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ON THE NORTHERN PROVENANCE OF CAMBRIDGE, TRINITY COLLEGE MS R.7.5

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Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5 contains an early eleventh-century copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which was subject to significant correction in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. As such it was produced and intensively used at the peak of the popularity of Bede's historical text in medieval England, which Antonia Gransden and R.H.C. Davis long ago linked to the renewal of monasticism in the North in the long twelfth century. This essay explores how this manuscript, which has been accepted to be of northern provenance, fits into this wider context. It interrogates the evidence provided by additions to the manuscript and annotations of the text itself to argue that this copy of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which has hitherto not been linked to a specific religious house, was in the possession of the canons at Hexham from shortly after their re-formation as an Augustinian community in 1113 until the Dissolution. In doing so it demonstrates how, against the wider backdrop of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* as an inspiration for religious renewal in the North, the interests of the canons of Hexham in the text in the twelfth century were motivated by specific issues of jurisdiction.

Keywords: Bede; Hexham; Augustinians; historical writing; hagiography; liturgy; St Oswald of Northumbria; St Wilfrid; St Æthelthryth

Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5 contains an early eleventh-century copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* written by multiple hands. Countless corrections were made to it in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, including the insertion of new leaves. It contains many indications of liturgical usage and of reading across several successive centuries. The initial production and correction of this manuscript took place in the context of substantial interest in Bede's historical text, with just

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over a third of surviving English manuscripts of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* dating from the long twelfth century.¹ In the 1980s both Antonia Gransden and R.H.C. Davis explored the reasons for Bede's popularity in this period, with Gransden highlighting the importance of Bede as an inspiration for the renewal of monasticism in the North, both in the late eleventh century when William of Saint Calais instituted a monastic community in Durham cathedral, and also in the later twelfth century when the Cistercians established several foundations in the North.² Davis delved deeper into the influence of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the re-establishment of monasticism in the North, pointing out that sites chosen for monastic foundations were invariably places mentioned by Bede, such as Monkwearmouth, Jarrow, Tynemouth, Melrose, Whitby and Lastingham.³ He also argued that the text seems to have been most valued as monastic history, as demonstrated by the fact that the majority of surviving manuscripts with firm provenances were in the possession of monastic houses.⁴ More recently Tessa Webber has added to our understanding of the popularity of the *Historia Ecclesiastica* in the long twelfth century, by revealing that many copies were marked up for liturgical readings, providing hagiographical lections for delivery as part of the night office.⁵

Trinity R.7.5 was used by J. E. Mayor and J. R. Lumby for their edition of books III and IV of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, published in 1879, and was catalogued by M. R. James in 1901.⁶ Additions at the end of the manuscript led James to conclude that it must have been in a northern monastery, but he was unable to locate it to a particular house. Gameson, Gneuss and Lapidge have all accepted this northern provenance, but suggest that the manuscript probably originated in the south of England, before finding its way to a northern religious house at some point after c. 1100.⁷ The only secure pre-Trinity provenance for this manuscript is that it was once in the possession of either archbishop Matthew Parker or his son and namesake. The name 'Matthew Parker' is found on the opening-flyleaf and the distinctive red chalk used by the archbishop and his sons can be seen on various folios.⁸ This essay comprises a close study of the additions and numerous interlinear and marginal

¹ T. Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lections in Pre- and Post-Conquest England', in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. by M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (Farnham, 2015), pp. 47–76, at 47.

² A. Gransden, 'Bede's Reputation as an Historian in Medieval England', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 32 (1981), 397–425, at 413–14.

³ R. H. C. Davis, 'Bede after Bede', in *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R. Allen Brown*, ed. by C. Harper-Bill, C. J. Holdsworth and J. L. Nelson (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 103–16, at 106.

⁴ Davis, 'Bede after Bede', p. 113.

⁵ Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lections'.

⁶ Bede, *Historiae ecclesiasticae gentis Anglorum libri iii, iv*, ed. by J. E. B. Mayor and J. R. Lumby (Cambridge, 1879), p. 414; M. R. James, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge. A Descriptive Catalogue*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, 1901), pp. 219–22.

⁷ R. Gameson, *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England (c. 1066–1130)* (Oxford, 1999), no. 176; H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Studies 241 (Tempe, AZ, 2001), no. 181; H. Gneuss and M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Bibliographical Handlist of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100* (Toronto, 2014), no. 181.

⁸ See N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), p. liii and M. Budny, *Insular Anglo-Saxon and Early Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: An Illustrated Catalogue*, 2 vols (Kalamazoo, 1997), I, 626.

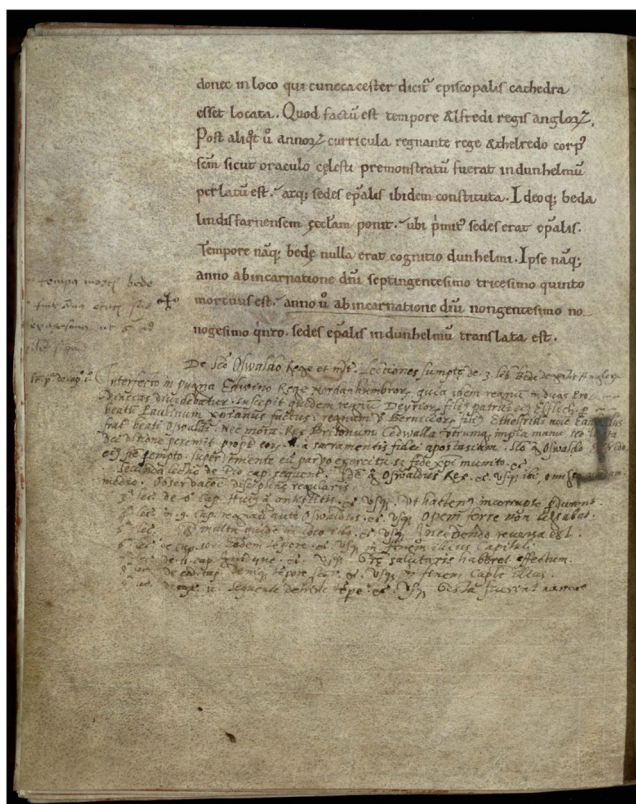


FIGURE 1. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5, f. 249v. The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

annotations in Trinity R.7.5 and considers how it fits into this wider context of a northern monastic revival around the time of its production and initial correction. It argues that the manuscript's home between c. 1100 and the Dissolution was most likely at Hexham, another early monastic foundation mentioned by Bede. Hexham disappears from the historical record at the beginning of the ninth century and reappears in the eleventh century as a secular church in the possession of Durham.⁹ In 1113 Hexham was re-formed as an Augustinian Priory under York's patronage, precipitating a sustained engagement by the community with their foundation's early medieval history through both historical and hagiographical texts and also liturgical commemoration. Bede's *HE* was an essential source in this endeavour and this essay argues that Trinity R.7.5 was Hexham's copy.

⁹ D. Rollason, 'The Hexham Bishop-Saints: Cults, History and Power', in *Saints of North-East England, 600–1500*, ed. by M. Coombe, A. E. Mouron and C. Whitehead (Turnhout, 2017), pp. 177–96, at 178–79.

Additions to the Manuscript

At the end of the manuscript are to be found a paragraph about Lindisfarne (written in a twelfth-century hand on f. 249r–v), a set of lections for Oswald of Northumbria (written in an early sixteenth-century hand on f. 249v (Fig. 1)), and a set of episcopal prognostics (written in a twelfth-century hand on f. 250v–251r).¹⁰ It was the presence of the paragraph about Lindisfarne and the Oswald lections that led James to comment that he had ‘little doubt... that the book was in a northern monastery’, but that he could not ‘definitely trace it either to Durham or to any other house’. A closer reading of the lections coupled with a contextualisation of the Lindisfarne paragraph does, however, allow us to narrow down the options. Before examining the lections and Lindisfarne paragraph in more detail, however, we shall briefly consider the episcopal prognostics, which are rather less revealing in terms of locating the manuscript. They have previously been studied by George Henderson, who has demonstrated that the list of forty-two archbishops and bishops was compiled in the 1120s. He has detected a pro-monastic bias in the list, though his argument for this is somewhat speculative and cannot really be used to argue for a monastic provenance.¹¹ Indeed, in terms of provenance the list is not particularly revealing. As Henderson points out, the absence of William of Saint Calais from the list, when many of his contemporaries are included, as well as the misnaming of the prior of Durham, Turgot, who became bishop of St Andrews in 1109 (who in the list is called Tuoldus) speaks against Durham.¹² The list contains prognostics for archbishops and bishops from nineteen English sees, one Scottish see, three Welsh sees and one Norman see. The see with the most bishops included is Hereford, with six representing the complete succession from Walter of Lotharingia (consecrated 1061) to Richard de Capella (consecrated 1121); however, it is difficult to construe any particular pattern to the wider compilation that would point to a place of composition.

The other twelfth-century addition at the end of the manuscript is the passage about Lindisfarne. It does not appear to have been previously remarked upon that this passage, which describes the removal of St Cuthbert’s body from Holy Island to Durham via Chester-le-Street (and thus explains why no mention of Durham is found in the *HE*) is taken verbatim from the chronicle of John of Worcester:

Lindisfarne is said to be an island, and it is commonly called Holy Island. It is set in the sea and every day low tide permits those approaching to make a dry journey. The

¹⁰ The paragraph about Lindisfarne is found in one other manuscript of the *HE*, Cambridge, St John’s College MS S.6. This is a fifteenth-century manuscript comprising Geoffrey of Monmouth’s *Historia Britonum* and an Augustinian sermon as well as Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*. Colgrave and Mynors suggest it may well be descended from Trinity R.7.5. The scribe was John Malberthorpe, a fellow of Lincoln College Oxford and of Eton College. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. by B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors, OMT (Oxford, 1972), pp. xlvi. On Malberthorpe see N. R. Ker, *Books, Collectors and Libraries*, ed. A. G. Watson (London, 1985), p. 316.

