

**The Book Collection at St Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, Before 1200:
Acquisition, Adaptation and Use**

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The candidate confirms that the work is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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ABSTRACT

This investigation into the history, content and nature of the book collection at the Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac, Hereford, constructs a detailed history of the priory and its two predecessors, St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's Church, until 1200, by way of a context for the collection's three earliest surviving manuscripts. The wider literary and cultural climate of the West Midlands in the period up until 1200 is also taken into account in this construction of context, as are any references to the book collection in primary or secondary sources. With a contextual framework thus established in the first section of the thesis, the second section goes on to describe the three study manuscripts (Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2, and Oxford, Jesus College 37) in turn, with the contents and structure of each situated within the literary and cultural milieu outlined in the previous chapters.

In providing both a fuller description of the study manuscripts and a more comprehensive history of the Hereford churches implicated in their use than have hitherto been available, the thesis sheds new light on the nature of the relationships that existed between the churches and between their book collections, clarifying their position within contemporary networks of book production and dissemination. The thesis suggests an earlier provenance and a common point of origin for the two earliest manuscripts from St Guthlac's Priory: it argues that Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37 were produced at Gloucester Abbey, with the former sent to St Guthlac's Minster and the latter to St Peter's Church. It also suggests that the transmission of manuscripts from Gloucester to Hereford at the beginning of the twelfth century reflected

Gloucester Abbey's concern to extend its influence into the city of Hereford, to the detriment of Hereford Cathedral and in partnership with the local nobility.

The thesis also identifies changes in the character of Gloucester Abbey's daughter cell in Hereford, which became more independent after refoundation as the priory in 1143. This was reflected in patterns of book acquisition, as the priory developed into a noteworthy repository of books in its own right. The character of its growing collection owed as much to the influence of Hereford Cathedral as to that of its mother house, and numerous bequests by individual donors added considerable variety to its holdings.

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS	9
INTRODUCTION	10
PART 1: THE HISTORY OF ST GUTHLAC'S, HEREFORD	
Chapter 1: St Guthlac's Minster	23
Chapter 2: St Peter's Church, Hereford	45
Chapter 3: The Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac until 1200	59
Chapter 4: The Contemporary Literary Scene	71
Chapter 5: Documentary and Material Evidence for a Book Collection and Scribal Activities at St Guthlac's Priory	113
PART 2: THE MANUSCRIPTS	
Chapter 6: Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VI. 11	
Observations on the Structure of the Manuscript	136
Contextualising Structure and Contents	151
Chapter 7: Oxford, Jesus College 37	
Observations on the Structure of the Manuscript	169
Contextualising Structure and Contents	180
Chapter 8: Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. III. 2	
Observations on the Structure of the Manuscript	200
Contextualising Structure and Contents	213
CONCLUSION	222

APPENDICES	229
Appendix 1: St Guthlac's Minster: Domesday entries	230
Appendix 2: Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 78r: charter confirming an exchange of land between the monks of St Peter's, Hereford, and the clerks of St Guthlac's (1130 x 1139)	235
Appendix 3: Charter of Roger de Port (1143)	236
Appendix 4: Charter of Bishop Bernard of St David's (1143?)	237
Appendix 5: Charter of Robert de Béthune, giving notice of the unification of St Guthlac's and St Peter's (1143)	238
Appendix 6: Letter of Gilbert Foliot, Bishop of Hereford, to Pope Eugenius III, asking for a papal privilege to confirm the union of St Guthlac's and St Peter's, Hereford (1148 x 1153)	240
Appendix 7: St Peter's, Hereford: Domesday entries	241
Appendix 8: <i>Gloucester Chronicle</i> records of Walter de Lacy's gifts to St Peter's, Hereford (1101)	243
Appendix 9: Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 77v: charter recording a sale of land enacted at St Peter's, Hereford (1125)	244
Appendix 10: Oxford, Balliol College 271, fols 15v–16r: charter recording the resolution of disputes between the cathedral canons and the monks of St Peter's, Hereford, over Ocle Pychard (1132)	245
Appendix 11: Composition between the bishop and chapter of Hereford and the abbot and monks of Gloucester (1134)	246
Appendix 12: Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 49v: charter of Richard de Corneilles (1141 x 24 th December 1143)	247
Appendix 13: Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 11v: a footnote by Sir John Prise	248
Appendix 14: Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VI. 11, fol. 119v: two responsories	249
Appendix 15: Oxford, Jesus College 37, fol. 156r: medical recipes	250
Appendix 16: Oxford, Jesus College 37, fol. 157v: prayer against fevers and chills	251

Appendix 17: Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A. 148, fol. 290v: prayer against fevers	252
Appendix 18: Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. III. 2, fol. 39r: formula for excommunication	253
Appendix 19: Map showing the relative locations of Hereford's medieval churches	254
Appendix 20: Plates I and II	255
BIBLIOGRAPHY	256

ABBREVIATIONS

- BHL *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina Antiquae et Mediae Aetatis*, ed. by the Society of Bollandists, 3 vols (Brussels: the editors, 1898-1901 and 1986).
- CCCC Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
- CTH Cambridge, Trinity Hall
- CPL *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*, ed. by E. Dekkers, 3rd edn (Steenbrugge: Brepols, 1995).
- HD *Herefordshire Domesday, circa 1160-1170*, ed. by V. H. Galbraith and James Tait, Publications of the Pipe Roll Society: New Series, 25 (London: Printed for the Pipe Roll Society by J. W. Ruddock & Sons, 1950).
- EEA VII *English Episcopal Acta VII, Hereford 1079-1234*, ed. by Julia Barrow (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1993).
- FEA VIII *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300, VIII, Hereford*, ed. by Julia Barrow (London: University of London, 2002).
- LCGF *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot*, ed. by Z. N. Brooke, Dom Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke (London: Cambridge University Press, 1967).
- MLGB *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964).
- PL *Patrologia Latina*, ed. by J. -P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris: the editor, 1841-64).
- RRAN *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154*, ed. by C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913-69).

INTRODUCTION

CONTEXT

This thesis aims to examine the history, the content and the nature of the book collection held at the Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac, Hereford, with particular reference to the period before 1200. It is especially concerned with the origins of the book collection, and it therefore attempts to establish the extent to which the priory inherited its manuscripts (as well as any other distinctive institutional characteristics) from its two predecessor churches, St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's Church, both of Hereford.

The thesis has as its basis (and as its *sine qua non*) the work done by Neil Ker, in his *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*,¹ to list thirteen manuscripts (twelve of which were identified by their distinctive pressmarks) that belonged to the priory until its dissolution. Subsequent scholarship has so far failed to supplement Ker's list, which will probably remain unchanged unless the pressmark is noticed in other extant manuscripts, an eventuality which now seems unlikely. As is made clear in the course of my work, Ker's notional library is substantiated by many individual pieces of evidence (some noted by Ker or by other manuscript scholars since, some presented for the first time in this study), and his attribution of the thirteen manuscripts to the priory is accepted here as essentially secure.

All thirteen manuscripts are discussed in more or less detail in this thesis, but added weight is naturally given to those dating from before 1200. Of these, the three earliest have been selected for closer study, with the aim of shedding

¹ *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. by N. R. Ker (London: Royal Historical Society, 1964), pp. 99-100.

new light on the processes that led to the establishment of a library at the priory. Particular attention is given to the issue of the provenance of the three before they came to rest there. The two earliest of the three study manuscripts (Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VI. 11 and Oxford, Jesus College 37)² appear to predate the foundation of the priory by a number of decades, so in this thesis I suggest likely origins and a subsequent pattern of ownership for both by attempting to trace them to pre-existing religious houses. No comparable work on these manuscripts has previously been attempted, although the history of the third manuscript, Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. III. 2,³ has been discussed in more depth, particularly by Rodney Thomson.⁴

None of the three study manuscripts and its constituent texts has ever before been considered in the setting of a book collection at the priory or at one of its predecessors. Scholarship on the three has tended to be restricted to purely descriptive catalogue entries, which are necessarily limited in the space they give to questions of origin or transmission. The most useful catalogue descriptions appear in the Hereford Cathedral Library volume by R. A. B. Mynors and Rodney Thomson,⁵ this thesis corroborates and expands on the catalogue's

² Hereafter 'Hereford O. VI. 11' and 'Jesus 37' respectively.

³ Hereafter 'Hereford P. III. 2'. After the first, full reference to a manuscript shelf mark has been given, an abbreviated form will routinely be adopted for any subsequent reference to the same manuscript in the remainder of the thesis. In this way, 'Hereford', 'Worcester' and 'York' will be used to denote Hereford Cathedral Library, Worcester Cathedral Library and York Minster Library respectively.

⁴ Rodney M. Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', in Rodney M. Thomson, *England and the 12th-Century Renaissance*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 620 (Aldershot; Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 3-26 (pp. 17-18); Rodney M. Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration from the West of England in the Twelfth Century', in *Reading Texts and Images: Essays on Medieval and Renaissance Art and Patronage, in Honour of Margaret M. Manion*, ed. by Bernard J. Muir (Exeter: University of Exeter Press, 2002), pp. 19-34 (p. 24); R. M. Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England: The Ending of 'Alter Orbis'. The Lyell Lectures for 2000-2001* (Walkern: The Red Gull Press, 2006), p. 80. For a discussion of Thomson's work on Hereford P. III. 2, see chapter 8, below.

⁵ R.A.B. Mynors and R. M. Thomson, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Hereford Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: Brewer, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Hereford Cathedral, 1993), pp. 44 and 81.

entries for the two Hereford Cathedral Library manuscripts, and attempts to reproduce its thoroughness, clarity of language and careful categorisations in describing Jesus 37, which has no published catalogue entry of comparable accuracy.

The reconstruction of the early history of the study manuscripts depends largely upon a clear account of the priory and its two predecessor establishments. No sequential history of the three churches has ever yet been published, and this has led to multiple confusions in modern narratives of development and change at each. Although I am broadly in agreement with the accounts given of the priory, St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's Church by such scholars as, respectively, Ron Shoesmith, D. A. Whitehead and S. H. Martin (upon whose work many of my ideas depend),⁶ a number of significant and recurring themes in the history of twelfth-century Hereford and its churches only emerge when the institutional continuity between the priory and its precursors is given due recognition. My thesis draws on existing scholarship and on a number of primary sources (including unpublished charters from the priory's cartulary, as well as a number of early Hereford charters published by Julia Barrow and others)⁷ to construct a unified history of the three, and thus to re-establish an impression of connectedness, a concept that appears not have been unfamiliar to the priory monks during the twelfth century and beyond.

The thesis also makes extensive use of recent scholarship in the field of manuscript production and consumption in the West Midlands region,

⁶ Ron Shoesmith, 'St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Field Naturalists' Club*, 44:3 (1984), 321-57; D. A. Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford: A Landscape of Ritual, Royalty and Recreation* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2007); S. H. Martin, 'St. Guthlac's Priory and the City Churches', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 34 (1954), 219-229.

⁷ See especially *EEA VII*.

particularly in attempting to situate the priory and its manuscripts in the context of the wider literary scene. Hereford Cathedral and Gloucester Abbey, the two most important local influences on the priory, are given special attention in this respect; the situation at Worcester, although not entirely excluded from my thesis, has received the careful attentions of other scholars and so is not dealt with in any great detail here. This is perhaps all the more appropriate given the priory's intimate links with Gloucester Abbey and Hereford Cathedral; affiliations between the priory and Worcester Cathedral are not so apparent. The thesis also proposes a modest adjustment to the position of pre-eminence accorded Worcester as a centre for manuscript production in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries; Gloucester Abbey is likely to have been a producer of comparable stature in the same period, and Hereford Cathedral (although more difficult to assess) must also have participated to a considerable degree, but neither has attracted the intense scrutiny focused on Worcester.

Investigations into the particular conditions at the priory's two forerunners, too, belong to an area of scholarship that has only recently become more visible and that has traditionally been stifled by an apparent dearth of sources. It is the study of those early medieval English religious houses that did not subscribe to the Benedictine rule. Little is known about the regimes, practices, concerns or books of houses of this kind, but the fact that both of the priory's predecessors began their lives as collegiate communities of secular canons means that all of these issues are pertinent to this thesis. The assessment of St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, as likely repositories for the two earliest study manuscripts in the period before the priory was founded is made problematic by the total absence of documentary references to books at

either church. This necessitates a reconstructive approach in any discussion of the complexion of their literary life, with reference to the growing body of scholarship on secular minsters. Some of the factors at stake include the probable regimes and duties of the two houses: which books would have been needed to meet their day-to-day demands or their special interests? The case of Exeter Cathedral, a secular foundation whose books have received extensive scholarly attention as evidence for its community's interests and needs, is taken as an appropriate parallel for St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's Church. John Blair's work on secular minsters in the period 850-1100 is also extensively used for its analysis of contemporary churches that may have resembled the two Hereford foundations in terms of their allegiances, duties and concerns.⁸

Any consideration of church life in twelfth-century Hereford can hardly ignore the weight of scholarship brought to bear, in the last fifty years, on the issue of patronage by the local nobility, an influence which has long been detected in the iconography of twelfth-century sculptural decoration in Herefordshire churches. This thesis discusses the probable impact on all three study institutions of patronage by local secular powers, addressing the question of the degree to which book acquisition was directed or otherwise affected by the concerns and the allegiances of powerful local families. It also seeks, where possible, to describe the ways in which these influences were manifested in the contents of church book collections.

⁸ John Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', in *Domesday Book: A Reassessment*, ed. by Peter Sawyer (London: Arnold, 1985), pp. 104-42; John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005).

STRUCTURE

The thesis is divided into two mutually dependent parts. The first is concerned with building a detailed contextual framework for the book collection before 1200. The second is a close examination of the three study manuscripts. The conclusion of the thesis is a synthesis of these two constituent parts. It aims to reconcile the multiple contexts for the book collection in such a way as to accommodate the three study manuscripts, and thus to complete as full an account as possible of their production, acquisition, use and adaptation until 1200. The usefulness of the examples provided by the three for the assessment of the wider book collection and its milieu is then evaluated.

Part 1 of the thesis explores and assesses a series of potential historical contexts for the priory's book collection. It begins by setting out the histories of the three Hereford churches at the centre of this study, starting with the earliest, St Guthlac's Minster (Chapter 1), and concluding with the Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac (Chapter 3). The priory's place in the wider cultural and literary scene is the focus of Chapter 4, which surveys the state of literary affairs at Gloucester Abbey and at Hereford Cathedral in the period until 1200. The chapter continues with a consideration of the likely conditions at St Peter's Church and St Guthlac's Minster up until 1143, the year in which they were amalgamated to form the priory. It closes with a discussion of the probable impact on both churches of deleterious interference or patronage by local secular powers. Chapter 5 takes into account a selection of documentary and material evidence for the formation and contents of the priory book collection. My survey of this material attempts to include all references to the book collection (and associated scribal activities) in external sources, both medieval and modern, and

investigates a small number of those elements of the collection (normally in the form of short inscriptions within the constituent manuscripts) that can inform our understanding of the wider patterns of manuscript acquisition and use at the priory.

Part 2 of the thesis focuses on the surface properties and the contents of the three study manuscripts, which are examined in turn against the contexts described in the preceding chapters. The analysis of each manuscript commences with codicological observations, first on the manuscript in its entirety, then on an item-by-item basis. As well as identifying those components that are suggestive of the distinctive circumstances under which the study manuscripts originally came into being, this part of the work enquires into those features that display evidence for subsequent processes (such as adaptation and use) brought to bear on the manuscripts in the course of their medieval history. The survey of each manuscript concludes with a consideration of textual content and a contextualisation of each item within its literary historical milieu.

The conclusion of the thesis proposes a separate history for each of the three study manuscripts and gives an account of the development of the priory's book collection, summarising its character and its applications in its twelfth-century context. It goes on to consider the ways in which the case of St Guthlac's Priory is instructive in analysing the wider contemporary literary scene, especially with regard to traditional pre- and post-Conquest distinctions, and to common assumptions relating to the status and literary capacities of dependent priories in the period under consideration.

METHODOLOGY AND TERMINOLOGY

The fragmentary, disparate or insubstantial character of the sources relating to the priory book collection has necessitated the use of a range of academic disciplines in the gathering and interpretation of evidence. The scarcity of direct evidence means that my approach has tended always to be inclusive with regard to both primary and secondary materials. This inclusive attitude facilitates the weighing of each separate item of evidence against its fellows, in order to evaluate relevance and worth as a witness to conditions at the study churches until 1200.

The paucity of relevant and unambiguous documentary references for the general history of the churches up until 1143 (the year in which the priory was founded) has allowed me to reproduce the majority in full within the thesis, either in the main body of the text or in the appendices. There is an abundance, however, of documentary material relating to the priory in the period 1143-1200 (and beyond), so my reproduction of primary sources bearing on this period is more selective, addressing only those texts that seem to me most pertinent in a consideration of factors likely to have affected the priory book collection. Where a source of marginal interest has been consciously omitted, I have indicated the most recent published edition for the purposes of further research. The absence, at the time of writing, of a printed edition of the priory cartulary is a significant hindrance to scholars with an interest in St Guthlac's; the appearance in print here of five of its unpublished texts may help in a small way to clarify matters for anyone undertaking research in future.

Constraints imposed by the length of the thesis have also demanded a degree of selectivity in my treatment of the texts of the study manuscripts, each

of which could potentially constitute its own primary source for the study of the priory book collection. The thesis is, of course, not a complete edition of these texts (which would be a desirable tool in determining more precisely their various contexts), but it does reproduce a selection of entire short texts from each of the manuscripts. My methods do not strictly mirror those of the modern editor of a medieval manuscript text, who would perhaps favour a fully critical edition: my analysis of the texts generally stops short of attempting to establish their lineal descent from earlier exemplars or their relationship with other manuscript copies, except where an item is so unusual as to make the identification of precursors or parallels worthy of note, and then only where the item is short enough to make this a manageable proposition for a study of this length.

This selective approach is most clearly exemplified in my handling of different elements within the same manuscript. For the purposes of comparison with a short, unpublished medical procedure in Jesus 37, I have reproduced a short text (Appendix 17) from a manuscript that is not directly related to the priory or to its book collection, but which shares some hitherto unnoticed textual similarities with the Jesus 37 material. I have not, however, attempted any similar cross-textual comparisons for the same manuscript's *Vita Gregorii Magni* of John the Deacon, a much longer text which seems to have been well-known and widely disseminated. Although better known and represented in more manuscript copies, its prevalence may conversely offer fewer obvious opportunities for establishing the manuscript's place in a chain of textual transmission, at least until it is made the subject of a dedicated textual study (whose level of detail would be beyond the scope of this thesis). Only one item from the collection (the *Martinellus* of Hereford O. VI. 11) already has the

benefit of scholarship of this kind, having previously been studied by Juliet Hewish in the context of its own independent manuscript tradition.⁹

All three study manuscripts are miscellaneous in content and feature multiple separate items. Inequalities in previous scholarship on the three, together with the degree of variety in their significant features (which each present noteworthy characteristics that are not directly comparable with anything in the other two), make it difficult to deal with the manuscripts and their contents in an entirely even-handed way. Perhaps inevitably, more space has occasionally been given to those items that are better known or that have already been the subject of work by historians of literature. Despite these pitfalls, however, I have taken care not to privilege any one item over its fellows (in either the descriptive or the interpretative aspects of my work) and have tried to impose as much uniformity in my approach as possible, while still allowing for enough flexibility to discuss unique points of interest. The space given to each individual manuscript item offers a supplement to the catalogue entries for the three manuscripts, which are inevitably summary and which sometimes omit mention of shorter items.

The textual aspect of each manuscript, which belongs to a more abstract realm than its material properties, presents multiple challenges in identification and contextualisation for a thesis of this kind. The survey of each of the study manuscripts concludes with an attempt to describe a suitable literary historical setting for each of its constituent items. Of all of the contexts described in this work, this is potentially the most variable. At its broadest it is that of the eleventh- and twelfth-century English literary scene, a complex network of

⁹ Juliet Hewish, 'The Story Behind the Sources: Sulpicius Severus and the Medieval Vita Martini', *Peritia*, 20 (2006), 1-31 (pp. 18-19).

formal and informal associations between institutions, their personnel and their patrons, in which texts were created, copied and transmitted; at its narrowest, the items are considered as the interrelated components of a single manuscript or a single book collection. In the former of these two categories, the texts are separable from the setting of the manuscripts at hand; the existence of the text can be seen in many ways both to precede and to be simultaneous with that of the manuscript that holds it. 'Text' is therefore not equivalent to 'manuscript', and both concepts must be situated in their own individually nuanced contexts.

Nor is the study of the manuscripts as material artefacts an unproblematic process, although a more consistent approach can be more easily maintained in dealing with the tangible, physical properties of the three. Issues of collation, decoration and the identification and dating of individual scribal hands have all been taken into account. In the latter category, I have largely avoided entering into any detailed analytical discussion of script, an exercise which is useful when tracing an evolution in styles in a larger cross-section of manuscripts, but which would have been largely fruitless in a study involving such a relatively small number of examples. A comparative survey of a broader selection of West Midlands manuscripts would potentially allow for the location of the scripts of each of the three study manuscripts in relation to other contemporary materials; this would be especially desirable for the purposes of locating geographical and temporal points of origin. Here it would be of most use in helping to establish the degree of likeness between Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37, two manuscripts which share some hitherto unremarked material similarities. Quantifying the degree of resemblance between the scripts of the two would clearly be of use in reconstructing (or rejecting) a shared context *ab initio*, although, as I will argue,

similarities in their scripts seem to me less compelling than other structural similarities.

I have relied, for the dating and the nomenclature of scripts, on the opinions of more experienced palaeographers, and such broad terms as 'late Anglo-Caroline bookhand' and 'English protogothic bookhand', although rather more subjective and vague than might be desirable, have been accepted as sufficient for the purposes of this study. I have, however, sometimes included my own observations on those parts of the manuscripts where historically distinct stages in production are implied by changes in script (and especially where an earlier format for the manuscript may be inferred).

I have attempted to identify and distinguish every individual medieval hand in each of the manuscripts, primarily for the sake of establishing the location (relative to the priory) of the scribe responsible. In the main text of the study manuscripts, the secure identification of a change in scribe has mostly been possible only in those cases where there is an abrupt alteration in the appearance of the script, marking a crossover in scribal stints, although the sporadic and idiosyncratic nature of work by individual annotators makes discrete note-making hands easier to trace.

The imprecise and inexact nature of the standard language of palaeography, however, in which such terms as 'scribe', 'hand', 'script' and 'scriptorium' are all problematic and potentially misleading, can undermine any attempt at objective analysis. A scribe, for example, may write in more than one hand (producing different sorts of script) in the course of his or her career, and might not remain attached to a single institution during that time. The potential for mobility seems to have been especially increased in the case of the daughter

cells of a large abbey; St Guthlac's Priory (and St Peter's, Hereford, before it) was one of Gloucester Abbey's many dependencies, and the movement of personnel between the abbey and its network of affiliated cells (more closely regulated at certain points than at others) makes it difficult to locate all but the most senior monks at any given date. An impulse to locate all scribal work at fixed and well-equipped scriptoria can also be unhelpful: the addition of short texts to existing manuscript books could have taken place with minimal resources and in less formal settings. The priory and its predecessors are generally supposed not to have had their own scriptoria, but this would surely not have made every sort of scribal work impossible.

When describing the written component of the manuscripts, I have tended to favour the term 'scribe' for the identification of discrete scribal interventions. I have used capitals (e.g. Scribe A) for the hands present in the main text block of the manuscripts, and small roman numerals for annotative hands (e.g. Scribe i).

For the sake of clarity and convenience, I have used masculine pronouns for scribes throughout; all of the religious communities directly implicated in the production of the books that I have examined had male personnel at the time when the work was carried out. The possibility of the involvement of female scribes cannot be discounted, however, particularly in the model of manuscript production suggested for the city of Hereford by Mynors and Thomson.¹⁰ Lay, professional scribes operating in the city need not have been exclusively male, though evidence for work by female scribes has yet to emerge.

¹⁰ See especially Mynors and Thomson, p. xix.

PART 1: THE HISTORY OF ST GUTHLAC'S, HEREFORD

CHAPTER 1: ST GUTHLAC'S MINSTER

Any history of the religious house known as St Guthlac's, Hereford, is essentially a history of two separate and consecutive institutions. The first was a collegiate church of secular canons, the second a Benedictine priory and cell of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. The priory, a direct descendant of the first St Guthlac's, came into being through the amalgamation of the minster with another early Hereford church, that of St Peter in Hereford's marketplace. St Guthlac's Minster may have existed (albeit with some brief interruptions) between the eighth and the twelfth centuries, and may have replaced an even older religious foundation on the same site.¹ The priory, founded in 1143, survived until its dissolution in 1539.

¹ The archaeological evidence for Castle Green, Hereford, as the site of St Guthlac's Minster and an earlier religious establishment (with an associated cemetery) is summarised in R. Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations: Excavations at Castle Green*, CBA Research Report 36, 3 vols (London: Council for British Archaeology, 1980-1985), I (1980). Documentary evidence indicates the presence of two churches (St Guthlac's and St Martin's) within the castle grounds by the twelfth century, but both structures have now entirely vanished. As a result, interpretations of the archaeology of the site have varied greatly, with attendant implications for the history of St Guthlac's. Though its origins remain obscure, it is generally accepted that the church which came to be known as St Guthlac's Minster was not initially dedicated to that saint; D. A. Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', in Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations*, 1-8 (p. 3), suggests that a re-dedication to St Guthlac (replacing an earlier dedication to St Peter) may have taken place in the tenth century, following the destruction of Guthlac's church at Crowland in 870 and the putative dispersal of his relics into the West Midlands. A. T. Thacker, 'Kings, Saints and Monasteries in Pre-Viking Mercia', *Midland History*, 10 (1985), 1-25 (pp. 5-6), takes the view that the cult of St Guthlac, who was associated with hostility to the British, may have been introduced into Hereford as early as the eighth century, promoted by the kings of Mercia as a suitable patron in campaigns against the Welsh. Thacker endorses the theory that Guthlac's associate Æthelbald of Mercia (d. 757) introduced the cult to Hereford, an idea first suggested in M. D. Lobel, 'Hereford', in *Atlas of Historic Towns*, ed. by M. D. Lobel, 3 vols (London and Oxford: Lovell Johns Ltd., 1969-89), I (1969), 2. This is the view supported by David Whitehead in his most recent work, in which he also goes so far as to hypothesise the presence of a contemporary Mercian royal hall on the same site as the minster, probably based on a single reference in Domesday to such a building (called 'aula') in Hereford during the reign of Edward the Confessor. See Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford*, pp. 13-15; see also *Domesday Book*, ed. by John Morris and others (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983-92), XVII: *Herefordshire*, ed. by Frank and Caroline Thorn (1983), fol. 179 a. Archaeological evidence for a religious foundation on Castle Green before the ninth century, however, is disputed in A. Pearn, 'Origins and

A fifteenth-century addition to the priory cartulary, purporting to reproduce a twelfth-century charter of Bishop Robert Foliot (1174-1186), asserts that the church of St Guthlac in the castle grounds once had the status of a head minster, describing it in the following terms:

ipsam parochialem ecclesiam Sancti Guthlaci infra ambitum
castelli Hereford que matrix est aliorum²

Julia Barrow has demonstrated that this document is a forgery, and none of the other historical sources substantiates this claim to the rights and privileges of a head minster. With few authentic documents relating to St Guthlac's in the centuries before the Conquest, its early history remains obscure and open to conjecture.

The earliest secure reference to St Guthlac's Minster comes from c. 1000, in the will of a certain Wulfgeat of Donington:

Development of Urban Churches and Parishes: A Comparative Study of Hereford, Shrewsbury and Chester' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Cambridge 1988), pp. 124-33, in which Pearn also uses the evidence of patterns of temporal endowments to suggest a later date for the church's foundation than is given in these other sources. Joe Hillaby, 'The Early Church in Herefordshire: Columban and Roman', in *The Early Church in Herefordshire: Proceedings of a Conference Held in Leominster in June 2000*, ed. by Ann Malpas (Leominster: Leominster History Study Group, 2001), pp. 41-76, locates the origins of St Guthlac's in a Mercian revival of the period 883-918. John Blair, 'The Anglo-Saxon Church in Herefordshire', in *The Early Church in Herefordshire*, pp. 3-13 (p. 8), looks to later hagiographical traditions to establish a link at Hereford between the cults of Guthlac and Æthelberht (the co-dedicattee of the cathedral), suggesting that the dedication to Guthlac came about in the ninth or tenth century. His view is further substantiated by the secular and collegiate character of St Guthlac's Minster, defining characteristics of western Mercian foundations (often associated with Mercian royal cults) in the eighth and ninth centuries; see John Blair 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 116. Foundation by 'the alms of the king's progenitors' was also claimed in the 1320s, in the context of a dispute between the Prior of St Guthlac's and the Bishop of Hereford; the claim may be entirely false, or it may represent a medieval tradition that St Guthlac's Minster (the forerunner of the priory) was a royal foundation. See A. T. Bannister, 'A Note on an Obscure Episode in the History of St Guthlac's Priory, Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 20 (1908), 20-24 (p. 21).

² 'The same parish church of St Guthlac inside the castle of Hereford, which is the mother of others' (my translation). *EEA VII*, pp. 107-08 (number 155).

Þis is Wulf gates gecwide æt Dunnintune þ is þonne þ he
geann ærest gode his sawelscættas þ is . I . hid æt
Tærdebiggan. 7 . I . pund penega. 7 VI 7 twentig freatmonna
for his sawle. 7 into Wigeracæstre an bryþen mealtes hea'l'f
of Dunnintune healf of Cylleshalle. 7 into s̅e Æþelbrihte
healfes þundes weorð. 7 into s̅e Guðlace healfes þundes
weorð³

Another reference to St Guthlac's has been preserved in an eleventh-century document recording an exchange of land between Leofwine and Eadric. It contains the earliest mention of the collegiate character of the church; the transaction was accomplished

on Swegnes eorles gewitnesse . 7 Æþelstanes bisceopes
. 7 Ðurceles hwitan . 7 Ulfceteles sciregerefan . 7 ealra þara
þegna on Herefordscire . 7 þara twegra hireda æt s̅e
Æþelberhtes mynstre . 7 s̅e Guðlaces.⁴

D. A. Whitehead makes the remark that the naming of St Guthlac's ahead of six other minsters mentioned by Wulfgeat (of distant Donington), together with its receipt of a bequest equal to that given to St Æthelberht's (the cathedral),

³ 'This is the will of Wulfgeat of Donington; namely, that he grants to God his burial fee, namely, one hide at Tardebigge and one pound of pence, and twenty-six freedmen, for his soul; and to Worcester a brewing of malt, half from Donington and half from Kilsall; and to St Ethelbert's the equivalent of half a pound; and to St Guthlac's the equivalent of half a pound'. Text and translation taken from *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed., with translation and notes, by Dorothy Whitelock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1930), pp. 54-57. The text comes from London, British Library, Harley Charter 83 A. 2 (s. xi'), which is described in P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1968), pp. 429-30 (S 1534 of c. 1000).

⁴ 'By the testimony of Earl Swegn, and Bishop Athelstan, and Thurkil the White, and Sheriff Ulfcytel, and all the thegns in Herefordshire, and the two communities at St Æthelberht's and St Guthlac's' (my translation). *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed., with translation and notes, by A. J. Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1939), pp. 186-87. See also Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, p. 411 (S 1469 of 1043 x 1046). Robertson says that no manuscript copy has survived, but Simon Keynes remarks on the appearance of the text on fol. 135r of the eighth-century Hereford Gospels (Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. I. 2), in Simon Keynes, 'Diocese and Cathedral before 1056', in *Hereford Cathedral: A History*, ed. by Gerald Aylmer and John Tiller (London: The Hambleton Press, 2000), pp. 3-20 (p. 17).

may indicate that at this stage in its life St Guthlac's Minster was an establishment of considerable standing. The second document seems to confirm that St Guthlac's, as a witness to the transaction, was the equal of the cathedral.⁵

No other references to the minster can be securely attributed to the pre-Conquest period, so any study of its early history is forced to rely on more general notices relating to the wider history of the city of Hereford. A number of key episodes likely to have had an impact on the minster and its community can be identified: the majority of these are drawn from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, which contains no specific mention of St Guthlac's but which is incomparable as a written source for the early history of Hereford. The *Chronicle* has been used, for example, to substantiate the early presence in Hereford of a Norman garrison under Earl Ralph, Edward the Confessor's nephew; this reading of the *Chronicle* has underpinned the subsequent extrapolation of archaeological evidence to suggest Castle Green as a location for a pre-Conquest Norman castle.⁶ According to this interpretation of the documentary and archaeological evidence, St

⁵ Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 1.

⁶ Shoemith, *Hereford City Excavations*, p. 57. The archaeological and documentary evidence for this earliest of Norman castles within the city of Hereford is problematic and inconclusive. The theory that Hereford had its own pre-Conquest castle of Norman design is rejected in E. I. Carlyle, 'Political History', in *The Victoria History of the County of Hereford*, ed. by William Page (Folkestone: reprinted by Dawson for the University of London Institute of Historical Research, 1975) I (1908), 347-405 (353). Carlyle thinks it incredible that 'an undisciplined and transient assault' in 1055 by an army of Welsh, Irish and disaffected English (under Gruffydd and the outlaw Ælfgar) could so easily have swept away a Norman stronghold. David Whitehead has recently expressed doubts as to the presence of a castle before 1067, in Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford*, pp. 25-28; he describes an Anglo-Saxon distaste for the structures and suggests that Eddic the Wild's attack in 1067 was prompted by Norman castle-building activities. The contrary argument, however, has proved more persistent. Edward A. Freeman in *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and its Results* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1867-79) II (1868), 391-92, suggests that Earl Ralph, who may have taken possession of the earldom as early as 1046, had a castle built according to Norman patterns, and it was this castle, built in stone, which the *Brut y Tywysogion* distinguishes as a 'gaer' and describes as being demolished in the attack, rather than burned like the town. Lobel repeats Freeman's assertion and specifies that Ralph 'almost certainly built the castle [...] before 1052 and established a Norman garrison in it' (Lobel, p. 2). The theory of a pre-Conquest Hereford castle is repeated elsewhere, most notably in *The History of the King's Works*, ed. by H. M. Colvin and others, 6 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1963-82), II (1963), 673, and in Frank Merry Stenton, 'Pre-Conquest Herefordshire', in *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England, Being the Collected Papers of Frank Merry Stenton*, ed. by D. M. Stenton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), pp. 193-202.

Guthlac's acquired a castle for a neighbour even before the Norman Conquest, making the early arrival of a Norman military force in Hereford a particularly significant moment in the history of the minster.

Version D of the *Chronicle*, in its entry for 1052, may provide us with the earliest reference to the activities of this Norman colony:

On þam ilcan gere hergode Griffin se Wylisca cing on
Herefordscire, þæt he com swyþe neah to Leomynstre, 7 men
gadorodon ongean ægðer ge landes men ge frencisce men of
ðam castele, 7 man þær ofsloh swyþe feola englisra godra
manna, 7 eac of þan frenciscum⁷

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* also describes an assault on Hereford itself by the same King Gruffydd in 1055. The assault is mentioned in a variety of other medieval sources, and its success (if the more vivid accounts are to be believed) must have had dire consequences for the minster. The fullest description of the circumstances leading up to the assault and of the extent of the damage done comes from Version C of the *Chronicle*:

Ða ðæræfter binnan lyttlan fyrste wæs witena gemot on
Lundene, 7 man geutlagode þa Ælfgar eorl Leofrices sunu
eorles butan ælcan gylte, 7 he gewende ða to Irlande 7 begeat
him ðær lið, þæt wæs .xviii. scipa butan his agenan, 7
wendan ða to Brytlande to Griffine cinge mid þam werede, 7
he hine underfeng on his griðe. 7 hig gegaderadan ða mycle
fyrde mid ðam yriscan mannan 7 mid Walkynne, 7 Rawulf
eorl gaderade mycele fyrde agean to Herefordport, 7 hi
sohtan hi ðær. Ac ær þær wære ænig spere gescoten ær fleah
ðæt englisce folc forðan þe hig wæran on horsan, 7 man sloh
ðær mycel wæl – abutan feower hund manna oððe fife - 7 hig

⁷ 'In the same year Gruffydd, the Welsh king, harried in Herefordshire, so that he came very near to Leominster; and men gathered together against him, both the natives and the Frenchmen from the castle. And there were slain very many good Englishmen besides many from among the Frenchmen'. Translation taken from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, trans. by G. N. Garmonsway, 2nd edn (London: J. M. Dent and Sons, 1955), p. 176. Old English text taken from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Vol. 6, MS D: A Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. by G. P. Cubbin (Cambridge: Brewer, 1996), p. 71. The castle alluded to here may not have been in Hereford; Richard's Castle to the north of Leominster is the candidate preferred by Freeman (Freeman, p. 309).

nænne agean. 7 hig gewendan ða to ðam porte 7 ðæt
 forbærndan 7 þæt mære mynster, ðe Æþelstan se arwurða
 biscop ær let getimbrian, þæt hig beryptan 7 bereafodan æt
 haligdome 7 æt hreaue 7 æt eallon ðingan, 7 þæt folc slogan
 7 sume on weg læddan. Ða gaderade man fyrde geond eall
 Engla land swyðe neah, 7 hig coman to Gleaweceastre 7
 wendan swa unfeorr ut on Wealas 7 þær lagon sume hwile, 7
 Harald eorl let dician ða dic abutan þæt port þa hwile.⁸

Versions C and D both specify that this raid took place on the 24th of October. D differs slightly from C in that it specifies that the raiders ‘forbærnde þæt mære mynster þe Æþelstan biscop getimbrode, 7 ofsloh þa preostas innan þam mynstre’,⁹ implying a more complete destruction of the cathedral buildings and community. This account is followed by John of Worcester, who also provides some supplementary details describing the fate of seven of the cathedral canons:

Dein uictoria potiti, rex Griffinus et comes Algarus
 Herefordam intrauerunt, et .vii. canonicis, qui ualuas
 principalis basilice defenderant, occisis, ac monasterio, quod

⁸ ‘A short time after this there was a council in London, and earl Ælfgar, son of earl Leofric, was outlawed without having done anything to deserve his fate. Thereupon he went to Ireland, and added a force of eighteen ships to his own household troops, and sailed to Wales to king Gruffydd with that host; and he took him under his protection. Then they raised great levies of Irish and Welsh, and earl Ralph gathered great levies to oppose them at Hereford, and they came together there: but before a spear was thrown, the English fled, because they had been made to fight on horseback. Many of them were slain, about four hundred or perhaps five, but none of their opponents, who went to the town and burned it to the ground. And the famous cathedral which the venerable bishop Athelstan had had built, that they plundered and despoiled of relics, vestments, and all its treasures: they slew the inhabitants and some they carried off. Then levies were called out from all the neighbouring districts of England; and they came to Gloucester and went a little way into Wales, and remained there for a time whilst earl Harold had an earthwork built around the town’. Translation taken from Garmonsway, pp. 184-86. Old English text taken from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Vol. 5, MS C: A Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. by Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe (Cambridge: Brewer, 2001), pp. 115-16. Garmonsway’s interpretation of this passage, whose language is somewhat ambiguous (especially in its account of the use of horses in the battle), is supported by John of Worcester’s description of the same incident: ‘Rauulfus [...] Anglos contra morem in equis pugnare iussit’; ‘Ralph ordered the English to fight on horseback, against their custom’ (my translation). Latin text taken from *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. 2, The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. by Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), p. 576.

⁹ ‘[They] burnt to the ground the famous cathedral which bishop Athelstan had built, [and] killed the priests inside the cathedral’. Translation taken from Garmonsway, p. 187. Old English text taken from Cubbin, p. 74.

uerus Dei Christicola antistes Æthelstanus construxerat, cum omnibus ornamentis et reliquiis sancti Agelberti regis et martiris aliorumque sanctorum, combusto¹⁰

We have no reason to expect that the buildings and personnel of St Guthlac's fared any better than the cathedral. Indeed, proximity to a castle may have placed the minster even more directly on the front line.

Most of the medieval descriptions of the battle are broadly in agreement with that given in Version C of the *Chronicle*. The account of the raid in the *Brut y Tywysogion*, however, gives some contradictory details on the course of the battle and may also provide an insight into the type of fortifications encountered by the Welsh in the vicinity of St Guthlac's Minster. The fortified site, unlike the town, may not have been combustible:

Aguedy hynny y kyffroes Grufud uab Llywelyn lu yn erbyn y Saeson a chueirau bydinoed yn Henford; ac yny erbyn y kyfodes y Saeson a diruaur bu gantunt, a Reinulf yn tyuyssauc arnunt; ac ymgyfaruot aorugant, a chueirau bydinoed ac ymbarattoi y ymlad. Ae kyrchu aunaeth Grufud yndiannot, abydinoed kyueir gantau, aguedy bot bruydyr chwerudost ar Saeson heb allell godef kynuruf y Brytanyeit, yd ymchoelassant ar ffo, ac o diruaur ladua y dyguydassant. Ae hymllit ynlut awnaeth Gruffud yr gaer, ac y myun y doeth, a dibobli y gaer aunaeth ae thorri a llosci y tref; ac odyndy gyt a diruaur anreith ac yspeil yr ymchoelaud y wlat yn hyfryt uudugaul.¹¹

¹⁰ 'Then, obtaining victory, King Gruffydd and Earl Ælfgar entered Hereford, and with seven canons who had defended the main doors of the basilica having been killed, they burnt the minster which God's truly Christian bishop Athelstan had built, with all the ornaments and relics of Æthelberht, king and martyr, and of other saints' (my translation). Latin text taken from Darlington and McGurk, p. 576. Julia Barrow names the dead as Eilmar, Ordgar and Godo, with Eilmar's four sons, referring to an entry on fol. 42v of the mid-fourteenth-century Hereford Cathedral Obit Book (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 328, fols 1r-54r), which gives their obits under 25 October. See Julia Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche, 1056-1268', in Aylmer and Tiller, pp. 21-47 (p. 22). The Obit Book is described and reproduced as an appendix in *FEA VIII*, pp. 99-158. The reference to the slain canons appears on p. 148 of this edition.

¹¹ 'And after that Gruffudd, son of Llywelyn, raised an army against the Saxons, and arrayed his forces at Hereford; and against him the Saxons rose with a very great host, Reinolf being commander over them; and they met together, arranged their armies, and prepared to fight. Gruffudd attacked them immediately with well-ordered troops, and after a severely hard battle, the Saxons, unable to bear the assault of the Britons, took to flight, and fell with a very great slaughter. Gruffudd closely pursued them to the fortress, which he entered, and depopulated and

Although both castle and minster may have been wrecked in 1055, the episode did not spell the end for either. It is unclear quite what became of the castle site in the immediate aftermath of the destruction. There is a reference to a refortification of Hereford by Harold Godwinson in Version C of the *Chronicle*.¹² John of Worcester goes slightly further in describing the fresh defensive arrangements that were made:

Cum cetera uero multitudine Herefordam rediens, uallo
lato et alto illam cincxit, portis et seris muniuit.¹³

The absence of any specific mention of the refurbishment of a castle at Hereford by Godwinson, however, may suggest that the site remained derelict for a decade after this disaster.¹⁴

The latest *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry relating to events within the city is for 1067. It describes yet another assault on Hereford by a Welsh army in league with a rebel Englishman, and it makes clear that a castle was certainly in place and functioning at that point, in all likelihood as a result of renovation by Hereford's first post-Conquest earl, William Fitz Osbern:

Eadric cild 7 þa Bryttas wurdon unsehte 7 wunnon heom
wið þa castelmenn on Hereforda, 7 fela hearmas heom
dydon.¹⁵

demolished the fortress, and burned the town; and from thence, with very great booty, he returned happily and victoriously to his own country'. Welsh text and translation taken from *Brut y Tywysogion or The Chronicle of the Princes*, ed. by John Williams ab Ithel, Rolls Series, 17 (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1860), pp. 42-43.

¹² O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 116.

¹³ 'Indeed, coming back to Hereford with the rest of his army, he surrounded it with a wide and deep ditch and strengthened it with gates and bars' (my translation). Latin text taken from Darlington and McGurk, p. 578.

¹⁴ Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 4.

¹⁵ 'Eadric "the Wild" and the Welsh rose in rebellion and attacked the garrison of the [Norman] castle at Hereford, and inflicted severe losses upon them'. Translation taken from Garmonsway, p. 200. For the Old English text, see Cubbin, p. 81.

Shoemith is of the opinion that it was during rebuilding works under Earl William that St Guthlac's became fully enclosed within the castle grounds, a victim once more of its misfortune to occupy a site of strategic importance within the city.¹⁶

John of Worcester adds the following details on the depredations of Edric 'the Wild', confirming the presence of a garrison in Hereford and suggesting that the castle was in a sufficient state of readiness to launch multiple attacks on its enemies prior to 15th August 1067, which implies that it was not entirely new under William Fitz Osbern:

Eo tempore extitit quidam prepotens minister, Edricus, cognomento Siluaticus, filius Alfrici, fratris Edrici Streone, cuius terram, quia se dedere regi dedignabatur, Herefordenses castellani, et Ricardus filius Scrob, frequenter uastauerunt, sed quotienscunque super eum irruerant, multos e suis militibus et scutariis perdidit. Iccirco asscitis sibi in auxilium regibus Walanorum Blethgento, vidilicet, et Riuuatlo, idem vir Edricus, circa Assumptionem sancte Marie, Herefordensem prouinciam usque ad pontem amnis Luce deuastauit, ingentemque predam reduxit.¹⁷

Any repercussions for St Guthlac's Minster again go unmentioned, but the possibility remains that damage done in 1055 was inflicted again in 1067. If

¹⁶ Shoemith, *Hereford City Excavations*, p. 57. The process of the renewal and extension, under William Fitz Osbern, of an existing, pre-Conquest castle is perhaps suggested by John of Worcester's statement of King William's instructions to Odo of Bayeux and William Fitz Osbern on leaving England during Lent in 1067: 'Anglie custodes relinquens, castella per loca firmari precepit'; 'Leaving them as guardians of England, he ordered that castles be strengthened in various places' (my translation). Latin text taken from *The Chronicle of John of Worcester. Vol. 3, The Annals from 1067 to 1140, with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, ed. and trans. by P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), p. 4. The possibility that St Guthlac's was a royal foundation on crown land could also account for the intimate proximity of minster and castle, as suggested in Pearn, p. 132.

¹⁷ 'At that time there was a certain powerful noble, Edric, nicknamed "the wild", son of Ælfric, brother of Edric Streona, whose land the men of Hereford castle and Richard Fitz Scrob frequently used to devastate, because he did not deign to submit to the king, but whenever they raided against him they lost many of their soldiers and squires. This same man Edric, therefore, having summoned to his aid Blethgent and Rithwallon, kings of the Welsh, around the time of the Assumption of St Mary [15th August], he devastated the province of Hereford up to the bridge of the river Lugg and carried off huge spoils' (my translation). Latin text taken from McGurk, p. 4.

St Guthlac's Minster was indeed injured in either of these instances, it must have been re-equipped, repaired or rebuilt before 1086, the point at which notices relating to its personnel and properties were entered in the Domesday Book, the document that provides us with the earliest detailed references to St Guthlac's Minster and its community.¹⁸

The lands controlled by the minster's personnel (who are variously referred to in Domesday as 'canonici' and 'clerici') were evidently extensive and widespread, though much eroded by the time of the survey. Domesday entries relating to the minster's territories have already been subjected to intense scrutiny and have been used to illuminate the minster's earliest history: Pearn's survey of its temporal and ecclesiastical possessions, via Domesday and the later *Herefordshire Domesday*, leads her to conclude that its holdings did not reflect the broad parochial concerns of an ancient minster, and she infers from this that St Guthlac's was a late minster foundation, well-endowed but with limited ecclesiastical rights.¹⁹

At the opposite end of the minster's lifespan, Domesday provides evidence for a downturn in its fortunes. It records that many of the minster's extensive territories were alienated from the church and in lay hands, a situation which had already pertained for many years in the case of certain of its estates. The status of some of these lands in the pre-Conquest period is still a matter for some debate; Sutton, an estate to the north of the city and frequently referred to

¹⁸ For the Domesday entries relating to St Guthlac's Minster, see Appendix 1.

¹⁹ Pearn, pp. 125-33. Conversely, David Whitehead argues that the minster did once have its own extensive *parochia*, giving it 'cathedral-like authority over lowland Herefordshire'. He goes on to suggest that post-Conquest Hereford parishes were extracted from the city elements of this *parochia*, which was once large enough to coincide with the area of royal jurisdiction designated the Liberty of the City of Hereford: this derived from the minster's ancient status as a royal foundation, the *matrix ecclesia* of a royal estate. See Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford*, pp. 16-18.

as being amongst St Guthlac's pre-Conquest endowments, has attracted particular interest by virtue of its traditional association with Offa and the martyrdom of Æthelberht.²⁰ By the time of Domesday, Sutton was in the hands of Nigel the Doctor, who held many lands explicitly named as having formerly belonged to St Guthlac's, and it is largely by force of this association that Sutton has been linked with St Guthlac's in the pre-Conquest period.²¹

One other piece of evidence speaks in favour of Sutton and certain other estates held by Nigel as having belonged to the minster, and this is their pre-Conquest association with the Bromfield cleric Spirites (sometimes called 'Spirtes'). Spirites built up a considerable complex of territories alienated from churches during the reign of the Confessor, only to lose them all in disgrace and exile.²² His territories in Herefordshire could have been acquired from St Guthlac's. Domesday provides us with no overt connection between Spirites and St Guthlac's, but indirect connections can be established via Nigel and more

²⁰ Keith Ray, 'Archaeology and the Three Early Churches in Herefordshire', in *The Early Church in Herefordshire*, pp. 99-148 (p. 132).

²¹ Pearn, pp. 117-18, establishes a link between Sutton and St Guthlac's by means of an entry in the *Herefordshire Domesday* of Oxford, Balliol College 350, reproduced in *HD*, p. 32. The sequence of formulae used in the heading of the entry for Nigel's lands is not the same as that used in Domesday, and a subtly alternative meaning may be inferred. The *Herefordshire Domesday* gives the following: 'Terra Nigelli medici de terra sancti Gvthlaci in Greitrewes hundret.' Pearn argues that this suggests all of Nigel's manors had been held by St Guthlac's. Pearn's assertions are drawn upon by Julia Barrow; in making the case that St Guthlac's was probably a royal foundation, Barrow tells us that Spirites had been given some of its lands. Her note explains that 'St Guthlac's endowments include Sutton, traditionally supposed to have been a manor of Offa [...] which suggests that the church was originally a royal foundation', in Julia Barrow (with an appendix by John Blair), 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's Reorganisation of the Church of Hereford, 1079-1095', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. by David Whitehead, The British Archaeological Association Conference Transactions, 15 (London: British Archaeological Association, c. 1995), pp. 29-49 (p. 44, note 42). One further piece of evidence suggested by Pearn to link Sutton and other manors held by Nigel with the pre-Conquest St Guthlac's is the church's possible re-acquisition of these manors after its refoundation in the twelfth century. Pearn (p. 117) cites Thinghill, 'of which St Guthlac's continued to hold a part', as well as Sutton, Little Cowarne and Avenbury, which are in the church's possession in a list of tenants of before the 24th December, 1143. See *HD*, p. 79.

²² For a survey of the career of Spirites, see Frank Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church* (London: Longman, 1979), pp. 129-36.

particularly via Thinghill, an estate listed both for St Guthlac's and for Nigel, with a reference to Spirites in the latter of the two entries.

Julia Barrow suggests that royal patronage had led to Spirites, a curial clerk and the holder of numerous ecclesiastical offices, becoming head cleric at St Guthlac's. Although the foremost member of the community, Spirites would presumably have been an absentee, attendant on the king but with control over the minster's revenues and with the right to appoint to its remaining prebends.²³ The arrangement was probably detrimental to the minster in the long term; Barrow describes a process of 'asset-stripping' under Spirites, leading to an alienation of minster lands that persisted after Spirites' disgrace, with William I using 'the share which had belonged to Spirites to enfeoff his physician Nigel'.²⁴ Barrow has also expressed the opinion that Nigel succeeded to the office held by Spirites at the minster.²⁵

Even when the example of the land acquired by Spirites is left aside, a pattern of dispossession beginning well in advance of the Conquest is plain to see. The clearest evidence for this in Domesday is the complaint by the canons of St Guthlac's regarding the vill of Pembridge, suggesting that land was being lost

²³ For Barrow's survey of royal patronage for 'superior' clerics in the period before c. 1100, see Julia Barrow, 'Bishops and Clergy in English, Scottish and Welsh Dioceses', in *La Pastorale della Chiesa in Occidente dall'età Ottoniana al Concilio Lateranense IV, Atti della Quindicesima Settimana Internazionale di Studio, Mendola, 27-31 Agosto 2001* (Milan: Vita e Pensiero, 2004), pp. 223-50 (pp. 239-41).

²⁴ See Barrow, 'Bishops and Clergy', p. 241, note 73. Spirites and Nigel the Doctor were probably not the only churchmen to profit from the exploitation of the minster's property by their royal patrons; Pearn points out that the connection with Spirites and a reference to the canon Estan in the entry for Dormington suggest that the temporal possessions of St Guthlac's were 'being used as a source of patronage for royal favourites before Edward the Confessor's reign, and Estan may simply be a less prominent member of the same class'. See Pearn, pp. 117-18. The situation at St Guthlac's Minster was not unique; Regenbald, a contemporary of Spirites and Nigel, was even more richly endowed, with multiple offices and lands spread over a wide area. His career is described in Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 10 (1987), 185-222.

²⁵ Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009.

as early as during the time of Earl Godwin, which is to say before 1053, when Godwin died.

The history of the minster for the fifty-seven years after Domesday is opaque. The Hereford Cathedral Obit Book contains an entry on the 3rd of October for ‘obitus [...] Walteri presbiteri et canonici de Sancto Guthlaco’, providing the one surviving reference to a named member of the minster community, albeit without any of the additional details that would allow us to establish when he was alive.²⁶ Canons were evidently still in situ in 1130 x 1139, when Walter, Abbot of Gloucester, confirmed an exchange of land between ‘monachi nostri apud sanctum Petrum Hereford’ conmorantes et clerici sancti Guth(laci)’, i.e. the monks of the Gloucester cell of St Peter’s, Hereford, and the clerks of St Guthlac’s,²⁷ but the community cannot have remained unscathed during the terrible events witnessed by the city during the years of the Anarchy. One account in particular, that of the siege of the castle in 1140 by Miles of Gloucester and Geoffrey Talbot, implicates a burial ground on Castle Green in the violent disturbances:

Istis tali modo perpetratis, Galfridus Talebot, cuius mentionem locis opportunis præmisimus, milites, quos rex in Herefordensi municipio reliquerat, patriæ defensores sui que iuris præministros et tutores, obsidere tentavit. Ingressusque in episcopalis sedis principalem Genetricis Dei ecclesiam, expulsis irreuerenter mensæ Dei ministris, armatorum cœtum temerariae induxit, domumque orationum et animarum propiciatorium in dissensionis tumultum, in belli et sanguinis conuertit recessum. Erat profecto horrendum, omnibusque pie sentientibus impatiendum, cernere vitæ et salutis habitaculum in raptorum et bellantium permutatum asylum; ciuibus ubique lacrymose eiulantibus, vel quia suorum cimiterium in castelli sustollebatur vallum, parentumque et

²⁶ *FEA VIII*, p. 145 and note 376. Barrow says of Walter that he ‘must surely have lived in the late 11th or early 12th cent.’

²⁷ ‘Our monks staying at St Peter’s, Hereford, and the clerks of St Guthlac’s.’ Latin text and translation taken from Pearn, p. 119. The full charter is reproduced as Appendix 2, below.

cognatorum corpora alia semiputrefacta, alia recentissime humata, crudele spectaculum, ab imo videbant incompassiue retracta; vel quia de turri, unde dulces et imbelles audierant tintinnabulorum monitus, nunc balistas erigi, nunc ad regales damnandos in palam erat missilia torqueri. Galfridus igitur regis milites in castello suo reclusos infestissime a templo propugnans, sed et Milo Glaornensis, ex alia castelli regione molita obsidione, cum machinis eos vehementer angustians²⁸

The remainder of the account given in the *Gesta Stephani* has been lost, but the cemetery which suffered this disturbance has been identified as the area containing human burials excavated in the 1960s and 70s on Castle Green; the ditch dug by the besieging forces may still be visible as a slight depression in the ground.²⁹ The fate of the St Guthlac's community during this period is not recorded.

The next references to the minster suggest that its properties had passed wholesale into the hands of the de Port family, lords of the Welsh Marches (at least one of whom appears to have been a sheriff of Herefordshire; Adam de Port may have held the office continuously between c. 1107 and 1121)³⁰ with a family

²⁸ 'When these things had thus come to pass Geoffrey Talbot, whom I have mentioned earlier in the appropriate places, undertook to besiege the troops that the king had left in the castle of Hereford as defenders of the country and servants and guardians of his rights. Entering the church of the Mother of God, the cathedral church of the Episcopal see, and impiously driving out the ministrants at God's table, he recklessly brought in a throng of armed men and turned a house of prayers and a place of atonement for souls to a confusion of strife and a haunt of war and blood. It was indeed dreadful and intolerable to all men of righteous feelings to see a dwelling of life and salvation transformed into an asylum of plunderers and warriors, while everywhere the townsmen were uttering cries of lamentation, either because the earth of their kinsfolk's graveyard was being heaped up to form a castle-mound and they could see, a cruel sight, the bodies of parents and relations, some half-rotten, some quite lately buried, pitilessly dragged from the depths; or because at one time it was visible that catapults were being put up on the tower from which they had heard the sweet and pacific admonition of the bells, at another that missiles were being shot from it to harm the king's garrison. So Geoffrey most furiously assailing from the cathedral the king's troops shut up in their castle, and likewise Miles of Gloucester pushing on the siege on another side of the castle, pressing them hard with engines'. Latin text and translation taken from *Gesta Stephani*, ed. and trans. by K. R. Potter; with new introduction and notes by R. H. C. Davies (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), pp. 108-11.

²⁹ Shoesmith, *Hereford City Excavations*, p. 59.

³⁰ Judith A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London: H.M.S.O., 1990), p. 45, though Green indicates a degree of uncertainty in her entry for Adam de Port. Pearn is less equivocal in identifying the de Ports as sheriffs, though she is unsure as to how the connection with St Guthlac's Minster came about. Of the minster, she tells us that 'its later connections are with the

seat at Kington. It is not clear how or when this state of affairs came about (although Pearn interprets the wording of Roger's eventual surrender of the minster to mean that it was already under de Port control before the death of Roger's father, Adam, at some point between 1130 and 1133),³¹ nor is it certain quite what the implications would have been for the minster community and its business.

Making reference to the foundation charter for St Guthlac's Priory, Pearn points out that St Guthlac's Minster 'had suffered some spoliation at their [i.e. the de Ports'] hands, Roger de Port having bestowed its possessions unworthily, and one of its Domesday manors, Whitney, was indeed in Roger's hands. Later, several of its manors are said to be held of the Port honour of Kington'.³² Julia Barrow has pointed out that the absence of an earl between the dispossession and exile of Roger de Breteuil (1075) and the Anarchy may have given successive sheriffs the opportunity to turn assets associated with the castle into family property.³³

It is possible that the minster had been abandoned and that religious life on the site had come to a halt, with St Guthlac's declining, as Pearn puts it, 'into an adjunct of the castle'.³⁴ The minster buildings may even have been used as a private residence by Roger de Port and his household. If the de Ports were in some way installed (or allowed to remain *in situ*) inside the minster itself after 1140, however, they must have had the approval of Miles of Gloucester, who had

Port family, two of whom were sheriffs and whose honour of Kington was largely composed of royal demesne and lands of earl Harold. This connection may have arisen simply because of St Guthlac's position within the castle, or it may reflect an older relationship with crown estates'. See Pearn, p. 132.

