at Coventry, the *Vision* has a *terminus post quem* of 1057, the year that Leofric died.¹⁰⁸² Jackson has developed Ker's dating by arguing that the text may have been both written and copied closer to 1075 than 1100, perhaps while his widow Godgifu (*d. c.* 1067) was still alive and while his

457; London, British Library Cotton Otho C. i, vol. 2; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Hatton 20 and 76.

¹⁰⁷⁸ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 64. His dating has been followed by, for example, Franzen, *The Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, 74; Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 280; Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England,' no. IX, 62-63; and Swan, 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,' 38.

¹⁰⁷⁹ McIntyre, 'Early Twelfth Century Worcester Cathedral Priory with special reference to the Manuscripts written there,' 42 and 202.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxi; Hayward, 'The Kenelm Legend in Context: a Study in the Hagiography of Eleventh Century England,' 9.

¹⁰⁸¹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 64. Followed by Gatch, 'Miracles in Architectural Settings: Christ Church, Canterbury, and St Clement's, Sandwich in the Old English *Vision of Leofric*,' 228.

¹⁰⁸² *The Vision of Leofric*, ed. Stokes, 550; Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, s.a. 1057; John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1057, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray.

memory was still fresh.¹⁰⁸³ Both Love and Baxter simply described the *Vision* as being transmitted in a late eleventh-century copy.¹⁰⁸⁴

More recently, Stokes has offered a new and much more detailed interpretation of the material. In his article, he analysed and redated the scripts of all of the items transmitted in volume five of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, in order to argue that the extant *Vision of Leofric* was copied at Worcester at the end of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁸⁵ This reassessment argued that the *Vita brevior* was written in a style of Anglo-Caroline minuscule distinctly different to the house style of Worcester script being produced in the middle and third quarter of the eleventh century.¹⁰⁸⁶ Furthermore, he demonstrated a number of parallels between the script of the *Vita brevior* and the script attributed to Hemming of the eponymous cartulary, whose hand is found in several manuscripts dated to the 1080s and 1090s.¹⁰⁸⁷ Stokes also redated the script of the booklist to the late eleventh century by arguing that the script has features that suggest post-Conquest influence, even if it can't be definitively assigned to the Worcester scribe Coleman.¹⁰⁸⁸

These two conclusions allowed Stokes to argue that the extant copy of the *Vision of Leofric* should also be dated to the later end of the eleventh century, despite some 'remarkably conservative' features in the script.¹⁰⁸⁹ These conservative features include shorter descenders and larger, more rounded bodies of letterforms than is typically found in late eleventh-century scripts. Indeed, Stokes states that lines 48^v13 – 21 are more typical of the Anglo-Caroline found in the 1060s than

¹⁰⁸³ Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 279-280.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxi; Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 1.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 529.

¹⁰⁸⁶ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 532.

¹⁰⁸⁷ The scribal parallels are: a characteristic punctuation mark of a triangle of dots above a comma; horned *e*; insular *h*; different forms of *a*; a separated *ct* ligature; narrow and angled *st* ligature and the 'old fashioned' overall appearance of the hand in comparison to contemporaries. Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 532-533.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Post-Conquest features are: 'the use of round and horned *e* and almost exclusively tall *s*, the small bodies but long ascenders and descenders of letters, and the use of both Caroline and single-compartment *a*.' Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 533-535.

¹⁰⁸⁹ For more details about the following description, see Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 535-536.

1090s. However, the script is quite variable and moves from producing more archaic letterforms like round **a**, low **s** and straight descenders on the first page of the *Vision* (f. 101^v) to later Caroline forms of **a**, long **s** and descenders that curve back to the left. Stokes argued that these inconsistencies in its style might be because a late eleventh-century scribe was initially influenced by a mid-eleventh-century exemplar (written soon after Leofric's death in 1057), but presently slipped back to forms with which he was more familiar. Finally, Stokes suggested that the narrow, forward-leaning script of the Latin neumed sequences and the letters sharply angled feet corroborated a later eleventh-century date by suggesting a Norman influence.¹⁰⁹⁰

In short, Stokes' analysis of each of the eleventh-century scripts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, volume five concludes that the entire quire was written at Worcester at the end of the eleventh-century. A study by Susan Rankin of the neumed Latin sequences (ff. 104^{r-v}) likewise allows for such a theory. Rankin lists six manuscripts of Worcester provenance during the second half of the eleventh century that contain musical notations and notes the 'overwhelming consistency' of the notations they contain.¹⁰⁹¹ Interestingly, however, this consistency is not the product of a single scribe, as Rankin identifies multiple hands at work.¹⁰⁹² Furthermore, Rankin argues that this older style of musical notations was produced at Worcester 'from the 1060s until at least the early years of the twelfth century' with little change.¹⁰⁹³ This apparent conservatism was not a rejection of new Norman forms, which were also produced alongside these texts during the same period.¹⁰⁹⁴ Rather, the community seems to have seen no problem with continuing to use two different styles of notation throughout the second half of the eleventh century. Consequently, while Rankin's analysis of the neumed sequences does not contradict Stokes' theory of a late eleventh-century date, it does not rule out an earlier either. Overall, while Stokes' theories cannot be absolutely verified, they are just as plausible as an earlier date. This potentially has significant implications for the *Vita brevior*. For example, it would mean that the only extant copy of the text would almost certainly post-date rather than pre-date the composition of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, which may have implications

¹⁰⁹⁰ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 536.

¹⁰⁹¹ Rankin, 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,' 338-339.

¹⁰⁹² Rankin, 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,' 343.

¹⁰⁹³ Rankin, 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,' 343-345.

¹⁰⁹⁴ Rankin, 'Some Reflections on Liturgical Music at late Anglo-Saxon Worcester,' 345.

for the relationship between the texts. Consequently, in the next section I will explore possible contexts for the composition of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, volume 5.

Osbert of Clare and the Transmission of the Vision of Leofric

As we have seen above, Stokes' analysis of the script of the *Vision of Leofric* concluded that the scribe may have been copying from a mid-eleventh-century exemplar. Like the *Vision*, the *Vita brevior* is transmitted solely in volume five of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367. Again like the *Vision*, Stokes argued that the *Vita brevior* should be dated later than scholars have previously assumed. Consequently, it is worth asking whether the transmission history of the *Vision* might be able to shed some light on that of the other texts in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, vol. five. In this section, we will explore whether the *Vision* can offer us some insight about how and why texts were copied or acquired at Worcester in the late eleventh century.

Stokes' theory that the *Vision* was copied from a mid-eleventh-century exemplar is exciting because his palaeographic evidence for the text's transmission is corroborated by an external source. This is the *Vita Edwardi*, which was written by the Westminster prior Osbert of Clare in or shortly before 1138 in an attempt to have Edward the Confessor formally canonized.¹⁰⁹⁵ This may seem an unlikely source for eleventh-century Worcester, but it is evident that Osbert was familiar with the diocese. Osbert is credited for writing a *vita* of St Eadburga of Nunnaminster for Pershore Abbey, who claimed by the twelfth century to possess the saint's relics.¹⁰⁹⁶ He also attended the funeral of Abbot Guy of Pershore in 1136/7.¹⁰⁹⁷ Osbert's connection to Worcester Cathedral is evident too, as he was requested by Bishop Simon and Warin, dean of Worcester, to compose new lessons in honour of Saint Anne in order to embellish Worcester's observance of the Feast of the Conception.¹⁰⁹⁸ Furthermore, Osbert's *Vita Edwardi* adds ten new miracles

¹⁰⁹⁵ Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 276.

¹⁰⁹⁶ Yorke, 'Eadburh (921x4–951x3),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed November 2, 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/49419>.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 279.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 279, citing Williamson, ed., *Letters of Osbert of Clare*, 77-80 (nos. 12-13). For further reading on Osbert's connection to the cult of St Anne, see Baugh, 'Osbert of Clare, the Sarum Breviary, and the Middle-English Saint

which were not included in the earlier anonymous biography of Edward written under the direction of Queen Edith, c. 1065-1067.¹⁰⁹⁹ Of these, three are accounts that stem from eleventh-century Worcestershire. The most famous of these miracles is about Bishop Wulfstan. According to the miracle, Edward prevented Archbishop Lanfranc from deposing Wulfstan of his episcopal office when the bishop thrust his crozier into Edward's tomb, from which only Wulfstan himself could remove it.¹¹⁰⁰ Osbert's *vita* also relates that a Worcestershire hermit called Wulfsige wrote to Edward the Confessor urging him to restore Westminster Abbey following a vision the hermit received of St Peter.¹¹⁰¹

Osbert's third Worcestershire miracle is none other than Earl Leofric's vision of the *manus dei*: this is one of the visions described in the Old English *Vision of Leofric*.¹¹⁰² The miracle related by Osbert has undergone a number of changes. The site of the miracle was moved from Sandwich to Westminster and King Edward, rather than Leofric, is now the main recipient of the blessing. Rather than just seeing a disembodied hand, Edward and Leofric see Jesus Christ standing on the altar blessing the king. In Osbert's version the king also speaks directly to Leofric, urging him not to reveal the miracle to anyone while they are alive.¹¹⁰³ In comparison, the Old English *Vision* has Leofric and the king standing on opposite sides of the church, which precludes the possibility that they shared this vision and privately discussed it together.¹¹⁰⁴ Nevertheless, it is evident that Osbert is narrating the same story as that found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367.

There is one aspect of Osbert's account of the miracle that is particularly interesting here. After narrating the events of the vision itself, Osbert proceeds to describe how he came to learn of the miracle.¹¹⁰⁵ According to his account, after the miracle Leofric left the court and travelled to Worcester. At Worcester he made his

Anne in Rime Royal,' *Speculum* 7:1 (Jan. 1932): 106-113; and Wilmart, 'Les Compositions d'Osbert de Clare en l'honneur de sainte Anne,' 1-33.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Barlow, ed., *Life of King Edward*, xxxvi.

¹¹⁰⁰ Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' 117-20 (c. 29).

¹¹⁰¹ Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' 80-2 (c. 8).

¹¹⁰² *The Vision of Leofric*, ed. Stokes, 550.

¹¹⁰³ Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' 91-2 (c. 12).

¹¹⁰⁴ *The Vision of Leofric*, ed. Stokes, 549.

¹¹⁰⁵ Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' 91-2 (c. 12).

confession to a servant of God and also recounted the vision that he had witnessed. The monk who had received his confession wrote the miracle down ‘and placed it in a certain reliquary among the relics of the saints’.¹¹⁰⁶ Many years later, the *schedula* containing the miracle was discovered and read before everyone in the church. Osbert goes on to explain that he had heard about the discovery of the *schedula* containing the vision from Maurice, who had been a subdeacon at Worcester in the time of Bishop Wulfstan and had been present at the reading in the church. Maurice had then gone on to become an exemplary monk at Westminster for about twenty years before his death, and during his time there had told Osbert about the *schedula* and the miracle it described.¹¹⁰⁷

There are some potential difficulties with analysing this transmission narrative. Firstly, the narrative suggests that Leofric’s confessor was a Worcester monk and that the *schedula* of the vision was consequently composed there. Stephen Baxter has argued that the *Vision of Leofric* was more likely to have been composed at Coventry, perhaps during the abbacy of Leofwine (*fl.* c. 1070x1085), rather than Worcester, because Leofric had been a founder of the former and the *Vision* contained information about the earl and his retainers that suggested the writer had known him personally.¹¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, Baxter stresses that Leofric is said to have foreknowledge of the day he should come to Coventry to be interred (*he foresæde þonne dæg þe he sceolde cuman to Cofantreo to his langan hame, þær he on restet*), suggesting that the writer was based there.¹¹⁰⁹ Baxter also pointed out that Osbert’s assumption that the *Vision* was written at Worcester may have been simply because that was where the text was preserved in the 1130s.¹¹¹⁰ However, Stokes has argued that the Old English verb *cuman* was also commonly used to mean ‘to arrive at’, including in the context of the subject’s death.¹¹¹¹ (Baxter’s argument about the possible author of the *Vision* will be addressed below.)

¹¹⁰⁶ *et inter sanctorum reliquias in quodam scrinio posuit*. Bloch, ‘La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,’ 91-2 (c. 12).

¹¹⁰⁷ Bloch, ‘La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,’ 91-2 (c. 12).

¹¹⁰⁸ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 154, esp. n. 6.

¹¹⁰⁹ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 3-4.

¹¹¹⁰ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 154-155, n. 6.

¹¹¹¹ Stokes, ‘The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,’ 541, n. 36.

