

**LEOFRIC OF EXETER AND HIS LOTHARINGIAN CONNECTIONS:
A BISHOP'S BOOKS, C. 1050-72**

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by

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Abstract

E. Corradini, *Leofric of Exeter and his Lotharingian Connections: a Bishop's Books, c. 1050-72*

The collection of books assembled for Leofric, bishop of Exeter, during the twenty-two years of his episcopacy has been the subject of sustained scholarly attention, which has just started to uncover the importance that scriptorial materials have in illuminating the life and deeds of the bishop. Due to the lack of a hagiography dedicated to him, Leofric's importance in the eleventh-century church has long remained obscure.

The following thesis endeavours to shed new light on the activities that underpinned Leofric's episcopacy through an investigation into the books compiled at the bishop's behest. In particular, four homiliaries are here under scrutiny from a perspective that is both physical and textual: these manuscripts contain a selection of texts that Leofric requested specifically for performing his pastoral remit and that, for this reason, represent the bishop's interests. The analysis of some of these texts demonstrates that, when studied in their manuscript context, homilies yield crucial information on the way in which preaching materials were used and on the audiences to whom they were directed in times subsequent to their composition.

The way in which Leofric exploited homiletic works dating to the late tenth century was innovative and original in so far as it reflected the administration policies that he adopted for his diocese and the reforms that he activated in restructuring a decaying episcopal see. His pastoral achievements were not only important in the context of the eleventh-century English episcopate but also in a broader, continental perspective and were attained as part of a reforming programme that would later culminate in the Gregorian Reform. Leofric's Lotharingian education triggered the activation of these reforms at Exeter at a time when Lotharingian prelates held prominent positions in the western Christendom.

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Abbreviations

B. L.	British Library
CCCC	Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
CUL	Cambridge, University Library
EETS	Early English Texts Society
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
LM	Leofric Missal
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historicae
OE	Old English
os	original series
ss	supplementary series
c.	<i>circa</i>
corr.	corrected
fol(fols).	folio(s)
l(l).	line(s)
p(p).	page(s)

r	<i>recto</i>
repr.	reprinted
s. x ²	second half of the tenth century
s. xi ¹	first half of the eleventh century
s. xi ^{3/4}	third quarter of the eleventh century
s. xi ⁱⁿ	beginning of the eleventh century
s. xi ^{med}	middle of the eleventh century
s. xi ^{ex}	end of the eleventh century
unpub.	unpublished
v	<i>verso</i>
vol(s)	volume(s)

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Introduction

The early medieval scriptorium and book production have been the focus of substantial recent scholarly attention. The medieval book, when studied in its broadest cultural context, yields critical information about the status of literacy in society, about textual transmission, intellectual trends, and the political and religious ideologies underpinning the compilation and collection of manuscripts. The present work aims to contribute to this developing field with an innovative examination of the book collection assembled during the important and yet underestimated episcopacy of Leofric at Crediton and subsequently at Exeter during the years 1046-1072.

Research has demonstrated that during his office Leofric ably gathered at his own initiative a book collection that after his death became the possession of Exeter Cathedral. Educated in Lotharingia, and brought to England with Edward the Confessor, Leofric can be considered at the top tier of notable ecclesiastics in the eleventh century and his work at Exeter is only now becoming fully analysed.¹ The

¹ This thesis builds on the work of scholars such as Elaine Drage, Patrick Conner, Frank Barlow, Richard Gameson, Joyce Hill, and Elaine Treharne. Of these, the most notable research to date has been undertaken by Conner and Drage, and in relation to the latter, it is much to be hoped that her valuable Oxford dissertation will, one day, be published. F. Barlow, 'Leofric and his Times', in *Leofric of Exeter: Essays in Commemoration of the Foundation of Exeter Cathedral Library in A. D. 1072*, ed. F. Barlow and et al. (Exeter, 1972), 1-16; E. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050-1072: A Reassessment of the Manuscript Evidence' (unpub. D. Phil. Thesis, University

volumes collected by Leofric constitute a remarkable expression of the bishop's pastoral and political concerns and show that his achievements were very different from those attained by his Lotharingian peers, who held dioceses in the south-west of the country. Among the Lotharingian bishops appointed by King Edward the Confessor, Leofric was to instigate the production and collection of books which would be of use to him and his episcopal community. The collection includes mostly books for the liturgical office and a good number of manuscripts containing poetry and philosophy. These codices provided materials appropriate for running the liturgy of a cathedral church and for the instruction of the personnel who were in charge of administering the activities related to the busy life of an episcopal chapter. Leofric's manuscripts, which came to form the cathedral library after the bishop's death, deserve scholarly attention because they constitute an important testimony to the intellectual interests of an eleventh-century secular cathedral. This distinction of the secular order is essential, since it is clear that Leofric himself introduced a community of secular canons following the continental Rule of Chrodegang of Metz at Exeter under the bishop's jurisdiction. He made a clear political and ecclesiastical statement in this choice of rule, and this is something that might make a major contribution to our understanding of his intentions in his work.

The studies on Leofric's book collection and on the activities in which he engaged as bishop of Exeter recently published by Conner, Treharne and Hill have shown that Leofric's role within the late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman

of Oxford, 1978); P. W. Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter: a Tenth-Century Cultural History* (Woodbridge, 1993); R. Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1996), 135-185; E. Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', *The Review of English Studies* 54, no. 214 (2003), 155-171 and J. Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', in *Imagining the Book*, ed. Stephen Kelly and John J. Thompson (Turnhout, 2005), 77-98.

church has long remained unrecognised, especially in relation to his colleague Wulfstan II of Worcester.² This may partly be due to fragmentary historical evidence, but more so to the lack of attention given to his manuscripts, especially those produced at his behest. This study has sought to redress the significance of Leofric's episcopacy in the context of the eleventh-century English church and in that of a wider Christian community, one in which Lotharingian ecclesiastics occupied prominent positions like Pope Leo IX (1049-1054), previously bishop of the Lotharingian diocese of Toul.

Moving from the reassessment of the Exeter manuscripts, so ably completed by E. Drage in her unpublished Oxford DPhil in 1978—which was employed throughout this thesis as fundamental secondary source material—my research work has involved the analysis of the bishop's vernacular homiliaries in relation to their manuscript and historical context. In distinction to Drage's thesis, which is principally historical and palaeographical in focus, and centres on the Latin manuscripts in Leofric's collection, this study provides greater details in relation to the vernacular material. Emphasis has been put on the palaeographical and codicological examination of two sets of additions compiled by Exeter scribes and later inserted into a homiliary that Leofric acquired from a centre in the south-west of the country—quite possibly Canterbury—now shelf-marked Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421. The palaeographical and codicological details that my analysis produced reinforced the idea, already suggested in Treharne's more general work, that the bishop carefully planned the production of a collection of sermons that he might use to perform his episcopal tasks. The compilation of what has been defined an 'episcopal homiliary' indicates that Leofric personally engaged in activities that

² Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*; Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting'; and Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

involved preaching; the contents of the homilies in his collection reveal that he may have used them when he performed pastoral duties such as the dedication of churches, diocesan synods, the instructions of his chapter and priests, as well as when he participated in mundane events such as royal councils or legislative assemblies. This is important, since it provides evidence that bishops seem to be those to whom preaching duties chiefly fell. That Leofric may have needed a collection of homilies to assist him in his preaching activities is hardly surprising; moreover, this written material suggests his particular circumstances, that, given his continental education, he may have been unfamiliar with the English homiletic tradition.

In this thesis I have sought to shed light on the uses that Leofric made of homiletic materials dating to the second phase of the English monastic reform and the significance that these works had to his pastoral commitments. To this purpose, I have contextualised the homilies contained in the additions to CCC 421 in the historical period in which Leofric was bishop of the diocese of Devon and Cornwall and analysed them in relation to the realities of his day and to his Lotharingian background. I have specifically chosen to focus on the homilies contained in these additions because these texts were physically removed from one manuscript context to another. The 're-contextualisation' of these sermons suggests that texts could be easily adapted to different manuscript contexts and that they were used several times to fulfil varying purposes. This is critically important because we still tend to homogenise homilies as functioning in one particular context (for preaching on a particular occasion only) and scholars still tend to treat codices, too rigidly perhaps, as unchanging objects. My study is therefore an analysis of these homilies in relation to the contexts in which Leofric might choose to deliver them, rather than a textual examination *per se*. The chosen focus of this study is, thus, the contexts in which the

bishop's homilies were produced, placed and delivered; its final aim is to address Leofric's pastoral achievements and his position in the eleventh-century English church and in the broader Christian community. To this end, an investigation into Leofric's Lotharingian background has been deemed necessary for assessing the influence that this may have exerted on the formation of the work that mostly reflected his pastoral and political concerns, that is his homiliaries. This has finally revealed, for the first time in modern scholarship, that Leofric was responsive to the reforming policies in ecclesiastical matters that Lotharingian prelates had kindled during the years of his sojourn on the continent. Particularly, the reforms anticipated by Wazo, schoolmaster and subsequently bishop of Liège, seem to have influenced his pastoral work.

The way in which the present work is structured also emphasises that the texts are studied in close relation to the context where they were produced, placed and used. Chapter 1 provides a historical background whose aim is to place Leofric's appointment to the see of Devon and Cornwall and his episcopacy in a perspective that accounts for Edward the Confessor's domestic and foreign policies in religious matters. In this section an outline of the royal policies is presented, which particularly focuses on religious affairs during the years crucial to the consolidation of Leofric's episcopal power and the reorganisation of his diocese that is the 1050s. From the bigger picture I then move inwards and concentrate on what is particular to Leofric's episcopacy and his most remarkable achievement; that is, the formation of his collection of books. Chapters 2 and 3 focus on the activities related to book production and book collecting instigated by Leofric at Exeter. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the most recent scholarship on the bishop's library mostly centred on Conner's study on the Exeter book collection and Drage's doctoral work. The third chapter contains a discussion on the scriptorial activities at Exeter that delineates

possible phases of book production during Leofric's tenure. This section builds on Drage's palaeographical assessment of the Exeter manuscripts, in particular Leofric's own missal. Chapter 4 concentrates on the portion of the bishop's collection that mostly represents Leofric and his episcopacy; that is, a set of four vernacular homiliaries containing materials dating to the second phase of the monastic reform. This chapter, in particular, contains the palaeographical and codicological analysis of the additions inserted into one of the four manuscripts: CCCC 421. Chapter 5 provides a reading of the homilies contained in the above mentioned additions in relation to possible contexts, in which they may have been delivered by Leofric. Finally, Chapter 6 brings to bear onto Leofric's homiliary his Lotharingian background and the reforming ideas to which he may have been exposed during the years of his training on the continent. The objective of this last chapter is to complement the picture of the religious and political context in which Leofric operated which is partially illustrated in Chapter 1. This last section provides a more comprehensive description of the position held by the bishop on the English religious scene than has been attempted previously. In this chapter bishop Leofric's episcopacy is placed in a perspective that brings into the discussion the religious policies of Lotharingia, the area of the continent from which a reorganisation of the church was instigated that would culminate into the Gregorian Reform.

Chapter 1

Historical background: Bishop Leofric and the English Church in the 1050s

The life and activities of Leofric, bishop of Devon and Cornwall, who reigned 1046–1072, have too often been obscured by exiguous historical evidence that has caused the reconstruction of his episcopacy to be a difficult task, as shown by recent scholarship.¹ Unlike his peer and colleague Wulfstan II, bishop of Worcester 1062–1095, whose *vita* has glorified his position within the late eleventh-century English church, Leofric does not seem to have been much celebrated after his death.² This is quite possibly due to the complete absence of a hagiography dedicated to him. That Leofric was perceived as a positive pastoral figure for his Cathedral may however be deduced from a list written shortly after his death in 1072 by someone in his entourage. This catalogues the goods that the bishop accumulated during his time of office and that he eventually donated to Exeter Cathedral before dying. In enumerating the fortunes that Leofric acquired during his pontificate, this list

¹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'; Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*; Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting'; Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry'.

² William of Malmesbury. *Saints' lives. Lives of Ss. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and M. R. Thomson, eds., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2002).

documents the bishop's struggle to restore the resources of a poorly endowed episcopal seat: the diocese of Devon and Cornwall had indeed suffered from the plundering of Viking raids in the early years of the century.³ Exeter, its major city, for example, was sacked in 1003.⁴

Leofric became bishop of the see of Crediton, a rural town in Devon, in 1046, when Edward the Confessor rewarded him with the bishopric of Devon and Cornwall for his services as a royal chaplain.⁵ He was among the priests who came to England following Edward the Confessor on his return from exile on the continent, to be crowned king in 1042. Edward and Leofric probably met in Lotharingia, the region now comprising West Germany, Luxemburg, part of Belgium and the Netherlands and northern France (see Appendix II), where Edward spent some years of his exile and where Leofric received his education.⁶ He was, in all probability, trained in one of the major episcopal cities of this area, quite possibly at the cathedral of Liège.⁷ He may well have had in mind examples such as the diocesan city of Liège when in 1050, after obtaining papal permission, he removed the episcopal seat from the

³ The two existing copies of Leofric's list were originally contained in two gospel books, now identified as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16 and Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2.11. However, the copy contained in the latter was later bound in Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501, the *Exeter Book*. The list of Leofric's endowments to Exeter Cathedral has been published in M. Förster, 'The Donations of Leofric to Exeter', in *The Exeter Book of Old English Poetry*, ed. R. W. Chambers, M. Förster and R. Flower (London, 1933), 10-25 and more recently in Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter* in Appendix v, pp. 226-35.

⁴ F. Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 74 (1942), 41-66, p. 43.

⁵ S. Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', *Anglo-Norman Studies. Proceedings of the Battle Conference* 10 (1988), 185-222. Keynes argues in this article (pp. 190-2) that priests served in the royal chancery during Edward's reign. They were selected because they had to accomplish religious duties while being in charge of the activities related to the chancery.

⁶ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 9.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 12

provincial town of Crediton to the urban centre of Exeter.⁸ A city was indeed a location more favourable to Leofric's episcopal institution and to his ambitions, because more visible than (and possibly more accessible than) a remote village like Crediton.

The reasons behind the transfer of the see from a rural area to a city seem to have been mainly related to the state of material poverty that Leofric found at Crediton in 1046.⁹ The inventory of goods drawn up at the end of Leofric's office in 1072 records the tracts of land that Leofric acquired for his impoverished cathedral during his pontificate. Likewise, the list mentions that he obtained church treasures and service books that were most needed at his re-founded cathedral. In 1050, when Leofric moved to Exeter, he expelled the monks who had been living there: his donation list bears evidence that all that he had inherited from the old occupiers of the minster consisted of five worn out service books and a very old set of mass-vestments.¹⁰ Leofric augmented the existing collection of liturgical volumes of thirty-two items, a number that, if compared with the five old books that he found in the cathedral on his arrival at Exeter, significantly emphasises his merits in providing new texts for the liturgical offices. Leofric's donation list shows indeed that the bishop spent what probably was a sizeable part of his time procuring resources that were most needed to repair the state of poverty in which his diocese lay, such as lands, church furniture and books.

⁸ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', pp. 81-2.

⁹ Ibid. Cf. also Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 21-32.

¹⁰ The inventory list reports: 'he ne funde on þam minstre þa he tofeng boca na ma buton .i. capitularie. 7 .i. forealdod nihtsang. 7 .i. pistel boc. 7 .ii. forealdode ræding bec swiðe wake. 7 .i. wac mæssereaf'. Translation: 'he found in the Minster where he took charge no more books than one capitulary, one very old nocturnal antiphonary, one epistolary, two worn-out lectionaries, and a poor set of mass-vestments.' I use the edition of the list contained in Appendix v to Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 226-35; translations into modern English are mine unless otherwise specified.

Among the riches that Leofric donated to Exeter Cathedral are the sixty-four volumes—including liturgical and non-liturgical items—enumerated in his inventory list.¹¹ To these items—not all of which have been identified with surviving codices—one should add those manuscripts that show an affiliation with Exeter at the time of Leofric's office and that for reasons, not yet fully investigated, were not included in his list.¹² A collection counting more than sixty books may be considered to have been a fairly remarkable one in late Anglo-Saxon England especially for a church that, like Exeter, is usually referred to as one that did not have much of an episcopal tradition—let alone a scriptorial one—and nevertheless, at the end of the eleventh century boasted a book collection comparable to those held by major episcopal centres like Winchester, Worcester or Durham, which already had a longstanding tradition in collecting and producing books.¹³

The sixty-four volumes enumerated in Leofric's donation list are mostly ecclesiastical books. A substantial part includes volumes of a liturgical nature that

¹¹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter, 1050-1072', pp. 41-61. Drage lists fifty-nine volumes because she does not count the five books that already were at Exeter and therefore were obviously not donated by Leofric, being already property of the Cathedral. There is however no reason to believe that these were not part of the library that Exeter Cathedral had in 1072. My count is based on the edition of the list proposed in Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 226-35.

¹² A set of homilies contained in four manuscripts written or augmented at Exeter and an Old English copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* that were certainly in use during Leofric's office are not included in the bishop's list. These are contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421 and 419; London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii; London, Lambeth Palace 489 and in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41, respectively.

¹³ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 2-20. A study on the frequency of attribution of extant manuscripts prior to the twelfth century has shown that Exeter had a remarkable number of books, given the small size and the lack of episcopal tradition generally attributed to its cathedral. Leofric was indeed the first bishop of Exeter. When he moved there in 1050 he found buildings in fairly good conditions that he adapted to an episcopal centre. Those buildings had served a monastic community that by the time he arrived totalled a number of eight monks: those he expelled in order to house a community of canons. For a detailed account see Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', pp. 45-6.

were needed in religious offices, like missals, gospel books, antiphonals, hymnals, lectionaries, and epistolaries. A smaller, but still important part of the collection consists of works related to philosophy, for instance, Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae* and his commentaries on the *Isagoge* of Prophyrius.¹⁴ Poetry is also well represented in the collection: one section is dedicated to early Christian poetry including works of Prudentius, the *Carmen Paschale* by Sedulius and a didactic work by Arator on the *Acts of the Apostles*;¹⁵ a second one comprises classical Latin authors, like Persius and Statius.¹⁶ Old English poetry is present in the famous volume known as the *Exeter Book*. The English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and English homiletic texts written in Exeter hands are known to have been in use at Exeter in Leofric's time, possibly by Leofric himself, though they do not appear in his list.¹⁷ There may also have been books that belonged to the minster's tenth-century history and that were not added to Leofric's list of donations.¹⁸ The reasons why these books were not included among Leofric's goods are still a matter of speculation among scholars;¹⁹ but what is certain is that assembling such a fine collection of manuscripts was among the bishop's most

¹⁴ Now in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 1.15, fols 1-77. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 56 and Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 232, Leofric's list of donations to Exeter Cathedral records a translation to this work: 'isagoge porphirii de dialectica'; that is, a translation of Porphyrius's *Isagoge*, possibly by Boethius.

¹⁵ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 232. Leofric's list of books reports the entry 'sedulies boc' and 'liber aratoris'. These manuscripts, however, are no longer existent.

¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 1.15, fols 1-77, fols. 78-92 Persius's poems and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 3.6 Prudentius's works.

¹⁷ CCCC 41, CCCC 419, CCCC 421.

¹⁸ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 30-2. Conner surmises that Exeter cathedral was a 'continuing institution', one that had preserved books from earlier times. Hence, there may have been a library at Exeter before Leofric's arrival that included volumes dating to the tenth century that were already property of the cathedral.

¹⁹ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', and Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

important achievements, one that significantly contributed to enhancing the importance of Exeter Cathedral and the diocese of Devon and Cornwall and that certainly was perceived by Leofric's congregation as his finest contribution to the wealth of his episcopal seat, hence the compilation of a document reporting his generosity towards his episcopal community.

The construction of such a library must have been a difficult task for a bishop who, like Leofric, struggled to improve the revenue of a diocese, whose economic and intellectual decline prior to his appointment is unquestionable.²⁰ Leofric had probably to make the most of his connections and position in order to obtain books from centres with a better-established scriptorial tradition that he would use to add to his collection or as exemplars to be copied by scribes working for him. A closer analysis of extant manuscripts that have been identified with an entry in his inventory list demonstrates that he obtained books produced in English institutions: for example, at Christ Church and St. Augustine, Canterbury, at Glastonbury, as well as in foreign countries, like Normandy and Brittany.²¹ He also instigated the production of manuscripts that were necessary to his episcopal function: books were copied, augmented and corrected under his patronage according to the needs of the cathedral and his own. It seems to be a remarkable achievement that Leofric was able to

²⁰ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', p. 81-2 and Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', p. 45.

²¹ The Leofric Missal contains parts originating from St Vaast, Arras in northern France and in Glastonbury; CUL, Hh. 1.10 containing Ælfric's grammar shows a Christ Church, Canterbury affiliation; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 1.15, containing Boethius and Persius, is made of two parts eventually bound together that originate from Christ Church and St Augustine's, Canterbury, respectively. Volumes that show a continental provenance or origin in Leofric's book collection are: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2. 16 a gospel book produced in Brittany; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 394 containing Isidore and coming from France; and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 849 containing Bede's *Expositio super vii epistolas catholicas* produced in France, possibly in the Loire region.

procure so many books for Exeter, an episcopal centre that was established almost *ex novo*, in the relatively short time span of twenty years; nonetheless, Leofric was not remembered for any of his attainments in the time following his death. Why was posterity so oblivious of his apparently successful pontificate? This question has not as yet been fully answered, mostly due to the little and fragmentary historical information that we have about his diocesan activities.²² What can we infer from the historical context that saw the growth and development of Exeter cathedral during Leofric's pontificate, 1050-1072?

1.1 Ecclesiastical organisation

The historical moment in which Leofric's episcopacy places itself is a prelude to critical changes in the political and religious scene, both in England and on the continent, most notably the Norman Conquest in 1066 and a reform of the church that culminated in Gregory VII's promulgation of his *Dictatus Papae* in 1075.²³ The years that saw the reconstruction and consolidation of Exeter cathedral and the subsequent growth of Leofric's episcopal power, that is the early 1050s, concur with a series of events that put Edward the Confessor's royal authority in a difficult

²² Exeter had been a monastic centre until Leofric's arrival; in fact, the new bishop established at Exeter a secular cathedral for the first time in 1050. Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', pp. 41-5 and also T. A. M. Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, no. 2 (1954-58), 185-199, p. 197.

²³ A. Fliche, *La reforme gregorienne et la reconquete chretienne (1057-1123)*, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'eglise depuis les origines jusqu'a nos jours* Vol. 8 (Paris, 1942). The twenty-seven dictates contained in the *Dictatus Papae* express the absolute supremacy of the pope and exemplify the reforms brought about in the almost thirty years ca. 1049-1085, from the council of Rheims convened by Leo IX to the end of Gregory VII's pontificate.

situation, with regard to both political and religious affairs.²⁴ The events that destabilised Edward's power happened in the years 1050-1052 and may help to explain some of Leofric's choices in administering his episcopal power.²⁵ Although the crisis reached its peak in 1052 with the return from exile of earl Godwine, one of the most powerful and influential men in Edward's kingdom, it is the events that caused his expatriation in 1051 that are crucial to a description of the political situation in which Leofric operated, when in 1050 he re-founded Exeter as the centre of his diocese. The appointment of Robert, former abbot of Jumièges and bishop of London, to the metropolitan see of Canterbury in 1051 may be taken as a starting point for explaining both Edward's plans with regard to ecclesiastical affairs and the political situation in which he made them effective. The reasons for consecrating a Norman abbot like Robert into the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury should be sought first in Edward's attempts to re-order the state of the English church and establish his patronage over it.²⁶ However, contrary to what Edward had probably expected, Robert's election had a negative impact on the political situation of his kingdom and put a strain on a tense relationship between him and earl Godwine. Edward's policy of promoting his own foreign friends to bishoprics had disfavoured monks related to the English aristocratic families against the interests of some of the members of the nobility—earl Godwine above all others—who thus became the king's potential enemies.²⁷ The event that put Godwine into a critical situation and led to a fracture with the king can here be briefly summarised: in 1051 archbishop Robert refused to

²⁴ P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* (London, 1989), pp. 89-93.

²⁵ A. Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500-1066* (London, 1999), p. 141. Williams argues that Godwine's return in 1052 damaged Edward and augmented Godwine's and his family's power. Although this situation put a strain on Edward's authority, she contends, it did not diminish it. In fact, the events that happened in 1052 showed the 'limitations' of Godwine's influence.

²⁶ F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* (London, 1963), pp. 46-7.

²⁷ *Ibid.* at p. 47.

consecrate Spearhavo, a king's favourite, to the vacant see of London.²⁸ This move exemplified how the reforms in the election of bishops envisaged by Pope Leo IX might be put into practice. Although Robert had not been promoted for his reforming ambitions, he may have been exposed to the debate about whom, between the temporal and the religious authorities, should validate the confirmation of bishops, when in 1051 he was in Rome to receive his consecration.²⁹ In refusing to accept Spearhavo's election, Robert not only put in practice the pope's reforming wish, according to which the laity should not intrude into religious practices, but he also used the pope's support as a powerful political instrument against earl Godwine. The king's ecclesiastical policy to promote foreigners over English monks would diminish Godwine's influence and power: Norman and Lotharingian men were indeed Edward's friends and could become powerful allies if advanced onto the right position. So, at a time when he sympathised with the pope's programme of reforms, Edward obviously supported Robert's decision against Godwine's will; this placed Godwine in an adverse position with the king and led to the events that caused his expulsion in 1051.³⁰ The preference that Edward reserved for Robert of Jumièges, a foreigner, over an English candidate, whose election might please the aristocracy, in particular Godwine and his allies as well as part of the powerful English clergy, may find a fuller explanation if analysed in the context of the relationship between Edward's royal authority and the religious power of Rome.

In the time spanning the pontificates of Pope Leo IX (1049-1054) and Gregory VII (1073-1085) the Catholic church underwent significant transformation as

²⁸ Ibid. p. 49.

²⁹ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* at p. 90. Barlow also notes that Robert accused Godwine of usurping some of the archiepiscopal estates at Canterbury, cf. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 49.

³⁰ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, pp. 89-90.

constitutional changes took place that would alter its nature noticeably.³¹ This time saw a revival of the ideals that inspired the *vita apostolica* and a renewed sense of responsibility for moral and religious education. Throughout western Christendom pastoral care and religious teaching were performed by the two great orders: the monastic and the canonical. These orders reinforced observance to rules of communal living emulating the life of Christ's apostles and fostered a wave of evangelical enthusiasm that culminated in the papacy of Gregory VII (1073-1085), years that saw an intellectual as well as religious renaissance.³² The event that may best describe the spirit of renewal that the church was experiencing in the 1050s, and that had its peak in the 1070s with the Gregorian reform, is the council of Rheims.³³ Announced by Pope Leo IX in 1049, the council of Rheims had its most significant outcome in the consolidation of the centrality of the bishop of Rome in the direction of religious affairs. Strong in his powerful position the pope engaged in a fierce campaign against the intrusion of the laity into ecclesiastical matters that was most in evidence in his opposition to simony, that is the purchase of ecclesiastical positions.³⁴ Much as the council of Rheims made the pope's objectives clear to the western Christian community, it concurrently raised questions on the way in which the pope intended to operate the changes that he announced soon after his election. Did the pope want to make his power more effective in the ecclesiastical affairs of

³¹ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 5.

³² H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Ashgate, 2000). Gregory VII is the pope that best epitomises the religious idealisms behind the eleventh-century renaissance and the struggle of bishops against the secular power that is generally known as the contrast of *sacerdotium* against *regnum*.

³³ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, D. Whitelock, D. Brett, and C. N. L. Brooke, eds., (Oxford, 1981), p. 521

³⁴ E. Armann and A. Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)*, ed. A. Fliche and V. Martin, *Histoire de l'église depuis les origines jusqu'à nos jours* Vol. 7 (Paris, 1942)

the countries that recognised his authority? If so, what was his position with regard to England?

The pope hardly ever wielded a significant influence on the English (local) church: he had no voice over the appointment of bishops, nor did local bishops encourage him when it came to reorganise the English episcopal system after the last wave of Scandinavian invasions had disrupted the organisation of dioceses.³⁵ In fact, the pope was never directly involved in the reform of the English church: foreign influences came from centres situated in northern France, Lotharingia and Flanders and changes following the continental example were pretty much the initiative of individual bishops (Dunstan, Æthelwold and Oswald are a few remarkable examples), rather than one of the central ecclesiastical government.³⁶ The situation under Edward's reign was substantially unchanged: the king's intervention into the election of bishops was more frequent than the pope's. However, in 1049 the appointment of Leo IX into St Peter's see and his inflexibility—reiterated in his first Roman council over Easter and again in the council of Rheims later in October that same year—with regard to the *unholy* way in which secular authorities manipulated episcopal election entailed a more cautious conduct in Edward's religious politics, especially when it came to nominate his bishops. Soon after his election, Leo set off to travelling across the countries where he spent his youth, northern France, lower and upper Lotharingia, the German Empire: during his journey the bishops that he met were thoroughly inspected about their conduct and judged accordingly.³⁷ Papal

³⁵ F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London, 1979), pp. 105 and ff.

³⁶ Ibid. Gregory VII tried to introduce his reforms into Britain enjoining William I to become his vassal which he refused and in 1087 the English church was still characterised by a noticeable 'insularity'.

³⁷ *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, M. Parisse and M. Goullet, eds., (Paris, 1997), p. xviii. Parisse reports that during the council of Rheims the bishops who were present were severely

scrutiny in religious affairs seems in these years to have become strict and effective, so that lay authorities felt pushed to seek for papal approval in ecclesiastical affairs beside episcopal nominations: unification of diocesan sees, for example, had to be approved by the pope in order to avoid *chorepiscopacy*, of which the roman clergy strongly disapproved.³⁸ Holding dioceses in plurality could indeed be seen as a sign of greediness: Stigand's uncanonical position on the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury was partly determined by his holding Canterbury in plurality with Winchester.³⁹

As Stafford has noted, much as Robert's nomination to Canterbury may have exempted Edward from criticism coming from the pope—as he was unrelated to any of the men in Edward's entourage and had been indoctrinated by the pope when he was in Rome to receive his pallium in 1051—it exacerbated tensions between Godwine and the king, which eventually forced the earl into exile.⁴⁰ Robert was indeed promoted onto the see of Canterbury after the king annulled the election of Ælric, a monk of Christ Church and Godwine's protégé.⁴¹

Adoleuerat autem in eadem Christi ecclesia [...], ex
supradicti Godwini stirpe, quidam monachus Ælricus

scrutinised. Leo's authority in the election and consecration of bishops was well perceived in Edward's times: it is reported in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* that the pope did not give permission to Robert, archbishop of Canterbury to consecrate Spearhævo, cf. *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 536-38.

³⁸ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* at p. 89 and for a more detailed account on the unification of the sees of Devon and Cornwall see Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', at pp. 15-28. Drage notes that the unification of the two sees of Devon and Cornwall was never formally carried out. For this reason Edward cautiously mentions it in replying to Leo's letter on the transfer of the diocesan seat to Exeter.

³⁹ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest* at p. 94 Stafford reports that only in 1058-59 the authority of Stigand was recognised by the pope.

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 90

⁴¹ Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500-1066*, p. 139.

nomine, uir scilicet secularis industriae et plurima in
mundanis rebus peditus sagacitate, non minus quoque in
eadem dilectus congregatione,⁴²

and again:

sed quia, ut supradiximus, pius rex autem magis
accommodabat adverse parti illis diebus, a conatu
petitionis sue idem dux est repulsus.⁴³

Robert's election seems indeed to exemplify Edward's plans to align with the pope's reforming programme, at least in a way which would not induce Leo to doubt about the validity of the archiepiscopal nomination at Canterbury.⁴⁴ Leo's advancement to the papal seat and his intention to concretely enact the promises that he announced after his consecration did not change the situation over the bishops' election radically and certainly not in the timespan of his pontificate. However, Leo's commitment to reordering the state of the clergy entailed concrete action in making the canonical procedure of the election of a bishop, which should be by acclamation of the clergy

⁴² *The Life of King Edward*, F. Barlow, ed., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 1992), pp. 18-19. My translation reads: 'there was at Christ Church a monk named Ælric, of the offsprings of the aforementioned Godwine, a man devoted to secular practices and wise in mundane matters, who was very much loved in the community'.

⁴³ Ibid. In my translation: 'In those days, so as we said above, our pious king would pay attention to the adverse party. Our candidate was, thus, rejected according to his desire'.

⁴⁴ It would seem indeed that Robert's appointment was at least as partial as Ælric's if considered in the light of what being simoniac meant in Leo IX's views, as both candidates were allies to important political men and supported by them in the election. However, Robert's nomination seems to have been manoeuvred by the king not only with the aim to oppose Godwine's power, but also to cast any doubt aside that might come from the pope on the legitimacy of the procedure. A detailed account of the election of the archbishop of Canterbury in 1051 is contained in N. Brook, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury. Christ Church from 579 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 294-303.

and the people, a meaningful one.⁴⁵ This brought back on the papal agenda the necessity firstly to redefine the moral conduct of the clergy and, secondly, to eliminate the menace coming from the laity in allocating bishoprics to candidates who were considered politically suitable. Leo IX certainly acknowledged that the pope may have a key role in actuating these policies and in doing so he put a new reforming action to the solution of problems that had been troubling the church for years.⁴⁶ His reforming intent became a powerful political instrument as enabled him to look into the religious affairs of the countries that accepted his authority and to wield political control over them.

Leo IX's vigorous resolutions in 1049 and the possibility that he might start looking into English religious matters contributed to reducing in part the political isolation of the English church, in that Edward started sympathising with the pope's ideas. Edward's promotion of foreigners—especially Normans and Lotharingians—into some of his bishoprics has often been regarded as a move opening up the insularity of English religious policies. This does not necessarily mean that Edward preferred foreigners to English bishops because he wanted (or had) to open up to the continent; rather, the foreigners that he appointed as bishops were his retainers.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ J. L. Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles* (Paris, 1981), pp. 189-200. Kupper says that in the eleventh century the ceremony through which bishops were consecrated was of crucial importance to their election, in that the candidate, chosen at the imperial court, had then to be 'accepted by acclamation' by the clergy and the people. He also claims that without this procedure the election could not be considered canonical and therefore unanimously valid. However, in performing this rite the roles of the clergy and the people had in the course of time become fictitious; we know, for example, that Wazo intended to enact a procedure for electing the bishop of Liège that would make the clergy's and the people's say more significant; cf. p. 386.

⁴⁶ Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)* Armann credits Leo IX for re-activating papal action in dealing with such matters.

⁴⁷ Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500-1066*, p. 139. Williams argues that Cnut before Edward favoured Lotharingian bishops because he as the king of Denmark

These bishops were, in fact, the king's allies, whom he had befriended over the years of his exile and whom he persuaded to follow him to England, possibly with promises of rewards. After his coronation, Edward's policy in episcopal matters gradually created a path of career advancement for those Lotharingian and Norman men who had followed him to England on his return from exile and who had subsequently served him at his court as royal chaplains. He was able to carry out this policy because he was well connected abroad, having spent a large part of his youth there, and had friends and followers especially among the Norman and the Lotharingian clergy; for example, he was close to Robert, abbot of Jumiège in 1037, whom he appointed to London in 1044 and later to Canterbury in 1051. Furthermore, between 1043 and 1047 Edward promoted five of his chaplains to bishoprics: Hermann became bishop of Ramsbury in 1045; Leofric was promoted to Devon and Cornwall in 1046; Walter was advanced to Hereford in 1060; Giso to Wells in 1061; and Regenbald, earned a position in the royal household comparable to that of bishop in the ecclesiastical domain, in that he was responsible for recruiting clerics and had his say in episcopal nominations.⁴⁸ Besides having served in the royal chapel before receiving their bishoprics, these men have two things in common: they were all Lotharingian, and they were given dioceses in the south-west of the country. It is perhaps not surprising that royal clerics should obtain bishoprics on account of their friendship with the king, what is however less obvious is whether or not their Lotharingian connections were crucial to their advancement to the bishoprics of the south-west. If so, is there any characteristic that can be concurrently traced in their

had to make alliances with the German Empire. The situation however seems to be different with Edward.

⁴⁸ S. Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', *Anglo-Norman Studies. Proceedings of the Battle Conference 1996 XIX* (1997), 203-272, pp. 207-11. On Regenbald see also Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)', p. 189.

episcopacies and that could be seen to distinguish them as a group? In other words, is it possible to talk about a 'Lotharingian group', whose appointment to the somewhat neglected, south-western dioceses can be described as part of Edward's ecclesiastical policies? It seems to be rather obvious that Edward should have brought back to England Lotharingian followers, after the years that he spent in that area of the continent, and that to them he may have been quite benevolent, especially as a result of their services in the king's household. However, the fact that he grouped them in the marginal dioceses of the south-west makes us wonder whether there is a reason for this that may be linked to their being educated in Lotharingia, the area of the continent where notable members of the papal court had received their education, too. I shall come back to this seemingly contradictory situation in more detail below.

The achievements of the bishops who held dioceses in the south-west of the country in Edwardian times are often disregarded possibly because historical sources are vague about them and biographical material on English secular bishops is at best fragmentary, at worst non-existent.⁴⁹ The reason for this seems to be related to the fact that, unlike in monastic houses, where monks took pride in writing the lives of particularly influential abbots, bishops in secular cathedrals were not treated with an equal regard. This is possibly due to the fact that, as it has been previously argued, there was no tradition of writing hagiographies in secular houses. Furthermore, the account that twelfth-century chroniclers, especially monks, drew of the pontificates of the Lotharingian bishops may have influenced the way in which these have been

⁴⁹ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, pp. 75-80. It is perhaps worth noting that Barlow did not hold the pontificate of the Lotharingian bishops in high esteem as the following quote suggests: 'Although the secular bishops of Edward's reign seem to lack brilliance, it must be remembered that their obscurity is partly due to their appointment to churches with no tradition of historical writing and to the monastic interest of the chroniclers'. However, these bishops improved the state of their cathedrals significantly during their episcopacy.

regarded by posterity. Respectable as they were, the achievements of the Lotharingian bishops have indeed been given a minor importance and considered of no crucial consequence in the history of the eleventh-century English church. The very brief and unflattering descriptions of the Lotharingian bishops that both William of Malmesbury and John of Worcester sketched in the twelfth century, for example, did not help modern historians to understand their position, nor their achievements, in the context of the eleventh-century ecclesiastical scene.⁵⁰ In fact, in times following their death, the pontificates of the Lotharingian bishops seem to have been obscured by silence rather than by criticism. This may well be due to the fact that the sources on which our understanding of their position is based were drawn by monks, who were in all probability keener to emphasise the attainments of other monks than those of their secular colleagues. It should perhaps not surprise us that the Lotharingian bishops, who did not have a monastic background, suffered from the silence of twelfth-century monastic chroniclers, especially when it came to describe their successes. Secular communities, like those led by Lotharingian bishops, who were not affiliated to any of the monastic orders, were indeed established ‘contra morem Anglorum’ in the eyes of William and other twelfth-century monastic writers, even though they followed quasi-monastic rules such as Chrodegang’s ‘regula’.⁵¹ One negative note appearing in William’s chronicle regarding one of the Lotharingian bishops is perhaps worth mentioning in support of what I have previously suggested. In his chronicle he reports that Hermann was unsuccessful in

⁵⁰ *Willelmi Malmesbriensis. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, N. E. S. A. Hamilton, ed., vol. II, Rolls Series (London, 1870) and most recently *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, the History of the English Bishops: Volume I*, M. Winterbottom and M. R. Thomson, eds., Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2007) and *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi: Chronicon ex Chronicis*, B. Thorpe, ed., vol. 1 (London, 1848)

⁵¹ *Willelmi Malmesbriensis. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, Hamilton, ed., p. 201.

transferring his episcopal see into Malmesbury abbey, a failure in consequence of which he left England in 1055 to become a monk at St Bertin. In 1058 he, however, came back and only then he could transfer the see of Ramsbury to Sherborne. The account of Herman's lack of success in relocating to Malmesbury abbey seems to be biased by William's and John's pride in belonging to a monastic 'familia', especially if read in the light of William's claim that secular houses were established 'against the habit of the English'.⁵² In fact, Hermann probably left the country because he could not cope with the poverty of his see, a detail that is only mentioned by William to reinforce the idea of greediness that was attributed to him.⁵³

Eius animi magnitudini vel potius cupiditati cum non
sufficeret rerum angustia, quoniam apud Ramesberiam
nec clericorum conventus nec quo sustentaretur erat.⁵⁴

William also proudly reports that it was through the monks' action that justice was re-established and the king forbade Herman to move into Malmesbury. Herman, on the contrary, was considered a good prelate by the king, who trusted him enough to send him to Rome to attend the papal council in 1050.⁵⁵

Despite the understated consideration that secular bishops, especially the Lotharingians, have in twelfth-century monastic chronicles, in the 1050s secular cathedrals became quite numerous, as Edward reduced drastically the number of

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 82 and p. 94.

⁵⁴ *Willelmi Malmesbriensis. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum.*, Hamilton, ed., p. 182. In my translation: 'the frugality, which he found at Ramsbury where there was neither accommodation for the canons nor enough sustenance, did not suffice to his great soul, let alone to his greed'. A newer edition of William of Malmesbury's work on the English bishops has been recently published in *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, the History of the English Bishops: Volume I*, Winterbottom and Thomson, eds.

⁵⁵ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 521-24.

monastic dioceses to increase that of secular ones.⁵⁶ In this time only four bishoprics were monastic and ten secular, figures that changed towards the end of his reign, when the balance between monastic and secular bishoprics was re-established.⁵⁷ The 1050s were the years of the greatest independence of Edward's kingdom: Godwine's return from exile in 1052 did not entail the dominance of his family in managing political matters and therefore Edward was able to advance people whom he trusted, like his brothers, to earldom.⁵⁸ Similarly, he promoted his friends to ecclesiastical positions. That these often happened to be foreigners seems to be related more to the fact that he had been brought up in a foreign country than to their being selected on account of their nationality. Foreign men had been present on the English ecclesiastical scene since the 1040s, the early years of Edward's kingdom and even before during the reign of Cnut.⁵⁹ However, this trend became more noticeable especially after the year 1042, when the number of foreigners holding episcopal positions increased, and reached its peak in the years 1050-52, the years of Godwine's exile and Edward's sympathising with the pope's reforming plans. In this time, ten out of fifteen bishops were secular and of these five were of foreign origin or education, three Lotharingian and two Norman, precisely.⁶⁰ Provided that Edward advanced his foreign friends regardless of their nationality, but just because they were potential allies, why did he group the Lotharingians in the south-western bishoprics?

⁵⁶ F. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London, 1970), p. 96

⁵⁷ Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, pp. 10 and ff.

⁵⁸ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, p. 93.

⁵⁹ Williams, *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500-1066*, p. 139 and pp. 124-6.

⁶⁰ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, pp. 75-77.

1.2 Personnel of the Edwardian church: the Lotharingian group

One of the traits that was common to the pontificates of the Lotharingians who became bishops in the south-west of the country in Edwardian times was that they all complained about the decaying state of their dioceses and engaged in activities that would earn them wealth. It is well documented that these bishops augmented the size of their bishoprics acquiring or recovering land possessions, for example. Charters issued or forged in Leofric's and Giso's favour record the estates that they earned to their dioceses.⁶¹ In addition to increasing the size of their bishoprics, they strove to give suitable buildings to their communities; for example, Giso provided a cloister, a refectory and a dormitory for his canons at Wells, and Leofric in establishing his diocesan seat in Exeter expelled a community of monks for accommodating his canons in buildings that may have been more suitable than those available in Crediton.⁶² That the premises of Exeter Cathedral were appropriate to house the bishop's chapter may also have been among the reasons that persuaded Leofric that the transfer of the see was a necessary move and one worth pursuing with determination—one thing that he successfully achieved in 1050, as argued above.

Whether or not there was a particular reason, other than vacancy, for appointing Lotharingian bishops to the impoverished cathedrals of the south-west is difficult to determine. These bishoprics were not very well endowed, nor were they particularly significant: it would therefore seem that Edward did not put his Lotharingian friends

⁶¹ P. Chaplais, 'The Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 39 (1966), 1-34 and Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', pp. 255-260.

⁶² Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', p. 265. On Leofric see Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', p. 81 and 84. Hill notes that Exeter was a location with more 'potential' than Tavistock, for example, which was sacked by Viking attacks at the end of the tenth century. The buildings at Exeter seem to have been in good conditions. On this last remark see also Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', p. 45.

in an easy situation in advancing them to the episcopal office, much as this was a high-ranking position. Were the Lotharingian clerks, whom Edward promoted onto the marginal dioceses of the south-west, selected on account of their nationality then? Did being educated in Lotharingia have specific implications? It can be emphasised that Edward certainly was a Christian king in taking up responsibility for organising the English church and protecting it under his reign.⁶³ If being a Christian king meant that Edward had to ensure that bishoprics should live up to a decent standard in terms of both wealth and religious conduct of its clergy, we may infer that he sought to improve the state of the south-western dioceses in giving them to the Lotharingians. What his Lotharingian clerks had to offer to Edward's objective was excellent administrative skills, which they had developed in the royal chancery, and a religious education received in reforming centres, where teaching, both religious and liberal, was considered excellent.⁶⁴ With this perspective, it is not surprising that the king rewarded them for their services and friendship with dioceses, whose economic resources as well as the standards of religious life had to be increased.

During Edward's reign secular bishoprics became rather widespread and their number was comparable to that of monastic ones. Their growth seems to have followed a pattern already popular on the continent. At the beginning of the eleventh century, secular houses had seen a significant growth in the western countries, especially in Normandy, Lotharingia and Flanders: Liège, Treves, Cologne, Ghent,

⁶³ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, p. 89. Stafford argues that Edward took up a 'Christian kingship'. This practically involved responsibility for the church and the power to make episcopal appointments, on which he allowed his allies to have their word.

⁶⁴ C. Renardy, 'Les écoles ligeoises du ix^e au xii^e siècle: grandes lignes de leur evolution', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* lvii (1979), 309-328. Barlow also notes that the Lotharingians 'used their administrative skill and royal favour to restore dilapidated cathedral churches' in Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 46.

Arras are but a few examples.⁶⁵ Barlow notes that the predominantly monastic character of the English episcopate was 'anomalous' at this time in the western church as kings on the continent preferred to promote clerks from their households, especially in the German Empire—of which the duchies of upper and lower Lotharingia represented a significant part—and who had been trained to be politically trusted.⁶⁶ It was indeed a particularity to the German Empire that since the election of Notker to Liège in 972, bishops should be chosen among the clerks who had served in the 'Hofkapelle', that is the imperial chapel, the administrative and religious centre of the emperor's court.⁶⁷ Unfortunately we know nothing about Edward's royal chapel and about the activities of his chaplains. However, there seem to have been parallels between Edward's policy of advancing secular clerks trained in his household and that initiated by the Ottonian emperors, who promoted people from the imperial Hofkapelle to the Lotharingian sees, seemingly with the aim to attach the rather independent duchies of Lotharingia to the empire, at least politically if not geographically.⁶⁸ The proliferation of secular cathedrals in the south-western part of the country seems to have been the outcome of Edward's looking at Lotharingian models for improving the state of decaying dioceses, which might become important and powerful political allies. It goes perhaps without saying that a king who spent most of his youth between Normandy and Lotharingia should be familiar with the customs and trends of those countries. Here in the years that

⁶⁵ L. Musset, 'Recherches sur les Communautés de clercs Séculars en Normandie au xi^e siècle', *Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de Normandie* 55 (1961 for 1959-60), 5-38.

⁶⁶ Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, pp. 50-51. On the selection of bishops in the German Empire see Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*.

⁶⁷ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 116. At p. 345 Kupper reports that during the time of Henry II the number of secular cathedral chapters, where canons coming from the imperial chapel were in service, grew substantially.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 116-120.

precede 1066, secular foundations were appreciated for refreshing the spiritual and apostolic life.⁶⁹ In England however, monasticism seems to have never been fully threatened by the growth of secular cathedrals that was limited to the Lotharingian-led dioceses and that became a minor phenomenon soon after the Norman Conquest. This might also be due to the very unusual monastic cathedrals in England, many of which wielded disproportionately high levels of power. That the number of monastic institutions decreased considerably during Edward's reign only accounts for a lesser number of abbeys and a more visible presence of secular cathedrals than in previous times.⁷⁰ In fact, in the early years of the eleventh-century, ideals, based on late tenth-century reforming principles, were given a novel spiritual direction in many centres no matter whether their origin was secular or monastic. For example, a considerable number of manuscripts containing materials of the Benedictine reform were produced in monastic centres like Worcester as well as in secular cathedrals like Exeter (even though Exeter was a monastic institution prior to Leofric's innovations).⁷¹ Secular and monastic institutions were equally outstanding models of the *vita apostolica* and similarities between these two major orders probably outnumbered the differences. It may however be stressed that commitment to education was one of the characteristics that differentiated secular cathedrals from monastic ones. Secular canons were taught since they first entered the community as reported in chapter XLVI of the Rule of Chrodegang:

⁶⁹ Musset, 'Recherches sur les Communautés de clercs Séculars en Normandie au xi^e siècle', at p. 7 the author claims that the secular institutions and their canons re-established almost everywhere in the west of the Norman duchy the original meaning of apostolic life.

⁷⁰ Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*, pp. 5-6.

⁷¹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'. Homiliaries in use at Exeter and Worcester such as CCCC 419 and CCCC 421, London, Lambeth Palace 489 and London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii; and Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 113, 114 and 115, and produced in the mid-eleventh century in those institutions contain materials written by authors of the second phase of the English monastic reform, like Wulfstan and Ælfric.

De Pueris nutriendis custodiendisque

Sollerter rectores ecclesiarum uigilare ut pueri et
adolescentes qui in congregatione sibi commissa nutriuntur
uel erudiuntur, ita iugibus ecclesiasticis disciplinis
costringantur etc.⁷²

This had as its final objective the formation of priests and ecclesiastics:

ad gradus ecclesiasticos quandoque digne possit
promoueri.⁷³

Communities like those following the Rule of Chrodegang, which Lotharingian bishops adopted in reforming their cathedral chapters, would have brought the standard of religious and intellectual life in marginal bishoprics to a higher level. Likewise, bishops expert in the administrative ways could put their skills to use in accruing the land possessions and wealth of their dioceses: an achievement that all Lotharingian bishops attained to some level. The dedication to their pastoral duties that so distinctly characterised the Lotharingian group can certainly be put in relation with their education and their familiarity with customs widespread in areas of the continent, like the provinces of Lotharingia, from where religious reforms had spread as far as the papal court. Whether Edward selected and appointed the Lotharingians for improving the state of the spiritually and materially impoverished south-western dioceses is debatable. It may be however emphasised that the appointment of the Lotharingians was in line with King Edward's policies in religious matters. Although

⁷² A. Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*, EETS 150 (London, 1916), p. 53. My translation: 'On the duty of rearing and supervising the children. It is convenient that the heads of the church supervise the young and adolescents, who are sustained and educated in our congregation, and encourage them to study the ecclesiastical disciplines'.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 54. 'and when the time comes they may be promoted and become clergymen'.

after archbishop Robert fled the country in 1052, Edward's reforming policies in the ecclesiastical domain became less enthusiastic, his kingship was still orientated to giving order and stability to the English church, despite some of his episcopal appointments.⁷⁴ The situation of political instability caused by archbishop Robert's escape to his home country as a consequence of Godwine's return from exile made King Edward realise that aligning with the reforming ideals of the pope might be as politically dangerous as contradicting the English aristocracy with regard to such matters as the election of the archbishop of Canterbury.⁷⁵ Despite its negative political outcomes, Robert's election to the metropolitan see of Canterbury epitomises Edward's firm resolution to give stability to the English church. His appointing the Lotharingians should be considered in this perspective as part of a plan concocted to ameliorate the state of decaying bishoprics and consequently the condition of the English ecclesiastical system: a goal that he pursued, more or less successfully, throughout his kingship.

1.3 Lotharingian administration

The cathedrals of upper and lower Lotharingia had formed the clergy of the German Empire since the late tenth century. Ecclesiastics, who had been educated in those circles came to occupy prominent positions in the Catholic church, too: Pope Leo IX, for example, had been bishop of Toul, prior to his promotion to the papal bench in

⁷⁴ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 77. Barlow believes that during Edward's reign the quality of the episcopate was generally improved. He admits though that beside the wise but unsuccessful appointment of Robert, the position of Stigand at Canterbury was incompatible with the improvements that the king made to the ecclesiastical order on the whole.

⁷⁵ Stafford, *Unification and Conquest*, p. 94.

1049 and his successors Stephen IX (1057–1058) and Nicholas II (1058–1061) were also Lotharingian-educated as they had both been canons at Liège.⁷⁶ That the schools and houses of the Lotharingian provinces produced the most prominent ecclesiastics of the day can certainly be deduced by the number of them, who happened to be at the papal court in the years spanning the pontificates of Leo IX and Gregory VII. This certainly had a positive influence on the reputation of Lotharingian priests. What did a Lotharingian administration of a diocese involve?