³¹ See Pearn, pp. 119-20, and *HD*, p. 128.

³² See Pearn, pp. 119-20, with reference to *HD*, p. 79 and entries for Thinghill, Moccas, Sutton, Little Cowarne and Avenbury, in *HD*, pp. 32-34.

³³ Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009.

³⁴ Pearn, p. 119.

won the castle by force in the siege of that year. The 1141 charter of the Empress Matilda that makes Miles earl of Hereford also formalises his possession of the castle, bestowing ‘motam Hereford cum toto castello’.³⁵

It is more probable that shrieval control of the castle was broken with the creation of an earl of Hereford and with the displacement of an authority that had been sympathetic to King Stephen; Roger de Port may have become sheriff on the death of Payn Fitz John in 1137,³⁶ a position which could have placed him in charge of the castle during its resistance against Miles in 1140. The surrender of the minster may have come about as a result of pressure from Roger’s new master, the earl, who felt no need to protect Roger’s interests, especially if they clashed with his own in the matter of property within the castle grounds. Besides, Miles was a persistent despoiler of church lands, so this surrender of church property to his allies at Gloucester Abbey may have been designed to mitigate his impious or insensitive deeds elsewhere.

Although its properties seem to have been eroded by the de Ports in the course of the 1130s, there is no reason to suppose that the minster ceased to function as a religious institution before the 1140 siege. This event seems to have been a turning point in its history, perhaps marking the moment at which it became defunct as a church. Plans were already afoot in 1139 x 1140 to establish a new priory in Hereford, but no mention was made of incorporating St Guthlac’s at that stage.³⁷ This would seem to suggest that a catastrophic change took place at some point between 1139 and 1143, forcing a consideration of the minster’s future in the arrangements being made for the creation of the priory. Although

³⁵ ‘The motte of Hereford and the whole castle’ (my translation). Latin text taken from *RRAN*, III (1968), pp. 150-51 (number 393).

³⁶ For more details of the career of Payn Fitz John, see chapter 2, below.

³⁷ *EEA VII*, pp. 19-20 (number 19).

the St Guthlac's community seems somehow to have survived, the canons may have been displaced in 1140, fleeing the violence of the castle site and leaving their church behind. My account is somewhat contradicted by Roger de Port's stated desire, in 1143, to see the church devoted 'divinis officiis plenius';³⁸ the use of the comparative 'plenius', meaning 'more fully', may imply that the religious functions of the church, although diminished, had not entirely vanished prior to the refoundation; there may have been sufficient time between 1140 and 1143 for the community to recover to some extent from its recent misfortunes. His words, however, may have been chosen for pious effect, perhaps without any bearing on the reality of the situation at the minster.

Three documents, all issued in about 1143, definitively mark the end of St Guthlac's existence as a collegiate church of secular canons. They herald the beginning of its new life as a Benedictine house, united with the church of St Peter, Hereford, and given to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, with the extended community resettled in a new building, away from the city centre.

The first of these documents records the surrender by Roger de Port of St Guthlac's Minster to those monks of St Peter's, Gloucester, living at Hereford.³⁹ At about the time of this charter, Bishop Robert de Béthune was embarking on a vigorous campaign to restore church lands; this document, possibly extracted under the threat of excommunication, may have been one of its earliest manifestations.⁴⁰ His programme of restoring church properties confiscated during the Anarchy continued, with serious consequences for at least one high-ranking collaborator in the St Guthlac's settlement. Miles of Gloucester, Earl of

³⁸ The expression appears in a charter of Bishop Robert de Béthune, reproduced below in Appendix 5.

³⁹ For Roger de Port's charter, see Appendix 3.

⁴⁰ For a description of Bishop Robert's use of excommunication in his campaign to recapture church lands, see chapter 8, below.

Hereford, was eventually excommunicated for seizing church lands; Bishop Robert's forthright attitude in dealing with lay offenders against the church made him (in the eyes of the anonymous author of the *Gesta Stephani*) quite outstanding amongst contemporary churchmen.⁴¹

The second in this series of documents is a charter of Bishop Bernard of St David's. It confirms de Port's donation and provides an insight into the ritual attendant on an official surrender of property to the church.⁴² Barrow identifies this method of symbolically validating an agreement with a knife as one used by Bernard himself in c. 1101, when, in witnessing a grant to Monmouth Priory, he had broken a knife beneath his feet, unable to break it with his hands.⁴³

The third document, a charter of Robert de Béthune, elaborates on the fate of the canons and the motives behind the changes that were wrought in 1143.⁴⁴ It gives notice that St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, have been united, with the joint community resettled in a new church outside the city walls. The charter deems the sites of both St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, unsuitable for religious life; the reference to St Guthlac's position inside the castle as a 'tumultus et sanguinum locus' could be a direct reference to the events of 1140. The compound dedication of the new priory church to SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac contains a novel element; Alison Binns is of the opinion that Paul was included in the dedication because of his traditional association with Peter.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Potter, pp. 158-60.

⁴² For Bishop Bernard's charter, see Appendix 4.

⁴³ *EEA VII*, p. xxxv.

⁴⁴ For Robert de Béthune's charter giving notice of the unification of St Guthlac's and St Peter's, see Appendix 5.

⁴⁵ Alison Binns, *Dedications of Monastic Houses in England and Wales 1066-1216* (Woodbridge; Wolfboro: The Boydell Press, 1989), p. 51, note 266.

A letter of 1148 x 1153 from Gilbert Foliot (by then Bishop of Hereford) to Pope Eugenius III, asking for a papal privilege to confirm the union of St Guthlac's and St Peter's, seems to confirm that the St Guthlac's Minster community had indeed survived until 1143.⁴⁶ The union was accomplished, according to the letter, 'assensu clericorum eiusdem ecclesie',⁴⁷ which supposedly refers to St Guthlac's. The letter is also significant in shedding some light on the condition of the minster immediately before its refoundation as a priory; the phrase 'ecclesiam enim illam de manu laica multo tandem labore eruimus et quia in eadem minus officiose Domino seruibatur'⁴⁸ corroborates the image of a church that was firmly in the control of a lay power and in which religious services were not being properly fulfilled. The document stops short of criticising the conduct of the clerics, which suggests that it would be a mistake to view the minster as a casualty in a struggle between the secular and the monastic wings of the English church. Indeed, all of the ecclesiastical parties (secular and monastic) named in this document and in the others relating to the refoundation are represented as united and in agreement in recapturing the minster from lay hands and subjecting its community to the rule of Gloucester. In the end, reform and the Rule of St Benedict were ushered in to finally wrest control of the minster from the succession of temporal lords who had exploited it for a century.

This goal was apparently desirable enough to convince the cathedral to set aside the regular disputes that had consistently soured its relations with Gloucester Abbey for many years. These disputes had arisen largely as a result of

⁴⁶ *LCGF*, p. 119 (number 83), as referred to in Pearn, p. 119, note 41. I have reproduced the text as Appendix 6. Brooke et al suggest that the letter may be attributable to Foliot's predecessor as Bishop of Hereford, Robert de Béthune, with the bishop's initial and the name of the abbot both altered in error. See *LCGF*, p. 119, note 1.

⁴⁷ 'By the assent of the clerics of the same church' (my translation).

⁴⁸ 'For we freed that church from lay hands, at length and by great labour, and because the Lord was being less dutifully served in the same' (my translation).

the presence of a Gloucester cell at St Peter's, Hereford, within the immediate vicinity of the cathedral:⁴⁹ the donation of St Guthlac's Minster to Gloucester Abbey may have come about as a convenient way of compensating the abbey for the removal of its cell to a less aggravating, extramural site, and perhaps as an incentive to hurry along the departure of the monks for the site at Eign, which had been agreed upon by both Gloucester Abbey and Hereford Cathedral some three years previously.⁵⁰

The story of St Guthlac's Minster, therefore, would seem to terminate in 1143, the year in which the community left its home within the castle. Religious life on Castle Green, however, did not come to a full stop with the departure of the canons. St Guthlac's shared the castle grounds with another religious building, the chapel of St Martin, which was probably founded in the first half of the twelfth century by an ancestor of Hugh II de Lacy; Whitehead's favoured candidate for its founder is Payn Fitz John, who may have had the chapel built during his time as sheriff of Herefordshire. Its absence from the list of de Lacy properties donated to Gloucester Abbey by Hugh I de Lacy in c. 1101 (reproduced as Appendix 8) certainly seems to suggest that it was established at a later date.⁵¹

⁴⁹ I give an account of these disputes in the next chapter.

⁵⁰ *EEA VII*, pp. 19-20 (number 19).

⁵¹ For accounts of the history of the chapel of St Martin, see Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', pp. 5-6, and Pearn, pp. 154-55. The history of this chapel before a royal charter of c. 1179 x 1182 (which confirms the donation, by a 'Hugh de Lacy', of the chapel to the priory) is problematic and may have been confused by two charters that are now generally regarded as spurious. These are reproduced in *Charters and Records of Hereford Cathedral*, ed. by William W. Capes (Hereford: Wilson and Phillips, 1908), pp. 13-14, and in *EEA VII*, pp. 107-09 (number 155). If we accept that the first of these two charters is unreliable, the earliest authentic documentary reference to St Martin's is to be found in Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 47v. It reproduces a charter of Hugh de Lacy (most probably Hugh II de Lacy) granting the chapel to St Guthlac's Priory (Whitehead gives the charter a date of c. 1154; see Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 5). A royal charter (reproduced in Capes, p. 22, and given a date of 1163 x 1173 in both Capes and in Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 5; a later date of c. 1179 x 1182 is given by Barrow in *EEA VII*, p. 107) confirms the grant of St Martin's to the abbot of Gloucester and to the prior and monks of Hereford. The chapel in the castle was not the only medieval church in

The foundation in Hereford of St Martin's may have been symbolic, marking a shift in emphasis in the religious life of the castle and its site; the incoming cult of Martin (possibly given its first expression in Hereford in the establishment of St Martin's in the castle) may have been given a foothold specifically to compete with a long-standing cult of St Guthlac. The probable attitude of the Norman castellans towards the minster, however, although characterised by Whitehead as one of disdain,⁵² would not necessarily have been one of rivalry or hostility. If there was an attempt to marginalise the Guthlac cult, it was not successful, and the dedication survived refoundation.

The St Guthlac's buildings, if they were not demolished after 1143, might conceivably have retained their religious function, perhaps in association with St Martin's (which belonged to the new priory by 1182; the original gift may have been made up to thirty years before that date). Certain elements of St Guthlac's Minster do seem to have survived beyond 1143; during the reign of Edward I (1272-1307), for example, a fire at the castle destroyed a wooden shrine housing the body of St Guthlac.⁵³

Even after St Martin's had been superseded by the chapel in the king's oriel,⁵⁴ the priory continued to maintain links, both practical and notional, with the site of its former home on Castle Green. Its monks discharged certain duties

Hereford to be dedicated to St Martin; a church on the southern side of the Wye was also dedicated to the saint. The early history of the church is poorly documented, and it cannot be established beyond doubt that the dedication of the chapel in the castle preceded that of this church. Indeed, Pearn suggests that St Martin's over the Wye was yet another foundation of the de Lacy family, who are 'known to have had gardens in St Martin's suburb, although the tithe of these belonged to the castle chapel, and they [i.e. the de Lacys] owned part of Bullinghope, whose church, St Peter's, was subordinate to St Martin's over the Wye'. See Pearn, p. 195.

⁵² Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 5. It would seem, however, that Whitehead has since modified his opinion: he attributes the foundation of St Peter's, Hereford, to a desire on the part of the de Lacy family (likely to have been in charge of the castle in the last quarter of the eleventh century) to 'breathe new life into the minster on Castle Green' and to acknowledge 'its position as the mother church of Hereford'. See Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford*, p. 31.

⁵³ Colvin, II, 676. Colvin refers to E101/565/5 (King's Remembrancer: Accounts, various). For a survey of competing and contradictory claims on St Guthlac's relics, see Thacker, p. 6.

⁵⁴ Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 5.

within the castle,⁵⁵ and the fifteenth-century forged charter quoted at the beginning of this chapter serves to illustrate that the priory monks continued to be aware of the long history of their church and its demonstrable links with the castle site.

⁵⁵ See chapter 3, below.

CHAPTER 2: ST PETER'S CHURCH, HEREFORD

In his survey of the city of Hereford, John Leland includes the following short account of the foundation of St Peter's Church in Hereford market place:

There is a faire chapell of St. Cuthebert, the este parte whereof is made *opere circulari*. There were sometye prebendaries; but one of the Laceis translatyd them thens onto St. Peter's in Hereford towne, and that coledge was thens translatyd into the este suburbe of Hereford, and a priorie of monkes erectyd there, and made a cell to Glocestar.¹

Leland's description is particularly interesting in two respects. It makes reference to an otherwise unknown Hereford church, 'St. Cuthebert's', as well as giving an account of the process whereby the founder of St Peter's provided his new establishment with its personnel.

The passage occurs as part of Leland's description of the castle site, and so it has been suggested that 'St. Cuthebert's' is a corruption of 'St Guthlac's'. The names 'Cuthebert' and 'Guthlac' may be phonetically close enough to account for this explanation, but certain unresolved problems remain. For Whitehead, the St Guthlac's explanation relies on a double mistake. Not only is 'Cuthebert', as Whitehead puts it, 'a garbling' of Guthlac; it is also a misidentification of a church building originally dedicated to St Martin, a foundation known to have shared the castle site with St Guthlac's and which was probably constructed in the twelfth century along the same lines as the circular chapel still standing in the grounds of Ludlow castle.²

¹ *The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the Years 1535-1543*, ed. by Lucy Toulmin Smith, 5 vols (London: George Bell and sons, 1906-10), II (1908), 65.

² Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 5.

Regardless of the precise identity of the 'faire chapell' seen by Leland, his story of the removal of the clerks from the castle site to staff the new foundation cannot be substantiated by any of the other sources, and there are good reasons (as outlined in the previous chapter) for supposing that a community of canons, that of St Guthlac's Minster, remained in their accommodation within the castle grounds until the 1140s.³ Despite these inconsistencies, however, Leland's account may have some merit as an authentic description of the manner in which St Peter's, Hereford, was initially staffed; although the St Guthlac's Minster community was apparently not entirely depleted by a borrowing of canons to maintain the new church, some of its members may have been prevailed upon to move to the new foundation.

The de Lacy responsible for St Peter's was Walter, who founded his new collegiate church of secular canons in the market place in about 1084. Pearn is of the opinion that Walter, being 'one of the few first generation Norman benefactors of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester', would probably have intended to ally his church to the abbey and would have preferred to install a community of monks, but that the smallness of the Gloucester community in the immediate post-Conquest period meant that secular canons were used as a practical, short-term solution.⁴ The implication of Pearn's argument is that secular canons (possibly drawn from the immediate locale) would have been more readily available for recruitment to a new foundation, or perhaps that canons would have

³ For Whitehead, the association of St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, is of the most intimate kind from the time of the latter's earliest beginnings. Influenced, perhaps, by Leland's account of the transferral of personnel from one to the other, Whitehead effectively makes no institutional distinction between the two churches for the period 1084-1143; for Whitehead, both were patronised by the de Lacys and both were in the care of the same priests. See Whitehead, *The Castle Green at Hereford*, pp. 30-31. I am unable to agree with this interpretation, not least because of the distinction that apparently still existed between St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, in the 1130s, when the charter reproduced as Appendix 2 was drawn up.

⁴ Pearn, pp. 383-84.

required fewer special arrangements (in terms of training or material provision) to be put in place prior to settling at the church. In either case, Walter could have turned to St Guthlac's Minster to locate some at least of the personnel that he required.

It is more likely still that de Lacy household clergy were involved in staffing St Peter's at the outset; Julia Barrow argues that of the witnesses to a 1085 land-grant of Bishop Robert the Lotharingian, the four individuals identified as clerks in Roger de Lacy's entourage would in all probability have been attached to St Peter's.⁵ She also points out that the four men (Ralph, Geoffrey, Odo and Gerald) all have continental names, which may suggest that the church was at first a more emphatically continental institution than its older neighbours within the city. This argument supports Pearn's view that St Peter's served the newly arrived French community dwelling within the circuit of the market place outside the old town, along with Walter de Lacy's scattered rural estates.⁶

As well as these pastoral activities, the canons of St Peter's would have been expected to provide memorial services for the founder of their church and his family, a full liturgical round, and other duties as directed by their de Lacy patrons.⁷ For instance, it is likely that they would have been called on to fulfil some scribal and administrative functions for the family.

Walter de Lacy's considerable gifts of land to the church are recorded in certain of the entries for St Peter's in the Domesday Book. In Appendix 7 I have

⁵ See Julia Barrow, 'Clergy in the Diocese of Hereford in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 26 (2003), 37-53 (p. 46), citing *EEA VII*, pp. 1-2 (number 2).

⁶ Pearn, pp. 383-84.

⁷ Evidence for the activities of contemporary Norman communities of secular canons is examined in Lucien Musset, 'Recherches sur les Communautés de Clercs Séculars en Normandie au XI^e Siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie*, 55 (1960), 5-38 (pp. 24-25).

included, along with the estates named as belonging to St Peter's 'of Hereford', those estates attributed simply to 'St Peter's' where the Hereford church seems just as likely a candidate as Gloucester Abbey (also dedicated to St Peter).

Further details of the provisions made for St Peter's by its founder are included in the *Gloucester Chronicle*, under the entry recording Hugh de Lacy's donation of the church to Gloucester Abbey.⁸

Walter de Lacy did not live to see any long-term plans for the church accomplished. As construction of the church was nearing completion, he fell to his death from a ladder where he had been carrying out an inspection of the works. He was buried in the chapter house of Gloucester Abbey.⁹ In fulfilment, perhaps, of the original plans for the church, his son Hugh de Lacy gave St Peter's Church to the abbey, a donation recorded in the abbey chronicle for both 1100 and 1101.¹⁰ At the same time Hugh may also have given St Owen's in

⁸ For the account of Walter de Lacy's donations to St Peter's, Hereford, given in the *Gloucester Chronicle*, see Appendix 8.

⁹ William Dugdale, *The Baronage of England*, 2 vols (London: Tho. Newcomb, for Abel Roper, John Martin, and Henry Herringman, 1675-1676), I (1675), 95, for the story of Walter's accident, which is not substantiated by any contemporary accounts. Dugdale gives the date as 1084; an alternative date of 27th March 1085 is given in *Historia et Cartularium Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriae*, ed. by William Henry Hart, Rolls Series, 33, 3 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader and Dyer, 1863-67), I (1863), 73. This is the date now generally accepted for Walter's death; see, for example, C. P. Lewis, 'Lacy, Walter de', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <<http://0-www.oxforddnb.com.wam.leeds.ac.uk/view/article/15863>> [accessed September 2009]. It is also accorded well with the 1085 date given in the charter reproduced in *EEA VII*, pp. 1-2 (number 2), which records a grant of lands by Bishop Roger the Lotharingian to Walter's son Roger; the element that relates to Holme Lacy renews terms that had been in place with Roger's late father.

¹⁰ Hart, I, 326 and 84. The donation may have taken place during Hugh's tenure of the office of sheriff; see Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, p. 45 (though Green indicates some doubt as to whether Hugh was ever formally given this title). One additional puzzling detail in the vexed issue of the exact date of his gift of St Peter's, Hereford, to St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, is a 1096 confirmation of the donation (along with various others to Gloucester Abbey) by William II. See *RRAN*, II (1956), 410 (number LXIa). The passage relating to St Peter's runs as follows, and may be usefully compared with the text reproduced as Appendix 8 (which does not mention William II, but instead mentions William I and Henry I): 'Concessi eiam ecclesiam sancti Petri de Hereford de dono Hugonis de Laceio, cum prebendis ad eam pertinentibus, et decem villanos in x. villis: unum villanum in Stocche de Herefordeschire, unum in Staintona de Scropeschira, j. in Stocche de Scropeschira, j. in Wibeieia de Herefortschire, j. in Brithmarifruma in eadem schira; v. autem villanos de v. maneriis in Gloucestraschira, j. in Getinges, j. in Queninton, j. in Strattona, j. in Wicha, j. in Dunteshurna, et j. in Hama; et hec omnia quita ab omnibus geldis et consuetudine. Ecclesiam quoque sancti Audoeni in Hereford, cui adjacet una decima et j.

Hereford, generally thought to have been founded by his father,¹¹ to Gloucester Abbey.¹²

This is the point at which, according to certain accounts of the history of St Peter's, the secular canons were converted into or replaced by a community of Benedictine monks, the embryonic conventual community that would eventually absorb St Guthlac's to form the Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac, which was established in new buildings outside the city walls in 1143. This straightforward version of events, however, does not account for the controversy, over a period of more than thirty years, surrounding the status of St Peter's Church relative to the abbey and to Hereford Cathedral. It seems likely that the advent of the Benedictines in Hereford may have been somewhat delayed; although David Knowles suggests that certain charters of Hugh de Lacy in the St Guthlac's cartulary 'seem to establish that it was conventual at or soon after the original

denarius in die, et tres mansuras j. Leiurt, j. Radulphi, iij. Stephani prepositi'; 'I also gave the church of St Peter, Hereford, of Hugh de Lacy's donation, with the prebends belonging to it, and ten villagers in ten vills; one villager in Stoke in Herefordshire, one in Stanton in Shropshire, one in Stoke in Shropshire, one in Weobley in Herefordshire, one in Castle Frome in the same shire. Five villagers besides in the five manors in Gloucestershire; one in Guiting, one in Quenington, one in Stratton, one in Wyke, one in Duntisbourne and one in Ham, and these all free of all taxes and custom. Also the church of St Owen in Hereford, to which is attached a tithes and one penny a day, and three dwellings, i. of Leiurt, [i]i. of Ralph, iii. of Stephen the reeve' (my translation). Richard Sharpe has expressed his belief that this charter is a forged reworking of the general confirmation reproduced in Hart, I, 334 and in *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*, ed. by David Bates (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), pp. 515-16 (number 157), both of which give its date wrongly as 1086 (instead of 1096). Richard Sharpe, private communication, August 2009.

¹¹ The early history of St Owen's is briefly discussed in Pearn, pp. 149-50, 193 and 195. Pearn thinks it likely that St Owen's and St Peter's were founded at around the same time; the former was an extramural and subordinate counterpart to the latter, probably on the de Lacy fee and intended to serve only their extramural tenants.

¹² The St Guthlac's cartulary records the gift of St Owen's as being to St Peter's, Hereford, rather than directly to the mother house. See Pearn, p. 149, citing Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 93v. The version given in the *Gloucester Chronicle* is slightly different, recording the donation as being directly to Gloucester (see Appendix 8). The cartulary's charter of Hugh de Lacy that gives notification of the grant of churches by the hand of Bishop Reinhelm, however, is described as a 'suspect source' in Martin Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (London: Oxford University Press, 1975), p. 142, note 4. The St Guthlac's cartulary is briefly described in chapter 5, below.

gift to Gloucester abbey', the earliest named prior is John, who does not occur until 1131 x 1136.¹³

Still more puzzling details emerge in records for 1108.¹⁴ The *Gloucester Chronicle* gives an account of a quarrel between Abbot Peter of Gloucester and Bishop Reinhelm of Hereford over the right to bury Ralph Fitz Ansketill. The case was heard at a Whitsun court, with Robert of Meulan presiding. The judgement appears in part to have been based on the wishes of the deceased: Count Robert pronounced 'ut in posterum haberent universi liberam potestatem se ubicunque vivi disposuerant, post mortem sepeliendi'.¹⁵ Reinhelm had carried off the corpse by force; he was ordered to return it and only avoided having to do so by setting aside all but one of certain claims and pleas upheld against Abbot Peter of Gloucester regarding St Peter's, Hereford:

Hoc universis episcopis qui aderant consentientibus, ipse Remelinus omnes calumnias et querelas quas habuit erga domnum abbatem Petrum, pro ecclesia Sancti Petri in Herefordia dimisit, excepta duntaxat, pulsatione signorum ante canonicos, tantum corpus non defoderetur. Hac de causa remansit corpus indefossum.¹⁶

¹³ *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, ed. by David Knowles and others, 2nd edn, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) I, 91 and 91, note 1. For Barrow's argument that one of the charters cited by Knowles (Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 93v) is a forgery, see her footnote in *EEA VII*, p. 8. The other charter (Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 51v) has nowhere been discussed in any detail.

¹⁴ The date is established by the appearance of Bishop Reinhelm and Archbishop Anselm in company. See *RRAN*, II, 79-80 (number 880).

¹⁵ 'All in future should have free choice in burial after death, wherever they themselves had arranged while living' (my translation). Latin text taken from Hart, I, 14.

¹⁶ 'With all of the bishops who had been there having consented to this, Reinhelm himself set aside all of the claims and pleas which he had against Abbot Peter regarding the church of St Peter in Hereford, excepting only the ringing of bells before the canons, as long as the body should not be dug up. Because of this, the body remained buried' (my translation). Latin text taken from Hart, I, 14. The Latin of the passage is awkward, but the sense seems to be that Reinhelm renounced spurious claims over St Peter's, Hereford, in exchange for being permitted to keep Ralph Fitz Ansketill's body. A plausible alternative interpretation of the Latin is given in William Barber's translation of the *Gloucester Chronicle* in David Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud: Alan Sutton, 1991), p. 605, which gives 'With all the bishops who were there agreeing to this the said Remelin renounced all the slanders and accusations which he had upheld towards Peter [standing] before the church of St Peter in Hereford, with ringing of bells before the canons, only so far as this matter was concerned, that the body was not to be buried. For this reason the body was returned unburied'. The main

The extent and nature of Reinhelm's claims and pleas cannot be established, but the episode suggests that the monks of Gloucester were encountering strenuous opposition from the cathedral in their attempts to assert their rights to St Peter's. The wording of the passage is problematic and fails to specify quite what is meant by 'the ringing of bells before the canons', but this element is more likely to be a condition of the agreement than a contemporary observation on rituals attendant on the agreement-making process. The issue of bell-ringing was a claim that Reinhelm was not willing to drop, and he insisted that the proper sequence be observed when bells were rung in the city; the highest-ranking church, the cathedral, was entitled to ring its own bells for each service before subordinate churches could ring their bells for the same service. In attaching conditions to the right to ring bells at St Peter's, Reinhelm was taking steps to prohibit an action by the Hereford Benedictines that had the potential to provoke the cathedral canons, and that may already have been one of the causes or symptoms of strained relations between the religious communities of Hereford.

The right to ring bells had elsewhere created friction, as attested by a letter of St Anselm to Bishop Osbern of Exeter, composed at some point between 1094 and 1097.¹⁷ The situation in Exeter seems to mirror that of Hereford, with the daughter house of a distant abbey in conflict with local secular clergy. In the course of a long-standing feud between the canons of Exeter Cathedral and the

differences between Barber's interpretation and my own arise from the translation of the terms 'corpus non defoderetur' and 'remansit corpus indefossum', and from the implications of the preposition 'pro'. Barber's version of events describes an outcome contrary to the one at which my translation arrives (and which relegates the role of St Peter's to mere backdrop for Reinhelm's renunciation of his quarrels with Abbot Peter). Martin Brett's interpretation of the episode is broadly in agreement with my own, although it adds the following details: 'Ralph Fitz Ansketill, apparently a benefactor of the dependency of Gloucester Abbey in Hereford, died, and the Abbot of Gloucester carried his body off to his church for burial. Reinhelm, the new Bishop of Hereford, immediately followed into the diocese of Worcester, dug up the body and carried it back to his cathedral, on the ground that Ralph was his parishioner'. See Brett, p. 98.

¹⁷ The dates are given in *The Letters of St. Anselm of Canterbury*, ed. and trans. by Walter Frölich, 3 vols (Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1990-94), II, 80.

monks of St Nicholas's Priory, a daughter house of Battle Abbey, Bishop Osbern prohibited the monks from ringing bells, a move deemed irregular by Anselm. Anselm makes the observation that injunctions of this kind should only apply where monks serve in the mother church of the city, and that monks and canons should otherwise ring bells according to the services that each will perform. Anselm's involvement was not in itself sufficient to resolve the situation, and an intervention by Pope Paschal II followed.¹⁸ The examples of Exeter and Hereford may serve to illustrate the particular shape taken by eleventh- and twelfth-century disputes arising in conflicts between a cathedral and the personnel of a remotely governed religious house within the diocese.

Whatever the interpretation of the terms of the agreement between Hereford and Gloucester, it certainly appears that by 1108 the abbey had still to consolidate its control over St Peter's. S. H. Martin remarks on the omission of any reference to a prior in charters relating to St Peter's for the years 1125 and 1132.¹⁹ The latter of the two, recording a dispute between the monks and the cathedral canons over territories in Hereford and in Ocle Pychard, is further evidence for friction between the neighbouring communities. Even in 1134, at a point when the Benedictines seem finally to have been in possession of the building, the status of St Peter's Church relative to the cathedral and to the abbey was far from clear:

Anno Domini millesimo centesimo tricesimo quarto facta est
concordia inter episcopum et capitulum Herefordiæ et
abbatem et monachos Gloucestriæ, de introitu Sancti Petri

¹⁸ For the two letters touching on this conflict in Exeter, see *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, ed. by Francis Schmitt, 6 vols (Edinburgh: Nelson, 1940-51), IV (1949), 53-54; 131.

¹⁹ Martin, 'St. Guthlac's Priory and the City Churches', p. 220. The charters are to be found in Oxford, Balliol College 271, fols 16r and 77v. I have reproduced both charters in full as Appendices 9 and 10.

Herefordiæ quam canonici ejusdem ecclesiæ, transactis temporibus, habuerant, ut in calendario infra, in H. littera, patet.²⁰

The composition, preserved in full in the St Guthlac's cartulary,²¹ implies that the monks had previously encountered problems in entering the church building.

The charter is interesting in documenting the ongoing interest of the de Lacy family in the business of the church they had founded; one of the witnesses to the charter is Payn Fitz John, described as 'illius ecclesie patrono'. Payn's status by 1134 is unclear; he was or had been sheriff of Shropshire, but the exact nature of his powers in Herefordshire is unknown.²² It is quite certain, however, that he was a pre-eminent member of the local nobility; he may have commanded the castle, and the author of the *Gesta Stephani* remarks on the unprecedented scale of the powers exercised by Payn and by Miles of Gloucester in the Welsh Marches during the reign of Henry I.²³ His connection with St Peter's came about through his marriage to Sybil de Lacy (the daughter of Hugh); along with de Lacy properties, he seems to have acquired the de Lacy

²⁰ 'In 1134 AD, an agreement was made between the bishop and chapter of Hereford and the abbot and monks of Gloucester about going into St Peter's, Hereford, that the canons of the same church owned in times gone by, as is clear in the calendar below, under the letter H' (my translation). Latin text taken from Hart, 1, 16.

²¹ For the composition between the bishop and chapter of Hereford and the abbot and monks of Gloucester, see Appendix 11.

²² Judith A. Green includes Payn in her list of Herefordshire sheriffs for the period c. 1123-37, though she indicates uncertainty for the entry. See Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154*, p. 45. For the fullest survey of Payn's career, see W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy, 1066-1194* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), pp. 176-81. It is a measure of Payn's prominence that he receives mention in both the *De Nugis Curialium* of Walter Map and the *Itinerarium Cambriae* of Gerald of Wales. In the former he is called the king's chamberlain, in the latter a secretary and privy councillor. See *Walter Map: De Nugis Curialium*, ed. and trans. by M. R. James, revised by C. N. L. Brooke and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1983), pp. 440-41; *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, ed. by J. S. Brewer and others, Rolls Series, 21, 8 vols (London: Longmans, Green, Reader, and Dyer, 1861-91), vi: *Itinerarium Cambriae et Descriptio Cambriae*, ed. by James F. Dimock (1868), p. 34.

²³ Potter, pp. 24-25.

alliance with Gloucester Abbey, and the desire to cast himself as protector and benefactor of the de Lacy church in Hereford.²⁴

Documents issued in the latter half of the 1130s seem to suggest a more settled status for those Gloucester monks residing at Hereford. A charter of King Stephen, composed in Hereford in around June 1138, confirms gifts of Ingulf the clerk to the monks of Gloucester.²⁵ Another of Stephen's charters (issued at some point between 1136 and 1139) grants alms formerly given to Robert Scototh to the monks of St Peter's, Hereford.²⁶ The monks also attracted the patronage of Richard de Corneilles, who gave them a field near the city, with certain conditions attached.²⁷ They felt secure enough, too, to exchange land with the clerks of St Guthlac's Minster at some point in the 1130s (the charter recording the transaction is not closely dateable).²⁸ The language used in the latter document, however, does not impart a sense of permanence when referring to the monks at St Peter's, Hereford; it describes them as 'monachi n[ost]ri apud s[an]c[tu]m pet[rum] he[re]ford [con]morantes',²⁹ suggesting that the matter of accommodation for the Hereford community remained only partially resolved

²⁴ *RRAN*, III, p. 152 (number 397) records that Payn was accustomed to give the king's alms to the monks of Gloucester, presumably referring to those living at the Hereford cell.

²⁵ *RRAN*, III, pp. 151-52 (number 395).

²⁶ *RRAN*, III, p. 152 (number 396), which gives Robert's name as 'Scoton'; Julia Barrow has pointed out that 'Scototh' (or 'Escatot') is the correct rendering of the family name of this minor but notable landowning family in Herefordshire. Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009. Another charter of Stephen confirms certain other provisions for the support of St Peter's, Hereford: see *RRAN*, III, p. 152 (number 398).

²⁷ See Appendix 12. The charter is dateable to the period 1141 x 1143 due to the appearance of Earl Miles in the witness list. For the dating of Miles's charters, see David Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', *Camden Miscellany*, 22 (1964), 1-75 (p. 9).

²⁸ See Appendix 2.

²⁹ 'Our monks living at St Peter's, Hereford' (my translation). This view is somewhat contradicted by the language used in a letter of 1148 x 1153 from Gilbert Foliot to Pope Eugenius III (reproduced here as Appendix 6), requesting papal confirmation for the union of St Peter's, Hereford, and St Guthlac's: Foliot refers to 'ecclesiam sancti Petri de Herefordia, diu ante a predictis monachis habitam'; 'the church of St Peter of Hereford, owned by the aforementioned monks for a long time before' (my translation). The weight of evidence, however, seems to suggest strongly that the 'long time' to which Foliot refers cannot have been longer than a decade.

until 1143, when the monks' place was formally established in their new buildings.

Tensions between Gloucester Abbey and Hereford Cathedral seem to have abated during the episcopate of Robert de Béthune, and cordial relations continued under his successor Gilbert Foliot (1148-63), who had been Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48) and with whom Robert had co-operated to establish the new priory in 1143; the steps taken by the two men and their collaborators have been described in the previous chapter.

There is some evidence to suggest that certain fixtures of the church in the market place were removed to the new priory building at the same time as or shortly after the resettlement of the St Peter's community. The one element alluded to by Leland is the body of Bernard Quarre:

There was a tombe of one Bernard Quarre, a provost or ruler of St. Peter's in Herford afore the erectyng of S. Guthlak's Priory, slayne at the altar, and aftar in continuaunce translaytd to the chapiter of S. Guthlake.³⁰

It would seem that the community, although reformed and Benedictine by the time of the move to the new site, was keen to retain those treasures that had formed a part of its recent secular past, and that the shift into a Benedictine way of life did not necessitate a total break with the priory's secular heritage. Evidence for continuity of this kind between the Hereford churches suggests that the community would have taken their belongings with them, and that a St Peter's book collection would have accompanied its owners to a new home to form the nucleus of the priory library. These issues will be looked at in more detail in a later chapter.

³⁰ Smith, II, 68.

Just as in the case of the churches in the castle, the fate of the church in Hereford market place remained closely tied to that of its successor institution. St Peter's, Hereford, became a parish church with a vicar appointed by the priory.³¹ A programme of rebuilding seems to have commenced not long after the departure of the monks; the chancel and its side chapel, dating from around the year 1200, are the earliest parts of the building that occupies the site today.

The status of St Peter's, even after the loss of its conventual identity, continued to provoke sporadic controversies until the time of the Reformation. S. H. Martin's explanation for the prosperity and success of St Peter's as a parish church also provides an insight into the reasons behind its volatile relationship with the cathedral. He describes a desire on the part of the city authorities to have a church of their own, independent of cathedral control, at a time when territorial clashes between secular and ecclesiastical institutions could give rise to bitter recriminations.³² St Peter's was playing an important role in civic business even before it lost its conventual status: the open space in front of the building played host to a gathering of townspeople that witnessed a land transaction in 1125, the sale being concluded by the laying of the deed upon the altar of St Peter.³³ The valuable patronage of city officials explains the continuing development and expansion of the church building in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; it also sheds light on the crucial role played by St Peter's and the priory in power-brokering in medieval Hereford.

One recurring source of strife was the issue of the right to bury the dead, over which the cathedral claimed monopoly. At its most divisive the dispute

³¹ The fullest survey of the history of St Peter's between 1143 and the Reformation is to be found in Martin, 'St. Guthlac's Priory and the City Churches', 222-25.

³² Martin, 'St. Guthlac's Priory and the City Churches', 223.

³³ See Appendix 9.

gave rise to the case of Roger Side, a fourteenth-century vicar of St Peter's who claimed the right to bury his parishioners and who was taken by the cathedral chapter to the deanery court, then to the Archbishop of Canterbury's Court of Arches, then to the Papal Curia.³⁴ The excavations at Hereford County Hospital, revealing the mixture of skeleton types normally associated with a parish cemetery, have led K. H. Crooks to conclude that St Peter's had the use of the priory burial ground.³⁵ As well as potentially locating the burial ground at the centre of the Roger Side dispute, archaeological evidence of this kind may provide some interesting insights into the nature of the offices performed by the monks of St Guthlac's Priory on behalf of the wider Hereford community and in association with the parish church of St Peter.

The Roger Side dispute was the concluding episode in a struggle that had begun late in the eleventh century, with St Peter's, Hereford, consistently on the front line; this struggle was between Hereford Cathedral and the various local secular powers that sought to check its influence in the city, often in association with Gloucester Abbey. Gloucester had first been ushered into the city and sponsored by the extended de Lacy family, with St Peter's, Hereford, as a focal point for the faction.³⁶ A temporary triumph was won by the cathedral when Earl Miles (who had the abbot of Gloucester for an advocate) died excommunicate as a result of encroaching on the cathedral's properties,³⁷ but the hand of St Guthlac's Priory, Gloucester's daughter cell, remained active in those religious

³⁴ For a summary of the Roger Side case, see Robert Swanson and David Lepine, 'The Later Middle Ages, 1268-1535', in Aylmer and Tiller, pp. 48-86 (pp. 79-80).

³⁵ K. H. Crooks and others, *Excavations at Hereford County Hospital 1998-2003*, SMR 31923, Hereford Archaeology Series, 664 (Hereford: Archaeological Investigations, 2005), § 5.2. Locating the priory buildings in relation to these burials, however, has been difficult. See chapter 3, below.

³⁶ The de Lacy relationship with Gloucester Abbey was further cemented with the appointment of Walter de Lacy as abbot in 1130. For more discussion of de Lacy patronage for the abbey and its monks in Hereford, see chapter 4, below.

³⁷ For a survey of this episode, see chapter 8, below.

undertakings in the city that were accomplished independently of the cathedral, perhaps where there was a concern to exclude the cathedral's influence.

St Peter's today maintains a visible link with the priory in the form of a stone gable cross and some fifteenth-century choir stalls (some having misericords carved with roses) preserved there, all supposed to have come from the priory.³⁸ The stalls, according to local tradition, arrived at St Peter's at the time of the Dissolution, which would make them the single most substantial above-ground survival from the priory.

³⁸ John Leonard, *Churches of Hereford and their Treasures* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 2000), p. 133. For a description of the stalls, which are dated to the period c. 1430-50, see Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, England: *An Inventory of the Historical Monuments in Herefordshire*, 3 vols (London: H.M.S.O., 1931-33), 1 (1931), 122.

CHAPTER 3: THE PRIORY OF SS PETER, PAUL AND GUTHLAC UNTIL 1200

The archaeological record for this twelfth-century foundation at Eign, to the northeast of the city walls, is scarcely clearer than that of St Guthlac's Minster. All of the buildings in what must once have been a substantial complex have since been removed; the evidence of medieval burials found in the vicinity of the County Hospital (together with a small amount of possibly associated masonry) has been used alongside the historical documents to map its probable location.¹

The absence of visible remains is made all the more surprising by post-Dissolution descriptions of an impressive priory church and cloistral range:

The site itself on the north side of the city without Biesters Gate very pleasant and large with much land, spacious gardens and orchards, fine walks, a small rivulet running under the walls called Eigne, the buildings large and great stately chambers and retirements and a large melancholy chapel built with many descents into it from the ground and then of a great height in the roofs struck the enterers with a kind of religious awe.²

¹ Shoesmith, 'St. Guthlac's Priory'. Shoesmith's article until recently provided the best survey of the archaeology at the site of St Guthlac's Priory. Work undertaken by Archaeological Investigations Ltd. at the County Hospital between 1998 and 2003 has uncovered additional human burials and architectural fragments indicative of a high-status medieval building, possibly the monastic church, somewhere in the vicinity. See Crooks, § 1.

² The source of this passage is obscure. It appears (with minor differences) in S. H. Martin, 'St. Guthlac, Hereford's Forgotten Saint', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 34 (1953), 60-70 (p. 69), where Martin cites the passage as being in *The Topographer*: I have been unable to locate it in that particular publication. It has most recently been reprinted in Shoesmith, 'St. Guthlac's Priory', 329. Shoesmith remarks that its source is given as 'the Harleian Mss, but without any date' in John Duncumb, *Collections towards the History and Antiquities of the County of Hereford*, 2 vols (Hereford: E. G. Wright, 1804-12), I, 418-25. Duncumb is more explicit in certain other of his footnotes, ascribing some material on the priory to the Hereford antiquarian Silas Taylor (d. 1678), whose writings must therefore be a possible source for the passage and may yet have more to tell us about the state of the priory in the mid-seventeenth century. Taylor's collections for the history of Herefordshire are in London, British Library, Harley 6726, though the only descriptive text relating to the priory buildings that I have been able to find in the manuscript appears on fol. 227r and gives 'his [i.e. Guthlac's] picture upon the south wall of the chapple of the priory neare to a small west dore that went into the monkes garden was remaining there to be seen lately in my time'.

The chapel described in this passage does not much resemble the surviving twelfth-century structures of the Welsh Marches; the accommodation provided for the earliest residents of the priory must have undergone alterations at some stage before the Dissolution. A gothic structure, perhaps of the fifteenth century, is suggested by a gable end cross reputed to have come from the priory and now in St Peter's, Hereford, but for many years in a garden in Stonebow Road.³

The above passage clearly approves the fittingness of the site for habitation and religious life, but William Stukeley, writing in the eighteenth century, had other ideas as to why the location was selected in the first place:

There was likewise an opulent priory, dedicated to our country saint, Guthlac of Crowland, now intirely ruined: the situation of it in a marshy place best suited him.⁴

Both passages convey the impression of an institution which, in the latter stages of its life, was large and prosperous.⁵ This is the backdrop against which the sixteenth-century St Guthlac's book collection and its individual component manuscripts can be most securely situated.

In spite of the total absence of visible remains and the paucity of strong archaeological evidence for an exact site, a wealth of documentary evidence bearing on the priory and its business is still available to us today. Although no full and comprehensive history of the Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac, Hereford, has ever been written, its fourteenth-century charter book survives,

³ The cross is first mentioned in F. C. Morgan, 'Archaeology 1938', *Transactions of the Woolhope Field Naturalists' Club*, 29 (1938), 204-07 (p. 207), where it is given a late thirteenth-century date. It was found against the wall of the Castle Inn, a building formerly known as the Priory Farm.

⁴ William Stukeley, *Itinerarium Curiosum*, 2nd edn, 2 vols (London: Baker and Leigh, 1776), 1, 72.

⁵ Shoesmith estimates the area occupied by the main monastic buildings to have been no more than 60m², making St Guthlac's larger than Craswall Priory but smaller than Abbey Dore. Shoesmith, 'St. Guthlac's Priory', 352.

awaiting publication.⁶ This document and a manuscript rental (which covers the period 1436 to 1559)⁷ together have the potential to provide a treasury of evidence for the activities of the priory between foundation and Dissolution. Indeed the advent of the priory seems to have been signalled by a flurry of documents, with the result that the first decade of its existence, following its foundation in 1143, is better recorded than the entire history of its two predecessor houses combined.

Shoesmith has already dealt in detail with the post-Dissolution fate of the priory site;⁸ my intention here is to identify and take into account only those aspects of the priory's history likely to have had a bearing on circumstances at St Guthlac's up until the year 1200. A more complete account of the priory's history, dealing with the period 1143-1539 (the writing of which is probably dependent on the appearance of the cartulary in print), is evidently the next step in achieving a fuller understanding of life at St Guthlac's for the whole duration of the medieval period.

The earliest documentary reference to the site chosen for the priory and to its intended use by the church authorities is a grant of land by Bishop Robert de Béthune to Abbot Gilbert Foliot in 1139 x 1140:

Notum sit omnibus presentibus et futuris quod ego
Robertus dei gratia Heref' episcopus concessi Gilberto
abbati Glouc' et fratribus eiusdem loci consensu capituli
mei de Heref' partem terre que est iuxta Igene habentem
in quantitate octo acras, ut in eodem loco edificatur
ecclesia ad honorem dei et sanctorum apostolorum Petri et
Pauli et propter amorem monastice religionis secundum

⁶ Oxford, Balliol College 271. The significance of the manuscript is described in chapter 5, below.

⁷ This rental has been translated into English and published in A. T. Bannister, 'The Possessions of St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Field Naturalists' Club*, 23 (1918), 34-42.

⁸ Shoesmith, 'St. Guthlac's Priory', 329-33.

institutionem Sancti Benedicti, et ego accepi ab eis aliam terram secundum eandem quantitatem que est iuxta fossatum civitatis a boreali parte ne ecclesia Heref' aliquid detrimentum patiatur proprie possessionis. Hec autem omnia facta sunt coram Galfrido Talabot qui est dominus et advocatus eiusdem loci in cuius feudum transiit terra quam dedi eis sicut illa in meum quam accepi ab eis.⁹

It is interesting to note that the 'St Guthlac' element of the priory's dedication is not mentioned in the document, perhaps because the joining of St Guthlac's with St Peter's, Hereford, had not at that stage been thought of. The plan to establish the priory seems initially to have come about as a way of resolving the problems provoked by the presence of Gloucester monks residing within the city walls; if St Guthlac's Minster was not giving cause for concern in 1139 x 1140, we must consider why it became a factor in the settlement of 1143. The most obvious conclusion is that the strife and bloodshed seen in Hereford in 1140 brought about changes substantial enough to make the question of the minster's future more pressing, leading to its absorption into the new priory.¹⁰

The bishop and abbot continued to co-operate until 1143, the date acknowledged as marking the commencement of religious life at the priory. Relations between cathedral and abbey had rarely been harmonious in the first half of the twelfth century, so we might perhaps expect to find evidence for disagreements or wranglings in the documents produced at the time. Evidence of

⁹ 'May it be known to all, both present and future, that I, Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Hereford, have given to Gilbert, Abbot of Gloucester, and to the brothers of the same place (by the consent of my chapter at Hereford) part of the land which is next to the Eign, being of eight acres, that a church might be built in that place, dedicated to the honour of God and the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and (for the love of monastic religion) according to the rule of St Benedict, and I have accepted from them another piece of land of the same extent, which is next to the ditch of the city on the northern side, lest otherwise the church of Hereford should suffer some loss of its own possessions. All of these things were done in the presence of Geoffrey Talbot, who is lord and advocate of the same place, into whose fee the land that I have given to them has passed, just as that which I have accepted from them has passed into my own' (my translation). Latin text taken from *EEA VII*, pp. 19-20 (number 19).

¹⁰ For a discussion of the circumstances in which St Guthlac's Minster ceased to operate as a discrete establishment, see chapter 1, above.

this sort is surprisingly scarce: Morey and Brooke have suggested that a contemporary letter of Gilbert Foliot, addressing thanks to Robert de Béthune for a gift of fish, may contain a veiled admonition for the bishop's refusal to allow the creation of a fishpond to serve the new community,¹¹ but when we consider the strains that would inevitably have been brought about by the excommunication of Earl Miles (Foliot's relative and patron),¹² the priory's early history seems to have been little affected.

Numerous *acta* of Robert de Béthune (d. 1148) in the St Guthlac's cartulary record confirmations to the priory of the churches, chapels and tithes associated with its two predecessors.¹³ The priory was also the recipient of a series of new endowments, both accompanying its foundation and throughout the 1140s and 1150s;¹⁴ it attracted the keen and continued support, for example, of Earl Roger Fitz Miles, a patron whose piety was also reflected in his retirement and death as a monk at Llanthony Secunda in 1155, contrasting sharply with his father's violent demise, excommunicate and on horseback.

¹¹ *LCGF*, p. 43, note 6. The passage in question runs as follows: 'Quid mirum si marcescer invidia, cui vicini divitis extensa late potentia stangni iacentis opusculum interdicit? Invidiam iubes tollere: faciendi stangni concessa licentia, hanc ipse poteris extirpare'; 'What wonder is it if I (to whom the widespread power of a rich neighbour prohibits the little work of an adjoining fishpond) grow weak with envy? You order me to withstand envy: this you yourself will be able to root out by granting a licence to make a fishpond' (my translation). The Latin of this passage is difficult; I am indebted to William Flynn for his help in making sense of it. It is taken from *LCGF*, pp. 40-43 (number 6).

¹² For Foliot's account of this episode, see *LCGF*, pp. 56-57 (number 22).

¹³ *EEA VII*, pp. 21-24 (numbers 21, 22 and 23).

¹⁴ For examples, see *EEA VII*, pp. 24-27 (numbers 24, 25, 26 and 27); *LCGF*, pp. 376-80 (numbers 317, 319, 320, 323 and 324); Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', pp. 21-22 (numbers 17 and 18), 27 (number 33) and 30-31 (numbers 42 and 43). The priory's links with the chapel of St Martin in the castle were also strengthened in this period. When St Martin's was given to the priory in c. 1154, Hugh II de Lacy was making a formal acknowledgement of the priory's rights over religious business on the castle site, rights which had apparently not been entirely relinquished with the departure of the St Guthlac's Minster community. The priory's continuing involvement with the castle site is clear in many other respects, so perhaps an early association between St Martin's chapel and St Guthlac's Minster was inherited and maintained by the priory community. St Martin's was itself endowed with several valuable appurtenances, so its formal acquisition in the 1150s may have represented a significant new addition to the priory's territories. For a brief survey of the early history of St Martin's chapel, see chapter 1, above.

The priory's wealth (apparently not inconsiderable)¹⁵ and its distance from Gloucester may have conferred a degree of autonomy. The level of control exercised over the cell by the mother house probably varied over time, but the abbey's reluctance to become involved in a bitter dispute between Bishop Orleton and Prior William Irby in the fourteenth century suggests that St Guthlac's was at that point being left largely in charge of its own affairs, with little interference from Gloucester.¹⁶ Even within a few years of its foundation, the priory had sufficient independence to prompt Gilbert Foliot to address a letter to Prior Warin, reminding him of the affection in which he was held, in case of attempts by impious men to cast doubt on the sincerity of the abbot's feelings.¹⁷ Although not necessarily indicative of strife between the abbey and its dependency, the fact that correspondence of this kind was necessary might suggest that the priory's status was not one of complete subordination to Gloucester. Visitations by the abbot did take place from time to time: the cartulary attests to two instances, in 1378 and 1439, but, as Martin Heale asserts,

¹⁵ Shoesmith details the return of the priory's possessions at the time of a taxation in 1291 by Pope Nicholas IV (£87. 15s. 10 ¼d.), comparing them with those of other local priories. Shoesmith cites Chepstow (£35. 19s. 11d.), Abergavenny (£51. 17s. 10 ½d.) and Monmouth (£85. 18s. 8d.). Shoesmith, 'St. Guthlac's Priory', 328. The taxation is printed as *Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae Auctoritate P. Nicolai IV*, ed. by T. Astle, S. Ayscough and J. Caley (London: Record Commission, 1802); all of the entries relating to St Guthlac's Priory (detailing its income from both spiritualities and temporalities) are collated in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ed. by John Caley, Henry Ellis and the Rev. Bulkeley Bandinel, 6 vols in 8 (London: Bohn, 1846), III, 623. Dugdale also reproduces entries for the priory from the *Valor Ecclesiasticus* (see Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 626-27), which serve to illustrate that 'from the time of Pope Nicholas's Taxation to that of the dissolution of the house in 1539 no considerable donations appear to have been made to the monastery', whose 'revenues, at the latter period, amounted to no more than £121. 3s. 3 ½d. per annum'. See Dugdale, *Monasticon*, III, 621.

¹⁶ Gloucester's refusal to become involved may also have come about as retaliation for Bishop Orleton's failure to consult with the mother house in removing the prior and appointing a successor. For a brief account of this decade-long dispute, see A. T. Bannister, 'A Note on an Obscure Episode'.

¹⁷ *LCGF*, pp. 55-56 (number 21). The passage in question runs as follows: 'Vnde, si caritatis nostre sinceritatem impius homo superseminatis zizaniis offuscare conatur, discretio nobis spirituum necessaria est'; 'For that reason, if the impious man tries to hide the sincerity of our affection by sowing tares, we must have discretion of spirit' (my translation). The phrasing of the letter here is intriguing, and the turn of phrase may be more than rhetorical: Foliot may have had a particular individual or episode in mind.

‘these fragments of information give no impression of the frequency of internal visitations’.¹⁸

If a system for the rotation of personnel between Gloucester and its cells ever existed, it seems to have stagnated by the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Archbishop Winchelsey’s injunctions to Gloucester included clauses to regulate the movements of the monks between houses. The archbishop stipulated that no Gloucester monk should remain for more than a year in the cells, nor should he go back within one year of his recall. The injunctions also assert the power of a committee of senior Gloucester monks to instruct a brother to return from the cells at any time.¹⁹

These rules were occasionally flouted, a measure of the degree of executive power wielded by certain of the more ambitious priors. The problem of removing a prior from office gave rise to the most dramatic example on record of a dispute between St Guthlac’s and Gloucester. The episode is taken by Heale as an example of occasional resistance by dependent priories to the rule of the mother house.

In the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, Prior Walter Eton swore to be faithful to the mother house, to return willingly to the abbey when recalled and not to alienate, grant or sell any possessions, nor manumit any villeins, without mother-house consent. However, only a few years later, Prior Wynslade of St. Guthlac’s acquired a bull making him irremovable in direct contravention of the priory’s oath.²⁰

¹⁸ Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004), p. 91.

¹⁹ Hart, III, lxxxvii-lxxxviii.

²⁰ Heale, *Dependent Priories*, pp. 93-94. The charter referring to Eton’s promise appears in Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 6v.

Wynslade was granted his indult in 1424; the terms were such that Wynslade could not be removed from office without reasonable and lawful cause, and a papal dispensation besides. The indult contains the remarks that Wynslade, a sexagenarian or thereabouts, had ruled the priory for six years, repaired its buildings and increased divine worship there.²¹

We can only speculate as to Wynslade's motives for this determination not to be removed from his post, but remaining at St Guthlac's was for him clearly preferable to returning to Gloucester. Gloucester's response was extremely tardy:

The first suggestion of mother-house opposition comes only in July 1441, when Wynslade was moved to obtain a royal pardon for seeking papal grants in defiance of the Statutes of Provisors. Ten months later, Abbot Reginald persuaded Pope Eugenius IV to revoke the prior's indult, which had 'emanated without consent of the then abbot and is greatly prejudicial to St. Peter's [Gloucester]'.²²

These episodes may have been the exception rather than the rule in the course of the priory's four hundred year history, but they suffice to show that a spirit of independence sometimes prevailed at St Guthlac's. Indeed the priors, on occasion, were able to make decisive interventions in the business of the mother house, as exemplified in Prior John Newton's successful campaign to succeed Abbot Braunché in 1510, in the face of violent opposition on the part of a faction loyal to the cellarer of the abbey. Newton not only drew his support from the St Guthlac's community; he had supporters at each of the three other dependent cells and at the abbey itself.²³

²¹ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 1417-1431*, ed. by J. A. Twemlow, *Papal Letters*, 7 (London: H.M.S.O., 1906), p. 368.

²² Heale, *Dependent Priories*, pp. 95-96.

²³ Hart, III, xxxii-xxxiv.

Newton was not the only prior to succeed as abbot of the mother house. Thomas Carbonel, who was installed at the priory at some point in the 1170s, rose to become Abbot of Gloucester in 1179.²⁴ A Prior Robert earned a degree of notoriety just over a decade later.²⁵ He is alleged to have gone to Sicily to see King Richard I, from whom he obtained the abbacy of Muchelney; intruding there in 1191, he was quickly ejected by the monks.²⁶ Although hostile, the account given of Prior Robert by the chronicler Richard of Devizes is interesting in implying a certain status for the heads of the priory; Robert was ‘monachus de seipso nichil modicum estimans, alienis se negotiis ut sua intersereret libenter ingerens’.²⁷

In spite of the priory’s apparent size, splendour and political clout, it seems not to have had an extensive personnel. Heale has shown that fluctuations in the numbers of religious at dependent cells were commonplace throughout the

²⁴ His predecessor Osbert was still in place on 2nd October 1172. See Knowles et al, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 1, 91.

²⁵ Prior Robert appears exclusively in the twelfth-century *Chronicle of Richard of Devizes*; see *The Chronicle of Richard of Devizes of the Time of King Richard the First*, ed. and trans. by J. T. Appleby (London: Nelson, 1963), pp. 40 and 55.

²⁶ According to Richard of Devizes, Robert’s own scandalous behaviour at Muchelney soon compounded the aggravation felt by the monks at having to accept him. He tells us ‘Ad quam, agente cancellario, contra uelle conuentus possidendam nec canonicè nec cum benedictione ingressus, et primo mox die, ad primum prandium, ex anguillis recentibus auidius sine uino quam expediret, et amplius, insumendo, incidit in languorem, quem “peperit cibus indigestus et herens ardenti stomacho”. Et ne uoracitati languor asscriberetur, monacos loci de dato sibi toxico fecit infamari’; ‘He came to take possession, through the agency of the chancellor, against the will of the convent and neither canonically nor with an [episcopal] blessing. On the very first day, at the first meal, through eating newly caught eels more gluttonously than was wise and without any wine, he fell into a sickness that “the undigested food, retained by his burning stomach, produced”. In order that the illness might not be laid to his gluttony, he caused an evil report to be spread about that the monks of the place had given him poison’. Latin text and translation taken from Appleby, p. 40. Richard goes on to describe Robert’s expulsion, though without giving any details of his fate after his departure from Muchelney: ‘Monachi de Mucheleneia, quem ui susceperant suum, nescio quem, nec electum nec abbatem, exemplo Westmonasteriensium non tamen a simili, eiecerunt de domo sua, stramenta lecti eius post illum proicientes, et conuiatum cum contumeliis extra insulam quatuor uentis exposuerunt’; ‘The monks of Muchelney threw out of their house the man whom they had been forced to receive, their – I know not what – neither abbot-elect nor abbot, after the example of the monks of Westminster, but not, however, for a similar reason. They threw the coverings of his bed out after him, heaped with insults, to the four winds off the island’. Latin text and translation taken from Appleby, p. 55.