¹¹ G. Henderson, ‘*Sortes Biblicae* in Twelfth-Century England: The List of Episcopal Prognostics in Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5’, in *England in the Twelfth Century: Proceedings of the 1988 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. by D. Williams (Woodbridge, 1990), pp. 113–35, at 129: ‘The list of prognostics in Trinity MS R.7.5 appears to have been compiled about 1123. Some of the prognostics might have been seen to reflect badly on the secular bishops at a time of particular hostility between the secular and monastic interests in the Church’.

¹² Henderson, ‘*Sortes Biblicae*’, p. 118.

episcopal see of Cuthbert and his predecessors, and also of his successors for a long time, was on this island, but in the time when Inguar and Hubba laid waste England, Eardwulf, who was then bishop of the church of Lindisfarne, left the island with those of his church because of the cruelty of the barbarians, bearing the incorrupt body of St Cuthbert, and for many years he wandered about among insecure settlements with St Cuthbert's body until the episcopal see could be established at a place called Chester-le-Street, which occurred in the time of Alfred, king of the English. After the course of many years, in the reign of Æthelred, king of the English, the holy body, just as it had been revealed by the heavenly oracle, was borne into Durham and the episcopal see established there. St Bede located the church at Lindisfarne where the episcopal see was at first, since in his time Durham was not known. But in the 995th year from the incarnation of Our Lord Jesus Christ the bishop's seat was translated to Durham.¹³

In John's chronicle this is effectively a standalone passage added in a long and thin rectangular box in the margin alongside the years 994–1000 on p. 318 in what is taken to be his autograph manuscript, Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 157.¹⁴ The overall content of the paragraph is evidently derived from Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio*, but not from the entry for just one year and, as John's modern editors have commented, it is difficult to identify specific verbal borrowings.¹⁵ As Martin Brett long since demonstrated, not only did John of Worcester know Symeon's work, but the Durham historian was familiar with John's chronicle too and both men were part of a wider network or workshop of early-twelfth-century monastic historians.¹⁶ While the paragraph about Lindisfarne is found in other copies of John's chronicle (also in the margins), if it was adopted by any of the many historians who subsequently made use of John's work, no evidence of this of which I am aware survives.¹⁷ The inserter of the passage at the end of Trinity R.7.5 thus seems to have had access to a copy of John's chronicle after the marginal information about Lindisfarne, Chester-le-Street and

¹³ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester: Volume II: The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. by R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, OMT (Oxford, 1995), pp. 444–46: 'Lindisfarne id est dicitur insula a uulgo Haligealond apellatur. In mari sita est, maris recessus cotidie intransibus siccum prebet iter. In hac insula sedes episcopales sunt Cuthberti et antecessorum eius, successorum quoque multo tempore. Ea uero tempestate quo Hinguar et Hubba Angliam uastauerunt, Eardulfus qui tunc episcopus erat Lindisfarnensis ecclesie cum his qui in ecclesia erant incorruptum sancti Cuthberhti corpus tollens, insulam reliquit propter barbarorum immanitatem, et per aliquot annos incertis sedibus cum sancti Cuthberhti corpore uagabatur donec in loco qui Cunegaceastre dicitur episcopalis cathedra esset locata, quod factum est tempore Ælfredi regis Anglorum. Post annorum curricula multorum, regnante Ægelredo rege Anglorum, corpus sanctum, sicut oraculo celesti premonstratum fuerat, in Dunhelmum perlatum est atque sedes episcopalis ibidem constituta. Iccirco sanctus Beda Lindisfarnensem ecclesiam ponit, ubi primitus sedes erat episcopalis, tempore nanque Bede nulla erat cognitio Dunhelmi. Anno uero ab incarnatione Domini nostri Iesu Christi nongentesimo nonagesimo quinto sedes episcopalis in Dunhelmum translata est.'

¹⁴ On autograph manuscripts of historical texts and the complicated scribal evidence of John's chronicle see L. Cleaver, 'Autograph History Books in the Twelfth Century', in *Writing History in the Anglo-Norman World: Manuscripts, Makers and Readers, c. 1066–c. 1250*, ed. by L. Cleaver and A. Worm (Woodbridge, 2018), pp. 93–112, at 100–104.

¹⁵ *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by Darlington and McGurk, p. 447, n. 1.

¹⁶ M. Brett, 'John of Worcester and his Contemporaries', in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R.W. Southern*, ed. by R.H.C. Davis and J.M. Wallace Hadrill (Oxford, 1981), pp. 101–26, at 118–21.

¹⁷ The paragraph is incorporated in slightly different places in different manuscripts of John's Chronicle. See *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. by Darlington and McGurk, p. 444, n. g.

Durham had been added.¹⁸ Brett suggests that Durham's copy of John of Worcester's work probably did not include the additions from the *Libellus de exordio*, so Durham is unlikely to have been the source of this additional passage.¹⁹

The final item added to the end of the manuscript is a set of nine Oswald lections, written in an early-sixteenth-century hand. While sixteenth-century additions do not provide evidence of twelfth-century ownership, it will be shown below that there is a certain affinity between the twelfth-, fourteenth- and sixteenth-century additions and annotations, which suggests that all were undertaken either at the same foundation or, which seems less likely, at multiple foundations with similar interests across the centuries. The fact that there are nine lections given for Oswald's feast suggests the home of this manuscript in the early sixteenth century was not a monastic community living under the rule of St Benedict, as James seemed to assume with his reference to Durham,²⁰ but instead a community following the secular *cursus*. That nine lections are indicated points not only, however, to a secular foundation as home to the manuscript by the sixteenth century, but also reinforces the argument that it belonged to a community in the northern province where Oswald's feast was celebrated as a feast of nine lessons – in the Sarum rite Oswald's feast was of only three lessons.²¹ An analysis of the lections themselves strengthens the suggestion of a provenance within York's orbit. The first lection, which is written out in full, is a summary of information in *HE* iii. 1 and significantly mentions Paulinus, the first bishop of York, thereby tying Oswald into the foundation story of the archdiocese.²² Bede tells us in *HE* ii.14 that Paulinus had baptised Oswald's predecessor Edwin at York and that Edwin had subsequently begun the construction of a stone church, which was completed by Oswald. The lection ends with Oswald's victory over Caedwalla, and the return of Northumbria to the Christianity originally instituted by Edwin and Paulinus. Unlike the first lection the remaining lections are taken directly from the main text of the manuscript and are indicated by their book and chapter number with the precise passages located through the supply of opening and closing phrases. The second lection is taken from *HE* iii. 3 and describes Oswald summoning Aidan and the establishment of his see on Lindisfarne. An unspecified section in the middle is to be omitted, presumably Bede's digression about how Aidan observed Easter incorrectly, a practice of his that Bede elsewhere professes to 'heartily detest'.²³ The remaining seven lections describe Oswald's piety and the Easter Feast at which Aidan blessed his right arm (lection 3, *HE* iii.6), his death and the miraculous nature

¹⁸ Brett suggests a possible exchange of Durham and Worcester materials between 1122 and 1135. Brett, 'John of Worcester', pp. 121–22.

¹⁹ Brett, 'John of Worcester', p. 121.

²⁰ James, *Western Manuscripts*, p. 222.

²¹ Oswald's feast was one of nine lessons according to surviving York calendars and the York Breviary. *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie eboracensis*, ed. by S. W. Lawley, Surtees Society 71, 75 (1880, 1883), II, 450–53.

²² The text of this lection runs to only seventy words and is therefore significantly shorter than the chapter it summarises. The inclusion of variant words in the lection (e.g. a different tense is used to describe the division of the kingdom into two provinces in the lection than in the main body of the chapter text on f. 83r) perhaps suggests it was copied from another source. However, given the extent of the abbreviation of the chapter in the lection we probably should not read too much into these differences.

²³ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, pp. 264–65.

of his death spot (lection 4, *HE* iii.9), the healing of the horse and the girl at Oswald's death spot (lection 5, *HE* iii. 9), the dust that could repel fire (lection 6, *HE* iii.10) the column of light that appeared over Oswald's bones during their translation to Bardney, and the miraculous property of earth that had been sprinkled with water used to wash his bones (lection 7, *HE* iii.11), and miracles associated with his tomb at Bardney (lections 8 and 9, *HE* iii.11, 12 and 13).

In light of the fact that these lections were written in the blank space following the description of Lindisfarne, it is worth dwelling on the second lection the full text of which describes in detail the establishment of the see on Lindisfarne and provides a description of the tidal nature of Holy Island, which echoes the opening of John of Worcester's description above: 'As the tide ebbs and flows, this place is surrounded by sea twice a day like an island, and twice a day the sand dries and joins it to the mainland'.²⁴ The inclusion of this lengthy passage about Lindisfarne in this set of lections is remarkable. Judging by surviving evidence for lections for Oswald in the northern province, the only other foundation at which this passage from the *HE* appears to have been used for matins readings was at Durham itself, which was heavily invested in the past (and present) of Holy Island.²⁵ The establishment of the see on Lindisfarne is mentioned in the first lection found in the Surtees edition of the York Breviary, but this is a very brief abbreviation of information found in *HE* iii 1, 2 and 3, which covers Edwin's death and Oswald's succession, Oswald's summoning of Aidan and the foundation of Lindisfarne, all in a few short sentences.²⁶ The use of this lengthy passage about Holy Island in the lections demonstrates that this manuscript was, in the sixteenth century as in the twelfth, at a foundation for which Lindisfarne held particular significance. In their entirety, the lections in Trinity R.7.5. are considerably lengthier than the short, abbreviated lections found in the York Breviary.

