

GOSCELIN OF SAINT-BERTIN'S MATINS LESSONS FOR THE ABBESS-SAINTS OF BARKING ABBEY IN LONDON, BRITISH LIBRARY, COTTON MS OTHO A XII

By KATIE ANN-MARIE BUGYIS

In the late eleventh century, Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (ca. 1040–d. after 1099) composed the most extensive collection of hagiographical writings known to have been assembled for a community of religious women in medieval England. At the behest of Abbess Ælfgifu (ca. 1037–ca. 1114) of Barking Abbey, he definitely wrote the following texts to honor the community's three principal saints: a vita of its founder and first abbess, Æthelburh (d. after 686); Matins lessons for her immediate successor, Hildelith (d. after 716); a vita and an account of the first translation of their later tenth-century successor Wulfhild (d. after 996); Matins lessons and a longer account of the three abbess-saints' translation on Laetare Sunday, 7 March 1092; and a report of a vision Ælfgifu received seven years after the event. This article makes the case for Goscelin's authorship of the Matins lessons for Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild as well, and for their preservation in London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A XII (Part 6). Paleographical analysis of these lessons further indicates that the scribe responsible for copying them also copied the lives of Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild in Dublin, Trinity College, MS 176 (E.5.28), a late eleventh-century book of Barking origin. This hand exhibits features peculiar to scribes trained in north-eastern France or the Low Countries, raising the possibility that Goscelin made these copies himself. But even if he did not make them, the appearance of the same hand in texts related to Barking's abbess-saints suggests that this scribe's work in Otho A XII (Part 6) should be located at Barking, too, thus increasing the total number of books the community once owned to twenty-two and further proving one of the instrumental roles that religious women played during the Middle Ages to orchestrate their communities' liturgies: commissioning writers and scribes to compose saints' lives, Matins lessons, and other texts and music to celebrate their principal feast days with due solemnity and distinctiveness.

It is widely accepted that the peripatetic Flemish Benedictine hagiographer Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (ca. 1040–d. after 1099) composed a dossier

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of Latin saints' lives, liturgical texts, and chronicled events for the Benedictine nuns at Barking Abbey in Essex, England, in the late eleventh century, at the behest of the community's abbess Ælfgifu (ca. 1037–ca. 1114).¹ It is the most extensive collection of hagiographical writings known to have been assembled at the direction of a community of religious women in medieval England. He definitely wrote the six texts listed in Table 1 to honor Barking's three principal abbess-saints: Æthelburh (d. after 686), the abbey's co-founder and first abbess; Hildelith (d. after 716), Æthelburh's successor; and Wulfhild (d. after 996), a late tenth-century abbess of the community.²

As Table 1 notes, only three manuscripts still preserve the six texts Goscelin wrote for Barking. Elsewhere, I examined the (re)productions and uses of these texts through paleographical, codicological, and textual analysis of their two earliest manuscript witnesses: Dublin, Trinity College Library (hereafter TCD), MS 176 (E.5.28) and Cardiff, Public Library, MS 1.381.³ The relevant texts in these manuscripts were variously copied between the last two decades of the eleventh century and the early twelfth century. I traced their origins back to Barking, established their textual relationships, recovered their communal and liturgical uses in and outside of the abbey, and even made a case for identifying the scribe of the *uita* of St. Æthelburh and the *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in TCD 176 as Goscelin himself.

¹ Marvin L. Colker, "Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury which Relate to the History of Barking Abbey," *Studia Monastica* 7 (1965): 383–460; Thomas Hamilton, "Goscelin of Canterbury: A Critical Study of his Life, Works, and Accomplishments" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1974), 106–22 and 180–83; Michael Lapidge and Rosalind Love, "The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire, en Occident, des origines à 1500*, ed. G. Philippart, 9 vols. (Turnhout, 1994–2024), 3:203–325, at 229; the essays by Stephanie Hollis, Kay Slocum, and Thomas O'Donnell in *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community*, ed. Jennifer N. Brown and Donna Alfano Bussell (Woodbridge, 2012); Casey Beaumont, "Monastic Autonomy, Episcopal Authority, and the Norman Conquest: The Records of Barking Abbey," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 38 (2016): 35–49; Rosalind Love, "Goscelinus Sancti Bertini monachus," in *Testi e Trasmissioni (Te. Tra.)* 6, ed. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence, 2020), 228–64; Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, "The Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey," *Manuscripta* 65 (2021): 1–53; and eadem, "Dating the Translations of Barking's Abbess-Saints by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin and Abbess Ælfgifu," *Journal of Medieval Monastic Studies* 11 (2022): 97–130. Throughout this article, all references to the works Goscelin of Saint-Bertin composed for Barking Abbey are cited from the edition by Marvin L. Colker referenced at the beginning of this note.

² See, too, Marvin L. Colker, "A Gotha Codex Dealing with the Saints of Barking Abbey," *Studia Monastica* 10 (1968): 321–24.

³ Bugyis, "Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey." See, too, Love, "Goscelinus Sancti Bertini monachus," 237–39.

Table 1. Texts in the Dossier Composed by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin for Barking Abbey

Text	Manuscripts	Printed Edition
Life of St. Æthelburh (<i>BHL</i> 2630b)	Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 176 (E.5.28), fols. 1r–14r; Cardiff, Public Library, MS 1.381, fols. 81r– 94r; Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, MS Memb I.81, fols. 215v–220r	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> , ed. Colker, 398–417.
Matins lessons for St. Hildelith (<i>BHL</i> 3942)	Cardiff 1.381, fols. 94r–96v; Gotha Memb. I.81, fols. 220r–221r	Goscelin, <i>Lectiones de sancta Hildelitha</i> , ed. Colker, 455–58.
Life and translation of St. Wulfhild	TCD 176, fols. 15r–25v, 36r–v; Gotha Memb. I.81, fols. 221r–225r	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis and De translatione sanctae Wlfildae</i> , ed. Colker, 418–34.
Matins lessons for the three abbess-saints’ translation on 7 March 1092	TCD 176, fols. 26r–29v	Goscelin, <i>Textus translationis sanctarum uirginum Aethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae</i> , ed. Colker, 435–52.
Longer account of the abbess-saints’ translation	TCD 176, fols. 31v–35v, 37r–41r	Goscelin, <i>De translatione uel eleuatione sanctarum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae</i> , ed. Colker, 435–52.
Report of Abbess Ælfǣfu’s vision seven years after the translation	TCD 176, fols. 29v–31v	Goscelin, <i>The Recital of a Vision</i> , ed. Colker, 452–54.

In researching the six texts listed in Table 1, I was troubled by the question of whether they constituted the entirety of Goscelin’s dossier for Barking. The survival of his Matins lessons for the three abbess-saints’ translation on 7 March in TCD 176 and for St. Hildelith’s *dies natalis* (24 March) in Cardiff 1.381 attests to the Barking nuns’ need for suitable readings to celebrate the night office on these feasts, to Abbess Ælfǣfu’s provident care of her community to commission such texts, and to Goscelin’s skill in writing a variety of texts to meet the community’s different demands. In his study of a collection of texts from St. Augustine’s, Canterbury, dedicated exclusively to the cult of St. Mildreth (now London, British Library, Harley MS 3908), Richard Sharpe proposed that Goscelin composed all the texts in the collection at the community’s behest, not

just the *uita* and *translatio* of the saint but also the twelve Matins lessons and the antiphons and responsories of the *historia*.⁴ Goscelin's later work at St. Augustine's and the survival of his two sets of lessons for Barking, then, raise the possibility that he composed other liturgical materials for the abbey at Abbess Ælfgifu's direction, including lessons for the feasts of Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild. Strengthening this possibility are the close correspondences between the incipits to the first lesson for Matins on the feasts of St. Wulfhild's translation (2 September), her *dies natalis* (9 September), and St. Æthelburh's *dies natalis* (11 October) in Barking's early fifteenth-century ordinal and passages in Goscelin's *translatio* of St. Wulfhild, *uita* of St. Wulfhild, and *uita* of St. Æthelburh, respectively.⁵ But manuscript evidence in support of this possibility has been wanting.

In an article published in 1976, Helmut Gneuss suggested that another manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A XII, contained additional texts written by Goscelin for Barking, but his claim has yet to receive scholarly attention.⁶ Otho A XII is a composite manuscript of fourteen different texts of various origins that were copied between the early eleventh century and the late twelfth century, and later gathered together in part by the antiquarian Robert Cotton (1571–1631).⁷ Gneuss's article was the first attempt at a description of the manuscript since Thomas Smith's entry in his 1696 catalogue of the books in the Cotton Library and the report from the committee appointed to view the collection, published by order of the House of Commons in May 1732, over half a year after the fire at Ashburnham House that severely damaged or entirely destroyed

⁴ Richard Sharpe, "Words and Music by Goscelin of Canterbury," *Early Music* 19 (1991): 94–97. Sharpe dated Harley 3908 to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. Michael Gullick, however, has recently challenged Sharpe's dating of the manuscript with the suggestion that it was created around 1120 (personal communication with Susan Rankin).

⁵ Barking's early fifteenth-century ordinal provides the following incipits to the first lesson for Matins on the feasts of St. Wulfhild's translation, her *dies natalis*, and St. Æthelburh's *dies natalis*: "Amabilis deo," "Virgo sacratissima," and "Temporibus nascentis," respectively. See *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (University College, Oxford, ms. 169), ed. J. B. L. Tolhurst and Laurentia MacLachlan, HBS 65–66, 2 vols. (London, 1927–28), 2:292, 297, and 319. These incipits closely correspond with the following passages in Goscelin's *translatio* of St. Wulfhild, *uita* of St. Wulfhild, and *uita* of St. Æthelburh: "Amabilis deo Wlfilda," "Vita sacratissimae uirginis Wulfildae," and "His igitur primis temporibus nascentis," respectively. See Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 12, ed. Colker, 431; Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis*, ed. Colker, 418; and Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 1, ed. Colker, 400, respectively.

⁶ Helmut Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," *Anglia* 94 (1976): 289–318.

⁷ Helmut Gneuss stressed that it is difficult to know when, where, and how the different parts of Otho A XII were put together in the absence of codicological criteria. See Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," 294. It is by no means certain that Robert Cotton was the first to compile the texts that now constitute the manuscript.

most of the books in the library.⁸ Both Smith's catalogue and the report noted the contents of Otho A XII; the report even provided the folio number where each text started, as Table 2 shows.⁹ On the basis of paleographical and textual evidence, Gneuss concluded that Otho A XII consists of six originally separate parts.¹⁰ The texts in Part 6 of the manuscript are significant to this discussion of Goscelin's hagiographical corpus.¹¹

Of the 155 folios constituting Otho A XII in the early eighteenth century, there are presently only forty-seven "Kartonfolios" on which the surviving fragments were mounted. All of the fragments are in poor condition, and several were mislabeled, placed out of order, or inserted upside down or backwards by conservators. They have shrunk considerably and are brown to blackish in color, making their original dimensions irrecoverable and their texts nearly illegible. Because of its fragile condition, the British Library has restricted access to Otho A XII to preserve its remains. When Gneuss studied it in the 1970s, he recorded the sizes of the fragments as ranging from 7–11x3–5 cm, most with 23 to 33 long lines, and he indicated that parts of texts could be viewed "bei gunstigem Licht" ("with favorable light").¹² Words and phrases on certain folios can be deciphered better under UV light, but the Melinex sleeves in which the fragments were placed in 1987 for preservation impair such viewing and make any kind of reproduction of them impossible at this time.¹³ We can only hope that one day conservators at the

⁸ Thomas Smith, *Catalogus librorum manuscriptorum bibliothecae Cottonianae* (Oxford, 1696), 67; and *Report from the Committee Appointed to View the Cottonian Library* (London, 1732), 50–51. Joseph Planta declared Otho A XII to be lost in *A Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Cottonian Library Deposited in the British Museum* (London, 1802), 365.

⁹ See n. 8, above. Some of the items in Smith's catalogue entry and in the 1732 report's entry were identified imprecisely or incorrectly. These entries also overlooked the Matins lessons for St. Hildelith in Part 6, which are discussed in what follows. Helmut Gneuss corrected these errors in "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," 295–317.

¹⁰ Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," 294. Helmut Gneuss's accounting of the parts constituting Otho A XII differs from that provided in the British Library's short online description of the manuscript. Without any justification, this description claims that the manuscript contains "5 items." I am persuaded by Gneuss's account of the manuscript's composition and follow his numeration of its constituent parts in what follows.