²⁷ ‘A monk who held himself in no small esteem and gladly meddled in matters in which he had no business so that he might promote his own affairs’. Latin text and translation taken from Appleby, p. 40.

Middle Ages, although these changes seem only to have been dramatic in a small number of cases.²⁸ Certainly, by the sixteenth century the number of monks resident at St Guthlac's stood at six. This was twice as many monks, however, as were present at each of the priories of Ewenny, Leonard Stanley and Bromfield (Gloucester Abbey's other extant dependent cells) at the same time.²⁹ There is no clear documentary evidence to suggest that the St Guthlac's community was much larger at any other point in its history (apart, perhaps, from its earliest years as a discrete and unified new organism, when the communities of St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, were first united), but a consideration of patterns of occupancy at Gloucester's other cells admits of the possibility of a more numerous community in the twelfth century. Ewenny Priory was refounded for twelve in 1141, so perhaps this example provides a model for the number of staff to be found at one of Gloucester's new daughter houses in the mid-twelfth century. This number may not include the prior, giving a maximum number of 13 monks at Ewenny at its refoundation (the number had fallen to three by the second decade of the sixteenth century).³⁰ Based on these figures, it seems safe to assume that there were no fewer than twelve monks living at St Guthlac's Priory

²⁸ See Heale, *Dependent Priories*, pp. 161-65. Heale's bar charts are based on the twelve cells for which 'reasonably certain figures are known from at least three different centuries'.

²⁹ Hart, III, xxxiv; xlix. It is unfortunate that no record of the books held at any of these three priories has survived; if any early books from these houses were to be identified, they would provide an interesting point of comparison for the St Guthlac's manuscripts.

³⁰ See Heale, *Dependent Priories*, p. 297. Gloucester Abbey was perhaps striving to emulate the example set by St Benedict, who is said to have established communities of twelve monks: 'Cum sanctus vir diu in eadem solitudine virtutibus signisque succresceret, multi ab eo in eodem loco ad omnipotentis Dei sunt servitium congregati: ita ut illic duodecim monasteria cum omnipotentis Jesu Christi Domini opitulatione construeret, in quibus statutis Patribus duodenos monachos deputavit; paucos vero secum retinuit, quos adhuc in sua praesentia aptius erudiri judicavit'; 'As the holy man grew for a long time in reputation by virtues and by miracles in that solitary place, many were gathered by him in the same place to the service of almighty God. For that reason, with the assistance of the almighty Lord Jesus Christ, he built there twelve monasteries with governors, in each of which he placed twelve monks; a few, indeed, he kept with him, those whom he judged would be taught more fittingly in his presence' (my translation). Gregory the Great, *Vita Sancti Benedicti*, PL 66, 125-215 (140c). Gloucester may have attempted to reproduce a similar pattern in its daughter cells.

when it was first founded, and that numbers there are unlikely to have much exceeded 20 at any point in its history.

As I have briefly described in the two foregoing chapters, St Guthlac's seems to have retained strong links with its two predecessor churches within the city walls, although the extent of the monks' duties beyond the priory precinct and inside the city of Hereford is far from clear. A continuing connection with the castle, the erstwhile home of St Guthlac's Minster, is attested by a number of documentary sources. It is difficult to say what precisely remained of the St Guthlac's Minster buildings after 1143, but arrangements were made in the mid-thirteenth century for the prior of St Guthlac's to provide a chaplain for the chapel in the king's oriel in Hereford castle, possibly as a direct result of the priory's historic links with the castle site, or even because St Guthlac's relics were still in place at the community's former residence. The prior's duties at the castle, however, appear not always to have been discharged with enthusiasm; in 1396 the prior received a strong reprimand for his consistent failure (for 20 years or more) to fulfil his proper functions within the chapel.³¹ Perhaps the destruction by fire of Guthlac's shrine had removed a compelling incentive for the priory's continued involvement in the religious life of that quarter of the city.³²

St Guthlac's continued to hold the church and tithes of St Peter's, Hereford, which became a parish church at some point soon after the establishment of the priory. The burials excavated near the site of the priory have proved various enough to suggest that it adjoined a cemetery, perhaps one

³¹ For an account of the circumstances leading to the appointment of the prior of St Guthlac's as custodian of the king's chapel, and of the reprimand issued against the prior in 1396, see Whitehead, 'Historical Introduction', p. 5.

³² See chapter 1, above.

that served the parishioners of St Peter's.³³ A certain degree of engagement with parochial, pastoral duties on the part of the priory monks is also suggested by certain of the contents of the priory's manuscripts: Oxford, Jesus College 37, in particular, seems likely to have been put to practical use outside the cloister.³⁴

The affair of Prior Irby seems to have been the only occasion when the relationship between priory and cathedral degenerated to the point of open warfare, but St Guthlac's must always have provided a counterpoint to the spiritual authority of the cathedral in Hereford. The priory had historic links with the secular authorities in Hereford, largely via two predecessor churches that had been established to operate independently of the cathedral. The priory's involvement in the case of Roger Side is not obvious, but it seems unlikely that the vicar of St Peter's, Hereford, would have embarked on his struggle with the cathedral without at least the tacit approval of the priory, whose grounds may have received the contentious burials at the centre of the controversy.³⁵

³³ See Crooks, § 6. For some observations on the priory monks' continuing influence in civic affairs via St Peter's, Hereford, see chapter 2, above.

³⁴ See chapter 7, below.

³⁵ For a brief survey of the Roger Side case, see chapter 2, above.

CHAPTER 4: THE CONTEMPORARY LITERARY SCENE

The tendency in modern scholarship for Worcester Cathedral to predominate in discussions of manuscript production in the West Midlands in the eleventh and twelfth centuries has arguably produced a number of negative effects. Not least of these is a detriment in our understanding of contemporary literary pursuits at the two major ecclesiastical centres most closely associated with St Guthlac's Priory: Gloucester Abbey and Hereford Cathedral. Worcester's pedigree as a centre for the production and use of manuscripts in the vernacular has, to an extent, eclipsed the reputations of Hereford and Gloucester, neither of which has comparable numbers of manuscripts in Old English to convey the same sense of continuity and tradition across the years of the Conquest period. Gloucester, indeed, has lost the vast majority of its monastic book collection, thus compounding an impression that the role of the abbey in the West Midlands literary scene was slight.

The interest excited by the survival and promotion of Old English texts at Worcester means, as a consequence, that manuscripts associated with Worcester have consistently attracted more attention in recent years than those assigned to Hereford and Gloucester. The sheer weight of scholarship concentrated on Worcester manuscripts has therefore created something of a skewed impression, particularly with regard to the stature (relative to Worcester) of Hereford Cathedral and Gloucester Abbey as centres of literary activity in the medieval period. Mary Swan has already cautioned against a long-standing habit of assigning to Worcester any Old English manuscripts with a West Midlands provenance, a process that she thinks has arisen in part as a result of the efforts of

the cathedral's own ecclesiastics to position Worcester 'at the centre of the textual-intellectual life of the West Midlands'.¹ This caution must surely apply for Latin manuscripts of the West Midlands too, and particularly for those books whose provenance is not secure.

By contrast, this overpowering emphasis on Worcester does not extend into scholarship on Anglo-Norman or Middle English, where the wider West Midlands region has long been accorded a distinguished role in literary developments, although not always with agreement as to which religious houses might have been involved. Hue de Rotelande, who composed two substantial romances in Anglo-Norman, lived at Credenhill, only five miles from the centre of Hereford, and Simon de Freine, who wrote in both Latin and Anglo-Norman, was a canon at Hereford Cathedral; both are supposed to have been active during the last quarter of the twelfth century.²

The origins of the Early Middle English religious prose works known collectively as 'the Ancrene Wisse Group' have consistently been located in the region in the first quarter of the thirteenth century. In Bella Millet's conclusion to her recent survey of scholarship on the Group, she eschews attempts to identify a single establishment as a point of origin for the text. She looks instead to 'the

¹ Mary Swan, 'Mobile Libraries: Old English Manuscript Production in Worcester and the West Midlands, 1090-1215', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 29-42 (p. 30).

² The contributions of these two authors to Anglo-Norman literature are considered in M. Dominica Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), pp. 85-96 and pp. 183-87. Somewhat later but also noteworthy is the Anglo-Norman prose *Wigmore Chronicle*, a mid-thirteenth-century account of the foundation of a house of Austin canons at Wigmore, some ten miles north of Leominster, in the twelfth century, and its subsequent dealings with the Mortimer family. See Legge, pp. 294-95. I am grateful to Julia Barrow for drawing my attention to other monuments of Anglo-Norman literature with West Midlands connections: *Fulk Fitz Warin* (Legge, pp. 171-74) and *L'histoire de Guillaume le Maréchal* (Legge, pp. 306-08) contain subject matter that relate them to the wider Welsh Marches, whereas the *Vie Seinte Osith* (Legge, pp. 259-61) may have been connected with Bishop William de Vere of Hereford (1186-98), who is known to have written a Latin life of the saint. Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009.

broader historical context within which the Group was produced',³ finding the bishops of Worcester, Hereford, Coventry and Lichfield, as well as the newly established mendicant orders, all to have been involved.

Some readjustment for the period under consideration in this thesis has taken place in recent times: dialect-mapping techniques have suggested Hereford (or its immediate vicinity) as a location for the origin of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343, a homiletic manuscript in Old English and Latin, produced in the second half of the twelfth century.⁴ Rodney Thomson has done much to elucidate the networks of manuscript production and distribution operating in the Severn valley region in general. He has demonstrated that Hereford, Gloucester and Winchcombe, as well as Worcester, were all significant participants.⁵

Kirsty Bennett, too, has recently re-examined book production and acquisition at Llanthony Priory, finding evidence for scribal activity of various sorts as early as the period 'between its formalisation as a religious community and the flight to Hereford' (which is to say between c. 1108 and 1136, the year in which the canons fled a Welsh uprising and took refuge with their former prior, Robert de Béthune, in Hereford).⁶ Bennett also argues for continuity in book use during the transferral of personnel and property to Llanthony Secunda, the daughter house founded in 1136 in Gloucester; a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-

³ Bella Millet, 'The *Ancrene Wisse* Group', in *A Companion to Middle English Prose*, ed. by A. S. G. Edwards (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), pp. 1-17 (p. 9).

⁴ Peter Kitson, 'Old English Dialects and the stages of Transition to Middle English', *Folia Linguistica Historica*, 11 (1992 for 1990), 27-87; Peter Kitson, 'When Did Middle English Begin? Later Than You Think!', in *Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak, Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 103 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 221-69. In spite of Kitson's work, however, Aidan Conti cautions that Worcester and its environs remains 'the consensus candidate' as a location for the production of the manuscript and for its later provenance. See Aidan Conti, 'The Circulation of the Old English Homily in the Twelfth Century: New Evidence from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 365-402 (p. 371).

⁵ See especially Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration'.

⁶ Kirsty Bennett, *The Book Collections of Llanthony Priory from Foundation until Dissolution (c. 1100-1538)* (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Kent, 2006), pp. 26-40 (p. 39).

century account of Llanthony's early history 'reveals that books had been acquired before the move to Gloucester, highlights the existence of writing in the form of administrative documents, and places these written possessions alongside other types of goods as considered worthy of removal to Gloucester'.⁷ It seems natural to assume that a similar process was mirrored, only seven years later, in the removal of books from St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, to their successor house, the new priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac.

Book production at Llanthony Secunda continued; no longer isolated at the rural mother house, the Llanthony community had access to 'an arena of greater contacts', where it could take advantage of 'the new ease of contact with its monastic neighbours'.⁸ Connections with Hereford Cathedral and Gloucester Abbey during the 1130s, Bennett tells us, might be 'safely presumed'.⁹ Book production at Llanthony reached its peak during the middle years of the twelfth century, with the development of a distinctive 'house style' in its manuscripts. According to Bennett, the fact 'that the most homogenous manuscripts are fairly close in date suggests that the disciplined scribal environment which would be necessary to engender such cohesiveness lasted for about a generation'.¹⁰

Within the network of manuscript production proposed by Thomson, however, only Gloucester Abbey and Hereford Cathedral can be shown beyond doubt to have had strong, direct links with St Guthlac's Priory via its book collection. Although intermittent or indirect contact with such local institutions as Llanthony may have taken place, the cathedral and abbey (or associated individuals) seem to have been the primary producers or providers of

⁷ Bennett, p. 10. Bennett refers to elements of the Llanthony history preserved in London, British Library, Cotton Julius D. x, fols 30v-50v (s. xiii).

⁸ Bennett, p. 58.

⁹ Bennett, p. 104.

¹⁰ Bennett, pp. 78-79.

manuscripts for consumption by the priory monks. In the absence of any evidence to the contrary, therefore, it is to be assumed that these two institutions were the most significant in terms of influencing the literary climate at the priory and within its locale.

GLOUCESTER ABBEY

Although the relationship between St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, and its daughter house at Hereford was complex and at times problematic, its essential intimacy cannot be doubted. This closeness extended, in the thirteenth century, to the provision of books for the Hereford community, as demonstrated by Adam de Elmeleye's donation of a book, and by the booklist of Robert of Aldsworth.¹¹ The abbey was evidently at least partly responsible for equipping its cell with a library, though the proportion of the total collection provided by Gloucester is unclear.

Two of the surviving St Guthlac's manuscripts seem to have come from the mother church. Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. IV. 5, fol. i verso displays an *ex dono* inscription naming the Gloucester monk Adam de Elmeleye (d. 1273),¹² whereas Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. VI. 1, fol. i (a flyleaf uncovered during the restoration of the volume in the 1930s, dateable to the mid-twelfth century)

¹¹ See chapter 5, below.

¹² 'Istum librum dedit Adam de Elmeleye ecclesie sancti Gutlaci / Herefordie, et habet panem in die obitus sui imperpetuum': 'Adam de Elmeleye gave this book to the church of St Guthlac of Hereford, and he forever has bread on the day of his death' (my translation). The inscription is dated to the second half of the thirteenth century in Mynors and Thomson, p. 92. Adam de Elmeleye's reputation for great sanctity is briefly mentioned in Hart, I, 32. We should perhaps also look to Gloucester in establishing a provenance for Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. III. 5. Fol. ii verso of the manuscript bears the inscription 'Ricardus de Newinton dedit hunc libru[m] p[ri]o[r]atui hereford': 'Richard de Newinton gave this book to Hereford Priory' (my translation). Bannister remarks that although there are no other known records of Richard de Newinton, the names John, Thomas and Walter de Newinton occur in the Gloucester Cartulary. See Arthur Thomas Bannister, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Hereford Cathedral Library* (Hereford: Wilson and Phillips, 1927), pp. 132-33. The hand of the inscription is dated to the thirteenth century in Mynors and Thomson, p. 86.

bears a text that is strongly suggestive of a Gloucester provenance. Fol. 177 of the same is particularly ancient, dated to the second half of the tenth century. It too was incorporated as a flyleaf when the present manuscript was compiled, apparently at Gloucester Abbey in the second half of the twelfth century.¹³

The impressive antiquity of this single example and the abbey's long history might give it a plausible claim as a point of origin for the three earliest manuscripts from the St Guthlac's Priory collection. It seems appropriate, therefore, to consider the evidence for a literary scene in Gloucester up until 1200, in order to establish whether St Guthlac's Priory is likely to have inherited any materials or characteristics from its mother house (either directly or via St Peter's, Hereford) that would have given a distinctive shape to its earliest book collection.

Drawing extensively on the *Gloucester Chronicle* as the fullest medieval witness to a literary tradition at the abbey, Rodney Thomson's survey of books and learning at Gloucester identifies a 'comparatively long golden age, c. 1100-1250'.¹⁴ Evidence for the literary life of the abbey in the period leading up to the advent of this golden age is in short supply, but the disturbed and fragmented history of the house, from its foundation in the seventh century up until the time of the renowned Abbot Serlo, does not necessarily give us grounds to dismiss Gloucester as a centre of learning or book production.

¹³ A description of Hereford P. VI. 1 (together with the reasons for associating its opening flyleaf with Gloucester) is given in Mynors and Thomson, p. 103, in Langton E. G. Brown, 'On Some Gloucestershire Manuscripts Now in Hereford Cathedral Library', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society*, 27 (1904), 172-210 (pp. 197-98), and in Bannister, *Catalogue*, pp. 160-61. Thomson has been able to reinforce an association with Gloucester by identifying the work of a particular twelfth-century Gloucester scribe on fol. 1 of the manuscript: see Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', p. 18. The manuscript was certainly at St Guthlac's Priory by the thirteenth century: a note of ownership in a thirteenth-century hand (now vanished) on fol. i recto once read 'Liber de prioratu sancti Guthlaci Hereford'. The texts of the two flyleaves are reproduced in Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 206-08.

¹⁴ Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', p. 3.

Attempts to build a picture of the literary activities of Gloucester Abbey in the period before the Conquest are mostly frustrated by the paucity of manuscript evidence: few manuscripts of a date earlier than the twelfth century can be securely assigned to Gloucester.¹⁵ Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35, a collection of eleventh-century manuscript fragments, all in Old English, has received little attention as evidence for the abbey's pre-Conquest book collection, in spite of the fact that the fragments were assembled from other Gloucester manuscripts (including the sixteenth-century Register of Abbots Braunche and Newton), where they had been used as pastedowns or flyleaves.¹⁶ The fragments bear witness to five separate literary items. Three are by Ælfric (a life of St Swithun, the Passion of the Apostles Peter and Paul from the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, and the Feast of St Peter from the Second Series). The other two are a Life of St Mary of Egypt and a Rule of St Benedict. According to Joyce Hill, it is 'an open question whether this group of fragments testifies to a single manuscript consisting mainly of saints' lives', but in her survey of the dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* she includes Gloucester 35 in her 'collections of homilies with some saints' lives'.¹⁷ The fragmentary condition of the items and the degree of doubt in attributing them to a pre-Conquest Gloucester scriptorium or book collection together make it difficult to assess the usefulness of Gloucester 35 as a barometer of literary life at the abbey

¹⁵ Thomson is of the opinion that London, British Library, Royal 13. C. V is a Gloucester manuscript that probably dates from before Serlo's abbacy, although a Gloucester provenance cannot be securely established for any date earlier than the thirteenth century. See Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', p. 3. Curiously, Thomson makes no mention of Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 35.

¹⁶ The manuscript is described in N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), pp. 154-55, and in Gneuss, p. 55. All of the fragments that make up the document are given a Gloucester provenance in the latter.

¹⁷ Joyce Hill, 'The Dissemination of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*: A Preliminary Survey', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and their Contexts* (New York: State University of New York, 1996), pp. 235-59 (pp. 244 and 249-50).

before the coming of Abbot Serlo, but an early Gloucester provenance for hagiographical and monastic material of this kind must surely be quite unproblematic.

The abbey's close relationship with Worcester Cathedral (before and during Serlo's abbacy) would imply related literary concerns or interests across the two institutions. The abbey was repopulated by Worcester monks in 1058 and seems to have remained closely allied to the cathedral during the episcopate of Bishop Wulfstan, who was friendly with Serlo and who established a confraternity across the religious houses at Worcester, Gloucester, Pershore, Tewkesbury, Winchcombe, Evesham, Bath and Chertsey.¹⁸

The significance of these links probably dwindled as time went on, as fires erased the manuscript traces of past allegiances and friendships, and as Gloucester Abbey developed as a powerful and independent entity in its own right (which it had already become by the time the three manuscripts under consideration came into being). A close relationship with Worcester and the other Benedictine houses of the Severn valley area, however, would have been a defining characteristic in the literary identity of the abbey as it was found by Serlo, and networks constructed by Wulfstan and his predecessors for the transmission of manuscripts and texts may have remained in operation long after they were first established.

¹⁸ The charters relating to this confraternity are reproduced in *English Episcopal Acta XXXIII, Worcester 1062-1185*, ed. by Mary Cheney and others (Oxford: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 2007), pp. 3-7 (numbers 5-7). It was probably established just before 1077; see Emma Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), pp. 197-200. A reference to Tewkesbury in one of the charters (*EEA XXXIII*, pp. 3-4, number 5), however, introduces an element of ambiguity into the dating of the agreements; Tewkesbury Abbey was not founded until 1102 and so may have been a later addition to the group, made after Wulfstan's episcopate. For a more detailed discussion of the background of these agreements, see David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 2nd edn (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), pp. 473-75. The evidence for manuscript transmission and literary influences across this confraternity (persisting into the thirteenth century) is summarised in Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', pp. 11-12.

In spite of the difficulty in making any positive assertions about books at Gloucester before 1100, it seems clear that the coming of Serlo (installed by King William in 1072, when the Gloucester community is alleged to have numbered just two monks and eight young boys)¹⁹ marked a real turning point for the abbey. By Serlo's death in 1104, St Peter's had been transformed into one of the largest communities in England, with a strong reputation for high standards.²⁰ There is no particular record of Serlo's own efforts to improve on any book collection that was already in place on his arrival, but it does not require a great leap of imagination to contend that a likely part of his programme of improvements was the amassing of a suitable library. The annexation of daughter houses also began with Serlo; the vexed relationship between Gloucester Abbey and its newly acquired cell at St Peter's, Hereford, commenced in 1101. The next half-century saw Gloucester Abbey pursue an aggressive, expansionist policy, extending its influence into six other dependent cells, often in the face of resistance from those who were displaced by these monastic takeovers.²¹ It is to be supposed that the abbey would have produced the necessary books to equip these satellite communities.

Of Peter, Serlo's immediate successor, the Chronicle says the following:

Domnus Petrus officium prioratus Gloucestriae, quod in
exercitio sanctarum scripturarum annis xi., mensibus iiii., satis

¹⁹ Hart, I, 292.

²⁰ Serlo's achievement is assessed in Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1998), pp. 54-65; Cownie identifies Serlo's estate management skills and his outstanding ability to attract patronage as key to his success. As well as securing grants for the abbey from the wealthiest local magnates and their tenants, Serlo also obtained support from figures of national standing. He was helped in this both by Gloucester's frontier position at a time of Norman penetration into Wales, and by a long-standing association between the abbey and the royal family, which was particularly active in promoting Gloucester during the reigns of William I and William II.

²¹ These were Ewyas Harold, Llanbadarn Fawr (1116-17 x 1136), Kilpeck (1134), Ewenny (1141), Leonard Stanley (1146) and Bromfield (1155). Objections by the canons of Bromfield and Leonard Stanley are described in Heale, *Dependent Priories*, p. 52.

peregrit strenue, nonis Augusti, suscepit regimen
 Glovernensis ecclesiae; qui multas terras tempore suo
 acquisivit, sicut continentur in kalendario donationum, ut
 inferius patebit. Et abbatiā muro lapideo insigni vallavit, et
 claustrum copia librorum ditavit.²²

Thomson is of the opinion that none of the manuscripts included in his survey of Gloucester books is likely to date from this prolific period of book acquisition and scribal activity at Gloucester Abbey. The abbacies of Serlo and Peter (d. 1113), however, coincide with the probable date of production for both Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37, neither of which has yet been considered for inclusion in the canon of Gloucester manuscripts.

Depending on the degree to which the abbey was able to impose its authority on St Peter's, Hereford, during this time, manuscripts commissioned by Serlo or Peter might have been dispatched to support the beginnings of a Benedictine community at Hereford, or to equip Hereford churches associated with the lay patrons of Gloucester Abbey. The abbey should therefore be given serious consideration as a source of books for Hereford churches at the beginning of the twelfth century.

The abbacies of William Godemon (1113-30) and Walter de Lacy (1130-39) are also encompassed by Thomson's golden age, though they also spanned a period that continued to see disputes over Gloucester's claims to its properties in Hereford, limiting the likelihood of the transmission of books to any daughter cell there, at least until an eventual rapprochement with the cathedral in the mid 1130s. A fire took hold of the abbey in 1122, with (according to one source)

²² 'Dom Peter, who very strenuously carried out the office of Prior of Gloucester in the discipline of holy scripture for eleven years and four months, took up the rule of the church of Gloucester on the nones of August; he acquired many lands during his time, which are contained in the kalendar of donations, as appears below. And he surrounded the abbey with a remarkable stone wall, and he enriched the cloister with an abundance of books' (my translation). Latin text taken from Hart, I, 13.

catastrophic consequences for its book collection. The *Gloucester Chronicle* restricts itself simply to recording that the fire happened, but Version E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* describes devastation on a huge scale:

7 on þone lententyde þærtforen forbearn se burch on
 Gleawecestre. Þa hwile þe þa munecas sungeþ þære messe, 7
 se dæcne hafde ongunnan þone godspel Preteriens Iesus. þa
 com se fir on ufenweard þone stepel 7 forbearnde ealle þe
 minstre 7 ealle þa gersumes þe þærbinnen wæron foruton
 feawe bec 7 .iii. messehakeles. þet wes \þes/ dæies .viii. idus
 Martii.²³

If we accept this account as genuine, it would seem to imply that the book collection established by William Godemon's predecessors was all but wiped out, restricting or removing the possibility of the direct transmission from Gloucester to St Guthlac's Priory (or its predecessor, St Peter's, Hereford) of Gloucester books of a date earlier than 1122. An earlier fire had caused damage to the abbey and town in 1102 (the extent of the destruction is not clear),²⁴ but the account of the 1122 fire in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* is the strongest evidence available that the abbey would not thereafter have been in a position to send its own eleventh- or early twelfth-century books to St Guthlac's Priory. Of course, any early Gloucester manuscripts that had already been sent away from the abbey would have survived the blaze; some of these may yet be identified in the collections of the religious houses that acquired them.

²³ 'In the preceding Lent the borough of Gloucester was burnt down while the monks were singing their mass, and the deacon had begun the gospel *Preteriens Jesus*. Then the fire caught the upper part of the tower, and the monastery was completely burnt out, with all the treasures it contained, except for a few books and three chasubles: this happened on 8 March'. Translation by Garmonsway, p. 250. Old English text taken from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition. Vol. 7, MS E: A Semi-diplomatic Edition with Introduction and Indices*, ed. by Susan Irvine (Cambridge: Brewer, 2004), p. 121.

²⁴ Hart, I, 12.

The abbey did continue, however, to have at least some access to manuscript material that predated the fires. This is illustrated in its reuse of tenth- and eleventh-century manuscript fragments in the bindings of later volumes, as in the cases of Gloucester 35 and the fragment used to create the end flyleaf of Hereford P. VI. 1. The question of provenance for this latter piece, apparently a bifolium from a tenth-century book written for an abbess,²⁵ is perplexing, especially when we consider that the abbey inherited by Serlo was home to a community of Benedictine monks. The text of the flyleaf could in some way recall a period when the site was in use by female religious,²⁶ or might otherwise be associated with a separate religious community, either at Gloucester or elsewhere within the abbey's sphere of influence.

Hereford P. VI. 1 can probably be associated with a phase of book production coinciding with the abbacy of Hamelin (1148-79), pinpointed by Thomson as the apogee of Gloucester's most fruitful period of literary activity. Hereford P. III. 2 also dates from around this time or a little before; it too is included in Thomson's list of certain attributions to Gloucester,²⁷ but he has modified his opinion on its provenance since his list was first compiled. His more recent work has established that certain of its characteristics connect it with contemporary manuscripts belonging to Hereford Cathedral and the Benedictine

²⁵ Mynors and Thomson, p. 103, where the book in question is described as a 'Pontifical'. Julia Barrow has pointed out that this term may be misleading; pontificals were usually reserved to bishops. Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009. Brown uses the terms 'Sacramentary' and 'Service Book' instead; see Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 198 and 207.

²⁶ The account by Knowles and Hadcock of the church of SS Peter and Paul, Gloucester, has a female (or mixed) community founded by 679 but abandoned less than a century later, with no evidence for female religious at the church thereafter. See D. Knowles and R. N. Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*, 2nd edn (Harlow: Longman, 1971), p. 473. Some issues relating to the early history of this community are discussed briefly in Barbara Yorke, *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (London: Continuum, 2003), pp. 33, 57, 114 and 150-51. I address the question of female religious in Hereford and its vicinity later in this chapter (with a special emphasis on Leominster) and in chapter 6, below.

²⁷ Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', pp. 14-20 (pp. 17-18).

communities at Worcester and Winchcombe, implying a style that is regional rather than attributable to an individual scriptorium or scribe-artist.²⁸ His latest statements on the manuscript give Hereford Cathedral preference as a point of origin: Thomson's model for manuscript production in Hereford has the cathedral supplying books to the priory simply because it was nearby, 'rather than because of any formal affiliation'.²⁹

HEREFORD CATHEDRAL

The fate of St Guthlac's Minster during the devastation of Hereford in 1055 is not recorded, though the possibility that it was spared by the invading forces, leaving its own books unscathed, seems highly improbable. By contrast, the destruction of the cathedral is described in some detail in a number of sources. The assault of 1055 is generally supposed to have denuded the cathedral library of its pre-Conquest book collection, erasing almost all of the evidence for the state of learning and literature in the city up until that point.³⁰ The only manuscript that has a demonstrable pre-1055 date, that has strong connections to the cathedral in the eleventh century and that remains a part of its collection is Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. I. 2, the eighth-century Hereford Gospels.³¹ Two

²⁸ Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', pp. 20-21.

²⁹ Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England*, p. 83. A Hereford Cathedral origin for Hereford P. III. 2 is also unproblematic in terms of textual transmission. One of the principal texts of the manuscript is Jerome's *Vita Paulae*, which seems to have been present in the cathedral's book collection since at least the beginning of the twelfth century, making it quite likely that an exemplar would have been readily available to a Hereford scribe. See chapter 8, below.

³⁰ I have discussed the evidence for the extent of the damage done in 1055 above, in chapter 1. Simon Keynes finds it significant that 'the sequence of extant records [for the cathedral] begins almost pointedly in the later 1050s', which may indicate that a single catastrophe (i.e. that of 1055) caused the total destruction of cathedral documents of before that date. See Keynes, p. 19. The impact of 1055 and the subsequent early history of the cathedral library are summarised in Joan Williams, 'The Library', in Aylmer and Tiller, pp. 511-35. Williams draws extensively on the survey of the history of the cathedral's book collection in Mynors and Thomson, pp. xv-xxvi.

³¹ The manuscript is described in Mynors and Thomson, pp. 65-66. There are a small number of pre-Conquest fragments in the library's collection today (as well as Hereford, Cathedral Library,

legal texts added to the manuscript in the first half of the eleventh century suffice to prove that the Gospels were at Hereford before the date of the cathedral's destruction.³²

An evangeliary dating from the first half of the eleventh century, now Cambridge, Pembroke College 302, is also supposed to have come from the cathedral. Like the Hereford Gospels, it too bears eleventh-century legal text with content specific to Hereford.³³ As the two sole survivors from a putative collection of books obliterated by fire, the circumstances of their survival are mysterious, but they both constitute important witnesses to the production and use of literature in late Anglo-Saxon Hereford, a centre whose stature in the literary networks of the day must not have been inconsiderable.

The influence of Bishop Robert the Lotharingian (1079-95; he is also sometimes referred to as Robert Losinga)³⁴ has been detected in the acquisition of two of the cathedral's earliest surviving manuscripts,³⁵ and more generally in

O. III. 2, a Continental book of the ninth century), but none of these can be shown to have been in Hereford in the pre-Conquest period. One of these fragments, Hereford P. VI. 1, fol. 177, is discussed above, in chapter 4.

³² These texts were entered into blank spaces in Hereford P. I. 2, the first on fol. 134rv and the second on fol. 135r. See Sawyer, pp. 410-11 (S 1462 of 1016 x 1035, S 1469 of 1043 x 1046). They are both reproduced in Robertson, pp. 150-53 and 186-87. I have discussed the second of the two above, in chapter 1. Both texts relate to Hereford. The former text provides firm evidence for an early eleventh-century Hereford Cathedral provenance for the Gospels; it includes the outright statement that it was itself entered into a gospel-book at St Æthelberht's Minster. See Keynes, p. 17.

³³ The manuscript is described in Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 125-26. Another eleventh-century manuscript sometimes assigned a Hereford provenance is the 'Hereford Troper', London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, fols 1-36, though the validity of its connection with the cathedral is called into question in E. C. Teviotdale, 'The "Hereford Troper" and Hereford', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, pp. 75-81. A Hereford provenance for the manuscript had been suggested on the grounds of perceived iconographical similarities with CPC 302, but these are dismissed by Teviotdale.

³⁴ Julia Barrow has suggested that Bishop Robert's byname, 'Lotharingus', has sometimes been given in modern sources as 'Losinga' due to the mistaken assumption that he was related to his close contemporary Bishop Herbert Losinga of Norwich. In fact Robert came from Liège, whereas Herbert was a Norman. Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009.

³⁵ These are Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. II. 7 and O. II. 9. See Barrow, 'Athelstan to Aigueblanche', p. 24 and p. 24, note 17. The connection with Robert the Lotharingian is also made in Mynors and Thomson, p. xviii, where a third manuscript (Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VIII. 8) is also identified as forming part of the same group. It is perhaps significant that

the scholarly direction taken by Hereford in the century after his episcopate. Bishop Robert's hand is seen in a number of Continental innovations ushered into Hereford at the close of the eleventh century.³⁶ He was the author of a work on computus, and his presence at Hereford is the first sign of a distinguished role for the city in the study of mathematics and the related sciences, which reached its pinnacle in the closing decades of the twelfth century. Bishop Robert was a correspondent of Worcester's Bishop Wulfstan II (1062-95), and their intercourse had a specifically literary aspect: Wulfstan received a copy of the *Chronicle of Marianus Scotus* from Bishop Robert.³⁷

Internal evidence for any system of book production at the cathedral, however, is very scarce up until and including the first decades of the twelfth century.³⁸ This may be partly due to subsequent losses in the collection, or it may mark a hiatus that began at the cathedral's destruction in 1055 and that continued until production was resumed in the following century, when all of the requisite systems had been re-established. The near-total absence of any books likely to have originated at the cathedral at a date that would make them comparable with the two earliest manuscripts from the collection at St Guthlac's Priory (together

Hereford O. II. 7 and O. II. 9 are supposed by Mynors and Thomson probably to have been made at Hereford Cathedral (see Mynors and Thomson, pp. 14 and 16). The two closely resemble Hereford P. III. 2 in both script and in the palette of colours used for their decoration (although they also use blue alongside the red and green applied in their initials and display-capitals). An initial 'P' on fol. 1r of Hereford O. II. 7, in particular, bears comparison with those on fols 2r and 9r of Hereford P. III. 2. Hereford O. II. 9 also contains initials that belong to a contrasting tradition; fols 159r and 164v have initials characterised by Mynors and Thomson as being 'of Norman type with foliage, beasts and masks, outlined in brown ink, touched with red'. See Mynors and Thomson, p. 16. Both are reproduced in Mynors and Thomson, plate 62.

³⁶ The bishop's achievements are summarised in Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford', p. 42.

³⁷ Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester*, pp. 121-22.

³⁸ Even this evidence is not unambiguous. Although conceding that the business of producing certain of the cathedral's books (in particular the earliest glossed books) required 'a higher degree of literacy and scholarly understanding', Mynors and Thomson suggest that a significant amount of work was carried out by 'commercial scribes' in Hereford, and that the cathedral's demand for books would not in itself have warranted a 'continuously-existing writing-department' in the post-Conquest period before 1200. See Mynors and Thomson, p. xix. Thomson resumes this theme in Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', p. 29.

with an apparent lack of any strong resemblance between the two and the cathedral's oldest manuscripts) suggests that the priory's earliest books originated elsewhere.

The development of the cathedral's medieval book collection undoubtedly mirrored that of Gloucester and of most large English religious houses, with a rapid expansion of its holdings in the course of the twelfth century. Hereford seems to have attained an impressive reputation as a centre of learning, with activity most probably centred on a cathedral school; the earliest documentary reference to an individual whose name may imply a teaching role is to one Hugh Gramaticus, mentioned in a charter of 1132.³⁹ The impact on St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's Church of this heightened atmosphere of serious scholarship is difficult to evaluate, especially given the apparent uncertainty over the status of St Peter's (relative to the cathedral) up until the mid 1130s.

Walter Map, Roger Infans, Gerald of Wales and his correspondent Simon de Freine, Robert Grosseteste and William de Vere were all associated with the cathedral during the second half of the twelfth century.⁴⁰ A poem of c. 1195-97 addressed to Gerald by Simon de Freine is especially explicit in recounting Hereford's credentials as a city for scholarship, describing it as a place of philosophers where the seven liberal arts are assiduously pursued. Also mentioned are the astrologer, the geomancer, 'fisis' (which probably

³⁹ Nicholas Orme, 'The Cathedral School before the Reformation', in Aylmer and Tiller, pp. 565-78 (p. 565).

⁴⁰ To this list may also be added the compiler of the Prose Salernitan Questions, identified as an individual with Hereford connections in *The Prose Salernitan Questions*, ed. by Brian Lawn (London: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1979), pp. xv-xvi.

approximates the study of medicine) and law.⁴¹ The art of De Freine's astrologer seems to resemble conventional astronomy, and the poem's insistence on Hereford's eminence in this area of study is borne out by the work of Roger of Hereford, also called Roger Infans. He was the author of astronomical works, including tables for the meridian of Hereford in 1178.⁴²

The manuscripts of the cathedral library, however, have been characterised as forming 'a practical reference library for the canons: patristics and some more recent theology, biblical studies and canon law',⁴³ with the specialist interests outlined by de Freine hardly in evidence. The explanation given by Mynors and Thomson is that these more marginal interests were most likely studied by dedicated individuals within the cathedral community, rather than as part of a prescribed curriculum.⁴⁴

According to the evidence of the surviving manuscripts, glossed books of the Bible formed a considerable percentage of accessions to the cathedral library throughout the course of the twelfth century, with the earliest examples likely to have coincided with the episcopate of Robert de Béthune (1131-48). A significant number were received in a single donation made by the archdeacon Ralph Foliot (c. 1180-98).⁴⁵ This pattern was apparently mirrored at the Priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac, which received (at about the same time) a donation of four or more glossed books from one Roger the chaplain.⁴⁶ Five of the twelve

⁴¹ The relevant part of the poem is printed in R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser. 19 (1936), 19-42 (pp. 36-37). Hunt evaluates its authenticity in Hunt, 23, note 3. The poem is given a fuller interpretation in Charles Burnett, 'Mathematics and Astronomy in Hereford and its Region in the Twelfth Century', in *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, pp. 50-59 (pp. 55-57).

⁴² The evidence for Roger of Hereford's career is summarised in Burnett, pp. 55-56.

⁴³ Mynors and Thomson, pp. xvii-xviii.

⁴⁴ Mynors and Thomson, p. xviii.

⁴⁵ The cathedral's acquisition of twelfth-century glossed books is described in Mynors and Thomson, pp. xviii-xix.

⁴⁶ I describe Roger the chaplain's donation in more detail in chapter 5, below.

manuscripts bearing the priory pressmark belong to the glossed book genre, and all five have been dated to the second half of the twelfth century.

It is interesting to note, by contrast, that glossed books are not especially well represented among twelfth-century manuscript survivals associated with Gloucester. This may be down to accidents of loss or survival, which can only give a distorted impression of the make-up of the abbey's book collection in the twelfth century, but Hereford Cathedral's clear interest in glossed books at that time, together with the donation of several such books to the priory by a subdean of Hereford, suggests that St Guthlac's was to an extent being guided by the cathedral in the formation of its book collection. This was largely a natural consequence of the cathedral being the priory's nearest producer (or consumer) of high quality books.⁴⁷ The priory may deliberately have pursued a policy of emulating its larger neighbour in its book acquisitions, but it is far more likely that it looked to the cathedral's scriptorium or associated city workshops for the sake of expediency; it would have made sense for the priory to source its books in Hereford, rather than relying on work commissioned and accomplished at a distance (except in those cases where a required text could only be obtained from further afield).

It seems likely, therefore, that patterns of book acquisition at the priory in the twelfth century (not including the absorption of any book collections carried over from either of its predecessor houses) closely resembled those at the cathedral, albeit on a scale appropriate to a smaller house.

⁴⁷ The superior quality of twelfth-century Hereford books (relative to books produced at Worcester at around the same time) is assessed in Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', p. 30.

ST GUTHLAC'S MINSTER AND ST PETER'S, HEREFORD

Although St Guthlac's Priory and its attendant book collection came into being in the shadow of two powerful neighbours, a multitude of other local factors must have had a bearing on the content and flavour of its literary activities over the course of the twelfth century. Some of these factors are exclusively applicable to the priory and its predecessors, but their significance for our understanding of Hereford's contemporary literary scene has never been assessed; scholarship on the literary life of the city in the twelfth century has naturally looked to the cathedral as a focal point, with little consideration for the sorts of literary business carried out at other centres in the city at the same time.

The relative earliness of two manuscripts with a St Guthlac's Priory provenance makes them important as potential witnesses to Hereford's literary culture in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, when some of the greatest changes in religious life in Hereford were being brought about. Between the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth centuries, the churches of Hereford underwent a series of convulsions that must have threatened the very survival of their book collections and that certainly would have had implications for their contents. In making sense of the beginnings, the development and the evolution of a book collection at the priory, it is not sufficient to consider in isolation the evidence from the time of the priory's creation onwards; elements of its collection were already in existence before they came to rest there, arriving at some point in the four centuries between foundation and dissolution.

The possibility that the priory's earliest manuscripts once belonged to its predecessor institutions, the two Hereford churches amalgamated by Bishop Robert de Béthune, seems quite plausible: continuity between the earlier

churches and their successor has already been demonstrated,⁴⁸ so there is good reason to explore the likelihood that the priory inherited the nucleus of its book collection from St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford. With this in mind, it seems worthwhile to evaluate, insofar as is possible, the probable state of play at these two churches with regard to their respective book collections and attitudes to literature. Giving either church preference in establishing provenance for the priory's two earliest manuscripts is problematic (given the absence of catalogues for either church, and with a lack of inscriptions to specify ownership); the arguments for choosing St Peter's, Hereford, over St Guthlac's Minster (or vice versa) will be evaluated more precisely at a later point.⁴⁹

Clues to the literary climate and internal organisation of the two churches may be sought in the accounts of their history. Both establishments, although apparently beginning their lives as collegiate communities of secular canons, were probably very different in terms of the forces that shaped their literary habits. By the turn of the twelfth century, St Guthlac's, an Anglo-Saxon establishment, was already a venerable institution, whereas St Peter's, founded by a Norman family within twenty years of the Conquest, was relatively new and may already have passed (nominally, at least) into the hands of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester. These differences could have given rise to different patterns of acquisition and use in the book collections of the two communities.

Three pre-Conquest factors in the history of St Guthlac's Minster seem particularly salient in a consideration of its literary life. The first is the pattern of disenfranchisement and land loss suffered by the minster and traced by numerous commentators, beginning well in advance of the Conquest and marking a long-

⁴⁸ For Leland's account of the translation of Bernard Quarre's remains, see chapter 2, above.

⁴⁹ See chapters 6 and 7, below.

term decline in its prestige. The second is the arrival of a Norman force in the town, probably in the shape of a castle with garrison. The arguments for the precise arrangements of the Norman colonies in Herefordshire have already been briefly rehearsed,⁵⁰ it seems likely that St Guthlac's Minster acquired a Norman castle as an intimate neighbour in the 1050s. For the next century the fortunes of the minster remained inextricably linked to those of the castle. As the stronghold was renewed and consolidated in the post-Conquest period, the minster seems to have become swallowed up within the castle grounds, in an arrangement that would have had numerous implications for the life of the minster community.

The third factor relates to the sacking of Hereford in 1055. The scale of the damage done to St Guthlac's Minster by the Welsh incursion of that year is unclear; there is certainly no overwhelming evidence that any of the St Guthlac's manuscripts belonged to the minster before 1055, and, if the minster was indeed adjacent to an early Norman castle, it seems highly likely that it would have suffered the same fate as the cathedral, described in terms of near-total destruction. Any book collection would have been lost. Similar damage to the minster and its books may have been inflicted again, shortly after the Conquest, in attacks carried out against the castle by Edric the Wild.

These three factors in the history of St Guthlac's Minster in the late eleventh century, probably more than any others, define and give colour to the milieu into which the earliest St Guthlac's manuscripts were introduced when they arrived in Hereford. Indeed, the history of St Guthlac's and its community is probably representative of the misfortunes encountered by similar declining secular minsters in the same period, and must to some degree stand for other

⁵⁰ See chapter 1, above.

churches in Hereford and the Welsh Marches at that time; denuded of their paraphernalia by war, they were rebuilding themselves in the shadow of a military colony, with the threats of renewed fighting and confiscation of land and rights by secular lords never far away.

St Peter's, Hereford, must have been exposed to similar dangers, although as a de Lacy foundation it would probably at first have enjoyed preferential treatment amongst the churches of Hereford; in spite of Walter's death before the completion of the church, his descendants maintained some level of interest in its business. Walter de Lacy's motives in establishing St Peter's have been described above,⁵¹ and it seems likely that any book collection at St Peter's would have been compiled more or less to fit the church's agenda, characterised by Pearn as serving Hereford's new, post-Conquest French community.⁵² Its requirements and its character may have changed even before the end of the twelfth century, and certainly before 1101, when Hugh de Lacy gave the church to Gloucester Abbey. Problems in establishing a colony of monks in the church may have persisted until the mid 1130s; new books, perhaps, would then have accompanied the Benedictine monks who settled there.

The issue of the impact of the Conquest on Hereford and its literary landscape should also be taken into account, although caution should probably be exercised in assessing the importance of 1066 and its immediate aftermath in a frontier city that had already experienced turmoil of the kind typically associated with the early post-Conquest period. St Peter's, Hereford, may have come into being as one of the long-term effects of the Conquest on the religious scene in the city, but St Guthlac's Minster, absorbed wholesale into a Norman military

⁵¹ See chapter 2, above.

⁵² Pearn, pp. 383-84.

complex, probably felt the impact of occupation in a way that was both untypically early and more pressing than for other Anglo-Saxon minsters.

This may mean that any characterisation of literary activities at the minster in the years leading up to refoundation cannot obey the usual categories of 'pre-' and 'post-Conquest' sometimes applied in discussions of English manuscripts, book collections and libraries. Even if we postulate that a notional St Guthlac's Minster book collection would have been characteristically Anglo-Saxon (in spite of probable pre-Conquest Norman influences) up until 1055, it may have lost all of its manuscripts in that year. A decade then elapsed before the Conquest, during which time the minster may have been in a position to renew its book collection. When dealing with such short spaces of time, pre- and post-Conquest distinctions are probably quite artificial, although they are so deeply embedded in so much of the scholarship on the period that they cannot be overlooked.

For Rodney Thomson, the Conquest is of paramount importance in the study of the book collections of this period; English medieval libraries are unlike those on the continent, being 'so largely the creation of the Conquest and its aftermath,' with 'massive changes [...] orchestrated by the first generation of Anglo-Norman prelates'.⁵³ The danger, however, of overstating the case for the transformative impact of the Conquest on English libraries has been demonstrated, particularly with regard to Worcester Cathedral and those institutions operating within its sphere of influence, where literary continuity across the years of the Conquest was exhibited in the continued use of Old

⁵³ Rodney M. Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', in Rodney M. Thomson, *England and the 12th-Century Renaissance*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 620 (Aldershot; Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 27-40 (p. 27).

English and in an ongoing interest in established textual traditions.⁵⁴ Teresa Webber has also argued for a more cautious approach and, while acknowledging that the evolution of English libraries in this period was accelerated and facilitated by the Conquest, she suggests that the acquisition of new and unfamiliar texts reflected wider patterns of change, rather than merely coming as a result of the advent of the Normans.⁵⁵ These arguments are particularly pertinent when we consider that although the latter years of the eleventh century and the first half of the twelfth were generally characterised by periods of difficulty for St Peter's, Hereford, and more especially for St Guthlac's Minster, this may not have prevented either church from adapting its practices or acquiring new books.

The final adaptation of the St Guthlac's Minster community came in 1143, when it was converted to full Benedictine rule. Little can be said for certain about the secular regime that was replaced, but the likely date of the two earliest manuscripts from St Guthlac's Priory could place them either at the minster or at St Peter's, Hereford, before the Rule of St Benedict had been ushered in. The possibility that these priory manuscripts formerly belonged to one of Hereford's secular, collegiate communities will be explored at a later point, with particular reference to manuscript content: the distinction between

⁵⁴ Swan, 'Mobile Libraries'. Elaine Treharne also makes the case for 'diocesan stability through the turmoil occasioned by the Norman Conquest and its immediate aftermath' at Exeter via an examination of the books that can be associated with the episcopate of Leofric (1050-72). See Elaine Treharne, 'Bishops and their Texts in the Later Eleventh Century', in *Essays in Manuscript Geography: Vernacular Manuscripts of the English West Midlands from the Conquest to the Sixteenth Century*, ed. by Wendy Scase (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 13-28 (pp. 14-15).

⁵⁵ Teresa Webber, 'The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective', in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers: Essays Presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. by P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1997), pp. 191-205.

Benedictine and secular contexts may have important implications in establishing a point of origin or an early provenance for the manuscripts under consideration.

Any study of the practices and reading habits of English secular canons in the eleventh and twelfth centuries is necessarily limited by a scarcity of information, but useful comparisons may be made between the secular clergy in Hereford and the community at Exeter Cathedral under Bishop Leofric in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Recent studies of Exeter in the late Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest period have tended to make use of the contents of the cathedral's book collection, which has provided some limited evidence for the activities and interests of bishop and chapter; allowing for probable local and institutional differences, the model for Exeter may to an extent stand as a reasonable parallel for St Guthlac's Minster, if not for the later St Peter's, Hereford.⁵⁶ Bishop Leofric's Lotharingian training and connections, moreover, may be especially pertinent in establishing points of comparison between Hereford and Exeter;⁵⁷ Hereford acquired a Lotharingian bishop in Robert the Lotharingian, whose likely influence over the cultural scene in the city has been described above.

Recent attempts to characterise the Exeter Cathedral book collection under Bishop Leofric have tended to revolve around a small number of key factors, all of which may be helpfully applied to our reconstruction of the literary landscape in Hereford during the same period. The Exeter canons under Leofric seem to have lived according to the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, which may

⁵⁶ For a survey of the books acquired for Exeter by Bishop Leofric, see Richard Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 25 (1996), 135-85.

⁵⁷ Leofric's training is discussed in D. W. Blake, 'Bishop Leofric', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association*, 106 (1974), 47-57 (pp. 47-49).

have been the system chosen for some other secular communities in England.⁵⁸

As Richard Gameson has pointed out, the Rule prescribed reading (although not directly advocating the production of books) as an important activity for its followers,⁵⁹ whose lives resembled those of Benedictine monks in some respects. For example, adherents of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang would, like Benedictine monks, have held assets in common and would have had the use of a communal dormitory and refectory,⁶⁰ though not all the members of the community would necessarily have been required to live on site.

⁵⁸ Though not for all; William of Malmesbury presents Leofric's introduction of a new rule at Exeter as a revolutionary development. Although he omits to give clear details of the conventions that were already in place in England, the implication is that communities of canons previously did not tend to have the use of a communal refectory and dormitory: 'Hic Lefricus, eiectionis sanctimonialibus a Sancti Petri monasterio, episcopatum et canonicos statuit, qui contra morem Anglorum ad formam Lotharingorum uno triclinio comederent, uno cubiculo cubitarent'; 'This Leofric, having expelled the nuns from the monastery of St Peter, established his bishopric and canons, who, against the custom of the English, were to eat in one refectory and sleep in one dormitory' (my translation). Latin text taken from *Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi: De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by N. E. S. A. Hamilton, Rolls Series, 52 (London: Longman, 1870; repr. 1969), p. 201.

⁵⁹ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book', 160.

⁶⁰ John Blair, however, identifies a greater degree of flexibility in the regimes likely to have been followed in English secular minsters (he also identifies the *Institutio Canonicorum* of Amalarius of Metz as an alternative to the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang). For Blair, these various systems for regulating the daily conduct of the community offered 'a wide range of precepts on which a life of greater or lesser austerity could be founded'. See Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', p. 117. The *Institutio* was the official Carolingian rulebook for cathedral canons, imposed on French cathedrals from the ninth century onwards and in German ones more gradually. See Rudolf Schieffer, *Die Entstehung von Domkapiteln in Deutschland* (Bonn: Ludwig Röhrscheid Verlag, 1976), pp. 252-60. Elements of the *Institutio* are attested in a number of pre-Conquest English contexts. Its final chapter was circulated under the headings 'Iura quae sacerdotes debent habere' and 'Iura sacerdotum quae tenere debent', and was commonly attributed to Archbishop Egbert of York. Its appearance in manuscripts with Worcester connections implies that a knowledge of the text in contemporary Hereford is not unlikely; see Mary Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections, made c. 1000 AD', *English Historical Review*, 10 (1895), 712-31 (p. 714). Archbishop Wulfstan II of York certainly knew this element of the *Institutio* (which he translated into Old English), and seven other chapters were used in the thirteenth-century *Rule of St Paul's*, though they are thought to have first been transmitted to London in the tenth century. These elements of the *Institutio*, however, do not in isolation amount to a structured daily rule. See Julia Barrow, 'English Cathedral Communities and Reform in the Late Tenth and the Eleventh Centuries', in *Anglo-Norman Durham*, ed. by David Rollason, Margaret Harvey and Michael Prestwich (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1994), pp. 25-39 (pp. 30-31). In the case of Salisbury Cathedral in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, Teresa Webber has identified an impulse to collect works concerned with providing precepts (rather than prescribing a strict set of regulations) suitable for the common life of a group of canons; these included the texts known as the *Praeceptum* and the *Rule of the Four Fathers*. There is no evidence, however, that these two texts were widely used elsewhere in England at the time. See Teresa Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral, c. 1075- c.1125* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992), pp. 114-15.

Exeter Cathedral under Leofric appears to have had the use of numerous texts in Old English; the vernacular character of a significant proportion of its book collection may reflect the pastoral considerations of a secular community ministering to a laity with a limited comprehension of Latin, considerations that were less pronounced in its monastic contemporaries. For Gameson, the majority of the texts associated with Exeter under Leofric are representative of ‘the basic requirements, the *sine qua non* of a new foundation’,⁶¹ and the whole can be characterised as ‘the basic working collection of a bishop served by a community of canons’.⁶² One of the Old English texts represented in the collection is a Martyrology (now CCC 196), perhaps akin to the St Guthlac’s Martyrology mentioned in the sixteenth century by Sir John Prise, but now lost.⁶³

With the possible exception of the Martyrology, however, there is disappointingly little textual correlation between the St Guthlac’s Priory manuscripts old enough to have come from St Guthlac’s Minster and those of Leofric’s Exeter. The complete absence of Old English from any extant manuscripts that can plausibly be associated with St Guthlac’s Minster means

⁶¹ Gameson, ‘The Origin of the Exeter Book’, 147.

⁶² Gameson, ‘The Origin of the Exeter Book’, 143. Elaine Treharne, however, points out that the case of Exeter Cathedral may be somewhat exceptional, attributing certain aspects of the eleventh-century cathedral book collection to the special concerns of Bishop Leofric himself. Exeter’s apparent emphasis on texts in Old English, for example, can be ascribed to the bishop’s requirement for certain texts in the vernacular needed for the fulfilment of a range of pastoral and liturgical duties, as well as for overcoming some personal linguistic obstacles. The period during which Old English manuscripts were produced at Exeter seems to have been terminated at Leofric’s death, implying a degree of personal agency, and the production of substantial texts in Old English seems not to have been common elsewhere in the non-monastic contexts of late Anglo-Saxon and early Norman England. Treharne is careful to point out that Leofric’s books may not have been reserved solely for his use, so the manuscripts remain valuable as potential witnesses to the practices of the wider secular clergy. See Elaine Treharne, ‘Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter 1050-1072’, *Review of English Studies*, 54 (2003), 155-72. Treharne’s argument suffers slightly by dint of her distinction between monastic and non-monastic settings for the production of texts in Old English; there are considerable difficulties inherent in the mapping of networks of manuscript production, a process which has tended to favour large, monastic scriptoria, where non-monastic candidates should perhaps be given greater consideration.

⁶³ See chapter 5, below.

that any tradition of producing or using vernacular manuscripts there cannot now be substantiated.

More persuasive parallels between St Guthlac's Minster (or St Peter's, Hereford) and Exeter Cathedral emerge in Gameson's observations for the period under Leofric's successors, the years *c.* 1075–*c.* 1125, during which time 'there was a concerted effort to build up a collection of patristics';⁶⁴ this pattern was widely reproduced in other churches throughout England, and the earliest manuscript with a possible St Guthlac's Minster attribution (Hereford O. VI. 11, dateable to the end of the eleventh century) is in large part a collection of works by Jerome.⁶⁵ It is interesting to note that Gameson is open-minded with regard to the origin of the impulse to acquire patristic texts at Exeter: he observes that some of the texts produced and collected in the post-Conquest period 'may represent the initiative of the canons, others the efforts of the Norman bishops'.⁶⁶

In either case, Gameson elsewhere remarks that 'the principal concern of English houses during this period seems to have been to obtain the works of the Fathers, a preoccupation which they shared with their immediate continental neighbours'.⁶⁷ The amassing of key patristic works, fundamental to an ecclesiastical book collection of any size, came about in a process described by Thomson as 'standardization'; for Thomson, this period of change was driven by churchmen who viewed pre-Conquest English book collections as eccentric, incomplete or recondite, and who wished to bring them into line with book

⁶⁴ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book', 158. Another useful point of comparison for the same period (1075-1125) is Teresa Webber's study of the literary interests of the secular canons at Salisbury Cathedral, who made the acquisition of patristic texts a priority in the creation of a library to serve their new foundation. See Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 31-32.

⁶⁵ For a description of this manuscript and its contents, see chapter 6, below.

⁶⁶ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book', 153.

⁶⁷ Richard Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066-1130)* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999), p. 20.

collections on the continent.⁶⁸ The creation of more complete collections of patristic works coincided with (and may to some extent have been driven by) the rise of the glossed book genre (marked in Hereford both by its earliness and its rapidity).⁶⁹

The use of Exeter as a fitting model for other contemporary secular minsters rests on the portrait of the cathedral sketched in modern studies. A number of Anglo-Saxon sources, however, problematise our acceptance of these generally favourable accounts by presenting an alternative vision of life in English secular colleges; many of these stand in contrast to any idealising visions of Leofric's assiduous rule at Exeter. The worst extremes are depicted in the narratives of tenth-century monastic reformers, though these accounts are not necessarily to be trusted as accurate representations of the true state of affairs in unreformed minsters, and should perhaps be viewed as literary propaganda designed to lionise the reforming parties and to blacken the reputation of the institutions they replaced.⁷⁰ The written denigration of secular clergy was used to

⁶⁸ Thomson, 'The Norman Conquest and English Libraries', p. 32.

⁶⁹ The radical compression of patristic works within the glosses makes the availability of fuller versions vital for their use, especially in scriptural studies at anything below an advanced level; although glosses function usefully as a compact reference tool, they are in no way a replacement for complete texts. I am grateful to William Flynn for his insights into the relationship between glossa texts and their sources in a library setting, and for pointing out Hereford Cathedral's precocity (in an English setting) in acquiring and disseminating glossed books. William Flynn, private communication, July 2009.

⁷⁰ Antonia Gransden identifies the use of pre-existing literary models in some of the written invective directed against clerical communities; see Antonia Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), 159-207 (pp. 167-68). Written critiques of communities of secular clergy sometimes reached a considerable level of theological and literary sophistication, as in King Edgar's 966 refoundation charter for New Minster, Winchester, an edition of which appears in Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), pp. 65-97. The charter, which is 'almost certainly the work of Bishop Æthelwold, in the first years of his episcopate', constructs 'an elaborate theological argument' in which 'explicit parallels are intended to be drawn between the ejection of the secular canons and firstly the Fall of the Lucifer and his Angels and secondly the Fall of Adam and his ejection from Paradise, all three acts of expulsion being presented as God's punishment for sins of disobedience committed through pride while in a position of privilege relative to Him'. See Rumble, p. 65 and pp. 67-68. Although a literary flavour need not make a historical source any less credible, the

justify aggressive takeovers of churches and properties, and could encourage benefactors to switch their allegiance to the incoming reformist party.