York interest in Oswald is evidenced from an early period. He plays a key role in Alcuin's poem on the bishops, kings and saints of York and his commemoration was also tied into the history of York in references to him in other saints' offices in the Surtees York Breviary. He is invoked, for example, in liturgies for Aidan, Paulinus, Wilfrid and Everilda.²⁷ It has also been suggested that archiepiscopal promotion of the cult might be behind a number of probable pre-Viking Oswald dedications in southern and western Northumbria.²⁸ Continued interest in Oswald at York is

²⁴ 'locus accedente ac recedente reumate bis cotidie instar insulae maris circumluitur undis, bis renudato litore contiguus terrae redditur'. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. 220.

²⁵ On matins lections in the north see J. Dale, 'Liturgical Landscapes in Post-Conquest England: Commemorating King Oswald in the Northern Province', *Viator* (forthcoming 2022). On historical writing at Durham see C. C. Rozier, *Writing History in the Community of St Cuthbert c. 700–1130* (Woodbridge, 2020).

²⁶ *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie eboracensis*, ed. by S. W. Lawley. 2 vols. Surtees Society 71, 75 (Durham, 1880, 1883), II: 450–53.

²⁷ Alcuin, *The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York*, ed. by P. Godman (Oxford, 1982), pp. 24–45; P. Stapleton, 'Alcuin's York Poem and Liturgical Contexts: Oswald's Adoration of the Cross', *Medium Ævum*, 82 (2013), 189–212; *Breviarium ad usum insignis ecclesie eboracensis*, II, 522, 613, 257, 388.

²⁸ E. Cambridge, 'Archaeology and the Cult of St Oswald in Pre-Conquest Northumbria', in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. by C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (Stamford, 1995), pp. 128–63, at 159.

evident after the Norman Conquest. Oswald is the only northern saint (other than local saint Everilda) represented in York's thirteenth-century relic list and he is depicted three times in the cathedral's magnificent thirteenth- and fourteenth-century stained glass, suggesting he remained an important saint at York over many centuries.²⁹ Writing in the 1160s Reginald of Durham mentioned that York possessed now lost Old English verses about Oswald, suggesting that interest in him extended beyond his liturgical commemoration too.³⁰ That the lections included in Trinity R.7.5 are not the same as those found in the Surtees edition of the York Breviary, which provides only 6 proper readings with the final three to be taken from the common for a single martyr, suggests we should not look to the Minster itself, but to foundations under its influence following a secular cursus.

Oswald was particularly significant at two secular foundations under York's influence, both of which were dedicated to the Northumbrian king, one in northern England and one further afield in the west of England. Gloucester Priory had been founded by 909 when Æthelflaed of Mercia had retrieved Oswald's bones from Bardney, which was then part of the Danelaw.³¹ The inclusion in the lections of the miracles associated with Oswald's remains at Bardney might therefore have held special resonance for the community at Gloucester, though in fact these passages were widely used as lections on Oswald's feast day and the miracle was referenced in the chant cycle for Oswald's proper office.³² St Oswald's Gloucester was a possession of the see of York that remained under York's jurisdiction until 1536. According to William of Malmesbury, in 1113 Archbishop Thomas was said to have broken into Oswald's shrine at Gloucester to see if it did actually contain the Northumbrian king's relics.³³ Thomas consequently fell ill and died in February 1114 and the repair of his shrine was left to his successor Thurstan.³⁴ Formerly a community of secular canons, in 1152 or 1153 Archbishop Henry Murdac re-founded St Oswald's as an Augustinian community.³⁵ Several churches in nearby parishes either in the possession of the priory or the archbishops of York were also dedicated to Oswald.³⁶

²⁹ I. G. Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics in Medieval England' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of London, 1974), p. 146; Stancliffe and Cambridge, 'Introduction', p. 10.

³⁰ D. Rollason, 'St Oswald in Post-Conquest England', in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. by C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (Stamford, 1995), pp. 164–77, at 167.

³¹ On the original translation of Oswald's bones from Bardney and the foundation of St. Oswald's Minster by Æthelflaed of Mercia in 909 see C. Heighway, 'Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald', in *Edward the Elder 899–924*, ed. by N. J. Higham and D. H. Hill (London, 2001), pp. 102–11 and M. Bintley, 'The Translation of St Oswald's Relics to New Minster, Gloucester: Royal and Imperial Resonances', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 19 (2014), 171–81.

³² The pillar of light at Bardney was referenced in the 12th Antiphon in Oswald's monastic office and this section of the *HE* was also marked up for reading in Peterborough's copy of Bede.

³³ William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, ed. by M. Winterbottom, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2007), p. 263.

³⁴ Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics', pp. 249–50. As Thomas points out, William of Malmesbury erased this incident from his autograph copy of the *Gesta Pontificum* and Reginald of Durham, writing later, paints Archbishop Thomas in a rather more favourable light.

³⁵ On Augustinian liturgy in England see R. W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 272–97.

³⁶ A. Binns, 'Pre-Reformation Dedications to St Oswald in England and Scotland: A Gazetteer', in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, ed. by C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (Stamford, 1995), pp. 241–71, at 249–51.

The northern secular foundation dedicated to Oswald, which had close connections to York, was Nostell priory. Its origins at the beginning of the twelfth century are slightly obscure. Recent research into the early charters suggests the story that Henry I's chaplain was so impressed with the community he found at Nostell on a trip north to Scotland that he joined it and became prior should be treated with circumspection. It is clear, however, that Nostell was supported by the king at an early date, though more important were the roles of Robert de Lacy I and Archbishop Thomas II.³⁷ The subsequent active support of Archbishop Thurstan enabled Nostell to become a wealthy and influential community.³⁸ As at Gloucester, a number of churches under its patronage were also dedicated to Oswald and, perhaps significantly due to a twelfth-century source that claimed Nostell possessed relics of Oswald, the church at Bamburgh was also under Nostell's control.³⁹ It was said that pilgrimage to Saint Oswald's at Nostell was still common in 1536, when Henry VIII's commissioners visited the church, a tantalising fact given that James dated the hand that wrote the lections under discussion to the sixteenth century.⁴⁰

However, as the York calendar designated Oswald's feast as one of nine lessons and he was an important saint at secular houses across the northern province, the lections found at the end of Trinity R.7.5. need not necessarily have been added at a foundation dedicated to the Northumbrian king. Elsewhere, Hexham was one secular foundation that had a particularly strong affinity to Oswald, having already been integral to his cult in Bede's day. Bede twice invokes Bishop Acca of Hexham as a source of posthumous miracle stories about Oswald.⁴¹ He also recounts that the monks of Hexham made an annual procession to the site of Oswald's victory over Caedwalla, which was not far from their church. Arriving on the eve of Oswald's feast, they would keep a vigil, reciting the psalter and offering a Holy Sacrifice for Oswald at dawn (*HE* iii.2).⁴² Shortly before Bede was writing, the brothers had constructed a small church on the site and one of the miracles associated with the cross Oswald erected at Heavenfield concerned a Hexham monk, Bothelm, whose broken arm was cured by a bit of old moss growing on the cross.⁴³ Hexham's interest in Oswald and the community's early medieval liturgical commemoration of him was thus deeply rooted in local topography and landscape. This topographical connection endured into the high Middle Ages. James Raine has drawn attention to a document in the registers of Archbishop Thomas Corbridge (1299–1304), in which the archbishop assents to the Prior of Hexham's request that Simon of Meynill be allowed to live the life of a hermit with a certain Brother John 'apud Sanctum Osewaldum juxta Hextildesham'.⁴⁴

³⁷ 'Nostell Priory', *Charters of William II and Henry I Project*, ed. by D. X. Carpenter and R. Sharpe, draft archive version H1-Nostell-2013-1, released 21/10/13.

³⁸ Rollason, 'St Oswald in Post-Conquest England', pp. 173–74.

³⁹ Binns, 'Pre-Reformation Dedications', pp. 252, 255, 263, 266; Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics', p. 251.

⁴⁰ Rollason, 'St Oswald in Post-Conquest England', p. 169.

⁴¹ Acca was the source for the miracles of the doubting Irish scholar (*HE* iii. 13) and Oswald's halting of the epidemic at Wilfrid's foundation at Selsey (*HE* iv. 14).

⁴² On open air processions in this period see H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 104–45.

⁴³ On the church at Heavenfield see Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places*, p. 140 and J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2006), p. 219 and n. 156.

⁴⁴ Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, Appendix, p. xxiii, doc. 22.

