Bishop Leofric and Exeter Cathedral Chapter (1050-1072): a re-assessment of the manuscript evidence.

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Few eleventh-century English bishops can be studied in detail owing to a lack of evidence, but Bishop Leofric is an exception. Although conventional historical sources yield little, a detailed picture of Leofric's personality, interests and relationship with his Chapter and diocese can be built up from his obituary notice (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 3-3^{v}), the list of his donations to his cathedral (Exeter, Dean and Chapter, MS 3501, fols 1-2^{v}) and especially from a codicological and palaeographical study of the manuscripts and charters which were either written at Exeter during his episcopate or given by him to his cathedral church.

Because the use of this type of manuscript evidence is unusual, a detailed study had to be made of all the manuscripts to which an Exeter origin had been ascribed to build up a picture of the scriptorium at work. The 'Exeter' style, whose existence was already recognised, was defined in detail along with a consideration of its English models.

Exeter was revealed as a centre where English and continental influences mingled. As William of Malmesbury said, Leofric was trained in Lotharingia, and at a time when the Gregorian reform movement was beginning there. Leofric moved his diocesan seat from rural Crediton to urban Exeter and set up a Chapter of celibate secular canons following the Rule of Chrodegang. Leofric and the canons worked together to build up the material and spiritual (books and relics) endowments of the cathedral church, partly to prepare themselves for pastoral work amongst the laity, to which the Rule enjoined both bishop and canons. Leofric (and probably other Lotharingian bishops appointed by the Confessor) anticipated by some twenty years many of the ecclesiastical reforms propagated by Lanfranc.

ABSTRACT

Few eleventh-century English bishops can be studied in detail because of a lack of evidence, but in this respect Bishop Leofric of Exeter (1050-1072) is an exception. According to William of Malmesbury, Leofric was trained in Lotharingia and he was thus one of several continental-trained bishops appointed to English sees before the Conquest. I was interested in elucidating what sort of impact a Lotharingian-trained cleric might have upon the life of his Anglo-Saxon cathedral church and diocese. The likely considerable influence of the group of Lotharingian or Lotharingian-trained bishops - more numerous than their Norman-trained colleagues - in the episcopate of the late Anglo-Saxon church seems also to have been largely unstudied. Only in the case of Leofric is there sufficient evidence for this sort of assessment to be made.

Heretofore, the account of Leofric's episcopate given in the 'Leofric Missal' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 3-3^{v}), the list of his donations to his church (Exeter, Dean and Chapter, MS 3501, fols 1-2^{v}; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16, fols 1-2^{v}) and a few passing references by William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester have been accepted as an adequate survey of all we were likely to discover of Leofric's career. However, a large number of books and charters are extant, many of which have been ascribed, mainly on textual but occasionally on palaeographical grounds, to a scriptorium working at Exeter during the period of Leofric's episcopate. These had never been examined in detail to see

firstly, if they did originate at Exeter in Leofric's time and secondly, if so, what they could tell us of Leofric's activities as a diocesan and especially of his relationship with his cathedral Chapter.

Initially I surveyed the existing state of our knowledge of Leofric as based on the chronicles, the Exeter account of his episcopate as given in the 'Leofric Missal' and the list of his donations, to build up a coherent picture of his life. I dwelt at length on the re-union of the two provinciae of Devon and Cornwall into a single see based at Exeter rather than Crediton and the variety of different reasons given for this move, suggesting that Leofric's continental training was the vital factor behind the see's removal from a rural to an urban site. This survey gives us little inkling of whether he was following a coherent policy throughout his episcopate in the context of which all his actions could be explained.

Hence, in chapter two, I moved on to assess the texts recorded in the list of Leofric's donations to try to discover which surviving manuscripts could be identified with texts mentioned in this list. In the case of the nine manuscripts which still bear an inscription stating that they were given by Leofric to the cathedral at Exeter, there can be no disagreement. They were probably given during the years of Leofric's episcopate rather than left to the cathedral after his death. Each text in the donation list was considered separately and I concluded that we could only identify a surviving volume with one recorded in the list if it either bore a donation inscription or if its defective

quiring at beginning or end made it possible that the manuscript might once have borne a donation inscription. A book actually copied in toto at Exeter was most unlikely to be one indicated by the donation list, contrary to most previous assumptions which have usually tried to identify all manuscripts of Exeter origin or provenance in the mid eleventh century with a particular text mentioned in the donation list. I briefly assessed the contents of Leofric's library as revealed by the donation list and compared its size and contents with what we know of other eleventh-century donations of books, both in England and on the Continent. The long-term security of Leofric's donations was ensured by an inscription being placed in each book and by the inserting of complete lists of Leofric's donations in two of the Gospel books owned by the cathedral church.

If the donation list then is not an inventory of all the cathedral's books, how can we decide which surviving manuscripts originated at or were at Exeter in Leofric's time? The 'Leofric Missal', a sacramentary and pontifical probably written in the second half of the ninth century at the abbey of St Vaast, Arras which had been at Glastonbury since the mid tenth century and had somehow come into Leofric's hands, provides us with a key to the activities of the Exeter scriptorium. This manuscript was considerably expanded for Leofric's use by eleven scribes, one of which is likely to have been the bishop himself. The liturgical material added to the Missal at Exeter shows a considerable awareness of the latest liturgical developments on the Continent interspersed with much that seems to be drawn from contemporary Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice.

Most of the eleven scribes who expanded the 'Leofric Missal' can be traced in a number of other books and manuscripts, all of which had already been ascribed to Exeter on textual or palaeographical grounds. Each scribe's hand, oeuvre, and place in the scriptorium was considered in detail, often with reference to the Plates. Then the hands of a further five scribes, who appeared working in collaboration with one or more of these scribes, were discussed. I could then attempt to define the typical construction, layout and decoration of an Exeter-produced book and to define the 'Exeter style' of script upon which Dr N.R. Ker and Mr T.A.M. Bishop have already commented. This script was firmly based upon English models and was written at Exeter over the decade or so during which the scriptorium was working to provide the basic texts needed by the canons for the conduct of divine offices, the administration of the sacraments and the regulation of their canonical life.

Once the corpus of books produced at or at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate had been firmly established, I proceeded to consider what these books revealed of Leofric, of the cathedral Chapter and of their inter-relationships.

The Rule of Chrodegang was the vital influence upon the activities of both Leofric and the Chapter; although the canons had, like monks, to observe the daily round of the divine office, the Rule inculcated in them a strict obedience to their bishop and an attitude of service to the laity. In order to fulfil these rôles, the canons, assisted by Leofric, needed to build up the endowments of their cathedral church, which they did by wholesale copying or forging of titles to estates they believed

Aethelstan had left to the monastery at Exeter and by similarly forging titles to estates claimed by the bishop. Leofric gave them many of the church furnishings they needed for the performance of the divine office and sacraments and the canons listed the large collection of relics which, they claimed, Aethelstan had left to the monastery at Exeter. Most importantly, the canons were copying the sort of texts they needed for the performance of the duties laid upon them by the Rule of Chrodegang, that is not just liturgical texts, but also volumes of homilies in Old English which they could use for preaching to the laity. Additionally, they fulfilled the dictates of the Rule by making a written record in books which lay upon the altar of donations made to their house by Aethelstan and Leofric.

Leofric was the person responsible for introducing the Rule of Chrodegang at Exeter, doubtless as a result of his experiences in Lotharingia. He saw the Rule's many advantages for a bishop in that, by subjugating the canons to the bishop's service, it provided him with a body of educated clergy who could be utilised not only for the building up of the endowments of the cathedral church, but also of the material possessions and spiritual standards in the diocese as a whole.

The Rule stresses the pastoral duties of a bishop and the Exeter account states that Leofric was a good diocesan. Though we have little supporting evidence, this seems likely. Of Exeter's contacts with other English dioceses at this time we can tell little, though we can surmise that they borrowed exemplars for many of the texts they copied from other English religious houses. We know nothing concrete about Leofric's

relations with the other Lotharingian-trained bishops of his day. However from the scanty evidence we have of their activities, especially those of Bishop Giso of Wells (1060-1083), they too seem to have been attempting a similar programme to Leofric's, though with less success. Their lack of success may be due to their inability to obtain the full support and co-operation of their cathedral Chapters, which Leofric had ensured by ejecting the monks at Exeter and setting up a community of canons who lived according to a rule which he had chosen.

The picture of Leofric given in the Exeter account stresses three of Leofric's achievements - he was a good diocesan, he removed the diocesan seat from rural Crediton to urban Exeter and he built up the endowments of his impoverished cathedral church. A study of the manuscripts copied at Exeter or owned by Leofric or his Chapter shows a mixture of English and Continental influences at work. However, I believe that the vital key to the events at Exeter lies in Leofric's training in Lotharingia during the 1020s and 1030s, when a movement of ecclesiastical reform, which was to become known as the Gregorian reform movement, was burgeoning there. Unlike the reforms undertaken in England in the tenth century which concentrated on the revival of monastic life, this reform movement stressed the importance of the pastoral rôle of the bishop. Hence Leofric, in order to fulfil this rôle more adequately, moved his diocesan seat from a rural to an urban centre and set up a Chapter of canons following the Rule of Chrodegang which in its turn stresses the duties of bishop and canons in ministering to the laity. The Gregorian reform also stressed the importance of the Pope's rôle in the

Christian community and Leofric's care to obtain papal approval for the see's removal to Exeter shows his awareness of this trend. In these ways, Leofric seems to have anticipated by twenty years many of the changes previously thought to have been introduced to the English church by Lanfranc in the 1070s. The general neglect of his achievement can be attributed to the fact that he had a Chapter of secular rather than monastic clergy and it was amongst the monastic clergy that there was a boom in historical writing from about the year A.D. 1100 onwards.

An assessment of Leofric's motives and achievements could only be adequately made by an historian with some palaeographical training. Thus, I hope to have demonstrated further the usefulness of palaeography as a tool for the historian, especially in the spheres of ecclesiastical and cultural history.

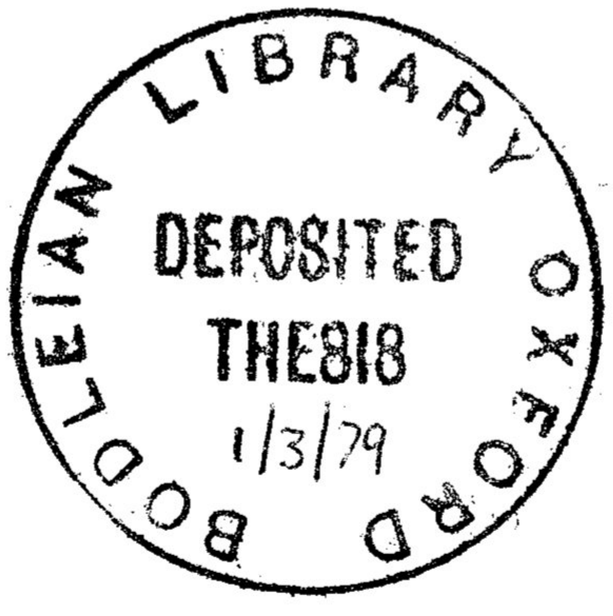
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1050 - 1072 :

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REFERENCES AND ABBREVIATIONS

I have only translated the Old English, but not the Latin quotations. In the main text of the thesis I have silently expanded any contractions in a quoted Latin text, other expansions are within 〈 〉 brackets. Brackets ( ) indicate an erasure, omission or an illegible section of a quoted text. Quotation marks ' ' are used for quotes from both manuscript and printed sources. When I have cited charters in the text, the footnote contains their number in P.J. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 8 (London, 1968) rendered as e.g. S., no. 743. I have used the following abbreviated titles and abbreviations in the text, footnotes and appendices:

A.S.E.	Anglo-Saxon England.
Anglo-Saxon Illumination	Anglo-Saxon Illumination in Oxford Libraries, Bodleian Picture Books, Special series no. 1 (Oxford, 1970).
Bishop, E.C.M.	T.A.M. Bishop, English Caroline Minuscule (Oxford, 1971).
Bishop, Notes	T.A.M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Pt. III' Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society, ii (1954-58), 192-99.
Chaplais, 1966	P. Chaplais, 'The authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research, xxxix (1966), 1-34.
DNB	Dictionary of National Biography.
Dugdale, Monasticon	Sir W. Dugdale, Monasticon Anglicanum (London, 1655).
E.E.T.S. (O.S.)	Early English Text Society (Original Series).
E.H.R.	English Historical Review.
Exeter Book	The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry, with introductory chapters by R.W. Chambers, M. Förster and R. Flowers (London, 1933).

H.B.S. Henry Bradshaw Society.

Haddan and Stubbs, Councils — A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland, 3 vols (Oxford, 1869-71).

Ill. MSS in Bodleian — O. Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, Illuminated MSS in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, 3 vols (Oxford, 1966-73).

K.C.D. — J.M. Kemble, Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici, 6 vols, English Historical Society (1839-48).

Ker, Catalogue — N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957).

Ker, M.L.G.B. — N.R. Ker, Medieval Libraries of Great Britain, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks no. 3 (2nd edn., London, 1964).

Leofric of Exeter — Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library A.D. 1072 by Frank Barlow, Kathleen M. Dexter, Audrey M. Erskine, and L.J. Lloyd (Exeter, 1972).

LM — The Leofric Missal ed. F.E. Warren (Oxford, 1883, repr. 1968), also used for Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 (S.C. 2675).

LC — The Leofric Collectar ed. E.S. Dewick and W.H. Frere, H.B.S. xlv and lvi (1914 and 1921).

M.G.H. — Monumenta Germaniae Historica.

Napier, Old English Glosses — A.S. Napier, Old English Glosses, Anecdota Oxoniensia, medieval and modern series, pt. xi (Oxford, 1900).

New Pal. Soc. — The New Palaeographical Society: Facsimiles of Ancient Manuscripts etc. 2nd series ed. E.M. Thompson, G.F. Warner, F.G. Kenyon, J.P. Gilson, J.A. Herbert, H.I. Bell, 4 vols (London, 1913-30).

Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS — E.W.B. Nicholson, An Introduction to the Study of some of the Oldest Latin Musical Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, Early Bodleian Music III (London, 1913).

Oliver, Lives	G. Oliver, Lives of the Bishops of Exeter (Exeter, 1861).
Oliver, Monasticon	G. Oliver, Monasticon Diocesis Exoniensis (Exeter, 1846).
O.S. Facs	W.B. Sanders, ed., Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, 3 vols, Ordnance Survey (Southampton, 1878-84).
P.L.	Patrologiae cursus completus: series Latina, accurante J.P. Migne.
R.S.	Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores or Chronicles and Memorials of Great Britain and Ireland During the Middle Ages (London, 1858-96).
Rose-Troup, 1931	F. Rose-Troup, 'The Ancient Monastery of St Mary and St Peter at Exeter 680-1050', Transactions of the Devonshire Association, lxiii (1931), 179-220.
Rule	The OE version of the enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original. An OE version of the Capitula of Theodulf together with the Latin Original. An interlinear OE rendering of the Epitome of Benedict of Aniane, ed. A.S. Napier, E.E.T.S. (O.S.) 150 (1916, repr. 1971).
S.	P.J. Sawyer, Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbcoks, 8 (London, 1968).
S.C.	A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, 7 vols (Oxford, 1895-1953).
SMRL	S.P.J. van Dijk, Sources of the Modern Roman Liturgy, Studia e Documenta Franciscana, 2 vols (Leiden, 1963).
T.C.B.S.	Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society.
T.D.A.	Transactions of the Devonshire Association.
Thorpe, Ancient Laws	B. Thorpe, Ancient Laws and Institutes of England, 2 vols (London, 1840).
Thorpe, Diplomatarium	Diplomatarium Anglicum Aevi Saxonici, ed. B. Thorpe (London, 1865).

Wilkins, Concilia	D. Wilkins, Concilia magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae, a synodo Verolamiensi AD CCCCXLV ad Londinensem AD MDCCXVII, 4 vols (London, 1737).
Wormald, Initials	F. Wormald, 'Decorated Initials in English MSS c. 900-c. 1100', Archaeologia xci (1945), 107-35
Wormald, Kalendars	F. Wormald, English Kalendars before 1100 A.D., H.B.S. 72 (1933).

A.S.C.	Anglo Saxon Chronicle (quoted sub anno).
beg.	begins
B.L.	British Library.
B.M.	Bibliothèque municipale.
B.N.	Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale.
D. & C.	Dean and Chapter.
ed.	editor
edn.	edn.
OE	Old English.
pr.	printed.
s.	saeculo.

CHAPTER I

BISHOP LEOFRIC OF EXETER

Few English bishops of the eleventh century can be given much individuality and our knowledge of their lives is largely an outline sketch built up from references in the few contemporary chronicles, the twelfth-century monastic ones, occasional local stories or records, their signatures on royal charters and, occasionally, from charters issued by them.[1] This pattern can be followed in Lecfric's case.[2]

There were no subsequent efforts to canonise Lecfric which might have led to the production at Exeter of a vita. None of the local monastic houses became a centre of historical writing in the twelfth century which might have led to a detailed survey of the see of Exeter and its bishops. Lecfric set up a chapter of secular clergy who eventually became Augustinian canons[3] abandoning the Rule of Chrodegang introduced by him. The members of the chapter in the twelfth century and later had little cause to remember him as a significant bishop in the history of the see.

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[1] The only eleventh-century bishop of whom we have a vita is Bishop Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062-1095) later to be St Wulfstan (Life of St Wulfstan, ed. and trans. J.M.F. Peile (Oxford, 1934)).

[2] For Leofric generally see Frank Barlow, The English Church 1000-1066 (London, 1963), pp. 83-4, 211-15 (hereafter cited as English Church), and Exeter Book, pp. 5-9. The most detailed survey of the references is in David W. Blake, 'The Church of Exeter in the Norman Period'. (Unpublished Exeter University M.A. thesis, 1970), pp. 35-65, hereafter cited as Blake.

[3] This change occurred during William Warelwast's episcopate (1107-37), though a number of unusual features remained in the organisation and financial arrangements of the Chapter for many years after that. The best survey is K. Edwards, The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages (2nd edn., Manchester, 1967).

What, then, can we gather of Leofric from the sources available? Florence of Worcester calls him 'Brytonicus', implying that he was Cornish, Welsh or Breton.[1] His name 'Leofric' suggests that the last two possibilities are unlikely. 'Leofric' is an Anglo-Saxon name (which ran in the family of the earls of Mercia amongst others)[2] and the Anglo-Saxons had controlled Cornwall since King Aethelstan's time, hence a celt with the name 'Leofric' is most likely to have been of Cornish extraction.[3] We know nothing of his family;[4] and there is nothing to suggest that the estates in Devonshire and Oxfordshire given to Leofric by the Confessor had ever belonged to Lecfric's family.[5]

We do not know the date of Leofric's birth. He was made a bishop in 1046, so, assuming that he was not consecrated under the canonical age of thirty, he is likely to have been born before 1016. This would make him roughly contemporary with his patron Edward the Confessor, seventh son of Aethelred the 'Redeless', who was born about 1005.[6] Leofric outlived the Confessor by six

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[1] Chronicon ex chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, English Historical Society (London, 1848-9) i, 199, hereafter cited as Chronicon. Although the extent of Florence's knowledge of West Country affairs is debatable, two eleventh-century bishops of Worcester, Lyfing and Ealdred, had both been Abbots of Tavistock and the former had also been Bishop of Crediton and St Germans. They may have taken written or oral records of events in the south west to Worcester with them.

[2] Earl Leofric of Mercia (ob. 1057), father of the famous outlaw Hereward the Wake and husband of Lady Godiva, was a contemporary of Bishop Lecfric.

[3] This would make his appointment to the sees of St Germans and Crediton appropriate.

[4] Oliver believed he came from an illustrious Burgundian family (Lives, p. 6), but there is no evidence for this.

[5] On these estates, see below pp. 19-20.

[6] Frank Barlow, Edward the Confessor (London and California, 1970), pp. 29-30.

years, so the difference in their ages may not have been great. This would suggest that Leofric too was born in Aethelred's reign, but there is no evidence to support Blake's speculation that his family sent him abroad to avoid the Danish raids on the West Country.[1] Barlow believes that 'Leofric's father must have been of noble (thegnly) rank and connected in some way with the royal court', since he thinks that Leofric, like Edward, went into exile with the advent of the Danish king Cnut.[2] There is, however, no evidence to prove this. The inference that, since they returned together, they must have left England for the same reason is not valid. Leofric's family (or, perhaps, if he had been the protégé of a bishop, his patron) may have sent him abroad for the ecclesiastical training that could be obtained on the Continent just as Oswald had been sent abroad by his uncle Odo, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the 940s.[3] Given that Leofric introduced the Rule of Chrodegang to Exeter, he may well have been educated in a house of canons observing that rule in one of the great episcopal cities.[4]

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[1] Blake, p. 36. On the raids, see ASC, A, 1001; E, 1003; Chronicon i, 156.

[2] 'Leofric and his Times', Leofric of Exeter, p. 2.

[3] We can deduce that there were other Anglo-Saxon clerics on the Continent in the first half of the eleventh century, since a scribe who was working at Canterbury c. 1000 also wrote manuscripts which have never been in England (Bishop, ECM, p. xxv).

[4] F. Barlow, English Church, p. 83.

Exeter narrative sources tell us nothing directly about Leofric's birth or training. William of Malmesbury declares he was 'apud Lotharingos altus et doctum'.[1] His arrival in England from France with the Confessor proves that he spent some time abroad. Moreover, a detailed study of Leofric's own manuscripts, and of those produced at Exeter during his episcopate, as well as a study of the wording of several Exeter charters supports this view.[2] The name of Leofric's personal priest, 'Landbert' suggests that he was not an Anglo-Saxon, but rather from the Continent.[3] Most of the continental clerics in England seem to have come in the royal train: Hermann (appointed Bishop of Ramsbury in 1045),[4] Robert of Jumièges (appointed Archbishop of Canterbury in 1050),[5] Giso and Walter (appointed bishops of Wells and Hereford respectively in 1060).[6] Landbert may have accompanied Leofric when he arrived in England, or Leofric may have sent for him on his promotion to a bishopric in 1046.

There seems no reason to doubt William of Malmesbury's assertion that Leofric was trained in Lotharingia.[7] Presumably,

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[1] De gestis pontificum Anglorum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, RS (1870), p. 201, hereafter cited as De gestis pontificum.

[2] See below, pp. 287-39, 282.

[3] LM, fol. 3, p. 2A. I can find no one of that name in the usual reference books of Anglo-Saxon names. Landbert (Lambert, if modernised) was the patron saint of Liège.

[4] ASC, C, 1045.

[5] ASC, D, 1051.

[6] ASC, D, 1060.

[7] Lotharingia is the area between the Rhine and the Meuse, covering the dioceses of Trèves, Verdun, Metz and Toul, reaching up to Liège in the north and eastwards towards the Rhineland cities.

it was somewhere in that area and sometime before 1041 that Leofric first met and attached himself to the ætheling Edward who was passing his exile in the feudal courts of Normandy, Lotharingia and northern France. Edward's maternal kinsmen were scattered throughout Normandy and his sister's successive husbands were the counts of Mantes and Boulogne. It may have been at any of their courts that Leofric met Edward.[1]

Soon after Harthacnut succeeded Harold Harefoot in 1040, Edward joined his half-brother in England and Leofric seems to have returned too, since, in 1042, he witnessed a charter of Harthacnut.[2] Another signatory to the charter is Hermann (later bishop of Ramsbury), who probably also accompanied Edward on his return. The party that accompanied Edward at that time is said to have included the Count of the Vexin, a Norman abbot (Robert of Jumièges) and two Lotharingian clerics, Hermann and Leofric, who served as the king's chaplains.[3] Edward succeeded to the throne on Harthacnut's death in 1042, was crowned and anointed in 1043, and married Edith Godwineson in 1045. Like Cnut before him and William I later, he was to reward his clerics with bishoprics and his faithful retainers with estates.

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[1] Barlow suggests the meeting occurred at Bruges in 1039 (English Church, p. 51).

[2] S., no. 993, a grant to Abingdon Abbey. Although the charter's authenticity is regarded as dubious, the list of signatories may be based on a genuine list (pr. K.C.D. no. 762).

[3] F. Barlow, Edward the Confessor (London and California, 1970), p. 50 . Both Leofric and Hermann are called 'king's chaplain' by the ASC (ASC, E, 1044, and ASC, C, 1045).

Leofric's first reward came in 1044 when the king granted seven 'manses' at Dawlish to Leofric, his chaplain.[1] The bounds correspond to the modern parishes of Holcombe and East Teignmouth. Was this grant of estates in Devon pure coincidence, or was it in preparation for Leofric's predetermined succession to the elderly Lyfing in the See of Crediton?[2] The marked individuality of the drafting style of this charter, the traces of foreign terminology, some unusual errors and the poor Latin combine to suggest that the surviving document[3] was copied at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate from an original that may have been drawn up in the royal writing office, possibly by Leofric himself (hence the foreign terminology).[4]

The first few years of Edward's reign saw Leofric serving at the king's side. He may be the 'Leofric minister' who witnessed Edward's confirmation of lands and privileges to Coventry Abbey in 1043,[5] and the 'Leofric presbyter' who witnessed the Confessor's grant of land at Savington in Grittleton (Wilts) to

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[1] S, no. 1003; pr. and discussed by J.B. Davidson, 'On the Early History of Dawlish', TDA, xiii (1881), 106-30, esp. 108-13; authentic according to Chaplais, 1966, 26-28 (26).

[2] Blake (p. 41) postulates that the land mentioned in the grant may have been near Leofric's place of birth, but we have no evidence for this.

[3] S, no. 1003; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2526; O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 12: see below p. Ker believes the hand to be slightly later than the date of the charter.

[4] The subscription 'Ego Lyfingus Crydianensis ecclesie pontifex rogatus a rege calamo scripsi' may refer only to this subscription or indicate that the draft charter was produced at Crediton on Lyfing's instructions (Chaplais, 1966, 26-27).

[5] S, no. 1000; pr. K.C.D., no. 916. The charter is probably a forgery by Osbert de Clare early in the twelfth century (P. Chaplais, 'The original charters of Herbert and Gervase, Abbots of Westminster', A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton, ed. P.A. Barnes and C.F. Slade, Pipe Roll Society, New Series, xxxvi (1962) for 1960), 92-95, but such a skilful forger may be basing his witness list on an original charter of that date.

Aelfstan 'minister', also in 1043.[1] His presence as a cleric, and therefore literate, at the king's side in these years, and the subsequent practices of the royal chancery, led Florence of Worcester to dub him 'regis cancellarius'.[2] There is no clear evidence, however, that anyone bore the title 'cancellarius' till after 1066.[3] Leofric may, however, have been one of a number of clerks who drafted charters and writs for the Confessor.[4] He may also have dictated the format of the charter as well as undertaking the more routine writing work.[5] That his position was fairly senior can be inferred from his rapid promotion to the episcopate. The first three vacant sees in Edward's reign were given to the three clerics who had come to England with him - Robert was appointed to London in 1044, Hermann was appointed bishop of Ramsbury in 1045[6] and, on the death of Lyfing in March 1045/6, Leofric was appointed to succeed him in his bishoprics of Crediton and St Germans. Lyfing's see of Worcester went to Ealdred:[7] in this, Edward was behaving correctly in appointing a monk (Ealdred) to the monastic see and a secular priest (Leofric) to the secular see.

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[1] S., no. 999; pr. K.C.D., no. 767, probably authentic.

[2] Chronicon, i, 199.

[3] The charter granted to Ramsey by the Confessor in 1060 (S., no. 1030) which bears the subscription 'Ego Reinbaldus cancellarius consigillando commodum duxi' is a forgery by Osbert de Clare (Chaplais, loc. cit., 92-95).

[4] For a discussion of the royal writing office see F. Barlow, English Church, pp. 120-37.

[5] Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100, Presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith, ed. T.A.M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford, 1957), p. xii.

[6] 'King Edward gave the bishopric to Hereman, his chaplain' (ASC, C, 1045).

[7] ASC, D, 1047 (for 1046). Both the C and E versions of the chronicle state that Leofric was Edward's chaplain, as too does the Exeter account (LM, fol. 3, p. 2A).

The actual date of Leofric's accession is not entirely clear.[1] Lyfing died in late March 1046[2] and Leofric was probably appointed his successor within a fortnight, since the Exeter account of Leofric's accession states that he was appointed in the third year of Edward's reign (3 April 1045 - 2 April 1046).[3] According to the calendar of the Lecfric Missal, Leofric was ordained bishop on 19th April,[4] presumably also in 1046.

Of Leofric's activities at Crediton between 1046 and 1050 we know nothing. He probably continued to attend the various royal courts since he witnessed four surviving charters in these years.[5] His name does not occur again in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, so he is unlikely to have played a visible rôle in the political manoeuvrings of Edward's reign. He is more likely to have been busy assessing the situation at Crediton and St Germans for their suitability as diocesan centres. That this assessment resulted in a negative decision can be assumed

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[1] The dates are discussed in an appendix to F. Barlow, 'Leofric and his times', Leofric of Exeter, pp. 15-16.

[2] 20th March, ASC, C, 1045; 23rd March, ASC, D, 1047; 1044, ASC, E. Florence of Worcester (Chronicon, i, 199) follows D and adds that it was a Sunday (correctly). Lyfing's death is entered in the calendar of LM (fol. 40, p. 25) as 19th March. We can thus accept that Lyfing died in late March 1046 since the D version of the chronicle is known to be a year out at this point and the C version's date is really 1045/6

[3] LM, fol. 3, p. 2A. The Easter court in 1046 would have been held in late March, as Easter Sunday was 30th March. Was it here that Leofric was appointed?

[4] LM, fol. 40^{v}, p. 26.

[5] S., no. 1014: Edward's grant to Athelstan his 'minister' of land at Ayston, Rutland, 1046; probably authentic;
S., no. 1018: Edward's grant to Aelfwine his miles of land at Hambledon (Hants), 1049; dubious;
S., no. 1019: Edward's grant to Eadulf, 'minister', of land at Tregony and Trerice in St Dennis (Cornwall), 1049; authentic and possibly produced in the south-west;
S., no. 1020: Edward's grant to the church of St Mary, Abingdon of land on the Kennet, 1050; authentic?

from the removal of the diocesan seat to Exeter in 1050. Crediton and St Germans are likely to have been poorly endowed. Lyfing held the two sees together, after succeeding his uncle Burhwold at St Germans[1] and then added the see of Worcester to these.[2] Leofric held only the former two and we do not know what resources, if any, he had in the way of family estates to supplement his episcopal revenues. Significantly, William of Malmesbury records that Hermann, like Leofric foreign trained, tried to remove the see of Ramsbury to the wealthy abbey of Malmesbury, since, though Ramsbury was satisfactory for his predecessors who were native Englishmen, Hermann was a foreigner and had to make do without the support of the wealth of kinsmen.[3] Leofric's case may have been similar, so financial considerations may have influenced his decision to remove the see from Crediton to Exeter, where, although actual possession was negligible, the rights to estates seem to have been substantial.

The state of religious life may have been a factor in the removal. We know nothing of standards at Crediton and St Germans, but we may guess that Leofric did not find them congenial. They may have been communities of secular priests, possibly married and with houses of their own. To try to impose the Rule of

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[1] The exact date is unknown. Burhwold acceded some time between 1002 and 1018, and may have died any time after 1019. He probably survived until after Lyfing had been consecrated to Crediton in 1027, but we cannot be sure. (Handbook of British Chronology, ed. Sir F.M. Powicke and E.B. Fryde, Royal Historical Society Guides and Handbooks, no. 2 (London, 1961).

[2] William of Malmesbury states that Cnut allowed Lyfing to take over his uncle's see (De gestis pontificum, p. 200).

[3] De gestis pontificum, p. 182.

Chrodegang with its communal life and vow of chastity on such clerks would have been an impossible task. The solution then to the two sees' poverty [1] and low standard of religious life was to move the diocesan seat elsewhere.

The transfer of the sees to Exeter

The removal of the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter was the first such transfer to occur for some time in Anglo-Saxon England[2] and was the first of the significant number of such removals that were to occur in the second half of the eleventh century.[3] What reasons do the three surviving accounts of this transfer give us for this innovation? The accounts are:

1. the Exeter foundation charter itself;[4]
2. a longer account in the Leofric Missal,[5] the 'Exeter account';

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[1] Had Crediton's estates passed into the hands of individual members of the chapter? Of the estates of St Germans we know little. Both the surviving charters (S., nos 951 and 953) relating to its estates were produced at Exeter in Leofric's time.

[2] The most recent precedent had been the final stage of the Lindisfarne community's migrations - from Chester-le-Street to Durham in 995.

[3] E.g. Dorchester to Lincoln in 1072; Thetford to Norwich in 1094 x 96; Ramsbury and Sherborne to Old Sarum in 1078. On these removals see below, p.

[4] S., no. 1021; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2072 (O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 13). The pr. versions (K.C.D., pp. 365-68; Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 693-95) are based on a fourteenth-century transcript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 59, fols 227^{v}-28^{v}) which has a slightly different witness list. This transcript, along with the copy entered at the end of Bishop Bronescombe's Register (Exeter, Diocesan Record Office, E/R 1, fols 103-04 pr. The Registers of Walter Bronescombe and Peter Quivil, ed. F.C. Hingeston-Randolph (London and Exeter, 1889), pp. 485-87) which agrees with it, may have come from a lost copy or original whose witness list was drawn from a different selection of the large congregation present at Leofric's enthronement.

[5] LM, fol. 3-3^{v}, p. 2A-B. This follows the account of the founding of the see of Crediton.

3. a short account by William of Malmesbury.[1]

Between them they produce a variety of explanations.

1. States that the new episcopal seat was the monastery of St Peter in Exeter, that the two sees of Crediton and St Germans were to be united, records the appointment of Leofric as first bishop of the new see of Exeter and confirms that the transfer of the possessions of the monastery was made to the new cathedral church. The diocesan seat was moved because of the menace of pirates, and because more protection could be found within a walled city like Exeter.[2] These dispositions are represented as the initiative of a reforming king.

2. stresses that the danger from pirates was the principal reason behind the move.[3] In Exeter, Leofric would be able to carry out his episcopal duties in greater safety and his diocesan church and its treasures would be more secure. In this Exeter account, the initiative for the move is seen as coming from Leofric who sent his priest Landbert to the pope to request him

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[1] De gestis pontificum, p. 201.

[2] We have no other record of pirate raids in the area after 1001 and 1003 (ASC). However, Harthacnut had designated Magnus of Norway as his heir and Harold Hardrada (1046-66) saw himself as heir to this bequest. The threat of an invasion from Scandinavia hung over most of the Confessor's reign.

[3] 'Cernens vero utramque provinciam diocesis sue, id est devoniam et cornubiam, piratarum barbarica infestatione sepius devastari, cepit ... diligenter meditari qualiter episcopalem cathedram cridienensis loci ad urbem exonicam transferre posset' (LM, fol. 3, p. 2A).

to ask King Edward that the see of Crediton be moved to Exeter.[1] There is thus no real conflict between these two accounts. What is interesting, though, is the hint of manoeuvrings on Leofric's part. Was the Confessor so unwilling to allow the transfer of the diocesan seat that Leofric had to request the Pope to put pressure on the king? Or was it that the king, though willing to accede to Leofric's request, felt the need to argue papal sanction for a move which might have met with opposition? Exeter was a city which had strong links with the Godwine family; it was in Exeter that Countess Gytha founded a church dedicated to St Olave[2] and it was to Exeter that she seems to have fled after the Conquest.[3] Leofric was a king's man in a Godwine earldom;[4] was the move to Exeter designed to put Leofric in an important urban centre where he could more easily observe events? Leofric played no recorded part in the events of 1051-2 when Earl Godwine and his family were disgraced and banished subsequently recovering their honours by force. Despite Leofric's continental training and allegiance to the king, Edward did not use him as a foreign ambassador, and it was his priest, not Leofric himself who went to the Pope to plead for the see's removal. Was this because

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[1] 'Et quia sagaci animo prospexit, hoc absque romanę ecclesię auctoritate fieri non posse, misso illuc idoneo legato, id est, landberto presbitero suo, ad sanctissimum papam leonem humiliter postulavit, quatinus, directis paternitatis suę litteris, regem eduuardum rogaret, ut de cridionensi villa ad urbem exoniensem episcopalem sedem transmigrare concederet; ubi ab hostilitatis incursu liber, tutius ecclesiastica officia disponere posset.' (LM, fol. 3, p. 2A).

[2] S., no. 1236. Grant of land at Sherford, Devon to the church of St Olave by Gytha. Oliver believed her to have founded the church.

[3] She was in the city during the siege of 1068 according to Florence of Worcester (Chronicon, ii. 2).

[4] Godwine was Earl of Wessex until his death in 1052, whereupon Harold succeeded him.

Leofric's rôle as king's man in the south-west was too vital for him to be allowed to leave ... ?

Alternatively was it Leofric who thought it necessary to obtain papal sanction for his removal of his diocesan seat? He was probably unaware of the precedent of the double transfer of Lindisfarne which seems to have occurred without papal sanction,[1] and, during his sojourn on the Continent, would probably not have come across any instances of such transfers elsewhere.

A move from rural Crediton to urban Exeter was perfectly in keeping with the kind of situation with which Leofric would have been familiar during his sojourn on the continent. In Lotharingia the episcopal seats reflected the urban centres of the late Roman provinces. In England the choice of episcopal seat reflected either the location of centres of royal power at the time of the Conversion (centres which, with the shifting and consolidation of royal power over the centuries, had often been left out of the mainstream of events) or else the location of important religious communities of the tenth-century shires. Perhaps not surprisingly, it was this point Leofric chose to stress to the Pope whose letter urging King Edward to allow the see's removal requests 'ut a cridionensi <u>villula</u> ad <u>civitatem</u> exoniam sedem episcopalem possit mutare'.[2] Leo IX was a

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[1] The move from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street in 883 was occasioned by the Norse raids, and the move from Chester-le-Street to Durham was also designed to improve the security of the diocesan seat and the relics - a similar reason to that cited for the Crediton see's removal.

[2] <u>LM</u>, fol. 3^{v}, p. 2B. Or was this the point that struck Leo most forcibly out of the evidence presented to him on the issue?

Lotharingian and the first of a line of reforming popes whose stress on the suitability of an urban situation for a bishop's seat led ultimately to the decree of the Council of Westminster in 1075,[1] which resulted in most of the changes in the siting of English sees until the Reformation.

There are two surviving versions of the letter Leo sent to Edward, one incorporated in the historical account of the founding of the see of Exeter in the Leofric Missal[2] and the other copied on the fly-leaf of another Exeter manuscript.[3] The position of the latter on a fly-leaf of what may have been a manuscript owned by Leofric suggests that it was perhaps copied from the original letter which may have been brought to Exeter by King Edward when he came for Leofric's enthronement in his new church. In it, Leofric is called 'Leouuricus', possibly a papal scribe's attempt at 'Leofricus'. This copy provided a basic text which was incorporated, with minor scribal variations,[4] in the historical account of the origins of the see of Exeter in the Leofric Missal.

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[1] The Council recalled decrees of the Councils of Sardis and Laodicea 'in quibus prohibetur episcopales sedes in villis existere, concessum est regia munificentia, et synodali auctoritate praefatis tribus episcopis de villis ad civitates transire; Hermanno de Siraburna ad Sarisberiam; Stigando de Seleugeo ad Cicestram; Petro de Licefelde ad Cestram.' (Wilkins, Concilia, i, 363). Bishop Osbern of Exeter attended this Council.

[2] LM, fol. 3-3^{v}, p. 2A-B; pr. Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 691-92.

[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, fol. 180^{v}, a penitential which was certainly at Exeter in Leofric's time (see description in Appendix I). The text of the letter in this copy is unprinted.

[4] The two possibly significant ones are the LM accounts 'Leofricus' for MS Bodley 718's 'Leouuricus', where the Exeter scribe is probably correcting to Anglo-Saxon usage a verbatim copy by the other Exeter scribe of the Papal letter, and LM shortens to E. the king's name, which in MS Bodley 718 has the king's name in full (as it should have been, since he was the addressee of the letter). In the context of the Exeter account there could have been no confusion as to who 'E' was. Both these points suggest that the version incorporated into LM was the later of the two.

3. William of Malmesbury saw the significant facts about Leofric as being, first his removal of the see to Exeter, secondly his expulsion of the nuns already there, and thirdly, his establishment of canons under the rule of Chrodegang.[1] He does not explain the motivation behind the move, nor indeed does he state specifically that in the move to Exeter, the two sees of Crediton and St Germans were united, and not, as they had been previously, held jointly by one bishop.

The union of the sees of Crediton and St Germans

The early history of both the Cornish and Devon sees is obscure.[2] Asser was given Exeter and all the diocesan territory belonging to it in Devon and Cornwall,[3] but he may have given this up on his appointment to Sherborne, since in 905, Eadulf was appointed bishop of Crediton, apparently after the see had been vacant for some years.[4] The multiplication of dioceses in England, which had come close to giving every shire its own bishop, seems to have led to a separate Cornish see by the mid tenth century, though whether its bishop was seen as a *chorepiscopus* to Crediton rather than as fully independent is not clear.[5] Since Aethelred issued a charter in 994 giving

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[1] *De gestis pontificum*, p. 201.

[2] Blake surveys the available evidence, pp. 10-26.

[3] *Asser's Life of King Alfred*, ed. W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1904), p. 68.

[4] *LM*, fol. 2-2^{v}, p. 1B.

[5] In 926 Conan was appointed bishop west of the Tamar (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a.2, no. VII, pr. *The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson, Anecdota Oxoniensia (Oxford, 1895), pp. 18-19.

Cornwall full diocesan status,[1] it seems likely that before that date the Cornish bishop was a chorepiscopus. This new status did not last long since, just as the shires were re-grouped in a variety of ways to form a smaller number of earldoms, the same principle of administrative convenience led to the integration of smaller, impoverished dioceses.[2] Lyfing's personal relationship with Burhwold, the last (and probably only second) independent bishop of St Germans, may also have been a factor in the integration of Cornwall and Crediton. Lyfing succeeded his uncle at St Germans, and Cnut, whom he had served faithfully, did not object.[3] Although this union was personal and uncanonical, Leofric seems to have been appointed to Crediton with St Germans on Lyfing's death in 1046. There was no legel amalgamation of the two sees.

Pluralism was, strictly speaking, contrary to canon law and the pluralist could be deposed for his offence. The era was one, however, in which pluralism was regarded with varying degrees of leniency, especially if the pluralist was thereby enabled to exert a reforming influence.

Pluralism was, however, a sensitive

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[1] S., no. 880; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2070 (O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 8) is probably the original charter.

[2] A diocese's poverty was a powerful inducement to a bishop to become a pluralist.

[3] On Lyfing's extensive political and ecclesiastical career see Barlow, English Church, pp. 73-4 and Blake, pp. 26-34.

point. The papacy never recognised Stigand's joint tenure of Winchester and Canterbury (1052-70) and in 1061 expressly forbade Ealdred to hold Worcester with York. Leofric may well not have been worried by his pluralism and indeed, may have regarded the two sees as one, since St Germans' independence had been of such short duration.

The Leofric Missal account makes no reference to the union of the two sees. It states that King Edward appointed Leofric in 1046 to 'episcopatum cridionensis ecclesię atque cornubiensis provincie', and that Leofric, seeing the piratical devastations suffered by 'utramque provinciam diocesis sue, id est devenoniam et cornubiam', wished to remove his diocesan seat to Exeter.[1] The author of the Exeter account does not refer to Cornwall as a separate diocese, but rather sees it as a part of the Crediton diocese, recognised as a separate 'provincia' for about a hundred years. For seventy of those hundred years, the bishop of St Germans was merely <u>chorepiscopus</u> to Crediton. It is perhaps not surprising that the concept of St Germans as an independent see was not in the mind of the author of the Exeter account.[2] The pope was certainly consulted on the transfer from Crediton to Exeter of the diocesan seat: was he similarly consulted on the re-union of the two sees? The Exeter account and Leo's letter to the Confessor make no mention of this. Since St Germans had been set up as an independent see by royal decree, was it not appropriate that St Germans and Crediton should be re-united by royal decree?

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[1] <u>LM</u>, fol. 3, p. 2A.

[2] I believe this to be the explanation for the lack of specific mention of the union of the two sees in the 'Exeter account', rather than a deliberate <u>suppresio veri</u>.

The foundation charter of the see of Exeter, issued by King Edward, is specific in that it notifies Pope Leo and the English magnates that the diocese of Cornwall is being given to St Peter so that, in future, Devon and Cornwall may form a single see to be ruled over by one bishop.[1] This would effectively cancel Aethelred's grant to Bishop Ealdred of St Germans[2] which is now held at Exeter and probably has been since the integrated see was transferred there. I see no reason to think that the Confessor's charter to Exeter uniting the two sees was concocted at a later date when questions were asked about the legality of such a union. We have no record of any such complaints. The charter states that Leo was <u>notified</u> of the union of the see$*, not that his permission was requested. The charter may be a record of the prior notification of the re-union given to Leo IX by Landbert when he went to request permission for the Crediton see's removal to Exeter.

Landbert may have seen Leo in the autumn of 1049[3] when the Pope held a council at Rheims which Duduc, bishop of Wells, Wulfric, Abbot of St Augustine's Canterbury, and Aelfwine, abbot of Ramsey, certainly attended.[4] They could have provided additional support and information for Leofric's petition. Alternatively permission may have been granted at the Council of

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[1] Chaplais wonders if the mention of the union of the sees in the charter, but not in the 'Exeter account', implies that the charter was drawn up much later than its apparent date of 1050, though the palaeographical evidence is inconclusive (Chaplais, 1966, 29-31). The charter was probably drawn up fairly soon after 1050.

[2] S., no. 880; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2070; <u>O.S. Facs</u>, ii, Exeter 8.

[3] By this time Leofric would have been bishop of the joint sees for three-and-a-half years, ample time to make his assessment of the situation.

[4] Barlow, <u>English Church</u>, p. 155.

Rome in April-May 1050, which was attended by Bishops Hermann of Ramsbury and Ealdred of Worcester.[1] This, however, would have given very little time for the news of the papal permission to have arrived, and the arrangements to have been made, before the likely date of Leofric's enthronement in his new cathedral church. The Leofric Missal account implies that Leofric was enthroned 'post aliquot menses' from the receipt of Leo's letter.[2]

From a study of the signatures of the foundation charter a date in 1050 for the enthronization can be proposed. All the signatories are consistent with a date of 1050, but Archbishop Eadsige of Canterbury died on 29th October 1050. Bishops Hermann and Ealdred were in Rome in April-May 1050, while another witness, Sweyn, spent the winter of 1049-50 in Bruges and only returned to England with Ealdred.[3] These four then can only have coincided between June and October 1050. Since St Peter's Day is 29th June, and the church of Exeter is dedicated to this saint, his feast day would have been the most appropriate day for Leofric's splendid enthronement to have taken place.[4]

The Leofric Missal gives an account of Leofric's enthroning. To Exeter 'veniens rex ipse gloriosus, per brachium dextrum episcopum ducens et nobilissima regina edgitha per sinistrum, in cathedram pontificalem in prefato monasterio constituerunt, presentibus ducibus, multisque angliae proceribus'.[5] It is

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[1] They arrived on 14th April. F. Barlow, Edward the Confessor (London, 1970), p. 103.

[2] LM, fol. 3^{v}, p. 2B.

[3] Chaplais, 1966, 30.

[4] F. Barlow, English Church, p. 154.

[5] LM, fol. 3^{v}, p. 2B.

described in the Exeter foundation charter in similar terms (though in poorer Latin).[1] Edward's presence shows the continuing close relationship he had with Leofric, and visible royal support for the transfer and re-union of the two sees at Exeter. Edward did not, as a matter of course, attend all episcopal enthronizations; he was not present when Robert of Jumièges, another former clerk of his, was enthroned as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1051.[2] The many notables present at the Exeter ceremony could provide witnesses if this transfer were ever to be challenged. The witness list of the foundation charter gives some idea of the throng of notables present from the Archbishops of Canterbury and York downwards.[3] The charter was placed on the altar of St Peter during the enthronement ceremony doubtless as an outward and visible sign of the royal will which was effecting the transfer of the Exeter monastery's possessions to the new see, the creation of that see and the re-union of the Devon and Cornish dioceses.[4] The blank charter would then be filled in at a later date with the details of the ceremony and a list of witnesses to ensure that the memory of the event did not fade with the deaths of the witnesses.

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[1] As Dr Chaplais has pointed out, 'if we replaced the king and queen by two bishops, the description would fit any enthronement ceremony of the thirteenth century' (Chaplais, 1966, 29).

[2] ASC, E 1051 makes this point.

[3] Others present were: Bishops Hermann of Ramsbury, Ealdred of Worcester, Duduc of Wells, Robert of London, Stigand of Winchester; Earls Godwin, Leofric, Siward, Harold and Tostig; Abbot Aelfwine of Ramsey and a number of 'ministri' (Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 265).

[4] 'Itaque hoc privilegium ego Eadwardus Rex manu mea super altare Sancti Petri pono ...' (ibid., p. 264).

To whom was the monastery, and hence the cathedral, at Exeter dedicated? There is considerable confusion in the texts on this matter. The Exeter account refers to the 'monasterium sancte marie et sancti petri apostoli in civitate exonia',[1] while the foundation charter refers only to the monastery of St Peter.[2] There is a similar dichotomy in the charters produced at Exeter in Leofric's time which purport to be grants by Athelstan to the monastery at Exeter.[3] By the early twelfth century, though, the cathedral church seems to have been regarded as dedicated to St Peter alone.[4] A clue may be given by the fact that Bishop Osbern consecrated the 'portic' of St Mary sometime during his episcopate.[5] Could St Mary's have been the original monastic church which, on

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[1] LM, fol. 3^{v}, p. 2B. Mrs Rose-Troup, who investigated the earlier history of the monastery, believed that the double dedication reflected the existence of a double monastery which may have been there in the seventh and eighth centuries. (Rose-Troup, 1931, 180-1). The date of the house's foundation is not known and the evidence for its having been a double monastery is negligible.

[2] Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 264.

[3] S., no. 386, Exeter, D. & C., MS 2519; S., no. 387, London, B.L., Add. Ch.19516, both to SS Mary and Peter. S., no. 389, Exeter, D. & C., MS 2517; S. no. 433, Canterbury, D. & C., Chart. Ant. E. 206, both to St Peter. S., no. 433, Stafford, William Salt Library, S. MS 7, to St Mary. On these charters see below, pp. 204-09, 211, 213-14.

[4] Canon Leowine left various items to St Peter's Exeter, probably in the 1130s, for the good of Bishop Osbern's soul (ob. 1103). See Exeter Book, fol. 2^{v}, discussed p. 44 (2). The notification of the freeing of Eadwine the juggler in about 1133 was witnessed by the 'capitulum beati petri exonie' (Exeter Book, fol. 5, p. 49 (14)).

[5] On this day Folcard freed Aethelwine, recorded in Exeter Book, fol. 6, p. 51 (24). Excavations have revealed, immediately outside the Cathedral, south of the Lady Chapel, traces of what may be this 'portic' (ibid., p. 51, n.58). The Saxon monastery was on a site similar to the present Lady Chapel with the monastic buildings near the present bishop's palace: see C. Fox, The Siting of the Monastery of St Mary and St Peter Exeter, Friends of Exeter Cathedral (1953).

becoming the episcopal seat for a diocese, may well have needed to be enlarged.[1] Does the increasing use of St Peter's name (till by the early twelfth century the use of the dedication to the Virgin ceases entirely) reflect the dedication of the enlarged church's main altar to St Peter, the first pope, in gratitude to his successor who had authorised the removal of the reunited sees of Crediton and St Germans to Exeter?

Whom did Leofric displace from the monastery at Exeter? It struck William of Malmesbury most forcibly that Leofric should have expelled monastic clergy and replaced them with canons who lived under a Lotharingian rule 'contra morem Anglorum'.[2] William, as a Benedictine monk, was imbued with a religious's prejudice against the secular clergy, and he is probably in error in stating that Leofric expelled nuns from Exeter. Possibly he was misled by the dedication to the Virgin (though his neighbouring house at Glastonbury, a monastery, was dedicated to the BVM), for the house despite its fluctuating fortunes seems never to have been a nunnery.[3] The house was not derelict on Leofric's arrival and we find no reference to a major rebuilding plan. There was certainly a lack of endowments and books.[4] Was this apparent

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[1] There is no evidence that the monastery at Exeter was ever dedicated to St Peter, except in charters purporting to be tenth-century grants to the monastery, which were forged in Leofric's time (see below, p.).

[2] De gestis pontificum, p. 201.

[3] F. Barlow, English Church, pp. 213-4.

[4] The list of Leofric's donations to Exeter claims that when the see was moved there he found only two hides of land at Ide and only seven cattle and one capitulary, one old nocturnal, one epistle book, two old reading books and one mass book (Exeter Book, fols 1, 1v-2; pp. 21, 28).

lack of texts due to the fact that the monks had removed them when they left Exeter?[1] Books were easily portable and the departing community may not have felt too well disposed to the interlopers. The monks were probably transferred to another Benedictine community, possibly the neighbouring one of Tavistock.[2] It is not likely that the Benedictine community stayed on to form the nucleus of the chapter, despite the quasi-monastic nature of the Rule of Chrodegang, since Benedictine vows are technically irrevocable. Leofric set up a community of canons to form his chapter - 'iussu(que) regis canonicas ibi constituit'.[3] Was it really at the royal command or was the choice of canons, as opposed to monks, made because Leofric himself was not a Benedictine? When King Edward came to set up his own religious foundation at Westminster, he staffed it with Benedictine monks. There is thus no reason to believe he particularly favoured secular canons at the expense of Benedictine monks. Is the phrase 'iussuque regis' in the Exeter account merely a literary device by the author of the account, or by the scribe,[4] to further stress the closeness of royal involvement in the transfer of the diocesan seat?

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[1] When Leofestan became Abbot of Bury St Edmunds in 1044 a record was made of the books in the possession of different members of the community, thus 'Blakere has one winter reading book, Brihtric has one mass book and a winter reading book and a summer one. Smerdus (Smaragdus?) has a mass book and Leofstan a handbook. Aetheric has a mass book and a capitularium. Thurstan a psalter. Oskytel has a mass book and an 'Ad te levavi'. (Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 197, fol. 106v-8, pr. A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters (Cambridge, 1939), no. 104.)

[2] There is no supporting evidence for Leland's view that there were eight monks left who were replaced by twenty prebends (The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L. Toulmin-Smith (London, 1907), i, 239).

[3] LM, fol. 3v, p. 2B.

[4] They may well have been the same person.

Whence came the canons to form the new community at Exeter? Some of the canons from Crediton may have been transferred to Exeter, but we have no evidence of this.[1] Leofric may have given places in the community to faithful followers - Landbert, Leofric's priest, was probably a member of the chapter.[2] Canons may have been 'recruited' from other houses following the Rule of Chrodegang, or from among secular priests in the locality. We do not know how many canons there were in the new community established by Leofric.[3] Moreover, from the narrative accounts we can learn nothing of his relationship with them over the next twenty-two years. According to William of Malmesbury[4] they followed the Rule of Chrodegang and a manuscript of the Rule copied at Exeter corroborates his account.[5]

After the brief blaze of glory occasioned by the re-union of the two south-western sees and their transfer to Exeter we hear little more of Leofric from external sources. Presumably he

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[1] Crediton remained a religious community since in 1133 Bishop William Warelwast confirmed the liberties granted by Bishop Osbern to the church, but the reduction in the number of prebends from 18 to 12 suggests that the minster was poorly endowed (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a2 no. XIII, pr. The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson (Oxford, 1895), pp. 29-31). The charter whereby Leofric confirms previous bishops' indulgences to Crediton after the see's removal to Exeter is spurious (pr. J.B. Davidson, 'On some ancient documents relating to Crediton Minster', T.D.A., x (1878), 239).

[2] See below, p. 195.

[3] In the late thirteenth century it was believed at Exeter that from the beginning there had been twenty-four canons and as many vicars (Statutes of Walter Bronescombe (1268); Blake, p. 200). It is difficult to believe that, in 1050 at least, the Chapter's endowments were adequate to support nearly fifty people. The Chapter may have grown gradually during the period of Leofric's episcopate.

[4] De gestis pontificum. p. 201.

[5] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191. On the Rule, see below, pp. 197-206.

continued to attend some at least of the Confessor's courts. He witnessed the Confessor's grant of Ottery St Mary (in his own diocese) to the abbey of St Mary's, Rouen in 1061.[1] He also appears as a witness in another dozen or so surviving charters, most of which are, however, spurious.[2] This evidence merely indicates that Leofric was known to have been a bishop of the period. We do not know what rôle, if any, Leofric played in the events of Harold's accession, brief reign, and defeat by William the Conqueror. When the latter came to besiege Exeter in the spring of 1068[3] there is no mention in the sources for the event that Leofric played any part in the resistance. However, when the citizens were forced to plead for pardon they sent out their old and young men and the 'clergy bearing their sacred books and treasures'.[4] Leofric and his Chapter are probably the clergy

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[1] S., no. 1033; Canterbury, D. & C. Chart., Ant., R.51 (s.xiii), probably based on an original (F. Rose-Troup, 'The Anglo-Saxon Charter of Ottery St Mary', T.D.A., lxxi (1939), 201-20).

[2] They are: S., no. 1022, grant to Godwine dux of land in Oxfordshire (1050); S., no. 1023, grant to St Mary's Abingdon (1052); S., no. 1024, grant to Lutrise 'minister', of land in Hampshire; S., no. 1025, grant to St Mary's Abingdon (1954); S., no. 1026, grant to St Mary's Evesham of land in Gloucs. (1055); *? S., no. 1027, grant to Bishop Ealdred of Worcester of land in Cornwall (1059); * S., 1034, grant to Abbot Wulfwold of land in Somerset (1061); S., no. 1036, grant to Waltham Abbey (1062); S., no. 1038, grant to Malmesbury Abbey (1065); S., no. 1041, grant to Westminster Abbey (1065); S., no. 1042, grant to Bishop of Wells (1065); S., no. 1043, grant to Westminster Abbey (1066); * S., no. 1161, writ of Edward granting Axminster to Ealdred, deacon of Archbishop Ealdred of York (1060 x 66); *? S., no. 1236, Countess Gytha's grant to the church of St Olave, Exeter (1057 x 65); S., no. 1238, Aelfgar dux to Aethelwig, abbot of Evesham (1061 x 1065); *S., no. 1478, Agreement between Bishop Wulfwig and Earl Leofric and Countess Godiva on the endowment of the monastery at Stow St Mary, Lincs (1053 x 1055). All are probably spurious except for those marked with an asterisk.

[3] ASC D. 1067.

[4] The most detailed account of the siege is in Ordericus Vitalis, from whom this detail is taken (The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), II, 210-215).

that Ordericus Vitalis refers to. There was more fighting around Exeter later in the year[1] and in 1069 two sons of Harold (helped by Dermot king of Ireland) landed at Exeter from sixty-six ships and moved inland. It took two battles before this force was finally defeated by Brian, son of Count Eudo of Brittany, and William Gualdi.[2] The same year there was also a rebellion in Devon and Cornwall, in conjunction with Sweyn's invasion attempt in the North, but the citizens of Exeter refused to join in and managed to beat off the attackers before William FitzOsbern arrived to assist them.[3] Did Leofric play a part in stiffening the citizens' resistance to these later attacks? Can William I's confirmation of Leofric's grant of Bampton, Aston and Chimney in Oxfordshire and Holacumbe in Devon to the Chapter[4] be seen as a 'reward' for Leofric's support? Leofric had witnessed deeds at William's Whitsun court in 1068 soon after the siege,[5] and was at court again in 1069, since he witnessed William's grant of Deerhurst in Gloucestershire to St Denis at the Easter court in Winchester.[6]

We hear no more of Leofric in records which originate from outside Exeter; the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle does not record his death, nor does Florence of Worcester. His obit is entered in

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[1] Orderic Vitalis, ed. cit., ii, 225.

[2] ibid., ii, 225; ASC, D., 1069; Chronicon, ii, 3.

[3] Orderic Vitalis, ed. cit., ii, 229.

[4] 'Ego Willelmus ... concessi fidelium meum Leofricum episcopum...' Exeter, D. & C., MS 2528; O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter xvi; discussed Chaplais, 1966, 31-33 (28).

[5] Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), i, nos 22, 23.

[6] ibid., i, no. 26.

the Calendar of the Leofric Missal against 10th February,[1] and in the Exeter account his death is dated as occurring in 1071 in the twenty-sixth year of his episcopate, and given as 10th February ('1111. Id. Febr.').[2] The twenty-sixth year of his episcopate would run from about early April 1071 to the end of March 1072, making the date of his death 10th February 1071/2.

The Exeter account tells us a little of Leofric's character and stresses the efforts he made to restore and augment the possessions of the see. The two copies of Leofric's donation list give us an idea of just how extensive his efforts were.[3] Barlow claims that 'as a bishop his importance in English ecclesiastical history is twofold: he was one of those who helped to carry the Old English tradition through the Norman Conquest and he established Exeter as the ecclesiastical centre for South-West England.'[4] However, Barlow's argument for the first point seems to be based on the fact that Leofric not only lived through the period of the Conquest but also survived the episcopal purges of 1070 when king and pope co-operated to remove those bishops and abbots who, either for political or ecclesiastical reasons, were unsuitable.[5]

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[1] LM., fol. 39^{v}, p. 24.

[2] LM., fol. 3^{v}, p. 2B. Later Exeter sources show some confusion as to the date. It is entered as '111[illegible]. 1d. Febr.' (probably a simple scribal error resulting from misreading '1111. 1d. Febr') in Exeter, D.& C., MS 3518 (a Martyrology written at Exeter s.xii^{1}, unprinted). It is given as 15th February in the calendar attached to London, B.L., MS Harley 863 (an Exeter manuscript of s.xi^{2}), but this date is an addition of s.xiii-xiv to the twelfth-century calendar.

[3] On the books of the donation list see below, Chapter II.

[4] 'Leofric and his Times', Leofric of Exeter, p. 6.

[5] On which see Frank Barlow, William I and the Norman Conquest (London, 1965), pp. 136 ff.

On the truth of Barlow's second point, there can be no contention, but Leofric's motives for the move can perhaps be examined more closely. The chronicles, charters and Exeter account give, as shown above, a sketch of Leofric's actions during his episcopacy, but they tell us little of his motivation. To attempt to understand this and discover if there is a coherent theme to all his actions we need to examine in detail the books he owned, the books and charters produced at Exeter during his episcopate and the Rule which he and his Chapter followed. Only after completing this survey can we tell whether Professor Barlow's assessment of Leofric's place in English ecclesiastical history is adequate.

In addition, any re-assessment of Leofric may help to elucidate conditions in the Anglo-Saxon church in the last decades before the Nornan Conquest, thus providing some evidence against which to evaluate the unflattering picture promulgated by the Norman chroniclers.

CHAPTER II

THE MANUSCRIPTS GIVEN BY LEOFRIC TO EXETER CATHEDRAL

There are three grounds on which manuscripts have been ascribed to the possession of Exeter cathedral in Leofric's time. They are:

(i) a donation inscription recording Leofric's gift to the cathedral of the manuscript;

(ii) the identification of the manuscript with one recorded in the list of Leofric's gifts to the cathedral;

(iii) when the script of a manuscript accords with what is regarded as an 'Exeter' style, though this style has not hitherto been fully defined. This criterion is often used in conjunction with the previous two and/or supported by references to the two surviving medieval catalogues of the cathedral's books.[1] I propose to re-evaluate all the evidence for regarding these manuscripts as in the possession of Exeter cathedral before, during or just after Leofric's episcopate. I intend to deal here mainly with the first two criteria, but to incorporate some deductions on the third which are elaborated in detail later in the thesis.[2]

(i) Manuscripts bearing Leofric's donation inscription

There are nine books, now bound in eight volumes which still bear an inscription stating that Bishop Leofric gave the

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[1] The 1327 and 1506 catalogues are pr. Oliver, Lives, pp. 301-10 and 366-75. Both are part of full inventories of the cathedral's moveable possessions.

[2] See below, pp. 146-73.

manuscript to his cathedral church of St Peter at Exeter. They are:[1]

1. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii 2.11 Gospels in OE.
2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica in OE.
3. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241) Amalarius, Liber Officialis.
4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16 Gospels.
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 1-77 Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae.
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 78-92 Persius, Satires.
7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 3.6, Prudentius, Carmina .
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, Sacramentary and Pontifical, the 'Leofric Missal'.
9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708, Gregory, Cura pastoralis.

The inscription comprises a notice of the donor and recipient, the purpose of the gift and an anathema clause, given firstly in Latin and then in Old English, which suggests that the scribes intended to make the donation and attendant curse fully intelligible to anyone who should dare to remove the book from the cathedral's possession.

The actual wording of the inscription is subject to minor variations. E.W.B. Nicholson attempted to analyse the variation in the Bodleian manuscripts plus the Trinity College, Cambridge manuscript in an attempt to ascertain the order in which Leofric gave the books to his cathedral church.[2] He hypothesised that,

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[1] Full descriptions of these and all other manuscripts likely to have been at Exeter between 1050 and 1072 are given in Appendix I, arranged alphabetically under their present place of deposit.

[2] Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, pp. lx-lxi.

since nos 4, 6 and 8 do not add that the episcopal seat was at Exeter, they must have been given to St Peter's monastery before 1050 when the see was moved there. This seems unlikely as there was apparently a paucity of books at the monastery when the diocesan seat was moved there in 1050.[1] It seems more reasonable to assume that mention of the see was omitted because it was by then, say the 1060s, well established. Nicholson also argues that the curse gets progressively less severe, but does not explain why this should be so.[2]

The variations in the wording of the donation inscriptions imply that there was no rigid formula drawn up by Leofric or some assistant to which the scribes were obliged to adhere. The variants are likely to be a reflection of an individual scribe's preference and, indeed, there are variations even between those which are the work of the same scribe.[3] In fact, two scribes only were responsible for all the surviving inscriptions. Exeter Scribe 2 wrote those in nos 3, 4, 5, 7 and 8, while Exeter Scribe 10 was responsible for those in nos 1, 2, 6 and 9.[4]

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[1] '... he [Leofric] ne funde on þam mynstre þa he to feng boca na ma buton i capitularie and i forealdode nihtsang ond i pistel boc ond ii forealdode raeding bec swiðe wake ...' (Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, fols 1^{v}-2; pr. Exeter Book, p. 28)

[2] He postulates the texts were given in the order nos 8, 4, 6, 7, 9, 3, 5 (op. cit., p. lxi).

[3] Förster analysed the inscriptions, without attempting to differentiate between the scribes, to try and produce an original draft. He made the relationship: X (original draft) = (nos 1, 4, 8 + 6) + (nos 5, 2 + 9, 7, 3) (op. cit., p. 11 n. 3).

[4] On their work see below respectively pp. 150-54 and pp. 162-67.

Scribe 2's inscriptions read:

3. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241) fol. 121^{v}

'Hunc librum dat leofricus episcopus ecclesie sancti petri apostoli in ex⟨onia ad se⟩dem suam episcopalem pro remedio anime sue ad utilitatem successorum suor⟨um si quis⟩ autem illum inde abstulerit perpetue maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat.

Þas boc gef[1] leofric b⟨isceop⟩ into s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩e petres ministre on exancest⟨re⟩ þaer his biscopstol is . his aefter-filgendum to nitweorðnysse . ond gif hwa ut aet brede . haebbe he ece geniðerunge mid eallum deoflum. Amen.'

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16 fol. 6^{v}

'Hunc textum dedit leofricus episcopus ecclesie sancti petri apostoli in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Siquis illum abstulerit inde eterne subiaceat maledictione. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat.

Þas cristes boc gef leofric b⟨isceop⟩ s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩o petro ond eallum his aeftergengum into exancestre gode mid to þenienne . Ne gif hig aenig man ut abrede haebbe he godes curs ond wraeððe ealra halgena.'

5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15 fol. 77^{v}

'Hunc librum dat leofricus ep⟨iscopus⟩ eccl⟨esia⟩e s⟨an⟩cti petri ap⟨osto⟩li in exonia ubi sedes episcopalis est ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis illum abstulerit inde subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat.'

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[1] Transcribed by M.R. James as 'gif' (The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue (Cambridge, 1900) i, 327).

Ðas boc gef leofric b⟨isceop⟩ into s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩e petres mynstre on exancestre þaer his bisceopstol is for his sawle alysednysre ond gif hig hwa ut aet braed⟨e⟩ god hine for ... (never completed).

7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 3.6 fol. iii^{v}

'Hunc librum dat leofricus ep⟨iscopu⟩s eccl⟨esia⟩e s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩i petri ap⟨osto⟩li in exonia ad sede⟨m⟩ sua⟨m⟩ episcopalem pro remedio anime sue ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis autem illum inde abstulerit perpetue maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat.

Ðas boc gef leofric b⟨isceop⟩ into s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩o petres mynstre þaer his biscop stol is his aefterfilgendum to hig nitweorðnysse . ond gif/hwa ut aet brede haebbe he ece ge niðerunge mid eallum deoflum. Am⟨en⟩.'

8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 fol. 1

'Hunc missalem LEOFRICUS episcopus dat ęcclesię sancti petri apostoli in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis illum inde abstulerit eterne subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat. Fiat. Confirma hoc deus, quod operatus es in nobis.

Ðas boc leofric bisceop gef s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩o petro ond eallum his aeftergengum into exancestre gode mid to þenienne ond gif hig aenig man ut abrede haebbe he godes curs ond wraeððe ealra halgena.'

The basic content of the Latin version is largely similar but in two cases (nos 4, 8), both of which are liturgical books, Scribe 2 gives an indication of the text. The tense used for the donation in all but no. 4 is present which, on the face of it,

implies that they were given during Leofric's lifetime. The past tense used in no. 4 may indicate either that the inscription was added subsequent to the gift's being made or, that by the time the scribe wrote, that Leofric himself was dead. The scribe states in all that the church of St Peter in Exeter was the recipient, a vital piece of information so that the book could be reclaimed by the Chapter if it were ever to go astray. In nos 3, 5 and 7 he stresses that this church was an episcopal seat and, although this is not specifically stated in nos 4 and 8, the gift of the books 'ad utilitatem successorum suorum' would be nonsensical if Leofric had not moved his diocesan seat to Exeter by the time that these two books were donated. Consequently all the books must have been given between 1050 and 1072. Two books (nos 3, 7) include the phrase 'pro remedio animae sue' which may indicate that Leofric, as death approached and he became ever mindful of his soul's welfare, gave these manuscripts to his church. Their gift may have thus occurred later in his episcopate than that of the others. The identical wording of these two inscriptions (nos 3, 7) both in Latin and Old English may indicate that they were given at the same time. The anathema clauses are very similar, bar the triple 'Fiat' in no. 4 and the additional phrase in no. 8 which is a direct appeal for divine confirmation of the gift of this manuscript - a sacramentary, a priest's basic liturgical book and a pontifical, a bishop's basic liturgical book.[1]

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[1] I believe this manuscript not only to have been given by Leofric but also to have been used and adapted by Leofric himself, see below pp. 138-42.

The Old English inscriptions are similar to the Latin ones in their careful record of donor and recipient. As in the Latin, nos 4 and 8 do not specifically make the point about the church's episcopal status, but again the mention of Leofric's successors makes a date before 1050 for the gift impossible. The almost identical Old English and Latin inscription of nos. 4 and 8 suggest that these two were written and the manuscripts probably given at the same time. The verb 'gef', which is used to translate both present and perfect tenses in the Latin, is more likely to be a form of the preterite geaf than of the present giefþ. The curses in Old English are rather more elaborate than in Latin, possibly to ensure that an impious layman, who might need reminding of the consequences of sacrilegious theft, was left in no doubt as to his fate if he were to steal the manuscript!

Scribe 10's inscriptions

Much the same conclusions can be drawn from his inscriptions which read:

1. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii 2.11 fol. 1

'Hunc textum evangeliorum dedit leofricus episcopus ecclesiae sancti petri ap⟨osto⟩li in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suorum ... [rest subsequently erased].

Þas boc leofric b isceop gef s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩o petro ond eallum his aeftergengum into exancestre gode mid to þenienne ... [rest subsequently erased].

2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 p. 488

'Hunc librum dat leofricus ep⟨iscopu⟩s eccl⟨esia⟩e s⟨anct⟩i petri ap⟨osto⟩li in exonia ubi sedes episcopalis est ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Si quis illum abstulerit inde subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat.'

Ðas boc gef leofric b⟨isceop⟩ into s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩e petres mynstre on exancestre þaer bisceopstol is for [his] sawle alisednysse ond gif hig hwa ut aetbrede gode hine for ðe on þaere e [ends incomplete].

6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct F 1.15 fol. 78

'Hunc codicem dedit LEOFRICUS EP⟨ISCOPU⟩S eccl⟨esia⟩e beati petri ap⟨osto⟩li in exonia ad utilitatem successoru⟨m⟩ suorum. Siquis illum illinc abstulerit et⟨er⟩ n⟨a⟩e subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat. Fiat. Fiat.

Ðas boc gef leofric b isceop s an c t o petro ond eallum his aeft⟨er⟩ gengum into exanceastre ond gif hig aenig man ut abrede haebbe he godes curs ond wraeððe ealra halgena.

9. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708 fol. 113

'Hunc librum dat leofricus ep⟨iscopu⟩s eccl⟨esia⟩e s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩i petri ap⟨osto⟩li in exonia ad sedem sua⟨m⟩ episcopalem pro remedio anime sue ad utilitatem successorum suorum. Siquis autem illum inde abstulerit perpetuę maledictioni subiaceat. Fiat.

Ðas boc gef leofric b⟨isceop⟩ into s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩e petres mynstre on exancestre þaer his bisceopstol is his aefterfiligendum to nittweorðnisse ond gif hig hwa ut aetbrede . haebbe he ece geniðerunge mid eallum deoflum. Amen.

As for Scribe 2 (nos 4, 8), the only book which is specified in the Latin inscription is a liturgical manuscript (no. 1, a gospel book in OE), suggesting perhaps that liturgical books were of greater importance to the scribes than other books. The past tense is used in nos 1 and 6, suggesting that the inscription was added after the gift was made. Only twice (nos 2, 9) is Saint Peter's Exeter noted as an episcopal seat, but Leofric could hardly leave the volumes for his successors' use if Saint Peter's were not already his episcopal seat; thus a date before 1050 is not viable for the donations. Gregory's Cura pastoralis (no. 9) is the only text inscribed 'pro remedio anime suae'. It is a text of importance for a bishop, especially for one conscientious in the performance of his pastoral duties,[1] which Leofric might well have wished to use until the end of his days before leaving it to his church. As a practical handbook for a bishop it would be of less use to the cathedral clergy. The maledictions are substantially similar to those of Scribe 2.

The Old English inscriptions are largely translations of the Latin and 'gef' again translates both present and perfect Latin tenses. The OE version of Bede's Historia ecclesiastica (no. 2), unlike the Latin, makes the point that the gift was made for the good of Leofric's soul. There are more divergences in Scribe 10's versions of the inscription than in Scribe 2's, implying that they were all written on different occasions.

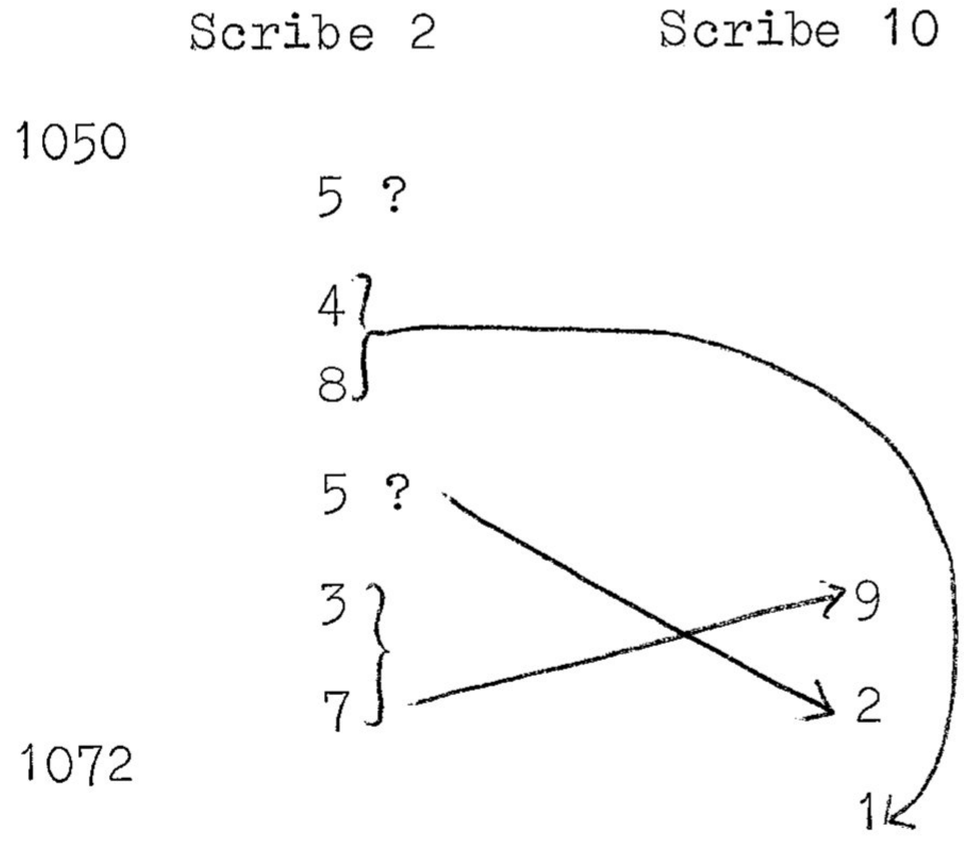
Scribe 10 who was working towards the end of, and after, Leofric's episcopate may have copied the text of his inscriptions from some of those written by Scribe 2, who was one of the earliest scribes working in the Exeter scriptorium. The inscription made in no. 9 by Scribe 10 is identical with that made by Scribe 2 in

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[1] On Leofric's attitude to these duties, see below pp. 266-67.

no. 7, except that Scribe 10 adds that St Peter's church is in Exeter in the OE as well as in the Latin, which Scribe 2 had not bothered to do. The inscription in no. 1, Gospels in OE (in so far as it survives) is identical with that in no. 4, Gospels in Latin, except that Scribe 2 chose to make the OE reference to a Latin text specific, while Scribe 10 made the Latin reference to an OE text specific. Was this done deliberately so that anyone who could not read the language of the text was left in no doubt as to the manuscript's text? Scribe 10 may also have copied the inscription from no. 5 verbatim into no. 2. His inscription in no. 6 is not identical with any surviving inscription.

A tentative arrangement of the order in which these books were given then would be:[1]



6

I am not confident that the variation in Scribe 2's inscriptions indicate more than that the books were given at intervals during Leofric's episcopate, but books inscribed by

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[1] Arrows indicate an inscription copied from another one. Braces indicate identical inscriptions by the same scribe.

Scribe 10 are more likely to have been given later in the episcopate.

Were there inscriptions recording Leofric's donation in other Exeter manuscripts? Eight of the nine surviving inscribed manuscripts can be traced in the list of Leofric's donations to Exeter so it is likely that most, if not all, the books given by Leofric bore at one time his donation inscription. We can observe that Scribe 10 copied three out of his four surviving inscriptions from other extant texts, so it is statistically probable that his inscription in no. 6 was copied from one that no longer survives.

The donation inscriptions were entered either at the front or at the end of the text, often on added leaves. Of the surviving inscriptions, one was added to on a front flyleaf,[1] three at the end of the text[2] and five on leaves added to the manuscripts at Exeter.[3] The high proportion of entries made on

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[1] Oxford, Library, In/Bodleian/ MS Auct. F.1.15 fols 78-92, the inscription occurs on the blank recto of the first leaf of the first quire.

[2] Oxford, Library In/Bodleian/ MS Auct F.1.15 fols 1-77 the inscription occurs on the blank verso of the last leaf of the last quire. In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 it occurs on the last verso immediately after the end of the text. In Oxford, Library, Bodleian, MS Bodley 708 it occurs on the recto of the first of three blank end-leaves and therefore opposite the end of the text.

[3] Oxford, Library In/Bodleian/ MS Auct. F.3.6 the inscription occurs opposite the beginning of the text, on the last verso of a blank bifolium probably added at Exeter, in MS Bodley 579 the inscription occurs at the beginning of a quire added at Exeter to the front of the manuscript to receive historical records of the see and further liturgical texts, and in MS Auct. D 2.16 the inscription occurs on the verso of the last leaf of a quire added at Exeter to the beginning of the manuscript to contain a record of Leofric's donations. (It may once have come opposite the beginning of the text but a quire containing a list of relics given by Athelstan to Exeter was added at some stage.) In Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11 the inscription occurs on the last verso of a quire added to the beginning of the manuscript at Exeter to carry records of Leofric's donations. In Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B II.2 (241) it occurs on the last verso, after the end of the text, of a quire added at Exeter to the end of the manuscript.

added leaves, which could more easily be lost or removed at subsequent rebindings, helps to explain why there are no longer donation inscriptions in extant Exeter manuscripts which could well have been given by Leofric and whose contents agree with ones recorded in the list of Leofric's donations.[1]

There is some evidence to suggest that donation inscriptions were deliberately erased or removed when manuscripts, granted to them in perpetuity, were alienated at a later date by the Dean and Chapter. They probably cut out the curses of the donation inscription before giving the OE Gospels[2] to Archbishop Parker in 1566. The lower half of the last leaf of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319 Isidore de fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento, which was probably the manuscript of that text left by Leofric to his church, has also been cut out, possibly to remove a donation inscription.

There are other manuscripts whose texts accord with ones recorded in Leofric's donation list, which were certainly at Exeter at a later date and which, since their original quire structure lacks an initial or final leaf(ves), may once have had a donation inscription viz:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190 a miscellany of ecclesiastical law and custom in 2 sections;

Exeter, D.& C., MS 3501 the 'Exeter Book';

London, B.L., MS Harley 863 Psalter;[3]

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[1] Of the five extant entries made on added leaves, four are in substantial quires contained important records for the see which may explain their survival.