References to immorality and lax living are frequent in literature of this sort, and mention is also bitterly made of the clerks' wives.⁷¹ The calamitous breakdowns in discipline described in these accounts, if accurate, would presumably have had negative implications for literary pursuits (and even for the maintenance of the most basic book collection required for the performance of the liturgy) within the more loose-living communities of secular clergy. While accusations of immorality or vicious behaviour do not appear in any of the documents relating to St Guthlac's Minster (or the pre-Benedictine St Peter's, Hereford), and while our views of secular minsters should not be unduly coloured by monastic polemic, the 1143 charter of Robert de Béthune giving notice of the foundation of St Guthlac's Priory contains an unambiguous assertion that the religious functions of the minster had become impaired, possibly even ceasing altogether.⁷²

John Blair's work on secular minsters in the period 850-1100 can perhaps shed some light on the particulars of the condition of St Guthlac's Minster, at least up until the 1050s, the decade which seems to have marked the commencement of the minster's most serious misfortunes. Its situation in Hereford placed it in a region identified by Blair as likely to have been conservative by nature,⁷³ where Continental innovation or the worst exigencies

often formulaic nature of the criticism directed at the unreformed churches makes the case against them so general that it opens the way for the defence of the individual secular minster.

⁷¹ The most important sources are surveyed in Gransden, 167.

⁷² Although the charter stops short of launching an attack on the minster community, it is worth remembering that the documents describing the refoundation were not created by disinterested parties, and may produce a distorted view of the condition of the minster in 1143. See chapter 1 and Appendix 5.

⁷³ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 344.

of the Viking invasions would not have been urgently felt. Regarding the regimes at these minsters, Blair is of the opinion that ‘such hints as we do have suggest that they were relaxed, with little enthusiasm for forcing minster-priests to order their lives as strict-living canons on the Continental pattern’.⁷⁴ Supposing that the clerks of the minster did not unequivocally subscribe to the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang (or similar), which Blair seems to suggest is likely, then they may have included married men and would have lived ‘at a central site, associated in the care of one mother-parish, but not necessarily holding assets in common, sleeping in a dormitory, or bound to any strict liturgical round’.⁷⁵ A high degree of organisation, as at Exeter and Salisbury, cannot necessarily be assumed for St Guthlac’s Minster, where communal book ownership may not even have been attempted (with the exception of the principal books required for the performance of the liturgy).⁷⁶

Even the absence of a co-ordinated policy towards building a book collection for such a church as St Guthlac’s Minster, however, need not mean that the minster did not have books besides the basics used for the liturgy; M. T. Clanchy evokes the treatment of literary items in the pre-Conquest minster in the following terms:

⁷⁴ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 361.

⁷⁵ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 342.

⁷⁶ The ownership of books by individual priests in Anglo-Saxon England and in Carolingian Europe has recently been discussed in (for example) 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. by Francesca Tinti (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 63-82, and in Carine van Rhijn, *Shepherds of the Lord: Priests and Episcopal Statutes in the Carolingian Period* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007). Both point to the need for individual priests to have access to ‘a small library to enable them to execute their ministry properly’ (van Rhijn, p. 123) and ‘to perform all of the occasional offices required by a priest’ (Gittos, p. 70), and both focus on the rite of baptism. Evidence for individual book ownership by priests, however, is not enough on its own to exclude the possibility of book ownership by the church to which those priests belonged, especially in the case of titles with no obvious place in a priest’s handbook or in a personal reference library used in support of his day-to-day pastoral duties.

At the time of the Norman Conquest documents and books had a place among the precious objects, the hoard of treasure and relics, which a ruler or the head of a religious house aimed to pass on to his successors. Documents, books, relics of the saints and jewellery were not usually kept in places distinct from each other, because they were often physically joined together and the difference between writings and other precious objects was not as obvious as it is to a modern literate.⁷⁷

For Antonia Gransden, the men of the secular minster were individuals whose 'relatives tended to be people of consequence in the neighbourhood and, apparently, to feel responsible for the communities with which they had a family connection. The clerks and their supporters', she concludes, 'were, therefore, powers to be reckoned with'.⁷⁸ This close association between the personnel of these minsters and the wider community, however, although protecting them to an extent against colonisation by Benedictines, probably made them more vulnerable to exploitation by lay powers at the expense of the community and its religious functions. The absorption of the minster by the castle, as well as the activities of the pluralists Spirites and his successor Nigel the Doctor, clerks in royal service, have already been described.⁷⁹

The declining fortunes of St Guthlac's Minster were mirrored elsewhere, in a process described by Blair:

The pressure of noble residence on old ecclesiastical sites reached its logical conclusion after the Conquest: several of the new royal and baronial castles engulfed minsters, which

⁷⁷ M. T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, 2nd edn (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), pp. 125-26.

⁷⁸ Gransden, 170.

⁷⁹ See chapter 1, above. Other similar cases of pluralism are described in Blair, 'Secular Minster Churches in Domesday Book', pp. 124-26, and in Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, pp. 363-64.

were re-cast as castle colleges or chapels, extruded out to new sites, or suppressed completely.⁸⁰

Although it escaped suppression, the other processes described by Blair all applied to St Guthlac's Minster. The complete subjection of the minster to lay lordship seems to have been a process that took place over many years, reaching its nadir in 1140, the year in which Miles of Gloucester captured the castle during a siege which may have driven the canons away altogether, and which seems to have resulted in the ousting of Roger de Port from his comfortable position of control over both castle and minster.⁸¹ The fact that the minster was entirely enmeshed in lay politics by this point seems clear, regardless of the precise identity of the lord presiding at the castle. The case of St Guthlac's Minster in 1143 is perhaps comparable to that of the church at Bosham as illustrated in the Bayeux Tapestry, with Earl Harold shown riding and feasting there, an explicit depiction of the proprietorial attitude of a powerful lay lord to an unreformed minster under his control.⁸²

Although interference by temporal lords in church business seems eventually, in the case of St Guthlac's Minster, to have reached an unfortunate conclusion for the minster community, a more benevolent form of lay intervention has been identified in certain developments in church life brought about in Herefordshire at around the time of the minster's demise. Given the involvement of such important local individuals as Payn Fitz John and the de Lacy family in the affairs of both St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford,

⁸⁰ Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 365. See also p. 365, note 354, which mentions the case of St Guthlac's Minster.

⁸¹ See chapter 1, above.

⁸² As described in Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, p. 328.

it is worthwhile to reflect on the likely effects of lordly patronage on the two churches (and, alternatively, the effects of its withdrawal or absence).

There can be little doubt that the first half of the twelfth century in Hereford and in the surrounding area witnessed the rise of a distinctive and flourishing regional movement in building and in artwork, the most renowned and noteworthy aspect of which is the output attributed to the notional Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture in the period *c.* 1130-50.⁸³ It is difficult to relate the contemporary situation at either St Guthlac's Minster or St Peter's, Hereford, to this revolution in architecture and in sculpture. It may have bypassed both, possibly because their buildings were already in place by the time the Herefordshire School was at its most active, or perhaps because neither was sufficiently favoured to be endowed with the latest sculptural fittings. Neither site has yet yielded any evidence for work by the Herefordshire School, nor has St Guthlac's Priory, which was surely constructed at a time when the Herefordshire School was still at work. The near-complete disappearance of St Guthlac's Minster and the priory, however, makes it difficult to rule out the presence of Herefordshire School work at these two locations in the twelfth century. It is almost equally difficult to assess St Peter's, Hereford, as a church which may have possessed Herefordshire School work; the rebuilding effort that commenced *c.* 1200, along with remodelling in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, means that any earlier architectural features have been swept away.⁸⁴

Much of the scholarship on the body of work produced by the School has focused on the issue of patronage by lay lords, whose concerns and tastes have

⁸³ The most comprehensive survey of the corpus of work by this regional school is in Malcolm Thurlby, *The Herefordshire School of Romanesque Sculpture* (Logaston: Logaston Press, 1999).

⁸⁴ 'The church has been too much restored to be of much architectural interest'; Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: *Herefordshire*, 1, 120-22.

been identified as a driving force behind the production of new church buildings with elaborate sculptural fittings. It has been argued that the iconography of the sculpture is inspired, in part, by some of the literary works that would have been in circulation in the region at the time, with the *Bestiary* providing the clearest examples of themes that informed the work of the School.⁸⁵ Studies of the Herefordshire School, then, have evoked a class of secular lords who were literate, pious and intellectually engaged to the point of making informed choices in the design and iconography of their church buildings. It is unlikely that individuals of this kind would have neglected to supervise other matters in providing for their churches. The provision of books, for example, both time-consuming and expensive, would not have been overlooked.

This model of heightened lay engagement in the minutiae of church design is problematic, but the work of Malcolm Thurlby directly implicates the de Lacy family in these processes, specifically with regard to the Herefordshire School.⁸⁶ The de Lacy connections with Gloucester Abbey and with both St Martin's and St Peter's, Hereford, mean that the matter of lay patronage for St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, must therefore be taken into account here, along with the likely impact of this lay involvement on the acquisition of books by both churches.

Thurlby identifies Sybil de Lacy and her husband Payn Fitz John as likely sponsors of the work produced by the Herefordshire School at St Peter's, Rowstone, St Giles', Hereford, and St Michael's, Castle Frome. E. R. Hamer also links sculptural fragments from Alveley in Shropshire with Payn Fitz John.⁸⁷

⁸⁵ Thurlby, p. 10.

⁸⁶ Thurlby, pp. 111-22.

⁸⁷ E. R. Hamer, 'Patronage and Iconography in Romanesque England: the Herefordshire School in Context' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Chicago, 1992), pp. 258-60.

Hamer and Thurlby base their arguments largely on records of land tenure which suggest the involvement of Sybil or Payn at around the time when the sculpture was produced.

The iconography of the sculpture is complex and its meanings obscure, but some of the recognisable subjects at the four sites named by Thurlby and Hamer in association with Payn and the de Lacys include depictions of St Michael and Samson at Alveley, Christ in Majesty at Rowlstone and at St Giles', Hereford, Christ as the Good Shepherd, also at St Giles', and a Baptism of Christ with the symbols of the four evangelists on the famous font at Castle Frome. Prominent at the latter three locations are images of books. Christ in Majesty holds a book in his left hand. Each of the four figures on the chancel arch at Rowlstone holds a book in his left hand; one also holds a scroll in his right. The winged man of St Matthew holds a book in his left hand at Castle Frome. A concern with the written word and its place in church life is evident in all of these images.⁸⁸ Such details seem to suggest that Payn Fitz John and the de Lacys were significant patrons of the arts, and that the artwork they commissioned expressed their special regard for sacred literature.

Recently, however, John Hunt has argued for a reappraisal of the emphasis placed by art historians on the influence of lay patrons in the work of the Herefordshire School, preferring instead to look to the cathedral and to important local churchmen as a directing force in the development of the School's work. He is particularly dubious about the role attributed to Payn Fitz John; for Hunt, Payn's 'limited tenurial associations with most Herefordshire School sites' make him less likely as a candidate for a long and productive

⁸⁸ Photographs of these images appear in Thurlby, pp. 112 and 114-15 (Rowlstone), 117 (St Giles'), and 121 (Castle Frome).

association with the Herefordshire School.⁸⁹ Indeed, the only church for which we can be certain that Payn Fitz John was a 'patron' is St Peter's, Hereford, as evinced by the document that I have reproduced as Appendix 11: a significant association with the Herefordshire School would no doubt have produced some ornaments for this most favoured church, perhaps in the form of a font like those found at Castle Frome and at St Mary Magdalene, Eardisley. It is of course possible that Herefordshire School work at St Peter's, Hereford, has not survived, but the durability of the work in other contexts makes this unlikely. This absence of secure evidence for the level of Payn's involvement makes his credentials questionable, whether as a patron of the Herefordshire School or as a literary-minded designer of churches.

The example of the Herefordshire School is instructive in the complications inherent in tracing the hand of the lay patron in the adornment of a church. A degree of caution must therefore be exercised in attempting to identify a de Lacy influence in the contents and composition of the putative book collections at St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford. De Lacy patronage in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century Hereford is most obvious in the family's support for Gloucester Abbey's operations in the city. The extent of ongoing interference by church patrons in the equipping of the churches that they had founded cannot be fully determined, but a persistent concern on the part of the de Lacys to promote the interests of Gloucester Abbey is very clear. The de

⁸⁹ John Hunt, 'Sculpture, Dates and Patrons: Dating the Herefordshire School of Sculpture', *Antiquaries Journal*, 84 (2004), 185-222 (p. 209). Hunt's opinion is that an association between Payn Fitz John and the Castle Frome font is less problematic than links with other examples of Herefordshire School work, but he goes on to draw a distinction between Payn and the de Lacy family as alternative candidates for patronage at Castle Frome. This distinction seems to me largely artificial, given that Payn was married to a de Lacy and was clearly a supporter of the same causes that they espoused, as illustrated in his support for the Gloucester monks in Hereford. See chapter 2, above.

Lacys seem to have been content to accept direction from Gloucester in their Hereford foundations, so perhaps their involvement did not extend much beyond founding their churches and then financing the activities of the Gloucester monks installed in them.

The likelihood of de Lacy involvement at St Peter's, Hereford, and at St Guthlac's Minster (via its neighbour, the de Lacy foundation of St Martin's), therefore, adds greater weight to the argument for a strong Gloucester influence in the years immediately preceding their refoundation, rather than supporting the case for detecting an individual patron's own tastes and preoccupations in the manner in which they were equipped. The appointment of Walter de Lacy as Abbot of Gloucester in 1130 meant that the causes of the abbey and of the de Lacy family became still less easily separable for a whole decade, during which time the abbey consolidated its hold on St Peter's, Hereford.⁹⁰ Allied to members of the local nobility (amongst whom Earl Miles was the most notable following the death of Payn Fitz John in 1137), Gloucester Abbey situated itself in a uniquely powerful position to pursue its interests in Hereford in the 1130s and 1140s, a process which culminated in the settlement that established St Guthlac's Priory in 1143. It is therefore to Gloucester Abbey that we should look in determining likely influences on those Hereford churches that it was eventually to bring under its control. It seems certain that books produced by Gloucester Abbey would have had a part to play in the promotion of its presence in the religious life of the city, and that these Gloucester books could conceivably have been introduced into St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, by the

⁹⁰ See Appendix 11.

agency of Gloucester Abbey's lay patrons, even before it was able to formalise outright ownership.

LEOMINSTER

Given some of the themes addressed in the texts of the three study manuscripts, it is necessary to consider the situation with regard to female religious in Hereford and its vicinity in the late Anglo-Saxon and early post-Conquest period. The Hieronymian letters in Hereford O. VI. 11 are particularly relevant in this respect; they appear elsewhere in various combinations in material designed as a guide for the instruction of women in holy orders.⁹¹ Texts relating to the care of women in childbirth, too, would seem more naturally suited to practical use by literate women than by Benedictine monks, so one element of the medical material in Jesus 37 could also potentially be given a context within a female community.⁹² Even if the study manuscripts themselves were never owned or used in any way by women, the impact of wealthy and influential communities of female religious on the literary scene in eleventh- and twelfth-century Herefordshire and its environs may have been considerable, and may have contributed in specific and identifiable ways to the textual content of book collections that came into being in the region at the time.

Leominster's stature and its proximity to Hereford make it a likely candidate as a source of influence on the development of the city's literary scene. Like St Guthlac's Minster, the church at Leominster is generally supposed to have been prosperous at the beginning of the eleventh century, when it too

⁹¹ See chapter 6, below.

⁹² See chapter 7, below.

received a bequest in the will of Wulfgeat of Donington.⁹³ The story of the community at Leominster mirrors that of St Guthlac's Minster in other respects; the middle years of the eleventh century are generally characterised as a time of difficulty and decline, with the Godwinsons again identified as one of the causes of misfortune. The abduction of the abbess by Swein Godwinson in 1046 may well have marked a low point in the history of the community, but it seems to have survived this episode, in spite of some modern accounts to the contrary;⁹⁴ Domesday entries point to the presence of an abbess and to provisions made for the support of nuns in Leominster. The level of income suggested by Domesday indicates an establishment of considerable wealth, and the survival of a substantial relic collection at Leominster (subsequently inherited by Reading Abbey) suggests that the church continued to function until it was refounded in 1123, perhaps continuously served by the nuns until their replacement by monks.

Pauline Stafford argues that although Domesday records Leominster as formerly being held by Edward the Confessor's queen, Edith, the existence of a religious community there would not necessarily have been interrupted.⁹⁵ On balance, I find Stafford's argument the more persuasive; instead of taking Henry I's foundation charter for Reading Abbey at face value, Stafford casts doubt on

⁹³ See chapter 1, above.

⁹⁴ Freeman argues that the abbey was dissolved at this point. See Freeman, II, 592-93. Its lands were certainly in royal hands by 1066, a fact which has led Sarah Foot to conclude that it was 'dissolved or abandoned before 1066' (though she acknowledges that the women 'remained a recognisable group in the locality' and 'retained some vestiges of communal existence as far as 1086'). See Sarah Foot, *Veiled Women*, 2 vols (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000), II, 103-07. Joe and Caroline Hillaby have recently restated the idea that the abduction of the abbess brought about the end of the community. They point to her rehabilitation away from the abbey, at Fencote in c. 1047, and describe a 'diminishing number of nuns from 1046'. See Joe and Caroline Hillaby, *Leominster Minster, Priory and Borough c. 660-1539* (Logaston: The Friends of Leominster Priory and Logaston Press, 2006), pp. 42-44.

⁹⁵ Pauline Stafford, 'Cherchez la Femme. Queens, Queens' Lands and Nunneries: Missing Links in the Foundation of Reading Abbey', *History*, 85 (2000), 4-27. Stafford envisages a sharing of revenue between the nuns and the landowner, Queen Edith; this would have been possible under the terms of *Regularis Concordia*, which allowed English queens to run nunneries. See Stafford, 9-10 and 13.

its claims that Leominster (along with Reading's two other predecessor houses) had been destroyed prior to refoundation. Indeed, the preservation of relics and, quite probably, a book collection at Leominster up until it became a cell of Reading speaks loudly in favour of continuity rather than rupture.

There survive some interesting hints as to the books that may have belonged to the church at Leominster during its time as a female or mixed community. The most impressive source is a booklist of *c.* 1190 on fol. 12v of British Library, Egerton 3031, a Reading cartulary.⁹⁶ Amongst the items listed as being kept at Leominster are 'Rotula cu[m] vita s[an]c[t]i guthlaci anglice sc[ri]pta', 'Medicinal[is] un[us] anglicis litt[er]is sc[ri]pt[us]' and 'Lib[er] q[ui] appellatur landboc'. It is entirely possible that these Old English texts found their way to Leominster after the church's refoundation as a cell of Reading Abbey. Their limited numbers, the roll format of the *Vita* of Guthlac and the awkward positioning of two of the titles in empty spaces at the end of lines, however, are all factors which set them apart from the majority of the collection, which is made up of books in Latin. The three could therefore represent the remnants of a collection owned by the monks' predecessors.⁹⁷

The presence of an Old English *Vita* of Guthlac at Leominster is provoking; it may point to the regional influence of the nearby St Guthlac's Minster as a cult centre, producing or attracting a concentration of material relating to the saint. It also establishes a loose connection between the two houses at a literary level. The medicine book, too, is an intriguing feature of the

⁹⁶ The booklist is reproduced as figure 13.1 in Joe and Caroline Hillaby, p. 130. It is surveyed in *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues*, ed. by R. Sharpe and others, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues, 4 (London: British Library, 1996), pp. 454-61.

⁹⁷ This opinion is expressed by Joe and Caroline Hillaby with regard to the 'landboc'; they remark upon its marginal position within the booklist, and they interpret the title as referring to a collection of Anglo-Saxon legal documents superseded by Henry I's foundation charter. See Joe and Caroline Hillaby, p. 135.

list. There is no way of establishing the degree of likeness between the contents of the Leominster book, which is not known to have survived, and the early medical procedures in Jesus 37; it is to be imagined that the medical material in the book at Leominster was far more extensive, but it may have included some of the procedures contained in Jesus 37.

CHAPTER 5: DOCUMENTARY AND MATERIAL EVIDENCE FOR A BOOK COLLECTION AND SCRIBAL ACTIVITIES AT ST GUTHLAC'S PRIORY

The manuscript survivals from St Guthlac's Priory are united as a notional collection by a distinctive pressmark, comprising a roman numeral and the abbreviation for *us*, displayed on the recto of the second folio of each. They were first traced by Neil Ker, who worked with these and with other manuscripts that had passed through the hands of the sixteenth-century collector John Prise.¹ In eight of the manuscripts displaying the pressmark, there are medieval inscriptions specifying a St Guthlac's Priory provenance.² These unambiguous marks of ownership, taken in tandem with the pressmarks, have allowed the identification of a single, unified collection of books once held at the priory. I have used Ker's list, unrevised since the issue of his *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*,³ as the basis for my investigation. In total, twelve manuscripts (now held variously at Hereford, Oxford and York) bear the pressmark.

All of the surviving manuscripts have been characterised as 'books of divinity'.⁴ Indeed, Heale remarks that it is now 'impossible to gauge the range of this cell's library'⁵ due to the fact that only books of this kind have survived.

¹ N. R. Ker, 'The Mediæval Pressmarks of St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, and of Roche Abbey, Yorks', *Medium Ævum*, 5 (1936), 47-48.

² These are Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. V. 1, P. III. 2, P. III. 5, P. IV. 5 and P. VI. 1, and Oxford, Jesus College 66, 105 and 106.

³ *MLGB*, pp. 99-100. Ker includes Oxford, Jesus College 10 in his list, bringing the total number of manuscripts identified as having been at St Guthlac's Priory to thirteen.

⁴ The term is used in Martin Heale, 'Books and Learning in the Dependent Priors of the Monasteries of Medieval England', in *The Church and Learning in Later Medieval Society: Essays in Honour of R. B. Dobson*, ed. by Caroline M. Barron and Jenny Stratford (Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2002), pp. 64-79 (p. 72). It is interesting to note that Prise himself applied the same term, 'Bookes of Devinite', in his will, expressing his wish that all his books of this kind be left to Hereford Cathedral Library. About half of these are now with Prise's intended recipient; most of the others are in the collection of Jesus College, Oxford. See N. R. Ker, 'Sir John Prise', in *Books, Collectors and Libraries: Studies in the Medieval Heritage*, ed. by Andrew G. Watson (London: Hambledon Press, 1985), pp. 471-495 (p. 477).

⁵ Heale, 'Books and Learning', p. 72.

Heale's assessment is perhaps a little too reductive: the labelling of the manuscripts as books of 'divinity' (a term which equates to 'theology') tells us little about the precise manner of their use and ignores those elements of the collection that seem not to be purely theological in nature or intent. In fact the twelve are very mixed, both in terms of surface features and content.

Besides the books displaying the pressmark, moreover, the range of manuscripts supposed to have survived from the priory is augmented by the addition of three further items, all of which suggest a greater diversity in the priory's literary holdings. The fact that none of these bears the mark described above suggests that if they were indeed at the priory at the moment when the pressmark was applied, they were not kept as part of the same collection, further complicating the picture of the storage and use of books at the priory. The first, Oxford, Jesus College 10, is mostly taken up with an antiphony; as a book intended for routine use, it may have resided in the sacristy of the priory church rather than amongst the priory's library volumes (which would have been consulted on a more occasional basis and would therefore have been stored in a separate press, perhaps in a different room or building entirely).⁶ This manuscript will be looked at in greater detail later in this chapter.

⁶ The normal arrangements for the storage of books in monastic houses are summarised in Francis Wormald, 'The Monastic Library', in *The English Library before 1700*, ed. by Francis Wormald and C. E. Wright (London: University of London, 1958), pp. 15-31 (pp. 16-22). Wormald identifies three key spaces for storage: the church (specifically the sacristy), the refectory and the cloister. The cloister, he argues, was the natural area in which to store and read a monastery's library books; dedicated library rooms were a later development and were not seen in England during the twelfth century. Wormald's Plate 3 shows the 'carrells' (alcoves where individual monks would sit for private reading) in the cloister of Gloucester Abbey. A similar system may have been in place at Gloucester's daughter house in Hereford. Wormald identifies the precentor as the individual most likely to have been in charge of books (both in the sacristy and in the cloister) in English abbeys; in light of this, it is interesting to note Heale's remark that 'the priory of St Guthlac in Hereford, although it housed only five monks in the sixteenth century, nevertheless continued to appoint a precentor, surely a sign of commitment to the priory's musical activities'. See Heale, *Dependent Priories*, p. 178. A book collection may also have been a consideration in the priory's concern to maintain the post of precentor.

The other two manuscripts preserve legal documents relating to the priory's properties, both ecclesiastical and secular. These would also in all likelihood have been kept separate from liturgical or scholarly items, possibly in a dedicated muniments room. The most significant of these documents is a fourteenth-century charter book, now Oxford, Balliol College 271.⁷ I have reproduced a number of unpublished extracts as appendices;⁸ selected charters have appeared in print at various times and in various places, but not until a full edition is published will it be possible to make full use of its treasury of information. Its usefulness as a witness to the literary life of the priory (beyond the possibility of it representing in itself a product of the priory's scriptorium) is probably limited, but a single line of text out of the many added to the cartulary in a sixteenth-century hand may provide valuable evidence for yet another item from the priory's book collection, now lost. The short inscription in question will be examined later in this chapter, as will some additional evidence for other individual manuscripts at the priory that have since been lost.

The final item is a rental of St Guthlac's, dated to 1436, now held by the Herefordshire Archive Service.⁹ It has been demonstrated that these last two items of legal material once belonged to John Prise:¹⁰ as the first post-

⁷ The manuscript is described in R. A. B. Mynors, *Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Balliol College, Oxford* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1963), p. 286-88; in G. R. C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain: A Short Catalogue* (London: Longmans, Green and Co., 1958), p. 55; also briefly in Ker, 'Sir John Prise', pp. 487 and 494. Numerous individual charters have appeared in several publications, most notably in Walker, 'Charters of the Earldom of Hereford', pp. 21-22 (numbers 17 and 18), 27 (number 33), 30-31 (numbers 40-43) and 39 (number 63); *LCGF*, pp. 376-81 (numbers 317-25) and 424 (number 379); *EEA VII*, pp. 7-8 (number 7), 18-27 (numbers 17, 19 and 21-27), 50-51 (number 55), 83-85 (numbers 125 and 126), 105-11 (numbers 152-57), 148-56 (numbers 203-09) and 197-201 (numbers 260-62); *The Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester c. 1122 to 1263*, ed. by Robert B. Patterson (Gloucester: Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998), pp. 268-69; *St David's Episcopal Acta, 1085-1280*, ed. by Julia Barrow (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1998), p. 45 (number 15).

⁸ See Appendices 2, 9, 10, 12 and 13.

⁹ Herefordshire Archive Service, CF50/21. A useful summary of the rental appears in Bannister, 'The Possessions of St. Guthlac's Priory, Hereford'.

¹⁰ Ker, 'Sir John Prise', pp. 486-87 and 494.

Dissolution owner of the priory, he clearly had an interest in obtaining and preserving all of its legal documents. Indeed, a selective attitude towards the priory's manuscripts on Prise's part may have defined the composition of the St Guthlac's book collection as it has come down to us today. Prise presumably made it his business only to acquire those manuscripts that most interested him. The priory certainly owned more than twelve marked books at some point in its history: the pressmarks reach number 45, suggesting that there were at least this many in the collection when the pressmark was applied (although it does not necessarily follow that Prise would have had the option to acquire all of these books in the sixteenth century).

Prise's intervention was probably both a crucial and a beneficent moment in the history of the priory book collection, but it cannot have been the only factor to dictate the composition of the collection in its current state. Chance has no doubt played its part in the survival or destruction of many of the collection's constituent elements. It is not possible to say whether losses have been due to accident or to wilful destruction, but Ker, in his defence of Prise against the latter's detractors, cites Prise's note in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 447, fol. i: 'Jo. Prise vindicauit hunc librum a tinearum morsibus'.¹¹ It is not difficult to imagine that the majority of the St Guthlac's manuscripts, as the victims of neglect or hostility, were not so fortunate.

THE PRESSMARKS

Almost all of the manuscripts having the St Guthlac's Priory pressmark have been dated, on palaeographical grounds, to a period commencing in the late

¹¹ 'John Prise claimed this book from the jaws of worms' (my translation). See Ker, 'Sir John Prise', p. 476.

eleventh century and terminating at some point around the year 1200. Of the twelve, Hereford P. IV. 5 is the only exception to this rule, being of a markedly later date (a product of the thirteenth century).

I list all twelve here, together with a brief description of contents and (in brackets) the number allocated to each in its pressmark. The dates for the manuscripts are those given in Ker's list.

Hereford, Cathedral Library MSS:

O. IV. 12: Glossed Minor Prophets (43), s.xiii in.

O. V. 1: Glossed Genesis (3), s.xii

O. VI. 11: Epistles of Jerome etc. (29), s.xi

P. III. 2: Pauline Epistles etc. (8), s.xii

P. III. 5: Sermons and Sayings (31), s.xii-xiii

P. IV. 5: Langton's Commentary on the Twelve Prophets (17), s.xiii

P. VI. 1: Gregory's Homilies on Ezekiel (4), s.xii

Oxford, Jesus College MSS:

37: John the Deacon's Life of Gregory the Great etc. (24), s.xi

66: Glossed Gospel of St Matthew (45), s.xii

105: Glossed Gospel of St Luke (26), s.xii

106: Glossed Gospel of St John (20), s.xii

York Minster Library MS:

XVI. K. 10: Berengaudus on the Apocalypse (36), s.xii?¹²

¹² Ker's obvious doubts as to the correct dating of this manuscript led to a revised date (s. xiii¹) appearing in N. R. Ker and A. J. Piper, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, 5 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969-2002), iv (1992), 731.

Martin Heale, in his survey of books and learning in dependent priories, suggests that the form of the St Guthlac's Priory pressmark (a lower-case numeral but no accompanying letter) might point to the collection having been housed within a single receptacle. In the majority of cases, he points out, the relatively limited library holdings of a dependent priory would allow for the storage of the entire collection within a single book press.¹³ This would be particularly appropriate, perhaps, for a collection grouped together within the same category (that of Heale's 'books of divinity', for example) with separate arrangements made for other kinds of manuscripts.

Even given the small number of manuscripts included within this diminished collection, I have been unable to discern a guiding principle behind the allocation of numbers within the St Guthlac's pressmark system; if the number acts as a guide to the manuscript's physical location upon a shelf, the ordering of books seems counterintuitive. It is difficult to account, for example, for the three glossed gospels having such disparate numbers: as well as the obvious thematic link between the three, all three manuscripts share striking surface similarities and were part of the same twelfth-century bequest to the priory.

There are probably now too few manuscripts out of the first 45 of the collection for us to make much sense of what seems to have been an idiosyncratic system for marking them. The survival, however, of two consecutive entries in the pressmark series, namely those for Hereford O. V. 1 (pressmark number 3) and P. VI. 1 (number 4), may offer hope for clarification at some point in the future.

¹³ Heale, 'Books and Learning', p. 75.

The system seems first to have been brought into use at some point between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries; opinion varies as to a precise date. In their entry for Jesus 37, Alexander and Temple describe the pressmark as 'saec. XII-XIII,'¹⁴ but Mynors and Thomson only feel sufficiently confident to say (with reference to a volume with no other more easily dateable inscription) that the pressmark indicates it was 'at St. Guthlac's Priory Hereford by s. xv.'¹⁵ The twelfth century is perhaps too early a date for the first appearance of the pressmark, especially when we consider its presence in Hereford P. IV. 5, a manuscript securely and consistently dated to the thirteenth century.¹⁶ Seemingly, the marking process was applied to all of the priory's manuscripts at one sitting, so a considerable length of time must have elapsed between the accession of the priory's earliest manuscripts and the moment at which they received the pressmark. If certain of the dedicatory inscriptions specifying provenance have been accurately dated, Hereford O. V. 1 and P. III. 2, and Jesus 66, 105 and 106 must all have been part of a collection at the priory before the marking system was thought of.¹⁷

¹⁴ J. J. G. Alexander and Elzbieta Temple, *Illuminated Manuscripts in Oxford College Libraries, the University Archives and the Taylor Institution* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1985), p. 4.

¹⁵ Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

¹⁶ Entries for Hereford P. IV. 5 appear in Bannister, *Catalogue*, pp. 141-42; Mynors and Thomson, p. 92; *MLGB*, p. 99; Ker, 'Sir John Prise', p. 486.

¹⁷ These manuscripts all bear inscriptions recording ownership by or donation to the priory. For the inscription in Hereford P. III. 2, see chapter 8, below; for that of Hereford O. V. 1, see Mynors and Thomson, p. 32; for those of Jesus 66 and 106, see Thomson, *Books and Learning*, p. 23, note 13. It is interesting to note that Thomson makes no mention here (or in any of his other references to Hereford O. IV. 12 and O. V. 1, or to Jesus 66 and 106) of Jesus 105, another manuscript that clearly should be associated with the same donation of books by Roger the chaplain. Alexander and Temple prefer a thirteenth-century date for the *ex dono* inscriptions in Jesus 66 and 105; see Alexander and Temple, pp. 15 and 13 respectively. If the pressmarks were all applied at the same time (as seems to be the case), however, a thirteenth-century date for the *ex dono* inscription would seem to partly contradict the earlier statement by Alexander and Temple (p. 4) that the St Guthlac's pressmark is of the twelfth or thirteenth centuries; with both pressmark and inscription taken into account (and assuming the inscription preceded the pressmark), surely only the latter end of the date range would apply.

The internal organisation of the collection before the pressmark system came into use must remain a matter for speculation, but it seems a distinct possibility that the use of the pressmark arose in response to a need to impose some order on a growing collection, or otherwise to keep track of manuscripts that were leaving the priory for use elsewhere. If this need was not a concern prior to the thirteenth century (at the very earliest), it seems possible that the priory's book collection remained modest (relative to its eventual size) in the period leading up to 1200. If we also consider that the majority of the manuscripts surviving from the priory's collection are of the twelfth century, it seems likely that this pattern was reflected in the collection as a whole. If we therefore first accept the notion of a collection continuing to grow in a period between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries, and then join with that notion the idea that the collection was mostly composed of twelfth-century manuscripts, it would suggest that the priory continued to acquire twelfth-century manuscripts even after the twelfth century was over. This concept has its weaknesses,¹⁸ but it is worth bearing in mind, especially when considering a provenance for the three study manuscripts in the period between their creation and their arrival at the priory.

The St Guthlac's pressmark system is made remarkable by its apparent statement of the priory's 'outright possession of books',¹⁹ not a common feature in manuscripts known to have belonged to other dependent cells, where the

¹⁸ Ker is quoted as having expressed the opinion that books written before the twelfth century tended to stay put rather than to move between collections in the course of the later Middle Ages. Rodney Thomson, quoting a private communication with Neil Ker, in Rodney M. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey', in Rodney M. Thomson, *England and the 12th-Century Renaissance*, Variorum Collected Studies Series, 620 (Aldershot; Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), pp. 619-45 (p. 622, note 23). Ker's generalisation, of course, should not be understood as applicable in all cases: for some recent perspectives on the movement of books between institutions in the West Midlands, see Swan, 'Mobile Libraries'.

¹⁹ Heale, 'Books and Learning', p. 70.

distinction between the property of the mother house and that of the dependency often seems to have been unclear. The implication is that the St Guthlac's book collection was both substantial and independent by the time the system came into use, a theory that is given added weight when we consider that the compilers of the fourteenth-century *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum* saw fit to include the priory in their itinerary. I have elsewhere described the independent character of St Guthlac's Priory, together with the degree of freedom from control by the mother house that it enjoyed from time to time;²⁰ the development of the priory's own self-contained book collection may have been a part of the same phenomenon, an expression of the priory's sense of its own autonomous identity.

Ker's identification of a St Guthlac's pressmark leaves the way open for the future identification of other manuscripts (in which the distinctive mark has hitherto gone unnoticed) as survivals from the priory's collection. Leaving aside this possibility, a small number of miscellaneous and scattered records and inscriptions provide us with details of up to six separate items which once belonged to the priory but which are not known to have survived. These items, because of genre, would have been suitable for inclusion in a notional library of divinity.

THE BOOKS OF ROBERT OF ALDSWORTH

A list of books provided to Gloucester Abbey by one Robert of Aldsworth appears on fol. i of CCC 485, a thirteenth-century Bible.²¹ The list, contemporary with the rest of the manuscript, has the heading 'Hii sunt libri

²⁰ See chapter 3, above.

²¹ The list is published in Sharpe et al, pp. 247-51.

Roberti de Aldesword', videlicet:'.²² A further inscription in the manuscript gives 'Hunc librum fecit scribi Robertus de Aldeswyrth. Sum de communi; nolo fieri specialis. Tradar sic uni quod cunctis sim generalis. Qui me furatus fuerit aut alienauerit, sit ille maledictus. Plectatur pena tali quod sit anathema'.²³

The first entry in the list gives 'Quinque biblie, quarum una est apud Hereford'.²⁴ Sharpe surmises that St Guthlac's rather than the cathedral is to be inferred from this entry (a natural assumption given the institutional connections between Gloucester Abbey and its Hereford daughter house) and indeed that one of these Bibles is now CCCC 485.²⁵ None of the other Bibles is known to have survived. The inscription is of particular interest here in providing a witness to the transmission of manuscripts from the mother house to the priory, as well as demonstrating an interrelationship between Gloucester Abbey's own record of book production and acquisition on the one hand, and the manuscripts held at St Guthlac's on the other.

Nothing more is known about Robert of Aldsworth, though Sharpe makes the point that in light of the fact that he had five Bibles copied for the communal library, he was probably an obediary of Gloucester Abbey. The strength of the interdiction placed on anyone unlawfully removing the book would seem to imply that its fellow at St Guthlac's did not arrive there by accident and that the priory was deliberately taken into consideration in Robert's thirteenth-century initiative to produce Bibles for the Gloucester monks. This booklist, therefore, although it describes materials that are considerably later in date than the three

²² 'These are the books of Robert of Aldsworth, namely:' (my translation). Sharpe et al, p. 248.

²³ 'Robert of Aldsworth had this book written. I am shared; I do not want to become separate. May I thus be given over to one that I should be available to all. He that shall steal me or remove me, may he be cursed. May he be punished by such a penalty that he should be anathema' (my translation). Sharpe et al, p. 247.

²⁴ 'Five Bibles, one of which is at Hereford' (my translation). Sharpe et al, p. 248.

²⁵ Sharpe et al, p. 248.

study manuscripts, provides us with another compelling reason why the acquisition of manuscripts by St Guthlac's should not be considered in isolation from the literary life of its mother house.

A NOTE BY JOHN PRISE, OXFORD, BALLIOL COLLEGE 271, FOL. 11V

The St Guthlac's Cartulary bears the marks of numerous sixteenth-century additions by John Prise, the first secular owner of the priory and its grounds. Very few extracts from these additions have been published, but both Ker and Mynors remark on a detail of an entry by Prise at the foot of fol. 11v, in the midst of the cartulary's table of contents. Prise appends a text concerning Frome at the foot of a list of charters relating to the same. He introduces it in the following terms: 'Decerptum ad verbum ex libro quodam vetusto huius domus quod martyrologium dicebatur, et habetur propter calcem illius libri'.²⁶

The St Guthlac's Martyrology is not known to have survived, and everything that can be surmised about the book must be based on Prise's brief description. It may or may not be significant that he uses the term 'vetusto', but we have no sure way of knowing the standard against which something could, in Prise's opinion, be termed 'old', or indeed his level of expertise in dating manuscripts. It may simply be that the book appeared well-used and shabby, rather than being markedly older than the other books acquired from St Guthlac's Priory, though it is tempting to imagine that the book's remarkable 'oldness' was due to its being in an old language, perhaps Old English.²⁷

²⁶ 'Taken word-for-word from a certain old book of this house, which used to be called a "Martyrologium", and found near the end of the book' (my translation). Mynors, p. 288. I have reproduced the whole text of Prise's footnote as Appendix 13.

²⁷ The collection of saints' lives known as the *Old English Martyrology* is generally assigned to the second half of the ninth century. Its Mercian connections have long been acknowledged, and it contains notices of both Guthlac and his sister, Pega. It is placed in its wider literary context in

If the St Guthlac's Martyrology was indeed in the format of an Old English calendar of saints' feast days, together with some additional narrative material (as in the work which has come to be known as the *Old English Martyrology*), it is hard to see how the entry on Frome would have related to the main text of the book; perhaps some empty space at the end of the manuscript was used as a convenient medium to receive a short text commemorating one of the priory's benefactors. If this is the case, Prise's words might illustrate the way in which the priory's old 'books of divinity' would sometimes receive the addition of later texts as and when necessity required, irrespective of genre, rather than being sealed against infiltration by the other sorts of texts that entered into or arose within the priory's literary sphere.²⁸ This reading of Prise's note has the effect of complicating notions of classification and storage by genre for books in use at the priory, and may suggest that an apparently limited field (comprising only theological works) can be seen, on closer inspection, to bear witness to a range of literary activities.

It is by no means certain, however, that the St Guthlac's Martyrology was akin to the *Old English Martyrology*; an alternative is that it was an obit book, a more natural repository, perhaps, for the commemorative text copied by Prise. The term 'martirologium' was certainly used in this way in Hereford in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.²⁹ An obit book of this kind would probably have

Susan Irvine, 'Religious Context: Pre-Benedictine Reform Period', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2001), pp. 135-50 (p. 146). Gneuss lists five surviving manuscript copies: CCCC 41 (probably south England, s. xi¹-xi med.; provenance Exeter by s. xi^{3/4}); CCCC 196 (Exeter, s. xi²); London, British Library, Add. 23211 (Wessex, c. 871 x 899); London, British Library, Add. 40165 A. 2 (s. ex. or ix/x); London, British Library, Cotton Julius A. x, fols 44-175 (s. x/xi). See Gneuss, pp. 31, 33, 58, 59 and 64 respectively.

²⁸ The addition of texts with a medical flavour to empty space in Oxford, Jesus College 37 (on fols 94, 156v and 157) may represent another example of the same process. See chapter 7, below.

²⁹ See, for example, *EEA VII*, pp. 137 and 236 (numbers 188 and 305).

been kept with other liturgical manuscripts, perhaps alongside Oxford, Jesus College 10.

OXFORD, JESUS COLLEGE 10

Oxford, Jesus College 10 comprises two items: the first (fols 1-6) is a calendar of the twelfth century (with numerous later additions in a variety of hands); the majority of the manuscript contains a later antiphony (fols 7-108 being of the thirteenth century, fols 109-190 of the fourteenth).³⁰ It is the first of the two items that concerns us here.

Despite an absence of any clear marks of ownership by St Guthlac's Priory, Francis Wormald deduces that the calendar, whose contents exhibit both the influence of Mont Saint Michel and Hereford, once belonged to Gloucester Abbey and then passed to its daughter house, St Guthlac's.³¹ He reaches his conclusions by way of cross-references between the *Gloucester Chronicle* and the contents of the calendar; the Mont Saint Michel connection is substantiated in the personage of Gloucester's Abbot Serlo (1072-1104), who had formerly been a monk there.

Rodney Thomson uses similar methods to build on Wormald's work; thanks to the calendar's inclusion of St Paternus, he is able to date its main text

³⁰ I have here followed the dates given by Rodney Thomson; see Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', pp. 19-20. Wormald considers the antiphony to date 'from about 1200'. See *English Benedictine Kalendars after A. D. 1100*, ed. by Francis Wormald, 2 vols (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1939-46), II (1946), 39. H. O. Coxe gives a thirteenth-century date for the antiphony, except for the portion appearing on fols 109-54, which he considers to be an insertion by a more recent hand. See H. O. Coxe, *Catalogus Codicum Mss. Qui in Collegiis Aulisque Oxoniensibus Adservantur*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1852), II, 4. Frere also applies a thirteenth-century date. See Walter Howard Frere, *Bibliotheca Musico-Liturgica*, 2 vols (Burnham: Nashdom Abbey, 1901-32), I (1901), 161. An online edition of the Diurnal and Hymnal sections of the breviary has been made available by the Cursus Project, <<http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk/ms/gloucester>> [accessed July 2007].

³¹ Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A. D. 1100*, II, 39.

to the twenty-year period (1116-17 x 1136) during which Gloucester Abbey held the church dedicated to that saint at Llanbadarn Fawr.³²

The calendar has also been used to corroborate the *Gloucester Chronicle's* account of the revival at Gloucester under Abbot William Godemon (1113-31) of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.³³ This evident interest in Marian theology may be particularly significant in providing a context for the *De Assumptione Beatae Virginis Mariae* of Paschasius Radbertus, one of the texts of Hereford O. VI. 11.³⁴

The calendar, Wormald tells us, underwent changes between the twelfth and fifteenth centuries, with feasts having a West Midlands or Hereford bias replacing some of the Norman entries.³⁵ The earliest of the entries with an obvious Hereford flavour, however, are dated by Wormald to the thirteenth or fourteenth century; we do not as yet have any way of knowing whether the manuscript reached the priory much in advance of this.

It is perhaps worth noting that the Hereford amendments made to the calendar constitute a rare case of scribal work directly attributed to the priory by modern scholarship.³⁶ If we accept Wormald's theory of its relocation from Gloucester to St Guthlac's Priory, the manuscript would seem to bear witness to scribal activity there, roughly between the late thirteenth and the late fifteenth

³² Thomson also identifies a corpus of work by the scribe of the calendar. See Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', pp. 6, 8 and 19-20.

³³ Patterson, p. xxv. Patterson uses Hart, I, 15, and Jesus 10, fol. 6v. For the background to the revival of this feast, see Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 510-12.

³⁴ I describe this manuscript and its texts more fully in chapter 6, below.

³⁵ See Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A. D. 1100*, II, 39-40.

³⁶ Another instance occurs in K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1200 Containing Music* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2006), p. 210, in which Hartzell identifies two versicles at the top of the rear pastedown (fol. 177) in Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. VI. 1 as having been 'written at St Guthlac's Priory, Hereford, which owned the book'. Hartzell dates the versicles to the twelfth century. Mynors and Thomson make general mention of 'early additions' (which they date to the twelfth century) to the same folio, but they identify the second of the two versicles as being of the thirteenth century. See Mynors and Thomson, p. 103.

centuries. The latter end of this range is marked by entries (apparently in a single hand, although executed in separate stints) for the Battle of Tewkesbury (1471)³⁷ and the death of Abbot Richard Hanley (1472),³⁸ followed by entries relating to the election and installation of his successor, William Farley.³⁹

Rodney Thomson's opinion is that St Guthlac's, as a 'small community', was unlikely to have had its own scriptorium or to have made its own books.⁴⁰ If this was indeed the case, what limits were imposed on the scribal activities (if there were any) that took place there? Is the evidence provided by Jesus 10 strong enough to refute Thomson's argument? It must be admitted that the priory would not have needed substantial resources at its disposal in order to make brief amendments of this kind to its texts, but even if it was not in a position to make its own books, this would not have precluded a range of other writing activities from taking place. My own survey of the priory's manuscripts has only been extensive enough to identify a few isolated instances of scribal work (mostly in the form of marginal annotations) likely to have been carried out specifically at St Guthlac's: a more exhaustive review would undoubtedly identify a larger body of annotative work carried out by priory scribes.

THE REGISTRUM ANGLIE DE LIBRIS DOCTORUM ET AUCTORUM VETERUM

The *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*, an early fourteenth-century catalogue of books in England, Scotland and Wales, was probably compiled under the direction of Greyfriars, Oxford, for the benefit of

³⁷ Jesus 10, fol. 3r/5.

³⁸ Jesus 10, fol. 2r/25.

³⁹ Jesus 10, fols 2v/7 and 3r/15.

⁴⁰ Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', p. 5. He repeats this opinion in Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', p. 22, and in Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England*, p. 77.

the Franciscan order in England, as a finding aid to resources in the field of moral theology.⁴¹ St Guthlac's Priory was one of only four dependent cells included in the round of visitations made by the compilers of the *Registrum*, suggesting that the priory's book collection was in some respect considered on a par with that of larger, independent houses.

It is perhaps surprising that the list of titles recorded as being at the priory in the early fourteenth century consists of only four items, none of which is represented among the manuscript survivals from the priory's collection. The compilers of the *Registrum*, however, were undoubtedly selective in their approach to library contents: some titles interested them more than others, so the evidence of their report should not be taken as proof of the absence, at the time of the visitation, of the manuscripts under consideration. The interests of the visitors have been characterised by Rouse and Rouse as tending to exclude such fields as law, science, natural philosophy, astronomy, grammar, logic, poetry, the works of humanist writers, scholastic biblical commentaries, scholastic theology, vernacular literature, the work of classical authors and anything more recent than the works of Stephen Langton and Alexander Neckham. They also avoided history, hagiography and medicine, three categories with particular relevance for the earliest manuscript survivals from the St Guthlac's collection.⁴² Exceptions occur in those cases where authors already of interest to the visitors digress into any of the fields listed above.

What is more, Rouse and Rouse include the listing for the priory within their 'Hereford circuit', the group of religious houses they consider to have been visited in one effort by a group of Franciscans based at the city's friary. Rouse

⁴¹ I here paraphrase the conclusions drawn in *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*, ed. by R. H. and M. H. Rouse (London: British Academy, 1991), pp. cxxvii-cxlviii.

⁴² See Rouse and Rouse, pp. lxxiii-lxxiv.

and Rouse call the thoroughness of this particular series of visitations into question:

The visitors of the Hereford circuit seem to have made one rapid trip around the area and let the matter drop. Hereford circuit's longest report, for xv Hereford Cathedral, comprises only some twenty-one titles (and these are merely titles of works, not reflecting the number of codexes). For the rest of the houses on the circuit, the totals dwindle rapidly.⁴³

Rouse and Rouse go on to characterise the report returned by the Hereford circuit as being 'free of surprises':⁴⁴ there are no idiosyncratic inclusions (in terms of authors or titles) beyond a core series of key authorities, perhaps those approved in advance of the survey by whoever commissioned the visitations.

The *Registrum* is necessarily limited as evidence for the composition of the St Guthlac's book collection at any point prior to the moment at which the visitation took place. We have no way of knowing how old the manuscripts seen by the Franciscans were; they could have been in the possession of the priory for many years, or, conversely, they could have been recently acquired. Given the predominance of twelfth-century manuscripts making up the survivals from St Guthlac's, however, it seems reasonable to take seriously the possibility that all four titles listed in the *Registrum* were at the priory before 1200. The fact that Rouse and Rouse believe the report for St Guthlac's to be genuine means that the evidence of the *Registrum* must be taken into account in identifying items now missing from the collection.⁴⁵

The first title is given as Jerome's *Ad Eliodorum Episcopum*. It is the rarest of the four titles identified at the priory by the *Registrum*, being found in

⁴³ Rouse and Rouse, p. lxxxiv.

⁴⁴ Rouse and Rouse, p. lxxxii.

⁴⁵ Rouse and Rouse, p. 318.

only three other collections. Rouse and Rouse identify the item as either Jerome's *Epistola 14* or *60*,⁴⁶ though they think the latter is less likely (they do not elaborate on how they reach this opinion).⁴⁷ This record expands the considerable list of Hieronymian epistles associated with the priory through its manuscript survivals: Hereford O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2 provide us with six epistles attributed to Jerome. Even allowing for a skewing of the evidence through a haphazard and disproportionate survival of Jerome's works (relative to the priory's total manuscript holdings), the importance and stature of his letters within the collection are beyond doubt.

Rouse and Rouse are unable to give an unambiguous identification of two of the items listed by the *Registrum* for St Guthlac's Priory: one is recorded as a collection of sermons by Caesarius,⁴⁸ the other is Origen on the Song of Songs.⁴⁹ The final item, a collection of Bede's homilies, is identified by Rouse and Rouse as corresponding to CPL item 1367.⁵⁰

Although the *Registrum* cannot be taken as evidence for a manuscript's absence from a library, it is perhaps worth noting that the report made by the Franciscan visitors fails to substantiate the presence at the priory of the *De Assumptione Beatae Virginiae Mariae*, attributed to Jerome and found in Hereford O. VI. 11. This text certainly seems to have been of interest to the visitors of the Hereford circuit: they noted its presence at Leominster, one of the collections included in their itinerary.⁵¹ Its omission from the entry for St

⁴⁶ These are PL 22, 28-38 and PL 22, 331-47 respectively.

⁴⁷ Rouse and Rouse, p. 94.

⁴⁸ See Rouse and Rouse, p. 144.

⁴⁹ See Rouse and Rouse, p. 121. I suggest below that this item may be the same as that mentioned in an inscription in Hereford P. III. 2, fol. 1r. See chapter 8, below.

⁵⁰ This also corresponds to PL 94, 9-268, 334-39 and 433-39.

⁵¹ See Rouse and Rouse, p. 84. Rouse and Rouse suggest an alternative text for this title; regardless of this, however, the clear rubric accompanying the epistle in Hereford O. VI. 11 should have made the text easily identifiable to visitors.

Guthlac's Priory probably represents another instance of a less than thorough approach by the visitors of the Hereford circuit.

THE DONATION OF ROGER THE CHAPLAIN

I have limited myself in the present work to the close study of only three of the manuscripts bearing the St Guthlac's Priory pressmark: a more holistic approach to the collection would undoubtedly provide fuller insights into its formation and composition. With this in mind, I have attempted to identify those features of the remainder of the manuscripts that are most pertinent in a consideration of the key issues at stake. One such is the matter of the manuscripts' provenance before their arrival at the priory, along with the identity of the individual or institution who commissioned the work or arranged for it to be sent there.

A minimum of four of the twelve manuscripts with a priory pressmark were donated, apparently at some point around the year 1200, by one Roger the chaplain. His name is recorded in inscriptions in each of these manuscripts. The inscription at the foot of fol. 1 of Hereford O. V. 1 gives 'Rog[erius] Cap[e]ll[anus] dedit h[un]c lib[rum] eccl[esia]e s[an]c[t]i Gudlaci de he[re]f[ord]'; an identical inscription appears on a flyleaf in Jesus 106. Mynors and Thomson are of the opinion that both inscriptions were most likely entered by the same hand.⁵²

Jesus 66 and 105 feature similar inscriptions; in spite of a slight difference in the wording of their *ex dono* inscriptions (which may imply a time difference), all four are clearly by the same scribe and presumably refer to the same individual. Jesus 66, fol. 1v gives 'Rog[erius] Vicedecan[us] he[re]f[ord]

⁵² Mynors and Thomson, p. 32. The same scribe wrote 'In hoc libro expositores sunt Beda et Augustin[us]' ('In this book the commentators are Bede and Augustine': my translation) on fol. 85r of Oxford, Jesus College 106.

ded[it] h[un]c lib[rum] eccl[esia]e s[an]c[t]i Gudlaci de he[re]ford'; Jesus 105, fol. 2r gives 'Rog[erius] Vic[e]decan[us] he[re]ford ded[it] h[un]c lib[rum] eccl[esia]e s[an]c[t]i Gudlaci de he[re]ford'. The donor is identified by Rodney Thomson as a chaplain of Dean Richard Brito; this Roger appears as witness in a charter dateable to the period 1187-98.⁵³ He may be the same as the Roger who appears in the Hereford Cathedral Obit Book for 12 May, under the following entry:

Item obitus Rogeri capellani quondam subdecani Hereford',
qui dedit xii. marcas et dimidiam fabrice ecclesie⁵⁴

Hereford Cathedral Library's Donors' Book lists one further item for inclusion in the same donation:⁵⁵ Mynors and Thomson have tentatively identified it as Hereford O. IV. 12,⁵⁶ which brings the total number of manuscript books donated by Roger the chaplain to the priory (before possible subsequent losses) to five.

The quality of some of these manuscripts is outstanding, with Hereford O. IV. 12 and Jesus 105 particularly worthy of note for some excellent inhabited initials. These items, together with Roger the chaplain's bequest to the cathedral, suggest that he was an individual of considerable independent means, a benefactor of the two principal religious communities in Hereford. The lavish or deluxe nature of the manuscripts donated may also have something to say about St Guthlac's Priory and its book collection at the time the donation took place;

⁵³ Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', p. 22, note 9, citing *EEA VII*, pp. 143-44 (number 198).

⁵⁴ 'Item: the death of Roger the chaplain, sometime subdean of Hereford, who gave twelve and a half marks to the fabric of the church' (my translation). Latin text taken from *FEA VIII*, p. 121. Barrow identifies this individual with a Roger the subdean occurring in a charter of 1195 in Oxford, Balliol College 271, fol. 77r. On the office of subdean at Hereford (where the subdean was more usually known as 'the dean's chaplain'), see *FEA VIII*, p. xxviii.

⁵⁵ The early seventeenth-century Donors' Book is Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. IX. 8.

⁵⁶ See Mynors and Thomson, p. 30.

although the biblical texts contained in the manuscripts are the basic, essential core texts for any monastic library, the donation may not have been aimed at filling a perceived gap in the priory's holdings. Certain of Roger the chaplain's donated manuscripts, when viewed alongside the other survivals from the priory's book collection, can be seen to be prestige items, perhaps acquired as desirable accessories for an already well-equipped book collection.

Similarities between the donations of Roger the chaplain and Ralph Foliot (who donated glossed books to the cathedral) have been mentioned in the previous chapter, but some comments by Mynors and Thomson on the latter donation may have some relevance in constructing a history of Roger the chaplain's books before they arrived at the priory. For Mynors and Thomson, some at least of Ralph Foliot's books were his personal property before they were given to the cathedral; they were not newly commissioned as gifts. His donation, which appears to have consisted mostly of books produced locally, also included some French manuscripts, and annotative work tentatively attributed by Mynors and Thomson to Ralph in certain of the manuscripts may suggest that one of the books now at the cathedral 'belonged to him during his period of study, likely to have been at Paris'.⁵⁷ There are numerous samples of annotative work across the books donated by Roger the chaplain, so the identification of Roger's hand amongst these notes would potentially allow us to establish that Roger, like Ralph Foliot, bequeathed books that he had himself used during his career.

⁵⁷ Mynors and Thomson, p. xviii.

Besides Roger the chaplain, there are three other named donors associated with the priory's book collection.⁵⁸ It is interesting to remark that the donations to St Guthlac's Priory were so often noted as having been made by a named individual, rather than by the religious house to which that individual belonged. The gifts of these benefactors make up a considerable proportion of the manuscript survivals from the priory, and although it cannot now be established whether the same proportion was represented in the priory book collection before Dissolution, it seems likely that a good many of its manuscripts were acquired from pious donors who wished to be commemorated in the books that they gave. The implication is that book acquisition took place on a somewhat haphazard basis, according to the occasional bequests of private donors who drew upon their own collections to supply the priory. The extent to which these individuals were guided by their mother house in their gift-giving cannot now be established, though it is safe to assume that private collections in Gloucester and Hereford would have been influenced by the literary life of abbey and cathedral respectively.

One important thirteenth- or fourteenth-century donor to Gloucester Abbey was one of its own abbots, John de Gamages (1284-1306), sometime prior of St Guthlac's, who gave numerous gifts, including books. The long list of his donations to the abbey concludes thus:

Item *Legendam Sanctorum* in uno volumine, et in alio volumine *Transcripta Cartarum*, et in volumine tertio

⁵⁸ These are Adam of Elmeleye (Hereford P. IV. 5), Richard of Newinton (Hereford P. III. 5) and Robert of Aldsworth (see above). The little that can be surmised about Richard of Newinton is given in Bannister, *Catalogue*, p. 133.