There is no doubt that at least some aspects of Osbert's transmission narrative are reliable: extant sources for the career of Maurice closely accord with Osbert's description. Maurice is among the witnesses present for a 1093 charter, in which Bishop Wulfstan granted the Worcester monks the church of Westbury-on-Trym.¹¹¹² His name is also included among the list of Worcester monks in the Durham *Liber Vitae*, suggesting that he was still a member of the Worcester community c.1104.¹¹¹³ Maurice is then found about two decades later witnessing a charter of Abbot Herbert (r.1121 x 1134) as a member of the Westminster community.¹¹¹⁴ Finally his name was entered as a member of the Westminster community into the Mortuary Roll of Abbot Vitalis of Savigny, who died on 16 October 1122, so it is likely that Maurice had died by this date or soon after.¹¹¹⁵ Whilst Maurice may not have been at Westminster for quite as long as Osbert claimed, it is notable how similar the source evidence and his account are. Crucially, Maurice's career at Worcester situates him in the community in the 1090s and early 1100s. This is the period in which Stokes argued the extant copy of the *Vision of Leofric* was copied from a mid-century exemplar.¹¹¹⁶

The extant charters, therefore, corroborate Osbert by placing Maurice as a potential witness for the context in which the contents of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 were written down. Furthermore, if Osbert's description is taken literally, then Leofric's confessor would have written down the original *schedula* to before Leofric's death in 1057 – that is, in the mid eleventh century. Here again then, Stokes' palaeographical analysis seems to have a high degree of similarity with Osbert's account. This does not mean that events unfolded exactly as Osbert narrated them: indeed, the letter to the Worcester community from the abbot and prior of Westminster (Osbert's immediate predecessor, Edwy), which was entered into Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367, f. 105^r in the second quarter of the twelfth century, suggest rather that the manuscript was involved in a number of exchanges between the communities of Worcester and Westminster during the

¹¹¹² Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 279; *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 2:421-4.

¹¹¹³ Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part II,' 223.

¹¹¹⁴ Jackson, 'Osbert of Clare and the *Vision of Leofric*,' 279; Mason, *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c.1214*, 114-15 (no. 245).

¹¹¹⁵ Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its People, c. 1050-c.1216*, 96.

¹¹¹⁶ Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 540-541.

1130s.¹¹¹⁷ However, it is clear that some aspects of Osbert's transmission narrative are grounded in the contemporary historical context and can offer us snapshots of how late eleventh-century Worcester gathered and preserved texts. These aspects deserve also be considered further, as they may shed light on the context in which the extant copy of the *Vita brevior* was produced.

Wulfsige the Hermit and the crufta sancti Kenelmi

In his transmission narrative, Osbert mentions an anonymous monk, to whom Leofric reported his vision of the *manus dei*.¹¹¹⁸ Thus, according to Osbert, this vision of Leofric was recorded at Worcester because the earl told his confessor who then wrote down and hid the account, to be discovered many years later. Where this account gets really interesting is that we have reason to believe that Leofric's confessor was one of two Evesham monks: prior Æfic or Æfic's kinsman, the hermit Wulfsige.

Whether Æfic or Wulfsige functioned as Leofric's confessor is not entirely clear. The eleventh-century *Gesta abbatum* embedded within Thomas of Marlborough's house history states that Leofric and his wife Godgifu were persuaded by their confessor (*pater... confessionum suarum*) to generously endow Coventry Abbey and enrich many other churches, including Evesham itself.¹¹¹⁹ Neither monk is explicitly named in this passage, although both have already been mentioned in the same section and the confessor is clearly one of them. It is possible that the passage might refer to Æfic, as he is the primary focus of this section of the *Gesta*. Furthermore, he was sufficiently important to Leofric and Godgifu that the latter attended his burial.¹¹²⁰ However, the sentence immediately preceding this phrase explicitly discusses Wulfsige, who had defended Evesham's claims to the vill

¹¹¹⁷ Mason, *Westminster Abbey Charters, 1066-c.1214*, 116-17 (no. 248A); Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)*, 64 (no. 83), 9; Stokes, 'The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context,' 537.

¹¹¹⁸ Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' 91-2 (c. 12).

¹¹¹⁹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-154.

¹¹²⁰ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.148, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 156.

of Badby and Newnham (Northants.).¹¹²¹ Thus grammatically Wulfsige seems to be the most likely subject. Certainly, as we will see, the twelfth-century communities at Worcester and Westminster remembered Wulfsige as a spiritual adviser to the good and the great, so is certainly possible that he performed this function by acting as a confessor for Leofric too.

Wulfsige was a hermit, first of Crowland, who later joined the abbey at Evesham.¹¹²² His career as a recluse spanned most of the eleventh century: Dominic of Evesham's *Acta proborum virorum* states that Wulfsige lived as a hermit in various locations for seventy-five years.¹¹²³ This extravagant claim is partially supported by the chronicle of John of Worcester, which states that when Wulfstan became bishop in 1062, the recluse *Wlsius* had lived a solitary life for more than forty years.¹¹²⁴ This would date the commencement of Wulfsige's career as a hermit to before 1022, a date which is closely corroborated by the Crowland Abbey chronicle, which claims that Wulfsige first became a hermit at Crowland in 1021, before moving to Evesham Abbey shortly after the death of Cnut in 1035.¹¹²⁵ As Wulfsige allegedly moved to Evesham at the encouragement of his kinsman Prior Æfic who died c.1037, the estimated date of 1035 for Wulfsige's move to Evesham seems plausible.¹¹²⁶

Incredibly, sources suggest that Wulfsige survived into the early twelfth century. His name entered into the Durham *Liber vitae*, written c. 1104.¹¹²⁷ A continuation of the Crowland chronicle attributed to Peter of Blois depicts the

¹¹²¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-154.

¹¹²² Cox, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700-1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer*, 84.

¹¹²³ *Fuere etiam in prædicto monasterio tres anachoritæ, Basingus, Ælfwinus, et Wlsius qui septuaginta quinque annis in diversis extitit locis reclusus, Basingus autem septuaginta duobus.* Printed in *Chronicon abbatiae de Evesham*, ed. Macray, 322.

¹¹²⁴ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1062, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:590.

¹¹²⁵ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 117, 123-4.

¹¹²⁶ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, C, s.a. 1037.

¹¹²⁷ *The Durham Liber Vitae*, ed. Rollason, 1:103-4; Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part II,' 217-18.

hermit addressing the monks of Evesham and their Abbot Maurice.¹¹²⁸ The dates for Maurice's abbacy are problematic due to conflicting accounts, but he was certainly abbot after the death of Walter in 1104 and probably after the abbacy of Robert of Jumièges (?1104 – post 1108) too.¹¹²⁹ A thirteenth-century manuscript containing the best copy of the Crowland Chronicle also enters in its annals a notice of Wulfsgie's death against the year 1104.¹¹³⁰ His entry in the Durham *Liber vitae* alone means it is likely that Wulfsgie survived until the early years of the twelfth century, having been a hermit at Evesham since the mid 1030s. Consequently, Wulfsgie was already well established at Evesham as a man of God by the time that Leofric died in 1057, while Æfíc had died twenty years before.¹¹³¹ Furthermore, Wulfsgie still appears to have been alive at the period when Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367 was being written at Worcester almost half a century later. Like Wulfstan, Wulfsgie bridged the gap between the years when Earl Leofric flourished and when the extant copy of the *Vision* was copied down.

There are good reasons to seriously consider whether Wulfsgie may have played a role in the production of the *Vision of Leofric*. In the first place, Wulfsgie's reputation for sage advice was such that another miracle in Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi* explicitly named him as the hermit who had urged Edward the Confessor to refound Westminster.¹¹³² Here Wulfsgie is not merely being portrayed as an anonymous stock hermit or wiseman. Not only had Osbert heard of the recluse, he felt that Wulfsgie was sufficiently holy and important to explicitly name him as a key player in the refoundation of Osbert's own abbey. It seems very possible, therefore, that the holy man had some connection to the community at Westminster in the latter years of his life.

Furthermore, Wulfsgie almost certainly had a personal connection to Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester. John of Worcester credits Wulfsgie with being the individual who persuaded Wulfstan to accept the bishopric of Worcester, on the charge that he

¹¹²⁸ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 252-256.

¹¹²⁹ Sayers and Watkiss, notes to *Thomas of Marlborough: History of the Abbey of Evesham*, 180, n. 2.

¹¹³⁰ Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200*, 176, n. 10. See also Ispir, 'A critical edition of the Crowland Chronicle,' (PhD thesis, King's College London, 2015), esp. 229.

¹¹³¹ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, C, s.a. 1037.

¹¹³² Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' 80-2 (c. 8).

would be showing disobedience to refuse the position.¹¹³³ Interestingly, William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani* also recounts two miracles concerning an anonymous hermit that might be Wulfsig. In the first of these miracles, a 'servant of God living in seclusion' is afflicted by a wicked spirit, who is banished after the monks of Worcester send him the tunic (known as a linsey-woolsey) that Wulfstan had been wearing at the time of his death.¹¹³⁴ The next miracle in the *Vita Wulfstani* concerns the same recluse. In this, the deceased bishop came to the hermit's cell, granted the hermit a cope and sang the Hours with three beautiful girls on behalf of his friend. In this section, the friendship of Wulfstan and the unnamed hermit is heavily emphasised and after the miraculous events the hermit took care to spread the good news of his vision.¹¹³⁵ While there is evidence that other anchorites lived in the local area in the mid-eleventh century – Evesham had formerly had three hermits in the time of Abbot Mannig, and at a similar date the Worcester monk called Ealdwine settled as a hermit on the future site of Malvern priory – only Wulfsig was definitely still living at the time of Wulfstan's death in 1095.¹¹³⁶ Furthermore, we have that William had already mentioned Wulfsig in connection with Wulfstan's promotion to the bishopric in 1062 without naming him. William's decision not to name Wulfsig is in keeping with his preference to withhold the names of most witnesses 'so that barbarous names should not wound the sensibilities of the fastidious reader'.¹¹³⁷ It seems very possible, therefore, that this hermit was again Wulfsig and that the hermit had maintained a steady relationship with his bishop for many decades.

Thus in Wulfsig we find an individual for whom there is evidence, beyond the sources for the *Vision of Leofric's* transmission, of longstanding links with both Worcester and Earl Leofric (as well as with Evesham Abbey). Furthermore, it is possible that Wulfsig was not only a kinsman of Prior Æfic of Evesham, but was also related to Leofric himself. Two late and difficult pieces of evidence for this come

¹¹³³ John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1062, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray, 2:590.

¹¹³⁴ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.27, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 150-151.

¹¹³⁵ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* iii.28, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 152-153.

¹¹³⁶ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 75, 78.

¹¹³⁷ William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* i.16, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 59.

from the Crowland chronicle and its continuations. In the section of the chronicle written by the pseudo-Ingulph, the chronicler notes that in the fourth year of the abbacy of Brihtmer (c.1021) Wulfsige, a young kinsman of Leofric, earl of Leicester, became a recluse at the abbey.¹¹³⁸ A continuation of the chronicle credited to Peter of Blois likewise claims that Wulfsige was born ‘of no ignoble rank’.¹¹³⁹

Although these two hints are not sufficient to demonstrate kinship with Leofric in their own right, Wulfsige’s involvement with the vill at Badby may also point to a connection with the Leofwinesons. The Crowland chronicle claims that Badby had formerly belonged to the Crowland monks, who had leased the vill to Ealdorman Leowine’s son Northman for the term of one hundred years. Northman had then been executed by Cnut in 1017, who had granted all of the former’s lands to his brother Leofric. Through the counsel of the Evesham prior, Æfic, Leofric had then granted Badby to Evesham Abbey.¹¹⁴⁰ Peter of Blois’ continuation of the Crowland chronicle builds on this, by explaining that when the term of one hundred years had expired, the abbot of Crowland, Geoffrey, had asked Evesham to return the vill. To this the abbot had replied ‘that the manor of Badby was the property of his place, and had been acquired through the lord Avicius, who was formerly the prior of that monastery, and his kinsman, the lord Wulsin, the Anchorite, who lately died there, it having formerly been their patrimony by inheritance, and having from remote times belonged to their ancestors.’¹¹⁴¹ This section is somewhat problematic, as the chronicler names the abbot of Evesham as Reginald, who was seemingly not abbot until c.1130, after Abbot Geoffrey of Crowland had died (c.1124).¹¹⁴² However, Crowland’s claim to Badby certainly dates from the eleventh century, as Domesday Book recorded that the vill was held by Crowland Abbey in 1086.¹¹⁴³

¹¹³⁸ *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 117.

¹¹³⁹ *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 253.

¹¹⁴⁰ *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 115-116.

¹¹⁴¹ *Ingulph’s Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 257.