[2] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii 2.11.

[3] I am not convinced that Leofric actually gave this manuscript, see below p.62.

London, B.L., MS Harley 2962 the 'Leofric Collectar';[1]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319 Isidore, de fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento;

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 394 Isidore, de miraculis christi;

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718 Penitential;[1]

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849 Bede, super septem canonicas epistolas.

(ii) The list of Leofric's gifts to the cathedral

There are two surviving contemporary copies of the list of Leofric's donations in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16, fols 1-2^{v}, hereafter cited as 'B' and in Exeter, D.& C.,MS 3501, fols 1-2^{v}, hereafter cited as 'E'.[2] A comparison of the two lists suggests that they were both copied from the same exemplar, probably the original rather untidy draft, whose interlineations have, in a few cases, been copied in a slightly different order by the scribes of 'B' and 'E'.[3] 'E' does not record the 'diadema monachorum' of 'B', which lacks 'E's' 'liber de sanctis patribus' and the note that the three Prudentius texts are 'on anre bec'.[4]

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[1] I am not convinced that Leofric actually gave these two manuscripts, on which see below p. 62.

[2] 'B' has been printed on several occasions, most accessibly in Dugdale, Monasticon, i, 220-23; and A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (1939), App.I, no.1 (hereafter cited as Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters). For a full list see Exeter Book, p. 10. 'E' is only printed in full in Exeter Book, pp. 18-30. A third, Middle English, copy from the fifteenth century (Exeter, D.& C.,MS 2570) is based on a thirteenth-century version which in its turn derives from an earlier OE copy, pr. and discussed Exeter Book, pp. 14, 30-32.

[3] e.g. 'liber isidori de novo et veteri testamento et liber isidori de miraculis christi' comes before the 'passiones apostolorum' in 'E', but four items later than that in 'B'.

[4] 'in one book'.

Both texts contain several identical interlineations, which suggests that these emendations - 'ond þaet land aet toppeshame þeah þe harold hit midun lage ut nam...'[1] and 'ond þaet land aet clist þe þid haefde'[2] - were made after the two copies had been made.[3]

The list of Leofric's donations is likely to have been drawn up in the closing years of his episcopate.[4] Since the list's concluding paragraph begins 'ond ofer his daeg he ...'[5] it must have been drawn up before Leofric's death on 10th February 1072. The estates given by him include land at Bampton, Aston, Chimney and Holacumbe. In 1069, Leofric obtained a charter from William I which allowed him to leave these estates to the cathedral[6] so the estates are likely to have been given and the list more likely to have been drawn up after the charter was granted. Although the charter may have provided royal confirmation of an earlier episcopal grant, it might have been Leofric's decision to leave the estates to the cathedral that prompted him to ensure the maximum legal safeguards for his gift.[7] The likelihood then is that the list was drawn up between 1069 and 1072.

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[1] '... and that land at Topsham that Harold unlawfully took away...'

[2] 'and that land at Clyst which Wid had...'

[3] On Leofric's efforts to recover estates for the cathedral see below pp. 206-24.

[4] There is a description, discussion and transcription of the list in Exeter Book, pp. 10-32. Förster dates the list 1069 x 72 (ibid., pp. 14-15).

[5] 'and after his day (death) he ...'

[6] Exeter, D & C, MS 2528; O.S. Facs., ii, Exeter, xvi; pr. Oliver, Lives, pp. 10-11.

[7] He may have obtained royal confirmation for other grants which no longer survive.

The lists record estates, church furniture and liturgical vestments and then liturgical and other books which Leofric donated to his church, concluding with the gift of his own mass vestments and a request for prayers for his soul. The text has been called a 'will', 'memorandum', 'grant'[1] and 'catalogue' as well as being referred to as Leofric's donation list'.

'Will' implies dispositions that would be made only after Leofric's death. This is certainly true of the final section of the text where it is specified 'ond ofer his daeg'[2] that his personal vestments would come to St Peter's minster and there is also a request for prayers for his soul. By implication then, it is not true for the major part of the list and the dispositions could have been and probably were, made during Leofric's lifetime.

'Memorandum', a note or record made for future use, is fairly appropriate terminology as the written record would serve both as confirmation that the gifts had been made, if there were to be subsequent dispute, and as a reminder of Leofric's generous endowments of the see and thus of his rightful claim on the prayers and masses said by the chapter.

'Grant', to bestow formally, to transfer legally, implies that everything that Leofric gave was formerly in his personal possession. While this may be so for the books, we know that his rôle with regard to most of the estates was one of re-establishing the cathedral's legal title to the land rather than of transferring to them his own estates.[3] Only the estates

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[1] On the occurrence of these terms see Exeter Book, p. 15. The definitions of these terms are taken from the OED.

[2] 'After his day...'

[3] See below pp. 206/07.

at Bampton, Aston, Chimney, Dawlish, Holcumbe and Southwood are clearly stated to have come from Leofric's personal possession.

'Catalogue', a complete list is the most frequent alternative to 'donation list'[1] and it implies that the list of Leofric's donations includes a complete list of the cathedral's books around 1072. Is this so? The list of books mentions the few books at St Peter's when the diocesan seat was moved there in 1050 which might reinforce the 'catalogue' concept.

> '... ond he ne funde on þam ministre þa he to feng boca na ma buton .l. capitularie ond .l. forealdod nihtsang ond .l. pistel boc ond .ll. forealdode raeding bec swiðe wake ...'[2]

If this is true, how did the pre-existing community manage to conduct services without also a sacramentary and gospel book at the very least? They may, of course, have taken most of their books with them and left only these few behind.[3] The emphasis on the scarcity of manuscripts in 1050 could be a deliberate effort by the original scribe to further emphasise Leofric's munificent gift of books to his cathedral church. The 'catalogue' concept is also weakened since Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, (Bede, Historia Ecclesiastica) bears Leofric's donation inscription and yet is not included in

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[1] 'What ... we have now before us is the earliest surviving catalogue of any Cathedral library' (L.J. Lloyd, 'Leofric as Bibliophile', Leofric of Exeter, p. 35). Oliver regards the list as a catalogue too (Lives, p. 7).

[2] '... and he found in the minster when he came no more books than 1 capitulary and one very old Nocturnale and 1 epistle book and two very old reading books much decayed...' (Exeter Book, p. 28).

[3] Our knowledge of this community is sketchy, see above pp. 21-22. London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B V. fol. 75 is a page from an eighth-century Gospel Lectionary which was at Exeter by the mid tenth century. Is this also a remnant from the books once owned by the monastery?

the list. Manuscripts which were certainly both produced at Exeter in Leofric's time and then remained there such as Cambridge, University Library, MSS Hh 1.10 and Ii 2.4, contain texts - Aelfric's Grammar and Gregory's Cura Pastoralis in OE - which are not recorded in this book list which considerably weakens its claim to be regarded as a 'catalogue'.

The tendency to regard the list as a 'catalogue' has also led to manuscripts which were copied at Exeter and which do contain works mentioned in the donation list being regarded ipso facto as the manuscript implied by the list,[1] even when there is no evidence of there ever having been a donation inscription, and when the work they contain is a common liturgical one, of which the cathedral church is not only likely to have possessed but also needed several copies.

'Donation list' implies a gift of money or goods, without suggestion of date or that the items given were the totality of the cathedral's possessions. What is meant by saying that Leofric 'donated' books? Does it imply that the books composed a private library separate from the cathedral clergy's for some twenty years and were then given almost en masse? What meanwhile did the Chapter do for books? Does it imply that the canons were only writing for the bishop during those years? This was certainly not the case as the two Cambridge manuscripts (cited above) show. Are the books recorded in the list the

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[1] Förster is prone to do this; see Exeter Book, pp. 17-18, 25-30.

the product of twenty years of steady effort on Leofric's part to build up the spiritual endowments of his cathedral church both by the donation of books he had bought or been given and by the provision of funds and training to enable the Chapter to copy for themselves the books they needed? By this definition, was Leofric the 'donor' of every Exeter manuscript? We know that there were a few manuscripts already at Exeter and other manuscripts produced before the mid eleventh century need to be carefully examined to decide whether they have ever been owned by Leofric. The existence of such a list at this early date and the definite proof of several donation inscriptions seems to have led to the uncritical ascription of every manuscript from before Leofric's time which was certainly at Exeter later and any manuscript written at Exeter during his episcopate as an item on the donation list, a habit facilitated by the unspecific listing of several texts. The list then is neither a catalogue of the cathedral's books nor a part programme of the work undertaken in the scriptorium. These limitations should be borne in mind when considering the identification of manuscripts with texts mentioned in the donation list.

To the six books at St Peter's when the see was moved there Leofric added another 59 volumes,[1] thirty-one of which are liturgical books. There were three philosophy books -

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[1] Förster states there were sixty-six books in the 'E'list i.e. six already at Exeter + sixty (counting the Prudentius as three volumes rather than one) given by Leofric (Exeter Book, p. 16). I have totalled it as six already there + fifty-eight in the 'B' list (counting Prudentius as one volume) + one omitted from 'E' but in 'B'.

nos 31, 36, 38[1] - and six poetry books - no. 32 (in OE), nos 54, 58 (the classical Latin poets), nos 41, 55 and 56 (the Christian Latin poets). The rest are mainly copies of works by Isidore, Bede, Gregory and Boethius.

Only four items are specifically stated to be in English[2] and from the other identifiable manuscripts (all in Latin despite the fact that they are recorded in the list in OE) it would be unwise to conclude that any other texts were definitely in English. However, since the list indicates only the first, or the major text, in a volume, some of the remaining texts in the volume might have been in OE: there may have been more English texts than would appear at first sight.[3]

A number of Latin volumes also contain multiple texts, though only for the Prudentius texts (no. 41) is it specified that there are three texts within the one cover.[4] Even this is misleading since the manuscript[5] also contains Prudentius, Hamartigenia, Contra Symmachum and Dittochaeon in addition to the texts specified. The martyrology (no. 27, if Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196 is the manuscript meant) also contains the Vindicta Salvatoris, while the likely benedictionals

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[1] These numbers are those of the texts in the following transcription and discussion of the donation list.

[2] viz: no. 22 Gospel Book, no. 29 Penitential, no. 31 Boethius's De consolatione philosophiae, no. 32 the large book of verse.

[3] No. 22, Gospel book in OE, is Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii 2.11 which also contains OE versions of the Gospel of Nicodemus and the Vindicta Salvatoris. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190 (possibly nos 28 and 29) contains a number of homilies in OE, glosses and charms as well as two OE penitentials.

[4] The note 'in one book' was probably added by the scribe of 'E'; since it does not occur in 'B' it was probably not in the original draft either.

[5] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 3.6.

(nos. 18-21) mostly contain pontifical texts as well, as does the Leofric Missal (no. 3 or no. 4).

The books listed are:[1]

1, 2. '<u>ii. mycele cristes bec ge bonede</u>': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16 is a gospel book which bears Leofric's donation inscription, as well as including the 'B' text of the donation list itself. It is one of the two volumes cited in the list, though no trace remains of its ornamented[2] cover. London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B V, fol. 75 is a fragment of a Gospel Lectionary which was at Exeter in the tenth century. It may still have been at Exeter in Leofric's time, but cannot really be said to have been given by him.

3, 4. '<u>ii. fulle maesse bec</u>': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 is a sacramentary and pontifical which bears Leofric's donation inscription and is, therefore, one of the volumes recorded here. It is not a <u>Missale plenum</u>, but rather a sacramentary to which some masses in missal format have been added. Exeter, D. & C., MS 3548A, fragments of a tenth-century French missal, may represent the second book. Like Leofric's gospel book (no. 1) it is a Breton book and he may have acquired the two volumes at the same time. It does contain lections in full, with cues for Gradual, Versicle and Tract.

5. '<u>i. collectaneum</u>': a service book containing short extracts from Scripture and the various collects used daily in the canonical hours. London, B.L., MS Harley 2961 is a

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[1] I have based the order on the 'E' text.

[2] 'gebonede'.

collectar written at Exeter in Leofric's time[1] but it need not necessarily have been the volume given by Leofric. Since it ends incomplete, though, it may once have had a donation inscription.

6, 7. '<u>ii. pistel bec</u>': texts used for the first lesson of the Mass. No manuscript of demonstrably Exeter origin or provenance has survived.

8, 9. '<u>ii. fulle sang bec</u>': probably antiphonals containing, either together or separately, all the music for the mass (an Antiphonarium missae) and for the canonical hours (an Antiphonarium officii), the latter was usually divided into sections for the day (Diurnale) and night (Nocturnale) hours. Neither manuscript can be identified.

10. '<u>i. nihtsang</u>': a Nocturnale. None has survived.

11. '<u>i. ad te levavi</u>': This is the antiphon sung for the introit of the mass of the First Sunday in Advent and a volume beginning with these words could be either a complete missal (which is unlikely given the separate mention of two missals, nos 3 and 4) or a volume of mass antiphons only. It was a commonly used description of a particular liturgical book. In 1044 Oskytel, a monk of Bury St Edmunds, is recorded as having a mass book and an 'Ad te levavi',[2] which suggests that a volume of antiphons only is perhaps the more likely implication. No such Exeter manuscript has survived.

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[1] See below p.146.

[2] Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 197, fol. 107; pr. M.R. James, <u>On the Library of St Edmund at Bury</u>, Cambridge Antiquarian Society no. 28 (1895), p. 6.

12. '<u>i. tropere</u>': a volume containing noted tropes for the Mass and choir offices (cf. the 'Winchester Troper').[1] No troper of Exeter origin or provenance has survived.

13, 14. '<u>ii. psalteras</u>': London, B.L., MS Harley 863 is a Gallican psalter written at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate, but not necessarily given by him. Since it ends incomplete it may once have borne his donation inscription. No other identifiable Exeter psalter survives.

15. '<u>ond se wriðdan swa man singð on rome</u>': the word 'saltere' is written after 'wriðdan' in 'E'. The Roman psalter was apparently more common in English churches of this period.[2] Its separate specification implies that the two others were Gallican psalters, which given Leofric's continental training would not be surprising.

16, 17. '<u>ii. ymneras</u>': an abbreviated Exeter hymnal of the period has survived as an integral part of London, B.L., MS Harley 2961 (see no. 5), but these must be separate volumes containing hymns for the canonical hours.

18. '<u>i. deorwurðe bletsung boc</u>': one of the three manuscripts referred to below (nos 19-21) may be represented by this entry. The value ('deorwurðe') of the benedictional may have lain in its binding or in the quality of its illumination or both.

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[1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775.

[2] K. Wildhagen dates the increasing influence and incidence of Gallican psalters in England from about the mid eleventh century and attributes it to the foreign or foreign-trained bishops promoted by the Confessor(<u>Studien zum Psalterium Romanum in England</u> (Halle, 1913), pp. 46, 49-50).

19, 20, 21. '<u>ond iii oðre</u>': Exeter, D. & C., MS 3548C is the fragments of a tenth-century English benedictional used later at Exeter as binding strips; they may have come from one of the volumes indicated here. London, B.L., MSS Additional 28188 and Cotton Vitellius A VII are both pontificals and benedictionals written at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate,[1] though they were not necessarily given by him to the cathedral. The quiring of the former is complete, but the latter is badly fire-damaged, hence it may once have had a donation inscription. A benedictional was essentially for a bishop's use, so it would not be illogical if the term were sometimes used to indicate a combined pontifical and benedictional.

22. '<u>þeos englisc cristes boc</u>': 'B' refers only to 'i. englisc cristes boc'. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii 2.11 is a complete gospel book in OE which bears Leofric's donation inscription; the descriptive pronoun 'þeos' shows that the quire now appended to the front of the Exeter Book was originally part of the Cambridge manuscript.[2]

23, 24. '<u>ii. sumer raeding bec</u>': the readings for the canonical hours of the summer period i.e. Easter to 31st October.[3] No identifiable Exeter manuscripts of this type have survived.

25. '<u>i. winter raeding boc</u>': the readings for the canonical hours during the winter season i.e. 1st November to Easter.[3]

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[1] See below, p. 146.

[2] See below p.

[3] The Rule defines the winter season as November to Easter (<u>Rule</u>, ch. xiii, p. 23), hence the summer season is Easter to 31 October.

These lessons were usually taken from Epistles and Gospels for the first of the three nocturns of the night office, from lives of the saints or from homilies of the Fathers for the second nocturn and from homilies at the third one.[1]

26. '<u>regula canonicorum</u>': Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191, Chrodegang's rule in both Latin and OE was copied at Exeter in Leofric's time, though not necessarily donated by him. It does end abruptly so may once have borne a donation inscription. However, it was Leofric's decision to place his Chapter at Exeter under the Rule of Chrodegang of which he must have had prior knowledge and possibly even practical experience. He is likely to have possessed his own copy of the Rule.

27. '<u>martyrologium</u>': Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196 is a martyrology in OE copied at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate; it lacks a final leaf so may have borne a donation inscription. However, since it is in OE, why was this not stated in the donation list since a number of other texts in OE are specifically stated as 'englisc'? Leofric could easily have had his own martyrology, probably in Latin, to which the list is really referring.

28. '<u>i. canon on leden</u>': this may indicate a Latin penitential, in which case Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, an older manuscript which was certainly at Exeter in Leofric's time and which lacks a front leaf may be the volume indicated here.

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[1] <u>Exeter Book</u>, p. 27, n. 89.

Alternatively, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, (pp. 1-294) which contains a number of Latin penitentials and which has additions made at Exeter in Leofric's time could be the manuscript indicated.[1] The 'Institutes of Polity', an English compilation of c. 1030 had instructed every bishop to have a collection of ecclesiastical canons to serve him as a reference book[2] and Leofric obviously complied with this sound bit of pastoral advice.

29. 'ond scrift boc on englisc': Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B (pp. 295-420) contains a penitential and a variety of other texts in OE, some of which were written at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate.[3] Since some leaves are lacking there could once have been a donation inscription. This collection of texts is now bound with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A (pp. 1-294 no. 28?), to form a single volume. They may have been bound together at the time when the donation was made, since some of the different texts in the volume of Prudentius's verse are individually specified. However, the donation list usually gives only one text in each volume as far as we are able to check this from the surviving manuscripts.

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[1] Förster argues that since the 'scrift boc on englisc' is not preceded by a '.i.' the two texts, nos 28 and 29 may have been one volume, and the two parts of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190 fit the descriptions (Exeter Book, p. 27, n. 92). However many items in this list are not preceded by a '.i.' so the argument is not conclusive.

[2] Thorpe, Ancient Laws, ii, p. 316.

[3] See below, p. 317-21.

30. '.i. full spell boc wintres ond sumres': a set of homilies for reading during the canonical hours throughout the year. There are two sets of homilies, all in OE, from Exeter. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 419 and 421, are eleventh-century manuscripts, the second of which was expanded at Exeter in Leofric's time[1] to provide an incomplete set of homilies for Sundays, major feasts and other occasions in the ecclesiastical year. There are no overlapping texts with the other two-volume set of OE homilies entirely written at Exeter - now London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fols 1-58, and Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489.[2] Either set may be the one indicated here, but again why is it not specified that the homilies were in 'englisc'? Leofric may well have had a set of Latin homilies for use in preaching to the Chapter, while the surviving sets in OE could be used either for the Chapter or for preaching to the laity.[3]

31. 'boeties boc on englisc': most probably Alfred's translation of Boethius's De consolatione philosophiae. The only relevant surviving manuscript of this text in OE[4] has no links with Exeter. Leofric's manuscript of the Latin text has survived (no. 36).

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[1] See below pp. 331-33.

[2] See below pp. 359-61, 377-78.

[3] The Rule stresses the importance of preaching to the laity (Rule, ch. xlii, pp. 49-50).

[4] London, B.L., MS Cotton Otho A VI, fols 1-129 (s.x med), origin and provenance unknown. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 180 (S.C. 2079) is also a complete copy of this text in OE, but its twelfth-century date bars it from consideration.

32. '.i. mycel englisc boc be gehwilcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht': Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501 is a large tenth-century manuscript of OE verse, the 'Exeter Book', one of the four main surviving codices of OE verse. It no longer bears Leofric's donation inscription but it was to this manuscript that the historical material relating to Leofric and his endowments of the see was appended when it was excised from the OE Gospel Book (no. 22) when it left Exeter. This suggests that even in the sixteenth century the 'Exeter Book's' links with Leofric were still remembered.

33. 'liber pastoralis': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708 contains Gregory the Great's Cura pastoralis and bears Leofric's donation inscription.

34. 'liber dialogorum': A manuscript of Gregory the Great's Dialogues worth three shillings recorded in 1327[1] may have been Leofric's gift, but it no longer survives.

35. 'liber .iiii. prophetarum': the four major Old Testament prophets - Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Daniel. Such a text is unrecorded in 1327 and no identifiable manuscript has survived.

36. 'liber boetii de consolatione': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.15, fols 1-77, contains this text in Latin and bears Leofric's donation inscription.

37. 'liber officialis amalarii': Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241), a copy of Amalarius of Metz's Liber officialis, contains Leofric's donation inscription.

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[1] Oliver, Lives, p. 302.

38. '<u>isagoge porphirii de dialectica</u>': Porphyrius' introduction to the Aristotelian categories was translated into Latin both by Victorinus and Boethius, who embodied both translations into his Commenta in Isagoga Porphyrii. The text is unrecorded in 1327 and no Exeter manuscript has been traced.

39. '<u>.i. passionalis</u>': Exeter, D. & C., FMS 3 is a fragment of a life of St Basil from a tenth-century English manuscript probably of saints' lives. This may have been the manuscript given to Exeter by Leofric. The book was probably used for the reading at the second nocturn of the night office when saints' lives, usually in a lengthier form than that found in a martyrology, were often read.

40. '<u>liber prosperi</u>': The 1327 inventory records two volumes of the same work by Prosper of Aquitaine valued at 6d. and 2d. respectively, whose text begins 'Domini sacris'.[1] Neither manuscript has survived, but one may have been the volume given by Leofric.

41. '<u>liber prudentii sicomachie ond prudentii ymnorum ond prudentii de martyribus on anre bec</u>': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.3.6 contains these three works by Prudentius, and indeed several more, and bears Leofric's donation inscription. The quire structure of the manuscript gives no support to Förster's argument that there were three separate volumes as represented by the donation list which were subsequently bound bound together and the list therefore amended.[2]

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[1] Oliver, <u>Lives</u>, p. 309. No text of Prosper's with this incipit can be traced.

[2] <u>Exeter Book</u>, p. 29, n. 106.

42. 'liber ezechielis prophete': 'Ezekiel Propheta "Hic Ezechiel" precii 2s.' is recorded in 1327,[1] but in the section of books given by two thirteenth-century donors. No identifiable manuscript has survived.[2]

43. 'cantica canticorum': The 1327 inventory records a 'Cantica canticorum in duobus voluminibus, "Osculetur me", precii 12d.'[3] which may have been Leofric's gift, but it has not survived.

44. 'liber isaie prophete on sundron': A glossed Isaiah is found bound up with several other texts in 1327;[4] it may represent this entry but no likely manuscript has survived.

45. 'liber isidori ethimologiarum': Two copies of this text are recorded in 1327,[5] one of which may have been Leofric's. Neither copy has survived.

46. 'liber isidori de novo et veteri testamento': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319 is a tenth-century English manuscript of Isidore's De fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Iudaeos, written by the same scribe who was responsible for London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149, and the 'Exeter Book', both of which Leofric probably owned. Most of the last leaf of this manuscript has been cut out. Was this because it bore Leofric's donation inscription? Its 2^{o} folio tallies with the copy of Isidore, De miraculis christi recorded in 1506.[6]

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[1] Oliver, Lives, p. 307.

[2] Mrs Rose-Troup has suggested that Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 707, which contains not Ezekiel but Gregory the Great's commentary on Ezekiel might be indicated here (Exeter Book, p.29, n.106A). However this manuscript is of late-eleventh-century date and could not therefore have been owned by Leofric.

[3] Oliver, Lives, p. 307.

[4] ibid., p. 308.

[5] ibid., p. 303.

[6] ibid., p. 367.

47. '<u>liber isidori de miraculis christi</u>': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 394 is a tenth-century English manuscript bearing this heading, though the text is actually the same as no. 46. This manuscript was certainly at Exeter by <u>c</u>. 1100 and several leaves have been removed from the end, one of which may have borne Leofric's donation inscription.

48. '<u>passiones apostolorum</u>': This collection of apocryphal legends of the apostles' martyrdoms compiled in the sixth century was used by Aelfric in composing some of his homilies.[1] No copy of this text was recorded in 1327 or 1506 and no identifiable manuscript has survived.

50. '<u>expositio bede super apocalipsin</u>': London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149 is a tenth-century English copy of this text, although the 'Leofric' whose name occurs on the last leaf was probably the original scribe or rubricator rather than Bishop Leofric.[2] There is no formal donation inscription. However, two other manuscripts copied by this scribe were probably owned by Leofric (see nos 32 and 46) and this manuscript is found in both the 1327 and 1506 Exeter inventories, thus it is likely to be the volume indicated here. If there had ever been a donation inscription it must have been on a lost fly-leaf, probably at the end where a singleton survives.

51. '<u>expositio bede super .vii. epistolas canonicas</u>': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849, a ninth-century French manuscript, contains this text and has this exact title rather than the more

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[1] <u>Exeter Book</u>, p. 29, n. 108.

[2] See below p. 375.

usual Bede, Super .vii. epistolas catholicas. The manuscript was certainly in England by the tenth century and at Exeter by the fourteenth century. It lacks at least one end-leaf which may have contained a donation inscription.

52. '<u>liber oserii</u>': The 1327 catalogue records 'Osorius de Deo et superioribus creaturis' in the section of Isidore's books[1] which may have been the volume referred to here. No extant copy can be traced. V.H. Galbraith argued that 'oserii' was a corruption of 'asserii' but this is unlikely.[2] Exeter, D. & C., FMS 1/2/2A are the fragments of a tenth-century French manuscript of Orosius' Universal history, a popular reference book of the early middle ages, which may represent the volume in Leofric's list. However, as the fragments are from the binding of an unrecorded printed book we cannot be sure that the manuscript from which they came was ever in England. The 1327 inventory, though, does record 'Orosius in septem peciis quaternis "O rosius presbiter" 1s.',[3] that is the Universal History.

53. '<u>liber macchabeorum</u>': This text is unrecorded in 1327 and no identifiable manuscript can be traced.

54. '<u>liber persii</u>': Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.15, fols 78-92, contains Persius's Satires, a popular schoolroom text, and bears Leofric's donation inssription.

55. '<u>sedulies boc</u>': A 'Liber Sedulii "Domino meo sancto" 12d.' is recorded in 1327. This is Sedulius' Carmen paschale, but

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[1] Oliver, <u>Lives</u>, p. 303.

[2] See , pp. 423-24. Förster seems to have been the first to hypothesise that 'Oserii' was a mis-spelling of 'Asserii' (<u>Exeter Book</u>, p. 39, n.111).

[3] Oliver, <u>Lives</u>, p. 304.

the manuscript, which may have been the one given by Leofric, is no longer extant.

56. '<u>liber aratoris</u>': Arator's De actibus apostolorum was a popular didactic epic poem. In 1327 the library contained an 'Arator, Prosper, Sedulius "Interflorigeras" precii 3d.'[1] part of which may represent Leofric's gift, but this manuscript has not survived.

57. '<u>liber de sanctis patribus</u>': omitted from 'B'. The corrector of '**E**' may be referring to a copy of Rufina of Aquileia's Historia monachorum or else have entered this in error for no. 59 Smaragdus's Diadema monachorum.[2] However the Exeter fragments of a life of St Basil (no. 39?) may alternatively have come from the manuscript represented by this entry.

58. '<u>glose statii</u>': The 1327 inventory records 'Glosa antiqua super magnum Statium, precii 12d.'[3] which begins 'Queritur quo tempore' (i.e. Statius's Thebaid, probably with the gloss by Lactantius Placidus). No extant copy of this text has an Exeter provenance.

59. '<u>diadema monachorum</u>': is recorded in 'B' but not in the 'E' text, possibly due to a scribal omission there. The text is not recorded in the 1327 inventory and no Exeter copy has survived.

We can be certain of one omission from the list:

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[1] Oliver, <u>Lives</u>, p. 307. He has wrongly transcribed the inventory which actually reads 'Arator, Sedulius, Prosper, Sedulius...'.

[2] <u>Exeter Book</u>, p. 30, n.115.

[3] Oliver, <u>Lives</u>, p. 307.

60. Bede, historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 contains this text in OE and has Leofric's donation inscription. Its omission from both copies of the donation list is probably due to its omission by the scribe who made the original draft of the list.[1]

I would consider as definitely having been Leofric's only

a) the manuscripts which bear his donation inscription. These are listed above, p. 30; and those manuscripts dating from before the mid-eleventh century which include texts found in the list and

b) in which defective quiring at the beginning or end makes it possible for them once to have had a donation inscription, i.e.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190	A.	(no. 28)
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190	B.	(no. 29)
Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, The 'Exeter Book'.		(no. 32)
London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149.		(no. 50)
Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 394.		(no. 47)

c) in which, though the original quiring is complete so far as one can tell, the scribal hand is one responsible for another manuscript which Leofric owned, i.e.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319.	(no. 46)

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[1] Förster's suggestion that it was deliberately omitted because the text was of little importance seems to me unlikely (Exeter Book, p. 12). Why should Bede's history have been considered unimportant by an Anglo-Saxon scribe?

d) in which, though the original quiring is complete so far as one can tell, some textual quirk makes the identification likely, i.e.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849 (no. 51)

This implies that we still have sixteen of the sixty volumes given by Leofric. Of these, only one - the OE Gospel book, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii 2.11 - was actually copied at Exeter.[1] This could be a statistical coincidence of survival or it could suggest that the books Leofric gave were almost entirely manuscripts copied elsewhere, which he had acquired before or during his episcopate rather than manuscripts produced in the Exeter scriptorium.

Those manuscripts copied at Exeter and previously identified with texts specified on the list (and therefore as having been given by Leofric) should be regarded with considerable caution.[2] All are liturgical books of direct relevance to the ordering and maintenance of canonical life, and the canons are likely to have needed and had several copies of such books.[3] This argument is strengthened since we know that the canons were copying texts for their own use which are <u>not</u> recorded in the list of Leofric's

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[1] Additions of quires written at Exeter were also made to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190 [illegible], B (no. 29) and Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (no. 37) and to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16 (no. 1 or no. 2) and MS Bodley 579 (no. 3 or no. 4).

[2] i.e. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 191, 196, 201; London, B.L., MSS Additional 28188, Harley 863, Harley 2961, Cotton Cleopatra B XIII and Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489.

[3] In 1044, the monks of Bury St Edmunds had between them four gospel books, five mass books, two psalters, two capitularies, one 'Ad te levavi', one <u>manuale</u>, two winter reading books and one summer one (M.R. James, <u>On the Library of St Edmunds at Bury</u> Cambridge Antiquarian Society 28 (1895), p. 6). This list is incomplete.

donations.[1] The books Leofric gave (and the list reveals only the major text, not the minor ones in each manuscript) would increase the number in the Chapter's possession and probably expand their collection's scope.

What does the list tell us of Leofric? There is the usual complement of liturgical texts that an educated and conscientious cleric of the period would need - sacramentary, gospel book, collectar, various books of music for the celebration of the Mass;[2] the books to enable him to fulfil his episcopal duties - the pontifical and benedictional; the books to enable him to supervise and even participate in the round of canonical life - the Rule, Martyrology, Nocturnale. We can guess that not only could he read but also enjoyed Old English for he owned not only texts in OE which as a cleric he needed[3] but also the 'Exeter Book'.[4] Much of the verse in this anthology is on a religious theme e.g. 'Christ', 'The Wonders of Creation', 'Guthlac', 'Juliana',[5] but some is definitely secular in tone

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[1] i.e. Aelfric, Grammar, Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10 Gregory, Cura pastoralis, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4. Both these manuscripts are in OE. These two have survived, but there may well have been other texts which the canons copied for themselves of which we have no evidence.

[2] Leofric complied with Aelfric's instructions (given in a Pastoral letter drafted for Archbishop Wulfstan) that every priest should have 'maesseboc . sangboc ond raedingc bec . saltere . one handboc . penitentialem ond gerim ond ða beon wel gerihte' (ch. XLIV, pr. Thorpe, Ancient Laws, pp. 441-43.

A 'gerim' is a calendar or numeral which gives variations in the canonical hours and in Mass caused by saints' days and other major feasts. The calendar and miscellaneous tables in the 'Leofric Missal' would largely fulfil this rôle.

[3] e.g. a Gospel book, a penitential, Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae (nos. 22, 29, 31).

[4] The Exeter Book, ed. Israel Gollancz and W.S. Mackie, E.E.T.S. (O.S.) 104 and 194 (1895 and 1934, repr. 1973).

[5] ibid., i, 2-103; ii, 48-55; ii, 104-88; i, 242-85, respectively.

e.g. 'The Wanderer', 'The Seafarer', and the riddles.[1] Since this manuscript is almost certainly identifiable with one of Leofric's donation list, Leofric is likely to have deliberately acquired it for himself.[2] He seems to have had a general interest in poetry as, apart from the 'Exeter Book' he had copies of a number of Latin poets' works, both classical and Christian. These works may have provided the basis for his own grammatical and rhetorical education e.g. Statius' Thebaid, Persius' Satires, and the main works of Prudentius.[3]

This list of Leofric's donations incorporates one of the earliest surviving lists of books owned by an individual in England and one of the earliest in which books are specifically mentioned as being in Old English. A list of Worcester (?) books from the mid eleventh century includes 'ii. englisce dialogas, ðeo englisc passional ... ond þe 'englisca' martirlogium ond .ii. englisce salteras ond .ii. pastorales englisce ond þe englisca regol ...',[4] but Aeðestan's list mentions no works in English.

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[1] Gollancz and Mackie, op. cit., i, 286-92, ii, 2-9; ii, 88-151, 190-91; 202-39. This does not imply that no Christian moral lesson was not drawn from some of these poems on a secular topic. For example the lines:

> Truly there is on earth no man so proud of heart
> . . . . . .
> That is not, in his voyage on the sea, always fearful
> Of what the Lord will bring him to. (Seafarer, ll.39, 42-3)

[2] This seems to me to support Florence of Worcester's assertion that Leofric was born a native, even though he was trained abroad.

[3] The list of a collection of grammar and rhetoric books owned by Aeðestan at Canterbury in the eleventh century also includes Persius and Sedulius (London, B.L., MS Cotton Domitian I, fol. 55^{v} (s.xi); pr. M.R. James, Ancient Libraries of Canterbury and Dover (Cambridge, 1903), p. lxix).

[4] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 367, fol. 48^{v}; Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, pp. 250-51.

The giving of books as part of a general donation to a church was common. King Aethelstan's gifts to Durham comprised, in addition to estates and vestments, a gospel book, a missal, two more gospel books and a prose and verse life of St Cuthbert.[1] Bishop Aethelwold of Worcester (ob. 984), like Leofric, left ecclesiastical vessels, vestments, lands and twenty-one books to Peterborough Abbey. His books ranged from a Commentary on the Song of Songs, Bede's Commentary on Mark and a Life of St Felix to a book on alchemy and a Bestiary.[2] He did not give any liturgical books, perhaps because the Abbey was well enough provided with them. Other clerics also left a variety of manuscripts to their churches. Abbot Paul left St Albans 'viginti octo volumina notabilia, et octo Psalteria, Collectarium, Epistolarium, et librum in quo continentur Evangelia legenda per annum, duos Textus, auro et argento, et gemmis ornatos sine Ordinalibus, Consuetudinariis, Missalibus, Tropariis, Collectariis et aliis libris, qui in armariolis habentur...[3] The twenty-eight volumes mentioned initially may well have been non-liturgical books.

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[1] Symeonis monachi opera omnia, ed. T. Arnold, R.S. (1882) i, 211. He gave no secular texts though.

[2] London, Society off Antiquaries, MS 60, fol. 34^{v} (s.xii); pr. W. Dugdale, Monasticon, i, 382.

[3] Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, R.S. (1867), i, 58. Paul was Abbot 1077-93.

Leofric's private collection seems to have been large by contemporary standards. The only roughly contemporary book list of equivalent dimensions is a list of sixty books (fifty of them non-liturgical) entered in a Worcester manuscript during the second half of the eleventh century.[1] It contains works by Orosius, Sedulius, Persius, Prosper, Boethius, Isidore, Arator, Bede - all authors whose works were represented in Leofric's collection, suggesting that this non-liturgical reading was fairly nornal for the period. There is, however, no specific mention of texts in Old English. The lack of texts of Augustine, Jerome and Ambrose, and the representation of Gregory only by the Dialogues, suggests a date for the list nearer to 1050 than to 1100, since the Norman churchmen and the Gregorian reform movement seem to have increased the vogue for texts of the Fathers of the Church.[2]

By contemporary standards, the number of volumes given by Leofric was certainly generous.[3] Abbot Seiwold left thirty-three volumes to St Vaast, Arras in the 1060s.[4] Abbot Theobaldus left

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[1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 3 (S.C. 9832), fol. 189^{v}, a copy of Gregory's Cura pastoralis. The list was printed and discussed by H.M. Bannister, 'Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church of Keynsham', E.H.R., xxxii (1917), 387-93. Bannister thought that the list represented the collection of books made by an individual rather than a list of books contained in the priory's library.

[2] The surviving Exeter manuscripts / of their works can be largely attributed to the enterprise of Leofric's successor, Bishop Osbern FitzOsbern (1072-1103) who imported patristic texts from Normandy (e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 394, fols 85-126 (Jerome's Contra Jovinianum); Bodley 707 (Gregory's Homilies); Bodley 717 (Jerome's Commentary on Isaiah); Bodley 783 (Gregory's Pastoral Care); Bodley 813 (Augustine's Homilies on John); Bodley 815 (Augustine's Confessions).

[3] The number of volumes does not, of course, necessarily reflect accurately the value of the gift, since much depends on the quality of the books, their bindings and also on the number of books already in the possession of the recipient.

[4] He was Abbot of Bath. Had he been trained at St Vaast? On the list see Philip Grierson, 'Les Livres de l'abbé Seiwold de Bath', Révue bénédictine, lii (1940), 96-114.

twenty volumes to Monte Cassino in 1023.[1] The monk Reginfridus left thirty-seven volumes to Tegernsee sometime in the eleventh century.[2] He, like Leofric, gave a number of works by late Latin authors and also a number of books on secular topics, (e.g. the Deeds of Alexander the Great, and the Destruction of Troy, and a 'liber fabularum').

From the scanty evidence available, it seems then that Leofric's donations were perfectly in keeping with English traditions. As indeed they are with Continental ones. His exact contemporary Bishop Embrico of Augsburg left over fifty volumes to his church on his death in 1071.[3] In 1026 Bishop Réginard of Liège restored the monastery of St Lawrence and gave it a number of books as a foundation gift.[4]

Why were the donation lists drawn up at all? The donation inscriptions in manuscripts given by Leofric were made to ensure that, if the manuscript should stray from Exeter, the Dean and Chapter would be able to reclaim it; hence, too the curses directed at anyone who should presume to remove any books given by Leofric to his diocesan church. The same

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[1] Monte Cassino, MS 28, fol. 194; pr. G. Becker, Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui (Bonn, 1885), no. 47, pp. 132-3.

[2] ibid., no. 57, pp. 142-3.

[3] Münich, Clm. 3727; pr. ibid.; no. 52, p. 137. The books included a missal, other liturgical books, several volumes of homilies, saints' lives, individual books of the Old Testament and works by Augustine, Gregory and Jerome.

[4] E. Lesne, Histoire de la propriété écclesiastique en France, iv, Les Livres, 'Scriptoria' et Bibliothèques (Lille, 1938), 680. Had Leofric been in Liège at the time and known of this at first hand?

principle applies to the donation lists and indeed their structure can be seen as an expanded version of that of the donation inscriptions. The lists begin by stating that '... Bishop Leofric has given to St Peter's church in Exeter where his episcopal seat is ...' and proceed to list Leofric's gifts of estates, ecclesiastical vessels, vestments, books and the vestments and vessels he used himself. Then the conditions attached to the gift, that prayers and masses must be sung for the good of Leofric's soul, are laid out[1] and the lists conclude with an elaborate calling down of divine vengeance upon anyone who presumes to remove any of these gifts from the cathedral's possession.[2]

The formal recording of gifts was not new; by writing down that a gift had been made the memory of the transfer and legality of the transaction was ensured <u>beyond</u> the lifetime of the mortal witnesses. Hence, kings, bishops and nobles had their grants of land recorded in written form, (usually by the recipient who had most to gain therefrom), wills were made[3] and gifts of moveables (church vestments, furniture, books etc.) were recorded by the recipient to give them an equivalent of a land charter to produce if their rights of possession were ever to be challenged. Aethelstan's gifts to Durham and Aethelwold's

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[1] '... on þ gerad þ þa godes ðeowas þe þaer binnan beoð aefre his sawle gemunon mid heora gebedun ond maesse sangum to criste and sancte petre ond to eallum þam halgun ...' (<u>Exeter Book</u>, fol. 2, p. 30).

[2] '... ond se þe ðas gyfu ond þisne unnan þille gode ond sancte petre aetbredan si him heofanarice aetbredan ond si he ecelice geniðerod into hellepite.' (<u>Exeter Book</u>, fol. 2^{v}, p. 30).

[3] On wills in Anglo-Saxon times see D. Whitlock, <u>Anglo-Saxon Wills</u> (Cambridge, 1930).

to Peterborough must have been recorded at the time (though the originals of these lists have now been lost) or the twelfth-century compilers of the history of those two houses would not have been so well informed.

What was the substitute in this type of record for the witness list of the charters? Both the Exeter texts of the list of Leofric's donations were written on folios deliberately inserted at the front of Gospel books. This suggests that the substitute for a human witness was a divine one, the Lord God, the Heavenly King himself. Few would dare to write a false title to estates or manuscripts etc. and then call upon God as their witness to the Truth! The lists themselves make it entirely clear that God was the witness to the transaction. They both begin 'Her swutelað on ðissere bec'.[1] Appropriately both the Gospel books in which the lists were inserted were given by Leofric[2] and were in the two different languages intelligible to the Chapter of the time - Latin and Old English. Considerable forethought obviously went into the drawing up of the donation lists and into establishing the legal validity of the endowment made by Leofric to his cathedral church.[3]

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[1] 'It is manifest here in this book...'

[2] Was another list also inserted in the third (now lost) Gospel book given by Leofric to Exeter? The surviving Middle English list seems not to descend, even indirectly from the two surviving lists (Exeter Book, pp. 10-11); did it descend from a lost third list?

[3] He had already got William I's confirmation of the transfer of certain estates (see above p. 26) and he made considerable efforts to establish Exeter's claims to other estates (see below pp. 207 - 19).

Although most of the books given by Leofric to Exeter have perished, we can gather from the survivors and from the donation lists that he had a wide-ranging collection of the type of texts an educated priest and bishop of the day would need to enable him to perform his duties of teaching and leading both cleric and layman. In addition, it seems likely from his possession of so many poetic texts both Latin and OE that he actually read some of his books at least for his own enjoyment. He was determined that the benefits of his books and of his efforts for their welfare generally should not be lost to his clergy so he left estates, goods and books to the Chapter. He ensured, in so far as he was able, that these gifts were in perpetuity by a double record being made of each item. Each book had the record of his donation inscription entered in it[1] and then at least two general records were made of all his gifts to the Cathedral. These records were given the highest degree of authentication possible by being inserted in Gospel books which would lie on the altars while masses were being said.

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[1] Is the reconstruction of the Exeter charters during his episcopate - a charter for each estate - a parallel to a donation inscription to give legal title to the transfer of a book?

CHAPTER III

THE LEOFRIC 'MISSAL': A PALAEOGRAPHICAL AND TEXTUAL HISTORY

The key manuscript for any study of the 'Exeter' style must be the Leofric Missal.[1] There can be no doubt as to the manuscript's presence at Exeter: the manuscript bears Leofric's bi-lingual donation inscription;[2] it can probably be identified as one of the 'ii fulle maesse boc' in the lists of Leofric's donations;[3] it contains records of manumissions made at Exeter or nearby around 1100;[4] it may be identified with the entry 'Missalia. Item vi. Vetus non notatum £2. 10s' in the 1327 inventory;[5] it came to the Bodleian in 1602 along with over ninety other manuscripts from Exeter. The Leofric Missal is a complex book in almost every respect and I propose firstly to deal with its codicological structure, secondly to discuss the manuscript's origin, its textual development and history before it came to Exeter and thirdly to describe the additions made to the manuscript at Exeter.

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[1] Oxford, Bodleian MS Bodley 579; fully edited by F.E. Warren, The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter during the Episcopate of its First Bishop A.D. 1050-1072 (Oxford, 1883, repr. 1968), hereafter cited as LM.

[2] fol. 1, LM, p. 1.

[3] See above p. 48.

[4] fols 1^{r-v} and 377^{v}; LM, pp. 1 and 269; see below pp.

[5] Oliver, Lives, p. 305.

(i) The codicology of the manuscript

When Warren edited the manuscript he divided it into three sections:

'A' - the original Sacramentary, written in the early tenth century;

'B' - a calendar from Glastonbury, written around 970 A.D.;

'C' - all other additions to the original text.

I propose to retain these divisions for the sake of convenience. However, 'C' covers a large number of additions made by nearly thirty scribes between the early tenth and early twelfth centuries. I judged that an extended tabular format for the description of the manuscript would show most clearly the relationship between booklets, scribal hands and the different texts.[1] The collation gives the present physical structure of the manuscript,[2] though this may not exactly reflect the order of its re-binding at Exeter in Leofric's time. The original quires of the manuscript are here bounded by two broken lines (--------), those quires added at Exeter by xxxxxx lines and those added, probably at Glastonbury, by a line of asterisks (******). All texts are in Latin unless otherwise specified. A line indicates where a text runs over from one quire to another in the same hand. 'A' indicates the scribe of the original portions of the manuscript. Those scribes whom I believe were writing at Exeter in Leofric's time or soon after are designated by a number in the 'Scribe' column, but are not discussed until Chapter IV. Other hands are dated approximately and discussed below pp. 109-14. The columns in LM have been designated A and B and added to the page numbers to assist in locating texts.

[1] Warren's tabular description (LM, pp. xxvi-xxvii) does not reveal clearly the full complexity of the manuscript's structure.

[2] The codicological divisions of the manuscript are here indicated by means of different types of horizontal lines ruled across the page.

Collation	Fol. no.	Scribe	Text(s)	LM page(s)
	iv			
1^8	1	2	Leofric's donation inscription (Latin/OE)	1A
	1-1^v	s.xi ex Exeter	Five manumissions (OE)	1A-B
	2-3	9	Account of founding of the see of Crediton	1B-2A
	3 1.7 -3^v	10	Leofric's appointment and the removal of the see to Exeter	2A-B
	4 11.1-7	4	Feria iv : Collect	3A
	4-5^v	10	Feria iv (cont.); Feria vi; Ordo for Holy Saturday and Prayer after hymn to the three boys	3A-B
			[most of 5^v is blank]	
	6-6^v		List of relics at Exeter	3B-5B
			[7 is blank]	
	7^v		Mass of St Michael	5B
	8	s.x med Tavistock?	Prayer, beg: Propitiare misericors ... eundem dominum	5B
singleton	8-8^v	s.x^2 Tavistock?	Manumissions (OE)	5B-6A

Collation	Fol. no.	Scribe	Text(s)	LM page(s)
2^4	9	s.ix/x N.France?	Blessing of the bells	6A-B
	9	s.x^1 N.France?	Names of living and dead	6B
	9^v-11^v	A	Blessings for major feasts in Temporal and Common, before a meal and for food and drink	6B-8A
	11^v 11.18-23	s.xi^1 England	Agreement between Abbess Eadgyfu and Abbot Leofric (OE)	8A
	12-12^v	s.x^1 Glastonbury?	3 prayers, beg.: Deus, qui iuste...; Domini ihesu christe; Beate semper virginis...	8A-B
3^4	13-13^v	A	4 prayers, beg.: Oremus, fratres...; Oremus etiam pro unitate...; Oremus etiam domini...; Offerimus tibi...	8B
	13^v-14	s.x^2 Glastonbury?	Blessing on the king and on the king at the time of a synod	8B-9A
	14^v-15^v	A	Intercessions addressed to Holy Trinity for various groups	9A-B
	15^v-16	s.x^2 Glastonbury?	Blessings for an individual and for a traveller	9B-10A
	16 11.15-23	s.x^2 Glastonbury?	Inter alia	10A
	16^v	A	Intercessions for priest at Mass (ends incomplete)	10A
singleton	17-17^v	s.x^2 Glastonbury?	Mass for rain, with lections	10A-B

Collation	Fol. no.	Scribe	Text(s)	LM page(s)
4^8	18-25	1	Votive masses mostly with lections: for those facing temptation; for living and dead; for bishop; for penitents; for the religious community; for any trial; for peace; for traveller(s)	10B-14B
5^8	26-30 l.10	↓		14B-16B
	30 l.11-33	2	Mass for St Nicholas; Votive masses, mostly with lections: for enemies; for a friend; a church's anniversary and a blessing	17A-19A
6^4	34	3	Mass for Nativity of John the Baptist	19A
	34^v-37	2	Votive masses for: rulers of the church; peace; king at time of synod; bishop to say for himself; St Egidius; queen	19B-21B
	37^v	4	Mass for a church dedicated to a martyr or confessor	20B-21B
7^8	38-45	c. 980 Glastonbury	Calendar: Paschal tables	21A-36
8^8	46-52^v		(cont.)	37-49
	52^v ll. 31-34	10	Note on calculation of Easter, in lower margin	49
	53-53^v	c.980 Glastonbury	Paschal cycles 969-987 and 988-1006, with notes	50-51
9^6	54-58		Notes on days of week, length of months, lunar cycles, on when to hold various major feasts, on seasons, on celebration of Easter	51-58
	58^v ll.1-22	$s.x^2$ Glastonbury	Vesting prayers	59A

	58v 11.23-27	5	Preface for Sundays in Lent	59A
9⁶	59 11.1-9	3	Mass for Octave of St Andrew (incomplete)	59A-B
(2 and 4	59 11.11-22	1102x37 Exeter	Letter of Adela to Bishop L	59B
are	59v	s.x² Glastonbury?	Preface to a Mass (with neums)	59B
singletons)	59v 11.11-13	4	'Quem laudant ... voce dicentes'	59B
	59v 11.14-20	6	Letter of Pope Pelagius	59B

10⁸	60-67	A	Canon of Mass. Temporal: Vigil of Nativity at nones,	60A-64B
11⁸	68-75		midnight and dawn; Christmas; Sunday after Christmas	64B-70B
12⁸	76-83		6th Sunday after Epiphany; Vigil of Purification	70B-76A
13⁸	84-91		Feria ii after Quadragesima; Feria iii Feria iii	76A-82B
14⁸	92-99		after 3rd Sunday in Lent; Feria iv Feria iii after Passion Sunday	82B-89A
15⁸	100-107		Feria iv Feria v (Good Friday); Holy Saturday	89A-94B
16⁸	108-115		Easter Sunday; Feria ii Missa in pascha	95A-99A
17⁸	116-123		annotina; 2nd Sunday after Easter	99A-105B
18⁸	124-130		Sunday before Pentecost; Pentecost	105B-111A
(lacks 6) 19⁸	131-138		7th Sunday after Pentecost;	111A-117B
20⁸	139-146		8th Sunday 20th Sunday after Pentecost	117B-124A

21^{8} —	147-154	A	21st Sunday after Pentecost Prayers for Advent	Dominica vacat; 124A-130B
	154^{v}	s.x^{2} Glastonbury?	Consecration of the bells '... pater, omnipotens' (ends incomplete)	130B

22^{4} — (lacks 4)	155-156	1	Completes previous text; extra prayers for the same occasion	130B-131A
	156^{v}-157^{v}	2	Blessings for various ecclesiastical ornaments	131A-B

23^{8}	158-165	A	Sanctoral: St Stephen —> St Valentine (14th Feb.);	131B-137B
24^{8}	166-173		St Juliana —> St Vitus (15th June);	137B-145A
25^{8}	174-181		SS Mark and Marcellian —> Macchabees (1st Aug.);	145A-151A
26^{8}	182-189		Pope St Stephen —> Nativity of BVM (8th Sept.);	151A-158A
27^{8}	190-197		St Gorgonius —> Vigil of All Saints (31st Oct.)	158A-165A
28^{8}	198-205		All Saints —> St Thomas; Common of Saints (fol. 204^{r}): feast of an apostle —> feast of a martyr;	165A-171B
	206-210		several martyrs —> feast of several saints	171B-174B
29^{8}	210^{r} ll. 18-19	s.x/xi England	'Quem laudant ... voce dicentes'	175A
	210^{v}-11^{v}	s.x med Glastonbury?	Mass in time of trial; penitential prayer for a priest	175A-B
	212-213	A	Votive Masses: for Holy Trinity —> for spiritual	176A-177B
30^{8}	214-223		grace; for angelic protection —> for any trouble;	177B-184A
31^{8}	224-231		against slanderers —> for a friend;	184A-189B
32^{10}	232-241		for a friend —> for a dead layman;	189B-196A
33^{12} —	242-245^{v}		for a dead woman —> burial mass	196A-198B

33^{12}	245^{v} 11.9-23	$s.x^{2}$ Glastonbury?	Blessing in time of war	198B
	$246-253^{v}$	A	Ordo for Dead Commendatio animae	198B-203B
	253^{v}- 11.1-13	s.ix/x N. France	Prayers in commemoration of the saints	203B
	253^{v} 11.14-24	"	Prayer beg.: Deus quem omnia ... meritique reddamus	203B
34^{8} (lacks 7) (3 and 6 are single-tons) + i	$254-258$ 1.8	$s.x^{2}$ Glastonbury?	Blessings for Purification of BVM, ashes, Palm Sunday	203A-205B
	258-260 1.	"	Preface for Mass of SS Abdon and Sennen; Mass for St Cuthbert and Preface for Finding of Holy Cross	205B-206B
	260^{v}	"	Mass for SS Dionysius and Eleutherius	206B-207B
	261^{r}	"		
	261^{v}	4	Preface for Mass for Dead	
35 a four	$262-263^{v}$	A	Prayers for 'familiariis', for all church, for all people and for dead	207A-208B
	264	$s.x^{2}$ Glastonbury?	Mass for All Saints	208A
	264^{v}	"	Mass for finding body of St Stephen	208A-B
	$265-265^{v}$	"	Mass for sinner, with lections	208B-209B
36^{8}	$266-267^{v}$	A	Litany	209A-211B
	267^{v} 11.12-17	$s.x^{2}$ Glastonbury?	Blessing for feasts of BVM.	211A
	267^{v} 11.18-27	"	Ordo for feasts of BVM.	211A-B
	$268-273^{v}$	A	Ordos for consecrating doorkeeper prayers at ordination of a priest (ends incomplete) 'heremo per septu'	211A-215A

	274-274^{v}	s.x med Glastonbury?	completing previous text;	215A
	274^{v} ll.4-7	"	Beg. Consecrentur manus ... sanctificaverint santificentur	215A
37^{4}	275-275^{v} l.19	"	Collect and Blessing for Ordo of ordaining deacon	215A-B
	275^{v} ll.19-276	"	Blessing of stole; prayer after putting it on	215B
	276^{v}-277 l.18	s.x^{2} Glastonbury?	Prayers on election of bishop	215B-216A
	277 l.19-278 l.8	"		216A-B
38^{8}	278^{r} l.9-278^{v}			216B-217A
	278-285	A	Prayer on ordination of bishop —> Consecration of	217A-221B
39^{8}	286-293		corporal; consecration of altar etc. —> blessing of	221B-225B
40^{10}	294-303		the font; blessing of a house —> blessing on a	225B-231A
41^{10}	304-13		newly elected king; coronation ordo —>Prayer after giving salt to catechumens	231A-236A
42^{10}	314-323		Blessing of font —> Ordo for visiting and anointing	236A-241B
43^{12}	324-335		sick; Prayers for sinners —> general blessing	241B-250B
	336 ll.1-17			
+ i	336 ll.18-24	s.x^{2} Glastonbury?	Prayer beg.: Praesta, domine ... in aeterna saecula	250A
	336^{v}	s.ix/x N. France?	3 prayers inc: Descendat, quaesumus; Deus, qui invisibiliter; Deus qui dixisti	250A-251A

	337-339)			
	)	2		
	339^{v}-341)			
	341 ll.15-341^{v}	10	Mass for St Margaret	253A
44^{8}			[rest of fol. 341^{v} blank, as is fol. 342]	
	342^{v}-344^{v} l.1	4	Masses for St Alban, translation of St Martin;	253A-254A
	344^{v} ll.2-15	2	24th Sunday after Octave of Pentecost (collect to preface)	254A
	344^{v} ll.16-18	3?	Post-communion	254B
45^{8}	345-52	5	Prefaces for Temporal masses; Nativity → Lent;	254B-258A
			<u>Ordo</u> for Palm Sunday with lections → Blessing for Maundy Thursday;	
46^{8}	353-60		<u>Ordo</u> for consecrating chrism → exorcism of	258A-261A
47^{8}	361-70	↓	catechumens; Prefaces: Easter → Advent; Prefaces for Sanctoral and Common of Saints	261A-266B
	371-372	2	Mass for ordination of a bishop	266B-267A
	372^{v}-373 l.15	6	Masses for: conception of John the Baptist; for king and queen (collect)	267A-B
	373 l.16-373^{v}	7	Masses for: king and queen (secret and post-communion; for ordination of St Gregory	267B-268A
48^{8}	374	10	Mass for conception of BVM	268A
	374^{v}-375 l.2	4	Mass for a friend in trouble	268A-B
	375 l.3-18	8	Mass for octave of St Martin	268B

375 1.19- 375^{v}	10	Masses for octaves of St Andrew and Faith	268B-269A
376	9	Preface for Feast of St Peter ad vincula	269A
376^{v}-377	10	Masses for SS Augustine and Lazarus	269A-B
377^{v}	s.xi/xii Exeter	Manumission (OE)	269B

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The Leofric Missal is about 197 x 150 mm., with a written area of 140 x 95 mm., now in a post-medieval binding.

As can be seen, the original manuscript has suffered a considerable degree of disruption. The quires of the original Sacramentary and Pontifical fall into three sections - quires 10-21 the Temporal, quires 23-33 Sanctoral, Commune Sanctorum and Votive masses,[1] and quires 36, 38-43 + 2-3 the Pontifical.[2] Two quires were inserted between Sacramentary and Pontifical and the three quires of the calendar were added at Glastonbury in the tenth century,[3] probably at different times so the manuscript would need rebinding twice. A further nine quires were added at Exeter in Leofric's time when the manuscript must again have been rebound.

(ii) The origin and early history of the Leofric Missal

Warren considered that the Sacramentary ('A') which is the nucleus of the Leofric Missal was produced at the Benedictine monastery of St Vaast in Arras and was brought over to England by Leofric, who was responsible for adding both the tenth-

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[1] Fols 262-3 in quire 35 (a four) may originally have come after the Ordo for the Dead as they contain prayers for the dead.

[2] The Pontifical has suffered severe disruption; quire 36 probably led originally into quire 38 until an extra quire was added at Glastonbury to carry lengthier and different ordos for ordaining priests, deacons and bishops, which were carried on onto fol. 278 (quire 38) over the erased A text. Quires 2 and 3, which contain episcopal blessings, probably came at the end of A originally. At some stage though, fol. 336^{v} (the last leaf of quire 43) was probably the final leaf of the manuscript as it is severely rubbed, suggesting that the bifolia now surviving as quire 2 and 3 were moved from the end of the manuscript on one of the occasions when it was rebound in the tenth century. The two bifolia in quire 3 have no textual relationship and could originally have come from separate quires.

[3] Quires 34, 37 and 7-9.

[4] Quires 1, 4-6, 44-48.

century calendar and the additional quires to the manuscript.[1] E.W.B. Nicholson suggested that the elaborate ornamentation for the feast of SS Peter and Paul in the Sanctoral indicated 'A's' production at the Benedictine house of Lutosa (dedicated to those two saints), also in the diocese of Arras.[2] The attribution to the Arras-Cambrai area was accepted by O. Pächt and J.J. Alexander.[3] 'A' has been attributed both to Rheims and Winchester on the grounds of the coronation order,[4] while, on the grounds that there are several Anglo-Saxon saints in the Litany, Derek Turner has argued that 'A' was written by a continental scribe working in south-west England early in the tenth century.[5] Most recently, Höhler has argued that 'A' was copied in England early in the tenth century by a continental scribe from an English exemplar.[6] The difficulties of separating

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[1] LM, pp. xxxviii-xliii. He dates 'A' to c. 950.

[2] Oldest Latin Musical MSS, p. lvii. He provides no further evidence to support his hypothesis regarding the manuscript's origin. He dated 'A' to the mid-eleventh century on the grounds of the forked ascenders. This date is completely untenable for 'A'. Did the error arise because he was looking at the folios written by Exeter Scribe 1, who does sometimes split his ascenders?

[3] Ill. MSS in the Bodleian, i, no. 422.

[4] K. Gamber, Codices Liturgici Latine Antiquiores, Spicilegium Friburgensis, Subsidia I (Freiburg 1963) and P.E. Schramm, 'Die Krönung bei den Westfranken und Angelsachsen von 878 bis um 1000', Zeitschrift fur Rechtsgeschichte, 55, kanon. Abt. 23 (Savigny n.d.), 161-2.

[5] The Missal of Newminster, Winchester, ed. D. Turner, HBS, xcii (1962), pp. vi-vii, hereafter cited as Newminster.

[6] C.E. Höhler, 'Some service books of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church', Tenth-Century Studies - Essays in commemoration of the millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia, ed. D. Parsons (London, 1975), 60-83, esp. 78-83. His main reasons are: the separate Sanctoral; the presence of several Anglo-Saxon saints in the litany and his interpretation of the coronation ordo.

the origin of a liturgical manuscript from that of its exemplar or, worse, exemplars are manifold, but textual and palaeographical evidence should be assessed together.

'A' consists mainly of a Gregorian Sacramentary, with a strong Gelasian admixture,[1] as Gamber confirms.[2] Sacramentaries of this sort of mixed parentage were being copied between the mid-ninth and early eleventh centuries, mainly in North France and the Rhineland, the earliest surviving dateable one being Paris, B.N., MS lat. 9428 which was written for Bishop Drogo of Metz (826-855). This does not imply a close textual relationship within this group, since the adaption of the Gelasian to the Gregorian rite, as promulgated by Charlemagne and Alcuin, was an ad hoc and continuing process in the clerical scriptoria of the Carolingian Empire throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. The original scribe entered in the margins the cues for the Allelulia, Psalm, Versicle and Response and, sometimes, for the Offertory and Communion prayers. Thus the sacramentary is at a primitive stage of the movement towards a missal format where all the variable sections of the mass are written out also.

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[1] This emerged from checking all the prayers in Dom P. Bruylant's Les Oraisons du Missal Romain; Etudes Liturgiques, I, 1-2 (Louvain, 1952), hereafter cited as Bruylants, Oraisons. H.A. Wilson used this manuscript occasionally for his edition of The Gregorian Sacramentary, HBS, xlix (London, 1915), but about 50 Masses are Gelasian. The numerous triple episcopal benedictions and the large number of Proper Prefaces are both characteristically Gelasian features (LM, p. xxxvii). Although Warren had little of the liturgical reference material available today, his conclusions are basically sound.

[2] He describes 89 manuscripts (nos 901-990, of which LM is no. 950) as 'sacramentana gregoriana mixta.' (op. cit.)

The Temporal masses are largely Gregorian, except for the masses for the 4th-27th Sundays after Pentecost and another twelve which are Gelasian. Of the texts of the 113 Sanctoral masses, 21 are Gelasian, 4 appear for the first time here[1] and 4 are unrecorded.[2] C. Höhler adduces the mass for St Mark on 18th May, rather than the usual 25th April as an English symptom,[3] but the prayers for this mass (except the Post-communion) appear in three manuscripts cited by Bruylants, one of which dates from the first half of the ninth century, and all of which have Roman connections. This may suggest that here the LM does represent an older Roman tradition, though not necessarily transmitted via England as Höhler argues.

The liturgical influences upon the LM become even more complex hereafter. The Commune Sanctorum includes many prayers from Alcuin's supplement to the Gregorian Sacramentary, but they are not always assigned to the usual mass. The masses for the vigils of martyrs and confessors are untraced, as are half the prayers for the vigil of an apostle.[4] The Votive masses show even less adaption to a Gregorian type. Only a third of the masses have been traced in other Gregorian sacramentaries, half a dozen are purely Gelasian[5] and nearly a

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[1] i.e. St Matthias 24th February; St Mark 18th May; St Bartholomew 25th August; SS Maurice and companions 22nd September.

[2] i.e. Deposition of St Benedict 21st March; Dedication of the church of St Mary ad Martyres no day assigned; St Nichodemus 1st June; St Caesarius 1st November.

[3] loc cit., 78.

[4] The collect and secret are Bruylants, Oraisons, nos 937 and 1001.

[5] i.e. Missae pro pace, in tempore belli, in tempore mortalitas, in sterilitate terrae, pro infirmis, pro defuncto sacerdote (LM, pp. 183, 185, 186, 186, 193, 195).

third are for occasions and contain prayers which are unrecorded by Bruylants. This suggests that the exemplar for this section was produced at a time and place when and where the influence of the Gregorian rite was only in the ascendant. The comparatively few Gelasian features may suggest that this exemplar was not necessarily French.

Höhler argues that the separate sanctoral of the LM is a symptom of its English origin since he believes that the Gelasian rite was compiled for Augustine's use in England[1] and that later English sacramentaries and missals show the same division. However, since the Gelasian rite was in use in pre-Carolingian France and in varying stages of survival thereafter, the division of the LM may reflect the chance survival of an experimental lay-out which did not survive on the Continent. As the LM had reached England by the middle of the tenth century and was at the centre intimately connected with the reform movement,[2] might its lay-out not have been an instrumental influence on the development of the English sacramentary?

'A' was designed to be used by a bishop as it contains material proper to a Pontifical e.g. ordos for ordaining the different grades of ecclesiastic and for a royal coronation, as well as numerous triple episcopal benedictions.[3] The liturgical affinities of this portion of 'A' are complex.

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[1] loc. cit., 60-2, 78.

[2] See below p.114

[3] Mainly in quires 35 (fols 266-273, pp. 209-214) and 37-42 (fols 278-335, pp. 217-250). As a scribe is unlikely to copy such large sections of material if they were not required, it seems reasonable to assume that the book was copied for a bishop's use.

The Litany[1] shows strong Gallican affinities e.g. St Ragnulf (of Arras), St Vedast (of Arras), St Bavo (of Ghent) and a bevy of Merovingian ladies (SS Genevieve, Rictrudes, Aldegund and Radegund).[2] There are Anglo-Saxon saints viz. Boniface, Patrick, Cuthbert, Guthlac and Paulinus,[3] but there are no Anglo-Saxon female saints.[4]

It is logical to assume that if a scribe wished to adapt a litany to the use of his own house he would (a) add the particular saints venerated locally to the end of the appropriate sections of the litany;[5] (b) use a distinctive script or decoration to give prominence to any saints he wished.[6]

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[1] LM, fols 266-267[v], pp. 209-11 and xli-xlii.

[2] Rictrudes († 688) took the veil from St Amand and founded the nunnery of Marchiennes; Aldegund († 684), whose sister St Waltrude was abbess of Mons, founded the abbey of Mauberge; Radegund († 587), Queen of Clothaire I, founded the nunnery of the Holy Cross at Poitiers.

[3] Höhler adduces this as proof of the LM's English origin and suggests that this particular group was added because of their Glastonbury affinities. He suggests that Paulinus is the Bishop of Rochester (625-44) in view of the later Glastonbury tale of his repairs to the church and he is also entered in the Glastonbury Kalendar prefixed to this sacramentary (op. cit., pp. 69-70). Warren takes Paulinus to be the Bishop of Trier † 360 (LM, p. xli).

[4] St Bridget (of Kildare) appears, but she was widely commemorated in Western Europe due to the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions to eighth-century Germany and the Low Countries.

[5] e.g. the litany in London B.L. MS Harley 863 where the last martyr is Olave, the last confessors are Leo, Bardo and Simon and the last virgins are Sativola, Tova, Welvela and Winnosa, all of whose entries can be explained in an Exeter context (infra pp. 239, 241-42).

[6] It seems to me far less likely that a hierarchy of scripts and/or decoration would be copied slavishly from an exemplar than texts, even if inappropriate, would be.

(a) Warren has already pointed out that the list of martyrs, ending with Lambert, Ragnulf, Salvius and Just, indicates the western part of Lotharingia.[1] The list of confessors ends with SS Lupus, Ursus, Modestus, Hucbert and Arnulf, who all have Lotharingian or North French connections,[2] while that of the virgins ends, after a number of Merovingian ladies, with the names of SS Victoria and Oportuna, which again suggests the same area.[3] On these grounds, the LM is likely to have been copied somewhere in the western area of Lotharingia, based on an older Gallican litany, which at some, probably late stage in its transmission, was exposed to Anglo-Saxon influence.

(b) In this litany, three names occur in a majuscule script: SS Stephen, Silvester[4] and Felicity who begin the sections of

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[1] LM, p. xli.

[2] St Lupus, Bishop of Troyes († 478) was a native of Toul; St Ursus († 508) was Bishop of Auxerre; St Modestus was Bishop of Trier (486-89); St Hucbert († 727) succeeded St Lambert as Bishop of Maastricht and then became Bishop of Liège (Warren refers only to a Hucbert, monk in the diocese of Soissons, but given the other saints are all bishops and from slightly further north, this attribution seems less likely); Arnulf could be either the Bishop of Toul (847-71) or, as Warren suggests, the Bishop of Metz († 640). He erroneously says that SS Remigius and Vedast occur at the end of the list of confessors (LM, p. xli).

[3] Victoria is probably the North African martyr and companion of St Saturninus († 304), whose mass occurs in the Sanctoral (LM, p. 168); Oportuna († c. 770) was the sister of St Chrodegang of Metz and an abbess of Montreuil-sur-Mer.

[4] St Silvester, whose name heads the list of confessors, was probably the Bishop of Chalons-sur-Sâone, c. 484-525, suggesting a French origin for the Litany.

martyrs, confessors and virgins/widows respectively. One name, that of St Vedast, is written in a more elaborate majuscule and is decorated with touches of green paint. This suggests that the manuscript was copied at a place where St Vedast was held in special veneration.[1]

The coronation order in the LM has been intensively studied, with rather differing conclusions.[2] J. Armitage-Robinson concluded that most of the forms in the LM could be traced back to the ordo arranged for Judith at Rheims in 856 or for the 878 coronation of Louis the Stammerer by Hincmar of Rheims[3] and that the LM order was used by Dunstan in compiling the second English order. Bouman believed the regal texts of the LM to be 'undoubtedly of West Frankish origin', and argued that, since some of the LM formularies are found in a more primitive stage in an eleventh-century Milanese pontifical, there were continental exemplars for these.[4]

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[1] Höhler offers no explanation why, if the LM were copied in England, there should be so few male Anglo-Saxon saints and no female ones and why Vedast's name should be given such prominence. His general stricture (loc.cit., 81) on Anglo-Saxon adaptors of texts and scribes as 'fairly stupid men', whom he assumes copied slavishly from their exemplars, does not tally with the inclusion of a few English saints in the middle of the Litany.

[2] LM, pp. 230-2; fols 302^{v}-306. Gamber thought it betokened a Rheims influence; Schramm dated the manuscript to s.x med at Winchester; Höhler (loc.cit., 78) claims there is an 'English coronation oath' but does not argue the point. This conviction may stem from his view that the second English coronation ordo, as represented by the Sacramentary of Ratoldus, is a mixture of the first ordo (i.e. the LM one and therefore English) and the French one in the Sens pontifical (loc.cit., 67-8).

[3] J.A. Robinson, 'The Coronation Order in the Tenth Century', Journal of Theological Studies, 19 (1917-18), 57. He demonstrates that an ordo of the LM type, but not necessarily the LM itself, influenced the formularies in the Pontificals of Egbert and Llanalet (these, with the LM are regarded as the variants of the first Anglo-Saxon Coronation Ordo).

[4] C.A. Bouman, Sacring and Crowning (Utrecht, 1957), pp. 9-10, 23.

Why do the formularies in the LM, if written in England as Höhler argues, refer clearly to 'romanorum regum' and 'romani regni', while the Missa pro regibus[1] refers to the 'regis ... romanum imperium'.

Höhler also argues that the Pontifical is based on a sixth or seventh-century text which would not have been used at any time or place where the Gelasian or Gregorian texts were normative, since three prayers in the ordo for ordaining deacons and priests are only found elsewhere in the Leonine Sacramentary.[2] The hierarchy of decoration in the Sanctoral may provide some clues as to the origin of the manuscript. Eleven feasts are begun with a gold initial and the only national saint to be so honoured is St Martin, which implies that the manuscript was copied in France.[3] The feast of St Peter the Apostle on 29th June is, however, the most prominent.[4] It begins with a gold uncial D and the first line of text is in rustic capitals, twice the normal height and decorated with touches of colour, as is the second line of text in normal size rustic capitals.

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[1] LM, p. 179, fol. 216[v].

[2] This begs the question whether any liturgical text of this period was ever regarded as normative, or whether any adapter or scribe would recognise a text as such.

[3] 11th Nov.; LM, p. 166; fol. 199[v].

[4] The feast of St Stephen begins with a line of gold rustic capitals, but this is probably due to its beginning the Sanctoral. For full details of the hierarchy of decoration in the Sanctoral, see below p. 93.

On palaeographical grounds the manuscript can be assigned to North France in the second half of the ninth century. The leaves are arranged largely in quires of eight, though tens and twelves occur at the end of each of the sections of the Sacramentary.[1] The folios are pricked in the outer margin and ruled in dry point at a regular 21 lines to a leaf. The single scribe writes an accomplished caroline minuscule, his main peculiarity being an insular a. His hand can be compared with those of B.N., MSS lat. 11532 and 12294, both from Corbie and dated 855 x 69 and c. 845 respectively[2] and with that of one of the scribes of Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 308, a manuscript given by Archbishop Hincmar to Rheims between 845 and 882.[3]

The ink initials are a line and a half high, but capitals at the beginning of sections are in red (occasionally green) and three lines high. Ink capitals in the body of the text have occasionally been touched up with green or red paint. The decoration of feasts in the Sanctoral is graded according

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[1] The textual division of the sacramentary into Temporal, Sanctoral and Commune Sanctorum and Votive Masses is partly mirrored by the arrangement of quires. At the end of the Temporal and Votive Masses section, the scribe left blank folios (fols 154^{v}, 253^{v}) at the end of the quire in order to begin the next section on a new quire. At the end of the Commune Sanctorum a leaf and a half were left blank, possibly deliberately to enable additions to be made.

[2] Catalogue des manuscrits en écriture latine portant les indications de date, de lieu ou de copiste, ed. C. Samaran & R. Marichal, iv (Paris, 1974), plates XII and X.

[3] Rabanus Maurus - On Pauline Epistles fol. 77, see New Pal. Soc. 1st series, Pl. 236. No name is given to this particular scribe.

to their importance.[1] Headings are in red rustic capitals.

The initial pages of the Canon of the Mass are highly decorated. The 'Vere dignum' prayer is inscribed in gold letters on a purple background, framed by an arch incorporating pseudo-classical columns, interlace patterns and acanthus leaves.[2] The 'Te Igitur' prayer is similarly decorated but placed within a square frame.[3] This decoration is in the Franco-Saxon style of the ninth and tenth centuries[4] and here has been dated by Pächt and Alexander to the second half of the ninth century.[5] It can be compared with similar decoration in

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[1] The hierarchy of decoration for Sanctoral feasts is as follows:
A. beginning with a gold initial:
St Stephen (the first line of text is in gold capitals also, probably as this feast begins the Sanctoral); Finding of the Holy Cross; St John Baptist; St Peter (the first line of text is in two-line high rustic capitals, followed by a line of one-line high rustic capitals, both touched with colours); Assumption; Nativity of BVM; Exaltation of the Holy Cross; St Michael; All Saints; St Martin; St Andrew.

B. beginning with a coloured initial:
St John; Holy Innocents; SS Philip and James; Translation of St Benedict; St Peter ad vincula; St Laurence; St Bartholomew; St Matthew; SS Simon and Jude; St Thomas.

C. Ink initial with colouring:
St Gregory the Great; Deposition of St Benedict; St Andrew.

This hierarchy suggests that the manuscript was copied in or for a Benedictine house (two feasts of St Benedict) in France (St Martin is the only national saint in the first catetory) which was dedicated to St Peter (whose mass is the most elaborately decorated, except for the first one, of the whole Sanctoral).

[2] Fols 60^{v}, 61^{r}; for fol. 60^{v} see Ill. MSS in Bodleian, i, no. 422, Pl. XXXIV.

[3] Fol. 61^{v}.

[4] LM, pp. xxiv-xxv; on this style see G. Micheli, L'Enluminure du haut Moyen Age et les influences irlandaises (1939), pp. 135-43. Brixelles,

[5] Ill. MSS in Bodleian, i, no. 422.

the Sacramentaries of St Denis and St Thierry, both also written in the second half of the ninth century.[1]

Warren suggested that 'A' was copied at the Benedictine monastery of St Vaast in Arras, but it was not necessarily copied for the monastery's use.[2] The Sacramentary, as Höhler points out, has certainly been normalised from a book similar to the Gregorian Sacramentary from St Vaast, Arras.[3] A north-west French origin is entirely consistent with the affinities shown by the names in the litany.[4] If the St Arnulf in the litany is the Bishop of Toul who died in 871, this provides a textual terminus post quem not far distant from the palaeographical date of the manuscript.

The Benedictine monastery of St Vaast was certainly a centre where all these varying liturgical and palaeographical influences could have coalesced to produce such a volume as the Leofric Missal. The necrology of the abbey records that Prior Fulk in the 830s revised an old manuscript;[5] Willibert, a

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[1] B.N. MS lat. 2290 and Reims, B.M. MS 213, see V. Leroquais, Les Sacramentaires de France, iv (Paris, 1924), 19-21, 21-25, Plates X, XI-XII. In Boulogne, B.M. MS 12-14, a gospel book from St Vaast, Arras, the capitula lists are framed in arches almost identical with those in the LM (G. Micheli, op. cit., pl. 203).

[2] This might explain why there is no mass for St Vedast, although his name in the litany is the only one to be touched with colour.

[3] See J. Deshusses, Le Sacramentaire Grégorien, Spicelegium Friburgense (Freiburg, 1971) on B.N. lat. 9422 s.ix[2].

[4] The occurrence of a few English saints in the litany suggests to me not that the litany is English in origin, as Höhler suggests, but rather that the exemplar of the litany was subject to Anglo-Saxon influences.

[5] Nécrologie de St Vaast d'Arras, ed. E.van Drivel (Arras, 1878), pp. 6-7.

Could this have been a revision of the monastery's main Sacramentary to incorporate into it Alcuin's supplement to the Gregorian rite?

native of Tours and prior of St Vaast was appointed Bishop of Chalons in 876[1] by Hincmar of Rheims. Prior Hincmar (c. 880) was an ex monk of St Denis[2] and Echo, a monk of St Vaast (c. 865-895), was from a royal family in Ireland ('patria Schottus') and had wandered thence as a pilgrim. He was responsible for a collection of the miracles of St Vedast.[3]

The decoration of St Vedast's name in the litany, while no mass is provided for him in the Sacramentary argues more for the manuscript's origin at St Vaast than for its intended home. The feast of SS Peter and Paul (29th June) is accorded the most elaborate decoration in the Sanctoral, though the heading is for St Peter only.

Within the walls of the abbey stood the church of St Peter, served by a body of twelve prebendaries and acting as a local parish church.[4] Its date of origin is unknown but Alcuin wrote votive inscriptions for the nine altars in the church.[5] Was the manuscript produced in the monastery for the bishop's use in this adjoining church?

On 17th May 887 an event occurred which could have provided the impetus behind the copying of the Leofric Missal -

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[1] Nécrologie de St Vaast d'Arras, ed. E van Drivel (Arras, 1878), p. 6.

[2] ibid., p. 7.

[3] ibid., pp. 7-8.

[4] See Dom L. Brou, The Ordinale of the Abbey of St Vaast, HBS. lxxxvi-vii (1957), i, 28-34.

[5] These were to St Peter, St Paul, St Andrew, St Aldegund, St John Baptist, St Germanus, St Amand, St Quintinus and St Michael the Archangel and St Genevieve. None of the 'local' saints are accorded masses in 'A'. pr. Poetae latini aevi carolini I, ed. E. Dümmler (1881), pp. 308-313, nos LXXXI-LXXXIX.

Dodilo, prior of St Vaast was consecrated Bishop of Arras and Cambrai by Fulk, Archbishop of Rheims.[1] What more appropriate gift from the monastic community could there be to Dodilo than a Sacramentary and Pontifical for his own use? When the bishop was in Arras and if he wished to hear mass, preach or confirm the laity, would he not be more likely to use the church of St Peter rather than the monastic church of St Vaast?

Several additions were made to the original text on the continent where it must have remained for some years after it was written. These additions are:

1. fol. 9 Blessing of the bells.[3] This was added on the blank outer leaf of a quire containing the episcopal blessings for the different seasons of the church's year. Its faded state suggests that for some time it may have been the outer leaf of the whole volume. It is written in a mixed insular caroline minuscule of s.ix/x.

2. A scribe writing in a caroline hand which, like that of the main scribe shows Insular features,[4] appended a list of names of people, both living and dead, presumably as a reminder to prayer:

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[1] van Drivel, op. cit., p. 7, 'praepositus' can mean either abbot or prior. At this period, the 'praepositus' was effectively head of the house, but the bishop was regarded as the abbot (Brou, op. cit., p.