Although neither the story of the Hexham pilgrimage to Heavenfield nor Bothelm's shoulder being healed by moss from the cross are included in the sixteenth-century lections, the final lection does include material of particular interest to the community at Hexham. It is a lengthy reading that comprises the entirety of *HE* iii.12, which includes the miracle of the feverish boy cured of his sickness by proximity to Oswald's tomb at Bardney, a recap of the Northumbrian king's saintly qualities, his proverb, and the translations of different parts of his body to Bardney, Lindisfarne and Bamburgh. The lection does not stop at the end of the chapter, however; instead the opening sentences of iii.13 are also part of the lection:

Not only did the fame of this renowned king spread through all parts of Britain but the beams of his healing light also spread across the ocean and reached the realms of Germany and Ireland. For example, the most reverent Bishop Acca is accustomed to tell how, when he was on his way to Rome, he and his own Bishop Wilfrid stayed with the saintly Willibrord, archbishop of the Frisians, and often heard the archbishop describe the miracles which happened in that kingdom at the relics of the most reverend king.⁴⁵

In some ways this is a strange passage to find as part of the final lection. It introduces the miracle story that is to follow, concerning a doubting Irish scholar, which is not part of the lesson. It does not relate to the material in the previous chapter that *does* comprise the main content of the lection. While the first sentence of iii.13 illustrates Oswald's international fame and might seem like a natural passage to include as a finale, the inclusion of the second sentences seems unnecessary to this end. Instead, it is surely explained by the fact that the people mentioned held a special significance to the community where the lections were read as part of the night office. That the people referred to are Hexham's founder Wilfrid, Hexham's former bishop Acca and Willibrord, Wilfrid's pre-eminent pupil and Acca's friend, is suggestive of a Hexham provenance. It is hard to see what relevance this sentence would have had in other secular foundations in the north in the sixteenth century, with the possible exception of the collegiate church at Ripon, which had also been founded by Wilfrid.⁴⁶ Oswald's feast day, however, does not appear to have been important in late-medieval Ripon, with the feast of Wilfrid's nativity, which fell between 2 and 8 August depending on the year, being much more prominent and overshadowing Oswald's commemoration on 5 August.⁴⁷

Annotation of the Historia Ecclesiastica

In the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries Trinity R.7.5, which is part of the *c*-type tradition of Bede's text, was subjected to a campaign of corrections. One of the major differences between the *c* and *m* texts is the presence in the latter of a long

⁴⁵ 'Nec solum inelyti fama uiri Britanniae fines lustrauit uniuersos, sed etiam trans Oceanum longe radios salutiferae lucis spargens Germaniae simul et Hiberniae partes attingit. Denique reuerentissimus antistes Acca solet referre quia, cum Romam uadens apud sanctissimum Fresonum gentis archiepiscopum Uilbrordum cum suo antistite Uilfrido moraretur, crebro eum audierit de mirandis, quae ad reliquias eiusdem reuerentissimi regis in illa prouincia gesta fuerint, narrare'. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. 252.

⁴⁶ S. Werronen, *Religion, Time and Memorial Culture in Late Medieval Ripon* (Woodbridge, 2017), pp. 21–39.

⁴⁷ Werronen, *Religion, Time and Memorial Culture*, pp. 136–37.

account of a posthumous miracle of St Oswald at Wilfrid's monastery of Selsey (*HE* iv.14). The absence of this account in the *c* text was noticed and the miracle was included in many *c*-type manuscripts from the late eleventh century onwards.⁴⁸ In Trinity R.7.5 the Selsey miracle has been inserted on a bifolium (f. 151r–152v), with some erasure and rewriting on the following folio (f. 153r). While the inclusion of this miracle does not have to imply any special interest in Oswald and its addition often probably just points to a tendency to completeness, in some other manuscripts this Oswald miracle once added was marked up for liturgical reading with marginal roman numerals. In one manuscript from the first half of the twelfth century, the passage has a heading that makes apparent it was intended to be read aloud and Oswald's text is twice written in capitals and rubricated in the text.⁴⁹ In Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 163, the miracle was supplied over an erasure (f. 135v) and on an additional bifolium (f. 136–7). The passage in this manuscript, which was at Peterborough, a major centre of Oswald's cult, was subsequently marked for liturgical reading.⁵⁰ In addition to this initial stage of correction and expansion of Trinity R.7.5, the manuscript shows many other signs of usage and reading that can be grouped into four main stages of engagement with the text. Firstly, one or more twelfth-century hands have added several headings and marginal marks. Secondly, a cursive hand of the fourteenth century has made a number of marginal annotations. Thirdly, the Oswald lections were added and finally, soon after this, the manuscript came into the hands of Archbishop Parker or his son.

In addition to the lections themselves, interest in Oswald is evident in both the twelfth- and fourteenth-century annotations in Trinity R.7.5 and there are other indications of a similarity of interests across the centuries. A twelfth-century hand, possibly the same that wrote the capitula for books I and II, has added a number of headings in the margins or in the space at the end of a line suggesting, as Tessa Webber has commented of other manuscripts of the *HE* with similar apparatus, the 'consultation of hagiographical passages... for the purposes of personal devotion, edification or reference'.⁵¹ Saints picked out in this way in Trinity R.7.5 are Alban, Augustine, Aidan, Birinus, Oswald and Chad. Marginal notes in the fourteenth-century hand also highlight Alban, Augustine, Birinus and Oswald, as well as Germanus and the kings Sigeberht of East Anglia, Caedwalla of Wessex and Offa of Essex. We will return to the interest in these southern kings, which at first sight is difficult to explain, but the presence of Alban, Augustine and Birinus does not pose a challenge to a northern provenance. As England's protomartyr and the saint who had brought Christianity to England, Alban and Augustine were widely venerated. Birinus was less popular, but he was connected to Oswald, having baptised King Cynegisl for whom the Northumbrian king had stood godfather.⁵² Indeed, this is precisely the passage indicated by the fourteenth-century hand, which has written 'nota de Oswaldo rege' in the margin and, further down the page, has also decoded the

⁴⁸ See Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. li.

⁴⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Laud. Misc. 243. See Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. liii.

⁵⁰ See Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lections', p. 59.

⁵¹ Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lections', p. 68.

⁵² Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. 232.

placename ‘dorcic’ in the main body of the text with the gloss ‘Dorchestre’ in the margin.⁵³ The connection between Oswald and Birinus was also made in readings about both Birinus and Everilda (who was baptised by Birinus on the same occasion as Cynegisl) found in the York breviary.⁵⁴

It is worth remarking that the inserted twelfth-century heading for Oswald is not found at the beginning of Bede’s account of Oswald’s reign, but on f. 92v at the start of *HE* iii.9 and thus refers to his death and posthumous miracles. Additional passages concerning Oswald have been highlighted in other ways too. Although chapter numbers have been systematically added to books IV and V, they are absent in books I–III, except for in book III where chapter numbers 2 and 3 have been inserted next to passages concerning Oswald.⁵⁵ Beginning on f. 85r a series of seven small marginal crosses can be found, ending at the foot of f. 86r. These crosses mark all of *HE* iii.3, which describes Oswald’s summoning of Aidan and his establishment of the see on Lindisfarne (yet another indication of interest in Holy Island in this manuscript), and the start of *HE* iii. 4, which describes Columba preaching in Britain. A further solitary cross is found on f. 94v, at the beginning of *HE* iii.11, which describes the translation of Oswald’s bones to Bardney. Only one other saint is highlighted with similar marginal crosses. From f. 157v–f. 158v a series of crosses mark Æthelthryth’s marriage to King Egfrid and her death in 679, seven years after she had become abbess of Ely. Whereas the crosses marking the Oswald passage are all in black, those marking Æthelthryth alternate between black and red. A twelfth-century hand has also provided a marginal heading in red, which is rather different in style to the headings for other saints’ passions discussed above, which were written in capitals. Here we find ‘vita sanctae æpeldride virginis’ written in a large rounded hand (Fig. 2). While it is hard to date the crosses, that some of them are also in red ink suggests that they might be contemporaneous with the marginal heading. These crosses do not appear to mark liturgical readings - the number of crosses does not correlate with the number of readings in the secular or monastic office - but they do point to the use of the manuscript as a source of hagiographical readings and reference. Webber has pointed to the fact that while year-dates were originally written in Roman numerals in Trinity R.7.5, verbal forms of the dates were supplied as interlinear glosses, suggestive of the manuscript being updated to ease oral delivery.⁵⁶

Although Æthelthryth’s cult was strongest around her abbey at Ely, it was not confined to the southeast and, indeed, as a Northumbrian queen (albeit a reluctant one), her life was also of interest in the north and especially at York, whose bishop Wilfrid had been her spiritual adviser and protector.⁵⁷ Lection marks for her feast are found in

⁵³ Trinity College, Cambridge MS R.7.5, f. 90r.

⁵⁴ See Dale, ‘Liturgical Landscapes’.

⁵⁵ Chapter 2 comprises solely the miracle of the moss and does not include the battle of Heavenfield, which is normally found before it as part of the same chapter. Chapter 3 is the description of the summoning of Aidan and establishment of Lindisfarne.

⁵⁶ Webber, ‘Bede’s *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lectons’, p. 65.

⁵⁷ Æthelthryth was an important saint in England, however, the evidence from litanies and calendars show her cult to have been strongest south of the Wash in East Anglia and in Benedictine communities associated with Æthelwold. See I. D. Styler, ‘The Story of an English Saint’s Cult: An Analysis of the Influence of St Æthelthryth of Ely, c. 670–c. 1540’, (Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Birmingham, 2019), especially the maps on pp. 170 and 174.