¹¹ Helmut Gneuss noted that he could not completely rule out the possibility that Part 5 of Otho A XII had been gathered with Part 6 before they came into Robert Cotton's possession. See Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," 294. This possibility cannot be proven or disproven given the fragmentary nature of the manuscript. I maintain a distinction between the two parts because they were copied by different scribes, as Gneuss himself acknowledged in "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," 293.

¹² Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII," 292.

¹³ I greatly appreciate the updates about the state of Otho A XII that I received from Julian Harrison, Lead Curator of Medieval Historical Manuscripts at the British Library, in response to my imaging requests. He informed me that the highly reflective Melinex sleeves in which the surviving folios of Otho A XII were placed make it extremely difficult to undertake imaging of the manuscript. Conservators at the British Library have yet to find a way to remove the fragments from their sleeves without causing further damage to them.

British Library will find a way to remove the fragments safely from their sleeves and obtain multispectral images of them, thereby continuing the important work of Andrew Dunning, Alison Hudson, and Christina Duffy on early English fragments in the Cotton Collection.¹⁴

Table 2. The 1732 Report’s List of the Contents of London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A XII

Item #	Description of Text	Originally Started on Fol. #	Part of MS (Gneuss)
1	Asserius Meneuensis de gestis Alfredi Regis, charactere antiquo.	fol. 1.	1
2	Exorcismus superstitiosus aduersus febres; Latine, praemissis & intermixtis Saxoniceis.	fol. 55, <i>b</i> .	1
3	Fragmentum quoddam Historicum de rebus gestis Byrhtnodi &c. Saxonice, & poetice scriptum.	fol. 57.	2
4	Vita & Passio S. Ælpeghi, Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis & martyris, per Osbernum, Monachum Cantuariensem.	fol. 63.	3
5	Translatio S. Ælpeghi.	fol. 83.	3
6	Vita S. Odonis, Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, per Osbernum, Monachum Cantuariensem.	fol. 87.	3
7	Ælmeri, Monachi Ecclesiae Christi Cantuariensis, epistolae; in quibus tractat de munditia cordis, de discretionem iudicii, de affabilitate in sermone, de amore liberalitatis, prosecutione iustitiae, uigore disciplinae, doctrinae studio, cura pauperum, & erga debiles uel mente uel corpore compassione; de bono uitae claustralis, cum meditationibus sacris, cuiusmodi sunt excitatio mentis in inquisitione Dei, & querimonia de absentia metus Dei. Liber asceticus & uere pius.	fol. 100.	4
8	Passio undecim mille uirginum, a Rogero Fordonensi Monacho scripta, anno 1181.	fol. 139.	5
9	Translatio S. Vulfhildis uirginis.	fol. 146.	6
10	Vita S. Bertini Abbatis.	fol. 147, <i>b</i> .	6
11	Vita B. Vulfhildis uirginis.	fol. 148, <i>b</i> .	6
12	Excerpta de uita S. uirginis Æthelburgae.	fol. 150, <i>b</i> .	6
13	De S. Erchenwaldo.	fol. 155, <i>b</i> .	6

¹⁴ Andrew Dunning, Alison Hudson, and Christina Duffy, “Reconstructing Burnt Anglo-Saxon Fragments in the Cotton Collection at the British Library,” *Fragmentology* 1 (2018): 7–37.

Even without this technology, much can be learned about the texts still legible on the surviving fragments of Otho A XII, especially those related to Barking Abbey in Part 6 of the manuscript. Through his examination of the fragments, Gneuss was able to read enough of the words on the folios that had been identified as the “Vita S. Bertini Abbatis” and “De S. Erchenwaldo” to determine that the former text could not be found in the *Acta sanctorum* among the different lives of St. Bertin (d. ca. 709), the first abbot of the monastery in Saint-Omer, Flanders, which would later bear his name, and that the latter text could not be associated with any of the three known versions of the *uita* and *miracula* of St. Eorcenwald (d. 693), St. Æthelburh’s brother and the co-founder of Barking.¹⁵ For Gneuss, the facts that Goscelin had taken monastic vows at Saint-Bertin, and that he had close ties to St. Paul’s Cathedral, the seat of the bishop of London and the keeper of St. Eorcenwald’s relics, made the hagiographer’s authorship of the texts honoring these saints in Otho A XII (Part 6) “durchaus vorstellbar” (“quite conceivable”).¹⁶ Gneuss also discovered that the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lists of the manuscript’s contents were incomplete. They did not include the Matins lessons for St. Hildelith, which follow the “Excerpta de uita S. uirginis Æthelburgae.”¹⁷ Gneuss could tell, too, that the excerpts from the *uita* of St. Æthelburh had been arranged as Matins lessons.¹⁸ On the present fol. 41r, the rubricated heading “LECT VIII,” marking the eighth lesson, still appears, and on fol. 44r, parts of a homily on Matthew 25:1–13, the parable of the wise and foolish virgins, the gospel reading for the feast of St. Æthelburh according to Barking’s early fifteenth-century ordinal, can be seen.¹⁹ These observations led Gneuss to conclude: “With regard to the versions of the *uitae* of Æthelburh, Hildelith, and Eorcenwald in the Otho MS, it does not seem impossible that the entire last part of the MS (Smith, nos. 9–13) contained saints’ legends in the form intended for the hourly offices.”²⁰ His conclusion further suggests the possibility that Goscelin composed these Matins lessons himself, probably for Barking.

¹⁵ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 314–17.

¹⁶ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 317. Gneuss also noted that the antiquarian John Bale (1495–1563) had credited Goscelin of Saint-Bertin with writing *miracula* of St. Eorcenwald, beginning “Veterum uestigiis herentes.” See Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 316–17. See, too, John Bale, *Index Britanniae Scriptorum*, ed. R. L. Poole and M. Bateson (Oxford, 1902), 498.

¹⁷ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 314.

¹⁸ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 313–14.

¹⁹ *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 2:213.

²⁰ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 314–15: “Im Hinblick auf die Fassungen der Viten der Aethelburga, Hildelitha und Erkenwalds in der Otho-Hs. scheint es nicht ausgeschlossen, daß der ganze letzte Teil der Hs. (Smith Nr. 9–13) Heiligenlegenden in der für das Stundenoffizium vorgesehenen Form enthielt.”

Gneuss's description of Otho A XII is an invaluable resource for scholars of Goscelin's hagiographical writings and the cults of Barking's three abbess-saints, but careful reexamination of the surviving fragments yields more insights. This article offers a second attempt at a description of Otho A XII, focused on the items in Part 6 of the manuscript pertaining to Sts. Æthelburh, Hildelith, Wulfhild, Bertin, and Eorcenwald (fols. 35–47). With a UV torch, I was able to identify the scribe responsible for copying the Matins lessons for Barking's abbess-saints and St. Bertin. A different scribe copied the lessons for St. Eorcenwald. This finding is significant because the former scribe also copied Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh and *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in TCD 176, the late eleventh-century collection of hagiographical and liturgical materials from Barking mentioned in Table 1.²¹ This correspondence suggests that all of these texts were copied, if not also composed, around the same time in the late eleventh century at the direction of Abbess Ælfgifu, and that at least the fragments in Otho A XII (Part 6) copied by this scribe were also written at or for Barking, possibly as a lectionary or legendary to be used at Matins. The latter finding increases the total number of books that can be assigned a Barking origin or provenance from twenty-one to twenty-two—a remarkable addition given the low survival rate of books from communities of religious women in medieval England.²² But the former finding is

²¹ For arguments in favor of assigning a Barking origin to TCD 176, see Bugyis, "The Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey" (n. 1 above), 7–30. Three scribes were responsible for copying the five texts now bound in TCD 176 (Table 1). The first scribe, who is of interest to this article, copied nearly all the *uita* of St. Æthelburh and the *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild (fols. 1r–13v, 15r–25v, and 36r–v) sometime in the last two decades of the eleventh century in a proficient, but oftentimes untidy Caroline minuscule. The second scribe, writing in a competent Caroline minuscule, copied the very end of the *uita* of St. Æthelburh on an inserted leaf (fol. 14r). The third scribe worked in the early twelfth century and copied the lessons for the feast of the abbess-saints' first translation, the longer account of this event, and the vision of Abbess Ælfgifu (fols. 26r–29v, 31v–35v, 37r–41r, and 29v–31v, respectively) in a Protogothic script. This scribe's style closely matches that found in an early twelfth-century addition made to the verso of the final folio of an early eleventh-century gospel book from Barking, now Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 155, fol. 196v.

²² On the books with certain and possible Barking origin or provenance, see M. R. James, "Manuscripts from Essex Monastic Libraries," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 21 (1933): 34–46, at 23; N. R. Ker, "More Manuscripts from Essex Monastic Libraries," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 23 (1942–45): 298–331, at 301–302, 305, and 310; A. I. Doyle, "Books Connected with the Vere Family and Barking Abbey," *Transactions of the Essex Archaeological Society* 25 (1958): 222–43; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: A List of Surviving Books*, ed. N. R. Ker, 2nd ed. (London, 1964), 6; James Howson, "Books and Barking Abbey," *Essex Journal* 1 (1966): 197–208; *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain: Supplement to the Second Edition*, ed. Andrew G. Watson (London, 1987), 2; David N. Bell, *What Nuns Read: Books and Libraries in Medieval English Nunneries* (Kalamazoo, 1995), 107–20; Anne M. Dutton, "Women's Use of Religious Literature in Late Medieval England" (Ph.D. diss., University of York, 1995), 287; Patrick Carter, "Barking Abbey and the Library of William Pownsett: A Bibliographical Conundrum," *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 11 (1998): 263–71; and Mary C. Erler, *Women,*

no less important. It further proves one of the instrumental roles that religious women played during the Middle Ages to orchestrate their communities' liturgies: commissioning writers and scribes to compose saints' lives, Matins lessons, and other texts and music to celebrate their principal feast days with due solemnity and distinctiveness.²³

My study of the fragments in Otho A XII (Part 6) with a UV torch also allowed me to decipher more of the words and phrases written on them and, thereby, identify corresponding passages in the other known *uitae* and *lectiones* of the abbess-saints that Goscelin wrote. With this information, I could then establish the fragments' proper order, correct some of Gneuss's errors about their contents, and determine both how the Matins lessons for the feasts of St. Wulfhild's translation (2 September), her *dies natalis* (9 September), and Sts. Æthelburh's *dies natalis* (11 October) were derived from their source-texts, and whether Goscelin was responsible for writing them.

Ultimately, this article makes the case for obtaining multispectral imaging of the entirety of Otho A XII, if it can be undertaken without risk of further damage to the fragments. The work of recovering texts from fragments in Melinex sleeves with a UV torch is limited. Multispectral imaging would improve the fragments' readability and the conclusions we can draw from them.²⁴

Reading, and Piety in Late Medieval England (Cambridge, 2002), 4, 31–32, 34–36, 108, 127, 145, and 147–48.

²³ The significance of the agency medieval women exercised as patrons of cultural productions has been brilliantly demonstrated in the following studies: Susan Groag Bell, "Medieval Women Book Owners: Arbiters of Lay Piety and Ambassadors of Culture," *Signs* 7 (1982): 742–68; *The Cultural Patronage of Medieval Women*, ed. June Hall McCash (Athens, GA, 1996); Joan Ferrante, *To the Glory of Her Sex: Women's Roles in the Composition of Medieval Texts* (Bloomington, 1997); Loveday Lewes Gee, *Women, Art and Patronage from Henry III to Edward III: 1216–1377* (Woodbridge, 2002); *Gendering the Master Narrative: Women and Power in the Middle Ages*, ed. Mary C. Erler and Maryanne Kowaleski (Ithaca, 2003); Erin L. Jordan, *Women, Power, and Religious Patronage in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2006); *Negotiating Community and Difference in Medieval Europe: Gender, Power, Patronage and the Authority of Religion in Latin Christendom*, ed. Katherine Allen Smith and Scott Wells (Leiden, 2009); *Reassessing the Role of Women as 'Makers' of Medieval Art and Architecture*, ed. Therese Martin (Leiden, 2012); Elizabeth M. Tyler, *England in Europe: English Royal Women and Literary Patronage, c. 1000–1150* (Toronto, 2017); Barbara J. Harris, *English Aristocratic Women and the Fabric of Piety, 1450–1550* (Amsterdam, 2018); Anneliese Pollock Renck, *Female Authorship, Patronage, and Translation in Late Medieval France: From Christine de Pizan to Louise Labé* (Turnhout, 2018); *Moving Women, Moving Objects (400–1500)*, ed. Tracy Chapman Hamilton and Mariah Proctor-Tiffany (Leiden, 2019); and *Women and Medieval Literary Culture from the Early Middle Ages to the Fifteenth Century*, ed. Corinne Saunders and Diane Watt (Cambridge, 2023).