*Constitutiones Domini Regis Edwardi. Et alia ecclesiastica ornamenta et libros isti monasterio contulit.*⁵⁹

Some of the abbot's own books had presumably accompanied him during his time as prior at Ewenny and at St Guthlac's; his example serves to illustrate the probable movement of manuscripts and texts between St Guthlac's, its sister houses and its mother house. Although this transfer of books in private hands does nothing to detract from the concept of a stable, core collection for the priory, it does imply a permeable literary sphere at St Guthlac's, where reading and writing activities would have been influenced by the passage of manuscripts attached to individuals spending time there.

⁵⁹ 'Item: the *Legendam Sanctorum* in one volume, and in another volume *Transcripts of Charters*, and in a third volume *Constitutiones Domini Regis Edwardi*. And he brought other ecclesiastical ornaments and books to that monastery' (my translation). Hart, I, 40.

PART 2: THE MANUSCRIPTS

CHAPTER 6: HEREFORD, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, O. VI. 11

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. VI. 11 is arguably the oldest surviving manuscript from the St Guthlac's Priory collection,¹ yet it seems to predate the foundation of the priory by some thirty to fifty years. It is mentioned in a variety of articles and catalogue entries, all of which are broadly in agreement in their details and in dating the manuscript to the late eleventh or early twelfth century.² The entry in the Mynors and Thomson catalogue is the fullest, and my own observations have not yielded any results that would lead me to reappraise their description. Their entry agrees entirely with that given by Bannister in all but one detail of collation.³ I have reproduced the Mynors and Thomson survey of the codicology of the manuscript below, albeit without their notes on the post-medieval binding of the volume. For the convenience of the present reader, I have expanded the abbreviated forms used in their catalogue entry.

Structure: 120 leaves, 280 x 200 mm, heavily trimmed at the head. The written space occupied by the text is approximately 230 x 135 mm. The leaves are blind-

¹ I am indebted to Elaine Treharne for sharing her ideas as to the likely dates of Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37. She is of the opinion that Hereford O. VI. 11 is likely to be the older of the two, originating in the period *c.* 1090-1110.

² Bannister, *Catalogue*, pp. 69-70; Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 90; Gneuss, p. 55; Ker, 'Sir John Prise', p. 486; *MLGB*, p. 99; Mynors and Thomson, p. 44; *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, ed. by Frederick M. Biggs and others (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 2001-), 1 (2001), pp. 330-31 and pp. 338-39; Michael Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), pp. 307, 315, 333 and 334. Dumville also mentions the manuscript in David N. Dumville, 'English Libraries before 1066: Use and Abuse of the Evidence', in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, ed. by Mary P. Richards (New York and London: Garland, 1994), pp. 169-219 (p. 211).

³ Bannister gives the number of leaves for the sixteenth quire as 8; my observations concur with those of Mynors and Thomson, who calculate it to be 4 (and lacking the fourth leaf).

ruled in 26-31 lines across pricking in the outer margins. Collation: The manuscript is made up of sixteen quires. The first fifteen are of eight leaves each. The sixteenth is of four. Quire 12 lacks leaves 7 and 8. Quire 14 lacks leaf 4. Quire 16 lacks leaf 4. Fols 58 and 63 are half-sheets (which together form the equivalent of a single bifolium).⁴

To these details I add the following observations (based on my own examination of Hereford O. VI. 11), which may be significant in shedding light on the processes whereby the manuscript reached its present form, and which are potentially suggestive of certain contexts for its production and use.

There is a marked change in the quality of the parchment between quires 5 and 6. This is accompanied by a change in the decorative scheme, although not by any discernible change in hand. The deep red minium (which in places has degraded to give a silvery colour) used to highlight headings and display-capitals at various points in the first five quires gives way to a brighter orange colour. The use of this shade of orange continues up to and including line 18 of fol. 90v, a half-sheet in quire 12. Use of the deep red (entirely absent from those folios where orange is used, except for a single amendment to a capital on fol. 43r) is resumed thereafter. Quire 6 also features the first use of blue highlighting, apparently used indiscriminately for short pieces of text. This use continues in quires 8 and 9.

Leaves 7 and 8 of quire 12 were clumsily torn away at some point, each leaving behind a corner fragment. The removal led to the loss of a small amount of text from item 4 in the manuscript (see my list below). It is interesting to note

⁴ Information taken from the entry for Hereford O. VI. 11 given in Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

that both leaves 7 and 8 of quire 12 were (with the exception of a few lines at the top of leaf 7) apparently left blank; enough of each remains for us to see that they were both prepared to receive text (i.e. with margins and ruling), but that prior to being excised from quire 12 of this manuscript they were empty. It seems likely that the leaves were reused elsewhere, with the concluding lines of item 4 sacrificed for the sake of obtaining two near-clean pieces of parchment.

This latter detail is suggestive in a number of respects, but the most that can be said at present is that it implies a pre-existing format for that part of the manuscript comprising quires 1-12 (containing items 1-4), which follow each other with no comparable interruptions in the gatherings of their leaves. It seems feasible that the last four quires of Hereford O. VI. 11 were appended to an existing volume, whose end leaves were removed in the process. Prior to removal, these end leaves may have performed the same function as those blank folios (disregarding the later addition of item 6) which conclude quire 16 and which may once have acted as a limp back cover. This division of Hereford O. VI. 11 into two component parts is reinforced when yet another noticeable change in the quality of the parchment is taken into account: the last four quires of the manuscript are of a much poorer standard, badly holed in fols 99-101.

Hereford O. VI. 11 does not contain any major insertions of later texts, with the exception of some marginal inscriptions (and some music added 'soon after'⁵). All of the text is in a script which has been characterised as Anglo-Caroline bookhand, although the precise number of hands at work in the volume is a matter which has yet to be clarified: Mynors and Thomson pronounce the

⁵ Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

scribal hands ‘variable’, ‘inexpert’ and ‘difficult to separate out’.⁶ I have been unable to identify any of them elsewhere in the St Guthlac’s manuscripts, most of which are in a script that belongs more obviously to a period spanning the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries. While the manuscript displays multiple variations in ink tone, in parchment quality and in the standard and style of decoration applied throughout, these variations do not necessarily coincide in such a way as to make possible the identification of discrete stages in scribal labour.

I would suggest, however, that the vast majority of the scribal work in the first two items was undertaken by a single Scribe (A), whose hand is perhaps the neatest and the most distinctive in the manuscript, and who regularly allowed other scribes to intervene and to complete short stints. These interruptions are frequent and difficult to delineate. One of the most striking examples of an interruption in Scribe A’s work is found on fol. 5v, with lines 1-3 and half of line 4 written by a different scribe (Scribe B, whose hand is larger and has a more rounded aspect), before Scribe A resumes writing for the rest of the folio. Other brief but obvious interruptions occur on fol. 16r. Scribe A completes the first item with an *explicit* in red, but the rubric (lines 15-16) for the text which follows is in a different, larger hand (C, who also rubricates the text on fols 22r and 28v). Scribe A takes up the work again at line 17, but the last four words of line 21 are in yet another hand (D, who, like B, writes in a larger, more rounded hand). A similar pattern is observable throughout the manuscript, with a dominant or primary scribal hand occasionally giving way to others, before returning to work. Even identifying the extent of the work by each of these dominant scribes is

⁶ Mynors and Thomson, p. 44. In this and in subsequent references to categories of medieval script, I have been guided by the definitions laid down in Michelle Brown, *A Guide to Western Historical Scripts from Antiquity to 1600* (London: British Library, 1990).

problematic; their hands seem to lack the consistency seen in the later manuscripts from the priory collection. I would tentatively suggest that the manuscript as a whole is largely the work of 5 dominant scribes (A, E, F, H and J), whilst admitting that I may have overlooked others or misattributed portions of the work.

Scribe A's work continues until line 4 of fol. 42v, at which point the hand of Scribe E (stylistically akin to that of A, but less neat and more changeable) becomes dominant in the main text block, persisting until the foot of fol. 53r. Scribe F, who writes in a smaller, more attenuated hand than that seen in the foregoing text, takes over at the head of fol. 53v. He may be responsible for the majority of the text until fol. 81r. The most notable interruption in Scribe F's work comes at fol. 63, a half-sheet written by Scribe E; it seems possible that it takes the place of a folio excised at some point during production, perhaps because of an error made during the copying of the text. Scribe E is also responsible for the text from the head of fol. 81r up to line 14 of fol. 93v.

These latter two scribes write in very variable hands. Indeed, it is not entirely clear to me whether the changes in script between fols 42v and 93v can be attributed to the varying output of two individual scribes, or whether others may have been involved too. Certainly the second half of line 4 and the whole of line 5 of fol. 46r provide yet another striking example of a brief interruption by another scribe (G), who writes in a more upright and more rounded hand, and whose variable letter forms in this short sample suggest inexperience.

The fourth item in the manuscript, commenced by E, is completed in another scribal hand (H, who writes the text from fol. 93v/15 and who must have been responsible for completing the item at hand, the end of which has since

been lost). His hand is characterised by letter forms that are more open and that have a slightly rounder aspect than those written by A, E and F, and especially by a detached descender for his lower case 'g'. The manuscript's *Vita Sancti Mauri* (commencing at the head of fol. 95r) is arguably the work of a single scribe (J); his hand is not unlike that of H in size and aspect; the unevenness and variability of his hand seems at times to be due to the shortcomings of the parchment on which he was working. His letters are formed with long, trailing descenders at the foot of each folio.

Omissions have been corrected via interlinear and marginal insertions, in some cases apparently by the same hands that write the main text, although some of these seem to have been done in a later stint (marked by a change in ink). A catchword (now erased) at the foot of fol. 89r has the line which begins the text on the verso, clearly marking the end of one stint and the beginning of another.

The marginal additions in this manuscript are quite distinctive, particularly in the application of *maniculae* (small pointing hands, sometimes used in combination with a marginal descending line or with other kinds of *nota*-marks) to highlight portions of the text. Perhaps the most striking feature of these marks is the way in which their occurrence seems to be governed, in part, by the structure of the manuscript, even to the extent of obeying the division between quires 5 and 6 described above. One particular species of *manicula*, as well as only accompanying the first two items, ceases to appear after quire 5. This selective application not only marks these particular notes as being the work of the readers and users of the texts, rather than the sort of indiscriminate graffiti seen in certain other of the St Guthlac's manuscripts; it may also help to establish the date at which the notes were made (relative to the rest of the manuscript) and

to tell us something about the way in which the manuscript was compiled. If one species of *nota*-mark disappears after the fifth quire (and before the end of the text being annotated), does this imply that the maker of the marks only had access to the first five quires?

Another species of marginal mark adds paragraph numbers and short marginal inscriptions for two portions of text in the first item. The numbering was apparently completed in a single effort and by a single scribe (Scribe ii, whose marginal additions appear throughout the manuscript's Hieronymian material). This feature would seem to indicate a division into readings and a special application for these elements of the text.

Issues relating to the application of *nota*-marks could possibly be clarified by establishing a likely date (or *terminus post quem*) for each species of mark observed in Hereford O. VI. 11, via a comparison with those marks appearing in the later manuscripts to have survived from the St Guthlac's collection. I have not been successful in tracing the work of the most prolific annotators of Hereford O. VI. 11 (Scribes i and ii) in any of the other St Guthlac's manuscripts, but further research may identify instances that I have overlooked.

I have tentatively identified 18 separate medieval scribal hands at work in Hereford O. VI. 11. Of these, Scribes A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, J, K and L can be seen to have been involved in the initial stages of producing the manuscript, applying the texts to blank folios, probably around the year 1100. All of the other hands applied their inscriptions and annotations at later points. There may have been more hands at work in this manuscript in the medieval period than I have

been able to identify:⁷ many of the *nota*-marks are too variable or anonymous to allow for their attribution to any particular individual, so I have only taken into account a selection of the most distinctive annotations, most of which can be attributed to Scribes i and ii. This approach is not intended to be exhaustive, and much more work could be done to distinguish separate families of *nota*-marks in Hereford O. VI. 11 (and in all of the other surviving manuscripts from St Guthlac's Priory), but I have tried to maintain parity in the level of detail applied in my surveys of all three study manuscripts.

The contents of Hereford O. VI. 11 may be divided as follows:⁸

1. Fols 1r-16r: Pseudo-Jerome (Paschasius Radbertus), *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae*.⁹
2. Fols 16r-43r: Jerome, *Epistolae* 39, 31, 54, 22.¹⁰
3. Fols 43r-89v: *Martinellus*, here comprising Sulpicius Severus, *Vita Sancti Martini*, *Epistolae* 1 and 3; Gregory of Tours, *De Virtutibus Sancti Martini* and *Decem Libri Historiarum* (excerpts), *Vita Sancti Bricii* (from *Decem Libri Historiarum* II. 1); Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogii* 2, 3, 1.¹¹
4. Fols 90r-94v: Guitmund of Aversa, *Confessio de Sancta Trinitate*.¹²

⁷ Conversely, I may have identified too many scribes for those cases where different types of intervention should more properly be attributed to a single scribe, perhaps operating at intervals of several years.

⁸ A full itemisation of contents (with further observations on the structure of the texts) is given in Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

⁹ Two modern editions are available: see PL 30, 122-42, and A. Ripberger, 'Der Pseudo-Hieronymus-Brief IX Cogitis me. Ein erster marianischer Traktat des Mittelalters von Paschasius Radbertus', *Spicilegium Friburgense*, 9 (1962), 57-113.

¹⁰ The letters are normally designated respectively as follows: *Epistola 39 Ad Paulam de Dormitione Blesillae* (PL 22, 465-73); *Epistola 31 Ad Eustochium de munusculis* (PL 22, 455-56); *Epistola 54 Ad Furiam de Viduitate Servanda* (PL 22, 550-60); *Epistola 22 Ad Eustochium de Virginitate Servanda* (PL 22, 394-425).

¹¹ The text of the *Martinellus* of Hereford O. VI. 11 can be reconstructed with reference to the following entries in BHL, in the following order: 5610, 5611, 5613, 5622, 5619, 5623, 1452, 5615, 5616, 5614.

¹² PL 149, 1495-1500.

5. Fols 95r-119r: Pseudo-Faustus (Odo of Glanfeuil), *Vita Sancti Mauri*.¹³

6. Fol 119v: Two responsories (for the Feast of the Chair of St. Peter?).¹⁴

For the sake of convenience and clarity, I will proceed in my survey of the structural features of the manuscript on an item-by-item basis; I will then continue in the same vein in my interpretation of the literary historical context of each. By separating the items from one another at this stage, I hope to achieve an insight into their individual histories and uses (both as material artefacts and as texts). I will then go on to consider their existence as the interrelated components of a single manuscript. The items may, at various points in the manuscript's existence, have been considered as unified or as separate: giving preference to either attitude in our survey of the manuscript would potentially have unhelpful and limiting implications for our understanding of its uses over the centuries.

Fols 1r-16r: Pseudo-Jerome (Paschasius Radbertus), *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae*

To treat this text as an item independent of the letters of Jerome which follow immediately after is to make a distinction of which the scribe or scribes of this manuscript were not aware. Scholarship has since moved the letter out of the canon of Jerome's works (with authorship generally reassigned to Paschasius Radbertus since the appearance of Ripberger's edition), but here the text comes as the first in a series of letters attributed to Jerome, with all five following one another in an unbroken sequence.

¹³ BHL 5773.

¹⁴ I have reproduced the text of these two responsories as Appendix 14, below.

The text closely follows those available in the modern editions: the main hand expands (in the margin of fol. 15v) a line of scripture cited in the text at line 5, but this is the most substantial variation. The expansion may have been made as a way of amplifying this particular allusion to I Corinthians 7. 34, 'et mulier innupta et virgo cogitat quae Domini sunt ut sit sancta et corpore et spiritu'.¹⁵ The verse is completed with 'qu[a]e aut[em] nupta est cogitat ea qu[a]e s[un]t mundi q[uo]m[odo] placeat viro' in the margin.¹⁶ A more complete quotation was evidently desirable in this case: the necessity of adding the concluding phrase in the margin seems to suggest that this is a feature unique to Hereford O. VI. 11, perhaps signalling a particular interest in this piece of scripture on the part of the scribe or those for whom the manuscript was being created.

All five Pseudo-Hieronymian and Hieronymian letters received similar kinds of interventions at the hands of *nota*-making scribes, in the form of *maniculae* or other sorts of *nota*-marks. This first item has a single *manicula* on fol. 2r, pointing out text for lines 4-10, part of a discussion of the possible corporeal nature of the assumption of the Virgin. This *manicula* is distinctive enough in style and in ink tone to allow for the identification of other marks likely to have been made by the same *nota*-making scribe (whom I shall designate Scribe i) elsewhere in the manuscript.

The full extent of paragraph numbering in Hereford O. VI. 11, however, is limited to the margins of this first item, suggesting that certain of its passages had a special application for which the other items in the manuscript were not relevant. The first set of numbering commences in the margins at fol. 3v/26 and

¹⁵ 'An unmarried woman or virgin thinks about the Lord's affairs so that she should be holy in both body and spirit' (my translation). Latin text taken from *Biblia Sacra Vulgata*, ed. by Robert Weber and others (Stuttgart: Württembergische Bibelanstalt, 1969), II, 1776.

¹⁶ 'But a married woman thinks about those affairs which are of this world and how she may please her husband' (my translation).

continues until fol. 4v/15: a total of six numbered paragraphs. The beginning of the numbering coincides with the line ‘Hodie namque gloriosa se[m]p[er] virgo’.¹⁷ The second set (providing numbers for eight paragraphs and concluding with a marginal symbol whose purpose is probably to mark the end of the sequence) begins on fol. 11v/29 and concludes on fol. 13v/2, accompanying the text beginning ‘Et ideo hodie dilectissim[a]e’.¹⁸ The opening words of each of these passages suggest a date-specific use for the text.

Scribe ii’s addition of paragraph numbers and marginal notes was accomplished as a way of dividing the text into readings for given feasts: the Latin of his short inscriptions is difficult to decipher, but the first (at fol. 7r/27) contains the term ‘duplex’. Its appearance here could be explained by the concept of the *festum duplex* or ‘double feast’. The marginal inscription ‘le[ctio] in octabas’¹⁹ introduces the second set of paragraph numbers. Scribe ii’s notes for fol. 9r commence with a marginal *nota*-mark at line 4 and include an inscription which I have interpreted as ‘Vel leg[e]’²⁰ at line 24, suggesting that an alternative to the two numbered passages was marked as appropriate for the same use. The functions for the text suggested by these details are broadly in keeping with its application as homiletic material in the breviaries of York, Sarum and Hereford: the *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae* furnishes all three with readings for the feast and the octaves of the assumption of the Virgin.²¹

¹⁷ ‘And so today the glorious ever-virgin’ (my translation).

¹⁸ ‘And therefore today, o beloved ones’ (my translation).

¹⁹ ‘A reading for the octaves’ (my translation).

²⁰ ‘Or read’ (my translation).

²¹ *The Hereford Breviary*, ed. by Walter Howard Frere and Langton E. G. Brown, Henry Bradshaw Society, 40, 3 vols (London: Harrison and Sons, 1904-15), II (1910), 295-301. The Hereford Breviary also reproduces parts of the *De Assumptione* text in material relating to the feast of the annunciation (attributing some elements to Bede). See *The Hereford Breviary*, II, 133-34.

Fols 16r-43r: Jerome, *Epistolae* 39, 31, 54, 22

Fol. 41r features the first use of a bright orange colour, applied for the purposes of highlighting. It takes the place of the deep red seen hitherto throughout the manuscript.

The use of *maniculae* and other *nota*-marks persists throughout the margins of this item, with the last example occurring on fol. 39v. I have counted 16 annotative interventions in this item likely to have been made by Scribe i. A new species of mark is also added to the variety already seen in item 1. This is a human face in profile. Two examples occur (one on fol. 24r and the other on fol. 38r) and both have been erased. Some erasure of *maniculae* (on fols 18v and 39v) has also taken place. A *manicula* on fol. 24v has attracted the addition of graffiti in the form of two more pointing hands, although these have been executed in a (post-medieval?) naturalistic style. A further marginal addition occurs in the form of a short and indecipherable inscription at fol. 37r/11.

The content of the highlighted text is miscellaneous, making it hard to identify any special preoccupation on the part of the makers of these marks. The texts are all letters addressed to female correspondents of Jerome, and all prescribe correct modes of behaviour for women embracing a religious life. The highlighted content is broadly representative of these themes. Special emphasis has, however, been given to those parts of the texts which address the issue of consumption of or abstinence from food and wine, accounting for elements in six of the eighteen passages highlighted in this item (including the single lengthiest passage of all).

Scribe ii has inserted a small capital 'R' in the margin at line 4 of fol. 17r; this would seem to indicate a line of text for use as a responsory, as per the method used on fol. 119v.

Fols 43r-89v: *Martinellus*

The palette of colours used in Hereford O. VI. 11 undergoes a change between quires 5 and 6, with the result that fol. 43r, the incipit page for the *Martinellus*, features the first use of blue, applied liberally in this instance. Blue is also used at apparently random points on fols 64v, 69v and 71r. This is reflected in the entry for this item in the Mynors and Thomson catalogue, which tells us that the blue is 'used quite unaccountably on fol. 69v for a few words of the text over erasure'.²² The decorative scheme also becomes more elaborate, with initials on fols 44r, 49r and 50r ornamented with beast heads, rendered simply and without much detail.

Marginal and interlinear additions are few. The hand of the main text adds 'si etatis infirmitas non obstitisset' as a marginal gloss for the phrase 'si aetatis infirmitas non fuisset impedimento'²³ at fol. 44r/26. This item also has the lengthiest marginal addition in a hand (Scribe iii) later than that of the main text; the script is not unlike that seen in some of the inscriptions on fol. 1r of Hereford P. III. 2, which are dated to the end of the twelfth century by Mynors and Thomson.²⁴ It gives 'Du[m] miraculo[rum] sublimitate beat[us] martin[us]

²² Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

²³ 'If the weakness of his age had not prevented it', and 'If the infirmity of his age had not been an impediment' (my translation).

²⁴ Mynors and Thomson, p. 81.

clarescerix'²⁵ in the margin at fol. 47v/5, and the addition seems to be functioning as an observation on the action of the narrative, which at this stage in the text is concerned with listing the miracles accomplished during Martin's episcopate. Why the inscription should be entered here is unclear, as the text has already dealt with a series of miraculous events attributable to Martin.

A hand (Scribe iv) not much later than that of the main text has added a footnote on fol. 61r, expanding the adjacent 'Anno lxiiii' in the main text block to give 'sexagesimo quarto', as well as an interlinear note for line 28 of the same folio, expanding 'eius' by giving 'martini'. The process of expanding numerical elements and dates continues at fol. 61v/10, albeit in a later hand (Scribe v):²⁶ a marginal note gives 'kalendis', referring directly to an abbreviation of the same word in the main text. These five cases constitute the full extent of marginal and interlinear additions to this item.

Fols 90r-94v: Guitmund of Aversa, *Confessio de Sancta Trinitate*

Fol. 90v/18 features the final application of the bright orange colour seen in the previous two items: it is applied in the prologue and in the first three words of the main text, but nowhere thereafter, the decoration reverting to the deep red seen prior to fol. 41r. The removal of leaves 7 and 8 of quire 12 means that the text is now incomplete, terminating with the line 'nostra fallacia falsum, aut imagina[rium]'. It is difficult to imagine that the missing lines were deliberately excised for any reason;²⁷ it seems more probable that they were removed as a

²⁵ 'While blessed Martin shone by the sublimity of miracles' (my translation). I have found it difficult to explain the term 'clarescerix'; one might here expect a verb in the third person singular (perfect or imperfect past tense), e.g. 'claruit' or 'clarescebat'.

²⁶ The same practice is continued in item 5 of the manuscript. See below.

²⁷ The tone of the missing lines seems perfectly in keeping with the rest of the work, so the passage is unlikely to have been deliberately targeted for destruction as a problematic piece of

result of appearing on an almost clean piece of parchment, torn out of the manuscript to be used elsewhere, perhaps at the point when it was decided to add the last four quires (possibly completed in a separate scribal effort) to the manuscript.

Neither this text nor the item following has attracted any later marginal or interlinear additions.

Fols 95r-119r: Pseudo-Faustus (Odo of Glanfeuil), *Vita Sancti Mauri*

The parchment in the last four quires of Hereford O. VI. 11 is of a markedly lower standard; this is most apparent in the many large holes around which the text is diverted. The sporadic use of the red seen in the first five quires begins again in the *Vita Sancti Mauri*, but the item features none of the additional forms of ornamentation seen, for example, in the *Martinellus*.

Fol. 119v: Two responsories

Two hands that both write a script not unlike that seen in the main text throughout Hereford O. VI. 11 have each added a responsory on fol. 119v.

text. The curtailed and missing lines run as follows: 'His itaque et aliis si plures sunt significationibus conservatis, conservetur etiam fides, quia Domini corpus ipsum verum non qualitative, sed substantialiter creditur, ut quod ipsa veritas omnino verum esse testatur, nostra fallacia falsum, aut imaginarium esse non opinetur. Hoc corpus si indigne sumitur (indigne autem tunc sumitur, si in mortiferis peccatis maneat anima, et cum ipsis accipitur), omnino ibi iudicium manducatur et bibitur. Cum vero digne, in quantum potest humana fragilitas, per gratiam Dei suscipitur, absque dubio per hoc sacramentum anima nostra vitam aeternam consequitur, quae vere nobis a Domino nostro Jesu Christo per eius corpus et sanguinem concedatur in perenni saeculo. Amen.' 'And so by these and other signs, if there are many whose significations have been preserved, may the faith be maintained, since the body of the Lord is believed to be the very truth, not qualitatively, but substantively, in order that our fallacy should not think it to be false or fanciful, since this truth gives testimony that it is completely true. If this body is taken up unworthily (that is, at a time when the soul should remain in deadly sins, and it is taken up with these things), then the judgement is altogether eaten and drunk. When with true dignity (insofar as human fragility is able) it is taken up in the grace of God, then without doubt our soul obtains, through this sacrament, eternal life, which truly is given to us forever by our Lord Jesus Christ, through His body and blood. Amen' (my translation). I am indebted to William Flynn for his suggestions on the translation of this extract.

Similarities with the script in the preceding item suggest that the addition of these responsories took place soon after the *Vita Sancti Mauri* was completed. The first of the two (by Scribe K) occupies lines 1-6, and the second (by Scribe L) lines 7-12, so there is no clear division between them, perhaps indicating that they were meant to be used in conjunction. K. D. Hartzell notes that although the texts of the two have been entered by different scribes, the neums 'appear to have been entered by only one'.²⁸ Red ink is used to indicate longer syllables only in the first of the two. A small capital 'R' in the same red ink has been entered in the margin at line one.

A third hand (Scribe vi) has appended the word 'Simon' to the end of the second piece at line 12, and on the same line a fourth hand (Scribe vii, who may have been working at a considerably later period) has entered 'S S Simon bb'. This latter addition, along with an 'h' on line 14, may represent twelfth-century pen-trials of the sort identified by Mynors and Thomson on fol. 120v.²⁹

CONTEXTUALISING STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

Establishing a context for the structure and the texts of Hereford O. VI. 11 is a problematic process, made all the more so by the manuscript's miscellaneous and composite character: in what ways can we situate, within contexts both broad and narrow, the apparently disparate elements that together make up the manuscript? What is their place, for example, in the broad context of the eleventh- and

²⁸ K. D. Hartzell, *Catalogue*, p. 209. Hartzell describes the neums as follows: 'French neums securely entered near the vertical. Clivis has pointed head and short hooked descender, stem is curved'.

²⁹ Mynors and Thomson, p. 44. Part of an alphabet can still be distinguished amongst the marks on fol. 120v. Bannister seems to have misinterpreted these marks, as his entry for Hereford O. VI. 11 includes the following (amongst other confused details of the location of the item within the manuscript): 'There is also an erasure of three lines, which may have been a note of ownership'. See Bannister, *Catalogue*, p. 69.

twelfth-century English literary scene, or in the much narrower context of the intertextual relationships that govern the conjunction of writings within the manuscript? Finally, how securely and at what point in history can we place the manuscript at St Guthlac's Priory, and which one of the priory's associates takes precedence for provenance before its arrival there?

The business of establishing a point of origin for Hereford O. VI. 11 and a context for the majority of its scribal work is limited by an apparent absence of comparable manuscripts, or at least by scholarship's consistent failure to identify them; the discovery of closely related features in other manuscripts would potentially allow for the identification of source scribes and scriptoria, or of a regional style or school that gave colour and character to the manuscripts that it produced. These categories, of course, are problematic and inadequate, but they have conventionally (and often usefully) been used as the means whereby manuscripts might be grouped and compared. The challenge of the present work is to consider the surface features of Hereford O. VI. 11 in near-isolation, before proceeding to a comparison with the two other study manuscripts.³⁰

One of the most striking features of Hereford O. VI. 11 is the degree of variability in its parchment quality, weight and colour. This lack of consistency is arguably the characteristic of a more rustic product, assembled somewhere outside the major centres of book production, perhaps at a religious house with comparatively fewer resources to devote to the making of manuscripts, but which was nevertheless able to call on the skills of proficient scribes. This is not necessarily the case with Hereford O. VI. 11, however, especially as the most obvious downturn in parchment quality occurs between quires 12 and 13, which

³⁰ The distinctive similarities between Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37 are described and discussed in chapter 7, below.

may mark the point at which two previously discrete manuscripts were joined together. Consistency in most other respects suggests that the two were produced at the same location, at roughly the same time; the implication is that the workshop where they originated made both high quality and lower quality manuscripts, perhaps depending on constraints imposed by expense or the availability of parchment, or as dictated by the use to which the resulting manuscript would be put.³¹

This model of a centre for manuscript production that had access to good quality parchment but that would also use parchment of a poorer standard is not widely acknowledged, but the generally high quality of Hereford O. VI. 11 suggests that it originated at a well-resourced workshop, perhaps at one of the major religious houses in the West Midlands, rather than at an isolated or ill-equipped scriptorium. Mention has previously been made of Teresa Webber's study of the late eleventh- and early twelfth-century manuscripts of Salisbury cathedral, which for Webber have a 'home-made' quality, arising from a lack of dedicated resources coupled with the canons' need to hastily copy required texts for their own use.³² The Salisbury manuscripts described by Webber do not seem to have much in common with Hereford O. VI. 11, whose higher standards in parchment quality and decoration relate it more to the type of product identified by Webber as the output of monastic scriptoria or specialist scribes, who

³¹ Evidence for an individual scribe's participation in the production of manuscripts of varying quality has been identified elsewhere; Mary Swan has drawn my attention in particular to the work of a scribe who worked on both CCC 367 (s. xii and s. xii²) and on Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33 (south-east England, s. xii²); the former is of a markedly poorer quality than the latter, suggesting that a twelfth-century scribe would not necessarily have worked only according to rigid standards in the material properties of the manuscript at hand. For a description of the latter manuscript and the hand of the scribe in question, see Orietta Da Rold, 'Homilies and Lives of Saints: Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33', in *The Production and Use of English Manuscripts 1060 to 1220*, <<http://www.le.ac.uk/english/em1060to1220/mss/CULi.1.33.htm>> [accessed August 2008]. The database also provides a date for the former manuscript.

³² Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*, pp. 28-30.

‘produced, for the most part, fine-looking decorated books in formal hands, for the use of the community and for export’.³³

The eclectic range of texts in the manuscript may also support this view; Hereford O. VI. 11 represents a collection of quite diverse texts, perhaps reflecting the variety to be found in a well-stocked monastic library of the period, so the workshop where the manuscript originated may well have adjoined or had access to a library of this kind. Indeed, the question of finding useful and contemporary parallels for the textual content of Hereford O. VI. 11 is more straightforward. Proceeding once more on an item-by-item basis, we are first brought to a consideration of contexts for the selection of Jerome’s epistles presented in the manuscript.

It is perhaps worth noting that a distinction between pre- and post-Conquest libraries has sometimes been drawn in discussing the use in England of work by Jerome and other patristic authors. An apparent proliferation in patristic manuscripts seems to have occurred in England at some point in the last quarter of the eleventh century, leaving many scholars undecided as to whether it took place too early to have been a direct result of changes in church life brought about by the Conquest.³⁴ The issue need not cause us undue concern: the fact that manuscripts of Jerome’s writings were well known and commonplace within English book collections of the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries means that their presence here should not in itself strike us as surprising.³⁵ In his survey

³³ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*, p. 28.

³⁴ The difficulty in choosing between pre- and post-Conquest categories in this instance is exemplified by Michael Lapidge, who qualifies his statement that the major patristic authors were well represented in Anglo-Saxon libraries by going on to say that ‘many of the manuscripts in question date only from the last quarter of the eleventh century, suggesting that it was Norman rather than Anglo-Saxon scholars who saw to the provision of extensive holdings of patristic writings’. See Lapidge, p. 69.

³⁵ In the West Midlands in particular, there may have been a certain bias towards the works of Jerome and Gregory in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century collections of patristic texts; there

of the manuscripts of early Norman England, Gameson concludes that Jerome was one of the most popular authors, his *Epistolae* being his most popular work.³⁶ By early in the twelfth century, the combined holdings of the libraries at Christ Church and St. Augustine's, Canterbury, included very nearly all of his writings.³⁷

It is more difficult to account for the particular choice of Hieronymian epistles selected for the manuscript; I have been unable to find the same selection reproduced anywhere else. The *De Assumptione Beatae Virginiae Mariae* is perhaps the most distinctive of the five, and seems to have been by no means a common text in a late eleventh-century English setting.³⁸ Gloucester Abbey was involved in developments in the field of Marian theology during the abbacy of William Godemon (1113-30). It celebrated the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin in a new or revived form,³⁹ and it seems probable that literary works used to support or inform Marian feasts would have been assembled there. Although pre-eminent in promoting the cult of the Virgin Mary in this period, however, Gloucester Abbey is probably not exclusive among the churches associated with St Guthlac's Priory in having an interest of this

was a tendency at Worcester, for example, to give preference to these two Church Fathers above any others, as remarked upon in E. A. McIntyre, 'Early Twelfth-Century Worcester Cathedral Priory, with Special Reference to the Manuscripts Written There' (unpublished DPhil. thesis, Oxford University, 1978), pp. 84-128. The presence in the two earliest St Guthlac's Priory manuscripts of texts by Jerome (in Hereford O. VI. 11) and a *Vita* of Gregory (in Jesus 37) may therefore bear witness to an interest in the two that operated at a regional level.

³⁶ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 35.

³⁷ Thomas Hall, 'Biblical and Patristic Learning' in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, pp. 327-44 (p. 339).

³⁸ Gneuss lists only two other pre-1100 manuscript copies, in Cambridge, University Library, Ee. 1. 23, fols 1-69 (s. xi/xii), and in Cambridge, Trinity College B. 14. 30 (315) (s. xi ex.; provenance Exeter; provenance Leicester, Augustinian canons). See Gneuss, pp. 26 and 44 respectively.

³⁹ Hart, I, 15. See also Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, pp. 510-11. Robert Patterson remarks on the commemoration of this feast in Jesus 10, a liturgical calendar associated with Gloucester Abbey. See Patterson, p. xxv. There are strong reasons for situating this manuscript (subsequent to its production at Gloucester) at St Guthlac's Priory. See chapter 5, above.

kind. A Hereford context for a work of Marian theology is also unproblematic: Mary was, after all, the co-dedicatée of the cathedral.

Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that the epistle does not occur in isolation and should not necessarily be given any greater weight than its four companion pieces in any interpretation of context. All five epistles share a number of clear similarities which may have informed the decision to unite them at the stage when the manuscript (or its exemplar) was first produced. All five address themselves to women, all of whom are members of the family of St Paula. They indicate a variety of concerns and are all broadly didactic and prescriptive in tone, but they share a common preoccupation with the issue of chastity and, by extension, its place within the ascetic life. Taken as a unified body of work, the five epistles may function as material for meditation on the ideal conduct of a woman devoted to the religious life, or indeed of anyone who has embraced chastity as a component of a life in holy orders.

Interest in Jerome and his epistles was evidently widespread in the period when the manuscript was produced, but the themes given voice in these particular epistles seem especially suited to a Benedictine setting. As well as being held up as exemplary in the art of letter-writing, Jerome's epistles were more specifically 'une source où l'on puisait des idées sur l'ascèse monastique.'⁴⁰ This might especially be true of *Epistola 22 Ad Eustochium de Virginitate Servanda*, which established Jerome's reputation as an expert in ascetic guidance.⁴¹ Certain other of the manuscript's contents seem also to substantiate its Benedictine aspect: I shall discuss these in due course.

⁴⁰ 'A resource for ideas on monastic asceticism' (my translation). Dom Jean Leclercq, *L'amour des lettres et le désir de dieu: initiation aux auteurs monastiques du moyen âge* (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1957), p. 96.

⁴¹ Stefan Rebenich, *Jerome* (London: Routledge, 2002), p. 20.

An absence of useful evidence makes it difficult to make comparable statements about the plausibility of situating the manuscript in a non-monastic context, such as that of St Guthlac's Minster or St Peter's, Hereford (before the latter was occupied by Gloucester monks). The condition of the personnel of these two churches is uncertain: there is a possibility that married canons were involved, men who perhaps would not have had any great enthusiasm for promoting Jerome's ideas on chastity. This is not to say, however, that a manuscript originating at a Benedictine house could not pass into the hands of a secular community, especially under the circumstances of a concerted attempt by a Benedictine community to promulgate its ideology through the dissemination of key texts.

The prominence of St Paula in the texts of both Hereford O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2 (both from St Guthlac's Priory) should perhaps be noted here. The letters of Abelard (died c. 1142) to Heloise, the abbess of the Paraclete, contain multiple references to St Paula and her daughters. Letter 7 of their correspondence, in which Abelard describes the history of the role of women in Christianity, includes quotations from Jerome's *Epistola 22 Ad Eustochium de Virginitate Servanda* and from Pseudo-Jerome (Paschasius Radbertus), *De Assumptione Sanctae Mariae*.⁴² Letter 9, on educating virgins, includes a long passage from *Epistola 39 Ad Paulam de Dormitione Blesillae*.⁴³ These letters were intended as

⁴² See *Guidance for Women in Twelfth-Century Convents*, ed. and trans. by Vera Morton, with an Interpretive Essay by Jocelyn Wogan-Browne (Cambridge: Brewer, 2003), pp. 74 and 92 respectively.

⁴³ See Morton, p. 131. Both Letter 7 and Letter 9 also incorporate extracts from Jerome's *Vita Paulae*; see Morton, p. 93 and pp. 131-32. This is one of the texts of Hereford P. III. 2 (see chapter 8, below).

a source of 'personal and professional comfort',⁴⁴ and as 'advice to an abbess for the benefit of those for whom she is responsible'.⁴⁵

Paula and her daughters were clearly significant prototypes for women living a religious life (Paula more especially for Christian widows),⁴⁶ so it is tempting to speculate on the possible use of these texts by the female religious of Hereford in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. So little is known about these women that it is impossible to establish the degree of engagement they would have had with the various manuscripts in circulation in Hereford at the time.⁴⁷ The ubiquity of texts relating to women amongst the St Guthlac's Priory manuscripts, however, must at the very least indicate a serious interest on the part of the priory monks (and perhaps their secular predecessors) in matters bearing on women in religious orders and in wider society.

Some elements of the next item in the manuscript, a text commonly referred to as the *Martinellus*, were evidently known in England from the earliest times: the *Vita Sancti Cuthberti* by a monk of Lindisfarne (written soon after 698) is modelled in part on the *Vita Martini* of Sulpicius Severus.⁴⁸ The *Martinellus*, which incorporates elements besides Severus's *Vita*, was circulated as an independent and self-contained work in its own right, having probably acquired its shape at some point in the eighth century.⁴⁹ Gneuss lists four other

⁴⁴ Morton, p. 51.

⁴⁵ Morton, p. 122, note 1.

⁴⁶ Louis Saltet, 'St Paula', in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, <<http://www.newadvent.org/cathen/11582a.htm>> [accessed May 2009].

⁴⁷ The fullest reference to the *moniales* of Hereford is to be found in Foot, II, 99. Julia Barrow has suggested that these women may originally have belonged to the community at Leominster, and were perhaps displaced at a time of unrest (either in 1046, the year in which Swein abducted the abbess, or in 1052 or 1055-56, during King Gruffydd's raids into Herefordshire and the reprisals that followed). Julia Barrow, private communication, July 2009.

⁴⁸ Joseph P. McGowan, 'Anglo-Latin Prose', in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, pp. 298-323 (p. 306).

⁴⁹ P. Bourgain and M. Heinzelmänn, 'L'oeuvre de Grégoire de Tours: la Diffusion des Manuscrits' in *Grégoire de Tours et l'espace Gaulois*, ed. by Nancy Gauthier and Henri Galinié,

manuscript copies of the *Martinellus* owned or written in England before 1100;⁵⁰ the work was probably fairly well-known in England long before the Conquest.

Thomas N. Hall mentions the *Martinellus* of Hereford O. VI. 11 in his survey of Latin sermons for saints' feasts in English manuscripts of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries, and adds weight to the argument in favour of a Benedictine context for Hereford O. VI. 11; he identifies two elements within the text which exhibit signs of having been adapted for use as sermons, specifically, he argues, for communal reading in the monastic Night Office, to coincide with the feast of the saint.⁵¹ Hall quotes Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, which describes suitable content for the Office lections on saints' feasts as 'uitas aut passiones ipsorum sanctorum siue sermones congruentes ipsi sollempnitati et responsoria propria, si habeantur'.⁵² Hall identifies this sort of application as likely for Hereford O. VI. 11 and for similar hagiographical manuscripts of the period (not all of which are classifiable as 'homiliaries' or 'legendaries'). His argument is perhaps supported by the presence, in the same manuscript, of a *Vita Sancti Mauri*. This text was used in a roughly contemporary Italian lectionary,

Supplément à la Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 13 (Tours: Revue archéologique du Centre de la France, 1997), pp. 273-317 (p. 301).

⁵⁰ London, British Library, Add. 40074 (Canterbury, s. x/xi); London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D. iv, fols 1-105 (England or north France, s. xi/xii; provenance probably Old Minster, Winchester); Avranches, Bibliothèque Municipale, 29 (south England, s. x/xi; provenance Mont Saint-Michel); Rome, Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 489, fols 61-124 (s. xi¹ or earlier). See Gneuss, pp. 59, 70, 117 and 140 respectively.

⁵¹ Thomas N. Hall, 'Latin Sermons for Saints in Early English Homiliaries and Legendaries', in *The Old English Homily: Precedent, Practice and Appropriation*, ed. by Aaron J. Kleist (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), pp. 227-63 (p. 254). The two elements are BHL 5622 and 5623, which also appear in CTH 21, the manuscript that Hall uses as his primary example. Hall notes that both pieces are rubricated in the latter manuscript as sermons (with the first of the two introduced as 'Sermo sancti Ambrosii de transitu sancti Martini'). The homiletic application for these elements in Hereford O. VI. 11 seems to me less clear than Hall suggests; Mynors and Thomson record that the first of the two pieces is introduced as 'epistola sancti Ambrosii episcopi de transitu sancti Martini episcopi', without mentioning any other rubrication. See Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

⁵² 'the lives or passions of the saints themselves, or sermons appropriate to the given solemnity, and [we sing] proper responses, if these are to be had'. Ælfric's *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. and trans. by Christopher A. Jones, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 24 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 146-47.

Rome, Vatican Library, Vat. lat. 1202, which was intended for use in the Night Office of the feast of St Maurus, amongst others.⁵³

The *Martinellus* of Hereford O. VI. 11 has also been situated within a wider manuscript tradition (based on its contents and internal structure) by Juliet Hewish.⁵⁴ It has features in common with both a Franco-German and an Italian tradition, although Hewish has been unable to say when and how the two strands came together to give rise to the text found here. She has also established that although the text shares similarities with the Martinian material in CTH 21, and in CCCC 9 (both of which are thought to be English manuscripts of the eleventh century),⁵⁵ there are also distinct discrepancies between Hereford O. VI. 11 and the other two, which do not exhibit the influence of the Italian family of manuscripts. These differences seem particularly surprising when the provenance of CCCC 9 is taken into account: it has been identified as having once formed part of the work now known as the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, generally deemed to have been produced in Worcester in the third quarter of the eleventh century and thought to represent a collection available in England before the Conquest.⁵⁶ The implication is that there were at least two variants of the *Martinellus* in circulation in the West Midlands at around the same time, the descendants of two discrete branches of textual transmission. That which gave rise to Hereford O. VI. 11 seems not to have owed any particular debt to Worcester Cathedral.

⁵³ John B. Wickstrom, 'Text and Image in the Making of a Holy Man: An Illustrated Life of Saint Maurus of Glanfeuil', *Studies in Iconography*, 16 (1994), 53-82 (p. 53).

⁵⁴ Hewish, pp. 18-19. I am grateful to Dr. Hewish for sharing her thoughts on Hereford O. VI. 11.

⁵⁵ For a description of CCCC 9, see Gneuss, p. 30. For CTH 21, see M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity Hall* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1907), pp. 37-39. James was unable to establish a point of origin for this latter manuscript, of which he says 'I suspect this of being a Canterbury book: but I cannot prove it'.

⁵⁶ For the latest scholarship on the Cotton-Corpus Legendary, see Peter Jackson and Michael Lapidge, 'The Contents of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary', in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. by Paul E. Szarmach (New York: State University of New York Press, 1996), pp. 131-46.

As well as functioning as a useful guide to the transmission and evolution of the *Martinellus* text in the course of the medieval period, the survey of manuscripts carried out by Hewish is also a useful guide to the texts that accompany Martinian material wherever it occurs. The combination of texts in Hereford O. VI. 11 seems to be unique. Nowhere, for example, has a precedent for the *Martinellus* appearing as a companion piece to the letters of Jerome been identified. A reading of the first Dialogue of Sulpicius Severus, however, reveals an allusion to Jerome's *Epistola 22 Ad Eustochium De Virginitate Servanda*, which immediately precedes the *Martinellus* in Hereford O. VI. 11. Postumianus, who speaks the majority of the words of the Dialogue, describes a sojourn in Jerusalem and a visit to see the renowned and learned Jerome. He is interrupted by his two companions, with the character referred to as 'Gallus' speaking first:

Nam ante hoc quinquennium quemdam illius libellum legi, in quo tota nostrorum natio monachorum ab eo vehementissime vexatur et carpitur; unde interdum Belgicus noster valde irasci solet, quod dixerit, nos usque ad vomitum solere satiari. Ego autem illi viro ignosco; atque ita sentio, de orientalibus illum potius monachis quam de occidentalibus disputasse: nam edacitas in Graecis gula est, in Gallis natura. Tum ego, Scholastice, inquam, Galle, defendis gentem tuam; sed quaeso te, liber iste numquid hoc solum vitium damnat in monachis? Immo vero, inquit, nihil penitus omisit, quod non carperet, laceraret, exponeret: praecipue avaritiam, nec minus vanitatem insectatus est. Multa de superbia, non pauca de superstitione disseruit. Vere fatebor, pinxisse mihi videtur vitia multorum. Caeterum de familiaritatibus virginum et monachorum, atque etiam clericorum, quam vera, quam fortia disputavit! unde a quibusdam, quos nominare nolo, dicitur non amari: nam sicut Belgicus noster irascitur, edacitatis nimiae nos notatos, ita illi fremere dicuntur, cum in illo opusculo scriptum legunt: Coelibem spernit virgo germanum, fratrem quaerit extraneum.⁵⁷

⁵⁷ ““For I read a book of his five years ago, in which the whole tribe of our monks is violently attacked and picked apart by him; because of this, our Belgian friend sometimes gets very angry, because he said that we are accustomed to eat until we are sick. But I forgive that man, and I think that he was talking more about the monks of the East than of the West, for appetite in

A further thematic link between the two texts is found in the third Dialogue, as Martin's disciple Gallus describes a purge of suspected heretics in Spain. The suspects closely resemble the nuns and monks unfairly disparaged for excessive fasting in Jerome's letter.

Nec dubium erat, quin sanctorum etiam maximam turbam
tempestas ista depopulata esset, parvo discrimine inter
hominum genera; etenim tum solis oculis iudicabatur, cum
quis pallore potius aut veste, quam fide haereticus
aestimaretur.⁵⁸

The conjunction of the *Martinellus* and Jerome's *Epistola 22* within the same manuscript is made particularly striking by these passages. At no other point in the *Martinellus* is any other literary work referred to in such specific detail, suggesting that the appearance of the two texts alongside each other is due to a deliberate editorial decision on the part of the compiler of Hereford O. VI. 11 (or its exemplar), who wanted the full text of the epistle to be available to users of this *Martinellus*, perhaps to make cross-referencing more convenient.

Greeks is greed, and in Gauls is natural." Then I said "You defend your people like a public speaker, Gallus. But I ask you, does the book only condemn this vice in monks?" "Indeed no," he said. "He left out nothing at all that he did not carp at, attack and expose: he especially reproached avarice, and vanity too. He said much about pride and not a little about superstition. In truth, I will confess, he seemed to me to have depicted the vices of many. What is more, how truly and how forcefully he debated the intimacies of virgins and monks and even of clerics. Because of this, it is said that he is not loved by certain people, whom I do not want to name: for just as our Belgian friend gets angry when we are noted for excessive appetite, they are said to complain when they read in that little work: "The virgin rejects her celibate blood-brother and seeks a brother not of her blood" (my translation). Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi: Dialogus 1*, PL 20, 183-202 (189).

⁵⁸ "There was no doubt that a great crowd of saints was wiped out by that storm, because of little distinction between types of men; indeed, a man was at that time judged only by the eyes, deemed a heretic more by his paleness or his clothes than by his faith" (my translation). Taken from Sulpicius Severus, *Dialogi: Dialogus 3*, PL 20, 211-222 (218). This particular link with Jerome's *Epistola 22* is noted in *The Western Fathers*, ed. and trans. by F. R. Hoare (London: Sheed and Ward, 1954), p. 134, note 2. The passage that Hoare has in mind runs as follows: 'Et quam viderint pallentem atque tristem, miseram, et Manichaeam vocant: et consequenter: tali enim proposito jejunium haeresis est.' 'And she whom they see as pale and gloomy they call a wretch and a Manichean; and as a result of such a principle, fasting is heresy' (my translation). Jerome, *Epistola 22*, PL 22, 394-425 (402).

What is more, the use in this passage of the terms *libellus*, *liber* and *opusculus*, implying a certain kind of context and format for the letter, may have influenced the structure of Hereford O. VI. 11. *Epistola 22*, as we have already seen, occurs as part of a small selection of Jerome's letters (rather than a more comprehensive collection of Hieronymian works), which can be thought of as forming a 'little book' in its own right.

Certain striking connections between the manuscript's *Martinellus* and its fifth item, the *Vita Sancti Mauri*, can also be established: a church of St Martin features prominently at several points in the narrative of the latter. Constructed at Glanfeuil at Maurus's command, it eventually received the dying saint and became his first resting-place; his concern was to imitate his master, Benedict, who had also been buried in a church dedicated to Martin.

If in our consideration of an early context for Hereford O. VI. 11 we accept the Martinian aspect of the manuscript as one of its defining characteristics, one particular event in the history of St Guthlac's Minster becomes especially prominent: the arrival in the late eleventh or early twelfth century of a chapel dedicated to Martin within the castle grounds.⁵⁹ The proximity of this post-Conquest interloper must have had an impact on the daily business of St Guthlac's Minster, and it seems plausible that the minster priests would have been in some way involved in administering St Martin's. The probable date of Hereford O. VI. 11 makes it possible that the manuscript arrived in Hereford at around the time of the inauguration of St Martin's; it may even have been acquired as one of the accoutrements of the new chapel. If Hereford O. VI. 11 and its texts were a novelty in Hereford in the late eleventh century, it

⁵⁹ For my brief account of the history of St Martin's in Hereford Castle, see chapter 1, above.

seems likely that the manuscript was copied elsewhere, perhaps at a religious house with strong links to the de Lacy family (the founders of St Martin's), before arriving at St Guthlac's Minster. This would make Gloucester Abbey the most probable point of origin; comparisons between Hereford O. VI. 11 and Gloucester manuscripts of around the same date have never yet been made (or remarked upon), but may in future provide a clearer picture of the place of Hereford O. VI. 11 in relation to the manuscript-producing networks of the day.

The manuscript's short tract on the Trinity by Guitmund of Aversa was apparently a rarity in England, although his *De corpore et sanguine Domini contra Berengarium* was well-represented in acquisitions by English libraries in the period 1066–1130.⁶⁰ Thematic links between this and the other texts of Hereford O. VI. 11 seem less than compelling; comparisons might be drawn between the content of this item and that of some of the highlighted passages in the first item (portions of text picked out by Scribe ii on fols 7r and 9r, which are concerned with describing aspects of the nature of the Trinity), but other close parallels are hard to establish. Guitmund's works enjoyed a rapid flowering in popularity, which had already reached its peak within 30 years of his death (c. 1095). If we allow that this manuscript was at one of the Hereford churches within a short time of being copied, the time that elapsed between the composition of the text by the author and its arrival in Hereford must be shorter than in any of the other major works represented in the entire priory collection. The acquisition of these earliest manuscripts by the community of St Guthlac's Minster or St Peter's, Hereford, therefore, was not simply an exercise in catching-up or in acquiring the basic patristic texts upon which the new Anglo-

⁶⁰ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 42. Gameson notes no other contemporary occurrences of the *Confessio de Sancta Trinitate*.

Norman bishops would have insisted; ownership of this *Confessio de Sancta Trinitate* suggests that the Hereford communities were in touch with some of the most recent theological writings in circulation on the Continent; more evidence, perhaps, for the guiding hand of Gloucester Abbey.

The influence of Gloucester can perhaps also be detected in the manuscript's *Vita Sancti Mauri*, which is both Continental and strongly Benedictine in flavour, reflecting the character of monastic life under Abbot Serlo and his successors at Gloucester, and articulating more clearly than any of the other Hereford O. VI. 11 texts the direction that was to be taken by the communities at St Guthlac's and St Peter's, Hereford, in the twelfth century. Gameson sees in the pattern of growth in hagiographical collections in this period an attempt by individual houses in England to safeguard their own local traditions of sanctity in the face of the Norman Conquest,⁶¹ but a Life of Maurus is more in tune with the pattern that was emerging in Hereford, where Continental saints like Martin and Maurus were venerated alongside the indigenous Æthelberht and Guthlac.

Gameson remarks that the writers of the Carolingian Renaissance are generally poorly represented in the acquisitions of the post-Conquest period;⁶² Carolingian influences were, however, prominent in the textual productions of the late Anglo-Saxon Benedictine reform,⁶³ so the Hereford O. VI. 11 copy of the ninth-century *Vita Sancti Mauri* should perhaps (in the context of eleventh-century Hereford, which had no Benedictine monks of its own) be viewed as a late product of the same reform movement, resumed by the monks of Gloucester

⁶¹ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 23.

⁶² Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 31.

⁶³ For a brief account of the debt owed to Carolingian authors by the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine reformers, see *Ælfric's Prefaces*, ed. by Jonathan Wilcox, *Durham Medieval Texts*, 9 (Durham: Durham Medieval Texts, 1994), pp. 5 and 18.

and patronised by the Anglo-Norman barons of the shire. Its suitability as a textual accompaniment to the conversion of unreformed churches to the Rule of St Benedict is surely beyond question: it records the virtues of the founder of Benedictine monasticism in France and would have constituted a powerful call for the establishment of a community of monks in Hereford. Its possible presence in the library of St Guthlac's Minster (whatever the reasons behind its acquisition) is therefore not suggestive of an English community at pains to protect its character and indigenous traditions against new influences, or of a secular community resistant to change; if it was at the minster in the late eleventh or early twelfth century, it does seem to signal that change, whether welcomed or opposed by the canons, was not far away.

The presence of the two responsories at the end of the manuscript is puzzling. They seem largely unrelated to the preceding material; in isolation and with no rubrication, their immediate usefulness in the sung office must have been limited. The first responsory is identified by Mynors and Thomson as item 12877a of Hans Walther's *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, and as 39527 in Ulysse Chevalier's *Repertorium Hymnologicum*.⁶⁴ The text occurs as a responsory (divided into respond and verse) for vespers at the feast of the Chair of St Peter on fol. 61v of Jesus 10, a manuscript mostly taken up with a thirteenth- to fourteenth-century antiphonary thought to reflect the practice of Gloucester Abbey and supposed to have been at St Guthlac's Priory.⁶⁵ It occurs on fol. 205r of Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160

⁶⁴ Mynors and Thomson, p. 44. See Ulysse Chevalier, *Repertorium Hymnologicum*, 6 vols (Louvain and Brussels: various, 1892-1920), 39527, and Hans Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1959), 12877a.

⁶⁵ I have briefly described the manuscript and the reasons for locating it at St Guthlac's Priory in chapter 5, above.

(Worcester Cathedral Priory, c. 1230) too, where it appears as the fourth responsory for the first nocturne of matins of the same feast.⁶⁶

Fol. 235v of Worcester F. 160 also features the second of the two Hereford O. VI. 11 responsories, applying it as the fourth responsory for the third nocturne of matins at the feast of St Peter in Chains. Just as in the case of the first Hereford O. VI. 11 responsory, this text seems not to have been particularly widespread. I have only been able to locate it used as a responsory in one other instance, in the Antiphoner of Silos, now London, British Library, Add. 30850 (San Domingo de Silos, s. xi ex.).⁶⁷ The first phrase ('Simon [...] septies') occurs more commonly in isolation as an antiphon; it is used, for example, for the feasts of the Chair of St Peter and St Peter in Chains in the York Breviary.⁶⁸ However, if both Hereford O. VI. 11 responsories are to be associated with one particular feast day, the weight of evidence would suggest the Chair of St Peter as the most likely candidate.⁶⁹ The scarcity of examples in both cases suggests that a West Midlands setting is of particular relevance in contextualising the two.

The appearance of the first responsory in Jesus 10 provides us with yet another reason to associate Hereford O. VI. 11 with Gloucester Abbey. The content of the two indicates devotion to St Peter; this, of course, was perfectly commonplace at the end of the eleventh century, but it may be further slight evidence for a Gloucester Abbey connection. The abbey was dedicated to Peter;

⁶⁶ The contents of Worcester F. 160 are described and indexed by the Cantus Project, <<http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/aboutms4.html#worcest>> [accessed July 2007].

⁶⁷ A critical edition of the responsory (providing its *Corpus Antiphonale Officii* identification number as 7672) is provided by the Cursus Project, <<http://www.cursus.uea.ac.uk/ed/c7672>> [accessed July 2007].

⁶⁸ *Breviarium ad Usum Insignis Ecclesie Eboracensis*, ed. by S. W. Lawley, Publications of the Surtees Society, 2 vols (Durham: published for the Surtees Society by Andrews & Co., 1880-83), II, 207 and 435.

⁶⁹ Bannister suggests that the responsories are 'part of a service for St. Peter's Day'. See Bannister, *Catalogue*, p. 69. My interpretation of the evidence (which has the benefit of more recent scholarship) favours an association with a different Petrine feast day.

the apparently casual use of two Petrine responsories in the manuscript may have been intended to mark ownership or provenance, as the abbey was the only large local producer of books that was dedicated to St Peter.⁷⁰

⁷⁰ Another possibility remains: the church at Leominster seems to have been dedicated to St Peter prior to its refoundation in 1123 (possible early co-dedicatees include SS Paul and Andrew); see Joe and Caroline Hillaby, p. 27. I have considered the likely influence of the church at Leominster on local book collections in chapter 4, above.