[2] ibid., p. 7.

[3] LM, p. 6.

[4] Insular 'g', 'f' and 'a'.

'Nomina vivorum: Utbertus, Bernoz ancila sua.
Becco, Eluric.
Nomina mortuorum; Madalbertus episcopus. Odolgarius episcopus. Petrus presbyter. Leotfridi presbyter. Eleneus presbyter. Odolbramnus presbyter. Gontran (?). Centulfus. Aldo. Elena. Utberga. Ermengardis. Ildeardis. Ma( ).'

None of these names are distinctively Anglo-Saxon and most have proved difficult to trace.[1]

There are several possibilities for the two bishops:

Madalbertus - Madalbertus, Bishop of Bourges[2] † 910 or
Bishop of Paris c. 750.[3]

Adalbert, Bishop of Terouanne (c. 876-887).[4]

Odolgarius - Bishop of Spires s.x med.[5]

Adalgarius, Bishop of Claremont (876-891).[6]

The proximity of their obits suggests that Adalbert of Terouanne (the neighbouring diocese to that of Arras/Cambrai) and Adalgarius of Claremont (Clermont-Ferrand in central France) may be the two bishops commemorated here. If so, the entry could have been made any time after 891.

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[1] Eight were traced in one of the following - T. Forsser, Continental Germanic Personal Names in England (Uppsala, 1916); O. Feilitzen, Pre-Conquest Personal Names in the Domesday Book (Uppsala, 1937); W.G. Searle, Onomasticon (Cambridge, 1897) and W. de Gray Birch, Index Saxonicus (London, 1899). Five of the names have not yet been traced in Anglo-Saxon England.

[2] P.G. Gams, Series Episcoporum ecclesiae catholicae (Ratisbon, 1873), p. 523.

[3] He seems rather too early to be a likely candidate, despite Warren's suggestion (LM, p. lxi).

[4] Gams, op. cit., p. 521 Terouanne is Boulogne.

[5] LM, p. lxi. His date is probably too late for this identification to be made.

[6] Confraternity Book of St Gall, ed. P. Piper, M.G.H. Antiquitates, Necrologia Germaniae (1884),

3. fol. 336^{v} Miscellaneous prayers[1] added on the blank end-leaf of a quire, which may originally have been the final one in 'A'. The scribe, who may be the same who recorded the names in the prayer list, has a mixed caroline and insular script.

There is nothing inherently improbable about an Anglo-Saxon (or Irish?) scribe being in a continental house in the ninth century. The text of the sacramentary demonstrates insular influences at several points and we know of at least one Irishman at St Vaast around the time the manuscript was written.

When and how did the manuscript travel to England? It was certainly at Glastonbury by the 970's when the calendar was added, but the occurrence of a number of identifiably Anglo-Saxon hands making additions on blank leaves of 'A' suggests that the manuscript may well have been at Glastonbury for twenty to thirty years before the calendar was added. There were many links between the area of North France and Anglo-Saxon England in the tenth century and any Anglo-Saxon pilgrim travelling to Rome would pass through this area. In

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[1] LM, pp. 250-51. Beg.: 'Deus qui invisibiliter...; Deus qui dixisti...; Percipientes, domine, numera...' all untraced.

On these hands, see below, p.

As did Echo, the Irishman, who settled down as a monk at St Vaast and Archbishop Sigeric, whose return route from Rome in about 990 is recorded (F.P. Magoun, 'The only complete itinerary of an Anglo-Saxon pilgrim to Rome', Medieval Studies 2 (1940), 231-52). He passed through Arras. Bishop Theodred of London (c. 926-51) went on a pilgrimage to Rome and certainly purchased two chasubles at Pavia. Though we do not know if he also acquired books, it would be perfectly feasible for him, or any other travelling English ecclesiastic to have done so. D. Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills (Cambridge, 1930), p. 5.

944, the monks of St Bertin who refused to accept the reforms imposed by John of Gorze in 937 came to England and were settled at Bath abbey by King Edmund. Though Ethelwold went to Fleury, Dunstan, who had been Abbot of Glastonbury (940-956), went to St Peter's Ghent, 956-9, where Gerard of Brogne one of the most famous of the continental monastic reformers had been abbot.[1] Gerard had been appointed by Transmarus, Bishop of Tournai, and ex-prior of St Vaast.[2] There were many contacts that we can only deduce from other evidence. Manuscripts must have travelled to and fro: the coronation order in the Sacramentary of Ratoldus, Abbot of Corbis (near Amiens, † 986) was an adaption from an English manuscript[3] and English illumination was the basis for the style produced in manuscripts at St Bertin in the late tenth century.[4] The Old English translations of the rule of Chrodegang and the works of Amalarius of Metz must ultimately have been based on Latin manuscripts imported from the continent, most probably in the second half of the tenth century.

The Leofric Missal itself illustrates this movement, though it has not been possible to trace its route from St Vaast, either directly or indirectly, to Glastonbury.[5]

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[1] It seems to me that the debt of monastic reforms undertaken in England by Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald to the continental reformers of the period has been insufficiently examined.

[2] Nécrologie de St Vaast, ed. E. van Drival (Arras, 1875), p. 9.

[3] B.N. lat. MS 12051, see V. Leroquais, Les Sacramentaires et les missels manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France (Paris, 1924), I, no. 31; Höhler, loc. cit., 64-68.

[4] Abbot Odbert of St Bertin (986-1004) was himself an illuminator of manuscripts. The Winchester style of illumination was based on Carolingian examples.

[5] Could it have been brought from the continent by those monks who eventually settled at St Peter's Bath and, from thence, passed to the neighbouring monastery at Glastonbury?

When the manuscript arrived at Glastonbury it is likely to have been used for services since a number of extra liturgical texts and a calendar were added to 'A'.

The calendar can be assigned to Glastonbury on several grounds.[1] A number of Celtic saints are interspersed with the Anglo-Saxon ones, notably:

1. Jan. 29 Gildas
2. Feb. 1st Bridget
3. March 17th Patrick of Ireland
4. June 28th Samson of Brittany
5. Aug. 24th Patrick, senior
6. Aug. 31st 'In glaestonia, s⟨an⟩cti aidani episcopus'
7. Sept. 25th 'In glaestonia, s⟨an⟩cti ceolfriþi abbatis.'[2]

Glastonbury is the only place to be specifically mentioned in the calendar. There were relics of St David (March 1st) St Melanius (Nov. 6th) at Glastonbury.[3] This English calendar (B) was partly based on a French one, which may have been the calendar originally attached to 'A'. Warren pointed out[4] that the number of French and Belgian saints almost equalled that of

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[1] LM, pp. liii-iv.

[2] The only other known Glastonbury calendar is in Wigan, Upholland College MS 98, F. Wormald, 'A liturgical calendar of Glastonbury Abbey', Festschrift Bernhard Bischoff zu seinem 65. Geburstag (Stuttgart, 1971), 325-45. Nos 1, 2, 5 and 6 are all linked to Glastonbury by William of Malmesbury, De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae, ed. trans. F. Lomax (London, 1908). In 754, relics of Aidan and Ceolfrith had been brought by Abbot Tica to Glastonbury when he retired from Northumberland, ibid., pp. 35-6. The calendar provides earlier evidence for some of William's assertions, though not all the saints he mentions appear e.g. St Indract, see J. Armitage Robinson, Somerset Historical Essays (1921), pp. 19-20.

[3] William of Malmesbury, ed. cit., pp. 30 and 37.

[4] LM, p. xlix.

English and Irish ones. Interestingly, all the latest (late seventh and early eighth centuries) of the French and 'Belgian' saints are from the same area of Northern France as 'A' itself.[1] If 'A's' calendar was closely related to the Sanctoral masses, the Anglo-Saxon copyist only omitted seven saints in drawing up 'B'. However, there are 147 saints in the calendar for whom no specific mass is provided in 'A'.[3] In B, .F. or ,S. are placed before certain feasts and ,for the most part, masses for these feasts will be found in the Sacramentary.[2] Of the 34 feasts marked .F. only SS Cuthbert, Guthlac and Augustine do not have specific collects, though they all appear in the litany. Fifteen of the 77 feasts marked with .S. have no masses in 'A', including five Anglo-Saxon ones - Mellitus, Aethelreda, Patrick senior, Aidan and Ceolfrib.[4] Masses for

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[1] i.e. Jan. 30th St Aldegund of Mauberge c. 673
Feb. 6th St Amand, Bishop of Maastricht 684.
Sept. 5th St Bertin, Abbot of Omer 709
Sept. 9th St Audomarus, Bishop of Therouanne 670
Sept. 17th St Lambert, Bishop of Maastricht 709
Oct. 3rd St Leodogarius, Bishop of Autun 678
All but the last two occur in the 'A' Litany.

[2] .F. and .S. probably indicate gradings of feasts: .F. for 'festum' or 'dies feriatus' and .S. is unexplained (LM, p. xlv). Could .S. stand for 'secundus gradus'?

[3] This may have been a contributory factor to Warren's belief that 'B' was only added to A when Leofric brought the latter over from the Continent with him.

[4] The other 10 feasts are: Jan. 3 St Genevieve (who is in the litany); March 1st 940 Soldiers; May 14th SS Victor and Quartus; May 19th St Potentiana, June 28th SS Fabian and Gordian, July 21st St Praxedes, July 23rd SS Vincent and Apollinaris, Sept. 20th St Privatus, Oct. 7th St Gagus, Dec. 7th Octave of St Andrew.
William of Malmesbury does not specifically record relics of any of these saints as being at Glastonbury, though there were 'relics of saints innumerable, the gift of kings, princes, Popes and other nobles, the names of some of whom are recorded in the Old church books.' op. cit., p. 38.

these saints may, of course, have been copied on additional quires which have since been lost.

The date of 'B' can be assigned fairly closely because of the tables for finding Easter Day.[1] They comprise the 52nd and 53rd Dionysian cycles of nineteen years, i.e. 969-987 and 988-1006. It is logical to assume that the Kalendar was written some time during the first of these cycles. Another, rather rarer, set of tables gives the number of weeks and days which would elapse between Christmas and Ash Wednesday for the years 979-1011.[2] In such a practical and vital matter as calculating the church's major feasts, a scribe is unlikely to copy slavishly out-dated material. This suggests 'B' was written between 979 and 987, when the first of the Dionysian cycles would become obsolete. The table of Golden letters begins with E^3 for Wednesday and the second concurrent would fit for the years 973 and 979 within the first Dionysian cycle. The conjuncture of these three tables strongly suggests that the calendar was copied in 979.[4]

The obits entered on the Easter cycle tables do not contradict this hypothesis. Since the obit of King Edgar in 976 was entered by the same scribe who recorded Archbishop

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[1] LM, p. 50, fol. 53.

[2] LM, p. 56, fol. 57.

[3] LM, p. 56, fol. 57.

[4] This conclusion was also reached, on the first two grounds only, by R. Deshman, 'The Leofric Missal and Tenth Century English Art', ASE 6 (1977), 145-73. E.W.B. Nicholson argued that the calendar dated from 969 because of small dots in various columns of the years 969, 971 and 972 (Nicholson, Oldest Latin musical MSS, pp. lviii-ix). Since there is also a dot in the first column of 981, I am inclined to regard the dots as ink splashes made by the various scribes adding obits in later years, rather than as an obscure indication of the date at which 'B' was written.

Aethelgar of Canterbury's († 990) obit, and since that of King Edward 'the Martyr' († 979) was entered by the scribe who also wrote those of Archbishop Oswald († 992) and possibly Archbishop Sigeric († 994),[1] both these scribes could have made the entries some years after the kings' deaths.

The calendar ('B') is written in an accomplished caroline minuscule, though traces of insular influence remain in the long s and the tendency for the stems of r and f to descend below the line.[2] Despite the complexity of the lay-out of the calendar and related tables, they are well laid out with thirty-five lines to a leaf of text. The palate consists of orange, green, light blue (often badly faded) and purple. These colours are used for the outline drawings depicting: the hand of God imparting the Easter cycle and how to calculate it to two men; Christ as the Prince of Life ('Vita'); Satan as the Prince of Death ('Mors').[3] Their style supports a date of around 980 for the calendar itself.

Since the calendar was added to 'A' at Glastonbury, the inherent probability is that the other English hands of the

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[1] Since no mention is made of Edward's canonisation, the entry was made before 1003 when the observance of his feast was made compulsory in England.

[2] Fols 38^{v}-58^{v}; fol. 40^{v} is Bishop, ECM, pl. II.

[3] Fols 49-50 respectively; Ill. MSS in Bodleian, iii, no. 25, pp.43-5. pl. II of fol. 49^{v}; line drawings of all three in Warren, LM, / For a detailed account of the drawings, their technique and iconography and for the likely influence of Winchester art upon their style, see R. Deshman, loc. cit.

tenth century that occur in the manuscript are also those of Glastonbury scribes. The number and general level of accomplishment of these scribes certainly argues for a centre of some importance, though the additions may have been made over a period of years.

The blank spaces on the original leaves of 'A' (often at the end of sections of the Sacramentary) are likely to have been the first to have been filled up.[1] A scribe, writing in the second half of the tenth century was responsible for two emendations to the original text. On fol. 111^{v}, he erased the 'A' text and, by ignoring the original rulings, was able to include a lengthier account of the bee.[2] In the subsequent collect he also made an erasure and, over it, wrote "archi-episcopo nostro atque rege nostro', indicating by the reference to the king, rather than emperor, that the manuscript was in England by this date.[3] Fols 274-7 were probably added to repair the loss of some leaves from 'A', since the English scribe begins fol. 274 by completing the prayers for the ordination of a priest.[4]

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[1] i.e. Fols 12, 13^{v}-14, 15^{v}-16, 154^{v} (from the end of the Temporal), 210^{v}-11^{v} (the end of the Commune Sanctorum), 245^{v} (the end of the Votive Masses), 253^{v}, 267^{v} (the end of the Offices of the Dead), 336 (the end of the Pontifical).

[2] LM, p. 97A, FN 1.

[3] LM, p. 97A, FN 2. The original, longer text possibly referred to the Emperor and archbishop. Nicholson thought the reference to archbishop, rather than bishop, indicated that the manuscript was at Canterbury (op. cit., p.lvii). This seems unnecessary as the bishop does not always have to be mentioned when praying for spiritual and secular rulers.

[4] Warren calls fol. 274 a palimpsest, but there is no sign of any erased text and fols 274 and 277 are conjoint. (LM, p. 215, FN 1).

When all the spaces in the folios of 'A' had been utilised, further leaves were added to the manuscript to carry additional liturgical texts which were required. One full quire was added to take texts, written by three different scribes, additional to those provided in 'A'.[1] Significantly, it begins with an ordo (with rubrics) for the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, the patroness of the monastery at Glastonbury. The subsequent blessings of the fire and candles are found a century later in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges[2] and the Newminster Missal,[3] implying that these blessings were to become, or already were, part of the English liturgical tradition. Two benedictions for Ash Wednesday follow, both of which are found in later Anglo-Saxon sources,[4] as is the elaborate blessing for Palm Sunday.[5] A preface for the mass of SS Abdon and Sennen,[6] a mass for St Cuthbert,[7] a

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[1] Q 34, ff.s 254-61; LM, pp. 203b-207b.

[2] The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, ed. H.A. Wilson, HBS, xi (1896), pp. 158-9, hereafter cited as Jumièges.

[3] Newminster, pp. 69-71.

[4] The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, ed. H.A. Wilson, HBS, xxiv (1903), pp. 10, 9, 79, hereafter cited as Benedictional. The first also occurs in Jumièges, p. 61.

[5] Benedictional, p. 12. The short Litany, which follows the blessing, includes only one national saint - Martin - implying a French exemplar somewhere in the text's history. The plea 'ut regem anglorum et exercitum eius conservare digneris' shows the litany's adaption for Anglo-Saxon use.

[6] The mass in 'A' lacks a preface.

[7] There were relics of St Cuthbert at Glastonbury, possibly brought there by Tica in the time of Edward the Elder. He is listed in the Glastonbury relic list in B.L., London, MS Cotton Titus D.VI fols 2-13, s.xiv, though not listed by William of Malmesbury. 'A' gives no mass for Cuthbert. These prayers are not recorded in Bruylants, Oraisons or in van Dijk, SMRL (except the Post-communion, SMRL 288), but clearly became part of the Anglo-Saxon tradition as they occur in Cuthbert's mass in Jumièges (p. 166) and in The Missal of St Augustine's Canterbury, ed. M. Rule (1896), pp. 81-82.

preface for the feast of the Finding of the Holy Cross[1] and a mass for SS Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutherius[2] are among the other texts added here; these four feasts are all marked with an .F. or .S. in the Calendar.

Fols 264-5, which may have originally formed part of a quire added at Glastonbury, also contain supplementary masses - for All Saints,[3] for the finding of St Stephen's body[4] and a votive mass for sinners,[5] which is probably the earliest surviving example of a full missal type layout (with lections in full) to survive from Anglo-Saxon England. Around this time too, leaves (now lost) must have been added after fol. 154, since an Anglo-Saxon scribe of the mid-tenth century began the 'Consecratio thimiamatis' text on fol. 154^{v} which he must have completed on added leaves.

Those additions made on original leaves of the manuscript have been copied, mainly, as near as possible to related texts

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[1] An alternative and lengthier preface to the one given in the 'A' mass (LM, p. 141).

[2] A different and longer mass than the one in 'A' (LM, p. 163). These saints occur in all the Kalendars pr. Wormald, Kalendars, but the mass given here is not that found in eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon sacramentaries/missals. The secret and post communion are SMRL ii, 301.

[3] This is not the mass found in later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The secret (SMRL II, 281, 303, 306) and post communion (SMRL II, 279, 283, 293) prayers appear in continental masses for a number of different saints, which may suggest that they came originally either from a mass for All Saints or, more probably, from some Commune Sanctorum mass.

[4] The prayers are untraced. Relics of Stephen's bones, blood and his staff were supposedly amongst Glastonbury's relics (B.L., MS Cotton Titus D. vii. fol. 4), though they were not mentioned by William of Malmesbury. These relics may explain the provision of this mass, since the feast is not commemorated in 'A'.

[5] All the prayers are untraced.

in 'A'.[1] The two blessings on a king and on him in time of synod[2] suggest a ruler, who plays a prominent role in ecclesiastical affairs as did most of the English rulers of the tenth century, such as Edred (946-955), whose main adviser was Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury, and Edgar (959-976) who appointed Dunstan as Archbishop of Canterbury. Both blessings appear in the eleventh century in the Benedictional.[3] The other blessings - for an individual, for a traveller and for a time of war - are all untraced, but these quite elaborate lengthy benedictions point to Frankish liturgical influence.[4] They also indicate that at some stage a bishop was expected to use this sacramentary, why otherwise should they add episcopal blessings? For a major monastic house such as Glastonbury this would probably not be an infrequent occurrence.

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[1] e.g. Fols 13^{v}-14^{v}, 15^{v}-16 are blessings amidst 'A' leaves also containing blessings; on fols 210^{v}-11^{v} the 'Missa in tribulatione' and 'Apologiae sacerdotis' were added just before the votive masses of 'A'.

[2] LM, pp. 9b-9a, fols 13^{v}-14, untraced in Franz, Die kirchlichen benedictionen im Mittelalter (Freiburg, 1909).

[3] pp. 52-3, 52.

[4] fols 15^{v}, 16, 245^{v}; LM, pp. 9B-10A, 198B.

Other additions include: a verbose 'missa in tribulatione' (despite there being two appropriate votive masses in 'A');[1] appropriately, a general mass for feasts of the Virgin;[2] a miscellaneous set of prayers,[3] and a preface for the Mass for the dead.[4] A small quire was added, possibly to replace leaves lost from 'A' or to replace 'A' texts which were inadequate or else inappropriate.[5] The office for ordaining a priest was possibly lengthened and a full ordo for consecrating a bishop, including cues and lections in full was copied. (The 'A' text which follows has the sacramental prayers only.) This suggests that someone at Glastonbury required such an ordo, perhaps because he was likely to attend such a ceremony.

The additions demonstrate that the manuscript was used and adapted at a place probably dedicated to the Virgin, which was either the seat of a bishop or where episcopal visits were frequent enough to merit extending the existing Pontifical. Glastonbury would not be ruled out on these grounds.

The scribal hands responsible for these additions fall into two groups: one showing a strong insular tradition, with some Welsh influences and the other showing the beginnings of the influence of caroline minuscule upon insular script which

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[1] Fol. 210^{v}, LM, p. 175; the 'A' masses are on fols 223^{v}-4^{v}, LM, pp. 183-4. The prayers are untraced in Bruylants, Oraisons or in later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, except for the post-communion prayer (Jumièges, p. 264).

[2] fol. 267^{v}, LM, p. 211, untraced.

[3] Fol. 12^{r-v}, LM, p. 8A-B, three lengthy intercessions.

[4] Fol. 261, LM, p. 207B, untitled, but it occurs in Jumièges in the mass for the dead (p. 309).

[5] Q 36, fols 274-7, LM, pp. 215-216.

occurred from the mid-tenth century onwards in England.[1] Thus the additions are likely to have been made over a period of years and, since the calendar from 979 A.D. is in an accomplished caroline minuscule, that the manuscript was extended over a period prior to that date.

1. Insular hands

a) Fols 274-8^{v}. These leaves were written by six scribes of moderate ability,[2] most of whom use the insular abbreviation for 'autem' and many ligatures, including the subscript i , which is found in a ninth-century Cornish manuscript and into the tenth century in Welsh hands.[3] The tendency to begin texts at the top of a leaf has led to some partly empty leaves,[4] while part of fol. 278^{v} ('A' text) had to be erased to take the end of the added material. This suggests these texts were added piecemeal as the need arose.

b) Fol. 267^{v}, ll. 18-27 a Mass for a feast of Our Lady was squashed into the lower margin. Neums were added probably at the same time. The scribe uses an uncial 'a',[5] an insular 'r' with an extremely short stem and an 'x' with a very high curved left shoulder and a long straight left descender which returns upon itself at a sharp angle.[6]

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[1] The earliest dateable caroline minuscule from England is a charter of 956, probably from Abingdon (Bishop, ECM, p. xix, B.M. Facs, iii, 18).

[2] For their stints, see supra p.80.

[3] Berne and Lichfield Gospels, Pls IV-V, I. in W.M. Lindsay, Early Welsh Script (Oxford, 1912).

[4] e.g. Fols 275^{v}, 276.

[5] This occurs in several other hands e.g. fol. 16^{r}, ll. 15-23; fol. 267^{v}, ll. 12-17. This was to become a feature of tenth-century Winchester manuscripts.

[6] Thus: ɤ

c) Fol. 16^{r}, ll.15-23. Possibly due to the need to cram the prayer in, this scribe is not particularly calligraphic. He uses an uncial 'a' and numerous ligatures.

There are close similarities between this hand and

d) Fol. 245^{v} and fols 15^{v}-16^{r}, ll.1-14. This scribe exaggerates his ascenders and descenders, uses a large number of ligatures (including 'e') and the square formation of his letters, especially 'a' is noticeable.

e) Another hand similar to this appears on fols 12^{r-v}. The scribe uses the reversed 'c' for 'con', a Welsh feature[1] and uses ⁊ for the full close.

f) fol. 267^{v}, ll.12-27. This hand is fairly close to that of the main scribe of Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.11.2 (241): both use uncial 'a' and the 'e' in ligature is exaggeratedly high, as is that of Hand D in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 4.32.

g) Fol. 154^{v}. This scribe begins the 'Consecratio thimiamatis' with a letter 'E' five lines high, formed from a winged dragon's body[2] as the cross bar and, after his neck has developed into interlace, his head re-appears to grip the upper part of the curve of the letter. Both ends of the letter are elaborated: at one end there is interlace from which a profile human head[3] with a long curl for a tongue emerges and at the other end is a crested monster's head whose tongue develops in

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[1] Found in a Welsh MS of Juvencus, Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff 4.42 s.ix (W.M. Lindsay, Early Welsh Script (Oxford, 1912), p. 18). The general aspect of his script (the clubbed ascenders, the formation of 'g', 'd', 'r' and 'e' with its extended cross stroke) is similar to that of Sulgen's entry in the St Chad Gospels s.ix med (Lindsay, op. cit., p. 5 and Pl. II).

[2] Ill. MSS in Bodleian, iii, no. 20, Pl. II, dated s.x 2/4. The body recalls the initials in the Salisbury Psalter (Salisbury (D. & C., MS 150) $s.x^{2}$ (969 x 78?) S.W. England.

[3] This feature is rare in tenth-century English initials, but an example can be found in the Barberini Gospels (Vatican, MS Barberini lat. 570), s.viii from Mercia.

the upper margin into a stem from which spring an ivy leaf, various clumps of flowers[1] and a flower with alternate long and short petals. The dragon's tail develops into interlace from which emerges an animal's head in profile. This head is consuming one of the flower clumps.

It is a cross between Professor Wormald's Types I and II[2] as, while it includes the full body of a dragon forming part of the letter, there are no acanthus leaves and the whole is executed in a brown ink outline. Wormald cites only three manuscripts in which types I and II occur together[3] and Leofric is known to have possessed the one now at Trinity College, Cambridge. This manuscript and the additions to MS Bodley 579 may have originated in the same scriptorium in the middle or early in the second half of the tenth century and were possibly still in situ when Leofric acquired them.

h) Fol. 267^{v}, ll.1-17. The scribe begins with a three-line initial B formed from the curving body of a dragon-like creature whose neck and head form the ascender, while from its

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[1] This particular type of flower or leaf clump can also be seen in the initials of the Tollemache Orosius. Winchester? s.x[1]. New Pal. Soc. 1st series, pl. 187.

[2] See Wormald, Initials 107-35.

[3] Ibid., 133-35. They are:
Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.2 (241) Amalarius of Metz s.x[2].
London, B.L., MS Harley 5431, Rule of St Benedict. St Augustine's Canterbury s.x/xi.
" , Lambeth Palace Library MS 200, Aldhelm Canterbury ? s.x/xi.
On palaeographical grounds, the Amalarius manuscript is closely related to a grant of King Edgar's, dated 974, of land at Nymed in Devon (S. no. 795) P.R.O. 30/26/11, which was in Exeter by the mid-eleventh century. (O.S. Facs. ii, P.R.O.)

mouth emerges a tongue which twines around its neck before interlinking with the curved tail. It is reminiscent of the small initials to be found in the Durham Ritual, a southern English manuscript from the beginning of the tenth century.[1]

The link between the initial of fol. 154^{v} and the Trinity Amalarius manuscript is strengthened by a comparison of the handwriting,[2] the hand of the scribe of the Amalarius manuscript being extremely close to that of the scribe responsible for (g). Both use uncial 'a', 'e' in ligature is exaggeratedly high, the stem of the 'r' is very short and the characteristic insular abbreviations for 'autem' and 'supra' are similarly formed. Similar hands are also found in two other manuscripts with a definite connection with Glastonbury, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 4.32[3] and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183.[4]

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[1] Durham Cathedral Library, MS A IV.19, ed. T.J. Brown et al. E.E.M.F. 16 (Copenhagen, 1969).

[2] Cambridge, Trinity College MS B 11.2 (241) see M.R. James, The Western MSS in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge (Cambridge, 1904) iv, Pl. III b.

[3] St Dunstan's Classbook from Glastonbury, ed. R.W. Hunt, Umbrae Codicum Occidentalium, iv (Amsterdam, 1961). Fols 37-47 in a round Welsh minuscule of rather more exaggerated type than occurs in these additions. It was definitely at Glastonbury before 956 when St Dunstan wrote the final leaf of the volume in his own hand.

[4] Martianus Capella, s.x[1]. W.M. Lindsay assigns the script to an Anglo-Saxon scribe though it is a round type of Welsh minuscule (op. cit., Pl. IX, col. 2). There is a strong likelihood that this manuscript was at Glastonbury in the tenth century, see T.A.M. Bishop, The Corpus Martianus Capella, T.C.B.S. 4 (1964-8), 257-75.

2. Mixed Caroline/Insular hands

If the manuscript were at Glastonbury, there should be some evidence of the infiltration of the caroline minuscule script of which St Dunstan, himself educated at and later the Abbot of Glastonbury 940-956, was one of the foremost promoters.

Several hands in the 'Leofric Missal' do show an admixture of caroline and insular influences very similar to that described by Dr Hunt as occurring in Dunstan's own.[1]

a) Fols 13^{v}-14 , a scribe added the 'Benedictio pro regem' using caroline forms of 'd', 'g' and 'a' while retaining insular 's', 'f' and 'r' and a tendency for 'e' to be high in ligature.

b) Fol. 336 , ll. 18-24. The scribe appears to be coping somewhat laboriously with his letter forms which resemble those of the scribe above. Both men, like St Dunstan, use a rather small headed 'g' forming most of the head curve and the flat top in a different stroke from the upright right side of the head which is a unit with the lower curve of the letter.[2]

c) Fols 210^{v}-11^{v} and fol. 9 were written by the same scribe who also was responsible for fol. 253^{v}, ll. 14-23, though in the latter his mastery of the caroline minuscule seems more complete. He uses both Caroline and insular 'd' (as does St Dunstan) while retaining insular 'g', a few of the 'e' ligatures and a rather squarely formed insular 'a' type.

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1 ed. cit., p. xiv and Pl. 47

2 Thus:  and

d) Fol. 253^{v}, ll.14-23. This scribe, of all those showing caroline features, is perhaps the least prone to accept them. His letter forms show very square tendencies and the round-backed 'd' is retained along with the elaborate 'e' ligatures.

How long did the manuscript remain at Glastonbury after the calendar was added and how did it come into Leofric's possession? The obits entered in the calendar and alongside the Paschal tables give us some clues. Two scribes recorded the obits of King Edgar (976), Archbishop Dunstan (988), Archbishop Oswald (992), Aethelgar (990) and King Edward (978) alongside the Paschal tables.[1] These were largely leading figures of the monastic reform movement of the second half of the tenth century and most had close links with Glastonbury: Dunstan was Abbot of Glastonbury before becoming Archbishop of Canterbury; King Edgar was a close associate of Dunstan's, a benefactor of Glastonbury and was buried there;[2] Oswald, trained at Fleury, bishop of the neighbouring diocese of Worcester (961-992) and then Archbishop of York (972-992) was a noted monastic reformer; King Edward the

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[1] LM, p. 50, fol. 53^{r}. The deaths of Edgar and Dunstan are also recorded in the calendar on 18th March and 19th May respectively, though by different scribes.

[2] William of Malmesbury, op. cit., p. 59. He granted them lands in Somerset and Dorset (S. , nos 743, 764, 791).

Martyr was Edgar's son; and Aethelgar 'episcopus' († 990), probably the Archbishop of Canterbury and an ex-monk of Glastonbury.[1] Since Aethelred and the Witan ordered the celebration of the feast of 'St' Edward the Martyr (1003), this entry is likely to have been made before then.[2] Another scribe recorded the obits of Sigeric, an ex-monk of Glastonbury[3] and Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester (985), Dunstan's collaborator in the reform movement. A scribe made the following entries in the calendar: 29th August 'Aelfwini episcopus'

2nd November 'Aelwoldi monachi'

Aelfwine was Bishop of Wells (997-998x9).[4] The entry of an obit of a monk suggests the manuscript was still in a monastery.[5]

On 16th December, the obit of an Ordulf is recorded. Warren makes various suggestions,[6] but Ordulf, son of Earl Ordgar of Devon and an uncle of Aethelred the Unready, seems the most likely candidate judging from the script and from his known associations with Glastonbury.[7] These combine to suggest

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[1] He went from Glastonbury to be abbot of Newminster, then Bishop of Chichester and finally Archbishop of Canterbury (William of Malmesbury, op. cit., p. 110).

[2] He is commemorated in the calendar, however, as St Edward. Though he has no direct connection with Glastonbury, he was the eldest son of King Edgar.

[3] William of Malmesbury, op. cit.; p. 110.

[4] The obit of 'Lyfing episcopus' on 19th March is in an Exeter style hand and is thus, as Warren suggested, Leofric's predecessor at Crediton. There was also a Lyfing, Bishop of Wells (999-1013), an ex-Glastonbury monk who was buried there (William of Malmesbury, op. cit., p. 59).

[5] I can suggest no reason for his inclusion amongst what is largely a list of illustrious 'old boys'. Could he have been the scribe of 'B'?

[6] LM, p.li, § 29.

[7] He signs charters between 975-1005 and this obit is consistent with a date of s.xi in. Ordulf completed Tavistock Abbey, founded by Ordgar.

that the manuscript was certainly still in use at Glastonbury till around c. 1000, that is a few years before the Paschal tables became outdated (1006).

There are only four other entries which could be dated from before about 1012. On 9th November, there is the obit of Eadulf, first Bishop of Crediton (909-34), but this is in the same hand as that of St Aelphage. Aelphage was martyred on 19th April 1012, but it was 1033 before the witan ordered his martyrdom to be commemorated throughout the country. Since Aelphage may have been a monk at Glastonbury before he became Abbot of Bath, Bishop of Winchester and subsequently Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] it is surprising that there was no immediate record of his death. Since the obit of Lyfing is that of the bishop of Crediton (†.1046) and not that of the bishop of Wells (†1012), an ex-Glastonbury monk, the LM may have ceased to be used at, or even have left, Glastonbury by 1012. Eadulf's obit is likely to have been made once the manuscript arrived at Crediton/Exeter, possibly as a deliberate historical link with the entry on 19th April of Leofric's appointment as Bishop of Exeter.[2] Since both Eadulf and Aelphage's obits are in an Exeter type hand, they were probably added once the manuscript was there.

The third obit is that of Landberht, King of the Romans (†998) on 11th November. Nothing is known of his links, if any, with England, but Leofric's priest whom he sent to Pope Leo

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[1] William of Malmesbury, op. cit., p. 110.

[2] The account of the founding of the see of Crediton (LM, pp. 1-2, fols 2-3) seems designed to provide a historical link with that of the see of Exeter, which immediately follows it.

to request permission for the see's removal was called Landberht.[1] This seems more than coincidence. Could Landberht the priest have been a relation of the King, whose obit he recorded out of 'pietas'?[2]

These four obits then were probably added once the manuscript reached Crediton/Exeter rather than at Glastonbury, where there is no definite evidence for the manuscript's use after about A.D. 1000. It may well, and probably did, remain there for some years after this. The exact date when it left Glastonbury is difficult to define.

Mrs Rose-Troup has argued that the Leofric Missal was at Exeter before Leofric's time since there is a record (in Old English) of an agreement between Abbess Eadgyfu and Abbot Leofric about land at Stoke Canon.[3] She argues that, as Leofric expelled the monks, or possibly nuns, from Exeter in 1050 when he installed canons,[4] the agreement must pre-date this event. A date in the 1020's is suggested since she compares the subscribers with those in a charter of Cnut's to the monastery at Exeter, dated 1019, when the abbot was Aethelwold.[5] Copies of this charter, however, only survive from much later dates[6] and

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[1] LM, 2A, fol. 3.

[2] The hand is English of the mid-eleventh century, and may be that of Scribe 3.

[3] Rose-Troup, 1931, 207-8; LM, pp. lx-lxi, § 8, fol. 11[v].

[4] See above, pp. 22-23.

[5] K.C.D. no. 729

[6] S., no. 954.

even the original may have been drawn up in Leofric's time.[1] The similarity between the two witness lists is not, however, striking.[2] The agreement between Abbess Eadgyfu and Leofric is made in a hand of the mid-eleventh century, crushed into one of the few remaining empty spaces in the original quires of the manuscript.[3] It was more probably one of the earliest additions made to the manuscript at Exeter in Bishop Leofric's time.[4]

(iii) The development of the manuscript at Exeter

It has not proved possible to establish how the manuscript came to Leofric or whether he acquired it before the see was moved to Exeter in 1050. Given the dilapidated state of the monastery at Exeter which was to be his new episcopal seat, he may have asked the main religious foundations in England for assistance in building up a nucleus of necessary texts.[5] In

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[1] Chaplais, 1966, 5 and 23.

[2] Four out of the nine names witnessing in LM occur in the charter, thus Wulfsige 'minister', Eadwig 'minister, Swesa 'minister' and Godwine 'dux' (the first recorded signing by the famous earl).

[3] See Rose-Troup, 1931, pl. 5.

[4] For a discussion as to why and when the agreement was probably made and why it was recorded here, see below, p.

[5] William of Malmesbury castigates Aethelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury (1053-1077) for removing the ornaments of the church (op. cit., p. 106). Did he give this book and possibly others to Leofric?

such a case, the Leofric Missal, given the prominence accorded to the feast of St Peter in the original Sanctoral and given the numerous pontifical texts, would be a useful and appropriate gift for Leofric himself.

When Leofric acquired the manuscript its structure was that of a sacramentary and pontifical, whose blank leaves had been filled by a variety of tenth-century additions. Ten quires (1, 4, 5, 6, 22, 43-47) written in a variety of mid-second half of the eleventh century hands were added to the manuscript.[1] That they were written and incorporated at Exeter can be deduced on textual grounds. Quire 1 contains Leofric's donation inscription, manumissions made at Exeter, a description of the founding of the Crediton see and its removal to Exeter and a list of relics at the Exeter monastery. The 'Missa proprio pro episcopo' (Q. 6) specifically refers in the collect to the 'pontificali cathedra exoniensium', in the secret to the bishop 'quem exoniensium voluisti esse antistitem' and in the Post-communion to 'sancte exoniensi aeclesiae'.[2]

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[1] At this stage the whole manuscript must have been re-bound, which may explain the dislocation of quires 2 and 3 which, since they contain episcopal blessings, probably came originally from the pontifical section at the end of 'A'. Fol. 8, a worn singleton in a much darker parchment than the rest of the volume, unruled and filled with records of manumissions made in the Tavistock area in the second half of the tenth century was probably added here. This folio may have been extracted from an outworn sacramentary Gospel book and inserted in this sacramentary, which was in current use, possibly in order to maintain the validity of the manumissions.

[2] LM, p. 20 and § 38; fols 35^{v}-36.

Since the writer of this mass (Scribe 2) also appears in quires 5, 22 and 47, they too can be ascribed to Exeter. Quire 4 is written by the scribe (1) who shared quires 5 and 22 with Scribe 2. Scribe 4 appears in quire 6 along with Scribe 2 and with Scribe 10 in quire 43. Scribe 10 appears along with 2 in quires 1 and 47. Quires 44-46, written by Scribe 5, cannot be ascribed to Exeter on textual grounds, but its identical lay-out with the preceding and subsequent quires which can be ascribed to Exeter, make a non-Exeter origin most unlikely.

When and why were these quires added to the manuscript? The present tense of the donation inscription[1] in quire 1, written by Scribe 2, suggests that the gift was made before Leofric's death in 1072, while the reference to the church of St Peter places the gift after the see's removal to Exeter in 1050. This quire must have been added between those two dates. The appearance of Scribe 2 in quires 5 and 6, along with his writing of the 'Missa propria pro episcopo' with its Exeter references suggest a similar time-scale. Scribe 1 wrote all quire 4 and began quires 5 and 22, both of which Scribe 2 finished, implying that the two men were working together.

Since quire 22 is the only one added at Exeter which completes

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[1] 'Hunc missalem LEOFRICUS episcopus dat ecclesie sancti petri apostoli...' 'Ðas boc leofric bisceop gef sancto petro...' (LM, p. 1a).

an earlier text, it may have been the first addition made there.[1] Quires 43-47 need not necessarily have been added at exactly the same time as the earlier quires, or, given that only quires 44-46 form a group where texts in the same scribe's hand run from one quire to another, all at the same time.

The apparently dire need for liturgical books when the see was moved to Exeter[2] would suggest that a rapid programme of acquiring, adapting or copying liturgical books would be an immediate priority. If so, the additions made to the Leofric Missal are more likely to date from the early 1050's than from the late 1060's. The phrase 'regem nostrum et reginam nostram' with no mention of children, in the collect for the mass for the living and the dead[3] suggests a childless couple such as Edward the Confessor and Edith rather than the prolific William and Mathilda. The inclusion of a Mass for the Conception of the BVM,[4] a feast not officially instituted until 1067 and not obligatory until much later, does not necessarily argue for a post 1067 date for quire 47 at least. The feast appears in several eleventh-century English sources - the Calendars of London, B.L., MSS Cotton Titus D xxvii[5] and Vitellius E xviii,[6] while

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[1] The 'Consecratio thimiamatis' on fol. 154[v] in a s.x[2] hand was probably completed on a leaf or leaves which were later lost or deliberately removed.

[2] See above, p.22.

[3] Fol. 21, LM, p. 12A.

[4] Fol. 374, LM, p. 268A.

[5] Pr. in Wormald, Kalendars, pp. 113-25. From the New Minster, Winchester and dates from 1023x35. This feast was, however, added s.xi ex.

[6] This calendar is also from Winchester, c. 1060.

the Mass given in the New Minster Missal[1] for the feast is identical with that in the Leofric Missal.

Quires 1 and 47 seem to have been designed differently from the other Exeter quires. In quire 1, Scribe 2 wrote the donation inscription on the recto of the second leaf,[2] then left two blank leaves and began on fol. 4 to copy a liturgical text. Were the two blank leaves designed from the first to take records of the see? Most of the rest of the quire was then completed by Scribe 10, a not particularly accomplished hand who reappears in quire 47 making a number of additions. In conjunction with Scribe 9, he was responsible for adding the account of the see's removal to Exeter, the account of Leofric, the list of relics and some masses. The texts in quire 47 were mainly added piecemeal by different scribes and those in the second half of the quire lack headings. This suggests that, when the quire was originally ruled and written, the second half was left blank, and the masses added subsequently could have been made after the quire had been bound in the manuscript. Scribe 10 survived Leofric as he was responsible for the account of Leofric's death,[3] so some of the additions made both to the first and last quire may also be post 1072.

Why were these extensive additions made to the manuscript once it was in Leofric's hands? Every priest needed a

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[1] Le Havre, MS 330./ s.xi[2] New Minster, p. 190,

[1] Possibly he left the first leaf blank to protect the text.

[3] Fol. 3[v]; LM, p. 2A. This account was added after Scribe 2 had begun fol. 4 because Scribe 10 had to ignore the rulings and compress his script in order to complete his text in the space available on fol. 3[v].

sacramentary and every bishop his pontifical, and the additions show that Leofric actually used this book. Texts were supplied that were lacking in 'A' e.g. prefaces for many masses, and cues were added to the 'A' masses so that the reader/celebrant could find his way through the complex of different texts needed by an officiating priest who only had a sacramentary to work from. The process of officiating at a mass was made simpler by the fact that many, but not all,[1] of the added masses were made in a missal format i.e. with cues for other prayers incorporated in the text of the mass along with the sacramental prayers and with lections either cued or written out in full. The elaborate ordos for the Holy Week services, with extensive rubrics, would also assist the celebrant. Masses relating to specific saints or situations apposite to eleventh-century Exeter were added. The additions were thus made to facilitate the sacramentary's use in the day-to-day celebration of the Mass.

The description of the individual scribal hands and of the scriptorium's general practices on layout, to which these added quires conform, have been postponed until the subsequent chapter since it forms the basis for a description of both the 'Exeter' style and for building up the 'oeuvre' of each Exeter scribe. A study of the texts added by these scribes does, however, give an impression of the type of liturgy wanted and used at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century

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[1] This may partly have depended on the scribe's understanding of how to 'modernize' the textual lay-out and content.

and of the influences to which it was subject.[1]

The liturgical additions made at Exeter are largely designed to expand the Sanctoral and the section of Votive masses in the original sacramentary.[2] There are three additional masses for the Commune Sanctorum,[3] seven for the Temporal[4] and a large number of alternative Prefaces to those given in 'A'. The only pontifical texts added are where Scribe 1 has completed the text of the 'Consecratio thimiamatis' and Scribe 2 has filled the rest of the quire with blessings for other ecclesiastical impedimenta, including the bishop's ring and staff.[5] Also Scribe 2, after copying the mass for the anniversary of a church added the triple episcopal benediction for that occasion,[6] probably with the cathedral church in mind. This suggests that the Pontifical texts of 'A', though copied 200 years earlier, were still largely adequate for use in Exeter. The predominance of added Sanctoral and Votive masses is not surprising as it is largely these that reflect the liturgical fashions of the day as well as the place, country and climate of origin.

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[1] See too pp. 237-41.

[2] There are twenty additional Sanctoral masses and 23 additional Votive Masses.

[3] For one evangelist, for the vigil of a martyr and for several virgins (LM, pp. 265-66, fols 369^{v}-370).

[4] Feria iv and vi and Sabbato in XII lectionibus (LM, p. 3, fols 4-5); the 24th Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (LM, p. 254, fol. 344^{v}); Palm Sunday, Maundy Thursday and Good Friday (LM, pp. 255-61, fols 346-364).

[5] LM, pp. 130-1, fols 155-157^{v} (quire 22). The bifolium added in the tenth century to take the end of this text had either been lost by the time the manuscript came to Exeter or was deliberately removed so a larger quire, which could hold all the blessings desired, could be inserted. I incline to the second alternative because of the coherent nature of the texts added.

[6] Fol. 33^{v}, LM, p. 19. There is no comparable benediction in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale MS Y.6 The Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, ed. H.A. Wilson, H.B.S. xxiv (1903), hereafter cited as Benedictional.

The added Temporal masses are mainly concentrated in two groups. The prayers for the masses for Feria iv, vi and Sabbato in xii lectionibus are drawn, surprisingly, from the Gelasian tradition, whereas the prayers used by 'A' are Gregorian.[1] These masses in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and the Newminster missal both accord with the 'A' masses, suggesting that here the Exeter scribe was drawing on an old exemplar, probably from the continent. The group of masses for Holy Week are Gregorian in both 'A' and in the Exeter additions, though many prayers are different. The Exeter ordo for Palm Sunday and Maundy Thursday are very largely the ones that became commonly used later[2] and can be found also in Jumièges,[3] though this lacks the ordos for consecrating chrism oil. The Exeter entries are in missal format (with lections in full) and rubrics directing the Palm Sunday processions and the complex ceremonies of Maundy Thursday. The rubrics make it clear that the bishop (i.e. Leofric) would be presiding. The texts in 'A' were insufficiently detailed for the requirements of Leofric's cathedral church, hence the services were copied or adapted from another exemplar to give the officiating cleric (the bishop as the rubric implies) an exact route through some of the most complex and important services of the church's year.

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[1] These are the ferial masses for the week after Pentecost, fols 4-5 (LM, p. 3). cf. 'A' fols 133^{v}-135 (LM, pp. 113-14).

[2] SMRL, pp. 234-5 Palm Sunday; pp. 238 "Coena Domini," though in a shorter form.

[3] pp. 85, 87-88 respectively. This elaborate ordo for Maundy Thursday also occurs in the Benedictional (pp. 13-16).

The mass for the 24th Sunday after Pentecost was Gelasian in 'A', but at Exeter a Gregorian version commonly used in England at the time was added.[1]

Of the twenty-one added Sanctoral masses, two are identical with the mass for that feast in 'A'[2] and two are different masses for the same feast.[3] Eleven masses were added possibly to provide for feasts commemorated in the attached calendar, but for which no masses were provided in 'A'.[4] Four masses were added at Exeter and the feasts entered in the calendar at the same time, since the calendar entries are almost certainly in the same hands as the masses. These were:

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[1] A Wells sacramentary (B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A xviii c. 1060, unprinted), hereafter cited as Wells, Newminster (pp. 52-53) and Jumièges (p. 138 for the 25th Sunday after Pentecost) all have the same prayers for this mass, except that Jumièges has a different preface.

[2] i.e. St John the Baptist prima mane (LM, pp. 146 'A' and 19). Scribe 3 re-copied this text but in a missal-type format, incorporating the cues added by Scribe 1 in the margin by the 'A' text; Dedication of the Church of St Mary ad martyres (LM, pp. 143 'A' and 264B). Scribe 5 had just copied a full missal-type text of this mass, with different prayers on the preceding folio. The second text is likely to be due to a copyist's error, more understandable if the nucleus of the volume was still in use while the additional quires were being copied.

[3] i.e. St Michael (LM, pp. 162 'A' and 5). The Confessor may have given St Michael's Mount, Cornwall (within Exeter diocese) to Mont St Michel (S., no. 1061), if so the charter may originally have been drafted at Exeter; Dedication of the Church of St Mary ad martyres (LM, pp. 143 'A' and 263-4), Scribe 5's text has lections in full, preface and sacramental prayers. Does the copying of this text reflect the importance of the Virgin, to whom the monastery at Exeter seems likely to have been dedicated?

[4] LM, p. lv § 36, the masses marked with †, except for those on fols 258, 260 and 264 which are tenth-century additions and St Michael (see above). Warren omitted from this list St Margaret (fol. 341^{v}, LM, p. 253) for whom there is also no mass in 'A'.

fol. 30	St Nicholas	6th December[1]
fol. 36^{v}	St Egidius	1st September[2]
fol. 375^{v}	St Faith	6th October[3]
fol. 377	St Lazarus	18th December[4]

Two masses were added at Exeter, for whom no corresponding calendar entry was made, possibly through forgetfulness:

fol. 399^{v}	St Mary Magdalene	22nd July[5]

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[1] A relic of Nicholas' head was at Exeter, which may explain his commemoration (LM, p. 4A). The priory of St Nicholas at Exeter was to be founded in 1087, possibly on an existing church. Wells also has this mass, though only the collect is the same as in the Exeter version.

[2] Warren anglicises his name to Giles in his list (LM, p. lv § 36). There is no mass in 'A' for the saint nor was there any relic of his at Exeter. Egidius was a Benedictine abbot († c. 712), founder of a monastery on the Rhône (now St Gilles), whose shrine was much frequented in the middle ages (Book of Saints, p. 314). Though no known Exeter church was dedicated to him, he was certainly popular in England at a later date. His feast is entered, prima manu, in the contemporary calendar of Wells.

[3] On the reasons for her commemoration , infra, p. 137.

[4] infra, p. 137.

[5] LM, pp. 251-252. She has no mass in 'A' nor is she in the calendar. However, a finger of hers was amongst the relics at Exeter (LM, p. 5A, fol. 6) and her cult was growing in popularity in the eleventh century, especially in northern France. The abbey of Vézélay seems to have been rededicated to her in about 1050, possibly due to the abbot's contact, at the Rheims council in 1049 and the Lateran council of 1050, with bishops Hugh of Besançon and Thierry of Verdun, both of whom had built or dedicated churches to her (V. Saxer, Les origines du culte de Marie Madeleine en Occident (Paris, 1959), pp. 65-68). Since emissaries of Leofric were at the first of these councils seeking permission to remove the diocesan seat to Exeter, it is possible that it was here that they acquired a devotion to the saint. She is commemorated in a number of eleventh-century English calendars e.g. Newminster c. 1060 (but not in earlier Winchester calendars); CCCC MS 422, from Sherborne c. 1061; Wells c. 1060; Bodleian, MS Hatton 113, from Worcester s.xi^{2}. Her mass in Wells only shares the same post-communion with the Exeter mass.

fol. 341 Octave of St Mary ad martyres

(Assumption) 22nd August[1]

Since suitable masses can be found in 'A', no Exeter additions needed to be made to comply with Aethelred's decree in 1008 that Vigils of all feasts of the Virgin and Apostles (except SS Philip and James) should be observed.[2]

Of the three additional masses for the Commune Sanctorum,[3] none are recorded by Bruylants. The common of an evangelist may be a copyist's error for 'an apostle and evangelist' which does occur in the Wells sacramentary and which has the same secret as the Exeter mass. Wells also has masses for the vigil of a martyr and for feasts of several virgins, but none of the prayers are identical. Those for the mass for the vigil of a martyr come from a variety of Gelasian sources, while the secret and post-communion for the mass for several virgins come from Gregorian sources.[4] This suggests that there was considerable diversity in English practice at the period.

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[1] LM, pp. 252-53. This feast is entered in the calendar of Wells, but no mass is given. Although Leo IV had ordered the keeping of this feast in 847, it was not copied by the original scribe some thirty to forty years later, or indeed, by the scribe of the calendar over a hundred years later. This illustrates the difficulties of using the dates of official promulgations of feasts as dating criteria! Its entry at Exeter may be explained by the dictates of Chrodegang, who specified the Assumption as one of the major feazts (Rule, cap. lxxii, p. 81).

[2] The 'Laws of Edward the Confessor' (of doubtful authenticity) extended the observance of vigils to the feasts of SS John the Baptist, Michael, All Saints and the patron saint (Thorpe, Ancient Laws i, 443).

[3] LM, pp. 265-66; fols 369 -70[v].

[4] The collect is untraced.

The added Votive Masses are more disparate. The mass 'in ecclesia cuiuslibet martyris vel confessoris' is identical with that in Wells, but more of the masses can be found in Jumièges.[1] The Jumièges masses are, however, in sacramentary format, whereas many of the LM ones are in a missal format. The disparity of layout within the added masses of LM possibly reflects the different exemplars being used by the scribes for different masses.

A large number of Prefaces for different masses were added at Exeter, probably from an English exemplar since most are found also in Jumièges.[2] The exceptions are the Prefaces for Epiphany, the second Sunday in Lent, St James,[3] Assumption,[4] Nativity of BVM,[5] St Andrew,[6] an apostle.[7] Only in the LM are the prefaces grouped together rather than being included in their respective masses, an arrangement forced

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[1] e.g. the missae - ad pluviam postulaudam = Jumièges, p. 265.
- pro vivis atque defunctis = Jumièges, p. 311
- pro episcopo = Jumièges, pp. 250-251
- pro familiaribus = Jumièges, p, 263
- pro quacunque tribulatione = Jumièges, p. 264
- pro pace = Jumièges, pp. 264-265
- pro iter agentibus = Jumièges, p. 260
- in anniversariam aeclessiae = Jumièges, p. 239
- in aecclesia cuiuslibet martyris vel confessoris = Jumièges, p. 247

Newminster has no Votive masses.

[2] The group of proper prefaces for the Temporal masses of Newminster and for some of the suffrages are now lacking, so these could only be fully checked against Jumièges.

[3] This preface appears in Jumièges for St Bartholomew.

[4] Newminster has no mass for this feast and in Jumièges the mass lacks a Preface.

[5] Jumièges has a different preface, the Newminster one is identical.

[6] As for (5).

[7] Jumièges is identical, but Newminster different

upon the Exeter scribe because he was adapting a much earlier manuscript. There are only two prefaces that occur elsewhere in the manuscript. Scribe 2 added the general Preface for Lent on the empty leaf at the end of the calendar, just before the Temporal begins. This is different from/in that in Jumièges (and is lacking in Newminster). The preface for St Peter ad vincula was added by Scribe 9 almost at the end of the manuscript; it occurs in neither Jumièges nor Newminster. Exeter's dedication to St Peter may explain the provision of this preface, since the 'A' mass lacks one.[1]

Several additions were also made to the calendar, apart from those of saints whose masses were added to the manuscript at Exeter. On 16th July, SS Eustathius, Minulfus, Gundulfus, Servatius and Bertin were entered by Scribe 10, which suggests Leofric's Lotharingian connections.[2] On 11th November, an Exeter scribe recorded the obit of Landbert of Spoleto, king of Italy and Emperor of the Romans † 998. Some saints whose relics were at Exeter, but who were not provided with masses in this

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[1] This feast was also added to the calendar by an Exeter scribe. The feast was observed in eleventh-century England as it occurs, prima manu, in the Wells calendar as well as in a number of Winchester calendars, e.g. B.L., MSS Cotton Titus, D.xxvii, Arundel 60 and Cotton Vitellius E.xviii (Warnaid, Kalendars, pp. 121, 149, 163 respectivelt).

[2] Eustathius, patriarch of Antioch was a contemporary of St Jerome. Minulfus, Gundulfus and Servatius were all Bishops of Maastricht c. 600, c. 700, 384 respectively, while S Bertin 709 was one of the earliest abbots of the monastery in the Pas de Calais now named after him.

missal, were also added to the calendar.[1] A number of obits and important commemorations were added at Exeter, including the day of Leofric's ordination as bishop.[2] Several obits were added well after Leofric's own death, including those of William the Conqueror[3] and a Mathilda.[4]

The Exeter additions also show an awareness of the gradual process of expanding the sacramentary into the sort of text we now call a missal, a process which began towards the end of the ninth century. 'A' is a Sacramentary i.e. contains only the priest's prayers at Mass written out in full, though the cues for the Alleluia, Psalm, Response, Versicle(s), Tract Offertory and Communion prayers were added in the margin alongside the mass by the original scribe of the manuscript. At Exeter, Scribe 1 added the cues for the Gospel(s) and Epistle readings alongside most of the 'A' masses[5] and occasionally

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[1] e.g. 28th April St Winwaloe. A manuscript of the Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct D 2.16) from this saint's foundation at Landevennec in Brittany was owned by Leofric; 4th August St Afra of Augsburg. Her feast is now held on 7th August. Since the eighth-century, legend had regarded her as a reformed prostitute, a parallel type to St Mary Magdalene (q.v.) could this account for her entry?; 6th November St Melanius; 6th December St Nicholas of Myra.

[2] 19th April. The same Exeter scribe also entered St Aelphage on this day and marked it as a major feast. (Bishop, ECM, pl. II).

[3] 9th September. He died in 1087.

[4] 27th September. This is neither the Conqueror's queen, who died on 3rd November 1083, nor Henry I's wife who died on 1st May 1118. She may be an unknown benefactress of the cathedral.

[5] These ones are omitted for most of the Sanctoral masses. Does this imply that these saints' feasts were not observed at Exeter? If so, the following feasts were observed: St Stephen; St John Evangelist; Holy Innocents; Pope St Sylvester; Conversion of St Paul; St Peter's chair; SS Philip and James; Finding of the Holy Cross; Vigil of St John the Baptist; St John Baptist; Vigil of SS Peter and Paul; St Peter (sic); St Paul; Vigil of St Lawrence; St Lawrence; Vigil of the Assumption; Assumption; Nativity of the BVM.; dedication of the basilica of St Michael the Archangel; Vigil of All Saints; All Saints; Vigil of St Andrew; St Andrew.

supplied cues for other prayers.[1] Some of the masses added at Exeter are in a missal format with lections cued or written out in full and gradual, versicle, alleluia, etc. cues in the main text[2] and, occasionally, with neums added.[3] This unevenness of format suggests that though some of the scribes were familiar with the more 'modern' presentation not all were. One would need to postulate several exemplars for each section of masses to explain the diverse lay-out as due only to copying.

There is, on the whole, a coherent pattern to the additions. Quires 4-6 contain Votive masses most of which derive from Alcuin's supplement to the Gregorian sacramentary or from descendants in

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[1] e.g. Feria iv mensis quarti, he added cues for two Alleluias (LM, p. 113, fol. 133v).

[2] Those in missal format are the masses:

ad pluviam postulandam pro his qui temptationibus	LM, pp. 10-11	
pro episcopo pro penitentibus pro familiaribus pro quacunque tribulatione pro pace pro iter agentibus	LM, pp. 12-16	Scribe 1
Missa pro fideli amico In anniversarium aecclesiae	LM, pp. 17-18	Scribe 2
St Mary Magdalene Finding of body of St Stephen	LM, pp. 251-2	Scribe 2
Translation of St Martin	LM, pp. 253-4	Scribe 4
Palm Sunday (plus rubrics)	LM, pp. 255-6	Scribe 5
MaundyThursday (" ") and attendant ceremonies	LM, pp. 256-62	" "
Dedication of church of St Mary ad Martyres	LM, pp. 263-4	" "
Missa propria pontificis in ordinatione ipsius	LM, pp. 266-7	Scribe 2
Conception of St John the Baptist	LM, p. 267	" "

[3] On Exeter neums see below p. 214.

that tradition.[1] Three Sanctoral masses were also copied, but, since two occur at the beginning of scribal stints, they could be due to errors by the scribes.[2]

Scribe 5's stint (quires 44-46) comprises groups of additional prefaces and masses all arranged according to the same format as 'A', viz. a Temporal from the Vigil of Christmas —>Advent, Sanctoral and Common of the Saints.[3] The exemplar

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[1] Seven masses cannot be traced in Bruylants, Oraisons: Missa pro his qui temptationibus fatigantur (LM, pp. 10-11); Missa pro episcopo (LM, pp. 12-13); Missa pro penitentibus (LM, pp. 13-14) (these three in the hand of Scribe 1); Missa propria pro episcopo (LM, p. 20); Missa pro regina (LM, p. 20); Missa generalis vivorum et mortuorum (LM, pp. 11-12); Missa in ecclesia cuiuslibet martyris vel confessoris (LM, pp. 20-21). The later two are found in their entirety in SMRL, pp. 324 and 318 respectively, as are: LM, p. 17 Missa pro inimicis = SMRL p.326. LM, p.19 Missa pro his qui aecclesiae dei presunt = SMRL, p. 321 'Missa pro Pape'. LM, p. 18 In anniversarium aecclesiae missa = SMRL, p. 317 'In anniversarium dedicationis ecclesiae.'

[2] St Nicholas (LM, p. 17, fol. 30), beginning of Scribe 2's stint. B ruylants records these prayers, but only from an unpublished fourteenth-century manuscript, however SMRL gives this verbatim for the feast of St Nicholas.
St John Baptist (LM, p. 19, fol. 34) beginning of Scribe 3's stint. This is the usual mass 'prima mane' in both Gregorian and Gelasian traditions.
St Egidius (LM, p. 20, fol. 36^{v}), Scribe 2. Once again only recorded by Bruylants from a fourteenth-century manuscript. This lacks a heading and is the only Sanctoral mass to include details of the saint's life, as if taken from a Martyrology (not Usuard's). Does this reflect the exemplar of this one mass?

[3] i.e. Prefaces for Temporal feasts from Vigil of Christmas —> Feria iv in Passion week; Palm Sunday (mass with lections, antiphon cues, rubrics etc.); Preface for Palm Sunday; Maundy Thursday, mass cues with blessings of chrism, episcopal blessing, ordo for consecrating chrism oil in full with rubrics; Temporal Prefaces from Holy Saturday —> Advent; Sanctoral Prefaces from feast of St Stephen —>Finding of Holy Cross 3rd May; Mass for dedication of church of St Mary ad martyres, 13th May, with lections in full; Mass for anniversary of a church (cues only); alternative mass for dedication of St Mary ad martyres (collect, secret and post-communion only); Prefaces, Vigil of St John Baptist —> St Thomas apostle; Prefaces for the Common of Saints; for one apostle, masses for one evangelist, vigil of a martyr, several virgins and further prefaces for the Common of Saints.

for the Prefaces was probably an English manuscript since many are identical with the prefaces in Jumièges[1] and, to a lesser degree, with Newminster. The Ordo for Maundy Thursday has the same sacramental prayers as Jumièges, but the latter lacks the ordos for consecrating the chrism etc. found in LM. The prayers from the other masses in this section largely come from the Gregorian tradition, plus Alcuin's supplements, though some of the masses per se are not recorded in Bruylants' Oraisons.[2]

QQ 43 and 47 have/a less coherent textual pattern and more scribes were involved in copying the texts piecemeal. Quire 43 commences with two votive masses (sacramental prayers only),[3] then the next scribe, beginning on the verso of the leaf, copied masses for St Mary Magdalene,[4] for the finding of the body of St Stephen,[5] and for the Octave of St Mary ad martyres, the first two with prefaces and cues as an integral part of the text. The rest of fols 341-342 were then originally left blank[6] and

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[1] Jumièges, pp. 87-88, cf. LM, pp. 256-62.

[2] viz. The masses for the dedication of church of St Mary ad martyres (both masses), for one evangelist and for the vigil of a martyr.

[3] Missae de omni celesti virtute and generalis pro vivis et defunctis (LM, p. 251, fols 337-39). None of the prayers occur in Bruylants, Oraisons.

[4] See above, p. 127.

[5] This feast is in the calendar. The prayers are untraced, but several relics of his were at Exeter and a church dedicated to him, with an eleventh-century crypt, still stands in Exeter.

[6] Did Scribe 4, on beginning his stint, turn over two leaves instead of one, and thus start on fol. 342^{v} rather than fol. 341^{v}?

Scribe 4 began by copying masses for St Alban (prayers and preface),[1] for the translation of St Martin (with lections in full)[2] and for the 24th Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost.[3]

Quire 47 was begun by Scribe 2 who copied the mass for the bishop himself to say at his ordination (with lections in full and cues in text).[4] The rest of the quire was written by six scribes each copying a single mass (with one exception), each beginning their stint on a new recto or verso of a leaf (hence the many leaves with unutilised rulings) while most of the headings are omitted, despite space being left for them. This layout suggests these texts were added piecemeal, probably over a period of years subsequent to the completion of the bulk of the Exeter additions.

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[1] There is no mass in 'A', but, as expected, he is in the English calendar. Exeter had no relics of the saint, but his fame as the first British martyr explains his commemoration. The mass and prayers are unrecorded in Bruylants, Oraisons, but are identical with those in Wells (pr. LM, p. 305) and in Jumièges pr. in LM, p. 283).

[2] The feast is in the calendar and Exeter had relics of him (LM, p. 4). The prayers used are from the Common of a confessor and from St Ambrose (Bruylants, Oraisons nos 433, 768 and 995). The mass is also in Jumièges (p. 187). The feast was also used as a dating point by the Rule of Chrodegang ([illegible] Rule [illegible] ch. xxxiii, p. 43 and ch. xxxvii, p. 48).

[3] This is the usual Gregorian text, whereas the 'A' mass is Gelasian. The Gregorian text seems to have been normal in England, occurring also in Jumièges and Newminster.

[4] The collect and secret are untraced; the post-communion comes from the mass for the feast of several confessors in Alcuin's supplement to the Gregorianum (Bruylants, Oraisons no. 150); the second post-communion comes from the Gelasian text for the mass at a bishop's ordination (ibid., no. 743).

Scribe 6 copied the Mass for the conception of St John the Baptist (with cues in the text),[1] masses for the king and queen[2] and for the ordination of St Gregory (sacramental prayers only).[3] Scribe 7 copied a mass for the Conception of the BVM,[4] followed by Scribe 2's further entry of a votive mass for a friend in difficulties,[5] which has its correct heading in the orange rustic capitals used throughout the Exeter quires. Scribe 8 copied a mass for the octave of St Martin,[6] with its correct heading, followed by Scribe 10's

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[1] The introit, epistle, gradual and versicle later became those for the Vigil of St John the Baptist (SMRL, p. 285), the offertory became that for his feast day (ibid., p. 286), while the other prayers are untraced. The feast occurs in the calendar, but there is no mass in 'A'. Exeter possessed relics of the saint (LM, p. 4A).

[2] The prayers of this mass have not been traced. Could the reference to the queen 'cum suis omnibus' imply her family - the Godwins - who had strong Devon connections? It was in Exeter, where she had founded the church of St Olave (S. no. 1236), that Harold's mother, Gytha, settled after 1066.

[3] The collect and secret for this feast have not been traced. The post-communion is that of St Ambrose (SMRL, pp. 995, 1570, 1604. The feast was added to the calendar (3rd September) by a different scribe. Exeter possessed a relic of the saint (LM, p. 5A).

[4] The heading was never entered. The prayers have not been traced, and the feast itself was not widespread at this date. It does not occur in Jumièges, Wells or Newminster, while the only manuscript cited by Bruylants to contain it is s.xiv. The feast was not entered in the calendar and does not occur in any eleventh-century English calendars cited in Wormald, Kalendars. Portions of the virgin's hair, robe and veil were amongst Exeter's relics (LM, p. 4A) and the monastery had been dedicated to her, which may account for this stress on her feasts.

[5] This mass and prayers are untraced.

[6] The prayers are untraced and the feast is not entered in the calendar. Its occurrence may reflect Leofric's Lotharingian background and the presence of a relic at Exeter (LM, p. 4B).

stint of masses for the Octave of St Andrew[1] and for St Faith.[2] The preface for the feast of St Peter ad vincula was added by Scribe 9,[3] to complement the mass in 'A'.[4] Scribe 10 added masses for St Augustine[5] and Lazarus.[6] Possibly at this stage, he also went back and, in a space in quire 43, copied a mass for St Margaret, with no heading.[7]

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[1] This occurs in the calendar and the feast, though occurring in Gelasian sacramentaries, uses different prayers. These prayers are untraced. A portion of his staff was amongst Exeter's relics (LM, p. 4A).

[2] The scribe also entered Faith in the calendar on 6th October. The prayers and feast are unrecorded in Bruylants, Oraisons. Though there are no relics of her at Exeter, there were at Glastonbury and she was later to be placed in the Sarum calendar.

[3] A different scribe (10 ?) made the calendar entry.

[4] There is no comparable English preface for this feast.

[5] It is not clear from the text if this is St Augustine of Hippo or St Augustine of Canterbury. Both saints are in the calendar on 28th August and 26th May respectively. Since the secret and post-communion are identical with those in Gelasian sacramentaries for St Augustine of Hippo and since they do not accord with those given in either Wells, CCCC 270 (from St Augustine's Canterbury) or in Jumièges, the presupposition is for St Augustine of Hippo, of whom there was a relic at Exeter (LM, p. 4B).

[6] He also inserted the calendar entry on 18th December. Neither feast or prayers have been traced. Lazarus was reputedly first Bishop of Marseilles, and, since there were no relics of him at Exeter, his entry must be due to personal influence. Did Leofric's priest Landbert come from northern Italy or south-east France? If so, it might explain the entry of Lazarus.

[7] The prayers are untraced; Bruylants first records the feast from a printed edition of 1474. She occurs in the calendar and a relic of her head was at Exeter (LM, p. 5A).

Warren does not state his reasons for believing the manuscript to have been Leofric's personal property, though it does bear an inscription stating that Leofric gave it to his cathedral church and, to judge from the present tense of the Latin, before his own death. Can it be proved that Leofric used the volume as his own 'maesse boc' before its donation? A priori, the sacramentary would be of use to any priest, but the pontifical sections which the manuscript already contained would only be of value to a bishop. Since not only the sacramentary but also the pontifical were expanded at Exeter, Leofric seems certain to have used the manuscript.[1] The manuscript was also donated by Leofric 'ad utilitatem successorum suorum', a phrase particularly appropriate in this case, since the manuscript is likely to have been used by Leofric, the first bishop of the see.[2]

If Leofric used the manuscript, was his the guiding hand behind the extension of the manuscript? Textually, the additions to the pontifical are likely to have been at his request and he may also have been responsible for the text of the 'Missa propria pro episcopo' since it has not been traced

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[1] Additions made to the pontifical at Exeter include: episcopal blessings for the anniversary of a church's dedication and for various ecclesiastical vessels; an additional mass for the ordination of a bishop and the 'Missa propria pro episcopo', whose prayers indicate that it was written for the bishop of Exeter's use (LM, pp. 19, 131, 255, 20 respectively).

[2] Did Leofric donate the manuscript when London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII - a pontifical copied at Exeter in Leofric's time - was completed? This is less bulky manuscript containing solely pontifical texts whose larger format may have made it easier for the bishop to read from on formal occasions.

elsewhere.[1] Was Leofric himself one of the scribes responsible for the Exeter additions? Warren did not feel that any of the scribes could be proved to be the bishop himself, but is this so?[2]

The 'Missa propria pro episcopo' was copied by Scribe 1, the only accomplished scribe who does not write in an Exeter-type hand or in some derivative of that style. His hand can be compared with those in Hague, Bibliothek Royale, MS 130 E.9,[3] a Liège manuscript from the early eleventh century and, to a lesser degree, with Leyden, Bibliothek Universität, MS Lipsius 26,[4] from Ghent c. 1030. This suggests that Scribe 1 learnt to write in Lotharingia, where we know Leofric - and possibly his priest Landberht - were educated.

Scribe 1 was responsible for completing the only incomplete text in 'A'[5] and for adding the epistle and gospel cues in the margins alongside 'A' masses - the only additions which would mean the manuscripts' leaving the bishop's possession, unless Scribe 1 were Leofric himself. He supervised some of the work

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[1] This mass occurs in Wells (fol. 62), but the prayers are different. The secret (Bruylants, Oraisons no. 1133) occurs in a mid-eleventh-century missal from Rome in the mass for the 'congregatione', the community who served a church.

[2] LM, p. lv. Since Leofric had been a royal chaplain, he is likely to have undertaken a certain amount of correspondence between 1042 and 1046.

[3] cf. Plates I-II with Manuscrits Datés conservés dans les Pays-Bas, ed. G.I. Lieftienck (Amsterdam, 1964), i, pls. 34-35; no. 110, pp. 46-47. Note the similar aspect of the scripts, the tallness of ascenders compared with the body of the letters and their tendency to split at the top, the same formation of 's' and 'g' and contrast these with the hand of Scribe 2 (Plates III-V).

[4] ibid., pls 44-47.

[5] i.e. the added quire 22 (fols 155-58) where on fols 155-56 he completed the 'Consecratio thimiamatis' written by a tenth-century scribe.

by correcting the stints of Scribes 2, 6 and 7[1] and, significantly, entered the obit of Pope Leo IX in the calendar.[2] He also designated it as a major feast by adding a .F. and the indication for 9 lessons.

This presumption that Scribe 1 is, in fact, Leofric can be strengthened by examining the other contexts in which he does or does not appear. He adds a few lines of a prayer in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718 underneath a number of entries concerning church dues from various places in Oxfordshire, where Leofric had estates.[3] In Cambridge, Trinity College MS B.11.2 (241) he adds a few lines of a prayer on an original folio, not in the quire added at Exeter.[4] In Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 190[5] he adds a line (now partly erased) possibly asking for a blessing on a church and interlines a word to a passage on simoniacal elections, copied by Scribe 10, as well as adding an interlinear gloss to another section copied by Scribe 10.[6] These three manuscripts were of an earlier date and were at Exeter by Leofric's time and probably through his agency. The Trinity manuscript bears his donation inscription, the Amalarius text was an apposite one for a bishop setting up a new diocesan church and the penitential may be the one referred to in his donation list.

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[1] e.g. fol. 31 l.1, fol. 373 l.11, fol. 373 l.17 respectively.

[2] LM, p. 26; fol. 40[v]. Below the month of April. His feast was later kept on 19th April. Leo had granted permission for the removal of the see from Crediton to Exeter.

[3] fol. 179. Penitential of Archbishop Ecgberht s.x[2], see Appendix I.

[4] fol. 112[v]. Amalarius of Metz, De ecclesiasticis oficiis s.x[2], see Appendix I.

[5] fol. ii and p. 292. A penitential s.xi[1], with numerous additions, some made at Exeter, see Appendix I.

[6] p. 292.

Scribe 1 did not write any of the donation inscriptions, any historical entries and, despite the excellence of his hand, appears in very few of the manuscripts copied at Exeter in this period. This suggests that Scribe 1 was too occupied with other activities to devote much time to copying manuscripts.[1] He did, however, copy a significant portion of B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A vii,[2] a pontifical and, of course, play a significant rôle in adapting Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, probably Leofric's personal sacramentary and pontifical.

Given the continental aspect of his script, his appearance in older manusctipts connected with Leofric and with the two pontifical manuscripts surviving from Bishop Leofric's era at Exeter, there seems a strong likelihood that Scribe 1 is, in fact, Leofric himself.

This sacramentary and pontifical used and adapted through nearly two centuries also contain some non-liturgical material added at Exeter. This is mainly confined to the first quire of the manuscript and to the intrusive folio 8, covered with tenth-century manumissions.[3] folio 8 was bound in the manusctipt when it was re-bound at Exeter to

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[1] This non-participation cannot be attributed to his death early in the period of Leofric's episcopate since in the Corpus manuscript he corrects the work of Scribe 10 who outlived Leofric and whose additions to the Leofric Missal are subsequent to the main body of Exeter additions, implying they occurred late in or after Leofric's episcopacy.

[2] See Appendix I.

[3] See below, pp. 263-64.

contain the quires added there to maintain the legal validity of the manumissions, since the book was probably kept on the altar. A number of records of basic importance to the cathedral church were recorded in this manuscript: the account of the founding of the diocese of Crediton; its removal to Exeter with papal and royal approval, including a copy of Leo IX's letter to Edward the Confessor; and a list of the cathedral church's relics.[1] In it was also recorded most of our information on the life and works of Leofric, first bishop of Exeter and donor of the manuscript. Leofric's gift of this manuscript is not <u>per se</u> enough to explain these entries for he gave many other volumes, including other mass and gospel books to the church. The likelihood of the Leofric missal's having been Leofric's personal sacramentary and pontifical, whose modernisation he had supervised and participated in, does much to explain the choice of this manuscript for some of the see's vital records. The care taken by Scribe 10, who had worked at Exeter in collaboration with Leofric, to record Leofric's achievements argue for a conscious memorial to the see's first bishop. Significantly, his obituary notice ends with a request for the reader's prayers for the soul of Leofric.[2] That he was

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[1] On fol. 59 (<u>LM</u>, p. 59B) an early twelfth-century scribe copied a letter from Adela, daughter of William I, addressed to a bo L, on which see <u>LM</u>, § 44, p. lxii. Bishop William Warelwast of Exeter (1107-37) was a distant relation of Adela's, which may explain how the letter came to be copied at Exeter. Its insertion into the Leofric Missal suggests that the missal was still seen as a place to record important information, e.g. the correct observance of masses for the living and the dead. The addressee (Bp 'L') of her letter is unknown.

[2] 'pro cuius anime requie, pie lector, non omittas orare'. (<u>LM</u>, p. 2A, fol. 3^{v}).

remembered is likely since manumissions were being added to the manuscript until early in the twelfth century. It is, thus, likely to have lain on an altar (and most probably the high altar) for at least 40 years after his death.

No other memorial of this kind to a bishop has survived from the eleventh century. Why should a record of this sort have been made at all? The explanation lies, I think, in the dictates of the Rule of Chrodegang which Leofric imposed on his chapter of secular clergy. This rule stresses the pre-eminence of the bishop over the community and also the importance of remembering benefactors. How then could the canons have failed to remember a bishop who was almost entirely responsible for the eminence and outfitting of their cathedral church? Their grateful record was thus made in a book which had once been his and which, through its use for the central sacrament of the church, could not fail to bring him frequently to the Deity's mind.

The Leofric Missal, then, is a manuscript of great complexity and interest. The original sacramentary and pontifical were copied, probably from a number of exemplars, possibly at the Benedictine house of St Vaast, Arras as a gift for a bishop, possibly one of their ex-monks, some time in the

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1 - See below, pp. 202-04, 251.

second half of the ninth century. By the middle of the tenth century it had travelled to Glastonbury where it was used and adapted and where a calendar was prefixed to it, probably in 979. It remained in use there until the early years of the eleventh century and then, somehow, passed into the hands of Leofric.

Leofric began the second stage of adapting the manuscript when a variety of mass and pontifical texts were added at his new see of Exeter, probably in the 1050s. These texts show an awareness of some of the latest liturgical developments from the Continent interspersed with much that seems to be drawn from contemporary Anglo-Saxon liturgical practice. Leofric himself probably took an actual part in the process of adapting what seems to have been his personal sacramentary and pontifical. After his death, the manuscript was used as a tangible memorial to his achievements, in accordance with the canons' obligations under their Rule.

CHAPTER IV

BOOK PRODUCTION IN THE EXETER SCRIPTORIUM

The substantial additions made to the Leofric Missal are by no means the only evidence of scribal activity undertaken at Exeter during Leofric's episcopate. Mention has already been made of the donation inscriptions entered at Exeter into the books given by Leofric to his cathedral church[1] and Dr P. Chaplais has surveyed a group of charters many of which were written or copied at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century.[2] A number of other manuscripts, connected with Exeter primarily on liturgical or historical grounds, have already been ascribed an Exeter origin and, in a few cases, this origin has been clearly demonstrated on palaeographical grounds.[3]

I re-examined all the manuscripts and charters for which an Exeter origin or provenance has been claimed or was possible during the period of Leofric's episcopate, initially for the reappearance of any of the scribes responsible for the additions made to Leofric's Missal at Exeter. Their reappearance, often in conjunction with further scribes, whose hands can then be found elsewhere, gives a chain of another twenty-five surviving manuscripts, conclusively proving that a scriptorium existed at Exeter,[4] though quite for how long it is difficult to determine.

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[1] See above, pp. 29-41.

[2] Chaplais, 1966, 1-34.

[3] Bishop, Notes, 192-99.

[4] A scriptorium is defined as a centre where two or more scribes working in conjunction produced two or more manuscripts. Full descriptions of all manuscripts written at Exeter can be found in Appendix I.

Twelve surviving manuscripts were written at Exeter *in toto*:

1. Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10;
2. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4;
3. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11;
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191;
5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196;
6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, fols 179-269;
7. London, B.L., Additional MS 28188;
8. London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII;
9. London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII;
10. London, B.L., MS Harley 863;
11. London, B.L., MS Harley 2961;
12. London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489.

Five manuscripts have quires or leaves written by Exeter scribes which are not part of the manuscripts' original structure, suggesting that the quires or leaves were deliberately added at Exeter:

13. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B (pp. 295-420), QQ 1, 2, 5 were added at Exeter;
14. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, QQ 1-7, 15 were added at Exeter;
15. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.11.2 (241), Q 15 added at Exeter;
16. London, B.L., Royal MS 6 B VII, Q 8 added at Exeter;
17. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16, QQ 1, 2 added at Exeter.

Eight other manuscripts contain writing by identifiable Exeter hands:

18. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, p. 488;
19. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A (pp. 1-294), pp. xii, 130-31, 292-93, 297;
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 1-77^{v}, fol. 77^{v};
21. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 78-92, fol. 78;
22. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 3.6, fol. iii^{v};
23. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 229, fols 53^{v}, 54, 86, 92^{v};
24. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708, fol. 113;
25. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, fol. 180-180^{v}.

Five of these (18, 20, 21, 22, 24) were given by Leofric to Exeter and the donation inscription in them was naturally written by an Exeter scribe.