¹¹⁴² Geoffrey became abbot in 1109 and held the office for fifteen years. Orderic Vitalis, *Historia ecclesiastica* iv, ed. and trans. Chibnall, 2:348.

¹¹⁴³ *Domesday Book*, ed. Morris, 11:6; Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 30, n. 46.

The Crowland account is also rather different to the traditions at Evesham Abbey, which of course also laid claim to the vill. Thomas of Marlborough's house history states that the community possessed this vill because Cnut had granted Badby and the neighbouring vill of Newnham to Evesham Abbey in 1018.¹¹⁴⁴ A similar claim appears to have given rise to S957, a charter recording King Cnut's grants of four hides at Badby and Newnham in 1020, which is most likely spurious, although based upon an earlier Evesham charter, S 977.¹¹⁴⁵

However, the traditions might not be as divergent as they appear at first. The eleventh-century charter S 977 is an authentic and possibly original document, dating to c.1023.¹¹⁴⁶ It records that Cnut granted five hides at Newnham to the monk 'most beloved and intimate to me', named Æfic.¹¹⁴⁷ Among the witnesses to this charter were Leofric and his father, Ealdorman Leofwine.¹¹⁴⁸ Æfic appears to have held this land in his own right and then gave it to the Evesham community at a later date. In the eleventh-century *Gesta abbatum* embedded in Thomas of Marlborough's house history, the chronicler praises Æfic for restoring the vills of Badby and Newnham 'as if from his patrimony'.¹¹⁴⁹ The chronicler then continues: 'The blessed Wulfsige did the same thing afterwards, when his relatives had once again wrongfully taken possession of these same vills; for they were from the same kindred'.¹¹⁵⁰

It would seem, therefore, that there were two Evesham traditions: one simply that Cnut had granted the land; the other (which is also embedded in the

¹¹⁴⁴ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.126 and iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 134 and 150-152.

¹¹⁴⁵ The earliest extant copy of S 957 is transmitted in a twelfth-century register from Penwortham, an Evesham cell: London, British Library, Harley 3763, f. 65r. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 30, n. 46; 'S 957,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 1 November 2017, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/957.html#>.

¹¹⁴⁶ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 165.

¹¹⁴⁷ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici* 4, no. 736.

¹¹⁴⁸ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 28.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Iste prior quasi ex paterna hereditate duas uillas Baddebi et Neueham huic sancte ecclesie reddidit*. Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-153.

¹¹⁵⁰ *Hoc idem fecit postea beatus Wlsius cum parentes sui easdem uillas iterum iniuste occupassent; de una enim erant parentela*. Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-153.

Peter of Blois' account of the dispute with Crowland), that it had formerly belonged to the kinsmen of Æfíc and Wulfsige. Immediately after the praise of Æfíc and Wulfsige we find the description of Wulfsige's relationship with Leofric and Godgifu that was discussed above, which includes the comment that they were persuaded by him to reject worldliness (most of the time) and enrich a number of churches instead.¹¹⁵¹ Is it a coincidence that the account of Wulfsige's influence over Leofric was placed immediately after the chronicler stated that Badby and Newnham were familial lands? We should remember too, that Godgifu thought so highly of Æfíc that she attended his burial.¹¹⁵² While the threads of evidence do not absolutely show kinship between Wulfsige and Leofric, the comments in the Evesham *Gesta* certainly make the Crowland's claim that they were related tantalising.

The possible implications of all this for the transmission of the *Vision of Leofric* are very interesting. If Wulfsige was Leofric's confessor, then he may have played a part in transmitting the story to Worcester. We have already seen in the *Vita Wulfstani* that at least one hermit in the diocese was taking pains to broadcast the news about the miracles of Wulfstan he encountered. Furthermore, Baxter has argued that the *Vision* seems to have been written by someone well-acquainted with Leofric: given the text's interest in the liturgy, perhaps one of his household priests.¹¹⁵³ A confessor would certainly fit this description and if Wulfsige was indeed a kinsman of Leofric then he would have even more reason to memorialise him, especially as Leofric had been a valuable patron of Evesham too. This certainly does not mean that Wulfsige was the author of the *Vision*, but it is just possible that he was a source for a *schedula* that was written up at Worcester in the late eleventh century.

Where the implications of Wulfsige's career become of particular interest is that, according to the Crowland chronicle, when he moved to a cell at Evesham he built, then worshipped in, a chapel dedicated to St Kenelm and continued to do so for the rest of his life.¹¹⁵⁴ Thomas of Marlborough's house history does not confirm

¹¹⁵¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 152-154.

¹¹⁵² Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.148, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 156.

¹¹⁵³ Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in late Anglo-Saxon England*, 1-4.

¹¹⁵⁴ *Ingulph's Chronicle of the Abbey of Croyland: with the continuations by Peter of Blois and anonymous writers*, trans. Riley, 252.

this detail, but mentions in passing that a section of the precinct in his time was called 'St Kenelm's croft' (*crufta Sancti Kenelmi*).¹¹⁵⁵ It is possible, therefore, that in Wulfsige we have a direct connection between Kenelm, Leofric and Worcester, that parallels the codicological conjunction of texts in volume five of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 367. Whether letters from Wulfsige really could have been involved in the creation of that manuscript is impossible to tell. However, even if Wulfsige was not involved in transmitting stories about Leofric or Kenelm to Worcester, he probably had an impact on religious life at Evesham, increasing the importance of Kenelm at that community on account of the chapel he founded. Furthermore, the manner in which he was remembered at Crowland, Evesham, Westminster and Worcester highlight how intimately one individual could tie personnel and communities together in surprising ways that endured for decades after his death.

IV: Positing Alternative Contexts: Kenelm and the Bishops of Worcester

This chapter began by asking whether scholars have laid too much emphasis on interpreting the origins and development of the cult of Kenelm within the context of the royal cult of saints. Since then, the sources that have been discussed have consistently demonstrated that there is a disconnect between the evidence and theories that place the cult within an early political or folkish milieu. Not only have we seen that no extant source identifies Kenelm as a saint until the later tenth century, but even the identification of his cult with the site at Winchcombe only appears within the written record from the eleventh century. It seems clear, therefore, that for the development of Kenelm's cult, evidenced by textual production, the late tenth and early eleventh centuries were pivotal.

The extant sources, of course, are bound to be incomplete and leave only a partial impression of how the cult evolved during the late Anglo-Saxon period. Consequently, the theories that explore an early origin for the cult might have much merit. It is likely that Winchcombe was the site of a ninth-century royal

¹¹⁵⁵ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.178, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 180-181.

mausoleum.¹¹⁵⁶ This may lend some weight to the argument that we should not credit the genesis of Kenelm's cult to the monks of the English Benedictine Reform. It is possible that Kenelm was buried at Winchcombe and that he was commemorated to a greater or lesser degree as a murdered prince by the local church or laity. However, not only do theories pertaining to this earlier period lack solid evidence for any kind of religious cult, but to some extent they have dislocated later sources from the context in which they were written. Scholarly focus has been so tightly focused on the locality of Winchcombe - the age of its cult, its political significance, its connection to the royal Mercian house, its holy wells - that the relative abundance of evidence for Kenelm from other tenth- and eleventh-century monasteries has actually obscured our understanding of what was happening to the cult during these years. The uncertainty of what happened at the Winchcombe site following the expulsion of the monks c.975 has left a hiatus in the history of the development of Kenelm's cult, although Lapidge has tried to bridge the gap by treating the exiled Winchcombe monks as an independent microcosm within the monastery at Ramsey.¹¹⁵⁷ Having examined the sources for this period, however, I believe that an alternative theory can be put forward for how the cult of Kenelm developed that is more firmly grounded in the extant evidence. This alternative setting makes use of what we have learned from the tenth- and eleventh-century sources about Kenelm in order to reframe the context within which the development of his cult could have occurred.

Looking over the conclusions of the previous sections, what we find is that there are not any sources for the cult of Kenelm - for Kenelm being treated as a saint - from before the English Benedictine Reform. We also find that evidence for his treatment as a saint is repeatedly found at Ramsey and Worcester and that none of the sources mention or discuss Winchcombe before the eleventh century. The *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* demonstrates that Winchcombe had developed local impetus by the third quarter of the eleventh century. However, in the case of the *Vita brevior*, to which the *Vita et miracula* was intimately related, we find no evidence that the text or its sources were transmitted from Winchcombe Abbey to Worcester. Rather, my close analysis of the text suggested a possible Ramsey

¹¹⁵⁶ S. R. Bassett, 'A Probable Mercian Royal Mausoleum at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire,' *The Antiquaries Journal* 65:1 (Cambridge University Press, 1985), 82–100. doi: 10.1017/S0003581500024707.

¹¹⁵⁷ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 408 and 416.

influence (from the *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey*); uncovered possible contexts for why the Worcester monks would have been interested in the *Vita brevior* in their own right; and demonstrated how the community was one of a small group of monasteries that were circulating miracle stories and liturgical texts in the second half of the eleventh century.

One possible context that might explain the extant evidence is by asking whether Worcester could have played a central role in cultivating and disseminating the cult of Kenelm in the later tenth and first half of the eleventh century. The possibility that Archbishop Ealdwulf was actively involved in encouraging cults in the Worcester diocese has already been explored by Alan Thacker.¹¹⁵⁸ Thacker's exploration of saint-making and relic-collecting at late tenth and early eleventh-century Worcester, Ramsey and Evesham made two arguments that are potentially very significant for understanding the development of Kenelm's cult.

The first is that Thacker compared Oswald's involvement in the cult of saints with that of his co-reformer Bishop Æthelwold and concluded that Oswald appeared to be more interested in the liturgical commemoration of saints than in drawing attention to the physical site of the cult through high-profile elevations or translations of relics.¹¹⁵⁹ In the case of Kenelm, Thacker's theory is strongly corroborated by the extant evidence, as in the tenth-century sources Kenelm is only named in liturgical texts such as litanies and kalendars. All sources that focus either on Kenelm's body, death or resting place (such as *Secgan* and the two earliest *vitae*) date from the eleventh century onwards. This pattern is perhaps in part because many of the saints that interested Oswald were not interred in monasteries under his control: for example, Ramsey was dedicated to Benedict, whose relics were at this date claimed by Fleury and could not form the centre of a cult at Ramsey.¹¹⁶⁰ The alleged expulsion of monks from his recent foundations at Evesham and Winchcombe may also have been a factor, as there is no evidence to suggest that either community – in stark contrast to the *congregatio* of St Cuthbert – hauled their house saints around the countryside as they fled. Thus celebration of the feasts of Egwine and Kenelm may have been dislocated, not merely from the churches at Evesham and Winchcombe, but from the bodies of the saints themselves.

¹¹⁵⁸ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 244-268.

¹¹⁵⁹ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 255-256.

¹¹⁶⁰ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 256.

Thacker's second important argument is that the elevation of Ealdwulf to the sees of York and Worcester precipitated the promotion of locally based cults in the Worcester diocese and parallel activity at Ramsey.¹¹⁶¹ The translation of Oswald himself at Worcester in 1002 was shortly preceded by the *inventio* and then translation to Ramsey of St Ivo and his companions.¹¹⁶² An elevation of the Ramsey princes Æthelberht and Æthelred may also have occurred at a similar time, at which point the bodies were removed from the single casket they formerly shared and were given prominent resting-places either side of the choir.¹¹⁶³ Crucially, the Oswaldian communities also started producing hagiographic texts around this time: Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* was written between 997 × 1002.¹¹⁶⁴ It also seems likely that Byrhtferth wrote the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* for Evesham Abbey at a similar date, shortly after the millennium.¹¹⁶⁵ It is notable that the cults developing around this period and in the three decades after focused strongly on bishops and on royal martyrs.¹¹⁶⁶

It is worth asking, therefore, whether the cult of Kenelm may also have received encouragement from the Worcester bishops. Thacker himself certainly thought so, arguing that the cult of Kenelm was actively promoted from the 990s after Winchcombe was 're-established as one of the community's dependent cells'.¹¹⁶⁷ In support of Thacker's theory, we have already seen that Evesham Abbey preserved a tradition into the thirteenth century that the house had been temporarily administered by the Worcester bishop Ealdwulf.¹¹⁶⁸ This may also have

¹¹⁶¹ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 256-260.

¹¹⁶² Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 263.

¹¹⁶³ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 260.

¹¹⁶⁴ Lapidge, introduction to *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine*, xxix.

¹¹⁶⁵ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. Lapidge, 280.