Appointing Lotharingian bishops to dioceses was not an entirely novel situation in the context of the eleventh-century English church. In 1033, for example, Cnut promoted Duduc to Wells. Since the end of Cnut's time contacts between England, Germany and Lotharingia tightened due to the diplomatic activities that the king himself had undertaken during his reign.⁷⁷ As a consequence of Cnut's policy, the influence of the German and Lotharingian churches spread in England as the diffusion of cults related to continental saints would suggest.⁷⁸ Besides establishing economic and political ties with these countries, Cnut patronised the cult of Lotharingian saints by using his baptismal name Landbert, the patron saint of the city

⁷⁶ *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds. The introduction gives a detailed account of the activities of Bruno as bishop of Toul and as Pope Leo IX. About Stephen IX (X)'s life see I. M. Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae* I (Leipzig, 1862), pp. 188-202 and on his time in Liège *Patrologia cursus completus, seu bibliotheca universalis omnium ss. patrum doctorum, scriptorumque ecclesiasticorum*, Series Latina 221 vols. (Paris, 1841-1864) 143, pp. 865-84. About Nicholas II, see Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae*, pp. 206-19.

⁷⁷ M. K. Lawson, *Cnut. The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993), pp. 81-116. Duduc of Lotharingia was appointed bishop of Wells in 1033. On the relationships between England and the continent during the early years of the eleventh century see also Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, pp. 15-19 and V. Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (Oxford, 1992).

⁷⁸ St Radegund, St Lambert and St Vedast, saints venerated in Lotharingia and northern France are present in many calendars dating to the early eleventh century, see F. Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100* (London, 1934) in particular, pp. 43-55; 197-209; and 169-81.

of Liège. He probably received this name from a Polish uncle or cousin, on his mother's side of the family, as Lotharingian names were commonly used in Poland after the country had been Christianised by missionaries coming from the Liège area.⁷⁹ If during Cnut's reign, relations between England and Lotharingia were facilitated by the king's diplomatic activities, it is during Edward the Confessor's time that these relations became consolidated when the Lotharingian priests, who obtained bishoprics in the south-west of England, became more numerous.⁸⁰ That the diplomatic abilities of these men were trusted by both Cnut and Edward may be inferred from the fact that Duduc followed Cnut in his diplomatic journeys across the continent. Similarly, Edward sent Herman to Rome in 1050 to participate in Leo IX's Easter synod.⁸¹ Edward must have trusted his diplomatic abilities and held him in great esteem if he sent him as part of the English delegation to the pope. The appreciation that Edward reserved for the Lotharingian bishops is recorded in his biography. Edward's biographer mentions that the king recognised the valuable work of Walter, a chaplain of the queen whom he promoted to Hereford in 1050, and Giso, whom he appointed to Wells.⁸²

Venerant quoque pariter ex precepto regis duo ipsius
presbiteri, Gyso et Walterius, uiri in officio suo aptissime

⁷⁹ M. Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia: two notes', *Anglo-Saxon England* 29 (2000), 261-278.

⁸⁰ Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', pp. 41-5. William of Malmesbury notes that Cnut was particularly close to Lyfing, Leofric's predecessor in the see of Devon and Cornwall. William chronicles that they went together to Rome and to Denmark, see *Willelmi Malmesbriensis. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum.*, Hamilton, ed., p. 201.

⁸¹ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 533-38.

⁸² Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 83.

et excellenter eruditi, ut a domino papa ordinaretur
episcopi.⁸³

Having received a Lotharingian education may have influenced the administration of a diocese profoundly. It surely did in Leofric's case as the changes that he made in administering his bishopric are clearly underpinned by his familiarity with Lotharingian trends. For example, the adoption at Exeter of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, a move that was also emulated by some of his Lotharingian colleagues like Giso and Walter, may be a consequence of his familiarity with the habits of many Lotharingian houses. Since the ninth century, the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz was widespread throughout the German Empire and was adopted to regulate the communal life of clerks at cathedral and collegiate churches.⁸⁴ By the eleventh century the expression *ordo canonicus* defined a group of clerks bound to the observance of a rule even though the canonical or regular life became gradually synonymous for common life of either clerks or monks, indistinctly.⁸⁵ The substantial growth of institutions that adopted and followed secular rules in the late tenth and early eleventh century was related to changes that gradually took place in the ecclesiastical domain in Lotharingia as well as in the rest of the German Empire. The wave of reforms enacted by monastic bishops—among whom was Bruno of Toul, the future Leo IX—in these years suggests that the Benedictine institution needed to be revitalized also because of the rapidly expanding phenomenon that saw the development of secular churches and the success of the canons attached to those

⁸³ *The Life of King Edward*, Barlow, ed., pp. 54-5. My translation reads: 'Two of the king's priests had likewise come to Rome at his request, Giso and Walter, skilled in their office and excellently educated, so that they could be consecrated bishops by the pope'.

⁸⁴ E. Morhain, 'Origine et Histoire de la "Regula Canonicorum" de St Chrodegang', in *Miscellanea Pio Paschini. Studi di Storia Ecclesiastica* (Lateran, 1948), 173-185.

⁸⁵ K. Edwards, *The English Secular Cathedrals in the Middle Ages* (Manchester, 1949), pp. 4-5.

institutions in reviving the ideals of apostolic life.⁸⁶ The flourishing of secular institutions had entailed and stimulated small towns to grow in size and in number. These centres developed around collegiate churches, which depended on the cathedral: for example, in the mid tenth-century the diocese of Liège counted twelve collegiate churches beside the cathedral chapter.⁸⁷ In lower Lotharingia these villages developed along the river Meuse in locations that could facilitate the contacts with other centres and the mother of them all; that is, the cathedral. In this perspective Leofric's move of his diocesan seat from a *villula* to an urban centre like Exeter may be partially explained and justified by the geographical isolation of Crediton and the fact that a village was not the venue in which he would have been used to having a cathedral.⁸⁸ That Leofric considered a city like Exeter to be a more congenial place to his chapter than Crediton may also imply that he knew that from a small village he would have not been able to carry out his pastoral duties with great impact. Unlike in monastic institutions, in secular cathedrals clerks were mostly needed and recruited for carrying out teaching activities and for helping their bishop in functions related to the administration of the diocese, like serving in ceremonies linked to major feasts, or in the consecration of churches or helping when the bishop was in residence, to name a few examples.⁸⁹ In England, secular institutions developed later than in France and in western Europe and, as it has been previously argued, they seem to have been born through the import of personnel from abroad.

⁸⁶ C. Dcreine, *Les Chanoines Reguliers au diocese de Liège avant Saint Norbert* (Louvain, 1952), pp. 15-18

⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 36.

⁸⁸ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', pp. 81-84.

⁸⁹ B. Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation* (Munich, 2003). She argues that canons were associated with the bishop and lived under his jurisdiction.

The enlarged version of the Rule of Chrodegang—which was an adaptation of the original continental rule drawn by Chrodegang, bishop of Metz in the late eighth century—was adopted in England by Leofric and his colleagues Giso and Walter following the revival of communal life that was happening on the continent in the cathedrals of the German Empire. In pre-conquest England, Chrodegang's rule suffered rivalry with the Benedictine one: particular to England was that Benedictine monks often substituted clerks in the activities that were generally associated with the administration of a diocese and the Rule of Chrodegang, however modified it might be to accommodate the needs and requests of the English religious communities, never seems to have been widely welcomed on the island. At the end of the tenth century, St Æthelwold, for example, ejected the clerks at Winchester and installed Benedictine monks instead; his example was followed at Worcester by St Oswald when he transformed a community of clerks into a monastic one.⁹⁰ In eleventh-century England the limited success of the Rule of Chrodegang may also have been due to the atypical situation of monastic cathedrals, which did not have a parallel on the continent. It was only with the appointment of the Lotharingian bishops that the Rule of Chrodegang saw a rapid though limited and short lived revival that lasted until soon after the Norman Conquest, when secular institutions lost momentum also in Normandy and in Lotharingia, the countries from where they had proliferated. By the end of the eleventh century in the 1090s, canonical centres were rarely founded on the continent or in England and those that were still in existence, like Exeter, Wells and York had lost their original enthusiasm. The rules introduced at Exeter in 1050 and at Wells in 1060, however, were kept by the successors of Leofric and Giso, bishops Osbern FitzOsbern and William Warelwaste

⁹⁰ M. Drout, 'Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 103, no. 3 (2004), 341-368.

at Exeter and the Lotharingian-influenced Robert of Lewes at Wells, even though these centres, especially Exeter, no longer boasted the status that they had in the mid eleventh century and the innovations enacted were few.

Perhaps, Leofric is the bishop who, more than any other, stands out among the Lotharingians. One of the achievements that characterises Leofric's episcopacy and which is unparalleled in the episcopacies of his Lotharingian colleagues is the collection and production of books. Leofric was alone—at least among the Lotharingian group—in providing his chapter with such a fine collection of manuscripts as the one that he donated to Exeter cathedral at the end of his career in 1072. In this his episcopacy was indeed remarkably different from that of his Lotharingian peers. As far as we can tell, there is no extant record of Giso of Wells, Walter of Hereford or Hermann of Ramsbury having ever assembled a book collection for their cathedral chapters, nor of them having instigated any scribal activity other than the production of administrative documents, like writs, diplomas and charters, which were produced, for example, for Giso of Wells.⁹¹ However, nothing like the scale of book production and collection that Leofric undertook at Exeter seems to have been in place at Wells in the late eleventh century, nor in other Lotharingian-administered dioceses.⁹² This does not mean that Lotharingian bishops did not have an interest in books; in fact, it seems to be through their action that codices were imported into England from Lotharingia and the Low Countries in the third quarter of the eleventh century. Keynes surmises that the contacts between England and those regions of the German Empire covering Lotharingia and the Low Countries may have encouraged the importation of manuscripts into England and that

⁹¹ Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells' and also cf. *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds.

⁹² Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', pp. 254-260.

exchanges happened through the connections of the Lotharingian bishops.⁹³ Their interest in books, however, never seems to have entailed any activity related to book production.

⁹³ Ibid. at p. 211. See footnote no. 56 for reference. In addition to this, P. Conner, 'Exeter's Relics, Exeter's Books' in eds. J. Roberts and J. Nelson *Essays on Anglo-Saxon and Related Themes in Memory of Lynne Grundy* (London, 2000) suggests that a scriptorium existed at Exeter during the tenth century, which may have motivated Leofric's scribal activities there about half century later, at p. 150.

Chapter 2

Book production at Exeter in the 1050s

2.1 The bishop's book collection(s)

The survey carried out by Conner has demonstrated that the library of Exeter Cathedral contains sixty-seven medieval manuscripts dated earlier than the twelfth century.¹ Like Durham and Worcester, however, most of these volumes nowadays are no longer *in situ*, mainly because they were acquired by bibliophiles in later centuries and are now preserved in libraries and archives all over Britain. As a consequence, the reconstruction of the library that was at Exeter in the hundred years that followed the appointment of Leofric, its first bishop, has been a challenging task, particularly because many of the manuscripts seem to have travelled both in Britain and abroad. This means that some of the volumes in the library may have gone missing, either destroyed or lost forever.

A list drawn up following Leofric's death has, however, helped immensely in the reconstruction of the library housed at the cathedral of Exeter in the mid-eleventh century. This document contains the inventory of goods bestowed by Leofric on his cathedral upon his death: it includes tracts of land recovered by the bishop during his

¹ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 3-11.

time of office, valuable church furniture and luxury vestments, and a fairly long list of books that the bishop wished his cathedral and his successors to inherit after his death. Leofric's list of donations is extant in two copies: one is contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16, fols. 1-2v, a Latin gospel book; and the other one is in Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, fols. 0-7, the famous *Exeter Book*.² The two recensions of the list are in all probability derived from the same source and with very few exceptions they are alike.³ The list was supposedly compiled before Leofric's death and therefore it may be considered an expression of the bishop's will as it contains those books that Leofric deemed necessary for a secular cathedral such as Exeter to have.⁴

Leofric's donation list has been the subject of scholarly analyses for many reasons: firstly and most notably, it is one of the very few eleventh-century book lists that can be associated with a secular cathedral and, therefore, it provides us with a selection of items that may have been needed in such an institution; secondly, it reflects the intellectual interests of the people who used those books, probably the bishop and his community; thirdly, it gives us a fairly good idea of the quantity of volumes that Leofric gathered to be included among his cathedral's possessions

² The version of Leofric's donation list now contained in Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501 was originally bound with CUL, Ii. 2.11 the Old English Gospels. Having both copies of his donation list bound into a gospel book would legitimise the right of possession on the goods enlisted on behalf of the cathedral.

³ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 41. Drage notes that the two lists differ for the order in which some of the items are recorded, namely: the lack of the 'diadema monachorum' in the Exeter copy, the omission of the 'liber de sanctis patribus' in the Bodleian recension and the note that the three books by Prudentius are bound in one book.

⁴ Ibid. p. 42. Drage surmises that the list was drawn up between 1069 and 1072 on the assumption that a charter granted by William I allowing Leofric to leave estates to the cathedral was validated in 1069. This provides the *terminus post quem* for the list to be written, being the estates there contained. On this see also Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 226-235.

towards the end of his time.⁵ For these reasons, Leofric's list of books has often been read as a *catalogue* of the volumes that were at Exeter c. 1050-72.⁶ This assumption has more recently been reconsidered by Conner in his survey of the codices affiliated to Exeter, where he contends that there may have been there more volumes than those enlisted, a thought also supported by Treharne in a recent study on the bishop's library.⁷ It is somewhat difficult to define precisely what Leofric's list represented for his cathedral and what it should represent for the modern scholar. This may well be due to the fact that the manuscript context in which the document was found does not help to classify its nature, nor does its narrative style. The two copies of Leofric's list, as it has been previously noted, were originally bound into a gospel book. Inserting documents such as lists of goods into codices that, like gospel books, were important to a religious community seemingly aimed at legitimising the right of possession over the items enlisted. These lists indeed do not seem to have had the utilitarian function nor the level of details that are usually associated with catalogues both in modern times and back in the mid eleventh century. The book lists that have been associated with the library of the Benedictine abbey at Bury St Edmunds in the eleventh and twelfth centuries may help explain this further. In his study of the Bury library, R. Thomson identifies two different types of list: one that inventories books as part of the church property and copied c. 1044-1065 in the manuscript containing the rule followed by the community; and a second and later one that he defines as a 'library catalogue proper', of which he reports the main *cataloguing* functions, like

⁵ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', and previously Förster, 'The Donations of Leofric to Exeter'.

⁶ Förster, 'The Donations of Leofric to Exeter'.

⁷ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 3-9. Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

specifying individual works, authors and volumes.⁸ This list, he notes, was inserted into a library-book, that is Cambridge, Pembroke College 47, and was not compiled at one time, but rather updated many times as a number of erasures and alterations would suggest.⁹ These features strongly emphasise the utilitarian function of the list, one that seemingly cannot be associated with the first list, whose characteristics are similar to Leofric's.

Leofric's list may not (and should not) be considered a catalogue of the Exeter library also on account of the narrative style in which it is written. The narration unfolds in such a way that emphasis is put on Leofric's generosity in endowing his cathedral with books, a point that is also stressed by the compiler's skilful use of rhetorical devices as we shall see below.¹⁰ It is therefore debatable whether the document should function as a working catalogue of all the books that the cathedral possessed upon Leofric's death, or whether it should rather be considered as the bishop's will to donate a selection of books: those that he reckoned to be essential for his cathedral. This view is also stressed by Drage in her doctoral thesis where she notes that the list is hardly a library catalogue because it does not include all the cathedral's books at one particular time, that is the years around 1072.¹¹ The absence from the catalogue of books that were overtly associated with Exeter, and with Leofric in particular, rules out this possibility.¹² Not all the books that may have been

⁸ R. Thomson, 'The Library of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries', in *England and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. R. Thomson (Aldershot, 1998), 617-645, pp. 618-9.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 227.

¹¹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 44-45.

¹² CCCC 41, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* is deliberately omitted from the list but since it contains the bishop's donation inscription it is obvious to assume that it was Leofric's property and subsequently became the cathedral's through the donation inscribed on it. In addition to this, the books that were produced at Exeter were also not included in the list.

in use at Exeter during Leofric's episcopacy were thus included by Leofric among his donations. For this reason his list of books should be treated with caution when trying to analyse the Exeter library. What the document tells us is that towards the end of his office Leofric endowed the cathedral with a collection of books, primarily liturgical, that he considered essential to the spiritual growth of the community that was attached to it. The books that show an Exeter affiliation approximately corresponding to the episcopacy of Leofric were, in fact, more numerous than the sixty recorded in the bishop's list. Did then Leofric donate a *selection* of all the books that he had at his disposal during his office? If so, what does this selection represent? What selecting criterion did he adopt?

It is difficult to establish with certainty whether the books enumerated in the donation list were given to the cathedral all at once, after an accurate selection at the end of Leofric's episcopate or as they became available during the bishop's time of office and then inventoried in 1072, when the need arose to (re)assess the patrimonial situation of the cathedral after the bishop's death. A small number of volumes among those that show marks of affiliation to Exeter contain an inscription written in Exeter hands through which Leofric donated the volumes to his cathedral for the benefit of his successors. These books seem to have been donated as they became available at different times in the bishop's episcopacy.¹³ However, all the volumes containing the donation inscription—except CCCC 41, that is Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*—have been identified with an entry in Leofric's donation list. The inventory therefore contains both the books donated by the bishop at earlier stages of his mandate—quite possibly those volumes that had previously been inscribed—and those that, as far as

¹³ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 30-39. Basing her assumption on scribal evidence, Drage surmises that some of the inscribed books may have been donated late in Leofric's episcopacy, others earlier in his time.

we know, did not house an inscription and that, nevertheless, were donated upon the bishop's death. Drage attempted to draw up a chronology indicating the order in which the books were inscribed and consequently given to the cathedral.¹⁴ A palaeographical analysis of the hands writing the nine inscriptions allowed her to convincingly conclude that some of the books were inscribed quite early in Leofric's episcopacy, others towards the end of it and a couple approximately in the years around Leofric's death.¹⁵ This suggests that the necessity of drawing up such an inventory may have become evident upon the bishops' death because in addition to its inventorying function the list would also accomplish a legal one in establishing the rights of the Exeter cathedral over the books, as well as the other goods that once belonged to the bishop. The legalisation of the cathedral's possessions may have been, then, the impetus that underpinned the compilation of Leofric's donation list, one that officially restored the impoverished intellectual and spiritual resources of his cathedral.

The list of endowments, however, should not induce us to believe that the volumes listed were the only books related to the cathedral and the bishop. Of the sixty-seven manuscripts enumerated by Conner that share an attribution of Exeter provenance during a time span of one hundred years, a considerable number of books may be singled out that are connected with bishop Leofric and his cathedral without having been identified with any of the volumes in the bishop's list. Only thirty-two

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid. p. 30 Drage sketches the order in which the books were inscribed, that can be divided into two groups: Auctarium F. 1. 15, fols. 1-77, Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*; Auctarium D. 2. 16 Gospels; Bodley 579, the Leofric Missal were given, according to Drage, quite early, say in the 1050s; Trinity College B. 11. 2, Amlarius' *Liber Officialis*; Auctarium F. 3. 6 Prudentius's *Carmina*; Bodley 708, Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis*; CCC 41, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* were inscribed towards the end of Leofric's pontificate, possibly in the 1060s; of this group CUL, li. 2. 11 West-Saxon Gospels; and Auctarium F. 1.15, fols. 78-92 Persius' *Satirae* were in all probability inscribed around 1072, upon the bishop's death.

manuscripts out of sixty-seven have been associated, with different degrees of certainty, to as many entries in Leofric's donation list; likewise, about half of the books in the list did not find a corresponding surviving item because many of the books were probably lost or destroyed. The volumes included in the donation together with those that were not registered and that nonetheless show an Exeter affiliation, clearly indicate that the activities related to book production and collection at Exeter cathedral had been quite prolific, especially during the twenty years of Leofric's episcopacy. Conner's engaging study has ultimately revealed that the manuscripts associated with Exeter in this period of time attest to an intense intellectual and literary activity whose peak was reached during Leofric's pontificate.¹⁶

Because the dates of compilation of the manuscripts surveyed in Conner's study range from the tenth to the twelfth century, a threefold division of the books is deemed necessary in order to examine them in the context of Leofric's episcopacy. The first group under consideration includes the tenth-century manuscripts related to Exeter and that belonged to what Conner calls the cathedral's 'tenth-century history':¹⁷ these books may or may not have been in Leofric's hands in the mid-eleventh century, despite their affiliation to the cathedral; the second group contains the volumes dating to the twelfth century that were almost certainly acquired by Leofric's successors and will therefore be disregarded by this analysis because they came to Exeter later than Leofric's time there; in the third group are the manuscripts that show a connection with Exeter and that can be approximately dated from the middle to the third quarter of the eleventh century. The first and third groups will be

¹⁶ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 11-20.

¹⁷ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', and also Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 20

here examined because these contain the books that may have been available at the cathedral library during Leofric's time of office.

The grounds on which scholars have often ascribed books to Leofric's library are the following:¹⁸

- the presence of a donation inscription recording the manuscript as Leofric's gift to his cathedral;
- the identification of the manuscript with one amongst those in the donation list;
- the identification of scribal features (script, page lay-out, etc.) that are common to all Exeter manuscripts dating to the mid eleventh century.¹⁹

According to these cataloguing criteria, Drage considered *only* those manuscripts that contain the donation inscription to be Leofric's property; that is, the following nine items:

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41
Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (OE)
s. xiⁱⁿ-xi^{med}
2. Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2
Amalarius's *Liber Officialis*
s. x²
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2. 16
Gospel book in Latin
s. x; additions s. xi^{med}
4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 1.15, fols. 1-77
Boethius' *The Consolation of Philosophy*
s. x²
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 1.15, fols. 78-93
Persius, *Satirae*
s. x²
6. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 3.6

¹⁸ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 29

¹⁹ Ibid.

- Prudentius, *Psychomachia*
s. xi¹
7. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579
The Leofric Missal
s. x; additions s. xiⁱⁿ-xi^{ex}
8. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 708
Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis in Latin*
s. xi¹
9. Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2.11
West-Saxon Gospels
s. xi^{3/4}

To these books she added those volumes dating before the mid-eleventh century that can be associated with an entry in Leofric's catalogue and that may have once shown a donation inscription on now missing leaves at the beginning or at the end of the codex:²⁰

10. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, part A and B
s. xi¹-xi^{med.}
11. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501
Exeter Book
s. x²
12. London, Lambeth Palace 149
Bede, *On the Apocalypse*
s. x-xi¹
13. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 394
Isidore, *De Fide Catholica*
s. xi.

²⁰ Ibid. pp. 35-40. There is evidence that some of the donation inscriptions were removed or erased from manuscripts that may have belonged to Leofric's collection. The inscription contained a curse directed to anyone who should displace the book and this may partially explain why some of the inscriptions were cancelled. In CUL Ii. 2.11, for example, the curse contained in the text of the donation formula was erased. In addition to this, the books were generally inscribed on the first or last flyleaf that were easily removed.

Two further manuscripts may be added to this short list that show a scribal hand that is also responsible for another manuscript owned by Leofric:²¹

14. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 319
Isidore, *De miraculis Christi; De fide Catholica*
s. x²
15. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 849
Bede, *In Epistolas Canonicas*
s. ix.²²

The fifteen items mentioned above, beside having been identified with one of the sixty volumes that are listed in Leofric's catalogue, have a strong claim to have been originally part of a collection that was Leofric's private property; hence the necessity to assert through an inscription that the books were donated and therefore attached to the cathedral and that whoever should remove them from there would incur a curse.²³

The majority of these items show a provenance other than Exeter and they all date to a period earlier than Leofric's pontificate, mainly the tenth century. Leofric may have, therefore, acquired these books from other institutions early in his time to build up a working library for his deprived cathedral.²⁴ With the only exception of CUL II. 2. 11, the West-Saxon Gospels compiled by Leofric's scribes in the eleventh

²¹ Some quirks point to an identification with other volumes owned by Leofric. Ibid. p. 29 and ff.

²² The manuscript was probably written in France, but it contains a notice in the hand of a scribe in Leofric's scriptorium.

²³ The donation inscription contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 6v the Leofric Missal, reads: 'Si quis illum inde abstulerit eterne subiaceat maledictioni. Fiat. Fiat. Confirma hoc deus, quod operatus est in nobis' and in Old English '... ond gif hig ænig man ut ætbrede hæbbe he godes curs ond wrædde ealra halgena'. In my translation: 'if anyone should remove this book, may he be subject to an eternal malediction. So be it. So be it. May God confirm our intentions.'

²⁴ After obtaining permission to move his diocesan seat from Crediton to Exeter in 1050, Leofric assessed the deprived patrimonial situation at Exeter where, it is reported in Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3501, fols. 1v-2, he found five worn out books: 'he 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'. In my translation; 'he found in that minster nothing but one capitulary, one worn-out nocturnal, one epistolary, two reading books'. A full translation of this passage may also be found in Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 230-35.

century, the other manuscripts show an origin other than Exeter: Bodley 579, the Leofric Missal, in all probability originated on the continent before travelling to Exeter; likewise Auctarium D. 2. 16 was produced in Brittany and was probably in Lotharingia before it was brought to England, quite possibly by Leofric himself; Bodley 849 was affiliated to some unidentified centre in France, possibly in the Loire region; Auctarium F. 1.15 and Bodley 708 were both written in Canterbury, at St Augustine and Christ Church, respectively. It is therefore very likely that Leofric acquired many of these books in the years the he spent on the continent or when he served as a clerk at Edward the Confessor's court, between 1042 and 1046 or soon after he was appointed bishop in 1046. Although there is no record of what Leofric did—other than organising the relocation of his see—during the four years, 1046-50 that he spent in Crediton, it may be reasonable to think that he may have engaged in activities that would improve upon the much lamented poverty of lands, church goods and books that he assessed in his diocese when he took charge. The scarcity of books may also have prompted him to donate to his successors codices that he supposedly brought back to England from the continent, like Auctarium D. 2. 16.²⁵ These manuscripts would have provided the newly-founded cathedral with some basic texts, mostly needed to operate the liturgy.²⁶ One of Leofric's major

²⁵ It has convincingly been suggested that Auctarium D. 2.16 was brought to England by Leofric in 1042 when he arrived with Edward the Confessor. R. Schilling, 'Two Unknown Flemish Miniatures of the Eleventh Century', *Burlington Magazine* xc (1948), 312-317.

²⁶ The style of the donation list emphasises the bishop's generosity in providing the cathedral with a considerable amount of service books: after recording thirty of the items that the bishop donated, the compiler stops abruptly to say that Leofric gathered those codices since he found in the minster no more than five books and in bad conditions. This remark breaks up a long list of volumes thereby emphasising the bishop's generous gifts further. Drage reports a few cases of bishops donating similar amounts of books to their cathedrals both in England and on the Continent, this corroborates the idea that a collection of thirty books was a generous legacy to bequeath to a cathedral in the eleventh century; see Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 67.

achievements was, indeed, that of endowing his cathedral with thirty-two liturgical books, a remarkable number as we learn from his donation list, especially if compared with the five worn-out service books that he found at Exeter when he arrived.²⁷

To the group of manuscripts singled out by Drage, Conner also added the following items:

16. [Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190]
Penitentials; Ælfric, *Pastoral Letters* (OE) Homilies
s. xi¹-xi^{med}
17. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421
Homilies (OE)
s. xi¹-xi^{3/4}
18. [Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501, fols. 8-130]
Exeter Book
s. x²
19. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3507
Hrabanus Maurus, *De Computo*
s. x²
20. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3548 A
Missal
s. x¹
21. Exeter, Cathedral Library 3548 C
Benedictional
s. x
22. Exeter, Cathedral Library FMS 1, 2 and 2a
Orosius (fragments)
s. x¹
23. Exeter, Cathedral Library FMS 3
Vita S. Basilii (fragments)

²⁷ According to Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', the five worn-out books that Leofric found at Exeter on his arrival are: Exeter, Cathedral Library 3548A (Missal of continental origin); Exeter, Cathedral Library FMS 1, 2 and 2a (Orosius' *Historiae*); Exeter, Cathedral Library FMS 3 (*Vita Sancti Basilii*), London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, vol. 1, fol. 75 (a fragment of a gospel book to which were added memoranda including two items connected with Exeter); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 314 (Missal of continental origin).

- s. xⁱⁿ
24. London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, vol 1, fol. 75
Gospels (fragment)
s. x¹
 25. [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 319]
Isidorus, *De Fide Catholica*; *De Miraculis Christi*
s. x²
 26. [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 394]
Isidorus, *De Fide Catholica*
s. xi
 27. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718
Penitentials
s. x-xi
 28. [Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 849]²⁸
Bede, *In Epistolas Canonicas*
s. ix¹
 29. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 865
Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitula* (OE and Latin)
s. xi¹

The coherence of this group of volumes depends upon the fact that they all lack leaves at the beginning or at the end and may therefore have contained the bishop's inscription that legalised the cathedral's possession over the book. It is interesting to note that Conner increased the number of volumes from five—the items listed by Drage—to fourteen: these volumes beside missing front and end leaves are associated with an entry in Leofric's list, and, says Conner, show a connection with Exeter's tenth-century history; some of these volumes have therefore a strong claim to having been part of the bishop's collection half a century later.²⁹ Together with this comprehensive group, another set of books should be considered, that is:

²⁸ The items in square brackets are those reported by Drage as the manuscripts with missing leaves that may have contained the bishop's donation inscription, which may have been removed in later time.

²⁹ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 14-15. Conner however, admits that it is statistically improbable that all these manuscripts were at Exeter in Leofric's time. For example, Bodley 865, containing

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419
Homilies (OE)
s. xi¹
2. [London, Lambeth Palace 149, fols 1-138]
Bede, *In Apocalypsin*; Augustine, *De Adulterinis Coniugiis*
s. x²
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. infra 2.9, fols. 1-110
Cassianus, *De institutione monachorum*
s. x²
4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 229
Augustine, *Sermones*
s. xi¹
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 311
Penitentials; Gregory the Great, *Libellus Responsionum*
s. x²

The above-mentioned manuscripts—although complete with regard to collation—are linked to those listed in the previous group. Conner notes that there is very scarce evidence for or against the presence of these books among Leofric's collection despite their association with the aforementioned items; consequently it is difficult to study them in the context of any intellectual or scriptorial activity at Exeter.³⁰ A closer analysis will, however, show that there are exceptions. Two examples are perhaps worth mentioning. Ker noted that CCCC 419 is clearly a companion volume to CCCC 421 basing his assumption on the fact that one single scribe copied them at the beginning of the eleventh century and on the coherence of the materials there contained.³¹ Although the manuscript bears no palaeographical or codicological sign of affiliation with Exeter, it is reasonable to think that it travelled to Exeter with its companion CCCC 421. Two sets of quires copied by Exeter hands in the mid

Theodulf's *Capitula*, was probably at Exeter later than Leofric's time quite possibly in the seventeenth century. Likewise, Auctarium D. infra 2. 9 appears in Exeter catalogues dating to later times.

³⁰ Ibid. p. 15. An exception to this is represented by CCCC 419 as I will argue in the following chapters of this thesis.

³¹ N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957).

eleventh century and added to the latter volume show that the codex was associated with Exeter in that time. It has been rightly suggested that CCCC 421 may have been in use at Exeter during the bishop's time, quite possibly together with CCCC 419, by the bishop himself.³² Similarly, Lambeth Palace 149, fols 1-138 shows strong scribal links with the *Exeter Book*. Conner notes that it is still debatable whether this item was available to Leofric or not.³³ The book contains Bede's *In Apocalypsin* and was associated in the bishop's list of donations with the entry 'expositio bede super apocalipsin'; however, Conner argues, its complete collation would suggest that it never contained Leofric's donation inscription, casting a doubt on a possible connection with Exeter at the time of Leofric and therefore with the bishop himself.³⁴ The peculiarities through which these volumes can be associated with Exeter do not necessarily indicate that they were in Leofric's hands in the mid eleventh century. Although these items have been considered part of the Exeter tenth-century library, it is difficult to believe that they were all at Exeter during Leofric's pontificate.³⁵ According to the donation list, the bishop found there only five books, a number that rules out the possibility that all the books listed in this group were at the cathedral when Leofric took charge. However, the fact that the five books that he found at Exeter are all service books mitigates against this assumption and leads us to believe that there may have been more books of a non-liturgical nature from those enumerated by Conner, that were not mentioned by the compiler of the donation list.

³² E. Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter', in *Essays in Honour of C. P. Wormald*, ed. S. Baxter, N. Brooks and C. Karkov (Oxford, 2008), (forthcoming).

³³ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 15.

³⁴ Ibid. Although Lambeth 149 may have been identified in the bishop's list, Conners admits that, due to the book's complete collation, it is impossible to prove, that this book may have belonged to Leofric's library, despite its scribal connections with the *Exeter Book* and Bodley 319, two codices that may have contained the bishop's donation inscription on now missing leaves.

³⁵ Ibid. pp. 15-17.

The group of books identified by Conner only contains a few liturgical items, the remainder are standard spiritual texts: books that the compiler of the donation list may have not considered as important as the liturgical ones in emphasising the bishop's generosity and may have consequently omitted to mention. Moreover, in the narrative of the donation list, mention of the 'five worn-out books' is made after the compiler has listed a group of texts that are primarily liturgical in contents. The passage seems therefore to emphasise the bishop's achievements in providing his cathedral with a sizeable *liturgical* collection, essential to the ecclesiastical life and the *sine qua non* of a cathedral library.³⁶ Some of the tenth-century non-liturgical books may have been already there, even if there is no mention of them in Leofric's records, as convincingly suggested by Conner.³⁷

Some of the books that Conner ascribed to the cathedral's tenth-century library may have been imported from the continent and arguably by the bishop himself. Although nothing is known with certainty about Leofric's activities during the years that he spent in Lotharingia, it would be reasonable to think that he was well connected and had friends among the aristocracy. Leofric in all probability met Edward the Confessor while in exile on the continent. This would suggest that he was exposed to contacts with the nobility, both lay and religious, through which he may have procured some of the manuscripts that were later re-shaped and re-used at Exeter. Three different continental areas are, indeed, represented among the volumes that can be attributed to the cathedral, these being northern France, Brittany and

³⁶ That in the bishop's donation list the emphasis is mainly on the provision of liturgical books is in keeping with the general meaning of the list itself, that is the perpetuation of the bishop's achievements after his death. Gameson shares this view stressing that the donation of books was part of the bishop's spiritual preparation for his afterlife: in this perspective, the gift of books of a liturgical nature may have enhanced Leofric's religious accomplishments. Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', p. 143.

³⁷ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 20-26.

Lotharingia, the area where Leofric allegedly received his education. No less than four manuscripts can be localised to northern France: Exeter, Cathedral Library 3548A, a missal whose origins are uncertain between Brittany or northern France; Exeter, Cathedral Library FMS 1, 2 and 2a, Orosius' *Historia adversus paganos* (fragments); Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 849, Bede, *In Epistolas Canonicas*, possibly from the Loire region; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 311 Penitentials and Gregory's *Libellus Responsionum*. In addition to these items mention should be made of Auctarium D. 2. 16, containing Gospels written in Brittany and Bodley 579, the bishop's personal missal, whose origins have been traced at St Vaast (St Vedast), in the diocese of Arras between Flanders and lower Lotharingia.³⁸ The coherence of this group in the collection is based on their provenance and date of origin—end of the ninth century beginning of the tenth—and on their contents as the majority of them includes liturgical materials with the exception of Orosius' *History* and Bede's *Epistles*. The books related to continental areas were probably acquired by Leofric during the time that he spent there and later brought back to England and to Exeter, when he was appointed bishop of the diocese of Devon and Cornwall.

2.2 The Exeter books

In addition to books dating to the tenth century, we should consider the volumes that date from the middle to the third quarter of the eleventh century, approximately the

³⁸ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 18 and Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', p. 151. Both Conner and Gameson assert that such a number of continental books is remarkable for a diocese like Exeter, especially if compared with the amount of continental books that were available at other English centres. In particular, Conner says that if Exeter should reflect the proportion of manuscripts from northern France in the whole corpus, it would have housed no more than one or two.

time corresponding to Leofric's office, and that were produced at Exeter. Eleven books, among the surviving manuscripts were produced in their entirety by Exeter scribes during Leofric's episcopacy:

1. Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2.4
Gregory, *Pastoral Care* (OE)
2. Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 11
Gospels (OE)
3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191
Rule of Chrodegang (OE and Latin)
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196
Martyrology (OE)
5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201
Theodulf of Orleans, *Capitula* (OE and Latin)
6. London, British Library Additional 28188
Pontifical (Latin)
7. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii
Homilies (OE)
8. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. vii
Pontifical (OE)
9. London, British Library, Harley 863
Psalter, gloss (OE)
10. London, British Library, Harley 2961
Collectar, hymnal (Latin)
11. London, Lambeth Palace 489
Homilies (OE)³⁹

This group of books is especially identified with the cathedral community for two main reasons: firstly, they are written in what has been defined by Ker as the 'Exeter norm', that is a style that was coined and then adopted only at Exeter and secondly, the fact that they are written in the house style suggests that the scribes may have

³⁹ This list has been taken from Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 161.

worked together in what may have been the cathedral's scriptorium.⁴⁰ Although, as T. A. M. Bishop suggests, a common script might be merely a regional one, the coincidence of common provenance and script admittedly indicates that the manuscripts may be localised and associated with a specific institution.⁴¹

It is perhaps interesting to note that the books contained in this group—with the only exception of CUL, Ii. 2. 11 a gospel book written in Old English—do not show a donation inscription. This may be due to the fact that there was no need to assert the books' affiliation to the cathedral further, since they were written in a fashion that was only in use at Exeter. Ker only detected this style in books affiliated with Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century, a discovery that strongly suggests that the cathedral quite possibly identified with that particular script. In Exeter's case, different hands obtained a handwriting showing consistent and remarkably similar traits; this denotes that a deliberate attempt was made in producing a style that was uniform and standardized and that would visually represent the cathedral at Exeter. Such a script would function like a 'template' *ante litteram* in whose form were presented all the materials produced at Exeter, both administrative and intellectual. These volumes may have therefore been considered the property of the cathedral because it was that institution that they represented; why then the inscription in the gospel book, a volume that was entirely produced at Exeter? That only one book among those produced at Exeter was inscribed with the intention to be donated to the cathedral makes us wonder whether or not the other books were for the use of Leofric's chapter. Were these codices part of the library outlined in the bishop's donation list?

⁴⁰ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* and T. Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral* (Oxford, 1992). For a more detailed analysis of the scriptorium that allegedly existed at Exeter see chapter 4.

⁴¹ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II'.

Some of these items, especially the liturgical ones were very tentatively traced in the bishop's donation list.⁴² The elements that allow us to identify unmistakably extant volumes with an entry in Leofric's list of endowments are indeed very few. The entries in the donation list do not detail the features of the volumes to which they refer, rather the works that they contain. Associating precisely one entry with the corresponding extant codex may, therefore, prove very difficult, when not impossible, especially if the manuscripts underwent codicological modifications in later times, as it is sometimes the case. In addition to this, some of the works listed may have been bound together under a single cover without this appearing from any of the details in the list, which only enumerates the works without indicating how they were bound.⁴³ There are however elements that can help us establish a match with a higher degree of certainty: for example, the co-existence of a donation inscription and the identification of a work with an item in the list.⁴⁴ The two pontificals contained in Additional 28188 and in Vitellius A. vii have (allegedly) been traced under a title that very generically reads: 'ond .iii. oðre' literally 'and three others' where the remaining one may have been Exeter 3548C a tenth-century Latin benedictional, of which only fragments survive. Unlike Vitellius A. vii, which was badly damaged in the Cottonian fire and therefore may have once contained the bishop's inscription, Additional 28188 is complete with regard to foliation: it may well be then that Leofric owned it but did not donate it to his cathedral.⁴⁵ His donation list reports that he gave four books of this kind to his cathedral, among

⁴² Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 48-61.

⁴³ M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon "Booklists" England', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss, eds., *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-89.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*; Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*; and H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Tempe, Arizona, 2001).

which probably were Exeter 3548C and Vitellius A. vii, but may have kept the pontifical *with* benedictional contained in Additional 28188 for himself.⁴⁶ Likewise, the Latin psalter and hymnal produced at Exeter—London, British Library, Harley 863 and Harley 2961, respectively—have been traced in the donation list, but because their quiring is complete they did not contain a donation inscription. This made Drage doubtful about their attribution, too.⁴⁷ Some of the Exeter-produced books may have not been part of the bishop's endowments and therefore be less representative of the cathedral's library than they were of the person who instigated their production, that is the bishop.

The fact that a considerable number of volumes that show a strong claim to have been at Exeter in Leofric's time are not included in his donation list made scholars assume that collections existed within Leofric's library, which may have served different purposes.⁴⁸ With regard to this, Bishop hypothesised that the inventory drawn upon Leofric's death possibly by one of the canons of his cathedral chapter constituted a book collection attached to the diocesan seat, for the use of the community and chapter and that differed from the 'episcopal library' that Leofric assembled with the aim to serve his own pastoral needs, accomplish his religious

⁴⁶ This view is also shared by Drage who is very doubtful when associating these volumes with the ones that appear in the inventory, see Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 51.

⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 48 and p. 50 Drage states that the 'collectaneum' identified with Harley 2961 may not have been the volume given by Leofric, likewise one of the 'psalteras' traced in Harley 863 may have not been the one donated by the bishop.

⁴⁸ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p. 198 and also Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 196. Bishop affirms that the manuscripts written at Exeter prior to 1072 that Leofric gave to his cathedral formed a 'permanent episcopal library', what he exactly intended with this terminology has as yet not been fully investigated, did an episcopal library represent the bishop or the cathedral where it was housed? It appears from Bishop's words that the books written at Exeter (which, in his opinion, formed the episcopal library), were different from those that he gave 'ad utilitatem successorum suorum', i. e. the books that he donated.

duties and administer his own diocese. Following Bishop's suggestion, Treharne argued that Leofric had a private collection of books that he did not donate to the cathedral and that at best represents his pastoral concerns.⁴⁹ The Old English Gospels contained in CUL, li 2. 11, is seemingly the exception that confirms this thought: its being written in the house style did not automatically make it the property of the cathedral; hence the inscription through which Leofric donated it. The twelve manuscripts that were entirely compiled at Exeter may support further the idea that Leofric assembled a library during his time of office for his chapter and religious community and another one for himself, not so much for his own personal interests or private reading, rather, one pertinent to his episcopal role.⁵⁰ An examination of the contents of the volumes carried out by Treharne has convincingly shown that the volumes in this group are related to the duties of a bishop, to preaching activities and the ministering of pastoral care, in particular.⁵¹

Particular to the books that were produced at Exeter, beside their pastoral nature, is that they contain substantial amount of texts written in Old English. The co-existence of these attributes is, for example, particularly in evidence in two homiliaries: London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii and London, Lambeth Palace 489.⁵² Although these books were not included in the bishop's donation list, they have a strong claim to have been used by the bishop for his preaching

⁴⁹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 160. See also Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter', in this article Treharne underlines the episcopal character of Leofric's homiliaries, thereby implying that the four books containing homilies were made *ad hoc* for the bishop.

⁵⁰ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 161.

⁵² M. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: text. The Second Series*, EETS ss 5 (Oxford, 1979).

Godden has noted that the homilies contained in London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii and London, Lambeth Palace 489, two manuscripts entirely produced at Exeter during Leofric's time were selected for the use of a bishop.

activities.⁵³ The language in which these homilies are written, that is Old English, discards the possibility that the two books were recorded in the donation list under the entry ‘.i. full spell boc winters ond sumres’, ‘a full set of homilies for reading throughout the liturgical year’. According to H. Gneuss the item in the list would have consisted of a set of homilies covering the feasts of the *temporale* and *sanctorale*. This would imply that what this terminology reflects should be a homiliary that was likely written in Latin and not in English.⁵⁴ In addition to this, the title entered in the donation implies a comprehensiveness that both Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489 lack.⁵⁵ The two manuscripts hardly cover the liturgical year as they only provide a rather incomplete selection of homilies for Sundays, major feasts, dedications for a church and other general occasions. Likewise, the other two homiliaries that may have been in Leofric’s hands during his time, the companion volumes CCC 421 and 419, that have been associated with bishop Leofric, provide homilies for particular occasions, rather than fully covering the feasts of the ecclesiastical year.⁵⁶ These two volumes, which show an origin other than Exeter—they probably came from a centre in the south-east of the country under the influence

⁵³ Treharne, ‘The Bishop’s Book: Leofric’s Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter’.

⁵⁴ H. Gneuss, ‘Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology’, in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1985), 91-142, p. 123. Gneuss reports that the entry in Leofric’s donation list indicates that homiliaries were often contained in two volumes. In these pages he shares with Förster the idea that the association of the entry with an English manuscript is erroneous as the it probably refers to a set of volumes written in Latin. Förster also argued that it is usually specified in the list of Leofric’s donations when a work is written in English; it would therefore be obvious to assume that Latin was the language in which a volume was written, unless otherwise specified.

⁵⁵ Cf. chapters 4 and 5 of this thesis.

⁵⁶ J. Wilcox, ‘The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421’ (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Cambridge, 1988).

of Canterbury, if not Canterbury itself—⁵⁷ were in all probability in Leofric's hands in the mid-eleventh century, and may have been used to complement those produced at Exeter, but even so all four volumes together would not have provided a collection of homilies for the full liturgical year. It is, then, likely that these four homiliaries were part of Leofric's private collection and that they were used by the bishop in occasions not necessarily liturgical, such as in synods or in royal councils as it will be argued in the following chapters of this thesis.

It may have been Leofric's plan then to deliberately omit to include a selection of volumes into the number that the bishop wanted the cathedral and his successor to inherit. For example, the list does not include a book that had already been donated through the inscription: the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* contained in CCCC 41 is not recorded in the inventory. This appears to be the only extant book among those containing the bishop's inscription that is not mentioned amongst Leofric's endowments. The exclusion of this volume from the inventory of books seems to give reason to the idea that some of the books were donated to the cathedral at a stage that predates the compilation of the list and then re-inventoried at the end of Leofric's time. Leofric may have changed his mind about this particular item and considered it not suitable or simply not necessary for his cathedral library to have. In addition to the Old English version of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, this manuscript contains homilies written in Old English: the nature of the contents

⁵⁷ J. Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies 8 (Tempe, Arizona, 2000). A comprehensive discussion on the origin and provenance of CCCC 421 and 419 appears in Wilcox's D. Phil thesis: Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421'.

suggests that this book may have, thus, been included by Leofric in his private collection and used for preaching.⁵⁸

Does the fact that Leofric did not include his books into his list of donations indicate that there were two separate libraries at Exeter? There is some evidence that in certain institutions different uses underpinned the formation of libraries that served different functions. This is particularly documented in Benedictine monasteries where book catalogues were available in the eleventh century. For example, a catalogue of the manuscripts of the abbey of Lobbes, a Benedictine house situated in the diocese of Liège, shows that two libraries were available there: a conventual and didactic one.⁵⁹ Dolbeau says that a separation is noticeable in the catalogue of the abbey, where two different libraries are in evidence: one that contains religious texts, mainly patristic ones, and another one that contains books suitable for the education of the monks, where the liberal arts are mostly represented.⁶⁰ Whether or not Leofric aimed to follow this model in leaving some of the books that he owned out of the donations is difficult to say; however, it can be argued that the collection that the

⁵⁸ The Old English copy of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* may have been better employed by Leofric as part of his personal collection, given its homiletic character. I would therefore suggest that CCC 41 was deliberately excluded from the inventory because it would serve a better use in Leofric's own collection, and not due to its scarce importance as Förster suggested in Förster, 'The Donations of Leofric to Exeter' at p. 12 or because forgotten by the scribe who compiled the original draft of the list as Drage thought. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter' at p. 61. Bede was well represented in the cathedral library as we learn from the inventory list where three of his works are listed, namely his exposition on Luke's Gospel, on the Apocalypse and on Seven (vii) canonical epistles. The donation list reads: 'expositio Bede super euangelium Luce and expositio Bede super apocalipsin and expositio Bede super .vii. epistolas canonicas' from Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 234. A full account and analysis of the manuscript with particular attention to the homiletic texts is carried out in R. J. S. Grant, *Three Homilies from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41* (Ottawa, 1982).

⁵⁹ F. Dolbeau, 'Un Nouveau catalogue des manuscrits de Lobbes aux XIe et XII siècles', *Recherches Augustiniennes* 13 (1978), 3-36

⁶⁰ Ibid. p. 12.

cathedral inherited from him can be described as a basic selection of texts very similar to what eleventh-century cathedrals would have had and was very possibly gathered in that particular form to run the liturgy as well as for the use of the canons.⁶¹

A closer examination of the contents of the books in the donation strongly suggests that the collection may have been intended for the canons. In his analysis of the books that were at Exeter in Leofric's time, Gameson has divided the cathedral library, as it appears in the donation list, into three different sections. The first group containing two adorned gospel books listed together with valuable treasures, the second group comprising liturgical books and books relevant to the regular life enacted in the institution, and the third section including standard reading texts, 'spiritual classics', crucial for the canons' spiritual education.⁶² These kinds of collection were typical in English religious institutions in the years 1050-1100, and after that date book collections became increasingly patristic in their contents to the extent that libraries such as Leofric's are reasonably classified as pre-patristic collections.⁶³ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 3, fol. 189v—a copy of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* compiled at Worcester—contains a library list that is approximately contemporary with Leofric's.⁶⁴ The selection of authors contained in this catalogue

⁶¹ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', p. 148.

⁶² Ibid. pp. 148-9.

⁶³ R. Gameson, 'L'Angleterre et la Flandre aux X^e et XI^e siècles: le témoignage de manuscrits', in *Les échanges culturels au moyen âge*, Histoire ancienne et médiévale (Paris, 2001-2002), 165-206 and also T. Webber, 'The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective', in *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, their Scribes and Readers. Essays presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot, 1997), 191-205.

⁶⁴ H. M. Bannister, 'Bishop Roger of Worcester and the Church of Keynsham', *English Historical Review* xxxii (1917), 387-393, pp. 388-9. It is, however, impossible to attribute these books to a specific centre. The list differentiates itself from Leofric's donation for the language in which it is

resembles that appearing in Leofric's donation especially with regard to the non-liturgical texts. Classical authors like Orosius, Sedulius, Persius, Prosper, Boethius, Isidore, and Bede are well represented in both lists suggesting that these kinds of reading were fairly standard for the period. The classical authors, whose works Leofric left to his cathedral, constituted the syllabus of religious education.⁶⁵ The observance of a liturgical routine and the acquisition of an education were among the requirements of the Rule of Chrodegang: the statutes that regulated the communal life at Exeter and that were introduced by Leofric.⁶⁶ The books that Leofric left to the cathedral were in all probability given with the intention to provide the canons with a basic religious and literary education. The non-liturgical section of the books recorded in the bishop's donation list formed the scholastic library of the cathedral, as indicated by Latin classics that enjoyed great popularity in the second half of the eleventh century such as Prudentius' *Psychomachia*, Isidore's *De fide catholica*, Bede's religious works, and also classic verse with a moral or religious content such as Persius' *Satirae*, or Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*.⁶⁷ The absence of patristic works in Leofric's donations is another characteristic of the bishop's book collection. The works of the Fathers of the Church were imported to Exeter by the Norman bishop Osbern FitzOsbern, Leofric's successor. This is a well-documented trend that

written beside obvious dissimilarities of contents. This list is indeed in Latin while Leofric's is written in English.

⁶⁵ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', pp. 143-4.

⁶⁶ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*.

⁶⁷ The presence of English glosses in the extant manuscripts that have been traced in this section of the donation list also reinforces the idea that these books were for the use of the canons. Glosses would have helped those of them with a poor knowledge of Latin to understand the key concepts. Examples of these glosses are contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 319, Auctarium F. 3. 6, Auctarium F. 1. 15; London, British Library, Royal 6 B. vii; Exeter, Cathedral Library, 3507.

manifested itself towards the close of the century when the demand for patristic texts in English religious centres increased noticeably.⁶⁸

2.3 The English vernacular in the Exeter books

The English vernacular is generally well represented in the eleventh-century Exeter library, so it appears from the number of extant manuscripts that contain texts written in that language. The Old English language is well documented especially among the books that were *not* recorded in Leofric's list and that were more closely associated with the bishop's duties. Only four volumes are mentioned among Leofric's donations that are specifically said to be written in English:

þeos englisc cristes boc [...], scrift boc on englisc [...] .i.
mycel englisc boc be gehwilcum þingum on leoðwisan
geworht, [...] Boeties boc on englisc.⁶⁹

A number of four does not stand out among the sixty books enumerated in the inventory. The amount of English books associated with Exeter during Leofric's time increases noticeably if we consider the volumes that were not enlisted. Nine further English items may be singled out among the codices that may have formed Leofric's personal library. Some of these are entirely in English, others are bilingual copies of the same text; for example, CCCC 191 contains the English and Latin version of the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* followed at Exeter and CCCC 201 the *Capitularies of*

⁶⁸ Webber, 'The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective', and more specifically related to Exeter Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 3-10, Conner reports the books that date to the twelfth century that postdate Leofric's time.