By working outwards from the Leofric Missal, which is the manuscript which contains the largest number of different Exeter hands, one can build up a picture of the activity of particular scribes, each of whom is identified by a number. This number does not necessarily reflect a chronological sequence of scribal activity, but stems initially from the appearance of hands in the Leofric Missal (Scribes 1-11). Hands which do not appear in the Leofric Missal, but can be found at least once working in conjunction with any of Scribes 1-11, are numbered 12-16 on an arbitrary basis. A list is given of each scribe's appearances in Exeter manuscripts and charters, his hand is then discussed, with references to published plates where possible, and an attempt is made to place him in the chronology of the scriptorium's activities. If the identification of a scribe's hand is less certain in a specific manuscript, this is indicated by the placing

of a question mark before that manuscript or set of folios in the list of his postulated oeuvre.[1]

In examining the scribal stints in different manuscripts of likely Exeter origin or provenance, I looked at scribal habits such as the proportions of the script, the formation of individual letters, the use (or lack of) certain ligatures and abbreviations and on these criteria attributed scribal stints in different manuscripts to the hand of a particular scribe. Such a judgement could then be buttressed sometimes by observing a repeated association with certain other scribal hands and, in a few cases, a syntactical study of Old English word division at the end of lines.[2] In this way I was able to trace the work of scribes who appear in two or more manuscripts. They are by no means the only scribes who appear in the Exeter manuscripts, but the other hands have yet to be traced in more than one manuscript. As was the case at Salisbury Cathedral some thirty to forty years later,[3] the picture of activity at the scriptorium which emerges suggests a few principal scribes, who were possibly overworked, and who called in a number of other scribes, presumably canons of the cathedral, to assist them by copying a few quires or leaves as occasion demanded.

I intend to discuss the main scribal hands individually before progressing to an assessment of the 'Exeter style'.

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[1] Such uncertainty usually stems from either the brevity of the scribe's appearance which may not include some of his more distinctive letter forms or the use of a different script from that of most of his appearances.

[2] My information on this subject I owe to Claus Dieter Wetzel who is preparing a thesis on this topic for Göttingen University.

[3] N.R. Ker, 'The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', Medieval Learning and Literature, Essays presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), 23-49.

Exeter Scribe 1 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 18-30^{v}, 155-56 (additional masses and pontifical texts); he added the marginal cues for the Gospel and Epistle alongside the masses in the original quires of the Sacramentary, added the commemoration of the feast of Pope St Leo IX to the Calendar[1] and corrected the stints of Exeter Scribes 2, 6, 7 and 8 in the Leofric Missal [fol. 155 is Plate I].

(ii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 131 l.4, he added a gloss to Scribe 10's work [see Plate XIII]; p. 247, he added 'Allelulia, sancte eligii tu dulce do (sic) pauperum' in the lower margin and noted the words; p. 292 he interlines a word in a passage on simoniacal elections, copied by Scribe 10.

(iii) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241), fol. 112^{v}, a few lines of a prayer beginning 'Venite adoremus ...'

(iv) London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII, fols 72^{v}-112, sections of a pontifical.[2] [fol. 84 is Plate II].

(v) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, fol. 179, a prayer beginning 'Tua sunt haec ...' on this flyleaf.

(vi) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849, fol. vi, notice of a comet.

T.A.M. Bishop has already pointed out that this scribe is 'possibly alien'[3] and a glance at the plates in this thesis will confirm the substantial differences between his script and those

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[1] LM, fol. 40^{v}; Bishop, ECM, pl. 2.

[2] T.A.M. Bishop has linked this appearance with the one in (i), ECM, p. 24, n.1.

[3] ibid., p. 24, n.1.

of the other scribes working at Exeter. His script is considerably more etiolated. His 's' is formed with a headstroke ' ' completed by a lower stroke ' ' giving ' ' rather than the lower stroke being formed first ' ', then the upper stroke ' ' giving ' ' which is an important characteristic of the Exeter style.[1] Scribe 1 also forms his 'g' in a different way from other Exeter scribes; he forms most of the body of the letter with a single stroke, but the right hand side of the body is formed by the same stroke which forms the descender of the letter, compared with the usual two strokes - one for body and one for descender - of the Exeter script.[2]

I have already suggested that Scribe 1 is Bishop Leofric himself since his hand indicates a continental training and since, despite the legibility of his script, he appears only in manuscripts owned by or closely connected with the bishop himself.[3]

Exeter Scribe 2 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 30 line 11 - 33^{v}, 34^{v}-37^{v}, 156^{v}-57^{v}, 337-341 line 14, 344^{v} lines 2-14, 371-72, 374^{v}-75 line 2, 58^{v} lines 23-27, 4 lines 1-7 (all additional liturgical material) and fol. 1 Leofric's donation inscription. He also added SS Giles and Melanius to the Calendar on 1st September and 6th December respectively[4] and St Aelphage

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[1] Cf. Plate I, line 1 with Plate IIIA line 1.

[2] Cf. Plate I, line 1 'digneris' with Plate II, line 3 'gratiae'.

[3] See above, pp. 140-41 .

[4] LM, fols 43, 44^{v}, pp. 31 and 33 respectively.

and the notice of Leofric's ordination on 19th April.[1] [fol. 35 is Plate IIIA]

He added the donation inscriptions to:

(ii) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2, fol. 121^{v}.

(iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16, fol. 6^{v}.

(iv) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 1-77, fol. 77^{v}. [Plate IIIB]

(v) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 3.6, fol. iii^{v}.

He wrote in their entirety:

(vi) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191,[2] Rule of Chrodegang.

(vii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 179-269.[3] Capitula of Theodulf. [fols 212-13 are Plate IV]

He also appears writing:

(viii) Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fols 65-72.

(ix) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 131 lines 15-33 [Plate XIII], p. 365.[4]

(x) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, fols 3-93. [p. 54 is Plate V].

(xi) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489, fols 25-31 line 2.[5]

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[1] See Bishop, ECM, pl. 2.

[2] See Rule, frontispiece and pl. opp. p. 704; Bishop, ECM, pl. XXIV.

[3] T.A.M. Bishop has pointed out that the caroline minuscule of this scribe is identical with that of the scribe responsible for (i) fols 34^{v}-36 (Notes, 193).

[4] T.A.M. Bishop has already noted that this insular minuscule hand is identical with that of the scribe responsible for the insular minuscule in (vii) (Notes, 193).

[5] Bishop believed (ix) pp. 3-94, 209-24 and (x) fols 1-20, 25-58 to be by the same scribe, but I would ascribe these stints to several scribes. (Notes, 194).

This scribe differentiates carefully between his Latin and Old English texts by using caroline and insular minuscule respectively and he often differentiates even between forms which are basically similar in both alphabets e.g. 'e', cf. Plate V line 10 'egredi' with line 14 'wepen'. He punctuates with a low placed punctus and run-ons are marked at the end of lines in both his scripts. When using caroline minuscule, his ascenders and descenders are the same length as the body of the script: the ascenders have wedges at the top and descenders have a small foot formed by the pen being lifted off the page to the right.[1] The head of the 's' is slightly lower than the level of the ascenders. Its headstroke commences slightly to the left of the stroke which forms the stem of the letter, resulting in a wedge-shaped feature to the left of the stem which is a prominent characteristic of the Exeter style.[1] The head of 'e' is small and placed high. The lower left limb of 'x' trails underneath the preceding letter. Suspensions are marked by a horizontal stroke which curves upwards at the right of the stroke as the pen is lifted from the page. The 'et' ligature is used both for the conjunction and when this letter combination occurs within a word.[2] He used a cedillaed 'e' formed with a downward stroke which curves back upwards to the right before resuming its downward left slant, which is completed with a light upwards right stroke as the pen is lifted from the page. Scribe 2 uses

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[1] See Pl. IIIA, line 6 'temporalis'.

[2] See Pl. XIV, line 23 'oportet'.

ligatures for 'ct',[1] 'it',[2] 'st'[3] and the usual repertory of abbreviations for 'per', 'pro', '-que' and '-orum'.

His insular minuscule script is distinguished by the leftwards flick at the bottom of the descenders and by an exaggerated splitting of the ascenders.[4] He used long-'s' initially and medially and short-'s' finally. The ascender of 'd' is very short and begins to curve back on itself as the pen is lifted from the page,[5] whereas that of the 'ð' is taller than the ascenders and curves back downwards from the top with the crossbar turned upwards at the end of the stroke.[6] The lower bow of the 'g' is closed and is formed by a smaller curve than that used for the upper portion of the letter.[7]

Scribe 2 occupies a pre-eminent position in the Exeter scriptorium. It is he who collaborates most closely with Scribe 1, probably Leofric himself, by completing the two sections begun by Scribe 1 in the Leofric Missal and working with him on (xi) a Pontifical and benedictional copied at Exeter. It is Scribe 2 who is responsible for five out of nine surviving donation inscriptions in books owned by Leofric and given to the cathedral. That Scribe 2 was a canon of Exeter is suggested by the fact that he copied Exeter's manuscript of the Rule of Chrodegang (Cambridge,

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[1] Plate IIIA, line 8 'auctor'.

[2] ibid., line 10 'virtutem'.

[3] Plate IV, p. 212. line 4 'strahatur'.

[4] See Plate IIIB, lines 5-7.

[5] ibid., line 6 'alysednysre'.

[6] See Plate IV, p. 213, line 4 'gytað'.

[7] See Plate IIIB, line 7 'god'.

Corpus Christi College, MS 191), which was the Rule followed by the community at Exeter. He also copied the Capitula of Theodulf for Exeter.[1] These two texts were possibly designed as a single volume, or as part of a set, with Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196 a Martyrology. All three manuscripts are of similar dimensions, with a similar written area, identical ruling, hierarchy of scripts and palatte. Between them they provided the basic text for the ordering of the communal life of the canons, a basic text on the priestly duties of ministering to the laity with which a canon followed the Rule of Chrodegang would be much involved [2] and the martyrology which was needed for the daily Chapter meeting.[3] By the time the 1327 catalogue was drawn up, the Rule and Capitula had been bound together as their entry shows.[4]

The fact that Scribe 2 co-operated with Scribe 1 on some of the earliest additions made to the Leofric Missal and wrote basic texts needed by the community at Exeter suggests that the bulk of his scribal activity took place in the 1050s. The donation inscriptions and his brief appearances in other volumes, whether owned by Leofric, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B or copied at Exeter, such as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 421, suggest that his activity may have continued throughout Leofric's episcopate.

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[1] Now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, fols 179-269.

[2] See below, pp. 204-05.

[3] 'Et post lectionem recitetur ... et nomina sanctorum quorum festa crastinus excipiet dies.' (Rule, ch. xvi, p. 27).

[4] Oliver, Lives, p. 304.

Exeter Scribe 3 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 34 [Plate VI] and fol. 344^{v} lines 16-18.

(ii) London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fols 38 line 4 - 55^{v}. [fol. 38 is Plate VII]

Like Scribe 2, and indeed most of the identified Exeter scribes, Scribe 3 differentiates carefully between Latin and Old English texts by using caroline and insular minuscule respectively. His caroline minuscule is similar to that of Scribe 2, but Scribe 3 is better able to control 'a' within the same space as other letters which lack ascenders and descenders and there is a greater regularity in the uprightness of ascenders and minim strokes and in the clear upward right strokes which form the feet of minims.[1] His 'et' ligature has a comma-like stroke at the end of the upward stroke.[2] When writing in insular minuscule, the complementary curves of the 'g' are fairly evenly balanced and, unlike Scribe 2, he does not complete the ascender of 'd' with a backwards curving pen stroke. His association with Scribe 2 in the Leofric Missal suggests that they were contemporaries. Given the regularity of his hand, I find it surprising that I cannot trace this scribe in other Exeter manuscripts; perhaps this is a mischance of survival or perhaps Scribe 3, who was probably also a canon, was mainly occupied in other duties.

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[1] See Plate VI, line 21 'muniamur'.

[2] ibid., line 9.

Exeter Scribe 4 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 342^{v}-44^{v} line 1 and ? fols 374^{v}-75 line 2.

I have not yet found other examples of caroline minuscule by this scribe. His hand approximates to the Exeter script and his first stint is both preceded and followed by stints of Scribe 2, so the two men were contemporaries working at Exeter.

Exeter Scribe 5 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 345-70 and fol. 59 lines 1-9. [fol. 345^{v} is Plate VIII]

(ii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B, pp. 351-59 line 13, two homilies in Old English.

(iii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, pp. 94-96, part of a homily in Old English.

This scribe wrote three whole quires of those added to the Leofric Missal and since these quires are amongst other Exeter quires of closely similar layout and content where Scribe 2 is the directing force, I would take the two men to be contemporaries working in the cathedral scriptorium. Scribe 5's brief stint in the Leofric Missal (fol.59) immediately follows a few lines written by Scribe 2, while in (iii) Scribe 5 again completes the work of Scribe 2 who was responsible for fols 3-93 of this manuscript. In (iii) Scribe 5's work which is part of the original Exeter expansion of the volume is followed by haphazard textual additions made by Scribe 10, who thus partly postdates Scribe 5.

He writes an excellent caroline minuscule of Exeter aspect. The most notable features are: the forty-five degree angle where the pen is lifted abruptly from the page at the end of each

descender; the serif trailing upwards at a forty-five degree angle from the end of the lower curve of 'g';[1] the 'x' which does not conform to the usual Exeter pattern in that the lower left limb barely extends beyond the upper left limb; and the cedilla formed from a complete loop hanging from the bottom of the 'e', which is completed by a straight downwards leftwards stroke and finished with a serif at a similar angle to the feet of the descenders.

His insular minuscule, which can be identified since the Latin text of the first homily in (ii) is in caroline minuscule, is in an Exeter style.[2] Its most distinguishing features are the crossbar of the 'eth,' which begins only to the right of the stem and turns downwards after an almost horizontal stroke and the marking of run-ons by horizontal strokes at <u>both</u> ends of the line.

<u>Exeter Scribe 6</u> wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 59^{v} ll. 14-20 (letter of Pope Pelagius),[3] 372^{v}-73 l.16.

(ii) Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11, the whole of the Old English Gospel book presented by Leofric to his cathedral. [fol. 1 is Plate IX]

(iii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, pp. 209-24.

(iv) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241), fols 113-21.

(v) Exeter, D. & C., MS 2521, copy of a grant of estates in

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[1] See Plate VIII, line 7 'unigenitus'.

[2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B, p. 351 lines 2-5.

[3] <u>LM</u>, fol. 59^{v}, p. 59B.

Cornwall to Wulfnoth Rumuncant by King Edgar, A.D. 967.[1]

(vi) Exeter, D. & C., MS 2521^{v}, copy of a grant of Cornish estates to Aelfheah Gerent and his wife Morwrei by King Edgar, A.D. 969.[2]

(vii) Exeter, D. & C., MS 2527^{v}, copy of a grant of Cornish estates to Aethelweard by King Edward the Martyr, A.D. 977.[3]

(viii) London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fol. 58 l.12 - 58^{v}, addition of Pater Noster and Creed to volume of homilies [fol. 58 is Plate X] in OE, copied at Exeter.

(ix) London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489, fols 20^{v}-24^{v}, part of volume of OE homilies copied at Exeter.

Dr Chaplais has already pointed out the connection between (i) and (v)-(vii)[4] and the bilingual text of these charters enabled me to identify other occurrences of Scribe 6's hand where he was copying Old English texts in an insular minuscule script. In (i) he works in conjunction with Scribes 2 and 7 and he is corrected by Scribe 1, probably Leofric himself. Scribe 6 was thus part of the original team involved in expanding the Leofric Missal. Despite the accomplished level of his script he took little part in that work. Was it because he was mainly occupied in copying the Gospels in Old English (v)? He also copied older charters of estates (ii-iv) which may by this time have been owned or claimed by Leofric in his former capacity as bishop of

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[1] O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 6.

[2] O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 6d.

[3] O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter, 14d.

[4] Chaplais, 1966, 14.

St Germans. His copying was all connected with books or estates owned or given by Leofric to Exeter - he is likely therefore to have been closely associated with Leofric. Most probably he was a canon of Exeter cathedral, as were the other scribes with whom he collaborated in the Leofric Missal. This is supported by the addition he made to a volume of homilies in OE copied at Exeter (viii) and his participation in (ix).

His accomplished caroline minuscule resembles that of Scribe 2, except that Scribe 6 forms his 'x' in three distinct strokes, one running from upper left to lower right, an upper right limb and, emerging from lower down the main limb, the lower left limb which curls up underneath the preceding letter. His 'g' has a small almost vertical stroke linking the upper lobe to the lower curve.[1]

His insular minuscule has: exaggerated splitting at the top of ascenders; a long 's' which curls right over at the top; a 'g' where the lower curve emerges almost from the left end of the horizontal bar; 'd' with a very short ascender; the cross stroke for abbreviations begins only to the right of the ascender and is completed with a short leftwards stroke as the pen is lifted from the page.[2]

Exeter Scribe 7 wrote:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 373 line 16 - 73^{v} and added the feast of the Ordination of St Gregory to the Calendar on 3rd September.[3]

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[1] See O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter, 6^{v}, line 2 'gentium'.

[2] See Plate IX for examples of all these letter forms.

[3] LM, fol. 43, p. 31.

I have yet to trace him in other Exeter manuscripts. His ascenders, notably 'f', actually descend below the line and he is as well / old-fashioned in his continuing use of the 'ra' ligature. His ampersand is striking in that the upper limb is taller than the upper lobe and he lifts off the pen first with an almost horizontal leftwards stroke and then changes angle to resume that of the limb itself, '&'.

He copied the Secret and Post Communion to a mass begun by Scribe 2 and his work is corrected by Scribe 1, so he was a contemporary of these two men.

Exeter Scribe 8 wrote:

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 375 lines 3-18.

I have not yet traced his hand in other Exeter manuscripts. His caroline minuscule is an attempt at an Exeter script, but he is not particularly accomplished. His ascenders tend to be of uneven width and not quite always vertical, a phenomenon perhaps caused by not holding the pen tightly enough or not pressing the pen firmly enough to the page. His 'a's, especially initial ones, barely fit into the space allotted for other letters which lack ascenders or descenders. His ampersand has an upper lobe which closes back on itself rather than on the lower lobe of the letter and the upper limb trails purposelessly upwards, '&'.

His coloured initials and layout conform to those of Scribes 2, 6 and 7 earlier in the quire so, like theirs, his work was part of the original design for the expansion of the Leofric Missal; consequently he was a contemporary of those scribes.

Exeter Scribe 9 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 376 (a preface for the feast of St Peter ad vincula), fols 2-3 line 6 (the account of the founding of the see of Crediton) and he added the obit of William I to the Calendar, which shows that he lived until 1087 at least. [fol. 3 is Plate XI]

(ii) London, B.L., MS Harley 2961, fols 1-152, 154-58, 186-93^{v}, 198^{v}-217^{v}, and ?218-33^{v}, which is most of the 'Leofric Collectar'. [fols 77^{v}-78 are Plate XII][1]

(iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, fol. 180 (some extracts on the rôle of a bishop) and fol. 180^{v} (a copy of Pope Leo IX's letter to Edward the Confessor authorising the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter).

His stints in the Leofric Missal suggest that he was working after the main work of expanding this volume was completed, since his preface lacks a heading and coloured initial. His interest in the history of the see makes it likely that he was a canon at Exeter. He may not have been working much later than the scribes involved in the main expansion of the Missal. The Collectar is a text which the new community at Exeter would rapidly have needed. Did he take no rôle in copying for the Leofric Missal because he was busy copying the Collectar? Despite his lack of penmanship compared say to Scribes 2 and 5, was he assigned to copying the Collectar because he knew and understood the intricacies of musical notation?

His caroline minuscule has been castigated as 'highly unstable'[2] and though it is not calligraphic, it is perfectly

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[1] For further examples of his hand see L.C,i,Plates I-XI.

[2] Bishop, Notes, 94 Bishop however confused the hands of Scribes 9 and 10 which may make the comment unnecessarily harsh.

legible. The most notable features of his hand are: the small head of the 'g' which is not as large as the body of other letters;[1] his 'a' which is rarely restrained within the correct area for the body of the letter;

his cedilla which is like a sideways 'v' below the letter[2] and his use, at a remarkably late date, of the insular abbreviation for 'autem'.[3] These traces of insular influence show he was English rather than continental trained and the neums in (ii) are also English in style.[4]

Exeter Scribe 10 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 339^{v}, 341 line 5 - 41^{v} line 8, 374 (inserting masses into gaps left by the scribes who originally copied these quires), 375 line 19 - 75^{v} line 19, 376^{v}-77 (adding masses to the end of the final quire), 3 line 7-3^{v} (the account of the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter and Leofric's obituary notice), 4 line 8 - 5^{v} line 4 (additional masses), 6-6^{v} (a Latin list of Exeter's relics), 7^{v} (a mass) and he added the feasts of SS Giraldus, Maglorius, Faith and the translation of St Bartholomew to October, the feast of St Saturninus to November and St Lazarus to December in the Calendar.[5] [fol. 3 is Plate XI]

He added the donation inscriptions to:

(ii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41, p. 488.

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[1] e.g. Plate XII, fol. 77^{v}, line 3 'resurgamus'.

[2] e.g. Plate XII, fol. 78, line 5 'dominicae'.

[3] e.g. Plate X , line 3.

[4] See below, p. 244.

[5] LM, fols 43^{v}-44^{v}, pp. 31-33.

(iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 78-92, fol. 78.

(iv) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708, fol. 113.

(v) Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11, fol. 1 and he also copied the list of Leofric's donations in this manuscript.[1] He made additions to the following manuscripts, some once owned by Leofric and given to the cathedral, and some written at Exeter:

(vi) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. xii (extract from a letter of Gregory I), p. 30 ll.6-17 (a decretal of Gelasius I), p. 131 ll.1-13 (excerpt from decretal of Pope Leo and penitential of Theodore), p. 292 (Capitula of Councils of Winchester and Windlesham, 1077 and 1072), p. 293 ll.1-14 (decrees of an English council in 1078). [p. 131 is Plate XIII]

(vii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B, p. 360 (extracts from canons).

(viii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 270-71. (preface and part of introduction to Usuard's Martyrology).

(ix) Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241), fol. 3 ll.8-13 (a note on the calculation of feasts).

(x) London, Public Record Office, MS 30/26/11, the endorsement which explains that the priest Brihtric left this estate to the monastery of St Mary, Crediton.[2]

(xi) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16, fols 8-14 (list in Old English of relics left by Athelstan to Exeter).

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[1] Now bound as Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, fols 1-2^{v}, see Exeter Book, fols 1-2^{v}.

[2] Dr Chaplais has already pointed out the similarity of this hand to that of the scribe responsible for fol. 341^{v} of the Leofric Missal (Chaplais, 1966, 15). For a reproduction see O.S. Facs, ii, PRO.

(xii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 229, fols 53^{v}, 54, 86, 92^{v} (notes explaining the textual dislocation caused by copyist's errors).

(xiii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 394, fol. 84 (note on weather).

?(xiv) London, B.L., MS Royal 6 B VII, fols 54^{v}-55^{v}, list of Athelstan's relics left to Exeter.

Though Scribe 10 appears in many manuscripts associated with Exeter, he was not responsible for copying any of the original texts in the volumes copied there. That his work began before 1072 is demonstrated by the fact that, on one occasion, Scribe 1 (whom I believe to be Leofric himself) emends Scribe 10's text.[1] Scribe 10 survived Leofric, since he copied what is in effect Leofric's obituary notice[2] and also the decrees of several English church councils later in the 1070s.[3] The texts he was responsible for copying reveal a particular interest in the history and endowments of the cathedral church of Exeter, an interest which is best explained by assuming that Scribe 10 was a canon of the cathedral. He recorded in several surviving manuscripts the notice that Leofric had donated those books (ii, iii, iv, v) to the cathedral, which was the corporate body which stood to gain most from such a record being made. He probably copied two of the surviving lists of the relics left by Athelstan to Exeter (xi, xiv) and one of the lists of Leofric's donations (v).

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[1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 131 l.4, see Plate XIII.

[2] LM, fol. 3^{v}, p. 2B.

[3] See (vi).

He was responsible, certainly as copyist, but possibly also as author, for the Exeter account of the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter, including the text of Pope Leo's letter to Edward the Confessor (i). At a later stage he added the account of Leofric's enthronement, the summary of the bishop's gifts to his cathedral church and Leofric's obituary notice with a request for prayers for Leofric's soul.[1] His copying of this type of historical record of the see's temporal and spiritual endowments make Scribe 10 Exeter's nearest approximation to a chronicler of the see.

He was also interested in the intellectual endowments of the see. He must have read Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 229 (xii) carefully, possibly comparing it with another copy of the text in the cathedral's possession, since he realised that the text had at several points been incorrectly copied from its exemplar. His marginal notes re-organise the text for the reader by indicating the correct sequence of folios.[2] He added the preface and introduction to Usuard's martyrology on an originally blank end-leaf of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201 possibly as the Exeter martyrology, now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196 was bound in with this volume while he was active in the scriptorium.

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[1] LM, fol. 3-3^{v}, p.2A-B. The first section ends 'Vale, karissime, semper in domino'. Thereafter his hand is even more compressed in an attempt to fit his text onto the leaf, since fol. 4 must already have been written on. Either he misjudged the length of his text and consequently the size of his hand diminished rapidly at this point, or else he returned to his task at a later date with a text he had to fit in as best he could.

[2] See description of this manuscript in Appendix I.

His entries in (vi) show his interest in and awareness of contemporary developments in the English church, hence the entry of decrees concerning simony, priestly orders, penances and the ordering and protection of ecclesiastical property. The decree of Gelasius I which he copied concerns the division of alms offerings to a cathedral church, a quarter to the bishop, a quarter to the canons, a quarter to the poor and a quarter for the fabric of the building.- a decree of most interest to the clergy of a cathedral church.[1] There seems little doubt from the subjects of the texts he copied that he was a canon of the cathedral at Exeter, probably after the hey-day of the scriptorium was over, since he takes no part in copying any of the manuscripts which were either written _in toto_ or were substantially added to at Exeter. However, he was a canon before 1072, but survived Leofric and became the prime copyist of the see's historical records.

His caroline minuscule is in a debased Exeter style, in that he attempts most of the characteristic Exeter practices, but his mastery of them is uneven. His scripts most notable features are: the lower bow of the 'g' which is completely closed;[2] 'y' has the usual leftwards sloping stem, but is completed by a horizontal stroke towards the right as the pen is lifted off the page; 'x' usually has a lower left limb which does not descend underneath the preceding letter; 'a' is rarely restrained within

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[1] This compares with Chrodegang's stipulation that alms should be divided into three parts - one for the church fabric, one for the poor or pilgrims and one for the canons (_Rule_, ch. lxxiii, pp.81-2).

[2] For examples of most of these, see Plate XIII.

in its correct proportions; the cedilla as is the modern French one.[1]

His insular minuscule script shows a more even mastery. He does not split his ascenders, treating them as he does ascenders in his caroline minuscule script. The ascender of 'd' is very short. For abbreviations, usually indicated by an horizontal stroke through an ascender, his stroke begins only to the right of the ascender.

Exeter Scribe 11 wrote:

(i) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 341 ll.1-14.

(ii) Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fols 11-12, a supply sheet. [fol. 11 is Plate XIV]

(iii) London, B.L., MS Additional 28188, fols 1-99^{v} l.10, 127-54, most of a benedictional and pontifical copied at Exeter.

In (i) Scribe 11 was working with the main body of scribes expanding the manuscript at Exeter i.e. Scribes 1-8. In (ii) he worked along with Scribe 12 who was certainly a canon of Exeter cathedral.

His caroline minuscule is extremely regular with pronounced feet rising at a forty-five degree angle to the right on all minims. Distinguishing features are: 'y' which is dotted and is very short stemmed, the stem emerging from a 'v'-shaped form;[2] ascenders and descenders are barely the height of the body of the letters and his ampersand has a very narrow upper lobe.[3]

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[1] For examples of most of these, see Plate XIII.

[2] This is not visible on Plate VIII where the scribe uses the standard Exeter 'y' throughout for both Latin and OE. Was this his usual insular minuscule form of the letter?

[3] e.g. Plate VIII, ll. 15 and 16.

His insular minuscule has: a very short ascender to 'd' which begins to curve back on itself as the pen is lifted from the page; the leg of the dotted 'y' curves back upwards at the bottom; the cross-stroke marking abbreviations begins only to the right of the ascender and curves upwards.[1]

Exeter Scribe 12 wrote:

(i) Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fols 18, 21. [fol. 18 is Plate XVA]

(ii) Exeter, D. & C., MS 2071, a copy of a grant of liberties by King Cnut to the episcopal see of St Germans, A.D. 1018,[2] with endorsements by same scribe.

(iii) London, B.L., MS Harley 863, fols 117^{v} 1.8 - 23^{v}.

(iv) London, B.L., MS Harley 1961, fols $234\text{-}56^{v}$.[3]

This scribe was responsible, along with Scribe 11 for copying the supply leaves in (i) so they are likely to have been contemporaries, while in (iii) and (iv) he is collaborating with Scribes 13 and 9 respectively. This suggests that he was working after, but not necessarily long after the main rush of scribal activity at Exeter. After 1050, when the provinciae of Crediton and St Germans had been re-united and the diocesan seat removed to Exeter, a canon of the cathedral would have reason to be interested in the liberties of the see of St Germans which would now rightfully apertain to the see of Exeter. Dr Chaplais has suggested that (ii) was forged soon after the Norman Conquest, presumably implying that it was needed to defend the

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[1] e.g. Plate VIII, line 8 'maciað'.

[2] O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 10; T.A.M. Bishop has pointed out the link between (i) and (ii) (Notes, #194).

[3] Fol. 251 is LC, pl. 12.

customary liberties of the see of which the Norman interlopers would not be aware.[1]

His caroline minuscule is not particularly accomplished but conforms, in most respects, to an Exeter script: his minims tend to sit uncomfortably on the ruled line; initial 'a' often has a large trailing head; the lower curve of 'g' extends to the right of the upper curve.[2]

His insular minuscule again sits unevenly on the line; the ascender of 'd' is longer than in many Exeter hands since it extends to the left of the lobe of the letter;[3] 'y' is dotted and the leg curves up below the previous letter. The occasional variation in his letter forms show his lack of total control of his scripts.

Exeter Scribe 13 wrote:

(i) London, B.L., Additional,MS 28188, fols 75 l.4 - 76^{v}, 99^{v} l.12 - 126^{v}, 155 l.3 -166^{v}, part of a benedictional copied at Exeter.

(ii) London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII, fols 4-14, 54^{v}-72^{v} l.12, a pontifical and benedictional.

(iii) London, B.L., MS Harley 863, fols 8-117^{v} l.7,[4] a Gallican Psalter.

(iv) London, B.L., MS Harley 2961, fols 194 l.8 - 197, the 'Leofric Collectar'.

(v) Exeter, D. & C., MS 2072, Edward the Confessor's charter uniting the sees of Devon and Cornwall, A.D. 1050.

[1] Chaplais, 1966, 23.

[2] e.g. Plate XVA, l.26 'largior'.

[3] e.g. Plate XVA, l.25-6 'weodnisse'.

[4] Fols 108^{v}-111 are LC., pls 13-18; T.A.M. Bishop has pointed out the links of (i), (ii) and (v) (Notes, 195).

This scribe was involved in copying these three liturgical texts and the pontifical, in which he cooperates with Scribe 1 (ii), Scribe 9 (iv), Scribe 11 (i) and Scribe 12 (iv). This means he was working before 1072, but mainly with scribes who took no part in the original expansion of the Leofric Missal.

His caroline minuscule hand is in the Exeter style with well marked feet to the minims and pronounced wedges at the top of ascenders which often are not equal in height to the body of the letter; the lower bow of 'g' is often rather angular, like three sides of a square, with a final stroke rising at an angle of forty-five degrees as the pen is lifted off the page; his cedilla is usually formed as is the present-day French one; run-ons are marked at the end of the line only.

Since we have no Old English he copied interspersed with Latin, we cannot identify his insular minuscule hand, so he may have been responsible for some of the sections of Old English text which I have not been able to attribute to the hand of a specific scribe.

Exeter Scribe 14 wrote:

(i) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B, pp. 308 l.7 - 319, two homilies in OE, part of the extensions made at Exeter to this volume.

(ii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196, pp. 111-22, OE version of the Vindicta Salvatoris.

This scribe was involved, along with Scribe 5 and another Exeter scribe in adding a number of extra quires to (ii). He must therefore have been a contemporary of Scribe 5 who was one of the group of scribes involved in expanding the Leofric Missal

at Exeter.

His caroline minuscule, which is demonstrated in the few lines of Latin Gospel text at the beginning of the first homily he copied in (i) is of a fairly standard Exeter type.

His insular minuscule has the usual split ascenders, short stemmed 'd'; a 'y' whose foot trails under (but not under and upwards) the preceding letter and descenders are curled to the left at the bottom.

Exeter Scribe 15 wrote:

(i) Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fols 72^{v}-93^{v}, part of Aelfric's Grammar. [fol. 81^{v} is Plate XVB]

(ii) Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B, pp. 295-308 1.6, a homily in OE.

He is collaborating with Scribe 14 in (ii) and with Scribes 2 and 11 in (i) so they were all working at around the same time.

His caroline minuscule is in the Exeter style: the feet of his minims are almost horizontal and there is an approach stroke at the tops of minims in ' ', 'm', 'n', 'u'; the bow of 'e' is very high and usually above the level of the tops of the minims; ascenders and descenders barely equal the height of the body of the letters.[1]

His insular minuscule is accomplished, with split ascenders: long 's' is used only initially; the ascender of 'd' is horizontal with the ruling and curves slightly back on itself as the pen is lifted from the page; the bow of the 'g' is rather smaller than

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[1] See Plate XV B.

the upper curve; 'y' is dotted and the leg curves upwards underneath the preceding letter; the crossbar of the 'eth' strikes across the ascender and turns upwards at the end of the stroke.

Exeter Scribe 16 wrote:

(i) Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Ch. Ant. T 37, forged grant of land at Topsham to the monastery at Exeter.

(ii) Exeter, D. & C., MS 2528,[1] confirmation by William I of Leofric's grant of various estates to the canons of Exeter, A.D. 1069.

(iii) Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a.2 no. I, forged grant of land at Crediton by King Aethelheard to Bishop Forthhere (of Sherborne) A.D. 739.

Scribe 16 wrote (ii) in 1069 or soon afterwards as this charter is an original,[2] hence his other appearances must date from the 1060s or early 1070s. He must have been a canon at the cathedral since he was responsible for recording the granting of estates to the Chapter.

His caroline minuscule is in the Exeter style: the head of an initial 'a' is exaggerated; 'x' is formed by three strokes - one from upper left to lower right, an upper right limb and a lower left limb; the head of 'f' is even taller than the other ascenders; the feet of the minims are horizontal and his letters do not sit evenly on the ruled lines.

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[1] O.S. Facs, ii, Exeter 16.

[2] Chaplais, 1966, 32-33.

His insular minuscule script has: an exaggerated splitting of ascenders; a short ascender to 'd'; 'y' is dotted and the leg curls up underneath the preceding letter; the crossbar of the 'eth' and thorn begins only to the right of the ascender and is completed with a short downwards stroke.

These sixteen were by no means the only people who copied portions of manuscripts or charters at Exeter, but are the scribes responsible for the expansion of the Leofric Missal and those whose hands I have been able to identify in two or more separate volumes or charters. In due course possibly more identifications can be made. The scribe responsible for the most calligraphically accomplished piece of insular minuscule produced at Exeter - Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4[1] - has yet to be traced in another surviving Exeter manuscript.

The interlocking appearances of these scribes in a group of manuscripts and charters many of which can be linked on textual grounds to Exeter prove the existence of a scriptorium at the cathedral over some years at least of Leofric's episcopate. The existence of a 'house' style at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century has already been recognised,[2] but no attempt has previously made to try and define the components of this 'house' style and decide what were the influential models for the practices followed by the Exeter scriptorium.

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[1] Fol. 47^{v} is Plate XVI.

[2] T.A.M. Bishop saw this type of script as being produced by scribes 'under the patronage and perhaps attached to the household of Bishop Leofric' (Notes, 197). Dr Chaplais ascribed a large number of charters to an Exeter scriptorium (Chaplais, 1966, 1-34).

The 'Exeter' style

Manuscripts of Exeter origin largely follow the standard pattern of mid eleventh-century English manuscripts in their codicology and palaeography. They are written on parchment of a creamy shade, dry to the touch and of varying thickness. Often the scraping of the hair sides has left them feeling like suede to the touch. Parchment with imperfections is used in some manuscripts and the holes or tears are either written around or sewn up.

The size of the leaf seems to have depended on the type of text being copied. They range from the largest - the versions in OE of Gregory's Cura Pastoralis and the Gospels which were designed to be placed on lecterns and used for readings in the course of the liturgy[1] - down to two volumes of homilies in OE which a preacher could easily pocket[2] and a small benedictional and pontifical which Leofric could have easily carried with him.[3]

The leaves are largely arranged in regular quaternions with hair side facing hair side and flesh facing flesh. The Exeter scribes did not enter quire signatures in the manuscripts they copied. It seems to have been contemporary practice not to insert quire signatures when copying manuscripts.[4] As prickings exist

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[1] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4 leaf now measures 330 x 220 mm, . Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11 leaf now measures 315 x 220 mm.

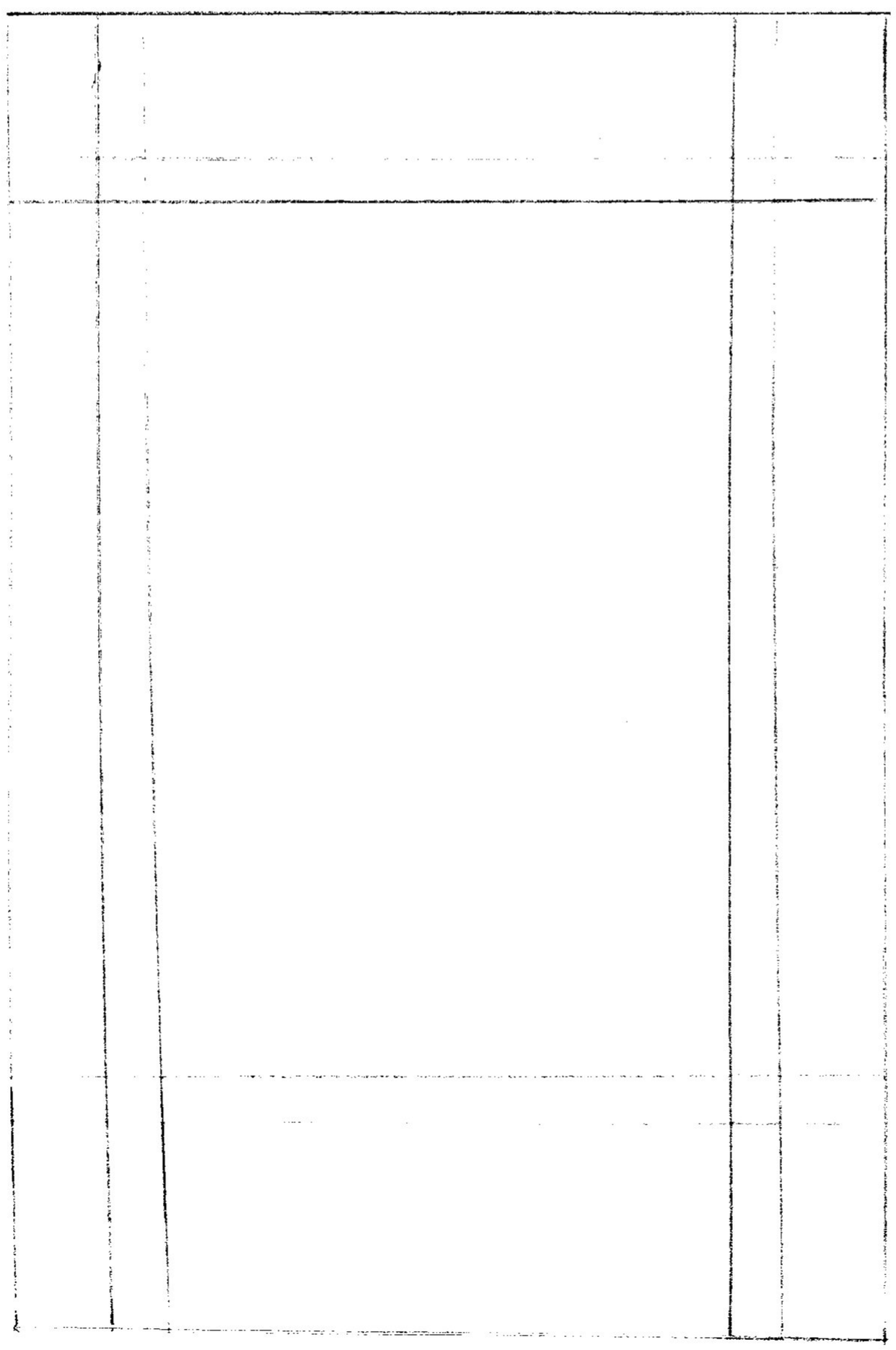
[2] London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII and its sister volume London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489, leaf originally 190 x 125 mm at least,

[3] London, B.L., Additional MS 28188, leaf 195 x 125 mm.

[4] There are no quire signatures in the following mid eleventh century manuscripts - Cambridge, University Library, MSS Ff.1.23 and Ii.4.6; Trinity College, MS B 15.34 (369); London, B.L., MSS Cotton Tiberius A III, B I, B IV, fols 3-86 and Vespasian D XII (Ker, Catalogue, nos 13, 21, 86, 186, 191, 192, 208 respectively).

only in the outer margins of the manuscripts, the leaves were pricked before folding.

All Exeter manuscripts are ruled in dry point, usually on the hair side, and in long lines. They are consistently ruled so that the two outermost long lines at both top and bottom reach to the edge of the leaf, in addition to the usual double vertical boundary lines. Was this complete consistency due to the fact that one scribe only was entrusted with the preparation of the parchment for the scriptorium's use?



In many English manuscripts of the mid eleventh century there is only one long line ruled to the edge of the leaf at top and bottom.[1] In a few manuscripts different quires are rules according to both methods.[2] Few manuscripts consistently have double horizontal rulings at top and bottom of the leaf.[3] The difficulties of precise dating or locating many of the manuscripts makes a pattern of development in ruling practices difficult to draw and probably the rate of change varied from scriptorium to scriptorium.[4] Most Worcester manuscripts of the second half of the eleventh century were still being ruled with single long lines to the edge of the leaf,[5] while the Christ Church scriptorium of the mid eleventh century had not standardised its ruling practice.[6]

The display scripts used in Exeter manuscripts/accord with those of contemporary English products.[7] The primary display script for

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[1] e.g. London, B.L., MSS Cotton Julius A II, fols 1C-135; Faustina B III, fols 158-198 (? Christ Church); Titus A IV; Julius A VI (? Durham); Otho C I, pt. i (? Malmesbury); MS Royal 7 C IV (Canterbury); Stowe MS 2 (Winchester).

[2] e.g. London, B.L., MSS Cotton Vespasian D XII; Nero A I; Tiberius B IV.

[3] e.g. London, B.L., Arundel MS 155 (Christ Church); Cotton MS Tiberius A III, fols 2-173 (Christ Church); Royal MS 12 G XII, fols 2-9; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Junius 85 and 86; MS Ashmole 328; MS Laud misc. 482 (? Worcester).

[4] There are tenth-century examples of this type of ruling e.g. Cambridge, Sidney Sussex College, MS 100 pt. ii; Lincoln Cathedral, MS 182 (? Abingdon); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 1-77. This manuscript was at Exeter at the time they were producing their own manuscripts. For details and plates of these three see Bishop, ECM, Plates XIV, XIII and VII respectively.

[5] e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 121; MSS Hatton 76, 113, 114, 340 pt. ii and 342 pt. i.

[6] e.g. London, B.L., MS Cotton Faustina B III, fols 158-198 is ruled single, while MS Arundel 155 is ruled double.

[7] cf. London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B I $s.xi^1$-$s.xi^2$; MSS Cotton Julius A VI and Titus A IV; MS Harley 107 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76 with those in Exeter-produced manuscripts.

the first line on lines of a text is square capitals usually two or three lines high sometimes followed by a line of one line high square capitals.[1] In fact primary display script is not often used in Eneter manuscripts and more usually thesecondary display script is used for the first line or lines of a text. The headings of a text or capitulum are written in rustic capitals if the text is in Latin or in the same script as the body of the text if it is in Old English.[2] Tertiary display script for the initial at the beginning of a capitulum or gradus consists of a two line high coloured initial, placed partly within the left hand bounding lines and partly within the body of the text area.[3] Occasionally the initial beginning a sententia is touched with colour.[4]

The palette used at Exeter was based on an orangey-red colour which has sometimes oxidized. The supporting colours are sky-blue and leaf-green. The secondary display script is always written in the orange-red colour and, in a number of cases, there was an attempt at a pattern of colour as initials were coloured in the sequence orange, blue, orange, green, orange, blue etc.[5]

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[1] e.g. Cambridge, University Library, Ii.2.4, fol. 10, where the text of the 'Cura Pastoralis' begins, cf. London, B.L., MS Harley 107. The terminology for the display script has been adapted from M.B. Parkes, 'The palaecgraphy of the Parker manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws and Sedulius and historiography at Winchester in the late ninth and tenth centuries', A.S.E. 5 (1976), 159-60.

[2] See Plates IIIA, V, VI for examples of rustic capitals.

[3] e.g. Plates III, VII, VIII, XII, XIII; Bishop, ECM, pl. XXIV.

[4] e.g. Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10 (see Plates XIV, XVA, XVB) and Corpus Christi College, MS 421 (part); London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII (see Plate VII).

[5] e.g. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11 and Corpus Christi College, MSS 191, 196, 201; London, B.L., MS Harley 863.

The colour range used at Exeter seems typical of the palette used in other mid eleventh-century English scriptoria.[1]

The manuscripts copied at Exeter are plainly produced. The display scripts and initials are not elaborate and serve the utilitarian purpose of marking the varying texts or sections of a text for the reader of the manuscript. Even the initial at the beginning of the first text in a volume, often the place for an elaborate decorated initial,[2] is a plain coloured initial in Exeter produced manuscripts, the only concession being that it occupies more lines than initials which mark the beginnings of chapters. Such an initial was not always entered, which suggests that some scribes at least were not responsible for inserting initials into the texts they copied.[3]

The only decorated initial on any folio copied at Exeter is the eleven-line high initial 'B' at the beginning of the Gallican Psalter.[4] This is done in red and brown with a geometric step pattern outlining the red coloured sections of the initial and small flowers emerge between the two lobes of the letter. The colours are not those usually used at Exeter, nor have I observed a similar type of decorated initial in eleventh-century English manuscripts. I suspect that this initial was added in the late twelfth century when a calendar was added to the Psalter at Exeter.

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[1] cf. London, B.L., MSS Cotton Tiberius A III, fols 2-173 and Faustina B III, fols 158-98, both from Christ Church; MS Arundel 155 and MSS Cotton Vespasian D XII and Titus A IV, of unknown origin.

[2] As was the case in some of the older manuscripts owned by Leofric and given by him to Exeter e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708.

[3] e.g. There is no initial at the beginning of Matthew's gospel in Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11 (Plate IX).

[4] London, B.L., MS Harley 863, fol. 8.

In the Gospel book copied at Exeter the gospel texts each begin on the recto of a leaf and the opposite versos were left blank.[1] The intention may have been to place Evangelists' portraits there at a later date when either Exeter found a canon capable of copying or designing a portrait or when there was sufficient surplus wealth for the canons to commission an outside scribe to do such portraits. Neither eventuality obviously arose.

Most Exeter scribes observed a careful distinction of script according to the language in which they were writing, using caroline minuscule for Latin and insular minuscule for Old English.[2] A highly competent scribe such as 11 was capable of writing a text in Latin and switching momentarily to a different script for any Old English words he came across.[3] The Exeter types of script are variations on those which were practised at contemporary English scriptoria. The point of distinction of Exeter produced manuscripts from those produced elsewhere lies largely in the consistent use of a certain type of letter forms and script proportions by the majority of Exeter scribes. This suggests a tightly disciplined scriptorium, where the consistency of standard was, I suspect, aided by the large amount of copying done by a handful of scribes, probably over a comparatively short period of years.

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[1] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11. The mid eleventh-century evangelists' portraits in Leofric's Latin gospel book (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16) were produced in the Liège area and were probably added to the book before Leofric brought it to England.

[2] The letters which are formed differentin in the two scripts are 'a', 'd', 'f', 'g', 'h', 'r', 's'.

[3] See Plate XIV.

The 'Exeter' script can be defined as follows -

A) Caroline minuscule for texts in Latin.

The height of the ascenders and descenders is equal to that of the body of the letter.

The head of an ascender is wedge-shaped, resulting from pressure on the pen at the beginning of a stroke.

The foot of a descender has a small serif to the right as the pen is lifted from the page.

A serif formed by the pen being lifted occurs at the end of minim strokes.[1]

a - Many scribes experienced difficulties in keeping this letter within the script format, consequently the head stroke tends to reach above the main body of the letters. When 'a' occurs initially the head stroke is deliberately enlarged, sometimes reaching to the height of the ascenders.[2]

e - the bow is small and placed high. The cross stroke extends horizontally beyond where the curve of the bow meets it.[3]

g - the upper and lower curves of the letter approximately balance one another in size and the lower one is placed directly beneath the upper one. The lower bow is left open but there is an upwards serif as the pen is lifted off the page.[4]

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[1] For examples of all these features see the hands of Scribes 2, 3 and 9 in Plates IIIA, IIIB, VI, VII, VIII, XI, XII, XIII.

[2] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIB, l.3 'abstulerit'; Scribe 9, Plate XII, l.8 'amcrem'.

[3] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIA, l.7 'aeternaę'; Scribe 3, Plate VI, l.5 'te'; Scribe 5, Plate VIII, l.5 'suę'; Scribe 9, Plate XII, fol. 78 ll.14-15 'resurrectionis'.

[4] e.g. Scribe 3, Plate VI, l.12 'gabriel'; Scribe 11, Plate XIV, fol. 11 l.5 'vulgus'.

i - is undotted.[1]

s - this letter contains one of the most distinctive features of the Exeter script. Where the head stroke ends on the left side of the main stem a wide wedge feature is produced.[2]

t - the head stroke is parallel to the rulings.[3]

x - is formed from three strokes. The first runs from upper left to lower right, the second forms the upper right limb while the third, forming the lower left limb, curves down nearly as far as a descender and to the left so that its final slight upwards curve occurs underneath the preceding letter.[4]

et - the ampersand is used for the conjunction and sometimes within words.[5]

Ligatures for 'ct', 'rt', 'st' occur.[6]

B) Insular minuscule for texts in Old English

The same proportions are observed for this script as in caroline minuscule.

Ascenders are split at the top and developed into a calligraphic feature.[7] In some hands a thicker nib and heavier ink

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[1] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IV, p. 212 l.1 'missas'; Scribe 3, Plate VI, l.5 'colimus'; Scribe 5, Plate VIII, l.1 'incarnati'.

[2] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIB, l.1 'episcopus'; Scribe 3, Plate VI, l.4 'deus'; Scribe 5, Plate VIII, l.3 'tuus'; Scribe 10, Plate XI, l.8 'regis'.

[3] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate V, l.13 'tradidit'; Scribe 3, Plate VI, l.19 'intercedente'.

[4] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIA, l.17 'dextera'; Scribe 3, Plate VII, l.8 'Eduxit'; Scribe 10, Plate XIII, l.4 'uxor'.

[5] e.g. Scribe 1, Plate IIIA, l.3 'aeternis' (sic), l.3 'et'; Scribe 5, Plate VIII, l.11 'et'.

[6] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIA, l.3 'virtute', l.9 'protectione', l.13 'potestates'; Scribe 3, Plate VI, l.5 'baptiste', Plate VII, l.8 'virtute'; Scribe 9, Plate XII, fol. 77^{v}, l.1 'resurrectionis', l.8 'morte'.

[7] e.g. Scribe 3, Plate VII; Scribe 6, Plate IX; Plate XVI.

flow largely obscure the splitting that occurs.[1]

Descenders curve to the left at the bottom of the stroke.

d - the ascender bends to the left almost parallel with the rulings and barely protrudes beyond the bow of the letter, often curving back on itself as the pen is lifted from the leaf.[2]

e - has a pronounced shoulder. As in the caroline minuscule the bow is placed high with the cross stroke protruding.[3]

g - the lower bow is usually closed.[4]

s - long 's' is as tall as the ascenders and descends slightly below the line. The small serif to the left of the stem where the stroke forming the lower half of the letter begins is level with the top of the minims. Short 's' descends as far as the descenders.[5]

t - the head stroke is horizontal.

x - as in caroline minuscule.

y - is dotted and the lower limb curves downwards to the left and curls upwards underneath the preceding letter.[6]

ȝ - the stem of the letter usually is as high as the ascenders and curves leftwards over the top of the preceding letter, often

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[1] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IV.

[2] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIB; Scribe 3, Plate VII.

[3] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate V, l.1 'menn'; Scribe 6, Plate IX, l.9 'strynde'.

[4] e.g. Plate XVI, l.2 'godan'; Scribe 12, Plate XVA, l.25 'gyfe'.

[5] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate V, l.1 'sanges'; Scribe 6, Plate IX, l.22 'losias'.

[6] e.g. Scribe 11, Plate XIV, fol. 11, l.3 'byrc'; Plate XVI, l.8 'scylda'.

ending with a slight downwards curve. The crossbar runs slightly upwards to the right and is completed by a serif.[1]

7 - the Tyronian sign for 'et' is used.[2]

Abbreviations are standard for the period. In Latin, the nomina sacra (ihs, ds, dns) are used, along with ꝓ , ꝑ , ꝯ , ꝛ superscript 'i' and 'o', ⁊ and the cedilla.[3]

Nasal suspensions are marked by a stroke above a letter or by one through the preceding letter if it includes an ascender. In Old English far fewer abbreviations occur: nasal suspensions are again marked by a stroke above a letter or one through the preceding letter but only usually in the boundary clauses of the charters. In the manuscripts of OE, abbreviations are negligible.

Punctuation in both languages is usually by a punctus for both medial and final pauses and a distinction of placing the punctus is rarely observed.[4] Scribe 3 uses a punctus elevatus (⁝) for medial pauses and a punctus versus (;) for final pauses when copying a gospel text in Latin, but reverts to using the punctus only when the homilectic text in OE begins.[5]

No Exeter manuscripts are in a binding which could be attributed to the eleventh century, so it is not possible to tell anything of the type of binding produced in the Exeter scriptorium.[6]

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[1] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IV, p. 212 l.17 'beoð'; Scribe 3, Plate VII, l.18 'wið'.

[2] e.g. Scribe 2, Plate IIIB, 1.7; Scribe 6, Plate IX, 1.6; Scribe 15, Plate XVB, 1.3.

[3] e.g. Scribe 9, Plate XII uses abbreviations for '-us', '-orum', 'pro', 'per', nasal suspensions and the cedilla.

[4] Neither Scribes 1 or 2 use anything but the punctus placed medially, see Plates I-V.

[5] See Plate VII.

[6] I am grateful to the late Mr Graham Pollard for advice on this matter and for helping me to examine the Oxford manuscripts from Exeter.

The type of script written by the Exeter scribes shows that they were all English trained.[1] The caroline minuscule produced at Exeter might almost be modelled on that of Eadui Basan, a noted scribe of Christ Church, Canterbury who was working in the first half of the eleventh century.[2] The proportions of his script, the wedges on ascenders, the head-stroke of 's', the high bow on 'e', the pronounced head-stroke of 'a' are all paralleled in the Exeter script. T.A.M. Bishop labelled Eadui's script as 'round, upright, deliberate, and artificial'[3] and it was these trends which seem to have had increasing influence on English hands of the mid eleventh century. The hands of several Christ Church, Canterbury scribes share many similarities with those of their Exeter contemporaries, notably the formation of the letters 'a', 'e', 's', 'x' and the tendency to split the tops of ascenders in insular minuscule.[4] The same tendencies can be found in other English manuscripts of the mid eleventh century of diverse origins.[5] What has made the 'Exeter style' particularly noticed is, I think, the historical chance that has brought down to us a comparatively large group of manuscripts whose origin can be attributed with certainty to Exeter on liturgical and palaeographical grounds. The noticeable

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[1] With the exception of Scribe 1.

[2] Bishop gives a list of the manuscripts in which his hand appears and lists the available facsimiles (ECM, p. 22 and Pl. XXII).

[3] Bishop, ECM, p. 22.

[4] Cf. the hands in London, B.L., MSS Cotton Faustina B III, fols 159-98; Tiberius A III, fols 2-173 and especially MS Arundel 155 with the Exeter script.

[5] e.g. Londom, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius E XVIII, which may come from Winchester and Vespasian D XII of unknown origin. The hand of fols 125-55^{v} of the later manuscript, a booklet containing the canticles, is especially close to the Exeter style.

consistency in style between these manuscripts and the re-appearance of specific scribes can only be explained by there having been a scriptorium at Exeter in the mid eleventh century.

When and why was the scriptorium at Exeter set up? The transfer of the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter, where few books seem to have been left in the monastery buildings on the arrival of Bishop Leofric to set up his cathedral chapter of canons there,[1] was the factor behind the inception of the scriptorium.[2] The necessity of providing the community with the texts needed for the conduct of the divine offices and of the sacraments, and for the regulation of their communal life led the canons to copy books for themselves. Exeter was a poor see and the new Chapter was poorly endowed. It was probably cheaper for the canons to copy texts for themselves (although they may well have had to pay in some fashion to borrow exemplars) than to purchase the volumes they needed, even if anyone would have been willing to sell them what they needed.

Their poverty is borne out by the books they copied, which are serviceable, neatly and legibly written but with no elaborate initials or pictures. The basic parchment was not of particularly high quality and the scribes wrote around holes where necessary.[3]

It is thus likely that the canons of Exeter began copying books soon after 1050 and the impression that I gained from examining the books is that most were produced over a fairly

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[1] See above, pp. 22-23.

[2] We have no evidence of any copying activity undertaken at Crediton while Leofric was bishop there.

[3] e.g. Plate XII, fol. 77^{v}, lower margin.

short period of time.[1] A fairly small number of accomplished scribes (2, 3, 5, 6, 11, 12, 13) produced the bulk of the material copied, assisted on an ad hoc basis by nearly twenty other scribes, most of whom appear only once in the surviving examples of books and charters copied at Exeter. The continual overlapping of the major scribes' work suggests that they were all contemporaries. Thus nine scribes (1-8, 11) were involved in the initial expansion of the liturgical material in the Leofric Missal. The similarity of layout and decoration suggest that these quires were all added at the same time so that the scribes (including five of the seven major ones) must have been working contemporaneously. However Scribe 13 was a contemporary of Scribe 1, along with whom he copied the bulk of London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII, and Scribe 1 was part of the original team who expanded the Leofric Missal. Scribe 12 worked with Scribe 13 in copying London, B.L., MS Harley 863, so he too may have been active during the main period of copying activity at Exeter. Only Scribe 10 seems to have been active after most of the sccriptorium's production had ceased, since he appears making additions in a number of books copied by other Exeter scribes.[2] However, he too was working at least partly before 1072 as, on one occasion Scribe 1 adds a gloss to his work,[2] and he was also a contemporary of Scribe 2 whom he

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[1] As Dr Ker believes was the case at Salisbury in the late 1080s and 1090s ('The beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library', Medieval Learning and Literature, Essays presented to Richard William Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson (Oxford, 1976), p. 24). The situation at Salisbury was very similar to that prevailing at Exeter about forty years earlier, in that the see was moved to a new centre and the canons needed to provide themselves as soon as possible with what they regarded as basic texts.

[2] See above, p. 164.

precedes on one occasion.[1] Thus the bulk of activity at Exeter may well have taken place in the 1050s, rather than being spread evenly throughout the period of Leofric's episcopate. Once the canons had copied or acquired sufficient books for their needs, their activity seems largely to have ceased except for occasional additions, mainly in books given to them by Leofric.[2]

The impetus behind the setting up of the scriptorium was Leofric's decision to transfer the see from Crediton to Exeter. Leofric used the canons to expand some of the books which he owned and which he subsequently gave to the cathedral[3] and to produce forgeries of charters relating to the two <u>provinciae</u> of Crediton and St Germans which had been merged into the see of Exeter. Thee scriptorium's activity does not seem to have survived his death. What rôle did Leofric play in basing the organisation of the scriptorium under his tutelage on precedents with which he was familiar? He was the bishop responsible for setting up the cathedral Chapter and, to judge from the donation list, he was intimately involved in building up the material and spiritual endowments (books and relics) of the see. Would he not also be concerned with how the Chapter provided themselves with the books needed for the administration of the sacraments, the conduct of divine offices and the pursuit of the canonical life?

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[1] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 131 [see Pl. XIII] where Scribe 10 wrote ll.1-13 to be followed, ll.14-33, by Scribe 2.

[2] e.g. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, pp. 130-31, 292-94 and 190B, pp. 365, 418-20.

[3] The canons may of course have actually used the books before they were formally given to them - at whatever stage in Leofric's episcopate these gifts occurred.

Leofric's introduction of the Rule of Chrodegang to Exeter may well have been based on his personal experience of that Rule during his years on the Continent. Though the Rule does not mention scriptoria as such, its stress on an educated clergy, well provided with the texts necessary for the conduct of the divine offices and the administration of the sacraments, and on the training of young men for the priestly life envisages a community in which a scriptorium would have a rôle to play. The Rule also inculcates into the community an attitude of service towards the bishop which Leofric could easily utilise if he wished the canons to copy books or charters for him - as indeed was the case at Exeter.[1] Thus the question of whether the Exeter scriptorium was staffed by the cathedral clergy as opposed to the episcopal household is not relevant.[2] Although the canons of Exeter were secular rather than monastic clergy, a scriptorium could be set up and organised at Exeter as easily as at Winchester, Worcester or Canterbury. The canons of Exeter, in the pattern of their daily organisation and divine offices, led a similar life to that of the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury or Worcester Cathedral Priory.

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[1] Thus Scribe 2 copied sections of the Leofric Missal for Leofric, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191 the Rule of Chrodegang for the community.

[2] C.R. Cheney stated 'the cathedral chapter had originally been the bishop's household' (English Bishops' Chanceries, 1100-1250 (Manchester, 1950), p. 6). English bishops had only acquired an household organisation distinct from that of their cathedral clergy by the end of the twelfth century. This development can probably be attributed to the increasing demands of diocesan administration which became difficult to reconcile with the regular performance of the divine offices.

Leofric had experience of another environment where scribal activities were undertaken. He had spent at least four years serving as chaplain to Edward the Confessor before he was appointed to the bishopric of Crediton. The organisation of the secretariat of this king, if indeed it was sufficiently developed to merit this title, 'is a matter for speculation'.[1] The production of Anglo-Saxon diplomas seems always to have lain in the hands of the grantee.[2] However the scribes of writs seem sometimes to have been recruited from amongst the royal chaplains, in which case Leofric may well have had first hand experience of an embryo chancery organisation. No organised separate royal chancery can be proved to have existed from before the Conquest, rather the royal chaplains were utilised as clerks to write the few documents for which the administration of the country called. Such an ad hoc arrangement could well have influenced Leofric to use his canons similarly as need arose to produce charters, forged or original, relating to the see's or Chapter's estates and to expand the Leofric Missal and his other books when the need arose.

The relationship of a king with his household could be compared to that of a bishop with his Chapter, especially if that Chapter were non-monastic. Also, with the transfer of the see from Crediton to Exeter and the expulsion of the monastic

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[1] Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1100, presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith, ed. T.A.M. Bishop and P. Chaplais (Oxford, 1957), p. xii.

[2] P. Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon Chancery: From the Diploma to the Writ', Journal of the Society of Archivists, iii (1965-69), 162.

community there, Leofric had more opportunity than any of his contemporary prelates to place clerics of his own choice in his new Chapter.[1]

The canons of the cathedral thus seem to have been responsible for staffing the scriptorium which was set up at Exeter to provide the books needed by the new cathedral church for the conduct of the divine offices and the administration of the sacraments, while the charters were produced to bolster up the territorial endowments of the see. This scriptorium worked for both bishop and Chapter, producing utilitarian books whose codicology and script is similar to that of their contemporary English manuscripts. Once the immediate need for books had been satisfied, activity seems largely to have ceased. This was in line with the ethos inculcated by the Rule of Chrodegang which stresses the liturgical duties of the divine office and practical service to the community[2] - a scriptorium was only needed when and as long as it served these aims.

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[1] e.g. his priest Landberht whom he sent as an envoy to Pope Leo IX may well have become a canon (see below, p. 195).

[2] See below, pp. 204-05.

CHAPTER V

BISHOP LECFRIC AND HIS CHAPTER AT EXETER

On the removal of the see from Crediton to Exeter, Leofric decided not to retain the monks that were in the Exeter monastery as the nucleus of his new Chapter, a decision that must have stemmed from his desire to introduce the Rule of Chrodegang for the cathedral clergy to follow.

In the first half of the eleventh century, the Rule of Chrodegang was followed in many houses in north France and Lotharingia. We know of schools that were flourishing in some of these centres at the time and it was in one of these that Leofric is likely to have been trained. Gérard, a pupil of Fulbert of Chartres,[1] taught first at Liège and then at Metz;[2] Leo IX, as Bruno of Toul, was taught at Toul around the year 1007 by Bishop Bertold of Toul and Adalberon, the future bishop of Metz,[3] and Bruno may well have continued the school while he himself was bishop. In a diocese where the cathedral chapter followed the Rule of Chrodegang which specifies that there should be a school for teaching the children[4] and where

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[1] The education given by Bishop Fulbert was probably similar to that given by Gérard his pupil. On Fulbert see L.C. Mackinney, Bishop Fulbert and Education at the School of Chartres, Texts and Studies in the History of Medieval Education, vii (1957).

[2] E. Lesne, Histoire de la propriété ecclesiastique en France, v (Lille, 1939), 341-42.

[3] ibid., v, 345-46.

[4] Rule, ch. xlvi, pp. 53-4.

the bishop was very much involved with the day-to-day activities of the Chapter, for the bishop to teach in the school would be perfectly feasible. We know that there was at least one Englishman at the Liège school in the second half of the tenth century:[1] could it have been at Liège that Leofric was trained? Adalbold, bishop of Liège 1010-1018, a noted geometrician had formerly been archdeacon and under him Waso was master of the school 1008-1016. The school was, reportedly, in decline during the 1020s and 1030s but revived when Waso was appointed Bishop in 1041. Certainly it was not just local children who were being educated at Liège in the first half of the eleventh century since Seifried, later Abbot of Tegernsee, and Hermann, later bishop of Prague are known to have been amongst the pupils.[2]

Was the Rule of Chrodegang really a foreign import by Leofric into England as William of Malmesbury implies?[3] He may have been genuinely ignorant of the fact that this Rule was not otherwise unknown to the Anglo-Saxons or else hostile to the fact that, while there are outward resemblances to his own Benedictine rule,[4] the spirit permeating that of Chrodegang is very different. William's stress on the Rule of Chrodegang in his account of Exeter may be due to the fact that, by his day, Exeter was the only place he had come across which was observing this particular rule. The Augustinian rule which was introduced to England in 1095 spread rapidly, aided no doubt by the considerable freedom

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[1] He wrote to Archbishop Aethelgar of Canterbury (988-990); pr. The Memorials of St Dunstan, ed. W. Stubbs, R.S. (1874), p. 386.

[2] On the Liège school, see E. Lesne, op. cit., v, 350-57.

[3] 'Contra morem Anglorum' (Willhelmi Malmesburiensis monachi De gestis pontificum Anglorum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, R.S. (1870), pp. 201.

[4] On which, see below, pp. 197-98.

it gave to individual houses to incorporate many of their own practices.[1]

That the rule of Chrodegang was known in England before Leofric's time is proved by the existence of an Old English translation dating from at least the early eleventh century.[2] A chapter in this OE translation, copied in the margins of a manuscript in the first half of the eleventh century, has also survived.[3] One Latin manuscript of the Rule was written by an Anglo-Saxon scribe in insular minuscule in the first half of the tenth century, probably in England.[4] In 1017, the Council of Aenham recommended the observance of a canonical rule and that of Chrodegang, which Anglo-Saxon clerics educated in or travelling across Lotharingia and northern France must have encountered, is probably meant.[5]

Other English houses were probably observing or were heavily influenced by the Rule of Chrodegang. By 813, the cathedral at Canterbury had a common form of life and a rule similar to Chrodegang's.[6] The diocese of York had experienced a revival of

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[1] On the early expansion of the Augustinian canons in England, see J.C. Dickinson, The Origins of the Austin Canons (London, 1950), pp. 98-131.

[2] See below, p. 270.

[3] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190, p. 384 is Rule, ch. lxxxiii, in OE. Though the manuscript later came into Leofric's possession and was added to at Exeter, p. 384 is part of the earlier quires and dates from the 1030s or 1040s. The Exeter manuscript of this text (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191) was copied from an exemplar which no longer survives (Rule, p. ix).

[4] Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS 8558-63 (Ker, Catalogue, no. 10).

[5] The Council's decrees are pr. Wilkins, Concilia, i, 293.

[6] M. Deanesly, 'The familia of Christ Church, Canterbury, 587-838', Essays in Medieval History presented to T.F. Tout, ed. A.G. Little and F.M Powicke (Manchester, 1925), 1-13; J.A. Robinson, 'The Early Community at Christ Church Canterbury', Journal of Theological Studies, xxvii (1926), 225-40.

canonical life under Archbishop Ealdred in the 1020s[1] and Archbishop Aldred (1061-1070) established common refectories at both Southwell and York 'ubi canonici simul vescerentur':[2] was this the most immediately noticeable feature of his introduction of the Rule of Chrodegang or one based on that rule? Much of the rule drawn up for St Paul's, London in the late eleventh century is drawn verbatim from that of Chrodegang.[3] Giso may have re-organised the Wells Chapter in line with the Rule of Chrodegang.[4] When Harold founded Waltham Abbey in 1060[5] the canons probably followed the Rule of Chrodegang, though in time they turned to the Augustinian one. Stubbs has commented on the trend back to secular rather than monastic clergy in the first part of the eleventh century and makes the point that monks were considerably more prone to cut themselves off from the religious life of the laity than canons were.[6] The Rule of Chrodegang provides the antithesis of this view, in that the clergy are

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[1] R.R. Darlington, 'Ecclesiastical Reform in the late Old English period', E.H.R., li (1936), 404.

[2] Historians of the Church of York, ed. J. Raine, R.S. (1871), ii, 353-54.

[3] The Early Charters of St Paul's, ed. M. Gibb, Camden Society, lviii (1939), xviii, n.1 and The History of St Paul's, ed. W.R. Matthews and W.M. Atkins (London, 1957), pp. 12, 363.

[4] They seem to have lived a communal life since, when Giso's successor John of Tours moved the see to Bath Abbey, his nephew John, provost of the Wells Chapter, oppressed the other clergy who thereupon moved out into separate houses (J.A. Robinson, 'The First Deans of Wells', Somerset Historical Essays (London, 1921), 55).

[5] The abbey began as a foundation for two priests only, set up by one Tovi whose estates passed, via his son, to Harold who increased the endowments and built a new church, consecrated on 3rd May 1060 (The Foundation of Waltham Abbey, ed. W. Stubbs (Oxford, 1861), p. viii, and chs. 12-15).

[6] ibid., p. vi.

directed to serve the bishop who is directed to be a good shepherd to all his flock, not just the clerics in it. Although the Rule of Chrodegang seems to have been known in England before Leofric's introduction of this Rule to Exeter, all the surviving evidence suggesting its adoption in other centres postdates 1050. This may be due to lack of evidence of its practical implementation before then, but it may also suggest that Leofric's introduction of the Rule at Exeter boosted its popularity and encouraged others, not all of whom had Lotharingian training, to introduce it also. The longer survival of the Rule at Exeter argues for Leofric's having made a more thorough and successful job of introducing and implementing the Rule than his possible imitators did.[1]

We know nothing of the clergy who comprised his Chapter, or indeed how many of them there were. An early twelfth-century Exeter martyrology[2] records the obits of a number of canons who may well have served under Leofric: in 1082 Thurstan, priest and canon (5th July) and Philip, subdeacon and canon (10th July); in 1083 Brihtric, priest and canon (20th October), Lambert, priest and canon (16th May)[3] and Odo, deacon and canon (22nd June). The Chapter lost five members in these two years, no other obits of canons are assigned to the years before 1082 or

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[1] Leofric may have been considerably aided by the fact that, since he ejected the monks, his Chapter were starting up with no pre-conceptions or ingrained traditions.

[2] Exeter, D. & C., MS 3518. The obits are unprinted, but the main text is pr. from a later revised copy by J.N. Dalton, Ordinale Exoniensis, H.B.S., xxxviii (1909), ii, 371-459 and described in i, xxv-xxvii. This manuscript's variations from the pr. text are listed G.H. Doble, Some Remarks on the Exeter Martyrology (Bristol, 1933), but again the obits are excluded. The obits entered by the original scribe run from Harold in 1066 (not Leofric in 1072 as stated by N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II (Oxford, 1977), p. 828) to 1139.

[3] Could this be Leofric's priest Landbert, anglicised to Lambert, whom he appointed to the Chapter? Since he survived Leofric only by eleven years it is perfectly possible.

between 1083 and 1090. Does this suggest that these five who died within fifteen months of each other were perhaps all appointed close together - in 1050? After 1090 it is very rare for the obit of more than one canon to be recorded in any one year and, more usually, an obit is recorded in every other year, suggesting that there was a more normal succession pattern and consequently a wider age span amongst the canons.[1]

If the five whose deaths are recorded in 1082 and 1083 were originally appointed by Leofric, it suggests that he had both Anglo-Saxons (Brihtric, Thurstan) and continental clerics (Lambert, Odo) in his Chapter which, given his training, is quite feasible. There also seems to have been no compulsion to proceed through the ecclesiastical grades to priest since one is described as a deacon and another as a sub-deacon; however, none are of lower ecclesiastical rank than sub-deacon, suggesting that a minimum level of holy orders was required.[2]

Whether these five comprised the entire original foundation we cannot tell. Leofric may have increased the number gradually as he restored and built up the endowments of the cathedral church. When Harold set up Waltham Abbey in 1060, he added eleven 'viros prudentes literatos'[3] to Tovi's original two priests and, in Edward the Confessor's grant of privileges, Waltham had eighteen

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[1] It is also possible that Ailric Scott, priest and canon, who died on 6th March 1090, Godric, priest and canon, who died on 21st December 1090 and Odmar, canon, who died on 8th April 1092 had been appointed by Leofric. There are neither surviving episcopal acta from Leofric's time nor any surviving charters issued by him which could have told us the names of his canons.

[2] Was this because the Rule required the canons to undertake pastoral work? In a Benedictine house, as long as there were a few priests and deacons to celebrate the Mass, the taking of holy orders by most monks was not necessary.

[3] W. Stubbs, op. cit., ch. XV. Their head Athelard came from Liège and had studied at Utrecht (ibid., ch. XV).

estates mainly in Essex.[1] Leofric gave six of his own estates to Exeter, which also had another fifteen plus the sorry remnants of the monastery's endowments.[2] By 1072 then, the Chapter had over twenty estates, providing an income which could easily have supported a dozen canons on the foundation and possibly a few more than that.[3]

(i) The Rule of Chrodegang

St Chrodegang was appointed bishop of Metz in 742 and became one of the foremost participants in the ecclesiastical reform begun by Pepin the Short and St Boniface, whom he succeeded as Archbishop of Mainz.[4] We do not know if Chrodegang himself was a monk,[5] but at Metz he may have found a community of canons already established as his Chapter. For them, he drew up a canonical rule using monastic legislation, most notably the Rule of St Benedict, and drawing on canons issued by church councils

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[1] S., no. 1036. Unfortunately the charter is spurious, so the number of estates more probably reflects the abbey's endowments at the time the charter was forged.

[2] See below, pp. 206-08.

[3] In the late thirteenth century it was believed at Exeter that from the beginning there had been 24 canons and as many vicars (Statutes of Walter Bronescombe, 1268 (unpr.); D.W. Blake, 'The Church of Exeter in the Norman Period', unpub. Exeter University M.A. thesis (1970), p. 200). It is difficult to believe that in 1050, at least, the Chapter's endowments could have supported even half that number.

[4] J.M. Wallace-Hadrill has demolished the old view that Chrodegang represented the Frankish tradition of hostility towards St Boniface ('A background to St Boniface's Mission', England before the Norman Conquest, ed. P. Clemoes and K. Hughes (Cambridge, 1971), 41-2.

[5] He was trained at St Trond, founded Gorze, where he was buried, in 748 and his cousin founded Lorsch, where Chrodegang's brother was the first abbot (ibid., 41-2).

from Nicaea onwards.[1] The debt to the Benedictine rule is especially heavy, the substance of forty-one of the seventy-three chapters of St Benedict's rule is incorporated into his own, though there are very few direct quotations. The chapters on liturgical observance, the penal code, the care of the sick, the functions of the cellarer, porter etc. are lifted directly from the Benedictine Rule, as are many chapter titles.[2] The duties assigned by Benedict to an abbot are assigned to an archdeacon by Chrodegang who also adapted the sections in the Benedictine rule on travel, manual work and clothing to suit his more northerly clime and different intentions. The chapters on confession and feasts to be observed are entirely due to Chrodegang,[3] Chrodegang's canons, unlike Benedictine monks, took no vows of poverty[4] and their duty was owed to their bishop rather than an abbot.

Chrodegang himself was a supporter of the Roman church; he was partly responsible for introducing the Roman rite and Gregorian

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[1] For surveys of the rule, see E. Morhain, 'L'Origine et histoire de la Regula Canonicorum de St Chrodegang', Miscellanea Pio Paschini (Vatican, 1948), 173-185, and G. Hocquard, 'La Règle de saint Chrodegang. Etat de quelques question', St Chrodegang (Metz, 1967), 55-89.

[2] E. Morhain, loc. cit., 176.

[3] Rule, chs. xxix-xxx, xxxiii, lxxvii, pp. 37-41, 44-5, 81 cf. The Rule of St Benedict ed. Dom J.McCann (London, 1972) which has no specific chapters on confession or on feasts to be observed.

[4] This was the factor that enraged Hildebrand, who in 1059 attacked the capitula issued at Aachen in 816 (which enlarged the rule of Chrodegang) as having led canons to abandon the primitive discipline of the church. This was a factor in the propagation of the rule attributed to St Augustine which, at that time, had only a few followers, significantly in central Italian houses. (Dickinson, op. cit., pp. 40-42). The widespread adoption of the Augustinian rule led by the mid twelfth century to canons becoming much more like monks, taking almost monastic vows and having houses grouped in congregations, compared with canons according to the Rule of Chrodegang with their dependence on a bishop, their attachment to the service of a specific church and to the lay community living around it.

chant into the Frankish church and visited Rome himself in 753.[1] His Rule was widely propagated as a result of Louis the Pious's desire for ecclesiastical reform. At the Council of Aachen in 816 (according to Adhemar of Chabannes), Benedict of Aniane was charged with revising the Benedictine rule for the monastic clergy and Amalarius of Metz was to revise and expand the Rule of Chrodegang for the secular clergy.[2] It is this revision which is reflected in all the manuscripts of English origin.[3]

Since we have the actual copy of the Rule produced by Exeter scribes probably in the 1050s for the use of the Chapter there, we can gain from it a picture of the daily life of the canons and of the ethos the Rule attempted to engender in its adherents.[4] The Rule was read to the canons at the rate of one chapter each day so, at four complete hearings a year, they would be even more exposed to the Rule's dictates than a Benedictine monk would be, who heard the whole of his rule three times a year.[5] The Rule

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[1] On his rôle in introducing Roman practices to France see C. Vogel, 'Saint Chrodegang et les débuts de la Romanisation du culte en Pays Franc', Saint Chrodegang (Metz, 1967), 91-109. A brief summary of his life is given in New Catholic Encyclopaedia (1967), iii, 665. He died in 766. His feast (6th March) has not been entered in the calendar of the Leofric Missal.

[2] E. Morhain, loc. cit., 178.

[3] The original text of Chrodegang, comprising Preface, chapter list and 34 chapters, was expanded at Aachen till it contained a preface and, according to the manuscript's tradition, either 84 or 86 chapters. The Exeter manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191 has 84 chapters, omitting chs. 5 and 6 of the interpolated version as pr. in P.L., lxxxix, 1053-1120. For a brief summary of the text's history, see Rule, p. viii.

[4] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191 pr. in full and cited as Rule. Though the Exeter canons may not have followed every detail prescribed by the Rule, it must be taken as a guide to their life-style.

[5] Though not prescribed by St Benedict himself, the reading through of the rule, chapter by chapter, at Prime is a very ancient custom in Benedictine houses.

also adjures the bishop to ensure that the canons 'regulae canonicae memores sint, eiusque praecepta ante oculos semper habeant.'[1]

The Rule prescribes an organisational structure for the canons similar to that of a monastery. There is to be a cellarer,[2] a porter (and his assistant),[3] the cooking is to be done by every-one in turn,[4] someone is to be put in charge of the boys 'qui in congregatione sibi commissa nutriuntur vel eruditur'[5] and an archdeacon or 'praepositus', who is to be learned 'in evangelico precepto et sanctorum patrum instituta canonum, ut possint docere clerum in lege divina',[6] presides over all. The canons are to share a common table,[7] a common dormitory,[8] and have some sort of enclosed precinct, since the porter is instructed to guard the doors of the cloister.[9] There are regulations for the allotment of new clothes,[10] for what to do when on a journey 'cum episcopo

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[1] Rule, ch. lxxviii, p. 87 ll.11-12.

[2] ibid., ch. ix, pp. 18-19.

[3] ibid., ch. x, pp. 19-20.

[4] ibid., ch. vii, p. 16.

[5] ibid., ch. xlvi, pp. 53-4.

[6] ibid., ch. viii, pp. 16-18.

[7] ibid., ch. vi, pp. 13-14 details the individual amounts and fare to be alloted at each meal, this could only be done if there were a common refectory, which ch. xi, pp. 20-21 does mention.