¹¹⁶⁶ As well as commissioning a *vita* for Bishop Ecgwine, Evesham acquired the bishop, St Odulf and martyred prince St Wigstan in Cnut's reign. Ramsey acquired the relics of their former monk, Bishop Ætheric of Dorchester (after 1034) and had also attempted to claim the relics of Bishop Eadnoth following his death in 1016. Bishop Ætheric had himself helped Ramsey to acquire the relics of the missionary bishop of East Anglia, Felix. These joined Ramsey's pre-existing bishop-saint, Ivo and their martyred princes Æthelred and Æthelberht. According to *Secgan*, Oswald and 'many other holy bishops' lay at Worcester.

¹¹⁶⁷ Thacker, 'Saint-making and Relic collecting by Oswald and his Communities,' 260.

¹¹⁶⁸ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.139, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146.

been the context in which Evesham potentially acquired an arm of St Oswald.¹¹⁶⁹ In the case of Winchcombe, we know that Bishop Ealdred of Worcester briefly held the abbacy between the death of Godwine in 1053 and the appointment of Abbot Godric in 1054.¹¹⁷⁰ Winchcombe was again externally administered by Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham following 1066.¹¹⁷¹ It certainly seems possible, therefore, that Winchcombe had previously been dependent upon a local centre like Worcester.

Thus the remainder of this section will build upon the conclusions that I have drawn throughout the chapter in order to explore whether Kenelm's cult could have been encouraged at Worcester in the decades after the Germanus' monks were expelled from Winchcombe. The possibility that Worcester fostered an interest in Kenelm has already been studied by scholars like Love and Hayward on a text-by-text basis (particularly in the case of *Vita brevior* but also concerning Worcester kalendars to a lesser degree). However, we now need to ask whether a deeper episcopal involvement in the cult of Kenelm lies behind the production of these later eleventh-century texts. In order to explore this question, this section will consider three main aspects: what evidence we have for what was happening at Winchcombe between 975 and 1042; Worcester's connection to the site of Kenelm's martyrdom at Clent; and whether the extant *vitae* contain evidence that can shed light on the role that Worcester played in the early veneration of Kenelm. One possible outcome of this study could be, conversely, that by looking at evidence for Worcester's involvement in the development of Kenelm's cult, we may actually be able to learn something more about what was happening at the site at Winchcombe during this time.

Winchcombe Abbey in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries

The history of the church at Winchcombe after the monks' expulsion by Ealdorman Ælfhere following the death of King Edgar (*d.* 975) is extremely patchy. Until Abbot Godwine begins to witness charters in A.D. 1042, we have almost no evidence for whether monks or secular clerics inhabited the church, or indeed,

¹¹⁶⁹ Cf. Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester at Evesham Abbey: Cult and Concealment,' 269-285.

¹¹⁷⁰ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, D, s.a. 1053; John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, s.a. 1053, ed. and trans. Darlington, McGurk and Bray; Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:79.

¹¹⁷¹ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.158, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 164; Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:79.

whether it was inhabited at all.¹¹⁷² However, the appearance in charter witness lists of one Ælfwald, apparently abbot of Winchcombe, c.990-1002, suggests that some form of community was reinstated within a couple of decades of the monks' expulsion.¹¹⁷³ An abbot Ælfwald also witnessed charters S 837 (A.D. 980) and S 840 (A.D. 982) and it is just possible that this individual is the same as Ælfwald of Winchcombe – however, we cannot say this with any certainty.¹¹⁷⁴

What is significant about the elusive career of Ælfwald is that the former abbot of Winchcombe, Germanus (the abbot who had been expelled from the monastery after 975), was still alive until c.1013.¹¹⁷⁵ Germanus was probably appointed to the abbacy of the newly-founded Chelsey (Berks.) after the death of Ealdorman Æthelwine (*d.* 24 April 992) and before the death of Archbishop Sigeric of Canterbury in October 994.¹¹⁷⁶ These dates suggest that Germanus did not become abbot of Chelsey until at least two years after Ælfwald first appears witnessing charters as abbot of Winchcombe.¹¹⁷⁷ Consequently, the church of Winchcombe apparently received a new abbot during the years that Germanus was still living in exile at Ramsey.¹¹⁷⁸ The implication of Winchcombe receiving a new abbot when Germanus was still alive and holding no other abbacy is that the church at Winchcombe had remained beyond the control of Oswald and his communities after the death of the original despoiler, Ealdorman Ælfhere, in 983.¹¹⁷⁹ Like Ælfhere, the new holder of the church, was seemingly unwilling to accept the return of Oswald's protégé.

¹¹⁷² Godwine witnesses two charters dated to A.D. 1042: S 1394 and S 1396. *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 15 November 2017, http://www.esawyer.org.uk/browse/ch_date/1000.html. S 1394 is edited and translated in Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 2nd ed., 180 (n. xciv).

¹¹⁷³ Ælfwald witnesses seven extant charters: S876, S877, S888, S898, S904, S939, and S942. 'Ælfwald 54 (Male),' *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 10 Jan 2014, <http://www.pase.ac.uk/jsp/DisplayPerson.jsp?personKey=4814&startOpen=yes>.

¹¹⁷⁴ Knowles *et al.*, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, 1:78-79.

¹¹⁷⁵ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 410.

¹¹⁷⁶ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 409.

¹¹⁷⁷ S942, A.D. 990. *The Electronic Sawyer*, last accessed 29 June 2018, www.esawyer.org.uk.

¹¹⁷⁸ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.14, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 184-186.

¹¹⁷⁹ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, s.a. 983.

Lapidge has suggested that Ælfwald cannot have become abbot of Winchcombe before the death of Oswald in February 992, as the archbishop would not have uncanonically ordained a new abbot when his friend and colleague Germanus was available.¹¹⁸⁰ While I agree with Lapidge that Oswald would have been unlikely to support the replacement of Germanus at Winchcombe, I do not agree with his assumption that Ælfwald had to have been consecrated by the incumbent bishop of Worcester.¹¹⁸¹ It is possible that Ælfwald was *de facto* abbot of Winchcombe, rather than formally consecrated. Furthermore, bishops were known to perform episcopal duties in other dioceses under particular circumstances: in 1054 Bishop Leofwine of Lichfield consecrated the new church at Evesham because Ealdred was abroad at the time.¹¹⁸² It is possible, then, that another bishop installed Ælfwald at Winchcombe. As we saw in the chapter concerning the cult of Ecgwine, the Evesham *Gesta abbatum* suggests that a parallel situation happened there, where the church passed from lay possession to the protection of the bishop of Sherborne. In the case of Evesham, the site appears to have remained under lay or episcopal control long after the former monks were replaced with new communities.¹¹⁸³ From 975 until the 990s, therefore, it is possible that Winchcombe Abbey still remained under the protection of Ælfhere's successors. It thus seems likely that the Ramsey and Worcester communities who celebrated the cult of Kenelm during these years did so without recourse to the site at Winchcombe.

After 1002 Abbot Ælfwald stopped witnessing charters and thus had presumably died. Our next snapshot of the Winchcombe site is over a decade later. This is the charter S 1459 (1014×1023), a marriage agreement between Archbishop Wulfstan and Wulfric, who was to marry the archbishop's sister.¹¹⁸⁴ In this charter, Wulfstan promises his sister land at Orleton and Ribbesford for the duration of her lifetime and land at Alton which she may dispose of as she wishes. Significantly, he also promised her 'the land at Knightwick (Worcs.), that he would obtain it for three

¹¹⁸⁰ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 412 and 414, n. 122.

¹¹⁸¹ Lapidge, 'Abbot Germanus, Winchcombe, Ramsey and the Cambridge Psalter,' 412.

¹¹⁸² Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, s.a. 1054.

¹¹⁸³ Thomas of Marlborough, *History of the Abbey of Evesham* iii.139-146, ed. and trans. Sayers and Watkiss, 146-152.

¹¹⁸⁴ S 1459, 'The Electronic Sawyer', accessed 7 January 2014, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1459.html#>. For a translation, see Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, c. 500-1042, no. 128.

men's lives from the *familia* of Winchcombe'.¹¹⁸⁵ Although *The Electronic Sawyer* and *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* websites both state that this charter refers to the community of Worcester rather than Winchcombe, it seems very likely to me that the latter is correct.¹¹⁸⁶ S 1459 was written on the now lost Somers charter 18, which was fortunately transcribed in the eighteenth century (transmitted in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ballard 67 (S.C. 10853)).¹¹⁸⁷ While the late transcription may have introduced some errors, the substitution of *Wincelcumbe* for Worcester seems unlikely, especially as the charter goes on to state that a copy will be kept *mid ðam arcebiscope on Wigereceastre*.¹¹⁸⁸ It seems more likely that these two websites assumed that Worcester was the intended community because of its affiliation with Archbishop Wulfstan himself. By 1066 two hides at Knightwick were in the possession of Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester, suggesting that the land had been permanently alienated from Winchcombe.¹¹⁸⁹

This charter demonstrates that there was a community situated at Winchcombe during the early eleventh century. It also suggests that the church of Winchcombe was a dependency managed by Archbishop Wulfstan at that time. No abbot of Winchcombe subscribes to S 1459, even though another abbot, Ælfweard of Evesham and even a monk Brihtheah (probably Wulfstan's kinsman and future bishop of Worcester) do. It is possible that an abbot of Winchcombe is included among the 'many good men besides them, both ecclesiastics and layman' who also witnessed the charter.¹¹⁹⁰ However, this would mean that the Winchcombe abbot was so unimportant that he was neither a named witness nor apparently had any say over the land at Knightwick. Furthermore the term *hired*, which Whitelock translated as 'community' (but for which I prefer the Latin term *familia*) is quite

¹¹⁸⁵ *and behet hire ðæt land æt Cnihtewican, ðæt he wolde hit hire begytan þreora manna dæg æt ðam hirede on Wincelcumbe*. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 4:25-26 (no. 738).

¹¹⁸⁶ 'S 1459,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 7 January 2014, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1459.html#>; 'Source: Charter: S1459,' *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 7 Jan 2014, <http://www.pase.ac.uk/jsp/Sources/DisplaySourcePersons.jsp?sourceKey=1923>.

¹¹⁸⁷ 'S 1459,' *The Electronic Sawyer*, accessed 7 January 2014, <http://www.esawyer.org.uk/charter/1459.html#>.

¹¹⁸⁸ Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 4:26 (no. 738).

¹¹⁸⁹ *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, <http://www.pase.ac.uk/index.html>.

¹¹⁹⁰ Whitelock, *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042*, no. 128.

vague, and can as easily refer to ‘a household’ or ‘a body of domestic retainers of a great man’ as to members of a religious house.¹¹⁹¹ We know that Wulfstan was very willing to hold churches in plurality and even after he relinquished the bishopric of Worcester in 1016 he evidently remained a powerful influence in the region.¹¹⁹² Furthermore, it is possible that Wulfstan was actively involved at the abbey of St Peter’s, Gloucester, which he refounded c.1022 and at Pershore Abbey, at which his nephew Brihteah became abbot c.1012.¹¹⁹³ In chapter two, we also saw that Wulfstan very probably administered Evesham Abbey between the death of Archbishop Ealdwulf in 1002 and the period when Abbot Ælfweard gained the house’s independence, sometime after 1014. Thus, when S 1459 is compared to Wulfstan’s relationship with other Worcestershire churches and to the fact that Archbishop Ealdred held Winchcombe following the death of Abbot Godwine in 1053, it seems very possible that Winchcombe was a dependency of Wulfstan in the early eleventh century.

The scant evidence for Winchcombe between 975 and 1042 suggests the following scenario: after the so-called ‘anti-monastic reaction’, a community was installed at Winchcombe in the 980s or 990s by Ealdorman Ælfhere or one of his successors (either lay or episcopal). The possessor of the abbey church opposed the return of Germanus (and presumably also of the other former Winchcombe monks), who remained at Ramsey. There is no evidence following the death of the Winchcombe abbot Ælfwald (c.1002) that he was replaced by a successor. Rather, the former site may have been placed under the protection of the Worcester bishops. This would explain why when we next see evidence for a Winchcombe community it does not have a named abbot nor apparently any say over how Wulfstan disposed of its land. Presumably Winchcombe received an independent abbot following the death of Wulfstan in 1023, although it is only in 1042 that an autonomous abbey of Winchcombe emerged in the historical record.

It is notable how well this scenario agrees with Thacker’s theories about the shift in emphasis from liturgical commemoration during the lifetime of Oswald to a corporeally-based cult during the episcopacies of his successors. Throughout this

¹¹⁹¹ *Bosworth-Toller Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, accessed 17 November 2017, <http://bosworth.ff.cuni.cz/019113>.

¹¹⁹² As seen in the charter S 1384 in particular: Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 40-41.