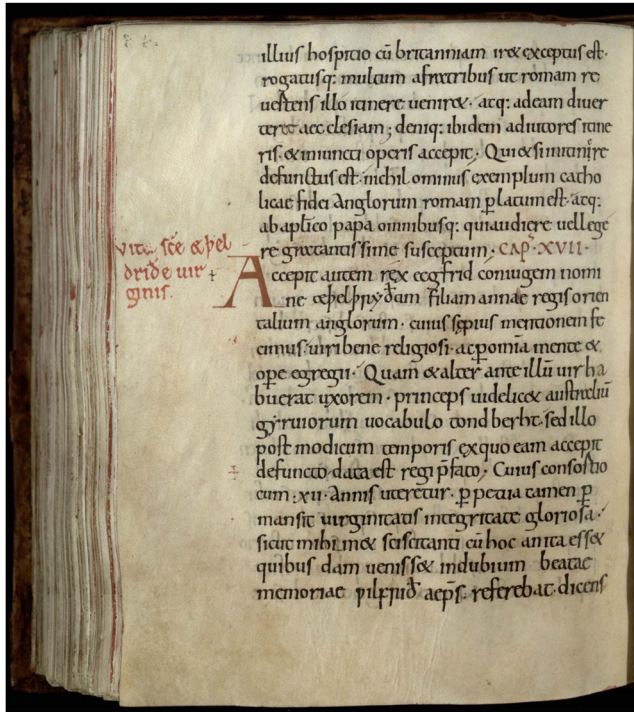


FIGURE 2. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5, f. 157v. The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

a manuscript with a northern provenance, Trinity R.5.27, which transmits a version of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* from what is known as the 'Yorkshire family' of texts and which Michael Gullick has linked with St Mary's Abbey, York.⁵⁸ The majority of calendars in which Æthelthryth's feast was originally written (as opposed to be added later) are found in books associated with East Anglia, as Matthew Cheung Salisbury has shown.⁵⁹ However, two of these fourteen calendars are from northern Benedictine houses: Coldingham (where she had briefly been a nun) and St Mary's York.⁶⁰ Not many English saints' relics are to be found in the thirteenth-century relic list from York Minster, which included relics of Oswald, leading Thomas, in his comprehensive study of relic lists, to describe them as 'a small, heterogeneous group'.⁶¹ Given the annotations in Trinity R.5.7 it is interesting to note that York also possessed relics of both Æthelthryth and also Birinus, whose connection to Oswald was highlighted by marginal

⁵⁸ Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lections', p. 55; M. Gullick, 'The Origin and Importance of Cambridge, Trinity College R.5.27', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 11 (1998), 239–62.

⁵⁹ M. C. Salisbury, *The Secular Liturgical Office in Late Medieval England* (Turnhout, 2015), pp. 189–90.

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Thomas, 'The Cult of Saints' Relics', p. 146.

annotation in Trinity R.5.7 and in the York Breviary. Like Oswald, Æthelthryth was also depicted in stained glass in York Minster, dating from the early fifteenth century.⁶²

There is no evidence that Æthelthryth was particularly important at Nostell or Gloucester priories (though the poor survival of manuscripts associated with the two foundations might be misleading here),⁶³ but she was certainly a significant figure at Hexham. It was on lands given by Æthelthryth to Bishop Wilfrid that he had founded the Benedictine community at Hexham and later lives of Æthelthryth, such as the thirteenth-century *Vie Seinte Audrée*, emphasise her role as founder of both Ely and Hexham.⁶⁴ In 1113 Hexham, at that point a secular church controlled by a lay provost, was reformed as a community of Augustinian canons, the first Augustinian house in northern England. While the central focus of devotion at Hexham was Wilfrid and the four early bishops, Acca, Frethbert, Alchmund and Tilbert, whose relics were translated in the church on 3 March 1154 or 1155, Æthelthryth remained a significant figure.⁶⁵ Her role in the community's foundation is stressed by Prior Richard in his *Historia Haugustaldensis ecclesiae*, written in the mid-twelfth century.⁶⁶ Richard describes her close relationship with Wilfrid, her perpetual virginity and her gift of the land on which Hexham was founded.⁶⁷ Richard's focus is rather narrow, and he does not provide any additional details of Æthelthryth's life, which might explain why members of the community would have sought further knowledge about her in a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

As at Nostell and Gloucester few surviving manuscripts can be confidently located at Hexham and we largely lack liturgical manuscript evidence.⁶⁸ However, one manuscript with at least a partial Hexham provenance demonstrates that the commemoration of both Oswald and Æthelthryth was integral to the liturgical cycle of the community. Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134 contains a *life* and office of Oswald's successor Oswin. It is associated with Tynemouth Priory, a cell of St Albans following the refoundation of the community in 1090 and the main site of veneration of Oswin, whose cult was not widespread.⁶⁹ The *life* and office, which are written in

⁶² Styler, 'The Story of an English Saint's Cult', p. 311.

⁶³ According to the Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database only two pre-Reformation books with a secure provenance survive from Nostell and only one from Gloucester: http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/?search_term=Nostell,%20Yorkshire,%20Augustinian%20priory%20of%20St%20Oswald&field_to_search=medieval_library&page_size=500 [accessed 5 October 2021]; http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/?search_term=Gloucester,%20Gloucestershire,%20Augustinian%20priory%20of%20St%20Oswald,%20King%20and%20Martyr&field_to_search=medieval_library&page_size=500 [accessed 5 October 2021].

⁶⁴ B. Colgrave, ed., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 44–47; Styler, 'The Story of an English Saint's Cult', p. 166.

⁶⁵ On the Hexham bishop saints see Rollason, 'The Hexham Bishop-Saints'.

⁶⁶ R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 483.

⁶⁷ J. Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, vol. 1, Surtees Society 44 (Edinburgh, 1864), p. 23.

⁶⁸ According to the Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database, seven manuscripts have a secure Hexham provenance: http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/?search_term=Hexham,%20Northumberland,%20Augustinian%20priory%20of%20St%20Andrew&field_to_search=medieval_library&page_size=500 [accessed 25 November 2020].

⁶⁹ On Oswin's office see D. Hiley, 'Gens laudum titulus concrepet Anglica: The Proper Office for St Oswin, King of Deira', in *Of Chronicles and Kings: National Saints and the Emergence of Nation States in the High Middle Ages*, ed. by John D. Bergsagel, D. Hiley and T. Riis (Copenhagen, 2015), pp. 251–70.

hands of the mid- to late-twelfth century, are preceded by a calendar.⁷⁰ This calendar was manifestly originally made for Hexham as the entry for Acca's feast on 20 October reads 'Sancti Acce patris nostri Hagustaldensis episcopi'.⁷¹ The calendar is much altered and, in addition to being augmented with Oswin's octave (27 August), Oswin's feast, which was already in the calendar, is marked as being the most important principal feast.⁷² The calendar also shows evidence of adaptation from an Augustinian to a Benedictine house. St Benedict's translation on 11 July and its octave are added, for example, with the translation celebrated in copes and the octave as a feast of twelve lessons.⁷³ Although most records of lections have been erased or amended to reflect Tynemouth practice, the feast of the Invention of St Stephen on 3 August is still designated as a feast of nine lessons.⁷⁴ In this calendar we find both Oswald, written in red in the original hand and designated as a feast of twelve lessons, thanks to erasure and overwriting by a later hand,⁷⁵ and Æthelthryth, whose feast is also written in red in the original hand.⁷⁶ A later hand has designated her feast as one of three lections, but this should be taken to represent Tynemouth rather than Hexham practice. What the calendar does show is that the feasts of both Oswald and Æthelthryth were important to the liturgical life of the community at Hexham. This importance was not just confined to their feast days. On the Nave side of Hexham's magnificent Rood Screen, dating from c.1490, are depicted the bishops of Hexham and Lindisfarne who were so integral to the Augustinian community's conception of its past.⁷⁷ On the Choir side of the screen the saints depicted include the church's patron, Andrew, and Oswald and Æthelthryth. Recent analysis of these painted panels has uncovered that the queen's crown was made of several layers of real gold leaf, rather than a cheaper material as seen in less prominent positions within the church.⁷⁸

If Trinity R.7.5 was owned by the community at Hexham, we might expect to find multiple signs of interest in Hexham itself. In terms of Hexham's links to Oswald, the Hexham pilgrimage and miracle are not part of the late medieval lections, and nor is the pilgrimage itself highlighted by marginal annotation, but we saw that Wilfrid and Acca are both mentioned in the sixteenth-century lections. There are other indications, however, of interest in Hexham in this manuscript. The first is one of the inserted chapter numbers in book III mentioned above. The heading for chapter 2 is not in its usual place, instead it is in the margin at the beginning of passage about the Hexham monk Bothelm, which has also been augmented by a red initial

⁷⁰ R. M. Thomson, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts of Corpus Christi College, Oxford* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 66–7.

⁷¹ Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134, f. xii v.

⁷² Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134, f. xi v.

⁷³ Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134, f. xi r.

⁷⁴ Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134, f. xi v.

⁷⁵ Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134, f. xi v.

⁷⁶ Oxford, Corpus Christi College MS 134, f. ix v.

⁷⁷ On Hexham's panels depicting Pre-Conquest bishops see J. Luxford, 'The Idol of Origins: Retrospection in Augustinian Art During the Later Middle Ages', in *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*, ed. by J. E. Burton and K. Stöber (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 417–42, at 428–31.

⁷⁸ T. Kelsey and C. Theodorakopoulos, 'Recent studies of the Hexham Abbey painting collection', *Hexham Historian* 29 (2019), 23–34, at 31–32. There is also a St Etheldreda's chapel at Hexham.