⁶⁹ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 232. In my translation: 'a gospel book in English, a penitential in English, one great book of poerty in English and Boethius' book in English'.

Theodulf of Orleans.⁷⁰ These volumes, I think, deserve particular attention in attempting to understand the reasons supporting such a large production of vernacular texts, one that was seemingly unusual in the other Lotharingian-led dioceses. Leofric seems indeed to have been alone among his Lotharingian colleagues to instigate the production, compilation and acquisition of English codices. What kind of linguistic context/situation was there at Exeter that was particularly favourable to vernacular book production and collection? Bilingual manuscripts such as CCCC 191 and CCCC 201 together with the bilingual donation inscriptions, through which Leofric made gift to his chapter of some of his books, show that in some instances English appeared alongside Latin, usually providing a free translation of it. The circulation of bilingual texts at Exeter has often induced scholars to consider the production of manuscripts in English as a consequence of a poor level of Latinity.⁷¹ A number of charters, Gameson argues, show that knowledge of Latin was not impeccable among the scribes who were in charge of the compilation of administrative documents.⁷² This has obviously encouraged us to consider English to be an ancillary language to the more prestigious Latin: a useful instrument for a clearer comprehension of a language that was not that of the natives. Bilingual translations, in this view, would have especially enabled the comprehension of texts which were customarily written in Latin and not in English, for example, official documents like the rule followed by the canons, some paraliturgical books like the Gospels, administrative records, etc. The context in which

⁷⁰ D. N. Dumville, 'Theodulfi Capitula in England', *Archiv fur das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen* 223 (1986), 388-392. According to Dumville one of the two independent Old English translations of Theodulf's Capitularies is contained in this manuscript of Exeter origin. On the limited circulation of the *Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang* see Drout, 'Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style', pp. 345-6.

⁷¹ Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', p. 147.

⁷² Ibid. see footnote 45.

bilingual as well as English manuscripts were produced, however, raises questions about the co-existence of English and Latin and the significance that English may have had in eleventh-century Exeter.⁷³ Leofric had been educated on the continent, so his (written and spoken) Latin was probably better than his English. Similarly, the canons were trained from a very young age as reported in Chrodegang's rule and presumably in written Latin as well as in religious subjects: the background that they were expected to receive according to Chrodegang's rule, would prepare them to become either ecclesiastics or the bishop's aides.⁷⁴ Does the production of English books at Exeter indicate that knowledge of Latin was as scarce as to instigate the production of bilingual texts? Was English really instrumental in conveying religious concepts that were not equally well understood in Latin?

If the charters produced at Exeter evince a level of Latin that was presumably sufficient to both comprehension and presentation without however being outstanding, it is the Exeter-compiled books that at best exemplify that an excellent level of Latinity could be reached. The scribes who worked compiling the additions to Bodley 579, the Leofric Missal, or Additional 28188 and whose hands are also present in the vernacular manuscripts, were equally proficient in Latin and in English.⁷⁵ This seems to suggest that the comprehension of Latin at Exeter in Leofric's time was seemingly average, as one would expect from a cathedral where intellectual standards were just being re-established, as repeatedly discussed above.

⁷³ E. Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', in *The Power of Words: Anglo-Saxon Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg on His Seventieth Birthday*, ed. H. Magennis and J. Wilcox (Morgantown, 2007), 207-242

⁷⁴ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*, § xlvii.

⁷⁵ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 174-91. In describing hands at work in the Exeter manuscripts Drage notices that the scribes involved are proficient both in Latin and Old English not only palaeographically, but also linguistically.

The importance of the English language should then be redressed in relation to a context in which Latin was probably well understood by an English-speaking audience. The bishop's entourage, his chapter, the canons and the entire congregation were in all probability virtually bilingual in that they knew the right amount of Latin that enabled them to carry out their duties. If so, the importance of the English language should be reconsidered in relation to a 'discourse' community of English native speakers rather than in relation to one that did not understand Latin very well, as suggested by Gameson. In a recent article, Treharne argues that most of the materials copied in English after the Norman Conquest are written in response to the cultural needs of what she calls a 'new native audience' and in so doing she contends that English had its own status in a 'multilingual environment'.⁷⁶ The linguistic context at Exeter in c. 1050s-1070s may have been one that in certain respects was similar to that outlined by Treharne. At Exeter, in bishop Leofric's times, English was not relegated to having the instrumental function of conveying concepts to people who did not master Latin, but rather was used alongside it: it (may have) represented an intellectual and religious community of English natives who recognised the authority of Latin without considering English any less important.

Leofric clearly had an interest in the English language as he requested the compilation of a quantity of books that contain it and acquired a number from other centres. His inclination to procure books in the English vernacular is all the more significant if considered in the context of his successors' administration of the Exeter

⁷⁶ Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', p. 207. It is perhaps worth quoting Treharne's words at length: 'materials copied in English from ca. 1070 to 1200 offer a political and cultural response to the changes effected by Norman control. That response can take the form of *Textus Roffensis*, a bilingual statement of English laws and customs that establishes precedent for a new native audience; or the Eadwine Psalter, which visually insists on the legitimacy of English within a multilingual environment, including that of liturgical practice'.

library: the Norman bishops Osbern FitzOsbern and William Warelwaste did not promote the use of English, as far as we can tell from their book acquisitions that are primarily in Latin; in addition to this, they were both rather inactive with regard to scribal activities that continued after Leofric's death only on a minimal basis, especially for writing charters and administrative documents.⁷⁷ It would then seem that the English vernacular had a prominent role in Leofric's administration, more so Leofric used it extensively in performing his preaching duties.

Similarly, Leofric's inclination in procuring English books was not paralleled in the dioceses led by his Lotharingian contemporaries, whose activities do not show an equal interest in vernacular manuscripts. In this, certainly, Leofric stands out alone among his continental peers. The number of English volumes that can be associated with Exeter is, indeed, fairly significant when compared with the number of English manuscripts affiliated with institutions where Old English was better represented than in the Lotharingian dioceses. In the mid eleventh century these centres are: Worcester with twenty-three manuscripts, Christ Church, Canterbury with ten, Exeter with nine, Winchester and Rochester with five each.⁷⁸ Although only sixty-nine volumes out of four hundred listed in Ker's catalogue show a known provenance, the number of volumes containing Old English at Exeter is very interesting.⁷⁹ It suggests that Exeter placed itself among the centres that produced and circulated texts in Old English during the years across the Norman Conquest. Leofric, as the head of the Exeter Cathedral, had connections with some of these

⁷⁷ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072' at pp. 160-63

⁷⁸ R. M. Thomson, *A descriptive catalogue of the medieval manuscripts in Worcester cathedral library* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. xxi-xxii. To the number that Thomson has rightly identified for Exeter should be added those manuscripts whose provenance is other than Exeter but that have a strong claim to have been there during Leofric's episcopacy, like CCCC 421 and CCCC 419, CCCC 190 etc.

⁷⁹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*.

centres, especially with Christ Church, Canterbury, Ramsey and Winchester as indicated by some of the manuscripts that travelled from those centres to Exeter and were augmented or re-styled there.⁸⁰ CUL, Hh. 1. 10, containing Ælfric's grammar originated from Christ Church, Canterbury and was then brought to Exeter where it was later modified by some of the scribes working in Leofric's team. Likewise, CCCC 421, a homiliary supposedly coming from the Canterbury area, contains substantial additions written in Exeter hands.⁸¹ The English volumes that may have therefore been in use at Exeter during Leofric's time of office were more numerous than the items that were produced there in that language.

Leofric was, no doubt, a collector of English books. The codices that he had in his personal episcopal library denote that he valued English as a medium for communicating with his congregation (and with the local community, I would say) and it was probably in English that he carried out most of his episcopal duties. The number of English manuscripts that can be affiliated/associated with Exeter during the years of Leofric's episcopacy indicates that together with important/major Benedictine institutions such as Worcester and Christ Church, Exeter was in a network of religious centres that contributed hugely to the diffusion of texts written in the English vernacular. Although Exeter did not equal the exceptional number of English manuscripts that were at Worcester and Canterbury, it was among the centres where the use of English, as written language, had not become obsolete and was still utilized in the early years after 1066. Although the diocese of Exeter aligned with William the Conqueror's policies after his men besieged the city in 1068, the production of English manuscripts did not stop until after the bishop's death some

⁸⁰ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

⁸¹ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421', p. 239.

years later.⁸² For example, the list of the bishop's donations that was approximately compiled in the years 1069-1072 was written in English and not in Latin. This suggests that by the end of Leofric's pontificate at Exeter, the English vernacular had come to represent a discourse community, that is the bishop and his chapter, for whom English was a language with an intellectual potential and meaning that went beyond the utilitarian function that is usually associated with it by eleventh-century scholars.⁸³ This may have been the reason why the English language was not only used in the legal and administrative domain. The production of a manuscript containing the English Gospels, that is CUL, Ii. 2. 11, it has been suggested, may have been used in para-liturgical occasions—that is, occasions distinct from the main liturgical offices but subsidiary to them, like some forms of preaching may have been—and in association with the vernacular homilies compiled or collected at Exeter.⁸⁴ If so, one may perhaps speculate whether English should be considered a language that had full 'legitimacy' and a status in eleventh-century Exeter much as Latin did.⁸⁵

This is certainly reflected in the contents of the English books that Leofric managed to gather in the twenty years of his episcopacy. The late Old English texts

⁸² Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* and Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154*. The event is also reported in D. W. Blake, 'Bishop Leofric', *Transactions of the Devonshire Association* 106 (1974), 47-57. In 1068 the city of Exeter was besieged by William the Conqueror's men. Leofric then surrendered and recognised the Conqueror's power together with the city's nobles and churchmen, who after some resistance submitted to the authority of the new king.

⁸³ E. Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', in *Beatus Vir: Essays on Old English and Old Norse in Honour of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A. N. Doane and K. Wolf (Tempe, Arizona, 2006), pp. 1-34. In her article, Treharne argues that Old English/late West-Saxon was extensively understood, read and used, long after 1066 or even 1100; see p. 10.

⁸⁴ U. Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice', *Anglo-Saxon England* 28 (1999), 141-178.

⁸⁵ Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', p. 207.

contained in these books, that is sermons, a martyrology, psalters, the Gospels suggest that the bishop carried out most of the activities related to the administration of his diocese (i. e. dedication of churches, reading and preaching to his congregation, provision of pastoral care, instruction of his priests, etc.) in that language. The extant books that have a strong claim to having been part of Leofric's private book collection, seemingly, give reason to the idea that the bishop utilized them to administer his diocese. The small size of the majority of them also indicates that they were portable, utilitarian copies that the bishop may have easily used when travelling within his bishopric.⁸⁶ The codices that Leofric may have used in carrying out his pastoral duties and that were specifically produced at Exeter are:

1. Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 4
Gregory's Pastoral Care (OE)
2. Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 11
Gospels (OE)
3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191
Rule of Chrodegang (OE and Latin)
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196
Martyrology (OE)
5. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201
Theodulf's Capitula (OE and Latin)
6. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii
Homilies (OE)
7. London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. vii
Pontifical (OE)
8. [London, British Library, Harley 863]
Psalter, gloss (OE)
9. London, Lambeth Palace 489
Homilies (OE)

⁸⁶ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

To these a few other manuscripts should be added that Leofric may have acquired from other religious centres. Some of these were augmented or modified at Exeter and then included into the group of books that constituted the bishop's personal and pastoral library. These are:

10. Cambridge, University Library Hh. 1. 10
Ælfric's Grammar
Christ Church, Canterbury
11. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419
Homiliary (OE)
?Canterbury
12. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421
Homiliary (OE)
?Canterbury
13. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41
Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* and Homilies (OE)
?
14. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190, (quires 1, 2 and 5 added to part B)⁸⁷
Homiliary (OE)
?

Those listed above are the texts that mostly reflect Leofric's episcopal activities. The homiliaries suggest that the bishop preached and read to his congregation according to his duty to instruct and minister pastoral care to his chapter. He had a copy of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* in English translation—CUL, Ii. 2. 4—that he needed for the spiritual guidance of his religious community; a copy of the Rule of Chrodegang of Metz, that he needed to administer the communal life in his cathedral, that is CCCC 191; the English version of the Gospels and of the martyrology that may have

⁸⁷ The collation of this manuscript is particularly complex. Two parts, A and B form the codex that is nowadays shelf-marked as CCCC 190, the two parts may have once been separate and only bound together at a later stage, possibly upon the compilation of the list as suggested by Drage. It is, however, possible that the quires 1, 2 and 5 in part B may have been in Leofric's homiliaries before that. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 48-61.

helped him in delivering homilies and in reading to his congregation.⁸⁸ Ælfric's grammar, contained in a manuscript originating at Ramsay and then augmented by Exeter scribes, may have served him as a reference text, an essential one for someone who had been trained abroad and may therefore have been not totally confident in English which was a foreign language to him.⁸⁹ The function then that the English vernacular had in the administration of a newly founded and nonetheless significant diocese like Exeter—at least at the end of Leofric's episcopacy—was therefore of a crucial importance. The production of the English manuscripts will therefore be studied in the following chapters, where particular attention will be devoted to the analysis of the scribal activities that underpinned the compilation of the bishop's English homiliaries. This will eventually bring some new insights into the organisation of the scribal work at Exeter and the personnel that were in charge of it.

⁸⁸ Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice'.

⁸⁹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', this was originally a suggestion made by Joyce Hill kindly reported by Treharne in her article.

Chapter 3

The scribal activities at Exeter

An investigation into the scribal activities that took place at Exeter during Leofric's pontificate should start from the palaeographical analysis of the missal, now contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, which belonged to the bishop. This codex is particularly important to study because a set of quires compiled in the mid-eleventh century by scribes working for Leofric was added to the original tenth-century core of the manuscript at Exeter. In her palaeographical analysis of Bodley 579, Drage ably identified eleven hands at work in the Exeter additions to the Leofric Missal.¹ These have then been identified in other manuscripts present in Leofric's collection, both written in Latin and in Old English. The methodology that Drage adopted in her invaluable study consisted in classifying hands as they appear in the Exeter insertions in the LM and in tracing them in the other manuscripts of the collection. This task proved to be rather difficult in that all of the Exeter scribes carefully differentiate when writing in Latin and in Old English; however, the co-

¹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', in chapters 3 and 4 of her thesis Drage analyses the missal and the transformation that it underwent at Exeter, where the manuscript was integrated by Leofric's scribes. Unless otherwise specified, the siglum LM will hereafter be used instead of Leofric Missal.

existence of these two languages and the presence of Latin passages in English texts made the identification possible. Drage's approach to the study of the hands writing in the LM helped immensely to sketch a picture of the scribal activities at Exeter during Leofric's time.

The outcomes of Drage's study suggest that a scriptorium may have existed at Exeter where at least eleven scribes, possibly recruited from among the canons, were in charge of compiling books.² That outlined by Drage seems to be a very well staffed scriptorium for a cathedral that in the 1050s, the years of the peak of the scribal activities, had only just started to rebuild its resources and that—as Barlow suggested—may have counted a number of only five canons.³ A study carried out by C. Dereine investigates the religious life of regular canons in the diocese of Liège in the eleventh and twelfth century. His analysis shows that in the years c. 920-1070 the number of canons in secular institutions was not an established one. It would seem from his argument that it varied according to the resources of the religious institution where they were housed.⁴ The collegiate churches of the diocese of Liège in the early eleventh century housed communities counting a number of canons that varied from eight to twelve. One should however bear in mind that these institutions were situated in one of the most powerful and prestigious dioceses of the German Empire, and one that towards the year 1070 counted forty chapters and as many canons as eight hundred.⁵ In order to be able to maintain a scriptorium such as that suggested

² Ibid. pp. 150 and ff. As a matter of fact, Drage identified a total number of sixteen hands working in Exeter-related manuscripts including both books and charters. Of these only eleven worked compiling the additional material present in the LM.

³ F. Barlow, *English Episcopal Acta XI: Exeter 1046-1184* (Oxford, 1996), p. lv. This point was also reiterated in Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', footnote no. 21.

⁴ Dereine, *Les Chanoines Reguliers au diocese de Liège avant Saint Norbert*, pp. 36-38.

⁵ Ibid. pp. 36-39.

by Drage, the Exeter cathedral would have had to have regular and substantial revenues; this does not seem to have been the case for Exeter at least in the 1050s, the years that saw a gradual reconstruction of Exeter cathedral and its resources. From Leofric's donation list we learn that at the end of Leofric's time, in the years c. 1069-1072, the cathedral of Exeter possessed twenty-one estates, of which fifteen were restored and six added by Leofric, this seems to indicate that in the 1050s the cathedral was probably building up its riches and collecting those lands and therefore it may not have been enough rich as to have so many canons-scribes as sixteen in place.⁶

In addition to this, in Drage's palaeographical study of the Exeter additions to the LM emphasis was put on the work of the Latin hands, while less attention was given to the manuscripts in Old English compiled at Exeter. Although she was able to identify insular hands quite convincingly, Drage did not fully examine the manuscripts in which these hands occur, leaving gaps in the palaeographical assessment of the Exeter hands writing the vernacular codices. Given the remarkable number of manuscripts in Old English compiled at Exeter, a reassessment of the Exeter insular hands is deemed necessary to redress the balance and to complement Drage's analysis of the Latin.

The following chapter will have three sections: the first will be dedicated to an examination of the LM, its origins and the modifications that it received at Exeter; the second will speculate about the existence of a scriptorium at Exeter where the

⁶ Ibid. p. 46, Dereine points out that one of the concerns of the eleventh-century Lotharingian reformers, like Richard of St Vannes and Gerard of Brogne, was the reconstruction of the possessions of the houses that they intended to reform. This consisted in acquiring lands, often previously alienated by lay nobles, which could secure a wealthy source of revenue for their reformed houses and monasteries. This would have enabled them to accumulate church treasures and build libraries. Rich abbeys like Lobbes, for example, possessed more than hundred and fifty estates.

scribes identified in Drage's palaeographical analysis may have been writing Leofric's manuscripts; the third section will especially focus on the patterns of cooperation between the scribes at work in the LM and on the rate of book production at Exeter. This analysis will finally help us to have a clearer picture of the activities in which Leofric and his collaborators engaged in assembling the bishop's book collection. Investigating into the identity of the scribes at work at Exeter and addressing questions such as whether they were professionals or canons (or both), whether or not they specialised in writing certain types of texts and what number of them worked at the compilation of the bishop's books will provide us with an impression of the conditions in which Leofric's manuscripts were produced. Whether or not our current idea of scriptorium, as a place where scribes were trained and worked together to produce manuscripts, at best expresses those conditions is something about which I shall speculate in the following sections.

3.1 Leofric and his Missal: origins and modifications

The missal that belonged to bishop Leofric is the volume which most closely represents his episcopacy at Exeter in the years 1050–1072. Among the volumes that Leofric gathered during his office for his cathedral chapter, the LM appears to be one of the most complex and yet intriguing.⁷

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579 is a composite manuscript that after an uncertain history came into the hands of bishop Leofric, who used it extensively

⁷ *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter*, F. E. Warren, ed., (Oxford, 1883 reprinted 1968) and N. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*, HBS 2 vols. (London, 1999–2002).

during his time of office at Exeter.⁸ The core of the volume is a sacramentary written in the early tenth century at St Vedast, in the Flemish diocese of Arras, presumably for the bishop of Cambrai a diocesan centre situated along the border between Flanders and lower Lotharingia. To this, a late tenth-century calendar of supposed Glastonbury origin and new gatherings written by Exeter hands were later added.⁹ The history of the manuscript until Leofric's possession is still a matter of dispute among scholars. The complexities of the LM are not easily disentangled and its life after its production is hardly traceable. The composite nature of the elements that were bound together into Bodley 579 in its current form has often prevented scholars from ascertaining the exact history of the missal before it reached Exeter. Yet, the manuscript constitutes a remarkable testimony to the tenth-century liturgical revival and possibly for this reason was still appropriate for use at Exeter in the eleventh century, where the volume was still being augmented and utilised a century and a half after it was first produced. This section sets out to illuminate the life of Bodley 579 and the use that Leofric made of it by examining the quires that were written and added to the manuscript at Exeter. These portions are specifically interesting to my argument because they were compiled by Leofric's scribes for insertion into the LM. For this reason, they not only reflect Leofric's specific requests in liturgical matters,

⁸ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 315.

⁹ The origins of the calendar added to the LM are still being debated. Warren thought that the calendar was compiled in Glastonbury and later added at Exeter, an opinion also supported by Bishop. Orchard has however recently suggested that the calendar was derived from a Christ Church copy of a manuscript brought from the west of the country to Canterbury by St Dunstan and from which also the Bosworth calendar contained in London, British Library, Additional 37517 was compiled. Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*, p. 8. If Orchard is right then the LM may have come to Exeter from Canterbury and then augmented there by bishop Leofric's scribes. Connections between Canterbury and Exeter seem to have been quite prolific during the years of Leofric's pontificate as copies of books with a Canterbury origin in the collection would suggest.

but they also provide crucial information on the organization of the scribal activities that underpinned the Exeter book production.

The origins of Bodley 579 can only tentatively be reconstructed due to the multilayered structure of the codex as it appears in its extant form. The nucleus of Bodley 579 was supposedly produced on the continent at Saint-Vaast in Arras as the feast of St Vedast, patron saint of that cathedral, would suggest. Both Orchard and Warren share this view; though the former thought—against the latter—that St Vaast was a secular institution rather than a monastic one at the time when the LM was compiled.¹⁰ Warren believed the sacramentary to be written for a Benedictine house, due to the presence of two masses dedicated to St Benedict, which would indicate that his assumption was correct.¹¹ He also assumed that the text had been brought over to England by Leofric in 1042 when he left the continent and followed Edward the Confessor to England.¹² Alongside this theory, however, others proposed that the LM was written in England purposely for English usage by a foreign scribe on the evidence that there does not seem to be any other extant missal of Lotharigian origin showing the following characteristics: a separate *sanctorale*, St Mark on 18 May, an English coronation oath and the name of St Guthlac in the litany. All these features are present in the original part of the LM.¹³ This much accredited theory proposes

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 6. Orchard points out that both Arras and Cambrai were secular institutions during the middle ages. In addition, he says that the two dioceses were united and governed from Cambrai.

¹¹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter' and Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II* in the introduction to his new edition Orchard agrees with *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter*, Warren, ed. Due to a general lack of scholarship on the diocese of Arras in the ninth and tenth centuries, I was not able to prove either statement to be true, so I will here limit myself to mentioning both views.

¹² *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter*, Warren, ed., pp. xxxviii-xliii. Warren also thought that the Glastonbury calendar was added by Leofric at Exeter.

¹³ C. E. Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church', in *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia*,

that the LM is derived from an English exemplar and associates it with the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury where the manuscript may have been housed from mid tenth century until Leofric acquired it.¹⁴ On this, D. Dumville argued that the core of the LM was written by a single scribe in a 'regional style of continental Caroline minuscule', that however, presents a number of insular features. The earliest of these English traits can be assigned to a period approximately dating to 920s, suggesting that the manuscript may have crossed the Channel in those years and not in the eleventh century with Leofric.¹⁵

The suggestion, according to which the LM was an English, rather than a continental, production has been recently revived by Orchard in his updated edition of the missal. Orchard argues that the manuscript was augmented with the insertion of a late tenth-century calendar showing textual affiliations with a calendar present in London, British Library Additional 37517—the Bosworth Psalter.¹⁶ In Orchard's words both seem to have originated from a Christ Church book based on a sacramentary brought by Dunstan from the west of the country—quite possibly from Glastonbury—to Canterbury where Bodley 579 was in all probability unbound and

ed. D. Parsons (London, 1975), 60-83, pp. 78-80. Hohler's claims that the LM is by no means a purely Lotharingian text should be here reported in full: 'Anyone wishing to establish that [a pure Lotharingian origin of the LM] should produce another Lotharingian book with a separate sanctoral, St Mark on 18 May, the English coronation oath and an invocation of St Guthlac in the litany. When he does I shall say it is derived from an English book. The Leofric Missal is patently English'. This view was also accepted by D. H. Turner, see *The Missal of New Minster, Winchester (Le Havre, Bibliotheque Municipale, 330)*, D. H. Turner, ed., HBS (Leighton, 1962), pp. vi-vii.

¹⁴ Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church', pp. 79-80.

¹⁵ D. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Studies in Anglo-Saxon History (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 39-65. Dumville also points out that Hohler and Turner assigned the writing of the core of Bodley 579 to a continental scribe working in south-western England at a time during which the codex was compiled, that is the tenth century.

¹⁶ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*; see introduction under the title 'Leofric A'.

where its structure was changed.¹⁷ Other elements seem to corroborate the belief that the manuscript was in England long before Leofric's arrival. Deshman has concluded that decorated initials, such as the majuscule 'e' on fol. 154v of the LM, were added to the original part of the missal in the tenth century by Winchester hands and are contemporary with initials present in the Junius Psalter—a Winchester manuscript of the second quarter of the tenth century and the Æthelstan Psalter another Winchester manuscript (924–939).¹⁸ He analyses the initial on fol. 154v where the text of the *consecratio thimiamatis* was copied and concludes that the illuminated initial 'e' shows a tenth-century Winchester style also present in the two manuscripts mentioned above. The LM seems therefore to have been augmented of this part at Winchester, quite possibly in the second quarter of the tenth century. The quire containing the illuminated 'e' ends at fol. 154v and an Exeter gathering is now adjacent to it, which completes the text of the *consecratio*. The first leaf of this gathering contains the last part of the text abruptly interrupted at the end of fol. 154v indicating that at Exeter there was interest in conserving the text of the *consecratio thimiamatis* and that tenth-century materials contained in the manuscript had maintained their validity almost a century later.

The manuscript had, therefore, been in England since the mid tenth century. Whether the initials and drawings were added to the LM at Winchester or at Glastonbury by scribes hired from Winchester it is almost impossible to say. Contacts between the two centres had certainly existed during Dunstan's pontificate at Glastonbury and soon after he advanced to the see of Canterbury. It has rightly been said that during the years of the monastic reform the style of artistic

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ R. Deshman, 'The Leofric Missal and the tenth-century English Art', *Anglo-Saxon England* 6 (1977), 145–173.

decorations, illuminations and drawings, reached a level of sophistication that was later epitomized by the so-called 'Winchester style'. This artistic technique, according to Deshman, built upon the original, unrefined style of Glastonbury, moved to Canterbury following Dunstan's appointment to the see and reappeared at Winchester during Æthelwold's tenure where it developed into an elegant, playful *medium* of artistic expression.¹⁹ The 'Winchester style' has overtly influenced the illuminations and drawings that were added to the LM suggesting that perhaps the manuscript was brought to Winchester, where it received its decoration or part of it, especially in view of the fact that Glastonbury's reputation in book production declined after Dunstan's departure.²⁰

Given the importance attributed to the manuscript as a text representing the fusion of two important liturgical traditions, that is the Gelasian and the Gregorian,²¹ I am personally inclined to think that it must have been housed in a centre, where liturgical innovations were brought about that were in keeping with tenth-century reforming ideals. Winchester was doubtless one of these centres at the end of the tenth century, when the illuminations and part of the drawings were supposedly inserted. If the LM was at Winchester in Æthelwold's time of office, it may have stayed there until Leofric took possession of it, possibly while he worked at the royal court as the king's chaplain. The position to which he was appointed in the royal chancery in 1042 may have given him the opportunity to take valuable books with

¹⁹ Ibid. pp. 171-2. Deshman was able to show that the ornamental additions to the LM were made in about 979. At that time Glastonbury had not been a key centre to the monastic reform for almost twenty years and therefore it is natural to believe that by that time the LM—a text whose gradual growth represented the evolution of the sacramentary into a missal and reflected the spirit of the Benedictine reform in its initial steps, at least with regard to liturgy—had not been neglected there but had been brought to Canterbury and later to Winchester, where the reform reached its peak.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*; see section 'Leofric A'.

him when he was later given the direction of the diocese of Devon and Cornwall.²² Among other books that Leofric may have brought with him from Winchester there may have been the exemplar of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang that he imposed on his cathedral chapter.²³ This text, together with a missal, most possibly the sacramentary *cum* calendar of the LM, were books essential to starting him in his office.

The core of the LM—firstly classified ‘A’ by Warren²⁴—is a ‘Gregorian sacramentary with a Gelasian admixture’.²⁵ Sacramentaries of a mixed nature had been produced in northern France and in the Rhineland since the ninth century until the beginning of the eleventh. The production of liturgical texts especially during the monastic reform had been rightly seen by scholars as a long process that eventually led to a transformation of the sacramentary into a missal—a text where all the sections of the rite of the mass are laid out. Drage argues that the format of the LM is an ‘experimental’ French lay-out that did not survive on the continent, but was imported into England in the mid tenth century where it may have influenced the

²² Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* at pp. 61 and ff.

²³ Drout, ‘Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style’, The only extant copy of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang in England is now Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191 (Exeter, s. xi^{med}) the Winchester exemplar having gone missing.

²⁴ The distinction A, the original late ninth/early tenth-century sacramentary; B, the calendar and all the additions made in the time span 920–1000; and C, the Exeter material has first been proposed by Warren and has been later respected by Orchard in his new edition of the missal. I will hereafter refer to these portions of the LM using the same classification.

²⁵ Drage, ‘Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter’, p. 85. Drage describe the LM as a manuscript of mixed parentage defined by scholars ‘*Sacramenta Gregoriana mixta*’. This kind of sacramentary originated—according to Drage—in the clerical scriptoria of the Carolingian empire where in the ninth and tenth centuries the adaptation of the Gelasian to the Gregorian rite was ongoing. Another example of this type of sacramentary is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 9428 written for another Lotharingian prelate: Drogo, bishop of Metz.

development of sacramentaries that were later adopted in the English usage.²⁶ During the years of the Benedictine reform contacts between major English centres and religious institutions in the area covering Normandy, lower Lotharingia and Flanders must have been quite intense. Æthelwold and Dunstan, the promoters of the English monastic renewal, spent a period of time at Corbie and at the monastery of St Peter at Ghent, respectively, where they allegedly perfected their religious formation.²⁷ It is, therefore, not surprising that continental manuscripts circulated in England, at least among the religious houses that supported the adoption of continental liturgical habits. That English books were in turn used as exemplars for copying manuscripts on the continent seems to me to be the reverse of the same coin. For example, the sacramentary of Ratoldus, abbot of Corbie, was an adaptation from a manuscript of English origin.²⁸ Likewise, books were brought to Winchester from the continent by St Grimbald when he became abbot of New Minster at the end of the ninth century.²⁹ The composite, stratified nature of the LM seems to reflect a process of gradual growth, which was partly inspired by the exchanges that took

²⁶ Ibid. pp. 85 and ff. Drage thought the original part of the LM to be intimately connected with the tenth-century English reform movement. During the Benedictine reform the introduction into England and subsequent adoption of continental liturgical texts would not have been unlikely. This is particularly in evidence in London, British Library, Additional 49598, St Æthelwold's benedictional. Likewise, the exemplar of Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y. 6, that is the missal of Robert of Jumièges (New Minster, Winchester, s. x^{ex}/xiⁱⁿ), supposedly was a Lotharingian/Flemish book that was likely imported into England in the tenth century and from which Robert's missal was copied at the very beginning of the eleventh century; see *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, R. A. Wilson, ed., HBS (Woodbridge, repr. 1994), pp. xxiv-xxviii and also p. lxx.

²⁷ A. Prescott, 'The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', in *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. B. Yorke (Woodbridge, 1997), 119-148. Æthelwold requested monks from Corbie to teach music to his community at Abingdon.

²⁸ Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 12051 is the English manuscript from which the sacramentary of Ratoldus was adapted. Cf. Ibid. at p. 135; also, Hohler, 'Some Service Books of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church', p. 64.

²⁹ *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, Wilson, ed., p. lxx. One of these volumes may have been the exemplar of the missal of Robert of Jumièges.

place between monastic institutions, that acted as key centres to the development of the monastic reform; for example, Winchester, Canterbury, Worcester, and Glastonbury, especially in its initial phase, and continental monasteries as well as secular cathedrals primarily situated in Normandy, lower Lotharingia and Flanders.³⁰

The connections with the tenth-century monastic reform appearing in the original part of the LM seem to have retained their meaning with Leofric, who however must have felt that the original materials could be integrated with new texts suitable to the realities of his own time and the liturgical demands of an eleventh-century cathedral. This seems to have instigated the compilation of the quires that were later inserted into the missal at Exeter. These additions are particularly important to study because they show a number of hands that appear to be working only in manuscripts that can be associated with bishop Leofric and his cathedral. The analysis of these additions including their compilation and their contents may therefore yield crucial information on the scribal and cultural activities at Exeter. In the following sections I will analyse the Exeter additions to the LM from a palaeographical point of view; this study will involve a discussion on the patterns of cooperation between the hands who contributed to compiling the Exeter materials, and will try to view their work in the context of an eleventh-century secular community. This part is deeply grounded in Drage's study of the scribes, whose hands appear writing in the Exeter books. Drage's findings will here be used as preliminary work to my argument which aims to re-address crucial questions from a new perspective, one that beside the manuscript evidence accounts for the general context in which codices were produced. The following paragraphs will thus speculate upon the work of the scribes who worked for Leofric and problematise the existence of a scriptorium at Exeter where Leofric may have employed professional

³⁰ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 99.

scribes. This should eventually bring insights into the life and phases of the Exeter book production.

3.2 The compilation of the Exeter additions

Much as the LM had been considered a valuable liturgical text in the fervent years of the reform, by the mid eleventh century, it had become rather obsolete. The manuscript as it stood when Leofric acquired it must have looked incomplete to the bishop who had it expanded over the time of his episcopacy by a crew of some eleven scribes. A narrative reporting Leofric's death on fol. 3v indicates that the manuscript was still being used after Leofric's time, at least for recording events.³¹ The LM must have been a book with which the whole community at Exeter at some point came to be identified as the volume represented the authority of the bishop, his cathedral and their joint institutional significance. This may also be deduced from the text of the donation inscription through which Leofric donated the book to the church of St Peter in Exeter for the use of his successors.³² As it has been argued in the previous chapter, the books donated to the church were the possession of the cathedral rather than the bishop's own books. In addition to this, the LM reflected the most important changes that the bishop brought about at Exeter and this seems to be the reason why the volume came to represent the cathedral itself.

The materials added at Exeter form the so-called C part of the LM that comprises four new gatherings at the front, one in the middle and five at the end of

³¹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* in quoting Rose-Troup's work on Exeter manuscripts to the manuscript, Ker suggests that some may have been added after Leofric's time.

³² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 6v.

the volume: quires 1, 4, 5, 6, 22 and 43-47.³³ Quire 1 contains the bishop's donation inscription, several manumissions, the list of relics that were at Exeter and the narratives about the relocation of the diocesan seat of Devon and Cornwall to Exeter; quires 4-6 include a series of twenty-one votive masses suitable to the renewed cathedral, for example a mass for the bishop of Exeter, one for the anniversary of the church, one to be performed for the king in synods etc.³⁴; quire 22 comprises the end of the *consecratio thimiamatis* and several benedictions³⁵; quires 43-47 contain a mixture of benedictions, prayers and sanctoral masses.³⁶ Beside these texts the Exeter scribes added marginal hints for lessons and gospel readings, musical notations, calendar entries and a series of corrections, interlinear additions, erasures.³⁷ Given the number of scribes that Leofric employed to augment and reorganize his missal, one may wonder why the C part exists at all and why Leofric did not have a missal written anew instead of enlarging an old one.³⁸ The expansion and renovation of the LM involved the work of a team of scribes—Drage postulated that eleven different hands worked in the C part of the missal—who contributed to the manuscript's updating over the twenty years of Leofric's mandate.³⁹ Manumissions on fol. 1r of the LM seemingly indicate that the book was updated at least until the office of Osbern FitzOsbern, Leofric's successor.⁴⁰ The bulk of the additions, however, was in all probability carried out in the early 1050s, when the need for a working missal was most urgent at Exeter for running the liturgy.

³³ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 119.

³⁴ *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter*, Warren, ed. at p. ix.

³⁵ Ibid. at p. xi.

³⁶ Ibid. at p. xvi.

³⁷ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*.

³⁸ Ibid. at p. 207.

³⁹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 118-144.

⁴⁰ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*, p. 209 see footnote 12 for more references.

The levels of proficiency that characterise some of the hands copying the materials added to the missal suggests that the work may have been carried out by scribes that had received a fair amount of training. The skilful, upright and well-proportioned handwriting that characterises the Exeter style were carefully maintained throughout the manuscripts with a remarkable degree of consistency and resemblance between stints. This encourages one to think that the scribes working for Leofric had been thoroughly trained to produce the handwriting that has been associated with the cathedral and that they probably worked in close contact, in order to obtain such a high level of similarity. If this were not the case it would indeed be difficult to explain how such a consistent house style was developed.⁴¹ Even so, some of the questions regarding the Exeter scribal production are not easy to answer. Provided that the scribes working for Leofric had been trained to write a style that was unmistakably adopted in all manuscripts produced or modified at Exeter, their identity and background remain unknown. Were the scribes employed from some other institution and already expert in writing? Did Leofric hire an expert to train some of his canons in assembling and writing manuscripts? Unfortunately, no certain answer can be given to any of these questions, since there is no record of the administrative activities related to the management of the book production at Exeter. One may however attempt to sketch a picture of the context in which Leofric's books were written and speculate about the activities that underpinned their production.

Most of the liturgical materials added to the LM may have been urgently needed by the bishop. In reading the bishop's list of donations, one would think that

⁴¹ Webber, *Scribes and Scholars at Salisbury Cathedral*. Webber underlines that a house style script implies that the scribes were trained to reach a certain level of consistency in writing and that this could only be obtained if the scribes worked together for a fairly long time without being subject to any external influence.

Leofric was in desperate need of replacing the liturgical books that he found at Exeter on his arrival, having found there only five items and in rather bad conditions, and possibly assemble new ones as well.⁴² It is then perhaps reasonable to think that he had his missal speedily augmented in order to supply an urgent demand for service books. The updating of the missal was possibly carried out alongside the compilation of other volumes which, like the Rule of Chrodegang, for example, were required immediately. These activities may have taken place concurrently with or soon after the transfer of his episcopal see in 1050: at Exeter Leofric established a community of canons who would have needed books for their praying activities. If so, Leofric would hardly have had time to organise any training activity for his canons, who could not have reached the level of precision and consistency in writing appearing in the extant Exeter books in a short period of time.⁴³ This would induce us to think that the scribes who copied the most urgently needed items must have been expert ones, who may have been brought to the cathedral from outside Exeter.

Leofric may have taken with him collaborators from the royal household when he was appointed bishop: for example, he had a personal priest Landbert supposedly of Lotharingian origins, who may have also served in the royal chapel.⁴⁴ Provided

⁴² Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 226-235. Conner notes that the list compiler only mentions in this passage books related to the office of the mass, which needed replacing because they became worn out through use. This indicates that, although Leofric found service books at Exeter on his arrival, those books needed replacing. Not only did Leofric do that but he also procured for his cathedral a much larger number of service books, as we learn from the list.

⁴³ Leofric would have probably been unable to initiate any scribal activity before relocating to Exeter. In the time span 1046-1050 Leofric had to restore the condition of serious poverty in which his diocese lay.

⁴⁴ Leofric sent his priest to Rome to plead the pope with regard to the transfer of his episcopal seat. This indicates that Landbert was an expert diplomat a quality that he may have refined working in the royal household. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579 fol. 3r

that Leofric staffed his chapter with men that he recruited from the royal household, it is reasonable to think that they became his own assistants. Leofric may have indeed appointed them to such positions as that of the archdeacon or provost, who were in charge of leading the community when the bishop was not in residence.⁴⁵ According to the Rule of Chrodegang the archdeacon and/or provost were in charge of the education of the clergy in the divine law and in order to do that they had to be learned men, too.⁴⁶ Given their proximity to the bishop and the pedagogic role that they held in the community, it may perhaps be reasonable to think that they were involved in the administration of the activities related to the production and collection of books, at least the liturgical ones.⁴⁷ If the archdeacon and/or provost were Leofric's old colleagues they may have been already expert in writing, an ability that they had developed in the royal chancery. They may have therefore been asked by the bishop to contribute to writing books and to direct the most urgent scribal works. The original group of scribes was seemingly formed by a small number of people, possibly the bishop and his closest collaborators, like his personal priest, the archdeacon, the provost and, seemingly, a cantor, who may have been in charge of the music and related activities. In her palaeographical analysis of the hands at work in the LM, Drage was able to identify the bishop's own writing and

⁴⁵ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*, p. 17.

⁴⁶ Ibid. Chapter viii says that the archdeacon and provost have to be educated in the precepts of the Gospels so that they can teach the clergy in religious matters. The passage is perhaps worth quoting: 'Oportet enim eos [...] ut sint [...] docti in euangelico precepto, et sanctorum patrum instituta canonum, ut possint docere clerum in lege diuina'; my translation reads: 'it is convenient that they [the archdeacon and the provost] are learned in the precepts of the Gospels and in the institutes for the canons of the holy fathers, so that they may be able to teach the clergy in the divine law.'

⁴⁷ M. Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh-and Twelfth-Century England', in *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, ed. P. Beal and J. Griffiths (London, 1998), 1-24, pp. 1-3. Gullick argues that in the twelfth century the office of precentor included the duty of the production and maintenance of books.

scribal patterns indicating that he worked closely with a few other hands: quite possibly those of his collaborators. This seemingly indicates that Leofric participated in compiling some of the materials that were added to the missal and had a small group of aides, most notably scribe 2 and 6 as suggested by Drage, whose hands appear writing an experienced caroline and insular minuscules.⁴⁸ This group may have later grown bigger as the scale of the scribal activities increased, conjointly with the reconstruction of the diocese's resources. When the rate of book production increased, the major scribes may have been occasionally helped by canons who probably took part in the activities related to the re-making of the LM, too. This is indicated by isolated and not particularly accomplished hands, which may have been hastily trained in the house style to help the main and most proficient scribes when overworked.⁴⁹

It is difficult to ascertain whether scribe 2 and 6 were Leofric's own collaborators or expert scribes, perhaps professionals, brought to Exeter by the people in charge of administering the activities related to the formation of the Exeter library, or both. The Rule of Chrodegang followed at Exeter suggests that the communal life of a house of canons was rather busy and that observance of the liturgical routine was very strict. This would have left virtually no time for the canons to engage full-time in activities other than the observance of the daily round of canonical hours, let alone a demanding task such as the compilation of books. Furthermore, the life of such a community would have required a quantity of service books that was neither in place when Leofric arrived at Exeter, nor could have been

⁴⁸ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 150-154 and 157-159.

⁴⁹ Ibid. a concept reiterated several times at pp. 145-174.

produced by hastily trained canons in a short period of time.⁵⁰ The scarcity of liturgical resources deduces that books were immediately needed at Exeter, a situation that may have encouraged Leofric to set up the conditions for producing manuscripts locally. Did Leofric 'hire' scribes from outside Exeter? Were the scribes who worked for Leofric professionals?

Gullick postulates that six professionals working for a time span of ten to fifteen years would have been able to produce approximately a hundred volumes provided that exemplars were easily available.⁵¹ This induces us to think that a library such as that assembled at Exeter in the twenty years of Leofric's episcopacy and that in 1072 counted more than sixty volumes, may have been built with the help of professional scribes, people who were expert in the activities related to book production, without being part of the cathedral community. A situation similar to what may have happened at Exeter is recorded at Rochester some thirty years later: in the years running from 1100 to 1120s, the cathedral scriptorium produced about a hundred books, half of which have survived.⁵² True that the rate of book production at Exeter was far lower than at Rochester, and that Leofric acquired many of the books that he eventually donated to his cathedral from other institutions; the situation at Exeter, however, seems to have been one in which the bishop may have sought help from professional scribes for compiling some of the manuscripts that he urgently required. Much as it is tempting to think that Leofric hired a small number of professionals to set up a cathedral scriptorium, there does not seem to be any surviving record of the provisions that the bishop would have had to make for them.

⁵⁰ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original* at p. 84. Chapter lxxvii enjoins that every church must have a selection of basic books including a missal, an epistolary, a gospel book, a penitential, a baptismal, a nocturnal, etc.

⁵¹ Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh-and Twelfth-Century England', p. 10.

⁵² Ibid.

The lack of any record that reports that scribes were paid to carry out their writing duties seemingly points to the canons as the people responsible for the scribal activities. However, the demands of their daily routine mitigate against any such assumption that they were in charge of the bulk of the activities related to the compilation of manuscripts: writing books full-time could not have been their main duty.

One would imagine that the organisation of the activities related to the production and modification of books at Exeter was indeed a complex business. In addition to having scribes working on manuscripts, exemplars had to be procured from which the new texts were copied. According to both Orchard and Drage, Leofric drew the material copied in the Exeter additions from a wide range of sources both English and continental.⁵³ The similarities between part C and the additions made to A in the mid tenth century suggest that Leofric looked to Canterbury for materials suitable for his sacramentary: Canterbury was the metropolitan see, and it is therefore plausible that Leofric should have looked there for assistance in acquiring liturgical books, especially if such a demand occurred in the early 1050s, the years of the episcopacy of Robert of Jumièges.⁵⁴ It has been observed in the first chapter that in the short time of his office, Robert sympathised with the reforming ideas of the Lotharingian Pope Leo IX. In a similar way, Leofric supported the pope's religious programme as his formal request to move his diocesan see deduces; an attitude that is further and more generally supported by the bishop's Lotharingian background. It is perhaps of no surprise then that Leofric sought help from the archbishop of Canterbury who shared his sympathy for the pope's pastoral programme. Part of the materials copied at Exeter to complete the

⁵³ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter' and Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*.

⁵⁴ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*, p. 207.

consecratio thimiamatis (fols. 155r-157v) occur in a mid-eleventh-century benedictional from Christ Church, Canterbury that is now contained in London, British Library, Harley 2892, for example.⁵⁵ And yet, Canterbury is not the only source of inspiration as Winchester seems to have played an important role, too. The pontifical *cum* benedictional contained in London, British Library, Additional 28188, an Exeter production, is based on a Winchester book and was possibly copied from an Old Minster manuscript.⁵⁶ These connections with Canterbury and Winchester books suggest that Leofric and his assistants had contacts with these centres and access to their book repositories.

The music annotations added to the LM at Exeter also suggest a Winchester connection. Music writing was extensively practiced in late Anglo-Saxon England: the Winchester Troper and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 146, a Winchester pontifical, both dated to the early eleventh century show this trend quite clearly.⁵⁷ Music was no less important in secular communities than it was in monastic ones. A section in the Rule of Chrodegang is entirely dedicated to define the duties of the cantors and the existence of a choir at the cathedral.⁵⁸ The presence of a choir, Barlow argues, would imply that someone was in charge of it, who would have had such responsibilities similar to those held by a precentor.⁵⁹ Melodies were added to

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 223.

⁵⁶ M. Clayton, 'Feasts of the Virgin in the Anglo-Saxon Church', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984), 200-229, pp. 227-228. Clayton says that the feast of the Conception of the Virgin was kept both in the Old and in the New Minster, from where she argues it spread to Canterbury and then to Exeter at about the time of the Norman Conquest. It is, however, not clear via which centre it came to Exeter.

⁵⁷ S. Rankin, 'From Memory to Record: musical notations in manuscripts from Exeter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13, pp. 97-112. Rankin indicates the Winchester Troper (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 473) as an example of music writing at the very beginning of the eleventh century.

⁵⁸ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*, p. 55.

⁵⁹ Barlow, *English Episcopal Acta XI: Exeter 1046-1184*, p. lv.

the LM at Exeter to the text of masses contained both in the A and in the C section. In most cases the neums were interlineated after the text was written down, as the appropriate word spacing is not always respected by textual hands (see plate I and II—Appendix III)⁶⁰. The habit of not spacing words adequately in view of musical annotation was quite widespread among Exeter scribes, so that music annotators had often to squeeze the neums into the margin or in the interlinear space.⁶¹ Most of the musical insertions present in the LM have been attributed by Rankin to Leofric's own hand and appear in the A section of the missal as well as in the C part.⁶² Two major implications can be deduced: first the older section of the manuscript was undoubtedly still used in the liturgy at Exeter; and second there do not seem to have been many Exeter scribes who were competent in annotating music, as most of the textual hands working in the missal do not have an awareness of where melismatic passages had to be inserted. Leofric may have been the only exception, as he is one of the most skilled among the scribes who inserted musical passages: his hand occurs in his collectar, BL, Harley 2961, in his psalter, BL, Harley 863, and in his pontifical where he writes significant passages.⁶³ Leofric probably annotated music

⁶⁰ The plates related to this chapter are all in Appendix III, p. 230, unless otherwise specified.

⁶¹ Examples of this may be seen in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 22r; 339v.

⁶² S. Rankin, 'From Memory to Record: musical notations in manuscripts from Exeter', *Anglo-Saxon England* 13 (1984), 97-112. The practice of inserting musical passages probably came to England via northern France. Corbie seems to have been the centre that set the example for the majority of neumatic annotations present in eleventh-century English manuscripts.

⁶³ Ibid. pp. 102-103. Leofric's hand appears writing neums in a number of manuscripts related to his position. According to Rankin he is helped by scribe 12, whose hand shows a rather unaccomplished character. On the whole, Exeter scribes do not seem to have a sound knowledge of how music should be integrated to the text of a mass as some leave no space for it, other do it in the wrong manner, and only on very few occasions do they seem to do it properly. This strongly invites to think that either scribes were extremely specialized in writing texts or they had received no or very little training. Little or no training would imply that scribes did not work together, which does not seem to have been the case at Exeter. Scribes at Exeter were not entirely aware of how music should be notated, all except

because, unlike his collaborators, he had a sound knowledge of it that he may have acquired as part of his education in Lotharingia, where music had been taught as part of the syllabus imparted to canons and monks since the late tenth century, when the teaching of the liberal arts earned the Lotharingian schools an excellent reputation.⁶⁴ It is interesting that Leofric should be an expert music annotator especially if compared with the second annotator that Rankin identified as scribe 12 and that Drage describes as an unaccomplished Exeter scribe.⁶⁵ It is interesting in the light of this scribal analysis that Rankin has seen in his hand the only other musical stint in the entire *corpus* of Exeter-produced books. Was scribe 12 a specialist in annotating music only occasionally asked to contribute to text writing? Might he have been one of the cantors whose help Leofric asked? If this were to be the case, another important question would then follow, that is whether scribes at Exeter specialised in copying certain types of texts and not others. Were Leofric's scribes (or some of them) professionals in that they had been trained to compile certain texts, for example, liturgical and para-liturgical ones or musical sequences, and not others?

Drage's palaeographical analysis evinced patterns of co-operation among scribes according to which a small number of hands only occur in compiling liturgical or para-liturgical manuscripts, just as scribe 12's hand seems to have been primarily employed to write music. This seemingly indicates that scribes may have been recruited by Leofric, who specialised in the compilation of this kind of texts and were specifically employed for this reason. Perhaps it is not accidental that the

for Leofric, who, in fact, was quite confident and scribe 12 who, given his inexperience may have been Leofric's aide.

⁶⁴ Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* and Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*.

⁶⁵ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 168-169. Drage says that scribe 12 writes a 'not particularly accomplished [caroline minuscule] conforming in most respects to an Exeter script' and she notices that his insular minuscule 'sits unevenly' on the line.

hands that most proficiently wrote in the Exeter style should be found in volumes containing material related to liturgy, like service books, gospel books, homiliaries etc., and very rarely in administrative documents or in charters, for example. This small group of particularly skilled scribes—I shall speculate in the following section—may have been hired by Leofric to compile the texts which would supply the most compelling needs of the bishop and his community; that is, books related and subsidiary to liturgy. A study of the collaboration between hands may support this suggestion further.

3.3 Physical characteristics of the additions: the scribes

The quires added to the missal at Exeter exemplify the work undertaken by the scribes employed by Leofric to write and modify the books contained in his collection. This is correct inasmuch as the majority of the hands identified writing in the Exeter style contributed to supplementing the bishop's personal missal at some level. Nevertheless, beside the eleven hands working in the LM, Drage was able to determine another five scribes whose work however never appears in the LM.⁶⁶ Drage's careful study identified a total of sixteen scribes working in books affiliated to Exeter cathedral during the episcopacy of bishop Leofric, it seems however unrealistic to assume that they all worked together and at the same time. Maintaining a number of sixteen scribes seems indeed too ambitious a task for a newly established, poorly endowed cathedral struggling to restore its land possessions and

⁶⁶ Ibid.

its general wealth.⁶⁷ As Gullick pointed out a number of professional scribes far smaller than sixteen could have been responsible for producing a bigger library than that housed at Exeter under Leofric.⁶⁸ Furthermore, if Barlow is correct in assuming that only five canons may have been at Exeter in 1050, it seems impossible even to believe that sixteen scribes were recruited among the canons.⁶⁹ It seems therefore reasonable to assume that in the peak of the scribal activities in the 1050s, a few professional scribes may have compiled some of the books that were needed by the bishop. If these scribes worked at Exeter—and for that they did not need to be members of the community—they may have occasionally wanted the help of some of the canons for minor works, hence the presence of speedily trained hands in Exeter-related books.