¹¹⁹³ Barrow, ‘Wulfstan and Worcester: Bishop and Clergy in the Early Eleventh Century,’ 153-154.

period, texts about Kenelm continued to be produced. Until *Secgan* was written (c.1013-1030), our evidence concerning Kenelm does not mention Winchcombe, but focused on the commemoration of his feast instead. This indicates the cult's ongoing importance in the decades after 975, but apparently in a way that did not tie Kenelm to his supposed resting place. This would make sense in a context where the site at Winchcombe continued to lie beyond the influence of the Worcester bishops. It is only during the eleventh century that the church of Winchcombe developed a reputation as the centre of Kenelm's cult. Could this promotion of the site have been instigated by the bishops of Worcester?

Clent in the early Eleventh Century

The church at Winchcombe is not the only site that we need to consider in order to explore whether Worcester played a role in disseminating the cult of Kenelm during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. The *Vita brevior* suggests that the site of Kenelm's martyrdom, Clent, also fostered an active cult by the later eleventh century. By the time that the *Vita brevior* was written, there was an *oratorium* and a holy spring at Clent, to which pilgrims travelled for healing.¹¹⁹⁴ It appears that Worcester may have had an interest in the site: Hemming claims that the neighbouring vill of Kingswinford, Clent and Tardebigge had once belonged to the monastery.¹¹⁹⁵ Bishop Wulfstan frequently recited to the monks that a certain dean (*decanus*) of Worcester, Æthelsige, had purchased the three villas from King Æthelred for the monastery to possess in perpetuity. During the political turbulence following the death of Æthelred in 1016, Æthelsige died, and the *vicecomes* ('sheriff') in Staffordshire called Æfic took advantage of the situation to despoil Worcester of the villas that Æthelsige had acquired.¹¹⁹⁶

The Worcester obits in Oxford, Bodleian Library 113 show that there were two priors called Æthelsige at Worcester during the reign of Æthelred (978-1016). The earlier of these witnessed charters as a member of the Worcester community from 977 onwards: there is a gap in the Worcester archive between 969 and 977 and Æthelsige I probably joined the community between these two dates.¹¹⁹⁷ He became

¹¹⁹⁴ *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi* l. xiii, ed. Love, Appendix D, 129.

¹¹⁹⁵ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:276.

¹¹⁹⁶ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:277.

¹¹⁹⁷ Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part I,' 8-9.

prior of Worcester 991×996, but it is unclear when he was succeeded by Æthelsige II.¹¹⁹⁸ Both men witness S 1364, a charter dated to AD 991.¹¹⁹⁹ As neither Æthelsige appears to witness any charter after 996, it is difficult to verify Hemming's estimate that Æthelsige II died in 1016. However, a general paucity of datable Worcester charters from the episcopies of Ealdwulf and Wulfstan mean that we cannot rule it out.

As both men flourished during the reign of Æthelred, we cannot be certain when between 977 and 1016 Worcester acquired Clent. Atkins suggested that Æthelsige I may have been one of the original monks brought by Worcester's first prior, Wynsige, from Ramsey Abbey.¹²⁰⁰ Given the close relationship between Ramsey and Winchcombe after 975, it would be fascinating if a former Ramsey monk had acquired the site of Kenelm's martyrdom. However, a will of Wulfgeat of Donington (S 1534), which survived in the Worcester archive as a single sheet and is dated c.1000, suggests otherwise. In this will, Wulfgeat bequests one hide at Tardebigge 'to God' and the other to his daughter Wilflæd. At the end of the will, Wulfgeat addresses himself to 'dear Æthelsige', who appears to be the executor of his will.¹²⁰¹ As this will was preserved in the Worcester archive, it seems likely that this refers to Æthelsige II. As neither Wulfgeat nor Wilflæd are named as despoilers of the church of Worcester, it seems possible that Æthelsige II acquired one or both hides in the period between when this document was written (c.1000) and 1016. It seems very likely, therefore, that Clent and Kingswinford were also acquired by Æthelsige II, possibly after the year 1000. By 1066 Clent, Kingswinford and Tardebigge belonged to the king.¹²⁰² The revenue of the manor at Clent was paid in Kingswinford, perhaps to the sheriff of Staffordshire, which suggests that Hemming

¹¹⁹⁸ Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part I,' 13.

¹¹⁹⁹ *The Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England*, accessed 18 November 2016, http://pase.ac.uk/jsp/pdb?dosp=PAGE_CHANGE&N=2.

¹²⁰⁰ Atkins, 'The Church of Worcester from the Eighth to the Twelfth Century, Part I,' 13.

¹²⁰¹ Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, no. 19.

¹²⁰² *Domesday Book*, ed. Morris, 1:4, 1:6.

was right to record that the villas were lost together.¹²⁰³ Clent remained under royal control until 1204.¹²⁰⁴

Thus it appears that Worcester's possession of Clent can be roughly dated to c.1000-1016. These dates are closely congruent with the period that Wulfstan may also have administered the church at Winchcombe. Worcester's connection to both the sites of Kenelm's martyrdom and burial place amply explain any interest the community there had in the martyr. The fact that both Clent and Winchcombe may have come under the control of Worcester from the 990s to the first quarter of the eleventh century also suggests that Thacker is justified in arguing that the bishops of Worcester were key figures in the early development of the cult of Kenelm. However, there is a further implication. If Clent and Winchcombe were both under the umbrella of Worcester authority at roughly the same time, then we should not assume that the two sites were in competition with each other during the early eleventh century. To do so might be an anachronistic application of the later dynamic we see where a saint's cult tends to be tied closely to a particular site. So do we have any evidence for eleventh-century interaction between the two sites?

It is interesting to consider that the two extant eleventh-century *vitae* each focus on a different site: *Vita brevior* is concerned with the site of the martyrdom at Clent, while the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* lays heavy emphasis on Kenelm's translation to and burial at Winchcombe. It would be easy to assume that these texts should be antagonistic. In fact, the texts do not suggest any such tension. Rather, as Love noted, 'there is no hint of competition' and each *vitae* refers to the miracles wrought at the other site.¹²⁰⁵ Thus, it is possible to read the *Vita brevior* and *Vita et miracula* alongside one another, as complementary accounts of St Kenelm. As we also know that the two *vitae* are closely textually related, it is worth asking whether they stem from a context in which veneration of Kenelm was shared between the sites. One possibility is that the time spent under Worcester may have encouraged a cult of Kenelm that did not bind the saint to a specific location. Consequently, in the final section we will consider whether there is any evidence in the eleventh-century

¹²⁰³ C. K. Currie, 'Clent Hills, Worcestershire: an archaeological and historical survey,' (CKC Archaeology unpublished report series, 1996), <https://doi.org/10.5284/1009481>.

¹²⁰⁴ 'When King John granted it to Ralph de Somery of Dudley Castle, for a rent of ?4-13-4d to be paid to the sheriff of Staffordshire.' Currie, 'Clent Hills, Worcestershire: an archaeological and historical survey,' <https://doi.org/10.5284/1009481>.

¹²⁰⁵ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cv.

vitae that points to the influence of Worcester or its bishops in the development of the legend of Kenelm.

The Cult of Kenelm and Episcopal Oversight

In a mid-twelfth-century breviary, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale 116 (109) ff. 208^v-210^v, the texts of the *Vita brevior* and the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* are found together. This is as part of an Office for the feast of St Kenelm, in which several chapters of the *Vita et miracula* are taken almost *verbatim* to form the twelve lections, while extracts of the *Vita brevior* are incorporated into the accompanying antiphons and responsories.¹²⁰⁶ In this Office, therefore, we see the Worcester and Winchcombe *vitae* literally talking to each other. The Valenciennes Office of Kenelm uses a late recension of the *Vita et miracula* and thus was probably a mid-twelfth-century creation.¹²⁰⁷ However, its use of both the *Vita brevior* and *Vita et miracula* encourages us to ask how long the two texts (and indeed, the two communities) had been interacting with each other in their common worship of Kenelm. In this final section, I will examine whether there are any indicators within these texts which support an alternative context in which the sites at Clent and Winchcombe were temporarily both under the direction of the bishops of Worcester. Whilst there is not a lot of circumstantial detail in the lections of *Vita brevior*, the *Vita et miracula* contains several statements that might shed light on Worcester's relationship with the cult of Kenelm in the early eleventh century.

Wulfwine's Memoranda: a legenda Kenelmi?

Unlike the *Vita brevior*, the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* still has an extant prologue. In this, the author lists a number of authorities upon which his *vita* is based. Amongst his sources was *quidam Vuigornensis monachus beati Osuualdi Eboracensis archiepiscopi discipulus nomone Vulfuuinus nobis fide certissima reliquit memoranda* ('a certain monk of Worcester, a disciple of St Oswald, archbishop of York, named Wulfwine, [who] left us material of most certain trustworthiness').¹²⁰⁸ There was certainly a member of the Worcester community

¹²⁰⁶ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxix-cxxx.

¹²⁰⁷ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxxii-cxxxiii.

¹²⁰⁸ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 50-51.

called Wulfwine, who witnessed a number of Worcester charters dated between 981 and 1017.¹²⁰⁹ The same Wulfwine may be the subject of a rubricated obit, entered against 6 February, in the kalendar transmitted in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113.¹²¹⁰ The length of Wulfwine's career makes it evident that he could indeed have been a student of Oswald, who died in 992. By the second decade of the eleventh century Wulfwine seems to have become one of the most eminent members of the Worcester community and features prominently in the charters S 1384, 1385 and 1388.¹²¹¹ Thus it is certainly possible that Wulfwine was remembered by the author of the *Vita et miracula* as an important transmitter of earlier legends about Kenelm dating back to Oswald himself.

The exact nature of Wulfwine's *memoranda* (literally 'things to be remembered') has been a point of contention amongst scholars. Hayward suggested that Wulfwine's *memoranda* referred to the *Vita brevior* itself.¹²¹² However, this was based upon the assumption that the *Vita brevior* was the source for the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, which, as we have seen above, seems unlikely. Love rejected the idea that the *memoranda* could refer to formal *vita*, as the oblique description seemed at odds with the author's desire to demonstrate that he was working from trustworthy sources. She also suggested that the *memoranda* might conceivably not refer to a written text, but rather draw a distinction between Wulfwine's oral account and the *cantilena et Anglica scripta* ('a song and writings in English') that he also used as sources.¹²¹³ However, Love's arguments worked from the premise that the *Vita et miracula* was probably written by Goscelin of St Bertin, and so her analysis drew a comparison between the author of the *Vita et miracula* and the typical practices found in the canon of Goscelin's attested writings.¹²¹⁴

¹²⁰⁹ S 1343, 1344, 1346, 1349, 1350, 1351, 1352, 1353, 1354, 1356, 1357, 1358, 1359, 1360, 1361, 1362, 1363, 1365, 1366, 1367, 1369, and 1381. Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints Lives*, xciv.

¹²¹⁰ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 44.

¹²¹¹ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 43.

¹²¹² Hayward, 'The Kenelm Legend in Context: a Study in the Hagiography of Eleventh Century England,' 12-14.

¹²¹³ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cvii-cviii.

¹²¹⁴ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cviii, nn. 91-92.

Whilst the *memoranda* could have been an earlier *vita*, there is no positive evidence in proof of this. However, sources for Wulfwine's career do suggest that the *memoranda* was a text written at Worcester in or before 1017. Furthermore, the verbal overlap between the *Vita et miracula* and *Vita brevior* strongly suggest that they had a Latin prose account in common. Elements of this common source can be seen in every chapter of the *Vita brevior* and the account of Kenelm's premonitory dream in each is largely word for word.¹²¹⁵ It seems likely, therefore, that the main components of the legend of Kenelm were already developed in the *vitae*'s common source. There are a few other hints in the *vitae* that nod towards an earlier written source. As we saw above, there is a faint verbal reminiscence between the *Vita brevior* and the entry for Kenelm in the *Metrical Calendar of Ramsey*. The calendar was written at Ramsey, perhaps by Byrhtferth, between 992 and 995×1005.¹²¹⁶ Did the *Metrical Calendar* innovate its description of Kenelm united with the crimson of sainthood (*Purpureis sanctis iunctus Koenelmus*)? Or does the parity between this description in the calendar and the *Vita brevior* point to a late tenth- or very early eleventh-century Latin text on Kenelm such as a sermon?