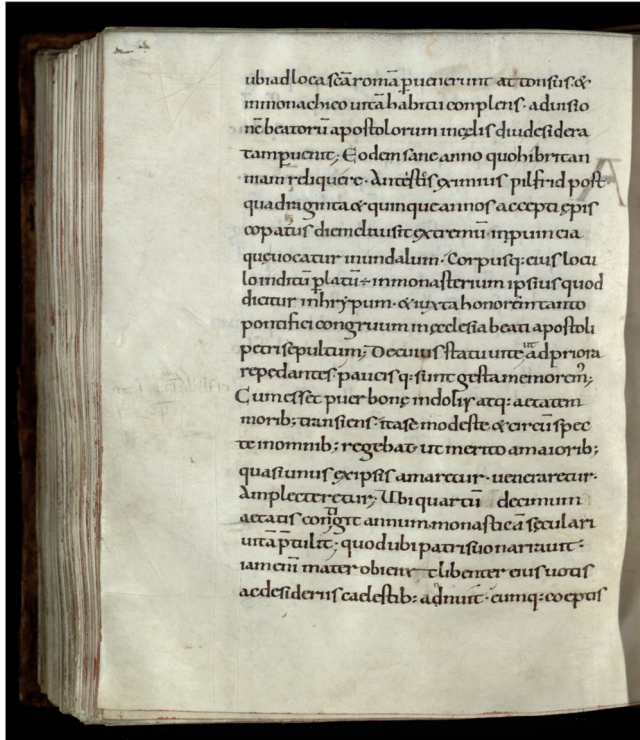


FIGURE 3. Cambridge, Trinity College MS R.7.5, f. 221v. The Master and Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge.

inserted in the middle of the line (presumably over an erasure).⁷⁹ Secondly, although at first sight there is no obvious indication of interest in Hexham's saintly founder Wilfrid, closer inspection reveals a very faint dry point heading in the margin on f. 221v, which reads 'vita s[an]c[t]i Wilfridi ep[iscop]i' (Fig. 3). It is surely an interest in Wilfrid that explains the fourteenth-century annotations about the southern kings Caedwalla and Offa, with whom Wilfrid had contact while in exile in southern England.⁸⁰ The early eighth century account of Wilfrid's life by Stephen the Priest details Caedwalla's becoming king and his reliance on Wilfrid's council.⁸¹ Offa's connection to Wilfrid is less apparent in the sources, but that he retired to Rome in the company of Coenred, a king of Mercia, suggests Wilfrid might have had some influence on their actions.⁸² Indications of interest in Wilfrid are not

⁷⁹ Chapter 2 usually begins with the battle of Heavenfield, with Bothelm's miraculous cure thanks to moss from the cross erected by Oswald coming at the conclusion of the chapter.

⁸⁰ It could be that the annotator has confused the West Saxon Caedwalla for the one operating in Northumbria, but the fact that Offa is also highlighted suggests this is not the case.

⁸¹ *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus*, ed. and trans. by B. Colgrave (Cambridge, 1927), pp. 84–85.

⁸² Wilfrid's close relationship with the Mercian king Æthelred, uncle of Coenred, is described by Stephen the Priest, e.g. *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, ed. and trans. by Colgrave, p. 92–93. Coenred and Offa becoming monks and retiring to Rome opens Bede's *HE* v.19, a chapter otherwise devoted to the life and death of Bishop Wilfrid, which occurred in the same year. It is perhaps only due to the fact that these events were contemporaneous that they are included in the same chapter, but it might also hint at a connection between the two.

extensive in this manuscript, but perhaps we should not be surprised to find limited annotations concerning Wilfrid in a Hexham copy of the *HE*. The community would surely have had recourse to other, more glowing, accounts of Wilfrid's life. Richard made use of the life by Stephen the Priest, which he refers to in his text, and might also have had access to the twelfth-century accounts of Eadmer and William of Malmesbury.⁸³ In justifying basing his account largely on that of Stephen, William of Malmesbury commented that Bede 'leaves much out', and one can only imagine that the Hexham canons would have agreed with this assessment.⁸⁴

The addition of marginal and interlinear annotations and headings in manuscripts of eleventh- and twelfth-century copies of the *HE* was very common as Tessa Webber's work has shown.⁸⁵ It is apparent that such manuscripts were used as sources for liturgical and hagiographic readings, as stores of hagiographic material and perhaps also for private devotion. Oswald, Æthelthryth and Wilfrid were saints for whom annotation is found in a number of Bede manuscripts from across England. Webber's survey uncovered lection marks for Oswald's feast in manuscripts from Durham, Peterborough and Winchcombe, for Æthelthryth's feast in a manuscript from the 'Yorkshire' family, a manuscript that was at Gloucester by the beginning of the thirteenth century (although the lection marks were probably added elsewhere) and in a manuscript from Canterbury in which lection marks for Wilfrid's feast are found too.⁸⁶ Lectons for Wilfrid also survive in a manuscript from the northern Augustinian house of Kirkham.⁸⁷ Marginal annotations about Wilfrid are found in Durham, Cathedral Library MS B. II. 35 (e.g. on f. 83r), the earliest of one branch of a family of manuscripts of the *HE*, which is distinctive for additions to the chronological summary in book v.24 betraying a special interest in Wilfrid. Plummer noted changes made to an unlocated manuscript, now Oxford, Bodleian MS Laud. Misc. 243, written in several hands in the twelfth century and not far removed from the Gloucester tradition, in which special changes have been made to provide an account of Oswald to be read in public.⁸⁸ These examples of interest in these saints evident in copies of the *HE* indicate that the presence of annotations for any one of them hardly serves to locate the manuscript at any particular foundation. It is, rather, the combination of Oswald, Æthelthryth and Wilfrid that speaks for Hexham.

⁸³ Richard writes that if anyone wants to know more about the holy bishops John and Wilfrid, they can read about them in Bede or in lives written about them. Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 30: 'Si quis autem eorum vitam plenius nosse desiderat, vel Historias Anglorum, vel libellos de vita ipsorum conscriptos legere vel audire studeat'. On the twelfth-century accounts of Wilfrid see P. A. Hayward, 'St Wilfrid of Ripon and the Northern Church in Anglo-Norman Historiography', *Northern History* 49 (2012), 11–35.

⁸⁴ Hayward, 'St Wilfrid of Ripon', p. 12.

⁸⁵ Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lectons'.

⁸⁶ Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lectons', pp. 55–56. Interest in Wilfrid at Canterbury is explained by the fact that in the mid-tenth century Archbishop Oda of Canterbury was said to have acquired Wilfrid's body from Ripon. On this acquisition see Frithegod's *Breviloquium Vitae Beati Wilfridi*, ed. by A. Campbell, *Theasurus Mundi* (Zürich, 1950), pp. 1–62. In the twelfth century, Eadmer also wrote a life of Wilfrid.

⁸⁷ Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lectons', p. 56.

⁸⁸ Bede, *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. by Colgrave and Mynors, p. liiii.

History and Hagiography at Hexham

The inclusion of the passage about Lindisfarne and the use of *HE* iii.3, describing the summoning of Aidan and the establishment of the see on Lindisfarne, as one of the lections also speaks for Hexham, though at first sight this might seem an unlikely assertion to make. The struggles between adherents of Lindisfarne and the Wilfridian party in the seventh and eighth centuries have been the subject of considerable academic enquiry by early medievalists.⁸⁹ The reception of this struggle in the twelfth century, however, does not seem to have excited much comment. Interest in twelfth-century history writing at Hexham has tended to focus instead on Richard's singular account of the Battle of the Standard in 1138.⁹⁰ However, even a cursory reading of Prior Richard's *Historia Haugustaldensis ecclesiae* makes apparent how important Lindisfarne was to the newly reconstituted Augustinian community's conception of its past. Partly this was due to the significance of Oswald to the community, meaning that his summoning of Aidan was of paramount importance. In describing the conversion of the community to the Augustinian rule, Richard dates this in a particularly interesting way. He describes it as 5315 years since the origin of the world, 1113 years since the incarnation, 486 years since the foundation of York by Paulinus, 480 since Oswald and Aidan brought the faith to Bernicia, 48 since the advent of the Normans in England and in the fourteenth year of the reign of Henry I.⁹¹ This echoes Richard's overview of the development of the early Northumbrian church in the prologue, which is presented as a three step process: Edwin and Paulinus converted Deira and founded York, Oswald and Aidan converted Bernicia and founded Lindisfarne, Wilfrid founded Hexham, which although it might be the least old of the three is no less richly ornamented nor less glorious in dignity.⁹² In these assertions one might assume that at least some of the Lindisfarne-Wilfrid rivalry lingered into the twelfth century, but, as we shall see below, this was in fact motivated by contemporary concerns. We should note, however, that the focus on Edwin and Paulinus and then Oswald and Aidan is also evident in the sixteenth-century lections, another example of a continuity of interests in annotations and additions to the manuscript, which suggest it remained in the same community from the twelfth to the sixteenth century.

In the oldest of the two manuscripts in which Richard's history survives, it is divided into two books.⁹³ The first book describes the establishment of Hexham in the seventh century, the role of Æthelthryth and Wilfrid in this, Wilfrid's career and that

⁸⁹ See for example C. Cubitt, 'Wilfrid's "Usurping Bishops": Episcopal Elections in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600–c. 800', *Northern History* 25 (1989), 18–38; C. Stancliffe, 'Disputed episcopacy: Bede, Acca, and the Relationship between Stephen's *Life of St Wilfrid* and the early prose *Lives of St Cuthbert*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 47 (2013), 7–39; R. Sowerby, 'The Heirs of Bishop Wilfrid: Succession and Presumption in Early Anglo-Saxon England', *English Historical Review*, 134 (2019), 1377–404.