The number of scribes identified by Drage should probably also be reconsidered in relation to different phases of book production that may have taken place at Exeter. Gullick has noted that it was not unusual for an institution to entail the production of books in alternating phases: St Albans, for example, employed a large number of scribes at the end of the eleventh century in response to a demand of books that no longer existed half a century later, when, obviously, a much inferior

⁶⁷ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 159 see footnote no. 21 where Treharne argues that the number of scribes working at Exeter was smaller than the sixteen singled out by Drage. She believes this on the assumption that the number of canons that Leofric had in 1050 may have totalled to five as suggested in Barlow, *English Episcopal Acta XI: Exeter 1046-1184*, p. lv. This would induce us to think that the scribes were a lesser number, especially if they were trained among the canons as Drage thought. This belief is, however, still a matter of dispute, and a re-assessment of the palaeographical activities at Exeter may prove that the scribes at work during Leofric's time there were less than sixteen, as it seems to have been the case.

⁶⁸ Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh-and Twelfth-Century England', p. 10. He indicates that six scribes working at professional level might produce a number of about a hundred books in a time span of ca. twenty years.

⁶⁹ Barlow, *English Episcopal Acta XI: Exeter 1046-1184*, p. lv.

number of hands would supply the amount of manuscripts required.⁷⁰ Likewise, we may speculate that at Exeter there was a great demand of books in the 1050s when the diocesan see was re-founded and a community of canons established at the cathedral. These changes in the administration of the diocese may have caused an unprecedented demand for books that subsequently generated a rush in production. This may have been the phase during which some professional scribes were employed and possibly when the house style was coined. Once this hectic phase had come to an end Leofric may have wanted to retain only one or two of these scribes, who could train some of the canons with less pressure to help with the less urgent production of manuscripts and documents. If so, the employment of professionals and canons at the same time would explain and possibly reconcile both the continuity in producing the Exeter house style and the variety of stints discovered by Drage.

A study of the patterns of cooperation between the scribes who compiled the additions to the LM may then yield some more precise information about the way in which texts were copied and support further a possible collaboration between professional scribes, whether residential or hired from some other centre, and the canons. The analysis of the way in which scribes may have collaborated will help to determine the scale of the activities related to the production of manuscripts and the phases that such activities underwent through time. Determining the number of scribes at work in each phase of the production of manuscripts at Exeter will eventually enable us to establish the proportion of the demand for texts during the years of Leofric's tenure.

Quires 1, 4, 5, 6, 22, and 43-47 were added to Bodley 579 at Exeter. They were, however, not inserted at the same time, but over the twenty years of Leofric's

⁷⁰ Gullick, 'Professional Scribes in Eleventh-and Twelfth-Century England', p. 14.

episcopacy. That some of these gatherings were added to the manuscript during the bishop's time at Exeter is suggested by the donation inscription copied in quire 1: the phrasing in the present tense—*dat* from the Latin verb *dare*—indicates that the manuscript was given to the cathedral before Leofric's death in 1072.⁷¹ In addition to this, a reference to the church of St Peter places the gift of the book after 1050, the year of the transfer of the see from Crediton to Exeter: this suggests that the quire was added during that time span. The fact that this gathering contains the donation inscription also indicates that this was probably the first quire added to the missal by the bishop and his collaborators. That quire 1 cannot predate 1050 also suggests that Leofric's scribal activities started approximately during the time, when he was allowed to transfer the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter and not in the four years—1046, the year of his appointment, to 1050—that preceded the relocation of the see and that he spent in Crediton. It would, indeed, be reasonable to think that the need for texts arose when Leofric moved to Exeter, a site whose importance reflected the bishop's pastoral ambitions. Once he obtained papal permission to move his community there, Leofric would have focussed on earning his cathedral the prestige and centrality that it lacked when situated in Crediton, a *villula*—a peripheral village—of no major significance.⁷² It is plausible that the bulk of the activities related to the production of books and the formation of a library started in these years, when his diocesan centre could probably rely on better, though not excellent, resources than it did in the past, just after he was appointed bishop, and after he and possibly his collaborators assessed the scarcity of books at Exeter.

⁷¹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 1. The Latin inscription reads: 'hunc missalem Leofricus dat ecclesie sancti petri apostoli in exonia ad utilitatem successorum suorum'. In my translation: 'this missal Leofric gives to the church of St Peter the Apostle in Exeter for the benefit of his successors'.

⁷² Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', pp. 80-81.

The scribes involved in the compilation of the quires that were first inserted into the LM appear copying texts that, one may suppose, were urgently required after Leofric's community installed at Exeter in the early 1050s. For example, the text of the Rule of Chrodegang followed by the community, a copy of the Gospels in English, the Capitula of Theodulf of Orleans, etc.

The scribe writing Leofric's donation inscription in quire 1 is scribe 2 (Plate III), one of the most proficient hands working in the bishop's manuscripts.⁷³ In the LM his accomplished writing appears in close relation with that of hand 1. Following Bishop's observation according to which scribe 1's hand is 'alien' to the Exeter style, Drage thought that hand 1 was Leofric's own (Plate IV).⁷⁴ Drage's assumption was mainly based on Leofric having worked as a royal chaplain, a position that required him to be able to write documents and official records. It is plausible that hand 1 should be Leofric's also in view of the fact that his is the only mid-eleventh century handwriting appearing in the LM that does not conform to the Exeter norm: only the hand of someone, whose position was very high-ranking in the organisation of the scribal activities at Exeter, would have been allowed to write on such an important book as the missal that belonged to the bishop, without conforming to the style that represented the house. Leofric in person may have, therefore, started off the renovation of his missal and then other scribes may have taken up as the necessity arose to modify the book. Scribe 1 also started writing

⁷³ Drage notes that he is skilled in writing both Latin and Old English, she writes: 'he 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'. See Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 150-154.

⁷⁴ T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), p. 24 no. 1. Drage notices a number of characteristics in the style of scribe 1 that differ from those defining the Exeter norm in Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 150.

quires 5 and 22 that were finished by hand 2; and wrote quire 4.⁷⁵ The small portions of writing that can be ascribed to his hand and a number of corrections that he made to other scribes' stints also suggest that he may have acted as the supervisor of the activities related to the copying of manuscripts, which would form his book collection, especially his own missal.

His hand appears working in close collaboration with scribe 2, who wrote important texts for Leofric's cathedral chapter, such as a copy of the Rule of Chrodegang and the Capitularies of Theodulf of Orleans, contained in CCCC 191 and CCCC 201, respectively. Scribe 2 also inscribed seven of the nine surviving volumes that contain the bishop's donation inscription suggesting that he may initially have collaborated with Leofric or one of his assistants, in organising the activities related to the formation of the bishop's library. Texts such as the Rule of Chrodegang and the Capitularies of Theodulf would have constituted basic materials most needed for the communal life and the duty of providing pastoral care to the religious and lay local community at Exeter and therefore were of the utmost necessity in the early years of Leofric's mandate, when scarcity of books would have made these activities challenging tasks. The cooperation between scribe 1 and 2 dates, in all probability, to the 1050s rather than to a later time in Leofric's episcopacy. The scribal activity of hand 2, however, continued for a period of time longer than the collaboration that he had with hand 1, which may have existed only at the very beginning and in the peak of the copying activities.

He also collaborated with other scribes, for example with scribe 10. The latter was responsible for recording Leofric's death indicating that he worked on the missal in the later years of Leofric's time and that the additions that he inserted in

⁷⁵ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 120.

quires 1 and 47 may postdate the death of Leofric.⁷⁶ That scribe 2 collaborated with 10 in these portions of the missal would suggest that his work spanned Leofric's time. Scribe 2's hand is on the whole present in fairly large sections of the LM, where it appears in association with other more isolated hands. The ubiquitousness of his handwriting encourages us to think that he had a rather important role in the activities related to the restyling of the LM. He on occasions appears working with less proficient hands such as Scribe 10 and Scribe 4. Does that mean that he acted as a supervisor of scribes 4 and 10? Did he train them? If one were to judge from his scribal pattern the answer would be affirmative. On several occasions his hand started writing a text that was later continued by someone else's hand, such as scribe 10's or scribe 4's. For example, scribe 2 started and ended quire 6 leaving the leaves in the middle for scribe 4 to finish (Plate V).⁷⁷ Given their not particularly refined style, it would be reasonable to think that scribes 4 and 10 helped scribe 2 in finalising the work related to the additions to the missal. This idea is supported further by the analysis of the patterns of collaboration that seem to have existed between these three scribes, according to which scribe 2 started the work that was then continued and only on certain occasions completed by the other two. Were then scribes 4 and 10 canons or just scribe 2's aides? Drage suggested that canons were involved in the scribal activities when the main scribes were overworked with the completion of other manuscripts. Scribe 4 did not write large portions of text and his hand cannot be traced in any other manuscript of the collection; it would, therefore,

⁷⁶ Ibid. p. 122 see footnote no. 3. Drage describes hand 10 as not particularly accomplished. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 3/7-3v.

⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 156. In Drage's words: 'His hand approximates to the Exeter script'. His caroline minuscule sits unevenly on the line, his hand being somewhat hasty. Letters with ascenders and descenders tend to be inclined to the right hand side conferring to the page a 'wavy' (rather than steady) look. See Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fols. 342v-343r.

be very unlikely that he was someone hired from outside the community. B. Langefeld in her study of the Rule of Chrodegang and the enlarged version of it adopted at Exeter has pointed out that in secular cathedrals the canons assisted the bishop and were subject to his jurisdiction, it is perhaps reasonable to postulate that at Exeter they may have been involved in the activities related to the expansion of the bishop's own missal, a book that as previously indicated symbolised the whole community, beside its head.⁷⁸

Likewise, scribe 10's copying patterns show that he worked at writing documents related to the cathedral: in view of this it would then be reasonable to think that he was a canon, whose responsibilities included chronicling some of the events related to the cathedral's history.⁷⁹ His work, indeed, extends until after the death of Leofric and he seems to have worked completing texts left unfinished by other copyists. On several occasions, he seems to be filling the gaps left by other scribes indicating that he perhaps worked at a later stage, quite possibly, as suggested by Drage, after the time of maximum production.⁸⁰ His style is not particularly refined, especially when compared with that of the most proficient scribes at work in the book; in addition to this, he often misjudges space left for texts to be added and ends up cramming words as shown in plate VII (Plate VI and VII). Due to the necessity of copying books quickly, he may have been hastily trained to

⁷⁸ Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, pp. 9-10.

⁷⁹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 164. Among other historical passages, Drage attributed to scribe 10 the copying of the list of relics contained in Auctarium D. 2. 16 and possibly, one of the lists containing Leofric's donations previously in CUL Ii. 2. 11 and now in Exeter, Cathedral Library 3501. Also, in Conner's opinion this scribe was responsible for writing the narratives related to the move of the see from Crediton to Exeter contained in the LM; see Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 20-27. Drage is correct (against Conner) in ascribing to him the obituary of the bishop in 1072.

⁸⁰ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 165-166.

help scribe 2 and for this reason he may have never reached the level of proficiency that characterises the hand of scribe 2 and 5, for example, whose works he postdates.

A rather more proficient scribe in Drage's list is number 5 (plate VIII), to his hand were ascribed quires 44-46 (fols. 345-370) in the LM. This self-contained group includes prefaces and masses that were in all probability copied from an English exemplar as the texts resemble very closely the versions contained in the missal of Robert of Jumièges and in the New Minster missal.⁸¹ He completes a text in collaboration with scribe 2, whose hand started it on fol. 59v in the LM. It seems to be a well-established pattern that scribe 2 should start copying a text and leave it to another scribe for completion. This scheme is quite repetitive throughout the group of quires that were added to the LM at Exeter. Although scribe 5 seems to be working more independently than other scribes, as he alone compiles a whole group of quires, he collaborates with hand 2 completing a text that the latter started copying on fol. 59v in the LM.⁸² The manuscripts where their professional collaboration seems to be more prolific are the homiliaries contained in CCC 421 and CCC 190B, which they both supplemented. Scribe 5 writes a very competent caroline minuscule and a neat insular minuscule;⁸³ this indicates that he was among the scribes whose writing skills in the Exeter style were outstanding, together with scribe 2.⁸⁴

Another scribe that worked in collaboration with number 2 is scribe 3 (Plate IX). His excellent caroline and insular minuscule only appear in the LM and in Cleopatra B. xiii, one of Leofric's own homiliaries and in alternation with scribe 2's

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 120.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ For a detailed analysis of his insular minuscule see chapter 4.

⁸⁴ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 156. In Drage's words: 'he writes an excellent caroline minuscule of Exeter aspect'.

hand. This hand—it has been noticed by Drage⁸⁵—looks very similar to scribe 2's hand: was scribe 3 particularly successful in emulating the Exeter style as produced by scribe 2? It has been previously noted by Treharne that the task of distinguishing hands among the scribes working at Exeter might be a difficult one due the high levels of accuracy to which many of these scribes worked.⁸⁶ This is certainly true with regard to the handwriting of scribes 2, 3 and 5. Given his pre-eminent role in the scribal activities related to the integration of the LM and the copying patterns that seem to have regulated his cooperation with other scribes, it may well be that scribe 2 acted as supervisor to 3 and 5.

Another hand related to the work of this small group of scribes that deserves attention is that of scribe 6 (Plate X). His writing abilities are shown in what is considered his major work; that is the West-Saxon Gospels contained in CUL, Ii. 2. 11 and this seems to be the reason why his hand did not copy very large sections in the LM. He worked closely with scribe 2 and was corrected by scribe 1, Leofric himself, and he was part of the team of scribes that had a major role in the production of vernacular books at Exeter.⁸⁷ Drage argues that he may have been a canon on account of the fact that he copied charters of estates that were owned by Leofric.⁸⁸

The coherence of this team of scribes 2, 3, 5 and 6 depends upon their proficiency in writing in the Exeter style, the type of texts copied by them—mostly liturgical and homiletic—and their close collaboration with scribe 2, who, given his

⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 155.

⁸⁶ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter',

⁸⁷ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 157-159.

⁸⁸ Ibid. at p. 158. The charters here referred to are Exeter, Cathedral Library 2521, 2521v and 2527v. These charters grant possession over estates that were part of the diocese of Devon and Cornwall since the tenth century and whose possession Leofric claimed.

copying patterns, may well have acted as supervisor of the scribal activities carried out by them. Together they formed a group of very expert scribes, whose competent writing abilities, shown by their almost identical stints, must have been the product of great scribal discipline and experience. This kind of consistency between these scribes could only be obtained through a very close collaboration that suggests that they trained and worked together in what may have been the cathedral scriptorium: a place by the cathedral premises where they wrote books. Their hands are exceptionally consistent in producing the style associated with Exeter cathedral both in writing Latin and Old English. This would suggest that they were resident scribes at least for the period during which their services were required. As Webber has rightly pointed out, the creation of a house style is a 'conscious process, and reflects certain attitudes towards the appearance of the books produced';⁸⁹ this was reiterated with regard to Leofric's books by Treharne, who stressed that the work of the Exeter scribes suggests 'the deliberate creation of a style befitting the use of someone other than the actual scribe himself (Leofric in the first instance)'.⁹⁰ That the team of scribes specifically worked for the bishop may be inferred not only from their extensive contributions to the LM, but also from their work on the homiliaries that were contained in that part of the collection which was specifically dedicated to the use of the bishop (as discussed in the second chapter). These hands worked then to satisfy the bishop's requests in the peak of the scribal activity at Exeter. Could they be professionals? Did they coin the Exeter house style?

These scribes seem to have worked in what may be defined as the first and more creative phase of the Exeter book production. During the early 1050s, the

⁸⁹ T. Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest', in *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*, ed. R. Eales and R. Sharpe (London, 1995), 145-158.

⁹⁰ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

bishop's ambition and anxiety to earn his newly founded cathedral status and prestige shows quite clearly in the urgency to produce books which represented the cathedral and its importance.⁹¹ The production of manuscripts in this phase mirrors Leofric's regard for books as valuable objects: they not only represented the bishop's plans of improving the wealth of his cathedral, but their layout bespoke the identity of the cathedral itself. The Exeter style as exemplified in the handwriting of the scribes working for Leofric certainly symbolised the institution and its status: the association of a style with a house/cathedral would tell external observers or users about the origin of a certain manuscript and about the institution in which it was produced.⁹²

A second phase of the scribal activities at Exeter during the pontificate of bishop Leofric can be defined through the work of another group of scribes: 9, (11), 12, and 13. The patterns of cooperation that regulate their contributions to Leofric's manuscripts revealed that they may have worked later than the above mentioned group of scribes. In particular, these hands worked together in compiling two codices among Leofric's personal books: BL, Harley 2961, Leofric's *Collectar* and BL, Harley 863 his psalter. They were working after the main additions to the LM were completed, that is after the pioneering group composed by scribes 2, 3, 5 and 6

⁹¹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', and Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter', Treharne stresses several times implicitly and explicitly Leofric's respect for books.

⁹² It is significant with regard to this that both Ker and Bishop defined the writing style used at Exeter as the Exeter norm, because they could trace it only in Exeter-affiliated books and not in manuscripts coming from other centres; there is therefore a full identification between the style used in the Exeter manuscripts and the place where they were produced, that is Exeter cathedral. See Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* and Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II'. Plates that can give a fairly good idea of the consistency of the Exeter house style are contained in P. Robinson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries c. 737-1600* 2 vols. II (Cambridge, 1988).

had carried out the major scribal works to the bishop's missal. Beside their cooperation in some of Leofric's own manuscripts, these hands have in common that they are not as proficient and consistent as those of scribes 2, 3, 5 and 6, with whom they hardly collaborate.⁹³ Also, these scribes took no or very little part in copying the additions to the LM, because, according to Drage, they all worked in a period comprised between the end of the main rush of the scribal activities and Leofric's death in 1072.⁹⁴ The collaboration of scribes 12, 13 and 9 mainly occurs in BL, Harley 2961 and BL, Harley 863: these books were compiled after the most urgent scribal activities had been carried out, especially those related to the updating of Leofric's missal. Given their importance to Leofric's religious activities, these books, especially his collectar, may still have been compiled fairly soon in his time of office but later than other more urgent works. Along with this group of scribes, hand 11 deserves a particular attention because he was part of the team who initially worked expanding the LM, even though his major work appears in a pontifical/benedictional copied at Exeter and that was not in use as much as the LM was, that is Additional 28188. Scribe 11's work should rightly be analysed within the activities that characterise the second group of scribes: although his hand appears in the original expansions to the LM he never really collaborated with group I, rather his work appears associated with that of group II. He collaborated with scribe 13 in Additional 28188, where their hands are supervised by Scribe 1, possibly Leofric himself, and with 12 in copying small portions of Ælfric's *Grammar* contained in CUL, Hh. 1. 10. This manuscript was a working text that Leofric may have needed

⁹³ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter' at p. 161 Drage says that scribe 9 lacks 'penmanship' compared with scribe 2 and 5, for example.

⁹⁴ Ibid. pp. 161 and ff.

to refresh his written English, which may have been impaired by lack of practice, given his Lotharingian training that would have probably focussed on Latin.⁹⁵

There seem to have been at Exeter two main groups of scribes, who carried out the major part of the scribal activities: group I, who worked in the 1050s and aimed to produce the books that were most urgently needed by the bishop to perform his pastoral duties and group II, whose work took place later on in Leofric's episcopacy at some point between the late 1050s and 1072, when the demand for books seems to have been less pressing. If ever Leofric employed any professional scribes to write books for his collection, he may have done so in the first phase of the production when he and his community needed books immediately to carry out their respective duties. Of the group of scribes who worked in the early 1050s he may have later retained only scribe 2, whose hand appears writing until rather late in the years of his mandate. The hands working together with scribe 2 and which were responsible of the books produced in the second phase of the scribal activities may have then been trained and supervised by one expert scribe, that would be scribe 2, with less pressure. It has been noted by Treharne that activities related to book production come to an abrupt end right after the death of Leofric.⁹⁶ Osbern FitzOsbern, his successor, indeed seems to have been keener to acquire rather than produce books for his cathedral.⁹⁷ This seemingly indicates that the books/texts in which Osbern had an interest—that is mainly patristic materials as it appears from Conner's list—may have been more easily available to acquire than those required

⁹⁵ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', at p. 162 see footnote no. 35.

⁹⁶ Ibid.

⁹⁷ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, from Conner's list of manuscripts affiliated to Exeter, it emerges that many were acquired to the whole collection in the early twelfth century during Osbern FitzOsbern's episcopacy.

by Leofric: it would seem indeed that some of Leofric's books were compiled from different sources according to specific needs, as one may imagine from the analysis of his own missal, his homiliaries and his collectar, modelled on that of Stephen of Liège. This seems to reinforce the idea that Leofric's collaborators compiled the books that the bishop needed selecting the materials that they contain thoughtfully and quite possibly according to a plan that reflected the bishop's desires. If this trend is much in evidence in his missal and in the additions to it made at Exeter, it is certainly emphasised in the homiliaries that the bishop used to perform his preaching duties, as I shall discuss in the following chapters.

Chapter 4

Vernacular book production at Exeter in the 1050s: manuscripts containing homilies

The output of vernacular manuscripts that show an affiliation with Exeter clearly indicates that bishop Leofric had an interest in Old English materials. Treharne noted in a recent study that the production of vernacular codices at Exeter was a remarkable achievement of bishop Leofric's.¹ Such undertakings as the production and collection of vernacular books seem indeed to have been rather unusual among the Lotharingian bishops and certainly Leofric stands out alone among them in gathering vernacular books. Arguably, some of these items formed what some scholars have defined as an 'episcopal collection', that is an assembly of volumes gathered for the pastoral and public uses of a bishop.² The importance that the production and collection of vernacular manuscripts had for bishop Leofric is perhaps best exemplified by the four volumes that formed the bishop's collection of homilies: these are, London, Lambeth Palace 489 and London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421 and its companion CCCC 419. The first two volumes were entirely compiled at Exeter, whereas CCCC

¹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 161.

² Ibid. at p. 160, cf. footnote no. 27.

421 and CCCC 419 were acquired from another institution, perhaps Canterbury or a centre affiliated to it.³ Of the latter two codices, we can only assume quite confidently that CCCC 421 was used at Exeter. The addition of a certain number of quires produced at Exeter much at the same time as when the texts in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii were copied indicates that the manuscript was modified after it came into Leofric's hands.⁴ It is indeed more difficult to determine whether or not its companion CCCC 419 was ever at Exeter during Leofric's time. It would be reasonable to think, however, that since the two codices were so intimately connected to one another both with regard to physical aspect and contents that they travelled together to Exeter and that they both became part of the bishop's homiletic collection.⁵

These four homiliaries are particularly interesting to study because they formed the preaching collection that belonged to bishop Leofric. The selection of homilies contained in Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489—scholars observed—contains a miscellany of texts that exhibits a specifically pastoral character.⁶ CCCC 421 and possibly its companion may have been acquired to complement the homiletic collection now contained in those two manuscripts, as the additions to CCCC 421 seem to indicate. Palaeographically, the quires inserted into the codex at Exeter are

³ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421' at pp. 31-34. Wilcox thought that the centre where the two companions were produced was a minor institution affiliated to Canterbury. This idea is supported by a thorough textual analysis of the homilies contained in the two volumes, which show textual influences that may be put in relation to Canterbury. In Wilcox's thesis, however, there is no suggestion of what this minor centre might be.

⁴ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, cf. no. 69.

⁵ Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, pp. 1-13.

⁶ P. Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*, EETS ss 17 (Oxford, 1997) and Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: text. The Second Series* Treharne has supported their view in a more detailed study, that is Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

very similar to those apparent in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii and for this reason scholars suggested that they may have been unbound from Lambeth 489 or Cleopatra B. xiii or have formed a companion volume to them prior to their insertion into CCCC 421.⁷

The four codices contain a collection of homilies mainly composed by Ælfric and Wulfstan in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries and a selection of anonymous and composite texts.⁸ Some of these materials circulated quite widely in the eleventh century, as they may be found in other eleventh-century codices. For example, significant overlaps occur between CCCC 421 and 419 and a homiletic collection assembled at Worcester and now contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and 114 and with which CCCC 421 and 419 share all or most of twelve homilies.⁹ CCCC 421 and 419 also show considerable overlap with CCCC 201, fols. 1-178—another manuscript of probable Worcester attribution—and with Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 a manuscript of the mid twelfth century whose provenance has been traced in the West Midlands.¹⁰ Although CCCC 421 and 419 have a significant number of items in common with the volumes mentioned above, they do not seem to have been copied from the same exemplars.¹¹ This suggests that CCCC 421 and 419 do not have a common textual history with the above-mentioned

⁷ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', and Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁸ Some of these composite texts have been analysed by Swan in her unpublished doctoral thesis M. Swan, 'Ælfric as a Source: the Exploitation of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies from the late Tenth to the Twelfth Century' (unpub. PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1993).

⁹ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421' at pp. 233-38.

¹⁰ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 331 at p. 391.

¹¹ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421' at pp. 233-38. Wilcox surmises that the most significant link is between CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 and Cambridge, Trinity College B. 15. 34, from both a textual and palaeographical perspective.

manuscripts originating in the Midlands. Wilcox noted that the two companions show a certain independence from other similar homiliaries, especially the anonymous homilies contained in these codices, which do not share any textual link with sermons in other extant manuscripts.¹² Similarly, some of the homilies copied into Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii were not traced in other manuscripts as they exist in these codices in a unique copy. This indicates that—as far as we can tell from extant evidence—they did not have a very wide circulation. This seemingly indicates that Leofric chose the materials contained in his homiliary according to particular needs and not on account of their popularity. Why was Leofric interested in such a selection of preaching texts?

Particular to Leofric's homiliary is that it contains homilies which are not linked to any of the feasts of the liturgical year. This is seemingly rather exceptional: for example, Gneuss argued that the homiletic collection that shows in Leofric's donation list was one that covered the full liturgical year supplying readings for winter and summer and for this reason would have been quite different from the collection contained in the four manuscripts which hardly covers the liturgical run.¹³ The lack of liturgical coherence that appears in the selection of homilies contained in the four codices associated with bishop Leofric has often led to thinking about their function in an oversimplified way. The homilies contained in these four books are mostly *quando volueris*, that is texts suitable for reading on various occasions, a characteristic for which they have often been regarded as not particularly meaningful. However, a study of Leofric's homiliary carried out by Treharne has shown that analysing the texts that they contain in relation to their own proper

¹² Ibid. pp. 236-39. Wilcox notes that of the twenty-three homilies present in the two manuscripts the most to appear in other manuscripts is a small number of twelve.

¹³ Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', p. 123.

context may prove satisfactory, inasmuch as she was able to outline possible situations in which some these texts may have been used by the bishop.¹⁴ In her study she also suggested that a plan lay behind the production and collection of these four volumes which led to the formation of what she considers to be an 'episcopal homiliary'.¹⁵

The binding of Leofric's preaching materials into a reasoned collection rests on codicological data, as well as on thematic similarities between texts. The four volumes—Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii—and acquired—CCCC 421 and 419—were indeed connected to each other and were produced with a purpose in mind; that is, producing a preaching collection suitable to satisfy Leofric's pastoral and preaching needs. The portions that were compiled at Exeter and that now appear in CCCC 421 may have been compiled alongside the materials now contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, as suggested by an identical lay-out and script. These additions provide the codicological link that indicates that these volumes were related to each other with regard to both their form and their function.

The following sections will analyse the codicological connections between these four homiliaries and will re-assess them palaeographically. The focus of this study will be mainly on the Exeter hands that were responsible for the compilation of the relevant portions present in these codices. This study will eventually provide crucial evidence to the analysis of these homiliaries in their proper scribal and historical context. The codicological and palaeographical reappraisal of these volumes will show that the formation of Leofric's preaching collection was the

¹⁴ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'. In her study of Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, Treharne was able to contextualise some of the materials contained in the bishop's homiliaries. In this article she also proposed possible situations in which some of the homilies may have been used and audiences to which they may have been directed.

¹⁵ Ibid.

production of a team of scribes, who worked during the first and most prolific phase of the Exeter scribal activities. This analysis will eventually enable me to evaluate the homiletic texts in the context of the general scribal production in eleventh-century Exeter and to make assumptions about their use and possible ways in which they can be interpreted.

4.1 Codicological history of the Exeter additions to CCCC 421

The idea that the four codices that formed the homiletic collection of bishop Leofric were closely connected to each other is based on palaeographical and codicological details. This is especially in evidence for at least two of the volumes that formed the collection; that is, Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 1-58v. This assumption has been fully sustained by Bishop and more recently by Treharne.¹⁶ The palaeographical elements that supported their view are especially evident in Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 1-58 and Lambeth 489. The elements that these codices have in common—beside the same style of script—are the following: the dimensions of the writing area that measure 170x85 mm.; a number of lines per page of nineteen and twenty-five; the same ruling system in drypoint.¹⁷ These features also appear in the quires compiled at Exeter that were added to CCCC 421, that is pp. 3-98 and 209-224; these should also be considered as portions of the original homiliaries produced at Exeter, as suggested by Bishop.¹⁸

¹⁶ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p. 198 and Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 167.

¹⁷ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter' and in Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p.198.

¹⁸ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II'.

Although it is difficult to trace the codicological history of the quires that were eventually bound into CCCC 421 at Exeter, there are marks that suggest that these portions may have been contiguous at some time before their insertion into CCCC 421. A trace of ink left on the last page of the section contained in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 indicates that this set of quires was adjacent to the unit including pp. 209-224, now bound discontinuously in the same codex.¹⁹ This suggests that the two Exeter-compiled units that were inserted into CCCC 421 had been adjacent at some time between their compilation and their insertion into CCCC 421. It is, however, difficult to say whether they were contained in either Lambeth 489 or Cleopatra B. xiii or whether they formed a companion volume to them before CCCC 421 came to Exeter. Bishop has noted that the same scribe wrote Lambeth 489, fols. 1-20r and CCCC 421, pp. 3-94 and 209-224 and on account of this he suggested that they may have been part of two pre-existing volumes, which were probably disassembled when CCCC 421 arrived at Exeter.²⁰ Whatever the case may be, it would appear from the spelling corrections in both the Exeter-compiled units and in the original part of CCCC 421 that the sections at pp. 3-94 and 209-224 were copied earlier than the arrival at Exeter of the two companions, supposedly at the same time when Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii were compiled; that is, approximately in the early 1050s at much the same time when the diocesan see was relocated to Exeter. This seemingly suggests that the texts contained in these quires were originally part of a homiliary whose structure changed with the acquisition of CCCC 421 for the collection: the

¹⁹ Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, p. 7.

²⁰ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p. 198 and more recently Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 159. Treharne infers that Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, now two distinct manuscripts, may have served at some point as one volume or a set of volumes, which, I believe, may have included the Exeter portions now apparent in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 and 209-224.

codicological details mentioned above show that once at Exeter the codex became part of a collection of homilies assembled for the bishop, that contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii.

The identical lay-out of CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 and pp. 209-224 and Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii induces us to think that these quires were drawn up with a plan in mind; that is, the production of a collection of homilies for Leofric that could easily adapt to the preaching needs of a bishop.²¹ These may have been linked to some of Leofric's pastoral duties, for example the consecration of churches in his diocese, the anointment of priests, the instruction of his clergymen, the enforcement of rules and discipline etc.²² The scriptorial activities related to the formation of his preaching collection seem to have started at a time during which Leofric became a more visible pastoral figure within his diocese and within the eleventh-century English episcopate. Perhaps the bishop's status and prestige grew concurrently with the improvements that the Exeter cathedral underwent in the 1050s after the episcopal seat was relocated to Exeter.²³ His enhanced visibility may have thus caused his episcopal tasks to become more important. It seems to be reasonable to think that the cultural and political significance of the cathedral changed over the twenty years of Leofric's pontificate, during which he transformed a once dilapidated and marginal diocese in a wealthy and central one. The improvement of the cultural image of the cathedral must have been a gradual one that happened alongside the reconstruction of the cathedral's fortunes, to which the production of books significantly contributed.²⁴ The integration of CCCC 421 into Leofric's book collection and its modification should probably be seen in this context. CCCC 421

²¹ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 168-9.

²² Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

²³ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting'.

²⁴ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', p. 154.

may have been acquired because at a certain point Leofric may have needed a wider textual selection than that contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii. Then, once at Exeter, CCCC 421 was adapted to the collection that already existed there, hence the additions. Why did Leofric need CCCC 421 and supposedly its companion CCCC 419? An immediate answer to this question may be the following. If it is correct to assume that Leofric's position at Exeter and on the English scene changed alongside the improvement of the cultural image of the cathedral, it may be that in consequence of this the official occasions in which his presence was requested may have become more numerous and important. His episcopal duties may have included—beside dedicating churches in his diocese, ministering pastoral care to his local community, baptism and confirmation in particular—²⁵ holding ecclesiastical synods, which the king may have attended²⁶ and supposedly participating in the king's councils.²⁷ On occasions similar to these Leofric may have used the preaching materials in his collection, which—given their generic nature—he could adapt to diverse situations.²⁸ The acquisition of CCCC 421—and supposedly CCCC 419—from another institution seems, therefore, to have complemented the collection

²⁵ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

²⁶ There is evidence in the Leofric missal that Leofric may have held episcopal synods that the king attended as a mass and a benediction for the king in synod would indicate; cf. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 35r. On such occasions the bishop usually summoned the principal representatives of the clergy, occasionally the notable members of the aristocracy were present, too. Synods of a mixed character, in which the laity also participated, were usually held in the Lotharingian diocese of Liège; cf. Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 263.

²⁷ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'. In 1050 a royal council was held at Exeter at which Leofric was officially consecrated bishop in front of the clergy and the aristocracy; cf. *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 525-533.

²⁸ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original the Rule of Chrodegang adopted at Exeter* intimates that it is a duty of a responsible bishop to preach to his community; cf. chapter lxxx, pp. 90-4.

produced at Exeter and supplied the need for preaching materials at a time when Leofric's pastoral demands were increasing according to the growing importance of the cathedral and his enhanced position. If the assumption that the scribal production of the homilies started in the early 1050s is correct, the arrival at Exeter of the two companion homiliaries, CCCC 421 and 419, may have happened at a later stage, perhaps in the years soon after 1066. These represented a period of political turmoil during which Leofric's preaching necessities may have changed significantly. Treharne has postulated that Leofric may have been a member of the king's council and that as such may have participated in legislative meetings; these—according to her argument—seemingly were occasions in which the bishop may have wanted to remind the clergy and the laity their reciprocal responsibilities.²⁹ CCCC 421 and CCCC 419—if studied in this context—provided additional, mainly legalistic material to Leofric's selection of homilies, which he may have needed at a time of great political instability.³⁰ The acquisition of these two codices seems indeed to have responded to an increased necessity for texts, especially containing legalistic homilies of which Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii were not particularly rich and which were probably needed to complement the selection of texts that they contained.

The acquisition of CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 for the bishop's homiliary probably entailed the assessment and revision of the whole collection contained in the four volumes. It is perhaps reasonable to believe that the Exeter-copied sections, now in CCCC 421, must have then been inserted into the two new codices at this time. The reasons underpinning their insertion into CCCC 421 are however more

²⁹ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

³⁰ Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter'. In 1068 William the Conqueror and his men besieged the city of Exeter. In consequence of this Leofric surrendered and accepted the new authority.

difficult to discern. If the two companions CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 travelled to Exeter in the mid 1060s, a revision of the codices may have been necessary. The two volumes were compiled at the beginning of the eleventh century, that is almost fifty years before they travelled to Exeter, and may therefore have needed spelling updates and textual adaptations. These manuscripts seem indeed to have undergone a gradual updating process after they were first produced. In his doctoral thesis, Wilcox has noted that CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 were acquired to Leofric's book collection when they were still in use as he identifies a significant number of eleventh-century hands adding corrections to the texts and preparing them for delivery.³¹ Wilcox's linguistic analysis of pp. 3-98 and 209-224, the Exeter-compiled sections in CCCC 421, and the 'non-Exeter' section has revealed that a fairly large number of corrections appear in the manuscript that involve the change of the letter *i* to *y* that he envisages as a characteristic of the Exeter spelling that came into use in the late eleventh century. The replacement of *i* with *y*, especially in the neighbourhood of labials and liquids, came to be a rather widespread phenomenon in the second half of the eleventh century.³² The labialization of *i* seems however to be particularly in evidence in texts written or used at Exeter. It appears also in homiletic texts contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, in two homilies inserted into Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190B, in the version of the Old English Gospels in CUL, Ii. 2. 11 as well as in the Exeter-copied portions of CCCC 421 and in the 'non-Exeter' part of it.³³ This suggests that the spelling of CCCC 421 was in all probability updated after the manuscript had reached Exeter, according to the habits in use at that institution,

³¹ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421', pp. 31-32.

³² A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, rep. 2003), cf. §§ 316, 317 and 318.

³³ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421', p. 28 and ff.

and alongside texts that had previously been written at Exeter. It is therefore significant to note that the labialisation of *i* characterises Exeter spelling practices at a time that postdates the copying of pp. 3-98 and 209-224 possibly when the use of *y* became more standardized, as these changes occur in the Exeter portion as well as in the 'non-Exeter' ones. The alteration of the letter *i* to *y*, occurs for example in words that like 'disiga', foolish, (CCCC 421, pp. 195/6), 'nite', to ignore, (CCCC 421, p. 197/16) or 'swidhe', very, (CCCC 421, p. 222/17) do not have labials or liquids, indicating that the use of *y* was quite common. Because the texts already contain words whose spelling shows the presence of *y* in positions where *i* should be expected, the changes occurring in words like 'sibbie' (corr. sybbie, p. 209/21), 'fridhie' (corr. frydhie, p. 209/19), and 'swidhe' (corr. swydhe, p. 222/17) were in all probability made at a later stage, when *y* became more commonly used. Two implications may thus follow: firstly, the Exeter sections in CCCC 421 were written at a stage that predates their inclusion into the codex; secondly, the texts there contained were probably still being updated after being inserted into CCCC 421, thereby indicating that the manuscript was certainly used during Leofric's years. This can hardly be long after 1072, the year of Leofric's death, as his Norman successor bishop Osbern FitzOsbern seems to have been not so keen to acquire vernacular texts much as Leofric was: he indeed augmented the Exeter book collection with Latin volumes rather than English ones.³⁴ The acquisition and the production of books

³⁴ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 1-13. The acquisition and the production of books written in the English vernacular is a characteristic of the book production that took place under the pontificate of Leofric and it significantly decreases after Leofric's death. Of the 67 manuscripts listed by Conner and that show an affiliation to Exeter in the eleventh and twelfth century, the books that date to the twelfth century are mainly patristic texts written in Latin and were probably acquired by Leofric's Norman successors, bishops Osbern FitzOsbern and William Warelwaste. This tendency is well in evidence in Webber, 'The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century:

written in the English vernacular is a characteristic of the book production that took place under the pontificate of Leofric and it significantly decreases after Leofric's death.

4.2 The production of vernacular homilies at Exeter: script and scribes

It is, unfortunately, impossible to know when the Exeter additions to CCCC 421 were compiled and what was their function before they were inserted into the codex in which they now rest. Perhaps, given the codicological and palaeographical affinities that they share with Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, it would be reasonable to believe that they were compiled much at the same time as when these homiliaries were copied. In her palaeographical analysis, Drage proposed that scribes 2, 3 and 5 were responsible for writing most of the materials now contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii.³⁵ These seem to have been occasionally helped by an additional hand, that of scribe 6.³⁶ This scribe, however, played a minor role in the activities related to the compilation of the bishop's homiliary, possibly because he was busy copying the manuscript that he wrote in its entirety, that is the old English version of the Gospels—now in CUL, li. 2.11—: a text that shows some connections with the bishop's homiliaries.³⁷ These scribes wrote a remarkably similar insular minuscule and adopted a writing style that has been traced in

Towards a Continental Perspective' and more specifically in relation to Exeter in Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', pp. 158-9.

³⁵ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 149-159.

³⁶ Ibid. pp. 157-58.

³⁷ Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice'.

manuscripts associated with mid-eleventh-century Exeter. Ker's description of the Exeter style is worth quoting at length:

A fairly clearly marked variety of the common set hand of the mid-eleventh century was used at Worcester and a more striking variety of it was used at Exeter. [...] We may assume confidently that it was a variety of script written at Exeter by scribes 'under the patronage of, and perhaps attached to the household of bishop Leofric'.³⁸

Scribes 2, 3 and 5 wrote the major part of the homilies contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, while scribe 6 contributed only small sections. All write in an insular script, showing typical Exeter characteristics, and their high levels of proficiency are suggested by the remarkable similarity of their stints, to the point where it is difficult to tell hands apart. The consistency that characterises the Exeter script and made it so distinctive was also noted by Ker, who reports: 'the forms of the letters in the[se] Exeter manuscripts are very consistent, both within one manuscript and between one manuscript and another'.³⁹ The little variation between stints has encouraged palaeographers to think that these scribes were trained in order to write the cathedral's style, which became a *trademark* of the Exeter-produced books.⁴⁰

The distinctive features of the Old English script in use at Exeter during the episcopacy of bishop Leofric are described by Ker as follows:

rounded d, almost o-like in form, in which the back projects only slightly above the rest of the letter and is often turned

³⁸ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* at pp. lvii-lviii. In these pages Ker also quotes Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p. 197.

³⁹ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* p. lviii.

⁴⁰ Webber, 'Script and Manuscript Production at Christ Church, Canterbury, after the Norman Conquest'.

over to the right at the top, and the prominent long-backed eth turned to the left at the top and furnished often with a 7-like or comma-like stroke which serves as a cross bar but does not actually transect the back.⁴¹ Such form of **d** and eth and the split ascenders tend to appear in English script of the mid-eleventh century, but they are not, elsewhere, so evidently made to a pattern as in this group of manuscripts (i. e. the Exeter-compiled manuscripts).⁴²

If Drage is correct in suggesting that scribes 2, 3 and 5 copied the bulk of the texts contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, it is similarly obvious to assume that they were copied during the first phase of the scribal activities at Exeter. Scribes 2, 3 and 5—it has been previously observed in chapter three—seem indeed to have been particularly prolific (individually as well as a group) during the first phase of the scribal activities at Exeter.

A closer look into the individual work of these scribes may provide some crucial information on the output of vernacular books during what probably was the peak of the Exeter manuscript production. The final aim of this palaeographical analysis is to complement Drage's admirable study of the hands at work in the Exeter manuscripts and to this end I shall try and define different stints and related hands apparent in Lambeth 489 and Cleopara B. xiii. This will also help me to palaeographically re-appraise the insertions now apparent in CCCC 421 and re-assess them in relation to their production and manuscript context, respectively.

⁴¹ This feature is actually rather controversial as in certain Exeter scribes' stints the cross-bar of eth clearly pierces the back stroke of the letter. For example, scribe 2 in CCCC 421, pp. 3-96 and in Lambeth 489, fols. 25-31.

⁴² Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, p. lviii.

Scribe 2

I will here start with the palaeographical analysis of scribe 2's hand because this seems to be the scribe who worked more closely with Leofric—according to Drage⁴³—and may have therefore had a major role in organising the copying activities during phase I of the book production at Exeter. The palaeographical descriptions of scribe 3, 5 and 6 will follow together with those of scribes who contributed to the bishop's homiliary only minor portions of text and have as yet to remain unidentified.

The hand of scribe 2 seems to be mainly involved in the production/copying of texts related to laws and regulations; liturgy; preaching and pastoral care. His vernacular scribal works include:

1. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190A pp. 131/15-133 and p. 365
2. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191 *The Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang*
3. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201 *The Capitularies of Theodulf*
4. Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 3-98 and pp. 209-224 *Homilies*
5. Cambridge, University Library Hh. 1.10, fols 65-72 *Ælfric's Grammar*
6. Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 4 Gregory's *Pastoral Care* (?)
7. London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 58/12-58v
8. London, Lambeth Palace 489, fols 25-31 *Homilies*

He also inscribed five of the nine extant manuscripts that contain Leofric's donation inscription:⁴⁴

1. Cambridge, Trinity College B. 11. 2, fol. 121v
2. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2. 16, fol. 6v
3. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 1. 15, fols. 1-77 and 77v

⁴³ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 153.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

4. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium F. 3. 6, fol. iiiiv
5. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579

Scribe 2's hand is very regular in appearance: its duct is round and has an upright aspect. A very clear word division gives the texts written by this scribe an easily readable aspect. Ascenders and descenders are very balanced in that they show an extension that equals that of the body of the script with the only exception of the back of letter eth that looks slightly higher than the rest of the ascenders. This scribe carefully draws ascenders that are split and wedged at the top and pens a visible tag downwards to the left in an almost decorative fashion (Lambeth 489, fol 25r, l. 22 'halgan', l. 24 'pære'—Plate A, Appendix IV⁴⁵). The ends of his descenders curve regularly to the left. Features particular to this scribe's hand are: the back of eth prominent and tagged to the left at the top end (Lambeth 489, fol. 27r, l. 1 'swiðost'—Plate B), the slanting cross-bar transects the upper stroke of the letter in a higher—rather than medial—position in a zig-zag shape; the back of round low d ends in a short tag to the right (Lambeth 489, fol. 26v, l. 16 'middan'—Plate B); e often ligatures with the previous and/or the following letter, this is more visible when a, c and g follow, the back of this letter curves to the left at the top and when possible it ligatures with the previous letter, when at the end of a word the bowl of e ends in a tongue (Lambeth 489, fol. 25v, l. 20 'eallum' and l. 7 'rihtes'—Plate A); in ash the bowl of e extends to the height of the ascenders (Lambeth 489, fol. 26r, l. 11 'wæterum'—Plate C); headless, round-topped a ligatures with e or g when they follow; the tail of 5-shaped insular g descends in an ample curve to the left and always closes in an oval-shaped bowl, the tail of this letter begins from the middle of the flat top bar (Lambeth 489, fol. 25v, l. 24 'gesceop' and 'ping'—Plate A); the descender of straight-limbed y is shorter than the others and curves to the left ending

⁴⁵ All plates in this chapter are contained in Appendix IV, p. 241, unless otherwise specified.

in a flick upwards to the right; long s appears in a rather elongated form: its descender ends below the line and it arches at the top ending in a curl to the right (Lambeth 489, fol. 26v, l. 11 'sylfne'—Plate B). This scribe alternates long s with insular low s that seems to be used especially at the end of words. The downstroke of flat-headed *Tironian Notae* descends below the line and ends in short flick to the left. In the abbreviation for *hæt* the horizontal, zig-zag shaped bar that crosses the ascender almost touches the left tag of the split top. Another abbreviation that is quite distinctive of this hand's stint is the zigzagged contraction mark that abbreviates *ponne*: it shows a downstroke that prominently curves to the left and it is generally placed above the letter o or n (Lambeth 489, fol. 25r, l. 18 'ponn'—Plate A). A macron occasionally indicates the omission of the final nasal though, in general, abbreviations of this kind are not very frequent in the work of scribe 2.

The scribe hyphenates words at the end and at the beginning of lines where they run over: hyphens are written offset into the margin and slightly above the level of the line. Punctuation occurs in the form of medial point, followed by a capital letter when indicating a rather strong pause, for example a stop and followed regularly by a lower case when indicating a less strong pause like a comma. *Punctus interrogativus* is also followed by upper cases quite consistently in this scribe's stint. Accents are never marked by this scribe.

Scribe 3

London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 38/4-55v is the only vernacular section copied by scribe 3 according to Drage's analysis.⁴⁶ The hand of scribe 3 resembles very much that of scribe 2 and 6, a similarity that induced

⁴⁶ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 155.

Treharne to think that scribe 2 wrote these folios, instead of 3 as Drage thought.⁴⁷ Alongside the many similarities that might be observed in the stints of these two hands there are however features that differentiate the writing of scribe 3 from that of scribe 2, substantially; these are: the top of round **d** tends to be rather flat as this scribe does not seem to flick his pen backwards in tracing the upper part of this character (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 39r, l. 9 'sceolde'—Plate D);⁴⁸ long **s** is especially used at the beginning of words, very rarely in a medial position or at the end of words where low **s** is generally preferred; low **s** always occurs in the cluster **ss**; the minims of letters such as **m**, **n** and **h** tend to be rather angular (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 39v, l. 8 'rihtne'—Plate E); letter **e** is always penned with a visible tongue (flicking upwards on occasions) especially when occurring at the end of words (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 39v, l. 4 'georne'—Plate E). Although this element appears quite consistently in Exeter hands, it seems to be especially emphasised by the hand of scribe 3, to the point that this letter very seldom ligatures with **a** in the diphthong **ea**, (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 39r, l. 16 'eac'—Plate D). Conversely, these two letters are generally ligatured in the stints of both scribe 2 and 6. Letter **e** is never elongated in **ash**, a character that this scribe always keeps within the height of the body of his script (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 40r, l. 13 'cwæð'—Plate E).

The top of the *Tironian Nota* is not flat but it is traced in an undulate fashion (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 39r, l. 14—Plate D). On a general basis abbreviations are very rare in this stint, with the only exception for the symbol for *þæt*, which is used consistently throughout the section written by this scribe. Only occasionally, do some zigzag-shaped macrons occur when a word ends with a nasal, and more specifically **m**. Words that run over to the following line are numerous as this scribe

⁴⁷ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁴⁸ Also noted by Drage p. 155.

tends to break words more often than scribe 2 in a page (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 40r—Plate E). This is possibly because he writes slightly bigger characters and a number of words per line that is inferior to the average of seven/eight on the same writing area of 170x85 mm. He, however, always hyphenates run-overs twice, that is where he interrupts the word at the end of a line and where he begins it again on a new line. Hyphens sit consistently on the line at both ends.

The way in which scribe 3 makes use of punctuation is also rather individual when compared with scribe 2's and 6's punctuating system. This scribe uses regularly the medial point for short pauses within a sentence that seem to function as a comma in modern day use of punctuation. In addition to this, scribe 3 marks with the medial point the beginning and the end of Latin quotations from the Gospel. This punctuation mark—which seems to be used for many purposes—may also at points indicate a full stop within a paragraph: this is obviously in evidence when it is followed by an upper case letter. *Punctus elevatus*, on the other hand, seems to be used to mark the clausal division within a sentence as it usually precedes clauses that are introduced by conjunctions such as 'and', or 'oð' or 'oð þæt', 'swa swa', etc. The end of a rather long portion of text and what may be considered the like of a paragraph in modern day prose, is regularly marked with a symbol that very much resemble a semicolon (;), that is *punctus versus*: the dot of this punctuation mark sits on the line whereas the comma is usually traced below the line, but there are a few instances where the comma sits on the line as well and follows the dot. This symbol is always followed by a capital letter and, if space allows, the scribe starts a new paragraph at the beginning of the following line. This seems to be a habit in use quite regularly in this scribe's stint and particular to his hand; exceptions to this rule are however visible on fol. 42v-43r for example, where a medial point is used instead of

a *punctus versus*. This punctuation mark is, however, only to be found in the section ending on fol. 43r, as the remainder of scribe 3's section does not contain it.

Accents are also used by this scribe quite distinctively, unlike in scribe 2's portions. His section contains c-shaped accents that are regularly placed above the letter d of the word 'god' and its compounds (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 44r, l. 13, 14, 16 and 17—Plate F). Such marks also appear less consistently in other words (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 45r, l. 4 'ricene' and l. 15 'naman'—Plate G) where they are usually written above the consonant that follows the vowel meant to be stressed. The fact that this kind of accents only occur in the portion of text starting at fol. 44r and ending at fol. 55v, however suggests that the scribe may have been copying from an exemplar that contained those marks without editing it rather than being a mark of his personal writing. Stem vowels are also stressed with forward slash-like accents that seem to be traced with an upward movement of the pen ending in a small blob. This habit is especially present in foreign proper nouns: the name 'aaron' (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 39r, l. 4—Plate D) seems to be a distinctive example as an accent of this kind occurs on each a. This feature is also present in Scribe 6's stint, e.g. in CUL, li. 2. 11, fol. 1 where geminate vowels are stressed in the above mentioned manner.

Corrections are few and are generally added through a comma written on the line in the exact point where the correction needs to be inserted. An example of this may be seen at fol. 40v/16 in a Latin quotation. More numerous are instead the alterations of the letter i to y: these are made throughout the Exeter-compiled sections by squeezing the left limb of y between i and the following letter and scribe 3 makes it exactly the same way with no exception. There seem to be too many differences between the hand writing these pages and those of both scribe 2 and 6 to be able to say that one of them could have copied these quires.