Another hint at an earlier written source, this time from the *Vita et miracula*, is that when the author signifies that he is moving from the *vita* to the *miracula Kenelmi*, he states:

‘Having recounted afresh these things of old sent from heaven, let us describe a few of the many miracles of modern times and of our own time.’¹²¹⁷

Here the author describes his writing of the *vita* using the verb *reconsigno*, which translates as ‘I attest again / I put on record again’. The word choice here may suggest that the legend of Kenelm up until this point has already has a written down in some form. Could the author here be referring to the *memoranda*? The miracles that follow on from the author's comment date from the reign of Cnut onwards.¹²¹⁸ The appearance of Abbot Godwine in the same opening miracle implies that the

¹²¹⁵ Love's edition of the *Vita brevior* very helpfully prints the verbal overlaps with the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* in italics. *Vita brevior Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. Love, Appendix D, 126-129.

¹²¹⁶ Lapidge, ‘A Tenth-Century Metrical Calendar from Ramsey,’ 369.

¹²¹⁷ *Quibus ab antiquitate celo reconsignatis, exequamur pauca ex multis moderni et nostri temporis*. *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ch. 17, ed. and trans. Love, 72-73.

¹²¹⁸ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ch. 18, ed. and trans. Love, 72-74.

event probably happened late in Cnut's reign, as Godwine is only visible in the charter records from 1042. Several miracles then follow that all appear to be dated to the abbacy of Godwine.¹²¹⁹ Thus from the abbacy of Godwine, the first clearly independent abbot of Winchcombe in the written record since the expulsion of Germanus, efforts appear to have been made to record the miracles that occurred at the saint's tomb. As Wulfwine appears to have died in or soon after 1017, it seems almost impossible that his *memoranda* was an account of Kenelm's posthumous miracles at Winchcombe. Rather, the *memoranda* must have contributed to the *vita Kenelmi* itself. It would appear likely, therefore, that Wulfwine's *memoranda* recorded the events that we find in both the *Vita et miracula* and in *Vita brevior*: that is, the elements of the legend of Kenelm that celebrate the saint's connection to both sites, rather than focusing on a posthumous cult based at either centre. As Wulfwine's career must have spanned the period when Worcester possessed Clent and possibly managed Winchcombe too, it makes sense that his *memoranda* would focus on Kenelm's role as a martyr of the Mercian people rather than an advocate for the rights of Winchcombe Abbey.

The Men of Gloucester and of Worcester

Another section of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* that hints at the involvement of Worcester in developing the cult of Kenelm is found in chapters 14-15 as edited by Love. These chapters describe how, as Kenelm's body is being carried to Winchcombe *a populo prouincie Glauecestre* ('by the people of the province of Gloucester'), they are met by *populus Wigornensis prouincie* ('the people of the province of Worcester'), who wished to claim Kenelm and take him to the city of Worcester.¹²²⁰ It was finally settled that both groups would rest there, and whoever woke first in the morning would be allowed to claim the body of Kenelm. The men of Gloucester were up long before the men of Worcester and bore the saint towards Winchcombe. Enraged, the men of Worcester gave chase, but thanks to Kenelm, who caused a spring to burst forth to refresh the exhausted men of Gloucester, the saint was safely borne to Winchcombe.¹²²¹

¹²¹⁹ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, chs. 18-26, ed. and trans. Love, 72-84.

¹²²⁰ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ch. 14 ed. and trans. Love, 68.

¹²²¹ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, chs. 14-15 ed. and trans. Love, 70.

A couple of observations can be made about this account of Kenelm's journey from Clent to Winchcombe. The author of the *Vita et miracula* acknowledges an early interest in the cult of Kenelm at Worcester. Here he also offers the only suggestion we have of any dispute over Kenelm between Worcester and Winchcombe. However, a second observation suggests that this possessiveness over the body is a slightly later development in the Winchcombe cult of Kenelm. This is the author's description of the group taking Kenelm to Winchcombe as 'the men of Gloucester' (*Glauescestrenses*), rather than describing them as the men of Winchcombe.¹²²² The choice of terminology here, drawing a division between the people of the provinces of Worcester and Gloucester, implies that this section was written once Winchcombe had become part of the county of Gloucester.

Julian Whybra's extensive study of the shire system argued that we have no evidence for any Mercian shire until after A.D. 1000 and our first mention of Gloucestershire is not until 1016.¹²²³ He agreed with Taylor that the Mercian shires seem likely to have been mapped out around 1008, in order to meet the country's current need to build ships in defence of the current Danish threat.¹²²⁴ Initially, however, there appears to have been a county of Winchcombeshire, which Hemming accused Ealdorman Eadric Streona of amalgamating with Gloucestershire.¹²²⁵ Eadric died in 1017, and Winchcombeshire must have been suppressed by this date.¹²²⁶ If this account had dated from the ninth or tenth centuries, we might have expected the party to be described as the men of Winchcombe, given that town's apparent status as a royal mausoleum.¹²²⁷ The choice to align the site at Winchcombe with the men of the province of Gloucester, therefore, suggests that the account postdates the suppression of Winchcombeshire at some point in or before 1017. It seems reasonable to assume, therefore, that while this section highlights Worcester's interest in the cult of Kenelm, it has a *terminus post quem* of c.1017 and was

¹²²² *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ch. 15 ed. and trans. Love, 70.

¹²²³ Whybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, 1.

¹²²⁴ Whybra, *A Lost English County: Winchcombeshire in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, 5.

¹²²⁵ *Hemingi chartularium ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. Hearne, 1:280.

¹²²⁶ Whitelock *et al.*, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Revised Translation*, s.a. 1017.

¹²²⁷ Bassett, 'A Probable Mercian Royal Mausoleum at Winchcombe, Gloucestershire,' 82-100.

probably an innovation of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* that adapted the cult of Kenelm to an exclusively Winchcombe context. Here we can start to identify the differences between the trans-institutional cult that appears to have existed in the first two decades of the eleventh century and the more locational, traditional cult of Kenelm that took hold at Winchcombe a little later in the eleventh century.

A Tale of Two Popes

Finally, a variation in the manuscript tradition over the Kenelm discovery and translation miracle might also point to the bishop's involvement in Kenelm's cult. This is because two recensions of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* exists, which includes some small, but potentially significant, variations. As briefly discussed in section 2 above, copies of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* are transmitted in several manuscripts. Three significant variants in the texts divide these copies into two main recensions. The first version is now represented by three late manuscripts, but seems to have been in circulation very soon after the initial composition of the *Vita et miracula*.¹²²⁸ This is because it lacks the final miracle (chapter 31) which was written a few years after the others, probably by the same author.¹²²⁹ As well as missing chapter 31, this early recension of the *Vita et miracula* names the pope (to whom the dove sent the Old English letter about Kenelm's martyrdom) *iunior Siluester papa*, rather than *Leo papa iunior* as witnesses in the later recension do. It also describes the letter delivered by the dove as *cedulam* rather than *scedulam*. Finally, the witnesses of the early recension do not name the archbishop of Canterbury, whereas copies of the main recension name him as Wulfred.¹²³⁰

Whilst all of these variations are notable, it is the name of the pope that receives the heavenly letter that will concern us most here. In her edition of the *Vita et miracula*, Love suggests that the change from Pope Silvester to Pope Leo in the later recension of the *vita* was 'an early emendation, itself inaccurate, to cover up a particularly glaring anachronism'.¹²³¹ This is because although the dates for Pope

¹²²⁸ The three manuscripts are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 285, ff. 80-83^v; Gotha, Forschungsbibliothek I.81, ff. 47^v-50^v; London, British Library, Lansdowne 436, ff. 88^r-91^r.

¹²²⁹ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxxii.

¹²³⁰ Love, introduction to *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, cxxxi-cxxxii.

¹²³¹ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 64-65, n. 4.

Leo III (795-816) are problematic, as the *Vita* states that Coenwulf died in 819, they are much closer to the supposed death of Kenelm than the dates for Silvester II, who was pope 999-1003. Love argues that initially naming Pope Silvester was ‘probably a stab in the dark’, intended to lend the account credibility.¹²³² This is not a very generous reading of the author, as it assumes that even after he ‘corrected’ his mistake, he still failed to accurately name the pope who would have been alive in the years after Coenwulf (and Kenelm’s) death.

However, other evidence in the *Vita et miracula* suggests that the author did in fact make an attempt to research and accurately date the *vita*. Ironically, this comes from another mistake that the author made. In chapter one, the author claimed that Kenelm’s father Coenwulf died in 819 after reigning for twenty-four years.¹²³³ This date is two years too early, as Coenwulf actually died in 821.¹²³⁴ However, every extant copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also records Coenwulf’s death as 819, due to a common error between the years 754 and 845.¹²³⁵ Consequently, this mistake probably came about precisely because the author researched Coenwulf using a copy of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Furthermore, the author’s ‘correction’ to *Leo papa iunior* was probably not random, as a copy of a privilege by Pope Leo III was embedded into Winchcombe’s twelfth-century chronicle.¹²³⁶ The exact date that Winchcombe acquired this charter from Pope Leo is unclear, but its existence in the twelfth century could suggest that the author of the *Vita et miracula* was working from Winchcombe tradition when he substituted Pope Silvester for Pope Leo. The decision to name Leo was perhaps therefore in order to purposefully connect Kenelm’s translation with an important figure involved in the early grants to Winchcombe Abbey. This suggests that the shift to Leo the Younger is not just a poor attempt at correction, but rather a change in the purpose of the text through the deliberate choice of a pope who strengthened the connection between Kenelm and the foundation of Winchcombe. The author’s addition of Archbishop Wulfred of Canterbury (805-832) is historically appropriate and suggests that here too he acquired information from a historical source.

¹²³² *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 64-65, n. 4.

¹²³³ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, c. 1 ed. and trans. Love, 52.

¹²³⁴ Lawson, ‘Cenwulf (d. 821)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, accessed 19 Nov 2017, <http://www.oxforddnb.com.libproxy.york.ac.uk/view/article/37273>.

¹²³⁵ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, c. 1 ed. and trans. Love, 52, n. 6.

¹²³⁶ Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles*, 117.

Together, these snippets of information suggest that the author took care to tie his account of Kenelm's martyrdom and translation to the historical evidence available to him.

Consequently, we should question the assumption that the author's initial inclusion of *iunior Silvester papa* as the pope that ordered Kenelm's translation was 'a stab in the dark'. The rationale behind the author's inclusion of other historical dates and names suggests that the name of Silvester may also have come from a legend, source, or document pertaining to Winchcombe or Kenelm. This being the case, it is interesting that Silvester's short pontificate (998-1002) fell at exactly the date when – as we have seen – numerous other translations were occurring at Worcester and Ramsey. Perhaps here we can glimpse the vestiges of a source concerning a translation or elevation of Kenelm during the years that Silvester was pope and when Ealdwulf (or possibly Wulfstan) was bishop at Worcester. The evidence is very faint indeed, but given Thacker's research into the other translations occurring at that time, is just possible. It is interesting therefore to note that in the earlier recension the unnamed archbishop of Canterbury would be Ælfric (995-1005), who named Archbishop Wulfstan an executor of his will.¹²³⁷ Perhaps, then, Worcester did more than manage the sites associated with Kenelm and allow the monk Wulfwine to gather material pertaining to his legend. Perhaps they also encouraged a translation of the saint at the time when we see a shift from liturgical to corporeal interest in saints, both at Worcester and among the sources for St Kenelm.

Conclusions

In this final chapter, I have drawn on some of the theories and methodologies posited in chapters one and two in order to trace the development of the cult of Kenelm following his murder in the early ninth century. I considered a wide range of sources, many of which do not appear to have had either a Winchcombe origin or provenance. By examining the liturgical and literary sources for the cult of Kenelm without paying regard to his supposed resting-place, this chapter advances a new picture of how the cult was promoted and disseminated until the end of the eleventh century. As we saw in section two, extant sources for Kenelm the saint are only in evidence from the third quarter of the tenth century onwards. Before then,

¹²³⁷ Whitelock, *English Historical Documents*, c. 500-1042, no. 126.

occasional references to a 'Cynehelm' are limited to charters and make no mention of his status as either a Mercian prince or a martyr. From the third quarter of the tenth century, however, a feast of St Kenelm begins to be widely commemorated on 17 July, particularly among houses based in the former territories of Mercia and Wessex. The nature of the tenth-century evidence, however, is exclusively liturgical, suggesting that although Kenelm had become part of the liturgical year for many English Benedictine houses, his supposed resting-place at Winchcombe was not yet host to an active cult site. It is only from the second quarter of the eleventh century onwards that an association between the cult of Kenelm and Winchcombe Abbey becomes apparent.