[8] ibid., ch. xi, pp. 20-21.

[9] ibid., ch. x, pp. 19-20.

[10] ibid., ch. xxxix, p. 48. The days appointed for getting new items of garb are the Translation of St Martin (a Mass for this feast was added by an Exeter scribe to the LM, fol. 343, p. 253), Easter and 1st September.

vel cum alio',[1] for the care of the sick[2] and on the care, control and education of the boys and adolescents.[3] There are detailed regulations on the different divine offices prescribing some of the prayers to be said at them,[4] on the canons' behaviour in church[5] and outside[6] and on such matters as confession[7] and punishment for misdemeanours committed by a canon.[8]

The canons at Exeter, in the routine of their daily life with its hours of Matins, Prime, Terce, Sext, None,[9] Vespers and Compline, and its nightly vigil would not, from this, appear to be very different from their monastic brethren. However, the whole impetus of the Rule of Chrodegang is directed towards different ends than the Benedictine rule.

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[1] Rule, ch. xxv, p. 34.

[2] ibid., ch. xxxviii, pp. 47-8.

[3] ibid., ch. xlvi, pp. 53-4.

[4] ibid., chs. xii-xx, pp. 21-31.

[5] ibid., chs. xxiii-iv, xlvii, lix, pp. 32-34, 55, 71-72.

[6] They are to avoid women (ibid., ch. liv, pp. 67-8) and drunkenness (ibid., ch. lx, pp. 72-4) and bear themselves with humility (ibid., ch. lvi, pp. 69-70.

[7] ibid., chs. xxix-xxx, pp. 37-41.

[8] ibid., ch. 1, pp. 58-62.

[9] Chrodegang states that it was at the third, sixth and ninth hours that Daniel and his companions ('tres pueri') prayed to God (ibid., ch. xviii, pp. 29-30). Was this what inspired an Exeter scribe to add the prayer to be said after the hymn of the three boys to the LM (fol. 5^{v}, p. 3B)?

Firstly, the canons are subjected to the bishop, secondly, the Rule stresses the canons' duty of service to the lay community and thirdly, part of the Rule is taken up with instructions to bishops on their pastoral duties.

(3) The Rule specifies 'Duo sunt genera clericorum: unum ecclesiasticorum sub <u>regimine episcopali</u> degentium; alterum acephalorum, id est sine capite, quem sequantur ignorantium'.[1] The phrase 'si episcopo vel ei qui sub eo est' occurs frequently in the Rule since it is the bishop or his representative who decides whether the porter has one or more assistants,[2] on the punishment to allot a persistent offender,[3] who says the prayers over a reconciled offender,[4] who hears the confessions which must be made every third Sunday,[5] who excommunicates the sinner,[6] who decides on details of liturgical observance like whether to sing forty or fifty psalms between Nocturns and Matins,[7] on Lenten fasting,[8] and on who is to judge one who has presumed to excommunicate or unlawfully grant something to another.[9] It is to the bishop that

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[1] <u>Rule</u>, ch. lxiii, p. 77 ll. 18-19.

[2] ibid., ch. x, p. 19 ll. 23-24, p. 20 ll. 5-6.

[3] ibid., ch. xxv-vii, pp. 34-36.

[4] ibid., ch. xxviii, pp. 36-37.

[5] ibid., ch. xxx, pp. 38-41.

[6] ibid., ch. xxxi, pp. 41-42.

[7] ibid., ch. xiii, pp. 23-24.

[8] ibid., ch. xxxii, pp. 42-43.

[9] ibid., ch. xxxv, pp. 45-46.

the archdeacon or prepositus of the community owes obedience[1] and by the bishop that the community will be judged for any errors.[2] This is in strong contrast to the Benedictine rule where the bishop is only mentioned in connection with jurisdiction over a priest who is a persistent offender and with the appointment of an abbot-elect or a prior.[3]

The Rule of Chrodegang obviously envisages much more immediate contact between the bishop and the ccmmunity of canons. Thus, it is specified that at the daily chapter meeting after the scripture reading 'episcopus, vel archideaconus, vel qui in loco illorum praesse videtur, ibidem quod iubere habet iubeat, et quod corrigere corrigat, et quod faciendum sit, ordinare studeat'.[4] Chrodegang, as bishop of Metz, probably reflected in his Rule the type of relationship between himself and his cathedral Chapter, a modus vivendi that would work equally well for Leofric and his cathedral Chapter at Exeter. The Rule does imply that the bishop, though closely involved with the life of the canons, does not actually live in the community, since at Christmas, Epiphany, Easter and other major feasts the bishop 'in domo sua ad ipsos cleros refectionem faciat, si presens est' and if not, the canons were to eat in their refectory as usual.[5]

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[1] 'in omnibus omnino actibus vel operibus suis ... Deo et episcopo fideles et obedientes' (Rule, ch. viii, p. 17 ll. 19-20).

[2] ibid., ch. viii, pp. 17-18.

[3] Dom J. McCann, The Rule of St Benedict (London, 1972), chs. 62, 64, 65, pp. 140, 144, 148.

[4] Rule, ch. xvi, p. 27 ll. 7-9.

[5] ibid., ch. xxxiii, p. 44, ll. 15-16.

The bishop's position in the Rule of Chrodegang is more akin to that of the abbot in the Benedictine rule, while the archdeacon can perhaps be equated with the prior, in his control of the day-to-day affairs of the house. Like the bishop, a Benedictine abbot often lived in an establishment separate from, but adjacent to, his community.

(b) The canons, in addition to their heavy round of liturgical worship, were to be involved with the lay community. 'Cavendum nobis est ne in periculum pro nostro neglegentia ..., absque baptismo et confirmatione et confessione et predicatione in quadam securitate positus incurrat noster populus.'[1] The canons were ordered to preach twice a month in every month of the year, to help ensure that the populace attained salvation. Furthermore it was useful to preach on all feast days and Sundays as well and 'iuxta quod intellegere vulgus possit, ita predicandum est.'[2] It is doubtless this obligatory contact with the world outside their house, which leads the Rule of Chrodegang to stress, much more than the Benedictine one, the importance of avoiding women[3] and the dangers of secular office and dealings.[4] Hence also the provisions for the punishment of a priest who commits fornication, perjury, theft or murder[5] or has children.[6]

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[1] Rule, ch. xlii, p. 49 ll. 27-29.

[2] ibid., ch. xlii, pp. 49-50.

[3] ibid., ch. liv, pp. 67-68.

[4] 'Secularia officia negotiaque abiciant'. (ibid., ch. lxii, pp. 76-7). Does this explain Leofric's lack of prominence in the political events of his day?

[5] ibid., ch. lxiv, p. 78.

[6] ibid., ch. lxviii, p. 79.

There are also instructions on the priest's duties at a marriage,[1] for anointing the sick,[2] and on the receipt of alms and their division,[3] two areas again outside the scope of the Benedictine rule. It is unfortunately not entirely clear from the Rule whether many of these provisions are included for the guidance of the bishop who would have secular clergy to control, or whether Chrodegang envisages the canons themselves acting in the capacity of parish priests each attached to one of the different churches in the city around their house. It would be as feasible for them to go out and serve the community in the intervals between the liturgical offices, as it would be for Benedictine monks to do manual work, copy manuscripts in the scriptorium, and care for guests between their offices.

(c) The revised Rule of Chrodegang incorporates a letter addressed to a bishop adjuring him to good works and behaviour and to support and educate his clergy 'ut sanctas scripturas diligentissime legant, non confidant in lingue notitie, sed in veritatis intelligentia, ut possint contradicentibus veritati resistere.'[4] The order to excommunicate a cleric who wishes to revert to being a layman[5] could be given only to a bishop.

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[1] Rule, ch. lxxi, pp. 80-81.

[2] ibid., ch. lxix, pp. 79-80.

[3] Alms were to be divided into three equal parts, one for the church fabric, one for alms for the poor and travellers and one for the priest himself. ibid., ch. lxxiii, pp. 81-82.

[4] ibid., ch. lxxx, p. 92, ll. 2-4.

[5] ibid., ch. lxxxii, p. 97.

Many of the provisions instructing the canons on their pastoral duties to the laity could also serve as instructions to a bishop.

The Rule of Chrodegang then was a useful vehicle for a bishop who needed a cathedral Chapter willing to work obedient to his behest in building up not only the territorial, material and spiritual endowments of the cathedral church itself but also of the diocese at large, because it inculcated into the canons an attitude of service both to the bishop and to the laity.

In order to undertake such service, the canons needed to have a secure base from which to work. This explains the efforts made jointly by Leofric and the canons to build up

(a) the territorial endowments of the cathedral church and diocese;

(b) the furnishings of the cathedral church;

(c) the necessary spiritual equipment, notably relics and books, to enable the cathedral church and clergy to function as a focal point of worship, spirituality and religious education in the diocese.

(a) <u>The territorial endowments of cathedral and diocese</u>

In 1050, the territorial endowments of the monastery, which the cathedral Chapter took over, were meagre. The list of Leofric's donations declares that they consisted of only two hides of land at Ide,[1] but claims that by the time the list was drawn up

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[1] ''ond he nefunde þa he to þa m mynstre feng nan mare landes þe ðiðer ynn ge þylde þaere . þonne twa hida landes aet ide ...' (<u>Exeter Book</u>, fol. 1). The Domesday book confirms that the two hides of land at Ide, worth 40 solidi, were held by the bishop of Exeter in King Edward's reign.

(1069 x 72), Leofric had recovered for the cathedral church fifteen other estates 'purh his fore spraece and purh his gaersuma',[1] and had granted six estates to the Chapter[2] from his own personal possessions. These claims can be verified or modified by examining the surviving charters and the references in the Domesday Book which relate to each of these estates.[3] Such an examination may also tell us exactly what is implied by the phrase Leofric's 'advocacy and treasure'.

The monastery was at one stage well endowed, for as the Exeter account tells us, Athelstan had given it twenty-six estates.[4] Some type of record (whether written or oral) of this gift and the estates it comprised must have remained at Exeter in 1050 to form the basis for Leofric's attempt to recover the property. It is possible that Aethelstan's original grant or grants[5] were destroyed when the monastery was sacked and destroyed

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[1] 'through his advocacy and through his treasure' (Exeter Book, fol. 1) The estates were: Culmstock, Branscombe, Saltcombe, St Mary Church, Staverton, Sparkwell, 'Morceshille', St Sidwell's 'hwisc', Topsham, Brihtricestan, Stoke, Sidbury, Newton, Norton and Clyst, all of which are in Devon.

[2] These estates were: Bampton, Aston and Chimney in Oxfordshire and Dawlish, Holacumbe and Southwood in Devon.

[3] The charters have been examined in detail previously by J.B. Davidson, 'On some Anglo-Saxon Charters at Exeter', Journal of the British Archaeological Association, xxxix (1883), 259-303; H.P.R. Finberg, The Early Charters of Devon and Cornwall, University College of Leicester, Occasional Papers no. 2 (1954) and most thoroughly in Chaplais, 1966, 1-34. I have used Chaplais' terminology for 'original', 'copy', 'forgery' as well as citing charters by the numbers he assigns to them in this article.

[4] 'Nam ex .xxvi. terris quas rex religiosus aethelstanus illuc dedit vix una vilissima remansit' (LM, fol. 3^{v}, p. 28).

[5] Aethelstan was almost the second founder of the monastery at Exeter as, in addition to estates, he left it one third of his relic collection (Rose-Troup, 1931, 189-90, 212).

Danes in 1003.[1] Thereafter the monastery must have had difficulty in defending its legal title to estates since, in 1019, Cnut confirmed the privileges of Abbot Aethelwold and the community to prevent the royal officials in Devon imposing unjustified burdens on the lands of the monastery.[2] However, for a forger to admit that a monastery had lost its royal charters seems singularly inept, if the statement were not true. 'Nor was a forger likely to mention this matter if he had either already replaced the lost diplomas by concoctions of his own or intended doing so.'[3] This concoction of diplomas to replace lost ones is exactly what the canons at Exeter seem to have set out to do. Once the diplomas had been forged they could then be used as evidence at a legal hearing if such were necessary, to support the Chapter's claims to an estate. I propose to examine individually the history of each estate which the Chapter claims to have been regained for them or donated to them by Leofric.

Culmstock

A charter was forged at Exeter in Leofric's time purporting to be Aethelstan's original grant of five hides at Culmstock to the monastery. It is wrongly dated to 670 A.D. and was written by

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[1] ASC, E.1002, F.1003; Florence of Worcester, Chronicon ex chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, English Historical Society (1848-9), i, 156.

[2] This charter (K.C.D. no.729) is itself not above suspicion and may have been forged since it shows similarities to Exeter, D. & C., MS 2070 (K.C.D. no.686; Chaplais, 1966, 19-21 (19)) an original grant of liberties by King Aethelred II to Bishop Ealdred of Cornwall A.D. 994. If so, the most likely time for a forgery to have occurred was after 1050 when the records of the see of Cornwall would have been removed to Exeter.

[3] Chaplais, 1966, 5.

a scribe responsible for three other Exeter forgeries.[1] That it proved adequate to stand up to legal scrutiny is shown not only by the fact that the estate is given in the donation list as belonging to the cathedral, but also that this is confirmed by the Domesday Book which records the five hides at Culmstock as belonging to Bishop Osbern in 1086 and having belonged to the bishop of Exeter 'tempo regis eadwardi' (TRE).[2] The charter is thus likely to have been forged between 1050 and 1066.

Branscombe

The estate there was left by King Alfred to his younger son[3] who possibly left it to King Aethelstan who in turn could thus donate it to the monastery at Exeter. A charter may have been forged by one of Leofric's canons to ensure Branscombe's return, but no charter has survived. The donation list claims that the estate had been regained for the cathedral by Leofric and the Domesday Book confirms that it was in Exeter's hands both in 1066 and in 1086.[4]

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[1] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2519 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 2); discussed Chaplais, 1966, 5, 7 (1).

[2] The Domesday survey is pr. Victoria County History of Devon (hereafter cited as V.C.H. Devon), i, 416. ~~Could the despoilers~~ (in Exeter's eyes) of this estate have been Glastonbury Abbey? In 760, Cuthbert gave Sulca some land at Culmstock (S., no.1691) which he left to Glastonbury (William of Malmesbury, De Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae pr. in Adami de Domerham Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), i, 63-64). The estate is recorded in King Aethelwulf's general grant of lands and privileges to Glastonbury in A.D. 854 (S., no.303), which H.P.R. Finberg believes to be authentic (The Early Charters of Wessex (Leicester, 1964), no.408). Glastonbury is the only other body that we know possessed land at Culmstock; had they lost their hold by Aethelstan's reign, but subsequently managed to ~~regain the estate from Exeter?~~

[3] S., no.1507; London, B.L., MS Stowe 944, fols 29^{v}-33 (O.S. Facs iii, 22); pr. K.C.D. 314.

[4] V.C.H. Devon, i, 417. It comprised five hides, valued at 6 libras, and was for the sustenance of the canons.

Saltcombe

No surviving charter evidence relates to this estate. The donation list claims that it was regained for the Chapter and the Domesday Book confirms that it remained in their hands.[1]

St Mary Church

No charters survive relating to this estate. The Domesday Book confirms that the two and a half hides were held by the bishop TRE, that they were valued at fifteen solidi and were for the provisioning of the canons.[2] The canons are likely then to have regained the estate by 1066.

Staverton (Stofordtune)

No charters survive relating to this estate. The Domesday Book confirms that the two and a half hides, valued at 7 libri, were held by the bishop TRE and were for the provisioning of the canons.[3]

Sparkwell and Moreceshille

Neither estate is listed in the Domesday Book nor do any surviving charters relate to them. We can thus only take the donation list's statement that Leofric regained them for the cathedral church at face value.

St Sidwell's 'hwisc'

This estate is not specifically mentioned in either the Domesday Book or in any surviving charters. St Sidwell, or

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[1] V.C.H. Devon, i, 416.

[2] ibid., i, 417

[3] ibid., i, 417.

Scitivola, was the local Exeter martyr.[1] 'Hwisc' has been translated as 'house',[2] but Förster believed it meant 'church'.[3] In 1153 Pope Eugenius III's confirmation of the estates of the bishop and canons of Exeter refers to a church of St Sidwell[4] and in 1269 there is a reference to a quarter of St Sidwell in the town of Exeter.[5]

Topsham

Three charters relating to this estate, all claiming to be Athelstan's grant of one hide at Topsham to the monastery at Exeter, were forged at Exeter.[6] Dr Chaplais has clearly explained a likely history of these attempts. The Domesday Book shows that in 1086 the Topsham estate was held by the king and that in 1066 it had been held by King Harold.[7] This tallies with the donation list thich claims that Harold unlawfully took the estate away from Leofric. The first forgery attempt was probably provided (1050 x 65) for Leofric's original effort to regain the estate,

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[1] Nothing is really known about her. Exeter had a relic of hers and she was entered in the litanies of London, B.L., MS Harley 863 and MS Additional 28188, both written at Exeter in Leofric's time. The most thorough study is by Max Förster, 'Die heilige Sativola oder Sidwell: Eine Namenstudie', Anglia, lxii (1938), 33-80.

[2] Blake, op. cit., p. 150.

[3] Förster, loc. cit., pp. 39-43.

[4] pr. W. Holtzmann, Papsturkunden in England (Berlin, 1935), ii, no.77.

[5] Exeter, Corporation Deed no. 47; unprinted.

[6] S,, no.433; Stafford, William Salt Library, S. Ms 7 (O.S. Facs ii, William Salt Library); Chaplais, 1966, 6 (4), dated 670 A.D.; Canterbury Cathedral Library, Ch. Ant. T 37; Chaplais, 1966, 6 (5); Canterbury Cathedral Library, Ch. Ant. E.206 (O.S. Facs i, xiv); Chaplais, 1966, 6 (6), dated 937 A.D., identical with the previous charter except for the additional limit of a yard land 'aet aeschyrste' to the boundary clause;

[7] V.C.H. Devon, i, 410.

which may or may not have been successful.[1] Harold held the estate by 1066 and the second charter was probably produced to try and convince William I of the see's claims to Topsham, since it was written by the same Exeter scribe who drew up William's confirmation of Leofric's grant of estates to the cathedral in 1069.[2] These efforts were not successful since King William still held the estate in 1086. The third attempt Chaplais dates to after 1086, but before 1153 when Eugenius III's bull[3] mentions the church cf St Margaret's Topsham amongst the possessions cf the bishop and canons of Exeter. However, the scribe of this third forgery was certainly working at Exeter in Leofric's day so a date much after 1086 seems unlikely.

Can the three forgeries perhaps be seen on a different time scale? Could the second forgery not be a corrected copy of the first one made very soon afterwards, with the boundaries of the estate made to tally with their extent at that time? If it had been made in the 1050's or early 1060's there is no reason why the scribe of the second forgery could not also have been writing a charter in 1069. In this case the first forgery must have been put aside and never used, but was not destroyed. The third forgery could then have been produced after Harold's death in an attempt to regain the estate for Exeter (again without success),

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[1] The interlineation of this estate and this comment in both copies of the donation list (in both cases by the original scribe) suggests that they were instructed to add the estate to the list to buttress any subsequent attempt by the cathedral to claim the estate.

[2] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2528; Chaplais, 1966, 31-3 (28).

[3] Holtzmann, op. cit., ii, no. 77.

a scenario which would accord better with the date of the script.[1] When the cathedral finally managed to regain the estate they may well have produced this last forgery again.[2]

Brihtricestan

No surviving charter relates to this estate which may be the one hide at 'Bedricestan' recorded by Domesday Book as being held by the bishop of Exeter TRE and in 1086.[3]

Stoke Canon (Stoke or Hrocastoc)

The history of this estate of six perches is complex. It may have been one of the vills left to Exeter by Athelstan, but if so it had left the monastery's possession well before Leofric's arrival at Exeter in 1050. In 1031, Cnut granted the estate to Hunewine, 'minister':[4] could the estate have come into royal hands as a result of the depradations of royal officials who harassed the monastery after its loss of the title deeds to its estates?[5] In 1086, the bishop held one hide at Stoke as he had done in 1066[6] and the present name, Stoke Canon, suggest that its revenues went

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[1] 'third quarter of the eleventh century' (Bishop, Notes, 196).

[2] It is not clear how the second and third forgeries came to be at Canterbury.

[3] V.C.H. Devon, i, 416.

[4] S., no.971 (erroneously dated to 1033); Exeter, D. & C., MS 2525 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter, 11); Chaplais believes this charter to be genuine and possibly produced at Crediton for Hunewine (Chaplais, 1966, no.(23), 23-24). Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Ch. Ant. C 1311 is a fragmentary copy by an Exeter scribe, s.xi^{2}.

[5] See above, pp. 207-08.

[6] V.C.H. Devon, i, 416.

to the Chapter. How did Leofric gain (or regain) the estate for the canons? A charter purporting to be Athelstan's grant of six perches at Hrocastoc to the Exeter monastery was forged at Exeter before 1066, doubtless to enable the canons to reclaim the estate.[1]

There is a complication, however, in that in the Leofric Missal there is a record of a grant made by Abbess Eadgyfu to Abbot Leofric of land at Stoctune which the abbot was to leave to the minster after his death.[2] Now there had been an Abbot Leofric of Exeter (fl. 969-93):[3] could he, rather than Aethelstan, have been responsible for leaving this estate to Exeter in the first place? If so, the surviving text of the agreement must be a copy of the original written record of this transaction. Did this record provide insufficiently impressive authority for Leofric to regain the estate,[4] and lead to the fabrication of a grant by Aethelstan of this estate to Exeter?

Sidbury

No surviving charters relate to this estate, but it is recorded in the Domesday Book that the five hides were held by

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[1] S., no.389; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2517 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 1); pr. K.C.D. no.371; Chaplais, 1966, 5-6 (3). It was written by the same scribe who forged the charters of Aethelstan's grants of Culmstock, Monkton and Topsham to the Exeter monastery (Chaplais, 1966, 5-7 (1)(2)(4)).

[2] LM, fol. 11^{v}, p. 8A. This grant, in a mid eleventh-century hand, was copied on a leaf of the 'A' portion of the Missal, partly over an erasure and crushed into the lower margin in an attempt to fit the whole text in - this suggests that this entry was one of the first to be made after the book came to Exeter.

[3] D. Knowles, The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940-1216 (Cambridge, 1972), p. 48.

[4] The original witnesses would be long dead.

Aluvinus and Godwin TRE, but by 1086 they were held by the bishop of Exeter.[1] Since the donation list claims that Leofric gained them, he must have succeeded in doing so only after 1066. Did he buy out the two owners?

Newton

No charters survive regarding this estate of three hides, though we know that they existed. We also know that, despite the statement of the donation list, Leofric is quite likely not to have recovered this estate (or if he did he promptly lost it again) since the Domesday Book tells us that Bishop Osbern produced his charters which proved that St Peter's had held Newton (Niwetone) before King Edward's reign, so King William directed that the estate should be his.[2] Did Osbern produce charters forged at his predecessor's directions which had not enabled Leofric to enforce his claim to the estate?[3]

Norton

We have no charters for this estate, nor is it mentioned in the Domesday Book. However, it was amongst the possessions of the canons in 1153,[4] so perhaps Leofric was responsible for

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[1] V.C.H. Devon, i, 416.

[2] ibid., i, 415. It rather sounds as if Osbern's successful claim was made in the course of the tenurial enquiries that led to the compilation of the Domesday Book.

[3] Domnus was the current holder, though Osbern claimed it. The estate (now Newton St Cyres) does not seem to have remained long in the bishop's hands as it is never heard of again

[4] Eugenius III's bull listing the episcopal and chapter estates; pr. Holtzmann, op. cit., ii, no. 77.

acquiring Norton. Alternatively, did the inclusion of Norton amongst a list of properties acquired by the canons in the 1050s and 1060s (to most of which they had a legal title) later help to prove the canons' 'rights' to the property?

Clyst

Exeter's claim to Clyst and the note that Wid[1] had had it is interlined in the copies of Leofric's donation list, suggesting that it was only recovered after the two copies of the original draft had been made. According to the Domesday Book, Wichin (who may be Wid) held a virgate at Clyst in 1066, which in 1086 was owned by Ralph de Pomeroy.[2] There is An Exeter forgery of a charter of King Edgar recording the grant of a hide at Clyst (Clystwicon) to his 'fidelis' Aethelnoth.[3] Was this forgery used, in conjunction with a lost forgery of Aethelnoth's grant to Exeter, to try to prove Exeter's title to the estate? We cannot be sure that Exeter ever managed to assert its claims to Clyst.

The study of the history of estates said to have been regained for Exeter through Leofric's advocacy and treasure suggests several points. The canons were quite prepared to forge legal titles to estates to which they believed themselves to have a claim.[4] The importance of a written record of title, as opposed to reliance upon common knowledge was increasing rapidly throughout the

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[1] Wid may be an anglicisation for Wido or Guido,

[2] V.C.H. Devon, i, 482.

[3] S., no.669; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2520 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 4); K.C.D. no. 772; Chaplais, 1966, 5, 8-9 (7).

[4] For a brief survey of forgery see C.N.L. Brooke, 'Approaches to Medieval Forgery', Journal of the Society of Archivists, iii (1965-9), 377-86.

eleventh century and the need to produce written titles to estates is clearly demonstrated by Osbern's production of charters regarding Newton and, more indirectly, by the efforts of the Exeter Chapter to forge written titles for many of the estates which they claimed. If earlier generations had not taken care of, or had been so unfortunate as to lose, their charters it was, in the canons' view, only right that such omissions should be repaired. The process of forgery, and litigation over these estates seems to have spanned Leofric's episcopate. Although some estates (e.g. Culmstock, St Mary Church, Staverton, Brihtricestan, Stoke Canon) seem to have been recovered by 1066, some, like Topsham and Clyst, were still being disputed right up to the time of Leofric's death, and indeed afterwards, as the case of Newton shows.

Leofric's 'advocacy' which was a factor in the reconstitution of Exeter's estates can perhaps be seen as his part in arguing with the aid of the forged charters for the return of the estates. It is inconceivable that he was not fully aware of, and fully approved of, the wholesale manufacturing of 'written records' of titles by the canons. The Rule ensured that he would be in close contact with the community and we know that he was using the canons as scribes to enlarge some of his own manuscripts. One of the scribes who fabricated charters for the Chapter's estates also produced written records of title for the bishop's and diocese's lands.[1] Leofric, through his previous position as

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[1] Thus the scribe of the second forged charter of Topsham for the Chapter (Chaplais, 1966, 6 (5)) also forged a charter purporting to be King Athelhard's grant of twenty hides at Crediton to the bishop of Sherborne for the diocesan records (Chaplais, 1966, 10 (8)) and wrote the original of William I's confirmation of Bishop Leofric's grant of estates in Oxfordshire and Devonshire to the Chapter (Chaplais, 1966, 31-33 (28)).

royal chaplain (and hence in all probability involved in the production of royal writs)[1] was probably considerably more conversant with the formulae and layout needed in legal documents than any of his Chapter were.

The Chapter seems not always to have been successful in its efforts. Its tenure of Topsham and Clyst is doubtful, despite strenuous efforts of forgery. A forged Exeter charter, claiming to represent Aethelstan's grant of a hide at Monkton in Devon to the monastery at Exeter has survived,[2] but there is no Monkton entered in the list of estates gained by Leofric. Some of the estates about which we have little information (e.g. Sparkwell, Morceshille) may never have come into the Chapter's possession and in these cases, as also in that of Clyst, the recording of the estate in the list may have been to assert Leofric's and the Chapter's belief in their moral right, rather than legal title, to those estates.[3] We do not know how many of the estates were regained by the Chapter through the production of a written record of title alone. In many, or even all cases, the production of such a written record of title may have been accompanied by financial inducements to the existing holders of

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[1] See above, p. 189.

[2] S., no. 387; London, B.L., MS Add. Ch. 19516 (B.M. Facs iii, 7); Chaplais, 1966, 5 (2). This was produced at Exeter 1050 x 66 since it was written by the same scribe responsible for three other forgeries in that period.

[3] Additionally, such a record might later serve to buttress the Chapter's claims to the estate.

the estates to give them up, hence the parallel references to Leofric's advocacy and treasure.

Leofric also gave to the Chapter a number of his own personal estates, whose history is somewhat easier to trace.

Bampton, Aston, Chimney (Oxfordshire)

In 1069, William I confirmed Leofric's gift of these estates to the Chapter, the estates being 'in privatis locis'.[1] Did Leofric ask for royal confirmation of this grant because the estates had originally been given to him by Edward the Confessor? The Oxfordshire lands which equal the whole manor of Bampton (6 hides in all) are recorded in the Domesday Book as being held by the bishop of Exeter in 1066 and 1086.[2] Leofric's gift of these estates may well have preceded the royal confirmation of his grant, but by how long we cannot be sure.

Dawlish

This estate had been given by the Confessor to Leofric in 1044, while Leofric was still his chaplain.[3] The surviving charter may well be a copy of the original, since the Anglo-Saxon copyist seems to have misunderstood the phraseology and abbreviations of a model at several points.[4] Was the original record, given its

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[1] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2528 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 16); Chaplais, 1966, 31-33 (28); pr. Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford, 1913), i, no.28.

[2] This indicates the looseness of terminology in the drafting of the Domesday survey. We know that these lands belonged to the Chapter, rather than the bishop per se, in 1086, yet they, as are most of the Devonshire estates specified in the donation list as belonging to the Chapter, are recorded as being held by the bishop.

[3] S., no.1003; Exeter, D. & C., MS 2526 (O.S.Facs ii, Exeter 12); Chaplais, 1966, 26-28 (26).

[4] Chaplais, 1966, 26-27.

Frankish formulae, drawn up by Leofric himself, so that Lyfing's subscription 'Ego Lifingus Crydianensis ecclesie pontifex rogatus a rege calomo (recte 'calamo') scripsi' implies his acceptance of responsibility for the work than his actual writing of the draft? If so, the surviving copy may well have been made at Exeter by one of the canons for the Chapter archives when the estate was transferred to them by Leofric around 1069.[1]

Holacumbe[2]

Nothing is known of the history of this estate, except that Leofric granted it to the Chapter and that William I confirmed the grant.[3] If it is to be identified with the hamlet of Holcumbe Rogus, Leofric must have bought, or been given, the land by Ulf, and is likely to have incurred the wrath of the Sherborne community.

Southwood

Nothing is known of the history of this estate, except that Leofric left it to the Chapter.

Most of our knowledge of the diocese's estates at this time comes from the Domesday Book and from charters surviving from the muniment rooms of Crediton and St Germans, from the copies made at Exeter of charters from these two centres, and from forgeries.

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[1] The scribe's hand is an 'Exeter' type (Bishop, Notes, 196) and Dr Ker believes the scribal hand to be a little later than 1044 (personal communication, quoted in S., 1003), both of which views would support my hypothesis.

[2] This is probably not Holcumbe Rogus in Devon which in A.D. 998 belonged to Sherborne abbey (King Aethelred confirmed their tenure that year, S., no.895), who leased the estate in A.D. 1012 to Edmund the Aetheling for his lifetime (S., no.1422) and in A.D. 1046 Sherborne agreed that one Ulf should have the estate for his lifetime, after which it would revert to Sherborne Abbey. One copy of this agreement was kept at Sherborne and one at Crediton after the decision was made at a hearing of the shire court (S., no.1474; pr. K.C.D., no.1334).

[3] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2528; Chaplais, 1966, 31-33 (28).

According to the Domesday Book, in 1066 bishop Leofric held the Devon manors of Tawton, Talaton, Paignton, Ashburton Chudleigh, Knighton, Bishop's Nympton and Ditisham, as well as holding land in Exeter, Crediton and Taunton,[1] but we have nc surviving charters for the estates. Presumably most had previously been held by the bishop of Crediton. There was considerable interest at Exeter in the estates of the See of Crediton. A canon copied a grant of twenty hides at Crediton by King Athelheard to Bishop Forthere (of Sherborne) 'ad construendum monasterium,'[2] and a mortgage by Bishop Eadnoth of Crediton of a yard of land by the river Creedy (A.D. 1018?) was transcribed on the dorse of a supposed charter of King Aethelstan granting land at Sandford to Bishop Eadulf and the familia at Crediton.[3] This last text suggests that the muniments of the Crediton see were transferred to Exeter after 1050 and the appearance of 'Exeter hands' on several other earlier charters or documents relating to the see of Crediton's estates confirms this.[4] The muniments of the see of St Germans seem to have been

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[1] V.C.H. Devon, i, 416-7.

[2] S., no. 255; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a.2 no.I; Chaplais, 1966, 10 (8); pr. The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson, Anecdota Oxoniensia, medieval and modern series pt. vii (Oxford, 1895), pp. 1-3, hereafter cited as Crawford Charters.

[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a.2 no.III; pr. Crawford Charters no.IV, pp. 5-9; Chaplais, 1966, 10-11 (9).

[4] e.g. London, Public Record Office, 30/26/11 (O.S. Facs ii, P.R.O.); Chaplais, 1966 14-15 (15) is the original grant by King Edgar to Aelfhere minister of land at Woolfin in Down St Mary (Nymed), Devon in A.D. 974, which is endorsed by Exeter, Scribe 10, explaining that the land was granted to St Mary's monastery, Crediton by the priest Brihtric; Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Ch. Ant. C.1311 is a copy made by an Exeter scribe of an original grant of land at Stoke Canon, Devon by King Cnut to Hunuwine, minister in A.D. 1031. The original is Exeter, D. & C., MS 2525 (O.S.Facs ii, Exeter 11); Chaplais, 1966, 23-24 (23). London, B.L., MS Stowe Charter 34 (O.S. Facs iii, 35) is the original grant by King Aethelred II of land at Sandford to Bishop Aelfwold of Crediton A.D. 997 which has

(footnote continued on next page)

transferred to Exeter at the same time. Archbishop Dunstan's statement addressed to King Aethelred II, outlining the history of the see of Cornwall, supports the bishop of Cornwall's claims to estates at Callington, Pawton, and Lawhitton: since the last two estates were held by the bishop of Exeter in 1066 and 1086 the surviving charter relating to these estates is likely to have been held at Exeter after 1050.[1] An Exeter scribe forged a grant of liberties by King Cnut to the see of St Germans[2] and another Exeter scribe concocted King Cnut's grant to Bishop Burhwold of Cornwall of land at Landrake and Tinnell.[3] Another charter from the muniment room of St Germans apparently transferred to Exeter at the same time is King Edgar's grant of two estates in Cornwall to Eanulf, 'minister' in A.D. 960.[4]

The transfer to Exeter after 1050 of charters and documents relating to the estates and history of the sees of Crediton and St Germans served the dual purpose of providing legal authentication for Exeter's tenure of certain estates, and of providing exemplars

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Footnote 4 from previous page
on its dorse an additional boundary written by an 'Exeter' scribe. (Chaplais, 1966, 21 (20)). We cannot be sure that London, B.L., MS Cotton Aug. ii. 31 (B.M. Facs iii, 4), Chaplais, 1966, 11-12 (10), a grant of immunities for the bishopric of Crediton by King Athelstan, was ever at Exeter.

[1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a.2 no.XIV; pr. Crawford Charters, VII, pp. 18-19; Chaplais, 1966, 16-17 (18). The same can be said for King Aethelred II's grant of liberties to Bishop Ealdred of Cornwall A.D. 994 (Exeter. D. & C., MS 2070; O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 8); Chaplais, 1966, 19-21 (19).

[2] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2071 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 10); Chaplais, 1966, 22-23 (22). There seems no clear reason why it should have been forged after, rather than before, 1066.

[3] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2524 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 9); Chaplais, 1966, 21-22 (21). These two estates may be the same as those at Lanherem and Tinten held by Leofric in 1066 (V.C.H. Cornwall, ii, 68).

[4] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2522 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 5); Chaplais, 1966, 12-13 (12).

for the Exeter scribes engaged in forging titles to other estates, whether claimed by Chapter or bishop, for which no original charter survived. Dr Chaplais has pointed out the resemblances between Exeter, D. & C., MS 2527^{v}, a grant of estates in Cornwall by King Edward the Martyr to Athelweard comes (forged by an Exeter scribe) to Exeter, D. & C., MS 2523 a grant of a Devon estate by King Edward the Martyr to his vassal Aelfsige.[1]

Exeter scribes seem also to have been copying original charters. Was this to provide them with a formulary for their forgeries, or was there some sort of general review ordered by Leofric of the titles to estates held by religious houses in his diocese, which involved charters being sent to Exeter for copying before they were returned to their original place of deposit? Either of these reasons would explain the copies made at Exeter of a land grant at Newton St Petroc by King Athelstan to the monastery of St Petroc, Bodmin,[2] of King Edgar's grant of estates in Cornwall to Wulfnoth Rumuncant,[3] of King Edward the Martyr's grant of estates in Cornwall to Aethelweard[4] and of King Cnut's

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[1] O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 14 dorse; Chaplais, 1966, 16 (17) and O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 7; Chaplais, 1966, 1966, 15-16 (16), respectively. There are some doubts as to the authenticity of the earlier charter which may itself, be an early eleventh-century forgery.

[2] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2518 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 3); Chaplais, 1966, 12 (11). Its text is closely similar to that of Stafford, William Salt Library, S. MS 7 (Chaplais, 1966, 6 (4)) a supposed grant of land at Topsham by King Athelstan to St Mary's Exeter. Did an Exeter scribe copy a borrowed charter from St Petroc (which may itself have been a forgery) and use it as a basis for the forgery of the Topsham charter? Or were the Exeter scribes forging charters for other religious houses in the diocese too?

[3] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2521 (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 6); Chaplais, 1966, 13-14 (13).

[4] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2527^{v} (O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 14 dorse); Chaplais, 1966, 16 (17).

grant to Hunuwine of a hide at Stoke Canon in Devon.[1]

The canons who were thus engaged in copying and forging early charters were also producing originals. The charter of Edward the Confessor reuniting the two sees of Devon and Cornwall was written by Exeter Scribe 13 [2] and William I's confirmation of Bishop Leofric's grant of his personal estates to the Chapter was written by Exeter Scribe 16 .[3] Their activity probably spanned the period of Leofric's episcopate as these two charters demonstrate.

(b) <u>The furnishings of the cathedral church</u>

Leofric gave or bequested to his cathedral church a substantial number of ecclesiastical vestments, vessels and church furnishings to supplement the one poor mass vestment and the seven bells that were at the monastery when the see was transferred thence in 1050.[4] Such objects would be an outward sign of the diocesan see's prosperity and, more importantly, enable the round of liturgical worship to be conducted with suitable dignity. The list of his donations gives us some idea of the wide range of liturgical ornaments that a church could have in eleventh-century England. Thus Leofric gave to his diocesan church in the way

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[1] Canterbury, Cathedral Library, Ch. Ant. C 1 311; Chaplais, 1966, 23-24 (23). The original is still at Exeter, the copy seems to have reached Canterbury by the early twelfth century.

[2] Exeter, D. & C., MS 1072 (<u>O.S. Facs</u> ii, Exeter 13); pr. <u>K.C.D.</u> no.791; Chaplais, 1966, 28-31 (27).

[3] Exeter, D. & C., MS 2528 (<u>O.S. Facs</u> ii, Exeter 16); Chaplais, 1966, 31-33 (28).

[4] <u>Exeter Book</u>, fol. 1-1^{v}, pp. 25, 28.

of furnishings: two processional crosses, (probably designed to be carried in a procession before the bishop) and two further much ornamented crosses (which may have been designed to be placed on an altar),[1] two silver pectoral crosses, three ornamented reliquaries,[2] one altar, five silver chalices, four corporals, one silver pipe (to enable the priest to drink the wine from the chalice), two large candlesticks (probably to be stood on the floor), and six smaller ornamented ones. He also gave a silver incense vessel with a silver spoon for transferring the incense from its storage container to the burner[3] and eight basins used to hold the water for cleansing the hands of the officiating priest at Mass.[4] Leofric's gifts included: five complete sets of mass vestments and five valuable altar frontals (possibly matching sets in the five different liturgical colours);[5] other vestments including two dalmatics, four sub-deacons' maniples, three capes and staves for choristers and three epistle vestments; a variety

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[1] Exeter Book, fol. 1, p. 21

[2] 'crin' (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 21).

[3] 'Stor cylle' could mean either the vessel for storing incense or the burner itself. Given that a matching spoon accompanies it, the storage vessel seems the more probable hypothesis. (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 21).

[4] 'laefel' (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 24).

[5] 'v. fulle maessereaf ... v. þaellene þeofod - sceatas'. (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 22). The colours are: white (for major festivals, most feasts of the Virgin and of saints who are not martyrs, and weddings), red (for feasts of the Holy Spirit and martyrs), black (for Good Friday and funerals), purple (for Lent and Advent) and green (for general use).

of 'soft' furnishings such as carpets (possibly for the floor by the altar or possibly to be hung in the sanctuary), three bearskins (probably for use as carpets), seven cushions, three ornamental cloths (possibly for draping over the back of a seat),[1] and two wall hangings.[2] Miscellaneous other gifts included two military banners to be borne by the bishop's tenants,[3] one ecclesiastical banner, one chest (possibly for the storage of vestments), six alms boxes, a military wagon,[4] twelve hand bells and nine hanging bells to bring the total number of hanging bells to sixteen.[5] The final section of the donation list specifies that after Leofric's death his personal vestments and the furnishings of his chapel should pass to the cathedral also.[6]

Where Leofric acquired these goods, or whether any were brought from Crediton we cannot tell. As in the case of the estates given in the donation list, Leofric's rôle may have lain partly in direct purchase of the items for the cathedral and partly in directing the acquisition and choice of the goods by the canons. The Chapter itself had funds specifically set aside for the provision of church furnishings, since the Rule of

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[1] 'iii. ricg raegel' (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 23).

[2] 'ii. þahreft' (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 23). These may have been hung behind the altar itself.

[3] 'ii. guðfana' (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 24).

[4] 'fyrðwaen' (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 24).

[5] These were doubtless used to summon the canons to the offices. The Rule of Chrodegang specifies 'Et prevideat custos ecclesiae ut illa signa horis competentibus sonentur' (Rule, ch. xxii, p.32).

[6] 'To fer his daeg he ann his capellam þyder bynnan forð mid him silfum on eallum þa ðingum þe he silf dide mid godes ðeninge...' (Exeter Book, fol. 2, p. 30).

Chrodegang specifies that, of the tithes given by the people to the church, one third is to be devoted 'ad ornamentum ęcclesię'.[1] These funds were probably used to provide ornaments in addition to those given by Leofric.[2]

For bishops to give or leave ecclesiastical ornaments or vestments to their church was already an established practice by Leofric's time, and one which his successors at Exeter also followed.[3] In the tenth century, Bishop Theodred of London left his two best sets of vestments, a chalice, a cup, his best mass-book and all his relics to St Paul's,[4] while Bishop Aethelwold of Winchester left a variety of ecclesiastical vessels, ornaments and vestments to Peterborough.[5] Abbot Paul of St Albans (ob. 1093) left 'reliquiis, phylacteriis, pallis, capis, albis et aliis variis ornamentis' to his church.[6] Lay-people too left such goods to the church. Wulfwaru left two golden crosses and a set of mass vestments, including an altar frontal to St Peter's monastery at Bath,[7] while King Aethelstan's gifts to the community

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[1] Rule, ch. lxxii, pp. 81-82.

[2] A later Exeter inventory records one of the items left by Leofric 'Primo de dono Leurici Episcopi -Casula, tunicula, dalmatica, de samitta diversi coloris, cum griffonibus et cambuca eburnea'. (Oliver, Lives, p. 297).

[3] Bishop John Grandisson (1327-1369) was especially generous. An addition made to a list of the cathedral's vestments drawn up in 1277 specifies 'De dono Johannis de Gramdissono Episcopi - Libri chori omnes. Vestimenta omnis coloris. Ornamenta, Jocalia auri et argenti et alia, quorum non est pre multitudine numerus hic vel alibi plene scriptus...' (Oliver, Lives, p. 301).

[4] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ff 2.33, fol. 48; pr. B. Thorpe, Diplomatarium, pp. 512-15.

[5] London, Society of Antiquaries, MS 60, fol. 34^{v}; pr. Dugdale, Monasticon, i, 382.

[6] Gesta Abbatum Monasterii Sancti Albani, ed. H.T. Riley, R.S. (1867), i, 58.

[7] London, B.L., MS Harley 311, fol. 16^{v}; pr. B. Thorpe, Diplomatarium, pp. 528-31.

of St Cuthbert included vestments, patens, an incense burner, candlebra, a gold and silver cross, bells, horns, banners and carpets.[1]

The efforts of Leofric and his Chapter seem to have been directed towards providing the cathedral with the type of furnishing and ornament that any major church in England at the time ought to possess, but in which, because of the impoverished state of the monastery, the cathedral church was, initially, sadly lacking.

(c) The spiritual endowments of the church

These can be divided into relics and books.

Relics

Leofric did not give or leave any relics to his cathedral church, since it seems to have been the one area in which the existing monastery at Exeter was not poorly endowed. The Exeter account states that of Athelstan's gifts to the monastery only one out of 26 estates, three books and 'feretrumque reliquiarum' remained.[2] The substantial collection of nearly a hundred and fifty relics was, however, carefully listed twice during Leofric's time.

Three versions of these lists remain, one in OE[3] and two in Latin.[4] The Latin list in the London manuscript (R) is a

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[1] pr. Symeonis monachi opera omnia, ed. T. Arnold, R.S. (1882), i, 211.

[2] LM, fol. 3[v], p. 2B. I do not propose to examine whether the relics really were the gift of Athelstan.

[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D 2.16, fols 7-14. 'A', [illegible]; pr. Dugdale, Monasticon, ii, 528.

[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 6-6[v], pr. LM, pp. 3B-5B, 'B'; London, B.L., MS Royal 6 B VII, fols 54[v]-55, 'R', s.xi[2].

copy of the one in the Bodleian (B), since 'R' incorporates into its text most of the marginal and interlinear additions made by the scribe of 'B'. Several of 'B's' errors were corrected in 'R',[1] which omits only one item from the 'B' text.[2]

The relationship of the 'A' and 'B' texts is rather different. L. H. Loomis has argued that they are completely independent, 'A' being drawn up either for use in a sermon on the feast day celebrating the church's relics or for a processional exhibition (thus the author omitted saints regarding whom he knew nothing), while 'B' is an inventory of the total collection.[3] 'A' lists one hundred and thirty-eight relics after a lengthy introduction about King Athelstan's generosity to the church of St Mary and St Peter, Exeter, stressing that the gifts were for the good of his soul. The list is divided into sections of relics of Our Lord, of the BVM, of the apostles, of martyrs, of confessors, of virgins. Each section is introduced by a few lines stating clearly the type of saint whose relics are about to be described. Given the spaces left between sections it appears that the scribe designed the layout so that further relics could be listed in the appropriate

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[1] e.g. 'B' Wtuuali' is corrected to 'Winardi' in 'R'; 'B' 'Winwvaloi' is corrected to 'Winwaloe' in 'R'.

[2] viz. 'Reliquie Sancti Sebastiani'.

[3] 'The holy relics of Charlemagne and King Athelstan', Speculum, xxv (1950), 447-48. In the twelfth century Exeter kept the feast of its relics on 22nd May (Exeter, D. & C., MS 3518, fol. 22^{v}, s.xii^{1}), while London, B.L., MS Harley 863, a Psalter produced at Exeter in Lecfric's time (see below, p.) includes a hymn, added in the thirteenth century, to be sung during the procession on this feast day. (fol. 7^{v}; pr. E. Bishop, Liturgica Historica (Oxford, 1918), p. 407).

section as and when they were acquired,[1] or perhaps when the author of the list had worked out what the remaining unidentified relics were. Although the 'A' list could have served, as Loomis suggested, as a summary account of the church's relics for reading aloud to both clergy and laity on the feast day celebrating the church's relics, it could also have served as a commemoration of the generosity of the monastery's main benefactor.[2] Under the terms of the Rule of Chrodegang, the canons were instructed 'nomina eorum quicunque dederint scripta habeant super altare'.[3] The 'A' list was written upon a quire which was then bound up with the Latin gospel book given by Leofric to his church. Given the instructions of the Rule, this gospel book is thus likely to have been kept on the high altar of the cathedral church.[4]

The 'B' list, in Latin, begins with only a few lines stating that this is the list of relics owned by the monastery, most of which were given by King Aethelstan. Spaces are not left between each section, unlike in 'A', and a heading rather than a prose introduction is given to each different group of relics. One hundred and forty-six relics are listed.[5] Loomis's description

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[1] Thus two and a half lines were left blank before the list begins (fol. 9), three lines are left at the end of the list of Our Lord's relics (fol. 10), a line is left at the end of the apostles' relics (fol. 10^{v}), half a leaf has been ruled but left blank at the end of the martyrs' section (fol. 11^{v}), two lines are left empty at the end of the confessors' section (fol. 13) and three lines are ruled but left empty at the end of the virgins' section (fol. 14).

[2] 'A' also records the king's gift of 'xxvi cotlifs' to the monastery.

[3] Rule, ch. lxxiii, pp. 81-82.

[4] It was presumably used for the reading of the Gospel lessons at the Chapter's masses.

[5] The very different order in which saints appear in the two versions supports Loomis's argument as to their independence.

of this version as an inventory seems apposite. 'B' was entered in a quire added to the Leofric Missal at Exeter, which also contains Leofric's donation inscription, the Exeter account of the see's history and a number of additional masses. In adding the Latin inventory of the see's relics to this particular book, the Exeter scribe was probably influenced by the fact that the book already contained material relevant to the see's history and standing,[1] in which the relics were also a factor. The list may have been drawn up to ensure that the information on the relics was not lost; such a reason was given for the recording of the relics at Waltham Abbey.[2]

What was the basis for these two versions? It is likely that the monastery originally had either a list of the relics given to them by Athelstan or that each relic was individually labelled[3] or possibly both. In 1003 when the Danish raid resulted in the monastery's losing its land charters, the monks must have made an effort to save their relics, but they may have lost the list of their relics. The inclusion of King Edward the Martyr[4] (in the 'A' version) suggests that some type of list may have

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[1] LM, fols 2-3^{v}, pp. 1B-2B. Exeter Scribe 10, who wrote the 'B' version of the relic list was also responsible for the account of the see's removal to Exeter and for the survey of Leofric as bishop (see above, pp.).

[2] 'Hiis autem sacris reliquiis scripto uniusquisque praesignato propria manu, dignum duxit magister Adelardus, scribendo in libro capitulari, memoriale posteris tradere, quibus non datur libere accessus secretiora loci illius penetrate'. (The Foundation of Waltham Abbey, ed. W. Stubbs (Oxford, 1861), ch. 17, p. 21).

[3] A relic label in Old English has survived and is now in the Cathedral Treasury at Sens (Ker, Catalogue, no. 383).

[4] King Edward was murdered at Corfe Castle in A.D. 978 and canonised by decree of the Witan in A.D. 1008 (pr. English Historical Documents I (c. 500-1042), ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1955), p. 407.

been drawn up in the early eleventh century.[1] The 'A' version's more detailed description of each relic suggests that this version may have been compiled from the labels attached to the relics, supplemented perhaps by observation, while the 'B' compiler may have used the labels too, but checking against some earlier written list, since he adds the postscript 'plurimae aliae ibi habentur sanctorum reliquiae quarum, quia non invenimus nomina scripta, quae sint ignoramus.'[2]

The relics which Exeter claimed to possess made their collection as substantial and as worthy of veneration as the collection at Winchester.[3]

Books

Books were needed for the conduct of the liturgy and divine offices, for preaching to the people[4] and for educating the future clerics. The gift of about sixty books to his Chapter was an important part of Leofric's efforts to build up the endowments of his cathedral church, and the one for which he has been chiefly remembered. The apparent lack of books at the Exeter monastery in 1050 was recorded in the list of Leofric's donations,[5] so it seems that the Chapter needed to build up

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[1] Max Förster, 'Zür Geschichte des Reliquien Kultu s in Altenengland', Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophie-Historische Abteilung viii (1940), heft viii, 39. Förster's dating of 'A' as 1020 x 1040 and 'B' as s.xii in is incorrect (loc. cit., 34 and 43).

[2] LM, fol. 6[v], p. 5B.

[3] Listed in London, B.L., MS Stowe 944, fol. 58-58[v], s.xi med.; pr. M. Förster, loc. cit., 115-20.

[4] On these books, see below, pp. 260-62

[5] Exeter Book, fols 1[v]-2, p. 28. Of the remaining six books, three had supposedly been given by King Aethelstan (LM, fol. 3[v], p. 2B). Could the missal fragments (Exeter, D. & C., MS 3548A s.x[1]) from a manuscript probably written in Brittany be the remnants of one of Athelstan's gifts?

their book collection almost from nothing. The majority of books copied at Exeter were for use in the administration of the Sacraments, in the conduct of divine offices and in preaching.[1] The bulk of the books that could be used for teaching in the school or for general spiritual reading by the Chapter are older manuscripts either given by Leofric or else acquired by the Chapter from elsewhere.

How did Leofric and the Chapter acquire the manuscripts which they did not produce themselves? Leofric may well have brought over from the Continent with him some of the books that he gave. His Latin gospel book[2] shows no signs of Anglo-Saxon provenance before additions were made to it at Exeter, while the presence of two added miniatures in a style current in Liège around A.D. 1040 suggests that Leofric may have acquired the manuscript before he left for England. A collectar copied at Exeter is based on the version produced by Stephen of Liège:[3] was the Exeter manuscript copied from an exemplar brought over by Leofric from the Continent? However, not all the manuscripts of continental origin, which were at Exeter in the mid eleventh century arrived there because they were necessarily brought from the Continent by Leofric. The Leofric Missal[4] and Leofric's copy of Bede 'On the Seven Canonical Epistles',[5] though both of

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[1] For lists of manuscripts copied entirely at Exeter or added to there, see above, pp. 146/47.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16.

[3] London, B.L., MS Harley 2961; see LC, ii, xxiv-xxv. One of Leofric's gifts to his church was a collectar (Exeter Book, fol. 1[v], p. 25).

[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579;

[5] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849.

ninth-century continental origin, had arrived in England by the mid tenth century as additions to them in OE and in obviously Anglo-Saxon hands demonstrate.[1] Most of the books which bear Leofric's donation inscription are English in origin, so he is most likely to have acquired them after 1042 and possibly even after 1050.

We know little about the transfer of books from one owner to another in Anglo-Saxon England. Given that clerics and even laymen leave books to religious houses, they must have been able to acquire those books in some way, whether by exchange or purchase. Some religious houses may have copied manuscripts for others which did not possess the necessary trained scribes or perhaps supplied duplicates of their holdings in exchange for religious benefits, like prayers and masses.

The disparate origins of the English manuscripts which were at Exeter in Leofric's time[2] make it probable that Leofric and the Chapter acquired these manuscripts from a variety of different religious houses. The manuscript of Rabanus Maurus 'De computo', may be the copy which was left by Bishop Aelfwold of Crediton to Ordulf about 1012.[3] This manuscript and a Latin penitential written by the same scribe,[4] (and which may have been owned by Leofric) may well have come to Exeter from the same source.

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[1] Both these manuscripts have often been cited as examples of books brought from the continent by Leofric, e.g. R. Schilling 'Two Unknown Flemish Miniatures of the eleventh century', Burlington Magazine xc (1948), 312-17.

[2] On which, see below, pp. 269-73.

[3] Exeter, D. & C., MS 3507.

[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718.

Several manuscripts owned by Leofric originated at Canterbury and may have come directly from there to Exeter.[1] Three manuscripts, owned or most probably owned by Leofric, were written by the same scribe and may thus have come together to Leofric.[2] The Leofric Missal may well have travelled directly from Glastonbury to Exeter.[3] Could these manuscripts have been brought as gifts for the new cathedral church at Exeter or its bishop by prominent clerics attending Leofric's enthronement in 1050? The Archbishops of Canterbury and York, Bishops Hermann of Ramsbury and Ealdred of Worcester and abbots Aethelwerd of Glastonbury and Aelfwine of Ramsey were amongst those who attended.[4]

In addition to acquisition by gift or purchase, the Chapter were engaged in copying for themselves books they needed. They copied, in toto, at the very least a Psalter, a Collectar, a Benedictional, and a Pontifical with benedictional, two volumes of homilies, the Rule of Chrodegang, a Martyrology, the Capitula of Theodulf of Orleans, Aelfric's Grammar and Gregory's Pastoral Care for their own use.[5] They also copied a gospel book

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[1] e.g. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Auct. D. infra 2.9, Auct. F.1.15, fols 1-77, Auct. F.1.15, fols 78-92.

[2] Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319.

[3] See above, p. 117.

[4] They witnessed the foundation charter of the see (Exeter, D. & C., MS 2072; O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 13; pr. K.C.D., no. 791). We know that Exeter definitely had one book which had been at Glastonbury (the Leofric Missal) and a Ramsey exemplar seems to lie behind the surviving Psalter copied at Exeter.

[5] Respectively London, B.L., MSS Harley 863, Harley 2961, Additional 28188, Cotton Vitellius A.VII, Cotton Cleopatra B.XIII; London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 191, 196, 201, fols 169-79; Cambridge, University Library, MSS Hh.1.10 and Ii.2.4.

in Old English for their bishop, which he then donated to them.[1] However, their copying for Leofric was usually confined to expanding older manuscripts in his possession: this can be seen most clearly in the case of the substantial additions made to the Leofric Missal. They were also responsible for additions to his copies of Amalarius's De ecclesiasticis officiis, his miscellany of ecclesiastical canons, his OE Penitential and his Latin Gospels.[2]

The production of copies and the acquisition of books were all directed to the same end: to enable Bishop Leofric and his Chapter to perform their ecclesiastical duties in the way laid down by their Rule. The Rule has much to say about the proper conduct of services and offices. Canons are to be fortified against the attacks of the Devil by frequent readings from the Holy Scriptures[3] and there are instructions on the prayers and readings for the different hours of the divine office.[4] The Rule expects most canons to have a copy of a psalter or lectionary to read in the time between nocturns and the start of a vigil;[5] a martyrology and some computistical tables were

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[1] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11.

[2] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.11.2 (241); Corpus Christi College, MSS 190A and 190B and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16.

[3] Rule, ch. xi, pp. 20-21.

[4] ibid., chs. xii-xxi, pp. 21-31.

[5] Otherwise 'meditationi inserviant' (Rule, ch. xiii, p. 23 l.25). Leofric left three psalters to his church (Exeter Book, fol. 1^{v}, pp. 25-26) and the canons copied at least one more (London, B.L., MS Harley 863).

needed for the daily readings in Chapter[1] after the bible lesson had been read. Hence, no doubt, the production by two Exeter scribes of an OE Martyrology[2] which was designed as a companion volume to the bilingual copy of the Rule of Chrodegang, another text obviously needed by the Chapter.[3] The copy of Rabanus Maurus's De computo would probably serve to give them the necessary calendarial information or else the calendar and tables of the Leofric Missal might have been used.

What can we tell of the liturgical observances at Exeter from the Rule and the surviving manuscripts? The Rule specifies no particular use and the manuscripts reveal a variety of influences at work at Exeter.

There is a clear Lotharingian influence in the manuscripts copied or adapted at Exeter, which must be ascribed to Leofric's influence. E.S. Dewick has pointed out that the collects and chapters specified in London, B.L., MS Harley 2961, a manuscript certainly copied by Exeter scribes, share a much stronger affinity with a group of manuscripts produced in western Lotharingia than with the only surviving contemporary English collectar (that produced for Archbishop Wulfstan of Worcester).[4] Dewick and Frere believe that in the Leofric Collectar, with its six readings

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[1] 'Et post lectionem recitetur etas mensis et lune, et nomina sanctorum quorum festa crastinus excipiet dies' (Rule, ch. xvi, p. 27 ll. 9-11).

[2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 196.

[3] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 191.

[4] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391, 1064 x 93.

specified for Vespers, Lauds, Terce, Sext, Nones and Nocturns (by contrast with the three ordered in most other liturgical schema) and its six collects (by contrast with the more usual single collect), we have the oldest surviving copy of the Stephen of Liège's 'Liber Capitularium'.[1] Stephen came from Metz and was bishop of Liège 902-920; his work was still in use in the diocese of Liège in the fifteenth century.[2] It would have been easy enough for Leofric to have become acquainted with this schema for the liturgical offices while he was being trained in Lotharingia. If so, it is likely that Leofric either brought with him a continental manuscript of this text, or borrowed one when he became bishop, either of which could have provided the exemplar for the Exeter copy of the text.

A variety of other Lotharingian influences can be traced. E.S. Dewick has remarked on the provision of a proper office for a feast of many virgins which is to be found in the Leofric Collectar[3] and a mass for this feast was added at Exeter to the Leofric Missal.[4] A proper mass for the feast of the translation of St Martin was added to the Leofric Missal and a corresponding entry made in the calendar. This mass is also found in the Sacramentary copied for Bishop Giso of Wells,[5] another Lotharingian-

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[1] LC, ii, pp. xxiv-xxv.

[2] ibid., p. xxv.

[3] ibid., i, 345-48; ii, xlviii.

[4] LM, fol. 370, p. 266A. However, the feast is unlikely to have been completely unknown in England since Aelfric wrote a sermon appropriate for that festival, which was copied in an Exeter manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, pp. 76-96; Ker, Catalogue, no.69, item 5).

[5] London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A XVIII; unprinted.

trained cleric and a contemporary of Leofric's. The addition of a proper mass for St Lazarus, legendary first bishop of Marseilles, to the Leofric Missal may perhaps also be ascribed to Leofric's knowledge of continental cults.[1] The occurrence of SS Leo, Bardo and Simon together amongst the confessors in the litany of the Exeter Psalter can be explained in the same way. St Leo is probably the bishop of Toul who, as Pope Leo IX, permitted the removal of the reunited sees of Crediton and St Germans to Exeter; St Bardo, archbishop of Mainz and famous for his eloquent preaching, died as late as 1051;[2] while St Simon may well be the hermit of the Roman gate at Trier, who died in 1035 and was canonised in 1042.[3] A sequence for the feast of the Nativity of the BVM, which is rare in English books of this date,[4] is included at the end of the Leofric Collectar. Was this because her feast occurs in the original portion of the Leofric Missal and was thus celebrated at Exeter?[5]

The Exeter scribes used texts of East Anglian origin in compiling several of their liturgical manuscripts. The long litany in London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII includes

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[1] LM, fol. 377, p. 269B. He is only found commemorated in English missals of a later date in the Carmelite missal (M. Rickert, The Reconstructed Carmelite Missal (London, 1952), p. 118 n.2).

[2] New Catholic Encyclopaedia, 2, 97. Bardo was Archbishop of Mainz when Leo IX held a synod there in 1049.

[3] This combination, especially that of St Leo, suggests that this manuscript was not copied until after 1054.

[4] LC, ii, p. lvi.

[5] LM, fol. 189^{v}-90, p. 158.

SS Ivo, Felix, Aethelreda, Aethelbriht and Aegelflaed which points to a Ramsey origin for this pontifical.[1] Similarly, London, B.L., MS Additional 28188 seems to be based on an East Anglian text, though adapted for use at Exeter.[2]

Many of the texts copied at Exeter were adapted to incorporate feasts of saints whose relics were held there, or to include saints of local interest. Thus masses for the feasts of SS. Nicholas, Mary Magdalene and Margaret were added to the Leofric Missal, since the cathedral church had relics of them.[3] The names of SS Petroc and German, joint patrons of the former diocese of Cornwall, occur at the end of the list of confessors invoked in the litany in London, B.L., MS Additional 28188, while the names of SS Olave and Pancras come at the end of the list of martyrs. There were churches dedicated to Saint Olave or Saint Pancras in Exeter (that of St Olaf (ob. 1030) may well have been founded by Countess Gytha);[4] St Olave is invoked in the litany in the surviving psalter copied at Exeter,[5] and his office occurs in the Leofric Collectar.[6] The most

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[1] J. Brückmann, 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales', Traditio, xxix (1973), 437.

[2] LC, ii, pp. 614-15.

[3] See above, p. 127.

[4] On the growth of this saint's cult, see B. Dickins, 'The Cult of St Olave in the British Isles', Saga Book of the Viking Society, 12 (1937-45), pp. 53-80. It would be of interest to pursue the part played by the Godwine family in propagating his cult in England, since the Countess Gytha was distantly related to the saint.

[5] London, B.L., MS Harley 863, fol. 109^{v}; pr. LC, ii, col. 438 and Pl. XV.

[6] fols 123^{v}-26; pr. , cols 209-14.

characteristic saint is Saint Sativola or Sidwell, to whom a church was dedicated in Exeter, where she was reputedly martyred.[1] Her name is almost at the end or at the end of the virgins invoked in the litanies of London, B.L., MSS Harley 863[2] and Additional 28188.[3] The dedication of the church of Exeter to St Peter is reflected by the provision of two hymns or sequences for the feast of SS Peter and Paul in the hymnal at the end of the Leofric Collectar.[4]

Much of the liturgical material copied at Exeter is English in origin, but it is not possible to be more specific about the provenance of the exemplars.[5] Several items suggest that Exeter was aware of current trends on the Continent. Prayers for a proper office for the feast of St Mary Magdalene were copied in the Leofric Collectar[6] and a proper mass for the feast was added to the Leofric Missal at Exeter.[7]

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[1] M. Förster summarises all the information about her 'Die heilige Sativola oder Sidwell: Eine Namenstudie', Anglia, lxvi (1938), 33-80.

[2] fol. 111[v]; pr. LC, i, col. 442. There were relics of Tova, Welvela and Winnosa, who follow her in the Litany, at Exeter.

[3] fol. 4; pr. LC, ii, 617.

[4] LC, i, cols 410-11, 427-28. The hymns are otherwise unknown (LC, ii, lvi).

[5] Thus the hymnal which forms part of London, B.L., MS Harley 2961 was probably copied from an English exemplar since its content, though not always its arrangement, is very similar to the hymnal in the Wulfstan Collectar, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 391 (LC, ii, li-lii).

[6] LC, fols 120-123; i, cols 205-09.

[7] LM, fol. 339[v], pp. 251-52. On the development of her cult, see above, p. 27.

Music was a vital part of the liturgy and several of the surviving Exeter manuscripts contain adiastematic neumatic notation. The Rule specifies that the canons were to enter the church for Prime singing their office;[1] one chapter is headed 'De diligentia psallendi',[2] in which the canons are exhorted to remember the spiritual benefits to be gained from concentrating on the chanting of psalms. The singing of psalms and hymns was a spiritual service which the cleric could render the layman, whether in return for alms or not.[3] Two chapters are specifically devoted to the music of the church. The cantors[4] are adjured to sing so that 'melodia animos populi circumstantis ad memoriam amoremque celestium, non solum sublimitate verborum, sed etiam suavitate sonorum que dicantur erigat'.[5] They are to lead the singing and 'sonum etiam vocalium litterarum bene atque ornate perstrepant.'[6] Those canons who do not sing well, or do not know the music, are ordered to keep quiet until they do, in order not to cause dissonances.[7] The psalms are to be sung clearly, with a mental attitude of devotion designed to draw both the performer and the listener to God.[8]

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[1] Rule, ch. xvi, pp. 26-29.

[2] ibid., ch. xxiii, pp. 32-33.

[3] ibid., ch. xl, pp. 48-49.

[4] It is not clear whether such cantors were canons, but it seems likely that they would be so. Leofric gave some vestments specifically for the cantors (Exeter Book, fol. 1^{v}, p. 22).

[5] Rule, ch. xlvii, p. 56 ll.1-3.

[6] ibid., ch. xlvii, p. 56 ll.12-13.

[7] ibid., ch. xlvii, p. 56, ll. 13-15.

[8] ibid., ch. xlvii, p. 56, ll.15-22.

The Rule presupposes the existence of some sort of singing school since some of the older canons are to inspect it occasionally to ensure against those 'qui discere debent, aut otiosi vacent, aut inanibus et supervacuis fabulis instent'.[1] Chapter xlix is a summary of the objectives that lie behind the external performance of the liturgy:

> Tales ad legendum et cantandum in ecclesia constituantur qui non superbe, sed humiliter, debitas Domino laudes persolvant, et suavitate lectionis ac melodie doctos demulceant, et minus doctos erudiant; plusque velint in lectione vel cantu <u>populi edificationem</u> quam popularem vanissimam adulationem. Qui vero haec docte peragere nequeunt, erudiantur prius a magistris, et instructi haec adimplere studeant ut audientes edificent.[2]

Music, then, played an important rôle in the spiritual life of a community of canons living according to the Rule of Chrodegang. Amongst the books given by Leofric to Exeter were two hymnals, and two antiphonals,[3] and several of his and the community's surviving books contained musical notation.[4] Some of this music was clearly added before the manuscripts came to Exeter, hence I propose to deal only with the music actually copied at Exeter.[5]

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[1] <u>Rule</u>, ch. xlvii, p. 56 ll.22-25.

[2] ibid., ch. xlix, p. 57.

[3] See above, pp.

[4] They are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Bodley 579 and 708, MSS Auct. D.2.16, F.1.15, fols 1-77, F.3.6 - all of which belonged to Leofric; London, B.L., MSS Harley 863, 2961, MS Cotton Vitellius A VII produced by the canons; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A and Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241) which again were Leofric's.

[5] This removes from consideration the neums of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. ii (for a hymn added in s.xi[1]), all the neums in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241), and those in the Leofric Missal, fols 60, 66[v], 110[v] (probably entered at the time the manuscript was written), 59[v] (possibly entered at Glastonbury). On these, see Nicholson, <u>Oldest Latin Musical MSS</u>, p. lvii-lviii and Pls 27 and 29.

Dom G. Suñol has already pointed out the similarity of the notation in London, B.L., MS Harley 2961 (the 'Leofric Collectar') to that in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775, the 'Winchester Troper',[1] implying that Exeter notation is thus fairly typical of English notation in the mid eleventh century. Neumatic notation was added at Exeter to the following texts:

1. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16, fol. 29-29^{v};
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 17, 22-26;
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708, fol. 110[2];
4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.15, fols 5, 12^{v}, 35^{v}, 42^{v}, 47^{v}, 54, 57^{v}, 64[3];
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.3.6, fols 3^{v}, 4, 5^{v}, 6, 7, 9, 12^{v}, 19, 27, 37^{v}, 124[4];
6. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 247;
7. London, B.L., MS Harley 863, fols 8-108^{v}, 117-119;
8. London, B.L., MS Harley 2961 (most folios);[5]
9. London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII, fol. 70.

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[1] Introduction à la paléographie grégorienne (Paris, 1935), p. 286 and cf. Plates 77 and 78.

[2] Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, Pl. 30.

[3] fols 5 and 35^{v}, ibid., , Pls 32 and 33.

[4] fols 5^{v}-6 are reproduced, ibid., Pl. 31.

[5] Fols 2, 2^{v}, 10, 10^{v}, 11, 16, 31^{v}, 77, 107, 215, 226, 251 are LC, i, Pls 1-12; fol. 77^{v}, infra, Plate XII.

In order to prepare the canons adequately for their religious duties and to ensure a succession of potential recruits, a school of some sort attached to the cathedral would have been needed. The Rule of Chrodegang certainly envisages the canons as running a school, and lays down regulations 'de pueris nutriendis custodiendisque'.[1] The boys who are sent to the house to be trained and taught are to be under the yoke of ecclesiastical discipline, under a canon of exemplary life who is to teach them ecclesiastical doctrine and imbue them with spiritual training until 'ad gradus ecclesiasticos quandoque digne possint promoveri'.[2] The boys are also mentioned in passing in another passage in the Rule.[3] Such boys would need to be taught Latin in order to participate in due course in the offices of their church. It is thus not surprising to find Aelfric's Grammar amongst the texts copied at Exeter.[4] The short dialogue between a master and a pupil on the advantages of speaking Latin 'latinaliter' and not 'ausonice' is also likely to have been used in the school.[5] Although no single compendium of Latin texts used in the school has survived, Exeter possessed a number of the texts which were popularly used for teaching in ecclesiastical schools of the era. A Canterbury classbook of the mid eleventh

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[1] Rule, ch. xlvi, pp. 53-5.

[2] ibid., ch. xlvi, p. 54, ll.3-4.

[3] e.g. 'Pueri parvi et adulescentes, in oratorio aut ad missas, cum disciplina ordines suos custodiant...' (ibid., ch.ii, p. 9, ll.12-13).

[4] Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10 .

[5] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 865, fols 89-96.

century has survived and contains, amongst other items, Sedulius' Carmen Paschale, Arator's Historie apostolice and other works, several works by Prosper, Prudentius's Psychomachia and Boethius De consolatione Philosophiae.[1] All these authors and most of the works cited above appear amongst the list of books given by Leofric to his cathedral church.[2] Did Leofric acquire these texts specifically for the use of the school?[3] Significantly, all the Exeter texts correspond with those that appear in part I of the Canterbury manuscript i.e. the relatively straightforward material as opposed to the riddle collections and difficult verses of Alcuin, Aldhelm, Hugbald and others that appear in Parts II and III.[4]

Other manuscripts from Exeter may have been used for pedagogical purposes. Rabanus Maurus's De computo could have been used also to instruct the boys in the calculation of Easter and in the physical seasons of the year.[5]

The process of education did not end with the boys and adolescents. The Rule specifies that the archdeacon or praepositus who heads the community is to be 'docti in evangelico precepto et sanctorum patrum instituta canorum ut possint docere

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[1] For a full description and discussion of this manuscript - Cambridge, University Library, MS Gg.5.35, see A.G. Rigg and G.R. Wieland, 'A Canterbury classbook of the mid eleventh century (the 'Cambridge Songs' manuscript)', A.S.E., 4 (1975), 113-30. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.2.14 (S.C. 2657), a late eleventh-century Winchester book, contains poems by Prudentius, Persius and Statius, amongst other Latin verses, and may similarly have been used as an instruction book in the schoolroom.

[2] See above, pp. 55-56, 59, 60.

[3] If they were used in the school, they were well treated. The surviving Exeter manuscripts of these texts show no signs of schoolboy glosses.

[4] A.G. Rigg and G.R. Wieland, loc. cit., 129.

[5] Exeter, D. & C., MS 3507.

clerum in lege divina.[1] The community's need for texts like Cassian's De institutio coenobiorum,[2] Theodulf of Orleans's Capitula,[3] Amalarius of Metz's De ecclesiastic officiis[4] to increase their understanding of the regulation of religious life, of texts like Bede's Expositio super apocalypsin ,[5] Augustine's De verbis domini [6] and Isidore's De fide catholica [7] to increase their spiritual understanding, is not surprising. The canons were prepared also to copy this type of text in addition to the liturgical texts they needed. Hence Theodulf of Orlean's Capitula was copied by Exeter scribes.

Another type of activity at Exeter was the preparation of what might loosely and retrospectively be termed 'historical records'. The OE Gospel book copied at Exeter by the canons for Leofric's use, and which the bishops subsequently donated to them (C),[8] the Latin Gospel book given by Leofric to his church (B)[9] and Leofric's own missal (A)[10] all contain records of this

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[1] Rule, ch. viii, p. 16, ll.35-37.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. infra 2.9.

[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 865, fols 91-112, an older manuscript that came to Exeter, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, fols 179-272, which was copied at Exeter.

[4] Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241), a gift from Leofric.

[5] London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149, probably a gift from Leofric.

[6] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 229.

[7] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodleym 319.

[8] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11. The added quire is now Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, fols 7, 1-3, and Ii.2.11, fol. 1.

[9] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16.

[10] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579.

type on quires which were designed to be placed at the front of these respective manuscripts.

C: The added quire at the front contains:

fol. 7^{r-v} List of guild members in OE s.xi ex;

fol. 7 Manumission in OE s.xii^{2};

[These two were added on the originally blank first leaf of the quire].

fol. $1-2^{v}$ List of Leofric's donations in OE 1069 x 72;

fol. 2^{v} List of donations of Canon Leowine s.xii^{1};

fol. 3 Latin abstract of Leofric's gifts (especially the estates) s.xii^{1};[1]

fol. 3^{v} Two Chapter and episcopal grants A.D. 1133;

fol. 0 blank.

MS Ii,2,11, fol. 1, ll.1-7 Leofric's donation inscription, Latin/OE c. 1070.[2]

This quire was designed to be or already had been bound in with the Gospel book by c. A.D. 1070 since in the list of Leofric's donations there is reference to 'þeos Englisce cristes-boc', implying that the list was bound up with a manuscript of the Gospels in OE.[3]

A: The added quires at the front contain:

Q1 fol. $1-2^{v}$ List of Leofric's donations in OE 1069 x 72;

[Fols 3-6 blank]

fol. 6^{v}, ll.1-7 Leofric's donation inscription, Latin/OE;

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[1] Was this Latin abstract entered at this time since some of the canons could not understand Old English?

[2] On all but this last entry, see Exeter Book, fols 1-3, 7 and pp. 10-30, 44-54

[3] The size of the sheets of the added quire correspond fairly closely to those of the original quires of the volume. A whole quire seems unlikely to have represented the original end-leaves.

Q2 fol$ 7 blank;

fols 8-14 List of relics in OE given to the monastery at Exeter by King Athelstan;

No additions were made on the blank leaves of these two quires after Leofric's time, as was the case with the quire added to C.[1]

B: The added quire at the front contains:

fol. 1	Leofric's donation inscription, Latin/OE;	
fol. 1-1^{v}	Manumissions in OE	s.xi/xii;
fols 2-3	Account of the founding of the see of Crediton;	
fols 3-3^{v}	Account of the see's transfer to Exeter, of Leofric's episcopate, his obituary notice;	
fols 4-5^{v}	Additional masses;	
fol. 6	List of relics, given by Athelstan to Exeter.[2]	

The first, at least, of the masses on fol. 4 was copied before Leofric's obituary notice was entered as the scribe of that item had to ignore the ruling and write as small as possible in order to fit all his text in on fol. 3^{v}.[3]

What is noticeable about the historical records in these three volumes is that their entry was so carefully planned.

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[1] It is unlikely that the two quires were originally blank end-leaves. The second quire, which is smaller in size than the main body of the volume, was probably originally written for a different purpose (see above, pp. 230-3), but the canons subsequently decided that the relic list could appropriately be bound in with a manuscript which also contained a list of Leofric's donations.

[2] All these items are pr. LM, pp. 1-5.

[3] This initial quire is the same size, has the same format and is written by some of the same scribes who were responsible for the numerous other quires added at Exeter to the Leofric Missal.

Material of the same type was recorded at other houses in a much more haphazard fashion. At Bath, in the eleventh century, the monks entered a list of houses with which they were in confraternity, a list of their relics and a list of Popes on the blank leaves at the beginning of and between each Gospel in their OE Gospel Book.[1] Entries relating to the granting and confirmation of estates and privileges to Christ Church, Canterbury were entered, in a similar fashion, in three of their Gospel books also in the eleventh century.[2] The York Gospels[3] contains eleventh-century entries on its originally blank end-leaves relating to the moveable possessions of the church at Sherburn-in-Elmet, as well as a variety of liturgical and homilectic material.[4]

The length of the records that the Exeter scribes wished to make may have been a factor in their decision to copy such records in quires which could then be bound into pre-existing

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[1] Now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 140 + 111, pp. 7, 8, 55-56 (Ker, Catalogue, no. 35).

[2] London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius A III + Claudius A III, fols 2-7, 9* + Faustina B VI, vol. i, fols 95, 98-100 (Ker, Catalogue, no. 185); London, B.L., MS Royal 1 D IX (Ker, Catalogue, no.247); London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 771 + B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B IV, fol. 87 (Ker, Catalogue, no. 284).

[3] York Minster (Ker, Catalogue, no. 402).

[4] The only contemporary instance I have traced where a quire also seems to have been added to a manuscript specifically in order to bear records of this type is Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 197, fols 106-9 which has records of the abbey of St Edmund's at Bury's lands and and income (Ker, Catalogue, no. 353). Since this is a manuscript of the Benedictine Rule, which would be read daily in the Chapter, these records may have been added to this particular manuscript for the purpose of quick reference, rather than for the reasons which inspired the Exeter canons.

manuscripts.[1] However, if this were the case, why were the quires so much larger than the immediate necessity of the moment warranted? I believe that the prominence given at Exeter to these records can be attributed to the canons' scrupulous observance of their Rule, which states 'sacerdotes populi suscipiant decimas, et nomina eorum quicunque dederint scripta habeant super altare...'[2] Since the 'decima' or tithe was obligatory giving, how much more would the canons wish to record largesse which was not routine. That this instruction lies behind the recording at Exeter of Leofric's and Athelstan's gifts is supported by the fact that these records were entered in Gospel books (one in Latin, one in Old English) which could indeed lie 'super altare'.

The case of 'B' is slightly different. It is not a Gospel book; it had been the personal sacramentary and pontifical of the founder of the see of Exeter.[3] Thus it was appropriate that an account of the founding of the see of Crediton and its removal to Exeter should be recorded in a book owned by the bishop responsible for this move. Also, the record was entered, not just in any book owned by Leofric but in his sacramentary and pontifical, the basic volumes which he, both as priest and as a bishop, needed and used. Furthermore, it was this manuscript

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[1] In the case of 'C', which was written at Exeter for Leofric, the initial quire may have been part of the original design since Leofric's gift of the manuscript to his cathedral may have occurred once the manuscript was completed rather than after a lapse of some years.

[2] Rule, ch. lxxiii, p. 81, l.34 - 82, l.1.

[3] As I have demonstrated (see above, pp.138-43) Leofric took a practical rôle in the expansion and adaption of this book for use at Exeter.

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that received the summary of Leofric's activities as a bishop (including his central achievement, as far as the Exeter canons were concerned, of moving the bishop's seat from Crediton to Exeter) and his obituary notice.[1] The volume seems to have been regarded as a kind of personal memorial to Leofric and his activities. Could it too have been laid upon the high altar of his cathedral church? The entry of a different type of record - that of the manumission of a slave - in two of these three books may help us to decide which of them did lie upon the high altar of the cathedral.