²⁴ On the value of multispectral imaging of medieval manuscript fragments, see Dunning, Hudson, and Duffy, "Reconstructing Burnt Anglo-Saxon Fragments" (n. 14 above), 14.

THE SCRIBE OF OTHO A XII (PART 6), FOLS. 35R–45V

In his description of Otho A XII, Gneuss observed at least four hands operative in the writing of the different texts compiled in the manuscript.²⁵ He credited the fourth scribe (Hand D), whom he judged to have worked in the twelfth century, with copying the items numbered nine to thirteen in Smith's catalogue and in the 1732 report (fols. 35–47) (Table 2). He did not, however, rule out the possibility that these texts were written “vielleicht von mehr als einem Schreiber” (“perhaps by more than one scribe”).²⁶ Careful study of Otho A XII (Part 6) with a UV torch makes it possible to determine that there was more than one scribe responsible for copying the texts on these folios. One scribe copied the Matins lessons for Barking's abbess-saints and St. Bertin (fols. 35r–45v, line 4) in a proficient, but sometimes untidy Caroline minuscule, and another scribe copied the lessons for St. Eorcenwald (fol. 45v, lines 5–?) in a neat Protogothic script.²⁷

When viewing the manuscript with a UV torch, I recognized the first scribe's hand as the one that copied Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in TCD 176, fols. 1r–13v, 15r–25v, and 36r–v. In his description of this manuscript, Marvin Colker dated the hand to the second half of the eleventh century, but his dating can be narrowed to sometime after 1086, the year in which Barking's diocesan, Maurice (r. 1086–1107), the dedicatee of both lives, was consecrated the bishop of London.²⁸ Michael Gullick posited a continental origin for this hand.²⁹ It exhibits features peculiar to scribes trained in northeastern France or the Low Countries, such as the formation of *t* with a straight stem.³⁰ The scribe nevertheless used the runic letters of ash and eth to write certain proper names, such as Æðelburga, Hildeliða, and Tortgyða.

²⁵ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 293.

²⁶ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 293.

²⁷ The extent of the second scribe's stint is difficult to determine given the possibility of missing folios from Otho A XII (Part 6) and the severely damaged condition of the folios on which the Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald were copied.

²⁸ Marvin Colker, *Trinity College Library Dublin: Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval and Renaissance Latin Manuscripts*, 2 vols. (Aldershot, 1991), 2:338. For Goscelin's dedications to Bishop Maurice, see Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis*, ed. Colker, 398; and Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis*, ed. Colker, 419.

²⁹ Trinity College Library Dublin's online catalogue entry for TCD 176 includes key observations made by Michael Gullick in his letter to Bernard Meehan, the former Keeper for Manuscripts at the library, dated January 1995.

³⁰ I am grateful to Tessa Webber for pointing this out to me. On the exchange of manuscripts and scribes between England and Flanders during the tenth and eleventh centuries, see Teresa Webber, “The Diffusion of St. Augustine's *Confessions* in England during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries,” in *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey*, ed. John Blair and Brian Golding (Oxford, 1996), 29–45; and Richard Gameson, “L'Angleterre et la Flandre aux Xe et XIe siècles: Le témoignage des manuscrits,” in *Les échanges culturels au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 2002), 165–206.

Because of the late eleventh-century dating of this hand and its localization to northeastern France or the Low Countries, I have suggested elsewhere that TCD 176 preserves Goscelin's own copy of his *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild.³¹ Finding this scribe at work copying other texts probably composed by Goscelin, including a seemingly unique set of Matins lessons for St. Bertin, the patron saint of the community where he had made his monastic profession, lends some credence to this claim. It must remain a conjecture, however, until an autograph copy of one of his texts can be identified with certainty.

The scribe responsible for copying the Matins lessons for Barking's abbess-saints and St. Bertin in Otho A XII (Part 6) shares several identifiable features with the scribe that copied Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in TCD 176. The British Library's conservation team has determined that they cannot photograph any part of Otho A XII in its present state without risking further damage to the manuscript.³² It is, nevertheless, instructive to examine images of the distinctive features of the scribe's hand in TCD 176, as Table 3 shows.³³ They include the following features, which are also evident in Otho A XII (Part 6):

1. right-leaning aspect of the script
2. slight wedging at the tops of ascenders
3. base of minims and shafts of ascenders that turn upwards to the right
4. large rubricated initials that open chapters and lessons
5. opening letters to sentences highlighted with red ink
6. paraph marks highlighted with red ink
7. suspension marks with thick heads and thin tails that lift up to the right
8. the tendency at the very end of a line to leave a trail that lifts up to the right when making the final minim of a letter (e.g., **a**, **m**, **n**, **u**), the arm of **r**, or the cross-stroke of an **e** or **t**
9. the consistent use of the **et**, **ri**, and **st** ligatures
10. single-compartment **a** with a stem that sometimes peeks over the bowl when **a** is in initial position or by itself
11. uncial **d** and half-uncial **d** in both minuscule and majuscule forms
12. **e caudata** with a slightly opened loop

³¹ Bugyis, "Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey" (n. 1 above), 8–13.

³² See n. 13, above. It is important to note that Helmut Gneuss also was unable to include pictures of Otho A XII in his article "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (n. 6 above) to support his conclusions.

³³ See, too, Bugyis, "Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey" (n. 1 above), 161, for a full-page reproduction of this scribe's work in TCD 176.

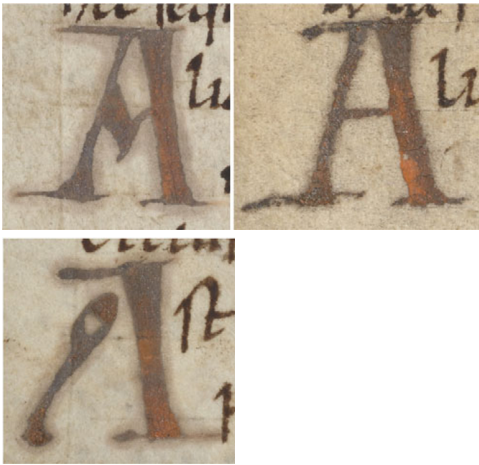
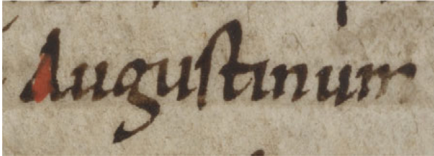
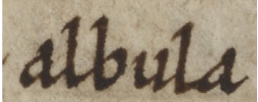
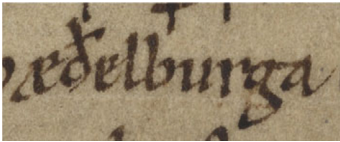
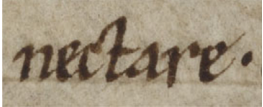
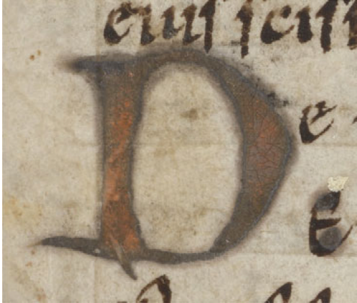
13. **f** and **s** with stems that often descend below the line
14. **g** with an ear and an open loop that angles to the right at about forty-five degrees
15. **r** with an arm that undulates at the end
16. **W** formed with two overlapping **V**s
17. **y** with a dot over it
18. **et** ligature with a final that extends far up to the right and terminates in a downward spur
19. **-bus** and **-que** abbreviations made with two dots vertically arranged
20. **-orum** abbreviation made with the right half of a majuscule **R** whose leg extends below the line, terminates in an upward spur, and is crossed by a line that thickens at the top end
21. **pro-** abbreviation made with a wide loop starting midway down the descender of **p**
22. **-ur** abbreviation made with a **2** tilted slightly downward and a final stroke that angles up to the right and terminates in an upward spur

Especially striking is the scribe's habit of making a large rubricated initial **A** in three different ways: with a V-shaped cross-stroke, with a straight cross-stroke, and with an angled left stem with a hole at the top instead of a cross-stroke. All three **A**s appear in TCD 176 and in Otho A XII (Part 6).³⁴ Significantly, too, in corresponding passages in the texts related to Barking's abbess-saints, the scribe highlighted with red ink the opening letters to sentences in the exact same way in TCD 176 and in Otho A XII (Part 6). See, for example, fol. 37r of Otho A XII (Part 6), which must contain the beginning lessons for the feast of St. Wulfhild's translation because they are based on the opening chapters of Goscelin's *translatio* of the saint, and because this is the first page of the collection of Matins lessons copied by the scribe. The opening letters of "Cumque," "Tandem," "Vbi," "Successit," and "Hec" were all highlighted with red ink. These five highlighted letters perfectly match their correspondents on fol. 24v of TCD 176.³⁵ The **A** of "At ille nimio dolore" on the same folio of Otho A XII (Part 6) is a large rubricated initial that was formed in the third way favored by the scribe, probably to mark the beginning of a lesson. In TCD 176, this **A** is only a highlighted opening letter because it does not start a new chapter; however, the scribe wrote it in the third way, too.

³⁴ TCD 176, fols. 5v, 11r, 11v, 24r, and 26v; and Otho A XII (Part 6), fols. 37r, 41v, and 42r.

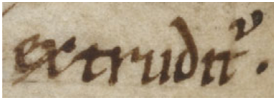
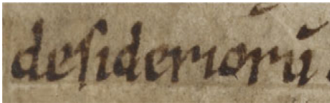
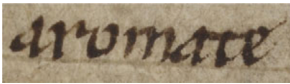
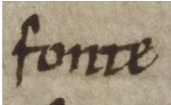
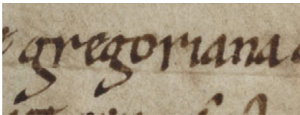
³⁵ Compare Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wulfildae* 12–13, ed. Colker, 431–32.

Table 3. Analysis of the First Scribal Hand in Dublin, Trinity College Library, MS 176, fols. 1r–13v, 15r–25v, and 36r–v (Courtesy of Trinity College, Dublin)

Letter Form	Folio #	Images
Initial A	fols. 5v, 11r, 11v	
Highlighted A	fol. 2r	
a	fol. 2r	
Æ / ð	fol. 1r	
et ligature	fol. 2r	
Initial D	fol. 4r	

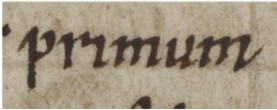
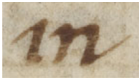
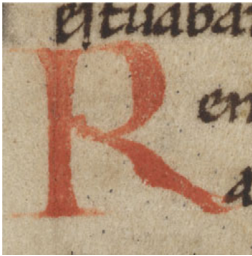
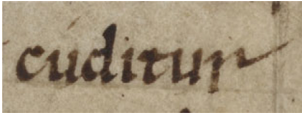
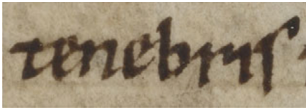
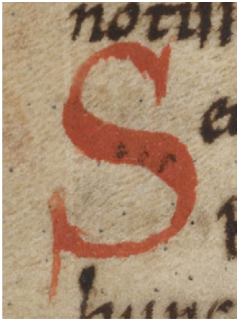
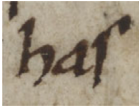
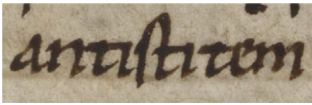
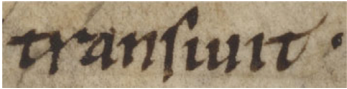
Continued

Table 3. *Continued*

Letter Form	Folio #	Images
Highlighted D	fol. 4r, 4v	
uncial d	fol. 9v	
half-uncial d	fol. 2r	
e	fol. 2r	
e caudata	fol. 2r	
f	fol. 2r	
Initial G	fol. 16r	
g	fol. 2r	
Initial I	fol. 6r	

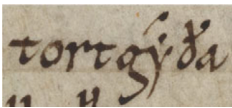
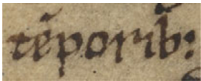
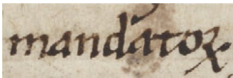
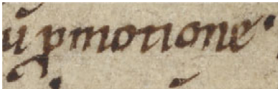
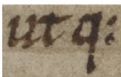
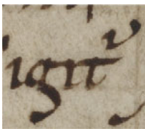
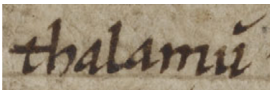
Continued

Table 3. Continued

Letter Form	Folio #	Images
m	fol. 2r	
n	fol. 10r	
Initial R	fol. 2v	
r	fol. 2r	
ri ligature	fol. 2r	
Initial S	fol. 7r	
s	fol. 2r	
st ligature	fol. 2r	
t	fol. 1v	

Continued

Table 3. *Continued*

Letter Form	Folio #	Images
u	fol. 5r	
Initial W	fol. 16r	
y	fol. 1v	
et	fol. 1r	
-bus	fol. 1r	
-orum	fol. 4r	
pro-	fol. 9r	
-que	fol. 1v	
-ur	fol. 2r	
Suspension Mark	fol. 2r	
Paraph Mark	fol. 3r	

Finding the work of the same scribe on texts related to Barking's abbess-saints in two different manuscripts has important consequences for our understanding of these texts' composition, circulation, and liturgical use at the abbey. Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in TCD 176 and the Matins lessons for Barking's abbess-saints and St. Bertin in Otho A XII (Part 6) were copied around the same time, and the scribe responsible for copying them consulted his previous work in one manuscript, possibly TCD 176, while he worked on the other. The absence of the Matins lessons for the feast of the abbess-saints' translation on 7 March from Otho A XII (Part 6) suggests that these folios were copied before Goscelin composed this text and even before the solemn event took place.³⁶ Evidence internal to Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh makes clear that he wrote this text before the *translatio*, most likely between September of 1091 and March of 1092.³⁷ Goscelin's *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild probably date to this time, too. And if the Matins lessons for Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild were based on their lives, and if Goscelin composed them, as I demonstrate later in this article, then they would also date to 1091x1092.