⁹⁰ Richard of Hexham, *De gestis regis Stephani et de bello standardii*, ed. by R. Twysden, *Historiae Anglicanae scriptores* X (London 1652), pp. 309–30; ed. by J. Raine, *The Priory of Hexham*, Surtees Society 44 (1864), pp. 63–106; ed. by R. Howlett, *Chronicles of the reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, Rolls Series 82 (1884–9), III, 139–78.

⁹¹ Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 54.

⁹² Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 3.

⁹³ Richard's history survives in Cambridge, University Library MS Ff. 1. 27, dating from the early thirteenth century, and York, Dean and Chapter Library MS XVI. I. 12, dating from the fourteenth century. The Cambridge manuscript, which is a miscellany of twelfth- and thirteenth-century texts, was once thought to have originated at the Cistercian Abbey at Sawley (Lancs.), but is now thought to have been produced at Durham.

of his saint-bishop successors, up until the destruction of Hexham and much of the region of Northumbria by the Danes in the ninth century.⁹⁴ In this first book, Lindisfarne features in the story of Eata and Cuthbert and their swapping of sees. Although Cuthbert was only briefly bishop of Hexham, as Richard admits, he remained an important saint at the monastery.⁹⁵ Lauren Whitnah has pointed to Cuthbert's prominent role in Aelred's *Libellus de Sanctis Ecclesiae Hagustaldensis et Eorum Miraculis*, composed in association with the translation of 1154/5.⁹⁶ Cuthbert was also represented as one of eight saints on painted panels representing bishops of Hexham, which Julian Luxford suggests originally formed part either of the high altar retable or of a monumental screen with a doorway through the middle of it.⁹⁷ These panels date from the later fifteenth century, but Luxford has speculated that the scheme could relate to earlier, lost representations of Hexham's saints, pointing to a description in Aelred's *Miracles* of a *tabula* 'joined together with three columns, and variously and most attractively sculpted and painted', that was erected near the high altar for the reception of the relics in 1154.⁹⁸

The first book concludes with the destruction of Hexham and the wasting of much of Northumbria by the Vikings.⁹⁹ Book two begins with an account of the escape of the monks of Lindisfarne with Cuthbert's body. As James Raine long ago recognised, this is not just because of its intrinsic interest to an historian in a northern church, but because Richard 'wishes to make out, that the bishopric of Hexham was re-assumed and continued at Chester [-le-Street] by the bearers of the saint'.¹⁰⁰ This he does in the second chapter of book two when describing the travels of the Lindisfarne monks with Cuthbert's body to Chester-le-Street, their brief stay at Ripon and their eventual settling at Durham. Indeed, Richard goes so far as to claim that:

Therefore, in this way, with the holy body [of St Cuthbert], the episcopal seat, which had been at Hexham, was, through the successors of the bishops of Lindisfarne, first at Chester and then at Durham, where it remained until the present.¹⁰¹

The next chapter makes apparent there is a contemporary reason for Richard's pronouncement as he argues that the church of Hexham is now independent from the

See B. Meehan, 'Durham Twelfth-Century Manuscripts in Cistercian Houses', in *Anglo-Norman Durham, 1093–1193*, ed. by D. W. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 439–49.

⁹⁴ As Rollason points out, the reason for Hexham's demise in the ninth century is not at all clear and was unknown to the twelfth-century Hexham historians. Rollason, 'The Hexham Bishop-Saints', p. 178.

⁹⁵ Richard does not include him in his list of bishops, Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, pp. 41–42.

⁹⁶ L. L. Whitnah, 'Aelred of Rievaulx and the Saints of Hexham: Tradition, Innovation, and Devotion in Twelfth-Century Northern England', *Church History* 87 (2013), pp. 1–30, at 16 and 20. On Aelred's works see Sharpe, *A Handlist*, 28–30.

⁹⁷ Only seven panels survive but the eighth surely depicted Tilbeorht. Luxford, 'The Idol of Origins', p. 429.

⁹⁸ Luxford, 'The Idol of Origins', p. 430.

⁹⁹ Although, as Rollason has pointed out, it is not clear that it actually was Viking raids that brought about the end of the see of Hexham. Rollason, 'The Hexham Bishop-Saints', p. 178.

¹⁰⁰ Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 43.

¹⁰¹ 'Hoc igitur modo, cum sancto corpore, episcopalis sedes, quae apud Hesteldesham fuerat, per successores Lindisfarnensium episcoporum, primo apud Cestram, deinde apud Dunelmum usque ad praesens permansit'. Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 46.

bishop of Durham. Because of its antiquity the ancient church of Hexham should not owe anything to the bishop of Durham on account of synods, or chrism or any other cause.¹⁰² Richard writes that 361 years passed between the foundation of Lindisfarne by Aidan to the establishment of the church at Durham, and that 309 had passed since St Cuthbert's death. Since 332 years had passed between Wilfrid's foundation of Hexham and the establishment of the church at Durham, Durham was hardly older than Hexham and therefore Hexham was free from Durham due to ancient prerogative.¹⁰³ Given the importance of Symeon of Durham as a historian both in the medieval period and also as a subject of modern scholarship, we tend to accept his claim that the Durham monks, introduced at the expense of the secular community by William of Saint Calais, were the heirs to the original Lindisfarne monastic community.¹⁰⁴ Therefore, we may find Richard's claims that the bishopric of Hexham was reassumed at Chester-le-Street to be unconvincing. His claim makes apparent, however, that the passage about Lindisfarne found at the end of Trinity R.7.5, which describes the journey of the monks with Cuthbert's body from Lindisfarne to Chester-le-Street and onwards to Durham, was highly relevant to the community at Hexham.

As David Rollason has argued, interest at Hexham in the early saint-bishops of Hexham, some of whom were, in Rollason's words 'utterly obscure', needs to be understood in the context of the removal of Hexham from Durham's jurisdiction and its reconfiguration as an Augustinian community within York's orbit.¹⁰⁵ Hexham was a substantial prize for the archbishop as an ancient church with an extensive territory and a number of income-generating liberties.¹⁰⁶ Rollason posits a period of hostilities between Durham and Hexham during which 'the bishop-saints of Hexham acquired a particular importance' and he interprets the 1154/5 translation of relics as a statement of independence on the part of the community of Hexham. Interest in Lindisfarne at Hexham also fits within this context. In the twelfth century, the Augustinian community manifestly saw their history as inextricably linked to Lindisfarne. The history of Holy Island and its bishops was absorbed into that of Hexham. It was the Hexham community who were re-assumed and continued at Chester-le-Street. It is the Hexham community that are the true heirs to Edwin and Paulinus and to Oswald and Aidan. It is surely for this reason that Cuthbert, and possibly also other bishops of Lindisfarne, are represented in the decorative programme at Hexham.

In the twelfth century the production of historical and hagiographical texts was a major concern of the Augustinians at Hexham, as they sought to create a narrative of continuity between the saint-bishops of early medieval Northumbria and their own community, which had been re-founded as an Augustinian community at a moment of significant jurisdictional change. Only seven manuscripts with a certain

¹⁰² Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 47. On Hexham's subordination to Durham see D. Rollason, 'The Hexham Bishop-Saints', pp. 185–87.

¹⁰³ Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 47.

¹⁰⁴ For an introduction to work on Symeon see *Symeon of Durham: Historian of Durham and the North*, ed. by D. Rollason (Stamford, 1998) and most recently Rozier, *Writing History*, pp. 97–143.

¹⁰⁵ Rollason, 'The Hexham Bishop-Saints', p. 177.

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

connection to Hexham survive. Six of these contain ownership inscriptions, from the thirteenth or the fifteenth centuries, and the calendar discussed above is located to Hexham due to liturgical evidence.¹⁰⁷ From this small corpus one can hardly draw conclusions about the wider composition of the library and unfortunately no medieval library catalogue is extant either. It is apparent, however, from the writings of Prior Richard and his successor and fellow history writer Prior John, that the canons had access to a number of historical works. Richard evidently made use of Symeon of Durham in his account of the wanderings of the Lindisfarne monks with Cuthbert's body, though as we have seen he put a rather different spin on the events than the Durham monk. Richard writes of the move to Durham via Chester-le-Street that if anyone desires to know more, he can discover these things in the Deeds of the Bishops of Durham.¹⁰⁸ John wrote a continuation to the *Historia Regum* attributed to Symeon and the two works apparently circulated together subsequently, for the only surviving manuscript copy of the *Historia* and John's continuation does not seem to have been a product of Hexham itself.¹⁰⁹

As Lawrence-Mathers has shown, the new Augustinian houses in the North (which were, with the exception of Hexham, all in Yorkshire), were integrated into a wider intellectual network of secular and monastic houses that included the newer Cistercian order as well as the Benedictines at Durham.¹¹⁰ Aelred provides a prominent example of such links, with his family connections to Durham and Hexham and his leadership of the Cistercians at Rievaulx. It was to Aelred that the canons of Hexham turned when they wanted an account of their early saint-bishops and the miracles associated with them. Towards the end of Richard's account of Hexham's history he mentions two other works in which one can read of the antiquity and dignity of Hexham, a 'Historia Anglorum' and the 'Gesta Veterum Northanhumbroborum'.¹¹¹ What is meant exactly by the latter is unclear. Raine suggested this was most likely a missing volume of northern annals. There can be little doubt, however, that the former refers to Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* – Richard elsewhere suggests that readers should consult the 'Historia Anglorum' should they wish to know more about bishops John and Wilfrid – and we can be certain that Hexham would have sought to possess this fundamental historical work.¹¹² Although no library catalogue survives from Hexham, the priory was included in the *Registrum Anglie*, an early fourteenth-century union catalogue of books compiled by the Oxford Franciscans on the basis of on-site surveys.¹¹³ The *Registrum* did not intend

¹⁰⁷ Medieval libraries of Great Britain online database: http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/?search_term=Hexham.%20Northumberland,%20Augustinian%20priory%20of%20St%20Andrew&field_to_search=medieval_library&page_size=500 [accessed 20 June 2021].