Scribe 5

The hand of scribe 5 has been identified by Drage in two of the homiliaries that were at Exeter in Leofric's time of office and that were augmented by his scribes. These are:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190B, fols. 351-59/13

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 94-95

In Drage's analysis this scribe appears to be very proficient in the Latin script but less so in the vernacular.⁴⁹ The features that distinguish this scribe's hand from the hand of scribe 2, who copied the preceding pages in CCCC 421, are the following: the crossbar of *eth* is tagged downwards to the left (CCCC 421, p. 94, l. 4 'myrhðe'—Plate H), this feature does not conform to the usual Exeter style which generally shows the crossbar of this letter tagged upwards; the upper part of letter *g* curves down in a rather round fashion and closes in a bowl with a very thin stroke of the pen (CCCC 421, p. 95, l. 10 'geendunge'—Plate H); *e* shows a rather prominent tongue that flicks upwards; the crossbar of the abbreviation for *þæt* ends flicking upwards on the right side of the letter and finishing in a small blob; occasionally pierces the ascender of the letter thorn (CCCC 421, p. 94, l. 16 'þæt'—Plate H).

Some of the features that distinguish this hand are also in evidence in the section contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 13r-31r. The as yet unidentified hand that writes these folios tags the crossbar of *eth* downwards and the crossbar of the abbreviation for *þæt* downwards on the right side, though only in some instances. His *x* shows a rather short lower left limb that barely extends beyond the upper left part of the letter, a characteristic that Drage thought to be particular to scribe 5's Latin

⁴⁹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 156-57. Drage notes that 'he writes an excellent caroline minuscule of the Exeter aspect'.

hand.⁵⁰ However, the general aspect of the script does not fully match that contained in CCCC 421, pp. 94-96, which looks rounder and less upright than the script in Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 13r-31r.

Scribe 6

The most significant vernacular work written by scribe 6 is the old English version of the Gospels now contained in CUL, li. 2. 11. In addition to this, he was occupied writing a number of charters and, according to Drage, the sections contained in:

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, pp. 209-224

London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 58/12-58v

London, Lambeth Palace 489, fols. 20-24 (Plate I).⁵¹

The attribution of the first two sections to the scribal work of hand 6 is controversial. Contrary to Drage's opinions, both sections have indeed been described by Bishop as the work of the scribe who wrote Lambeth 489, fols. 25-31, that is scribe 2.⁵² Although scribe 6 did not contribute large portions of homiletic materials to the bishop's preaching collection, his work on the vernacular Gospels was probably carried out alongside the compilation of the homilies and for use in a homiletic/preaching context. Scribe 6 may have therefore been part of the team of scribes who were in charge of assembling the preaching materials for the bishop.

Letter-forms that distinguish his hands are the following (Plate L). In scribe 6's stint letter g closes in a round rather than oval bowl, this letter's tail also emerges

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 157-159

⁵² Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p. 197-99; Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* nos. 69 and 283. The views of both Bishop and Ker on this palaeographical controversy have also been shared by Treharne in her article on the reconstruction of Leofric's homiliary Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

from the very left end of the horizontal bar and not from the middle of the bar; in the abbreviation for the word *þæt* the crossbar pierces the upper part of the letter thorn only to the right; the bowl of insular a is somewhat rounder than in scribe 2's stint; the top of ascenders are split and wedged in a rather chunky way, not present in hand 2; in ash the letter e is written above the line—though it is not as elongated as in scribe 2's hand—the bowl of it sits partly on the head of a and partly on the top of the following letter. The backstroke of eth tends to be longer than the ascenders of other letters and its bowl smaller than it usually looks in the vernacular Exeter script. Descenders are shorter than the ascenders and bend to the left in a rather visible manner; the right limb of y curves amply to the left; letter e shows a short and not particularly elaborated tongue, unlike in other scribes' stints. One peculiarity of this scribe's hand is that he stresses both characters in double vowels such as aa or ee especially, if not exclusively, when they occur in proper nouns both used for people and places, examples of this habit are well in evidence on fol. 1r and 6r, l. 21 in the word 'Galilee'. In the section contained in Lambeth 489, fols 20-24 he uses, confusingly and probably mistakenly, the Latin rt ligature in the word 'martyrdom' (Lambeth 489, fol. 24/4—Plate I).

The sections that have been attributed to this scribe in the bishop's homilies are, however, controversial due to the remarkable similarity of this scribe's stint with the hand of scribe 2, who was in all probability responsible for writing the portions of text contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 58/12-58v and CCCC 421, pp. 209-224 (Plate M). The script in these sections was thought to be that of the scribe writing Lambeth 489, fols. 25-31/2 (Plate A), that is scribe 2, by Ker and Bishop, respectively.⁵³ The sole homiletic section that can be attributed to him is that copied

⁵³ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* no. 283 and Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', pp. 196-9. Also, E. Treharne gives reason to Ker's

on Lambeth 489, fols. 20-24, that he allegedly wrote in collaboration with scribe 2, who—according to Bishop and Treharne—⁵⁴ was responsible for copying the rest of the manuscript. The close collaboration between these two scribes was already noted by Drage: when studying the Leofric Missal, she noted that scribe 6's accomplished writing appeared in conjunction with scribe 2's and 7's work and was corrected by the hand of scribe 1, that she deemed to be Leofric's.⁵⁵ She also wondered whether the reason why this scribe's hand does not appear copying extensive portions of text on the missal is that he was busy compiling the Old English Gospels.⁵⁶ The writing of this text may have required to collaborate closely with the scribes that worked compiling Leofric's homiliaries. This is because the vernacular Gospels seem to have been textually related to the homilies that were copied for the bishop and used in association with them, as shown in Lenker's admirable work on the gospel pericope.⁵⁷

Scribe 2 and 6

The attribution of the Exeter sections contained in CCCC 421 has been controversial since the studies undertaken by Bishop and Ker, who disagree in identifying the scribe at work in these pages. The controversy mainly arises from the ability of these

and Bishop's palaeographical analysis when reassessing the script of Lambeth 489 in Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁵⁴ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', and Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁵⁵ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 157-59.

⁵⁶ Ibid. p. 158.

⁵⁷ Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice', and more in detail in her Doctoral thesis published in U. Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England* (Muenchen, 1997)

two scribes (2 and 6) to produce a remarkably similar Exeter writing, especially in the English vernacular.

On the evidence of her palaeographical analysis, Drage suggests that scribe 2 may have copied Lambeth 489, fols. 25-31 and part of the Exeter additions to CCCC 421, those comprising pp. 3-93.⁵⁸ In this respect Bishop previously noted that only one scribe copied not only the sections indicated by Drage, but the whole of Lambeth 489 with the only exception of fols. 20-24, which Drage also attributes to a different scribe, number 6 in her list.⁵⁹ A palaeographical re-evaluation recently carried out by Treharne has convincingly supported Bishop's suggestion that the scribes copying Lambeth 489 total a number of two, possibly scribe 2 and scribe 6 as identified in Drage's list.⁶⁰ Treharne's conclusions on this are worth quoting at length:

Bishop thought one hand to be responsible for most of the additions in Corpus 421 (pp. 3-93 and 209-224), and that this hand was also that of all of Lambeth 489, with the exception of fols. 20v-24v. It is probable that Bishop's view is the more accurate, and a reappraisal of Exeter manuscripts is likely to show that there are fewer scribes at Leofric's writing office than Drage's or Ker's accounts imply.⁶¹

Bishop seems to be rightly convinced—against Drage—that only one hand is responsible for the CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 and pp. 209-224 (Plate M); that is, the Exeter additions. The view according to which there may have been fewer scribes working in this phase of the scribal activities than indicated by Ker and Drage has

⁵⁸ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 150-55.

⁵⁹ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II', p. 197 and Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 157-9.

⁶⁰ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁶¹ Ibid.

been supported and reinforced by Treharne. She, in fact, believes that no more than three scribes wrote Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii and supports Bishop's original idea that only one scribe copied the Exeter additions to CCCC 421.⁶² A palaeographical reassessment of the relevant sections may illuminate further Bishop's and Treharne's suggestion that only one hand copied most of Lambeth 489 and the Exeter additions to CCCC 421, as I shall demonstrate. My palaeographical analysis endeavours to stress similar scribal features that the handwriting apparent in CCCC 421, pp. 209-224 may share with that in Lambeth 489. For this purpose, I will compare the stint at pp. 209-224 with Treharne's palaeographical analysis of the hand writing Lambeth 489.⁶³ Many of the characteristics noted by Treharne in assessing Lambeth 489 also appear in CCCC 421, pp. 209-224 (Plate M), for example: insular *g*, its tail emerges from the left end of the horizontal bar and descends in an ample curve to the left, closing in an oval bowl. The top of round-backed *d* consistently flicks back to the right; the ascender of *eth* extends for the full height of the interlinear space and ends at the top with a small tag down to the left. The crossbar of this letter pierces quite distinctively the backstroke and ends in a thin serif. In *ash* the letter *e* often stretches into the interlinear space with a loop that almost equals the height of the ascenders. The onset of the *Tironian Nota* is perpendicularly joined to the descender of the letter that bends gently to the left at the bottom end, harmonising with the rest of the descenders. Two very distinctive features common to these stints are the abbreviations for *þonne*: a zig-zag shaped

⁶² Ibid. Treharne thinks that fols. 2r-31r, 39r-57r and 58r/12-58v in Cleopatra B. xiii were copied by one single scribe, that is that writing Lambeth 489 (except fols. 20-24): scribe 2.

⁶³ Ibid. Some of the most distinctive features reported by Treharne are: 'round-backed *d* ends in a small tag to the right', 'the tail of *g* swoops down to the right before curving to the left; the bowl is usually closed', in the abbreviation for *þæt* 'the ascender of thorn is crossed through by a horizontal bar, and the left tag of the split ascender often almost touches the bar'.

contraction mark written above the letter *o*; and that for *þæt*: a horizontal bar tagged at both ends crossing the ascender of the letter thorn. The features analysed in these sections show both structural similarities in the shape of letters and identical quirks, too particular to these stints to be a mere coincidence. These idiosyncrasies therefore suggest that the scribe, who—according to Treharne—wrote most of Lambeth 489, that is scribe 2 in Drage's analysis was responsible for writing CCCC 421, pp. 209-224.

A further comparison of this section with Lambeth 489, fols. 20-24 (Plate I and L), written by scribe 6, evinced too many differences for attributing these stints to the same hand, as Drage previously did.⁶⁴ A few examples are perhaps worth reporting: in the hand copying Lambeth 489, fols. 20-24 the letter *g* closes in a round rather than oval bowl, this letter's tail also emerges from the far left end of the horizontal bar and not from the middle of it; in the abbreviation for the word *þæt* the crossbar pierces the upper part of the letter thorn only to the right; the bowl of insular *a* is somewhat rounder than scribe 2's; the top of ascenders are split and wedged in a rather chunky way (this feature is particularly in evidence in CUL, II. 2. 11, fol. 2—Plate L). There are far too many differences in the script of Lambeth 489, fols. 20-24 and CCCC 421, pp. 209-224, especially occurring in letters carrying distinguishing features, to be able to say that these sections were written by the same scribe.

Unidentified 1

Disagreement on the attribution of another section should here be mentioned, too, that contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 2r-31r. Treharne has attributed to scribe 2 the copying of these folios against Ker's and Drage's evaluation.⁶⁵ A comparative

⁶⁴ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 157.

⁶⁵ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

palaeographical appraisal of this section may reveal similarities, or indeed differences, between this hand and that belonging to scribe 2 and whom Treharne thinks responsible for copying this part of the manuscript. Distinctive letter forms particular to this as yet unidentified hand are the following: the tail of insular *g* draws a marked round curve to the left and closes below the line in a slightly oval bowl; long *s* ends below the line with a relatively short descender and its head-stroke fully projects on the following letter ending with a small curl (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 24r, l. 14 'sceop'—Plate N); the ascender of *eth* ends at the top with a thin stroke that curves downwards to the left in a somewhat round fashion, its cross-bar transects the back of the letter and ends on the right with a small blob, on occasions a small downward tag (Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 2r, l. 13 'eorðe' and fol. 24, l. 2 'beoð'—Plate O); round-back *d* shows a very short, flat head-stroke that ends on the left with a 45-degree angle line when the pen is lifted from the page; the minims of nasals have sharp, angular feet (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 2r, l. 3 'myndige'—Plate O); in ash letter *e* occasionally exceeds the x-height, its back leaning against *a* and its bowl being traced on the top of it, though it never reaches the height of the ascenders (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 2r, l. 15 'dæge'). In the abbreviation for *þæt* the ascender of letter thorn is cut through perpendicularly by a flat bar ending at both sides with an angular inclination of the pen (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 2r, l. 17). An s-shaped, horizontal abbreviation mark is written above the letter *n* indicating the omission of 'ne' in the word *þonne* (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 3v, þon l. 14—Plate P). Another abbreviation that frequently occurs in this section is that indicating the omission of final nasal by a macron. As far as the form of letters is concerned, Treharne may be right in thinking that scribe 2 may have copied this sections: the similarities in letters showing peculiar characteristics—for example, *a*, *d*, *g*, *æ*—outnumber the differences. However, it seems controversial to think that scribe 2 wrote these folios when one

analyses other aspects of his stints like accents and punctuation marks. For example, in this hand, and unlike in that of scribe 2, short vowels are consistently stressed with a slanting accent that ends at the top with a visible dot, as if the pen had rested there for a while before being lifted from the parchment (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 2r, l. 3 'agenre'—Plate O). C-shaped accents also occur quite regularly on the word 'god' and its compounds, a feature never occurring in scribe 2's stint.

It is also unusual for scribe 2 that so many corrections should be present in this section. Most visibly, the preposition 'in' is changed to 'on' quite consistently: the word 'in' is underlined and substituted with 'on' written in the interlinear space above the word 'in'. This kind of correction system also occurs as far as single letters are concerned, both indicating when a letter must be replaced and when it has to be inserted in the middle of a word. Examples of this habit are shown on fol. 4r, l. 8 'forgianne' where letter e is substituted with a and on fol. 2v, l. 4 in 'heofiadh' where letter i is meant to be read between f and a. It is almost impossible to say whether these corrections were carried out by a supervisor or by the scribe himself. The corrector only happens to write a few words throughout the text making a thorough palaeographical analysis very difficult, if not impossible. However, as the replacement of the word 'in' with the word 'on' occurs several times in this section, it would be reasonable to think that someone revised the text after it was written and systematically changed expressions no longer in use and updated the spelling. The revision work undertaken in this portion seems therefore to have been carried out by someone other than the scribe who wrote it. Could Leofric have corrected the text when preparing it for delivery? That Leofric may have supervised some of the scribes emerges also from Drage's palaeographical analysis of the Leofric Missal, especially those who, like scribe 2, worked closely with him. Still, it seems unusual for such a proficient scribe like 2 to have received so many corrections.

Unidentified 2

A scribe whose script has not been as yet identified is that writing Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 31r/3-38v. This hand was not traced anywhere else in the Leofric Missal nor in any other vernacular manuscript produced at Exeter. He writes a vernacular insular minuscule of the Exeter type whose duct is very regular and balanced, though the trait of the pen looks rather chunky when compared with the other stints present in this manuscript and more generally in Leofric's homiliary. Particular to this scribe's stint are lapses into caroline minuscule: he maintains the Latin abbreviation for 'Christ' when writing in Old English, as displayed in Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 35v. l. 11 and 18. This is rather unusual in sections written by other Exeter scribes, who carefully differentiate between Latin and Old English. Letter forms particularly in evidence in this stint are: the back of eth slanting in a rather angular way and ending untagged at the top with a 45-degree angle inclination of the pen (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 31r, l. 16 'geogoðe'—Plate Q), the cross-bar of this letter only touches the back of it and ends slightly curving downwards with a blob; 5-shaped insular g shows a tail beginning from the middle of the flat top-bar and goes down almost perpendicularly without curving to be ended in an open bowl; the top of o-shaped d is very short and slightly inclined (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 31r, l. 15 'gecynde'—Plate Q); rather unusually, in ash both letters do not exceed the x-height (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 33r, l. 18 'Ðæs'—Plate R). In the abbreviation for *þæt* the cross-bar only pierces the ascender of the letter thorn and visibly curves upwards to the right (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 31r, l. 12). Occasionally, the omission of nasals is marked with a macron showing a wavy shape, this contraction mark is also written above the letter o in the abbreviation for *þonne* (Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 33r, l. 14). Words that run over the line are marked with a hyphen at both sides of the page, in this scribe's section, however, hyphens are written well into the margins and never sit on the line. Capital letters, or

at least some of them, and *Tironian Notae* are touched in colours, this habit is also present in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98. The abbreviation for the homiletic formula 'Leofan men' is occasionally and unusually in Exeter-compiled texts reiterated at the beginning of paragraphs.

Punctuation is used in the form of medial point for short, comma-like pauses, *punctus elevatus* to mark clausal breaking in a sentence and *punctus versus* for long pauses indicating both the end of a period and the end of a paragraph; a letter in the upper case usually follows such punctuation mark.

4.3 Re-assessment of the vernacular manuscript production

From the palaeographical analysis so far carried out it appears that the homiliaries that belonged to Leofric and that were produced at his request were assembled by a team of scribes who worked for him when scribal production was at its peak at Exeter. There are reasons to believe that this phase of the scriptorial activities began and gained momentum during the early 1050s when the cathedral, and especially its bishop, may have felt the need for books written in English. The increased visibility of the see after its move indeed stimulated the production of books that would help a committed bishop like Leofric to accomplish his pastoral duties both before the congregation and the local community and also at king's councils, as it seems to have been the case.⁶⁶

The scribal team at work in the homiliaries collaborated in updating and integrating the Leofric Missal in a way that shows that the modifications added to it were urgent. In particular, scribe 2's patterns of cooperation with the other scribes of

⁶⁶ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting' at pp. 81-84. Hill suggests that the diocesan see of Devon and Cornwall once marginalised earned a new status after relocating to Exeter, a urban centre that in the eleventh century was experiencing a new economical prosperity.

the group evince that he may have organised the activities related to the revamping of the missal. These seemingly took place at a time when the cathedral needed to augment its cultural prestige and status. The addition of masses that echo continental habits as indicated by the lay-out of the *Mass for Travellers*, copied by Leofric himself, and that draw on Lotharingian liturgical traditions, such as the *Mass for St Nicholas*, written by scribe 2, indicate that Leofric looked at continental traditions and liturgical trends in use there.⁶⁷ Many of the masses copied into the Leofric Missal and that reproduce continental liturgical practices may have been added in the years 1049-1051. In this time Leofric obtained permission from Pope Leo IX to move the episcopal seat: the bishop's representatives brought back from Rome a letter with papal approval and seemingly reported to Leofric the liturgical trends that the Lotharingian Pope Leo IX approved and fostered.⁶⁸

The years that saw the transfer of the diocesan seat to Exeter, in all probability, triggered the production of other books that were needed by the renewed institution such as a copy of the *Rule of Chrodegang*, that would regulate the religious community affiliated to the cathedral and the *Capitularies* of Theodulf of Orleans, a book about providing pastoral care to the laity. Copies of these were written by scribe 2, who may have therefore been overworked and consequently sought other scribes to complete portions that he had already started and left incomplete. The works that were copied at Exeter in these years seem very much to be related to the necessity to give regulations and directions, especially in religious matters, to the cathedral and the local religious community. These themes are also clearly reflected in the homilies contained in the bishop's collection and that were compiled by

⁶⁷ Orchard, *The Leofric Missal I and II*, p. 217.

⁶⁸ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., p. 521-23.

scribes whose work is closely associated with that of scribe 2 and who collaborated with him. These may have indeed formed a team of experienced, well-trained hands that copied texts in what allegedly was the rush of vernacular book production at Exeter.

The homiliaries that belonged to Leofric and were compiled for him were in all probability copied in these years by scribes who had worked closely together at the earliest additions to the bishop's missal. The compilation of the homilies seems indeed to have been a necessary undertaking in the years in which Leofric became a visible pastoral figure in the context of the late eleventh-century English church. This work was zealously carried out by scribe 2 and his collaborators alongside the production of texts necessary to reinforce the central position of the bishop and his authority within the cathedral. That scribe 2 had a prominent position in compiling the homilies for Leofric is especially deduced by the texts that he wrote in Lambeth 489, a manuscript that he (may have) compiled in its entirety with the only exception of fols. 20-24, and in its supposed companion Cleopatra B. xiii.⁶⁹ That this scribe's hand, as it has been shown above has been identified in the additions to CCCC 421 suggests that those portions were compiled at the same time and were probably part of the original homiliary. Why were these materials placed into a different manuscript context? My next chapter will attempt to give an answer to this question by looking into the contents of these two blocks in relation to the original part of CCCC 421. Looking into CCCC 421 is essential, because this codex provided a new manuscript context to texts, which were originally meant to be associated with Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489. This analysis might therefore yield important information on the way in which homilies were adapted to Leofric's needs.

⁶⁹ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

Chapter 5

The Exeter additions to CCCC 421: content and context

CCCC 421, its companion CCCC 419, Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489—the four extant volumes that formed the homiliary assembled at Leofric's behest—contain homilies of a general nature that draw extensively, but not only, on the homiletic *corpora* written by Ælfric and Wulfstan during the second phase of the Benedictine reform. The view according to which these four manuscripts were suitable for a bishop to carry out his pastoral responsibilities has been supported by many scholars, ultimately by Treharne who has suggested in a recent article that they contain a collection of homilies that supplied the needs of a bishop.¹ Although the materials contained in these books were written forty and more years before Leofric used them, it seems that they were selected by him with the intention to assemble a collection that was contemporary and authoritative. In this chapter I will attempt to consider the four homiliaries in the context of Leofric's pontificate by relating them

¹ Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: text. The Second Series*, and Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*, both Godden and Clemoes treat Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489 as conjoint volumes showing a pastoral flavour. Following their suggestion, Treharne has shown in more detail that these two manuscripts were produced at the bishop's behest, quite possibly to meet his preaching needs; see Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

to a diocese that augmented its importance through the scribal activities instigated by its bishop.

Although Leofric does not seem to have engaged in composing his own homilies, he certainly encouraged the collection and compilation of sermons that were essential to his episcopal programme. Two of the four homiliaries that he owned were entirely copied by scribes who worked for him and a further codex, CCCC 421, was augmented with quires compiled at Exeter. Lambeth 489, Cleopatra B. xiii, CCCC 421 and allegedly its companion CCCC 419 formed Leofric's 'episcopal homiliary'.² The texts contained in these four codices demonstrate the vitality of the English vernacular in Leofric's time as a *medium* for the transmission of late tenth-century texts/materials to the congregations where the bishop carried out his public and religious duties. Exeter was certainly one of the centres where the English vernacular was used extensively for preaching purposes and that together with Worcester, Canterbury (Christ Church), Winchester, Ramsey participated in a network of centres that contributed to the circulation and transmission of homiletic materials of the late tenth-century monastic reform in the mid to late eleventh century.³

Many of the homilies composed during the second phase of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform were still in use in the mid eleventh century as indicated by manuscripts, dating to that time in which these materials are contained, such as London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A. iii and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton

² Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

³ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', pp. 168-71. That Leofric had connections with Ramsey may be inferred from the presence of Ælfwine of Ramsey at his consecration ceremony; cf. *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., p. 531. Also, a Ramsey manuscript seems to be the exemplar on which the bishop's Psalter, now in London, British Library, Harley 863, is based; cf. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 235.

113 and 114. Some of these homilies were copied *verbatim* from the original and then given wide circulation, as it would appear from fairly large numbers of surviving copies; others, especially those written in composite form, were less widespread, sometimes unique as extant evidence seems to show.⁴ The presence of Ælfric's and Wulfstan's homilies or portions of them in eleventh-century manuscripts can tell us a great deal about the availability and usage of these texts in particular centres or areas; about the purposes for which they were copied; and about patterns through which they were transmitted. The quires compiled and inserted at Exeter, should be studied as representatives of how the collection of homilies that belonged to bishop Leofric developed throughout his pontificate. It has been discussed in the previous chapter that the materials contained in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 and 209-224, that is the additions copied at Exeter, may have been produced in the 1050s together with Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, to which these sections may have been a companion volume.⁵ These gatherings were then added to CCCC 421 after the codex travelled to Exeter, possibly at a later stage as suggested by the spelling changes apparent in it. Why were the Exeter-copied sections inserted into CCCC 421?

Little, unfortunately, is known about the activities that underpinned the acquisition of volumes from other institutions in Leofric's time. Once again, therefore, speculations have to be made in order to try and cast light on the context in which CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 were acquired for the bishop's homiliary and the

⁴ Some of the homilies contained in Lambeth 489, Cleopatra B. xiii and CCCC 421 exist in one copy. For this reason they may have had a limited circulation. On this see J. Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: the Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 199-217

⁵ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

reasons that underpinned the arrival of the two codices at Exeter. Leofric may have needed at a certain point of his career a wider selection of preaching materials and as a consequence of this may have asked other institutions—Canterbury—⁶ for assistance; hence the acquisition of the two companions. Although no record exists on the possibility that Leofric may have paid to obtain those two items—or, in fact, any other—after 1050, he may have been in a more favourable position to both be able to afford new books and to receive support from institutions with an established scribal and scriptorial tradition. Canterbury could have been one of these centres and, if it is correct to assume that CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 originated there, it may have provided for the two homiliaries to be sent to Exeter. After his consecration ceremony in 1050, Leofric probably became more noticeable in the English episcopate and closer to the heads of the major episcopal centres in England, to whose libraries he may have had access at some level. Were these books acquired to complete the collection that Leofric already possessed? Did they complement a selection of texts that had become too limited or insufficiently varied to supply Leofric's preaching needs?

A few textual overlaps occur in the bishop's homiletic collection between the two pairs of volumes, that is Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, those composed at Exeter, and CCCC 421 and CCCC 419, those that travelled there. The co-existence of texts that are almost identical may encourage us to think that the acquisition of CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 was meant to replace the original homiletic collection

⁶ Wilcox surmised in his doctoral thesis that the two companions CCCC 421 and 419 may have originated in a centre affiliated to Canterbury; cf. Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421'. Treharne has suggested that these volumes may have originated at Canterbury; see Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'. At present a comprehensive assessment of what the origins of these two codices might be does not exist.

compiled at Exeter. Napier homily XL, *In die Iudicii*, appears in Cleopatra B. xiii and in CCCC 419.⁷ Admittedly, there would be two copies of the same text in Leofric's homiletic collection, if CCCC 419 followed its companion to Exeter as seems to have been the case. The two adaptations of this text however differ quite remarkably in these manuscripts.⁸ Given the differences, one may wonder whether Leofric wanted two versions of it and used both of them or whether the latter simply replaced the version contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, which would suggest it became redundant. A second text which is present in the original part of CCCC 421 and in composite form—containing most of the version in CCCC 421—in Lambeth 489 is Ælfric's CH I, homily XIX, *Feria .III. De dominica oratione*.⁹ The replication in two different manuscripts of substantial parts of a homily—as the examples reported above might indicate—seemingly reflects a tendency widespread in the eleventh century according to which Ælfric's and Wulfstan's works were used as a source for compiling homilies in a composite form. Swan has noted that the scribes who composed this kind of texts intentionally changed sections or excised others from the original copies, which could be written or memorised texts.¹⁰ This process of compilation may have entailed the repetition of popular passages, which could be easily memorised, and the re-contextualisation of sections of a homily into a new text. Perhaps, the portions of Wulfstan's Napier XL and Ælfric's CH I, XIX that are

⁷ Wulfstan. *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilies nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, A. Napier, ed., (Berlin, 1883) the version in Cleopatra B. xiii is edited in Napier's collection as no. 40, pp. 182-90. On the other hand, the version in CCCC 419 appears partially in Napier's edition, pp. 182-189 and in *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, D. Bethurum, ed., (Oxford, 1957) pp. 189-91, no. 9, ll. 107-50.

⁸ Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: the Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', pp. 202-3 and 206.

⁹ Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*.

¹⁰ M. Swan, 'Old English made New: One Catholic Homily and its Reuses', *Leeds Studies in English* n. s. 28 (1997), 1-18.

replicated in Leofric's four homiliaries should be viewed in a similar perspective and studied in their imminent manuscript context. Eleventh- and indeed twelfth-century compilers of homiletic texts reused older materials with contemporary purposes and audiences in mind.¹¹ Composite homiliaries containing selections of texts by different authors seem to have been assembled in the eleventh century for purposes related to the realities of the day: Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii together with CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 and the materials that they contain were assembled with the intention to produce a collection that was significant and useful in Leofric's times.¹²

The presence in the bishop's four homiliaries of texts that showed little differences or that fulfilled the same service—there are four homilies for the dedication of a church between Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii—did not necessarily mean that the collection was assembled haphazardly, without a plan, nor does it imply that CCCC 421 and possibly its companion were acquired to replace the other two volumes that already were at Exeter. For example, the inclusion of four homilies for the consecration of a church in Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489 suggests that Leofric required a selection of texts that he might employ for the same type of function, that is the consecration of a new church.¹³ The acquisition of CCCC 421 and supposedly of CCCC 419 may have provided a wider selection of homiletic

¹¹ Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', p. 208.

¹² Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter' hypothesises that exemplars may have existed that provided a general outline for the composition of an episcopal homiliary such as that contained in Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii.

¹³ Ibid. Treharne's views on this are worth quoting at length: 'There can be little doubt that one of Leofric's main duties within his own diocese and perhaps elsewhere would be the dedication of churches and the fulfilment of related pastoral duties. The four sermons for the dedication of a church contained in Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489 attest to the need for a variety of texts for this undertaking; the three items in Lambeth 489 thus provide substantial alternative for the use of the bishop at this service'.

materials that complemented and enriched those written at Exeter. If the homilies contained in Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489 seem indeed to be more specifically related to the public duties of a bishop, such as the consecration of churches, the anointment of other bishops, the ordination of priests, the baptism and confirmation of parishioners,¹⁴ the materials contained in CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 seem to focus more specifically on the provision of pastoral care and the enforcement of regulations. In studying the contents of CCCC 421 and CCCC 419 and their connections with Cleopatra B. xiii and Lambeth 489, Wilcox noted that it is the latter two codices that are more strictly for the use of a bishop and the fulfilment of his public and administrative duties. It is difficult to believe that CCCC 421 and 419 were meant to replace Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, as even with the additions made at Exeter the two volumes did not contain materials that were essential to Leofric's duties throughout his episcopal mandate, such as the homilies for the consecration of churches or the coronation oath. On this, Treharne's conclusions are perhaps worth quoting at some length:

This text in Cleopatra B. xiii [the coronation oath] may be then regarded as a record of the oath and its attendant homily performed at such a gathering [Leofric's ceremony in 1050], representing, as do the homilies for the dedication of a church, for example, the significance placed by Leofric on each individual fulfilment of their role within a Christian society. Its political significance would not be lost on any congregation to whom it was delivered as a comforting reminder, especially perhaps after the turbulent 1060s, of the duties and protection owed to them by their king.¹⁵

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Ibid.

The two pairs of companions were assembled for bishop Leofric but perhaps they came to supply two slightly different functions as the relocation of the Exeter quires may suggest. Why were the Exeter materials moved into CCCC 421, if they were originally meant to be a companion to Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii?

5.1 The use of Ælfric's homilies at Exeter: CCCC 421, pp. 3-98

A set of mid eleventh-century quires containing five homilies composed by Ælfric opens up CCCC 421, a manuscript dating to the beginning of the eleventh century that was at Exeter during the pontificate of bishop Leofric. These texts were copied by Exeter scribes and then inserted into CCCC 421 after the manuscript travelled to Exeter possibly with its companion CCCC 419 allegedly from Canterbury or a minor centre under its influence.¹⁶ These texts are particularly interesting to study because they may reflect the way in which Ælfric's homilies were used in a non-monastic cathedral such as Exeter was in the middle of the eleventh century. That these homilies may have been selected to be part of the collection of a *secular* bishop may be of some interest. In studying the use of Old English homiletic manuscripts in the twelfth century, Treharne noted that the compilers of sermons of the later medieval period may have been in closer contacts with their audiences than, for example, Ælfric was when he compiled his homiletic collections.¹⁷ Treharne's suggestion can similarly be applied to the study of late eleventh-century homilies, in particular to Leofric's homiliaries. The variety of homilies that appear in Leofric's composite

¹⁶ Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, pp. 7-8.

¹⁷ Treharne, 'The Life and Times of Old English Homilies for the First Sunday in Lent', Treharne surmises that Ælfric and the compiler of the Vercelli homilies may have known little of the congregations to which they directed their work.

homiliaries deduces that the bishop may have wanted to assemble those texts with a specific audience in mind, that is his chapter.

In secular cathedrals and communities the relationship between the bishop and his religious congregation was indeed a complex one. In analysing the activities of the clergy in the diocese of Liège, Kupper has noted that much as the bishop is the leading authority of a secular community, his chapter had a rather important role, too: the canons were usually members of noble families and cared for their own privileges, for example;¹⁸ likewise, it was their responsibility to act in the interest of the cathedral and its reputation, especially when helping the bishop in administering the affairs and the belongings of the cathedral itself.¹⁹ Perhaps, in view of his familiarity with the customs of Liège, it might be expected that Leofric's secular community was similar to that described by Kupper. If so, it would be reasonable to think that a bishop may have tried to control and influence his congregation as much as he could, one thing that he could have done through preaching, among other things. To this end Leofric needed to be authoritative and convincing, hence the use of homiletic sources like Ælfric, whose works, when read in front of his chapter, could enhance the bishop's authority, because his homilies—especially those selected for Leofric's collection—intimate respect for the bishop as the head of a community of people who follow a rule, like monks and canons. In the following section I shall argue that the five Ælfrician homilies contained in the opening section of CCCC 421 were fundamental material for Leofric to preach to his congregation in that they contain the basic tenets of doctrinal instruction that the bishop may have needed to

¹⁸ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 340. The canons of St Lambert, Liège formed a corporation of lords, 'corporation de seigneurs', who were addressed with the title of *dominus* and cared for their own liberties and privileges.

¹⁹ Ibid. p. 342. Kupper reports that in alienating any of the goods of the cathedral the bishop must ask permission of his chapter.

remind them of their duties within the chapter and with the local religious community.

Codicologically, CCCC 421 comprises two different sections discontinuously bound in a single codex: part 1 including pp. 99-208 and 227-354 is written in early eleventh-century insular minuscule; part 2 containing pp. 3-98 and pp. 209-224 was written at Exeter in the third quarter of the eleventh century.²⁰ Codicological and palaeographical features indicate that the Ælfrician homilies contained in pp. 3-98 and here under scrutiny were inserted into the manuscript as a single portion; at least the gatherings do not bear codicological evidence suggesting otherwise, the flow of the narration progresses consequentially regardless of quire endings and beginnings. It may, however, be observed that the manuscript underwent structural changes in later times especially when in Archbishop Parker's care: he and his son provided a table of contents and they arranged for the frontispiece from CCCC 419 to be bound at the beginning of CCCC 421.²¹ It is probably in view of this that Wilcox is cautious in dating the insertions of the Exeter quires to the third quarter of the eleventh century and opens up to the possibility that they may have been inserted in Parker's time, an unlikely suggestion as I shall contend.²²

The texts copied at Exeter cover the full length of quires i-vii and were compiled by a single scribe (scribe 2) with the only exception at pp. 94-95, two pages containing text, which were written by a different hand, quite possibly that of the main scribe's aide.²³ These leaves are then immediately followed by another two blank pages, 97 and 98, closing the last quire of an easily (re)movable unit. Palaeographically, Bishop observed that the key features present in this section, such

²⁰ Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, pp. 7-11.

²¹ *Ibid.* p. 8.

²² *Ibid.*

²³ For a detailed palaeographical description see chapter 4.

as script, number of lines per page, dimensions of the writing area, are in keeping with the way in which Lambeth 489, fols. 1-20r and Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 1-58 were laid out.²⁴ A suggestion further stressed by Treharne in her analysis of Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii and materials related to these manuscripts copied at Exeter.²⁵ Key palaeographical features corroborating Bishop's and Treharne's suggestion that these section may have served as a companion volume to Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii, are: the use of a writing grid counting nineteen lines per page; the use of a script that can be identified with the 'Exeter norm' as defined by Ker;²⁶ the use of a writing space that approximately measures 170x85 mm. When and why this volume—if it ever existed as such—was disassembled is difficult to determine, there are however marks indicating that the homilies contained in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 may have not only been compiled but also added to the codex, in which they now appear, at Exeter.

This assumption is based on two pieces of evidence. Firstly, as I already mentioned in the previous chapter, there is the presence of corrections, such as the change of *i* to *y* (carried out by the same scribe and) appearing in both the Exeter and the original sections of the codex. Wilcox—who analysed the manuscript in his doctoral thesis—suggested that the labialisation of *i* was a characteristic of late Old English that was adopted into the Exeter spelling quite consistently.²⁷ It especially appeared in manuscripts in use at the cathedral in the years of Leofric's pontificate: for example, in two of the homilies added to CCCC 190B at Exeter, in Cleopatra B. xiii, as well as in the Exeter portions of CCCC 421. That the alteration of *i* to *y* is

²⁴ Bishop, 'Bibliographical Notes. Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts. Part II'.

²⁵ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

²⁶ See chapter 4.

²⁷ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421', pp. 25-31.

present both in the original part of the codex and in the added portions and in CCCC 419 strongly suggests that the homilies contained in pp. 3-98 were inserted into CCCC 421 at Exeter. It seems plausible to think that these alterations were carried out when the homilies were still in use possibly with the aim of facilitating the reading process. The method adopted to replace *i* with *y* consists in squeezing the right limb of *y* against the body of *i* and between it and the following letter (see CCCC 421, pp. 12, l. 1 and p. 13, l. 24; CCCC 419, p. 6, l. 13). This seemingly indicates that the annotator wanted to keep the integrity of the text as much as possible so that it could be read fluently and sequentially without any disturbing element in the interlinear space.²⁸

Secondly, the consistent occurrence throughout the manuscript of capital letters touched in red and black ink that are also visible in Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 31r-43r seems to corroborate this hypothesis further. Although it is difficult to determine whether these signs had an ornamental or utilitarian function—as they do not seem to have been added following a discernible pattern—it is however interesting that they should appear in the sections written at Exeter as well as in the original core of the manuscript and in its companion volume CCCC 419, which was also thought to have been at Exeter during Leofric's episcopacy. Although, capital letters touched in colours are often to be found in vernacular homiliaries, it is plausible to think that this palaeographical characteristic was also commonly used at Exeter, since letters of this type appear in two Exeter-compiled sections, that is CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 and Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 31r-43r, and in codices that have a strong claim to have been

²⁸ Treharne, 'Reading from the Margins: The Uses of Old English Homiletic Manuscripts in the Post-Conquest Period', p. 11. Treharne notes with regard to London, British Library, Royal 7 C. xii that erasing and overwriting lexemes allowed for a text to be read more fluently and consequentially, because, she argues, interlinear and marginal glossing are less easily integrated into a text when reading from it, especially aloud.

in use at the cathedral during Leofric's episcopacy such as the rest of CCCC 421 and its companion 419.²⁹ If it is correct to assume that the Exeter quires were inserted into CCCC 421 at Exeter, what is the underlying principle entailing their insertion?

It is difficult to discern whether there was a logical plan behind the insertion of these quires into CCCC 421 because, as it stands, the collection of homilies present in CCCC 421 and its companion 419 does not follow the liturgical sequence of the *Temporale* and *Sanctorale*. In truth, the liturgical cycle looks incomplete even if one considers the four volumes together to have formed a collection. In noticing that neither Lambeth 489 nor Cleopatra B. xiii would supply materials following the liturgical order, Treharne suggested that the selection of texts appearing in these two volumes may have been caused by the 'nature of the pieces that Leofric required', rather than by their relevance to any liturgical sequence.³⁰ Similarly, one might think, the insertion of the Exeter quires into CCCC 421 may have been determined by the appropriateness of the texts and their contents to a collection of homilies such as that apparent in CCCC 421.

In all probability Exeter already possessed a collection of homilies that covered the annual cycle: an entry reading 'i ful spelboc winters ond sumres'—one complete reading book for winter and summer—appearing in Leofric's list of donations to his cathedral chapter indicates that a homiliary providing readings for the liturgical year was available at Exeter during the bishop's time of office.³¹ This entry cannot

²⁹ Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, pp. 1-13.

³⁰ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

³¹ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*. Gneuss claims that such a homiletic collection as that indicated by this entry in Leofric's donation list would have been in Latin. He notes that the entry does not specify the language of the item to which it refers silently implying that it was in Latin as it was customary in the eleventh century for a cathedral to have a homiletic collection in that language to use on liturgical occasions, see Gneuss, 'Liturgical Books in Anglo-Saxon England and their Old English Terminology', at p. 123.

however, be associated with either Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii or CCCC 421 and CCCC 419, or even the four of them altogether. The reason for this is that the comprehensiveness that the adjective 'ful' implies rules out the possibility that this entry might refer to a collection, such as that contained in these four volumes, whose selection of texts is too limited to provide material appropriate for the entire annual cycle.³² These four homiliaries seem indeed to have served purposes that were not related to the liturgical run.

Of the five Ælfrician texts contained in the block added to CCCC 421 only one, *In die Sancto Pentecosten*, recalls a liturgical feast; the remaining four are for more general occasions and include one homily for the feast-day of one apostle, one for the feast of many holy martyrs, one for the feast of one confessor and one for the feast-day of the holy virgins.³³ The Ælfrician homilies contained in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 can therefore be listed as follows:

pp. 3-25 CH I, no. 22 'In die sancto Pentecosten'

pp. 25-36 CH II, no. 35 'In natale unius Apostoli'

pp. 36-54 CH II, no. 37 'In natale plurimorum Sanctorum martyrum'

pp. 54-76 CH II, no. 38 'In natale unius confessoris'

pp. 76-96 CH II, no. 39 'In natale Sanctarum virginum',³⁴

pp. 97-98 blank

With the only exception of the homily for Pentecost, the texts contained in this block are *quando volueris*: that is, homilies suitable for a variety of occasions. In view of

³² Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421' this view is also shared by Wilcox see pp. 31-2.

³³ Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*, CH I, no. 22. Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: text. The Second Series*, CH II, nos. 35, 37, 38 and 39.

³⁴ It is perhaps interesting to note that a mass is present in the Leofric missal, that is 'In natale plurimarum Virginum' in Bodley 579, fol. 370r, which may have been linked to the homily in this block.

their generic nature it is perhaps worth trying to outline a more detailed picture of the manuscript context in which these texts were situated. What was the function of CCCC 421 at Exeter?

The function of composite homiliaries, such as that contained in CCCC 421, is one difficult to determine with precision. This may be due to the fact that there are not many surviving copies of homiletic collections similar to Leofric's. In fact, only another such collection has been compared with what allegedly was Leofric's 'episcopal homiliary', that is the homiliary that belonged to Wulfstan II of Worcester and contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 and 114.³⁵ Particular to these episcopal homiletic collections is indeed their composite nature, which accounts for a variety of homiletic texts, that is homilies copied *verbatim* from different authors, composite compilations drawing from other homiletic materials or texts containing a mixture of homiletic and legalistic materials. Swan, for example, has studied the 're-siting' of Ælfrician homilies in late eleventh- and early twelfth-century manuscripts and has observed that some of these volumes include a mix of Ælfrician texts and homiletic texts by other authors without however supplying enough material for the liturgical year.³⁶ The versatile character of these codices, however, does not necessarily imply that the texts that they contain were collected randomly without a plan. Perhaps, if the word plan implicitly bespeaks a level of coherence in organising a certain amount of materials, this might be sought in the contents of these texts rather than in the way in which they may have been structured. Yet, an indicative guideline for assembling such homiliaries seem to have existed, as suggested by Treharne, who surmised that both Cleopatra B. xiii and Hatton 113, 114 may have

³⁵ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

³⁶ Swan, 'Ælfric as a Source: the Exploitation of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies from the late Tenth to the Twelfth Century'.

started with the same homily, that is Ælfric's *De initio creature*, possibly reflecting a usual pattern, beside Ælfric's authoritative collection of sermons.³⁷

The way in which Ælfrician materials were re-shaped and re-contextualised in eleventh-century manuscripts indicates that by the time of Leofric's episcopacy at Exeter, the two series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* had come to enjoy a certain independence from the prescriptions stipulated by Ælfric in the very late tenth century.³⁸ The number of homilies by Ælfric transmitted in eleventh-century collections attest to the popularity that they enjoyed throughout the century. However, their inclusion into composite manuscripts suggests that they were used in innovative ways. The five homilies by Ælfric that were inserted into CCCC 421 are taken from the Second Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*—with the only exception for the homily for Pentecost, which comes from the First Series—and are then integrated with homilies by Wulfstan and other composite texts. Mixed selections that combined preaching texts of a various nature came to be rather popular and indeed innovative in the eleventh century. Religious centres such as Worcester, Rochester, Canterbury, as well as Exeter housed in their libraries this kind of preaching collection. At Rochester, for example, manuscripts were copied in the first quarter of the eleventh century—Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 340 and 342—containing revised collections drawing on Ælfric's First and Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, which were seemingly used to instruct the clergy to do pastoral work among the laity.³⁹ Examples like this suggest that Ælfrician homilies may have been selected in view of uses that were not necessarily related to the annual cycle and the liturgical demands of a cathedral. M. Richards does not say if these manuscripts

³⁷ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

³⁸ Swan, 'Old English made New: One Catholic Homily and its Reuses', p. 1-2.

³⁹ M. P. Richards, 'Innovations in Ælfrician Homiletic Manuscripts at Rochester', *Annuaire Medievale* 19 (1979), 13-26, p. 13-14.

formed a collection of homilies for the bishop of Rochester, however, she notes that at the end of Bodley 340 and 342 are a brief account of Paulinus, first bishop of Rochester who died in 644 and a homily for St Andrew, patron saint of the cathedral.⁴⁰ These details would suggest that the books represented the cathedral and its episcopal power. If it is correct to assume, as it seems plausible, that CCCC 421 did not have a liturgical function, much as Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii did not, what utility did it have for Leofric?

The contents of the homilies contained in CCCC 421 indicate that the bishop may have used those materials to educate his canons who would eventually become his priests/clergy. In delivering these homilies Leofric may have wanted to remind his congregation, that is his canons and clergy, concepts that were crucial to his religious programme, such as the obligation to keep a faultless moral conduct, the injunction to respect the regulations adopted by the bishop and the Rule of Chrodegang, the responsibility to provide pastoral care to parishioners.⁴¹ The enlarged version of the Rule of Chrodegang that Leofric adopted to regulate his community of canons at Exeter stresses that among the social and pastoral duties of the secular clergy was the spiritual guidance of the local religious community. It does not therefore surprise that the bishop might set an example for his priests and guide them through his preaching in providing pastoral care for the extended diocesan community. Leofric certainly knew how important the support of his congregation was to the fulfilment of his reforming ambitions, such as the improvement of the spiritual standards in his diocese, for example, alongside the performing of the usual duties like baptism, confirmation and confession. Paragraph XLII (42) of

⁴⁰ Ibid. at p. 15. Also Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* no. 309.

⁴¹ F. Tinti, 'Introduction', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (London, 2005), 1-20. Preaching was among the activities that were associated with the provision of *cura pastoralis* and that increasingly came to be performed by bishops in the eleventh century.

Chrodegang's Rule may clarify this point further. A passage in this section intimates that it is a responsibility of the clergy to have the people's religious education in their care, much as it was their duty to care for their souls:

§xlii *De cura quam in populo sibi commissa/o habere clerici debent*

Cauendum nobis est ne in periculum pro nostra negligentia, ut ita dixerim, absque baptismo et confirmatione et confessione et predicatione in quadam securitate positus incurrat noster populus. [...] Et si omnibus festis et dominicis diebus assiduata (assidua) fuerit predicatio, utilior est; et iuxta quod intelligere uulgi possit, ita predicandum est.⁴²

Leofric may have felt that it was his responsibility as a bishop to dedicate his preaching activities to make sure that such intimations as those enjoined by the rule that he adopted were fully respected and put to practice by his clergy.

The first homily of the Ælfrician group that opens up CCCC 421, that is *In die Sancto Pentecosten*, may be used as a case study to clarify this point further. Quite what a homily for Pentecost is doing in a group of *quando volueris*, homilies that were not tied to any particular feast of the liturgical cycle, is not clear unless a reading of the text is offered that takes into account the context in which it may have been delivered by Leofric. *In die Sancto Pentecosten* was copied *verbatim* by Exeter scribes arguably from one of the many versions that circulated in eleventh-century

⁴² Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original* at paragraph xlii, p. 49. My own translation reads: '§ xlii- The clergy must have care of their people. It is much for us to fear that our people do not incur any danger because of our negligence; so I will say that our people should not live in insecurity, without baptism, confirmation, confession and predication. [...] And it will be even more useful if preaching will take place every feast day and every Sunday; and likewise it is right to preach to the crowds what they can understand'.

Ælfrician manuscripts.⁴³ In delivering this homily bishop Leofric used Ælfric's words in the realities of his own time. For what purposes did Leofric use Ælfric's material?

In the homily for Pentecost, Ælfric takes as his subject the events related to Pentecost: he begins with an account of the origin of the festival and draws parallels between the giving of the law to Moses and the giving of the Holy Spirit to the apostles and through them to all Christian people.⁴⁴ The importance that Ælfric places on the respect for the Christian law is then developed through themes related to some of the key principles of the Benedictine Reform: for example, obedience to a rule, communal organisation of the disciples, respect of the bishop, episcopal confirmation, payment of dues and tithes:

Pa underfengon hi his lare, and bugon to fulluhte on ðam
dæge ðreo ðunsend manna. Pa wæron ealle on annysse mid
þam apostolum, and beceapodom heora æhta, and þæt feoh
betæhton ðam apostolon and hig dældon ælcum be his
neode.⁴⁵

In his development of these themes, Ælfric takes the relationship between Christ and the apostles as a symbol of the union that should exist between the abbot and the monks. These aspects of the interpretation of the meaning of Pentecost were of crucial importance to the life of Leofric and his chapter, too; these principles indeed seem to be especially relevant to communities following the Enlarged Rule of

⁴³ Clemoes, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text*.

⁴⁴ *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First part containing the sermones catholici, or homilies of Ælfric*, B. Thorpe, ed., 2 vols. (London, 1844-46), pp. 311-329.

⁴⁵ Ibid. pp. 316-17. My translation is based on Thorpe's and reads: 'Multitudes then received his doctrine, and three thousand men were baptised on that day. Then they were in unity with the apostles, sold their possessions, and gave the money to the apostles, and they distributed goods according to everyone's need'.

Chrodegang, which stressed the importance of respecting the bishop and the strict rules enjoined by coenobitic life:

ƿa apostoli siððan, ærðam ðe hi to ferdon, gesetton
Iacobum, ƿa wæs gehaten Rihtwis, on Cristes setl, and eal
seo geleaffulle gelaðunge him gehyrsumode, æfter Godes
tæcunge, He ƿa gesæt ƿæt setl ðritig geara, and æfter him
Symeon, ƿæs Hælendes mæg. Æfter ðære gebysnunge
wurdon arærede munec lif mid thære gehealdsumnysse, ƿæt
hi drohtnian on mynstre, be heora ealdres dihte, on
clænnesse, and him beon heora æhta eallum gemæne, swa
ƿæt apostoli hit astealdon.⁴⁶

In this homily, the stress on the importance of the law symbolised by Christ's commandments and the precepts of the apostles taught monks and canons alike how to live a Christian life. Reminding his congregation of these principles may have been of some use to Leofric's pastoral programme and one of its key points, that is the improvement of the moral behaviour of the clergy. Pentecost certainly provided such an occasion, whose religious significance may have forcefully enhanced the meaning of these concepts in that it stresses the relationship between the bishop and his 'familia' as an image of the relationship between Christ and his disciples. Why then was a homily tied to a liturgical feast in a non-liturgical collection?

Other than being an important feast of the liturgical cycle, Pentecost may have been the time of the year at which the bishop summoned one of the two yearly

⁴⁶ Ibid. pp. 318-19. My translation is based on Thorpe's and reads: 'The apostles afterwards before parting, set James, the Righteous, on the seat of Christ, following God's instruction. He sat on that seat thirty years, and after him Simeon, the kinsman of the Holy. From that example monastic life began for them with observance of life in a monastery, according to the direction of their principal and in chastity, and their possessions are common to all of them, as the apostles established it'.

episcopal synods.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, not much is known about these gatherings and certainly records attesting to synods at Exeter in Leofric's time are very scarce. The insertion in the Exeter additions to the Leofric missal of a mass and a benediction dedicated to the king in synod however suggests that Leofric might convene such meetings at Exeter, at which the king may have occasionally been present.⁴⁸ Admittedly, this may have been a practice with which Leofric was familiar. In the diocese of Liège, Kupper notes, synods were periodically called by the bishop; in these meetings the major representatives of the diocesan clergy (archdeacon, provost etc.) and of the laity together participated with the bishop.⁴⁹ The synodal assembly was called when the necessity arose to debate the administrative affairs of the cathedral and, more extensively, of the diocese: for example, on such occasions the bishop made public and official acts like donations, acquisitions of goods and privileges, etc. It is however of some importance for this argument that, as Kupper notes, at synodal meetings matters like the discipline of the clergy, conflicts between the monasteries of the diocese and the laity, complaints related to the giving of dues and tithes, prebends of the canons, heresies, disrespect of the episcopal authority were discussed and judged accordingly by the bishop.⁵⁰ The synod had clearly a legislative function, in that it wielded control over the whole of the diocese and its inhabitants.⁵¹ The bishop presided over the assembly and had the right to take decisions in the spiritual as well as in the temporal domain. Diocesan synods may

⁴⁷ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles* at pp. 259-61. One of the two yearly synods might fall on Pentecost or the Octave of Pentecost, interchangeably.