CHAPTER 7: OXFORD, JESUS COLLEGE 37

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Oxford, Jesus College 37, a manuscript of 157 numbered folios, is assigned a late eleventh- or early twelfth-century date by the majority of secondary sources.¹

The style of its script suggests that it originated at around the same time as Hereford O. VI. 11, perhaps within the same twenty-year period, although Jesus 37 is likely to be the later of the two.² The manuscript is largely taken up with the *Vita Gregorii Magni* of John the Deacon, but it also includes four other quite substantial texts. The structure of the volume awaits closer inspection; nowhere has it been subjected to the sort of close codicological analysis apparent in the Hereford catalogues by Bannister and by Mynors and Thomson. Indeed, of all three manuscripts under consideration in this thesis, Jesus 37 has received the least scholarly attention. Its medieval binding is substantially intact, though Alexander and Temple remark that it has been 'repaired'.³ My description of the structure of the manuscript follows the format established in the previous chapter (modelled on the codicological descriptions in the Hereford Cathedral Library catalogue by Mynors and Thomson).

¹ Ker gives the manuscript an eleventh-century date in *MLGB*, p. 99 and Ker, *Prise*, p. 485; Dumville gives the same in Dumville, 'English Libraries before 1066', pp. 169-219 (p. 211). Alexander and Temple opt for the end of the eleventh century in Alexander and Temple, p. 4; Gneuss suggests the late eleventh or early twelfth century in Gneuss, p. 106, whereas Gameson prefers an early twelfth-century date in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 142. Both the suggestion by Coxe of the early tenth century and T. D. Hardy's less specific tenth-century date seem improbable in the face of the present consensus. See Coxe, II, 14, and T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland, to the End of the Reign of Henry VII*, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman and Roberts, 1862-67), I (1862), 204.

² I am once again indebted to Elaine Treharne for her opinions as to the probable date of Jesus 37: her preferred date range for the manuscript is c. 1100-10.

³ Alexander and Temple, p. 4.

Structure: 157 leaves, not counting the unnumbered parchment flyleaf (i) that precedes the rest, 280 x 180 mm. The written space occupied by the text is approximately 230 x 140 mm. The leaves are blind-ruled in 24-32 lines across pricking in the outer margins, although the pricking is only visible sporadically throughout. Collation: The manuscript is made up of 20 quires (each of eight leaves) plus a single bifolium (inserted after quire 19). Quire 7 lacks leaf 8. Quire 13 lacks leaf 2. Quire 17 lacks leaves 1 and 2. Fols 66 and 67 are half-sheets (which together form the equivalent of a single bifolium).

The parchment of the manuscript is of a fairly consistent quality, and holes in fols 69 and 114 have been carefully repaired by sewing. There are two thin strips of parchment parallel to the spine between fols 125 and 126; these are all that remain of two excised leaves (the other halves of the bifolia are represented by fols 130 and 131). Fragments of text can still be seen on the first of the two, but there is no break in the text of the manuscript at this point, suggesting that the two leaves contained errors and were removed at an early point while scribal work was still underway. My own observations do not agree with Gameson's description of fol. 94 as an 'inserted leaf';⁴ it is, rather, the last leaf of quire 12, left blank by the scribes who wrote the manuscript's *Vita Gregorii Magni*. The other half of the bifolium is fol. 87, as can clearly be traced via a close examination of the binding. The unusual shape of fol. 94 may have given rise to its misidentification as an inserted leaf; the bifolium is somewhat smaller than the others in the quire, meaning that fol. 94 is not as wide as the rest of the leaves.

⁴ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 142.

The manuscript has only one initial that could be described as ‘inhabited’: it occurs at fol. 78v/13 and takes the form of a simple human face in portrait, enclosed within a capital ‘O’. There is a highly decorative initial ‘B’ on fol. 1r, with its lines in red and with colouring in blue and green.⁵ This is the only initial of its kind within the manuscript, perhaps suggesting that the decorative scheme was scaled down after production had begun (for reasons of expense or limited resources). An initial ‘G’ on fol. 3v has been executed in the same style, but its lines are in brown ink and it lacks any additional colour.

The decorative scheme within the manuscript is generally of a modest kind, but its style allows us to suggest a place for Jesus 37 within the West Midlands manuscript tradition, relative to the two other manuscripts under consideration in this thesis. Its similarities with Hereford O. VI. 11 are nowhere more apparent than in its use of red or orange initials and display-capitals, some of which have degraded to produce a metallic grey colour, just as in Hereford O. VI. 11.⁶ The shade of orange seen in places in Jesus 37 is strongly reminiscent of the ‘brilliant orange’⁷ used at various points in Hereford O. VI. 11; both manuscripts exhibit a similar spectrum of colours where minium has been used, hinting at shared techniques or sources.

If certain aspects of the style of the manuscript echo the earlier techniques of Hereford O. VI. 11, however, they also foreshadow some of those seen in manuscripts produced in the West Midlands later in the twelfth century. Capitals on fols 13v, 20v and 21r display small bunches of three grapes, much like those remarked upon by Thomson in his description of a particular class of West Midlands ‘arabesque’ manuscript initial (which Thomson designates his ‘Style

⁵ This initial is reproduced in Alexander and Temple, Plate I.

⁶ See chapter 6, above.

⁷ Mynors and Thomson, p. 44.

3').⁸ Hereford P. III. 2, another of the manuscripts from St Guthlac's Priory (and probably somewhat later than Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37), is included by Thomson in this class. Initials in red and green are also common to both Jesus 37 and Hereford P. III. 2.

The script of the main text of Jesus 37 (the majority of which is the work of a single scribe, hereafter designated Scribe A) could be characterised as a species of Anglo-Caroline bookhand, although more rounded in aspect than that seen in Hereford O. VI. 11. The degree of variability in the script written by A, though not as dramatic as that seen in the hands at work in Hereford O. VI. 11, nevertheless makes it difficult to decide precisely how many scribes contributed to writing significant portions of the main text. At least one other scribe seems to have been involved; Scribe B's forward-slanting hand, which resembles that of Scribe A but is somewhat neater, is most apparent at fols 60r/21-31, 61v/25-64v/31, 65v/1-67r/2, 74r/4-31, 84r/18-31, 108v/15-21, 113v/16-20, 136v/19-31 and 137r/25-31. Variations in the script of the main text block are considerable elsewhere too, but enough common features are retained across these changes to make the identification of separate scribal hands a difficult proposition.

The work of Scribes A and B seems not to be represented elsewhere in any of the other St Guthlac's manuscripts. Likewise, I have been unable to trace any of the other scribal hands present in Jesus 37 elsewhere in the priory's collection.

A small number of features within the manuscript provide some limited insights into the particular circumstances under which it was produced. As in the case of Hereford O. VI. 11, other scribal hands sometimes intervene in the main

⁸ Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England*, p. 80. See also chapter 8, below.

text block for short intervals. Clear examples of this occur on fols 21v/14-18 (C: a smaller hand, which resembles that of Scribe B in Hereford P. III. 2), 85v/1-4 and 5 (D: like C, but fainter and less assured), 86v/7-8 (also D), 97v/22-23 (C) and 131r/15 (E: smaller than A and with letter forms that are more open). These may be the hands of certain trainees under Scribes A and B, allowed to make small contributions to the manuscript as a part of their instruction.

Scribe F, whose script resembles that of the *Vita Gregorii Magni* scribes, appended the short item that follows (item 3), probably quite soon after. His hand is perhaps more closely related to that of Scribe C than of Scribe A, with letter forms that are slightly more upright and attenuated. The high degree of resemblance between the hands, however, suggests that all three can be dated to around the same period.⁹

The impression given is that Jesus 37 was produced at an established centre of scribal work, one where more than one scribe was operating at a time. The number of scribes involved (at least five in the case of the *Vita Gregorii Magni* of Jesus 37) in the production of a single manuscript suggests a religious house with a numerous personnel, actively training its members in scribal practice. A co-ordinated approach to book production was evidently in place at this unidentified scriptorium, with measures to ensure the continued production of manuscripts in the years to come.

Besides those seen in the main text block of items 1 and 3 (and not taking into account any *nota*-marks unaccompanied by text), I have identified seven other medieval hands at work in the manuscript. All were arguably writing at a

⁹ Gneuss mentions only this item and the manuscript's *Vita Gregorii Magni* in his entry for Jesus 37, whereas he omits those items that are clearly in a later hand. He does not distinguish between the two when assigning a date, so we may infer that Gneuss is satisfied that both items are alike in this respect. See Gneuss, p. 106. The only other source to report this item is Coxe, II, 14.

considerably later date than Scribes A, B, C, D, E, and F, but the only catalogue entry to suggest a date for fol. 94 (the work of Scribe G) gives the first half of the twelfth century, chronologically close to the date range generally accepted for the manuscript in its earliest format.¹⁰ Scribe J is probably later than Scribe H; both scribes added text to blank folios at the end of the manuscript, so the appearance of H's work (on fols 156v-157r) preceding that of J (on fol 157v) suggests that H was the first of the two to have access to the manuscript. The hands of G, H and J could all be categorised as 'protogothic', but that of H is less cramped and more upright than those of G and J (the slight resemblance between the script of the latter two suggests the scribes were near-contemporaries, though J writes in a smaller, fainter hand). Scribe K, whose narrower, more angular hand is not quite contemporary with those seen in the main text, made corrections to the first item, usually via marginal and interlinear notes at those points where the *Vita* is unclear. Scribe L inserted a single inscription on the recto of fol. i in a neat, protogothic bookhand: 'Maris stella interpella quem portasti'.¹¹ The formula is used elsewhere in a cycle of hymns known as the *Mariale*. Two late medieval hands (Scribes M and N) added notes on the content of the manuscript on the recto and verso of the same folio respectively ('Vita S[an]c[t]i G[re]G[or]ii pap[a]e' and 'Vita S[an]c[t]i Gregor[i]'); it is interesting to note that neither

¹⁰ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 142. The obvious error in Gameson's dating of fols 156v-157 (see note 13, below) unfortunately makes it difficult to gauge his opinion of how the dates of the various scripts compare.

¹¹ 'Star of the sea, intercede with him whom you carried' (my translation). The inscription seems especially pertinent given the themes addressed in the Ambrose sermon and the childbirth prayer. It is perhaps noteworthy that the hymn occurs in a twelfth- or thirteenth-century volume containing Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* (now Cambridge, St John's College 90) from the Franciscan Convent of Hereford, only a short distance from St Guthlac's Priory; the scribe who entered the inscription may have been familiar with this copy, which is described in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of St John's College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913), pp. 119-21. The *Mariale* is associated with Anselm in certain manuscript traditions; it was printed as *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Mariale*, ed. by Bernard Ragey, 2nd edn (Paris: Lefebvre, 1885), so the inclusion of two of Anselm's letters in the volume may account for the presence of the inscription here.

thought it worthwhile to mention any of the manuscript's other items, some of which would certainly have been in place when M and N were at work. None of these seven hands closely resembles any of the others, suggesting that the additions took place over an extended period of time, perhaps at more than one institution.

Even when compared with the lightly annotated Hereford O. VI. 11, there are noticeably fewer instances of marginalia to take into account in Jesus 37. Its folios, leaving aside some damage in the last item, are quite pristine when considered alongside some of the more heavily soiled and densely annotated St Guthlac's manuscripts, suggesting different conditions for its use. The manuscript may have been prized and treated with a degree of respect not always apparent in the signs of wear and tear in other of its fellows, or it simply may not have been much used at all. The evidence of the pressmark certainly seems to contradict the idea of any special status for the manuscript during its time at the priory: it probably shared shelf space with the priory's poorer manuscripts.¹²

The manuscript has a small number of *nota*-marks, all of which are restricted to the margins of the *Vita Gregorii Magni*; I have counted nineteen instances of highlighting of one kind or another, comparatively few for a text of its length. The number of hands represented in these marks is unclear. There are five in the shape of pictograms formed from capital letters making up the word 'nota', but there is a considerable amount of variety even within this small group. The '3'-shaped *nota*-mark in pencil appears twice. Discreet marks that resemble the pilcrow sign also appear in the margins, marking six separate portions of text.

¹² This certainly would have been the case if, as Heale suggests, the collection was housed in a single book press. See Heale, 'Books and Learning', p. 75.

The final species of *nota*-mark takes the form ‘ð’; six of these appear in Jesus 37, all apparently made by the same scribe (Scribe i).

The miscellaneous character of the manuscript’s contents and the absence of any clear survey of its structure have together led to some confusing entries for Jesus 37 in a number of the standard catalogues and reference works. Certain items have on occasion been entirely omitted from the descriptions given; this has tended to happen for those items falling outside the date parameters governing inclusion in one catalogue or another.¹³ The contents can now be itemised as follows:

1. Fols 1r-93v; 95r-155v: John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni*.¹⁴
2. Fol. 94rv: Sermon (attributed to Ambrose and made up principally of extracts from Ambrose's *De Virginibus*).¹⁵
3. Fol. 156r: Medical recipes.¹⁶
4. Fols 156v-157r: Anselm, *Epistolae* 436, 434.¹⁷
5. Fol. 157v: Seven Sleepers / fever charm.¹⁸

¹³ Certain discrepancies that are more difficult to explain occur in Coxe and in Gameson. Coxe gives the number of folios as 156, and he omits entirely the sermon attributed to Ambrose (item 2 in my list). See Coxe, II, 14. Gameson seems to make an error in his entry for Anselm’s letters and the Seven Sleepers / fever charm; he gives them an impossible, early eleventh-century date (i.e. a period commencing before Anselm’s lifetime) where he probably intended to indicate the twelfth century. See Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 142.

¹⁴ PL 75, 61-242.

¹⁵ The sermon incorporates elements of PL 16, 195b-195c, 197b-197d, 199a-199c, 202d-203a, and PL 117, 650b, as well as other material.

¹⁶ I have reproduced the text of these recipes as Appendix 15, below.

¹⁷ *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia*, V (1951), pp. 384-85 and 380-81 respectively.

¹⁸ The text of this item has been reproduced as Appendix 16, below.

Fols 1r-93v and 95r-155v: John the Deacon, *Vita Gregorii Magni*

Scribe K is the most prolific annotator of this item. Fol. 106r, where his work is particularly conspicuous, provides several paradigms for the sorts of interventions that appear in his hand throughout. Broadly speaking, his work is concerned with correcting omissions and expanding abbreviations in the main text. On fol. 106r he glosses the text's 'i[m]mineret' with an interlinear 'p[rae]cepit', and he twice provides an alternative abbreviated form of 'imperator' to that given in the main text (giving a marginal 'i[m]p[er]atoris' and an interlinear 'i[m]p[er]ator' for 'i[m]p[erato]ris' and 'imp[erato]r' respectively).

Scribe K also provides insertion marks and marginal text for line 3 of the same folio, albeit with content that does not agree with the *Patrologia Latina* edition of the *Vita*. The scribe of the main text omits words spoken by Philippicus in his dialogue with Mauricius, rendering the text nonsensical. Scribe K provides Philippicus's missing words in the margin, giving 'Tumid[us], sup[er]b[us] et arrogans'¹⁹ for Philippicus's verdict on Phocas. The reply given by Mauricius in the main text ('Si timidus inquit p[ro]fecto et homicida')²⁰, however, cannot stand as a response to these words, so Scribe K has corrected the first vowel of Mauricius's 'timidus' to give 'tumidus'. Scribe K may have been working from an exemplar with variant text, but an interesting alternative is the possibility that he attempted to reconstruct Philippicus's missing words via a reinterpretation of a perceived mistake on the part of the scribe of the main text.

Other than the work of Scribe K, later additions and amendments to the text are few in number. It is difficult to discern any guiding principle in the use

¹⁹ 'Tumid, proud and arrogant' (my translation). The PL text has the following: 'Est quidem juvenis, et temerarius, attamen timidus', i.e. 'He is a certain youth, rash but fearful' (my translation).

²⁰ "'If he is fearful, indeed, he is also murderous," he said' (my translation).

of *nota*-marks in this text, although the imprecision with which they were applied (with regard to pinpointing the particular lines of text to be indicated) makes it hard to identify the parameters of the passages marked out as noteworthy. Some of the highlighting may have taken place with reference to certain other of the items in the manuscript,²¹ but the majority of the passages selected are quite various in terms of their contents, with no clear thematic links.

Fol. 94rv: *Sermo Sancti Ambrosii Episcopi*

The addition of this sermon to a formerly blank folio between books 3 and 4 of the *Vita Gregorii Magni* creates something of an interruption to the latter, although the unusual shape of fol. 94 helps to distinguish it from the *Vita* text that precedes and follows it. This factor may have influenced the scribe who selected fol. 94 to receive the text of the sermon: fol. 54, which also divides one book of the *Vita* from another but which is more regular in shape, was also kept blank when the *Vita* was set down, but it has never received the addition of later texts.

It would no doubt have been more convenient to insert this sermon onto blank leaves at the end of the manuscript, so the use of a folio partway through the first item is interesting. The length of the text demanded the use of an entire folio; this would have been available after the medical recipes on fol. 156r, had the manuscript's fourth item (covering fols 156v-157r) not already been in place. The positioning of this text relative to the other items within the manuscript, therefore, can potentially be used to situate the work of Scribe G as having taken place after that of Scribe H, although Gameson's dating of the hands suggests

²¹ As discussed below.

that the additions both took place within a relatively short space of time (i.e. in the first half of the twelfth century).

The text is rubricated with the heading 'sermo s[ancti] ambrosii ep[iscop]i' on fol. 94r and incorporates three display capitals in red on fol. 94v, conferring a degree of formality not present in the insertions by Scribes H and J.

Fol. 156r: Medical recipes

A series of four medical recipes, prayers or charms appears on the recto of fol. 156; the text defies categorisation by appearing to incorporate aspects of all three genres. Although only 16 lines long, the presence of this text in the volume is probably what established this manuscript volume as a repository of medical texts, attracting the later addition of the three items on fols 94, 156v and 157 (as well as a small number of more discreet modifications).

Fols 156v-157r: Anselm, *Epistolae* 436, 434

This short item is strikingly plain when compared with other items from the three study manuscripts. Although written in a neat and competent hand by Scribe H, it features no use of colour and no other ornamentation of any sort. It was applied to folios that had been left blank after the production of items 1 and 3.

Fol. 157v: Seven Sleepers / fever charm

The location of this text within the manuscript, coupled with the stylistic similarities between the hands of Scribes G and J, suggests that this was the latest of the items to be added to the manuscript. Coxe is the only observer to make any specific mention of the text, though he does not distinguish it from the other

components of Jesus 37 when dating the manuscript.²² Gameson does not mention the text as an independent item when referring to ‘additions’ on fols 156v and 157; his description of this and the preceding item implies a date for production in the first half of the twelfth century.²³

Fol. 157v has suffered some damage and loss of text (a small number of apparently accidental scratch marks obscure the text in places), as is apparent with reference to my edition. Although the item does not include any recipes, it belongs to the same literary class as the text on fol. 156r, being a prayer or a charm to combat a specific illness.

CONTEXTUALISING STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

In reconstructing a series of contexts for Jesus 37, the manuscript’s *Vita Gregorii Magni* and the medical recipes of fol. 156r must in the first instance be considered in isolation from the later additions; these two items provided the whole content of the manuscript in its earliest format, when the first phase of scribal work had been completed and before the manuscript left the institution in which it had originated (where it may have resided for some time before transmission to a Hereford church). Subsequent additions to the manuscript may have taken place many decades after it was first produced, by which point its context (in terms of its place in a wider collection) could have changed quite significantly.

A certain continuity between this earliest portion of Jesus 37 and the two other study manuscripts (Hereford O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2) can clearly be established with reference to a number of their key features, suggesting a degree

²² Coxe, II, 14.

²³ Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 142. See also notes 10 and 13, above.

of geographical and temporal closeness in points of origin for all three. It may be simplistic to argue that it is possible to trace the linear progression and development of a regional style in the three, with the earliest available example being Hereford O. VI. 11 and with a later example in Hereford P. III. 2 (reached by way of Jesus 37), but I am satisfied that the similarities observable across the manuscripts help to strengthen the argument for a West Midlands origin.

This is especially useful in the case of Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37, manuscripts for which no places of production have hitherto been suggested. The two share a number of general similarities in their structure, layout and dimensions. What is more, the orange colour seen in both manuscripts seems to be unusual and distinctive enough to hint at techniques and resources which (in combination with the rest of the contextual evidence) could potentially be located to a single scriptorium. It is surely significant that the 'brilliant orange' of Hereford O. VI. 11 is not reported in any of the other catalogue entries by Mynors and Thomson for manuscripts of a comparable date at Hereford Cathedral,²⁴ whose book collection contains few manuscripts as early as Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37, and fewer still that can be attributed to a cathedral scriptorium. These factors all speak in favour of a point of origin for Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37 somewhere other than at the cathedral, where book production is only attested from a later point in the twelfth century onwards.²⁵

In spite of the compelling links between Jesus 37 and Hereford O. VI. 11, its nearest relative in the St Guthlac's Priory collection, it is important to

²⁴ Nor is a comparable use of this colour identified anywhere in Thomson's catalogue for Worcester Cathedral. See R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: Brewer, on behalf of the Dean and Chapter of Worcester Cathedral, 2001).

²⁵ See chapter 4, above.

highlight the quite significant differences between the two. These differences are not, on balance, considerable enough to outweigh the obvious similarities, but they problematise the argument for unity of place and time in any construction of provenance for the two manuscripts.

The differences between the hands of Jesus 37 and those of Hereford O. VI. 11 have already been described, but a still more striking difference is in the quality of the parchment used: in Jesus 37 it is of a better and more consistent standard than in Hereford O. VI. 11, and nowhere in the former is it as shabby as in the last four quires of the latter. I have already briefly rehearsed the arguments against books of differing parchment quality originating at the same institution,²⁶ but it is perhaps also worth considering the relative merits of the counter argument: although good parchment quality was desirable, it was perhaps not always necessary, especially in those books that were for everyday study and that were not meant for any sort of decorative use. This argument poses its own problems with regard to provenance in the period immediately following production: could two manuscripts of such differing quality, made at the same location but for very different uses, have been intended for the same collection? If not, the provenance of the two (before they reached their eventual place in the collection of St Guthlac's Priory) is further complicated.

I have already described a possible history for Hereford O. VI. 11 (originating at Gloucester Abbey, then transmitted to a Hereford church); given the similarities and differences between Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37, to what extent is the latter compatible with an identical context? Aspects of the codicological evidence can be seen to speak in favour of similar origins, but is

²⁶ See chapter 6, above

this borne out by the manuscripts' textual contents, and how closely might the subsequent history of Jesus 37 mirror that of Hereford O. VI. 11?

In some respects, the content of Jesus 37 is markedly less innovative than that of Hereford O. VI. 11. Whereas I have argued that Hereford O. VI. 11 expresses a reforming agenda with a Continental flavour, I would suggest that the oldest portion of Jesus 37 (incorporating items 1 and 3) is instead representative of the sorts of texts that would have been found quite commonly in Anglo-Saxon minsters (secular and monastic) throughout England. When compared with Hereford O. VI. 11, it is less explicitly in keeping with Continental trends or a reforming agenda, and its texts are not obviously of the sort that would have been deployed by the monks of Gloucester in any attempt to promote Benedictinism in Hereford.

In fact the contents of the earliest part of Jesus 37 are more in tune with certain pre-Conquest patterns of textual transmission, of a sort that would have perpetuated themselves without much reference to the latest developments in mainland Europe. What is more, they express certain pastoral concerns that are centred on the world outside the church, rather than lending themselves to any putative contemporary debate on the internal organisation of twelfth-century Hereford churches or the struggle between the secular and the monastic wings of the Church.

The manuscript is overwhelmingly occupied by the text of John the Deacon's *Vita Gregorii Magni*, and a strong interest in Gregory above all other Church Fathers is demonstrated by the number of copies of his works known to have been held in Anglo-Saxon libraries.²⁷ Gneuss's *Handlist* records three more

²⁷ For a brief survey of the patristic holdings of Anglo-Saxon libraries, see Lapidge, pp. 69-70.

pre-1100 manuscript copies of this *Vita* in England.²⁸ The most significant of these for our purposes is London, British Library, Royal 6. A. VII, produced in Worcester at the beginning of the eleventh century, which gives an early local precedent for the reading and copying of the work.²⁹

One particular episode in Gregory's life given exclusively in John the Deacon's *Vita* concerns a meeting between the saint and an angel disguised as a beggar. The story forms the basis of a sermon for Palm Sunday preserved both in London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i, fols 172r-73r, and in London, British Library, Royal 5. E. XIX; both copies were produced in Salisbury during the episcopate of Bishop Osmund (1078-99), providing us with two further witnesses to a working familiarity with certain key motifs in the text in the south-west of England at around the time of the Conquest.³⁰

²⁸ London, British Library, Harley 12, fols 1-140 (s. xi ex.; provenance ?Durham; provenance ?Winchester after 1100); London, British Library, Royal 6. A. VII (Worcester, s. xi in.); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 381 (2202) (?England or English scribe on Continent, s. x; provenance St Augustine's, Canterbury). See Gneuss, pp. 74, 81 and 93 respectively. According to the entry for the work in the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture (SASLC) project, this particular *Vita*, as well as being the longest, came to be 'the most widely known' of all early medieval lives of Gregory. It may also be the *Vita beati Gregorii papae* referred to in the Peterborough booklist of c. 1100 in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 163, fols 250-51, although this is by no means certain. See *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, I, 243-44. For an account of the Peterborough booklist, see Lapidge, pp. 143-47.

²⁹ London, British Library, Royal 6. A. VII, fol. 2r is reproduced and described in Richard Gameson, 'Book Production and Decoration at Worcester in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries', in *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. by Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London: Leicester University Press, 1996), pp. 194-243 (pp. 215-16). The image provides an interesting point of comparison with fol. 1r of Jesus 37. The text of the *Vita* in both manuscripts commences with a decorated initial 'B'; this is the only decorated initial in London, British Library, Royal 6. A. VII, and the only initial to receive more than modest decoration in Jesus 37. The use of a single decorated initial in the former is, according to Gameson, 'consonant with the nature of the book and with the practices of the Worcester scriptorium in so far as we can perceive them'. There are few similarities, however, in the execution of the two initials: the example from Worcester is inhabited by dragons and by animal masks, whereas the Jesus 37 version is uninhabited and foliate.

³⁰ A Salisbury provenance for fols 172-79 of London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C. i is demonstrated in Thomas N. Hall, 'A Palm Sunday Sermon from Eleventh-Century Salisbury', in *Latin Learning and English Lore: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe and Andy Orchard, 2 vols (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2005), II, 180-96 (pp. 182-83). Hall also identifies John the Deacon's *Vita* as the source of the sermon.

The manuscript's conservative flavour may also be discerned in the *Vita's* companion piece in Jesus 37, the selection of medical recipes on fol. 156r.

Although the procedures appear to be unique to this manuscript, the genre of charm, prayer and medical texts is quite well represented amongst manuscript survivals from pre-Conquest England,³¹ and the techniques described in Jesus 37 seem more or less in keeping with those described elsewhere in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Some of the parallels with texts of the Anglo-Saxon period are quite compelling; it is surprising, therefore, that this series of hitherto unedited medical texts has so completely avoided the attention of scholars of pre-Conquest medicine in England, especially as the earliest possible dates given for the manuscript suggest that it is just as likely to be related to long-established traditions as to post-Conquest innovations.

The text of fol. 156r (reproduced here as Appendix 15) incorporates four elements; each of these represents a separate procedure and may be thought of as an independent text in its own right. For this reason, I will here discuss the content, structure and literary heritage of each procedure at some length, as well as considering the contents of fol. 156r as a single, composite text. The first element of the text, a passage relating to childbirth (lines 1-6), should probably be understood as a prayer, although it shares some similarities with texts belonging to the charm genre. It lacks directions for use, but here it is probably designed to be read aloud or performed; small, interlinear crosses above the

³¹ For editions of some of these texts, see *Leechdoms, Wortcunning, and Starcraft of Early England: Being a Collection of Documents, for the Most Part Never before Printed, Illustrating the History of Science in this Country before the Norman Conquest*, ed. by O. Cockayne, 3 vols (London: Longman, Green, Longman, Roberts and Green, 1864-66); *Anglo-Saxon Remedies, Charms, and Prayers from British Library Ms Harley 585: the Lacnunga*, ed. and trans. by Edward Pettit, 2 vols (Lewiston: E. Mellen Press, 2001); *The Old English Herbarium and Medicina de Quadrupedibus*, ed. by Hubert Jan de Vriend (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1984).

words 'patris', 'filii' and 'sancti' may indicate the points at which the sign of the cross should be made. The procedure concludes with the Lord's Prayer, repeated three times over.³²

The text of the prayer has elements in common with a mid-eleventh-century charm preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 85 (south-east England, s. xi med.), fol. 17r, under the heading 'Wið wif bearneacenu', which has the formulae 'Maria virgo peperit Christum, Elisabet sterelis peperit Iohannem baptistam' and 'Lazare veni foras',³³ but which contains a fuller address to the unborn infant and which concludes with an instruction to write the charm on wax that has never been used, then to tie the wax under the right foot of the woman in labour. The use of similar phrases in these two different contexts probably indicates that both texts reproduce well-known and established formulae for use during childbirth. The allusion in Jesus 37 to the birth of Remigius, the only non-Biblical birth to be mentioned in the prayer, could constitute an addition to an earlier, pre-existing technique; by invoking a third miraculous birth, that of Remigius to the aged Cilina, the potency of the prayer is augmented. It is further bolstered after the exhortation to Lazarus, when two more miraculous births are listed.

³² Karen Jolly examines the connections between liturgical and medical manuscripts, with special reference to the practice of cross-making, in 'Cross-Referencing Anglo-Saxon Liturgy and Remedies: The Sign of the Cross as Ritual Protection', in *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church*, ed. by Helen Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), pp. 213-43.

³³ For the details of Junius 85, see Gneuss, p. 101. See also Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 409-10. The text of the Junius 85 childbirth charm is reproduced in full in Cockayne, I, 392, and in G. Storms, *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948), p. 283, although neither edition has anything to say about Jesus 37. The performative aspects of the Junius 85 charm text are discussed in Lori Ann Garner, 'Anglo-Saxon Charms in Performance', *Oral Tradition*, 19.1 (2004), 20-42, whereas L. M. C. Weston contrasts the literary and masculine character of this text, which draws on biblical models of safe birth and which would have been administered by a priest, with the oral, self-administering character of charms designed to produce similar effects in the *Lacnunga*, in L. M. C. Weston, 'Women's Medicine, Women's Magic: The Old English Metrical Childbirth Charms', *Modern Philology*, 92.3 (1995), 279-93 (pp. 291-92).

The prayer for childbirth is the element of the text with the most clearly identifiable parallels in the Anglo-Saxon sources. It is of a kind characterised by Marianne Elsackers as a *peperit* charm, one of the most widespread procedures for childbirth throughout Europe in the Middle Ages.³⁴ The *peperit*-type charm occurs in a variety of settings and forms, only sometimes including an allusion to Remigius. Elsackers does not identify the point at which the Remigius element entered into or dropped out of use. Its presence in Jesus 37 (halfway through a formula used elsewhere in an Old English medical text), however, is not proof of novelty or of post-Conquest innovation drawing on Continental sources, especially as the saint's feast day features in almost all of the Anglo-Saxon calendars collated in Rebecca Rushforth's collection.³⁵ Remigius must have been a familiar cult figure throughout pre-Conquest England, so his presence here does not exclude the possibility of pre-Conquest models for this text.

While any further similarities between the Jesus 37 recipes and other Anglo-Saxon medical texts do not extend to the textual likenesses so apparent in the example of the prayer for childbirth, the prescriptions for the next items do have some parallels in Anglo-Saxon medical practices. The final three are recipes, describing in greater or lesser detail the methods required to prepare ingredients for a remedy, before providing instructions on how the remedy

³⁴ For a survey of the forms and functions of the *peperit*-type charm, see Marianne Elsackers, 'In Pain You Shall Bear Children (Gen 3:16): Medieval Prayers for a Safe Delivery', in *Women and Miracle Stories: a Multidisciplinary Exploration*, ed. by Anne-Marie Korte (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 179-209.

³⁵ Rebecca Rushforth, *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, 2002). Remigius (although the name is rendered in a variety of spellings) is represented in all of the examples given by Rushforth. The only exceptions are those calendars in which the entries for January and October are missing in whole or in part. The fragmentary calendar in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 27 (?Winchester, s. x¹; provenance ?Continent by s. xii²), fols 2r-7v may have originally omitted Remigius, but the absence of the saint from the manuscript in its current state might be due to later damage. An edition of the calendar is given in David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1992), pp. 3-14, but Dumville does not indicate if there has been damage specifically to the dates normally associated with Remigius. For a description of the manuscript, see Gneuss p. 101.

should be applied. The absence of clear directions for use, together with a lack of clarity in describing the exact proportions of the ingredients, is fairly characteristic of medical texts of this period and implies that the intended users of the text would already have had some experience in administering the treatments.³⁶ The use of fennel, too, prescribed in the second procedure for the restraining of vomiting (lines 7-8), is commonly advocated in other texts in relation to sickness and nausea, and is the sole ingredient added to beer or wine to make a certain 'spiwdrænc' described in the *Lacnunga*.³⁷ The Jesus 37 text also describes a drink, a simple preparation of fennel seed in water, the only one of the Jesus 37 remedies to be taken internally.

A more complicated remedy for cancers or tumours follows (lines 8-13). It seems to advocate two stages of treatment involving the application of dressings or poultices to the affected area. The first preparation is to remain in place until the third day, at which point the second stage of treatment begins and a different dressing is applied. Some of the ingredients used in the remedy feature prominently in the other Anglo-Saxon sources; celandine was considered effective against a variety of complaints, although nowhere else is it specifically prescribed for use against tumours. Salt and pepper are sometimes used in *Lacnunga* remedies for the purpose of flavouring,³⁸ but at no point does this

³⁶ Pettit, I, xxviii.

³⁷ For the spiwdrænc recipe that uses fennel, see Pettit, I, 26-27. This spiwdrænc appears immediately after recipes for five sick-making concoctions and would therefore seem to be the sixth in a list of preparations designed to induce vomiting. This would give a contrary use for the fennel to its stated use in Jesus 37. Pettit, however, gives other instances in support of the use of fennel as a traditional means of taking nausea away. He suggests that its appearance as the principal component in a drink designed to induce vomiting can be accounted for either as a result of elements of the original recipe having dropped out of the version recorded in the *Lacnunga*, or by its being a different species of fennel, perhaps Hog's fennel. The only other possibility that remains is that this particular *Lacnunga* spiwdrænc, in spite of its place in the collection and sharing its name with the purgatives that precede it, is meant to inhibit vomiting. See Pettit, II, 55-56.

³⁸ Pettit, I, xxviii.

recipe indicate that any part of the mixture described should be eaten. None of the other sources identify the urine of a black cow as being particularly beneficial, although the urine and dung of various domestic animals is commonly prescribed throughout. A remedy in the *Lacnunga* for a woman who cannot feed her child involves drinking ‘anes bleos cu meoluc’,³⁹ although the colour of the cow is not specified; the two examples suffice to show that animals of a single, unbroken colour were prized as having special qualities.

The final item seems to be a remedy to be applied generally, wherever there are the external signs of illness or injury (lines 13-16). Lead is not recognisably prescribed anywhere in the other sources, so the origins of this remedy are obscure.

The close association of the medical texts on fol. 156r with the *Vita* that precedes them is difficult to explain; in none of the other English manuscript copies of the *Vita* does it appear in tandem with material that is explicitly medical in character, let alone with these particular recipes. The apparent change in scribal hands between the items makes it difficult to ascertain whether the pairing of the two was brought about deliberately or by chance. Certainly the two pieces do not share any obvious thematic similarities, unless the accounts of Gregory’s ill health given in the *Vita* are suggestive or provocative enough on their own to explain an appendix on contemporary medical lore.⁴⁰ Gregory’s own interest in medicine is examined in some detail by Jeffrey Richards in his biography of the saint,⁴¹ but there is no evident tradition of Gregory having been

³⁹ i.e. ‘milk of a cow of one colour’. Pettit, I, 114-15.

⁴⁰ Joannes Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii Magni* I.7 and I.8 (PL 75, 65c–66a) contain the most detailed references to Gregory’s illnesses, reusing and developing Gregory’s own accounts from his *Dialogi* III.33 (PL 77, 297b-300a).

⁴¹ Jeffrey Richards, *Consul of God* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980), p. 47. Richards refers to the entire chapter of Gregory’s *Regula Pastoralis* devoted to the allegorical

especially invoked or singled out as a patron of medical practices. Faith Wallis has expressed the opinion that the presence of these recipes could be explained as an example of the widespread and casual use of pre-existing, early medieval medical material in a range of manuscript settings, a phenomenon she has encountered specifically in her work on late eleventh- and early twelfth-century computus manuscripts.⁴² ‘Casual’, of course, need not denote ‘motiveless’ or ‘for irrecoverable reasons’, but it is probably impossible to identify exact motives for the twinning of the texts in this instance.

Although it may be difficult to explain the inclusion of the recipes as a companion piece to the *Vita*, their presence seems to account for the majority of the later additions, apparently setting the tone for the book’s use and evolution in subsequent years. Despite the relative brevity of the recipes when compared with the *Vita*, they seem to have attracted the addition of later medical texts or texts that could broadly be described as prescriptive in the case of a variety of ills or infirmities. Even those texts that are less patently concerned with diseases of the body assume new meaning if we accept an evolving status for Jesus 37 as a medicine book or repository of medical wisdom. Some of the makers of *nota*-marks may have been participating in this process of change: a portion of text highlighted on fol. 59r corresponds to the following, which may be evidence for an interest in medical practice and its relationship to the work of the clergy:

Hinc etenim medici, qui corporum curam gerunt, quaedam
adjutoria recenti adhuc confectione formata indigenti non
offerunt, sed maceranda temporibus derelinquunt. Nam si

interpretation of illnesses and their treatments, together with Gregory’s numerous correspondences written to comfort his associates in times of ill health. He also identifies a tendency on the part of Gregory to employ the language and terminology of medicine in his writings.

⁴² Faith Wallis, private communication, November 2006. I am grateful to Dr. Wallis for all of her help and recommendations on the medical texts of Jesus 37.

immature quis dederit, dubium non est quia fit causa periculi res salutis. Discant itaque, discant in officio suo sacerdotes, quibus animarum credita est cura, servare quod diversarum artium homines docente ratione custodiunt, et a praecipiti se ambitione, et si non metu, saltem pudore contineant.⁴³

Another passage (marked by a different sort of *nota*-mark) provides some of Gregory's words on his final sickness:

Quantis autem aliis necessitatibus extra has quas protuli infirmitates afficiar enumerare non valeo, sed breviter dico quia sic me infectio noxii humoris imbibit, ut vivere mihi poena sit, et mortem desideranter expectem, quam gemitibus meis solam esse credo remedium.⁴⁴

The manuscript's single most substantial insertion of text is on fol. 94, and this item may also complement the medical aspect of Jesus 37. It is a sermon attributed to Ambrose, consisting of selections from Ambrose's *De Virginibus*, a brief extract apparently drawn from Haymo of Halberstadt's *In Divi Pauli Epistolas Expositio: In Epistolam II Ad Corinthios* (PL 117, 650b), and some other material relating to the feast day of St Prisca.⁴⁵ The presence within the volume of this sermon, apparently conceived and arranged for use on St Prisca's day (18th January), would be difficult to explain were it not for the sermon's powerful thematic links with the first of the early medical recipes, the prayer for childbirth. The sermon is concerned with allegories of chastity, child-bearing and

⁴³ 'For indeed doctors, who take care of bodies, do not give remedies that have only recently been prepared to the one who is in need, but they leave them to soften for a time. For if someone gives it prematurely, it is not to be doubted that the medicine becomes a cause of danger. And so just as they should learn, so should priests (to whom the care of souls is entrusted) learn, in their office, to preserve that which men of many skills guard through rational instruction, and should restrain themselves from precipitous ambition, if not by dread then at least by shame' (my translation). Joannes Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, III.2 (PL 75, 131b).

⁴⁴ 'Other than those illnesses I have mentioned, I am unable to list the other effects I suffer, but briefly I say that the infection of a poisonous humour drinks me up, so that living is a pain to me and I look forward to death expectantly, which I believe to be the only remedy for my groans' (my translation). Joannes Diaconus, *Vita Gregorii Magni*, IV.67 (PL 75, 220b–220c).

⁴⁵ Gameson suggests an early twelfth-century date for this leaf, in Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England*, p. 142.

breastfeeding, but its contents acquire a special resonance in a manuscript that also contains a practical formula for the relief of a woman in labour. Particularly striking are the passages that remind us that virgins know nothing of the sufferings of childbirth ('non uteri onus notu[m], non dolor part[us]')⁴⁶ and that evoke the church as a mother who gives birth 'n[on] cu[m] dolore membro[rum] s[ed] cu[m] gaudiis ang[e]lorum'.⁴⁷

The conjunction of the texts on fols 94rv and 156r, which might seem to represent a challenging collision of genres, has a variety of implications for the manner of their use and for the modes of reading applied to them. One possibility is that the two were aligned for the purposes of private study and contemplation, with the sermon behaving as a gloss on the earlier medical material. Another is that two pieces designed for performance and reading aloud have been brought together for use in a specific setting. Given the static and practical application of the birth-inducing prayer, this setting was in all likelihood that of the home or hospital,⁴⁸ at the bedside of the woman for whom relief was being sought. If we accept this practical, pastoral application for the manuscript (which seems to be corroborated by item 5, a spoken procedure for the relief of fevers), it implies a certain range of duties for the users of the

⁴⁶ 'The burden of the womb is not known, nor the pain of childbirth' (my translation).

⁴⁷ 'Not with bodily pains, but with the rejoicing of angels' (my translation).

⁴⁸ There is a tradition that the priory had charge of a hospital which stood in the part of the city known as the Vineyard. I have found no way of substantiating this. See A. Watkins, 'Supposed Subterraneous Passage near Hereford', *Transactions of the Woolhope Naturalists' Field Club*, 11 (1912), 26-30 (29). Hereford seems to have been well provided with hospitals by the middle of the thirteenth century; these are recorded in Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*, p. 363. The earliest of these (according to archaeological and structural evidence) was St Giles in St Owen Street, a Knights Hospitaller foundation of the mid-twelfth century. See Royal Commission on Historical Monuments: *Herefordshire*, I, 130-31. There is no evidence to suggest that any of the others were founded much in advance of the 1220s, and there is little evidence for the sorts of cases that were admitted; St John's Hospital in Widemarsh Street (founded by c. 1221) was for 'poor or sick men', and the later foundation of St Giles Without (first recorded in 1250) was apparently a lazar-house. It is not to be supposed that obstetrical cases were routinely dealt with in any of these houses.

manuscript in a lay setting, with literary support provided for these duties by a monastic book collection.⁴⁹

The two letters of Anselm reproduced in this manuscript seem to have been circulated together as an independent literary item; another example of the two occurring together and in isolation from other Anselmian works is found in Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. II. 15, a twelfth-century manuscript supposed to have been at St Mary's, Cirencester, in the fourteenth century, although its strong resemblance to certain Lanthony manuscripts may suggest that it originated there, or with a Lanthony-trained scribe.⁵⁰ Like the Ambrose sermon before them, the letters may at first glance seem to have little in common with the medical material collated in the volume, until we consider the tone of their contents: both are consolatory and prescriptive in tone, especially *Epistola* 436, which gives advice to a monk suffering infirmity in old age.

Item 5 is another practical procedure for the relief of illness. Its purpose is to alleviate fever, probably in the sort of domestic or hospital setting described above. It seems to represent a literary confection, partly derived from the earlier medical material on fol. 156r and partly from elsewhere, reproducing a number of well-known motifs from contemporary medical texts. It is the product of a singular kind of literary adaptation, carried out for the sake of reproducing, expanding and diversifying the manuscript's existing content; work of this kind does not recognisably occur elsewhere in the three study manuscripts.

⁴⁹ Clerical or female intermediaries (perhaps attached to Hereford's hospitals) would have been better placed than the priory monks to attend a woman in labour; Benedictine monks would ordinarily have been excluded from scenes of childbirth, so the priory may have made its expertise or manuscripts available for consultation by others.

⁵⁰ Michael Gullick, private communication, July 2007. I am grateful to Mr. Gullick for all of his help and advice on Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. II. 15. Kirsty Bennett suggests that Llanthony played a significant role in the transmission of Anselm's works. See Bennett, p. 31.

It is to be supposed that the author of this text designed it to meet the needs of those who referred to the manuscript and who were not otherwise equipped to deal with cases of fever; he did this with direct reference to the medical recipes on fol. 156r. The resulting text almost duplicates the opening clauses of the formula for a woman in labour; the lines were evidently considered effective enough to bring forth other harmful elements harboured by the body. This borrowing from the earlier prayer is introduced through the use of metaphor, with the image of birth employed to stand for the expulsion of the fevers, in the phrase 'ipse te vocat ut nascaris'.⁵¹

The reason for the marrying of text from fol. 156r with other (perhaps entirely unoriginal) material is not clear: perhaps Scribe J was writing an established fever text from memory, with the borrowings from fol. 156r applied to eliminate gaps. Certainly, the invocation of the Seven Sleepers against fever is well known from other sources, and procedures of this kind seem to have been in use in a variety of formats over a period of several hundred years in England; the earliest attested use is in an example of the mid-eleventh century (as described below), and Bonser identifies similar texts in manuscripts of the fourteenth century.⁵² The item also features a number of quite typical, generic characteristics that appear widely in the medical manuscripts of the period: the crosses used in conjunction with 'power words', for example, are a very common

⁵¹ 'He calls you that so that you should be born' (my translation).

⁵² W. Bonser, 'The Seven Sleepers of Ephesus in Anglo-Saxon and Later Recipes', *Folklore*, 56 (1945), 254-56 (pp. 255-56). Pettit gives other examples in Pettit, II, 176-79, the latest being of the fifteenth century. Twelfth-century texts containing appeals to the Seven Sleepers against all sickness and lack of sleep occur in London, British Library, Royal 2. A. XX, fol. 52; twelfth-century examples against fever and chills occur in London, British Library, Cotton Faustina A. x, fol. 116r (although the formula for chills applies unusual names to six of the seven). All four examples are reproduced in Pettit, II, 177. The fullest description of the former manuscript appears in the British Library's online catalogue, <http://www.bl.uk/catalogues/manuscripts/HITS0001.ASP?VPath=html/38061.htm&Search=2+a.xx&Highlight=F> [accessed May 2009]. The latter manuscript is described in Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 194-96.

feature (probably marking the point at which the reader should make the sign of the cross), and the Greek 'agynos', too, is frequently used elsewhere in a similarly talismanic fashion.

A text with striking similarities to this item is reproduced by Pettit in his edition of a mid-eleventh-century addition to Worcester, Cathedral Library, Quarto 5 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. x ex.; provenance Worcester after 1100), fol. 78v.⁵³ As well as being an anti-fever text containing an appeal to the Seven Sleepers, it also features an address to the fevers which begins 'Coniuro vos frigora et febres' and which invokes a whole series of holy figures against them, in a pattern very much like that employed in the Jesus 37 text. Further parallels are evident in a twelfth-century text in Cambridge, Queens' College 7 (s. xii), fol. 142b, a more complex procedure featuring a series of clauses that begin 'Coniuro vos febres'.⁵⁴ This latter text, like that of Jesus 37, enjoins the user to recite the Athanasian Creed ('Quicumque vult') as a part of the procedure. It too treats the Creed as a psalm ('Postea dicantur hij tres psalmi. Ad te levavi oculos. Deus misereatur. Quicumque vult cum gloria patri. et kyrieleison').⁵⁵ Texts making a direct address to the fevers and chills, however, have at least one earlier

⁵³ Pettit, II, 176. The manuscript is described in Gneuss, p. 114. See also Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. 467. Pettit identifies the text of London, British Library, Harley 464, fol. 177, reproduced in Storms, pp. 276-77, as being a copy of the same Worcester charm. Storms remarks that the seventeenth-century transcript in the Harleian manuscript is preceded by the note 'Ex codice MS. Bibliotheca Wigern.'

⁵⁴ Reproduced in Storms, pp. 295-97. The manuscript is described in M. R. James, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Western Manuscripts in the Library of Queens' College, Cambridge* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1905), pp. 7-8.

⁵⁵ 'Afterwards, let these three psalms be said: "I raised my eyes to you". "May God be merciful". "Whoever wants", with glory to the Father and Kyrie Eleison' (my translation). Latin text taken from Storms, p. 296.

antecedent; a procedure with the heading 'WIP LENCTENADLE' in a tenth-century manuscript contains the phrase 'Adiuro vos frigores et febres'.⁵⁶

Peter's complaint to the Lord, too, is represented in other similar texts;⁵⁷ his malady often takes the form of a toothache, a variant represented in no fewer than three Anglo-Saxon survivals.⁵⁸ Pettit is of the opinion that the formula which has Peter lying sick with fever at the gate of Galilee may also have been known in pre-Conquest England; he reproduces an early twelfth-century addition to London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C. iii (?Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi¹ or xi med.), fol. 83v as his evidence.⁵⁹ It replicates certain elements of the narrative and dialogue set out in the Jesus 37 version.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, the particular magical words used in the procedure (all in association with the sign of the cross) are found nowhere else. The identification of the fevers and chills as seven sisters, each with a name, is also unusual in an English setting, and I have been unable to find the custom recorded in any of the scholarship in this area. The roots of some of the names are comprehensible as evocations of hot or fiery items or regions: 'Nillica' and 'Affrica' suggest the Nile and Africa respectively, whereas 'Focalia' suggests fuel or the hearth.

A text with compelling similarities appears on fol. 290v of Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket, A. 148, the famous *Codex Gigas*. The manuscript is generally supposed to have been written in the early thirteenth century at the

⁵⁶ London, British Library, Royal 12. D. XVII (?Winchester, s. x med.), fol. 51rv, reproduced in Storms, pp. 258-59. The manuscript is described in Gneuss, p. 83.

⁵⁷ For a survey of related texts and traditions, see Pettit, II, 304-13, and Storms, pp. 288-89.

⁵⁸ Identified by Pettit, in Pettit, II, 304-05. They are: London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xx (c. 910-30), fol. 93r (an addition of s. xi²); Junius 85, fol. 17v, and London, British Library, Harley 585 (s. x/xi and s. xi¹), fol. 183rv (s. xi¹). See Gneuss, pp. 72, 101 and 75 respectively.

⁵⁹ Pettit, II, 306. The manuscript is described in Gneuss, p. 72. See Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, pp. 284-85 for a full list of contents.

monastery of Podlažice in Bohemia. As well as several more substantial works, it also contains a short series of conjurations, one of which is labelled ‘Contra Febres’.⁶⁰ This procedure contains no reference to the Seven Sleepers, but it does invoke seven named ‘chills’ whose names are essentially the same (with some minor variations) as those given for the fevers and chills in the Jesus 37 text. There are further similarities, too, in the sequence of episodes from the life, passion and resurrection of Christ that are listed as a part of the procedure. Both the *Codex Gigas* and the Jesus 37 texts mention the birth, the fasting, the passion, the cross, the burial, the resurrection and the ascension of Christ. The two texts are very obviously related, but no work has yet been done to shed any light on the tradition to which they both belong: with examples from Bohemia and the West Midlands, it is to be supposed that fever texts invoking seven sisters (with a specific, though variable, set of names) were widespread during the medieval period, and there may remain many more examples throughout Europe that have yet to be identified.

The adaptation of Jesus 37 to function as a manuscript for use against a variety of illnesses seems to have been a gradual process at the hands of multiple scribes. Scribes F, G, H and J were particularly instrumental in this respect, but others (like Scribe L and the makers of certain of the *nota*-marks) made more modest contributions of the same ilk. The participation of so many different scribes forces a consideration of where these adaptations took place. If we were to accept that one of the predecessors of St Guthlac’s Priory inherited the earliest, unadapted portion of Jesus 37 directly from Gloucester Abbey at some point before 1122 (the year of the disastrous fire at the abbey), it would be likely that

⁶⁰ I have reproduced this text as Appendix 17 for the purpose of comparison.

all of the later additions took place in Hereford, either at the hands of Gloucester monks (at the priory or at St Peter's, Hereford) or the canons of St Guthlac's Minster. This would situate the work of Scribes A, B, C, D, E, F and perhaps K at Gloucester, and that of Scribes G, H, J, L, M, N and i. at Hereford.

As well as some differences in appearance and quality, the traditional character of the manuscript's contents and the practical, pastoral uses to which it was evidently put suggest that its historical contexts cannot be exactly aligned with those of Hereford O. VI. 11. This does not, however, exclude St Guthlac's Minster as a possible early repository for the manuscript; it simply implies that Hereford's early book collections (outside the cathedral, whether at St Guthlac's Minster or at St Peter's, Hereford) had diverse contents and functions.

Unlike Hereford O. VI. 11, however, Jesus 37 does not present any thematic aspect that favours a St Guthlac's Minster context. Its apparent use in the service of the wider Hereford community may make St Peter's, Hereford, a more suitable setting. At the end of the eleventh century the church was at the hub of civic life and was probably more accessible than St Guthlac's Minster, which was increasingly cut off by its location inside the castle; Jesus 37 may have been provided by the abbey shortly after St Peter's, Hereford, was founded, in order to equip it with some basic, traditional texts that were indispensable for a church serving the Hereford city community. It is difficult to say whether the manuscript was commissioned with St Peter's, Hereford, in mind: the addition of item 3, apparently within a short time of the completion of item 1 (but in a distinct scribal stint), may imply that the manuscript previously resided for a time in a collection at the house where it originated.

Although St Peter's, Hereford, seems to have been periodically rendered less accessible to the mother house until the 1130s, a state of affairs which would no doubt have influenced the degree to which Gloucester Abbey was able to supply the church with books, manuscripts supplied by the abbey may have remained safe and *in situ* during the years of squabbling between the abbey and Hereford Cathedral. The priory seems to have maintained its predecessor's civic concerns, so books with a pastoral application would have been of continued use after refoundation in 1143. The process of adding medical texts to the manuscript (which arguably commenced at St Peter's, Hereford) may have continued after the book was transferred to the priory: the items concerned are dateable to the period around the refoundation, so the distinction between the priory and its city centre forerunner may be unimportant or artificial in this respect.

CHAPTER 8: HEREFORD, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, P. III. 2

OBSERVATIONS ON THE STRUCTURE OF THE MANUSCRIPT

Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. III. 2, which is generally given a twelfth-century date, is included in both the Mynors and Thomson and the Bannister catalogues.¹

It is also listed in Thomson's survey of manuscripts with a Gloucester Abbey provenance,² having earlier been designated a 'Gloucestershire manuscript' by Langton E. G. Brown.³ The Mynors and Thomson entry contains the fullest and most reliable description. I reproduce their notes on structure here, albeit in an expanded form (as in my chapter on Hereford O. VI. 11):

Structure: 63 leaves, 250 x 170mm. Two volumes, together early, plummet-ruled (except for fols 48-55, which are blind-ruled) across pricking in the outer margins. The first volume is ruled in 40 lines, with the space occupied by the text being 200 x 115mm. The second is ruled in 29 lines, with the text occupying a space of 175 x 115mm. Collation: The manuscript is made up of eight quires of eight leaves. Quire 6 lacks leaf 8. The quires are signed at the end with alphabetical letters, beginning afresh at 7.5 quires. 3 leaves have been lost from the end of the second volume.⁴

¹ Bannister, *Catalogue*, pp. 128-29; Mynors and Thomson, p. 81. In dating the manuscript, Mynors and Thomson specify the first half of the twelfth century. Ker, like Bannister, gives a general twelfth-century date, in *MLGB*, p. 99, and in Ker, 'Prise', p. 486. Brown is the only commentator to indicate a degree of uncertainty in his dating of Hereford P. III. 2 to the twelfth century, in Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 174.

² Thomson, 'Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey', pp. 17-18. Hereford P. III. 2 is included in a list of manuscripts under the heading 'Lists of Early Gloucester Manuscripts, I: Certain Attributions'.

³ Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 195-97.

⁴ Information taken from the entry for Hereford P. III. 2 given in Mynors and Thomson, p. 81.

My own observations are broadly in agreement with those made by Mynors and Thomson; quire 4, however, does not obey the pattern of displaying a signature in the form of an alphabetical letter on the verso of its last leaf (where one might expect to see the letter 'd').

I have once again omitted details relating to the post-medieval binding of the manuscript, but the catalogue entry does include the observation 'possibly earlier in a limp cover'.⁵ This is almost certainly based on the evidence of an inscription on fol. 1r, which lists the contents as 'in xiiij quaternis et tribus foliis'.⁶ The catalogue's essay by Michael Gullick on the binding of the manuscripts briefly discusses the structural implications of the term 'in quaternis', concluding that the limp covers of books of this kind have generally perished. This has meant that the books have seldom survived without having acquired a more durable binding at some point in their history. As a consequence, it is now hard to identify those books that were formerly in limp-cover format.⁷

The loss of a limp cover could in part account for the changes in the structure of Hereford P. III. 2 that have obviously taken place over the years; there has been a considerable loss of leaves, as recorded in a seventeenth-century inscription on fol. 1r. Two earlier inscriptions (dated to c. 1200 by Mynors and Thomson) on the same folio give the following details of the manuscript's structure before the loss took place:

⁵ Mynors and Thomson, p. 81.

⁶ An image of the inscriptions on fol. 1r is reproduced as Plate I, below.

⁷ Mynors and Thomson, p. xxix.

In hoc volumine continent[ur] ep[isto]l[a]e pauli. Et
ep[isto]l[a]e canonic[a]e. Et vita s[an]c[t]a[e] paul[a]e. Et
cantica canticor[um]. In xiiij q[ua]t[er]nis et trib[us] foliis.⁸

[I]t[em] de minori volu[mi]ne q[ue]dam glosule sup[er]
cant[ica] cant[icorum] cu[m] duob[us] qua[ter]nis .s.
[con]tinent[ur] H.⁹

The inscriptions are problematic, not least because the details of structure and contents provided are at odds with the details observable in the manuscript today.

Brown, however, provides an ingenious solution to these discrepancies, which, although difficult to substantiate, seems worth reproducing here:

I think the title means that at first this volume contained thirteen quires [...] but that early in the Middle Ages it was divided into two volumes, the last five quires, containing the end of Jerome's Life of S. Paula and the Glosses on the Song of Songs, being bound separately in a smaller (i.e. thinner) volume, to which the last two quires of the present volume, containing the rest of the Life of S. Paula, properly belonged, though bound with the Epistles. That is to say, it was intended to divide the volume at the end of the Epistles, making S. Paula and the Song of Songs form the second volume; but the binder divided the quires wrongly, so that at present the volume contains the Epistles and nearly all the Life of S. Paula, breaking off at the end of the eighth quire [...] The second volume has long disappeared.¹⁰

⁸ 'In this volume are contained the letters of Paul. And the canonical letters. And the Life of St. Paula. And the Song of Songs. In 13 quires and three folios' (my translation). Bannister omits 'et tribus foliis' in his transcription. See Bannister, *Catalogue*, p. 129.

⁹ I have here followed the transcription given in Mynors and Thomson, p. 81. Bannister gives an alternative reading, as follows: 'Que sunt de minore volumine quedam glosule super cantica canticorum, cum duobus quaternis que continentur hic.' See Bannister, *Catalogue*, p. 129. Brown's transcription shares similarities with both: 'Que sunt de minori volumine, quedam glosule super cant[ica] cant[icorum], cum duobus quaternis s. continentur hic.' See Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 195. The precise sense of this inscription is not clear, and the slight differences in the versions given by Bannister, Brown, and Mynors and Thomson have implications for our understanding of the history of the manuscript's structure. My own tentative translation runs as follows: 'Of a smaller size are a certain gloss on the Song of Songs and two quires which are contained here'.