It is highly likely, of course, that this pattern of devotion has been impacted by the loss of many more sources than have survived. However, it is notable that our extant evidence does not offer many clues that could point to a cult that pre-dated the tenth-century Benedictine reform. Indeed, the earliest datable specifics offered by the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* pertain to the encouragement of and consent to the cult of Kenelm by the reformers Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald themselves.¹²³⁸ Overall, therefore, the sources point to the likelihood that the tenth-century Benedictine reform was an important impetus for the development of this cult. Now that the tenth-century development of the cult of Kenelm has been more clearly laid out, it may be valuable for a future study to examine the degree to which its encouragement by the reforming bishops could have been influenced by the burgeoning cult of Edward the Martyr at Shaftesbury Abbey.¹²³⁹

It is notable that some eleventh-century evidence also indicates to a continued involvement in the cult of Kenelm by the bishops of Worcester. Unlike the tenth-century evidence, however, the eleventh-century sources point to more activity based at the local sites - those of Kenelm's martyrdom and resting-place. As we have seen in section four, this shift in emphasis towards developing the cult sites is consistent with the known activities of Ealdwulf, archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester 992-1002. As Ealdwulf had formerly been a student of Æthelwold, it is unsurprising that his sponsorship of saints' translations at sites such as Ramsey, Worcester and perhaps Evesham and Winchcombe mirrors the promotion of the cult of St Swithun at Winchester in the 970s. It seems plausible, therefore, that

¹²³⁸ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, prol., ed. and trans. Love, 50.

¹²³⁹ Keynes, 'The Cult of King Edward the Martyr during the Reign of King Æthelred the Unready,' 115-126.

while the Worcester bishops continued to play an active role in the promotion of local cults during the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, following the death of Oswald this encouragement moved beyond inclusion of new saints into the liturgy and started to follow a model set by Æthelwold of Winchester.

Thus, by making use of a broader range of evidence, this chapter posits an alternative context for the development of Kenelm's cult that looks beyond the boundaries of Winchcombe Abbey to the bishops and communities with whom they shared a recent history. In so doing, it begins to shed light on the complicated history of a shared *legenda kenelmi* that developed between Winchcombe, Worcester, Ramsey and perhaps even Evesham in the decades before the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* and *Vita brevior* were written down in their extant forms. It appears, therefore, that studying cults from the perspective of localised monastic textual communities can offer new ways of understanding both saints' cults and the literature that they produce. In the process, the study has also shed light on the history of the Winchcombe monks in the murky decades between expulsion of the community c.975 and the abbacy of Godwine (*fl.* c. 1042 – 1053). Moreover, by studying the cult of Kenelm within a regional, rather than either a local or national framework, we are able to perceive that this cult fits within a pattern of episcopal encouragement that appears to have been a policy of both Oswald and his immediate successors.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore how far the textual exchanges between the Benedictine communities at Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester were shaped by their perception of sharing a common recent history. By focusing on three locally significant cults, the thesis has considered aspects of the communities' relationships with each other and their engagement with saints based at other cult sites. Studies of sources pertaining to saints' cults – especially *vitae* – sometimes analyse the texts simply in terms of their role in promoting the interests of a single institution, at the expense of its neighbours and rivals.¹²⁴⁰ By examining sources for the cults of Bede, Ecgwine and Kenelm across four monastic communities, therefore, I hope to have demonstrated that this type of evidence can also facilitate the study of institutional relationships from a fresh perspective. During the course of this research, I have also shed light on the eleventh-century cults themselves. I will now summarise the key questions and arguments that each chapter addressed, before considering some broader implications of my research and avenues for future study.

In chapter one, I focused on evidence for the celebration of the cult of Bede at Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester. I used the anomalous 'refoundation' of ancient northern monasteries by the three monks Aldwin, Ælfric and Reinfrid as a premise to explore whether the cult of Bede was celebrated to an unusual extent by these communities. This question was important, for if the monasteries demonstrated a particular interest in the cult of Bede that was not evident elsewhere, then we need to ask what factors may have prompted their distinctive liturgical commemoration of the saint. Could a locally idiosyncratic engagement with a non-local cult imply a special connection between the houses? As Bede's body lay far to the north, the celebration of his feast among the Evesham, Winchcombe and Worcester communities would suggest more than an interest in the cult stemming from geographic proximity, but rather the participation in shared devotional interests. Thus the chapter asked a methodological question that is fundamentally important for this thesis: can we use evidence from saints' cults in order to explore monastic relationships?

¹²⁴⁰ E.g. Sayers, *The Making of the Medieval History of Evesham Abbey*, 6-7, 16-18; Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 398.

As we have seen, the liturgical evidence which formed the basis for chapter one seemed to demonstrate that the Worcester diocese was one of only two areas where Bede's feast was celebrated during the eleventh century. The other, Winchester, seems to have been the initial source for the Worcestershire cult, but does not appear to have developed a sustained interest in the cult beyond the liturgical commemoration of Bede's feast. In contrast, the Worcestershire cult of Bede was expressed in a church dedication as well as in the creation or acquisition of unique texts, such as the prayer to Bede in Wulfstan's *Portiforium* and the *Metrical Calendar of Winchcombe*. Thus the distinctive, indeed unparalleled, evidence for the cult of Bede in Worcestershire demonstrates that studies on saints' cults have the potential to shed light on monastic relationships. However, since Evesham and Winchcombe both lie in the Worcester diocese and as much of the evidence centres around Worcester, it is difficult in this case to distinguish between the impact of locality and the impact of any shared devotional interests that could have encouraged interest in Bede. Two potential models of dissemination appear equally plausible. The first is that Worcester Cathedral received liturgical texts celebrating the cult of Bede from Winchester first and the cult was carried thence to certain communities in the Worcester diocese. The second possible avenue is hazier: that interest in Bede permeated through the diocese in a more organic manner, perhaps through the influence of former students of Bishop Æthelwold like Abbot Foldbriht of Pershore or Ealdwulf of Worcester. However, whilst the initial introduction of Bede's cult at Worcestershire may not point to a distinctive interest shared between the three houses, the reception and fostering of the cult by the communities does.

Chapter two focused on a very different cult: that of St Ecgwine of Evesham. In this chapter, I focused on the relationship between the communities at Evesham and Worcester. I chose to study the communities' relationship by analysing sources for the cult of Ecgwine because, as a former bishop of Worcester and abbot of Evesham, he embodied the complex and sometimes contradictory nature of the houses' shared history. This chapter focused primarily on the earliest *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* by Byrhtferth of Ramsey because earlier studies on Evesham and Worcester have tended to concentrate on the later eleventh-century land disputes. By juxtaposing my analysis of Byrhtferth's *Vita* against these studies, I explored the dynamics of Evesham and Worcester's relationship was over the course of the eleventh century. The chapter also raised a broader and more difficult subject, touching upon the question of what we mean by a 'monastic relationship'. What interactions, evidence and individuals represent a monastery in its dealings with

other institutions? Such considerations may raise further questions about how modern scholars determine or engage with notions of monastic identities.

In this chapter, I argued that the relations between Evesham and Worcester were dynamic and complex, adapting to the demands of the broader political and social context. Correspondingly, later accounts of the houses' interactions – like Thomas of Marlborough's *Historia abbatiae de Evesham* – were sometimes adapted in accordance with contemporary concerns. This has made it all too easy for historians to anachronistically apply twelfth- and thirteenth-century apprehensions and ideals to an eleventh-century context in which they made little sense. By going back to Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, therefore, this chapter has offered a more authentic and nuanced understanding of Evesham and Worcester's early eleventh-century relationship. At the time that Byrhtferth was writing, concerns about the sinful state of society and the threat of encroachment by powerful laymen were far more prevalent than any sense that the bishop of Worcester was an unwelcome or threatening presence. Thus in the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini*, we see an engagement and exploration of broad social issues on a very local level. Whilst it is unclear which powerful and well-connected individual – Ealdwulf, Wulfstan I, or Ælfweard – was the impetus for Byrhtferth's work, it seems evident that the community at Evesham was linked not only to the bishoprics of London, Worcester and York, but even to the high politics of Æthelred II's court. Thus my study of early eleventh-century Evesham Abbey serves as a reminder that studies which pursue an 'alternative perspective' – such as those focused on small groups of people or local concerns – can deepen our appreciation of moments of key historical importance and of the people who lived through them.¹²⁴¹

In the final chapter of this thesis, I examined the cult of a more widely studied – though equally obscure – saint: the royal martyr Kenelm. This chapter considered a wide range of evidence in order to assess when the cult of Kenelm was promoted, as well as considering which individuals or institutions may have encouraged its development. Typically, scholarship that examines the origins and development of the cult of Kenelm has focused either on studying the cult from a very local perspective, or on fitting Kenelm into a grand narrative about the popular or political origins that stimulated the cults of royal Anglo-Saxon saints. One of the questions that this chapter asked, therefore, is whether Winchcombe's close relationships with the monasteries at Evesham, Ramsey and Worcester can allow us

¹²⁴¹ Keynes, 'Re-Reading King Æthelred the Unready,' 85-86.

to bridge the gap between local and nationwide analyses of the cult. Thus in this chapter I turned chapter one's primary research question on its head: I asked whether my theories about monastic relationships could offer new ways of studying and understanding saints' cults.

In this chapter, we saw that all of the liturgical evidence for the development of a cult of Kenelm dated from the second half of the tenth century or later. Furthermore, the association between the cult of Kenelm and the supposed site of his resting place, Winchcombe, is not documented by extant sources until the second quarter of the eleventh century. This distribution of evidence suggests that the expulsion of Oswald's monks from Winchcombe following the death of Edgar prevented the cult of Kenelm from being developed at this site for many years. However, the evidence also corroborates the theory that during the tenth century the Oswaldian communities were less engaged with encouraging local cults than their contemporaries under the leadership of Bishop Æthelwold. It was only after the installation of one of Æthelwold's former followers – Archbishop Ealdwulf – at Worcester that the communities at Winchcombe, Worcester, Ramsey and Evesham appear to have more actively promoted the resting-places of their saints. Thus this chapter posits an alternative context for how and when the cult of Kenelm was developed. It argues that the early eleventh-century bishops of Worcester were active in encouraging local monasteries to promote the physical cults of saints that lay in their churches, in conformity with Bishop Æthelwold's activities at churches like Old Minster, Winchester during the 970s.¹²⁴² In so doing, the chapter challenges the opposing scholarly narratives which attempt to explain the development of Kenelm's cult from either a 'local' or 'national' perspective. Furthermore, it also raises questions about the importance of second-generation reformers – like Ealdwulf – in shaping the connections between monasteries and their responses to the English Benedictine reform.

One of the broad implications of this study has been to shed light on the range of relationships that institutions could develop. Collectively, the chapters in this study have explored the dynamics of monastic relationships in a number of ways. By using the premise that a recent shared history could foster some sense of communality between different monasteries, I have been able to test the methodological potential of selecting a familial group or local network that subsisted within the larger category of churches that were affected by the English Benedictine

¹²⁴² Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 8-24.

Reform. There is little evidence that the monks at Oswaldian monasteries were members of the kind of formalised hierarchy that we might identify as a distinct monastic order. However, later historical narratives and confraternity agreements suggest that the communities were sensitive to the role that Oswald had played in their development. In the account of Oswald's death in *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, for example, Byrhtferth conveys a strong sense of the Ramsey and Worcester monks' shared grief upon the death of their common father.¹²⁴³ Several decades later, a confraternity agreement between the communities of Worcester and Ramsey referred back to the era when Oswald had both founded Ramsey and held Worcester 'and had embraced them as one in the Lord.'¹²⁴⁴ At Winchcombe, Oswald and his student Wulfwine took on prominent roles in the encouragement of the cult of Kenelm and the development of his *vita*.¹²⁴⁵ From William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani* it appears that Bishop Wulfstan II was particularly conscious that he was a successor to Oswald, and strove to follow his example.¹²⁴⁶ Together, examples such as these offer support to Knowles' notion that the three groups of reformed houses 'owed some kind of spiritual allegiance' to either Dunstan, Æthelwold or Oswald.¹²⁴⁷

It would be interesting, however, to ask what role the students of Bishop Æthelwold played in developing some sense of 'spiritual allegiance' and encouraging the memory of Oswald as a monastic reformer. Several of the second-generation reformers at the Oswaldian houses appear to have been connected to one or more of the monasteries that Æthelwold had reformed. For example, Æthelwold had charged Ealdwulf (later bishop of Worcester, 992-1002) with the task of rebuilding Peterborough Abbey.¹²⁴⁸ The first Pershore abbot Foldbriht may have been a follower of Æthelwold, as might the 'Freodegarus' who was briefly appointed abbot of Evesham by Ealdorman Ælfhere in the late 970s or early 980s.¹²⁴⁹ The case of

¹²⁴³ Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Oswaldi* v.20, ed. and trans. Lapidge, 198.

¹²⁴⁴ *utrumque in Domino complectitur. English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. Cheney, 4-5 (no. 6). Translation is my own.