The contemporaneous composition of Matins lessons makes sense liturgically: the nuns at Barking would have needed them to celebrate the abbess-saints at the night office on their respective feast days, and Ælfgifu, in her capacity as abbess, would have made sure to provision her community with them. The *uitae*, though suitable for reading at refectory, collation, or private devotion, would have been too long for Matins, even an office of twelve lessons.³⁸ The texts had to be

³⁶ It is unlikely that the first scribe of the collection of Matins lessons in Otho A XII (Part 6) included the lessons for the abbess-saints' translation (7 March) because the second scribe added the lessons for St. Eorcenwald (30 April) immediately after the first scribe's copy of the lessons for St. Hildelith (24 March) on fol. 45v. If the first scribe had included the lessons for the translation, the scribe would have copied them there, after those for St. Hildelith, given the arrangement of the texts according to the liturgical year. Instead, this scribe stopped writing after the lessons for St. Hildelith, leaving the rest of the folio blank. It is also significant that the scribe who copied the lessons for the abbess-saints' translation and the longer account of the event in TCD 176 was not the same scribe who copied the *uita* of St. Æthelburh and the *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in the manuscript. The change of hands probably indicates an interval of time between the composition and copying of the two sets of texts. See Bugyis, "Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey" (n. 1 above), 160–76.

³⁷ Bugyis, "Dating the Translations of Barking's Abbess-Saints" (n. 1 above).

³⁸ The absence of a *uita* of St. Hildelith remains a mystery for scholars of Goscelin's corpus of hagiographical writings and Barking's abbess-saints. Study of the saint's lessons suggests that the hagiographer struggled to find enough material to compose this short text. He was nearly entirely dependent on what Bede (d. 735) had to say about St. Hildelith's abbacy in his *Historia ecclesiastica*, and it is wanting. Bede was primarily interested in St. Æthelburh's life, death, and post-mortem miracles; he recounted only St. Hildelith's translation of the bones of the community's saints after she had been made abbess. See Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* 4.10, ed. and trans. Bertram Colgrave and Roger A. B. Mynors, in *Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People* (Oxford, 1969), 363–65.

abbreviated and, in places, adapted to suit this liturgical purpose, and that is precisely what Goscelin did.

A Barking origin can be assigned to TCD 176 with a high degree of certainty.³⁹ The presence of the same scribe in both that manuscript and in the Matins lessons for the abbess-saints and St. Bertin in Otho A XII (Part 6), should encourage the assignment of a Barking origin to these folios, too, thus making a significant addition to the total number of books known to have once been in the community's possession.⁴⁰ These fragments, along with those containing the Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald, may have constituted, either wholly or in part, a lectionary or legendary for performance of the night office at Barking. In the early fifteenth century, the abbey possessed at least one legendary or lectionary for Matins. The ordinal produced for the community at this time sometimes explicitly references a *legenda* or *leccionale* that had to be consulted for the Matins lessons of a particular feast.⁴¹ The community would have needed such a book, or set of books, for all the lessons read at the night office because the ordinal only provides the incipits to the first lessons. The folios containing the Matins lessons for Barking's abbess-saints, St. Bertin, and St. Eorcenwald in Otho A XII (Part 6) would have satisfied this need, helping the community to remember these saints distinctively on their feast days.⁴²

THE CONTENTS, SOURCE-TEXTS, AND ORGANIZATION OF OTHO A XII (PART 6), FOLS. 35R–47R

The severely damaged condition of the fragments of Otho A XII (Part 6) and the Melinex sleeves protecting them make it very difficult, if not completely impossible in places, to read the texts they contain, even with the aid of a UV torch. Still, more of the texts can be read under UV light than without it—the conditions in which Gneuss viewed the fragments. Table 4 lists all the words on fols. 35r–47r of the manuscript that can be read under UV light and their locations on the fragments where they appear. Gathering this information helps to determine the folios' contents and source-texts, as well as their proper order, as Table 5 shows using the modern foliation and the 1732 report's foliation.

³⁹ Bugyis, "Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey" (n. 1 above), 7–30.

⁴⁰ See n. 22, above.

⁴¹ See the directives for the feast of Corpus Christi and its octave and for the octave of the feast of the Assumption in *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 1:143, 145, 146, and 2:284.

⁴² In the absence of a unique set of readings for a saint's feast requiring Matins lessons, the community used lessons from the commons of an apostle, martyr, confessor, or virgin, depending on the type of saint being celebrated. See, for example, the directions in Barking's ordinal for Matins for the octave of the feast of St. Edmund, king and martyr (d. 869), which was to be held with twelve lessons by the community: "[Ad matutinas.] Inuitatorium, ympni, psalmi, uersiculi, responsoria, cantica, lecciones, euangelium unius martiris," in *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 2:345.

Table 4. The Contents of London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A XII (Part 6), fols. 35r–47r

Key to Symbols Used in Transcriptions:
<abc> letters obscured by damage to fragment, restored by editor
[#] letters obscured by damage to fragment, not restored by editor (known extent)
[---] letters obscured by damage to fragment, not restored by editor (unknown extent)
A large rubricated initials or letters highlighted with red ink
(abc) location of letters on fragment

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
fol. 35r	Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis</i> 10, ed. Colker, 429.	sancta Wulfhilda (11 lines up from bottom of fragment) ostendit Extremo (midway down fragment) [6 lines] Sep[---
fol. 35v	End of Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild’s <i>dies natalis</i> (?), beginning of Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Too few words recovered to determine with certainty	Ethelburga (midway down fragment)
fol. 36r	Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Too few words recovered to determine with certainty	regaliter adornatur et (17 lines up from bottom of fragment) [4 lines] confund[--- sanctos suos [1 line] regalibus [1 line] Iterum ergo almam uirg<inem>
fol. 36v	Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis</i> 5, ed. Colker, 425.	largifluae (13 lines up from bottom of fragment) paruuli

Continued

Table 4. *Continued*

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
fol. 37r	Matins lessons for the translation of St. Wulfhild	Goscelin, <i>De translatione sanctae Wlfildae</i> 12–13, ed., Colker, 431–32.	Cumque (near top of fragment) [6 lines] At ille nimio dolore ingemuit amarissime uitale. Tandem post fletum diuino uenerabili feretro successit sicque fere miliaria usque in monasterium Vbi sepulta ad caput beatissime ecclesie Æthelburge claris miraculis caelestia beneficia posse conferre Successit autem dilectissime aurigam dominici pridem ab adolescentia sibi s<uccessuram> [1 line] H<ec> fol. 37v
	Matins lessons for the translation of St. Wulfhild	Goscelin, <i>De translatione sanctae Wlfildae</i> 13, ed., Colker, 432.	<ben>eficium. Concede mihi hoc somni<um> (5 lines down from top of fragment) hoc sacramentum Iacob ad supplantatam impositum uisionis mandatum et maforam <nitid>issimam parat in uotium obsequium turba transponendo mausoleo preuenta benedictione omnes adiuuantibus pretento candidissimo <indi>gnis carnalium aspectibus obtexit ¶ VI L dei apparuit gratia. Nam toto corpore ut dormire uideretur non

Continued

Table 4. Continued

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
fol. 38r	Matins lessons for St. Bertin(?)	Not known	mortua Quam sola Iudith fidelissima mira integritate. Tanta Gloriosus martyr (1/3 of the way down the fragment) Bert[--- [1 line] constituit quo apposuit. Tandem [1 line] anno dominice incarnationis sescent<esimo> uero francorum regis quinto decimo quingentesimo nono ubi centum D[--- [6 lines] I[--- (near bottom) WLFHILDIS VIRGINIS (14 lines up from bottom of fragment) Wlfhildis [4-letter word] <natiuita>tem claruit [1 line] campum [1 word] quam inclyn<acionem> post[--- per decem et tandem angelico nuncio per accipere quod castissimam domino sponsam famula trade[--- Vt [2 lines] ¶ II L gratiam. Hinc ergo celebremus (14 lines up from bottom of fragment) [2 lines] Ipsa autem Iudith fide plena
fol. 38v	End of Matins lessons for St. Bertin(?), beginning of Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild’s dies natalis	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis</i> 1, ed. Colker, 420.	WLFHILDIS VIRGINIS (14 lines up from bottom of fragment) Wlfhildis [4-letter word] <natiuita>tem claruit [1 line] campum [1 word] quam inclyn<acionem> post[--- per decem et tandem angelico nuncio per accipere quod castissimam domino sponsam famula trade[--- Vt [2 lines] ¶ II L gratiam. Hinc ergo celebremus (14 lines up from bottom of fragment) [2 lines] Ipsa autem Iudith fide plena
fol. 39r	Matins lessons for the translation of St. Wulfhild	Goscelin, <i>De translatione sanctae Wlfildae</i> 14–15,	gratiam. Hinc ergo celebremus (14 lines up from bottom of fragment) [2 lines] Ipsa autem Iudith fide plena

Continued

Table 4. *Continued*

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
		ed., Colker, 433.	sicut quondam solebat cum ea <deuotissim>a ipsius discipula. Quae temptaretur inopia sic affata dedi tibi mater panno Nec multo post datis Vnde regr<essa> dei clementia minimis reperit sexag<inta> credere
fol. 39v	Matins lessons for St. Bertin(?)	Not known	hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam (9 lines up from bottom of fragment) [3 lines] W[--- [1 line] E[---
fol. 40r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 4, ed. Colker, 404.	De (midway down fragment) [3 lines] <animad>uertuntur. Diui<nis>
fol. 40v	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 4, ed. Colker, 405.	posset (2 lines down from top of fragment) ene autem hec <ora>ntes sicut q<uondam> uigilias noc<tis> infantis nuncios dum omnes exul<tantibus> <gl>oriae inh<iarent> eleuata in meridianam <trans>tulit i<lloque> sicque demum <super>nam patriam cunctis claruit omnibus <deduce>ret uel refoueret in <resurre>cturis in

Continued

Table 4. *Continued*

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
fol. 41r (reversed)	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 9–10, ed. Colker, 409.	<mu>ltos annos (5 lines down from top of fragment) carere suos [1 line] et ibidem ad oran<dum> tamquam uiuentem affatur obsecrat obtestatur quatenus <inter>uentu a tam diris tamque prolixius sua petitione est quam si uigore [2 lines] Sic [1 line] LECT VIII merita beatissime A[--- (15 lines up from bottom of fragment) ---]dis uirgo meruit reuidere materne sed et adiut<ricem> quam diurna decerit lang[--- egressa de cubiculo humani corporis tantique H[--- (22 lines up from bottom of fragment) [1 line] fugere Tandem per sanctos loci presides se cum paciferae bestiae ingredi<unturque> cum indignatione atque ubi diutinum uictum sororum ---]stie comparuere accensa uigilauit in et defens<orem>
fol. 41v (reversed)	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 7, ed. Colker, 407.	
fol. 42r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 13, 16, and 17, ed. Colker, 413, 414–15.	