Important records of land transfers and manumissions were often entered in Gospel books, thereby 'authenticating' the transaction.[2] At a lawsuit in King Cnut's reign, when Thurhil the White had gained the verbal assent of the shire meeting to a land transfer, he 'rode to St Aethelbert's minister, with the consent and cognisance of the whole assembly, and had it [the agreement] recorded in a gospel book.'[3] Similarly with a manumission, its authenticity could be more securely guaranteed, and over a longer period of time than the lifetime of the physical witnesses, if there were some written record, preferably in a

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[1] LM, fol. 3-3^{v}, p. 2.

[2] Was this habit a confluence of two traditions? The veracity of an oral declaration could be supported by the swearing an oath on the Gospels, while a written record with, or without, witnesses or seals, provided its own validation. By entering a written record in a Gospel book, was not the scribe adding the religious sanction of the oral declaration to the visible 'proof' of the written one?

[3] A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters, Cambridge Studies in English Legal History, 2 (Cambridge, 1939), no. LXXVIII.

text which contained divine truth - hence the use of the Gospels for records of this kind.[1] A Gospel book was less likely to be discarded and more likely to be kept in a prominent and accessible place than any other text would be.[2] Manumissions from the Anglo-Saxon period are found in:

Berne, Stadtsbibliothek, MS 671 from Great Bedwyn, Wilts s.xi[1];[3]

London, B.L., MS Additional 9381 from Bodmin s.x med-s.xi/xii;[4]

London, B.L., MS Cotton Otho B.ix from Durham s.xi med;[5]

London, B.L., MS Cotton Domitian vii from Durham s.xi med;[6]

London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B.v, fol. 75 from Exeter s.x[1] or s.x med;[7]

London, B.L., MS Royal 1 B.vii provenance unknown s.x[1];[8]

and from a slightly later date in:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MSS 140 and 111, pp. 7, 8, 55-56 from Bath s.xi[2]-s.xii[1];

The manumissions in this last manuscript are about contemporary with those entered in the Leofric Missal (fols 1-1[v], 377[v])[9] and

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[1] Or as Sir Francis Wormald put it 'Gospel books were holy books and therefore subject to veneration. What was written in it would be preserved not only because it was written in a book but because it was written in a holy book' ('The Sherborne Cartulary', Fritz Saxl Memorial Essays, ed. D.T. Gordon (London, 1957) 107).

[2] Ker, Catalogue, no. 6.

[3] ibid., no. 126.

[4] ibid., no. 176.

[5] ibid., no. 147.

[6] ibid., no. 194; see below, p. 254.

[7] ibid., no. 246.

[8] ibid., no. 35.

[9] LM, pp. 1, 269. The manumissions on LM, fol. 8 (pp. 5B-6A) are on a leaf probably from a Tavistock book (Gospels?) which was inserted into the Leofric Missal when it was rebound at Exeter. They date from the mid-tenth century.

in the OE Gospels.[1] Only in two out of these nine cases were manumissions entered in a volume which does not contain the Gospels. These two books are London, B.L., MS Cotton Domitian vii - the Liber Vitae of Durham - and the Leofric Missal itself. Both these books were of great importance to their respective communities. It is likely that the Liber Vitae of Durham was kept upon the high altar there[2] and the Leofric Missal was probably a visible and tangible memorial to the Exeter Chapter's founder. Given that manumissions seem to have been entered only in books that were laid on the altar, it seems extremely probable that the Leofric Missal itself was laid on the high altar of Exeter Cathedral after Leofric's death at least until the early twelfth century, when the last manumission was entered.

All three of the Exeter books which contain this 'historical' material bear inscriptions recording that they were given by Leofric to his cathedral church at Exeter. The relic lists, the lists of Leofric's donations and of his achievements as diocesan and in transferring the see to Exeter summarise the efforts of Leofric and his Chapter to make Exeter a worthy centre of the diocese. Who more than Leofric and Athelstan merited that their names should, in accordance with the Rule of Chrodegang, be recorded in books to lie upon the high altar to recall their deeds of piety not only to the Deity but also to commend them as worthy of the prayers of succeeding generations of canons? The spiritual purpose then, that lay behind the recording of the

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[1] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11; the leaf bearing manumissions is now bound as Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, fol. 7.

[2] Rites of Durham, ed. J.T. Fowler, Surtees Society, cvii (1902), p. 16.

lists of Leofric's donations, the lists of Athelstan's relics and the 'historical' account of the see of Crediton and its transfer, was, as also in the case of the donation inscriptions, to enshrine the donor in the prayers and remembrance of the religious community.[1]

The study of the books written at or owned by Exeter cathedral, of the charters forged there, of the gifts made by Leofric and of the records made by the canons of the gifts they received suggest that the activities of Leofric and his Chapter were imbued with the spirit of the Rule of Chrodegang which they observed. Chrodegang had drawn up his Rule in the setting of a cathedral Chapter based in the middle of a populous city and had seen that situation as the opportunity for a different type of mission than the one undertaken by his contemporary Boniface. Leofric's training, probably in one of the major episcopal centres of Lotharingia, would have given him the opportunity to observe canons following the Rule of Chrodegang[2] and to realise its many advantages for a bishop. The Rule subjugated the canons to the bishop's service and provided him with a body of educated clergy who could be utilised not only for the building up of the material and spiritual possessions of the cathedral church, but also for building up the material possessions and the spiritual standards in the diocese at large.

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[1] This is a very different impulse from that which led to the outburst of historical work in England c. A.D. 1090-1130. This was fuelled by the fears of Benedictine houses, and especially of their Anglo-Saxon members, that their lands, treasures and cultural heritage would be lost to the Norman conquerors. (R. Southern, 'Attitudes to history as the Sense of the Past', Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, 5th series, 23 (1973), 243-63, esp. pp. 246-54.

[2] He may, of course, have himself been the member of such a community.

CHAPTER VI

THE DIOCESE OF EXETER AT THE TIME OF BISHOP LEOFRIC AND EXETER'S CONTACTS WITH OTHER ENGLISH ECCLESIASTICAL CENTRES

How did Leofric and his Chapter fulfil their obligations to the local lay community and to the diocese at large?

The move 'de cridionense villa ad urbem exoniensem'[1] gave the Chapter a much larger immediate field of activity. The truth of the Exeter account's statement at this point can conveniently be buttressed by reference to the Domesday Survey. This shows that the manor of the hundred of Crediton was rural. The manor paid geld for fifteen hides in the time of King Edward and was worth £21 p.a. when Bishop Osbern had received the estate on his accession to the see of Exeter in 1072.[2] There is mention of the mill, the hideage of woodland and pasture land and there were about four hundred people doing the different types of agricultural occupation on the hundred manor by 1086.[3] Given that the manor's prosperity seems to have increased dramatically in Osbern's time from an annual value of £21 p.a. in 1072 to £75 p.a. by 1086, the number of people employed on the Crediton manor may well have been substantially fewer in Leofric's day.

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[1] LM, fol. 3, p. 2A.

[2] The Domesday survey of the see's estates is pr. Victoria County History of Devon, ed. W. Page (1906), i, 414-18, hereafter cited as V.C.H., Devon

[3] V.C.H., Devon, i, 415.

By contrast, Exeter was an important urban centre by late Anglo-Saxon times. Orderic Vitalis, writing of the siege of 1078, describes it as 'urbs dives est et antiqua, in plano sita, operose munita a littore marino quo ex Hibernia vel Britannia minore brevissimo aditur spacio distans miliaria circiter duo.'[1] The city had strong walls which were able to resist the attacks of King William and his knights for quite some days in 1068 and, the following year, the townsfolk were able to resist a rising against William.[2] The city was large and wealthy as the Domesday Book survey reveals. There were three sources of royal revenue from boroughs before the Conquest and the system continued largely unchanged for some time thereafter. These sources of revenue were the ground, house or land gavel, the profits of the market and borough court and, occasionally, the Danegeld. Significantly, Exeter was not subject to this last in King Edward's reign except when London, York and Winchester also paid,[3] which suggests that Exeter was, at that time, one of the four great cities of the realm. Whenever there was a military expedition Barnstaple, Totnes and Lydford banded together to provide the same service as Exeter did.[4]

A borough court had existed at Exeter at least from 1018 when the bishop of Crediton announced to the 'burhwitan' of Exeter, Totnes, Lydford and Barnstaple that he had mortgaged land

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[1] The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. M. Chibnall (Oxford, 1969), ii, 210.

[2] ibid., 213.

[3] E.A. Freeman, History of the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1873), iv, 147, 162.

[4] V.C.H., Devon, i, 407.

by the river Creedy to a local thegn.[1] In King Edward's time the profits received from this borough court were assessed at £18 p.a.[2] The land gavel received by the king (at about 8d a house) was based on a count of three hundred houses in 1086, and a further forty-eight houses had been destroyed since 1066.[3] Thus Exeter in King Edward's and Leofric's time had about three hundred and fifty houses, implying a minimum population of about fifteen hundred people.

Of the Chapter's relations with this local community we can surmise much but prove little. The Rule of Chrodegang envisages the canons serving as priests to the local community, hence the relevance of regulations that no priest serve more than one church,[4] on removing a priest from his charge if he has children,[5] on the anointing of the sick at home[6] and on the conduct of the marriage service.[7] It is possible that individual canons served as priests for the churches in the city of Exeter itself,[8] which may explain Chrodegang's specifications of the books

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[1] S., no. 1387; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. hist. a 2, no. III; pr. The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents, ed. A.S. Napier and W.H. Stevenson, Anecdota Oxoniensia, medieval and modern series pt. xi (Oxford, 1895), pp. 76-80.

[2] V.C.H., Devon, i, 407.

[3] ibid., i, 407. These houses had probably been destroyed to make way for the Norman castle erected after the siege of 1068.

[4] Rule, ch. lxv, p. 78.

[5] ibid., ch. lxviii, p. 79.

[6] ibid., ch. lxix, pp. 79-80.

[7] ibid., ch. lxxi, pp. 80-1.

[8] Alternatively, had some of the local priests in Exeter who were not married and were suitable become founder members of the Chapter?

that each priest should have in his church ' per quos missas et epistolas seu evangelium vel baptisterium seu penitentialem aut circules annorum sive lectiones nocturnales intelligi potest.'[1] After the daily chapter meeting, the canons dispersed to their appointed tasks, so time per se was no problem. Chrodegang envisages some of the canons' being at a distance from their parent house and thus unable to attend the day offices as he specifies that there should be bells which can be rung at the times of the offices so that the absent brethren on hearing the bells might say the offices wherever they are.[2]

There was also not one, but two copies of Theodulf of Orleans' Capitula at Exeter. The bilingual version was copied at Exeter,[3] but not from their Latin version[4] which thus seems likely to have arrived at Exeter after the bilingual copy had been made. According to Hans Sauer, Theodulf's Capitula is 'a kind of handbook for parish priests, giving them guidelines for their personal conduct as well as for their duties, especially their duty to preach and to exhort their parishioners.'[5] The canons' possession of duplicate copies of such a text would have accorded well with a meticulous observance of the dictates of the Rule. The situation at Exeter would

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[1] Rule, ch. lxxvii, p. 84 ll.11-13. Perhaps the canons were copying not just to provide books for the bishop and cathedral church, but also to provide the texts needed for their local ministry.

[2] Rule, ch. xxii, p. 32.

[3] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 179-272.

[4] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS 865, fols 97-112, s.xi[1].

[5] Hans Sauer, Theodulfi Capitula in England (München, 1978). I believe the book is yet (August) to be published, but am grateful to Dr Sauer for sending me an advance copy of parts of his book.

accord with Stenton's observation that 'the earliest English parishes were large districts served by clergy from a bishop's familia gathered around a central church...'[1]

The most important pointer to the relationship between the canons and the local community is the fact that the Rule of Chrodegang lays great stress on the importance of educating the laity in religious matters by means of preaching. The canons are ordered to preach at least twice a month and on feast days and Sundays if they wish.[2] Therefore it is not surprising to find that a number of volumes of homilies in Old English were copied or expanded at Exeter.[3] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 419 is a manuscript dating from the first half of the eleventh century, which originally either incorporated or was a companion volume to Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, pp. 99-208 and 227-354. These latter quires were either removed or adapted at Exeter and bound up with further quires designed to be incorporated with them. The original manuscript largely contained homilies in OE by Wulfstan and Aelfric and was expanded with further homilies mainly drawn from the works of these two popular Anglo-Saxon homiliarists.[4]

The texts copied indicate that the scribes were not intending to provide a complete set of homilies for use throughout the year.

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[1] F.M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (2nd edn., Oxford, 1947), p. 149.

[2] Rule, ch. xlii, pp. 49-50.

[3] Leofric also gave a volume of homilies suitable for the entire ecclesiastical year to his Chapter, but this may have been in Latin or in OE (Exeter Book, fol. 1^{v}, p. 27).

[4] See below, pp. 331-32.

Similarly with the other two volumes of Exeter homilies,[1] there is a mixture of homilies by Wulfstan and Aelfric, along with a number of unascribed homilies, arranged haphazardly and not in accordance with the liturgical year. This lack of order would matter less if the volumes were not designed to give a programme of annual instruction by homily to the clergy, than if they were designed to provide homilies for use in preaching to the laity as opportunity arose. Hence, probably, the concentration of sermons for use at the dedication of a church,[2] for the major festivals of the church's year,[3] and for use on the different types of saints' days.[4] If these two volumes were originally used for preaching to the laity, it would also explain the rationale behind the copying of the Paternoster and Creed in OE onto a spare leaf.[5]

Some homilies were inserted on the quires added at Exeter to Leofric's books, presumably for Leofric himself to use. Thus Leofric's OE Penitential, includes a homily of Aelfric's de ecclesiasticis gradibus, quite appropriate for a bishop and, significantly, two homilies translated into OE[6] from their Latin version which occur in a book of Latin canons probably also owned by Leofric.[7] These OE versions of the sermons 'in capite

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[1] London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fols 1-55 and London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 489. They were probably designed originally as a single volume.

[2] Ker, Catalogue, no. 144, item 4 and no. 283, items 6-8.

[3] Christmas, Easter, All Saints Day, ibid., no. 283, items 1-3.

[4] Ker, Catalogue, no. 69, items 2-5.

[5] London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fol. 58-58^{v} (Ker, Catalogue, no. 144, item 10).

[6] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190B, pp. 315-59 (Ker, Catalogue, no. 45, items 19-21).

[7] Now bound as Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A. The Latin versions begin on pp. 247 and 253 respectively.

ieiunii ad populum' and 'in cena domini ad penitentes' are unique. This uniqueness may reflect the accident of survival, but it may suggest that the OE translations were made at Exeter. Such translations could have been undertaken to swell the amount of preaching material available to the bishop and the canons in a language that the laity would understand. Chrodegang warns: 'Hi sunt mali presbiteri quod concupiscunt accipere pastorale ministerium ecclesiae, nec tamen possunt ad populum predicare'.[1] The learned who preach are reminded, however, of the importance of the example of their good deeds as well as of their preaching![2]

The canons also had practical obligations to the poor. A canon was, according to Chrodegang, to be assigned to care for the poor in a room or rooms[3] set aside for this purpose and a third of the revenues of the church should be used for this charitable work.[4] The importance of this work was stressed: '... prelati cavere debent ne curam pauperum parui pendant.'[5]

It is probable that the Chapter were prepared to record manumissions if requested to do so by either the benefactor or the freed individual. The surviving manumissions recorded at Exeter Cathedral all post-date Leofric's episcopate since they were entered in two books (a Gospel book and a Missal) owned by him. Once Leofric had given these books to the Chapter who used

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[1] Rule, ch. lxxvii, p. 84 ll.15-17.

[2] 'Doctoris predicatio operibus bonis confirmanda est, ita ut quod docet verbo, instruat exemplo' (Rule, ch. lviii, p. 70 ll.24-25).

[3] 'receptaculum' (Rule, ch. xliii, p. 50 l.17).

[4] Rule, ch. lxxiii, pp. 51-52.

[5] ibid., ch. xliii, p. 50 l.28.

these particular copies of a Gospel book and missal as memorials to their first bishop's generosity by laying them upon the high altar,[1] they were available for use by the Chapter when the canons wished to authenticate some other transaction by recording it in a holy book.[2] Hence we have a substantial collection of manumissions dating from the late eleventh and first half of the twelfth centuries from Exeter.[3]

The canons in Leofric's time were careful to salvage a leaf filled with manumissions from some other book and to bind it into the Leofric Missal when it was being expanded, and consequently re-bound, at Exeter.[4] These manumissions in Old English in a variety of insular minuscule hands, appear to come from all over Devon and Cornwall. Five out of nine manumissions were due to the lady 'Eadgyfu', two are stated to be 'for Ordgar' and two are by Birhtric. The Ordgar for whose soul two manumissions were made may be Ordgar, ealdorman of Devon (ob. 971),

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[1] See above, pp. 254-55.

[2] I would suggest that the book used to record manumissions in Leofric's time was the monastery's Gospel book, of which only a fragment now remains (London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B V, fol. 75). Two manumissions were entered on the surviving leaf, one dating from the mid tenth century which ends with the words 'and King Eadwig ordered Brihtric to put it here in christ's book' (pr. Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 623) and one from the first half of the eleventh century (pr. K.C.D. no. 1353). This book was probably replaced by the Gospel Book in OE written at Exeter (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11).

[3] They are in: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fols 1, 377 (LM, pp. 1, 269) and from the first quire and back endleaves of Exeter's OE Gospels, now bound as Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, fols 3-7 (Exeter Book, pp. 44-54). Their dating is discussed by F. Rose-Troup, 'Exeter Manumissions and Quittances of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', T.D.A. lxix (1937), 417-46.

[4] LM, fol. 8, pp. 5B-6A and discussed pp. lviii-lx. The leaf (a singleton) is slightly smaller and the parchment considerably more worn and stained than the surrounding leaves, suggesting that it had once been an end-leaf.

the founder of Tavistock Abbey.[1] The witness lists to these manumissions imply that there were groups of priests living together at Lambourn and Coryton,[2] but the record may have been written elsewhere. Five of the manumissions took place at villages in the hundred of Lifton in South Devon, where the abbey of Tavistock is situated and one in the adjoining hundred, so it is likely that this record was made at Tavistock. Did the leaf arrive at Exeter with a book given or loaned by Tavistock abbey to the cathedral? The care taken at Exeter to bind it up with a suitable book indicates the Chapter's awareness of their responsibilities for keeping this type of record - to ensure that the benefits which accured to the souls of the grantors as a result of their munificence would be strengthened through the prayers of the community.

Although we have no surviving evidence from the period of Leofric's episcopate, within twenty years of his death the Chapter were not only praying for the local community, including members of local guilds, as was their daily duty in the offices, but were also members of a guild. The names of the guild members were recorded in the initial quire of the cathedral's Old English Gospel book,[3] along with the pre-existing records of Leofric's and Athelstan's donations. The purpose of these guilds, unlike the craft guilds of the later Middle Ages, was mainly to obtain spiritual benefits for the members both during and after their

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[1] LM, p. lx.

[2] '... Wulfsie of Lambourn and all the priests of the convent there'; 'Birhtric freed Aeffa at Coryton, in witness of ... all the priests of the convent there...' (LM, p. lix).

[3] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11; the folio inscribed with the guild members' names is now bound as Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, fol. 7-7^{v} (Exeter Book, fol. 7, p. 53 (34)).

lifetime through their remembrance in the prayers of a religious community. For this privilege, they paid one penny each as church scot and another penny each for prayers for the dead every year.[1] Two guilds at Woodbury (to the first of which Bishop Osbern and the canons were affiliated) and ten other guilds in different parishes throughout the diocese are recorded.[2] Leofric and his chapter could easily have been affiliated to such a guild, since we know that in the tenth century there was a guild in Exeter.[3] There is no reason to believe that the flourishing system revealed in the 1090s was a very recent revival.

The stress in the Rule of Chrodegang upon active involvement with the laity through the performance of priestly duties and preaching, rather than solely through the more passive involvement of daily prayers on behalf of the laity, would seem to have been given practical application at Exeter. Thus the canons copied homilies in Old English (rather than Latin) and had two copies (at least) of Theodulf's Capitula - a manual which would be of no practical use to a monastic house. Although there is little evidence to prove that the priests in the community served local churches in Exeter, it seems to me extremely likely that they did so, given the strictures of the Rule.

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[1] The second guild list, for members who lived in Woodbury, specifies that these dues were to be on St Martin's Day, 12th November (Exeter Book, fol. 7, p. 53 (34)b).

[2] Förster thinks the list dates from about 1130 (Exeter Book, p. 54), but the hand is perfectly consistent with a date in Osbern's episcopate (1072-1103). Since the same scribe entered manumissions dating from the 1090s on these leaves (Exeter Book, fol. 6, pp. 50-51 (19), (20), (21)) there is no reason why the guild lists should also not date from the 1090s.

[3] The statutes of this Exeter guild were entered in the upper margin of a Gospel book which probably belonged to the monastery at Exeter (pr. Thorpe, Diplomatarium, pp. 613-14). The sole surviving leaf of this book is now London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius B V, fol. 75.

What do we know of Leofric's activities as a diocesan bishop? There is abbrief summary in the Leofric Missal 'Qui [Leofric] vir venerabilis, accepto pontificatus honore, diocesim suam perlustrans populo sibi commisso verbum dei studiose predicabat, clericos doctrina informabat, ecclesias non paucas construebat, et cetera quae officii sui erant strenue ammini-strabat...'[1] This type of activity accords fairly well with that recommended in a letter addressed to a bishop which is incorporated in the Rule of Chrodegang. The bishop is adjured 'festis diebus veniente ad ecclesiam populo, fac eis predicare verba dei'.[2] A bishop is also urged 'clericos ... coontare ut sanctas scripturas diligentissime legant, non confidant in linguae notitiae, sed in veritatis intelligentia...';[3] the clerics thus instructed would doubtless make better preachers. A bishop should also care for the poor, widows and orphans,[4] see that amongst all there is 'concordissima pax et sanctissima caritas et devoto vitae regularis',[5] be an example himself in his preaching and worship and generally 'gregem quem accepisti ad regendum diligenter erudire studeto, et sanctis ammonitionibus eum per pascua vitae deducere satage.'[6] Leofric would appear, from the Exeter account, to have conscientiously followed the dictates of the Rule that he introduced himself at Exeter.

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[1] LM, fol. 3, p. 2A.

[2] Rule, ch. lxxx, p. 91, ll.29-30.

[3] ibid., ch. lxxx, p. 92, ll.2-3.

[4] ibid., ch. lxxx, p. 92, ll.33-4.

[5] ibid., ch. lxxx, p. 92, ll.18-19.

[6] ibid., ch. lxxx, p. 91, ll.1-2.

Of the practical details of his activities we know little. No church survives that he is known to have built and we know of no building that he undertook at the cathedral.[1] There is no evidence for his contacts with most of the religious houses of his diocese - Tavistock, Crediton, St Germans. The revenues of the latter's estates were split half to the community and half to the bishop according to the evidence of the Domesday Book.[2] This would be due to the fact that Leofric was bishop of St Germans before the two provinciae of Crediton and St Germans were re-united. Leofric, as diocesan, was amongst the witnesses to the Confessor's grant in A.D. 1061 of land at Ottery St Mary to the church of St Mary's, Rouen[3] and he may have been consulted when William I granted the church of St Olave, Exeter to Battle Abbey.[4] This church became the basis for the Benedictine priory of St Nicholas in the city.[5]

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[1] The Anglo-Saxon buildings of the monastery which were utilised by Leofric were demolished by Bishop William Warelwast (1107-37). The early twelfth-century seal of the Dean and Chapter bears the image of a church with a gabled front, with two flanking towers, one round and one square and with a further tower behind, presumably over the transept crossing, which may represent the Saxon church. This seal is reproduced on the front cover of V. Hope and J. Lloyd, Exeter Cathedral: A Short History and Description (Exeter, 1973).

[2] V.C.H., Cornwall, ii, 68.

[3] S., no.1033; Canterbury, D. & C., Chart. Ant. R.51 (s.xiii) is the oldest extant copy, but it may be based on an authentic text.

[4] pr. H.W.C. Davis, Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum (Oxford, 1913), i, 58-59. Was William able to grant the church as it had formerly been owned by the Godwin family? Countess Gytha had certainly been a benefactress (see above, p. 12).

[5] The date of the priory's foundation is uncertain. There was some dissension between the priory and the Cathedral over the priory's ringing of their bells. After Archbishop Anselm's intervention (his letter is pr. P.L., clix, col.17), Bishop Osbern agreed to let the monks ring at the usual hours except on a few major feast days, on condition they joined the Cathedral canons in procession on Palm Sunday and Ascension Day (Exeter Book, fol. 5, p. 49 (15)). Hence the priory was well established by this date (1096 x 1102).

No genuine episcopal acta survive from Leofric's episcopate. The Cartulary of Mont St Michel includes a purported confirmation by Leofric of Robert of Mortain's grant of St Michael's Mount, Cornwall to the French house,[1] which may be based on an original document. However, the second part of the grant, which frees St Michael's Mount from episcopal jurisdiction and remits a third of their penances to all who gave alms or endowments to the house, which is said to be given by Leofric at the command of Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) and with the consent of the king, queen and magnates of the realm is spurious.

How extensive were Leofric's and the Chapter's contacts with other English cathedral churches and monastic houses outside their own diocese? Since Leofric attended some of King Edward and King William's courts,[2] he probably knew all his episcopal contemporaries and those abbots of major monasteries who were in the habit of attending the royal courts. It was most probably to them that he turned when he wished to acquire books for his see or borrow exemplars for texts which his canons needed to copy. Is it possible, through examining the textual relationship of manuscripts copied at Exeter with other manuscripts to ascertain the origin of their exemplars and hence deduce the houses with whom Exeter was in contact?

A detailed examination of the texts in OE contained in the manuscripts copied at Exeter yielded little result.[3] Such a study

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[1] pr. Oliver, Monasticon, p. 31, no.3.

[2] See above, pp. 8, 25, 26.

[3] This examination was facilitated by Dr Ker's invaluable Catalogue, but often hindered by the lack of a modern critical edition which collates all the manuscripts of a specific text.

could only make suggestions as to the centres with which Exeter was in touch, since we can judge only from the relationships with the extant manuscripts of a particular text (not always numerous) and we cannot be certain of the provenance in the mid eleventh century of many of these manuscripts. Unfortunately, no Exeter text is a direct copy of another surviving manuscript, so no conclusions can be reached with any certainty.

The Exeter copy of Gregory's 'Cura Pastoralis'[1] has a preface which begins 'Aelfred kyning hatede gretan Wulfsige bisceop...' Since Wulfsige was Bishop of Sherborne (882 x 89-892 x 901), the exemplar of the Exeter copy may have been either the original manuscript sent to Wulfsige at Sherborne or a descendant of that manuscript. After 1058, the bishop of Sherborne was Hermann, like Leofric Lotharingian trained, who along with Leofric had returned to England in 1041 with the Confessor. He may well have been prepared to lend an old friend a manuscript for copying. Four Aelfrician homilies copied at Exeter to extend an earlier volume of homilies already in their possession[2] may stem from the same exemplar as do these texts in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 115 since they share an Aelfrician addition that appears nowhere else.[3] The Hatton manuscript was certainly at Worcester by c. A.D. 1200, but of its mid eleventh-century provenance we cannot be sure. Exeter's

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[1] Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4.

[2] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, pp. 25-96 (Ker, Catalogue, no.69, items 2-5).

[3] J.C. Pope, The Homilies of Aelfric: A Supplementary Collection, E.E.T.S. (O.S.), 259-60 (1967-8), i, 81. This addition is edited by him as no. XXVIII (op. cit., ii, 782-85).

manuscript of the bilingual Rule of Chrodegang was copied from an exemplar which came, or was itself copied from a manuscript which came from Winchester. The OE version of chapter two expands the Latin text by giving individual examples of people in the different ecclesiastical grades 'Leofwine pravost. Wulfstan cantor. Byrhelm diacon, Cynewerd cyrcward, Aelfnoð cild...'.[1] Max Förster believed that 'Wulfstan cantor' was the same man as Wulfstan, precentor of the New Minster at Winchester.[2] The other names appear together in the list of brethren of the New Minster in the Liber Vitae of Hyde,[3] suggesting that the exemplar or its exemplar was copied at the New Minster in the early years of the eleventh century when the scribe inserted the names of some of his brethren as examples.[4] Leofric may well have borrowed the exemplar directly from New Minster, since as King Edward's chaplain and as a subsequent attender at royal courts he would have been to Winchester fairly frequently.

These few examples point vaguely to the suggestion that, as one could anyway have guessed, Leofric borrowed exemplars from the major religious houses in England, which we know to have been substantial producers, and very likely to possess substantial

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[1] Rule, ch. ii, p. 9, ll.28-29.

[2] 'Lokalisierung und datierung der altenglischen Version der Chrodegang Regel', Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil-Hist. Abt. (1933), Schlussheft 7.

[3] London, B.L., MS Stowe 944, fol. ; pr. W. de Gray Birch, Liber Vitae Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester, Hampshire Record Society (1892), p. 25.

[4] The origin of the OE translation of the Rule of Chrodegang has not yet been studied.

[5] Aelfric's Grammar and Glossary, ~~texts which occur in eleven other~~ surviving eleventh-century manuscripts, have unfortunately not been edited since 1880 (J. Zupitza, Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar, Sammlung englischer Denkmäler, i (Berlin, 1880)) and no stemma has been worked out for the texts' descent.

holdings of books. The Latin liturgical texts copied at Exeter show affinities which point in a similar direction - to Winchester or another house associated with Winchester's great liturgical reformer Bishop Aethelwold, like Ramsey.[1]

The books owned by Leofric, in so far as we can tell, also came from similar sources. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Auct. F.1.15, fols 1-77 and probably Auct. F.1.15, fols 78-92, along with Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B 11.2 (241) were all copied at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury,[2] and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708 was copied at Christ Church, Canterbury. The Leofric Missal was certainly at Glastonbury until the early years of the eleventh century.[3] Whether all these manuscripts came directly from Canterbury and Glastonbury into Leofric's hands or via some other centre or centres we cannot tell. Leofric's copy of Bede's 'Historia ecclesiastica',[4] of unknown origin, may have been at Winchester in the first half of the eleventh century since some of the liturgical texts added in its margins are very close to those in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges,[5] which may have been copied at Winchester. Three manuscripts owned by Leofric were written by the same scribe, but where we do not know.[6]

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[1] See above, pp. 239-40.

[2] See below, pp. 387, 389, 335.

[3] See above, pp. 114-15.

[4] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41.

[5] Rouen, B.M., MS Y.6 (274); pr. H.A. Wilson, The Missal of Robert of Jumièges, H.B.S. xi (1896).

[6] Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501 (the 'Exeter Book'), London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319.

Two of these manuscripts (the Exeter and Oxford ones) may have come directly to Exeter from the house in which they were written[1] and there, by chance, was another manuscript written by the same scribe. This Lambeth manuscript was possibly owned by Aethelwine, Bishop of Wells (1013-1027), but was certainly given by Aethelwerd,[2] ealdorman of the south-west shires (1016-20) to a monastery dedicated to the BVM.[3] Since the location of this house was subsequently erased with galls, we do not know to which house dedicated to the BVM it was given. The house was, most probably, situated in the area he controlled. In the south-west shires at this time there were four such dedications - to the Virgin at Glastonbury, Sherborne and Exeter and to the Virgin and St Rumon at Tavistock. Rose-Troup believes the manuscript was given to Exeter,[4] why then should the name of the recipient have been erased?[5] It is surely more likely that the location was erased when the manuscript was given by one monastery dedicated to the

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[1] One of them may be the manuscript implied by Aethelwerd's donation inscription on the Lambeth manuscript which states 'Hunc quoque voluminem Aethelwardus ... condonavit' (London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149, fol. 189^{v}). In which case, it would have arrived at Exeter on an indirect route from its place of origin.

[2] He was the grandson by marriage of the chronicler Aethelwerd, founder of Pershorne and Cerne and son-in-law of Aethelmaer, founder of Eynsham, both of whom were patrons of Aelfric. None of these three houses associated with the family are dedicated to the Virgin.

[3] Förster suggested Crediton (Exeter Book, p. 87), but we have no evidence of a monastery there and Crediton's dedication, certainly at a later date, was to the Holy Cross.

[4] Rose-Troup, 1931, 206, with a facsimile of the leaf and erased inscription, Pl. IV.

[5] Although the curse was erased in the sixteenth century from a volume (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11) that was being given to Archbishop Parker, there was no systematic attempt at that time by the Chapter to erase evidence of their ownership.

BVM to another religious house (Exeter) which, coincidentally, had the same dedication. The name of either Tavistock, Sherborne or Glastonbury could fit into the space available. We know that Leofric probably got one book from Glastonbury[1] and the exemplar of the Exeter copy of the OE version of Gregory's 'Pastoral Care' may have come from Sherborne since it includes a copy of Alfred's letter addressed to the Bishop of Sherborne. Tavistock was the nearest major religious foundation to Exeter and since Leofric was their titular bishop they may well have been prepared to give or loan him books for copying. There is no conclusive evidence to enable us to decide whence came the Lambeth manuscript to Exeter.

Of the books probably owned by the Chapter rather than Leofric, one was written at St Augustine's Canterbury and may have come to Exeter directly from there.[2] The origin and provenance of their other older manuscripts is unknown. Two were written by the same scribe,[3] who was also responsible for the Sherborne Pontifical, but this manuscript, though at Sherborne by c. A.D. 1000 was not necessarily written there.[4]

Although the majority of books owned and exemplars of texts copied at Exeter are of English origin (as too seems to have been

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[1] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, the 'Leofric Missal'.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D. infra 2.9.

[3] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718 and Exeter, D. & C., MS 3507. Can this latter manuscript be identified with the manuscript of Hrabanus Maurus left by Bishop Aelfwold of Crediton (997-1012) to one, Ordwulf (Aelfwold's will is pr. English Historical Documents i (c. 500-1042) ed. D. Whitelock (London, 1955), pp. 536-37).

[4] Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS latin 943; Ker, Catalogue, no.364.

the music, script, and general manuscript layout used at Exeter), there are also a number of continental books which can be ascribed to Leofric's foreign education. Several of the books he owned were written on the Continent and show no signs of having been in England before the mid eleventh century, in which case it seems fair to assume that Leofric brought them with him when he came to England in 1041.[1] His Latin Gospel book and Orosius manuscripts (if the Exeter fragments represent this copy) fall into this category.[2] The collectar copied at Exeter, which is based on that compiled of Stephen of Liège,[3] may have been copied from one of the two collectars owned by Leofric, which he may have brought with him from Lotharingia. Leofric may also have brought over with him a Latin text of the Capitula of Theodulf of Orleans which served as the exemplar for the Latin text of the bilingual version copied at Exeter.[4] This is likely since the Latin text of the Exeter manuscript shows closer agreement with that in Rome, Vatican Library, MS Pal. lat. 278, a mid ninth-century Latin manuscript of the Capitula, copied

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[1] We do not know if he ever returned to the Continent again, but he may have done - or he may have commissioned his priest to acquire books for him when the latter went to request Leo IX's permission for the removal of the see in 1049 or 1050.

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.16 and Exeter, D. & C., FMS 1/2/2A. Not all books of continental origin which were at Exeter in Leofric's time were there due to the bishop's having brought them with him. The Leofric Missal and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 849, both ninth-century north French manuscripts, were in England by the mid tenth century.

[3] London, B.L., MS Harley 2961; on which, see above, pp. 237-38.

[4] Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 179-269. The other Exeter manuscript of this text (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 865, fols 97-112, s.xi[1], incomplete) is also bilingual, but did not serve as the exemplar for the copy made at Exeter.

in north-east France, than with any other surviving English manuscript.[1] It is thus possible that Leofric brought the exemplar of the Exeter copy, probably an early ninth-century manuscript from the Lotharingia area, with him when he came to England.

The manuscripts owned by Leofric and those copied by the Chapter show them to have acquired manuscripts of both English and Continental origin, which suggests the centres with which they were in contact. This throws a little additional light upon the patterns and types of inter-relationship between English sees and on English contacts with the Continent in the final years of Anglo-Saxon rule in England.

Leofric was, however, not the only Lotharingian-trained prelate appointed by Edward the Confessor. Were Hermann, bishop of Sherborne and Ramsbury (1045-1078), Giso, bishop of Wells (1060-1088) and Walter, bishop of Hereford (1060-1079), like Leofric, concentrating upon pastoral work and raising the standards of religious life in their dioceses? Our information on their activities has, as in the case of Leofric, to be pieced together from charters and references in chronicles, notably the Vita Eadwardi Regis[2] and William of Malmesbury's 'De Gestis Pontificum'.[3] An exception is the account of Giso's efforts to recover and build

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[1] Hans Sauer, Theodulfi Capitula in England (München, 1978), p. 508.

[2] London, B.L., MS Harley 526, fols 38-57; ed. F. Barlow, Vita Eadwardi Regis (Edinburgh, 1962), hereafter cited as Vita Eadwardi.

[3] Willhelmi Malmesburiensis De Gestis Pontificum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, R.S. (1870), hereafter cited as De Gestis Pontificum.

up the endowments of his see, said to be by Giso himself, which is incorporated in a late twelfth-century history of the see.[1] This is the closest narrative to the type found in the Exeter account of Leofric's donations and Giso too seems to have introduced the Rule of Chrodegang to his cathedral church.[2] Was Giso's account also inspired by the Rule's order to make a written record of benefactions which could be laid upon the altar?

All these Lotharingians owed their promotion to royal patronage: Hermann and Leofric had arrived with the Confessor in 1041,[3] Giso also was 'regis capellanus' and Walter had been chaplain to Queen Edith.[4] Of Walter's character we know little, except that, according to William of Malmesbury, he came to an untimely end.[5] The author of the 'Vita Eadwardi', however, called Walter and Giso 'viri in officio suo aptisimme et excellenter eruditi'[6] and referred to Hermann as a 'famous and well-educated bishop'.[7] We may presume the same of Leofric and the breadth of his book collection argues for a reasonable degree of Latin learning.

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[1] 'Historiola de primordiis episcopatus Somersetensis', pr. Ecclesiastical Documents, ed. J. Hunter, Camden Society, 1st series, viii (1840), pp. 9-28 (hereafter cited as Ecclesiastical Documents). Giso's account is pp. 15-20.

[2] His account declares that he found only four or five canons at Wells on his accession and that 'claustrum vero et refectorium et dormitorium illis preparavi ... ad modum patriae meae laudabiliter advocavi' (Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 19). This sounds very much like the semi-monastic organisation of the Rule of Chrodegang.

[3] See above, p. 5.

[4] Florencii Wigornensis monachi Chronicon ex Chronicis, ed. B. Thorpe, English Historical Society (London, 1848), i, 218.

[5] He was killed with a pair of scissors while trying to rape a seamstress (De Gestis Pontificum, i, 299).

[6] Vita Eadwardi, p. 35.

[7] ibid., p. 47.

Hermann tried, but failed, to move his see to Malmesbury before the Conquest. The exact date is not known, but it was probably before 1053 when Hermann retired to the monastery of St Bertin and became a monk. He probably wanted to move as the see of Ramsbury was impoverished. The monks of Malmesbury probably resisted as Hermann was not, at that time, a monk. They may have feared the loss of their revenues and, additionally, they may have seen the fate of the Benedictine house at Exeter as a presage of the fate that awaited them. Had Hermann seen the events at Crediton, in the neighbouring diocese, which then gave him the idea of removing his own seat?[1] Hermann was amongst the signatories of the Exeter foundation charter and was thus at Leofric's enthronement. Walter was a monk with a monastic chapter and already in an urban centre, while Giso, a secular priest, was, in many ways, in a similar situation to Leofric, after the latter's move to Exeter. Giso had a nucleus of canons in a not too isolated spot on which he could base his efforts to revive activity in the Chapter and diocese.

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[1] His financial problems were eased when he was also appointed to Sherborne in 1058, possibly through the assistance of Queen Edith (De Gestis Pontificum, i, 183). In 1075 Hermann managed to get the two sees united and removed to Old Sarum, in accord with the decree of the Council of Winchester of 1072 on the removal of sees from rural to urban sites.

Several of these Lotharingians made efforts to build up the territorial and intellectual endowments of their sees. Duduc of Wells left several books to his church[1] and we still have a pontifical which was probably produced at Wells for Bishop Giso.[2] There is evidence of some scribal activity at Sherborne under Bishop Hermann. He commissioned or acquired a pontifical to which many additions were made before 1075 when the see was moved to Old Sarum.[3] He also patronised Gescelin of St Bertin, the possible author of the Vita Eadwardi,[4] and author of the lives of SS Wulfsin and Edith, both of which saints were specially venerated in Hermann's diocese. Giso's account of his own activities shows many parallels to what Leofric was doing at Exeter. The See of Wells also suffered depradations by Harold Godwineson[5] and was in a poor state when Giso first became bishop. He therefore had to fight, not always successfully, for the restoration of estates,[6] whose revenues were assigned

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[1] Duduc had been appointed by Cnut in 1033. When he died in 1060 he left to Wells Cathedral 'vestimenta quoque sacerdotalia, reliquias sanctorum, vasa alterea concupis cibilia, [libros plurimos] et omnia quae habere poterat...' (Ecclesiastical Documents, pp. 15-16).

[2] London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A XVIII; unprinted. This manuscript shares some liturgical features with the additions made at Exeter to the Leofric Missal, see above, pp. 126, 125-29.

[3] London, B.L., MS Cotton Tiberius C I, fols 42-203. On this manuscript see N.R. Ker, 'Three Old English Texts in a Salisbury Manuscript: Cotton Tiberius C I', The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some Aspects of their History and Culture presented to B. Dickins, ed. P. Clemoes (London, 1959)

[4] Vita Eadwardi, pp. xlii-li.

[5] Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 16.

[6] ibid., pp. 18-19.

partly for the canons' use and partly for the bishop's use. Giso and Walter both took care, because of the doubts attached to Stigand's consecration as Archbishop of Canterbury, to go to Rome in 1060 to be consecrated. Giso also tried to ensure the security of his see's privileges by gaining papal confirmation of them from Nicholas II.[1] like Leofric, they seem to have had considerable respect for the Papacy.

The only eleventh-century bishop of whose activities we get a clear picture is Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester (1062-1095), who survived Leofric by over twenty years. We can see, though that some of their interests were similar and, occasionally, Wulfstan's Vita gives us a picture of activities which Leofric is likely to have undertaken, but which we can only deduce from other evidence as having taken place at Exeter. Wulfstan too had worked as a clerk in an important household (for Bishop Briteah of Worcester), was eager for the meticulous observance of the rule at his cathedral church, travelled around his diocese preaching, teaching and dedicating churches, fought to regain estates for his church, taking his charters with him to prove his case and tried to get rid of unmarried clerics.[2] He used books not only in the liturgy, but expounded Latin texts in the refectory to his monks, in whose education he was much interested. He also had lives of the saints read to him to send him to sleep.[3] Leofric was probably performing most of these actions which mark him as a good, conscientious, but not necessarily saintly man

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[1] pr. W. Holtzmann, Papsturkunden in England (Berlin, 1935), ii, 131-32; English Historical Documents II (1042-1189), ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenway (London, 1968), pp. 600-01.

[2] The Life of St Wulfstan, ed. J.H.F. Peile (Oxford, 1934).

[3] Did Leofric use the Exeter Book poems for the same purpose?

some twenty years before Wulfstan.

We may surmise that, in fact, most of Leofric's Lotharingian contemporaries were behaving with a similar concern for their pastoral duties. This might explain why, when Anglo-Saxon sources have little good to say of the Norman clerics appointed by the Confessor, the Lotharingian clerics he appointed are generally approved of, but little commented upon. The day-to-day activities of a bishop whose main concern is his pastoral duties are not as news-worthy as those of a bishop like Lyfing of Crediton or Archbishop Stigand who was intimately involved in the political manoeuvrings of the time. We lack much evidence for the Lotharingian bishops' activities, or does the lack of evidence reflect their comparative lack of success compared to Leofric? How much of Leofric's success in building up his see and organising his cathedral community is due to the advantage he had of a clean start when he moved to Exeter?

William of Malmesbury certainly saw the removal to Exeter with its immediate result - the substitution of canons living according to the Rule of Chrodegang and the expulsion of the existing Benedictine community as the only facts worth recording about Leofric. He saw that, in this removal, Leofric anticipated the decrees of the Norman reformers which resulted in the removal of seven English sees to new sites.[1] All these removals were to sites where there was no extant religious foundation[2] and all

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[1] In describing these removals, William adds 'Porro autem, tempore regis Edwardi simplicis, Cornubiensis et Cridiensis uniti sunt, et translatus est episcopatus in Exoniam' (De Gestis Pontificum

[2] Had Hermann's failure to move the see of Ramsbury to Malmesbury proved instructive? Or were the Norman clerics, mainly monks, unwilling to destroy the autonomy of an existing monastic foundation?

these removals, backed by royal and archiepiscopal approval, were successful.

Leofric's removal of his see, like these later removals, had both prominent royal support and papal approval and, by ejecting the surviving monks[1] from the monastery at Exeter, he gave himself effectively a clean start. That he actually expelled monks makes him unique in eleventh-century England and shows an attitude strikingly at variance with the prevalent one. Some cathedral chapters remained in secular hands throughout this century (Dorchester/Lincoln, London), but the tenth century had seen many secular chapters turned into monastic ones (Worcester, Winchester, Canterbury) and the Norman Conquest had, by the turn of the century, turned the tide in favour of monastic chapters once again.[2] Leofric's expulsion of the monks further stresses his belief in the eminent suitability of the Rule of Chrodegang as the best Rule for a chapter of cathedral clergy.[3]

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[1] Not nuns, despite William of Malmesbury's assertions (see above, pp. 22-23).

[2] The see of Wells was moved to Bath Abbey in 1090 and when the see of Thetford moved to Norwich in 1094 x 1096 a monastic chapter was set up.

[3] William of Malmesbury, as a monk, could only view this ejection of monks in favour of canons with extreme hostility and I would suggest that it was this hostility that led to his erroneous statements on the Rule of Chrodegang.

CHAPTER VII

CONCLUSIONS

The Exeter account gives us a picture of a bishop whose key achievements were threefold: he was a good pastoral figure to his diocese, he removed the diocesan seat from rural Crediton to urban Exeter and he built up the endowments of his impoverished cathedral church.

The study of the manuscripts copied at Exeter or owned by Leofric or his Chapter during his episcopate has enabled us to observe that Leofric brought a mixture of English and continental influences to bear upon his and the Chapter's activities. I believe that the continental influences were especially important. William of Malmesbury asserted that Leofric was 'apud Lotharingos altus et doctus'.[1] His adoption of the Rule of Chrodegang, which was in more widespread use in Lotharingia than in England, his introduction of a Collectar modelled on that of Stephen of Liège,[2] his importing of continental manuscripts (one of which included miniatures added in the Liège area around 1040)[3] combine to suggest strongly that it was in the Liège area, if not in Liège itself, where there was a community living according to the Rule of Chrodegang, that Leofric was educated.

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[1] Wilhelmi Malmesbiriensis monachi De gestis pontificum Anglorum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, R.S. (1870), p. 201.

[2] See above, pp. 237-38.

[3] See below, pp. 379-82.

This continental training lies behind Leofric's enthusiastic propagation of the Rule of Chrodegang, which, though known in Anglo-Saxon England, was not as widely observed as it was in the urban centres of Lotharingia. This Rule was the central influence upon the course of Leofric's activities at Exeter. Its stress on the pastoral rôle of the bishop and also of the canons in ministering to the laity explain the reunion of the two sees of Crediton and St Germans, which helped Leofric to concentrate his episcopal resources, and the removal of the bishop's seat from rural Crediton to urban Exeter. This in its turn resulted in the need to build up the endowments of the see of Exeter and of its cathedral church, hence the policies of copying books and forging charters and Leofric's desire to endow handsomely his cathedral church to serve as a suitable focal point for diocesan worship and as a training ground for the pastoral activities of his cathedral Chapter.

The emphasis on pastoral activities which is the dominant impression left by the evidence as a whole helps explain the minor rôle played by Leofric in the political events of his day. The Rule urges the canons 'secularia officia negotiaque abiciant'[1] and castigates those who spend their days in 'secularibus negotiis et disceptationibus...'[2] warnings which their bishop obviously took to heart.

Moreover, the Rule since it encourages reverence for and obedience to a bishop, also tended to encourage the same attitudes towards the Pope as chief bishop of the Christian community.

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[1] Rule, ch. lxii, p. 76, l.8.

[2] ibid., ch. xxiv, p. 33, l.30.

Ecclesiastical grades are 'secundum legitimam constitutionem Romanae aecclesiae'[1] and no one may call these grades by any other name than that approved by the Apostolic See.[2] According to the account in the Leofric Missal, it was because Leofric realised that his see could not be transferred without papal approval that he sent Landbert to Pope Leo IX.[3] The increasing use of the dedication to St Peter at Exeter is perhaps a tribute to this reverence for the authority of Peter's successor.[4]

Leofric's Lotharingian training meant that during the 1020s and 1030s he would have seen the first stirrings of the Lotharingian reform movement which, because of the backing of Emperor Henry III, spread from Germany and Lotharingia to become the revivifying force of the Papacy with the appointment, in 1049, of Bishop Bruno of Toul as Pope Leo IX. Leo was the first of a line of Popes, culminating in Pope Gregory VII (1073-1085) whom, as the monk Hildebrand, Leo had brought back with him to Rome. These reforming Popes, mostly from the urban centres of the Rhineland and Lotharingia, were secular clerics concerned primarily with the rôle of the bishop, his pastoral duties, ministry to the laity in the church and, ultimately, with the pastoral rôle of the Pope himself.[5] Monastic reform was only

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[1] Rule, ch. ii, p. 8, l.35.

[2] ibid., ch. ii, p. 9, ll.5-6. Chrodegang himself had been an influential force in introducing the practices of Rome into the Frankish church.

[3] LM, fol. 3, p. 2.

[4] Leofric may have been responsible for the Exeter dedication to St Peter, see above, pp. 21-22.

[5] On the Gregorian Reform Movement, see A. Fliche, La Reforme Grégorienne, Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense, 6, 9, 16, (Louvain, 1924-37), esp. i, 97-128 for the early stages of the reform movement in Lotharingia.

part of their much wider concept of religious revival.[1]

Leo IX tried to strengthen the links between the English church and the See of Rome as a matter of policy. He summoned English bishops to his reforming councils and in 1051 ordered Archbishop Robert of Canterbury to refuse to consecrate Spearhafoc, abbot of Abingdon as bishop of London.[2] Leofric's perception of the growing importance of the papal rôle can be attributed to his training in Lotharingia.

In England, after the Conquest, Gregory VII was to find a staunch ally in Archbishop Lanfranc and the stream of English councils in the 1070s is a witness to the work of reform that only then became widespread in England. The councils of Winchester (1070, 1072 and 1076) and London (1075) debated the issues of the primacy of Canterbury, simony and ecclesiastical celibacy, urged the removal of bishops' seats to urban centres and ordered the appointment of archdeacons.[3] All these factors contributed to defining a bishop's rôle as an administrator and his duties as a pastor to his flock.[4]

Leofric seems, in his activities at Exeter, to have anticipated some of these changes. The Rule of Chrodegang implies a celibate community of canons in that they have a communal dormitory[5] and

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[1] This contrasts with the ecclesiastical reform movement in tenth-century England which was directed by monks and largely for monks. At this period canons were, by and large, replaced with reformed monastic houses.

[2] ASC E, 10 48.

[3] For their decrees see Wilkins, Concilia, i, 362-68.

[4] For a survey of the re-organisation of the English church under William I, see F. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England (2nd edn., Oxford, 1947), pp. 650-70.

[5] Rule, ch. xxi, pp. 31-32.

there are regulations against married priests which, presumably, the bishop is meant to implement.[1] Leofric moved his episcopal seat to an urban centre, with papal approval, twenty years or more before any other English bishop succeeded in doing so. In his Chapter of secular priests, headed by an archdeacon or praepositus, he had a ready-made episcopal household who could serve him as diocesan administrators also.

From the smaller amount of evidence available, it may be suggested that others of the Confessor's Lotharingian prelates were similarly influenced by the ideas of the Lotharingian reform movement. However, their lack of success in setting up a new community to implement their ideas may partly explain the lack of evidence we possess of their activities. It was because Leofric wished to move to an urban centre and needed to eject the existing monastic community to set up a house of canons who would follow the Rule of Chrodegang, that Leofric and his Chapter had to work so hard to build up the endowments of the cathedral church, in the process providing us with most of the evidence from which we can deduce the ethos behind their activities.

If Leofric was, in his unobtrusive fashion, a reformer some twenty years before such reforms became fashionable; why has this not been acknowledged? The Exeter account of his episcopate gives us a few clues, and, although the author of the Exeter account was writing just after 1072 when the reforming councils were beginning their work, I think there is enough

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[1] Rule, chs. lxvi and lxviii, pp. 78-79.

evidence from a study of the Rule of Chrodegang and the books and charters at Exeter to suggest that Leofric, in his concept of his pastoral rôle, was a reformer. Thus the author of the Exeter account is not just reflecting the ecclesiastical atmosphere of the 1070s. There was no ardent Exeter biographer to trumpet Leofric's works at quite the same length as in the life of St Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1062-1095), by Coleman, his friend and chaplain.[1] There was no subsequent Exeter chronicler to record the activities of the see's first bishop and the annals produced in the thirteenth century at the neighbouring Benedictine house of Tavistock do not even mention Leofric.[2]

Leofric, then, seems to have been a successful exponent of the ideas of the early phases of the ecclesiastical reform movement, which were to become more widespread in England only in his last years. Leofric's position as a secular bishop, with a chapter of secular canons, is the vital factor in the general neglect of recognition of his achievements. In the era when most historical records were written by monks to glorify their houses or their monastic cathedral and their heritage and when reform was often interpreted as monastic reform, the pastoral achievements of a secular bishop could easily be overlooked.

This neglect could only be remedied and a proper assessment of Leofric's activities could only be made through a detailed

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[1] This life in OE has not survived, but William of Malmesbury made a Latin translation of it, Life of St Wulfstan, ed. and trans. J.H.F. Peile (Oxford, 1934).

[2] Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Digby 81, fols 67-89; unprinted.

palaeographical examination of the books copied at or owned by Exeter in Leofric's time. Without this tool, it is unlikely that a historian would have been able to progress beyond Professor Barlow's summary of Leofric as a man who passed smoothly through the troubled aftermath of 1066 and who, in the words of the Exeter account, was 'vita moribusque modesto'.[1]

An examination of these books, of how they were copied or acquired, of the dictates of the Rule of Chrodegang, of Leofric's and the Chapter's efforts to build up their endowments show us a man who was undertaking the activities ascribed to him by the Exeter account. More importantly, Leofric, due to his Lotharingian training, was implementing various reforms of the secular clergy and in the bishop's pastoral rôle some twenty years before such reforms were propagated by Lanfranc.

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1 LM, fol. 3, p. 29.

LIST OF PLATES

Plates are actual size unless otherwise stated.

I Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 155

II London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII, fol. 84

IIIA Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 35

B Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15, fol. 77^{v}

IV Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 212-13

V Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, p. 54

VI Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 34

VII London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fols 37^{v}-38

VIII Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 345^{v}

IX Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11, fol. 1

X London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fol. 58

XI Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 3

XII London, B.L., MS Harley 2961, fol. 77^{v}

XIII Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 131

XIV Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fols 10^{v}-11

XVA Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fol. 18

B Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fol. 81^{v}

XVI Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4, fol. 47^{v}

Plate I. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 133

The pricking and the dry-point ruling of both the last and penultimate horizontal lines to the edge of the leaf can be seen in the lower right margin. The hand is that of Scribe 1: note the tall ascenders and the formation of the letters 's' and 'g'.

BODLEIAN LIBRARY

MS. BODLEY. 579. fol. 155r.

ęterne dſ. ut benedicere dignerıſ hęc
thimiamata ut incenſi ſpeciē. ut ſit in
cenſū maieſtati tuę in odorē ſuauitatıſ
acceptū. Sit ꝺte hęc ſpecieſ benedicta.
ſit p̄ inuocationē ſcī nominiſ tui ſcīficata.
tta ut ubicūq; fumuſ ēius p̄uenerit. extri
cetur. & effugetur abeo loco omē genuſ
doemoniox. ſicut incenſu rēcoriſ piſciſ quē
raphael archangls tobiā famulū tuum
ſup carboneſ ponere docuit. cū aſcendit
adſarę liberatione. Deſcendat bene
dictio ſup hanc ſpecie incenſi & thimia
matiſ. ſicut inillo. de quo dauid ꝑpheta
tuuſ cecinit dicenſ. Dirigat oratio mea
ſicut incenſū inconſpectu tuo. Sit hoc
incenſū nob odor cōſolationiſ. ſuauitatiſ
& grę. ut fumo iſto effuget omē fantaſ
ma mentaſ & corporiſ. ut ſimuſ pauli apti
uoce bonuſ odor dō inomī loco. Effugiant
a facie hui incenſi & thimamatiſ omſ
incurſuſ doemoniox ſicut puluiſ afacie

Plate II. London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius A VII, fol. 3-

9

The tears, shrinkage and darkening of the parchment are a result of the Cottonian fire of 1731. Scribe 1's hand here shows proportions more akin to those of other Exeter scribes.

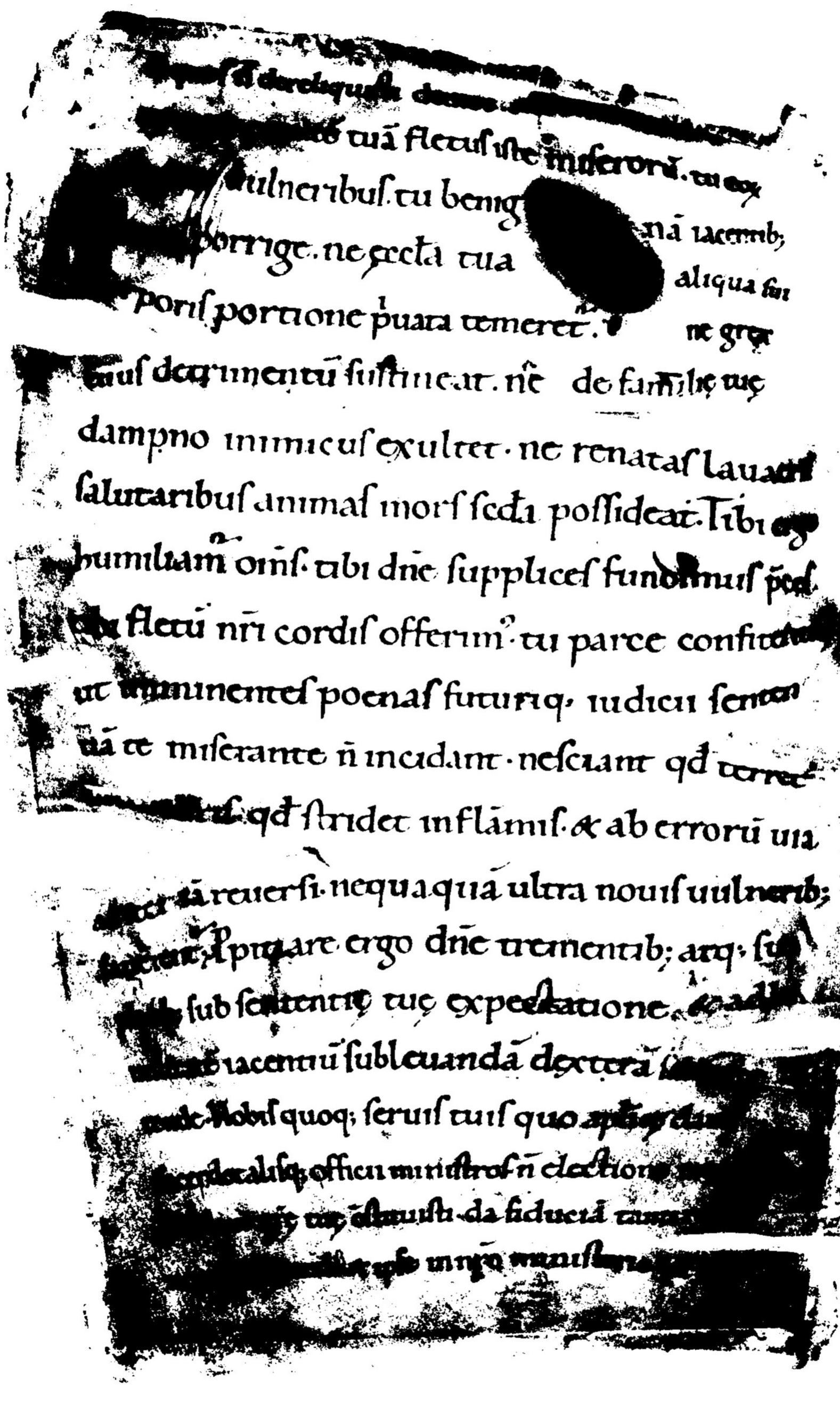


Plate IIIA. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 33

IIIB. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F.1.15, fol. 77^{v}

Scribe 2's caroline and insular minuscule scripts: his caroline minuscule is more carefully formed for the writing of a liturgical text (IIIA) than for Lecfric's donation inscription (IIIB). The layout of this donation inscription is typical.

A.

grauemur a& ext ernis. ℣. POST COMMV
Confirma dñe qſ tuoy corda fidelium.
& grãe tuę uiſitate corrobora. ut in tua
ſint ſupplicatione deuoti. & mutua dilec_
tione ſinceri. ℣. MISSA PRO REGE IN TEMPO
S quieſ tẽporaliſ bell RESIHONI . DICENDA .
uitę amminiſtrator. a& ernę quoq:
auctor atq: largitor. miſerere ſupplici
regi nr̃o. N. ut a tua protectione & defenſione fi
dẽti. ut puſtutem brachii tui omnib: ſibi
aduerſantib: ſupatis gaudeat ſe euaſiſſe ℣ _
tailum. ℣. SECRETA .
OS qui ſubiectas tibi glorificas potẽtias.
ſuſcipe ꝓpitius ob lationem nr̃am. & fi
deli famulo tuo regi nr̃o. attribue uirtꝰ. eiuſq:
remitte peccata. & miſeratus concede quatinus
quiſe dextera tua ex p& ter protegi. nulla poſſit
aduerſitate ſupari. ℣. POST COMMVN .
Fidelem famulum tuum regem nr̃m qſ dne
potentię tuę munat inuicta defenſio. ut
pio ſemp; tibi exiſtens deuotus affectu. & ab

MS. Bodl. 579. f. 5

B.

Hunc librum dat leofricus epſ ęcclę ſc̃i petri apli
in exonia ubi ſedes epiſcopalis eſt ad utilitatem ſucceſ
ſorum ſuorꝝ. Siquis illum abſtulerit inde. ſubiaceat
maledictioni. Fiat.
Dis boc gef leofric. b. into ſc̃e pet ær mynſtre on
exan ceſtre þæm hiſ biſceop ſtol iſ. ꝑ on hiſ ſaple aby ſed
nyſſre. 7 gif hig hpa ut æt bred . god hine ꝑon

Plate IV. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 201, pp. 212-13

The ruling format used at Exeter is clearly visible. Scribe 2 wrote both the Latin and Old English texts shown; unusually, his ascenders barely split at the top in the insular minuscule, which may be attributed to the pen he was using.

tioria nequaquam missas: nisi tam cau-
te ante secundam horam celebrent: ut
populus a publicis sollempnib: non
ab strahatur. Sed diuersi sacerdotes
qui in circuitu urbis aut in eadem ur
be sunt. siue populus ut prediximus.
munum ad publicam missarum celebra-
tionem conuenient: exceptis dō sacra-
tis feminis quib: mos est ad publicum
non egredi. sed claustris monasterii
contineri.

Ic bidde for Godes lufan þæt men þa
læwestan. þæs þe we on þisse mid mic
lan ade for eowrum synnum. for
þan þe on þam to weardan life. us
twam for nahte brod ge tealde.
Hwi gehyrð ðu hwæðer þa þe hunc brodað
þinum fyllað hreoma synna for gyfenessa.
Hwi he is swiðe forðe bysig oftes us.
ac he is þæs swiðe wilde. Hwi is his milo
heortnes oftes us. ac þæs is se ea dom.
Hwi is seo lanlice sinsumnes. ac þam
is seo synfulle nearones. Hwi synt þisse
weorulde gyrlustas. ac þæs synt þa
ecan untweg. Hwi is hlihtres. ac þæs
is se unge endeda hunc. Ðæs brod þon

ure hlaford forgeafon on þa ecan
fyrste wunode. Hwi is ure modes up
ahafennes. ac þæs is þære þystro dym
nes. On gytað nu þat men þa leofestan
þe top to weardæ synt. 7 symble bro ge
sodh fulle for for þre saple hælo. wepað
on þisse worulde. þæs ne burfon eft we
wan þone unge endedan dom. Ge eadmo
dað top hefi. þ ge nesyn þæs gemðia
de. 7 þæs ne syn sendæ on þa ytemestan
þiscno. on þ un adwescedlice fyri. Eala
men þa leofestan. hwa is æfre swa hreum
we hreoftan. þ he nemæge wepan. þa
to weardan witu. 7 hinn þa on dwardan.
Hwæt is us la selre on þisse worulde
þon we symble ure synna hreowe don.
7 hi mid ælmessan lysan þ . we burh
þa ælmessan. þa ecan untwega magon
genesan. for þon we wrecan folc ge wit.
7 eallc þa we on hyre synd. 7 þon mid
ure saple ame. we sculon gode ælmih
tigum suht agyldan. He miæg þæs þon
ge fultuman se wæden þæm. suna. ne
se suna þæm fæden. ac sceal þonne an
ra gehwilc æfter his agnum ge fyrhtū
breon demed. Eala þu man. hwæt dest
þu. þ þu ne sy þam ymban uhtne ge

(Two thirds actual size)

Plate V. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 421, p. 54

Written by Scribe 2. This layout with coloured (orangey-red) rustic capitals for the text heading, a two-line high initial at the beginning of a text and the first line of the text in ink rustic capitals is typical of the non-liturgical manuscripts copied at Exeter.

luc menn læt þær ſanget gehỳpan. oð
þ he mid eallum heopa eapum dt
broden peapð. Se ælmihtiga god
be ſpingð. ⁊ þpeað þa þe he lupað.
þ hig þuph þa hpilpendlican ge ſpenced
nỳ ſſe puldon fulle be cumon to þā.
ecan life þe he æt middan eapdet
fỳmde hit geteaffullum geapcode.
Sỳ him puldon ⁊ pupdmỳnt on eal-
pa populda populo. Amen.

INNALIS UNIUS CONFESSORIS.

Homo quidam pegre p ficiens.
uocauit seruos suos & tradidit illis
bona sua.

VRE DRIHTEN SÆDE ÞIS BIG SPELL
hit leoſnung cuðlicum. he. cwæð. þ
sum suce mann polde ȝaȝan on ælþeo
dinne eard. þa. clỳpode hit heopan
him to. ⁊ betæhte him hit god. Sumon

Plate VI. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 34

This mass was copied by Scribe 3 in a missal-type format. The layout, with a heading in orangey-red rustic capitals, two-line high initials for the main sections and a smaller version of the script used for cues, is typical of the liturgical manuscripts copied at Exeter.

MISSA PRIMO MANE IN NATIVITATE SANCTI
IOHANNIS BAPTISTE.

Iustus ut palma florebit. ℣ Bonum est confiteri. COLL.
Concede qs omnipotens ds. ut qui beati Iohis
baptiste sollempnia colimus. eius apud te
intercessionib: muniamur. p. LECTIO
ndicebus illis. Factum est HIEREMIE PROPHETE.
verbum dñi ad me dicens. Tu ergo fili hom-
nis accinge lumbos tuos & surge. GR Iustus
ut palma ℣ Ad annuntiandum. ℟ Alle luia.
℣ Inter natos mulierum. SCŌM LUCAM.
In illo tempore. Respondens gabriel.
dixit ad zachariam. OF Immittet eum. SĒR.
mera dñe oblata sancta. & intercedentibus
te beato Iohanne baptista. nos pbec
a peccatorum nrōrum maculis emunda.
pdnīm. CO Posuisti dñe. POST COM.
Presta qs omnipotens ds. ut qui celestia
alimenta pcepimus. intercedente bea-
to Iohanne baptista. pbec contra omnia
aduersa muniamur. p.

Plate VII. London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fols. 37v-38.

This shows the caroline and insular minuscule scripts of Scribe 3 (ll.4-19) and another Exeter scribe (ll.1-3). Note the comma-like stroke at the end of the upper leg of Scribe 3's ampersand, his habit of marking run-ons at both ends of a line and the elaborate splitting of the tops of ascenders in insular minuscule.

Þis onænne sodne god þe ealle
þing gesceop 7 gesceapode. 7 an
fulluht is. eallū xpenū man-
nū gemæne. 7 þmot ure gehpylc
suhtlice healdan. gif he ahte
gefaran scylan. Ysege healt his
fulluht suhtlice. sefre gehealt
godes beboda. Donne is æresta
þ forme bebod. þ man lufie god
ealmihtigne ærest ofer ealle
odre þing. 7 syddan is oðer
beboo. þ gehpa lufige his nihstan
spa spa hine sylfne; 7 þis þ suht
xpen mann. nebeode æniga oðr
butan þ he pille. þ man him beo
7 þis side suhtlic 7 þearflic dom
7 gode gecpeme. 7 sefre bæne dom
gehealdeð. hege eapnað him
sylfū pirodlice dom bæne bec

æt þam þeon heofenū leofað
7 picxað. mealpa popolda popolde
abutan ende. a mex.

38

Lēc. Scōm Lycam.

Dixit ihs discipulis suis; Ego mit-
tam pmissū prīs mei uos; Vos
autē sedete in ciuitate: quo usq;
induamini uirtute exalto; Eduxit
autē eos foras in bethania: & ele-
uatis manib: suis benedixit eis:
& factum est dum benediceret
eos: recessit abeis: & ferebatur
in cælum: & reliqua.

Þebiscop Hadum.

Se halga goospellere lucas.
ge sprecdoe on his goospelle.
hu ure drihten ær he up to hea-
fenum fere. þið his þegenas spæc.
7 hu he his apostolas to biscepum

(Seven - tenths actual size)

Plate VIII. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 345^{v}

Written by Scribe 5: note his 'x' which does not conform to the Exeter style, the ascenders which are taller than the main body of the letters, the 's' which is typical of the Exeter style and the 'a' which is restrained within the body of the script.

Qua pincurnati

(O ꝓterne dſ Qua cum unigenitus tuus
in ſubſtantia nr̄æ mortalitatis appa
ruit in nouam nos inmortalitatis ſuæ
lucem reparauit Et ideo [illegible]
ꝓ Qua cū unigenitus ut ſup̄ [illegible]
IN CAPITE IEIUNII Sī [illegible]

VO ꝓterne dſ Qui corporali ieiunio uitia
comprimis mentem eleuas uirtutem
largiris & premia ꝑ xp̄m dn̄m nr̄m
[illegible]

OꝑXp̄m dn̄m nr̄m Qui pro nobis ꝓter
no patri adæ debitum soluit & ueteris
piaculi cautionem pio cruore detersit ꝑ
quem [illegible]
Qui corporali ut ſup̄ [illegible]

VO ꝑ x d n Qui ꝑ nob ꝓterno patri ut ſup̄ uſq
in dom̄c palmarū dom̄c tantū [illegible]
[illegible]

Plate IX. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.11, fol. 1

This is the accomplished insular minuscule script of Scribe 6, who left room for an initial letter which was never entered. The manuscript was later owned by Matthew Parker whose name is inscribed at the top of the leaf. One of his scribes was responsible for the red crayon rulings and underlinings which are visible.

Matthæus Cantuar: 1574

Initiū sci eugł scōm oratham—

FIER MATHEIS GERECEDNESSE HER IS CHEORIS-
re boc hælendes cristes dauides suna abrahames suna. Soðlice abraham ge scyndе israác.
israác ge scyndе iacob · iacob ge scyndе iudam
ðritig ge brodra · judas ge scyndе phaneś · zaram·
of þam pife þe pamr ge nemned thamari · phanes
ge scyndе esrom · esrom ge scyndе aram · ará
ge scyndе aminadab · aminadab ge scyndе ·
naason · naason ge scyndе salmon · salmon ge
scyndе booz · of þam pife raáb · booz ge scyndе
obeth of þam pife ruth · obeth ge scyndе iesse ·
iesse ge scyndе þone cyning dauid · dauid cining
ge scyndе salomon of þam pife þe pær uriar
pif · salomon ge scyndе roboam · roboas ge scyn
de abiam · abia ge scyndе asa · asa ge scyndе
iosaphath · iosaphath ge scyndе ioram · ioras
ge scyndе oziam · ozias ge scyndе ioatham ·
ioachaſn ge scyndе achaz · achaz ge scyndе
ezechiam · ezechias ge scyndе mannasen ·
mannasses ge scyndе amon · amon ge scyndе
iosiam · iosias ge scyndе iechoniam ðritig ge
brodru on babilonie ge leodrædenne ·

Continuet pag. 101.

Plate X. London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B XIII, fol. 58.

This leaf show additions made by two Exeter scribes to this volume of homilies copied at Exeter. The hand of fol. 58 ll.12-27 is that of Exeter Scribe 6,

X

7 þurh forð mysdæda. Þurh manslihtas
7 þurh mæg slihtas. þurh hlafordspriccas.
7 þurh scatho cnæpctar. þurh spicdomas
7 þurh úndomas. þurh had brycas. 7 þurh
æp brucas. þurh sybb ge legena. 7 þurh
misdice forligenu. 7 eac synd þurh ad bry
cas. 7 þurh pedd brycas forloren 7 forl
logene ma þonne secolde; Ac uton ge spican
georne unpihtes. 7 þid god bingan spa pe
geornost magon. He us ge fultumige þurh
his myldheortnesse spa hit pylla sy. amen.

egi hi se ge leafa þæt bec. 7 bletsung
leorningmannum þe h leoht ne cunnon.
ater rim. on englisc.
u usic forðsceop þe eapic onheofenum. Sy
þin nama ge halgod. ge cumu þin ric.
Sy þin pilla spa spa onheofenum. spa eac
on eorðan. Syle us to dæg ufne dæghpa
lican hlaf 7 forgif us ure gyltas. spa
spa pe forgyfað þam þe wið us agyltad
ine. Ond læd þu us na us on costnunge. Ac alys us
fram yfle. Sy hit spa.
ic gelyfe ongo. forðsceop ælmihtigne. scyp
end heofenan 7 eorðan. 7 ic gelyfe on
hælend crist his ancennedan sunu usne
[illegible] þæt ge eacnod of þam halgan
[illegible]nnred of mæian þam [illegible]

Plate XI. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579, fol. 3

The unimpressive and old-fashioned hand of Scribe 9 wrote ll.1-6; note his unusual cedilla. Scribe 10 wrote ll.7-32 (ignoring the existing ruling), the beginning of the account of Leofric and the transfer of the see. Scribe 1 may have been responsible for adding 'bro suo' in the right-hand margin by l.27. The original punctuation was by <u>punctus</u> only.

lib: saxonib:. uiru idoneu beorneh or
dinauit · & mercionib: coenuulfu ad
auitatē quę dr dorceceaster. hoc brotu.
Sic papa aplic⁹. insynodis ęcclę scī pe-
tri ēclusit. ut dampnaret inppetuū
q hoc salubre mutaret ē siluū.

Anno ů dnicę incarnationis Mill xlvii. loco xr
p eduuardū pdictū. filiū scilicet alfridi regis.
impiū toti⁹ anglor regni suscepit hiuardus
filius athelredi reg. die dominico pasche. i. iii. na
cū magno gaudio toti⁹ gentis anglice in uniuersi
ciuitate consecratr. Tertio autē anno temporis sui
i. Anno M. xlvi. dnicę incarnationis dedit
epatū cridionensis ęcclę arq: cornubiensis pincię.
capellano suo leofrico. uita moribus q modesto.
Qui uir uenerabilis. accepto pontificat⁹ ho: ore.
diocesim suā plustrans. pop⁹ sibi cōmisso uerbū
di studiose pdicabat. clericos doctrina informabat.
ęcctas ri paucas ędstruebat. & ceta quę officii sui
erant strenue amministrabat. Cernens ů utrāq:
pincia diocesis sue. i. deuenonia & cornubiam
pirratarū barbarica infestatione sepi⁹ deuastari:
cepit diuina ut credim inspiratione diligenter
meditari. qualit epalē cathedrā cridionensis loci.
ad urbē exonicā transferre posset. Et da sagaci
animo pspex. hoc absq: romane ęcclę auctoritate
fieri ri posse. misso illuc idoneo legato. i. lar libro prudentia
ad scissimū papā leonē. humilr postulauit
quat⁹ directis patricatus sue litis regē pacificare
regeret. ut de cridionensi uilla ad urbē exon
ęrisse. epale sedē transferre ęcclesiasticis ędificiis
tractus incursu liber. tuto ęcclasticā officia disponere posset

Plate XII. London, B.L., MS Harley 2961, fols 77^{v}-78

Written by Scribe 9 and possibly noted by him also. The neums are typical of those which were added to other Exeter manuscripts in the mid eleventh century.

qui resurrectionis dnice sollempnia
colim⁹. innouatione tui spūs. amoste animę
resurgamus. ℟. Ad. ℣. ā ꝓcamore autem
eius, egressus sum custodes & facta sunt uelut mortui alti.
Gra hec dies quam fecit. Alta ꝑ Pascha nrm. Col.

Deus qui omnis dis. ut qui gram dnice
resurrectionis agnouimus. ipsi. per quos
amore spūs amoste animę resurgam⁹. ℟.

Ad. ix. ā Cum eunces dicete discipulis quid surrexit
dns alta alta. Gra Hec dies. Alta ꝑ Epulemur.

Deus qui nobis paschale remediū Coll.
contulisti. popm tuū qs celesti
dono ꝓsequere. ut inde post inppetuū
gaudeam. unde nunc temporaliter ex
ultam. ℟. Ad [illegible] Iorie

Sequitur [illegible] Incipit ia.

Kyrrie leyson .iii. Xpe leyson. iii.
kyrrie leyson. bis. kyrrie leyson. Angls
enim dnm ℟ Dixit dns. Erit autem. ℟ Confundentur
ꝓcamore ayssem eius. ℟ Beatus uir. Gra hec
dies. Alta ꝑ Pascha nrm. Seq Laudes

Alta alta alta alta. Dix dns. Conf.

Plate XIII. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 190A, p. 131

A variety of decrees relating to a bishop's powers and duties added by Scribe 10 (ll.1-7), and by Scribe 2 (ll.8-33). Scribe 1 added the gloss above l.4. The entry of the usual orangey-red rustic capitals for headings and two-line high coloured initials suggest that consider-able care was taken with these entries.

Ut nullꝰ epʃ ſeruū Altarij ſ. PETRI ſ. LEONIS ꝑp.
ad officiū clericat' ꝓmoueat. Ut epʃ ſacerdotū ſen. nō
dicta faceret. a ſuo ſubmouet' officio. Ut in die epiphā
nioꝝ plebeat baptiſma celebrare. Qd aliud ſit uxor aliud
concubina. nec erret epʃ filiū ſu' excludit et habuit ex una
Qd n ſit ūnugi duplicato ꝙndo ancilla recta uxor
aſſumitur. THEODORUS DICIT.

Siqs ſectam habuit uota uouerit ſine cſenſu epi ipſe habet potteſtate
ſoluendi ſi uoluerit. Qui ordinati ſū aſcottos aut abrittonū epiſcopi
in paſcha & intonſura adunati eccle catholice nō ſū. Iterū abepo catho
lico man in poſitione cfirmt & aliq electione ſimilit & eccle q abipſis
epiſ ſupdicatis cſeceruit aqua exorcizata aſpergit & aliq collectione
cfirmt. XXVIII. DE EO QUOD [illegible] NT CLERICI ALAICIS
CSE LAICIS [illegible] TORIA ECCLASTICA.

Constantinus rex ait. Ad epos adse congregatos ecc viiii.
dñi uos constituit sacerdotes & potestatem uob dedit de nob
quoq: iudicandi. & ideo nos a uobis recte iudicam. uos aute non
potestis abhominib: iudicari ppt qd dñi solus inter uos expec
tate iudicū. & ura iudicia quecuq: sint ad illud examen
seruentur. Vos enim nob data estis dii. & non est conuenies
ut homo iudicet deos sed ille solus de quo scriptū est. Dñs stetit
in synagoga deorum. &c.

Non oportet iudices ecclę habere timorem hominum. s. timo
rem dñi. q timor dñi principiū sapientie est. non oportet iudices
ecclę dñi habere sapientiā mundi. q sapientia mundi stultitia
est apud dm. sed sapientiā habere dñi [illegible] ACCUSATI SEDE
Gaudemus epʃ dix. addendū si placet [illegible] PER EPI.
huic sententie: quā plenam scientiam protulistis. ut cum
aliquis epʃ de posse fuerit coꝝ epoꝝ iudicio qui in uicinis locis
commorantur. & qd damauerit agendū sibi negotiū in urbe
romana alter epʃ in cuius cathedra post appellationem ei qui
uidetur esse deposse omnino non ordinetur. Nisi causa
fuerit in iudicio epi romani determinata.

Plate XIV. Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fols 10^{v}-11^{r}

Fol. 11 is a supply sheet written by Scribe 11 who switches meticulously from caroline minuscule for Latin to insular minuscule for Old English words, as indeed does the scribe of fol. 10^{v} who was responsible for copying much of the manuscript. Scribe 11 uses the old-fashioned 'ra' ligature (ll.12, 21, 23).