⁴⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fols. 35r (*Missa pro rege in tempore synodi dicenda*) and 14r (*Benedictio super regem in tempore synodi*), respectively.

⁴⁹ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 257.

⁵⁰ Ibid. pp. 265-6. In this passage I have reported a free translation of Kupper's detailed and carefully referenced list of what the minutes of a synodal assembly might be.

⁵¹ Ibid. p. 264.

have therefore been occasions at which the delivery of such homilies as those contained in the opening quires of CCCC 421 could have been appropriate. The close of the homily for Pentecost, for example, may have been suitable to remind Leofric's entourage of his importance, because as a bishop he was the 'administrator' of God's church, a concept that Leofric may have forcefully expressed through Ælfric's authoritative words:

Hig setton heora handa ofer geleafulle men, and him com to se Halga Gast ðurh heora bisceþunge. Biscopas sind þæs ylcan hades on Godes gelaðunge, and gealdað tha gesettnysse on heora bisceþunge, swa þæt hi settað heora handa ofer gefullede menn, and biddað þæt se Ælmihtiga wealdend him sende ða seofonfealdan gife his Gastes, seðe leofað and rixad a butan ende.⁵²

Although homilies such as that for Pentecost may have been adapted to a non-liturgical setting, one may wonder whether bishops were required to preach on these occasions or whether it had become customary to do so. Did bishops usually deliver homilies in synods? The mass and benediction for the king in synod present in the Leofric Missal would suggest that the synodal assembly encompassed liturgical moments alongside legislative ones; it therefore seems reasonable to think that preaching was not an inappropriate activity in such a context. Moreover, synods were probably rare occasions in which the representatives of both the clergy and the laity were assembled together in front of the bishop, even more so if it is correct that such

⁵² *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church. The First part containing the sermones catholici, or homilies of Ælfric*, Thorpe, ed., pp. 328-29. My translation is based on his: 'They set their hands over faithful men, and the Holy Ghost came to them through their bishoping. Bishops are of the same order in God's church, and hold that institution in their office, so that they set their hands over baptised men, and prayed the Almighty Ruler to send them the sevenfold gift of spirit, who lived and reigned for ever'.

councils were held no more than twice a year. This situation would have supposedly given the bishop an opportunity to address the most influential people of his diocese. Kupper has pointed out that usually a synod consisted of two sessions, a religious and a mixed one, that were held at the same time but may have dealt with different matters.⁵³ According to Kupper's study, the bishop had administrative, ruling and educative powers in the religious session of the synod and territorial and financial ones as far as the mixed synod was concerned.⁵⁴ The ritual through which the bishop carried out his synodal responsibilities is not known, unfortunately, but—given the importance that such gatherings may have had in the administration of his diocese—it would be reasonable to assume that he may have preached, especially in the religious, and seemingly more theoretical, session of the assembly. Following a suggestion of Wormald, Treharne hypothesised that just like archbishops may have preached to the king at legislative councils, Leofric may have done the same at his consecration ceremony before the king and the queen.⁵⁵ Much as this may have been a special occasion, it however seems to suggest that it was not inappropriate that a bishop might preach at councils, especially, perhaps, in the diocesan synods that he may have convened. If so, homilies such as those contained in the Exeter quires opening CCCC 421 may have offered a variety of materials that Leofric could have appropriately used in such assemblies. These seem to have been especially suitable for reading or delivering in the religious part of the meeting as they would have helped the bishop's to fulfil his obligations towards his clergy, such as religious instruction and intimation of respect for the episcopal power.

⁵³ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 265-6.

⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 266.

⁵⁵ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

Wilcox suggested that the augmentor of CCCC 421 showed indeed some discrimination in selecting materials for his additions.⁵⁶ The thematic principles in evidence in CCCC 421 and in the Exeter expansions seem to respond to some of the main concerns that a bishop may have had in this kind of situation. The main topics that can be detected throughout the homilies, as one probably would expect from *quando volueris*, contained in the two companions primarily focus on conveying basic Christian instruction, on obedience to the bishop and to the rule, themes worth reminding a religious congregation subject to the episcopal jurisdiction. With regard to this, it is particularly significant that most of the homilies by Ælfric present in the two companions are taken from Ælfric's Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, which was—according to Wilcox—thought to be especially adopted in the eleventh century by communities living under secular rules.⁵⁷ In secular communities following the enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, preaching seemed to have been considered an important activity. Chapter LXXX (80) of the rule intimates the bishop to encourage public preaching and have someone speak to the crowds in feast-days:

§lxxx – *Alia epistola ad episcopum*

Festis diebus veniente ad ecclesiam populo, fac eis
predicare uerba Dei.⁵⁸

Homiliaries such as CCCC 421, CCCC 419, Lambeth 489 and Cleopatra B. xiii also have in common that they are not luxury copies but utilitarian ones; this, together with their portable nature strongly suggests that they were easily carried around and

⁵⁶ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421', p. 34.

⁵⁷ J. Wilcox, 'Ælfric in Dorset and the Landscape of Pastoral Care', in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (Cambridge, 2005), 52-75.

⁵⁸ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original* at § lxxx. My translation reads: 'Do so that God's words are preached to the crowds, who come to church on feast-days'.

used for preaching activities that may have also taken place far from the cathedral's premises: for example, in churches of the diocese.⁵⁹ This kind of situation does not seem to have been unusual, since the rule documents in chapter LXXX that well-behaved clerks should follow the bishop wherever he goes to give the good example:

Et quocumque vadis, clerici qui seruitium Dei pleniter
peragant, tecum eant, sobrietate ornati, non ebrietate assueti,
quorum honestas vitae sit aliis doctrina salutis.⁶⁰

Thematically, the homilies contained in CCCC 421, pp. 3-98 fit well into the rest of the manuscript. The themes developed in the texts contained in CCCC 421 indeed seem to have been part of a programme according to which homilies were used to instruct as well as regulate communities. The homiliaries assembled at Exeter at bishop Leofric's behest appear to have a function slightly different from that associated with the vernacular homiliaries adopted in monastic centres and probably used for the monastic routine. This seems to have been mainly related to the renewed spirituality exemplified in the Rule of Chrodegang, according to which the provision of *pastoral care* to the local community was the duty of the bishop and the priests who were directly subject to his authority.

⁵⁹ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁶⁰ Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*, p. 91 at § lxxx. In my own free translation: 'And wherever you go, may the clerks, who serve God diligently, follow you plainly dressed, and sober, whose honesty in life may be an exemplary teaching to the others'.

5.2 The use of Wulfstan's homilies at Exeter: CCCC 421, pp. 209-224 (Napier homily L and Bethurum homily III)

The centrality of the bishop's role in administering a diocese is certainly one major concern appearing throughout Leofric's homiliary. This topic is in evidence in many of the texts that were produced at his behest and later integrated into his homiletic collection: in particular, those showing a Wulfstanian authorship or character seem to have been selected on account of their legalistic nature and the emphasis that they put on the responsibility of the bishop. It is therefore not surprising that such a selection of texts as that contained in the portions of manuscripts produced at Exeter and now contained in the four codices attributed to Leofric's personal homiliary came to be so representative of his administrative and pastoral positions within the diocese.

Leofric surely acted in agreement with the following excerpt taken from the *Institutes of Polity* when he delivered Napier L, the homily produced at Exeter and now contained in CCCC 421, pp. 209-221:⁶¹

Bisceope gebyreð ælc richting ge on godcundan thingan ge
on woruldcundan. De sceal gehadode men ærest gewissian
thatheora ælc wite hwæt him mid rihte gebyrige to donne
and eac hwæt hy woruld mannum agan to beodanne.⁶²

The homily outlines the duties of lay and religious authorities and urges them to act according to secular and divine law. It is of particular interest that this homily exists in a unique copy in CCCC 421. Napier L deserves scholarly attention for two main

⁶¹ Wulfstan. *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilies nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Napier, ed., pp. 266-274.

⁶² *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, B. Thorpe, ed., folio ed., 2 vols. (London, 1840), pp. 312-13, § vii of the *Institutes of Polity* is second of a number of paragraphs devoted to the duties of bishops. Thorpe's translation reads: 'To a bishop belongs every direction, both in divine and worldly things. He shall, in the first place, inform men in orders, so that each of them may know what properly it behoves him to do and also what they have to enjoin to secular men'.

reasons: first, the homily, given its uniqueness, did not circulate widely in eleventh-century England and therefore it might represent a valuable piece of evidence of the political interests and concerns about Leofric, who requested its copying; second, the text was specifically added to CCCC 421 when the manuscript was re-organized at Exeter. Napier L was, together with the five Ælfrician homilies inserted at the beginning of the codex, part of the materials that Leofric used to reorganise the volume to meet his pastoral needs. Why did Leofric need a homily like Napier L?

Recent research into Leofric's homiliary has only started to uncover the significance of Exeter and bishop Leofric to the transmission and use of late tenth-century homiletics in the late eleventh century.⁶³ Exeter participated in a network of centres that like Worcester, Christ Church, Canterbury and Winchester copied and circulated an important amount of works composed by Wulfstan and Ælfric. Whether the production of Wulfstanian texts at Exeter reflected Leofric's pastoral ambitions and should therefore be read in a political perspective are issues that have not as yet been examined. A re-evaluation of Napier L in this perspective might therefore help to determine why Leofric wanted this particular homily copied and later inserted into CCCC 421.

A discussion about the controversial question of Napier L's authorship may cast light on the activities that entailed its production and yield crucial information on the function that the homily may have had for bishop Leofric. Napier L contains passages that can be paralleled *verbatim* from the *Institutes of Polity*. Those relevant to my argument can be briefly summarized in two passages about the duties of the

⁶³ Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072', and Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: the Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching'.

Christian king to protect the church and the faithful and one about the division of society into three orders, respectively:

Cristenum cyninge gebireð on cristene þeode þat he sy eal
swa hit riht isfolces frofer and rihtwis hyrde ofer cristene
heorde and him gebireð that he eallum mægne cristendom
rære and Godes cyrican æghwar georne fyrðrie and friðie;

Ælc riht cyne-stol stent on þrym stapelum the fullice ariht
stent; an is oratores and oðer is laboratories and þridde is
bellatores.⁶⁴

Although these passages show Wulfstan's authorship, it is still uncertain whether the text as it appears in CCCC 421 was composed by him or by an anonymous author. Bethurum has suggested that Napier L represents a collection of notes that Wulfstan assembled late in his career with the intention of tailoring them into a polished homily, but that he never did so due to lack of time.⁶⁵ However, the possibility that Napier L was composed by someone other than Wulfstan has never really been

⁶⁴ *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Thorpe, ed., p. 305 and p. 307. In Thorpe's translation: 'It is the duty of a Christian king, in a Christian nation, to be, as it is right, the people's comfort, and a righteous shepherd over a Christian flock. And it is his duty, with all his power, to upraise Christianity, and everywhere further and protect God's church'. The second passage: 'Every lawful throne, which stands perfectly erect, stands on three pillars: one is oratores, and the second is laboratores, and the third is bellatores'.

⁶⁵ *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, Bethurum, ed., p. 40. Jost in his careful study of the sources of Napier L attributed the text to the hand of an anonymous compiler, who assembled these materials after Wulfstan's death and Cnut's, on account of him using Cnut's law codes. K. Jost, *Wulfstanstudien* (Basle, 1950) and by the same author K. Jost, 'Einige Wulfstantexte und ihre Quellen', *Anglia* 56 (1932), 265-315. Bethurum is however convinced that Wulfstan is the compiler of Napier L. In her opinion in this text he gathered together a number of notes that he later intended to shape into a polished homily and that, for lack of time, he did not do so. Despite Bethurum's beliefs, there are several details that seem to point against a compilation by Wulfstan. These are according to Jost: the lack of originality shown in weaving the original Wulfstanian units; the presence of non-referenced extracts from Ælfric's Pastoral Letters (it is very unusual of Wulfstan to omit referencing the work of others); the use of Cnut's laws; several quotations by memory.

discarded.⁶⁶ Napier L draws extensively on a number of works by Wulfstan: primarily, but not only, his legislative materials, whose originality I do not question. What I want to investigate is, in fact, the possibility that an anonymous author assembled and reworked these sources in composite form deliberately imitating Wulfstan's style. In this respect, Wilcox has demonstrated that Napier L is linked to other Wulfstan or 'wulfstanized' homilies, for example most of Napier XXVII a homily about sins recurs in the central part of Napier L.⁶⁷ Wilcox has shown that the compiler of Napier L has drawn from Napier XXVII rather than the contrary implying that Napier XXVII was genuinely by Wulfstan and was not assembled by an anonymous author.⁶⁸ This seems to leave space for the possibility that Napier L might be put together by a compiler who obsessively 'wulfstanized' his composition by reworking Wulfstan's genuine homiletic writings. The presence in the text of adjectives that are not normally present in Wulfstan's vocabulary but are arranged in a characteristic Wulfstan style also supports the idea that the author might not be Wulfstan, but someone who extensively drew from his authoritative works and imitated his rhetoric.⁶⁹ For example, words such as 'geswincful, teonful, wrað,

⁶⁶ *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, Bethurum, ed., p. 40. In her article on the eschatology of Napier homily L, J. T. Lionarons, 'Napier Homily L: Wulfstan Eschatology at the Close of His Career', in *Wulfstan, Archbishop of York. The Proceedings of the Second Alcuin Conference*, ed. Matthew Townend, *Studies in the Early Middle Ages* (Turnhout, 2004), 413-428, has supported Bethurum's opinion about the homily's composition, acknowledging Jost's suggestions in a somewhat dismissive way. I quote from Lionarons, p. 426: 'To think otherwise (than Bethurum) is to leave ourselves back with Jost's painstaking compiler, laboriously interweaving a word from one text with a phrase from another, and perhaps two or three words from a third—an unlikely possibility at best'.

⁶⁷ *Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilies nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Napier, ed. at pp. 129/16-130 for XXVII and pp. 268/20-32.

⁶⁸ Wilcox, 'The Compilation of Old English Homilies in MSS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 419 and 421', p. 135.

⁶⁹ Lionarons, 'Napier Homily L: Wulfstan Eschatology at the Close of His Career', p. 425. A list of adjectives that are not usually employed by Wulfstan has been traced in Napier L. These as Lionarons

wiðerweard, swicful' are untraced in Wulfstan's diction; likewise the adjectives 'sorhful, ofstum' in the following combinations 'Peos woruld is sorhful' and 'Peos woruld is on ofstum' do not seem to have been typical of Wulfstan's idiolect.⁷⁰

In addition to spurious elements arranged in a typical wulfstanian style, it is noteworthy that the Wulfstan passages contained in Napier L can all be traced in manuscripts that came to be associated with Leofric. The final part of Napier XXVII, for instance, appears in fragmentary condition in Cleopatra B. xiii, fol. 58r/2-9. What remains of the text is copied together with Ælfric's translation of the 'Paternoster' on a singleton that was probably inserted into the manuscript after the first part of Napier XXVII was cropped.⁷¹ Because the handwriting, despite its hasty and careless aspect, is of the Exeter type, the homily may have been originally copied for Leofric and later discarded when his collection acquired other texts by the same author. Also, that Napier L contained the most of it may in part explain its diminished significance in Leofric's collection, especially after the acquisition of CCCC 421 and its companion CCCC 419 that contained a wider selection of Wulfstan's homiletic works.

Napier L also contains a list recording a number of sinners compiled by Wulfstan that, as Wilcox suggests, was in all probability taken from Napier LVII, a homily whose only copy exists in Lambeth 489, a volume which—as it has been said—was entirely produced at Exeter and shows an affiliation with the additions to CCCC 421:

He sceal morðwyrhtan hlafordswican and manswaran,
manslagan and mægslagan, cyrichatan and sacerdbanan,

suggests might not constitute a quotation from an unidentified source but rather the part of the vocabulary of the compiler who applied Wulfstan's rhyme and alliterative metre to his own words.

⁷⁰ Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*.

⁷¹ Wilcox, *Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in microfiche facsimile*, p. 27 article 10.

hadbrecan and æwbrecan, þeofas and þeodsceathan, ryperas
and reaferas,⁷²

this part is common to the two homilies, and is therefore present in CCCC 421 and in Lambeth 489. An expansion of this list is then only present in Napier LVII, in Lambeth 489:

unrihtæmeras, (...), wyccan and wælcyrrian and
unlybwyrhtan, unnrihtdeman þe demað æfre be þam sceatte
and þa wendan wrang to rihte and riht to wrange.⁷³

This homily contains an enlarged version of Wulfstan's list, but if it is compared with the other extant versions, Napier LVII is the only recension that offers the same start as Napier L.⁷⁴ Wilcox surmises that the list in Napier LVII was copied from a lost source rather than compiled anew in this homily. He bases this idea on the fact that part of the additional material missing in Napier L was used in Napier XLII, contained in CCCC 419, pp. 1-38. This would suggest that the author of Napier L may have either copied the list from the same source or from Napier LVII reporting only the initial part and excising the rest.⁷⁵

⁷² This part of the list is concurrently present in CCCC 421, Napier L and in Lambeth 489, Napier LVII.

⁷³ *Wulfstan. Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilies nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Napier, ed. at pp. 291-99 at p. 298, ll. 13-21. In my translation: 'He shall abandon vicious lords and perjurers, assassins and fratricides, church deserters and priests slayers, oath injurers and law-breakers, thieves and criminals, robbers and plunderers [...] fornicators, sorcerers and sorceresses, spell caster, unjust judges, who constantly sentence for money and then change right to wrong and wrong to right'.

⁷⁴ Wilcox, 'The Dissemination of Wulfstan's Homilies: the Wulfstan Tradition in Eleventh-Century Vernacular Preaching', p. 212 see also footnote 60.

⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 212. Wilcox surmises that the list in Napier LVII was copied from a lost source rather than compiled anew in this homily. He bases this idea on the fact that part of the additional material missing in Napier L was used in Napier XLII, contained in CCCC 419, pp. 1-38.

Another section of Napier L can be detected in a ‘wulfstanized’ homily, Napier XL, *In die Iudicii*, contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 2r-7v. The passage in question involves the eschatological ending of Napier L beginning towards the end of the homily. This passage shows similarities with Napier XL in a way that is not attested in any of the authoritative texts by Wulfstan. It draws on the conclusion of Napier XL as it appears in Cleopatra B. xiii (CCCC 201, pp. 1-178 and Hatton 113) that substantially differs from the version contained in CCCC 419. The correspondences between Napier XL and L, despite their wulfstanian character, are not paralleled in any other work by Wulfstan, but are used in a similar way in these two texts:⁷⁶

þeos worold is sorhful. 7 fram dæge to dæge a swa leng,
swa wyrse. Hwæt we magon geseon hu læne and hu lyðre
þis lif is. hu sarlic. 7 hu sorhful. 7 hu geswincful. 7 hu
teonful. hu tealt. 7 hu wrað. hu wiðerweard. 7 hu swicful;
Heo is þeos woruld on ofstum 7 on stormum. 7 on adlum.
7 ungewyderum. (...) forþan þeos woruld nære wyrðe þæt
man to hire lufe hæfde ealles to swyðe;⁷⁷

Uton gecnawan, hu læne and hu lyðre þis lif is on to
getruwianne, and hu oft hit wurð raðost forloren and
forlætan, þonne hit wære leofost gehealden. Ðeos woruld
is sorhful and fram dæge to dæge a swa leng swa wyrse,
forþam ðe heo [*woruld*] is on ofstum, and hit nealæcð

⁷⁶ Wulfstan. *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilies nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Napier, ed., and also Jost, *Wulfstanstudien*, p. 257.

⁷⁷ Napier L, CCCC 421, p. 219. My translation reads: ‘The world is sorrowful and it becomes worse day after day. We may see how transitory and cruel this life is, how bitter, sad and painful, how evil and precarious, how hostile and deceitful; the world is in haste, on storm, ruined and in miserable weather (...); because the world is not worthy of much love’.

þam ende, and þi heo wære wurðe, þæt his ænig man ne
 lufode ealles to swiðe.⁷⁸

It is difficult to establish a chronology between these two homilies; however what here should be emphasised is that they might share the same source, perhaps a Wulfstan homily that was lost.⁷⁹ The passages in Napier L that have been sourced in Leofric's manuscripts indicate that the compiler of the homily had access either to Leofric's homiletic collection prior to the acquisition of CCCC 421, or to the material from which it was assembled. The homily may have thus been produced in an early phase of the scribal activities at Exeter together with the texts contained in Cleopatra B. xiii and in Lambeth 489, and inserted into CCCC 421 only later. There is no doubt that the core of Napier L is taken from authentic Wulfstan sources, including his legislative and his eschatological writings, yet they may have been assembled into the form of homily by a later compiler, someone who drew on a group of texts that came to be particularly significant to Leofric's pastoral programme.⁸⁰ Because the passages traced in Napier L have strong links with texts that came to be identified with Exeter or that exist in a unique copy in manuscripts affiliated with Leofric's cathedral, it may well be that Napier L was created anew for

⁷⁸ Napier XL, Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 6v/7v. In my own translation: 'Let us realise how this life is transitory and how cruel it is so that it cannot be trusted, and how often it most swiftly becomes forlorn and abandoned, than it is held most dear. This world is sorrowful and it becomes even worse day by day, because it is in haste and its end is nearing, and it was so, such that it should not be loved too greatly by any man'.

⁷⁹ Lionarons suggests that the anonymous compiler of Napier XL and Wulfstan in composing Napier L 'were citing from memory a now-lost Wulfstan homily that contained parallel phrasing'. This, however, does not necessarily support the idea that Wulfstan was the compiler of Napier L as any other author could have quoted from a now-lost Wulfstan homily, as Napier XL seems to prove. Lionarons, 'Napier Homily L: Wulfstan Eschatology at the Close of His Career', p. 425.

⁸⁰ Plummer thought that the homily might be used at the coronation of Edward the Confessor in 1043 in C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel* (Oxford, 1899), p. 162-64 and 222.

Leofric by someone who deliberately attempted to reproduce Wulfstan's authority and style leaving little space for originality.⁸¹ Could this text represent Leofric's need for a homily with precise characteristics that may not have been readily available? The painstaking work that the supposed Exeter compiler of Napier L took in reproducing Wulfstan's rhetoric would suggest that Leofric required a homily written in an authoritative, highly powerful and possibly familiar style and a text where some of Wulfstan's ideas were assembled and harmonised according to Leofric's requirements.

An important detail indicates that the homily was explicitly designed for Leofric's preaching needs. The text as it appears in Leofric's manuscript is copied together with another Wulfstan homily, *Secundum Lucam*, edited in Bethurum's collection as no. iii.⁸² This text was copied after Napier L and together they cover the length of a single quire, the fifteenth: the homilies were somewhat crammed into the quire by a skilled scribe who was able to keep the visual clarity throughout by gradually augmenting the number of words per line of one or two towards the end of the text. Napier L and *Secundum Lucam* may have been delivered together on account of a missing rubric that is present in the version of the homily contained in Hatton 113 and a different first line.⁸³ The fact that Napier L ends with 'amen', the rhetorical close of a preaching performance, might indicate that the texts were

⁸¹ Bethurum notes that the text of Napier L is by no means original and based on this, she admits that lack of originality speaks against Wulfstan's authorship. In *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, Bethurum, ed., pp. 40-41.

⁸² Ibid. pp. 123-127. This text is also contained in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp. 72-74 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113, pp. 49v-52.

⁸³ Lionarons, 'Napier Homily L: Wulfstan Eschatology at the Close of His Career', p. 417. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* no. 331. Item 13 in Hatton 113 contains the homily in question but has a different first line; that is, 'Erunt signa in sole et luna et stellis, et reliqua. Ðis godspel segð. 7 swutelað'. This beginning does not appear in the version of the homily present in CCCC 421, pp. 221-24.

originally intended as two different units. The two homilies are separated through a blank line that may have originally been left for inserting a title that was never written or that was later erased implying that the texts were supposedly delivered together.⁸⁴ *Secundum Lucam* may indeed have provided a hortatory ending to the text of Napier L whose legalistic nature does not allow for the conventional homiletic terminology.⁸⁵ In addition to this, the selection of a homily on a passage from Luke's Gospel may have been linked to a tradition that was followed at Exeter that of reading lections from the Gospels in a homiletic context.

It has been previously mentioned that the Anglo-Saxon Gospels contained in CUL, Ii. 2. 11, a manuscript entirely compiled at Exeter, were rubricated in a way that suggests that homiletic texts in the English vernacular were used to preach and elucidate the deeper meaning of the Gospels. This usage of homilies—according to Lenker who studied the manuscript in detail—seems to have come into practice at Exeter in the time of Leofric and probably followed a Lotharingian custom that developed at the diocese of Liège, where Leofric may have come in contact with such a usage of the Gospels.⁸⁶ She has shown that the Old English Gospels were primarily employed in association with homiletic texts and that Exeter was unprecedented in England in carrying out this practice.⁸⁷ The insertion of liturgical rubrics into the vernacular recension of the Gospels, says Lenker, was not part of the

⁸⁴ Lionarons, 'Napier Homily L: Wulfstan Eschatology at the Close of His Career', p. 417.

⁸⁵ *The Homilies of Wulfstan*, Bethurum, ed., pp. 39-41. The eschatological section beginning towards the end of Napier L on p. 219/4 provides a link to *Secundum Lucam* also eschatological in tone.

⁸⁶ Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice' at pp. 173-175. A manuscript originating from Liège London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A. ii served as exemplar for the rubrics contained in CUL Ii. 2.11, Leofric's English Gospels. These rubrics originated in Exeter in Leofric's time following a Lotharingian custom.

⁸⁷ Lenker, *Die westsächsische Evangelienversion und die Perikopenordnungen im angelsächsischen England*, pp. 289-90.

original translation project; the text was later integrated and augmented in many ways for functional needs; for example, blank lines were inserted to indicate paragraphing and Latin headings added to allow for cross-referencing between Latin and Old English. In addition to being used in a liturgical context, perhaps during the mass, the vernacular Gospels may have been a valuable aid for composing and delivering homilies.⁸⁸ This assumption is supported by the fact that they contain various standardised expressions often found in homiletic texts. Some homiletic texts, for example, begin with a literal translation from the Vulgate into the vernacular: this framework—also widespread on the continent—allowed for explanation and paraphrasing during the reading of the homily. In this perspective, a reading from the Gospel of Luke may have followed Napier L and preceded *Secundum Lucam*. This text would have provided Napier L with a conclusion focussing on judgement day as the final expression of divine law, a topic that surely complemented well the legalistic part contained in the first half of Napier L.

The section containing Napier L and *Secundum Lucam* exemplifies the fluidity that developed in the eleventh century between Wulfstan's legal and eschatological writings. This is especially true with regard to two manuscripts that were produced at the beginning of the eleventh century, London, British Library, Cotton Nero A. i and CCCC 201, pp. 1-178.⁸⁹ In these volumes Wulfstan's programme for a well-ordered Christian society as illustrated in the *Institutes of Polity* mingle with his exhortations

⁸⁸ Lenker, 'The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England: Manuscript Evidence and Liturgical Practice'.

⁸⁹ A. Orchard, 'On Editing Wulfstan', in *Early Medieval English Texts and Interpretations: Studies Presented to Donald G. Scragg*, ed. E. Treharne and S. Rosser (Tempe, Arizona, 2002), 311-340, p. 317 Orchard notes that Corpus 201 contains Wulfstan's homiletic and legal writings mixed together.

to live according to God's laws presented in the form of eschatological homilies.⁹⁰ The combination of Wulfstan's laws with a *lectio* taken from Luke's Gospel was probably based on that concept.

A passage contained in Napier L may offer the key to understanding why texts of this kind may have reflected Leofric's preaching needs. Citing from the *Institutes of Polity* the author of Napier L outlines the three orders of society, 'oratores, bellatores and laboratores',⁹¹ as the pillars on which stands the throne of the kingdom and after enumerating them he adds that the three estates should act according to 'Godes lage' and to 'woroldlage':

Ælc cynestol stent on þrym stapelum, þe fullice ariht
stent: an is oratores, and oðer is laboratores, and þrydde is
bellatores. Oratores syndon gebedemen, þe gode sceolon
þeowian dæges and nihtes for þæne cynge and for ealne
þeodscipe þingian georne, laboratores syndon weorcmen
(...), and bellatores syndon wigmen the eard sculon
werian wiglice mid waepnon.⁹²

The homily is suffused with the repetition of the formula 'for Gode 7 for worolde', before God and the world, that occurs in association with the injunctions taken from the *Institutes of Polity*. The interdependence of divine and secular law stressed throughout Napier L seems also to be paralleled in the combination of Napier L and

⁹⁰ P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999 repr. 2000), p. 463.

⁹¹ Wulfstan. *Sammlung der ihm zugeschriebenen Homilies nebst Untersuchungen über ihre Echtheit*, Napier, ed., p. 267.

⁹² *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, Thorpe, ed., ii § IV, pp. 307-308 and Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, p. 467. My translation reads: 'Every throne sits on three upright pillars: one is oratores, the second is laboratores and the third is bellatores. Oratores are religious men, those who have to pray day and night devoutly for the king and all the nation, laboratores are those who work (...), and bellatores are those who fight and have to defend the earth bravely with weapons.'

Secundum Lucam. In this respect, the threefold division of society advocated in Napier L came to represent the ordered social substrate of a renewed Christian community, one where bishops were in charge of advising those in power about how the secular law should reflect God's law.⁹³ If in Wulfstan's time the tripartite division of clerics, labourers and warriors aimed at reactivating the structures of the society in view of the monastic reform,⁹⁴ in Leofric's time the theory of the orders reflected two different spheres, the secular and clerical, and was a rhetorical expression of the polemics between *regnum* and *sacerdotium*. The *topos* of the order of the estates had its continental parallel in the *Carmen ad Robertum regem*, a poem dedicated to King Robert by Adalbero, Lotharingian bishop of Laon (977-1030).⁹⁵ In this poem the bishop proposes a model of society based on two laws: the divine and the human.⁹⁶ The respect of these two laws can only be guaranteed, in Adalbero's views, by a society orderly divided into *oratores*, *bellatores* and *laboratores*, that is those who preach, those who fight and those who work. The rhetoric involving the theory of the orders seems to be associated with texts addressing the authority of kings and rulers as shown both in Napier L's opening, a formula calling upon the authority of the king, and in Adalbero's poem dedicated to a king. Perhaps, Leofric saw in the concepts underpinning the tripartite division of society two longstanding traditions merging together, that is an English one dating back to the times of King

⁹³ Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, pp. 459-462. In stressing this division Wulfstan aimed at 'reactivating' the social structures that had governed society before the disruptions caused by the Scandinavian invasions. Such codification of the orders of society revealed Wulfstan's anxieties about a growing 'middle class' that could not be classified as *bellatores* nor as *laboratores* as its adherents were those who carried out their military duties during the invasions but were not part of the military aristocracy.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *Adalberon de Laon: Poeme au roi Robert*, C. Carozzi, ed., (Paris, 1979), pp. xx.

⁹⁶ C. Carozzi, 'Les fondements de la tripartition sociale chez Adalberon de Laon', *Annales* 33 (1978), 683-702.

Alfred and a continental one that had its roots in the Carolingian social system.⁹⁷ The address as preserved in Napier L may have been compiled and first utilized by Leofric in an official event that involved the presence of the king. Leofric's enthronement ceremony that took place in 1050 in his re-founded episcopal seat at Exeter at the presence of King Edward the Confessor and the Queen seem to have provided an occasion in which homilies may have been preached.⁹⁸ On occasions like this, in which the king was present, Leofric would have needed to talk authoritatively about the respective powers of the royal and the episcopal power. Leofric may have needed and used such materials in the early 1050s when they probably were written, and when the situation of instability caused by the events of 1051 such as the expulsion of archbishop Robert, may have required him to reinforce his position in the English episcopate, especially in view of his sympathising with Leo IX's reforming policies. However, the text of the homily would not have been unsuitable for subsequent uses either, as the motifs that are present in this homily recur also in texts contained in its new manuscript context, that is CCCC 421. Napier L may indeed have retained its function and validity in 1068 when Leofric submitted to the authority of the new King William the Conqueror and his men after they besieged Exeter.⁹⁹

In preaching Napier L, Leofric cast his political ambitions in Wulfstan's authoritative words, which he used to assert and reiterate the central position of bishops in the eleventh-century English church and their duty of advising the lay aristocracy. Episcopal initiative became central to the pastoral programme of a line of eleventh-century popes that from Leo IX to Gregory VII aimed at reforming the

⁹⁷ *Adalberon de Laon: Poeme au roi Robert*, Carozzi, ed. at pp. cxxiv-cxxv. King Alfred introduced the tripartite division of society in his translation of Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*.

⁹⁸ Treharne, 'The Bishop's Book: Leofric's Homiliary and Eleventh-Century Exeter'.

⁹⁹ Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', p. 50-51.

Catholic church. In proclaiming the centrality of bishops in his works, Wulfstan had looked on continental models especially those of Carolingian and Ottonian emperors.¹⁰⁰ On the continent these models had been particularly perceived in northern France, Flanders and Lotharingia, regions that reared churchmen such as Pope Leo IX and his successors Stephen IX and Nicholas II who stressed the centrality of bishops and the primacy of the pope during their offices. These two reforming traditions seemingly merge in Napier L: Leofric on account of his Lotharingian education may have been inclined to apply Wulfstan's views on the role of bishops in the context of Leo IX's reforming ideas that he probably absorbed during his time in Lotharingia, the area where Leo had started his religious career in the early 1020s.¹⁰¹ In Wulfstan's words Leofric would have recognized some of the decrees that Leo IX voiced and formally presented at the council of Rheims in 1049, where he expressed his idea about every bishop's duty to reform his diocese in accordance to papal authority.¹⁰² The centrality of the bishop in carrying out reforms was not a new concept as Wulfstan's writings demonstrate, what is new in Leofric's times is that the bishops should act as the pope's heralds.¹⁰³ This certainly had a strong impact on the position of bishops in relation to that of the king and the laity: in preaching that a king should act according to God's law and to the law of men and imposing on society the division of those who rule, the warriors, and those who are ruled, the workers, Leofric certainly advised the lay aristocracy in worldly things and reminded the king of his duty to protect the churches and the crowds.

¹⁰⁰ C. Cubitt, 'Review article: The tenth-century Benedictine Reform in England', in *Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1997), 77-94.

¹⁰¹ *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds.; see his introduction on the career of Pope Leo IX.

¹⁰² Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*.

¹⁰³ I. S. Robinson, 'Periculosus Homo': Pope Gregory VII and Episcopal Authority', *Viator* 9 (1978), 103-131, p. 109.

In delivering Napier L, I think, Leofric acted in agreement with Pope Leo IX's decrees advocating obedience to the pope and to the king as the authorities of a balanced Christian society.¹⁰⁴ That Leofric held the authority of Pope Leo IX in great esteem may be deduced from the permission that he gave Leofric to remove the episcopal see of Devon and Cornwall from Crediton to Exeter, a change for which Leofric painstakingly sought both royal and papal approval.¹⁰⁵ To Leofric, Napier L exemplified in authoritative English form Leo IX's reforming decrees that he set as the basis of his pastoral programme in his re-founded episcopal see at Exeter.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid. From this Gregory VII deduced the idea of a papal monarchy with bishops as its officials that inevitably led to the fights between the pope and the German emperor Henry IV a few years later in 1076.

¹⁰⁵ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', pp. 79-83.

Chapter 6

Bishop Leofric and his connections with Lotharingia

Nothing, unfortunately, is known about Leofric's origins. Barlow has postulated that he may have been born into an Anglo-Saxon aristocratic family that had links with Cornwall.¹ This suggestion—with which other scholars have agreed—² would partially explain why John of Worcester may have referred to Leofric calling him 'Brytonicus', though his Anglo-Saxon name would mitigate against his being a Breton, a Welsh or a Cornishman.³ Despite the lack of evidence about his birth and early life, we, however, know with a higher degree of certainty that Leofric received his education on the continent, most probably in Lotharingia. In the twelfth century, William of Malmesbury reports in his account of the English bishops—*Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*—that he was reared and educated by the Lotharingians, 'apud Lotharingos altus et doctus'.⁴ The bishop's continental background wielded a remarkable influence on Leofric's decisions in restructuring his episcopal see. That

¹ Barlow, 'Leofric and his Times', p. 2

² Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', p. 83 and also Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 2.

³ *Florentii Wigorniensis Monachi: Chronicon ex Chronicis*, Thorpe, ed., p. 199.

⁴ *Willelmi Malmesbriensis. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum.*, Hamilton, ed., p. 201; more recently *William of Malmesbury: Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, the History of the English Bishops: Volume I*, Winterbottom and Thomson, eds.

in the aftermath of his election Leofric introduced in his diocese innovations in keeping with his Lotharingian education clearly appears from William's brief description of the bishop's pontificate. William reports that after expelling from Exeter the monks who had previously inhabited the monastery of St Peter, he established there his episcopal see and a community of canons, who lived under a secular rule, 'contra morem Anglorum ad formam Lotharingorum', against the English habit, as it was customary in Lotharingia.⁵ The idea that Lotharingian habits inspired Leofric's administration of his diocese was initially proposed by scholars such as Barlow and Rose-Troup.⁶ They based their assumption on Leofric's adoption of the secular Rule of Chrodegang, a system rather widespread on the continent and that he imposed on his community of canons. The connections that may have existed between Leofric's continental and more specifically Lotharingian training and his pastoral agenda have then been brought up in fuller studies by Drage, in her doctoral work, and more recently by Hill and Treharne, without, however, having been fully investigated. A general lack of factual/recorded evidence may indeed have been responsible for this seemingly underestimated aspect of Leofric's career. The scarcity of information about the years that he spent on the continent only allows us to make assumptions about the kind of education that he may have received and on the religious and political ideologies that may have informed the policies underpinning the administration of his diocese and the activities in which he engaged as a bishop.

The following chapter will attempt to delineate the context in which Leofric may have received his education; that is, the early eleventh-century, lower-Lotharingian diocese of Liège, where he allegedly spent the years preceding his

⁵ *Willelmi Malmesbriensis. De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum.*, Hamilton, ed.

⁶ Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* and more specifically by Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter'.

arrival in England.⁷ Through a study of the religious and political situation of that area of the continent I shall try and draw parallels between the reforming ideologies that originated from the area of the German Empire covering the duchies of lower and upper Lotharingia and the administrative and religious policies characterised in Leofric's episcopacy.⁸ This investigation aims to place Leofric's pontificate in its proper historical context and to reassess its importance within it.

It has been reiterated by scholars, particularly by Barlow and Drage, that Leofric did not enjoy much of the popularity that glorified some of his colleagues.⁹ This has often been attributed to the fact that a *vita* celebrating his deeds was never compiled for Leofric as it was for his peer, Wulfstan II of Worcester.¹⁰ Much as this may be due to the lack of a tradition in secular houses of keeping record of the achievements of their bishops, Barlow has pointed out that Leofric's pontificate was not particularly significant in the eleventh-century church.¹¹ This seems to be in contrast with what has been uncovered by more recent scholarship, most notably by

⁷ Leofric's affiliations to the city of Liège have been suggested on the basis of codicological evidence. The bishop's collectar now contained in London, British Library, Harley 2961 is designed on that of Stephen, bishop of Liège, an edition of which is published in *The Leofric Collectar*, E. S. Dewick and W. H. Frere, eds., HBS (London, 1914 and 1921). In addition to this, two drawings showing a style typically in use in the Liège area were inserted into one of the gospel books that Leofric donated to his cathedral and whose origins were traced in Landevennec, Brittany, that is Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2. 16. Schilling, 'Two Unknown Flemish Miniatures of the Eleventh Century'.

⁸ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*. In his comprehensive work on the relationships between Liège and the Imperial church, Kupper mentions several times the dukes of lower and upper Lotharingia (Appendix II).

⁹ Barlow, 'Leofric and his Times', at p. 1 and Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 287.

¹⁰ William of Malmesbury. *Saints' lives. Lives of Ss. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, Winterbottom and Thomson, eds.

¹¹ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*, p. 84. What Barlow says with regard to Leofric's pontificate is worth quoting: 'He exemplifies the foreign prelate at his best: detached from, but not insensitive to, local tradition; an able administrator and a progressive force. Yet there is no evidence that he was much loved or even in the widest sense important'.

Conner, Hill and Treharne, whose works have cast new light on the bishop's achievements especially with regard to the activities related to the production and collection of books, in which he vigorously engaged in the twenty years of his episcopacy.¹² This chapter's intention is to provide an insight into the ideologies that underpinned Leofric's energetic action in building up the status of his re-founded cathedral. The activities that most notably characterise Leofric's pontificate and that were encomiastically recognised by the compiler of his donation list as the achievements of a dedicated bishop were quite possibly carried out with a plan and a purpose in mind; that is, to restore the state of the diocese of Devon and Cornwall from a perspective both institutional and intellectual, giving it at the same time prestige and wealth. On Leofric's determination in pursuing this objective, it is perhaps worth quoting Hill's opinion on the activities around the reconstruction of the see. She says that the bishop's endeavours in building up the fortunes of his cathedral are:

expressions of a single impulse, which we can describe as being 'political'. Leofric had an agenda; he saw an opportunity and seized it in the process engineering the pope's support in a letter which is itself not only politically charged, but also 'political' in that it puts particular spin on the realities of the day.¹³

My aim in this concluding chapter is to contextualise the 'politically charged' activities of Leofric's pontificate, such as the relocation of his see, the adoption of a secular rule for his chapter and the production and collection of books in a broader religious and political perspective. This will eventually help me to reassess the

¹² Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', and Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

¹³ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', p. 78.

significance of Leofric's achievements also in relation to the continental religious scene, one where Lotharingian prelates introduced changes that would become crucial to the reforming pontificate of Gregory VII. This will eventually help to redress Leofric's pontificate in the frame of the eleventh-century English church and reconsider questions that have so far remained unanswered, such as: what did being educated in Lotharingia mean? Why were Lotharingian clerics so popular in the west of the country?

6.1 Leofric and his continental background: the city of Liège

It is generally accepted by scholars that Leofric may have been a canon in service at the cathedral of Liège before leaving Lotharingia.¹⁴ Although no record exists of Leofric having ever attended any of the schools of Liège, evidence may be found in his book collection corroborating the suggestion that connections existed between Leofric and that city. One element indicating that Leofric was educated in the Liège intellectual milieu may be sought in the bishop's choice of a collectar designed on the pattern of that of Stephen of Liège, bishop of that city 902-920, and produced by Exeter scribes. Drage suggests that the exemplar, on which Leofric's manuscript may have been based, derived from a continental copy of the collectar of Stephen of Liège.¹⁵ Leofric may therefore have brought back from Liège a copy that eventually became lost, or have borrowed one after he was appointed bishop and subsequently

¹⁴ Some scholars believe this to be a likely possibility based on strong documental evidence, for example Drage and Conner, others, like Ortenberg and Renardy unquestionably accepted this assumption as to be true, see Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* at pp. 63-4 and Renardy, 'Les écoles ligeoises du ix^e au xii^e siècle: grandes lignes de leur evolution', p. 313.

¹⁵ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 237-8.

addressed the lack of such a book in his diocese. Leofric may have wanted at Exeter a collectar modelled upon a liturgical system to which he was accustomed and therefore he selected one that he knew quite well and that may have been in use at the institution where he received his training: that is Liège.

Similarly, another manuscript in Leofric's book collection carries interesting information about the bishop's alleged education at Liège. This is a Latin gospel book, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16 that contained one of the two copies of his inventory list.¹⁶ This manuscript has a continental origin. It was produced at the Benedictine monastery of Landevennec in Brittany and was possibly brought to England by Leofric as it does not show Anglo-Saxon features prior to those added at Exeter.¹⁷ The book was almost certainly a valuable volume as it has been identified in Leofric's list with one of the two 'mycele Cristesbec gebonede', 'great and adorned gospel books'. Part of the ornament of the volume is two additional miniatures portraying the evangelists, SS Mark and John, produced at Liège in the first half of the eleventh century, possibly around 1040.¹⁸ These miniatures appear on inserted leaves that were added to the manuscript at a later stage possibly at Leofric's request, after he acquired the gospel book from Montreuil-sur-Mer in northern France.¹⁹ Leofric also may have donated the volume to his cathedral quite early in his episcopacy since the manuscript bears the record of a

¹⁶ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16 (Landevennec, s. x/additions s. x²).

¹⁷ Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, no. 291 and E. W. Nicholson, *Early Bodleian Music* III (London, 1913), pp. liv-lv. The fact that Leofric met the exile Edward the Confessor on the continent suggests that he was in touch with members of the lay and very possibly also religious nobility. One might, provisionally, assume that Leofric obtained this book through one of them.

¹⁸ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 380-5. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* no. 291. Ker asserts that the miniatures show a style that was common at Liège in c. 1040.

¹⁹ Schilling, 'Two Unknown Flemish Miniatures of the Eleventh Century', p. 317.

version of his donation inscription that reports that Leofric ‘gave’ the volume to his successors at a time that predates that in which the inscription was written down: the perfect tense of the Latin verb ‘dare’—that is ‘dedit’—indicates that the book was donated in the past.²⁰ Assuming as correct Drage’s assumption that the book was inscribed in the early 1050s, we may infer that the volume was already in Leofric’s hands before the bishop’s arrival at Exeter. Leofric therefore may have donated this book with the miniatures from Liège very early in his episcopacy, possibly even before he moved to Exeter, and the donation inscription added only later by a scribe working in his scriptorium.²¹ Although it is not possible to say with absolute certainty that Leofric was educated at the school of Liège, the above-mentioned details seem to be more than a coincidence as only someone who had connections with that city or area would have possessed such materials.

There are other elements that similarly suggest that Leofric was particularly devoted to that city. The letter in which Leofric asks Pope Leo IX to support the removal of the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter bears further evidence supporting Leofric’s affiliation with the city of Liège. The letter reports that Leofric

²⁰ Drage, ‘Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter’, p. 32. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auctarium D. 2.16, fol. 6v. ‘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’. My translation: ‘Leofric, bishop of the Church of St Peter the Apostle in Exeter gave this book for the use of his successors. Should anyone remove it, may he be cursed for ever’. The perfect tense of the Latin verb ‘dare’ suggests that the actual donation occurred at a time preceding that in which the inscription was written down. Leofric may have wanted his books inscribed after arriving at Exeter in 1050, when he started administering his re-founded cathedral. The donation of the book, however, happened in the past possibly when Leofric was still at Crediton.

²¹ According to Drage the donation formula was inscribed by scribe 2, whom she has identified as one of Leofric’s closest collaborators as he also wrote in their entirety texts urgently needed at Exeter like a copy of the Rule of Chrodegang and Theodulf’s Capitularies. Ibid. at pp. 150–4.

did not personally go to Rome to petition the pope.²² Instead he sent a legate, Landbert, whom, as we learn from the letter, was his personal priest, 'presbitero suo'.²³ His name suggests that he was of continental origin, possibly from the region of Liège, as St Landbert was most worshipped in that area, being the patron saint of that city. Leofric must have considered Landbert a valuable collaborator and he must have trusted his diplomatic abilities when he sent him to petition the pope on so delicate a matter as the removal of the episcopal see. The compiler of the narrative passage recording this event uses the words '*idoneo legato*' in introducing Landbert, that is a legate whom the bishop considered suitable to manage a situation of that kind. Leofric's confidence in his chaplain suggests that they had possibly been working together for a long time and that Landbert may have followed Leofric when he went to England in 1042.²⁴

That Leofric may have favoured the cult of Landbert on account of the years that he allegedly spent in Liège may also be inferred from a singular entry in the calendar attached to his Missal: the obit of King Cnut is entered against 11 November under the formula 'obitus Landberti piissimi regis', 'obituary of the most pious King Landbert'.²⁵ Although the cult of St Landbert was fairly common in eleventh-century England, as his name occurs in a number of late Anglo-Saxon

²² *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 524-33.

²³ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter* an edition of the letter may be found in the Appendix IV, pp. 215-225.

²⁴ In the version of the letter appearing in the Leofric Missal (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, 3r) the words specifying that Landbert was Leofric's personal priest, 'presbitero suo' are added on the right margin by the same scribe who wrote the rest of the letter, perhaps to make it clear that Landbert was a close collaborator of Leofric's.

²⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 44r.

calendars,²⁶ the obit of King Cnut was entered in the Leofric Missal with the king's baptismal name Landbert by a scribe who certainly worked at the Exeter scriptorium and quite possibly at bishop Leofric's request.²⁷ This implies that Cnut was remembered in Leofric's religious milieu with his Christian name as he probably was on the continent as attested by Adam of Bremen.²⁸ As far as we know, that contained in the Leofric Missal is the only late Anglo-Saxon calendar that reports Cnut's obit under this name, perhaps suggesting that in the name Landbert Leofric envisaged both a king that had been particularly benevolent to Lotharingian priests and a saint, mostly venerated in Liège, to whom he was particularly devout.²⁹ If therefore we

²⁶ Wormald, *English Kalendars before A. D. 1100*. The feast of St Lambert is present in the Glastonbury calendar added to the Leofric Missal, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fols. 38v-44v, in a late ninth-century hand.

²⁷ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', scribe 3, as identified by Drage, might be responsible for this entry in the calendar. Drage describes this scribe's stint as 'an English hand of the mid-eleventh century'; his Latin g has a distinctive feature: it shows an open bowl ending with a sharp right stroke in the shape of a forty-five degree angle. This feature is regularly present in the portion of London, British Library, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii comprising fols. 38-55 that has been associated with the work of this scribe. Scribe 3 may have been one of Leofric's closer collaborators as he writes a significant portion of the homiliary contained in Cleopatra B. xiii, a manuscript that, as M. Godden has suggested, may have been written specifically for the use of a bishop; see Godden, *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: text. The Second Series*, p. xlii. The idea of Cleopatra B. xiii being an episcopal manuscript has been more fully investigated and developed in Treharne, 'Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072'.

²⁸ Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, 44r. Printed in *The Leofric Missal as used in the Cathedral of Exeter*, Warren, ed., p. li; Hare, 'Cnut and Lotharingia: two notes', pp. 263-6. Hare gives a detailed account of Cnut's connections with Lotharingia and Germany. He also investigates the origins of his baptismal name. On the association between King Cnut and the entry in the Leofric Missal see also J. Gerchow, 'Prayers for King Cnut: the Liturgical Commemoration of a Conqueror', in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. C. Hicks (Stamford, 1992), 219-239.

²⁹ Nicholson, *Early Bodleian Manuscripts* at p. iv. Examining one of the manuscripts in Leofric's book collection, Nicholson notes that in Caroline Minuscule hands such 'formations as the tops of tall letters with a hair-line tag are rare till the late tenth century, but are nevertheless found in the diocese of Liège, about 908-920'. This hint by Nicholson is quite interesting if associated with fol. 155 in the Leofric Missal, a section that Drage has attributed to Leofric himself and that shows the same feature.

accept as possible the fact that Leofric may have been educated in the Liège intellectual environments, an investigation into the religious and political ideologies that circulated in that area in the early eleventh century is deemed necessary, in order to contextualise Leofric's pastoral programme in its proper cultural and ecclesiological contexts.

The city of Liège had become in the eleventh century a leading centre with regard to standards of religious and intellectual life and it certainly played a significant part in forming the ecclesiastics who supported and promoted a religious programme of moral and political reforms that reached its peak during the pontificate of Gregory VII (1073-1085).³⁰ In the mid-eleventh century, the schools of Liège were exceptional intellectual centres. The number of intellectuals that were educated there in the middle of the eleventh century and that disseminated from there throughout western Europe is remarkable. Renardy drew a list of scholars from Liège which may give us some approximate idea of how extensively Liège-educated men occupied high-ranking positions in the western European religious scenery in about Leofric's time.³¹ Most notably: Adalbold, bishop of Utrecht (1010-1027); Gunther, bishop of Salzburg (1024-1027); Pope Stephen IX (1057-1058), a former canon of Liège; Adelman, bishop of Brescia (1055-1057); Maurilius, archbishop of Rouen

Much as this feature occurs in manuscripts compiled in England and most notably at Worcester in c. 1050, the presence of such a palaeographical detail in a continental hand that has been identified with Leofric's may indicate that he developed his writing skills on the continent and in the place where that feature is most common and that seems to be Liège.

³⁰ Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)* in §4 in chapter 2 and also the following volume Fliche, *La réforme gregorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1057-1123)* in chapter 1. These authoritative books give a comprehensive account of the function that Gregory's predecessors assumed in circulating and putting in practice some of the ideas that would become the tenets of the Gregorian reform at the end of the eleventh century. For a more detailed account of the action of eleventh-century reforming popes see Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century*.