Continued

Table 4. *Continued*

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
			Alios tempore hos uirginale cenobium sacrarium cum ecce in t<etra> in eadem ecclesia filios uolentes ipsam rape<re> contingere pote[--- non comprehende<runt> ¶ Item sub alio monasterium disrupt[--- Ethelburg[1–2 letters] ad s[--- (22 lines up from bottom of fragment) singulae <sus>cepere q<uatenus> una creditur ¶ Quidam abstluit secumque trans rediit librum secum possideret iactatus et ab omni promisit sanctae Ethelburgae litus et Da[3 letters]t cunctis [2 lines] monasterii beneficia ipso lumine gratia ---]bus
fol. 42v	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 17 and 20, ed. Colker, 415–17.	
fol. 43r	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Leccionēs de sancta Hildelitha</i> 2–3, ed. Colker, 455.	-sus domini sua (17 lines up from bottom of fragment) beatae matris Hidel<ithae> pretiosissima gemma premonstratur sola in qua sollemnizatur Vt autem multa etiam tota congreg<atio> sancta ecclesia

Continued

Table 4. Continued

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
fol. 43v	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Lecciones de sancta Hildelitha</i> 7–8, ed. Colker, 456–57.	beatus rex <animaduer>tenda et recol<enda> decurrente plumbo alas expandit [1 line] dilectissimae sus<tinete> supra gregem (18 lines up from bottom of fragment) hystoriographus liber uitae sanctae Ethel<burgae> <excerpse>rat ad testimonium mater illi primiti<uae> <prouid>entiam sicut condigna constanter tenuit uexil<lum> ut in nullo pateretur ab <archi>presulis et Adriani suf<fraganei> <An>gliam educauere <elo>quo exercitauere superna gaudia [Blank line] <domin>us sue Ethelburgae Si (20 lines up from bottom of fragment) pro[--- [1 line] -quia cum Ethelburga. Vnde presentia alumnarum suarum inuitasse eiusque succurrisse transire tam op[--- ut ad perpetua Christi domini gratia[--- In illo tempore dixit Ihesus discipulis> celorum decem
fol. 44r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh’s <i>dies natalis</i> , incipit to Matthew 25:1– 13 (gospel lection for the feast of St. Æthelburh), homily on gospel lection	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 10, ed. Colker, 410.	

Continued

Table 4. *Continued*

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
			exierunt obuiam Regnum [1 line] ad q[--- d[---
fol. 44v	Continuation of homily on Matthew 25:1– 13, Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis</i> 11, ed. Colker, 411.	X (18 lines up from bottom of fragment in right margin) uasi quinque uirgines continentiae ad dominum cuius ---]stauit quoniam dulcis unguentorum tuorum ---]riam salutifer[--- domini et orat patrem sola uenit ad spon<sum> ---]arum et odoramenta uirginalium pigno<rum> ---]lget etiam in loco ---]nas offert regi <ci>miterii gre[--- conuallium sadorem et [1 line] ad sepulturam (4 lines down from top of fragment) Hildelitha cum te uelut caelestia aromata Respondebant quippe tu<is> uel pars fuisti prest<antissima> Cetera tempora magis in fide quae per -da. Omnia tamen clariora quanto clarior tandem patrociniam quam Wulfilda beatis<sima> lucis columna est socia Ethelbur<ga>
fol. 45r	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith’s <i>dies natalis</i>	Goscelin, <i>Lecciones de sancta Hildelitha</i> 10– 11, ed. Colker, 457–58.	

Continued

Table 4. Continued

Modern Foliation	Contents	Printed Editions of Source	Words Visible under UV Light
fol. 45v	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith’s <i>dies natalis</i> , Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald(?)	Goscelin, <i>Lectiones de sancta Hildelitha</i> 12, ed. Colker, 458; not known	secula (4 lines down from top of fragment) [1 line] ---]WALDO [2 lines] Mirabilis [1 line] ipso demonstra est diligent[---
fol. 46r	Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald (?)	Not known	O admirabilis (midway down fragment)
fol. 46v	Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald (?)	Not known	accensi sunt (midway down fragment) scilicet ignis
fol. 47r	3 small fragments: Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald(?)	Not known	Eo uote (top left fragment)

Both Thomas Smith’s entry for Otho A XII in his 1696 catalogue and the 1732 report identified the *translatio* of St. Wulfhild as the first of the last five texts in the manuscript, and the report further noted that the text began on fol. 146r. The words that can be recovered from the present fol. 37r indicate that this folio was originally fol. 146r. It contains excerpts from the first two chapters of Goscelin’s *translatio* of St. Wulfhild (Chapters 12–13 in Marvin Colker’s edition of the text). The text continues onto fols. 37v and 39r with excerpts from the second, third, and fourth chapters of Goscelin’s *translatio* (Chapters 13–15 in Colker’s edition). On fol. 37v, fifteen lines from the top of the fragment, the rubricated heading “VI L” can be seen on the right side of the page, marking the beginning of the sixth lesson. It is the only rubric still visible under UV light on these folios, but it reveals that the text was copied as Matins lessons for the feast of St. Wulfhild’s *translatio*.

The *uita* of St. Bertin followed the *translatio* of St. Wulfhild, according to Smith’s catalogue and the 1732 report, beginning on fol. 147v. Though the fragments on which this text is found are among the most difficult to decipher, enough words can still be read to identify the present fol. 39v as the opening to this

Table 5. The Original Order of the Matins Lessons in London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A XII (Part 6), fols. 35r–47r

Modern Foliation	1732 Foliation	Contents
fol. 37r	fol. 146r	Matins lessons for the translation of St. Wulfhild (2 September)
fol. 37v	fol. 146v	Matins lessons for the translation of St. Wulfhild (2 September)
fol. 39r	fol. 147r	Matins lessons for the translation of St. Wulfhild (2 September)
fol. 39v	fol. 147v	Matins lessons for St. Bertin (5 September)(?)
fol. 38r	fol. 148r	Matins lessons for St. Bertin (5 September)(?)
fol. 38v	fol. 148v	End of Matins lessons for St. Bertin (5 September)(?), beginning of Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's <i>dies natalis</i> (9 September)
fol. 36r	fol. 149r	Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's <i>dies natalis</i> (9 September)
fol. 36v	fol. 149v	Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's <i>dies natalis</i> (9 September)
fol. 35r	fol. 150r	Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's <i>dies natalis</i> (9 September)
fol. 35v	fol. 150v	End of Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's <i>dies natalis</i> (9 September)(?), beginning of Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 40r	fol. 151r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 40v	fol. 151v	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 41v	fol. 152r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 41r	fol. 152v	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 44r	fol. 153r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October), incipit to Matthew 25:1–13 (gospel lection for the feast of St. Æthelburh), homily on gospel lection
fol. 44v	fol. 153v	Continuation of homily on Matthew 25:1–13, Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 42r	fol. 154r	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 42v	fol. 154v	Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh's <i>dies natalis</i> (11 October)
fol. 43r	?	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith's <i>dies natalis</i> (24 March)
fol. 43v	?	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith's <i>dies natalis</i> (24 March)
fol. 45r	fol. 155r	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith's <i>dies natalis</i> (24 March)
fol. 45v	fol. 155v	Matins lessons for St. Hildelith's <i>dies natalis</i> (24 March), Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald (30 April)(?)
fol. 46r	fol. 156r?	Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald (30 April)(?)
fol. 46v	fol. 156v?	Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald (30 April)(?)
fol. 47r	fol. 157r?	3 small fragments: Matins lessons for St. Eorcenwald (30 April)(?)

text, followed by fol. 38r. It is possible that this text ended near the top of fol. 38v because the subsequent text, the Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's *dies natalis*, does not start until fourteen lines from the bottom of the fragment, but it is impossible to verify this claim because the words on this part of the fragment are completely illegible in the present conditions. It is also impossible to determine whether this text was divided into Matins lessons. No rubricated headings are visible under UV light, but better imaging may reveal some. On the basis of what can be read on these fragments, I concur with Gneuss's conclusion about the lessons' uniqueness. I, too, was unable to locate an analogue for them.

Next to be included were the Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's *dies natalis*, once beginning on fol. 148v, but now starting on fol. 38v. They continue onto fols. 36r, 36v, 35r, and 35v. "WLFHILDIS VIRGINIS," part of the rubricated title opening the text, can be seen on fol. 38v. Ten lines below this title and two lines up from the bottom of the fragment on fol. 38v a rubricated "II L" appears, indicating the start of the second lesson. The texts on these five pages are very difficult to read, but based on what can be deciphered, passages from Goscelin's *uita* of St. Wulfhild were either excerpted or adapted in order to compose the lessons (definitely Chapters 1, 5, and 10 in Colker's edition of the text).

Following the Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild are those for St. Æthelburh. In the early eighteenth century, they began on fol. 150v, but now they start on fol. 35v and continue onto fols. 40r, 40v, 41v, 41r, 44r, 44v, 42r, and 42v. Gneuss correctly observed that fol. 41 had been placed backwards by conservators, that the heading for the eighth lesson on fol. 41r had been rubricated, and that the ninth lesson, beginning midway down the fragment on fol. 44r, was a homily based on the parable of the wise and foolish virgins (Mt. 25:1–13).⁴³ There is also a rubricated "X" eight lines down from the top of the fragment on fol. 44v, signifying the start of the tenth lesson, and there are paraph marks highlighted with red ink on fols. 42r and 42v, possibly marking the beginnings to the final two readings of a twelve-lesson office. The words that can be read on the fragments indicate that the lessons derive from many of the chapters of Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh, as Table 4 shows. The entries for the printed editions of the sources of each folio's contents provided in the table supplement and correct the list given by Gneuss in his article.⁴⁴ For example, in his description of fol. 42v, the last remaining page of the Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh, Gneuss noted that it corresponds with Chapter 18 of Goscelin's *uita* of the saint, but this is not the case. It relates to Chapters 17 and 20 of the *uita* and completely omits Chapters 18 and 19. This finding has important implications for determining the authorship of the lessons, as we will see.

⁴³ Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (n. 6 above), 313–14.

⁴⁴ Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (n. 6 above), 314.

Neither Thomas Smith nor the 1732 committee recorded the presence of Matins lessons for St. Hildelith in Otho A XII. Gneuss guessed that they had overlooked this text “because of the frequent mention in Hildelith’s life of Aethelburga, whose *uita* precedes it in the manuscript.”⁴⁵ But they were probably drawing on Robert Cotton’s 1621 catalogue of the manuscripts in his library in London, British Library, Harley MS 6018, which did not list the Matins lessons for St. Hildelith among the contents of Otho A XII.⁴⁶ Whatever the reason for their oversight, all these observers of the manuscript missed an important text in its collection: a copy of Goscelin’s Matins lessons for St. Hildelith.⁴⁷ Their oversight may have also led to their miscount of the total number of folios in the manuscript by at least one folio, as Table 5 indicates next to the entries for fols. 43r and 43v. The lessons begin on the present fol. 43r and continue onto fols. 43v, 45r, and the first quarter of 45v. In his edition of the text, Marvin Colker misnumbered the lessons as they had been copied in Cardiff 1.381.⁴⁸ His error affected Gneuss’s identification of the lessons’ location in Otho A XII (Part 6). The entries for the printed editions of the lessons’ sources in Table 4 correct these errors, following the division of the readings in Cardiff 1.381. No rubricated headings marking the lessons on these pages were visible under UV light, but some may be detected with multispectral imaging.

According to Smith and the 1732 committee, the last text in Otho A XII pertains to the *uita* of St. Eorcenwald, and it began on fol. 155v (now fol. 45v). The terribly damaged condition of the subsequent folios and the seemingly unique nature of this text honoring the saint make it difficult to determine at present whether fols. 46 and 47 also contain texts from the *uita* of St. Eorcenwald—the fact that they were all copied by the same scribe raises this possibility—and whether the entire text was divided into Matins lessons. Fortunately, as Gneuss mentioned in his article, Cotton’s 1621 catalogue settles the second question: the thirteenth and last item in Otho A XII’s contents was “De Sancto Erchenwaldo lectiones.”⁴⁹ Thus, the scribe copying this text picked up where the scribe of the lessons for St. Hildelith had left off on fol. 45v to include readings for another saint dear to Barking for use in the night office.

By the early fifteenth century, St. Eorcenwald’s *dies natalis* (30 April) was celebrated as one of Barking’s principal feasts, and the feast commemorating the translation of his relics at St. Paul’s Cathedral on 14 November 1148 was held as a duplex feast.⁵⁰ The community’s surviving ordinal notes that Katherine Sutton,

⁴⁵ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 314: “...wegen der im Hildelitha-Leben häufigen Erwähnung der Aethelburga, deren *Vita* in der Hs. voranging.”

⁴⁶ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 315.

⁴⁷ Goscelin, *Lectiones de sancta Hildelitha*, ed. Colker, 455–58.

⁴⁸ Table 4 displays the correct numeration of the Matins lessons for St. Hildelith.

⁴⁹ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 315.