Auster. sud dæl. Eleaster. elebeam. Apiaster. mepce.
Alexander. agen nama. Sacer. halig. Niger. spearc.
Ater. blac. Teter. blac. Dexter. ⁊ dexterur. spyðra. ⁊ sim-
stre. pynstra. þar maciað heora gemanna on oþre
pyfan. hic puer. þir cylo. huius pueri. þisses cildes. So-
cer. speor. Gener. aþum. Miser. earming. Adulter.
forligere. lucifer. leohtberiend. Signifer. tacnberend.
frugister. pæstenbære. belliger. pigbora. Clauiger. cæg-
bora. Corniger. hornbære. armiger. pæpnbora. Gram-
ger. cornbora. & similia. On. ir. geendiað. masculini
generis. hic uir. þes wer. huius uiri. þisses weres. &
cetera. hic leuir. tacor. Semuir. healf mann. duum
uir. twegra ceorla ealdor. Triumuir. þreora ceorla
ealdor. Quinq: uir. fif ceorla ealdor. Septem uir.
seofan ceorla ealdor. Decem uir. tin manna ealdor.
Centum uir. hund teontigra manna ealdor. On-
þisse geendunge ir anna ma neutrū. hoc. ir. þis
hand bred. Indecinabile. ungebrigendlic. On þære ge-
endunge. ur. yr. anna masculini generis. hic satur.
þes fulla mann. huius saturi. of þam. bb femininū. haec
satura. Danaman þeon. ur geendiað. synd masculini
generis. hic campus. þes feld. huius campi. þisses feld-
es. & cetera. Ostus. orloceaflo. ossbe pyrtan. mous.
nest. Fundus. botl. Ludus. plega. Lucus. holt. fum.
smyc. Vterus. þisses modor. Ventus. wind. Cæcus. hwæl.
Taurus. fearr. yrcus bucca. porcus spin. Vitulus.
cealf. Ceruus. heorot. hinnulus. hyndcealf. hedus ticcen.

Agnus. lamb. Equus. hors. pullus. fola oððe bruo. Camelus.
olfend. Mulus. mul. Asinus. uel asina. assa. chorus. chor.
populus. folc. ⁊ eft populus. byrig. Infernus. hell. Miluus.
glida. gallus. cocc. coruus. hremm. On þysum synd neutri
generis. hoc pelagus. þeos wid sæ. huius pelagi. hoc uulgus.
þis ceosl folc. t hic uulgus. hic uirus. þis wyrms. Inde
clinabile. Da oðre naman. þissere ge endunge synd
adiectiua. þ sind to ge wendlice. ⁊ maciað masculinum
on. us. ⁊ femininum on. a. ⁊ neutrum on. um. hic bonus
homo. þes goda mann. hec bona mulier. þisse gode wif.
hoc bonū uerbū. þisse gode worde. Call swa gað þas malus
yfel. lustus. luhtbis. luustus. unluhtbis. Magnus. mycel.
paruus. lytel. Longus. lang. modicus. gehwæder. scs. halig.
almus. halig. clarus. beorht. egregius. æðele. doctus. ge-
læred. & oma istuismodi. ⁊ alle þisse ge nade. Cac swilce
agene naman. mastinus. benedictus. augustinus. & cetera. Alle
oðre naman. þissere ge endunge sint feminini generis.
hec wyrt. anre burge nama. hec cyprus. oðer. buph.
Haec cedrus. þes ceder beam. fagus. boc treow. fraxinus.
æsc. liburna. æsc. pirus. pyrige. & cetera. Synoon eac
sume naman. þe sind æðere ge þissere declinunge. ge
þære feorðan. hec quercus. þeos ac. laurus. laurer beam.
pinus. pinn treow. ficus. fic treow. hec domus. þis hus.
colus. distæf. Eit ane fearra nama þissere declinunge.
sind feminini generis. hec abissus. þeos wylpelnyss. huius
abissi. huic abisso. hanc abissum. o abisse. abhac abisso.
Et pluraliter. he abissi. harum abissorum. his abissis.

Plate XVA. Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fol. 18

XVB. Cambridge, University Library, MS Hh.1.10, fol. 81^{v}

A. Scribe 12 wrote this supply leaf; note the exaggerated head of initial 'a' and the touches of colour to the initials at the beginning of sententiae.

B. This is the accomplished hand of Scribe 15; both his caroline and insular minuscules are typical examples of the Exeter style.

audiremur. audiremim. audirentur. Eodem modo
tempore ꝑterito ꝑfecto. cū audiꝰ ſum. ſiſ. ſit. Et ꝑtr
cum audita. ſimuſ. ſtaſ. ſint. Et ulteriori modo cum
audiꝰ fuerim fueriſ. fuerit. Et ꝑtr cū audita fuerimꝰ. A.
fuerıtaſ. fuerint. Eodem modo tempore preterito pluſq
ꝑfecto. cū audıtaſ eſſem. eſſeſ. eſſe. Et ꝑtr cum audita
eſſemuſ. eſſetaſ. eſſent. & ulteriori modo cum audiꝰ
fuiſſem. fuiſſeſ. fuiſſe. & ꝑtr cum audita fuiſſemꝰ. fuiſ-
ſetaſ. fuiſſent. Eodem modo ꝙr futuro cum audıtaſ
ero. eriſ. erit. Et ꝑtr cum audita erimꝰ. eritaſ. eruꝯ.
Et ulteriori modo cum audiꝰ fuero. fueriſ. fuerit.
& ꝑtr cum audita fuerimuſ. fueritaſ. fuerint. In fi-
nitiuo modo numeriſ & ꝑſoniſ tempore ꝓſenti
audiri. ꝑterito audıtū. eſſe. t fuiſſe. futuro au-
dıtū iri. ꝑticipia trahuntur auerbo paſſiuo duo.
preterita temporiſ. & futuri. ꝑterita ut audiꝰ. futuri
ut audiendus. Eall ſpa gað þar popo. de ponentia.
blandior. ic ge ſpæclacce. odde olacce. ꝑteritū. blan-
diꝰ ſum. Molior. ic bicge. moliꝰ ſum. of þā demo
lior. ic apeſte. demoliꝰ. paſtior. ic to dæle. paſtuſ
ſum. metior. ic mete. menſuſ. mentior. ic leoge.
mentiꝰ ſum. Orior. ic upp aſpringe. oſtꝰ ſum.
oſtꝰ ÷ ſol. Sunne ys upp agan. morior. ic ſpylte.
[illegible]uſ ſum. on ꝙā ꝺum. ſpa ſpa nan oðeꝛ
Ac ſyꝛ popo ys ſpiþoꝛ þæne þuddan ge þeod-
myꝛꝛe. largior. ꝛ dilarior. ic dæle odde ge ẏfe

(seven-tenths actual size)

B

þeðmẏꝛ. felicitaſ. ge ſæligmẏꝛ. credulitaſ. ge leaꝛ-
fulmẏꝛ. crudelitaſ. þælhþeoꝛnẏꝛ. auctoꝛitaſ. ealdoꝛ-
ſcipe. ꝛ oðꝛe ealle þẏllice buton anum ꝓeapū. hic
aſſ. þeꝛ penig. odde an ꝓealo ge tele. huuuſ aſſis. hic
maſ. þeꝛ þæpmanna. huuuſ marıs. hic uaſ. þeꝛ buſh
hano. huuuſ uadis. hoc uaſ. þiꝛ ꝓæt. huuuſ uaſis. hoc
faſ. alẏꝓeolic þing. hoc nefaſ. unaliꝓeolic. þaꝛ ꝙegen
naman. ſẏno indeclinabilia. þ ſẏno unge bigenolice.
Anhepe ys omniſ generis. þẏ ælcer cẏnneꝛ. hic &
haec & hoc nugaſ. þ ys abnoden on engliſc. ꝛ unge
bigenolice onðeclinunge. xxv.
n. eſ. correptam. ſege ſcẏꝛta. eſ. unoep ꝓeho ꝓela
naman. þiſ communis generis. hic & haec duoeſ.
þeꝛ ꝛ þeoꝛ peluge. huuuſ diuitıs. hic & haec ebeſ. þeꝛ. ꝛ
þeoꝛ ðpæꝛ. huiꝰ hebetis. Eall ſpa. miles. cempa. militis.
biped. ꝙeꝙeꝺe. bipedis. tripeð. þꝛẏꝙeꝺe. quadrupeð.
ſẏxꝙeꝺe. teres. ſẏnepealt. teretis. comes. ge ſiþa
comitis. ſuperſtes. laf odde oꝛep libbende. interpres.
pealhſtoð. interpetis. pedes. gangende. pedis. equeſ.
þuðða. odde þuðende. ſume macað. femininū. on a.
ſoſpes. ge ſund. ſoſpita. hoſpes. cuma. hoſpita. an-
ſtes. biſceop. odde ꝓoꝛe ſcandende. antiſtita.
hic & haec deſes. þeꝛ ꝛ þeoꝛ aſolcena. huuuſ deſi-
dis. Eallſpa. ꝓeſes. aſpunden. odde bæꝛtan ſitten-
de. obſes. gẏſel. obſidis. preſes. ðema odde ealdoꝛ
man. preſidis. inquies. unſtille. ſe hæꝛð langne. e.
on ge bigeoum caſum. huuuſ inquietis. Þaꝛ naman

Plate XVI. Cambridge, University Library, MS Ii.2.4, fol. 47^{v}

A magnificent example of insular minuscule, produced at Exeter by a scribe who does not appear in any other surviving manuscripts. His hand shows close resemblances to those of Scribes 2 and 3.

hit eft ſpa eáde þrecan ne mæge ⁊ þ he ſon þig to un gemæt
- lice ne ſý gelíðod þam ſaldigan. þe læſ him þæſ godan þeoſ
cer lean loſige þe he mid þæſe ſteoſe ge eapnian ſceolde.
hu ſe ge ſceadþiſa ſiecceſe ſceal. beon ſmeagende on hiſ þim-
unga. ⁊ on hiſ olecanga. ⁊ eac on hiſ hacheoſtan ſý ſe-an
hiſ man þæquiſ ſe.

35 Eac iſ to ſitanne ⁊ hpilum bíð god pæſlice to míðanne.
hiſ hýſe manna ſcýlda. ⁊ to liccettenne ſþýlce he hit
nýte. hpilum eft to receanne. hpilum þeah hit man cáð-
- lice pite. hit iſ to ſoſ beſienne. hpilum eft ſmealice ⁊
eopnlice to receanne. hpilum líðelice to þreatianne. hpi-
lum ſpíðlice ⁊ ſcſiedlice to þnaſienne. Manige ſýndon
ſpa ſpa pe æſ cpæðon þe man ſceal pæſlice liccettan. ⁊
þeah hpæðeſe eft cýðan ſoſ þam ⁊ hi on gton ⁊ hi man
cæle. ⁊ ⁊ eádmodlice ge þaſian. ⁊ þón þa ſcýlda þe hi digol-
- lice on him ſýlfū ſoſ beriað hi eopnlice þa on heopa age-
- num inge þance ſceapigen. ⁊ on him ſýlfū deman ⁊ þrecan.
⁊ hi ſoſ ſceamigean. ⁊ hi oft ſpa ne don. þón bið he ſýlf
ge laðod ⁊ið hine ſýlfne mid hiſ agenſe ſceame. ⁊ mid
hiſ ge ſýlde. ⁊ eac mid hiſ ſiecceſeſ. Be þæſe ýldinge ſpíðe
pel ðuhten þreade iudeaſ þa þa he þuſh þone pitegan
cpæð. ge ſýndon leogende næſon ge min ge mýndige nege
ne ge þohton on eoſſe heoſtan ⁊ ic ſpigde ſpýlce ichit
nege ſape. he ýlde ⁊ þaſode þa ſcýlde. ⁊ þeah him ge cýðde

APPENDIX I

MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

NOTE ON THE MANUSCRIPT DESCRIPTIONS

The format adopted is largely based on that of Ker's Catalogue.[1] If a manuscript has been described in that work I have generally omitted duplicating the description, only including such material as is of immediate relevance to the arguments of the thesis.

Contents: Separate original texts within a manuscript are itemised by Arabic numbers. Letters of the alphabet have been used to denote later additions. Texts are in Latin, unless otherwise specified.

Folio numbers: The verso of a leaf is indicated by a superscript v, a recto is shown by the number only. The numbers follow the most recent numbering in the manuscript itself.

Abbreviations: have been expanded within ⟨ ⟩ brackets.

Caret marks: ` ' show words or letters interlined or added in the margin by either the original or contemporary or near-contemporary scribes.

References to printed texts: are given in full. Some texts are referred to by the sigla already assigned to them.

Numbers of leaves and foliation (or pagination): Parchment fly-leaves are shown by Roman numerals, as are any unnumbered folios within the body of the manuscript. I have largely

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[1] pp. xx-xxii.

omitted all reference to paper or post-medieval fly-leaves.

Collation: 1^8, means the eight folios in the quire are four conjugate pairs; 1^8 (lacks 2), means the second leaf, either once part of a conjugate pair or a singleton, is missing; 1, a three, means the quire consists of three leaves but its original construction is doubtful. Folio numbers have been given for quires of irregular construction within the manuscript. A vertical stroke within the collation indicates a division between two sets of quires and texts which may not have been designed originally to form one volume.[1]

Measurements: the first set is of the existing folio size. The second measures the area between the inner set of vertical boundary lines and the bottom and top lines of horizontal ruling, regardless of the script on those lines.

Pricking and Ruling: Pricking is not specified as it is entirely in the outer margin only; ruling is described in full.

Initials: The scriptorium's usual practice is to alternate usually two-line high initials placed half into the left-hand boundary lines in a fairly set pattern cf orange, green, orange, blue, etc. Variations on this are specified in more detail.

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[1] i.e. 'booklets'. On booklets see P.R. Robinson, '"The Booklet": a self-contained unit in composite MSS', Codicologica II, ed. A. Gruijs and J.P. Gumbert, Litterae Textuales (forthcoming).

Display script: invariably insular minuscule for Old English and rustic capitals for Latin headings to texts, all in the same orange that dominates the schema for initials. Any variations are specified.

Binding: usually only the latest re-binding is referred to. No eleventh-century bindings are left on these manuscripts.

Script: Divisions of scribal stints are specified, but individual scribal hands are not described in the course of the manuscript descriptions.

Origin of the manuscript and date: These are entered if ascertainable with reasonable certainty.

2° folio: This enables identifications to be made from the 1506 Exeter catalogue.[1] The 1327 catalogue only gives the incipit of the first text, which does not aid the identification of a specific manuscript.

History: Where possible, the history of the manuscript is given from the time it was written to its arrival at its present place of deposit. Supporting evidence is only briefly cited if a fuller discussion is elsewhere within the thesis.

Plates: A brief list of published plates of the manuscript is included to facilitate comparisons between the various scribal hands.

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[1] Oliver, Lives, pp. 330-34, 350-53, 358-60, 366-75.

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 41. BEDE etc.

Ker, Catalogue no. 32

1. Bede - Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum in OE (see Ker, op. cit.) with capitula list, preface, 5 books and unique metrical colophon. pp. 1-484

Many additions were made in blank spaces and on specially ruled lines in the margins including:

a) 17 additions in OE viz. rubrics, martyrology for 25-31 December, charms and six homilies (Ker, op. cit.) pp. 2, 21, 122-32, 182, 196-8, 206, 208, 254-80, 272, 208-7, 287-95, 295-301, 326, 350-3, 402-17 and 484-8. By a single scribe s.xi^{1}-s.xi med.

b) Extensive Latin liturgical material, including masses for Sexagesima to Good Friday, Easter Eve, Advent, St Benedict, SS Philip and James, All Saints and for the celebrant; antiphons for Advent and Christmas and prayers (M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College Cambridge, Cambridge 1912, i, 81-5) pp. 2-7, 8-38, 45, 46-47, 60, 61-71, 74-5, 134-9, 158, 192-4, 207-8, 272, 329 by 3 or 4 scribes. s.xi^{1}-s.xi med.

c) Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE (pr. M. Förster, 'Ae, bam handum twam awritan', Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen, clxii (1932), 230; col. Exeter Book, p. 11, as H.)

Exeter, scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter). p. 488

Fols 244; paginated 1-488; collated: 1^8, 2^6, 3-12^8, 13^8 + 1 leaf after 5 (pp. 199-200), 14-30^8, 31^6 (lacks 6, probably blank, after p. 488), 4 and 5 in Q 9 and 3 and 6 in Q 16 are singletons; contemporary signatures in main hands at lower centre verso of final leaves F.G. I-M (QQ6, 7, 9-12) and A-R (QQ14-30); 350 x 210 mm.; written space 293-42 x 145-35 mm.; 25 long lines (27 and 28 lines on pp. 157-98, 201-6) within single horizontal and vertical boundary lines; ruled on 1, 2 or 4 sheets simultaneously; chapter initials are in ink, but many initials and all headings were never entered; initials to chapters on pp. 206, 224-307, 400 have animal forms, knotwork and foliage rather crudely done in ink outline over a brown crayon sketch (F. Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries, London, 1952, no. 5); the preface begins with three lines of 2-line-high ink square capitals, 2 lines of one line-high ink square capitals after an eight-line-high ink outline initial D.

Written by two scribes who began simultaneously as the two sets of quire signatures and the inexact join at pp. 206/7 show. Neither distinguish Latin from Old English by their script.

1. pp. 1-206
2. pp. 207-488.

s.xi^1 2° fol: bidd(ende 7)baer naenige

The origin of the manuscript is unknown, but R. Grant has argued that the close similarities of the Latin liturgical material to texts in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges suggest

that Cambridge Corpus Christi (hereafter cited as CCCC) College MS 41 received these additions at the centre where Jumièges was written ('CCCC MS 41, with special regard to the B version of the OE Bede', Cambridge University Ph.D. thesis 1971). The origin of Jumièges is, however, disputed. Leofric acquired this manuscript and, apart from his donation inscription, no other additions were made at Exeter. It was omitted from the list of his gifts and is unrecorded in the 1327 and 1506 catalogues. It probably passed to Matthew Parker along with other Exeter manuscripts and was bequeathed by him to Corpus Christi in 1575 (S.2).

Plates: p. 175 J. Schipper, 'König Alfreds Übersetzung von Bedas Kirchengeschichte', Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa iv, (Leipzig 1899).

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 190A (pp. iii-xii, 1-294)

MISCELLANY OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW AND CUSTOMS

Ker, Catalogue, no. 45

1. A penitential, Excerptiones of Archbishop Egbert of York, Defensor of Ligugé, Liber scintillarum, letters of Aelfric to Archbishop Wulfstan and many liturgical and penitential directions (M.R. James, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, (Cambridge, 1912), pp. 452-63; Mary Bateson, 'A Worcester Cathedral Book of Ecclesiastical Collections', EHR, x (1895) 715-20; Dorothy Bethurum, 'Archbishop Wulfstan's Commonplace-book', Publ. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of America, lvii (1942), 916-29), preceded by a contemporary contents list (pp. iii-x) which does not tally exactly with the contents. pp. 1-292

To these texts a number of OE glosses were added:

a) Marginal gloss 'Se þe bið his faeder slaga', referring to 'parricidio' in the text of the Penitential of Egbert. s.xi[1] p. 17;

b) Interlinear glosses to the antiphon 'In sudore vultus tui' s.xi[1] p. 246;

c) Three interlinear glosses to the anthology of Defensor of Ligugé s.xi[1] pp. 265-6;

(Ker, op. cit. items a, c and d)

the leaves left blank by the original scribe (pp. 130-1, 292-4) were subsequently written on:

d) Heading and part of cap. 27 of the decretals of Pope Gelasius I, beg. 'Quod in unaquaque

ecclesia...' on apportioning of tithes.

(P.L. lix, 48 and 56). Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^2

p. 130 ll.8-17;

e) Charm to recover cattle in OE (Ker, op. cit. item b)

Exeter s.xi^2 p. 130 ll.17-26;

f) Excerpts from decretals of Pope Leo, beg. 'Ut nullus episcopus servum' ( ) and from Penitential of Theodore (II ix 1, 2)

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^2 p. 131 ll.1-13

(corrected l. 4 by Exeter, Scribe 1 s.xi (3rd quarter);

g) Excerpts from the Collectio Canonum Hibernensis (Die Irische Kanonensammlung, ed. F.W. Wasserschleben (Giessen, 1874) xxi 29 and xxi 12, part)

Exeter, Scribe 2 s.xi (3rd quarter) p. 131 ll.14-27;

h) Cap. 4 of the decrees of the Council of Sardis. 'Ut nullus accusati sedem usurpet episcopi', beg. 'Gaudentius episcopus dixit, addendum ... romani determinata'. (P.L. lvi 776) p. 131 ll.28-33;

j) Excerpt from the decrees of the Council of Winchester (1077) (pr. Wilkins, Concilia, I, 365)

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^2 p. 292 ll.1-15;

k) Capitula of the Council of Windlesham (1072), beg. 'De introitu episcoporum et abbatum ... fecerit anathema sit' (pr. Wilkins, Concilia I, 365)

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^2 p. 292 ll. 16-26;

l) De penitentia in bello homines occidentium, beg. 'Hec est penitentie institutio secundum decretum normannorum presulum ... neque alii emant' (pr. Wilkins, Concilia I, 366)
Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^{2} p. 293 ll.1-14;

additions were also made to the first quire, which contains the contents list (s.xi^{1}):

m) Hymn for the hallowing of Chrism (with neums) beg. 'O redemptor sume carmen temet concinentium...'
s.xi^{1} p. ii;

n) Final paragraph of a letter of Gregory I to Januarius, Bishop of Cagliari (pr. Gregorii I Registrum Epistolarum ed. P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann, MGH Epistolae II (1899), lib. IX no. 204, 192-3) on the inalienability of church lands.
Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^{2} p. xii;

o) Heading 'Penitentialis et alia plura'
Exeter s.xi/xii p. xii;

p) In lower margin 'Allelulia, sancte eligii tu dulce do pauperum', with neums
Exeter, Scribe 1 s.xi (3rd quarter) p. 247.

iii + 153; paginated i-xii, 1-294; collated: i (pp. i-ii) +1^{4} (pp. iii-x), 2^{8} (pp. xi-xii, 1-14), 3-8^{8} (after p. 110 a quire has been lost), 9-19^{8}, 20^{6} (pp. 288-94, lacks 4 and 5); 290 x 195 mm.; written space 230 x 130-125 mm.; ruled in dry point, mainly 26 long lines between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines; one-line-high ink initials with headings in red rustic capitals

Written by a single scribe in Caroline minuscule.

s.xi[1] 2°fo: XXIV De his qui ecclesiastica

The manuscript is similar to Archbishop Wulfstan of York's (1003-1023) commonplace book (see Bethurum, op. cit.), now CCCC MS 265, and was probably compiled as a commonplace book for an individual or a particular house.

When the manuscript arrived at Exeter, it continued to be used as a commonplace book, judging from the additions made to it, and it was probably bound with CCCC 190B (q.v.) in Leofric's time. For its subsequent history see CCCC 190B.

Plates: p. 131 infra pl. XIII

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 190B (pp. 295-420)
MISCELLANY OF LITURGICAL AND HOMILECTIC MATERIAL AND TWO PENITENTIALS, ALL IN OE

Ker, Catalogue, no. 45

This manuscript is composed of four booklets, of which 2 (QQ 3-4, pp. 319-50) and 4 (QQ 6-9, pp. 365-420) date from s.xi med. Their originally blank first leaves (pp. 319 and 365) and the blank final leaves of Q 9 (pp. 418-20) were subsequently written on by the same scribes responsible for booklets 1 (QQ 1-2, pp. 295-318) and 4 (Q 5, pp. 351-64).

Booklet 1

1. Aelfric's letter to Wulfsige pp. 295-308
2. Beg. 'Sequentia sancti evangelii secundum Lucam. In illo tempore. Designavit dominus ... mercede sua. Se hælend geceas...' pp. 308-14
3. De ecclesiasticis gradibus. Beg. 'Heahhadas sindon to healdenne...' (completed on blank first leaf of next booklet) pp. 315-19

(Ker, op. cit., items 17-19)

Booklet 2

4. Prologus venerabilis aelfrici abbatis, in Latin p. 320
5. Hic incipit prima epistola anglice exposita. Beg. 'Us bisceopum gedafenað þaet we þa boclican lare...' pp. 320-36
6. Sequitur secunda epistola quando dividis crismam. Beg. 'Eala ge maessepreostas...' pp. 336-49

7. De officio missae in vigilia pascae. Beg. 'On þone haligan easteraefen...' pp. 349-50 ;
8. De officio missae in vigilia pentecosten. Beg. 'Đonne on pentecostenes maesseaefen...' p. 350 ; (Ker, op. cit., items 1-5)

Booklet 3

9. Sermo in capite ieiunii ad populum. Beg. 'Audite fratres karissimi ... Gehirað broðru þa leofestan...' pp. 351-3;
10. Sermo in cena domini ad penitentes. Beg. 'Vere fratres karissimi hoc debetis scire ... Mine gebroðru þa leofestan...' pp. 353-9 ; (Ker, op. cit., items 20-21)

On the blank final leaves of this quire were added:

a) Extracts from Canons. Beg. 'Excommunicati si perdurant in pristinis criminibus' Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^{2} p. 360 ;
b) Verses 'Lex immortalis quam longo tempore talis ... patrie revocavit ad eadem' (collated in Libelli de Lite, ed. F. Dümmler, iii, 580, MGH, Epistolae (1897) s.xi/xii. p. 361 ;
c) Form of excommunication (pr. F. Liebermann, Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen, (1903), i, 434) s.xii in. p. 364 ;

Booklet 4

11. 'Her onginnað þisse boce capitulas. þe we hatað scriftboc...', the Confessional of the Pseudo-Ecgberht pp. 366-84;

12. Beg. 'Sanctus silvester cwaerð ne sceal nán acolitus...', chapter 83 of the Enlarged Rule Chrodegang. p. 384 ;

13. Beg. 'Þeordorus se maera bisceop...', a repetition of chapter ii of 11. pp. 384-6 ;

14. Beg. 'Her onginð se forme capitul ... Hyt gebyreð þaet se sacerd...'. Penitential in four books pp. 387-413 ;

15. Beg. 'On halgum gewritum ys geraedd...', on the forgiveness of sins pp. 413-14 ;

16. Beg. 'Þys synodon þa godcundan bebodu...', A confessor's exhortation to penitence pp. 414-16 ;

17. Beg. 'Gif hwa swereð on bisceopes handa'. Sentences translated from bk. 1 of Theodore's Penitential pp. 416-18 ;

(Ker, op. cit., items 6-12)

On the blank first and final leaves of this booklet were added:

d) A form of confession 'Ic andette þe drihten aelmihtig god...' and a form of absolution 'Gemyltsige eow se aelmihtiga god...' Exeter, Scribe 2 s.xi^2 p. 365 ;

e) Be mercena lage. Beg. ' C eorles wergild...' Exeter. s.xi^2 p. 418 ll.23-6 ;

f) Be gehandendra áðe 7 be hádbote. Beg. 'Maesse preostas áð 7 woruldþegenes...' Exeter. s.xi^2 pp. 418-20;

(Ker, op. cit., items 13-16)

Fols 64; paginated 295-420; collated: 1^4, 2^8 $3-4^8$ 5^8 (pp. 351-64, lacks 7, probably blank, after p. 362) $6-8^8$, 9^6 (pp. 413-20, lacks 5 and 6, probably blank, after p. 420); 285 x 185 mm.; written space 230-:20 x 130 mm.; ruled in dry point 28 long lines (27 in Q 2 and 25 in Q 5) between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines (Booklets 1 and 3) and double vertical and single horizontal lnes (Booklets 2 and 4); all have two-line initials in red (one green on p. 351 and one blue or p. 320) while Booklet 4 has alternate red and green initials; red rustic capital headings.

Booklets 2 and 4 were written by a single scribe in an accomplished Insular minuscule. s.xi med.

Booklets 1 and 3 were written by three Exeter scribes:

1. pp. 295-308 l.6	Scribe 15
2. pp. 308 l.7-319	Scribe 14
3. pp. 351-9	Scribe 5

s.xi (3rd quarter)

xi med.; Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo:

The original booklets must have come to Exeter soon after they were written, and at Exeter the collection was expanded and what is now CCCC 190A probably bound in with it. The resultant manuscript may be the 'canon on leden 7 scriftboc on englisc' which Leofric left to his church (infra, pp. 52-53). It is the 'Penitentiale vetus et alia plura cum anglico in fine quod sic incipit In principio prec' xii d' of the 1327 catalogue (Oliver, Lives, p. 309) as the opening words are 'In principio' and the title 'Penitentialis 7 alia plura' is in a s.xi/xii

hand on p. xii. Bishop John de Grandisson examined the manuscript and marked several passages (pp. 33, 35, 37, 42, 45, 52, 53, 57 and 83). A Parkerian note in Bodleian, MS Junius 121, fol. 111 and passages in the preface of '<u>A testimonie of antiquitie</u>' refer to it as a book from Exeter. Notes by Joscelyn on pp. 151, 188 etc.; bequeathed by Parker to Corpus in 1575.

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 191. RULE OF CHRODEGANG

Ker, Catalogue no. 46

1. Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang of Metz in Latin and OE in 84 chapters, the OE following the Latin chapter by chapter, preceded by a preface and numbered table of chapters in Latin and OE (ed. A. Napier, EETS (o.s.) 150, 1916) pp. 1-169.

a) Latin notes in margin, including a citation from Ambrose, by Bishop John de Grandisson of Exeter. s.xiv med. p. 87

Fols xxii + ii + i + 1 (pp. 1-2) + i (pp. 3-4) + 1 (pp. 5-6) + ii + 82 (pp. 7-169) + xii (171-94); pp. i-xxiv, xxix-xxx, 171-94 are paper flyleaves from the 1926 re-binding, pp. xxv-xxviii are binding leaves from an early sixteenth-century roll, recording payments in 1511-12, pp. 3-4 are blank parchment s.xvi, 2 unnumbered leaves after p. 6 are modern paper to which fragments of a sixteenth-century document used in the Parkerian binding have been attached; collated: 1^{8} (re-mounted, lacks 2), $2\text{-}10^{8}$, 11^{8} (pp. 161-70, lacks 6-8, probably blank, after p. 170); 290 x 180 mm.; written space 220x100 mm.; ruled in dry point 27 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; initials are two lines high in orange /green /orange /blue, etc.; headings are in orange rustic capitals for Latin chapters and orange Insular minuscule for OE chapters.

Written by a single scribe in Insular minuscule for OE and Caroline minuscule for Latin. There is a gradual increase in size towards the end of the text, possibly due to the use of a thicker nib.[1]

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[1] Ker (op. cit.) says 'possibly by two scribes' and the plates in Napier's edition appear to confirm this. On examining the manuscript, the changes are so gradual that I prefer to regard it as the work of a single scribe.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2°fo: 'accipiendam'

Written at Exeter (infra p. 146), based on an exemplar from Winchester after c. 1000; the OE version of chapter 2 refers to Wulfstan cantor and other brethren who can be located at the Old Minster there (M. Förster, 'Lokalisierung und Datierung der altenglischen Version der Chrodegang Regel', Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Abteilung (1933), Schlussheft, 7-8). Probably the 'regula canonicorum' in the list of Leofric's donations, while the opening words 'Si trecentorum' identify it with the 'Liber de ordine canonicorum qui sic incipit Si trecentorum et in eodem volumine alius liber qui sic incipit Obsecro' (Oliver, Lives, p. 304) in the 1327 catalogue. By then, CCCC MS 201, pp. 179-272, Capitula of Theodulf, beg. 'Obsecro' was obviously bound up with it. The similarity of format, number of lines, script and decoration suggest that the two manuscripts may originally have been designed as a single unit. The thirteenth-century title on p. 1 'De ordine canonicorum, Martilogium, liber utilis exceptis omnibus expositionibus in anglico' implies that CCCC 196, a Martyrology (q.v.) was, at that time, bound after the Rule of Chrodegang, but had been extracted by 1327. Bishop John de Grandisson of Exeter (1327-69) examined the book, which is recorded in 1506 'Liber de vita et ordine canonicorum 2°fo Accipiendam' (Oliver, Lives, p. 367). It passed to Parker and was used by Joscelyn for his glossary in Lambeth Palace MS 692 fol. 2; he entered various interlinear glosses and copied passages from it in London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius D.vii. Bequeathed by

Parker to Corpus in 1575, D(5) in the list of his gifts.

Plates: p. 29 Napier, op. cit., frontispiece.

p. 114 " " opposite p. 70.

p. 100 Bishop, ECM, pl. XXIV.

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 196. MARTYROLOGY;
VINDICTA SALVATORIS

Ker, Catalogue, no. 47

1. Martyrology in OE, beginning imperf. on 19th March and ending imperf. on 21st December (collated as C and partly pr. G. Herzfeld, An Old English Martyrology, EETS (O.S.) 116, 1900, repr. 1973). pp. 1-110

2. The Vindicta Salvatoris in an OE translation beginning imperf. 'swa þu woldest' and ending imperf. 'La wif...' (ed. B. Assmann, 'Angelsächsiche Homilien und Heiligenleben', Bibliothek der angelsächischen Prosa, iii, (Kassel 1889), 182, no. 16, ll.39-261).

Fols 61; paginated 1-122; collated: 1^{8} (lacks 1), $2\text{-}7^{8}$, 8^{8} (pp. 111-22, lacks 1 before p. 111 and 8 after p. 122), quires are missing at beginning and end; 285 x 180 mm.; written space 225 x 110-100 mm.; ruled in dry point 27 long lines between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines; initials are two lines high in pattern orange/green/orange/ blue etc.

Written by two scribes in Insular minuscule:

1. pp. 1-110

2. pp. 111-22

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo:

Written at Exeter (infra p. [illegible]), possibly as a companion volume to CCCC MSS 191 and 201, pp. 179-272.

By the thirteenth century, if not from

the time it was written, bound with CCCC MS 191 (q.v.), but separated from it by 1327, by which time CCCC MSS 191 and 201 were bound together (Oliver, Lives, p. 304). In order to identify the 'Martelogium Latinum et Anglicum quod sic incipit Circumsio' of the 1327 catalogue with this book, we must assume that a Latin martyrology originally preceded the OE one. This is not unlikely and there is some evidence for it from the wording of the thirteenth-century title in CCCC 191 (q.v.) and in the addition of the preface and part of an introduction (pp. 270-1) to Usuard's martyrology at the end of CCCC 201, pp. 179-272. (Exeter D. & C., MS 3518 is a Latin martyrology of s.xii[1], with the same number of lines to the page as this manuscript, but with different dimensions [c. 220 x 160 mm.] which would make it difficult to bind them into a single volume.) Untraced in 1506. Judging from Joscelyn's extracts in London, B.L., MS Cotton Vitellius D.vii, fol. 131 which are headed 'Haec suprascripta desumpsie libro Saxonico Bibliothecae Exoniensis vocato spell boc wintres 7 sumeres . principium atque nonnihil finis libri deest', the missing sections of the manuscript had already been lost by this time. Bequeathed by Parker to Corpus in 1575, D(5) in his list.

Plates:

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 201 fols 179-272

THEODULF OF ORLEANS etc.

Ker, Catalogue, no. 50

1. Capitula of Theodulf of Orleans, 45 chapters, in Latin (P.L., cv, 191-206, chs. 45-46 of pr. edn here written as one) pp. 179-212;

2. Homily in OE, beg. 'Ic bidde eow 7 eadmodlice laere...' (pr. B. Thorpe, Ancient Laws ii, 394) pp. 212-20;

3. An OE translation of 1. beg. 'Ic eow halsige broðru þa leofestan...' (pr. B. Thorpe, ibid., ii, 400 as 'Ecclesiastical Institutes') pp. 221-69;

a) Usuard's Martyrology, preface and part of introduction 'Domino regum piisimo karolo ... martyres coronavit' (P.L., cxxiii, 599-600) Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi^{2}. pp. 260-1.

Fols 42; paginated by Parker 179-271, corrected in pencil to 179-261; collated: 1-5^{8}, 6^{2}; c. 280 x 160 mm.; written space 220 x 110 mm.; ruled in dry point 27 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two line initials at beginning of chapters in pattern orange/blue/ orange/green etc., chapters are numbered in orange; no headings, but items 1 and 3 begin with a line of ink rustic capitals.

Written by Exeter Scribe 2, carefully differentiating Latin and OE by Caroline and Insular minuscule respectively.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2° fol: 'sunt enim arma...'

Copied at Exeter (infra p. 146), possibly from an exemplar of the Theodulf text which came from North France as,

according to Dr H. Sauer this text is close to that in Vatican, MS Palatinus latinus 278, from North-East France. s.ix med (Theodulfi Capitula in England (München, 1978), p. 580).

The manuscript was probably designed as a companion volume to CCCC MSS 191 and 196 (infra p. 46). By 1327, it was bound with CCCC MS 191 as the catalogue entry shows 'Liber de ordine canonicorum qui sic incipit Si trecentorum et in eodem volumine alius liber qui sic incipit Obsecro' (Oliver, Lives, p. 304), 'Obsecro' being the opening word of the Capitula. Untraced in 1506, it probably came with the other Exeter manuscripts to Archbishop Parker who was responsible for the pagination and, probably, for binding it with the rest of the present volume, which shows no signs of ever having been at Exeter. It did not come to Corpus with Matthew Parker's other MSS and is probably the 'Miscellan ea Saxonice' in John Parker's book list (London, Palace Library, Lambeth MS 737, fol. 163^{v}). At Corpus by 1600, when it was assigned the mark S.18.

Plates: pp. 212-13, infra pl. IV

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 421 fol. 1 + MS 419.

HOMILIES

Ker, Catalogue, no. 68

1. Fifteen homilies in OE, mostly for general use (Ker, op. cit.) preceded by a frontispiece (now CCCC 421, fol. 1), pp. 1-366.

a) Prayer in OE, beg. 'Uton nu biddan ealle eadmodlice bysne...' (pr. M. Förster, 'Zur Liturgik der angelsächsischen Kirche', Anglia, lxvi (1942), 49) in Insular minuscule. s.xi[1]

CCCC MS 421, fol. 1[v]

b) Drawing of Christ's entry into Jerusalem within a blue and pink frame with gold corner finials. s.xiii

front fly-leaf (p.ix)

i + 183; pp. 1-365 in red pencil; collated: 1^{8} (lacks 1, now CCCC MS 421, fol. 1), $2\text{-}23^{8}$, 3 and 6 in Q 1, 21 are singletons, as are 2 and 7 in Q 16, 22, 23 and 4 and 5 in Q 10, 11; c. 230 x 130 mm.; written space 170 x 80 mm.; ruled in dry point 19 long lines between double vertical and single horizontal boundary lines; red one-line-high initials and red rustic capital headings, the first line of each text is ink one-line-high square capitals, touched with red; the frontis-piece is a drawing of the Crucifixion with the Virgin and St John done in an ink outline on a red wash background and with red also on the figures, all within a square ink border with plain corner finials (F. Wormald, English Drawings of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries (London, 1952), no. 13).

Written by a single scribe in Insular minuscule, except the Latin on pp. 285-6 where he uses Caroline minuscule, but retaining the Insular a form.

s.xi[1] 2°fo: 'raeðlice on heora gewritum...'

This is a companion volume to CCCC MS 421 (q.v.).

CAMBRIDGE, CORPUS CHRISTI COLLEGE MS 421. HOMILIES

Ker, Catalogue, no. 69

1. Fifteen homilies in OE, eight of which (Ker, op. cit., items 6-9, 12-15) originally formed a companion volume to CCCC MS 419. Two booklets (Q 1-7 and 15) containing homilies copied at Exeter were subsequently added. They contain: homilies for Pentecost, and for the feasts of an apostle, several martyrs, a confessor and several virgins (all from Aelfric's Sermones catholici, ed. B. Thorpe, (Aelfric Society 1844-6) i. 310; ii. 520; ii. 536; ii. 548 and ii. 562 respectively); pp. 3-96, and two general homilies (pr. A.S. Napier, 'Wulfstan', Sammlung englischer Denkmäler iv, 1883, 266 (no. 50) and 90 (no. 15), pp. 209-24.

i (pp. 1-2, previously CCCC MS 419, fol. 1) + 176; paginated in red pencil 3-353; collated: 1^{8} (pp. 3-14, lacks 1), 2^{8}, 3^{4}, $4\text{-}6^{8}$, 7^{6} (pp. 89-98, lacks 5, probably blank, after p. 96, pp. 97-8 blank) $8\text{-}13^{8}$, 14^{8} (lacks 8, probably blank, after p. 208) 15^{8} (pp. 209-24) 16^{8} (pp. 225-40, p. 225 blank), $17\text{-}21^{8}$, 22^{6}, 23^{10}, 24 one (pp. 353-4), 3 and 6 in QQ 11, 16-18, 20-21 are singletons, as are 3 and 8 in Q 23, leaves are missing at the end as item 15 ends imperf.; pp. 33-40 consist of 2 unused half sheets from another larger manuscript, as appears from the old ruling up and down the leaves; c. 200 x 125 mm.; written space c. 170 x 80 mm.; ruled in dry point 19 long lines (25 in Q 15) between double verticle and horizontal boundary lines (QQ 1-7 and 15) or double vertical and single horizontal ones (QQ 8-14, 16-24); /

initials and headings as for CCCC MS 419; QQ 1-7, 15 have two line initials in orange/blue/orange/green with orange rustic capitals for headings; the first line of each text is in ink one-line high rustic capitals.

Written by four scribes:

1. pp. 3-93 a polished Exeter Insular minuscule, with Caroline minuscule for the Latin on p. 54.
2. pp. 94-96 an Exeter Insular minuscule.
3. pp. 99-208, 227-354 by the scribe of CCCC MS 419.
4. pp. 209-24 an Exeter Insular minuscule.

s.xi[1]; Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fol:

The manuscript is composed of four booklets (P.R. Robinson, 'Self-contained Units in Composite MSS of the Anglo-Saxon Period', forthcoming, ASE 7, 1978), the second and fourth being originally part of a collection with CCCC MS 419 as the similarity of size, lay-out, scribe and texts show. There is no definite proof that the two Exeter booklets were incorporated with this collection before they all came to Matthew Parker, but a number of factors -the similarity of size, number of lines to a page and textual matter — make it highly probably that the nucleus of the collection came to Exeter and was expanded there in Leofric's time. At one stage the two Exeter booklets were adjacent (the offset on p. 98 is of writing on p. 209), but they were in their present order by the time Parker added a contents list on a front fly-leaf. He was certainly responsible for re-binding the manuscripts as the frontispiece in CCCC 419 comes from the same thirteenth-century Psalter as

do 4 drawings in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 771 and CCCC MS 452, both of which Parker owned, while it is likely that he also switched the original frontispiece of CCCC MS 419 to the beginning of CCCC 421 at the same time. This set of homilies is not specifically identifiable in Leofric's donation list or in the Exeter catalogues. Bequeathed (S13) by Parker to Corpus in 1575.

Plates: p. 54 infra pl. V

CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE MS B 11.2 (241) AMALARIUS

Ker, Catalogue, no. 84

1. Amalarius - De ecclesiasticis officiis (P.L., cv, books 993-1242, in 4 /, here written as two) preceded by a capitula list (fols 1-3) fols 4-112^{v};

to which was added a quire containing:

2. De parasceve, beg. 'Oramus te Domine dominorum magister rationis ... mihi autem adherere deo bonum est.' fols 113-121^{v};

a) Two glosses in OE to Amalarius (Ker, op. cit.) s.x^{2} fols 47^{v}, 62;

b) Numerous Latin glosses throughout 1, some by original scribe. s.x^{2}-s.xi^{1} e.g. fols 17, 23^{v}, 102.

c) Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE (pr. M.R. James, The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: a Descriptive Catalogue (Cambridge, 1900), i, 327)

Exeter, Scribe 2 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 121^{v}

d) Antiphon for 3rd nocturn at Epiphany, beg. 'Venite adoremus dominum et procidamus ... sempiterna gaudia allelulia' with neums. (SMRL, p.42) s.xi^{1} fol. 112^{v} ll.17-20.

e) 'Hic commemorantur dies aegyptiaci ... exitum dies .1111', after the end of the capitula list.

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 3 ll.8-13.

f) Scribbles of letters of alphabet and 'leo et vi⟨rgo⟩' s.xii front fly-leaf.

g) 'bryhtricus presbite⟨r⟩' s.xi[1] front fly-leaf.

Fols i + 121; paginated a, 1-117 (sixteenth century ?); c. 300 x 195 mm.; written space 215 x 145 mm.; collated: i + 1-3[8], 4[8] (fols 25-31, lacks 8), 5-12[8], 13[10], 14[10] (fols 104-112, lacks 10) | 15[10] (fols 113-121, lacks 10); ruled in dry point 26 long lines between double vertical and single horizontal boundary lines (Q 15 ruled with double vertical and horizontal ones); initials are ink two-lines high, decorated with knotwork, beaked and biting heads (see James op. cit., iv Pl. IIIb); headings are in ink square capitals on a ground of red, blue or yellow wash.

The main text was written by two scribes:

1. fols 1-111, an accomplished square insular minuscule.

2. fol. 112, possibly a supply leaf.

The added Q 15 was written by

3. fols 113-121 Exeter, Scribe 6 s.xi (3rd quarter)

St Augustine's Canterbury s.x[2]; Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter)

2° fo: 'De introitu episcopi ...

T.A.M. Bishop has shown that the manuscript was probably written at St Augustine's Canterbury and has traced the original scribe's appearance in other manuscripts of the period ('Notes on Cambridge MSS Pt. IV: MSS connected with St Augustine's Canterbury', TCBS ii (1954-8), 324-6). The 'bryhtricus presbiter' whose name is inscribed on the front fly-leaf may possibly have owned the manuscript at some stage before it came to Leofric. At Exeter, a quire bearing item 2 was added to the manuscript and, on the final leaf of this quire Leofric's

donation was recorded. It is recorded in 1327 'Amalarii: Postquam scripsi libellum' (Oliver, Lives, p. 303), but it is not the Collectio Amalarii recorded in 1506 (Oliver, ibid., p. 368). Joscelyn's transcript of the Exeter donation list (in CCCC MS 101) includes a note against 'amalarius' that a copy was borrowed by Parker from Exeter, but was returned. Since, however, this Exeter manuscript of Amalarius was subsequently in the possession of John Parker, whose name is inscribed in red pencil on fol. 1, Joscelyn's note appears to be incorrect. No. 1 in the list of John Parker's books at Beakesborne and subsequently given to Trinity College by Archbishop Whitgift (1583-1604).

Plates: fol. 109^{v} (part) James, op. cit., iv. Pl.IIIb.

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Hh 1.10 AELFRIC

Ker, Catalogue, no. 17

1. Aelfric - Grammar and Glossary in OE (pr. J. Zupitza, 'Aelfric's Grammatik und Glossar', Sammlung englischer Denkmäler, i, 1880, collated as U), ends imperf. fols 1-93;

a) Glosses in Latin (many), French (e.g. fols 41^{v}-43, 45-6) and OE (e.g. fols 7^{v}, 9^{v}, 10^{v}) by various scribes, much of the OE being in the hand of the original scribe.

s.xi (3rd quarter) - s.xii^{1}

Fols 93; collated: 1^{8} (lacks 1, probably blank), $2\text{-}11^{8}$, 12^{8} (fols 88-93, lacks 7 and 8*); 205 x 140 mm.; written space 155 x 95 mm.; ruled in dry point in 27 (QQ 1-6)** or 26 (QQ 7-12) long lines between double horizontal and vertical high boundary lines; two-line/initials in orange, green or blue at the beginning of sections, initials in text are often touched with orange; headings in orange rustic capitals and the text begins with a line of ink rustic capitals.

Written by five scribes, carefully differentiating Latin and OE by their use of Caroline or Insular minuscule respectively:

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*Lost since the sixteenth century as excerpts by Joscelyn in Lambeth Palace MS 692 fol. 8^{v} include 22 quotations from fols 94-5.

**Q 6^{8} is ruled in 27 (1 and 8), 25 (2 and 7) and 23 (3 and 6) long lines.

1. fols 1-10^{v}; 13-17^{v}; 19-20^{v}; 22-64^{v} and doing own corrections;
2. fols 11-12 (central bifolium of Q 2, probably a supply sheet);
3. fols 18, 21 (3rd bifolium of Q 3, probably a supply sheet);
4. fols 65-72;
5. fols 72^{v}-93^{v}.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: 'warnigenneþ seo halige...'

Written at Exeter in Leofric's time as the scribal hands demonstrate (infra, pp. 14b) and as T.A.M. Bishop first suggested (Bishop, Notes , 194-5; ECM, p. 24). Though not identifiable in the 1327 or 1506 inventories, it probably remained at Exeter until the sixteenth century. The antiquarian Robert Talbot (ob.1558) used the manuscript as marginalia shows, though whether at Exeter or elsewhere is not clear. The manuscript then came into Parker's hands. The ascription to Christ Church, Canterbury (Ker, op. cit.) rests on the assumption that Cotton Domitian VIII (fols 30-70), which is from that house, is the 'Historia Angliae Saxonice' which, according to Parker's list of gifts to the university in 1574, followed the Grammar and Glossary. However, as both CCCC MSS 190 and 201 demonstrate, Parker did bind together manuscripts of differing origins and provenance and this may have been the case here.

Plates: fols 10^{v}-11 infra pl. XIV

fol. 18 infra pl. XV a

fol. 33 (reduced)	J.E. Sandys, A History of Classical Scholarship (Cambridge, 1903), i, 494.
fol. 40	New Pal. Soc., pl. 137
fol. 49^{v}	New Pal. Soc., pl. 137
fol. 81^{v}	infra pl. XV B.

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Ii 2.4. GREGORY

Ker, Catalogue, no. 19

1. Alfred's OE translation of Gregory's Cura pastoralis (ed. H. Sweet, King Alfred's West Saxon version of Gregory's Pastoral Care, EETS (os) 45 and 50, 1871-2); preceded by a Preface (fol. 5) showing that this copy is derived from one sent by Alfred to Wulfsige, Bishop of Sherborne (881 x 9 - 892 x 901) (pr. F.P. Magoun, 'King Alfred's Letter on Educational Policy According to the Cambridge Manuscripts', Medieval Studies, xi, 1949, 118); a metrical note (fols 6^{v}-7) and a list of the 65 capitula, incorrectly numbered 1-63 (fols 7-10). The text ends imperf. at 'oðic tolande cume...' fols 5-146^{v};

a) Latin translation of Alfred's preface s.xvi fols 3^{v}-4^{v};

b) Continuous interlinear OE gloss, s.xvi fols 5-7.

ii (s.xvi) + 141 + i; foliated in modern pencil 3-146, 149-51, Parker's pagination in red pencil; collated (fols 5-146): 1-17^{8}, 18^{8} (fols 141-6, lacks 7 and 8), 2 and 7 in Q 3 are singletons; c. 330 x 230 mm.; written space c. 270 x 155 mm.; ruled in dry point 24 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line-high initials in orange or green for chapters (one line high for capitula list), with three-line-high blue initials at the beginning of the Preface and main text; capitula headings in orange insular minuscule and the text begins with a line of one-line-high orange square capitals.

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished insular minuscule.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: 'þurðon $_{7}$ seolar swa ...'

Copied at Exeter in Leofric's time, probably for his own use , from either an exemplar based on the manuscript sent by Alfred to Wulfsige or, possibly, on the original itself, Sherborne was a neighbouring diocese and, after 1059, its bishop was Hermann, who, like Leofric, was Lotharingian trained and an ex-royal chaplain. The 'regula pastoralis' recorded in Leofric's donation list is probably the Latin text (now Bodleian, MS Bodley 708). Untraced in 1327 or 1506, it probably came to Parker with other Exeter manuscripts; the text of Alfred's preface in Alfredi regis res gestae (1574) was derived from this manuscript. The two letters (dated 18th and 31st January 1568/9) from Bishop Jewel of Salisbury to Parker, pasted on an end fly-leaf, probably refer to Cambridge, Trinity R 5.22(717) which includes an OE copy of Gregory's Pastoral Care, once owned by Parker, bound with a book definitely owned by Bishop Jewel.

Plates: fol. 47^{v} infra pl. xvi

CAMBRIDGE, UNIVERSITY LIBRARY MS Ii 2.11 + EXETER, D & C MS 3501

fols 0, 1-7 GOSPELS, etc.

Ker, Catalogue, no. 20

1, The West Saxon translation of the gospels (pr. B. Thorpe, The Anglo-Saxon Version of the Holy Gospels, London, 1842) with rubrics to indicate when each passage should be read, followed by the first words of the passage in Latin. Each gospel begins on a new leaf rather than a new quire.

fols 2-173;

2. Gospel of Nicodemus in OE, beg. 'On þaere halgan þrynysse naman her...' (pr. W.H. Hulme, 'The OE Version of the Gospel of Nicodemus', Publications of the Modern Language Association of America, xiii (1898), 457-514) fols 173v-193;

3. Vindicta Salvatoris in OE, beg. 'On tiberius dagum þaes miclan caseres' (pr. B. Assmann, Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben, Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosen, iii, 1889, 181) fols 193-202.

A preliminary quire, designed to receive a copy of Leofric's donation list and his donation inscription was then added to the manuscript, but has since been removed and now forms Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501 fols 7, 1-3, 9 and (CUL) MS Ii 2.11 fol. 1. For its reconstruction see B. Dickins, 'The beheaded manumission in the Exeter Bock', The Early Cultures of North-West Europe, ed. Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins (Cambridge, 1950), 363-67 and Ker, op. cit.

4. Inventory in OE of Leofric's gifts to Exeter, beg. 'Her swutelaþ on þissere bec hwaet Leofric...' (pr. Exeter Book,

pp. 18-30)

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter) Exeter, fols 1-2^{v}.

5. Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE at the head of the recto (formerly verso) of this leaf. Both anathemas have been erased.

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter) CUL Ii 2.11 fol. 1

a) Lists of members of guilds at Woodbury and other places in the diocese of Exeter, in OE (pr. G. Hickes, Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus (1705); Dissertationes Epistolas, 18, 19); see Exeter Book, pp. 53-4);

Exeter, several scribes s.xi/xii Exeter, fols 7-7^{v};

b) Manumission in OE, in blank space amongst a) (pr. B. Thorpe, Diplomatarium, p. 634)

Exeter, s.xii^{1} Exeter, fol. 7;

c) Record of a gift to Exeter cathedral by Canon Leowine.

Exeter, s.xii^{1} Exeter, fol. 2^{v};

d) Abbreviated Latin version of 4 (pr. Exeter Book, p32)

Exeter, s.xii^{1} Exeter, fol. 3;

e) Two notifications in Latin, by different scribes.

Exeter, 1143 and 1150 Exeter, fol. 3^{v};

[Exeter, fol. 0 is blank]

Exeter, fols 4-6 were originally at the end of the Gospel Book, in the order 5, 4, 6; 5 being the lower two-thirds of CUL MS Ii 2.11, fol. 202 (see Ker, op. cit.).

f) Manumission in Latin (see Exeter Book, p. 49 (14)

Exeter s.xii^{1} Exeter, fol. 5;

g) Notification from Bishop Osbern that the monks of St Nicholas, Exeter may continue to ring their bells, according to their former practice, in OE (pr. J. Earle, A handbook to the land charters and other Saxonic Documents (Oxford, 1888), p. 260) see Exeter Book, p. 49 (15).

Exeter, 1096 x 1102 Exeter, fol. 5;

h) A series of manumissions in OE (all, except the first pr. Earle, op. cit., pp. 257-64), see Exeter Book, pp. 47-53. On the first manumission beg. 'Her kiþ on þissere bec þaet Aluric se canonica...' (pr. M. Förster, 'Die heilige Sativola oder Sidwell, Eine Namenstudie', Anglia, lxii (1938), 40) see B. Dickins, loc. cit., p. 366 and Rose-Troup, 1937, p. 417.

Exeter, by several scribes, s.xi/xii-s.xii[1] CUL Ii 2.11 fol. 202[v] + Exeter, fols 5[v], 4, 6;

j) Five documents relating to sales of land, in OE, unprinted, see Exeter Book, pp. 52-3, (29)-(33).

Exeter, s.xii[1] Exeter, fol. 6[v].

Fols 8 (now bound with Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501) + 202; paginated in red pencil on rectos 1-401; collated (as pre-removal of quire) 1^{6}? (Exeter, fols 7, 1-3, 0 + CUL Ii 2.11 fol. 1), $2\text{-}11^{8}$, 12^{6}, $13\text{-}26^{8}$, 27 a five (CUL Ii 2.11 fols 200-1, 202 + Exeter, fol. 5, Exeter fols 4, 6), 3 and 6 in QQ 19 and 21 are singletons; 315 x 220 mm.; written space 240 x 150 mm. (Q 13 255 x 160 mm.); ruled in dry point 23 long lines (Q 13, fols 88-95 in 26 long lines); two-line high initials in orange, green,

orange, blue etc. pattern with orange insular minuscule rubrics (some lacking), except for ink caroline minuscule for the Latin headings; each gospel begins with a line of ink rustic capitals, following the incipits which are in orange rustic capitals; there is a blank verso opposite the beginning of each gospel, but no trace of any illumination.

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished insular minuscule

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2°fo: 'sunu 7 þu nemnest...'

Given to Exeter by Leofric, according to an inscription on fol. 1 (item 5) and identifiable with ' eos englisce cristes boc' in the list of his gifts (infra, p. 51). Untraced in later Exeter catalogues. Joscelyn saw the leaves from this manuscript after they had been bound with the 'Exeter Book', as in his transcript of the donation list against the 'mycel englisc boc' (i.e. the 'Exeter Book') he nctes 'Hic liber Saxonicus habet quaternionem insutam in principio que continet hanc cartum cum aliis' (CCCC MS 101). The leaves now at Exeter may have been excised from the Gospel book, and the anathemas erased, when Gregory Dodde, dean of Exeter, gave the manuscript to Parker in 1566. Joscelyn's subsequent visit to Exeter may have been the occasion whereby most of Exeter's manuscripts in OE passed to Parker. The archbishop re-bound the Gospel book in an elaborate tooled binding (still kept with the manuscript) and paginated it before presenting it to Cambridge University Library (no. 2 in the list of his donations).

Plates: The leaves now bound with Exeter, D. & C.,MS 3501 are all reproduced in Exeter Book, 1933.

fol. 1 infra, Plate IX

fol. 202 ed. Sir Cyril Fox and Bruce Dickins, op. cit. pl. XII

fol. 202^{v} + Ex. fol. 5^{v} ibid., pl. XII.

EXETER, DEAN AND CHAPTER MS 3501. 'THE EXETER BOOK OF OE POETRY'

Ker, Catalogue, no. 116

1. Old English alliterative verses (pr. in full G.P. Krapp and E. van K. Dobie, The Exeter Book, The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, iii (London, 1936)) fols 8-123;

The initial quire (fols 0, 1-7) containing Leofric's donation inscription, the list of his gifts to Exeter cathedral and various subsequent additions was originally part of Cambridge, University Library MS Ii 2.11 (q.v.)

Fols 8 + 115; collation: 1^8 (fols 8-14, lacks 1), 2^8 (fols 15-21, lacks 3), $3-4^8$, 5^8 (fols 38-44, lacks 1) 6^8 (fols 45-52, 3 and 7 are singletons), $7-8^8$, 9^8 (fols 69-74, lacks 2 and 7), $10-11^8$, 12^8 (fols 91-7, lacks 8), 13^8, 14^8 (fols 106-11, lacks 1 and 8), 5^6 (fols 112-18, 1 and 6 are singletons + 1 leaf after 2, fol. 114), 16^8 (fols 119-25, lacks 8, 2 and 6 are singletons)[1], 17 a five (fols 126-30); c. 310-20 x 218-25 mm.; written space 240 x 160 mm.; ruled in dry point in 21-23 long lines between double vertical and single horizontal boundary lines; initials mainly in ink, occasionally in red; headings were never entered in the single lines left for them, while texts begin with a line of one-line high ink square capitals; some damp stains and fire damage to the end leaves.

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[1] See J. Pope, 'An unsuspected lacuna in the "Exeter Book": Divorce proceedings for an ill-matched couple in the OE Riddles', Speculum, xlix (1974), 615-22.

Written in a square insular minuscule by a single scribe.

s.x^2 2^{o}fo: ———

The same scribe also wrote London, Lambeth Palace MS 149 (q.v.) and Oxford Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319 (q.v.), both of which were also given by Leofric to Exeter. On their possible origin see (MS) Lambeth 149.

The 'Exeter Book' is the 'i. mycel englisc boc be gehwilcum þingum on leoðwisan geworht' of Leofric's list and has remained at Exeter ever since, though not specifically traced in 1327 or 1506. Joscelyn refers in his notes (CCCC MS 101) to seeing a 'mycel englisc boc' and notes that 'habet quaternion insutam in principio que continet hanc cartum cum aliis', so the initial quire/had of records been added to this manuscript by then. The date Joscelyn saw this manuscript is unknown, but the quire must have been added by 1566 when CUL MS Ii 2.11 from which it / originally came was given to Archbishop Parker. Joscelyn's reference to this manuscript in the same terms used of it in Leofric's donation list indicate that the connection between Leofric and this volume of OE verse was still recognised, a fact which explains why the quire removed from the Gospels was prefixed to this manuscript.

Plates: reproduced in full in <u>The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry</u> ed. R.W. Chambers, M. Förster and R. Flowers (London, 1933).

fol. 19^v <u>New Pal. Soc.</u>, pl. 9.

EXETER, DEAN AND CHAPTER MS 3507. RABANUS MAURUS etc.

Ker, Catalogue, no. 116*

1. Rabanus Maurus De computo (P.L., cvii, 669-728) with prologue, capitula list and 96 capitula (including tables) fols 1-57;

2. Additional computistical material and a runic alphabet, detailed in N.R. Ker, Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries, II (Oxford, 1977), pp. 813-4. fols 58-66^{v};

3. Isidore De natura rerum (P.L., lxxxiii, 963-1018) with prologue, capitula list and 48 capitula. fols 67-97^{v};

a) Two glosses, Old English, see Ker, Catalogue no. 116* fol. 92^{v};

b) Occasional glosses in Latin, by the original scribe.

iii + 97 + iii; 320 x 195 mm.; written space 230 x 130 mm.; collated: 1^{8} (lacks 1, fols 1-7 are remounted and bound incorrectly as 1, 3, 2, 5, 4, 6, 7), $2\text{-}12^{8}$, 13^{2} (fols 96-7); quires signed 'a'-'m' (omitting 'j') on verso of final leaf, lower centre margin; pricked in outer margin and ruled in dry point 29 long lines between a single horizontal and double vertical boundary lines; ink initials in the texts are occasionally decorated with a yellow wash, while a three-line high green initial begins the Rabanus Maurus prologue and the Isidore text. Texts 1 and 3 begin with a line of two-line-high square capitals followed by a line of one-line-high square capitals, all in red. Incipits and capitula headings are in red insular minuscule; red is used for capitula numbers in the texts and in the capitula lists, for D(iscipulus) and

M(agister) to indicate changes of speaker in 1 and (usually) for the two-line-high initials at the beginning of capitula. The diagrams in 3 are in red ink.

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished square Insular minuscule.

s.x^{2} 2^{o}fo: xxv De speciebus ebdomadorum

The same scribe also wrote Bodleian, MS Bodley 718 and B.N. MS lat. 943 (the 'Sherborne Pontifical'), possibly at Sherborne, where the Pontifical was by c. 1000. This manuscript may have come to Exeter along with MS Bodley 718 (Penitential), which was certainly given by Leofric to Exeter. It is not recorded in the list of Leofric's donations, but was certainly at Exeter by 1327 (Oliver, Lives, p. 303). Unrecorded in 1506, it was recorded at Exeter in the late seventeenth century by Bernard (CMA no. 25).

Plates: for the scribe's hand cf. the plate of B.N. MS lat. 943 New Pal. Soc., pl. III.

EXETER, DEAN AND CHAPTER MS 3548A. MISSAL (FRAGMENTS)

Eighteen fragments from the binding of an edition of Galen (Venice, 1541), sixteen with texts from eight separate leaves of the Temporal section of a Missal (Fragment 13 is blank, except for an offset from 11).

fol. 1 Second Sunday in Advent and

fol. 2 Fourth Sunday in Advent and Vigil of Christmas (frags. 1 and 14)

fol. 3. Sexagesima Sunday (frag. 6)

fol. 4 Feria v. and (4^{v}) vi before Quinquagesima, with lessons in full (frag. 2)

fol. 5 Feria iii and (5^{v}) iv after third Sunday in Lent (frags. 5, 10, 12, 15 and 16)

fol. 6 Easter Eve, including part of O.T. lesson (frags 3, 4, 11)

fol. 7 Easter Eve and (7^{v}) Easter Day, including gospel texts (frags 8 and 9)

fol. 8 Sabbatum quattuorum temporum and (8^{v}) for seventeenth Sunday after Pentecost (frag. 7)

identified by E. Lega-Weekes 'An Ancient Liturgical MS discovered in Exeter Cathedral Library', DCNQ ix (1916-17), 33-35) and N.R. Ker Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries II Abbotsford-Keele(Oxford, 1977) pp. 839-40.

c. 390 x 280 mm.; ? x 220 mm.; ruled in dry point in two columns, between double vertical and a single horizontal boundary lines; about 23-29 lines to a leaf. Headings are in red rustic capitals. Fragment 6 has a five-line high ink initial 'I', with knotwork and a dragon's head, other initials are in red.

Written by at least two scribes in a neat caroline minuscule

Northern France ?, s.x[1]. 2°fo:

The stylistic similarity between the initial 'I' and some of those in the Bodmin Gospels (B.L., Additional MS 9381) suggests that this Sacramentary may, like the Gospels, have come from Brittany, or from a Breton house in North France. Since the lessons are written in full, with cues from the Gradual, Versicle and Tract (at least) incorporated into the text, it is one of the earliest missals to survive. The Galen is in a plain and probably local Exeter binding of the sixteenth century; the missal fragments were probably incorporated into it at Exeter, possibly at the time when the Edwardian reforms were leading to the destruction of many older service books. The manuscript is likely to have been at Exeter for many years; possibly it belonged to the monastery there or else may have been acquired by Leofric at the same time as his Breton gospel book (Bodleian, MS Auct. D 2.16 q.v.).

EXETER, DEAN AND CHAPTER MS 3548c BENEDICTIONAL (FRAGMENT)

A central bifolium from the binding of L. Krentzheim, Observationes Chronologicae (1606), containing:

1. Episcopal benedictions for the 2nd Sunday after Easter (begins incomplete) and three for the 3rd Sunday after Easter (all but the last are as pr. in The Benedictional of St Aethelwold, ed. G.F. Warner and H.A. Wilson, Roxburghe Club 144(1910), pp. 22-23).

300 x 210 mm.; written space 210 x 140 mm.; ruled in dry point 16 long lines between double vertical and a single horizontal bounding line; two-line-high red initials at the beginning of a benediction and one-line-high at the beginning of a section; headings and 'Amens' are in red rustic capitals.

Written in a uniform Caroline minuscule.

Winchester ? s.x^2. 2^ofo:

The similarity of the script and the textual affinity to the Benedictional of St Aethelwold suggest that the original manuscript came either from Winchester or a closely related centre. The size and lay-out of the script suggests that the fragment came from a Benedictional, rather than from what would have needed to be an extremely bulky Pontifical (Stamford E. Robinson, 'On a fragment of an Anglo-Saxon Benedictional in Exeter Cathedral Library', Transactions of the St Paul's Ecclesiological Society, v (1901-5), 221-8). Lyfing, who was a monk at Winchester before becoming Abbot of Tavistock and then Bishop of Crediton, may have obtained the book from Winchester. It may then have passed from Crediton to Exeter

along with the transfer of the diocesan seat and have been one of the four benedictionals recorded in the list of Leofric's gifts to Exeter. It probably remained at Exeter, gradually becoming more dilapidated, until this bifolium was used as a binding leaf sometime between 1606 and the late seventeenth century when the book's shelfmark (K4.5) in the chapter house library was entered on the manuscript leaf. Unbound from the printed volume in the late nineteenth century.

Plates: fol. 1 Robinson, loc. cit. Plate I.

EXETER, DEAN AND CHAPTER FMS 1/2/2A. OROSIUS (FRAGMENTS)

Three fragments, removed from the spine of an unknown printed book, of a manuscript of Orosius - Universal History. Fragment 2 includes the 'S' of 'Sufficien tia , the first word of bk. 7 (P.L., xxxi 1059/12-1062/17).

Written space 232 mm. high; 36 long lines; heading in red rustic capitals; the initial 'S' 15 lines high in red, blue and yellow within an ink outline, all on a purple ground.

Written in Caroline minuscule at a centre with insular connections

North French ? s.x[1]

The initial's decoration suggests a continental origin for the manuscript. Since no record was kept of the book from whence these fragments came, the manuscript itself may never have been in England. However, in the list of Leofric's donations there is a 'liber Oserii', possibly an error for 'Orosii', which may have been the manuscript from which these fragments came. There were other French books of the ninth and tenth centuries at Exeter at this time (infra, p. 274).

Plates:

EXETER, DEAN AND CHAPTER FMS 3. LIFE OF ST BASIL (FRAGMENTS)

Eight small stained pieces from the binding of Exeter, Dean and Chapter MS 3779, a fifteenth-century account book. The text on at least two fragments is from a Life of St Basil (Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina ed. Socii Bollandiani (Bruxelles, 1898), i., no. 1023), whose text agrees with that in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS 717 fol. 47^{va}/28-31 (frag. 2) and fol. 45^{vb}/26-30 (frag. 1).

Frag. 1 has a heading in red Insular minuscule and the script is also Insular minuscule.

England. s.x^{1}. 2^{o}fo:

The manuscript, probably a volume of saints' lives, was certainly at Exeter by the fifteenth century when it was used to bind one of the chapter's account books. It may have been part of the 'liber passionalis' recorded in the list of Leofric's donations (infra p. 56), while several volumes of saints' lives are recorded in 1327. A two-volume Legenda (Exeter, D. & C., MSS 3504-5) was given to the cathedral by John de Grandisson in the mid-fourteenth century and in 1418 Canon William Poundestoke gave yet another Legenda (Exeter, D. & C., MS 3505B). It is not surprising, therefore, that an old Legenda should soon afterwards be dismembered and used to bind at least one chapter document.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, ADDITIONAL MS 28188. PONTIFICAL AND BENEDICTIONAL

1. Pontifical, including prayers and masses at dedication of a church (fol. 1), its altar, pavement and bells (fol. 36), at the consecration of a cemetery (fol. 50) and ordination services (fol. 61). The two litanies (fols 2-4^{v}, 7) are pr. in LC ii, pp. 615-8 and ascribed to Exeter on liturgical grounds. fols 1-76^{v};

2. Benedictional. Blessings for the 3rd Sunday after Epiphany through to 25th Sunday after the Octave of Pentecost (with the Palm Sunday Mass and Blessing of the Palms included in full), for various saints' days (including King Edward the Martyr, Alphage, Dunstan, Swithun and Birinus) and for the masses in the Commune Sanctorum. fols 77-166^{v}.

Fols 1-76 + i + 77-166; paginated 1-332 in top recto, probably by John C. Jackson whose name is inscribed by the same hand on fol. 1; collated: 1-10^{8}, 11^{4} (fols 73-76) + i (an unnumbered singleton) | 12-16^{8}, 17^{10} (fols 117-26), 18-22^{8}, each quire is now mounted separately; 185 x 123 mm.; written space 130 x 75 mm.; ruled in dry point 19 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line high initials at the beginning of each blessing or mass and one-line high initials at the beginning of sections in the blessings are in pattern orange/blue/orange/green etc.; headings are in orange or blue rustic capitals.

Written by two scribes:

1. fols 1-75^{r} l.3, 77^{r}-99^{v} l.10, 127^{r}-154^{v};

2. fols 75 1.4 - 76^{v}, 99^{v} 1.11 - 126^{v}, 155-166^{v}.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: 'sanctorum tuorum meritis...'

Written at Exeter in the time of Leofric (infra, p. 146), with the second hand completing the copying of each of the three sections (Pontifical, Blessings for the Temporale Masses and Blessings for the Sanctoral and Commune Sanctorum Masses). Given the codicology of the manuscript, it may originally have been designed as two booklets, a Pontifical (QQ 1-11) and a Benedictional (QQ 12-22), whose small size would have made them easily portable. Untraced in the Exeter inventories. Acquired, in an unknown manner, by the Reverend J.C. Jackson, whose inscription is on fol. 1, and purchased off him by the British Museum in October 1869 (note on front fly-leaf).

Plates:

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS COTTON CLEOPATRA B xiii, fols 1-58

HOMILIES etc.

Ker, Catalogue, no. 144

Ten items from a larger collection of OE homilies and other pieces in OE, for full details see Ker, op. cit.

1. In die iudicii, beg. 'Leofan men utan don...'
fols 2-7^{v};

2. Dominica .ii. post pascha, beg. 'Dixit iesus discipulis suis. Ego sum pastor bonus.. Þis godspell þe nu' geraed waes...'
fols 7^{v}-12;

[fol. 12^{v} is blank]

3. Incipit liber catholicorum sermonum anglice in anno . primus sermo de initio creature . quando volueris, beg. 'An angin is...'
fols 13-31;

4. De dedicatione eclesiae, beg. 'Leofan men ic wille eow...'
fols 31-38;

5. Lectio secundum Lucam. Dixit iesus discipulis suis. Ego mittam promissum ... Be biscophadum, beg. 'Leofan men Se halga godspellere lucas...'
fols 38-43;

[fol. 43^{v} is blank]

6. Dominica ante rogationum, beg. 'Men ða leofestan us gedafenað aerest. þaet we gemunan...'
fols 44-55^{v};

7. Promissio regis, beg. 'Þis gewrit is gewriten staef be staefe . be þam gewrite þe dunstan arcebiscop sealde urum hlaforde aet cingestune...', the oath is followed by two sections on royal duties.
fols 56-57;

8. Beg. 'Sume menn niton gewiss for heora nytenysse...',
fol. 57^{v};

a homily

9. Beg. imperf. '7 þurh maegslihtas . þurh hlafordswicas...'

fol. 58;

10. Her is se geleafa 7 gebed . 7 bletsung laew edum manum. þe þaet leden ne cunnon . [P]ater noster on englisc, beg. '[Þ]u ure faeder...' Paternoster and Creed fol. 58^{V}.

Fols i + 58; foliated 1-55, 55*, 56-58; collated: 1-6^{8}, 7^{8} (lacks 7 after fol. 55), 8 a three (fols 56-68), fol. 58 is unlikely to be in its original position as it does not have a wormhole which appears on fols 56-57; 184 x 125 mm.; written space 170 x 88 mm.; ruled in dry point in 19 long lines between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines; items 1, 2, 4 and 6 begin with a heading in orange and item 7 in black rustic capitals; two-line high orange initials begin each text followed (items 1, 3, 8) by a line of ink square capitals to begin the texts.

Written by seven scribes in insular minuscule for the OE and caroline minuscule for Latin:

1. fols 2-12;
2. fols 13-31 l.2, fol. 57^{V};
3. fols 31 l.3 - 38 l.3;
4. fols 38 l.4 - 55^{V};
5. fols 56-57;
6. fol. 58 ll.1-10;
7. fol. 58 ll.12 - 58^{V}.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2°fol: arisa ofdea e...'

Written at Exeter and possibly once part of a single volume with Lambeth Palace, MS 489 (Ker, Catalogue, no 42). Untraced in the two medieval Exeter inventories, but it must have passed to

Archbishop Parker with a number of other Exeter manuscripts; his red pencil pagination occurs throughout and one of his scribes added the table of contents on fol. 1^{v}. A damaged note on fol. 13 is in Joscelyn's hand and the texts of the Lord's prayer and Creed in A testimonie of antiquitie (London, 1566) are probably derived from item 10. By 1621 Sir Robert Cotton owned this manuscript.

Plates: fol. 38 Ker, op. cit., Pl. V, infra pl. VII

fol. 58 infra, pl. X

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS COTTON TIBERIUS B.v. vol. i fol. 75

GOSPEL FRAGMENT

Ker, Catalogue, no. 194 C.L.A. ii, 190

1. The final leaf from St Matthew's Gospel, written in an Anglo-Saxon majuscule probably in Northumbria. Now mounted the wrong way round. s.viii

a) Manumission in OE, beg. '+ Her cyþ on þisse bec þaet h( )mflaed...' (pr. K.C.D., no. 1353) added in lower part of second column.

Exeter, s.xi[1] fol. 75[v];

b) Notice of a guild assembly at Exeter in OE, beg. '+ Þeos gesamnung is gesamnod on exanceastre...' (pr. B. Thorpe, Diplomatarium , p. 613)

Exeter, s.x[1] fol. 75;

c) Manumission in OE, beg. 'Eadwi cing het gefreon abunet aelfnoð...' (pr. ibid., p./623) in the margins above and beside item b).

s.x med fol. 75.

A single leaf; 265 x 200 mm.; original text in two columns.

This fragment is probably from the gospel book which once lay on the altar of the monastery at Exeter and whose blank leaves were utilised for important records in much the same way that those in the Bodmin Gospels (London, B.L., Additional MS 9381) were. It may have been one of the three manuscripts given to Exeter by Athelstan (LM, p. 2B), but is untraced in later Exeter inventories.

The manuscript left Exeter at an unknown date either in toto or in a fragmentary state and come into Cotton's hands. Most of the manuscript may have been destroyed in the Cotton fire of 1731, after which this remaining leaf was bound up with a collection of miscellaneous fragments.

Plates:	fol. 75^{v}	C.L.A. ii, 190
	fol. 75	Rose-Troup, 1931, pl.2.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, MS COTTON VITELLIUS A vii, fols 1-112.

PONTIFICAL

Ker, Catalogue, no. 213

1. Pontifical, whose original contents were described by Thomas Smith, Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum Bibliothecae Cottoniae (Oxford, 1696), repr. in J. Brückmann, 'Latin MSS Pontificals in England and Wales', Traditio, 29 (1973), 437. The first four items - Offices for the consecration of an archbishop or bishop, for confirmation, for the examination of an ordained bishop and a coronation oath in OE (copied in Bodleian, MS Junius 60, fol. 2) - were entirely destroyed in the Cottonian fire (1731). The remaining items are: a coronation office (begins incomplete) fols 1-3^{v}; blessings and exorcisms for various occasions fols 4-12^{v}; exorcisms before communion, in Latin and OE fols 13-14^{v} (the OE versions pr. F. Liebermann, Zu Den Gesetzender Angelsachsen (Weimar, 1885), 412-13); mass (with lections) for the deposition of relics fols 15-16^{v}; prayer on the dedication of a font fol. 16^{v}; offices for the consecration of a church, its vessels, vestments and cemetary fols 17-57, including two litanies fols 17^{v}-18, 20; miscellaneous blessings fols 57-58^{v}; office for the reconciliation of penitents fols 59-68^{v}; hymn, with adiastematic neumatic notation, at the kindling of fire fol. 70; offices for the Vigil of Easter and Easter Day fols 70^{v}-98^{v}; offices for the succeeding Ferial Days (recorded by Smith, op. cit., but now lost); offices for confirmation fols 99-102^{v}, for ordaining minor ecclesiastical ranks fols 102^{v}-105, for ordaining subdeacons, deacons and priests fols 105-110, for dedicating a church fols 110-112^{v}

(now incomplete); offices for consecrating nuns, for the communion of the sick and the Office of the Dead (recorded by Smith, op. cit., but now lost).

Fols 112 (at least 14 leaves lost from the beginning); badly and shrunken damaged/in the Cottonian fire, after which the remaining leaves were individually remounted (the manuscript is currently being re-arranged and re-bound); written area c. 175-80 x 120 mm.; ruled in dry point in 26 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line high initials in orange or blue; headings in orange rustic capitals.

The extant folios were written by three scribes:

1. fols 1-15, 54^{v}-72^{v} 1.12;

2. fols 15^{v}-54^{r};

3. fols 72^{v} 1.12 'De quo...' - 112^{v}.

N.B. Some of these folios are too badly singed by the fire for the script to be discernible and stints are consequently not always precisely determinable.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: ———

Written at Exeter in the time of Leofric (infra, p. 146), but untraced in later inventories. It may have been the 'i liber Leofrici primi Exoniensis Episcopi 2^{o}fo. Benedictio anuli' stored in the old Treasury of the 1506 Catalogue (Oliver, Lives, p. 351) since the first text would probably have contained a blessing for the episcopal ring. Its route to the Cotton collection is unknown.

Plates: fol. 84 infra, pl. II

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS HARLEY 863. PSALTER, etc.

Ker, Catalogue, no. 232

1. Gallican Psalter in three sections with introductory allelulias and adiastematic neumatic notation to most of the psalms. In the margin alongside most of the psalms is a numeral (between 1 and 8) and a few neums, possibly to indicate the mode of the chant. fols 8-98^{v};

2. Canticles, including the 'Quicumque vult' with interlinear glosses in OE. The 'Oratio post psalterium' (fol. 108) is pr. in LC i, col.434. fols 99-108;

3. Litany, pr. ibid., i, cols 435-43 and attributed to Exeter on liturgical grounds fols 108^{v}-111^{v};

4. Prayers for various occasions and to the Holy Ghost, Trinity, BVM, etc., all pr. ibid., i, cols 444-54, fols 111^{v}-117;

5. Sabbato ad vesperum, full office including nine lections and responses (with neums), possibly for the Sunday after the Octave of Epiphany pr. ibid., col. 454 fols 117-119;

6. Offices for the six following Ferial days, with provision for nocturns, lauds and vespers each day. (The services for Wednesday and Thursday are lacking since two leaves have been lost between fols 120-121.) fols 119-22;

7. Office of the Dead, ending incomplete after the fourth lection. fol. 122^{v};

a) Calendar, written for Exeter and pr. R.J. Hampson, Medii Aevi Kalendarium (London, 1841), pp. 449-60, but omitting the numerous obits.

Exeter, s.xii ex. fols 1-6;

b) Twenty-four lines of Latin verse, beg. 'Aureus hac arte novus...', untraced.

s.xii/xiii fol. 7;

c) Four lines of Latin verse, beg. 'Fallitur cua dolo cibus...', untraced.

s.xiv fol. 7^{v} ll.1-4;

d) In festo reliquiarum Exoniensis Ecclesiae ad processionem, beg. 'Salva festa dies...', pr. E. Bishop, Liturgica historica (Oxford, 1918), p. 407.

$s.xiii^{1}$ fol. 7^{v}.