³¹ Renardy, 'Les écoles ligeoises du ix^e au xii^e siècle: grandes lignes de leur evolution', p. 313.

(1055-1067).³² Among these scholars was also a personality that would have wielded a powerful influence on Leofric's education, that is Wazo. He became bishop of Liège (1042–48) after he was noticed and selected by Notker from among his pupils and after serving as episcopal chaplain and schoolmaster at St Lambert as well as director of the cathedral school.³³ One of Wazo's most notable achievements of his life prior to his appointment as bishop of St Lambert was the development of a school renowned for its excellence in teaching the liberal arts that was also attended by many foreign students.³⁴ Wazo's intellectual activities succeeded what Notker had begun to establish during his pontificate, that is an 'episcopal school', whose final aim was to teach future prelates.³⁵ This intellectually energetic environment may have been a fertile ground for the growth and dissemination of the political and religious ideologies supported by eleventh-century reformers, who received their education in lower Lotharingia, especially in the Liège intellectual milieu. Wazo, as well as some of his successors and colleagues, was among the most strenuous supporters of the reforming ideas of Burchard, bishop of Worms (1000-1025), which can here be summarised by three major principles: balance between the powers wielded by the religious and the temporal authorities; protection of the episcopal jurisdiction; a moderate lifestyle.³⁶ The tenets of Wazo's political programme were

³² Ibid. It is also worthy of mention that Renardy includes Leofric of Exeter in his list of Liège-educated scholars, who advanced to a prestigious position in the church in the second and third quarters of the eleventh century. This point is also made in Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 376. Kupper notes that Notker worked hard towards the construction of a school for the education of the bishops, who would subsequently take up positions in the dioceses of the Ottonian empire.

³³ Renardy, 'Les écoles ligeoises du ix^e au xii^e siècle: grandes lignes de leur evolution', pp. 312-313.

³⁴ Ibid. p. 314.

³⁵ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 376.

³⁶ Ibid. p. 383. At p. 258, Kupper reports that the major work by Burchard of Worms, that is the *Decretorum Libri*, reflects and summarises the Carolingian and the Lotharingian traditions with regard

fostered by his pupils and peers not only in the cathedral chapter of the city of Liège as well as in the monasteries scattered throughout the diocese,³⁷ but also as far as the papal court in Rome through the pontificate of Leo IX's successor, Stephen IX, who had also been a canon and subsequently archdeacon at the cathedral of Liège.

The reforming activities that characterise the religious life in the diocese of Liège at the beginning of the eleventh century are not a phenomenon limited to Liège. Religious institutions are reformed more and more frequently as we approach the first half of the century also in the rest of the Lotharingian region. In the aftermath of his election in 1027, Bruno bishop of Toul, for example, reformed houses in his diocese, where he introduced the monastic Rule of St Benedict; before him in 1005 Richard, bishop of St Vannes had engaged in renewing the spiritual life of houses situated in the diocese of Cambrai, for example, at St Vaast of Arras.³⁸ The founding principles of the reforms that many of the Lotharingian religious institutions underwent in the mid eleventh century were not all that new. They had their origins in the tenth-century monastic reform, in particular in the movement that originated in the episcopal cities of higher Lotharingia, most notably Trèves, Metz, Verdun and Toul.³⁹ Many houses situated in this area of the German empire were reformed in the late tenth century by bishops, whose religious programme focused on the reinvigoration of regular life and observance of a strict praying routine as indicated in monastic rules, especially that of St Benedict. These ideas supported the

to the episcopal policies in the German empire. He also underlines that among Burchard's collaborators in compiling this work were Olbert, a monk from Lobbes and a friend of Wazo's. The *Decretorum Libri* were well known in the diocese of Liège.

³⁷ Ibid. p. 380. Kupper underlines that much as it was central to the whole diocese the cathedral chapter was not the only intellectual centre. The abbey and monasteries of the diocese also offered a high level of education, among which Lobbes is a notable example.

³⁸ *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds., p. xvii and on Richard of St Vannes cf. Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)*, p. 334-5.

³⁹ Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)*, p. 333-4.

reforming work of a few dedicated bishops, who, in the late tenth century, promoted the monastic ideal of life: Adalbero, bishop of Metz (929-962), for example, reformed churches and houses according to these principles in his see as well as in the diocese of Liège at St Trond and in the bishopric of Toul. He also favoured the appointment of Jean as the abbot of Gorze in 933, who also had a significant part in creating the model of monastic renewal for most of the ecclesiastical institutions on the continent as well as in Anglo-Saxon England.⁴⁰ The invigoration of coenobitic life and the strict observance of a prayer routine—crucial characteristics of the late tenth-century Lotharingian movement—saw indeed a revival in the second and third quarter of the eleventh century, in the adoption of both the monastic Rule of St Benedict and the secular Rule of Chrodegang. At this time, Lotharingian bishops believed regular life, be it monastic or secular—*monastice* or *regulariter/canonice*—to be essential to the attainment of their final objective, that is the formation of a religious *elite*, whose moral conduct was faultless. This reform, which put emphasis on the clergy's duty of maintaining faultless moral behaviour, was supported and encouraged by Lotharingian-educated popes like Leo IX and his successors Pope Stephen IX and Nicholas II.⁴¹ And that 'regulae' should be followed in religious houses was indeed one of the key points in Leo IX's pastoral agenda and one that he concretely put into practice since the early years of his pontificate as the former bishop of Toul (1027-1049), by encouraging the adoption of monastic rules in many of the institutions in his diocese.⁴²

As a contemporary of Pope Leo IX, Wazo was one of those clergymen who had probably been exposed to a religious education that had as its aim the reform of

⁴⁰ Ibid. p. 334.

⁴¹ A. Fliche, *La réforme gregorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1057-1123)*. Ibid. Vol. 8, p. 15-16.

⁴² *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds., pp. xvi-xviii.

the clergy's moral conduct. That the pope should intervene in such matters as the repairing of what was thought to be the moral laxity of the clergy became one of the challenges of Leo IX's pontifical programme.⁴³ Leo has indeed been praised posthumously for his reforming activities in this direction and more specifically for his action against simony and nicolaism.⁴⁴ That these ideas may have been supported by ecclesiastics who held positions in the diocese of Liège can be inferred from the fact that there seem to have been contacts between Leo IX and Liège-educated intellectuals. Some of these people the pope held in high esteem and summoned to the papal court: for example, his chancellor and collaborator, the future pope and Liège-educated Stephen IX.⁴⁵ Leo IX also approved and praised Wazo's pontificate on the bishop's death.⁴⁶ Were the ideas that kindled the eleventh-century Lotharingian revival of the late tenth-century reform known to Leofric? Is it possible to trace them in the choices that informed the administration of his diocese and the organization of his 'familia'? An affirmative answer to these questions would indeed cast new light on the importance that Leofric wielded in the eleventh-century English episcopate and would also place its episcopacy and the achievements that he attained in a broader reforming context.

⁴³ Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)*, p. 99-101.

⁴⁴ Ibid. and also *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds., p. xviii where he report that the author of Leo's *vita* remembers him as a reformer especially in his struggle against simony. The effects of his campaigning appear in the Easter council of 1049 when he repeatedly promulgates institutes against a lax moral behaviour.

⁴⁵ Fliche, *La réforme gregorienne et la reconquête chrétienne (1057-1123)*, p. 14.

⁴⁶ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, p. 293. Kupper reports that Leo IX praised Wazo's love of justice and religion as well as his moderation.

6.2 Leofric and Wazo's programme of reforms

1042 is the year that probably saw Leofric leaving the continent and following Edward the Confessor to England, as well as the year that saw Wazo's succession to Notker in the episcopal see of Liège.⁴⁷ Prior to his promotion, Wazo had been master at the cathedral school of Liège, and therefore Leofric may have become familiar with his ideas while he was supposedly a canon there.⁴⁸ We know about Wazo's religious programme indirectly through the chronicles of Anselm, canon of St Landbert, whose writings reflect the ideas that must have circulated in the school of Liège during Wazo's direction and later during his episcopacy.⁴⁹ As an intellectual and a schoolmaster, Wazo (re-)introduced into the curriculum of studies Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian texts.⁵⁰ In Isidore's works, emphasis is put on the key role of the bishop in cathedral cities and on the importance of education, a point that he stressed encouraging the study of the liberal arts. Isidore's texts seem to have been popular among eleventh-century religious men and were a rather conventional curricular text in early eleventh-century schools.⁵¹ Wazo's programme was based on the centrality of the bishop's role in religious matters and aimed to limit the intrusions of the lay authorities into the ecclesiastical orders, an objective that was painstakingly pursued by a line of popes and ecclesiastics, who had been affiliated to

⁴⁷ Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, p. 58.

⁴⁸ Renardy, 'Les écoles ligeoises du ix^e au xii^e siècle: grandes lignes de leur evolution', p. 312.

Renardy reports that Wazo was appointed as episcopal chaplain and at the same time he was schoolmaster of St Lambert.

⁴⁹ Anselme, 'Gesta episcoporum Tungrensium, Traiectensium et Leodiensium', in *MGH. SS.*, ed. R. Koepke (Hannover, 1826-1903).

⁵⁰ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, pp. 384-87.

⁵¹ Ibid. pp. 384-5. See also Gameson, 'The Origin of the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry', pp. 142-61 where he argues that such books were quite conventional for an eleventh-century institution. Leofric also owned Isidorian and pseudo-Isidorian texts: *De natura rerum*, *De fide catholica contra Iudaeos*, *Etymologiae* and pseudo-Isidore's *Quaestiones de veteri et novo testamento*.

the major Lotharingian centres, most importantly Toul and Liège.⁵² Lotharingian clerics, it is worth repeating, particularly those who had received their training in the intellectual environment of Liège, had indeed been valuable assets in disseminating these reforming ideas at the papal court in Rome. Lotharingian-educated popes were indeed relatively numerous in the approximately thirty years that spanned the time between Leo IX and Gregory VII.⁵³ The high concentration of Lotharingian clergymen at the papal court was seemingly a consequence of Pope Leo IX giving preference to those religious men, who had been educated in reforming circles, such as the Lotharingian religious institutions were in the second quarter of the eleventh century.⁵⁴ Leo was familiar with the Lotharingian intellectual environments: despite his Alsacian origins, his family sent him to the cathedral school of Toul when he was very young, which they preferred to that of Strasbourg on account of its renown.⁵⁵ Beside Liège, other Lotharingian schools were recognised for the high quality of their intellectual life and for their excellence in teaching the liberal arts: Toul is certainly a good example.⁵⁶ It is therefore of some consequence to think that Leofric, having received his training in such an intellectual milieu as one of the Lotharingian cathedral schools, if not in Liège itself, was inclined to administer his diocese according to the reforming principles that he had absorbed on the continent as part of his religious education.

Considering Wazo's belief that a bishop should be faithful to the king with regard to secular matters, 'de secularibus', and to the pope concerning the spiritual

⁵² Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles* pp. 384-6.

⁵³ Watterich, *Pontificum Romanorum vitae*, pp. 188-202 and 206-219. Pope Stephen IX and his successor Nicholas II had both been canons at Liège before advancing onto the papal seat.

⁵⁴ Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, p. 48.

⁵⁵ *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds., p. xii. Parisse stresses the high quality of intellectual life that characterised the schools of Toul.

⁵⁶ Renardy, 'Les écoles ligeoises du ix^e au xii^e siècle: grandes lignes de leur evolution'.

domain, 'ecclesiasticus ordo', Leofric's request to Leo IX to approve and support the removal of his episcopal seat indicates that he acted in agreement with Wazo's ideas when seeking authorization to move his episcopal see from a village to a city.⁵⁷ The narrative recording Leofric's intention to relocate his diocesan seat is contained in his missal on fols. 2r-3v. Written in an Exeter hand—most probably that of scribe 10—the passage may have been compiled posthumously or just upon the bishop's death: the report is part of a series of encomiastic narratives that celebrate the achievements of the bishop and that were inserted at the beginning of the Leofric Missal during or soon after his pontificate.⁵⁸

Cernens uero utramque provinciam diocesis sue, id est Deuenoniam et Cornubiam, piratarum barbarica infestatione sepius deuastari, cepit diuina –ut credimus– inspiratione diligenter meditari qualiter episcopalem cathedram Cridioniensis loci ad urbem Exonicam transferre posset. Et quia sagaci animo prospexit hoc absque romane ecclesie auctoritate fieri non posse, misso illuc idoneo legato—id est Landberto presbitero suo—ad sanctissimum papam Leonem, humiliter postulauit quatinus directis paternitatis sue literis regem Eduuardum rogaret, ut de Credioniensi uilla ad urbem Exoniensem episcopalem sedem trasmigrare concederet, ubi, ab hostilitati incursu liber, tutius ecclesiastica official disponere posset.⁵⁹

⁵⁷ Kupper, *Liège et l'Eglise Impériale XIe-XIIe siècles*, pp. 385-387.

⁵⁸ Most recently Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, pp. 215-225. Drage also questions the reasons entailing Leofric's transfer of his episcopal see in his unpublished thesis; see Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 10 and ff.

⁵⁹ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 223. My translation reads: 'Seeing that both provinces of his diocese, that is Devon and Cornwall, had been often devastated by pirates with barbarous plundering, he, divinely inspired as we believe, started to seriously consider the possibility to move his episcopal seat from Crediton to the city of Exeter. And because he shrewdly foresaw that that could not be possible without the authorisation of the Roman Church, he sent a legate, that is his priest Landbert, to the holy Pope Leo and through his agency he humbly bid that the pope asked King Edward in a letter

The Leofric Missal records that Leofric sent his priest Landbert to Rome to ask Pope Leo IX for a letter requesting that Edward permit the episcopal see of a 'villa' such as Crediton to be relocated to 'urbem exoniensem', the city of Exeter.⁶⁰ Why did Leofric seek papal action and approval to move the seat to Exeter? Although one would think that papal consent was necessary in such matters as popes were not generally prone to allow bishops to move their episcopal seats, the situation in Leofric's case is somewhat more complex than just asking the pope permission to relocate to Exeter. In the passage reporting the letter that Leofric's sent to the pope, it emerges that the bishop asked him to *negotiate* with the king on the removal of diocesan seats from one place to another. Similarly, in ninth-century England, the king endorsed the transfer of a monastery from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street for security reasons and on that occasion the pope was not informed: on these grounds Drage surmises that papal consent was not vital for Leofric's plans to be carried out.⁶¹ Moreover, considering the time that it must have taken a legate to journey to Rome and back to Exeter with a response by the pope, it is perhaps clear that Leofric must have carefully planned his moves well in advance, possibly since the early years at Crediton, when he supposedly assessed the state of his diocese. Why did Leofric take so much pain in obtaining the support of Pope Leo IX, if it was not absolutely necessary?

(written by him) that he permit the transfer of the episcopal see from the small village of Crediton to the urban centre of Exeter, where he [Leofric], finally relieved from hostile incursions, may administer his diocese safely'.

⁶⁰ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 526-30; and more recently Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting'.

⁶¹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 13 see footnote 1.

Two details in the letter that Leofric sent to the pope and in Leo IX's reply to Edward are worth mentioning.⁶² Leofric's request to the pope seems to be induced by the unsafe nature of Crediton, a small town exposed to attacks by pirates: security-related issues are mentioned twice in the passage that tells about Leofric's decision to remove his diocesan seat: pirates devastations are listed first—'piratarum barbarica infestatione sepius devastari'—and are later brought up again as 'hostilitatis incursu', hostile incursion, in the conclusion of Leofric's letter. The safety of the diocese is seemingly the main motivation of Leofric's request to transfer his see from Crediton, and nevertheless a surprising one, especially in view of the fact that foreign incursions had not happened in Cornwall since the early years of the eleventh century, as both Crediton and Exeter had been sacked in 1003.⁶³ It is therefore plausible that Leofric knew that the security issue would be a compelling motivation, though not a very realistic one, in support of such a move as the transfer of a diocesan seat, hence the emphasis in the letter directed to the pope.⁶⁴ In Leo IX's letter demanding King Edward to allow the relocation of Crediton's see there is, however, no mention of the security motivations that seemed to be so crucial to be

⁶² Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, fol. 3v. A copy of the letter of Pope Leo IX is also contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 718 (Christ Church, Canterbury s. x^{ex}), a manuscript that may have been already at Exeter when Leofric arrived. The core texts contained in this volume are a penitential ascribed to Egbert bishop of York, the first Capitulary of Gerbald of Liège, and excerpts on councils among which several are on the position of the pope and on appeals to him. The volume may have originated at Christ Church, Canterbury and eventually come to Exeter with another codex, Exeter, Cathedral Library 3507, Rabanus Maurus's *De Computo*. See Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100*.

⁶³ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting' at p. 79 and footnote 6. A fuller account on the removal of the monastery from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street may be found in Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 13 cf. footnote 1.

⁶⁴ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 10-15. In reporting this example Drage surmises that Leofric's request to the pope may have not been essential to the removal of the episcopal seat.

stressed twice in Leofric's request. On the contrary, Leo IX underpins, in his response, the importance of having the episcopal seat of Devon and Cornwall in an urban centre like Exeter, which he reckons to be a location more congenial to a bishop than a rural 'villa' such as Crediton, which he calls 'villula', a minor, insignificant town.⁶⁵

Nunc autem de nostro fratre, iam dicto Leofrico, precipimus
atque rogamus ut propter dominum et nostri amoris causam
adiutorium perbeas ut a cridioniensi villula ad civitatem
exoniam sedem episcopalem possit mutare.⁶⁶

The city of Exeter was a more suitable venue than Crediton for an episcopal institution. Setting diocesan seats in major urban centres reflected a continental and more specifically Lotharingian model according to which episcopal centres should not be located in remote places, like monastic houses. Having the episcopal see in a city centre emphasised the importance of the bishop within the diocese also through prestigious symbols such as the cathedral and the related buildings, which made the power of the bishop visually clear to anyone. Leo IX therefore welcomed Leofric's plan to move his diocesan seat to Exeter because he considered an urban setting to be the most suitable location for a bishop's see, especially if administered by a prelate, who, like Leofric, was familiar with the urban episcopal centres of Lotharingia. At a time when the political as well as the economical importance of bishops was

⁶⁵ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting' at pp. 79 and 81. Hill's views on this are perhaps worth quoting: 'In truth of course what Leofric was *really* arguing about was based on continental expectations regarding the location of sees, independent of the relative merits of the ecclesiastical foundations of Crediton and Exeter as they stood in 1050'.

⁶⁶ The Leofric Missal (fol. 3v). My translation: 'Now instead we want to inform you [Edward] of our brother, above mentioned Leofric, and we [Leo IX] ask that for God's and our love's sake you offer your help in order that the episcopal seat may be moved from the town of Crediton to the city of Exeter'.

increasing—they held full jurisdiction of the houses in their diocese, at least on the continent—⁶⁷ Leo IX recommended in his letter to King Edward that all bishops should adopt such a venue as a city for their seat:

Notum itaque est nostre pietati qualiter Leoricuus episcopus sine civitatem sedem pontificalem tenet, unde multum miramur, non de illo solo, sed de omnibus illis episcopis qui talia agunt.⁶⁸

Leofric may have had in mind the example of the bishoprics of Lotharingia, when in the 1050s he strove to model his re-founded cathedral at Exeter on those situated in episcopal cities like Trèves, Metz, Toul, Verdun as well as Liège.⁶⁹

In transferring the episcopal venue from an unknown location to a city, Leofric may have indeed sought to augment his prestige and visibility: prior to Leofric's appointment, the diocese of Devon and Cornwall had been held in plurality with Worcester by Lyfing and had been a neglected and impoverished one.⁷⁰ It took Leofric at least four years after his appointment by the Confessor in 1046 to partially restore the economic resources of his dilapidated diocese and to fortify its status.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888-1057)*, p. 335 Otto I and Otto II had forcefully supported the reform movements that had spread out of the Lotharingian houses

⁶⁸ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 524-5. Translation: 'It is therefore known to our benevolence how Leofric holds his episcopal seat without a city, for this reason we not only wonder about his situation but also about all the bishops that are in the same condition'.

⁶⁹ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', p. 83. Hill stresses the importance of Trèves, Toul, Verdun and Metz in contributing the Carolingian reforms in the 'standardisation' of both Benedictine monasticism and secular rules.

⁷⁰ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* and later Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 16-17. Drage argues that impoverished dioceses were likely to be held in plurality by their bishops.

⁷¹ Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', pp. 10-15. Drage surmises that in those four years 1046-1050 of which there is no extant record, Leofric may have struggled to earn his diocese land possessions and riches.

The relocation of the episcopal see in 1050 seems therefore to be a strategic move aimed at consolidating the bishop's position and the cathedral's importance within his diocese as well as in the English mid eleventh-century church. His enthronement ceremony, for example, took place in a lavish array before the eyes of the royal couple and many lay nobles.⁷² The foundation charter of Exeter as well as the Leofric Missal give a detailed account of the events.⁷³ Particular to Leofric's enthronement ceremony was the attendance of the royal couple, an unusual presence in this kind of situation.⁷⁴ The king and the queen accompanied Leofric to the episcopal throne before a large number of nobles and churchmen, whose presence augmented the impact of the bishop's enthronement:

rex ipse gloriosus, per brachium dextrum episcopum
ducens, et nobilissima regina Edgitha per sinistrum, in
cathedram pontificalem in prefato monasterio constituerunt,
presentibus ducibus, multisque Anglie proceribus.⁷⁵

The manner in which the ceremony took place suggests that Leofric earned his cathedral a status and prestige that it had not enjoyed in previous times. The ritual involved in the removal of the episcopal seat from Crediton to Exeter was an explicit acknowledgement of Wazo's and, more in general, of Lotharingian reforming ideas

⁷² Conner suggested that the representatives of the local city guilds were present. I am heavily indebted to Prof. Conner for letting me read a draft of a paper that he presented in London in Fall, 2005 at the IHR, on the development of the city guilds at Exeter.

⁷³ Chaplais, 'The Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diplomas of Exeter', p. 29 (Exeter, Cathedral Library 2072, S 1021). A printed edition of this charter is proposed in *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 525-32.

⁷⁴ In the paper mentioned in footnote no.72, Prof. Conner discussed in detail the unusual attendance of the royal couple at Leofric's enthronement ceremony.

⁷⁵ In my translation: 'The glorious king in person leading the bishop by his right arm, and the most noble queen Edith by her left arm, appointed him to the pontifical seat in the aforementioned minster, in the presence of the earls, and of many nobles of England.'

on the roles that lay and ecclesiastical authorities should have in religious matters, which later found a more concrete expression under Gregory VII's pontificate. In the diplomatic activities that lie beneath Leofric's struggle to legitimate the removal of his diocesan see to Exeter through Leo IX's permission, the bishop perceived and acknowledged the importance of obtaining papal approval in religious matters.⁷⁶ He, however, at the same time, called upon King Edward's authority in secular matters in order to have the removal of his see fully legitimised. The account given in the Leofric Missal of Edward's response to Leo's letter, reports that the king gave his consent to the establishment of the diocesan see in Exeter, even though the official ceremony was held a few months afterwards. Similarly, the religious and the secular powers/authorities arbitrated the appointment of Giso to Wells following Duduc's death in January 1061. A few documents exist that account for Giso's election: these are a writ of King Edward announcing the appointment of Giso; a letter by the Lotharingian-educated Pope Nicholas II confirming the bishop's rights upon his see; and a further writ by King Edward granting the possession of the diocese of Wells to Giso.⁷⁷

In addition to this complicated procedure that saw the election of Giso become effective through both papal and royal agency, the bishop of Wells was officially consecrated in Rome together with his peer, Walter of Hereford. On this unusual rite scholars have previously noted that this may have happened because of the

⁷⁶ It is perhaps significant, in the light of this argument, that a letter by Pope Nicholas II addressed to Giso, Lotharingian-educated bishop of Wells, confirms him in the right of his see in 1061, on this see Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells' at pp. 268-72. This writ is edited in *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., at p. 545-8.

⁷⁷ *Councils and Synods, with other Documents Relating to the English Church I A. D. 871-1066*, Whitelock, Brett, and Brooke, eds., pp. 545, 548 and 552, respectively.

‘uncanonical position’ of archbishop Stigand in 1061.⁷⁸ Unusual as it may have been, Giso’s and Walter’s anointment in Rome was in line with the Lotharingian views on the authority of the pope on ecclesiastical matters, such as the election and anointment of bishops, independently from Stigand’s *unholy* position in 1061. The king would then grant Giso material possession over his bishopric:

Ich quepe eou þat ich wille þat Gyse bissop beo þisses
bissoprices wrthe heer inne mid eou, and alch þare þinge
þas þe þar mid richte to gebyrað binnan porte 7 butan,
mid sacna and mid socna, swo uol 7 swo vorð swo hit eni
bissop him touoren formest hauede, on ealle þing.⁷⁹

This writ now contained in Wells, D & C Liber Albus I, fol. 14, was likely issued on Giso’s return from Italy in 1061, when he had already been anointed by the pope.⁸⁰ Likewise, Edward took legal action in legitimising Walter’s appointment to the see of Hereford and his full jurisdiction over his bishopric with a document now contained in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson B. 329, fol. 104v.⁸¹ It would seem from this evidence that the king aimed to legalise Giso’s and Walter’s episcopal consecration, which had already taken place in Rome at the papal court, from a *material* perspective. In granting them physical possession of the goods pertaining to their dioceses as well as full jurisdiction over it, the king approved the temporal power of his bishops. In fact, their spiritual power had previously been sanctioned by the pope. Besides their legal value, these grants also had another function that was

⁷⁸ Ibid. p. 546.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 553. My translation reads: ‘I notify to you that I intend to bequest to bishop Giso legal possession over this same bishopric with you, and over all the things that lawfully pertain to it within town and outside, with full jurisdiction and legal power over it, fully and clearly as ever any other bishop had it in previous times, in all aspects of it’.

⁸⁰ Ibid. p. 553.

⁸¹ Ibid. pp. 554-5.

crucial to the consolidation of the episcopal power in the isolated dioceses of the south-west: through the privileges that he granted to his bishops, the king also secured the bishopric's prestige.

Edward's presence at Leofric's enthronement ceremony may also be seen in this perspective, even though it was not absolutely necessary in order to legalise the appointment of the bishop. The attendance of the royal couple, extraordinary as it may have been, was indeed crucial to the consolidation of the status of Exeter cathedral in front of the eleventh-century English aristocracy. In showing himself accompanied to the episcopal throne by the king and the queen, Leofric made clear in front of the eyes of many English notables that he had the most powerful of allies, the king in person. Should we perhaps see in Leofric's ostentation of power the bishop's desire to be recognised by the lay aristocracy as a present ruling authority in a diocese that had been deserted and 'marginalised' by his predecessor, bishop Lyfing?⁸²

The attention that Leofric dedicated to setting and maintaining order through regulations in his diocese suggests that the bishop wanted to (re)establish a strong episcopal authority in a diocese that had lacked a powerful guide for several years. Before Leofric, Lyfing held the sees of Crediton and St German in plurality with Worcester, and as far as we can tell the former two were rather poor in terms of both economic and intellectual resources.⁸³ The inventory of goods compiled upon Leofric's death begins with a list of lands whose possession had been recovered by the bishop, implying that his diocese had lost lands in the past and was no longer as wealthy as it used to be. Recovery of alienated lands is indeed listed among bishop

⁸² Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting', p. 82.

⁸³ Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066*. Drage, 'Bishop Leofric and the Exeter Cathedral Chapter', p. 9-11.

Leofric's achievements, or so it was perceived by the compiler of the inventory.⁸⁴ Leofric may have felt that the importance and fortunes of the diocese of Devon and Cornwall had diminished also in consequence of a weak leadership. The relocation of the seat in 1050 may have been intended to restore the diocesan centre to a place far less remote than Crediton and a location whose prominence would attract the attention of his colleagues from other dioceses and of the nobles and magnates of the south-west of the country.

Both his homiliaries and the 'regula' that he adopted for his canons bespeak his plan to enact a legislation that would help him administer and control his diocese as a fervent servant of God and according to the principles that had inspired the pontificates of many of his continental colleagues and former teachers. The injunction to respect those rules, which he would insistently repeat through his preaching, would eventually help him to consolidate his authority also in front of the lay English aristocrats, 'ducibus multisque Anglie proceribus', who were present the day of his consecration.⁸⁵

6.3 Leofric and his episcopal 'familia'

That Lotharingian models informed Leofric's administration of his diocese may also be inferred from the adoption of a secular rule for his newly founded chapter. On the removal of the see from Crediton to Exeter, Leofric broke with the monastic tradition and introduced a community of secular canons under the secular Rule of Chrodegang, bishop of Metz (742-755) after expelling the community of monks,

⁸⁴ Conner, *Anglo-Saxon Exeter*, p. 231.

⁸⁵ *Ibid.* p. 225.

who previously lived there.⁸⁶ It is unquestionable that the Rule of Chrodegang, especially its shorter version, was heavily based on the Rule of St Benedict, however, it seems to be specifically particular to Chrodegang's rule to be closely associated with a bishop's role.⁸⁷ According to his list of donations, a copy of the 'regula' was contained in the book collection that he bestowed to his cathedral upon his death in 1072. The entry reading 'regula canonicorum', 'rule for the canons' indicates that there was at least one copy of it at Exeter. This codex has arguably been associated with a manuscript copied by a scribe working for Leofric that contains both the Old English and Latin version of the Rule of Chrodegang, that is CCC 191.⁸⁸ This volume contains an extended adaptation of the original rule known as the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, which contains eighty-four chapters instead of thirty-four.⁸⁹

The adoption at Exeter of the enlarged version of the Rule of Chrodegang, instigated a revival in secular institutions, not necessarily episcopal ones, in eleventh-century England. Following Leofric's example it was adopted in various diocesan centres especially in the west of the country; for example, at Wells and at Hereford. Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, introduced the 'regula canonicorum' at Hereford when he directed that see before Walter of Lotharingia was appointed in 1060.⁹⁰ Giso also introduced the Rule of Chrodegang at Wells and reformed his church giving the canons new buildings suitable to the communal life that the 'regula' dictated.⁹¹ Non-

⁸⁶ Hill, 'Leofric of Exeter and the Practical Politics of Book Collecting' at pp. 82-3 and previously Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', pp. 53-55.

⁸⁷ Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, p. 9-10.

⁸⁸ The manuscript is Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191 and has been edited and published in Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*.

⁸⁹ Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, p. 11.

⁹⁰ Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells', p. 210.

⁹¹ Ibid. pp. 249-53.

episcopal institutions seem to have favoured the introduction of the Rule of Chrodegang, too. For instance, Harold established the rule at Waltham College, possibly taking Leofric's advice.⁹² Among the revivalists of the secular rule, Leofric was however first to introduce it in an eleventh-century English cathedral, probably bearing in mind the example of continental houses of canons, such as Liège was when he allegedly was a canon there.⁹³

The influence that continental models exerted on his decision to transfer the monks residing at Exeter to Tavistock and establish a community of secular canons instead can be easily traced in his book collection. Two volumes, containing a bilingual version of Theodulf's *Capitularies*, a text about the duty of providing ecclesiastical services to the laity, and a martyrology (in Old English), were produced at Exeter and may have been originally compiled by Leofric's closer collaborator, that is scribe 2 in Drage's list, and possibly bound together with the manuscript containing the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang.⁹⁴ The selection and combination of these three texts follows a continental model as the one contained in a manuscript originating in upper Lotharingia, in the city of Metz, now Bern, Burgerbibliothek 289 (Metz, s. viii/ix in.), with the exception that in this volume there is the original version of the Rule of Chrodegang whereas Leofric's manuscript

⁹² Rose-Troup, 'Leofric the First Bishop of Exeter', pp. 53-5. Rose-Troup suggests that a 'canonical revival' took place in England after Leofric adopted Chrodegang's system.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ These are Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 196 (Exeter, s. xi^{3/4}) containing an Old English martyrology and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201, pp. 178-272 (Exeter, s. xi^{med}) containing the capitularies of Theodulf of Orleans. CCCC 201, pp. 178-272 and CCCC 196 were thought by Ker on codicological grounds to have been originally bound with CCCC 191. The entry 'regula canonicorum' also because it is followed in the list by the entry 'martyrologium' may have therefore indicated that the volume to which Ker refers and that rightly contained the three works was not the one Leofric donated but possibly another one. May it have been Leofric's own copy of these essential materials?

contains the enlarged adaptation of it.⁹⁵ Leofric's decision to establish a community of secular canons at Exeter reflected a continental trend. Canonical institutions flourished in Lotharingia as well as in northern France throughout the mid-eleventh century. In particular, secular foundations seem to proliferate during the years preceding the Norman Conquest: in the 1070s the growth of this kind of institution stops almost abruptly both in Normandy and in England and monastic houses seem to flourish instead.⁹⁶

The adoption and diffusion of secular rules, alongside monastic ones, in institutions situated in northern France and Lotharingia may have been a consequence of the revival in discipline and organised life encouraged by Pope Leo IX's programme of reforms. Leo IX strongly supported the adoption of 'regulae', not necessarily monastic ones, that would help bishops to yield control over their communities. His dedication in supporting and encouraging the adoption of regular life and strict discipline in campaigning against the corruption of the clergy—against simony and nepotism, in particular—has been vigorously stressed by Armann and Parisse.⁹⁷ His reforming activity indeed took off when he was still the bishop of

⁹⁵ E. A. Löwe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores* (Oxford, 1956) no. 861 in vol. 7. In Dereine, *Les Chanoines Reguliers au diocèse de Liège avant Saint Norbert*, pp. 39–41, Dereine reports that three manuscripts associated with collegiate churches in the diocese of Liège contain the *Instituta Sanctorum Patrum*—on which the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang was also based according to chapter viii of the rule—together with a martyrology; these are: Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale II 2540 (s. xi, unknown); Namur, évêché, 21 (s. xiii, Ciney; possibly a copy of a twelfth-century codex) and Bruxelles, Bibliothèque Royale II 4459 (s. xiv, Notre-Dame de Huy, quite possibly a copy of an eleventh-century exemplar). It is interesting that all three codices carry at the end a *decretum* of Leo IX against the *chorepiscopi*, the bishops who held dioceses in plurality.

⁹⁶ Musset, 'Recherches sur les Communautés de clercs Séculiers en Normandie au xi^e siècle', p. 8. The growth of canonical institutions consolidated in Northern France in Leofric's time, especially in Normandy where approximately twenty were founded before 1066.

⁹⁷ Armann and Dumas, *L'église au pouvoir de laïques (888–1057)*, pp. 101 and following. *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds., p. xxiii.

Toul: Leo IX introduced in his own diocese institutional changes that aimed to renovate some of the monastic houses situated in his bishopric, in particular St Evre and St Mansuy.⁹⁸ Although Chrodegang's 'regula' was not so popular among the houses of the diocese of Toul, under Bruno's episcopacy the bishopric experienced a revival in restraint and regulation. Discipline was one of the major points of his reforming programme and the revival of regular life was a clear expression of his concerns. Bruno, the future Leo IX, continued to pursue these reforming activities also after he became pope in 1049. In the years of his papacy many houses were reformed and regular life revitalised also through the adoption of secular rules; for example, Chrodegang's Rule was reintroduced in Trèves and Strasbourg in the eleventh century.⁹⁹

It seems to be in agreement with Leo IX's religious programme that Leofric enforced clerical discipline and regular life in his re-founded cathedral at Exeter. This is not only suggested by the adoption of Chrodegang's system, but also by the large amount of material related to legislation that is contained in his books, especially in his homiliaries as it has been previously discussed. Leofric's homiletic collection draws heavily upon texts dating to the second phase of the English monastic reform, mainly composed by Ælfric and Wulfstan, which focus on the importance of enforcing discipline and respect for legislation. This kind of homiletic texts, especially those written by Wulfstan, may have been used by Leofric with the intention to regulate spiritual life at his cathedral chapter and in his diocese, to encourage celibacy and respect for the bishop. In preaching to his local community, Leofric may have expressed his concerns with regard to the political position of the

⁹⁸ *La Vie du Pape Leon IX: Brunon évêque de Toul*, Parisse and Goullet, eds., p. xvii.

⁹⁹ Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries*, pp. 48-49, and for a more specific study see Morhain, 'Origine et Histoire de la "Regula Canonorum" de St Chrodegang', p. 184. Trèves and Strasbourg had been secular houses in the ninth century.

bishop and his jurisdiction over his diocese. That he may have done so through the words of archbishop Wulfstan's legalistic writings, is, I think, highly remarkable. Not only does Leofric use English materials aligned with the papal policies/ideologies of his day, but he also selects among Wulfstan's homiletic materials, those where the reformer's and the legislator's work is markedly in evidence. In Lionarons' analysis of the homily contained in CCCC 421, pp. 209-224, and written by one of Leofric's collaborators, what appears to be crucial to archbishop Wulfstan is the 'social reconstruction of England', which he envisages to be only possible through respect of key principles, such as 'loyalty to God and the king, adherence to secular and divine law, clerical celibacy and sexual continence' as well as observance of Christian feasts. Such concepts as those contained in this text were as critical to the late tenth-century reforming bishops of England as they were to the person(s), who subsequently selected this text, inserted it in his homiliaries and used it, that is Leofric.¹⁰⁰ In delivering this homily he may not only have insisted on how important the respect for regulations was, but he may also have wanted to socially reorder his diocese and remind the king and the lay nobles as well as the clergy of the limits of their respective powers.

That Leofric's administration of his diocese was based on the centrality of the bishop and his powerful figure is expressed also throughout the rule. The adoption of Chrodegang's system seems indeed to have had the effect of enhancing the role of the bishop, especially within his religious community. Chapter two of the text of the rule defines the prominent position of the bishop within his 'familia', stressing his

¹⁰⁰ Lionarons, 'Napier Homily L: Wulfstan Eschatology at the Close of His Career', Napier L is contained—as it has been shown above—in the Exeter additions to CCCC 421.

spiritual and legal duties and his power to take decisions for the canons.¹⁰¹ The passage in this chapter states that the bishop holds full authority on the hierarchical organisation of his community:

Ordines suos canonici ita conseruent ut ordinati sunt in gradibus suis secundum legitimam constitutionem Romane ecclesie, in omnibus omnino locis, id est, in ecclesia uel ubicumque simul se coniunxerit, et ratio prestat, exceptis his quos episcopus in altiore gradu constituerit, aut degradauerit certis ex causis.¹⁰²

Stating the centrality of the bishop's figure must have been particularly relevant to Leofric's plans to turn his cathedral church into the focal point of his diocese. Chrodegang's rule had indeed the specific purpose of setting regulations for a community who lived in association with a cathedral, and in so doing it emphasised the pastoral role of its head over the canons.¹⁰³ Langefeld explains that the duties of cathedral canons were indeed related to the bishop's pastoral services, such as officiating in the most important liturgical festivals of the year, and for this reason communities of canons grew to be strictly subject to their bishop's authority.¹⁰⁴ The Rule of Chrodegang also supported the centrality of the Roman church and more

¹⁰¹ Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, pp. 8-10.

¹⁰² Napier, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang with the Latin Original*, pp. 8-9. My translation: 'The canons ought to observe the grades in which they were ordained in agreement with the legitimate constitution of the Roman church, in every place where they should go in the church as well as everywhere else, and this should be respected, with the only exception for those whom the bishop appointed in a higher position or diminished to a lower grade on account of objective causes'.

¹⁰³ *Saint Chrodegang, communications présentées au colloque tenu à Metz à l'occasion du douzième centenaire de sa mort*, G. Hocquard, ed., (Metz, 1967), pp. 56-7.

¹⁰⁴ B. Langefeld, 'Regula Canoniorum or Regula monasterialis vitae? The Rule of Chrodegang and Archbishop Wulfred's reforms at Canterbury', *Anglo-Saxon England* 25 (1993), 21-36, p. 23.

implicitly that of the pope as the head of the Christian community: the text of the rule supports the authority of Rome in enjoining the bishop to establish the canons' grades according to the Roman constitution, the only one held as truly legitimate, 'legitimam constitutionem Romane ecclesie'. Communities of secular canons were, similarly, approved by the central power of Rome: we know that Leo IX encouraged the diffusion of the Rule of Chrodegang as he condemned those who were against some of the privileges that the rule granted to the canons, such as the right to personal property, for example.¹⁰⁵

Although the Rule of Chrodegang had been known in England since the tenth century, it was apparently never adopted there before Leofric first introduced it at Exeter in 1050.¹⁰⁶ Conversely, the Rule of Chrodegang and its enlarged version circulated widely on the continent, especially in the urban dioceses of Lotharinga, Normandy and western France, where the rule was most widespread and where Leofric may have experienced it during the years that he spent there. Manuscript evidence also points to a continental origin of the enlarged version of Chrodegang's rule, as the oldest surviving manuscript seems to have its origins in mid ninth-century western France.¹⁰⁷ The earliest manuscript evidence that we can trace in England with regard to the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang dates back to King

¹⁰⁵ J. C. Dickinson, *The Origin of the Austin Canons and their Introduction into England* (London, 1950), p. 23.

¹⁰⁶ Drout, 'Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style', pp. 341-50. Drout argues that Leofric's bilingual version of the rule may have been copied from an exemplar originating from Winchester and written during the period of the Benedictine Reform by someone in Dunstan's and Æthelwold's circle. Langefeld, '*Regula Canonicorum* or *Regula monasterialis vitae*? The Rule of Chrodegang and Archbishop Wulfred's reforms at Canterbury', p. 26, surmises that the Rule of Chrodegang was known in England since the late eighth century, though any evidence is lacking prior to the tenth century.

¹⁰⁷ Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, p. 12. The manuscript in question is Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale lat. 1535.

Æthelstan's reign. This version of the rule—Langefeld reports—enjoyed intense popularity among the tenth-century reformers, who seemingly instigated its translation into Old English.¹⁰⁸ Although never enforced, the enlarged version of the Rule of Chrodegang circulated in tenth-century religious institutions such as Winchester and Christ Church, Canterbury, for example.¹⁰⁹ This may be attributed to the fact that its dictates might serve as reference materials for the tenth-century English legislators having been drawn and modified on the *Institutio Canonorum* of 816-817, approved at the council of Aachen 817 and later enforced by Louis the Pious in the Frankish kingdom.¹¹⁰ Chapter L (50) of the rule, for example, on the disciplinary code that the canons must respect is based on the *Institutio Canonorum*.¹¹¹ These institutes influenced the work of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon legislators in promulgating rules, to whose standards religious institutions had to conform. In Leofric's choice to adopt Chrodegang's rule, against the English habit—as William of Malmesbury implies—the bishop revived the 'reforming' tradition(s) that the law codes and regulations there contained exemplified; that is, a Lotharingian and an English one. In choosing the enlarged version of Chrodegang's rule to govern his secular community, Leofric made use of a 'regula' that was largely dependent on the law codes that Louis the Pious promulgated in the ninth century in the Frankish kingdom to regulate the life of the clergy. Also, he concurrently revived the use of a text that, in reflecting the legislation approved at the council of Aachen 816-817, had influenced the work of the early tenth-century Anglo-Saxon

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 18. This translation was supposedly carried out in Winchester.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Ibid. p. 12 and 18. On this see also Drout, 'Re-Dating the Old English Translation of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: The Evidence of the Prose Style', pp. 341-50.

¹¹¹ Langefeld, *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang: edited together with the Latin Text and an English Translation*, p. 13.

ecclesiastical lawgivers. Although in Anglo-Saxon England the rule never enjoyed great popularity in its own right, at least until the short parenthesis opened up by Leofric and followed by his Lotharingian colleagues, it influenced the work of those ecclesiastics, who aimed with their work to re-order the state of the ecclesiastical orders in the tenth century. Leofric's preaching materials also seem to support his administrative reforms. The homiletic materials that formed his preaching collection also demonstrate that it was the bishop's plan to bring back as part of his pastoral programme the spirit that had inspired the second phase of the monastic renewal and its struggle to regulate and control the life of the clergy. In Ælfric's and Wulfstan's homiletic and legalistic works, Leofric found the words that would at best express his commitment to align with the religious realities of his time, that is the reforms in ecclesiastical legislation that a line of Lotharingian prelates had fervently supported for at least two decades.

Conclusion

The life and activities of Leofric, bishop of Exeter, together with his collection of books have lately been the subject of renewed scholarly attention, as sustained studies on his episcopacy that have appeared in published works in recent years demonstrate. There is much that needs to be studied further, however. As the first bishop of Exeter, it is interesting that Leofric's episcopal achievements like the reconstruction of his diocese, the formation of a sizeable book collection, the adoption of a non-monastic, secular rule for his chapter—against the English habit—were long unrecognised. Contrary to what some scholars thought, his episcopacy was not only successful, but also important in the eleventh-century religious scene, as I hope this work has demonstrated. Leofric's commitment to his episcopal role and his dedication to improving the state of his diocese and the conduct of his clergy made him a valuable asset among the English prelates in years of turmoil and political changes. Leofric's sympathising with Leo IX's ecclesiastical reforms did not put him in a negative light with the king, when Robert archbishop of Canterbury fled the country in 1052; similarly, he survived the purges carried out by William the Conqueror and his men in the aftermath of 1066. In surviving these times and in reforming his diocese, Leofric benefited immensely from his background, in particular from the political and diplomatic skills, which he developed at the king's court, and from his continental education. The skills and knowledge that he acquired

in the reforming circles of Lotharingia informed his religious programme as well as his conduct as a bishop.

The vernacular texts analysed in this thesis are, then, representative of Leofric's reforming programme, which he zealously performed in the years of his episcopacy at Exeter and for which he deserves full credit. His collection of books and the works whose compilation he requested are worthy of scholarly attention because they epitomise the bishop's commitment to and participation in reforming the state of the eleventh-century English church at a time when reforms are brought about in the Roman Church under the patronage of the pope. Indeed, it is only through detailed work like that contained in this dissertation that Leofric's particularly significant contribution can be appreciated in its specific historical moment, and his role in a European context truly understood.

Appendix I

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Cambridge, University Library Hh. 1. 10

Cambridge, University Library Ii. 2. 11

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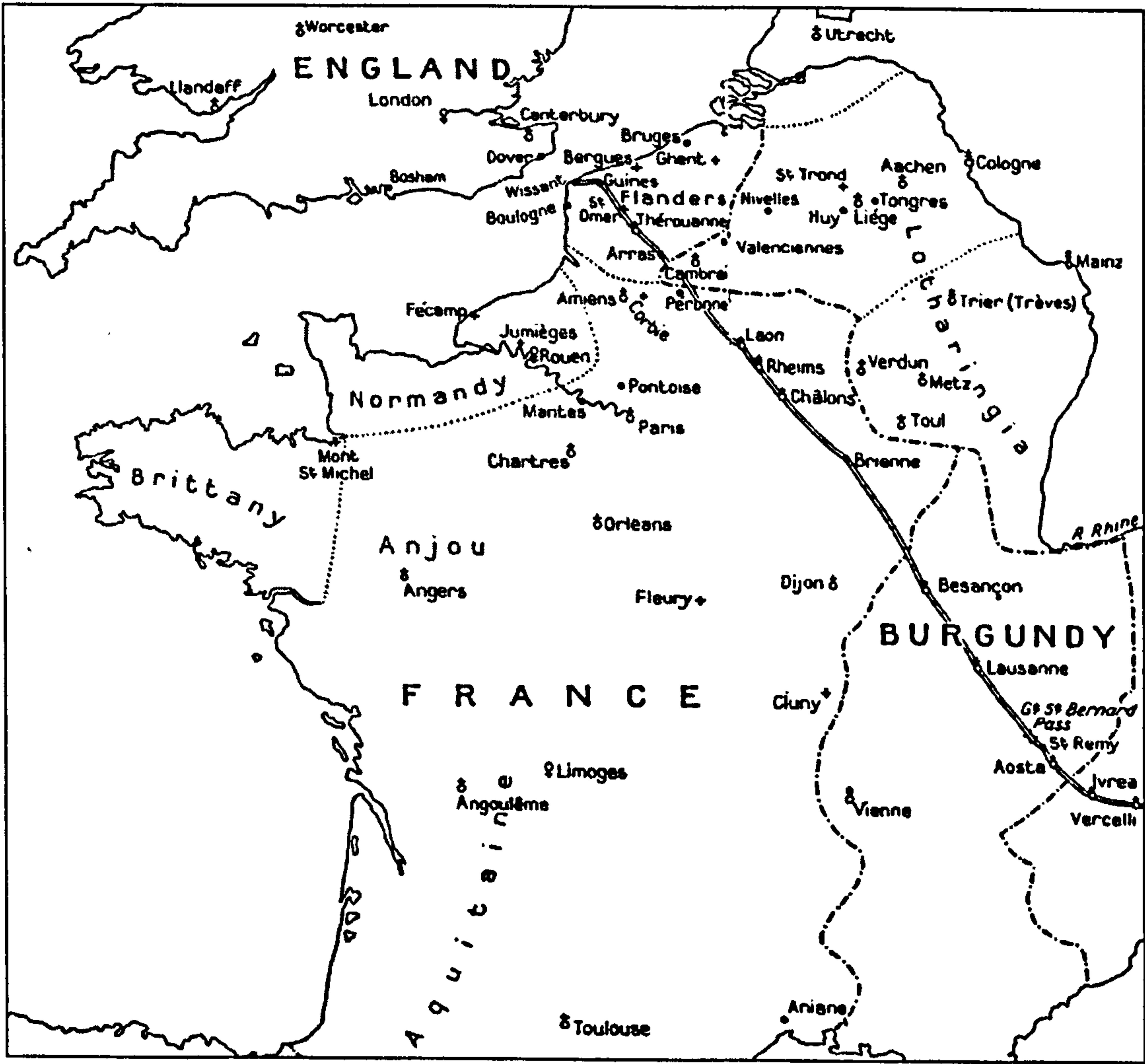
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Appendix II
Map of Lotharingia



Based on F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066* (London, 1963), p. 11

Appendix III
Plates: the Leofric Missal

Plate I (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 22r

22
 sunt sibi honorem sed qui uocatur ad dō tāquā
 aaron. quē admodū scriptū est. Tu es sacerdos
 in eternū. scdm ordinē melchisedech. *o Saluū*
 fac seruum tuum dñs meus sperantem in te. *Aurib; p*
 eipe dñe orationem meam. *Aequia*

Verba mea auribus pcepe do mine intelle ge clamo
 rem meum. *Scdm Matheym.*

In ill. Dix ite discipulis suis. Vigilate & orate.
 quia nescitis quando tempus sit. Sicut homo
 qui pēgre pficiscens reliquit domū suā &
 dedit seruis suis potestātē cuiuscūq; operis.
 & ianitori pcepit uigilare. Sic ergo uigila
 te. Nescitis enī. quando dñs domus ueniat.
 Sero. an media nocte. an gallicantu. an ma
 ne. ne cū repente uenerit. inueniat uos
 dormientes. Qd autē uob dico. omib; dico.
 uigilate. *o Domine exaudi oratio nem me am*
 & clamor meus ad te pueniat. *SECRET A.*

Suscipe q̄s clementer om̄ps dñs nr̄s oblationis
 deuotionē. & p uirtutē hui⁹ sacramenti qd
 tuc obtulim⁹ maiestati. famulū tuū. ill. cū

Plate II (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 339v

xi. kl. aug. S^ce marie magdalene.

Gaudeamus om̃s in dño diem festum celebrantes sub

honore marie magdalene decimus conuersione gan-
dente angeli & conlaudante filium di. p̃. Crutano.**L**argire nobis clementissime pater. coll.quo sicut beata maria magdalene dñm dñm
sup̃ omnia diligendo. suorum ueniam obtinuit
peccaminū. ita p̃ nobis apud misericordiam tuam.
sempiternam impetret beatitudinē. p̃. epla.

Mulierem fortem. or. Adiuuabit eam deus.