⁵⁰ *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 1:4, 2:221–24, and 2:336–37.

abbess of Barking from 1353 to 1377, elevated St. Eorcenwald's *dies natalis* to a principal feast with the concession of Barking's diocesan, Simon Sudbury, bishop of London (r. 1361–75); the community, however, may have held St. Eorcenwald's feasts with at least twelve lessons prior to Katherine's abbacy.⁵¹ As stated earlier, St. Eorcenwald was the brother of St. Æthelburh, co-founded Barking with her, and served as the bishop of London from ca. 675 to 693. He was remembered fondly in the first two chapters of Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh, and other sources recall that he died at Barking and that the community wished to bury his body there.⁵² The canons of St. Paul's and the people of London, however, insisted that his body be returned to the cathedral because ancient custom demanded that the saint be buried where he had been ordained and appointed.⁵³ To the nuns' bitter disappointment, the canons forcibly removed St. Eorcenwald's body from Barking. The nuns nevertheless continued venerating the saint as one of their own, in the company of their abbess-saints, possibly even commissioning Matins lessons with which to memorialize him at the night office.

According to Barking's ordinal, the incipit to the first lesson of Matins for St. Eorcenwald's *dies natalis* was "Post passionem," and the incipit to the first lesson for his *translatio* was "Confessor domini."⁵⁴ The first set of lessons probably derives from the popular *uita* of the saint, identified by the same incipit (BHL 2600). A fourteenth-century breviary from Chertsey Abbey, a monastery also founded by St. Eorcenwald, contains lessons for the saint's *dies natalis* based on "Post passionem."⁵⁵ Barking's ordinal may refer to the very same or closely related lessons. The lessons for St. Eorcenwald in Otho A XII (Part 6), however, do not derive from "Post passionem," nor are they based on the other two known versions of the saint's *uita*, as Gneuss noted.⁵⁶ This led him to speculate about Goscelin's authorship of these lessons.⁵⁷

⁵¹ *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 2:222.

⁵² See especially Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 1–2, ed. Colker, 400–402.

⁵³ See, for example, the late eleventh-century *uita* of St. Eorcenwald composed at St. Paul's, probably just before Goscelin wrote his *uita* of St. Æthelburh: *The Saint of London: The Life and Miracles of St. Erkenwald*, ed. and trans. E. Gordon Whatley (Binghamton, 1989), 90–96. See, too, Bugyis, "Dating the Translations of Barking's Abbess-Saints" (n. 1 above), 114.

⁵⁴ *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 2:222 and 336, respectively.

⁵⁵ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lat. liturg. e. 39, fols. 44v–45v. See Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (n. 6 above), 315–16.

⁵⁶ Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (n. 6 above), 315–16.

⁵⁷ See n. 16, above.

Table 5 shows that the Matins lessons in Otho A XII (Part 6), fols. 35r–45v, were copied in liturgical order, beginning with the feast of St. Wulfhild's *translatio* on 2 September and ending with the feast of St. Eorcenwald's *dies natalis* on 30 April. This arrangement of the texts raises the possibility that they constituted a short lectionary or legendary on Barking's most treasured saints for Matins, possibly in *libellus* format, just like the other books containing hagiographical texts that were copied at the abbey in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries, including TCD 176, the other known manuscript in which the hand of the scribe responsible for copying the lessons for Barking's abbess-saints and St. Bertin in Otho A XII (Part 6) appears.⁵⁸

Efforts made to conserve Otho A XII after the 1731 Ashburnham House fire make it impossible to recover its original collation now. In his article on the manuscript, Gneuss mentioned that the report signed by Matthew Hutton, John Anstis, and Humphrey Wanley on 22 June 1703, after their inspection of the Cotton Library, noted that Otho A XII was “in 4^o constans foliis 155. 1 fol. lacer.”⁵⁹ It seems unlikely, though, that the entire manuscript adhered to a quaternion quire structure until the early eighteenth century. Gatherings of eight leaves do predominate in books made at or for Barking in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, but the length of a text sometimes dictated otherwise, and later changes to a book often resulted in the addition and/or removal of leaves.⁶⁰ Further speculation on the structure of the folios on which the Matins lessons for Barking's abbess-saints, St. Bertin, and St. Eorcenwald in Otho A XII (Part 6) were copied must wait until more of the text on each page can be recovered through multispectral imaging. Only then can we know whether any folios are presently missing. We can conclude, however, that the remaining fragments of Otho A XII (Part 6) were a part of a collection that served the liturgical needs of the nuns at Barking.

⁵⁸ Bugyis, “Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey” (n. 1 above), 24–30 and 32–33. On the popularity of copying hagiographical texts in self-contained booklets from early in the medieval period, see David N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), 108; and Rosalind Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996), xiii–xiv.

⁵⁹ Gneuss, “Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII” (n. 6 above), 292.

⁶⁰ Bugyis, “Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey” (n. 1 above), 8 and 32. See, too, Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 155, Barking's early eleventh-century gospel book. This manuscript's collation is 1–6⁸, 7⁸ (wants 8), 8–24⁸, 25⁶ (wants 6). See Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, *The Care of Nuns: The Ministries of Benedictine Women in England during the Central Middle Ages* (New York, 2019), 148–71. And see also Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud lat. 19, Barking's twelfth-century copy of the Song of Songs with a gloss and Lamentations with Gilbert the Universal's gloss. This manuscript's collation is 1⁶⁺¹ (addition of last leaf), 2–10⁸, 11–12¹⁰.

THE AUTHOR OF THE MATINS LESSONS FOR STS. ÆTHELBURH AND WULFHILD

Near the end of his description of Otho A XII (Part 6), Gneuss admitted that he did not think that it was possible then to prove that Goscelin was the author of the Matins lessons collected in the last part of the manuscript.⁶¹ Of course Gneuss could tell that the manuscript contained a copy of Goscelin's lessons for St. Hildelith, and that the lessons for St. Wulfhild's *translatio*, her *dies natalis*, and St. Æthelburh's *dies natalis* were closely related to his *uitae* of the saints, but Gneuss could not determine whether the lessons were based on the *uitae*, or whether Goscelin had composed them, because he could not read enough of the text on each page. As Table 4 shows, with a UV torch, I have been able to recover more words from the fragments, but much of the texts remain illegible, especially the lessons for Sts. Bertin and Eorcenwald. Still, based on what can be read, several important observations about the composition of the lessons for Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild can be made.

First, lengthy passages from Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild can be found in the saints' respective Matins lessons with either no differences or relatively minimal ones. For example, on fol. 40v of Otho A XII (Part 6), a couple of the words on most of the lines can be read from the lesson for St. Æthelburh copied on the page; they indicate that nothing from the corresponding passage in Chapter 4 of Goscelin's *uita* of the saint is missing.⁶² On fol. 41r of the lessons for St. Æthelburh, the positions of the visible words before the rubricated heading "LECT VIII" suggest that only two sentences found in Chapter 9 of Goscelin's *uita* of the saint do not appear in this part of the seventh lesson. Both texts relate a miracle performed shortly after the saint's death for a nun in the community, who had been paralyzed for many years; however, the appearance of the infinitive "carere" ("to be deprived of") and the possessive adjective "suos" ("her") on successive lines on fol. 41r makes it impossible that all the text found between these two words in the *uita* fit in here. It is more probable that the lesson does not contain the two sentences describing the gravity of the nun's condition: "Only her disobliging spirit was breathing in her cadaver. Even if the tongue, eyes, and ears had been able to ask for help, they would not have been able to prevail"—details probably deemed inessential by the lessons' author.⁶³

Similar differences can be detected on the recto and verso of fol. 37 of the Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's *translatio* in Otho A XII (Part 6). The visible words of the lessons on these fragments perfectly match their correspondents in Goscelin's *translatio* of the saint in all but two instances. Near the bottom of fol.

⁶¹ Gneuss, "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (n. 6 above), 317.

⁶² Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 4, ed. Colker, 405.

⁶³ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 9, ed. Colker, 409: "Sola anima inofficiosa in suo spirabat cadauere. Lingua oculi aures et si poterant auxilium poscere, non poterant prestare."

37r, the phrase “*pridem ab adolescentia*” (“previously from adolescence”) differs slightly from the related passage in Goscelin’s account; there, the clause “*ut in uita eius memorauimus*” (“as we recorded in her life”) appears between the adverb “*pridem*” and the preposition “*ab*.”⁶⁴ Such a reference to the saint’s *uita* would have been superfluous and potentially confusing in Matins lessons used to celebrate her feast day.

The second discrepancy can be found on fol. 37v, four lines below the rubricated heading “VI L,” marking the beginning of the sixth lesson of Matins for St. Wulfhild’s *translatio*. The visible words are “*mira integritate. Tanta*” (“with remarkable wholeness. Such...”). In the parallel passage in Goscelin’s account of the saint’s translation, the relative clause “*quod et ceterae sorores cum ipsa matre Lifleda conspexere*” (“which the other sisters with Mother Leoffled herself also saw”) follows the ablative “*integritate*.”⁶⁵ The lessons’ author may have considered information about the other witnesses to the miraculous preservation of the saint’s body after her death extraneous given the abbreviated nature of this type of liturgical text.

Finally, the text on fol. 39r, the last page on which the Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild’s translation was definitely copied, agrees with the last sentence of Chapter 14 and the first two-thirds of Chapter 15 of Goscelin’s *translatio* of the saint, except in one part: it does not include the direct speech spoken to St. Wulfhild by Wulfruna-Judith, Barking’s sacristan at the time and the former abbess’s “most devoted disciple” (*deuotissima ipsius discipula*).⁶⁶ When the cover of the saint’s tomb was removed during its *translation* by Abbess Leoffled, St. Wulfhild’s successor, Wulfruna-Judith used her veil to cover St. Wulfhild’s body to protect it “from the unworthy gaze of the carnal” (*ab indignis carnalium aspectibus*).⁶⁷ Sometime after this event, when the monastery was in dire financial straits, Wulfruna-Judith was unable to purchase new clothing for herself, so she beseeched St. Wulfhild for assistance: “Look, Mother, I gave you a veil of the kind I had. Give me, therefore, the necessary tunic.”⁶⁸ Wulfruna-Judith’s address humanizes the miracle with its candor, but it is not indispensable to the narrative if pressed for space. The audience would have been more interested to hear how St. Wulfhild had given Wulfruna-Judith sixty silver coins to buy clothing, and how the saint’s intercession had made it possible for the sacristan both to pay the vendor with this money and to restore the full amount to her purse by the time she had returned to Barking. The words visible near the bottom of fol. 39r make clear

⁶⁴ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 13, ed. Colker, 431–32.

⁶⁵ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 13, ed. Colker, 432.

⁶⁶ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 15, ed. Colker, 433.

⁶⁷ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 13, ed. Colker, 432.

⁶⁸ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 15, ed. Colker, 433: “Ecce, dedi tibi, mater, pannum qualem habebam. Da ergo mihi tunicam necessariam.”

that these were precisely the details of the miracle that the author of the lessons chose to relate.⁶⁹

The second observation that can be made about the composition of the Matins lessons for Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild is that several chapters in Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild do not appear in the saints' respective lessons. For example, on fol. 42r of the lessons for St. Æthelburh in Otho A XII (Part 6), the text on the first third of the fragment matches the end of Chapter 13 of Goscelin's *uita* of the saint exactly, thus preserving the miracle of the wolf, bear, and lion sent by St. Æthelburh to safeguard Barking against a band of marauding Danes.⁷⁰ Then, the lessons jump to the account of St. Æthelburh's expulsion of the Danes occupying the monastery with a brilliant light, told in Chapter 16 of the *uita*.⁷¹ The intervening chapters of the *uita*, which relate two other occasions when St. Æthelburh miraculously chastised the Danes desecrating Barking's church and cloister, do not appear in the lessons.⁷² The author of this text must have decided that only two miracles recounting St. Æthelburh's defense against the Danes were needed to extol the saint's unfailing care of her community. Similarly, the text on fol. 42v of the saint's lessons moves from the account of the healing of three blind women by Sts. Æthelburh, Hildelith, and Wulfhild, told in Chapter 17 of Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh, to the story of the miraculous recovery of a missal stolen from Barking by a looting Norman priest, related in Chapter 20 of the *uita*.⁷³ The miracles detailed in Chapters 18 and 19 of the *uita*, which concern the healing of a young girl unable to walk and of a blind man, respectively, were not included in the lessons, possibly in the interest of space.⁷⁴

On fol. 39r, the last visible word is "credere" ("to believe"), found at the bottom of the fragment, as Table 4 shows. This is definitely the concluding page of the Matins lessons for St. Wulfhild's translation in Otho A XII (Part 6) because those for St. Bertin begin on the opposite side, Goscelin used the infinitive "credere" near the end of the antepenultimate chapter of his *translatio* of the saint.⁷⁵ This correspondence suggests that there is very little text missing after "credere" on fol. 39r, and that the lessons for St. Wulfhild's translation do not contain the miracles

⁶⁹ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 15, ed. Colker, 433.