¹⁰ Brown goes on to concede 'It is possible that the 'thirteen quires' referred to the Song of Songs only.' Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 196. An alternative explanation for the term 'de minori volumine' (courtesy of M. R. James) is also given by Brown. James's suggestion is that it could be translated as 'of a smaller size (i.e. smaller leaves)', a possibility also entertained by Bannister. See Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 196, note 1; Bannister, *Catalogue*, p. 129.

Indeed, Brown made some attempts to locate the missing material. He dismisses, however, his own suggestion of Hereford, Cathedral Library, P. I. 8 and P. I. 14 as possible candidates for the components taken from Hereford P. III. 2: the leaves are of a smaller size in both manuscripts (perhaps reflecting the expression ‘de minori volumine’) and both have a glossed Song of Songs, but neither contains the missing part of Jerome’s *Epistola* 108. What is more, Hereford P. I. 8 contains a glossed Apocalypse not accounted for in any of the inscriptions in Hereford P. III. 2, and in neither manuscript does the quiring bear out Brown’s analysis of the collation of Hereford P. III. 2 and its missing parts.¹¹ My own examination of the manuscripts has failed to uncover any features that would strongly suggest any association between them and Hereford P. III. 2.

However, the presence within the book collection of St Guthlac’s Priory of a work (or works) of Origen on the Song of Songs is attested by the fourteenth-century *Registrum Anglie de Libris Doctorum et Auctorum Veterum*.¹² The entry in the *Registrum* for one of the four items recorded as being present at St Guthlac’s Priory gives (under the heading ‘Opera Origensis’) ‘Super Cantica canticorum lib. 2 *Epitalamium liber hic*’. Rouse and Rouse explain that the compilers of the *Registrum* did not distinguish between two separate Latin translations of works by Origen on the Song of Songs (a commentary and two homilies), so the entry for St Guthlac’s Priory could presumably refer to either (or both). The copy referred to in the *Registrum* has nowhere been identified and is not known to have survived, but I would like to suggest that it could plausibly be the same as that described in the inscriptions on fol. 1r of Hereford P. III. 2.

Mynors and Thomson identify two hands at work in the main text, one

¹¹ Brown, ‘Gloucestershire Manuscripts’, 196, note 1.

¹² Rouse and Rouse, pp. 121 and 318.

writing the text of fols 1v-47v (i.e. the second and fourth items) and the other the text of fols 48r-63v (the fifth item). I shall designate them Scribe A and Scribe B respectively. They suggest that the third item, although in a hand very much like that of the items directly preceding and following, may be the work of a different scribe (whom I shall designate Scribe C). The hands are described as 'good English protogothic bookhands',¹³ dateable to the first half of the twelfth century.

The entire decorative scheme of the manuscript (including the inhabited initials on fols 2r and 48r, as well as the use of green and red to ornament the plainer initials throughout) is identified in the Mynors and Thomson catalogue as being the work of one hand. This seems to me quite plausible, although the level of detail in the initial on fol. 2r, a 'P' enclosing a portrait of St Paul as scribe, is somewhat finer than that seen on fol. 48r, an 'S' ornamented with two human heads.

Thomson has used the iconography of the manuscript to locate Hereford P. III. 2 within a corpus of related works, all of which share distinct similarities in the rendering of their 'arabesque' initials.¹⁴ Of the nine different West Midlands initial-styles identified by Thomson, those of Hereford P. III. 2 belong to Style 3, about which Thomson says the following:

Style 3 is characterized by small, delicately drawn bunches of three or six grapes, shown as small red circles on bare parchment, commonly found sprouting from stylized curling foliage, executed in unshaded colours, in many manuscripts associated with Hereford and Worcester Cathedrals, and in some from Evesham Abbey. Fifteen examples are known to me, including one from St. Guthlac's, one made at

¹³ Mynors and Thomson, p. 81.

¹⁴ Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', p. 24. The other manuscripts listed as exhibiting similar 'Style 3' features are Oxford, Exeter College 18; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 269; Hereford, Cathedral Library, O. IV. 5, O. IV. 8, O. VI. 12, P. II. 8 and P. VIII. 6; London, Lambeth Palace 76 part ii, 81 and 238; Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 76, F. 82, F. 83 and Q. 48. I have remarked on comparable decorative details in Jesus 37; see chapter 7, above.

Winchcombe, and one at Lanthony. Again, the St. Guthlac's book could have been made at Hereford Cathedral, and the Hereford and Worcester manuscripts were also all made locally.¹⁵

Thomson's concluding statement seems somewhat at odds with his attribution elsewhere of Hereford P. III. 2 to Gloucester Abbey, but he makes it clear that the current state of research means it is difficult to decide whether the similarities that he observes across his groupings of manuscripts 'correspond to a geographical region, to a network of communities, or to the output of a particular scriptorium or scribe-artist'.¹⁶ Nevertheless, the bunches of grapes described by Thomson (although including clusters of many more than six grapes in the initials of both fol. 2r and fol. 48r) are easily recognised in Hereford P. III. 2. Leaving aside any consideration of later inscriptions, therefore, the manuscript would seem to have less in common with its fellows from the St Guthlac's Priory collection than it does with at least fourteen other manuscripts held elsewhere.¹⁷ Further direct comparisons between Hereford P. III. 2 and the other members of the 'Style 3' family may in future prove fruitful in establishing more precisely a locale for production, and in identifying the channels of manuscript distribution at work in the West Midlands in the last three quarters of the twelfth century.

¹⁵ Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England*, p. 80. Another of the priory's books, Oxford, Jesus College 66, is identified by Thomson as exhibiting examples of Style 1 of the West Midlands initial-style. Thomson goes so far as to state that Jesus 66 is 'undoubtedly a product of the Cathedral's "scriptorium"', though he concedes that it is not possible to say 'whether Hereford Cathedral made its books "in-house" or had them made commercially'. See Thomson, 'Minor Manuscript Decoration', pp.21-22 and note 9. Based on my own observations, I would argue that Jesus 105 and 106 (which, like Jesus 66, were donated to the priory by Roger the chaplain) were also produced locally; the two resemble each other in a number of respects, and in both the script of the main text is much like that seen in Hereford P. III. 2 and Jesus 66. More holistic research into Roger the chaplain's donation could potentially elucidate the links between its constituent parts.

¹⁶ Thomson, *Books and Learning in Twelfth-Century England*, p. 77.

¹⁷ I have suggested that Hereford P. III. 2 shares some iconographical similarities with Jesus 37. See chapter 7, above.

Nowhere in the manuscript are there any major insertions of later texts, although there are a great many interventions in a variety of later hands, which I will attempt to identify and distinguish in the course of my survey of contents. Six individual additions of this kind occur on fol. 1r alone, so I have treated the contents of this folio as a separate item. Fols 2v-47r include a large number of marginal corrections, notes, *nota*-marks and running heads in both pencil and ink. Item 5 features *maniculae* and other marks on fols 48v, 51r, 56v and 59v (all apparently by the same annotator). It may be significant that item 5 has not been annotated in the same way as Items 2 and 4: this may be because it is patristic rather than Biblical, or it may be that when the annotation took place, the items were not yet together in one volume.

For the purposes of this description, I have divided the contents of Hereford P. III. 2 as follows:

1. Fol. 1r: Opening inscriptions (various).
2. Fols 1v-39r: St Paul, *Epistolae*.
3. Fol. 39r: A formula for excommunication.¹⁸
4. Fols 39v-47v: *Epistolae Canonicae*.¹⁹
5. Fols 48r-63v: Jerome, *Vita Paulae*.²⁰

Fol. 1r: Opening inscriptions

Five of the six inscriptions on fol. 1r provide us with a sample of hands that can quite safely be associated with St Guthlac's Priory in the twelfth and thirteenth

¹⁸ Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 209-10. I have included the text of the excommunication formula as Appendix 18.

¹⁹ For the Pauline and Canonical Epistles, see Weber et al, II, 1749-1802.

²⁰ PL 22, 904.

centuries. The sixth is an amendment to an earlier inscription recording content: a hand identified by Mynors and Thomson as ‘the ugly early 17th-cent. Hereford hand’ has numbered the surviving contents and has applied an asterisk and underlining to the ‘Et cantica cantic[orum]’ portion of the earlier inscription, with the note ‘Haec et pars Vitae Paulae non sunt’.

The only inscription singled out by Mynors and Thomson for a twelfth-century date (although all of the others are grouped together as being twelfth- to thirteenth-century) is a note recording ownership: ‘Liber s[an]c[t]i Guthlaci de prioratu herefordie’. My opinion is that the same scribe (i) is responsible for this inscription and for three of the others, i.e. the two notes on contents and structure reproduced above (although the inscription beginning ‘[I]t[em] de minori volu[m]ine’ may have been entered during a later stint), and the following distich:

Nullam causidico reor esse fidem neq[ue] dico
Hosti pro modico fit amic[us] 7 hostis amico.²¹

A different hand (Scribe ii, whose script is more compact than that of Scribe i) has also entered another distich:

Occurrant menti tua mors 7 passio Christi
Judicii que dies pia celi terror aver[n]i.²²

Walther cites a number of instances where the first of the two is used,²³ but I have only been able to find the latter distich in one other place, at the foot of fol.

²¹ ‘I neither think nor say there is any faith in a lawyer; he is, to an extent, made friend to an enemy and enemy to a friend’ (my translation).

²² ‘The death and the passion of Christ, the day of judgement, relief of heaven, terror of hell; all run together to your mind’ (my translation).

²³ Walther, *Initia*, 12373.

82v of York XVI. K. 10,²⁴ one of the twelve manuscripts with a St Guthlac's Priory pressmark on the recto of its second folio.

The example of Scribe i may provide us with a rare instance of the work by an individual scribe occurring across other of the manuscripts from the St Guthlac's collection. I have so far only tentatively identified a handful of cases of interventions by this scribe, whose hand seems quite distinctive, being left-leaning, with towering, hooked ascenders, and letter forms that are often full of flourishes; some of the most compelling examples occur in Jesus 105, which has a secure St Guthlac's Priory provenance thanks to its dedicatory inscription (identifying Roger the chaplain as the donor)²⁵ and a note recording ownership by the priory at the head of the recto of the front flyleaf. This latter inscription closely resembles the work of Scribe i in Hereford P. III. 2, as do two interventions on the verso of the rear flyleaf of Jesus 105 (one of which is an alphabet, conveniently providing us with a full set of letter forms and thus facilitating comparisons with inscriptions in other manuscripts).²⁶

The pattern and the nature of Scribe i's interventions are significant in a number of respects. They seem to provide us with evidence for scribal activity (albeit of a restricted kind) at St Guthlac's Priory, where Scribe i entered inscriptions that made explicit the priory's ownership of its manuscripts. Those

²⁴ The scribe who entered this distich in York XVI. K. 10 was a prolific annotator in at least two of the St Guthlac's manuscripts, with a liking for entering epithets of two lines, often at the foot of the folios. As in the case of his borrowing of the distich from P. III. 2, he seems elsewhere to have adopted and repeated the work of other annotating scribes. I have so far located what may be his hand in Jesus 66; I have yet to identify it in other of the priory's manuscripts. His inscriptions may in time prove useful in substantiating provenance for those manuscripts that bear them; it seems almost certain that he accessed Hereford P. III. 2 and the other two manuscripts at the same place and at around the same time, suggesting that he was probably a monk attached to the priory. If a pre-Dissolution date were to be attributed to his script, it would potentially allow us to locate those manuscripts that received his attentions within the priory collection before the sixteenth century.

²⁵ For a survey of Roger the chaplain's donations to the priory, see chapter 5, above.

²⁶ The alphabet is reproduced as Plate II, below.

manuscripts receiving Scribe i's attentions were therefore at the priory during the course of his career, so the dating of his script to the twelfth or thirteenth century substantiates their presence there at that time. It is quite likely that further examples of Scribe i's work await discovery elsewhere among the St Guthlac's manuscripts; finding these would be useful in establishing an early priory provenance for those manuscripts bearing no marks of ownership other than the pressmark, which is difficult to date.

Fols 1v-39r: St Paul, *Epistolae* / Fols 39v-47v: *Epistolae Canonicae*

The second and fourth items will be dealt with together here; they clearly belong to the same phase of production and are probably the work of an individual scribe. All of the Pauline epistles are accompanied by prologues, as is James.²⁷ An empty space had been left on fol. 39r to separate the epistles of St Paul and the Canonical epistles, but this was later used for the insertion of the formula for excommunication. Both the Pauline and the Canonical epistles are accompanied by marginal paragraph numbers throughout, 'perhaps to divide them for daily lessons', as Brown suggests.²⁸ Mynors and Thomson remark that chapter numbers and what they term 'spasmodic running-heads' were added 'early on';²⁹ at least four separate hands are in evidence in these headings, all adding their own particular label for the text directly below them.

The Pauline epistles bear the marks of particularly heavy use; a series of around 200 separate interventions (in the form of headings, dots and 3-shaped *nota*-marks, all in pencil) are arguably the work of a single annotator, though it is

²⁷ These have been respectively identified by Mynors and Thomson as numbers 674, 685, 699, 707, 715, 728, 736, 747, 752, 765, 772, 780, 793 and 809 in Friedrich Stegmüller, *Repertorium Biblicum Medii Aevi*, 11 vols (Madrid, 1950-1980).

²⁸ Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 197.

²⁹ Mynors and Thomson, p. 81.

hard to say whether or not they were all entered at the same time. Some of these pencil marks may have been made by Scribe i; the pencil running-heads, though faint, are in a script that recalls his hand, and nowhere more clearly than in his capital 'T' in headings on fols 30rv, 32v and 33r.³⁰ His hand is also in evidence in a number of marginal additions, most of which seem to point out certain portions of the text for date-specific readings: he provides 'dominica q[ua]rta quad[ra]gesime' (fol. 21v/28: for text beginning Galatians 4. 22), 'epistola d[omi]n[i]ca palmar[um] h[ic] sentite' (fol. 25r/29: for text beginning Philippians 2. 5), 'una divinitas' (fol. 26r/16: for text beginning Philippians 4. 9), and an inscription which includes 'd[omi]nica quinta' (and is otherwise difficult to decipher) on fol. 36v/10 (for text beginning Hebrews 9. 10).³¹ Two marginal additions by Scribe iii, who writes in a hand not unlike that of Scribe i (though somewhat larger), give 'de p[ro]missione' (fol. 3v/18: for text beginning Romans 4. 13) and 'nemini co[n]senseritis' (fol. 22r/4: for text beginning Galatians 3. 1); the first of these is a note on content, occurring alongside the text 'Non enim per legem p[ro]missio abrahe'. The second phrase is identified by Samuel Berger as variant text for Galatians 5. 7;³² I am unable to account for its appearance here. Marks at the foot of fols 23r and 39r and in the margin of fol 38v may represent discreet pen-trials by Scribe iv: that at the foot of fol 23r (for text beginning Ephesians 3. 18) gives 'hi incip' (or similar). Three hands (Scribes iv, v and vi) have added sporadic running heads. Work by Scribe v is restricted to a single bold, unabbreviated heading on fol. 9v. Scribe vi's faint, compact hand is evident

³⁰ Especially when compared with the sample provided by the alphabet on the verso of the rear flyleaf of Jesus 105.

³¹ Brown undoubtedly refers to these notes with the statement 'some Sunday Epistles are indicated'. See Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 197.

³² See Samuel Berger, *Histoire de la Vulgate pendant les Premiers Siècles du Moyen Age* (Paris: Hachette, 1893; repr. New York: Burt Franklin, 1958), p. 143, note 1.

between fols 17r and 29v, and again on fols 41r, 43r and 44r. Scribe iv's larger, clearer hand is seen in headings between 20v and 47r (Scribe iv also reproduces the heading for fol. 46v at the foot of the same).

Scribe ii may be responsible for headings on fols 19v and 20r, as well as for a series of marginal and interlinear corrections to the main text on fols 40r-41v; his hand also seems to be present in the main text block for the last four words of line 24, the last five words of line 31 and the first nine words of line 32 of fol. 40v, which may suggest that his involvement with the manuscript was *ab initio*, rather than being part of a later annotative process. His hand is noticeably more compact than that of Scribe A. If, as I suspect, Scribe ii was implicated in editing or correcting the manuscript during the initial production stages, his distinctive hand may perhaps in future be sought in other of Thomson's 'Style 3' manuscripts.

Fol. 39r: A formula for excommunication

The similarities between the hand of Scribe C and those of Scribes A and B suggest that this item was inserted into the gap left by Scribe A on fol. 39r quite soon after A had written the second and fourth items. This short piece is therefore probably a product of the same scriptorium or school of scribe-artists as the second, fourth and fifth items.

Fols 48r-63v: Jerome, *Vita Paulae*

The hand of Scribe B has been characterised as 'much larger' and 'bolder'³³ than that of A, but the similarities between the two (together with the appearance in

³³ Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 196.

both scribes' work of Thomson's 'Style 3' initials) suggests that they were produced at around the same time and perhaps in the same atelier. This has led Mynors and Thomson to assert that the *Vita Paulae* and the *Epistolae* portions of Hereford P. III. 2 were 'together early'.³⁴

It may be more than a coincidence that the appearance of *maniculae* across the three study manuscripts is limited (with the exception of a single schematic rendering of a *manicula* amongst the inscriptions on fol. 1r) to the margins of the letters of Jerome and Pseudo-Jerome, suggesting that all of the surviving Hieronymian texts from St Guthlac's Priory were subject to similar, informal editing processes (though evidently not all at the same time: the forms of *nota*-marks and *maniculae* vary substantially throughout). A similar annotative pattern to that observed in Hereford O. VI. 11 is also evident in Hereford P. III. 2, with a combination of *maniculae* and descending lines (the work of Scribe vii) used to highlight four portions of the *Vita Paulae* text.³⁵ The annotator seems to exhibit the same interest in passages relating to eating and drinking as Scribe i of Hereford O. VI. 11; the third portion of highlighted text (fol. 56v/12-29) contains a lengthy list of foodstuffs 'gustui suavia',³⁶ all in the context of a description of St Paula's fasting, and the fourth portion (fol. 59v/24) distinguishes a passage relating to the use of wine for medicinal purposes from the wider context of a lengthy account of her steadfastness in illness. The other two instances of the use of *nota*-marks (fols 48v/22 and 51r/10-20) do not,

³⁴ Mynors and Thomson, p. 81.

³⁵ It is perhaps worthwhile to note that the marginal *maniculae* and faces in profile seen in Hereford O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2 do not closely resemble those *maniculae* and tonsured heads in a number of Gloucester manuscripts described in Neil Ker, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1960), p. 6 and plates 27b and c. The heads in Hereford O. VI. 11 are clearly not tonsured, so the annotation process for the manuscript was possibly carried out in different circumstances.

³⁶ 'Sweet to taste' (my translation).

however, fit this pattern. The most that can presently be said of them is that they may be evidence for a degree of antiquarian interest: both highlight text with historical, non-Biblical content, although there is similar, unmarked content elsewhere in the *Vita*.

CONTEXTUALISING STRUCTURE AND CONTENTS

Hereford P. III. 2 is unique among the three study manuscripts in providing us with sound evidence for its provenance in the centuries before the dispersal of the St Guthlac's Priory library. The pressmark and the inscription recording ownership by the priory together suggest a secure place in the priory's collection from the twelfth century until the Dissolution. Its provenance before its arrival at the priory is slightly more problematic, but the evidence provided by its script and iconography is strongly suggestive of origins in the West Midlands at some point during the twelfth century.

Certain details of the structure of the manuscript imply that it was not completed in a single effort and that it underwent a period of evolution at or near its point of origin. The principal reason is the change in scribal hand between items 2 and 3, together with the expedient positioning of the latter, inserted into a convenient space left by Scribe A between the Pauline and Canonical epistles. Item 3 seems not to have been thought of in the first phase of scribal work (items 2 and 4, by Scribe A), but the hand of Scribe C, who wrote item 3, is not so radically different as to suggest that there was any significant change in location or lapse in time before item 3 was added.

A possible inference is that the first six quires of the manuscript (regardless of whether or not they had at that stage been joined with the last two

quires) were retained at or near the place where they had been completed until item 3 was added in a second phase of scribal activity. If this undisclosed point of origin was somewhere other than St Guthlac's Priory (as seems likely, especially given the number and distribution of manuscripts implicated in Thomson's model of a 'Style 3' family), there is a brief period in its existence when the location of the manuscript cannot be pinpointed and when it may have formed part of a collection at the religious house where it originated.

The addition of item 3 (apparently unforeseen while Scribe A was working) seems to suggest that the manuscript in its entirety should not be thought of as having been commissioned to meet a requirement external to the institution where it was produced. The manuscript was instead subject to a brief period of change at its point of origin, before being selected for transmission to St Guthlac's Priory. None of these arguments is valid, however, if the issues relating to the insertion of item 3 can be put down to a simple division of scribal labour in a unified effort to complete the manuscript, or if the mobility of Thomson's scribe-artists would have allowed work to be done at St Guthlac's Priory just as well as at the major scriptoria of the region.

Whether originally commissioned for use at St Guthlac's Priory or not, Hereford P. III. 2 seems to have reached the priory quite soon after its foundation in 1143. Items 2 and 4 seem suited to the most basic requirements of any monastic library, so the manuscript may have been acquired in a process of equipping the priory with the core texts required for its daily business, perhaps filling gaps in the collections inherited from its predecessors. These two texts are not distinctive enough in themselves to allow us to make any meaningful remarks on their place within the literary landscape of twelfth-century Hereford, but their

less common companion pieces offer greater scope for comparisons with similar or related texts in use in the region at around the same time.

The excommunication formula of Hereford P. III. 2 is quite conventional; it shares close similarities with a number of texts reproduced in Lester K. Little's *Benedictine Maledictions*,³⁷ although there are no exact parallels, and some of the clauses seem to be unique to this example. It may at first seem difficult to account for the presence of this text as a companion piece to the other items in Hereford P. III. 2; it has very little to do with the texts that immediately precede and follow it, and its insertion between Hebrews and James interrupts the traditional sequence of the books of the New Testament. The text may have been inserted into the manuscript for pure convenience and for no other reason than that the bare parchment left by Scribe A between Hebrews and James was of an ideal length to accommodate it. If this is the case, the manuscript was probably as good a place as any to receive a short text which, after all, is only meant for occasional use.

This account of the development of Hereford P. III. 2, however, imagines the text adrift and indiscriminately searching for a home, finally settling on this particular manuscript without any special regard for its contents. This may be an appropriate model for certain of the texts found in the manuscripts from St Guthlac's Priory, but it makes no reference to textual content, reducing the argument for a text's presence within a manuscript to a simple consideration of its length.

An alternative, more plausible account has the existing contents attracting the addition of the text (facilitated by the availability within the manuscript of

³⁷ Lester K. Little, *Benedictine Maledictions: Liturgical Cursing in Romanesque France* (Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 1993).

enough empty space to receive it),³⁸ making the copying of the text here more deliberate than casual. An explanation can be sought in two of the Pauline epistles, in which St Paul makes a number of definitive pronouncements on the conditions under which someone should be made anathema: I Corinthians 16. 22 gives ‘si quis non amat Dominum Iesum Christum sit anathema maranatha’,³⁹ and Galatians 1. 8-9 gives ‘sed licet nos aut angelus de caelo evangelizet vobis praeterquam quod evangelizavimus vobis anathema sit, sicut praediximus et nunc iterum dico si quis vobis evangelizaverit praeter id quod accepistis anathema sit’.⁴⁰ The concept of anathema is also raised in I Corinthians 12. 3 (‘ideo notum vobis facio quod nemo in Spiritu Dei loquens dicit anathema Iesu et nemo potest dicere Dominus Iesus nisi in Spiritu Sancto’)⁴¹ and in Romans 9. 3 (‘optabam enim ipse ego anathema esse a Christo pro fratribus meis qui sunt cognati mei secundum carnem’).⁴² These references, although few and scattered, are the New Testament’s most authoritative statements relating to anathema (and, by

³⁸ Similar circumstances for the presence of two excommunication texts (one in Old English and one in Latin) in CCC 303 (Rochester, s. xii med.), pp. 338-39 are suggested in E. M. Trehearne, ‘A Unique Old English Formula for Excommunication from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303’, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), 185-211 (pp. 186, 205 and 209). For Trehearne, the excommunication texts in CCC 303 were not added in the first phase of scribal work; they were instead inserted at a later stage into a convenient empty space between the texts that now precede and succeed them. Just as in Hereford P. III. 2, the CCC 303 excommunication formulae do not at first seem to belong to the same genre as the other texts in the manuscript (CCC 303 is a collection of homilies), but thematic links emerge when consideration is given to the nature of the accompanying material: the first nine homilies in pp. 290-362 of CCC 303 are characterised by Trehearne as being concerned with penance and the Lenten period. She concludes that the inclusion in the manuscript of the Old English excommunication formula may have been by ‘pure chance: as it was available [...] and approximately the right length for the available space, it was included as a space-filler’.

³⁹ ‘If someone does not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be anathema maranatha’ (my translation). Latin text taken from Weber et al, II, 1789.

⁴⁰ ‘But whether we or an angel from heaven should preach any other gospel to you than that which we have preached to you, let him be anathema. Just as we said before, so now I say again: if someone preaches any other gospel to you than that which you have received, let him be anathema’ (my translation). Latin text taken from Weber et al, II, 1802.

⁴¹ ‘Therefore I give notice to you that no-one speaking in the Spirit of God calls Jesus anathema, and no-one can say that Jesus is the Lord, unless by the Holy Spirit’ (my translation). Latin text taken from Weber et al, II, 1782.

⁴² ‘For I used to wish myself accursed by Christ for my brothers, who are my relatives according to the flesh’ (my translation). Latin text taken from Weber et al, II, 1760.

extension, excommunication) and seem to have been forceful enough on their own to provoke an association with the excommunication text.

The text of the formula has been published in full by Brown: it is interesting to note that he gives it the heading ‘Form for the Excommunication of Lay Opponents of the Church’, especially when we consider the circumstances in which the manuscript was produced. If we accept a mid twelfth-century date and a Hereford or Gloucester context for the manuscript, we are confronted by one particularly significant moment in the political and religious life of the city of Hereford: the excommunication of Miles, Earl of Hereford, by Bishop Robert de Béthune. The formula preserved in Hereford P. III. 2 may be the same as that pronounced against Miles, who had very recently co-operated with Gloucester Abbey and Hereford Cathedral in establishing St Guthlac’s Priory.

Thomson’s most recent work on the provenance of the manuscript (based on its decorative elements) provides us with an excellent reason to consider links with Hereford Cathedral,⁴³ probably at around the time of the episcopate of Robert de Béthune. What is more, some of the terms of the excommunication formula in Hereford P. III. 2 seem to reflect aspects of the historical accounts of the affair. Both the Hereford P. III. 2 formula and the excommunication of Miles of Hereford (as described in the *Gesta Stephani* and in a letter of Gilbert Foliot, then Abbot of Gloucester, to the papal legate) seem to belong to a distinctive species of episcopal intervention that was less in evidence after the end of the twelfth century. R. M. Helmholz describes a change in emphasis in the terms and contents of excommunications performed in the course of the twelfth century in

⁴³ Thomson, ‘Minor Manuscript Decoration’, p. 24. See also chapter 4, above, in which I remark on decorative similarities between Hereford P. III. 2, O. II. 7 and O. II. 9; the latter two manuscripts are generally supposed to have originated at the cathedral at around the time of the episcopate of Robert the Lotharingian.

England, with an older, 'heroic' style of arbitrary excommunication giving way to a judicial style and due process.⁴⁴ The Hereford P. III. 2 formula seems more in keeping with the older mode, and Robert de Béthune's actions seem to have had little of the spirit of the law court about them; the bishop threatened Miles 'gladio anathematis',⁴⁵ but his warning went unheeded and Miles continued to extract levies from the churches under his lordship. The disastrous consequences are described in the *Gesta Stephani*:

Episcopus igitur, clero in unum conventum haud pigranter ascito, metuendam ecclesiasticae percussiois sententiam in Milonem suaeque temeritatis astipulatores dictavit, omnemque circumquaque sui iuris provinciam in tantum sententiae rigore astrinxit, ut nec divini cultus officium celebrare, nec corpus humo imponere, vel aqua immergere, vel igne consumere, sed nec a loco, quo expiravit, dimovere liceret.⁴⁶

Gilbert Foliot's attempts to bring the crisis to an end culminated in an appeal to Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester and papal legate. His letter gives an impression of the full scale of Bishop Robert's injunctions, which were extended into the diocese of Worcester by its own bishop, preventing Gloucester's churches in the diocese from celebrating divine offices.

Verum id domnus episcopus non ex conducto actum esse reputans, seueritati nichil detrahens sententiam promulgavit; cumque litteris ab auctoritate uestra susceptis domnum Wigornensem in ecclesias Gloecestrie eandem ferre sententiam instanti summonitione compelleret⁴⁷

⁴⁴ R. H. Helmholz, 'Excommunication and the Angevin Leap Forward', *Haskins Society Journal*, 7 (1995), 133-49.

⁴⁵ 'with the sword of excommunication'. Potter, pp. 158-59.

⁴⁶ 'So the bishop, quickly gathering the clergy together, pronounced against Miles and his helpers in his reckless proceedings the dread sentence of the Church's condemnation, and by the severity of that sentence he so strictly bound all the surrounding region under his authority that it was unlawful to celebrate divine service or lay a body in the ground or plunge it in water or consume it with fire or even move it from the spot where death took place.' Potter, pp. 158-61.

⁴⁷ *LCGF*, pp. 56-57 (number 22). 'In truth the lord bishop, reckoning that it had not been carried out by common consent, promulgated the sentence without taking anything from its severity; and

The extent of the interdictions placed on the region gives the whole business something of the character of an ecclesiastical *clamor*, a procedure sometimes employed by a church under threat from a lay power.⁴⁸ The *clamor* could take a number of forms, but a common attribute was the suspension of normal church services and functions, drawing the wider community into the controversy and thus turning opinion against the lay offender.

Foliot's letter suggests that Robert's position in the matter was not unassailable and that certain of the penalties imposed might be tempered to some degree through diplomacy, but Miles's death ensured that no full reconciliation took place: he died excommunicate in a hunting accident on Christmas Eve 1143. As a result, Robert's excommunication of Miles must surely stand as one of the most effective and impressive instances of the use of excommunication by a bishop as a means of self-defence. The *Gesta Stephani* attests to the wide and lasting impact of the circumstances of Miles's death:

Cuius interitus in nonnullis divitibus, ne ecclesiarum possessiones tam abrupte postea pervaderent, aliquanto maiorem terrorem incussit, et reliquos per Angliam episcopos ad obsistendum deinceps temerariae divitum praesumptioni audaciores effecit.⁴⁹

The intended victims of the anathema contained in the Hereford P. III. 2 formula are more precisely targeted than the many who evidently suffered in Bishop Robert's counter-attack against Miles, but the excommunication procedure

by letters taken up without your authority, by an immediate summons compelled the lord bishop of Worcester to carry out the same sentence in the Gloucester churches' (my translation).

⁴⁸ The phenomenon of the *clamor* is described in some detail in Little, *Benedictine Maledictions*, pp. 20-30. Of particular interest is Little's account of the way in which the *clamor* would sometimes escalate into a full-blown 'liturgical strike'.

⁴⁹ 'His death struck a good number of rich men with considerably greater fear of encroaching so precipitately on Church property afterwards and made the rest of the bishops in England bolder in their subsequent resistance to the abandoned recklessness of the rich'. Potter, pp. 160-61.

preserved in the manuscript could constitute the centrepiece of a wider campaign, the component that dealt specifically with Miles and his accomplices in the context of a wider *clamor*.

Although a formula for excommunication might seem more appropriate to a bishop's book collection, a text for pronouncing excommunication would have been an especially useful resource for the priory after 1440, when the pope awarded the prior special powers to intervene in a crisis that had developed in Leominster; the monks of Reading Abbey's cell there had complained of the persistent defilement of their water supply by certain of the townsfolk. The prior of St Guthlac's was to admonish the people of Leominster and threaten them with excommunication if they did not desist. He was then to deliver the sentence of excommunication himself where required.⁵⁰

The final item in Hereford P. III. 2 belongs to a special category within the priory book collection. The letters of Jerome (and in particular those concerning the family of St Paula) are especially well represented amongst the priory's manuscript survivals; of the six works by Jerome or Pseudo-Jerome contained in Hereford O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2, five are addressed to Paula or her daughters. This could be due to coincidence, to conscious selections made by the post-medieval collectors of the St Guthlac's books, or to a specific interest on the part of the twelfth-century compilers of the book collection. The possibility that this work was commissioned or acquired with regard to work already held in the priory's book collection (in the form of the Hieronymian letters in Hereford O. VI. 11) is tantalising but impossible to prove. In any case, it seems unlikely that the priory would have had to look far to obtain its own copy of the text: Jerome's

⁵⁰ *Calendar of Entries in the Papal Registers Relating to Great Britain and Ireland: 1431-1447*, ed. by J. A. Twemlow, Papal Letters, 9 (London: H.M.S.O., 1912), pp. 108-09.

Vita Paulae seems to have been present in Hereford as a discrete literary item since at least the beginning of the twelfth century. It appears in fols 143v-55v of Hereford O. II. 9, a manuscript bearing a selection of texts that for Mynors and Thomson exhibit Continental influences and which may therefore have been associated with Bishop Robert the Lotharingian.⁵¹

There is no need to look as far afield as Gloucester Abbey to locate the origins of Hereford P. III. 2, especially given the localisation of Thomson's 'Style 3' family of manuscripts to Hereford Cathedral or a cathedral-sponsored workshop. Refoundation in 1143, coupled with the assertion and rise of episcopal authority in the city, seems to have changed the nature of Gloucester's daughter cell in Hereford. The monks increasingly looked to local sources for the provision of books: Hereford P. III. 2 may well have been at the priory since its foundation, having previously belonged to the cathedral, whose chapter bequeathed the book in the general effort to equip the new foundation.

⁵¹ Mynors and Thomson, pp. 15-16. It may be pure coincidence that the *Vita Paulae* in Hereford O. II. 9, like that of Hereford P. III. 2, appears in association with an excommunication text. Although the two texts have some formulae in common, the Hereford O. II. 9 excommunication bears only a passing resemblance to that of Hereford P. III. 2. Nevertheless, the examples provided by these two manuscripts serve to establish a certain sort of manuscript setting for the *Vita Paulae* in twelfth-century Hereford.

CONCLUSION

The conclusion which follows gives one possible account of the production and transmission of the three study manuscripts, their reception into a Hereford context and their place in a developing book collection. By 1143 this putative collection was centred on the priory of SS Peter, Paul and Guthlac, but it had begun its life divided between the priory's two predecessor churches, St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford. Other accounts (as suggested in the course of the thesis) are also viable, but the following history seems to me the most accommodating for all of the available evidence.

The contents of the two earliest surviving manuscripts from the priory book collection are wholly appropriate to a Benedictine setting for production and use, and it is therefore to the local Benedictines that we should look in tracing their origins. The monks of Gloucester Abbey clearly constituted the most visible Benedictine presence in Hereford in the first half of the twelfth century, so it seems very likely that the earliest elements in the priory book collection (disregarding any pre-Conquest elements, now lost, from St Guthlac's Minster) were produced at Gloucester Abbey in the late eleventh century, before being transmitted to Hereford. Hereford itself had yet to attain (or perhaps regain) any stature as a major centre of book production at that time. By contrast, the manuscripts that the abbey first sent to Hereford (whether to the canons of St Guthlac's Minster or to a fledgling Benedictine community at St Peter's, Hereford) were created at Gloucester during the earliest years of its most fruitful period in book production, which commenced during the abbacies of Serlo and his successor, Peter.

The manuscripts' contents reflect a reforming agenda, with features attributable (to an extent) to Gloucester Abbey's concern for promoting its interests in Hereford. With the support of the city nobility (most notably the de Lacy family), Gloucester Abbey was involved in promoting Benedictinism in Hereford from at least as early as 1100, often in the face of strenuous opposition by the cathedral.

I would argue that Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37 may be considered Gloucester productions of this period. I have made the case that the character of the texts in the former suggests that it was commissioned with the situation in contemporary Hereford in mind. This is by no means certain; both manuscripts may have been in the hands of the abbey monks before being sent on to Hereford, but the conjunction of Gloucester Abbey, St Guthlac's Minster and St Martin's in Hereford Castle (all brought together in the late eleventh or early twelfth century by the agency of the de Lacy family) provides a compelling context for the commissioning, creation and use of Hereford O. VI. 11, a contemporary book of material relating to St Martin. If we accept St Guthlac's Minster as an early repository for Hereford O. VI. 11, it would seem that although Gloucester Abbey did not take possession of the minster until the mid-twelfth century, it had begun to impose its influence on the canons very much earlier, in part through the supply of books.

The manuscripts produced at Gloucester Abbey at the beginning of the twelfth century were at first quite plain, lacking the more ambitious forms of ornamentation to be found in contemporary books from the established scriptoria of the region. They were generally of a high quality, although the supply of good parchment was at times inconsistent. This situation improved as the abbey grew

in stature as a literary centre; the pattern of development can be traced via a comparison of Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37, the latter of which is generally of a higher quality. Although closely resembling other West Midlands manuscripts in style, Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37 are of a type distinguished by their use of a brilliant orange minium in certain of their decorative features. This type is not well represented elsewhere in manuscript survivals, probably due to the destruction by fire in 1122 of the overwhelming majority of contemporary books held at the abbey. It is natural to assume, therefore, that any surviving Gloucester books predating this event left the abbey before 1122 (to equip a daughter house, for instance). In spite of their unique features, however, the two earliest manuscripts from the priory collection exhibit decorative motifs related to a regional style that was to emerge in the course of the twelfth century and to which Gloucester can therefore be seen as a significant contributor.

I propose that books acquired by St Guthlac's Minster and St Peter's, Hereford, accompanied the Hereford Benedictines in their move into new accommodation at the priory in 1143. By the mid-twelfth century, the priory was no longer restricted to its mother house for sourcing the books that it required. Hereford Cathedral was becoming an important force in the literary and intellectual scene of the day, as exemplified in its eminent role in the development of the glossed book. Some of the priory's earliest acquisitions probably originated at the cathedral or at an associated city workshop; its mid- and late twelfth-century manuscripts exhibit a range of literary concerns that mirror those of Hereford Cathedral, its nearest large neighbour. Indeed, Hereford seems to have been a significant producer of high quality manuscripts during the middle years of the twelfth century, and its role in the development of a

distinctive regional style implies an organised and efficient approach to book production that would have required a school of scribe-artists (if not a cathedral scriptorium) to be at work over an unbroken period of several decades. Hereford P. III. 2 is likely to have originated at Hereford; its similarities with a small number of earlier Hereford manuscripts (associated with Bishop Robert the Lotharingian) suggest origins at a cathedral scriptorium or cathedral-sponsored workshop.

Book acquisition after the foundation of the priory seems not to have been particularly directed by Gloucester Abbey and seems to have taken place in a more haphazard way, often as the result of bequests by individual benefactors. Donations to the book collection commenced before 1200 and continued throughout the medieval period. The degree of variety amongst the collection's surviving constituent elements suggests that the books arrived at the priory from widely differing provenances. A small number of these books, however, can be grouped together on stylistic grounds: these books seem to have originated locally, and a number were given in the twelfth century by just one local individual, Roger the chaplain.

The priory probably attracted patronage by dint of its civic associations, via the parish church of St Peter's, Hereford, and via its role as the superintendent of a cemetery used by the townspeople, often to the detriment of the cathedral's claimed monopoly over the right to bury the city's dead. In other respects too, the priory acted as a local counterbalance to the power of the bishop and his chapter. Local support allowed the priory to develop as an autonomous institution which enjoyed a considerable degree of freedom from control by its mother house.

A notable feature of this self-contained and influential establishment was its book collection, which at its fullest contained at least 45 volumes. Its significance as a repository of books meant that it was chosen for inclusion by the fourteenth-century Franciscan compilers of a catalogue of the more important collections in England, Scotland and Wales. It was one of only four dependent cells visited by the compilers, suggesting that the priory's book collection was larger and more diverse than was typical for a medieval English priory; it must have contained materials over and above those required for the performance of the monks' basic duties there.

Although the priory itself is unlikely to have been a producer of complete manuscript books, it seems probable that some scribal work took place there at the hands of monks who had received their training at Gloucester Abbey; as well as producing legal documents in support of its extensive rights and estates, there is some slight evidence for the copying and collation of manuscripts of other sorts. The example provided by Jesus 37 suggests that medical texts were added to the manuscript during its time at the priory, possibly to enhance its usefulness as a book of medical wisdom applied in the service of the wider Hereford community.

The practical and uncomplicated nature of the Jesus 37 medical texts, several of which are concerned with childbirth, implies a degree of pastoral interest and engagement with the lay community that might be considered surprising in a monastic setting. The priory book collection certainly contained some of the monuments of Christian literature, but its custodians seem at times to have had an interest in short texts with everyday applications. This is perhaps also reflected in the annotative work in Hereford O. VI. 11 and P. III. 2, which

exhibits a concern to highlight passages with prescriptive elements relating specifically to diet.

Each of the three manuscripts transgresses the traditional boundaries between pre- and post-Conquest or monastic and non-monastic categories in a unique way, and each can constitute a different case study in the re-evaluation of these traditional methods for grouping manuscripts and their texts. I have argued that Hereford O. VI. 11 and Jesus 37 are the post-Conquest products of a Benedictine house with powerful Anglo-Norman patrons, yet I have suggested that the former manuscript was transmitted to a non-monastic community that had its roots in the pre-Conquest period, whereas the latter preserves texts that would not have been out of place in a pre-Conquest book collection. Hereford P. III. 2, although in the hands of the Hereford Benedictines before 1200, is likely to have been made in a non-monastic scriptorium, either at the cathedral or at a city workshop.

My thesis has demonstrated that the history of a medieval book collection is in no way separable from the history of the institution or institutions where it was held and where it took shape. Issues of manuscript provenance, in particular, cannot be fully grasped without a consideration of historical and institutional contexts. Although part 2 of this thesis could, with some adjustment, potentially function in isolation as a self-contained analysis of three manuscripts (with discussion of their structural and textual features, as well as some suggestions as to their places of origin), it would not be possible to take account of the circumstances of their transmission to and use at St Guthlac's Priory without the detailed contextual framework established in part 1. The conjunction of parts 1

and 2 of the thesis has provided the basis of an argument for the presence of two distinct organisms at work in Hereford at the beginning of the twelfth century, each of which produced its own books in support of its work and ideology. The role of Gloucester Abbey in the religious life of twelfth-century Hereford has never yet been discussed at any length; this thesis makes the case for the abbey's influence in the city during a period when Gloucester Abbey was pursuing an aggressive policy to extend its influence through the establishment of a network of dependent priories, all of which were initially supplied with books by the mother house.

Together, parts 1 and 2 of the thesis establish the groundwork and provide three paradigms for the future investigation of any early twelfth-century manuscripts with Hereford Cathedral or Gloucester Abbey connections. For the historian or manuscript scholar, St Guthlac's Priory and its predecessor churches occupy a space at a fortuitous intersection between Hereford Cathedral and Gloucester Abbey. This intermediary position seems to have pertained throughout the medieval period, albeit with periodic shifts occasioned by changes in the political landscape. Because of this (and with the evidence gathered by this thesis now in place), the remaining components of the St Guthlac's Priory book collection offer many and diverse opportunities for further research into books and learning at Hereford and at Gloucester, particularly in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

APPENDICES

As well as transcribing a selection of unpublished texts from manuscript sources for these appendices, I have also reproduced a number of texts that have already been published. I have done this for the sake of collating all of the most significant early documentary references to St Guthlac's Priory and its predecessor churches, together with their translations into English; many of these texts have hitherto only been available in Latin. When transcribing from a medieval document, I have tended to follow its orthography, although certain adjustments have been made in punctuation and in capitalisations in order to make the text more easily readable. Abbreviations have been expanded in square brackets. Where text is missing and irrecoverable, points enclosed in square brackets are given (with one point for each missing character). Where missing text has been reconstructed, it is italicised and enclosed in square brackets.

1. ST GUTHLAC'S MINSTER: DOMESDAY ENTRIES

Lands of St. Guthlac's in Worcestershire:

TERRA S[AN]C[T]I GVTHLACI. IN CLENT
HVND[RED]. De S[ancto]. Gvllaco ten[et] Nigell[us]
medicus. I. hid[a]. in WICH. Ibi sunt. IX. burg[en]ses
redd[en]tes XXX. solid[os]. de salinis 7 p[ro] omnib[us]
reb[us].

IN CRESSELAV H[UNDRE]D. Isd[em] Nigell[us]
ten[et]. DVNCLENT. 7 Vrso de eo. Ibi. III. hidæ. In
d[omi]nio. e[st] I. car[uca]. et II. bord[arii]. et II. bouarii. et
V. car[ucæ]. posse[nt] ibi. e[ss]e. Valuit. XXV. solid[os].
Modo. X. solid[os]. Odo tenuit de S[ancto] Gutlaco.¹

Lands of St. Guthlac's in Herefordshire:

TERRA S[AN]C[T]I GVTHLACI. IN BREMESSE
H[UNDRE]D. Eccl[esi]a S[ancti] GVTHLACI ten[et].
BRVNTVNE. Ibi I. hida geld[ans]. T[er]ra. e[st]. II.
car[ucis]. Wasta fuit. 7 e[st]. Tam[en] redd[it]. V. solid[os].

IN GREITREV HUND[RED]. Ipsa æccl[esi]a tenuit
DERMENTVNE. 7 Æstan[us] canon[icus] teneb[at]. Ibi I.
hida geld[at]. Walter[us] ten[et]. m[odo] 7 h[abe]t ibi I.
car[ucam]. et un[um] bord[arium] 7 un[um] servu[m]. Val[et]
et valuit X. solid[os].

Ipsa æccl[esi]a ten[et]. HINETVNE. Ibi I. hida geld[at].
In d[omi]nio. e[st]. I. car[uca]. 7 III. vill[an]i cu[m]. II.
car[ucis] 7 dimid[ia]. Ibi III. servi. 7 III. cot[arii]. 7
molin[um]. de III. solid[is]. Val[et]. XXV. sol[idis].

IN TORNELAVVES H[UNDRE]D. Ipsa æccl[esi]a
ten[et]. TINGEHALLE. Ibi I. hida geld[at]. In d[omi]nio sunt
II. car[ucæ]. 7 III. vill[an]i 7 I. bord[arius] cu[m]. II.
car[ucis]. Ibi V. servi. Val[et] 7 valuit. XXX. solid[os].

Ipsa æccl[esi]a ten[et] FELTONE. Ibi. III. hidæ.
geld[ant] p[ræ]t[er] dim[idiam] hid[am]. In d[omi]nio sunt.
III. car[ucæ]. 7 V. servi. 7 un[us] bord[arius]. Ibi. I.
francigena cu[m]. I. car[uca]. redd[it]. VI. solid[os]. Valuit
LX. solid[os]. Modo XL. sol[idos].

IN STRATFORD HUND[RED]. Ipsa æccl[esi]a
ten[et]. MOCHES. Ibi. II. hid[æ]. geld[ant]. Ibi sunt. VI.

¹ 'LAND OF ST. GUTHLAC'S. In Clent Hundred. Nigel the Doctor holds 1 hide in DROITWICH from St. Guthlac's. 9 burgesses who pay 30s from the salt-houses and for all else. In CRESSLAU Hundred. Nigel also holds DUNCLENT, and Urso from him. 3 hides. In lordship 1 plough; 2 smallholders and 2 ploughmen; 5 ploughs would be possible. The value was 25s; now 10s. Odo held it from St. Guthlac's.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book*, ed. by John Morris and others (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983-92), XVI: *Worcestershire*, ed. by Frank and Caroline Thorn (1982), fol. 176 a.

vill[an]i 7 III. bord[arii]. cu[m]. IIII. car[ucis]. Ibi. I. francig[ena]. Val[et]. XXX. solid[os].

IN ELSEDVNE HUND[RED]. Ipsa æccl[es]ia ten[et]. ELMELIE. 7 Roger[us] de Laci de ea. Ibi. IIII. hid[æ]. geld[ant]. T[er]ra. e[st]. VIII. car[ucis]. Alteri[us] villæ ho[min]es labora[nt] in hac villa. 7 redd[un]t. XXXVII. solid[os] 7 VIII. denar[ios].

Ipsa æccl[es]ia ten[et] MIDEVRDE. 7 Drogo de ea. Ibi. I. hida geld[at]. In d[omi]nio. e[st] una car[uca]. 7 II. bovarii 7 III. bord[arii]. cu[m]. I. car[uca]. Val[et]. X. solid[os].

Ipsa æccl[es]ia ten[et] WITENIE. 7 Herald[us] de ea. Ibi. IIII. hidæ geld[ant]. Wastæ su[nt] 7 fuer[unt]. Tam[en] redd[unt]. IV. solid[os].

Ipsa æccl[es]ia ten[et] HOPE. Ibi. II. hidæ. Vna geld[at]. alia non. In d[omi]nio su[nt]. II. car[uca]. 7 un[us] vill[anus]. 7 II. bord[arii] cu[m]. I. car[uca] 7 dimid[ia]. Ibi. III. servi. Val[et]. XXX. solid[os].

In VLFEGIE HUND[RED]. habuit S[anctus] Gutlac[us]. I. hid[am]. WESTELET. Vasta fuit 7 est.

Lands of Nigel the Doctor in Herefordshire:

TERRA NIGELLI MEDICI. IN GREITREWES HUND[RED]. De terra S[ancti]. Gutlaci ten[et]. Nigellus medicus BERTOLDESTREV. Leflet tenuit. Ibi. II. hidæ. una earu[m] geldat teste comitatu. In d[omi]nio sunt. III. car[uca]. 7 III. servi 7 un[us] p[re]posit[us] cu[m]. I. car[uca]. Ibi p[ra]tu[m]. T[er]ra e[st] III. car[ucis]. Valeb[at]. LX. solid[os]. Modo. L. solid[os]. Ad hoc m[anerium] adjacet una Bereuuich. Leflet tenuit. Ibi. II. hidæ. una earu[m] geld[at]. teste comitatu. Ibi. h[abe]t Nigellus in d[omi]nio II. car[ucas]. 7 II. servos. 7 I. bord[arium]. 7 un[um] Radman cu[m] t[er]ra sine car[uca]. Val[et] 7 valuit. XL. solid[os].

In TORNELAVS HUND[RED]. Isd[em] Nigel ten[et]. BOLELEI. 7 Radulf[us] de eo. Leflet tenuit. Ibi. I. hida libera a geldo 7 regis servitio. In d[omi]nio sunt. II. car[uca]. 7 II. bovarii. T[er]ra e[st]. IIII. car[ucis]. Valuit. XXV. solid[os]. Modo. XX. solid[os].

Isd[em] Nigel ten[et]. SVTVNE. Leflet tenuit. Ibi. II. hidæ geld[ant]. In d[omi]nio. e[st] una car[uca]. 7 II. bovarii. 7 IIII. bord[arii] 7 II. cot[arii] cu[m]. I. car[uca]. 7 un[us] francig[ena] cu[m]. I. car[uca]. Ibi. p[ra]tu[m] bob[us]. 7 molin[um] que[m] ten[et] Hugo Asne de Nigello. redd[it]. VIII. solid[os]. 7 VIII. stiches anguill[arum]. T[empore]. R[egis]. E[duardi]. val[e]b[at]. LX. solid[os]. 7 post XXX. sol[idos]. modo. L. solid[os]. Hoc m[anerium] tenuit Hugo t[em]p[or]e Will[elm]i.

Isd[em] Nigel ten[et]. SVTVNE. Spirites p[res]b[ite]r tenuit. Ibi. I. hida geld[at]. T[er]ra e[st]. II. car[ucis]. In d[omi]nio sunt. 7 III. servi. 7 un[us] bord[arius]. 7 molinu[m] de. X. solid[is] 7 VII. stiches anguill[arum]. 7 p[ra]tu[m] bob[us]. tant[um]. Val[et] 7 valuit. XXX. solid[os].

Isd[em] Nigel ten[et] MAGE. Leflet tenuit de S[ancto] Guthlaco. Ibi. II. hidæ geld[ant]. Ibi sunt VII. vill[an]i cu[m]. V. car[ucis]. Valuit. XL. solid[os]. modo. XXX.

Isd[em] Nigell[us] ten[et] TINGEHELE. 7 Goisfrid[us] de eo. Spirites tenuit. Ibi. I. hida non geld[at]. In d[omi]nio sunt II. car[ucæ]. 7 III. servi. Val[et] 7 valuit. XX. solid[os].

IN DVNRE HUND[RED]. Isdem Nigel ten[et]. MOCHES 7 Ansfrid[us] de eo. Ernuin tenuit de S[ancto] Gutlaco. Ibi. e[st]. una hida, 7 in d[omi]nio I. car[uca]. Val[et]. XV. solid[os].

IN PLEGELIET H[UNDRE]D. Isd[em] Nigel ten[et]. COLGRE. Spirites tenuit. Ibi. III. hidæ geld[ant]. In d[omi]nio sunt. III. car[ucæ]. 7 VII. servi 7 II. bord[arii]. 7 un[us] lib[er] ho[mo] cu[m]. I. car[uca]. 7 II. bord[arii]. Valuit. L. sol[idos]. modo. XL. sol[idos].

Isd[em] Nigel ten[et]. AWENEBVRI. Spirites tenuit. Ibi. VI. hidæ geld[ant]. In d[omi]nio sunt. III. car[ucæ]. 7 III. servi. 7 XXII. vill[an]i 7 II. p[res]b[ite]ri 7 I. bord[arius] cu[m]. XII. car[ucis]. Ibi. molin[um]. nil redd[it]. Val[et] 7 valuit. C. solid[os].²

² 'LAND OF ST. GUTHLAC'S. In BROMSASH Hundred. St. Guthlac's Church holds BRAMPTON (Abbotts). 1 hide which pays tax. Land for 2 ploughs. It was and is waste. However it pays 5s.

In GREYTREE Hundred. The Church itself held DORMINGTON. Estan the canon held it. 1 hide which pays tax. Walter holds it now; he has 1 plough there and 1 smallholder and 1 slave. The value is and was 10s. The Church itself holds [in THORNLAU Hundred] HINTON. 1 hide which pays tax...In lordship 1 plough; 4 villagers with 2 ½ ploughs. 3 slaves and 4 cottagers. A mill at 4s. Value 25s.

In THORNLAU Hundred. THINGHILL. 1 hide which pays tax. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 villagers and 1 smallholder with 2 ploughs. 5 slaves. The value is and was 30s. FELTON. 3 hides which pay tax, except for ½ hide. In lordship 3 ploughs; 5 slaves; 1 smallholder. 1 Frenchman with 1 plough who pays 6s. The value was 60s; now 40s. In STRETFORD Hundred. MOCCAS. 2 hides which pay tax. 6 villagers and 3 smallholders with 4 ploughs. 1 Frenchman. Value 30s. In ELSDON Hundred. ALMELEY. Roger of Lacy holds from it. 4 hides which pay tax. Land for 8 ploughs. The men of another village work in this village; they pay 37s 8d. "MIDDLEWOOD". Drogo holds from it. 1 hide which pays tax. In lordship 1 plough; 2 ploughmen and 3 smallholders with 1 plough. Value 10s.

WHITNEY. Harold holds from it. 4 hides which pay tax. They are and were waste. However, they pay 6s. The Church itself holds HOPE (under Dinmore). 2 hides; 1 pays tax, the other does not. In lordship 2 ploughs; 1 villager and 2 smallholders with 1 ½ ploughs. 3 slaves. Value 30s.

In WOLPHY Hundred. St. Guthlac's had 1 hide, WESTELET. It was and is waste.

LAND OF NIGEL THE DOCTOR. In GREYTREE Hundred. Nigel the doctor holds BARTESTREE from the land of St. Guthlac's. Leofled held it. 2 hides; 1 of them pays tax according to the testimony of the County (Court). In lordship 3 ploughs; 3 slaves; 1 reeve with 1 plough. Meadow there...Land for 3 ploughs. The value was 60s; now 50s. An outlier is attached to this manor. Leofled held it. 2 hides; 1 of them pays tax according to the testimony of the County (Court). Nigel has 2 ploughs in lordship and 2 slaves and 1 smallholder and 1 rider with land without a plough. The value is and was 40s. Nigel also holds: in THORNLAU Hundred.

Amongst the lands of William of Ecouis in Herefordshire:

IN TORNELAVS H[UNDRE]D. Isd[em] Will[elmu]s
ten[et] MAGGA. Edvin[us] tenuit. Ibi. I. hida geld[at]. 7
dimid[ia] n[on] geld[at]. In d[omi]nio sunt. II. car[ucæ]. 7 II.
vill[an]i 7 III. bord[arii]. cu[m]. II. car[ucis]. 7 III. servi. 7
III. cot[arii]. 7 p[ra]tu[m] bob[us] T[empore]. R[egis].
E[duardi]. 7 post valuit. XL. sol[idos]. modo. V. solid[os].
plus. Hoc m[anerium] calu[m]p[niant]ur clerici S[ancti]
Guthlaci.³

Amongst the lands of Alfred of Marlborough in
Herefordshire:

Is[dem] Alvred[us] ten[et]. PENEBRVGE. Herald[us]
com[es] tenuit. Ibi. XI. hidæ una virg[ata] min[us] 7
geld[ant]. In d[omi]nio sunt. III. car[ucæ]. 7 XX. vill[an]i 7
VII. bord[arii] 7 un[us] radchen[ist'] cu[m]. XII. car[ucis].
Ibi. III. servi. 7 molin[um] de. X. solid[is]. Silva ibi erat ad.
CLX. porc[os] si fructificasset. Hoc m[anerium] Penebruge
calu[m]p[niant]ur canon[ici] S[ancti] Guthlaci. 7 d[icu]nt
q[uo]d com[es] Goduin[us] 7 Herald[us] filius ej[us]
abstuler[unt] injuste a s[an]c[t]o Guthlaco. T[empore].
R[egis]. E[duardi]. val[e]b[at]. XVI. lib[ras]. 7 post fuit
wast[a]. modo val[et]. X lib[ras] 7 X. sol[idos].⁴

BOWLEY. Ralph holds from him. Leofled held it. 1 hide free from tax and the King's service. In lordship 2 ploughs; 2 ploughmen. Land for 4 ploughs. The value was 25s; now 20s. SUTTON. Leofled held it. 2 hides which pay tax. In lordship 1 plough; 2 ploughmen, 4 smallholders and 2 cottagers with 1 plough; 1 Frenchman with 1 plough. Meadow for the oxen; a mill which Hugh Donkey holds from Nigel pays 8s and 8 sticks of eels. Value before 1066, 60s; later 30s; now 50s. Hugh held this manor in William's time. SUTTON. Spirtes the priest held it. 1 hide which pays tax. Land for 2 ploughs; they are in lordship; 4 slaves; 1 smallholder. A mill at 10s and 7 sticks of eels; meadow only for the oxen. The value is and was 30s. MAUND. Leofled held it from St. Guthlac's. 2 hides which pay tax...7 villagers with 5 ploughs. The value was 40s; now 30 [s]. THINGHILL. Geoffrey holds from him. Spirtes held it. 1 hide which does not pay tax. In lordship 2 ploughs; 4 slaves. The value is and was 20s. In DINEDOR Hundred. MOCCAS. Ansfrid holds from him. Ernwin held from St. Guthlac's. 1 hide. In lordship 1 plough. Value 15s.