Alleluia. *U* Optimum pulchrum
elegit sibi maria que non auferetur ab ea in æternum.SEQ. Scalam ad celos. eyol. Rogabat ihm
quidam phariseus. usq; qm̃ dilexit multum.**O**fferimus dñe preces & hostias. Diffusa: gr̃a.
in honore s^ce marie magdalene. gaudentes s^ca.
presta q̃s. ut & conuenienter hoc agere. & re-
medium sempiternum ualeamus adquirere. p̃.S^cificet nos dñe &
muniat. infundente
beata magdalene di-
uini muneris libans
& celestium uirtutum
coheredes faciat. p̃.**D**ñi qui nos p̃ unigenitū cō Dilexisti iustitiam. p̃. com̃
tū. beate marie magdalene dilectione multa

Plate III (size: 57%)

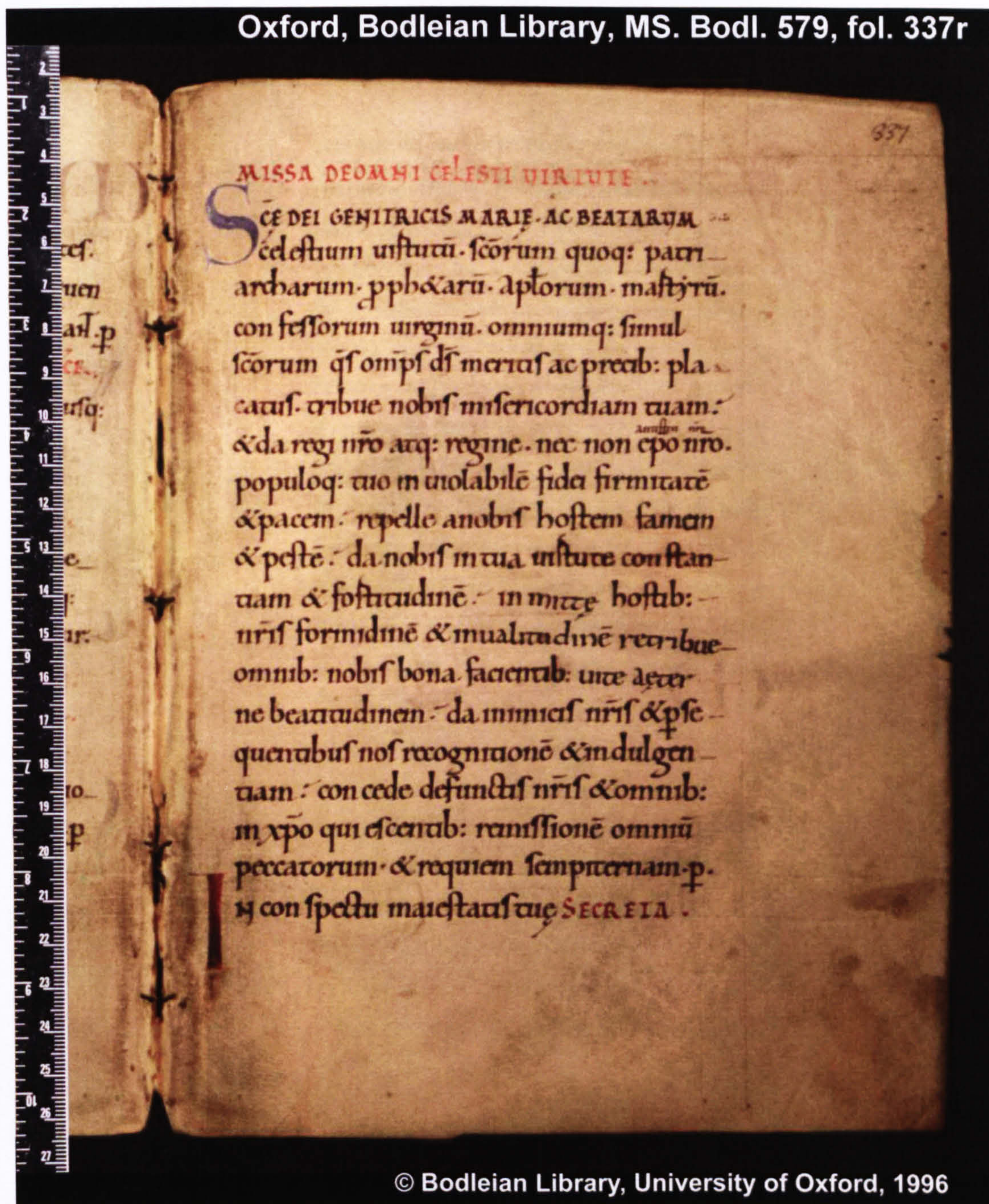


Plate IV (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 155r

165
eterne dñ. ut benedicere digneris hęc
thumiamata ut incensi specie. ut sit in
censu maiestati tue in odore suauitatis
acceptu. Sit autē hęc species benedicta.
sit p̄ inuocationē scī nominis tui sc̄ificata.
ita ut ubicūq; fumus eius pueniat. extri
cetur. & effugetur ab eo loco om̄e genus
doemoniorū. sicut incensu iecoris piscis quē
raphael archangls tobīā famulū tuum
sup carbonēs ponere docuit. cū ascendit
ad sary liberationē. Descendat bene
dictio sup hanc specie incensi & thumia
matis. sicut in illo. de quo dauid ppheta
tuus cecinit dicens. Dirigat^r oratio mea
sicut incensu in conspectu tuo. Sit hoc
incensu nob̄ odor cōsolationis. suauitatis
& gr̄e. ut fumo isto effuget^r om̄e fantas
ma mentis & corporis. ut simus pauli apti
uoce bonus odor dō in om̄i loco. Effugiant
a facie hui⁹ incensi & thumiamatis om̄s
incurfus doemoniorū sicut puluis a facie

Plate V (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 342v

x. kt. ioh. n. a. De scō albanō sociisq: eius.

Pia q̄s om̄ps d̄s qui sc̄m albanū mart̄rē
tuū & eius socios eadē tempestate cōpassos
mart̄rio coronasti. ut quēadmodū deuotā
ipsōz passionis agimus memoriā. ita corū
sublimia apud te sentiamus patrocinia. p̄ d̄.

Hec hostia salutaris q̄s d̄ne *SECRETA*
quā in sc̄i albanī mart̄ris tui sociisq:
eius ueneranda cōmemoratione tue maiest-
tati supplicē offerim̄. & ligamina nr̄ae
prauitatis absoluat. & tue nobis misericordiae
carismata tribuat. p̄. *PREFATIO.*

Quēdā d̄s. Apud quē semp est p̄sens
& p̄clara sc̄orum omnū ita. quoz
nos mors p̄ciosa. & alme beatitudinis ianua
lectificat. & a cunctis aduersitatib: defendat.
Qua prop̄e laudabilis es in tuoz cōmemo-
ratione sc̄oz. & in magnē fidei affectu. &
in tolerantia passionū. qua beatū albanū
sociosq: ei om̄e antiqui hostis supare

plac
&om
mos
na c
um
nra
firm
sub
anol
&de
rum

Plate VI (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 375r

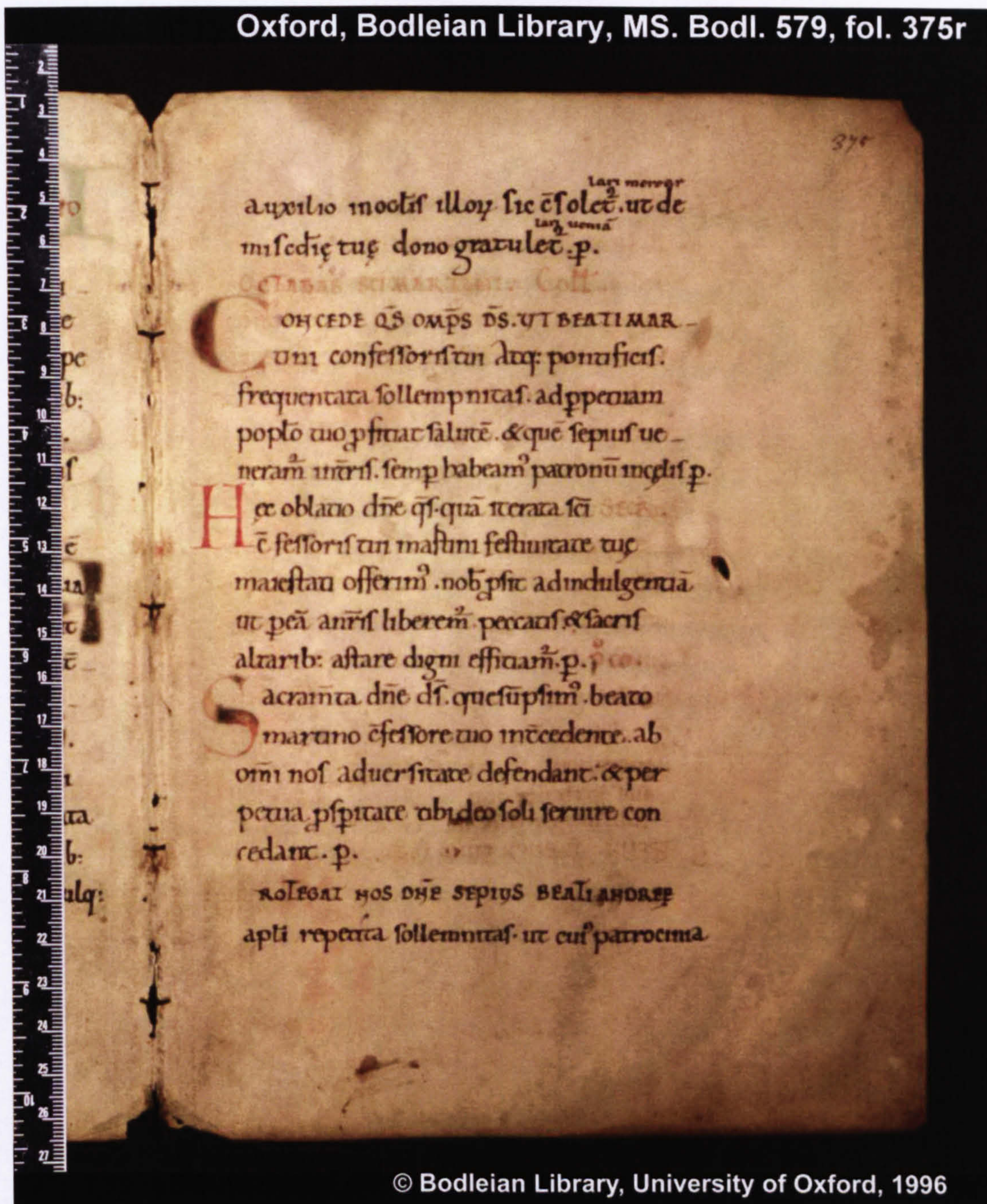


Plate VII (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 375v

sine intermissione recolimus. perpetuā
 defensionem sentiamus. p.
 indulgentiā nob̄ q̄s dñe prebeant hęc
 munera largiorem. quę tibi uenera-
 -bilis andree suffragis offeruntur. p.
 diuuet familiam tuam t̄ dñe
 supplicando beatus andreas ap̄l̄s
 & pius interuentor efficiatur. qui tui
 nominis erit p̄dicator. p.
 s̄ q̄ p̄sentē diē beatę fidis uirginis
 martyrio facis ēē sollemnē. p̄ia eccl̄e cup-
 ut cui meritis gl̄atur ei p̄cib: adiuuetur. p.
 uidepe dñe p̄ces & hostias meritis beatę
 fidis uirginis & m̄ris t̄ dicatas. & ecce. ut
 ei nob̄ fiant supplicatione salutare. cui sit
 ueneratione sollemnes. p.
 uos refecisti dñe celesti cūiui. beatę
 fidis uirginis & martyris iuuante pa-
 trocinio. sup̄nox eiuiū fac dignos collegio. p.

Plate VIII (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 345v

*præf. Quia pincarnati. viii. id. ian. Epiphania
dñi. STATIO AD SCM PETRUM APTM. præf.*

Quæternæ dñs. Quia cum unigenitus tuus
in substantia nre mortalitatis appa
ruit. in nouam nos immortalitatis sue
lucem reparauit. Et ideo. *In oct. epiphon.*

*præf. Quia cū unigenitus. ut sup. fā. iiii.
in capite ieiunij. St. ad SCM SABINAM. præf.*

Vuæternæ dñs. Qui corporali ieiunio uitia
comprimis. mentem eleuas. uirtutem
largiris & premia. p. xpm dñm nrm.

Dom. prima in xl. St. ad LAUDANOS. præfai.

Quæternæ dñm nrm. Qui pro nobis eter
no patri adq. debitum soluit. & ueteris
piaculi cautionem pio cruore deterfit. p.
quem. *fā. ii. St. ad uincula sci petri. præfai.*

Qui corporali. ut sup. Dom. ii. in xl. præf.

Vuæternæ dñm. Qui p nob. ceno patri. ut sup. usq.
in domo palmarū. domo tantū. *In ebdomada
iii. xl. fā. iiii. St. ad SCM PETRUM. præfai.*

-lor

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bea

li

tu

scia

tas

Per

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& p

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Tē d

Ore

Plate IX (size: 57%)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Bodl. 579, fol. 344r

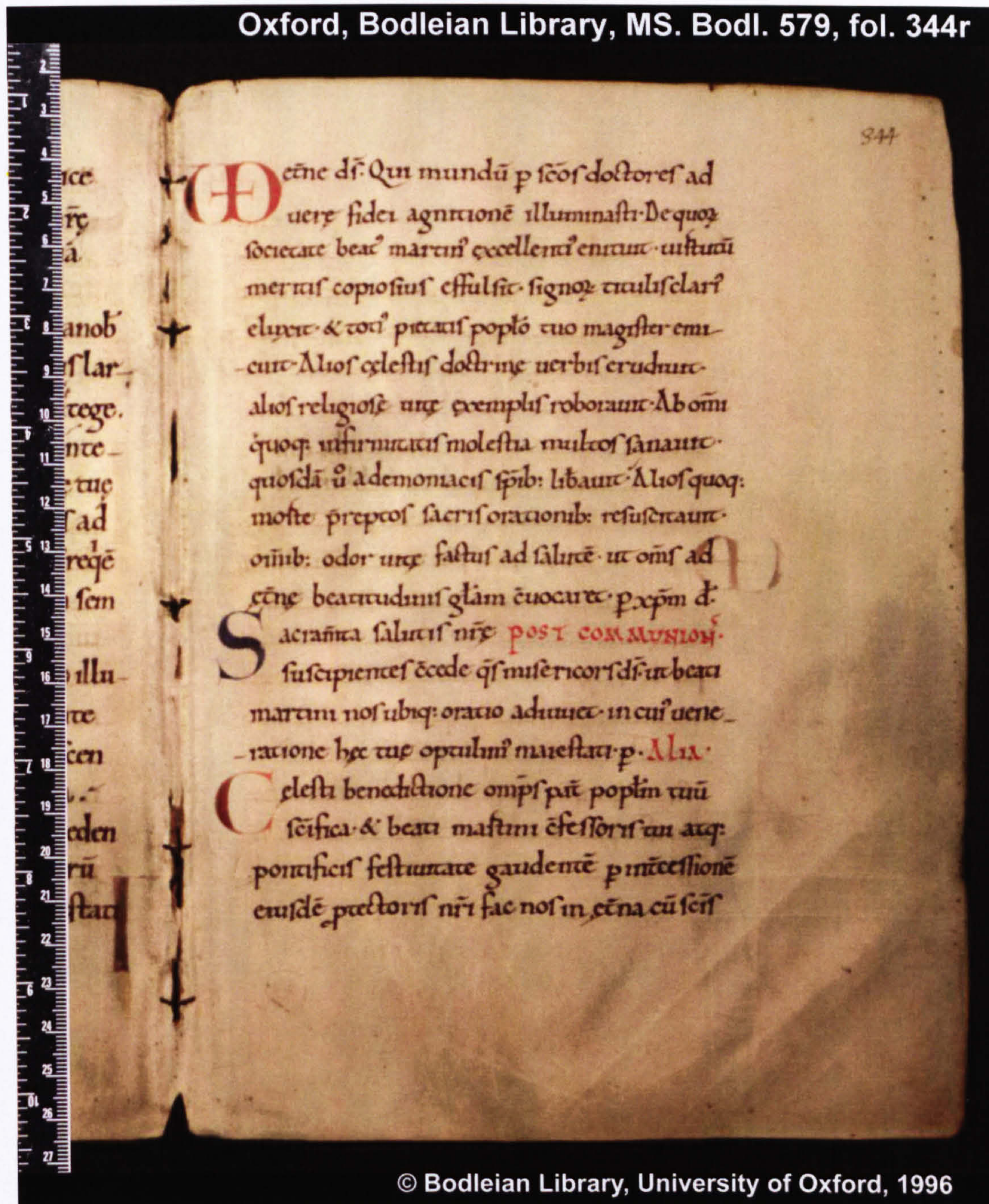
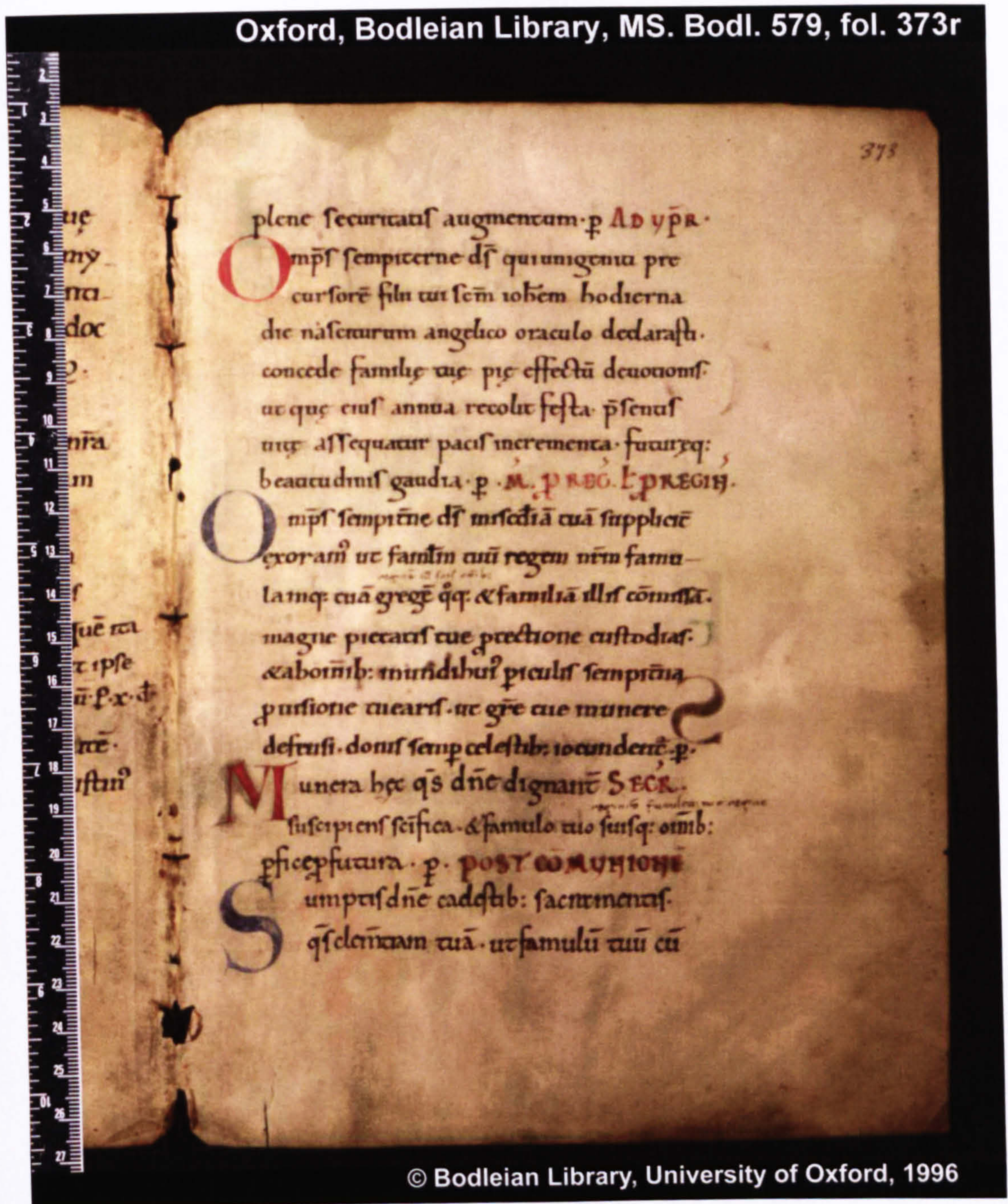


Plate X (size: 57%)



Appendix IV:
Plates: the Homiliaries

Plate A: London, Lambeth Palace 489, fols. 24v/25r (size: 80%)

7 us biscoþopum 7 allum meoþe pꝛostfū
 7 sƿiðe ðeoƿe be boden þæt æfter searon
 mænegan 7 cýhtan toƿ leaƿde mæn georne
 eo toƿne sapla þær. 7 hu geagan heƿ on
 lufe iudicet to libbanne. 7 sƿe sƿa ne doð
 þonne beo pe sƿiðe seƿlto ge ƿið ge ælmih
 tigne. Nu ƿille we toƿ seƿgan be þær hal
 gan sunnan dæġ haligrihte. hu se ælmih
 tga ge hinc ge halgode 7 hu be ƿiðe þæt he
 fterol be ƿam allum un rihte dædum
 7 þeoƿedea ƿroscu. ƿo ƿe ƿat þæt hit is eoƿ
 un cude þonne ge þær se ælton. hit ƿær þæt
 siððan æt se þær ælmihtigan gode sƿa ƿær
 asƿagen up to hroftna ƿat. ƿeððan he hæfde
 he ge ƿunad on mang manna þreo 7. xx. v.
 ƿintia 7 hrealf geay. þæt men ƿoƿ symdon gode
 laga. sƿiðdon þon heoƿa þær se ƿerson. 7 þa
 halgan sunnan dæġ fterol ƿyſr heolbon
 þonne hit geode lic ƿiðde ƿære. Ða ascende
 se ælmihtiga geod an æter to ge ƿat aƿan of
 heofon be anum halgan anġe to anum
 biſcepe se hato ƿearf. se ƿær biſcepe
 þære beah þær he se ge
 æt ge se

Plate C: London, Lambeth Palace 489, fols. 25v/26r (size: 80%)

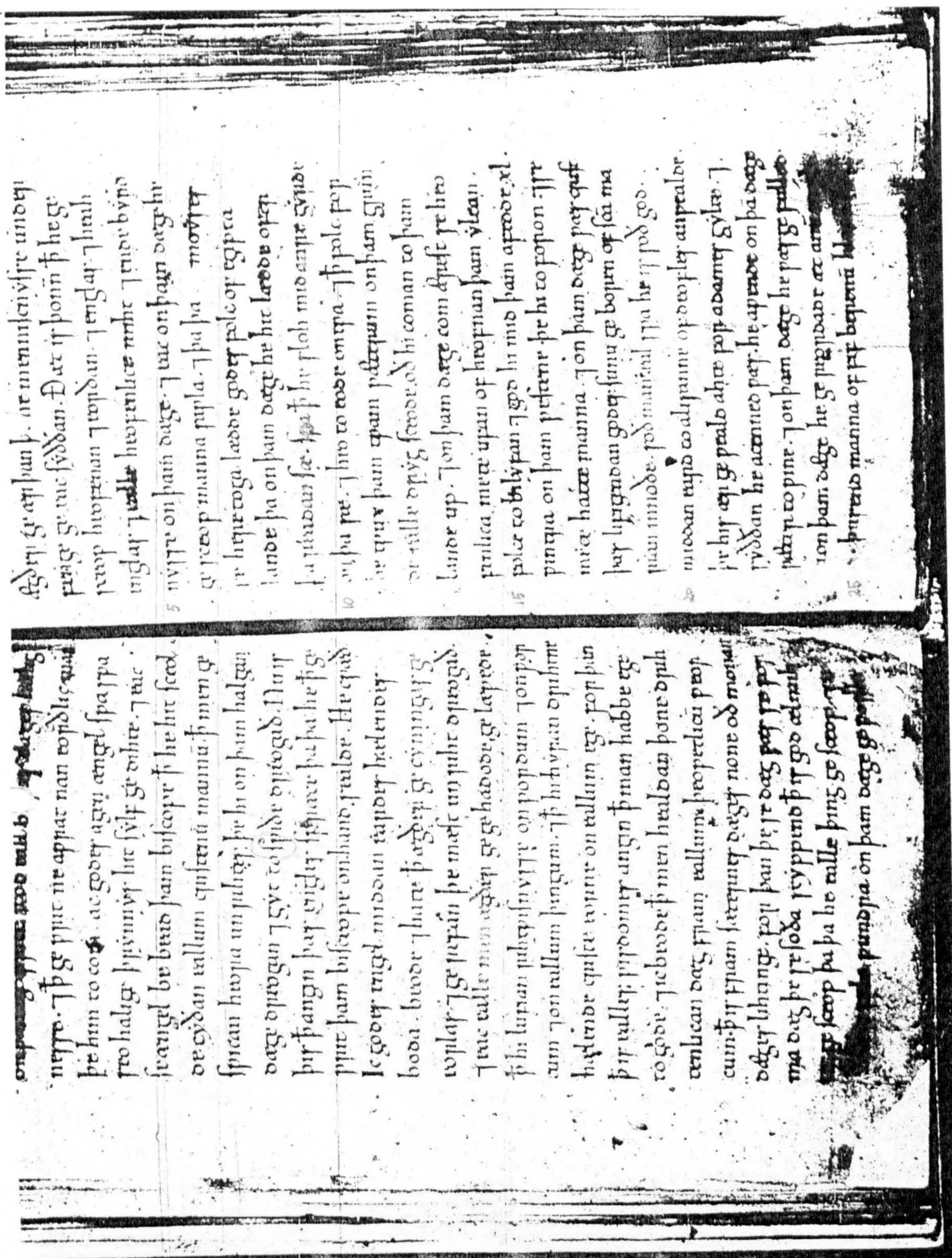


Plate D: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii 38v/39r (size: 80%)

ge bletsote . 7 inio his æternum
 preo hi strot . þ hi rihtne cristen
 dom þanon soðð georne boðian
 scolooh . 7 hrofa . æt ætengum
 þ ylce be beoan . Nu synðan se
 biſceopas to þam sylran geſtate .
 þ we boðian ſcolan . goot riht
 geofne 7 unriht soð beoan .
 gýme ſede wille . And nu þ iſ þ
 we habbað on goot naman preo .
 ðung . soð cristenomeſ ſýðð
 þung . biſceop ge bletsone . ſpa
 ſpa ge sylfe ſpude ge ſapon . 7
 eac ofer hyrdum . **W**ile we engd
 ealle . under ſtoot ſede cude .
 nu wille we ſpudean þam be
 hit nyſtan . hu biſceop hatoſ
 purioan . aſet ætalo . 7 be
 goot . oihce mannum ge ſe

39
Moyſes hatte . ſede on gearwa
 gum be goot ægnum oihce
 rihte lage ſepte . 7 he þa ge
 halgode aaron to biſceope .
 ſpa ſpa goot oihce . 7 of þam
 cýnne ætær þære wíran ſýððan
 purioan mane . oð þ criste æt
 ætalo on oðre wíran hu
 biſceop haa ſcoloe of mannan
 cýnnyman . ſýððan æppun
 gan . ſpa ſpa he ge ſpudeade
 tac þaða he ge bletsote of his
 ægnum . apotolum biſceopas
 mane . 7 preo þære ealroſ .
 ſape he ætær be tate . 7 hiten
 preo caga tac him be ſepte .
 7 hec þ he heoloe . 7 iuldice wæl
 de . be manna ge wíhtum . hpa
 þa in moſe 7 þa nane moſe

Plate E: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii 39v/40r (size: 80%)

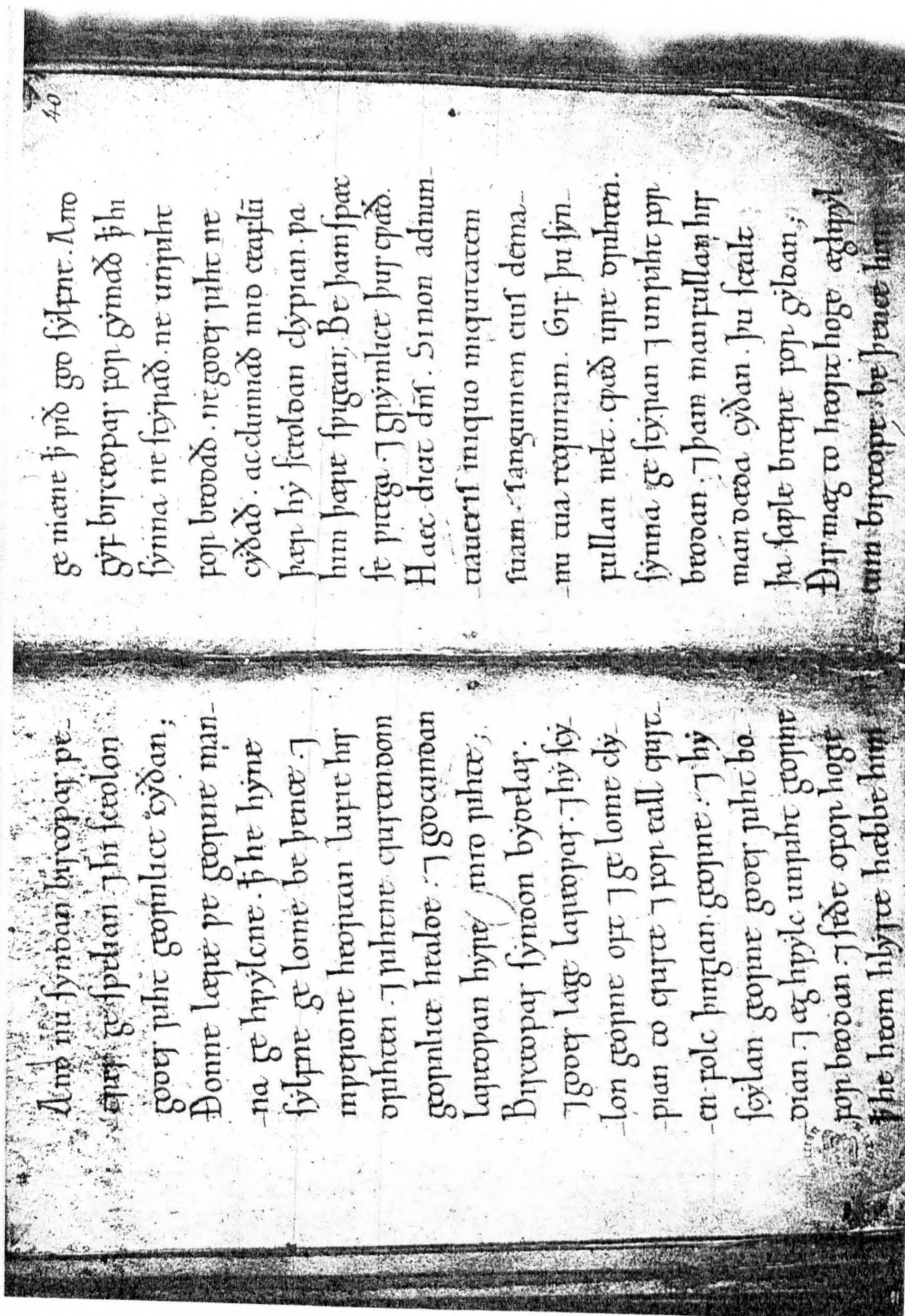


Plate F: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii 43v/44r (size: 80%)

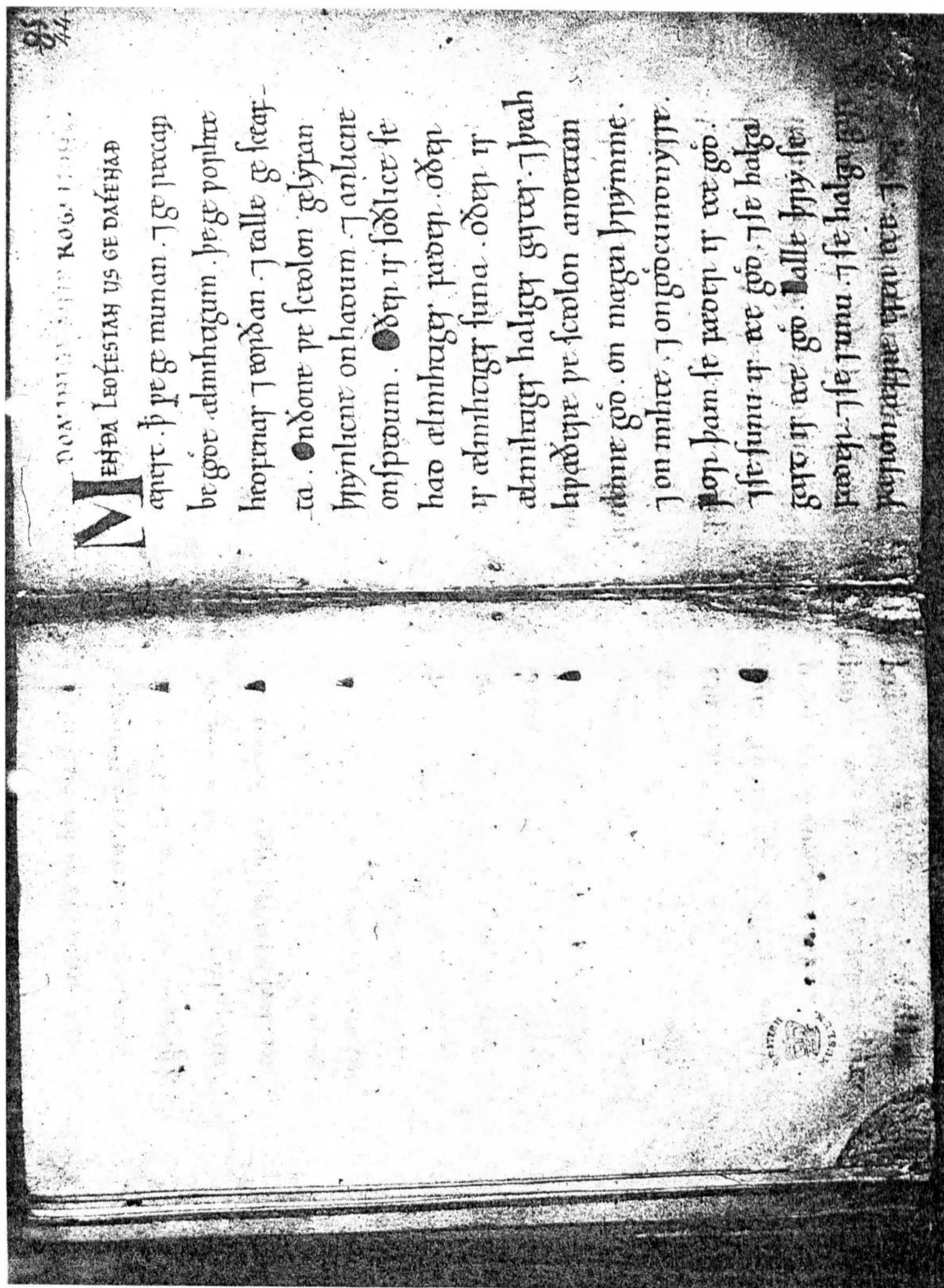


Plate G: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii 44v/45r (size: 80%)

beoð. 7 hi 7 his synðon an we
 gōð. fram þam. 7 þurh þam. 7
 7 on þam synðon gepordra ealle
 þa þing þe ge seþne synðon. þa
 ne mæg nan eorðlic mann ealle
 afeagan. afeort onþrymde he
 ge worhte. heortnas. 7 eorðan.
 7 se. 7 ealle þa þing þe on him
 synðon. 7 ealle þa englas. þe on
 heortnum synðon. 7 ealle þa þe
 of englum to droflum forscra-
 penne purdon. ealle he hi of him
 sylfum. mid his ordode. ut abbaþ.
 7 þone þe he forernarostne
 hæfde. oþer ealle þa oðre englas.
 se þær licen ge haten. þis on
 urum ge þeode leoht beþene
 ge seah. Ac he eft þa he hine
 ealne his scyppene ge licne

43
 oon worde. 7 him þinum seð on
 norð oðre heortnas. 7 ge
 timbran worde. of þam he
 wene afeoll. 7 ealle þa þe
 æt þam worde mid him wæron.
 7 him afeor be sapon ealle hi
 purdon of englum to droflum
 forscapene. 7 on helle be seon-
 þene þær hi a on eorðe wæron
 þolad. for þam þe hi for ho-
 godon hysa scyppene ealra
 tigne gōð. syððan he ge worhte
 of eorðan lare þone afeortan
 mann þe æfre wæs. þone he
 be naman adam nemde. 7 him
 on bledw licne gyt. 7 him
 ealle eorðan ge scapen on ge-
 wealde seah. 7 se þær wæs. 7 he
 þam his sumiges worde

Plate H: CCCC 421, pp. 94/95 (size: 80%)

aþrafaſan þe ætwe onſumum þing
 punodan. 7 onſumum ge endodon.
 into þam clarian huſe heopenan
 ſweſmyrlice. achi beoð droplum
 ge lica. 7 onrencyſe mid droplum
 on helle. 7 we cpylmað. Hæmaz
 eall midðan twið anum þara
 ge þincian. þe cweſt þuſto cpað.
 Diſcedite a me maledicti in igne
 æterni. qui pre parati ſunt diabolo
 & angelis eiſus. þiſ geƿitað ƿamne
 ge æƿigedænan into þa eam ƿy
 þe þam deofle iſge gƿitcod. þuſ
 æƿigedum englum. þa ſumtan
 mædenn clypodon. hlaford. hla
 ƿord. hæz geopenan uſ þ geat. ætſe
 hlaford anð ƿyðe. Soð ic eoƿſeas
 ne eam ic eoƿ. þ ƿæt ne eam. ſe þ
 ealle þing eamne. hene eamne

Plate I: London, Lambeth Palace 489, fol 24v (original size)

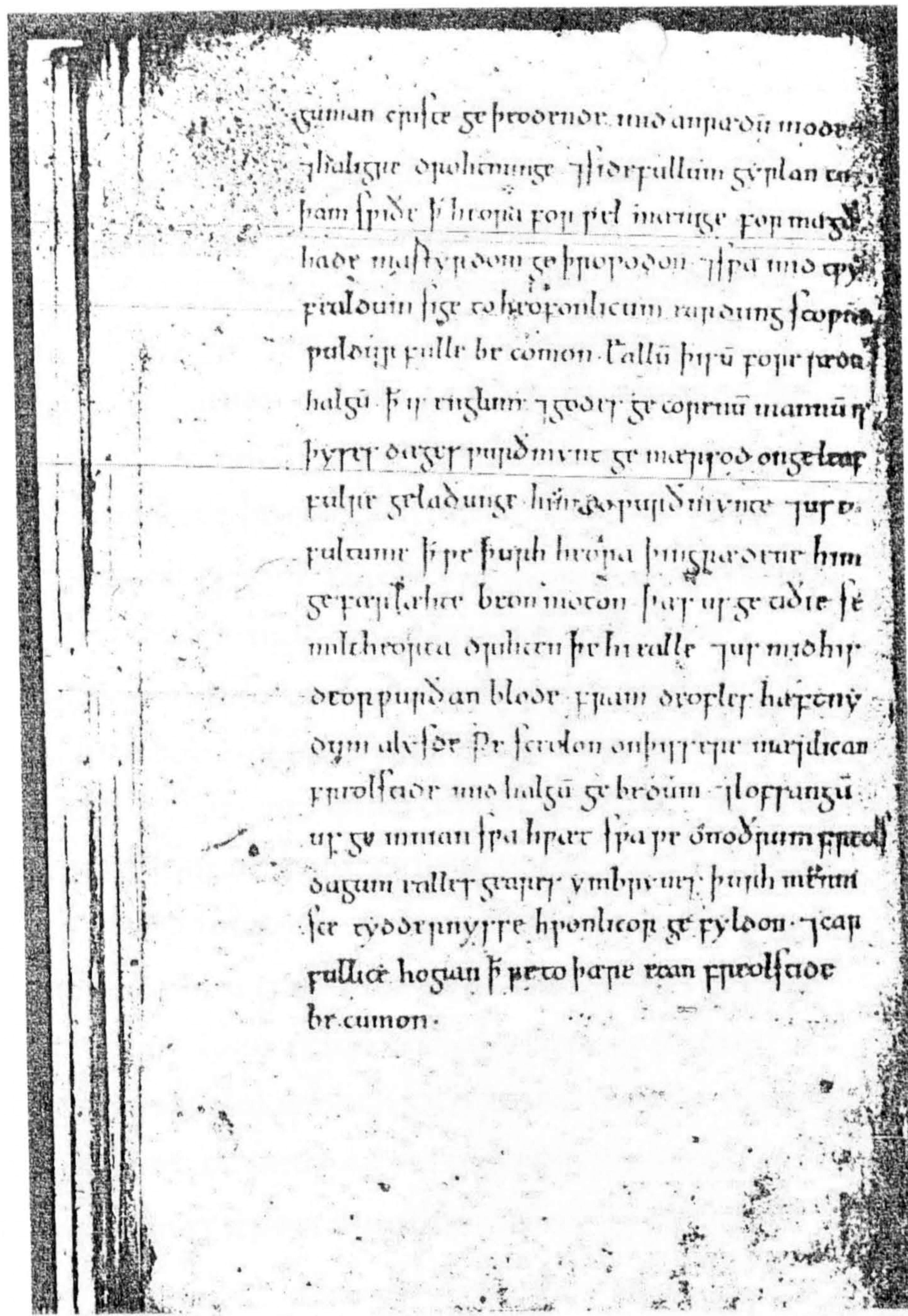


Plate L: Cambridge, University Library li. 2. 11, fol. 2

[cf. P. Robinson, *Dated and Datable Manuscripts in Cambridge Libraries*
c. 737-1600, 2 vols. II (Cambridge, 1988)]

Matthæus Cantuar? 1574

INITIUM SCI EUGL SCOM OIAIHM—

FIER MATHEUS GERECEDHESSE HER IS CHEORIS—
re boc hælender guster dauider suna. abraham
mæter suna. Soðlice abraham ge sctiýnde isaac.
isaac ge sctiýnde iacob. iacob ge sctiýnde iudam
thiý ge bryður. iuday ge sctiýnde pharise. 7 zaiam.
of þam pife þe paf ge nemned thamar. pharise
ge sctiýnde ephraim. ephraim ge sctiýnde aser.
aser ge sctiýnde aminadab. aminadab ge sctiýnde.
naaþon. naaþon ge sctiýnde salmon. salmon ge
sctiýnde booz. of þam pife naab. booz ge sctiýnde
obeth of þam pife iuth. obeth ge sctiýnde iþse.
iþse ge sctiýnde þone cýning dauid. dauid cining
ge sctiýnde salomon of þam pife þe paf uria.
pif. salomon ge sctiýnde ioboam. ioboay ge sctiýnde
abiam. abia ge sctiýnde asa. asa ge sctiýnde
iosaphath. iosaphath ge sctiýnde ioriam. ioriam
ge sctiýnde oziam. oziam ge sctiýnde ioatham.
ioatham ge sctiýnde achaz. achaz ge sctiýnde

Plate N: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 23v/24r (size: 80%)

ſince . 7 he 7 hiſ þiſ þa beaſt
 geſceapen . ær ge ſuna
 ge wearna . 7 he leofode ær
 him geapra . 7 ær . geara
 ſcedan ſpealc . ſpa ſpa him
 beſæten wæs for þan gylte .
 7 hiſ ſaple ge winne to helpe
 Hu ſineagað ſume men þa
 non him come . ſaple . þeode
 þe of þam weore þe of þære
 meore . þe ceapað of heora
 naðrum . ac ſe ilca god þe ge
 ſceop adam mid hiſ handum .
 he ge ſceopð ælce mannes
 lichaman on hiſ meore .
 De 7 ſe ylca ſe þe aþreop eni
 ænigne lichaman 7 him
 for gear ſaple . ſe ilca for
 gið ælcum ſaple . 7 hiſ on

þroga moðor innoðe. þonne
 bið ~~scapene~~ beoð. ⁊ he la-
 habban agenne cýre. þonne
 hi ge weaxne beoð. swa swa
 adam hæfde. þa weaþð þa
 hwæðlice micel ~~gumne~~ ge-
 weaxen. ⁊ weaþð manega on
 yfel aþene. ⁊ ge gremodon.
 god mid myslum liahwum.
 ⁊ swiðost mid foligne. Ða
 weaþð god to þan swiðe ge ge-
 moð þurh mænna manwea-
 ðe he cwæð þim of þurfe þ
 he æfre man cýn ge seop.
 Ða weaþð hweð^{re} an man 7ur-
 þur æt þonan gode. se weaþ
 noe ge hæten. þa cwæð god
 to him. Ic will. weaþð don eall
 mancýn mid weaþere weaþ

Plate O: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 2r (original size)

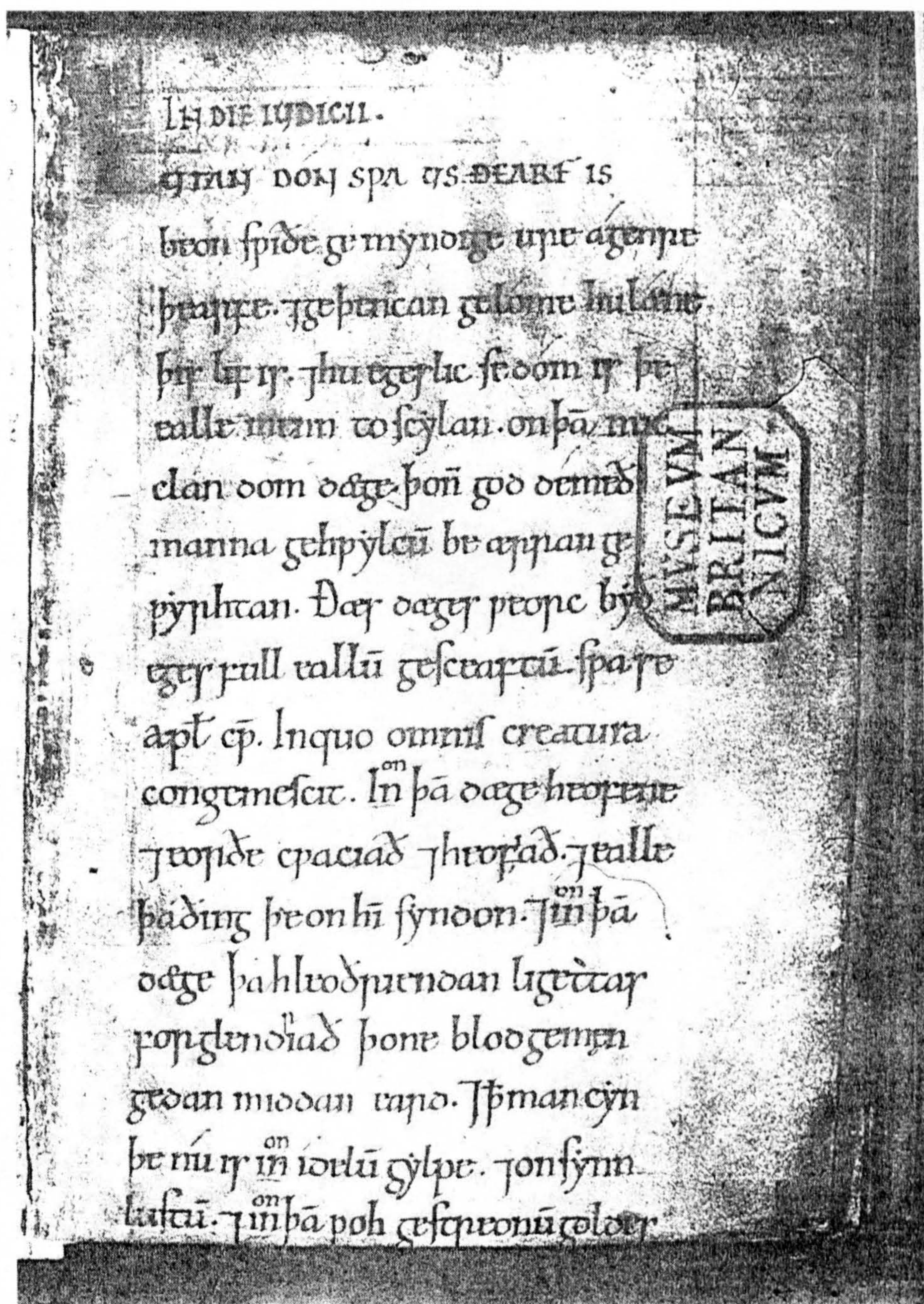


Plate P: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 3v/4r (size: 80%)

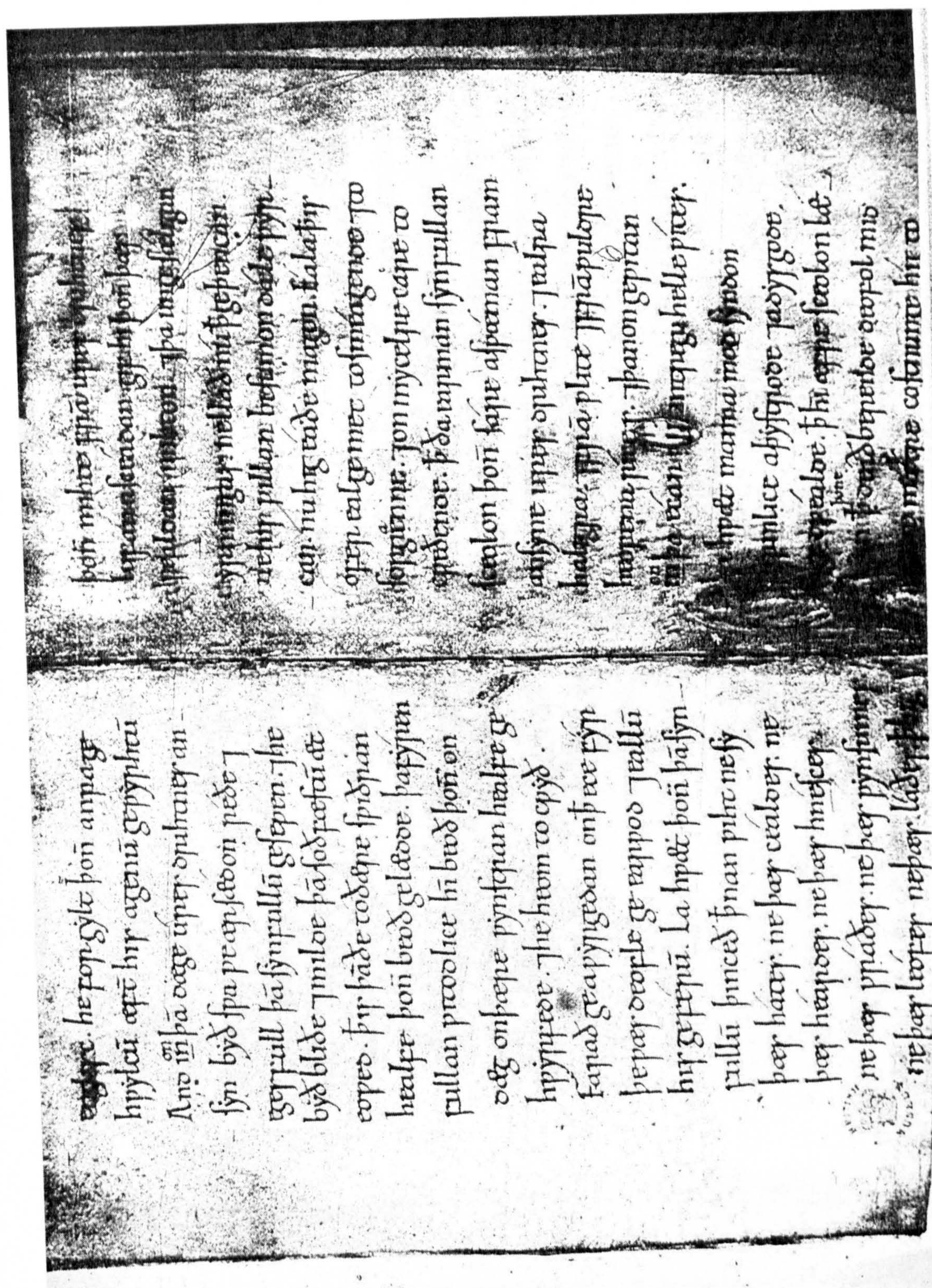


Plate Q : London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra B. xiii, fols. 30v/31r (size: 80%)

For we live into good: Soe it onereth
 man to live.

DEDICATIONS SETS
 L EORAN MEI. IC WILLE EORNU CYÐAN
 YMBE CYRIC MARYSUNG. BESE
 GEORNIOR UNDERI STANDAN. MORGAN
 HUMAN CYRICAN PEOP. HAN SEDE.
 BEGEDE SOLGUM WOLOFE WOLWULD
 IN YNTE GEHAL. GOD BIDA. ~~BESE~~ DOG
 PAS ANBUT. APO. ~~WOLWULD~~ MIBI
 GUM WOLOFE BUMAN. PAS. BE. WUL
 GEWULSALEM. PAS. AN. BE. SE. MORGAN
 CYRIC. SALOMON. DA. WOL. SE. MUM.
 PAS. SALOMON. BE. AL. SPYDE. PEL. EAL
 SPA. HIN. GE. CYNDE. PAS. PAS. GORGAN
 SONA. ON. BE. GE. GODE. GOD. WUL. HAN
 EALLU. MORGAN. GE. GODE. MORGAN. SE
 BE. OR. HAN. PAS. DOMES. PAS. MORGAN. PAS.
 EAC. PAS. WIDA. PAS. ID. GOD. AL. PAS.

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