¹⁰⁸ Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 46: 'si quis autem haec plenius nosse desiderat, in Gestis Dunelmensium episcoporum reperire poterit'.

¹⁰⁹ D. Rollason, 'Symeon of Durham's *Historia de Regibus Anglorum et Dacorum* as a Product of Twelfth-century Historical Workshops', in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past*, ed. by M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (Farnham, 2015), pp. 95–112.

¹¹⁰ A. Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the 11th and 12th Centuries* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 177–93.

¹¹¹ Raine ed., *The Priory of Hexham, its Chroniclers, Endowments, and Annals*, p. 60.

¹¹² See above fn. 83.

¹¹³ *Registrum Anglie de libris doctorum et auctorum veterum*, ed. by R.A.B. Mynors, M.A. Rouse and R.H. Rouse, Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 2 (London, 1991).

to supply a complete account of books at any foundation and instead concentrated on works of the Fathers and well-known later authors who commented on the faith, the Christian life and the scriptures. Historical and hagiographical texts were not included, and nor were all sorts of other types of texts, but there were some exceptions and historical texts do appear occasionally when they were attributed to an author included in the list on other grounds.¹¹⁴ It is for this reason that we find a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* included in the *Registrum's* entry for Hexham, alongside a number of Bede's treatises and scriptural commentaries.¹¹⁵ Though the *Registrum* only proves Hexham owned a copy of Bede by the early fourteenth century, the writings of the Hexham historians demonstrates they already had access to one by the early twelfth century. Furthermore, although 'Historia Anglorum' is not the most common title for Bede's work we do find examples of this being used. William of Saint Calais gave a number of books to Durham, including a copy of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which is described in the book list as the 'Historia Anglorum'.¹¹⁶ The *HE* is also termed a 'historia anglorum' in Trinity R.7.5. At the foot of the page at the conclusion of the prologue the first book is introduced thus: 'Incipit liber primus historiae anglorum aeclaesiasticae'.

Conclusion

As argued above, the inserter of the passage about Lindisfarne in Trinity R.7.5 must have had access to a copy of John of Worcester's chronicle, soon after the marginal addition to John's chronicle had been made. Martin Brett long ago highlighted the links between historical writing at Worcester and Durham, pointing to how John of Worcester augmented his chronicle with information from Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio* and that, soon after this, Symeon used John's chronicle as the basis for his *Historia de Regibus Anglorum et Dacorum*.¹¹⁷ Recently David Rollason has extended our understanding of 'twelfth-century historical workshops' in the north, as part of his work towards a new edition of Symeon's text.¹¹⁸ His analysis shows a close connection between historical writing at Durham and at Hexham, where Prior John (d. 1209) wrote a continuation of Symeon's work. Interpolations of material of interest to Hexham into Symeon's portion of the work, about the burial, translation and miracles of Bishop Acca and the translation of Bishop Ealhmund, hint that a manuscript of Symeon's *Historia* was copied and expanded at Hexham.¹¹⁹ Rollason suggests, however, that the only surviving manuscript of the text we have, in Cambridge Corpus Christi College MS 139, was modified either at Durham or a Cistercian Abbey, demonstrating that the Augustinians at Hexham were part of this

¹¹⁴ *Registrum Anglie*, ed. by Mynors, Rouse and Rouse, p. lxxiv.

¹¹⁵ *Registrum Anglie*, ed. by Mynors, Rouse and Rouse, p. 314.

¹¹⁶ Lawrence-Mathers, *Manuscripts in Northumbria*, p. 223. For an edition of the book list see Alma Colk Browne-Santosuosso, 'Bishop William of St. Carlief's Book Donations to Durham Cathedral Priory', *Scriptorium* 42 (1988), 140–55.

¹¹⁷ Brett, 'John of Worcester', pp. 118–21.

¹¹⁸ Rollason, 'Symeon of Durham's *Historia de Regibus*'.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

wider network of historical workshops in northern England, that encompassed monastic and secular foundations.¹²⁰ Intriguingly, one of the two manuscripts that transmits Prior Richard's *Historia Haugustaldensis ecclesiae* also includes a life of Bishop Eata of Hexham alongside material about Cuthbert, Lindisfarne and Durham. This manuscript was written in various hands in the fourteenth century and is assumed to have been a Durham book originally, although this provenance has been inferred from its contents rather than any ownership inscription and it now resides in the library of York Minster.¹²¹

Of course, other communities in the north could have had access to John of Worcester's chronicle and in the twelfth century Hexham was hardly the only northern secular house with an interest in historical and hagiographical texts. A copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was produced at the Augustinian abbey at Kirkham in the second half of the twelfth century and supplied with lection marks for Wilfrid's feast, for example, and in the late twelfth century William, a canon of the Augustinian priory at Newburgh, wrote a history of England from 1066 to 1198.¹²² However, no other secular northern community had the combination of interests that can be found in the additions and annotations to Trinity R.7.5, interests which remained remarkably stable across more than four hundred years. Other houses might have had the means to add the passage from John of Worcester in the early twelfth century, but they lacked the motive of the Hexham community, who looked back to the golden age of the Northumbrian church to understand their past and to assert their independence from the bishops of Durham in the present.

The interest in Oswald, Æthelthryth and Wilfrid evident in Trinity R.7.5 reflects both their importance as individuals to the liturgical life of the community at Hexham in the twelfth century as well as in the sixteenth. In combination they also speak of Hexham's historical consciousness and the use of their early history to assert independence from Durham under the protection of York. The sixteenth-century Oswald lections place Oswald and Aidan's foundation of Lindisfarne in a linear relationship to Paulinus and Edwin's foundation of York. Wilfrid's foundation of Hexham, with the support of Æthelthryth, was the next step in the foundational process of the northern church. The Oswald lections, with their invocation of Edwin and Paulinus, Oswald and Aidan and their somewhat awkward mention of Wilfrid and Acca echo Richard of Hexham's arguments of four centuries earlier: Edwin and Paulinus converted Deira and founded York, Oswald and Aidan converted Bernicia and founded Lindisfarne, Wilfrid founded Hexham. Hexham might be marginally the youngest of the three, but it was no less richly ornamented nor less glorious in dignity. Unlike other early Northumbrian monastic sites mentioned by Bede, Hexham does not seem to have been part of the late eleventh-century renewal of monasticism in the North inspired by his writing. It re-emerges in the record in the late eleventh century as a secular church rather than a monastic community. Hexham's interest in the *HE*, however, chimes with the wider context of northern monastic renewal in the long twelfth century, as the Augustinian communities founded in the

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

¹²¹ Medieval Libraries of Great Britain database: <http://mlgb3.bodleian.ox.ac.uk/mlgb/book/25150> [accessed 20 June 2021].

¹²² The manuscript is London, British Library, MS Add. 38817. See Webber, 'Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* as a Source of Lections', p. 56.

North were integrated into broader networks that encompassed other secular houses as well as those of the Benedictines and Cistercians. Hexham's transfer from Durham to York and its reformation as an Augustinian house provided a specific focus for the canons' engagement with the *HE* in the twelfth century. However, the fourteenth-century annotations and sixteenth-century lections demonstrate that Bede's history remained an important reference point for the Hexham community right up until the Dissolution.

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Appendix: Lections for Oswald on f. 249v

De sancto Oswaldo rege et martyre. Lectiones sumpte de 3. Libro Bede de gentis Anglorum

Lectio prima de capitulo i^o. Interfecto in pugna Edwino Rege Nordanhumbro-
rum quia idem regnum in duas provincias dividebatur. Suscepit quidem regnum
Deyriorum filius patris eius Elflich per beatum Paulinum christianus factus: regnum
vero Berniciorum filius Ethelfridi nomine Eanfridus frater beati Oswaldi. Nec mora
Rex Britonum Cedwalla utrumque impia manu sed justa Dei ultione peremit prop-
ter eorum a sacramentis fidei apostasiam. Sancto igitur Oswaldo Elfrido eius fratre
perempto superveniente cum parvo exercitu sed fide christiani munito.

Secunda lectio de tercio capitulo sequente. Idem ergo Oswaldus rex et cetera usque
ibi, omisso quodam medio. Observatione disciplinae regularis.

3^a lectio de 6 capitulo. Huius igitur antistitis et cetera usque Ut hactenus incor-
rupte perdurent.

4^a lectio in 9 capitulo. Regnavit autem Oswaldus et cetera usque Opem ferre
non cessabat.

5^a lectio. Et multa quidem in loco illo et cetera usque Incedendo reuersa est.

6^a lectio de capitulo 10. Eodem tempore et cetera usque in finem illius capituli.

7^a lectio de 11 capitulo. Inter quae et cetera usque Gratiae salutaris hab-
eret effectum.

8^a lectio de eodem capitulo. Denique tempore sequente et cetera usque in finem
capituli illius.

9^a lectio de capitulo 12. Sequente dehinc tempore et cetera usque Gesta fuerint narrare.