Fols 1* + 1-123; collated 1^{8} (fols 1*, 1-7) | $2\text{-}6^{8}$, 7^{8} (fols 47-53, lacks 3), $8\text{-}15^{8}$, 16^{8} (fols 118-23, lacks 4 and 5), ends incomplete; 290 x 190 mm.; written space 235 x 125 mm.; ruled in dry point 25 long lines (fols 78, 85 in 23 lines) between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line high coloured initials in orange/blue/orange/green etc. pattern; headings are in orange rustic capitals; Psalm 101 (fol. 68^{v}) begins with a line of blue half uncials; a ten-line high initial decorated with stepped blocks of red and brown ink, begins the Psalter (the initial letters of Psalms 51 and 101, fols 37^{v}, 68^{v}, were never entered).

Written by two scribes in caroline minuscule:

1. fols 8-117^{v} l.7, including the OE glosses in insular minuscule on fol. 107;

2. fols 117^{v} l.7 'Desidero enim...' - 123^{v}.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: 'Voce mea ad...'

The Psalter was written at Exeter in Lecfric's time

(E. Bishop and F.A. Gasquet, The Bosworth Psalter (London, 1908), pp. 162-3)

and continued in use there for at least two centuries, judging from the addition of a late twelfth-century Calendar and various obits entered in it. The Calendar was written at Exeter (as SS Olave and Sativola occur 'prima manu') after the canonisation of St Thomas à Becket (1173), the feast of whose martyrdom occurs 'prima manu', but before the feast of his translation was instituted in 1220. Though untraced in either Exeter catalogue, the manuscript was much annotated by Bishop John de Grandisson of Exeter (1327-69). How it arrived in the Harleian collection is unknown.

Plates: fols 108^{v}-111^{r} LC, plates 13-18.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS HARLEY 2961. THE 'LEOFRIC COLLECTAR'

Ker, Catalogue no. 236

1. Capitularium and Collectar with hymns and sequences, edited in full E.S. Dewick, The Leofric Collectar; HBS, xiv (1913), vol. i Text and Plates, E.S. Dewick and W.H. Frere, HBS, xlvi (1921), vol. ii Introduction. fols 2-256.

Fols i + 1-256 + i; collated: 1^{10}, 2^{8}, 3^{6} (fols 20-5), 4^{10} (fols 26-34, lacks 10), 5-15^{8}, 16^{2} (fols 131-2), 17^{6} (fols 133-8), 18^{8} (fols 139-45, lacks 5), 19-29^{8}, 30^{8} (fols 234-40, lacks 8) + 1 quire lacking at this point), 31-32^{8}, ends incomplete; in most quires two singletons replace the usual central bifolium, 3 and 6 are singletons in QQ 26-27, 31-32; 215 x 140 mm.; written space 160 x 85 mm.; ruled in dry point in 21 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line high coloured initials orange/blue/orange/green etc.; headings in orange rustic capitals.

Written by four scribes in caroline minuscule:

1. fols 1-152^{v}, 154^{v}-84^{v}, 186^{v}-194^{v} l.7, 198^{v}-233^{v};
2. fols 153, 185;
3. fols 194^{v} l.8 - 198;
4. fols 234-56^{v}.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: 'Domenica .i. de adventu..

Written at Exeter in the time of Leofric from liturgical and palaeographical evidence (E.S. Dewick and W.H.Frere, op. cit.), but untraced in the Exeter catalogues. It may be one of the five miscellaneous collectars in the 1327 list (Oliver, Lives, p. 306). An inscription on fol. 1 states 'Nactus sum hunc librum

Exoniae ego Samuel Canutus in Caemiterio Domini Petri Extant fragmenta subscriptionis Saxonicae in laceris extremii folii reliquiis quibus opinor textatum fuit Leofricum eunden donasse.' There is a collectarium listed amongst Leofric's donations to his see (infra, p. 48), on palaeographical grounds the manuscript is old enough to have been given by Leofric and, though the final leaves (quires ?) have since been lost, a donation inscription in OE on the final leaf would not have been unusual cf. Bodleian, MS Auct. F 1.15 and Cambridge, Trinity College MS B 11.2 both of which have Leofric's donation inscription on the verso of their final leaf of text. Samuel Knott may have found the manuscript lying in the churchyard during the library's removal to and fro from the cathedral during the Civil War. He was subsequently Rector of Combe Raleigh in Devon (1661-98) and was well known as a collector of manuscripts. His collection passed to Robert Burscough (1651-1709), Rector of Totnes and a prebend of Exeter 1701-3 and then Archdeacon of Barnstable (DNB iii, 451-52). His widow sold his manuscripts in May 1715 to Sir Robert Harley (C.E. Wright, Fontes Harleiani, 1972, 87-8).

Plates:

fols 2, 10, 11, 16, 31^{v}, 77, 107, 218, 226, 251	LC, plates 1-12
fol. 78	E.M.Bannister, Monumenti Vaticani di paleografia musicale Latine (1913), Tab. 42b, no. 227.
fol. 78	G.M. Suñol, Introduction à la paléographie grégorienne (Paris, 1935), pl.

LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY MS ROYAL 6 B.vii, ALDHELM etc.

Ker, Catalogue no. 255

1. Aldhelm De laudibus virginitatis (P.L., lxxxix, 103-158) preceded by a chapter list (fols 1-2) and Aldhelm's dedicatory letter (fol. 2^{v}). Chs 29 (fol. 25) and 36 (fol. 34) begin with the same five lines, an error which the scribe makes no attempt to correct, suggesting that he may have copied it verbatim from his exemplar. Ch. 39 'Quod hieronimus presbyter tam integritatis ... orthodoxus exibuerit ecclesiis' is neither in the chapter list or in the text. Chapter numbers in the text are occasionally omitted fols 3-53;

a) Interlinear glosses in Latin occur frequently until fol. 39, by the original scribe;

b) Interlinear glosses in OE, (pr. Napier, Old English Glosses, p. 139, occur infrequently, by the original scribe;

c) Relic list of a monastery dedicated to St Mary. Its location has been erased with galls, but the close affinity with the list in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 has led to a similar ascription both for the relic list and for the manuscript. fols 54-55

These added leaves were ruled in 35 long lines to a leaf and written by a single scribe in a poor caroline minuscule, at Exeter, s.xi^{2}.

Fols i + 1-53 + i + 54-55 + i; collated: $1\text{-}6^{8}$, 7^{6} (fols 49-53 + i) | 8 a three (fols 54, 55 + i), a number of leaves have been remounted on paper; 300 x 210 mm.; written space 220 x 130 mm.; ruled in dry point 25 long lines; initials at the beginning of

each chapter two-line high in red; headings are in red rustic capitals for the beginning of the chapter list and the text, each chapter begins with a line of ink rustic capitals; the thirteen-line high 'I' on fol. 4 has acanthus circling the three parallel bars which form the main part of the letter, a winged dragon and a climbing figure, both in black and red outline on the blue background, are interwoven with the acanthus; an illuminated D on fol. 1 is in a similar style.

Written by a single scribe in caroline minuscule, and he was probably also responsible for the OE glosses in insular minuscule.

Exeter? s.xi ex. 2°fo: XXIIII Quod clemens successor petri'

The nucleus of the manuscript was probably written at Exeter towards the end of the eleventh century since, though its script shows some resemblance to the 'Exeter' type, it is both more decorated than is usual for the bulk of 'Exeter' manuscripts and the illuminated initials show affinities with those in books imported from Normandy to Exeter, probably by Bishop Osbern (1072-1103) e.g. MSS Bodley 301, 783, 717 (Ill. MSS in Bodleian, i, pls. XXXVI-VII). The relic list was written at Exeter, possibly at the same time as the similar list in Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579 (infra, pp. 229-31), but it is not clear when it was added to the Aldhelm. Although untraced in the 1327 inventory, it was at Exeter in the fourteenth century as there are many faded brown ink marginalia by a hand which

appears in many Exeter manuscripts at this period. His reference (fol. 28) to 'Edwardus dei (gratiae) Rex Anglia et Ffrancie' probably dates him to after Edward III's claim to that title in 1337. Untraced in 1506, but it had reached the Royal collection by 1542, when it was catalogued (see B.L., Add. MS 25469, fol. 24, a nineteenth-century copy of the original catalogue). Its pressmark (no. 63) in the Royal collection is inscribed on the front fly-leaf. The manuscript is dated s.xi/xii in the Royal Catalogue, but given as s.xi in the volume of plates.

Plates: fol. 4 Catalogue of Royal and King's MSS in the British Museum (London, 1921) iv, Pl. 46A.

LONDON, LAMBETH PALACE MS 149 fols 1-138. BEDE AND AUGUSTINE

Ker, Catalogue , no. 275

1. Bede - Expositio super apocalypsin, preface and 3 books (P.L.,xciii, 129-206) fols 1-96^{v};

2. Augustine - de coniugiis adulterinis, 2 books (P.L.,xl, 451-86) fols 96^{v}-138^{v};

a) Scribble 'Hec itaq⟨ue⟩ huius sacramenti

s.xi fol. 138;

b) Scribble in OE '+ aeþel + aeþelwerd ealdermann gret'

s.xi^{1} fol. 138;

c) Inscription: 'A in nomine d⟨omi⟩ni - | - Am⟨en⟩ Leofric⟨us⟩- | - Pater', 'AEH' in middle left margin and 'IP' in lower left margin in green, one-line high square capitals

s.x^{2} fol. 138^{v}

d) Donation inscription: 'Hunc quoque voluminem aethelu`v'ardus dux gratia d⟨e⟩i ad monasterium s⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩e marie genetricis salvatoris 'nostri' condonavit; Quod est in loco qui dicitur (erased) Hoc autem donum factum est anno ab incarnatione redemptionis nostre 'm'xviii. In d⟨iction⟩i i Et factum est ergo post obitum regis eadmundi quod (ends incomplete) 1018 A.D. fol. 138^{v}

e) Pater Noster, incomplete 'Pat⟨e⟩r no⟨ste⟩r qu⟨i⟩ e⟩s incelis sattificetur nomen tu⟨u⟩m adveniat rehnum tu⟨u⟩m fiat foluttas tua siccut indo aentera panem no⟨st⟩ r⟨um⟩ cotidiano danobis odie ae dutute nobis (rubbed) nobis debita notera siccut incelo ae intera e panem no⟨st⟩ r⟨um⟩. s.xi^{1} fol. 138^{v}

f) Scribble in left margin 'aebelwine'

s.xi[1] fol. 138[v].

Fols 1-138; collated: 1-8[8], 9[8] (fols 65-71, lacks 6), 10-16[8], 17[10] (fols 128-137) + i (fol. 138); the quire signatures are not original; 285 x 195 mm.; written space 208 x 142 mm.; pricked in outer margin and ruled in dry point 23 (fols 9-16, 33-136), 24 (fols 1-7, 8[v], 25-32) or 25 long lines (fols 8, 17-24); initials are in ink, two-lines high; the Bede text begins with a line of ink, one-line high square capitals, similarly the explicit of Augustine; the explicit of the Bede was added in small red insular minuscule by the original scribe, who compressed the two lines into the one line space he had originally left; the heading of the Bede has been erased, that of the Augustine text was never inserted; rebound by Archbishop Bancroft, whose arms are stamped on the cover, into a volume with five other texts.

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished insular minuscule.

s.x[2] 2[o]fo: 'transituri ad caput...'

Written by the same scribe as Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501 (q.v.) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319 (q.v.), probably at a monastery in south-west England, given the later history of the manuscript. The Leofric whose name occurs on the last folio (item c) may have been the scribe or rubricator of the manuscript since this entry is in the same script and ink as the original headings, rather than Bishop Leofric as Förster suggested (Exeter Book, p. 87). Aethelwine (item f) may have been the

Bishop of Wells (1013-1037), since he attested a Crediton charter of 1018 along with the Aethelwerd who donated this manuscript, also in 1018 (item d) to a monastery dedicated to the Virgin (ibid., pp. 89-90). ~~Aethelwerd, ealderman of the south-west shires 1016-1020, probably gave this manuscript, along with the other two by the same scribe to Crediton (infra, pp.).~~ Although there is no donation inscription, this is probably the 'expositio bede super apocalipsin' of Leofric's donation list; it occurs in both the 1327 and 1506 Exeter inventories (Oliver, Lives, pp. 303, 367) and was seen at Exeter by Leland (Collectaneum iv. 151). By 1612 the manuscript was in the hands of Richard Bancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury (Catalogue of his manuscripts at Lambeth, fol. 79^{v}).

Plates: fol. 138^{v} Rose-Troup, 1931 Pl. V, opp. p. 206.

LONDON, LAMBETH PALACE MS 489. HOMILIES

Ker, Catalogue, no. 283

Eight homilies in Old English, five of which are wholly or partly from Aelfric's Sermones catholici (Ker, op. cit.).

1. VIII. Kl. Jan. Nativitatis domini, beg. 'We wyllað to...' fols 1-11^{v}.

2. Dominica Pascha, beg. 'Maria magdalene ... Oft gegehyrdon...' fols 11^{v}-20.

3. Kl. Novembris, natale omnium sanctorum, beg. 'Halige lareowas raeðon ...' fols 20^{v}-4^{v}.

4. Sermo ad populum dominicis diebus, beg. 'Leofan men us bisceopum ...' fols 25-31.

5. Beg. 'Se haelend crist syðan he ...' fols 31-8.

6. In dedicatione Aecclesiae, beg. 'Mine gebroðra þa leofestan ...' fols 38-44^{v}.

7. Alia in dedicatione Aecclesiae, beg. 'Us is on þisum daege to wurðigenne ...' fols 44^{v}-51.

8. Ali a Sermo in dedicatione aecclesiae, beg. 'Lucas se godspellere awrat ...' fols 51-58^{v}.

vi + 58 + vi (fols 59-64); collated: 1-3^{8} 4-5^{8}, 6^{6} (fols 41-6), 7^{8}, 8 a four (fols 55-8); 190 x 120 mm.; written space, 167 x 80-85 mm.; pricked in outer margin and ruled in dry point in 19 (fols 1-21) and 25 long lines (fols 22-58) between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines; initials two-lines high in red, green or blue; sermons begin (except for 3 and 4) with a line in ink square capitals and the headings (omitted for 5) are in red rustic capitals.

Written by four scribes:

1. fols 1-20 (1 and 2)

2. fols 20^{v}-24^{v} (3)

3. fols 25-31^{r} 1.2 (4)

4. fols 31^{r} 1.3 - 58^{v} (5-8), the last dozen leaves being written with a thicker nib.

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) 2^{o}fo: 'ce for þan þe ...'

From the scribal hands and lay-out, written at Exeter (infra, p. 146), probably as two booklets, i.e. Q 1-3, sermons 1-3 and Q 4-8, sermons 4-8. (P.R. Robinson, 'Self-Contained Units in composite manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period' forthcoming ASE 7, 1978.) The similarity of lay-out, content and scribal hands in these booklets to London, B.L., MS Cotton Cleopatra B.xiii suggest that they may have been designed originally as a single collection of preaching material If they were ever within one binding, they had been separated by the time Parker added the table of contents (fol. iii). Untraced in the 1327 and 1506 inventories, it probably came to Parker with the other Exeter manuscripts. The pressmark J. O. 24, 8^{o} shows it went with other Lambeth manuscripts to Cambridge (1646-62).

Plates:

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS AUCTORIUM D 2.16 (S.C. 2719)

GOSPELS

Ker, Catalogue, no. 291

1. The four Gospels in the Vulgate version, preceded by Jerome's preface beg. 'Plures fuisse qui...' (fols 16-17^{v}), the prologue of Eusepius (sic) to Carpianus, beg. 'Amonius quidam alexandrinus...' (fols 17^{v}-18^{v}), Jerome's dedicatory letter to Pope Damasus, beg. 'Novum opus me...' (fols 18^{v}-20); Jerome's prologue to Matthew, beg. 'Mattheus ex iudeis sicut...' (fol. 20-20^{v}), chapter list for Matthew (fols 20^{v}-22^{v}), ten concordance tables (fols 23-28), a full-page portrait of Matthew (fol. 28^{v}), list of generations from Abraham to Christ, with adiastematic neumatic notation (fol. 29-29^{v}), Matthew's Gospel (fols 30-69);

Chapter list for Mark, unnumbered (fols 69-70^{v}), Jerome's prologue to Mark, beg. 'Marcus evangelista dei...' (fols 70^{v}-71), a full-page portrait of St Mark (fol. 71^{v}), [fol. 72 blank, fol. 72^{v} a full-page portrait of Mark, added s.xi^{1}], Mark's Gospel (fols 73-98);

Chapter list for Luke, unnumbered and erroneously headed 'Mark' (fol. 98-100^{v}), Jerome's prologue to Luke, beg. 'Lucas syrus natione...' (fols 100^{v}-101), full-page portrait of Luke (fol. 101^{v}), Luke's Gospel (fols 102-33);

Jerome's prologue to John, beg. 'Hic est Iohannes evangelista...' (fol. 144-144^{v}), chapter list to John, unnumbered (fol. 145-145^{v}), [fol. 146 full page miniature of

St John, added s.xi[1], a replacement leaf as fol. 146[v] contains the beginning of the Gospel text rewritten by an eleventh-century scribe], John's Gospel (fols 146[v]-178);

2. Comes, calendar of lessons for days of year, beginning with Christmas Eve, the saints' days are integrated with the Temporal (fols 178-90); letter of Jerome to Pope Damasus beg. 'Sciendum etiam...' (fol. 190-190[v]); summary of each of canon tables, beg. 'In primo certe canone...' (fol. 190[v]);

a) Two illuminated miniatures of SS Mark and John on inserted leaves (see R. Schilling, 'Two unknown Flemish miniatures of the 11th Century', The Burlington Magazine, xc (1948), 312-17)

Liège s.xi[1] fols 72, 146;

b) An erased text in OE, added at the end of St John's Gospel, only a few letters still visible fol. 190;

Two quires were added to the manuscript containing:

3. List of Leofric's donations to Exeter, in OE (pr. A.J. Robertson, Anglo-Saxon Charters Cambridge Studies in English Legal History (Cambridge, 1939), App. I, no. I)

Exeter, s.xi (3rd quarter) fols 1-2[v];

4. Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE (pr. Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, p. lxii)

Exeter, Scribe 2 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 6[v];

5. List of relics given by King Athelstan (ob. 940) to the monastery at Exeter (pr. Dugdale, Monasticon, ii, 528) in OE

Exeter s.xi (3rd quarter) fols 8-14.

Fols i + 190 + v (191-5); collated: 1^{8} (iv, 1-6, lacks 1) | 2^{8} (fols 7-14) + i (fol. 15) | 3^{6}, $4\text{-}9^{8}$, 10^{8} (fols 71-9) + i (fol. 72 inserted after 1), $11\text{-}18^{8}$, 19^{8} (fols 144-51, 3 is a replacement s.xi^{1} for the original leaf), 20^{6}, 11^{10}, 22^{6}, $23\text{-}24^{8}$, 25^{6} (fols 191-5, lacks 6), 3 and 6 in Q 13, 2, 3, 6, 7 in Q 19, 2, 4 in Q 21 are singletons; QQ 3-9, 11, 12 signed A-G, I, K, lower centre margin verso of final leaf; 300 x 220 mm. (Q 1 295 x 220 mm., Q 2 275 x 180 mm.); written space 198 x 130 mm. (Q 1 200 x 130 mm., Q 2 180 x 115 mm.); ruled in dry point 26 long lines (fols 16-22, 27, 144-45 in 25) to a leaf between double vertical and single horizontal boundary lines (QQ 1, 2 are 23 and 24 long lines respectively between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines); one-line high ink initials touched with red and red chapter numbers; headings and explicits in orange rustic capitals; small black square capitals for running titles; full-page evangelist portraits of Matthew (fol. 28^{v}), Mark (fol. 71^{v}) and Luke (fol. 101^{v}) in anthropomorphic style (Ill. MSS in Bodleian, i, no.427); some neums.

Written by three scribes in caroline minuscule:

1. fols 16-28;
2. fols 29-101;
3. fols 102-190.

Landevennec, Brittany, s.ix/x 2^{o}fo: 'semina pulularent...'

The manuscript's text, script, lay-out, decoration and neums are very similar to those in a gospel book from Landevennec (New York, Public Library MS 115, see 'The Gospel Book of Landevennec', ed. C.R. Morey, E.K. Rand, C.H. Kraeling, Art

Studies, VIII (1931), pt. ii, 225-86) so this manuscript is also likely to have originated from the Landevennec community, who fled in 924 to Montreuil-sur-Mer to escape the Norse invaders. There is no sign that the manuscript left the Continent before the mid-eleventh century so it may have been brought to England in 1042 by Leofric, who may have been responsible for having the two extra Evangelist's portraits (fols 72, 146) added (Ill. MSS in Bodleian, i, nc. 433).

The first two quires were added at Exeter to bear the records of the see's endowments, including an inscription of Leofric's gift of this book which is one of the 'ii mycele christes bec gebonede' on his list (infra, p. 45). Untraced in 1327, but by 1506 it was bound in a gold and silver binding with a representation of the Crucifixion on it and was recognised as 'Hic textus est ornatus ex communi erario Leofrici Episcopi curialiumque eius 2°fo: Semina pulularent' (Oliver, Lives, p. 323). The valuable and antique binding possibly disappeared at the Reformation. Given to the Bodleian in 1602 by the Dean and Chapter.

Plates: fol. 71^{v} (St Mark) Ill. MSS in Bodleian, i, no.427 Pl.XXXV

fol. 72^{v} (St Mark, s.xi^{1}) ibid., nc. 433, Pl.XXXV; R. Schilling, loc. cit., pl.7.

fol. 146 (St John, s.xi^{1}) J.J. Alexander, 'A Little-known Gospel-book of the later eleventh century from Exeter', The Burlington Magazine, cviii (1966), Pl.11; and R. Schilling, loc. cit., pl.8.

fol. . . . Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, pl. 26.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS AUCTORIUM D infra 2.9 (S.C. 2638)

fols 1-110, CASSIAN

1. Cassian - de institutio coenobiorum et de octo principalium vitiorum remediis (ed. J.C. Guy, Institutions cénobitiques, Sources Chrétiennes 109 (Paris, 1965) Série des textes monastiques d'Occident no. xvii), 12 books preceded by a list of the books (fol. 1) and a preface (fols 1-3^{v}) beg. 'Veteris instrumenti narrat ...'. All books (except 5, 9, 10) are preceded by a chapter list; the text is generally close to that cited above, bar a frequent tendency to unite two chapters. Book 5, chs. 5-20 are completely omitted reflecting either a missing quire in the exemplar or the copyist's erroneous omission of a quire while copying, fols 1-110^{v};

a) Six lines of verse, untraced (pr. in S.C. ii, p. 464) beg. 'Nauta rudis pelagi...' in alternate lines of red and brown rustic capitals.

Original scribe, s.x/xi fol. 110^{v};

Fols 110; collated: $1\text{-}2^{8}$, 3^{8} (fols 17-23, lacks 7), 4^{8}, 5^{8} (fols 32-38, lacks 8), 6^{8}, 7^{8} (fols 47-52, lacks 7 and 8), 8^{8}, 9^{10} (fols 61-70) + i (fol. 71), $10\text{-}11^{8}$, 12^{8} (fols 88-95) + i (fol. 96), 13^{8}, 14^{6} (fols 105-10); some quires numbered with Roman numerals lower centre verso of final leaf (QQ 1, 6, 8-13) or lower centre recto of first leaf (QQ 2-4); 275 x 212mm.; written space 215 x 122 mm. (wide variations); ruled in dry point 25 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines (fols 39-52 have horizontal boundary lines only); two-line high brown ink initials at beginning of chapters with

red chapter numbers; headings are in red rustic capitals, occasionally some uncials and a few simple ornamental initials.

Written by nine scribes in caroline minuscule:

1. fols 1-15^{v}, 88-96^{v} (QQ 1-2, 12);
2. fols 15-16^{v}, 59^{v}-60^{v}, 72-79 (finishing off QQ 2 and 8, all of Q 10);
3. fols 17-23^{v}, 97-110^{v} (QQ 3, 13, 14);
4. fols 24-31^{v} (Q 4);
5. fols 32-38^{v} (Q 5);
6. fols 39-52^{v} (QQ 6-7);
7. fols 53-59^{v} (Q 8);
8. fols 61-71 (Q 9);
9. fols 80-87 (Q 11).

St Augustine's, Canterbury s.x/xi 2^{o}fo: 'sufficiat ad exemplum'

On the manuscript's origin and the other manuscripts in which these scribes appear see Bishop, ECM, p. 5. There is no prima facie evidence of the manuscript's being at Exeter in Leofric's time, but he owned another St Augustine's manuscript of the same period (Bodleian, MS Auct. F 1.15 fols 1-77, Boethius) whose scribe is no. 1 in this manuscript (Bishop, ECM, p. 7). There is no manuscript of Cassian recorded in Leofric's donation list, but it may be the 'Liber de institutione monachorum "Veteris" 1/-' in the 1327 inventory (Oliver, Lives, p. 304). It is definitely the Cassian manuscript recorded in 1506 as the 2^{o}fol. tallies (Oliver, Lives, p. 367) and it came to the Bodleian with the other Exeter manuscripts in 1602.

Plates: fol. 41 T.A.M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts Pt. IV', TCBS ii (1957), 323-36, pl. XIII.

fol. 67 Bishop, ECM, no.7, pl. V.

fol. 84 ed. T.A.M. Bishop, Aethici Istrici Cosmographia: Codex Leidensis Scaligeranus 69, Umbrae Codicum Occidentalium, 10 (Leiden, 1966), pl. C.

fol. 102 T.A.M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Pt. IV', TCBS ,ii (1957), 323-36, pl. XIII.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS AUCTORIUM F 1.15, fols 1-77 (S.C. 2455),

BOETHIUS

Ker, Catalogue, no.294

1. Boethius - de consolatione philosophiae (P.L., lxiv, 579-862) 5 books preceded by a preface (fol. 1) and an unnumbered chapter list (fols 2-4^{v}) fols 5-77;

a) numerous Latin glosses, interlinear and marginal to book 1 (fols 5-16 by original scribe, s.x^{2}) and to fols 66^{v}-72^{v} by a Christ Church, Canterbury scribe of c. 1000 (Bishop, ECM, p. 7);

b) six glosses in OE (pr. A. Napier, Old English Glosses, , no.34) by original scribe fols 7^{v}, 8^{v}, 9;

c) scribble 'brihtmaercild' s.xi ? fol. i^{v};

d) Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE (pr. in Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, p. lxi)

Exeter, scribe 2 s.xi, (3rd quarter) fol. 77^{v};

e) Latin glosses s.xi^{2} fols 39-40.

Fols i + 77; collated: 1^{4} (i, 1-3), 2-10^{8}, 11 a two (fols 76-77); 380 x 250 mm.; written space 245 x 123 mm.; ruled in dry point 26 long lines between double vertical and a single horizontal boundary lines; two-line high initials in green, purple and orange for prose sections, one-line high initials for beginning of lines of verse; the text begins with a line of 5-line high square capitals in orange, green and purple, followed by a line of 4-line high purple, a line of three-line

high red, a line of two-line high green, and a line of one-line high purple square capitals; other books begin with a line of ink rustic capitals; each book begins (fols 5, 16, 29, 48^{v}, 65) with an illuminated initial done in ink outline with acanthus and biting heads (Wormald, Initials, type II_2) decorated with red ink lines; some neums.

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished caroline minuscule, but with an insular a, r and g.

St Augustine's Canterbury, s.x/xi 2^{o}fo:

Written at St Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury by the same scribe who was responsible for Bodleian, MS Auct. D infra 2.9 fols 1-15^{v}, 88-96^{v} (Bishop, ECM, p. 7). The glossator of fols 66^{v}-72^{v} was a Christ Church scribe, which may suggest that the manuscript had soon passed to that house (ibid., p. 7). (Could the 'brihtmaercild' who inscribed his name on the front fly-leaf be this glossator?) The manuscript passed to Leofric (infra, p. 514) who gave it to Exeter where some glosses (e) were added. The neums and significative letters (fols 5, 12^{v}, 35^{v}, 42^{v}, 45^{v}, 47^{v}, 54, 57^{v}, 64^{v}) are typical of English neums of this period (. Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, p. lx-lxi) and may thus have been added at Exeter. Untraced in the 1327 and 1506 inventories, it was probably bound with the Persius manuscript (now MS Auct. F 1.15, fols 78-92) by 1602 when they came to the Bodleian.

Plates: fol. 5 Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, pl. 32

fol. 16 D.T. Rice, English Art 871-1100 (Oxford, 1952) pl. 44 B and Anglo-Saxon Illumination, pl. 13.

fol. 35^{v} Nicholson, op. cit., pl. 33.

fol. 71 Bishop, ECM, pl. VII

fol. 77^{v} infra, pl. III 8

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS AUCTORIUM F 1.15, fols 78-92

(S.C. 2455) PERSIUS

1. Persius - Satires, prologue and four books (ed. L. Herrman, A. Persii Flacci Satirici, Collection latomus lix, (Bruxelles, 1962)), some neums occur (fol. 47^{v}) fols 79-92;

a) numerous interlinear and marginal glosses throughout, by the scribe of the text.

St Augustine's Canterbury s.x/xi ;

b) Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 78;

c) outline ink sketch of a winged lion (for St Mark), in a roundel fol. 78.

Fols 16; collated: $1\text{-}2^{8}$; 380 x 255 mm.; written space 250 x 125 mm.; ruled in dry point 26 long lines between single vertical and horizontal boundary lines, marginal glosses ruled at half spacing of text lines; a four-line high green initial begins the books with one-line high orange initials for the beginning of each line of verse; each book begins with alternate lines of orange and green rustic capitals, the first of which is three-lines high; the explicit is in orange rustic capitals; bound in white sheepskin with the remnants of two clasps and a staple.

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished caroline minuscule.

St Augustine's Canterbury? s.x/xi 2^{o}fo: 'Scire tuum nihil..'

The similarity of lay-out, decoration and script to Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. F 1.15 part i make it likely that they originated in the same or a closely related house. The two texts were not bound together by the time Leofric gave them to Exeter or there would have been no purpose in both texts bearing a donation inscription or being recorded separately in his donation list (infra, pp. 54, 59). As neither the Boethius or Persius texts are recorded in the inventories we cannot tell at what stage they were bound together, but this probably occurred before they were transferred to the Bodleian in 1602.

Plates:

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS AUCTORIUM F.3.6 (S.C. 2666)

PRUDENTIUS

Ker, Catalogue, no. 296.

A collection of the poems of Prudentius, ed. M.P. Cunningham Carmina, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina cxxvi (Turnholt, 1966) hereafter cited as Carmina.

1. 'Passio Romani', 14 lines of verse beg.: 'Hec lege qui regum...' This is not from the 'Passio Romani' (no. 10 of Prudentius' Peristephanon) as the Bodley catalogue states and is untraced. fol. ii^{v};

2. An account of Prudentius, his poems and their metres, beg.: '(A)ierilius prudentius clemens iste...' (an abridged version of P.L., lix, 767-76) fols ii^{v}-iii^{v};

3. 'Cathemerinon', preface and 'book 1' i.e. first three hymns 'ad gallicantum', 'mattutinus' and 'ante cibum' (Carmina, pp. 1-18) fols 1-6;

4. Rest of 'Cathemerinon' with the hymns each having their appropriate title (Carmina, pp. 19-28, 35-72); the 'hymnus ante somnum' (Carmina, pp. 29-34) is omitted fols 6-20;

5. 'Apotheosis' (Carmina, pp. 73-115) in usual eight sections fols 20-43^{v};

6. 'Amartigenia' with preface (Carmina, pp. 116-48) fols 43^{v}-65;

7. 'Passio Romani', no. 10 of Peristephanon (Carmina, pp. 330-69) fols 65-88^{v};

8. 'Psychomachia' (Carmina, pp. 149-81), ending incomplete at l. 908 '... lux atque tenebre.' fols 89-110^{v};

9. 'Peristephanon', poems 1-14, omitting 10 (see 7 above)
(Carmina, pp. 251-329; 370-389) fols 111-146;

10. 'Contra Symachum', two books with preface to book 1,
(Carmina, pp. 182-208, 212-50) that of book 2 (Carmina, pp. 209-11)
is omitted. [Most of fol. 183 and all of 183^{v} left blank.]
fols 146^{v}-188^{v};

11. 'Dittochaeon', lacks a heading (Carmina, pp. 390-400)
with an epilogue (ibid., pp. 401-02) lacking in first line
fols 188^{v}-193^{v}.

a) Numerous inter-linear glosses throughout.
England, several scribes s.xi^{1}

b) Fifty-one glosses in OE, mainly interlinearly and in
margins of Psychomachia, ll.102-362 and Peristephanon v,
ll.3-169 pr. . Napier, Old English Glosses , no. 46,
p. 211. s.xi^{1} mainly fols 92^{v}-98^{v}, 124-5^{v};

c) Two charms in OE, headed 'wið þone dworh' and 'Gif
men ierne blod of nebbe to swið' pr. in A.S. Napier, 'Altenglische
Miscellan', Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen lxxxiv (1890),
323 and G. Storms, Anglo-Saxon Magic (The Hague, 1948) nos.77-8
s.xi^{1} fols ii, iii^{v};

d) Pen trials in left and lower margins and scribble in
OE 'scurfede hors' pr. as in b)
s.xi^{1} fol. ii^{v};

e) Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE pr.
Nicholson, Oldest Latin musical MSS, p. lxi.
Exeter, Scribe 2 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. iii^{v}.

Fols ii-iii + 193 + iii (194-97); collated: 1^{2} (fols ii, iii), 2^{8} (fols 1-7, lacks 1, 2 is a s.xi^{2} replacement, possibly for the original first 2 leaves), 3-14^{8}, 15^{8} (fols 104-10, lacks 2), 16-25^{8}, 26 a three (fols 191-93, remounted and resewn), 27^{4} (fols 194-7, blank end-leaves), 3 and 6 in Q 11 are singletons; 260 x 190 mm.; written space 175 x 120 mm.; ruled in dry point in 24 lines throughout between single horizontal and vertical boundary lines, but in double columns for fols 1-21, 113^{v}-32^{v} (fols 1, 21-31^{v}, 113, 133-134^{v} are ruled in double columns but written in long lines), fols 89-112 are also ruled in margin for gloss at half spacing of text; initials are one line high alternately red or brown ink, but usually 2 or 3-line high red initials for beginning of texts or main sub-sections; headings are in red rustic capitals; some neums.

Written by two scribes:

1. fols ii-iii, 2-88^{v}, 111-93^{v};

2. fols 89-110^{v} ;

[3. fol. 1, the replacement leaf,

Exeter, Scribe s.xi (3rd quarter)]

England. s.xi^{1} 2^{o}fo: 'Nemens sopori...'

The suggestion (S.C. 2666 and Exeter Book, p. 28) that the manuscript was originally in three parts is not tenable. The only place where a textual change coincides with a quire division [between the end of the Psychomachia (Q 15) and the Peristephanon (Q 16)] does not coincide with a change in scribal hand. The suggestion probably stemmed from the list of Leofric's donations where a 'liber prudentii psicomachie et liber prudentii ymnorum et liber prudentii de martyribus on anre bec' is noted. This

must be this manuscript, which contains Leofric's donation inscription (e), but the compiler of the list was picking out the noteworthy texts from the manuscript - not even in the order they appear or could even have appeared in the manuscript. Untraced in 1327, but it is the 'Plurima Prudentii Opuscula in 1 libro 2°fo: Ne mens' of the 1506 inventory (Oliver, Lives, p. 368). Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates: fols 5^{v}-6 Nicholson, Oldest Latin musical MSS, Plate 31.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 229 (S.C. 2120) Augustine

1. Augustine - de verbis domini (P.L.,xxxviii, 332-799), 66 sermons on gospel texts (out of 81 pr. in P.L.), prefaced by a list (fols 1-2) giving 62 sermons fols 1-180;

a) Corrections in the margins pointing out that the text was miscopied from its exemplar and that the reader should go from fol. 53^{v} (end of Q 7) to fol. 86 (Q 12, second leaf) through to fol. 92^{v} (end of Q 12), back to fol. 54 (Q 8) to read in the correct sequence

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter) fols 53^{v}, 54, 86, 92^{v};

b) An erroneous heading 'Gregorius quaranta Omeliarum'

Exeter, s.xi/xii fol. i^{v};

c) Nota (fols 36, 37, 39) and a comment on the order of the sermons

Exeter, s.xiv (John de Grandisson ?) fol. 68^{v}.

Fols i + 180; collated: $1\text{-}6^{8}$, 7^{6} (fols 49-53, lacks 7), $8\text{-}10^{8}$, 11^{6} (fols 79-84), $12\text{-}16^{8}$, 17^{8} (fols 125-31, lacks 7), 18^{6}, $19\text{-}22^{8}$, 23^{2} (fols 172-73), 24^{6} (fols 174-79) + i (fol. 180), 3 and 6 in Q 8 are singletons; 300 x 240 mm.; written space 230 x 150 mm.; ruled in dry point 29 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line high orange initials at the beginning of each sermon, one-line high in the sermon list, orange numbers; headings in orange caroline minuscule (partly oxidised); the text begins (fol. 2^{v}) with a 16-line high initial A in black ink with a trailing stem in red ink overlaid up the

right hand foot of the letter (Ill. MSS in Bodleian iii, no.46, no plate); bound in white sheepskin over medieval boards, the sheepskin is stamped in a large diamond pattern, each diamond contains a floral stamp.

Written by three scribes in caroline minuscule:

1. fols 1-53^{v}, 93-131^{v};

2. fols 54-92^{v};

3. fols 132-180.

England, s.xi^{1} 2^{o}fo: 'Eiusdem de verbis domini...'

The variation in spacing at the end of Scribe 1 and 2's stints (fols 53^{v}, 92^{v}, 131^{v}) suggests that the three scribes were working simultaneously from an exemplar whose quires had been split between them for copying. This explains the textual error (see a) since Scribe 2 must have misplaced the first quire allotted to him from the exemplar at the bottom of the pile of quires he had to copy. This error was not corrected until the manuscript came to Exeter, where another copy of the text must have been available for collation. This text does not occur in Leofric's list but may have been at Exeter in his time. It is traceable in both the 1327 and 1506 Exeter inventories (Oliver, Lives, pp. 302, 376) and came to the Bodleian in 1602.

Plates:

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 311 (S.C. 2122) GREGORY etc.

Ker, Catalogue ,no. 307

1. 'Incipit Penitentiale S⟨an⟩c⟨t⟩i Gregorii...', the Penitential of Pseudo-Gregory III,[1] (excerpts are pr. in F. Mansi, Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio (Florence, 1759) xii, 287-294), preceded by a list of 214 chapters, fols 5^{v}-20;

2. Augustine 'Interogatio', beg. '.1. De episcopis qualiter debent...' preceded by a list of 18 chapters, Bede, Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum, i, ch. xxvii (most) (see edn B. Colgrave and R.A.B. Mynors, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1969), pp. 78-102). fols 20-33;

3. 'Incipit Sancti Basilii Penitentiale ad comiani longii de remediis', the Penitential of Cummean (pr. L. Bieler, The Irish Penitentials, Scriptores Latini Hiberniae 5 (Dublin, 1963), pp. 108-35), preceded by a list of 223 chapters (fols 33-37^{v}) fols 33-50^{v};

4. Extracts from various penitentials, the first of which 'Item de modis penitentie' is derived from Cummean VIII 25-28, fols 50^{v}-62;

5. Jerome 'Opuscula ad damasum papa', beg. 'Sextus seniorum ordo est ... mereantur', untraced fols 62-64^{v};

6. 'Incipit Concilio Penitentiae. Haec est qui iudicaver unt ccc.xviii S an c t i patres ep iscop i in

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[1] An unordered abridgement mainly from Spanish canons and Celtic texts, including the Canones Hibernensis I (Paul Fornier and Gabriel le Bras, Histoire des Collections canoniques en Occident (Paris, 1931) i, 351).

concilio niceno...' (325 A.D.) with prologue (fols 64^{v}-70) and chapter list (fols 70-71^{v}). The text begins 'De eis qui habent uxores...' and is in 76 chapters (untraced) fols 64^{v}-85;

7. 'Iohannes me scripsit', the scribe's inscription in ink rustic capitals fol. 85;

a) A partly erased OE inscription in the upper margin '...u lf s⟨an⟩ c⟨t⟩a marian for 'aelfgyþ? ...) hys ge mieccan' s.x/xi fol. 1;

b) Gloss 'eorðe' to 'terra' in title of ch. 21 in chapter list of 1. s.x/xi fol. 1.

Fols i-iv + 85 + iii (86-88); collated: 1-10^{8}, 11^{6} (fols 81-85, lacks 2), 12^{2} (fols 86-7) + i (fol. 88), 3 and 6 in QQ 4, 6 and 2 and 7 in Q 7 are singletons; quires are signed with letters of alphabet on lower centre verso of the final leaf; 340 x 180 mm.; written space 245 x 115 mm.; ruled in dry point 25 (QQ 1-8) or 26 (QQ 9-12) long lines between double vertical and a single horizontal boundary line; ch. nos and initials at the beginning of chapters are in red; headings in red rustic capitals; a three-line high initial 'E' in black ink (fol. 64^{v}) is infilled with red wash between the arms; bound in white sheepskin with a diagonal diamond pattern, within each diamond is a (rubbed) floral roller stamp, the marks of two clasps and holes for the staple are visible.

Written by a single scribe in caroline minuscule.

North France? s.x^{2} 2^{o}fo.: 'xlvii Si quis monachus...'

The scribe also wrote Worcester, Cathedral Library MS Q 8 pt ii, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College,MS 285 pt ii, El Escorial, MS E II.1 and Rouen, B.M., MS 1385 (U.107), he may have been an Anglo-Saxon working in a North French monastery (Bishop, ECM, p. xxv). The manuscript soon reached England because of the inscription (a) dated c. 1000 A.D. It was given to a monastery dedicated to the BVM, possibly as a memorial for someone (Aelgyþ ?). Is it the volume referred to in the inscription in London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149 (q.v.) which states 'Hunc quoque voluminem aethelwardus dux gratia dei ad monasterium sancte marie ... condonavit cxviii'? Both manuscripts were subsequently at Exeter; were they given together to Leofric? It may be the 'i. canon on leden' in Leofric's donation list; it is one of the 'Duo penitenciales Gregorii: 'In ordinatione episcopi' 4/- recorded in 1327[1] and is the 'Liber penitencialis 2°fo Si quis' of the 1506 catalogue. Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates:

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[1] Oliver omitted this item from his transcript, it should be the final item in the 'Libri Gregorii' section (Lives, p. 302).

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 319 (S.C. 2226) ISIDORE

Ker, Catalogue, no. 308

1. Isidore - de fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Judaeos, 2 books with a preface and chapter list (P.L., lxxxiii, 449-538) fols 1-75;

a) Full interlinear gloss in OE to ch. xxvii of book 2, here called 'Recapitulatio operatio', pr. . . . Napier, Old English Glosses, no. 40, pp. 205-07

s.xi[1] fols 74-75.

iii + 1-75 + i-iv; collated: 1^6, 2^6 (fols 7-11, lacks 6), 3^8, 4^{10}, $5\text{-}10^8$, 11^4 (fols 76-79), $9\text{-}10^8$, fols 1-35 (QQ 1-5) individually remounted on paper, the lower two-thirds of the final leaf have been cut off; 320 x 220 mm.; written space 235 x 155 mm.; ruled in dry point 23 long lines between double vertical and a single horizontal boundary lines; two-line high initials at the beginning of chapters are in red or black ink, with other capitals occasionally being touched with red, green is used in the palette for book two; headings are in red square capitals, with red chapter numbers throughout; the binding is of white sheepskin stamped with a large diamond-shaped pattern, within each diamond a floral stamp (much rubbed) was made.

Written in an accomplished square insular minuscule by a single scribe.

South-West England, s.x[2] 2°fo: 'XLIII Quia mortuus est...'

The scribe also wrote London, Lambeth Palace Library, MS 149 and Exeter, D. & C., MS 3501, the 'Exeter book' (N.R. Ker, review of

facsimile edition of Exeter book, Medium Aevum, ii (Oxford, 1933), 224-31) Leofric owned both these manuscripts, so it is not unlikely that it is this manuscript which is the 'liber isidori de novo et veteri testamento' of Leofric's donation list (infra, p. 97). The final leaf may have contained a donation inscription, which may have been the reason behind the subsequent removal of most of the leaf. This text was also known as Isidore's 'de miraculis christi' and appears under this title in the 1327 inventory 'Ad Florentinam de miraculis christi Quia Christus 1/-' (Oliver, Lives, p. 303) and in the 1506 one 'Liber de Miraculis Christi 2° fo: Quare (sic) mortuus' (Oliver, Lives, p. 367). Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates:

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 394, fols 1-83 (S.C. 2225)

ISIDORE

1. Isidore - ad Florentinam de miraculis christi, 40 chapters preceded by a chapter list (fols 1-2) and a preface (fols 2-2^{v}) (P.L., lxxxiii, 449-538 under title of 'de fide catholica ex veteri et novo testamento contra Iudaeos')

fols 1-83;

a) note 'IIII . NON . JAN . FR . 1 LV XXVIII circa terciam horam diei. Lenis quidem . sed horibilis tantrui frigor f⟨a⟩c⟨tu⟩s est apud nos cum fulgore . grandine et vento'

Exeter, s.xi/xii fol. 84;

b) heading 'Lib⟨er⟩ Sa⟨nct⟩i Isidori ad Florentinam (de) mirac⟨u⟩lis christ'

Exeter, s.xi/xii fol. 1;

c) heading 'Isidorus ad florentinum' in lower margin

Exeter, s.xiv. fol. 1;

fols 1-84; collated: 1^{8} (fols 1-7, lacks 7), $2\text{-}10^{8}$, 11^{8} (fols 79-84, lacks 6 and 7); 290 x 195 mm.; written space 220 x 118 mm.; ruled in dry point 25 long lines between double horizontal and vertical boundary lines; two-line high initials at the beginning of chapters are alternately in ink or red; headings and chapter numbers are in red caroline minuscule, the incipit is in red rustic capitals.

Written by a single scribe in caroline minuscule with insular traces in his use of long s.

England. $s.x^{2}$ 2^{o}fo: 'Quia delatore eius'

There were two manuscripts of this text at Exeter, the other (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 319) being recorded as the 'Liber Isidori de novo et veteri testamento' in the list of Leofric's donations, while this is probably the 'Liber Isidori de miraculis christi' (infra, p. 538). There may have been a donation inscription on one of the now lost and leaves. It is probably the 'Ad Florentinam "Iudei nepharia" 2/-' of the 1327 inventory (Oliver, Lives, p. 303), a title which tallies with the title added to the manuscript about the same time (c). It is certainly the 'Ysidorus ad Florentinam "De latere" (sic)' of the 1506 inventory (Oliver, Lives, p. 372). Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates:

OXFORD, BODLEIAN, MS BODLEY 579. THE 'LEOFRIC MISSAL'

Ker, Catalogue, no. 315

Contents pr. in full The Leofric Missal, ed. F.E. Warren (Oxford, 1883, repr. 1968), described infra, ch. 2.

Plates: fol. 1 E. Rose-Troup (1937) pl. 57

fol. 1^{v} " , loc.cit. pl. 58

fol. 3 infra pl. XI

fol. 8^{v} Warren, Leofric Missal, frontispiece

fol. 11^{v} Rose-Troup, 1931, pl. 5

fol. 34 infra pl. VI

fol. 35 infra pl. IIIa

fol. 40^{v} Bishop, ECM, plate I no.2

fol. 49^{v} Anglo-Saxon Illumination pl. 9; Illuminated MSS in Bodleian 3, pl. III no. 25

fol. 49^{v} Anglo-Saxon Illumination pl. 10A

fol. 50 ibid. pl. 10b

fol. 53 Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, pl. 28

fols 59^{v}-60 ibid. pl. 29

fol. 60^{v} Illuminated MSS in Bodleian 1, pl. XXIV, no. 422.

fols 111^{v}-112 Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, pl. 27

fol. 155 infra pl. I

fol. 345^{v} infra pl. VIII

fol. 377^{v} Rose-Troup, loc.cit., pl. 59

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 708 (S.C. 2609) GREGORY

Ker, Catalogue no. 316

1. Gregory - Liber Pastoralis, 4 books preceded by a chapter list (fols iii-v) (P.L., lxxvii, 13-128) fols 1-112^{v};

a) Leofric's donation inscription in Latin and OE (pr. Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, p. lxi)

Exeter, Scribe 10 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 113.

Fols ii-v, 1-113 (fols 111-112 reversed); collated: 1^{8} (fols iii-v, 1-5 though all are individually mounted), 2^{8} (fols 6-13, but the outer bifolium was reversed by an earlier binder giving 13, 7-12, 6), 3^{8} (fols 14-21, again with outer bifolium reversed), 4^{8} (fols 22-29, the outer bifolium being a contemporary replacement leaf by an original scribe), $5\text{-}13^{8}$, 14^{10} (fols 102-110, 112), 15 a two (fols 111, 113); 305 x 215 mm.; written space 220 x 135 mm.; ruled in dry point 24 long lines between double vertical and a single horizontal boundary line; two-line high red or green initials at the beginning of chapters, occasional initials in the text are touched with red or silver? (both oxidised); red rustic capital headings, chapters begin with a number in red and a line of ink rustic capitals except for the text which begins a line of two-line high green square capitals and two lines of one-line high red square capitals; a fifteen-line high 'P' in black ink outline (fol. 1) has twining leaves, biting heads and knotwork (Wormald, Initials, type II_2).

Written by three scribes in caroline minuscule:

1. fols iii-v, 22 and 29 (a corrected bifolium),

54 l.22 - 112^{v};

2. fols 1-2;

3. fols 2^{v}-21^{v}, 23-28^{v}, 30-54 l.19;

[fol. 54 ll.20-21 not certainly separated]

Christ Church, Canterbury s.x ex 2^{o}fo: 'Quod aliter ammonendi'

Written at Christ Church Canterbury since the first scribe appears in other certainly identifiable Christ Church manuscripts (Bishop, ECM, no.10). It probably came to Leofric with the other Canterbury manuscripts he acquired and he left it to the cathedral.(a) It is one of the 'Tres Pastorales Gregorii in tribus voluminibus' in the 1327 catalogue and is the 'Pastorale Gregorii Pape 2^{o}fo: Quod aliter' of the 1506 catalogue (Oliver, Lives, pp. 302, 367). Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates: fol. 1 (part) Ill. MSS in Bodleian iii, pl.III, no.35

fol. 2 Bishop, ECM, pl.VIII.

fol. 30 Pal. Soc. II, pl.69.

fol. 110 Nicholson, Oldest Latin Musical MSS, pl. 30.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 718 (S.C. 2632) PENITENTIAL etc.

Penitential here ascribed to Archbishop Egbert of York, comprising 4 books each preceded by a chapter list.

1. Book one is Egbert's prologue, the twenty-one chapters of the 'Excerptiones Egberti' (pr. Thorpe, Ancient Laws, p. 326), the genuine penitential of Egbert (pr. F.W.H. Wasserschleben, Die Bussordnungen der abendländischen Kirche nebst einer rechtsgeschichtlichen Einleitung (Halle, 1851), pp. 231-47) and certain forms of prayers and litanies for confession which, from their invocations, are of Anglo-Saxon origin but which, from the mention of 'emperor' and 'canons', must be of a later date than Egbert's text. The book ends 'Finis libri Penitentialis Ecgberhti Archiepiscopi'[1] fols viii, 1-21;

2. Books 2-4 comprise books 2-4 of Halitgar of Cambrai, De vita sacerdotum,[2], bks 3-4 pr. as the work of Rabanus Maurus in Colvenerius' edn. of his work (Cologne, 1672) vi, 111-30. fols 22-178;

3. Epilogue requesting the reader's prayers for the scribe, beg. 'Ecce hec sunt pauca ... reddere pro cureas. Obto vos bene semper valere indomino' (pr. A.L. Richter, Antiqua Canonum Collectio (Marburgi Cattorum,1844) fol. 178 ll.6-13;

4. 'Africani concilii xliii', beg. 'Placuit quottiens quod quod (sic) ... sceleribus puniuntur' (pr. Conc. Carthage, V, 10, P.L., lxxxiv, col. 210 fol. 178 l.14-178^{v};

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[1] On this book see Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, iii, 413-16.

[2] Text identified by Mary Bateson, 'The supposed Latin penitential of Egbert and the missing work of Halitgar of Cambrai', E.H.R., ix (1894),320-26.

a) Excerpts on the position of the pope and on appeals to him attributed here to: Gregory, beg. 'Siquis praedia beati petri apostolorum ... bonis restituat', 'Decimas quas in usum pietatis ... per idem incurrere', 'Quia dies septime fore ... impediente abstineat' (Decrees of Council of Rome in 1078, nos 10, 6, 7 pr. Sacrorum Conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio J.D. 510-1 ed./Mansi, 20(Venice, 1884)/); Augustine beg. 'Siquis episcopum presbiterum vel diaconum ... finienda sunt'; 'Quod nequaquam unus plura teneat officium' beg. 'Singula ecclesiastica viris officia ... possint ordinari' (attacking pluralism); Gregory, beg. 'Qui cunque militum vel cuiuscumque ... excommunicationi subiaceat', 'Quam investituras ecclesiarum ... excommunicationi subiaceat' (on the theft of ecclesiastical vestments), 'Ut nullus abbas decimas ... sanctione firmamus' (banning abbots from taking tithe which appertains to a bishop without papal permission, the Decrees of Council of Rome in 1078, nos 1, 2, 8 pr. ibid., 509-10); Pope Eucharistius, beg. 'Male audita nullum moveant ... umquam credat'

England. s.xi ex. fols vi^{v}-vii^{v};

b) Quotations on infanticide and its penalties here attributed to Augustine, beg. 'Quaecumque mulier aut partum ... septem annos peniteant'; Jerome, beg. 'Quaecumque mulier hanc detestationem ... xiii annum penitet', 'Pudet dicere pronefas ... faciuntur nonnullae'

England. s.x ex. fol. 178^{v} ll.12-22;

c) Four notes on the sums due from various people both lay and clerical for plots of land in Banbury, Aylesbury and Thame (all in Oxfordshire).

England, four poor hands, s.xi ex. fol. 179;

d) Prayer, beg. 'Tua sunt haec criste opera tua miracula qui vere mirabilis es in sanctis tuis quas ita digneris glorificare ut eos de orte humani generis mirabiliter facias triumphare' (untraced).

England. s.xi/xii fol. 179;

e) Attributed to Gregory, Dialogues, beg. 'Nullus episcopus gravamen seu servitium ... periculum subeat', on a bishop's duties (untraced).

Exeter, Scribe 9 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 180;

f) Copy of letter from Pope Leo IX to Edward the Confessor authorising the removal of the see of Crediton to Exeter (pr. from the LM version in Haddan and Stubbs, Councils, i, 691-92)

Exeter, Scribe 9, s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. 180^{v};

g) Outline drawings of: the hand of God blessing a heavenward gazing figure, added in the left margin of fol. 128^{v}; a crayon sketch of a man in a tunic in the margin of fol. 132^{v}.

England s.x ex ?

Fols vi-viii + 1-181; collated: 1^{8} (lacks 1, fols viii, 1-6), $2\text{-}3^{8}$, 4^{6} (fols 22-28), $5\text{-}23^{8}$ | 24^{2} (fols 180-1), 3 and 6 in QQ 7 and 15 are singletons; QQ 1, 2, 4 are signed on the verso of the last leaf lower centre margin; 325 x 205 mm.; written area 230 x 125 mm.; ruled in dry point 22 long lines with double vertical and single horizontal boundary lines; two-line high initials, alternately in red and green for the first 2 books, then red or ink; chapter headings and explicits are in orange rustic capitals, books 2-4 begin with a line of one-line high green square capitals; large, elaborate initials at the beginning of each book (fols 1, 24, 53, 129) in ink outline and

red with masks, biting heads and interlace (Wormald, Initials, type II 2).

Written by a single scribe in an accomplished square insular minuscule, slightly smaller in size after fol. 90.

Southern England s.x ex. 2°fo: 'Institutio illa...'

This scribe also wrote the Sherborne Pontifical (Paris, B.N., MS lat. 943) and Exeter, D.& C., MS 3507, Rabanus Maurus, De computo, which Leofric also owned. The stylistic similarity of the illuminated initials to those in Bodleian Library, Oxford, MS Auct. F 1.15 (q.v.) and MS Rawlinson C 570, both from Canterbury s.x ex suggests a similar date for this manuscript. The manuscript must have been at Exeter in Leofric's time because of the entry by an Exeter scribe of a document relating to the see's transfer (f) and may have come there along with the Rabanus manuscript. Leofric may have owned this manuscript - the first leaf which may have borne a donation inscription has been removed. I can find no explanation for the entries relating to Oxfordshire estates. Recorded in the 1327 inventory 'Unus Liber Penitencialis: Istitutio illa' (Oliver, Lives, p. 304) but untraced in 1506. It was given to the Bodleian in 1602 by the Dean and Chapter.

Plates: fol. 1 Ill. MSS in Bodleian iii, no.36a, Pl. III.
fol. 24 (part) Anglo-Saxon Illumination, Pl. 12A.
fol. 28^{v} Ill. MSS in Bodleian iii, no.36b, Pl. III.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 849 (S.C. 2602) BEDE

1. Bede - super septem canonicas epistolas (P.L., xciii, 9-130), James (fol. vi), Peter I (fol. 44) and II (fol. 81^{v}), John I (fol. 105^{v}), II (fol. 154) and III (fol. 156^{v}) and Jude (fol. 159) fols vi, 1-168;

a) Scribal note at the end of the text 'Anno dcccxviii incarnatione domini nostri Iesu christi pascha v kalendas apriles lune in pascha xvii' in ink rustic capitals

28th March 818 A.D. fol. 168;

b) Scribble 'claenn' in upper margin, unrecorded in Ker, Catalogue. s.xi? fol. 64;

c) Notice of a comet (much rubbed) '( )XCXII visa est cometa in hu( )tem visus et apparuit 1111 ‹o›rum quo( )culis noctui singulis noctibus( ).

Exeter, Scribe 1 s.xi (3rd quarter) fol. vi;

d) A brown ink outline drawing of an arm and bearded head in lower margin

s.xi? fol. 7;

e) Title (fol. vi^{v}), running titles, chapter numbers in margin, nota signs where commentary on different epistles begins, added by Bishop John de Grandisson of Exeter, s.xiv med.

Fols ii-vi, 1-168 + iii (169-171); collated: 1^{8} (fols vi, 1-6, lacks 1), $2-20^{8}$, 21^{6}, 22^{6} (fols 165-70) + i (fol. 171); quires numbered with Roman numerals lower centre verso of final leaf

I-XXI (omitting XII and XVII); 210 x 155 mm.; written space 145 x 90 mm.; ruled in dry point 21 long lines between double vertical (no horizontal) boundary lines; the heading at the beginning of each text is a line of two-line high red square capitals and each commentary begins with a line of one-line high ink square capitals following an ink two-line high penwork initials (Ill. MSS in Bodleian i, pl. XXXIV, no.413); some marginal s-shaped marks to indicate quotations in the main text.

Written by a single scribe in caroline minuscule.

North France 818 A.D. 2°fo: ' mtri stare debemus...'

This is thought to be the earliest manuscript dated 'ab incarnatione'. Its origin is deduced from the script and ornamentation. Judging from a few corrections, the manuscript had reached south-west England by the tenth century when one corrector wrote 'bene' (fol. 73^{v}) with a high-shouldered e, another used insular g (fol. 118^{v}) while a third abbreviated 'noster' to 'n̄r̄' (fol. 134), an abbreviation found in manuscripts with Welsh or Cornish links e.g. Bodleian, MS Bodley 572, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 153 (W.M. Lindsay, Early Welsh Script, (Oxford, 1912), pp.). It is the 'expositio bede super septem epistolas canonicas' recorded in Leofric's donation list (infra, p.) and Leofric was probably responsible for the flyleaf entry recording a comet's appearance (c). Was this the famous comet of 1066 (ASC 1066)? The manuscript is recorded in both the 1327 and 1506 inventories (Oliver, Lives, pp. 303, 371) and was carefully examined by Bishop John de Grandisson in the fourteenth century (e). It came to the Bodleian in 1602 with other Exeter manuscripts.

Plates: fol. 44^{v} (part) Ill. MSS in Bodleian i, pl.XXXIV no.413.

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 865, fols 89-96 (S.C. 2759)

DIALOGUE

1. Dialogue between a master and his pupil on the advantages of the Latin tongue and learning and of speaking Latin 'latinaliter' and not 'ausonice', beg. 'Quo de loco hodie...' pr. W.H. Stevenson and W.M. Lindsay, Early Scholastic Colloquies, Anecdota Oxoniensia, medieval and modern series xv (Oxford, 1929) II, 12-20, 'Colloquia Hisperica', ends incomplete. fols 89-96.

Fols 8; collated: 1^{8}; 270 x 175 mm.; written space 220 x 130 mm.; ruled in dry point 22 long lines between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines; a two-line high orange initial followed by a line of ink square capitals begins the text; the heading was never entered; bound in white sheepskin.

Written by a single scribe in caroline minuscule, with many errors.

England, s.xi^{1} 2^{o}fo: 'affirmant. Nuper...'

Its origin, how and when it came to Exeter are unknown, but it would have been of use in the cathedral school (infra, p. 245). Untraced in the 1327 inventory, it was probably bound up with the sermons of Archbishop Fitzralph of Armagh and the fragments of the bilingual capitula of Theodulf in the fifteenth century as it was approximately the same size. Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates:

OXFORD, BODLEIAN LIBRARY, MS BODLEY 865, fols 97-112 (S.C. 2759)

THEODULF OF ORLEANS

Ker, Catalogue, no. 318

1. Theodulf of Orleans - Capitula with chapters in Latin and OE alternately, beginning incomplete '... lic ð niefre gystar...' (ch. 25 in OE) and continues to the end. Chapters 30 and 31 are fused (pr. with the Latin A.S. Napier, The O.E. version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang together with the Latin Original. An Old English Version of the Capitula of Theodulf together with the Latin Original. An interlinear Old English rendering of the Epitome of Benedict of Aniane, EETS (OS) 150 (1916, repr. 1971), pp. 102-18).

Fols 16; collated: $1\text{-}2^{8}$ (2 and 7 in Q 2 are singletons), three quires probably lacking from beginning of text; 266 x 170 mm.; written space 220 x 120 mm.; ruled in dry point 22 long lines between double vertical and horizontal boundary lines; one and a half-line high orange initials at the beginning of chapters; orange rustic capital headings for the Latin chapters, headings were never inserted in the spaces left for them before OE chapters; bound in white sheepskin over thick wooden boards with remnants of metal clasps.

Written by four scribes using caroline minuscule for Latin and insular minuscule for OE copying largely in a leaf by leaf system:

1. fols 97; 98^{v}-99 l.1; 100 ll.2-22; 101^{v}-102 l.1; 102^{v}; 103^{v} ll.22-104^{v}; 108 ll.1-8; 109 l.5-109^{v}; 110 ll.1-9; 110^{v}-111; 112-112^{v};

2. fols 97^{v}-98; 99 ll.2-22; 100^{v}-101 l.1; 103 l.17-103^{v} l.21; 105^{v}-106; 107^{v}; 108 l.9-108^{v}; 109 ll.1-4; 110 ll.10-22; 111^{v};
3. fols 99^{v}-100 l.1; 101 ll.2-22; 103 ll.1-16; 107;
4. fols 102 ll.2-22; 105; 106^{v}; 107 l.22.

English, s.xi^{1} 2^{o}fo:

The manuscript's origin, how and when it came to Exeter are unknown. It may be the 'Regula clericorum que sic incipit Obsecro vos' of the 1327 inventory (Oliver, Lives, p. 304). If so, the initial quires were probably lost within the following hundred years before this text was bound in the fifteenth century with a s.xv^{1} copy of the sermons of Archbishop Richard Fitzralph of Armagh given to Exeter by Richard Brounst, a choral vicar (fl. 1417). Given to the Bodleian by the Dean and Chapter in 1602.

Plates: fol. 107 A.S. Napier, op. cit., pl. opp. p. 112.

APPENDIX II. Did Leofric write Asser's 'Life of King Alfred'?

Professor V.H. Galbraith has argued that Leofric was the author of the Vita Alfredi which purports to have been written by Asser, the Welsh monk at Alfred's court who subsequently became Bishop of Sherborne.[1] This suggestion has already been partly refuted by Professor Dorothy Whitelock.[2] The text[3] does present manifold problems, many of which are still open to debate, but recent work appears to have strengthened the likelihood of Bishop Asser's (or a contemporary's) authorship.[4]

The loss of the only known manuscript of the text[5] to survive the middle ages in the Cotton fire of 1731 has made for more dissension than would otherwise have been possible. Wanley dated this manuscript to 1000 or 1001,[6] and, given the accuracy of his palaeographical judgements, one should be wary of assigning a mid-eleventh-century or later date to the composition of the text. (The usually accepted terminus

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[1] 'Who wrote Asser's Life of Alfred?', An Introduction to the Study of History (London, 1964), pp. 88-128, especially pp. 93-103 and pp. 117-20.

[2] The Genuine Asser, Stenton Lecture (Reading 1967).

[3] See the edition by W.H. Stevenson, Asser's Life of King Alfred (Oxford, 1904), hereafter cited as Stevenson.

[4] e.g. M.B. Parkes, 'The palaeography of the Parker MS of the Chronicle, laws and Sedulius and hagiography at Winchester in the late 9th and 10th centuries', Anglo-Saxon England, v (1976), 149-71, helps to explain some of the Frankish influences on the Vita which Stevenson observed.

[5] London, B.L., MS Cotton Otho B. xii.

[6] On the basis of a similarity between the main hand of the MS and that of Cotton Ch. Aug. ii. 22 (Stevenson, p. xlv).

post quem for its composition is the incorporation of sections of the Vita into his Chronicle by Florence of Worcester (1119). The poor facsimile of a page from the text[1] is not inconsistent with a s.x/xi date.

Rather than fully debating the problems of the text's authorship and date, I propose to concentrate on refuting the arguments put forward by Galbraith for Leofric's authorship. These can be summarised as:

(a) Leofric was a Welshman whose Latin style showed the Frankish strain in the vocabulary which Stevenson had commented upon.[2]

(b) Leofric had an adequate motive to write the Vita because he wished to prove the former existence of a see at Exeter to validate his removal of his see from Crediton to Exeter in 1050.[3]

(c) Leofric possessed some of the texts from which 'Asser' quotes.[4]

(a) Galbraith argues initially that Leofric was a Welshman, but later suggests he might have been Cornish.[5] This must stem from the description of Leofric as 'Brittanicus' in Florence of Worcester, where the adjective could mean Welsh,

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[1] From the edition of F. Wise (Oxford, 1722), reproduced in Stevenson, between pp. xxxii-xxxiii.

[2] Stevenson, pp. xciii-iv; Galbraith, loc. cit., pp. 95-98.

[3] ibid., pp. 98-100.

[4] ibid., pp. 100-103.

[5] ibid., pp. 98 and 119, however he adduces no evidence for either assertion.

Cornish or even Breton.[1]

However, Exeter sources give us no hint of a possible 'Celtic' origin for Leofric. His name is a common enough Anglo-Saxon one and he evinces an interest in Old English verse.[2] There are no signs in either the surviving Exeter manuscripts or the list of donations of any material other than in Old English or Latin or of any manuscripts relating to Welsh, Breton or Cornish history, such as one might expect Leofric to have acquired if he had the 'patriotic heart' with which Galbraith credits him.[3]

Stevenson analyses Asser's latinity as a mixture of 'hisperic' with a strong strain of Frankish words.[4] Although 'hisperic' latinity with its ostentatious style, arcane vocabulary and convoluted grammatical structure existed until the late eleventh century, it seems not to have been confined to any specific locality in tenth-century England.[5] Leofric was trained in Lotharingia,[6] so there could have been Frankish influences upon his vocabulary. Dr Chaplais has pointed out that there are Frankish formulae in some of the charters

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[1] Chronicon ex chronicis, i, 199 (ed. B. Thorpe, London, Eng. Hist. Soc. 1848-9).

[2] He owned the 'Exeter book' (Exeter, D. & C. MS 3501), one of the major surviving manuscripts of Old English verse.

[3] Galbraith, loc. cit., p. 119.

[4] op. cit., p. xcii-iv.

[5] See M. Lapidge, 'The hermaneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', Anglo-Saxon England, 4 (1974), 67-111; he prefers the term 'hermaneutic' to 'hisperic' to avoid the Irish connotations of the later term.

[6] William of Malmesbury, De Gestis pontificum anglorum, R.S (1870) p. 201, and certain liturgical features of Exeter books e.g. the devotion to Pope St Leo IX, tend to corroborate this.

relating to Exeter in Leofric's time,[1] which could perhaps be attributed to the bishop's influence, or to that of his priest Landbert. . However, none of the liturgical texts added to the Leofric Missal can be proved to have been drafted at Exeter, and the one original piece of Latin text - the description of the founding of the see of Crediton, its removal to **Exe**ter and the account of Leofric's episcopate[2] - reveals no 'hisperic' symptoms. The donation inscriptions and anathemas on the manuscripts Leofric gave to his church, which he might have drafted himself, show no particular elaboration. Since we cannot with certainty ascribe any text to Leofric, it is impossible to argue that his style is or is not identical with 'Asser's'.

(b) The references to Exeter in the Vita consist of passing mentions in caps 49, 50 and 52 when the Danish army wintered there and Alfred came to drive them out,[3] and the statement that Alfred gave to Asser 'Exanceastre, cum omnia parochia, quae ad se pertinebat, in Saxonia et in Cornubia.'[4] If Leofric wished to prove that Exeter had earlier been the seat of a bishop, to bury a two-line reference amidst a text of over a hundred chapters seems an unnecessarily arduous way of so doing. The forging of a charter purporting to be Alfred's grant to

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[1] Chaplais 2, pp. 30-31.

[2] LM, pp. 1-2.

[3] These are based on the account in the ASC for 876 and 877.

[4] cap. 81, Stevenson, p. 68.

Asser would be a much easier and quicker way of asserting the prior existence of a see at Exeter.[1]

Galbraith's hypothesis depends on the translation of the word 'Parochia' as 'diocese', yet he himself states 'His [Asser's] terminology is so vague as to make it unprofitable to discuss the meaning attached either to the word "parochia" or "monasterium".'[2] Paruchia or parochia is recorded as meaning diocese, archdiocese or province in the fifth century, but by c. 900 it could also mean parish and the derivatives of the word, which appear increasingly from the twelfth century onwards, all relate to parish.[3] This suggests that, if Asser was writing in the eleventh century, paruchia could be taken to mean 'parish' as easily as 'diocese'.[4] In order to strengthen his argument, Galbraith points out that Exeter, unlike St Davids, Banwell and Congresbury, is not referred to as a monastery by Asser.[5] The reason may, however, be that Exeter was a minster, with a group of secular clergy attached to it who served a wide area (parochia ?).[6]

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[1] Such a method would also be more in keeping with the Exeter practice during Leofric's episcopate of validating their territorial claims by reconstructing charters (infra, pp. 208-18).

[2] Galbraith, loc.cit., p. 98, footnote 2; Stevenson, p. lxxiii also translates 'parochia' as diocese.

[3] R.E. Latham, Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish Sources (London, 1965, repr. 1973), p. 333; Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infirmae latinitatis, vi, (Niort, 1883), 178-9 on parochia.

[4] The foundation charter of the see of Exeter which may well have been drafted there, refers to the 'Cornubiensem diocesim ... cum omnibus sibi adiacentibus Parochiis', i.e. parishes.

[5] loc. cit., p. 98.

[6] Rose-Troup, 1931, 188.

Did Leofric feel the need to justify the transfer on the grounds of historical continuity? We have two contemporary Exeter records of the transfer: the Confessor's foundation charter of 1050 for the see[1] and the account in the Leofric Missal.[2] The latter, written some years after 1050, as the official account of the transfer, stresses the danger from pirate raids and implies that this caused Leofric to contemplate removing the see from Crediton to Exeter. It also includes a copy of Leo IX's letter to the Confessor authorising the see's transfer 'a cridionensi villula ad civitatem exoniam' i.e. stressing the removal of the bishop's stool to an urban centre of population. This account views the see of Exeter as a continuation of that of Crediton. The charter joins the Cornish province of St Germans to that of Crediton and stresses Exeter as the seat of the united diocese. It is hard to see why, if Leofric had forged the Vita to validate the move, neither the royal charter authorising it[3] nor the Exeter account of the see's earlier history make any reference to a former see at Exeter.

(c) Galbraith further buttresses his argument for Leofric's authorship by arguing that some of the texts used by 'Asser' were in Leofric's library. He instances[4] -

1. Sedulius, Carmen paschale
2. Gregory the Great, Regula pastoralis

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[1] Exeter D & C MS 2072; O.S. Facs ii, Exeter 13.

[2] fol. 3; LM, p. 2.

[3] It was written by an Exeter scribe, infra, p. 169

[4] loc. cit., pp. 100-01.

3. Boethius, De consolatione philosophiae

4. Gregory the Great, Dialogues

5. Prosper of Aquitaine

6. 'Liber Oserii'.

With the exception of the final item, which cannot be immediately identified, all of these were common enough texts in Anglo-Saxon England and their presence at Exeter a priori proves nothing. A closer examination of this list is illuminating.

1. 'Asser' uses only one quotation from the Carmen paschale, which was a favourite poetical text and school book throughout Western Europe. We cannot be sure, though, that this was the work of Sedulius meant by the reference in the Exeter list[1] to 'Sedulies boc'.

2. Gregory's Pastoral Care is quoted once by Asser and Leofric's copy of this text is now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 708. This text was translated into Old English by Alfred, who acknowledged Asser's help in the Preface. A copy, including the Preface, was made at Exeter in Leofric's time.[2] Asser used only the Latin text of this work and makes no mention of the Old English translation in his Vita. If Leofric was 'Asser', we need to presume that he was ignorant of the Old English version's Preface, although he later came to know the text.

3. Leofric possessed Boethius' work in both Latin[3] and Old English.[4] However Asser does not quote or refer to this text.

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[1] Bodleian, MS Auct. D2.16 fol. 2[v], pr. LM, p. xxiii.

[2] C.U.L. Ii.2.4, infra, p. 446

[3] Bodleian, MS Auct. F.1.15.

[4] The MS is not extant.

[5] Rome, MS Vatican latinensis 3363 - Boethius - has a commentary in a Welsh hand of s.ix med. This commentary bears some resemblance to that commentary which lies behind Alfred's translatior and is presumed to be by Asser.

4. Asser mentions[1] Werfrith's translation into Old English, but there are no quotations from Gregory's Dialogues in the Vita. Leofric's copy was in Latin and is not extant.

5. Galbraith suggests that the volume of Prosper which Leofric possessed may have included the single quotation from St Augustine's Enchiridion, which occurs in the Vita. As the volume of Prosper owned by Leofric is not extant, and he did not possess a copy of the Augustine text, the suggestion cannot be verified. However, as Stevenson pointed out,[2] Asser introduced this quotation[3] as coming from the scriptures and was therefore quoting from memory, so the actual ownership by Leofric of such a text is irrelevant.

6. Förster first suggested that the mysterious 'liber Oserii' of Leofric's list might be a scribal error for 'Asserii',[4] perhaps as such a text is otherwise unknown in medieval library catalogues. However, there is an entry in the 1327 Exeter inventory 'Osorius de Deo et de superioribus creaturis. Sciendum est'.[5] Though it seems that the author's name could be misread (Oserii/Osorii) and, of course, may have been mis-copied originally, the identification of this item in the 1327 inventory with Leofric's 'liber Oserii' seems reasonable. Its heading and incipit do not accord with those of Asser's Vita. Its entry amongst texts ascribed to Isidore of Seville suggests

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[1] cap. 77; Stevenson, p. 62.

[2] op. cit., p. xcv.

[3] cap. 103; Stevenson, p. 89.

[4] Exeter Book, p. 30

[5] Oliver, Lives, p. 303.

that 'Oserius' might be an error for Orosius,[1] Isidore's contemporary and correspondant.[2] Galbraith, after acknowledging the item in the 1327 inventory, persists with the suggestion that 'Oserii' was a misreading for 'Asserii'.

These six texts were, according to Galbraith, a not inconsiderable fraction of the literary sources used in the Vita.[3] In reality, Asser used few direct quotations[4] other than from the Bible, which in itself tells us nothing of the writer's identity. Leofric owned one or possibly two out of the three common enough texts quoted from by 'Asser', which is inadequate corroborative proof of his authorship of the Vita. More importantly, we have no evidence that Leofric knew of certain texts about which Asser must have known. The list of Leofric's donations to Exeter and later library lists give no hint of any copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which Asser used up to the year 893. It is possible that Leofric had read Thegan's Life of Louis the Pious while he was on the Continent, since I am unaware of any copy of the text in England in the eleventh century. The most recent historical text which we know Leofric possessed was Bede's Historia ecclesiastica. If Leofric were Asser, we must also presume that his knowledge of ninth-century Wales came either from his unproven Welsh descent or from a borrowed and no longer extant Welsh history.

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[1] Especially if the manuscript's heading was in Insular minuscule 'Oꝛoſii'.

[2] Isidore addressed his Allegoriae quaedam sacrae scripturae to Orosius (P.L., lxxxiii, 98).

[3] loc. cit., p. 102.

[4] Stevenson, pp. xciv-v.

[5] There appears to have been a recension of the ASC in the south-west, which Aethelweard used in compiling his Chronicle (ed. A. Campbell, London 1962), but it has not survived.

The list of Leofric's donations suggests a man whose intellectual tastes were different from those of Asser.[1] Asser possessed a 'real, if limited historical sense',[2] while Leofric shows a predelictions for sacred and secular verse, both Latin and Old English, rather than for historical texts.

It has been suggested that 'Asser' ended his Vita abruptly in 893 as the forger did not know enough about Alfred's translations into Old English.[3] Galbraith admits that Asser knew 'nothing of the translations of Bede, Orosius or Augustine's Soliloquies',[4] yet Leofric or his church possessed a substantial number of the Old English translations. Their manuscripts of Bede[5] and Gregory's Pastoral Care[6] are still extant, while Exeter's Old English versions of Boethius and, possibly, Gregory's Dialogues, though recorded in Leofric's donation list, have since disappeared. This suggests that Leofric probably had nearly as good a collection of the Alfredian translations as would be available to any eleventh-century potential forger of the Vita. This, thus, seems a rather inadequate explanation for the form of the Vita as an unfinished draft. Galbraith suggests that the Vita was originally an expanded version of the ASC, but that when Leofric came across Einhard's Life of Charlemagne he revised it.[7] Marie Schütt has

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[1] Leofric's library also shows little sign of texts written in a hisperic Latin style, which is perhaps surprising if he were 'Asser'.

[2] Galbraith, loc.cit., p. 127.

[3] The abrupt ending may be due to the recension of the ASC used by Asser stopping at that year.

[4] Galbraith, loc. cit., p. 102.

[5] C.C.C.C. MS 41.

[6] C.U.L. MS Ii.2.4.

[7] loc. cit., pp. 118-19.

demonstrated, however, that Asser did not depend on Einhardt,[1] while Leofric is unlikely to have come across the text in late Anglo-Saxon England.

Galbraith suggests in passing that the Vita could have been forged at Crediton after 1027 when Bishop Lyfing added the see of St German's to that of Crediton.[2] The motive behind the forgery would then be to urge the transfer of the joint sees to Exeter in order to hide the pluralism involved. Lyfing, however, cannot personally have been troubled by pluralism, as from 1038 until his death in 1046 he also held the see of Worcester. Pluralism was a sensible measure when sees were poorly endowed[3] and was not regarded severely by the papacy until the reform movement began with the accession of Leo IX in 1049.[4] If Leofric then felt the need to hide his pluralism, he would need to have forged the Vita extremely quickly in order to use it as evidence to persuade Leo IX to allow the removal of the see to Exeter. The Vita cannot have been intended to hide pluralism from the Confessor, whose foundation charter for the see of Exeter clearly mentions the incorporation of the Cornish see of St German's. After the removal of the see to Exeter in 1050, there would be little

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[1] 'The Literary form of Asser's "Vita Alfredi",' E.H.R., 72 (1957), 209-20. Galbraith, loc.cit., p.113 fn.1 cites Schütt, but makes no effort to refute her conclusions.

[2] loc.cit., p. 100.

[3] The efforts made by Leofric to regain various estates and the unadorned books produced in the Exeter scriptorium combine to suggest a poorly endowed see.

[4] Even then, Herman, bishop of Ramsbury, could acquire the see of Sherborne in 1058 and hold them jointly until the two sees were amalgamated into the new one of Salisbury in 1078.

reason for Leofric to forge the Vita, as he had obtained both Papal and royal consents to the removal. This in fact removes some of the value from Galbraith's arguments that Leofric owned certain texts which Asser used, as we cannot always ascertain when Leofric acquired these books.

I would suggest, therefore, that there is no proof that Leofric had either the motive, or the necessary texts or the right intellectual background to have been 'Asser'.[1] Leofric occupied his time at Exeter by rebuilding the temporal endowments of his see through practical measures, like organising a scriptorium to provide the books needed for the services and charters to substantiate claims to estates, and by fulfilling his episcopal duties. It seems unlikely that he was any less practical during his four years at Crediton. To waste considerable time and energy in writing an incomplete Vita Alfredi in order to insert a passing reference to an Exeter 'parochia' to justify either pluralism or the see's transfer to Exeter and then not to use the 'validity' so provided, appears improbable. It accords ill with the picture of Leofric's activities at Exeter which can be constructed from sources over which there is no controversy. If Asser's Vita Alfredi was not written by a Welsh cleric at Alfred's court, but is a later forgery, the motive seems in no way to be connected with Leofric and the reference to Exeter's 'parochia'.

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[1] This would largely apply also to any Crediton cleric of the period before the see's transfer.

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