⁷⁰ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 13, ed. Colker, 413.

⁷¹ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 16, ed. Colker, 414–15. It should be noted that the lessons' account of the miracle of the brilliant light begins differently than Chapter 16 of Goscelin's *uita* of St. Æthelburh does, and the final sentence of this chapter does not appear in it.

⁷² Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 14–15, ed. Colker, 413–14.

⁷³ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 17 and 20, ed. Colker, 415 and 416–17.

⁷⁴ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 18–19, ed. Colker, 415–16.

⁷⁵ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 15, ed. Colker, 433.

told in the final two chapters of Goscelin's account of this event.⁷⁶ It would not be surprising if the lessons' author chose to omit these miracles, because they primarily feature St. Æthelburh and have little to do with St. Wulfhild.

The third and final observation about how the Matins lessons for Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild were composed is that some passages correspond very loosely with chapters in the saints' respective *uitae*, probably indicating that they were rewritten for the sake of concision. For example, on fol. 38v of Otho A XII (Part 6), none of the visible words in the first lesson for St. Wulfhild's *dies natalis* has an exact match in Goscelin's *uita* of the saint. Like Chapter 1 of the *uita*, this lesson recounts the nativity of St. Wulfhild, but in a different way.⁷⁷ The early history of her father, detailed at length by Goscelin, does not open the lesson. It begins instead with the angelic messenger that Wulfhild's parents received in their late age to announce her birth. Similarly, only a few of the visible words of the final lesson of Matins for St. Æthelburh on fol. 42v of Otho A XII (Part 6), correspond precisely with Chapter 20 of Goscelin's *uita* of the saint.⁷⁸ The spacing of these words in the lesson, compared with their appearance in the *uita*, shows that it provides a more condensed telling of the miraculous recovery of Barking's missal.

Sometimes, the beginning of a lesson differs from its corresponding passage in Goscelin's *uita* of the saint, probably to abbreviate the narrative and to provide a clearer transition from the preceding lesson. For example, the first six lines of the lesson of Matins for St. Æthelburh that opens with the large rubricated A on fol. 41v offer a more compressed paean to the nun Tortgyth's humility, obedience, and leadership in the community, despite the pain she suffered from a protracted illness, than Goscelin provided in the first half of Chapter 7 of his *uita* of the saint.⁷⁹ The lesson moves quickly to relate the vision of St. Æthelburh's imminent death that Tortgyth received one night. At this point in the story, from at least "egressa de cubiculo" ("having come out of her bedchamber"), the lesson's account starts to match the *uita*'s.⁸⁰ There is a related discrepancy between the opening to the eighth lesson of Matins for St. Æthelburh, found on the opposite page (fol. 41r), and the start of Chapter 10 of Goscelin's *uita* of the saint.⁸¹ This is indicated by the use of different cases for the noun "merits" in the two texts: the

⁷⁶ Goscelin, *De translatione sanctae Wlfildae* 16–17, ed. Colker, 433–34.

⁷⁷ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Wlfildae uirginis* 1, ed. Colker, 419–20.

⁷⁸ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 20, ed. Colker, 416–17. These words include: "abstulit secumque trans," "rediit librum secum," "possideret," and "iactatus est ab omni." There is a greater correspondence between the first part of the final lection of Goscelin's lessons for St. Æthelburh's feast and Chapter 17 of his *uita* of the saint. All the visible words and letters in this part of the lection—"ad s[—]," "singulae," "<sus>cepere q[ua]tenus," and "una creditur"—match the chapter exactly as it was copied in TCD 176. See Table 4.

⁷⁹ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 7, ed. Colker, 407.

⁸⁰ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 7, ed. Colker, 407.

⁸¹ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 10, ed. Colker, 409.

nominative or accusative plural “merita” in the lesson, and the dative plural “meritis” in the *uita*.⁸² Multispectral imaging would reveal more discrepancies between the two texts. This technology would increase the visibility of the remaining lines at the bottom of the fragment, which are presently too difficult to read, even with a UV torch.

Finally, on fol. 42r of the Matins lessons for St. Æthelburh, where a paraph mark seems to signal the start of a new reading, the words visible on the last four lines of the fragment relate the same story told in Chapter 17 of Goscelin’s *uita* of the saint—the healing of three blind women—but none of these words, save St. Æthelburh’s name, share any correspondents in the *uita*.⁸³ The lessons’ author may have thought it necessary to open this reading with words that more clearly indicate the beginning of a different story: “Item sub alio” (“Likewise under another”). Chapter 17 of the *uita* begins more ambiguously: “So that a threefold illumination of the Lord should also appear in the three lamps of the virginal protectors of the church.”⁸⁴ Clear signposts at the beginnings of lessons that oriented auditors were essential to the performance and comprehension of Matins because every lesson was followed by a responsory, and all three nocturns of a twelve-lesson office started either with six psalmodic units with six antiphons (the first and second nocturns) or with three canticles with one antiphon (the third nocturn). These chants provided rich commentary on the lessons, but they also interrupted their narrative flow. Signposts helped to connect them.

The simplest explanation for all the detectable differences between Goscelin’s *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild and the saints’ respective Matins lessons that have been discussed is that the latter texts were based on the former. Mainly through excerpting the saints’ lives, but also by abridging them in places, excising select chapters, and rewriting certain passages, the lessons’ author composed readings that were suitable for performance at Matins. Until more of the texts can be recovered from the surviving fragments in Otho A XII (Part 6) with multispectral imaging, however, we cannot entirely rule out the possibility that the lessons preceded the *uitae*, especially given the absence of a *uita* of St. Hildelith in the surviving manuscripts.

There are, nevertheless, good reasons to suspect that Goscelin never wrote a *uita* of St. Hildelith because of the paucity of material on her abbacy.⁸⁵ In fact, the early twelfth-century copy of the Matins lessons for St. Hildelith in Cardiff 1.381, fols. 94r–96v, looks more like the copy of St. Æthelburh that precedes it (fols. 81r–94r) and the *uitae* of St. Edward, king and martyr (d. 978), and of St. Edith of

⁸² Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 10, ed. Colker, 409.

⁸³ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 17, ed. Colker, 415.

⁸⁴ Goscelin, *Vita et uirtutes sanctae Ethelburgae uirginis* 17, ed. Colker, 415: “Vt etiam trina illustratio Domini in tribus lampadibus uirginalium presidum appareret huius ecclesiae.”

⁸⁵ See n. 38, above.

Wilton (d. ca. 984) that follow it (fols. 97r–102v and 102v–120r, respectively) than it does a set of lessons. The scribe responsible for copying the text identified it as the “lecciones de sancta Hildelitha” in a title on fol. 94r, but s/he did not mark the lessons with headings or numbers. They were distinguished only by large colored initials. Thus, the scribe seems to have compensated for the lack of a *uita* of St. Hildelith by making her lessons appear like one.⁸⁶

The most probable author of the Matins lessons for Sts. Æthelburh and Wulfhild is Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, not only because he composed lessons for St. Hildelith, but also because he wrote a set of twelve lessons for the feast of the translation of Barking’s abbess-saints by Abbess Ælfgifu in addition to a longer account of this event.⁸⁷ These two texts survive only in TCD 176, fols. 26r–29v, 31v–35v, and 37r–41r, and were edited by Marvin Colker.⁸⁸ As Table 6 shows, side-by-side comparison of the texts indicates that Goscelin composed the lessons on the basis of the longer account, using the very same strategies employed to make the lessons for the abbess-saints found in Otho A XII (Part 6): excerption, abridgement, excision, and rewriting.

Goscelin generated most of the text for the Matins lessons for the abbess-saints’ translation by excerpting passages from the longer account. The example provided in the second entry in Table 6 illustrates his preferred strategy for creating content. Here, Goscelin made the third lesson a nearly verbatim copy of the corresponding passage in the longer account, except for slightly changing the syntax of one sentence, removing a relative clause on the tradition of fasting exclusively on bread and water during Lent, and adding the words “officiose” (“dutifully”) and “et turibula aurea” (“and golden thuribles”).⁸⁹ These discrepancies are underlined in Table 6 for easy identification.

⁸⁶ The scribe of the Matins lessons for St. Hildelith in Cardiff 1.381 also copied the lives of Sts. Æthelburh and Edith in the manuscript. See Bugyis, “Manuscript Remains of the Abbess-Saints of Barking Abbey” (n. 1 above), 32.

⁸⁷ Scholars of Goscelin’s dossier for Barking have all agreed that he composed both the Matins lessons for the abbess-saints’ translation and the longer account of this event. Marvin Colker stated the reason for accepting this claim well: “it need not be assumed that one of the two texts is a revision prepared by someone other than Jocelyn, who was himself inclined toward epistomising or expanding his own material, as in the case of his two biographies of St. Augustine of Canterbury, the *Vita maior* and the *Vita minor*.” See Colker, “Texts of Jocelyn of Canterbury” (n. 1 above), 392. The discussion in the introduction to this article of Richard Sharpe’s hypothesis about Goscelin’s composition of both the hagiographical and the liturgical materials for the cult of St. Mildreth at St. Augustine’s, now found in London, British Library, Harley MS 3908, is relevant here, too. See n. 4, above. The issue that has yet to be settled among scholars of Goscelin’s dossier for Barking is whether he wrote the longer version of the *translatio* before the lessons, or vice versa. In what follows, I make a case for the former scenario.

⁸⁸ Goscelin, *Textus translationis sanctarum uirginum Aethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* and *De translatione uel eleuatione sanctarum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae*, ed. Colker, 435–52.

⁸⁹ Goscelin, *Textus translationis sanctarum uirginum Aethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 3, ed. Colker, 439.

Table 6. Comparative Analysis of Select Passages in Goscelin of Saint-Bertin's Matins Lessons for the Abbess-Saints' Translation and Longer Account of the Event

p. # in Colker	Matins Lessons for the Abbess-Saints' Translation	Longer Account
	lectio ii	
437–38	<u>Iam deuota mater monasterii nouum templum amplioribus spatiis extulerat, cui uetus monasterium cum memoratis uirginibus in ipso quiescentibus obstabat. Nec inceptum opus nisi ablatis obstaculis procedere poterat. Ipsum uero beati Erkenwaldi pontificis suaeque beatae sororis tam antiquum aedificium destruere uel ipsas sacras uirgines ab antiqua dormitione sua remouere uidebatur nimis iniuriosum et dampnabile ...</u>	<u>Adolescebat in monasterio ... circumductas ut huic deuotae custodi tam festiui patris arrisisset benedictionem asseras. Haec monasterium suum ruricolis artissime obsessum undique extirpatis domiciliis late liberauit, curiam Christi et atria dilatante Domino Iafeth et tentoria Israel amplis spatiis extendit, claustralia septa et officinas commoda amplitudine et fastigio reformauit, templum quod ardua patriae emularetur fortior uiribus fundauit et extulit. Non tali gratia Samiramis condidit Babiloniam nec regia Dido Cartaginem Tyriam quia ibi superbia in infernum dimergitur, hic ab humili per scalam Iacob in caelum ascenditur. Iam ergo ut ceptam causam translationis explicemus, templum augustioribus aedificiis atque aliis eminebat, sed ad destinatum terminum procedere noui operis magnitudo nequibat quia uetus aecclesia primae fundatricis Aethelburgae sanctique germani sui Erkenuualdi sancta auctoritate resistebat. Oportebat etiam ipsam primiceriam cum prenominitis lateralibus Hildelitha ac Wlfilda de ipsa aecclesia quam illustrabant abduci, sed quis se daret huic presumptioni?</u>
	lectio iii	<iv cont.>
439	Tunc agebatur quadragesimalis obseruantia, omnibus Christianis diuinitus instituta. Placuit domesticis fidei in commune debitae	Tunc agebatur quadragesimalis obseruantia omnibus Christianis diuinitus instituta. Placuit domesticis fidei in commune debitae