In PLEGELGATE Hundred. (Little) COWARNE. Spirtes held it. 3 hides which pay tax. In lordship 3 ploughs; 7 slaves; 2 smallholders and 1 free man with 1 plough; 2 smallholders. The value was 50s; now 40s. AVENBURY. Spirtes held it. 6 hides which pay tax. In lordship 3 ploughs; 4 slaves; 22 villagers, 2 priests and 1 smallholder with 12 ploughs. A mill which pays nothing. The value is and was 100s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fols 182 d -183 a.

³ 'In THORNLAU Hundred. William also holds MAUND. Edwin held it. 1 hide which pays tax and ½ which does not pay tax. In lordship 2 ploughs; 2 villagers and 3 smallholders with 2 ploughs; 4 slaves; 3 cottagers. Meadow for the oxen. Value before 1066 and later, 40 s; now 5s more. The clerks of St. Guthlac's claim this manor.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 186 b.

⁴ '[? in ELSDON Hundred] Alfred also holds PEMBRIDGE. Earl Harold held it. 11 hides, less 1 virgate; they pay tax. In lordship 3 ploughs; 20 villagers, 7 smallholders and 1 riding man with 12

ploughs. 3 slaves; a mill at 10s. There was woodland there for 160 pigs, if it had produced (mast). The Canons of St. Guthlac's claim this manor of Pembridge; they state that Earl Godwin and his son Harold wrongfully took it from St. Guthlac's. Value before 1066 £16; later it was waste; value now £10 10s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 185 c.

**2. OXFORD, BALLIOL COLLEGE 271, FOL. 78R: CHARTER
CONFIRMING AN EXCHANGE OF LAND BETWEEN THE MONKS OF ST
PETER'S, HEREFORD, AND THE CLERKS OF ST GUTHLAC'S (1130 X
1139)**

[S]ciant p[re]sentes et futuri q[uo]d ego Walterus abbas et
co[n]ventus s[an]c[t]i pet[ri] de Glouc[estria] co[n]cedim[us]
et confirmam[us] escambiu[m] [.....] monachi n[ost]ri apud
s[an]c[t]u[m] pet[rum] he[re]ford [con]morantes et cl[er]ici
s[an]c[t]i Guthlaci [.....] qu[a]e vocat[ur] vinea et t[er]ra
qu[a]e in cult[ur]a est monacho[rum] ita ut [*sanctus
Guthlacus*] h[ab]eat t[er]ram qu[a]e dicit[ur] vinea et
s[an]c[t]us pet[ru]s illam qu[a]e in [*monachorum cultura*] est
p[er]petualit[er].⁵

⁵ 'May all present and hereafter know that I, Abbot Walter, and the community of St Peter of Gloucester give and confirm an exchange [some text here has been lost due to damage to the manuscript] our monks living at St Peter's, Hereford, and the clerks of St Guthlac [some text here has been lost due to damage to the manuscript] which is called the Vineyard, and the land which is cultivated by the monks, so that St Guthlac [?] should have the land which is called the Vineyard, and St Peter that which is cultivated by the monks [?], in perpetuity' (my translation). The charter is dateable to the abbacy of Walter de Lacy; a more precise date cannot be given. I am indebted to Julia Barrow for her help in transcribing this and all of the other charters taken directly from Oxford, Balliol College 271. Her expertise in analysing the notoriously difficult script of the cartulary's main scribe has been indispensable.

3. CHARTER OF ROGER DE PORT (1143)

Carta doni Rogeri de Portu, de ecclesia Sancti Gudlaci de castello Herfordiæ, anno ab Incarnationae Domini millesimo centesimo quadragesimo tertio. Ego Rogerus de Portu, annuente Sibilla conjuge mea, pro Dei amore, pro salute animarum patris et matris meæ, [et] omnium antecessorum meorum, pro remissione peccatorum [meorum], et præfatæ conjugis meæ, omnium propinquiorum meorum, dedi, et in perpetuum concessi in elemosinam, per manum reverendi patris nostri Roberti, Herfordensis episcopi, Deo, et ecclesiæ Sancti Petri de Gloucestria, ecclesiam Sancti Cuthlaci de castello Herfordiæ, cum omnibus præbendis, libertatibus, dignitatibus, et cæteris rebus quas ipsa ecclesia meo tempore vel tempore patris mei obtinuit, et hoc ad victum monachorum, qui sub magisterio et dispositione Gloucestriæ ecclesiæ apud Herfordiam ordinem servaverint et conventum fecerint. Hujus donationis testes sunt, Robertus Herfordensis episcopus, [episcopus] de Sancto David, Milo comes Herfordiæ, Rogerus Filiorem, magister Hugo de Clifford, cum aliis multis. Originalem Herefordia habet.⁶

⁶ 'Charter of the gift of Roger de Port of the church of St Guthlac in Hereford castle, 1143. I, Roger de Port, with the agreement of my wife Sibyl, for the love of God, for the salvation of the souls of my father and mother and of all my ancestors, for the remission of my sins and [those] of my aforesaid wife [and] of all my relations, gave and in perpetuity conceded in alms, by the hand of our reverend father Robert, Bishop of Hereford, to God and to the church of St Peter of Gloucester, the church of St Guthlac of Hereford castle, with all its prebends, liberties, dignities and other things which that church possessed in my time or the time of my father, and this for the support of the monks, who under the direction and arrangement of Gloucester church kept a rule [ordinem] and formed a community at Hereford. The witnesses of this donation are Robert, Bishop of Hereford, the Bishop of St David's, Miles, Earl of Hereford, Roger Filiorem, master Hugh de Clifford, with many others. Hereford has the original' (my translation). Latin text taken from Hart, III (1867), 257-58. For a survey of the surviving manuscript copies of this charter, see Christopher N. L. Brooke, 'St. Peter of Gloucester and St. Cadog of Llancarfan', in *The Church and the Welsh Border in the Central Middle Ages*, ed. by D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge; Wolfboro: The Boydell Press, 1986), pp. 50-94 (p. 55, note 19). The relevant entries in Oxford, Queen's College 367 and London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. viii, fols 126v-161v both record the date of the charter as 1163. Only in Gloucester, Cathedral Library, 34 is the date correctly given as 1143. All three manuscripts are supposed to have originated at Gloucester Abbey at roughly the same time (the end of the fourteenth century or the beginning of the fifteenth).

4. CHARTER OF BISHOP BERNARD OF ST DAVID'S (1143)

Bernardus dei gratia de Sancto David episcopus universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis salutem et benedictionem. Sciant et qui modo sunt et qui futuri erunt me cum aliis pluribus clericis et laicis presentem affuisse, quando Rogerus de Portu eam donationam quam prius per manum domini Roberti Herefordensis episcopi de ecclesia Sancti Guthlaci de castello Hereford' et de omnibus prebendis, et decania et paroch' ad eam pertinentibus, ecclesie Sancti Petri de Glouc' fecerat et in capitulo coram toto conventu concessit, et manu propria per quendam cultellum super altare Sancti Petri presentavit. Huic rei quia vidi et audivi testimonium perhibeo et testimonium meum presenti scripto affirmo. Vale.⁷

⁷ 'Bernard, by the grace of God Bishop of St David's, to all the sons of the holy mother church, greetings and blessings. May they know, both those present and those in future, that I was present with several others, both clerical and lay, when Roger de Port had made that donation (at first by the hand of Robert, Bishop of Hereford) of the church of St Guthlac in Hereford castle, and all the prebends and deaneries and districts belonging to it, to the church of St Peter of Gloucester, and he conceded it before the whole conventual chapter, and presented it on the altar of St Peter through a certain small knife, by his own hand. I assert this thing because I saw and I heard, and I affirm my testimony by the present document. Goodbye' (my translation). Latin text taken from Barrow, *St David's Episcopal Acta*, p. 45 (number 15).

5. CHARTER OF ROBERT DE BÉTHUNE, GIVING NOTICE OF THE UNIFICATION OF ST GUTHLAC'S AND ST PETER'S (1143)

Dilectis sibi in Cristo fratribus, universis sancte matris ecclesie filiis, R. dei gratia Heref' episcopus dominum exspectare sollicite et venientem gratulanter amplecti. Quia ecclesiam dei regendam et aliqua sui portione administrandam, domino permittente, suscepimus, eius commoditati quoad possumus consulere ac providere, credita nobis dispensatione, debemus. Quod ita recte fieri arbitramur si, confracta solidando et que dissipata sunt in corpus unum redigendo, tam incolumitati eius quam ampliando divino cultui studuerimus deservire. Quoniam igitur omnibus pie credentibus manifestum habetur, nec forum religioni convenire nec castellum, quod tumultus et sanguinum locus est, servientium domino paci congruere, ecclesiam beati Petri in foro Heref' sitam et ecclesiam Sancti Guthlaci intra ambitum castelli ipsius importune positam et omnes possessiones et parochias et dignitates earum in unius ecclesie corpus redegimus, et eam ecclesiam apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Sancti Guthlaci, quam extra civitatem ipsam, in loco religioni aptissimo, edificari fecimus, ad serviendum domino in perpetuum episcopali auctoritate sancivimus, et ne auctoritate nostra gravare quempiam aut iuri cuiuspiam preiudicare videamur, tam hiis qui sunt quam filiis qui nascentur et exsurgent post nos, presenti scripto notum facimus Rogerum de Port, qui ecclesiam Sancti Guthlaci diu iniuste, utpote laicus, tenuerat, et possessiones eius indigne distribuerat, peccatum hoc grande humiliter cognovisse et in presentia mea et fratris Radulfi decani nostri, et clericorum nostrorum magistri Hugonis de Cliffort, et magistri Hugonis de Norhamptona, et domini Hugonis de Calco, et aliorum tam clericorum quam laicorum quamplurium, ecclesiam ipsam ut divinis officiis plenius assignaretur in manu nostra penitus refutasse. Ipso itaque Rogero devote supplicante, venerabili etiam fratre nostro Gilberto abbate Glouc' et conventu ipsius benigne annuente, predictas ecclesias in unam coniunximus, et hanc, illarum possessionibus, dignitatibus, et pertinentiis omnibus fundatam et dotatam, perpetue apostolorum Petri et Pauli et Sancti Guthlaci venerationi designavimus. Et quia conventum fratrum ibidem deo servientium et ibidem regulariter viventium per manum predicti abbatis Glouc', deo disponente, suscepturi sumus, hanc ipsam apostolorum et Sancti Guthlaci ecclesiam prefati abbatis, omniumque successorum eius, obediens, et ecclesie beati Petri Glouc' custodie et subiectioni, capitulo ecclesie nostre in hiis omnibus unanimiter assentiente commisimus. Quicumque ergo hoc pietatis opus pie attenderint manumque auxiliatricem ad hoc confirmandum cum fidei devotione porrexerint perpetuam que inibi agentur oracionum

communione episcopalem a me qualicumque ecclesie ministro benedictionem, a summo autem pontifice Cristo eternam consequantur retributionem. Amen.⁸

⁸ 'To the brothers beloved in Christ Himself, to all the sons of the holy mother church, Robert, by the grace of God Bishop of Hereford, anxiously awaits and gladly embraces the coming Lord. Because we undertook, God willing, the ruling of the church of God and administering to a portion of it, we ought to look after or provide for its convenience insofar as we are able, with its order having been entrusted to us. And so we judge it right that it should happen if, by joining together the broken and by redirecting those things that are scattered into one body, we will have devoted ourselves to serve its safety as much as to the increase of divine work. And so, to suit the peace of those serving the Lord, since it is held piously to be clear by all believers that neither a marketplace suits religion, nor a castle, because it is a chaotic and bloody place, we redirect the church of blessed Peter situated in Hereford marketplace, and the church of St Guthlac, unsuitably situated within the circuit of the castle itself, and all their possessions and districts and dignities, into the body of one church, being the church of the apostles Peter and Paul and St Guthlac, which itself we had built outside the city, in a place very well suited to religion, which we appointed by episcopal authority to the service of the Lord in perpetuity; and lest we should seem to harm someone by our authority or to prejudice someone's right, as much to those present as to those sons who are born and rise up after us, we make notice by the present document that Roger de Port, who for a long time had held the church of St Guthlac unjustly, as a layman, and had distributed its possessions unworthily, humbly acknowledged this great sin, and in my presence and in that of brother Ralph our deacon, and of our canons, [and] of master Hugh de Clifford, and of master Hugh de Northampton, and of Lord Hugh de Calco, and of others, both clerical and lay, he wholly gave up that church so that it might be more fully devoted to the divine offices in our hand. And so by Roger's devotedly beseeching, and even by the benign agreement of our venerable brother Gilbert, Abbot of Gloucester, and his convent, we joined the aforesaid churches into one and, founded and endowed by their possessions, dignities and all their appurtenances, we dedicated this church in perpetuity to the veneration of the apostles Peter and Paul and St Guthlac. And because we are about to establish, God willing, the same convent of brothers serving God and living by a rule by the hand of the aforesaid Abbot of Gloucester, we commit this church of the apostles and of St Guthlac of the aforesaid abbot, and of all his successors, obediently and to the subjection and custody of the church of blessed Peter of Gloucester, by the unanimous agreement of the chapter of our church in all of these things. Therefore whoever will piously have paid attention to this work of piety and will have offered a perpetual helping hand, with the devotion of the faithful, to the confirmation of it, therein they will be remembered in episcopal communion prayers by me, at whatever sort of church I give the blessing, but from the high pontiff Christ may they obtain eternal reward' (my translation). Latin text taken from *EEA VII*, pp. 21-22 (number 21).

6. LETTER OF GILBERT FOLIOT, BISHOP OF HEREFORD, TO POPE EUGENIUS III, ASKING FOR A PAPAL PRIVILEGE TO CONFIRM THE UNION OF ST GUTHLAC'S MINSTER AND ST PETER'S, HEREFORD (1148 x 1153)

Patri suo et domno summo Dei gratia pontifici Eug(enio) G(ilebertus) Herefordensis ecclesie minister, obedientiam humilem et debitam patri karitatem. Cum paruitati nostre, dilecte pater, ecclesia Dei aliqua sui portione Domino sic operante commissa sit, eiusdem prouidere et inuigilare commodis ipsa nobis a Domino credita dispensatio compellit. Quoniam uero que statuuntur a nobis nisi apostolica auctoritate fulciantur minus firma sunt sublimitati uestre preces humili deuotione porrigimus ut quod ad honorem Dei et cultum eius ampliandum de ecclesia sancti Guthlaci de Herefordia a nobis actum est, hoc auctoritas uestra corroboret suoque priuilegio confirmet. Ecclesiam enim illam de manu laica multo tandem labore eruimus et quia in eadem minus officiose Domino seruiebatur, ipsam dilecto filio nostro Hamelino, abbati Gloec(estrie) et ecclesie sancti Petri, cui idem preesse dinoscitur, assensu clericorum eiusdem ecclesie, capitulo etiam nostro id consentiente et uolente, concessimus, et tam ipsam quam ecclesiam sancti Petri de Herefordia, diu ante a predictis monacis habitam, in corpus unum adunare curauimus et conuentum monachorum ibidem deuote ministrantium Domino iam iam instaurauimus. Quod quia Domino credimus placere, audemus serenitati uestre supplicare ut quod a nobis intentione recta actum est soloque pietatis intuitu, hoc serenitas uestra stabiliat et ecclesie sancti Petri de Gloec(estria) in perpetuum confirmet. Glorificetur Deus in uobis uestrique corona meriti semper augeatur in Domino, in Christo dilecte pater.⁹

⁹ 'To his father and high lord Eugenius, pope by the grace of God; Gilbert, minister of the church of Hereford, gives humble obedience and dutiful love. Since, beloved father, a certain portion of the church of God was committed to our lowliness by the grace of God, the same office entrusted by the Lord compels us to provide for and watch over its interests. Since those things that are set up by us, however, if not supported by apostolic authority are less firm, with humble devotion we send requests to your Sublimity, that your authority should corroborate and its privilege confirm that which was accomplished by us concerning the church of St Guthlac of Hereford, for the honour of God and for magnifying His worship. For we freed that church from lay hands, at length and by great labour, and because the Lord was being less dutifully served in the same, and by the assent of the clerics of the same church and even with our chapter willing and consenting to it, we gave it to our beloved son Hamelin, abbot of Gloucester, and to the church of St Peter, which he rules; together with the church of St Peter of Hereford, inhabited by the aforementioned monks for a long time before, we undertook to unite them in one body, and we have already established a convent of monks devotedly ministering to the Lord in the same place. As we believe this to be pleasing to the Lord, we dare pray your Serenity that your Serenity should stabilise and confirm to the church of Gloucester that which was accomplished by us with correct intent and only in consideration of piety. May God be glorified in you and may the crown of your merits always increase in the Lord. In Christ, beloved father' (my translation). Latin text taken from *LCGF*, p. 119 (number 83).

7. ST PETER'S, HEREFORD: DOMESDAY ENTRIES

Lands of St. Peter's, Hereford, in Herefordshire:

De t[er]ra Rad[ulfus] de mortemer in Elmodestreu.
h[abe]t S[anctus] Petrus. XV. sol[idos].¹⁰

Amongst the lands of Roger de Lacy in Herefordshire:

S[an]c[tu]s Petrus de hereford ten[et] *FROME*.
Walter[us] de Laci ded[it] æccl[esi]æ c[on]cessu. W[illelmi].
regis. Ibi. I. hida 7 una v[ir]gata. geld[ant]. Eduuj cilt tenuit 7
poterat ire quo voleb[at]. In d[omi]nio. e[st]. I. car[uca]. 7 III
vill[an]i. 7 III. bord[arii] cu[m]. II. car[ucis]. Ibi. VII. servi.
Valuit. XV. solid[os]. Modo. XXX. solid[os].¹¹

Isd[em] Roger[us] ten[et] *ACLE*. Sex lib[er]i ho[mi]nes
tenuer[unt] p[ro]. VI. m[aneriis]. 7 poteran[t] ire quo
voleb[ant]. Ibi. VII. hidæ geld[ant]. In d[omi]nio sunt. II.
car[ucæ]. 7 VII. vill[ani] 7 X. bord[arii]. 7 p[re]posit[us] 7
fab[er] cu[m]. IX. car[ucis] int[er] om[n]es. Ibi. XII. serui.
De hac t[er]ra ded[it] Walter[us] de Laci S[ancto] petro de
hereford. II. car[acutas] t[er]ræ. c[on]cessu regis. W[illelmi].
7 un[um] vill[anum] 7 un[um] bord[arium] cu[m] t[er]ra
eo[rum]. Ibi sunt in d[omi]nio. II. car[ucæ]. 7 un[us]
vill[anus] 7 un[us] bord[arius] cu[m]. I. car[uca]. 7 un[us]
seru[us] ibi. Val[et]. XXV. solid[os]. Q[uo]d Rogeri[us]
ten[et]. LXXV. solid[os]. Tot[um] T[empore]. R[egis].
E[duardi]. val[e]b[at]. VII. lib[ras] 7 XV. solid[os].¹²

Isd[em] Roger[us] ten[et] *LEDE*. 7 S[anctus] Petrus de eo.
dono patris ei[us]. 7 c[on]cessu. W[illelmi]. Regis. Turchil
tenuit. 7 potuit ire q[uo] uoluit. Ibi dimid[ia] hida geld[at]. In
d[omi]nio. e[st]. I. car[uca]. 7 VIII. bord[arii] h[abe]nt ibi. I.

¹⁰ 'St. Peter's has 15s from Ralph of Mortimer's land in Aymestrey.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 180 a. The index of the edition indicates uncertainty as to whether the entries for Aymestrey and for Hanley do indeed refer to St Peter's, Hereford. I have included them here for the sake of completeness.

¹¹ 'St. Peter's of Hereford holds (Priors) FROME. Walter of Lacy gave it to the church with King William's consent. 1 hide and 1 virgate; they pay tax. Edwy Young held it; he could go where he would. In lordship 1 plough; 3 villagers and 3 smallholders with 2 ploughs. 7 slaves. The value was 15s; now 30s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 182 d.

¹² 'Roger also holds OCLE (Pychard). Six free men held it as six manors; they could go where they would. 7 hides which pay tax. In lordship 2 ploughs; 7 villagers, 10 smallholders, a reeve and a smith with 9 ploughs between them. 12 slaves. Of this land Walter of Lacy gave 2 carucates of land to St. Peter's of Hereford with King William's consent, and 1 villager and 1 smallholder with their land. In lordship 2 ploughs; 1 villager and 1 smallholder with 1 plough; 1 slave there. Value 25s. (Value of) what Roger holds, 75s. Value of the whole before 1066 £7 15s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 184 a.

car[ucam]. T[empore]. R[egis]. E[duardi]. val[e]b[at]. XX.
solid[os]. Modo t[a]nt[um]d[em].¹³

Isd[em] Rog[erus] ten[et] *WIBELAI*. Eduui cilt tenuit. Ibi .
III. hidæ 7 dimid[ia]. geld[ant]. In d[omi]nio sunt. III.
car[ucæ]. 7 X. vill[ani] 7 p[re]s[b]ite[r] 7 p[re]posit[us] 7
fab[er] 7 V. bord[arii]. cu[m]. IX. car[ucis] 7 dim[idia]. Ibi.
XI. serui. 7 Silva dimid[ia] leuu[ga] l[on]g[a]. 7 IIII.
q[ua]rentine] lat[itudine]. Ibi. e[st] parcus. 7 t[er]ra ad. I.
car[ucam] de Essarz. redd[it]. XI. sol[idos] 7 IX. den[arios].
Una[m] ex istis vill[anis] h[abe]t S[anctus] Petrus dono
Walterii de Laci. T[empore]. R[egis]. E[duardi]. val[e]b[at].
C. solid[os]. 7 post. LX. sol[idos]. Modo. C. solid[os].¹⁴

Isd[em] Rog[erus] ten[et] *HANLEI*. 7 S[anctus] Petrus in
elemosina dono. Walt[eri] de Laci. Elnod tenuit 7 quo voluit
ire potuit. Ibi dimid[ia] hida geld[at]. Ibi est. un[us] vill[anu]s
qui h[abe]t. I. car[ucam]. Valuit. VI. solid[os]. Modo. VIII.
solid[os].¹⁵

Amongst the lands of Roger de Lacy in Shropshire:

Isd[em] Rog[erus] ten[et] *STANTONE*. Siuuard tenuit.
7 lib[er] ho[mo] fuit. Ibi. XX. hidæ 7 dimid[ia] geld[ant].
T[er]ra. e[st]. L. car[ucatas]. In d[omi]nio sunt. X. car[ucæ].
7 XXVIII. int[er] servos 7 ancill[as]. 7 LXVII. vill[an]i 7 II.
fabri 7 V. bord[arii] 7 IIII. cozet[arii]. Int[er] om[ne]s
h[abe]nt. XXIII. car[ucas]. Ibi æccl[esi]a h[abe]ns. I. hid[am]
7 dimid[iam]. 7 II p[re]s[b]ite[ri] cu[m]. II. vill[an]is h[abe]nt.
III. car[ucas]. Ibi. II. molini de. XXVI. solid[os]. S[anctus]
Petr[us] de hereford. h[abe]t ibi. I. vill[anu]m. De hac t[er]ra
hui[us] m[an]erii ten[et] Ricard[us]. I. hid[am] 7 dimid[ia].
Azelin[us]. I. hid[am] 7 dim[idi]am. Rogeri[us]. I. hid[am] 7
dim[idi]am. Hi h[abe]nt in d[omi]nio. VI. car[ucas]. 7 VI.
servos. 7 II dim[idi]os villan[os]. 7 V. bord[arios] 7 II.
cozet[arios] cu[m]. I. car[uca]. 7 molin[um] de. X. solid[is].¹⁶

¹³ 'LEADON. St. Peter's holds from him by his father's gift, and with King William's consent. Thorkell held it; he could go where he would. ½ hide which pays tax. In lordship 1 plough. 8 smallholders have 1 plough there. Value before 1066, 20s; now as much.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 184 c.

¹⁴ 'WEOBLEY. Edwy Young held it. 3 ½ hides which pay tax. In lordship 3 ploughs; 10 villagers, a priest, a reeve, a smith and 5 smallholders with 9 ½ ploughs. 11 slaves; woodland ½ league long and 4 furlongs wide. A park; land for one plough, cleared of wood, which pays 11s 9d. St. Peter's has one of these villagers by gift of Walter de Lacy. Value before 1066, 100s; later 60s; now 100s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 184 d.

¹⁵ 'HANLEY. St. Peter's holds it in alms by gift of Walter of Lacy. Alnoth held it; he could go where he would. ½ hide which pays tax. 1 villager who has 1 plough. The value was 6s; now 8s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book: Herefordshire*, fol. 185 b.

¹⁶ 'Roger also holds STANTON (Lacy). Siward held it; he was a free man. 20 ½ hides which pay tax. Land for 50 ploughs. In lordship 10 ploughs; 28 slaves, male and female; 67 villagers, 2 smiths, 5 smallholders and 4 Cottagers; between them they have 23 ploughs. A church which has

8. *GLOUCESTER CHRONICLE* RECORDS OF WALTER DE LACY'S GIFTS TO ST PETER'S, HERFORD (1101)

Anno Domini millesimo centesimo primo, Hugo de Lacy ecclesiam Sancti Petri in Herford, quam pater suus Walterus a fundamentis construxerat, dedit monachis Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ, cum præbendis et omnibus quæ ad eam pertinent, tempore Serlonis abbatis. Rex Willelmus senior concessit et confirmavit de terris Walteri de Lacy ad ecclesiam Sancti Petri quam ipsemet construxit in Herford; quantum pertinet ad quatuor carucas, et de decem villis decem villanos, unum villanum in Stoke in Herfordschire, unum de Stauntone in Schropschire, unum in Stoke in eadem schira, unum in Webbeleya in Herfordschire, unum in Bricmarifrome in eadem schira, quinque autem villanos de quinque villis in Gloucestreschire, unum [in] Guytyng, unum in Quennyngtone, unum in Stratton, unum in Wyk, in Dontesborne, unum in Hamme. De illis vero decem prædictis villis concessit duas partes decimæ ad eandem ecclesiam. Hugo filius eius confirmat. Henricus rex primus confirmat. Similiter confirmat ecclesiam Sancti Audoeni in Herford cui adjacet una decima et unus ð in die, et totam mansuram. Præcepit hæc omnia libera fieri perpetualiter ab omni consuetudine, tempore Serlonis abbatis.¹⁷

1 ½ hides; 2 priests with 2 villagers have 3 ploughs. 2 mills at 26s. St. Peter's of Hereford has 1 villager there. Of this manor's land Richard holds 1 ½ hides, Azelin 1 ½ hides, Roger 1 ½ hides. They have 6 ploughs in lordship and 6 slaves and 2 half-villagers, 5 smallholders and 2 Cottagers with 1 plough. A mill at 10s.' Latin text and translation taken from *Domesday Book*, ed. by John Morris and others (Chichester: Phillimore, 1983-92), XXV: *Shropshire*, ed. by Frank and Caroline Thorn (1986), fol. 260 c.

¹⁷ '1101 A.D.: Hugh de Lacy gave the church of St Peter, Hereford, which his father Walter had built from its foundations, to the monks of St Peter of Gloucester, with its prebends and all those things which belonged to it. In the time of Abbot Serlo, King William I gave and confirmed, of the land of Walter de Lacy, to the church of St Peter, which he himself built in Hereford, the equivalent of four carucates. And of the ten vills, ten villagers; one in Stoke in Herefordshire, one from Stanton in Shropshire, one in Stoke in the same shire, one in Weobley in Herefordshire, one in Castle Frome in the same shire. Five villagers besides in the five vills of Gloucestershire; one in Guiting, one in Quenington, one in Stratton, one in Wyke in Duntisbourne, one in Ham. Of these ten aforesaid vills, in truth, he gave two and a half parts to the same church. Hugh, his son, confirmed it. King Henry I confirmed it. Similarly he confirmed the church of St Owen, to which is attached a [the text here is corrupt] and the whole dwelling. It received all of these things, to be perpetually free of all customs, in the time of Abbot Serlo' (my translation). Latin text taken from Hart, I, 84-85.

9. OXFORD, BALLIOL COLLEGE 271, FOL. 77V: CHARTER RECORDING
A SALE OF LAND ENACTED AT ST PETER'S, HEREFORD (1125)

[A]nno ab incarnatione d[omi]ni n[ost]ri Ih[es]u Christi
mcxxv anconius¹⁸ Gloucestr[iae] m[odo] confirmavit
[con]ven[t]io[n]em q[ua]m fecit Ristaldus m[odo] cu[m]
uluardo saulfi fil[io] et uxore eius alveva p[ro]p[ter] t[er]ram
campestr[em] q[ua]m emit ab ill[is] lib[er]am et
q[ui]eta[m] argenti marca firmata e[st] [i]g[i]t[ur] et clamata
quieta cor[am] om[n]ibus bourgensib[us] in plicito¹⁹ an[te]
ecc[les]iam s[an]c[t]i pet[ri] de he[re]ford ab om[n]i
calu[m]p[n]ia filio[rum] et filia[rum] et om[n]i[um]
parentu[m] [...] om[n]i hom[in]i usq[ue] in sempit[er]nu[m]
p[ro] duob[us] solid[is] dando ipse et[iam] uluardus et uxor
eius ip[s]am t[er]ram miser[un]t sup[er] altare s[an]c[t]i
pet[ri] in he[re]ford lib[er]am et quietam ut dictum est ab
om[n]ib[us] homi[n]ib[us] cor[am] hiis test[ibus]. Rog[er]o
p[re]sb[ite]ro, durando p[re]sb[ite]ro, cristiano fil[io] Wac',
Waring[er] p[re]sb[ite]ro, Ivone cl[er]ico, Osb[er]to fil[io]
falg[ri]ni Gris, he[re]b[er]to Cardune, he[re]b[er]to fi[li]o
fulcot, Odone fil[io] manigod, Walt[er]o, Seig[ri]m, Warino
carpentar[io], herb[on]do, herduino fil[io] uulurici, Ingulfo
sellario, Will[elm]o fil[io] h[er]b[er]ti fulcot et al[iis].²⁰

¹⁸ This should probably read 'vicecomes'.

¹⁹ This should probably read 'placito'.

²⁰ 'In the year 1125 after the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ, the sheriff of Gloucester confirmed that agreement which Ristaldus made with Ulwardus son of Saulfus, and his wife, Alveva, concerning that open field which he bought from them, free and quiet, for a silver mark. And so it was settled and quitclaimed (in the presence of all the townspeople, in the open space in front of the church of St Peter of Hereford) from all claims of sons, daughters and of all relatives [the manuscript here is unclear] to every man forever, by giving two shillings, and Ulwardus and his wife placed that land on the altar of St Peter in Hereford, free and quiet (as it was said) from all men, in the presence of these witnesses; Roger the priest, Durand the priest, Christian son of Wac', Waringer the priest, Ivo the clerk, Osbert son of Falgrinus Gris, Herbert Cardune, Herbert son of Fulcot, Odo son of Manigod, Walter, Seigrim, Warin Carpenter, Herbondus, Herduinus son of Uluricus, Ingulf the cellarer, William son of Herbert Fulcot, and others' (my translation).

10. OXFORD, BALLIOL COLLEGE 271, FOLS 15V-16R: CHARTER RECORDING THE RESOLUTION OF DISPUTES BETWEEN THE CATHEDRAL CANONS AND THE MONKS OF ST PETER'S, HEREFORD, OVER OCLE PYCHARD (1132)

Anno millesimo centesimo t[ri]cesimo secundo ab incarnat[i]one d[omi]ni indict[i]one secunda regnante rege henrico tricesimo t[er]tio anno regni ipsius, p[rae]sidente Rob[er]to d[e]i gra[tia] ep[iscop]o hereford[e]n[sis] ecc[les]i[a]e orta est questio int[er] canonicos eiusd[e]m mat[ri]s ecc[les]i[a]e et monachos monast[er]ii s[an]c[t]i pet[r]i eiusd[e]m urbis sup[er] deci[mi]s de t[er]ritorio hereford[e]n[sis] q[uo]d t[un]c temporis habebant et de dominio Acle et de hominib[us] suis. Calu[m]pniabantur eni[m] eas canonici ut p[er]tinentes su[a]e ecc[les]i[a]e et in p[ar]ochia sua adiacentes. Monachi v[er]o etsi haberent qu[ae]dam diu[er]sacula et munimenta ex regia potestate, no[n] tamen a via iustici[a]e volentes exorbitare ut t[ra]nsgredi alt[er]ius t[er]mi[n]os cognita linea v[er]itatis reddiderunt decimas et p[ro] eis debitis et iuste redditus p[ro]miserunt im[per]petuo pacto se reddituros canonicis v. sol[idos] singulis annis mediante quadragesima, p[rae]sente et confirmante hoc Rob[er]to ep[iscop]o p[rae]fat[ae] ecc[les]i[a]e et Walt[er]o Abb[at]e Glocestrensi monast[er]ii ex sua parte huic consulto assensum p[rae]bente. Huic rei testis int[er]fuit abbas de Thorneia et p[ri]or Lantoniensi et complures magn[a]e opinionis viri.²¹

²¹ 'In the year 1132 after the incarnation of the Lord, in the second indiction, with King Henry ruling in the 33rd year of his reign, and with Robert (Bishop, by the grace of God, of the Church of Hereford) presiding, the matter between the canons of the same mother church and the monks of the monastery of St Peter of the same city (concerning the tithes of the Hereford territory which they used to hold at that time, and concerning the domain of Acle and its men) was resolved. For the canons used to claim they belonged to their church and adjoined their parish. The monks, in truth, (although they had certain contrary documents and muniments by royal authority) did not want, however, to deviate from the way of justice so that they would otherwise transgress the boundaries: with the true boundary acknowledged, they gave back the tithes, and for those debts rightly paid back they promised in perpetual agreement to give to the canons five shillings each year, on the third Thursday of Lent, with Robert, Bishop of the aforesaid church, present and confirming, and with Walter, Abbot of the Monastery of Gloucester, consulted on his part in this matter and giving his agreement. Amongst the witnesses to this matter were the abbot of Thorney and the prior of Llanthony, and many men of high standing' (my translation).

11. COMPOSITION BETWEEN THE BISHOP AND CHAPTER OF HEREFORD AND THE ABBOT AND MONKS OF GLOUCESTER (1134)

Anno ab incarnatione domini mcxxxiiii, in presentia secundi Roberti Heref' episcopi, apud Heref', in capitulo eiusdem ecclesie, facta est firma pax et bona de querela et de calumpnia illa quam de introitu ecclesie Sancti Petri de Hereford' adversus abbates et monachos Glouc' episcopi et canonici Heref' ecclesie transactis temporibus habuerant, et quicquid calumpnie vel querele de introitu predictae ecclesie abbatibus et monachis Glouc' fuerat obiectum. Totum hoc prefatus episcopus anno tertio sue prelationis Waltero abbati et monachis Glouc', dei gratia et sua, necnon et consilio Innocentii Romane ecclesie summi pontificis, Willelmi Cantuar' archipresulis, quieti servorum dei et paci sancte ecclesie fidelius consulentium, canonicorum etiam conventu, Pagano Iohannis filio, illius ecclesie patrono, hoc ipsum approbantibus et concedentibus, iuste et canonice condonavit et pacificavit. Et ut illa pax absque omni querela et calumpnia in perpetuum stabilis permaneat, de ecclesia Sancti Petri de Heref' et omnibus beneficiis eiusdem ecclesie pertinentibus domnum abbatem Walterum in presentia canonicorum absque contradictione et calumpnia saisivit atque introitum illius in eandem ecclesiam totam atque huius concordiam auctoritate et benedictione sua et hoc sigillo ecclesie sue diligenter confirmavit. Hiis t(est)ibus, Godfrido abbate Glouc', Pagano filio Iohannis, Milone constabulario, Helya de Say, Brione thesaurario, Gilberto de Eboraco, etc'.²²

²² 'In the year after the incarnation of the lord 1134, in the presence of Robert, Bishop of Hereford, at Hereford, in the chapter house of the same church, a firm and good peace was made from that quarrel and dispute against the abbots and monks of Gloucester about going into the church of St Peter of Hereford, which the bishops and canons of the church of Hereford had had in times gone by, and from whatever had been the object of dispute or quarrel about going into the aforesaid church by the abbots and monks of Gloucester. All of this the aforesaid bishop in the third year of his office justly and lawfully condoned and pacified to Abbot Walter and the monks of Gloucester, by his grace and by God's, and also by the advice of Innocent, high pontiff of the Roman church, of William, Archbishop of Canterbury, to the tranquillity of the servants of God and to the peace of those faithfully looking after the holy church, even by the agreement of the canons, and by Payn Fitz John, patron of that church, all approving and conceding this thing itself. And so that this peace, without all quarrel and dispute, should forever remain stable, he gave the church of St Peter in Hereford and all the benefices belonging to the same church to Lord Abbot Walter in the presence of the canons, without contradiction and quarrel, and he carefully confirmed the entry of that one into the same church, and the whole agreement of this, by his authority and blessing, and by this seal of the church' (my translation). Latin text taken from *EEA VII*, p. 18 (number 17).

**12. OXFORD, BALLIOL COLLEGE 271, FOL. 49V: CHARTER OF
RICHARD DE CORMEILLES (1141 X 24TH DECEMBER 1143)**

[S]ciant p[re]sentes et futur[i] q[uo]d Ricardus de Cornelia
co[n]cessit monachis s[an]c[t]i petri de he[re]ford p[ro] an[im]a
sua et p[at]ris sui p[ra]tum de mora qu[an]tu[m] h[ab]uit ex hac
p[ar]te aqu[a]e et dona[t]ione sua²³ sup[er] altare co[n]firmavit
ad habendu[m] imp[er]pet[uum] liberu[m] et quietu[m] ab
om[n]i consuetudi[n]e et servitio excepto q[uo]d unoq[uo]que
a[n]no xii d monachi ei de recog[nit]io[n]e dab[un]t et p[ro]
ista pact[i]o[n]e [con]firmanda et imp[er]pet[uum] f[ac]ta
h[abe]nda monachi ei iii m[a]rc[as] et unu[m] palef[ri]du[m]
deder[un]t. Et hoc actu[m] est co[n]cessione Rob[erti]
he[re]f[ordensis] ep[iscop]i et testi[mon]io Milonis comitis et
Baderun et F[ilii] Baderun et hugo[nis] fforestarii et Alani fil[ii]
mei et R. filii Picart, R. de Ewas, R. fil[ii] Ermyni, Rob[erti],
W. dapiferi, Elie, Odonis, hug[onis] cap[e]ll[an]i, Alwini et
alior[um] plurimo[rum] et Yggan.²⁴

²³ This should probably read 'donationem suam'.

²⁴ 'May all present and hereafter know that Richard de Cormeilles gave the field of Mora (as much as he held, from that part of the river) to the monks of St Peter of Hereford, for his soul and for that of his father, and confirmed his donation on the altar, that they should have it freely and quietly from all custom and service, excepting that the monks in recognition will give him twelve denarii each year. To confirm this agreement and to have it made in perpetuity, the monks gave him both three marks and a palfrey. And this was carried out with the agreement of Robert, Bishop of Hereford, and by the testimony of Earl Miles, and of Baderun and the son of Baderun, and of Hugh Forester, and of Alan my son, and of R. son of Picard, of R. of Eywas, of R. son of Ermynus, of Robert, of W. the steward, of Eli, of Odo, of Hugh Capellanus, of Alwin and of many others, and of Yggan' (my translation). The charter is dateable to Miles's tenure of the earldom of Hereford.

13. OXFORD, BALLIOL COLLEGE 271, FOL. 11V: A FOOTNOTE BY SIR JOHN PRISE

Decerptum ad v[er]bu[m] ex libro quoda[m] vetusto huius
 dom[us] quod martyrologiu[m] dicebat[ur] et hab[e]t[ur]
 propt[er] calce[m] illius libri [....] q[ui]a tres t[er]ras fr[at]res
 Cole et Raven et Wigge et fuerunt d[omi]ni de Mordefford de
 Lorteport et de Ffrom quilibet in loco suo. Dictus v[er]o
 Wigge clericus fuit qui et cepit habitu[m] n[ost]r[u]m
 Gloucestri[a]e et co[n]tulit parte[m] sua[m] sc[ilicet] Ffrome
 et qu[a]e ad d[i]c[tu]m maneriu[m] sunt pertinentia.²⁵

²⁵ "Taken word-for-word from a certain old book of this house which used to be called a 'Martyrologium', and found near the end of the book: '[the manuscript is illegible here] three lands, the brothers Cole and Raven and Wigge, and they were the lords of Mordiford, of Lorteport and of Frome respectively. The aforementioned Wigge, in truth, was a clerk, and he took up our Gloucester habit and brought with him his share, namely Frome, and all the appurtenances of the aforementioned manor'" (my translation). I am once again indebted to Julia Barrow, this time for her help in deciphering Prise's script.

**14. HEREFORD, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, O. VI. 11, FOL. 119v: TWO
RESPONSORIES**

O princeps apostolorum o piscator hominum quem vocavit
Christus petrum ob magnum misterium solve nexus &
catenas nostro[rum] peccaminum. Qui ligandi & solvendi
possides imperium. Gloria patri & filio & spiritui sancto.
Simon bar iona tu vocaberis cephas quod interpretatur petrus
ianitor celi pulsantibus aperi supra modum peccavimus
omnes dimitte septuagies septies. Ora pro his ovib[us]
commisit quas tibi Christus. Gloria patri & filio & spiritui
sancto.²⁶

²⁶ 'O prince of apostles, o fisher of men, whom Christ called 'Peter' on account of a great mystery, release the constraints and the chains of our sins, you who possess the power of binding and releasing. Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit. Simon Bar Jonah, you will be called 'Cephas', which means "Peter". Guardian of heaven, open to those who are knocking. We have sinned beyond measure: send all away, seventy times seven. Pray for these sheep whom Christ committed to your care. *Gloria*' (my translation).

15. OXFORD, JESUS COLLEGE 37, FOL. 156R: MEDICAL RECIPES

Ad muliere[m] qu[a]e partu laborat. Maria genuit Christum. Elisabeth pep[er]it Ioh[ann]em baptista[m]. Cilina pep[er]it remigiu[m]. Sic et h[a]ec mulier. no[n] pariat sine dolore. In nomine patris. & filii. & sp[iritu]s s[an]c[t]i. Lazare veni foras Christus te vocat. Anna pep[er]it maria[m]. Maria aute[m] pep[er]it Christum d[omi]n[u]m. Pater n[oste]r. iii. Item. Ad vomitu[m] restringendu[m]. Sem feniculi tritu[m] cum aqua dabis bib[er]e. Ad cancrum. Accipe sal. & pip[er]. 7 nusces. 7 a tramtum. equis ponderib[us]. 7 tere. 7 simul cu[m] acceto distemp[er]a. 7 liga c[um] corio [?] i[n]vulnus. usq[ue] ad die t[er]ciu[m]. Celedonia[m] tere. 7 distemp[er]a. cu[m] urina nigri bovis. 7 sup[er] vulnus pone. Item alia. p[ro] cunctis malannis. Accipe plu[m]bum 7 arde usq[ue] ad pulvere[m]. & mel. 7 oleum e[qualit]er simul misce. 7 liga c[um] corio [?] cap[ro]lino in loco ubi malu[m] est.²⁷

²⁷ 'For the woman who is giving birth. Maria gave birth to Christ. Elisabeth gave birth to John the Baptist. Cilina gave birth to Remigius. Thus it was and so it is with this woman. She does not give birth without pain. In the name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Spirit. Lazarus come outside, Christ is calling you. Anna gave birth to Maria. Maria, however, gave birth to Christ the Lord. Our Father, three times. Item: to stop vomiting. You will give fennel seed ground with water to drink. For cancer. Take salt and pepper and nuts and animal salve by equal measures and grind, and at the same time mix with vinegar, and tie with skin on the wound until the third day. Grind celandine and mix with the urine of a black bullock, and place over the wound. Likewise another: for all illnesses. Take lead and burn to dust, and at the same time mix honey and oil equally, and tie with the hide of a young goat in the place where the illness is' (my translation). The language of this passage presents several difficulties; two different verbs, 'distemperare' and 'miscere', are also used to indicate what may be the same process of mixing ingredients, although each verb may have had different nuances for the practitioner. I have interpreted 'c[or]io' as 'skin' or 'hide', following the Latin 'corium', but other possibilities remain (I am indebted to Debby Banham for sharing her opinion on this element of the recipe). The 'a tramtum' may stand for 'atramentum', although this is not indicated by any suspension marks in the text. 'Atramentum' most often refers to an ink or dye, but a related term, 'arnementum', is also used to describe an animal salve, perhaps so named because of its dark colour. The definitions are given in R. E. Latham, *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources*, 2nd edn (London: published for the British Academy by Oxford University Press, 1980).

16. OXFORD, JESUS COLLEGE 37, FOL. 157V: PRAYER AGAINST
FEVERS AND CHILLS

In nomine patris & filii & sp[iritu]s s[an]c[t]i amen +.
 Coniuro vos febres & frigores qu[a]e septe[m] sorores estis.
 Prima vocat[ur] idia. Se[cun]da restlia. Tercia focalia. Quarta
 subfocalia. Quinta Affrica. Sexta Nillica. Septima Ionea vel
 ignea. Coniuro vos dequecu[n]que [dir]ectione estis p[er]
 patre[m] & filiu[m] & spiritum sanctum, per adventu[m]
 Christi, p[er] nativitate[m] Christi, p[er] ieiu[nium] Christi,
 p[er] passione[m] Christi, p[er] cruce[m] Christi, p[er]
 morte[m] Christi & p[er] sepultura[m] Christi, p[er]
 resurrectione[m] Christi & p[er] ascensione[m] d[omi]ni
 n[ost]ri ihu Christi, p[er] gra[tia]m s[an]c[t]i sp[iritu]s
 paracliti. Libera eu[m] d[omi]ne ill[is] de febr[us], p[er] iiii
 evangelista, p[er] iix ap[osto]los, p[er] xii p[ro]ph[et]as, p[er]
 martyres & p[er] confessores & p[er] coronas virg[inu]m &
 p[er] celum & p[er] terra[m] & p[er] vii dormientes malcu[m],
 maximianu[m], martinianu[m], constantinu[m], dionisiu[m],
 ioh[ann]em, serapione[m]. Deliberare dignetur famulu[m]
 suu[m] ill[is] de febr[us], sive biduanis, sive triduanis, sive
 quartanis, sive cotidianis. Ante porta[m] galilea[m] iacebat
 petrus. Venit d[omi]n[u]s & interrogavit eu[m]. Quid hic iaces
 petre. Respondit petrus D[omi]ne plenus su[m] febr[us].
 D[omi]n[u]s illu[m] tangebatur & sanus fiebat. deinde petrus [..]
 ang[e]l[is] nuntiat ventus imperat Christus liberat famulu[m]
 suu[m] ill[is] de febr[us], amen. Pater sup[er] aspidem et
 reliqua psalmi hui[us] usq[ue] in fine[m]. + Rabi + milia +
 molocatas + debalgie + nairafarda + samar + melchie +.
 elisabeth peperit joh[ann]em + & maria peperit Christum + ut
 ipse te vocat ut nascaris illu[m] ill[is] agyos Christo + agyos
 resurrex' + agyos s[an]c[t]u[s]. Quicu[m]que vul[t] usq[ue] i[n]
 fin[em] salmum.²⁸

²⁸ 'In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, amen. I conjure you, fevers and chills, you who are seven sisters. The first is called Idia. The second, Restlia. The third, Focalia ('fuel'). The fourth, Subfocalia. The fifth, Affrica. The sixth, Nillica. The seventh, Ionea or 'fiery'. I conjure you, from whatever region you are, through the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, through the coming of Christ, through the birth of Christ, through the fasting of Christ, through the passion of Christ, through the cross of Christ, through the death of Christ and through the burial of Christ, through the resurrection of Christ and through the ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, through the grace of the Holy Spirit Paraclete. Free him, Lord, from those fevers, through the four evangelists, through the twelve apostles, through the twelve prophets, through the martyrs and through the confessors, and through the crowns of virgins, and through heaven and earth, and through the Seven Sleepers, Malchus, Maximianus, Martinianus, Constantinus, Dionisius, Iohannes, Serapion. May He deign to deliver His servant from those fevers, whether lasting for two days, or for three days, or for four days, or for every day. Peter was lying at the Galilean gate. The Lord came and asked him, 'Why are you lying here, Peter?' Peter replied, 'Lord, I am full of fevers'. The Lord touched him and he was made well. Then Peter [a word here has been lost due to damage to the manuscript] he announces to the angels, 'Christ commands the wind. He frees His servant from those fevers, amen'. 'Father, on the adder' and the rest of this psalm until the end. + Rabi, + milia, + molocatas, + debalgie, + nairafarda, + samar, + melchie +. Elisabeth gave birth to John +, and Mary gave birth to Christ +, so that He

**17. STOCKHOLM, KUNGLIGA BIBLIOTEKET, A. 148, FOL. 290V: PRAYER
AGAINST FEVERS**

Contra febres. In nomine patris et filii et sp[iri]c[ui] s[an]c[t]i.
[A]diuro vos frigores septem enim sorores estis. Una dicitur
Ilia II Restilia III Fogalia IIII Suffogalia V Affrica VI Ionea
VII Ignea. Coniuro vos frigores de quacumq[ue] natione estis
per patrem et filium et sp[iritu]m s[an]c[tu]m, per nativitatem
Christi, p[er] baptismum Christi, p[er] ieiunium Christi, p[er]
passionem Christi, per crucem Christi, p[er] sepulturam
Christi, p[er] sepulchrum Christi, per resurrectione[m] Christi,
p[er] ascensionem Christi, per sedem maiestatis su[a]e, p[er]
angelos et archangelos, p[er] thronos et dominationes, p[er]
cherubim et seraphim et sanctam Mariam matrem domini
n[ost]ri Christi Ihesu virgine[m] et p[er] s[an]c[tu]m
Iohannem bap[ti]stam et p[er] IIII evangelistas et p[er] XII
apostolos et p[er] XII prophetas et p[er] omnia corpora
sanctorum qu[a]e in celo sunt et in terra, p[er] has omnes
invocationes coniuro uos frigores ut non habeatis locum nec
potestatem in isto famulo Dei sed redeatis unde venistis.
Amen.²⁹

Himself calls you so that you should be born. Illum, illis, agyos by Christ +. Agyos resurrection +. Agyos holy. 'Whoever wants', up until the end of the psalm' (my translation). I have understood the last word of the text to be a derivation of 'psalmus', albeit a puzzling and gramatically incorrect one. For this interpretation to make sense, we would of course expect to see 'usque in finem psalmi', rather than 'usque in finem salmum'.

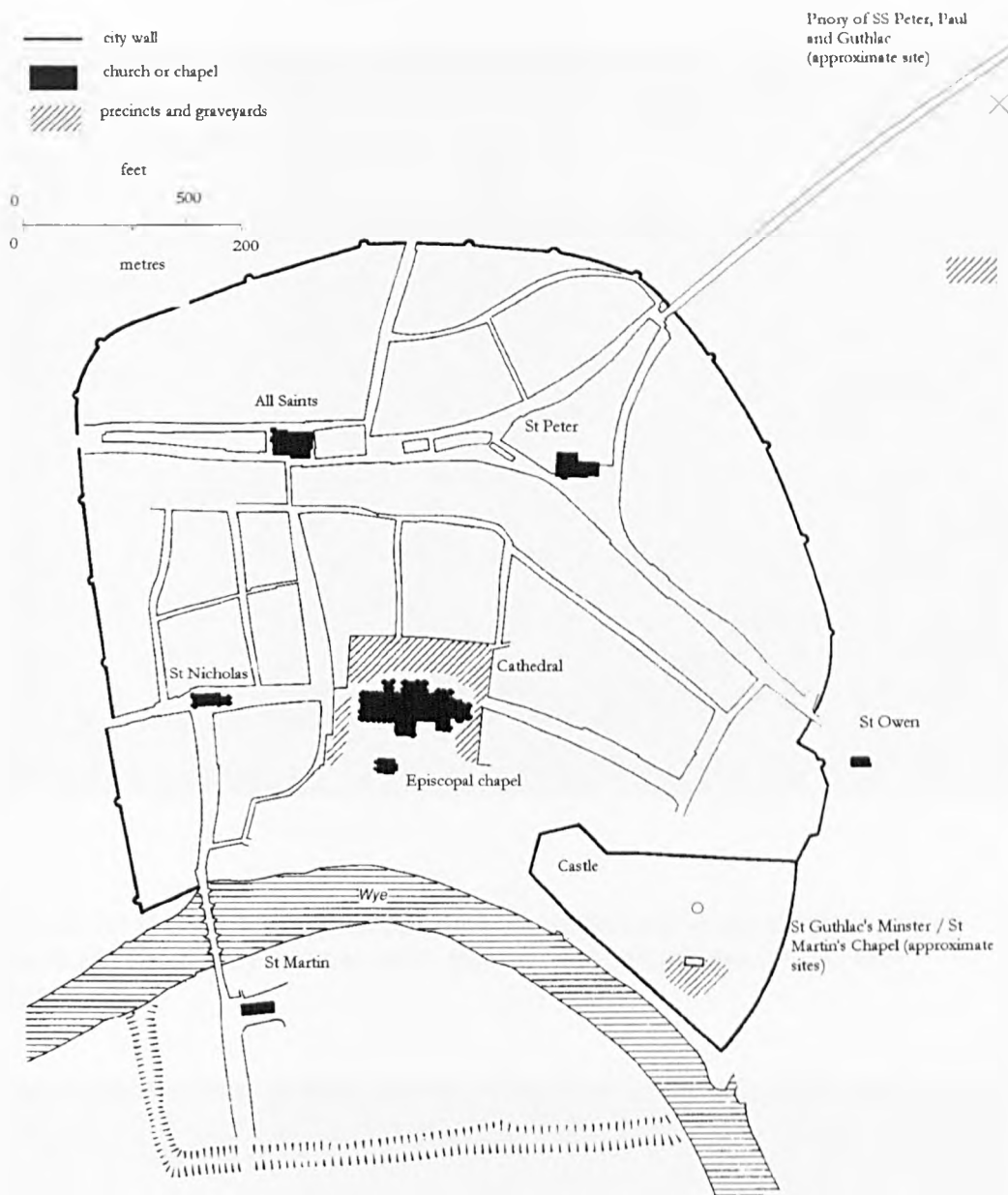
²⁹ 'Against fevers. In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit. I command you, chills, for you are seven sisters. One is called Ilia, II. Restilia, III. Fogalia, IIII. Suffogalia, V. Affrica, VI. Ionea, VII. Ignea. I conjure you, chills, from whatever nation you are, through the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, through the nativity of Christ, through the baptism of Christ, through the fasting of Christ, through the passion of Christ, through the cross of Christ, through the burial of Christ, through the tomb of Christ, through the resurrection of Christ, through the ascension of Christ, through the seat of His majesty, through angels and archangels, through thrones and dominions, through cherubim and seraphim and through the holy Virgin Mary, the mother of our Lord Jesus Christ, and through St John the Baptist, and through the four evangelists, and through the twelve apostles, and through the twelve prophets, and through all the bodies of the saints who are in Heaven and on Earth; through all these invocations I conjure you, chills, that you should have neither place nor power in this servant of God, but that you should return whence you came. Amen' (my translation). My transcription of the text is based on a viewing of the online, digitised version of the manuscript, <<http://www.kb.se/codex-gigas/eng/Browse-the-Manuscript/Exorcismen/?=&mode=1&page=578>> [accessed August 2008].

18. HEREFORD, CATHEDRAL LIBRARY, P. III. 2, FOL. 39R: FORMULA FOR EXCOMMUNICATION

Ex auctoritate Dei omnipotentis, et filii eius domini nostri Iesu Christi, et spiritus sancti, excumnicamus (*sic*) et anathematizamus, et a liminibus sancte Dei ecclesie sequestramus, eos qui hoc maleficium fecerunt uel consenserunt, uel partem aliquam inde scientes habuerunt, uel habituri sunt. Priuamus ergo eos ab omnium bonorum consortio, ut nullam partem uel communionem cum Christianis habeant, uel possideant. Maledicat ergo illos sancta Dei genetrix uirgo semper Maria, Maledicant eos potestates celi et terre, maledicant patriarche et prophete, Maledicat sanctus Petrus princeps apostolorum cum omnibus apostolis. Maledicat eos sanctus Stephanus cum omnibus martiribus; maledicat sanctus Martinus cum omnibus confessoribus. Maledicat eos sancta Maria Magdalena cum omnibus uirginibus. Maledicant eos omnes sancti Dei qui fuerunt ab initio mundi uel futuri sunt usque ad consummationem seculi. Sint igitur maledicti eundo, sedendo, loquendo, dormiendo, uigilando, comedendo, bibendo, seu quamcunque rem faciendo. Maledicti sint in domo, et extra domum, in agro et extra agrum, in foro et extra forum. Maledicti sint in silua, in aqua, in mari, et in omni loco ubicunque sub celo fuerint. Sint igitur dampnati cum Dathan et Abiron quos terra uivus absorbit. Sint dampnati cum Juda traditore Domini quem nec terra sustinuit, nec celum recepit, sed laqueo suspensus medius crepuit. Sint dampnati cum eis qui dixerunt domino suo recede a nobis, scientiam enim uiarum tuarum nolumus. Et sicut candela extinguatur ista, sic extinguatur memoria eorum ante Deum, et demergantur in inferno inferiori, nisi quoquo modo ad emendationem et satisfactionem uenerint, aut per se aut per alios manifestauerint, amen, amen. Fiat, Fiat.³⁰

³⁰ 'By the authority of God the omnipotent Father, and of his son Our Lord Jesus Christ, and of the Holy Spirit, we excommunicate and anathematise and hide from the ends of the holy church of God those who did this evil deed or consented to it, or had some part of it or are about to. Therefore we deprive them from the company of all good men, that they should neither have nor possess any part or communion with Christians. Therefore may St Mary, mother of God and ever-virgin, curse them, may the powers of heaven and earth curse them, may the patriarchs and prophets curse (them), may St Peter the prince of the apostles, with all the apostles, curse (them). May St Stephen with all the martyrs curse them; may St Martin with all the confessors curse (them). May St Mary Magdalene with all the virgins curse them. May all the saints of God, who were from the beginning of the world and who will be until the end of time, curse them. And so may they be cursed in going, in sitting, in talking, in sleeping, in waking, in eating, in drinking and in doing anything. May they be cursed at home and away from home, in the field and out of the field, in the marketplace and out of the marketplace. May they be cursed in the wood, in water, in the sea and in any place they might be under heaven. And so may they be damned with Dathan and Abiron, whom the earth absorbed alive. May they be damned with Judas the betrayer of the Lord, whom neither the earth bore nor heaven received, but who, suspended by a noose, burst in the middle. May they be damned with those who said to their lord "Go away from us, for we do not want to know of your ways." And just as this candle is extinguished, so may the

19. MAP SHOWING THE RELATIVE LOCATIONS OF HEREFORD'S MEDIEVAL CHURCHES



Adapted from Julia Barrow, 'Urban Cemetery Location in the High Middle Ages', in *Death in Towns: Urban Responses to the Dying and the Dead, 100-1600*, ed. by Steven Bassett (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992), pp. 78-100 (p. 82).

memory of them be extinguished before God, and may they be plunged into deepest Hell, unless they should in some way come to amendment and satisfaction and reveal this same injury, either themselves or through others, amen, amen. So may it be, so may it be' (my translation). Latin text taken from Brown, 'Gloucestershire Manuscripts', 209-10.

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