¹²⁴⁵ *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, ed. and trans. Love, 50-51.

¹²⁴⁶ For example, William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani* ii.1 and iii.10, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thomson, 62-64 and 122. See also Mason, 'St Oswald and St Wulfstan,' 269-284.

¹²⁴⁷ Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 48-49.

¹²⁴⁸ Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 38-39.

¹²⁴⁹ Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester at Evesham Abbey: Cult and Concealment,' 272.

Wulfstan I (bishop of Worcester 1002-1016) is less certain, but he too appears to have had connections to the fenland abbeys of Ely and Peterborough and to allies of Æthelwold.¹²⁵⁰ Could the memory of Oswald as a father of these monastic communities have been developed, like the cults of Kenelm, Ecgbwine, and the Ramsey princes Æthelred and Æthelberht, in order to tie these places to an idealised English past (albeit a recent one)?¹²⁵¹ It was not within the scope of this thesis to examine what Cubitt succinctly described as Æthelwold's 'Benedictine old boy network'.¹²⁵² However, recent theses by Alison Hudson and Rebecca Browett have focused on the influence of Æthelwold's networks of followers and the development of his posthumous reputation respectively.¹²⁵³ These studies have thus examined the role that Æthelwold's protégées played in promoting saints cults, in order to strengthen monastic communities 'and the ties between them.'¹²⁵⁴ Perhaps my own study can shed further light on theirs, by approaching a similar question from the perspective of foundations initially tied to Oswald. When we consider the actions of Æthelwold's students, it seems highly possible that Oswald's ability to unite his monasteries through filial bonds was more effective after his death than it had ever been when he was alive.

The fact that the monks at Evesham, Ramsey, Winchcombe and Worcester did not develop a formalised familial structure in the manner of the Cluniac houses does not undermine the value of studying them as a group. On the contrary, by emphasising the informal and flexible connections between affiliated houses, this study might offer a useful model for exploring the origins of particular monastic orders. For example, my methodologies might prove helpful to scholars who, building on the work of Martha Newman, wish to find alternative methods of studying the communities connected to Cîteaux in the years before the Cistercians developed a unified identity and formalised hierarchical structures.¹²⁵⁵ Thus my

¹²⁵⁰ Wormald, 'Archbishop Wulfstan: Eleventh-Century State-BUILDER,' 12-13.

¹²⁵¹ Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast,' 38-41.

¹²⁵² Cubitt, 'Review Article: The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England,' 90.

¹²⁵³ Rebecca Browett, 'The Cult of St Æthelwold and its Context, c. 984 – c. 1400,' (PhD thesis, Institute of Historical Research, School of Advanced Study, University of London, 2016); Alison Hudson, 'Æthelwold's circle, saints' cults, and monastic reform, c.956-1006,' (PhD thesis, University of Oxford 2014).

¹²⁵⁴ Browett, 'The Cult of St Æthelwold and its Context, c. 984 – c. 1400,' 275.

¹²⁵⁵ Newman, 'Text and Authority in the Formation of the Cistercian Order,' 173-198.

approach can enrich our understanding of individual houses (as in the case of Winchcombe) and perhaps also offer some helpful insights into exploring the beginnings of other familial networks. The messiness and inconsistencies of the Oswaldian monks' interactions demonstrates the need for scholars to create a space for examining monastic relationships that sits between studies of monastic orders and those focused on a single institution.

The monasteries were, of course, each drawn to more than one sphere of influence and the causes and dynamics of each monastic network was unique. So, for example, Ramsey Abbey was also very closely connected to the literary exchanges and cults of the fenland monasteries, as manuscripts such as Oxford, St. John's College 17 demonstrate.¹²⁵⁶ Geographical proximity, historical ties and the backgrounds of individual community members created layers of affinity which operated on both an individual and institutional basis. By opening a dialogue that considers monastic relationships in terms of bonds of affiliation, my thesis offers many of the same advantages as regional studies. Studying a small selection of houses has given me the scope to examine an interdisciplinary range of sources in detail. Furthermore, as Sims-Williams argues in defence of his own regional study, juxtaposing texts and manuscripts traditionally attributed to different monasteries allows us to 'perceive significant connections between varied types of evidence.'¹²⁵⁷ My approach also has the advantage that, by examining houses that were bound by more than geographic proximity, it moves beyond purely local studies and can engage with both the regional and wider contexts in which the communities existed. In hagiographical texts, the saints themselves are tied together into networks of kinship and friendship. These are sometimes local: Ecgwine appears in the *Vita Sancti Aldhelmi* written by the Malmesbury monk Faricius and the anonymous *Vita Bedae* situates Bede's upbringing among the early Northumbrian saints like Benedict Biscop. At other times, these networks were far more disparate, as with the saints in *The Royal Kentish Legend*. It follows that the monasteries that housed these cults also operated within local and much broader networks.

The degree to which this sense of the past shaped the literary culture and relationships of each house was seemingly very variable. For example, we can find far more evidence for Bishop Wulfstan II's engagement with the legacy of his

¹²⁵⁶ Baker, 'Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* and the Computus in Oxford, St John's College 17,' 123-142.

¹²⁵⁷ Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, 369.

eminent predecessor than we do for any other eleventh-century Worcester bishop (except perhaps Ealdwulf, Oswald's immediate successor). This may be in part due to the distribution of extant evidence: Wulfstan's episcopacy lasted for thirty-three years, more than twice as long as most of his predecessors since the episcopacy of Oswald himself.¹²⁵⁸ It makes sense, therefore, that more evidence survives for his episcopate than for those of his mid-eleventh-century predecessors like Brihtheah and Lyfing. However, the context of political change in which Wulfstan II found himself, reminiscent of the career of his predecessor Wulfstan I, evidently increased this bishop and his community's sensitivity to the legacy of the past. Crafting an institutional history in response to the challenges of the post-Conquest period involved redefining the community's corporate identity, as Francesca Tinti has demonstrated.¹²⁵⁹ It also required that the community reimaged their relationship with neighbouring institutions, whose claims might pose a threat. The fluidity and inconsistencies of Evesham and Worcester's eleventh-century relationships were problematic for commentators like Hemming or Thomas of Marlborough, who needed to present their communities' claims in a specific manner, to address specific concerns. Thus when we assess these kinds of sources, it is imperative to remember that the writers needed to simplify a complicated dynamic for rhetorical purposes. In fact, relationships were mutable and organic, adapting to the impact of both political change and the influence of individual members of either community.

A second major topic that this thesis has explored is how we approach questions of cultural ownership. By this, I mean the methodologies that scholars have developed in order to attribute specific manuscripts or texts to particular institutions or even individuals. So, for example, Lapidge's research on Byrhtferth's of Ramsey's Latin prose style allowed him to attribute the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* to that author.¹²⁶⁰ At the other end of the spectrum, Ker's analysis of the nail marks left on the back cover of a manuscript binding by former chain-staples allowed him to

¹²⁵⁸ Bishops holding the see of Worcester: Oswald, 961-992 (31 years); Ealdwulf, 992-1002 (10 years); Wulfstan I, 1002-1016 (14 years); Leofsige, 1016-1033 (17 years); Brihtheah, 1033-1038 (5 years); Lyfing, c.1038-1040 and 1041-1046 (about 7 years total); Ealdred, 1046-1061 (15 years); Wulfstan II, 1062-1095 (33 years). For an overview of the careers and extant sources for each, see Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*, 20-65.

¹²⁵⁹ Tinti, 'From Episcopal Conception to Monastic Compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in Context,' 233-261.

¹²⁶⁰ Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and the *Vita S. Ecgwini*,' 293-315.

identify Oxford, Jesus College 51 as probably of Evesham provenance.¹²⁶¹

Methodologies like these seek to tie literary or scribal activity to a discrete place or person in order to understand the context in which a manuscript or text was written. Studies that can assign cultural ownership, by identifying a library or author, are profoundly important. My own analysis of the *Vita Sancti Ecgwini* is reliant upon Lapidge's identification of its author as Byrhtferth of Ramsey. Similarly, my discussion of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary would be entirely undermined without the scholarly consensus that its manuscripts' origin and early provenance was Worcester. Such attributions give scholars the ability to analyse texts in their context and to draw from that theories of their significance. However, assigning ownership to a text or manuscript is also limiting. By identifying that a manuscript has a Worcester origin and provenance, we preclude the possibility that it is an Evesham manuscript. By naming Goscelin as the possible author of the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*, Love relegates Wulfwine from an author to a source. In so doing, we are in danger of assigning modern notions of authorship and intellectual property to the period and risk losing the nuances of cultural exchange in the process.

By examining the texts and manuscripts pertaining to specific saints' cults across four different monastic communities, this thesis has tentatively begun to explore how texts and manuscripts could be the physical memorials of a much broader conversation. This approach has proven helpful in my analysis of certain texts. For example, by moving beyond the question of whether the kalendar in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 should be treated as an 'Evesham' or 'Worcester' text, we can perceive that it is both – and, more importantly, that it is a memorial to the high level of textual exchanges and cultural intercourse between the houses in the time of Wulfstan II. Similarly, beyond the immediate circumstances that led the Winchcombe monks to write or commission a *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi* around the third quarter of the eleventh century, there were other factors that influenced the text's composition. It may be a Winchcombe text, possibly written by Goscelin of St Bertin, but it is also a witness to a shared legend of Kenelm that the monks of Worcester as well as Winchcombe (and perhaps even members of Evesham and Ramsey) contributed to. That background is more than merely a 'source' for the *Vita et miracula Sancti Kenelmi*: it was an ongoing exchange concerning the saint, to which this text belonged. It seems that *vitae* in particular were highly communal texts: not only did their authors use and reuse earlier written

¹²⁶¹ N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise,' in N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, ed. A. G. Watson (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), 489.

narratives, but they also engaged with *schedula*, oral accounts and physical evidence to continuously update a living catalogue of saintly deeds and miracles. My discussion of certain manuscripts has also benefitted from examining them within wider cultural contexts. For example, the manuscripts of the Cotton-Corpus legendary are Worcester's own interpretation of an earlier, northern French collection.¹²⁶² But the contents of this collection constantly shifted as the Worcester scribes added layers of accretions deriving from Evesham, Winchester and further afield. The contents and order of the extant collection is dependent on the input of multiple houses. Whilst the accretions can shed a great deal of light on the activities and interests of the Worcester scribes during a period when Wulfstan seems to have engaged in a major copying campaign, they reveal important information about other monastic libraries too.

It seems possible, therefore, that examining texts and manuscripts within broader cultural networks might offer another, complementary, way of studying their origins and contexts. Being willing to associate a text or manuscript with multiple affiliated communities beyond the putative author or owner could prove valuable. For example, considering texts and manuscripts from this perspective in my own work has allowed me to learn far more about the communities at Evesham and Winchcombe than the small number of extant eleventh-century manuscripts from either house would allow.¹²⁶³ Consequently, the approach used in my thesis might mitigate some of the challenges posed by the inconsistency of manuscript survival among medieval libraries. As discussed in my introduction, scholars like Ker and Swan are very aware that studies of cathedral libraries like Worcester are affected by the fact that they have suffered far less depredations than the libraries of monasteries.¹²⁶⁴ The high number of codices associated with Worcester Cathedral library gives this institution some degree of gravitational pull or (as Swan described it) 'centripetal force', which encourages us to assign manuscripts to Worcester more readily than to its monastic neighbours.¹²⁶⁵ By implication, we are in danger of

¹²⁶² London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. I and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 9.

¹²⁶³ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., 80-81 and 198-199.

¹²⁶⁴ Ker, *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, 2nd ed., xi; Swan, 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,' 30.

¹²⁶⁵ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215,' 30.

perceiving the cathedral as culturally 'superior' to these neighbours, based on evidence that is skewed in Worcester's favour.

By recognising that many of the texts transmitted in these manuscripts show links to Evesham, Ramsey and Winchcombe, however, this thesis demonstrates that Worcester Cathedral library did not just create and disseminate manuscripts and texts: it absorbed and received them too. Furthermore, in so doing, the cathedral library has fossilised some evidence of the monastic libraries with which such exchanges were made. In some respects, then, cathedral libraries like Worcester have the potential to act as repositories not just for their own cultural activity, but also for houses in their diocese or to which they were closely connected. By studying cathedral libraries within the context of institutional relationships, then, we situate them within a much richer intellectual milieu, which the community engages with and contributes to without dominating completely. The textual culture at Worcester, and not just Evesham and Winchcombe, seems more vibrant. By allowing Evesham and Winchcombe to step beyond Worcester's shadow, we can shed more light on the literary and religious culture shared by them all.

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