Continued

Table 6. *Continued*

p. # in Colker	Matins Lessons for the Abbess-Saints’ Translation	Longer Account
	abstinentiae aliquid addere. Tres sextas ferias ante <u>medium</u> quadragesimae in pane et aqua agunt <u>officiose</u> . Aguntur processiones et laetaniae, assiduantur preces et psalmodiae, mouent caelum manus elemosinariae. Sed inuitati aecclesiastici patres ad haec sancta sanctorum efferenda indignos se referebant nec audere se prorsus ab antiqua sua pausa tam sancta mouere corpora, quae essent Dei templa <u>et turibula aurea</u> .	abstinentiae aliquid addere. Tres sextas ferias ante <u>mediam</u> quadragesimam in pane et aqua, <u>quibus deliciis contenta fuisse traditur ab initio primorum hominum uita</u> . Aguntur processiones et laetaniae, assiduantur preces et psalmodiae, mouent caelum manus elemosinariae. Sed inuitati aecclesiastici patres ad haec sancta sanctorum efferenda indignos se referebant nec audere se prorsus ab antiqua sua pausa tam sancta mouere corpora, quae essent Dei templa.
	lectio xii	<xii>
450–52	His ita diligenter exactis tertium lumen suum Wlfildam premissis duabus faculis adiungere totius plebis maturat consensio. Hanc quoque excipiunt et educunt cum processione et laudisono canore, quae sponte sequitur cum suo pondere. Dum ergo <u>in ingressu aecclesiae</u> a meridiana parte produceretur, ubi ipsa adiacentis Aethelburgae dextro lateri se coequauit, ibi scilicet Wlfilda sancta facta est, Hildelitha, uel ipsa etiam Aethelburga: adeo ibi haec quoque radicatur et fundatur, adeo omnium congressus frustratur. Possunt cordarum sinuamina rumpi, ingeniorum argumenta frangi, laborantes anhelo spiritu exanimari. Virginea gleba non potest loco moueri. At domestica nutrix gregis Dominici, cui ipsa beata Wlfilda ex reuelatione noscitur dudum <u>fuisse electrix</u> , post	His ita diligenter exactis, tertium lumen suum Wlfildam premissis duabus faculis adiungere totius plebis maturat consensio. Hanc quoque excipiunt et educunt cum processione et laudisono canore, quae <u>etiam</u> sponte sequitur cum suo pondere. <u>Versabant hic perlique corde suo et ore haec dicta grata et suspecta</u> : “Bene,” aiebant, <u>“procedit haec tumba et amabiliter comitatur famulantia brachia, sed ueremur ne et tertia in nos retorqueat duarum exemplaria miracula et ipsa quoque omnibus immobilis facta nostra pessundet et rideat conamina. Sed quanuis constet hanc multis signis radiare, unde eam similem credemus premissarum dominarum excellentiae nisi ex consimili uirtute?”</u> Haec inuendo uel <u>redeundo non inaniter presagantes, diuersi irrumpunt predictam</u>

Continued

Table 6. *Continued*

p. # in Colker	Matins Lessons for the Abbess-Saints’ Translation	Longer Account
	laboriosa interualla decantatis iterum septem psalmis cum precibus summissis orat suppliciter familiarem dominam ut transmigret ad presignatam requiem suam et Dominicae laudationis famulabus expeditam annuat aecclesiam. Paruit continuo oranti sancta gleba et aptato thoro incubuit ultroneae trahentes secuta. Haec ergo tria simillima trium consimilium uelut germanarum miracula pro sua magnitudine et raritate <u>attente</u> <u>exposuimus, in quibus certissima</u> <u>fiducia iam speculamur illud nouum</u> <u>et gloriosum aeternae</u> <u>in corruptionis seculum et infinitum</u> <u>resurrectionis gaudium.</u>	<u>omnium sanctorum basilicam cum</u> <u>munere triumphali. Hic ergo,</u> <u>sanctorum collega Wlfilda, rite</u> <u>probare habes baiulorum tuorum</u> <u>questionem et te unanimi caritate</u> <u>duabus matribus tertiam in fide</u> <u>contemplatiuae Trinitatis declarare</u> <u>conregnantem.</u> Dum ergo a meridiana parte <u>ad altare</u> produceretur, ubi ipsa <u>tumba</u> adiacentis Aethelburgae dextro lateri se coequauit—<u>cia, uiri, nunc</u> <u>insistite, nunc uires uestras neruoso</u> <u>robore experimini</u>—ibi scilicet Wlfilda sancta facta est, Hildelitha, uel ipsa etiam Aethelburga: adeo ibi haec quoque radicatur et fundatur, adeo omnium congressus frustratur. Possunt cordarum sinuamina rumpi, ingeniorum argumenta frangi, laborantes anhelo spiritu exanimari. Virginea gleba non potest loco moueri. <u>Si</u> <u>addas mille iuga bouum furentis</u> <u>Pascasii, nostra Lucia, nostra</u> <u>columna immobilis ridebit fulmina</u> <u>impetus humani.</u> Orant alii, alii <u>increpitant ne illa Domini chori</u> <u>conuentui obsistat sed potius</u> <u>paratam sibi sedem, ubi nulli noceat</u> <u>sed prosit omnibus, adeat. Quidam</u> <u>etiam talia inferebat: “Si uos tres hic</u> <u>simul adiaceatis, tam angustus est</u> <u>locus ut accessum ad altare et</u> <u>omnem transitum hic interdicatis.”</u> <u>Sed ecce beata Hildelitha, que</u> <u>leuum latus sanctae Aethelburgae</u> <u>occupauerat, cedens famulabus suis</u> <u>in boreali latere altaris accubat et te</u> <u>a dextra parte ipsius altaris sibi</u> <u>sociandam expectat quatenus ipsa</u>

Continued

Table 6. *Continued*

p. # in Colker	Matins Lessons for the Abbess-Saints' Translation	Longer Account
		<u>media ara utranque inter Dominica sacra asstringat. Sed hae uerborum phalerae nichil sanctam emulatricem promouere. At domestica nutrix gregis Dominici, cui ipsa beata Wlfilda ex reuelatione noscitur dudum delegasse, ut alibi exposuimus, curam monasterii, decantatis iterum septem psalmis cum precibus deuotis orat suppliciter familiarem dominam ut transeat ad presignatam requiem suam et Dominicae laudationis famulabus expeditam annuat aecclesiam. Paruit continuo oranti sancta gleba et aptato thoro incubuit ultroneae trahentes secuta. Haec ergo tria simillima trium et consimilium uelut germanarum miracula pro sua magnitudine et raritate uerbosius exposuimus quia gloriosas res non decet capitulari, breuitate obscurari, et inornatis dictis iniuriari, sed potius splendore eloquentiae, quo nos deficimus, irradiari dignoque preconio pretiosa monilia suis gemmis instellari.</u>

In many cases, the passages Goscelin excerpted from the longer account for the Matins lessons were not continuous. He removed certain parts, often those containing direct speeches or analogies, and stitched together the remaining sentences to create abridged versions of select stories in the longer account that could be used as lessons. His process of abridgement is exemplified well by the third entry in Table 6. To make the twelfth lesson, he borrowed extended extracts from a passage at the end of the longer account, but he also left out two lengthy sections containing direct speeches, a short aside, and a few inessential words. He also rewrote the ending of the longer account entirely, probably because the

assertion that “it is not fitting for glorious events to be summarized, obscured with brevity, and not done justice to by unadorned words” was at odds with the genre of Matins lessons, which are, by necessity, abbreviated in nature.⁹⁰

In only one instance did Goscelin excise an entire textual unit from the longer account to make the Matins lessons. He omitted the preamble to the longer account, which praises God for the great works he performs through his saints. Goscelin started the first lesson instead where he had begun the second marked paragraph in the longer account: with an exhortation to celebrate the feast of the abbess-saints’ translation fittingly.⁹¹ But the wording of their openings differs slightly: “Hinc ergo dies solennes” (“Hence, therefore, the solemn days”), in the longer account, and “Diem solennem” (“The solemn day”), in the first lesson.⁹² Goscelin’s removal of the adverbs “hinc” and “ergo” makes sense given his omission of the longer account’s preamble, and his change in number of the plural noun “dies solennes” to the singular noun “diem solennem” helps to focus the lessons on the feast of the translation itself.

More substantial rewriting of the longer account can be found in the Matins lessons, but Goscelin used this method of creating content far less frequently than he did excerpt or abridgement. The first entry in Table 6 shows the longest passage he rewrote. In the second lesson, he did not include the longer account’s description of how Ælfgifu was raised at Barking; received the “monasterialem curam” (“care of the monastery”) at the age of fifteen from King Edward the Confessor (r. 1042–66); was consecrated abbess on the feast of St. Germanus, a fifth-century bishop of Auxerre (31 July), by William the Norman, bishop of London (r. 1051–75); razed the houses of the neighboring country people that were confining the monastery on all sides in order to make sufficient space for her building project; and started to remodel Barking’s cloister and workshops and lay the foundation for a new church.⁹³ Goscelin opened the second lesson instead with a modified version of the longer account’s depiction of the obstacle that the old abbey church posed to Ælfgifu’s project. She worried that “it was seen to be very injurious and damnable to destroy that ancient building of blessed Bishop Eorcenwald and his blessed sister, and to remove those sacred virgins from their

⁹⁰ Goscelin, *De translatione uel eleuatione sanctorum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 12, ed. Colker, 451–52.

⁹¹ On TCD 176, fol. 32v, the second textual unit of the longer account is marked with a large rubricated initial.

⁹² Goscelin, *Textus translationis sanctorum uirginum Aethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 1 and *De translatione uel eleuatione sanctorum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 2, ed. Colker, 436.

⁹³ Goscelin, *Textus translationis sanctorum uirginum Aethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 2 and *De translatione uel eleuatione sanctorum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 3, ed. Colker, 437–38.

ancient resting place.”⁹⁴ Notably, Goscelin expressed the risks that Ælfgifu’s project presented with greater exigency in the second lesson. In the longer account, he simply asked the rhetorical question, “but who would give themselves to this presumption?”⁹⁵

Abbess Ælfgifu gave herself to this presumption. She was intent on building a new abbey church at Barking that “*ardua patriae emularetur*” (“would rival the high points of the country”), no matter the obstacles she faced.⁹⁶ To accomplish her project, though, she needed a dossier of writings that not only proved the abbess-saints’ holiness to doubtful and unsupportive ecclesiastical officials, such as Bishop Maurice, but also provisioned her community with texts to be read at Matins, refectory, collation, and private devotion. Ælfgifu enlisted Goscelin to do just that. He wrote a *uita* of St. Æthelburh and a *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild, addressed to Bishop Maurice, to make a direct appeal for his defense of these saints before their translation took place. After this event, he composed a long account detailing Ælfgifu’s efforts and the miracles worked before and while the abbess-saints’ tombs were being moved, as well as a set of Matins lessons based on the long account for use in the night office on future celebrations of this feast in the community.⁹⁷ Goscelin also created lessons for St. Hildelith’s *dies natalis*, probably around the same time that he wrote his *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild, and so there has been reasonable cause to wonder whether he created lessons for these abbess-saints’ feasts, too.

In the foregoing study of the fragments of Matins lessons gathered in Otho A XII (Part 6), I have made the case that Goscelin composed the lessons honoring all three abbess-saints preserved in this manuscript. I have argued further that the scribe responsible for copying the Matins lessons for Barking’s abbess-saints and for St. Bertin in this manuscript also copied Goscelin’s *uita* of St. Æthelburh and his *uita* and *translatio* of St. Wulfhild in TCD 176, a late eleventh-century collection of *libelli* of certain Barking origin. This hand exhibits features peculiar to scribes trained in northeastern France or the Low Countries, raising the possibility that Goscelin made these copies of the texts himself. But even if he did not make them, the appearance of the same hand in texts related to Barking’s abbess-saints indicates that this scribe’s work in Otho A XII (Part 6) should be located at Barking, too, thus increasing the total number of books the community once owned to twenty-two.

⁹⁴ Goscelin, *Textus translationis sanctarum uirginum Aethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 2, ed. Colker, 438.

⁹⁵ Goscelin, *De translatione uel eleuatione sanctarum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 3, ed. Colker, 438.

⁹⁶ Goscelin, *De translatione uel eleuatione sanctarum uirginum Ethelburgae Hildelithae ac Wlfildae* 3, ed. Colker, 438.

⁹⁷ Bugyis, “Dating the Translations of Barking’s Abbess-Saints” (n. 1 above), 109–11.

So much more can be learned from the Matins lessons for Sts. Æthelburh, Hildelith, Wulfhild, Bertin, and Eorcenwald in Otho A XII (Part 6), but further inquiry depends entirely on scholars' ability to obtain multispectral imaging of the surviving fragments. This technology would allow us to recover more text from each fragment and, thereby, detail their contents and arrangement with greater specificity and determine if any lessons are missing. Such recovery is especially important to studies of the lessons for St. Bertin and for St. Eorcenwald. If we could see more of the words on these fragments, we would then be able to assess better the uniqueness and authorship of the texts. Multispectral imaging would make the incipits to the lessons for St. Wulfhild's translation, her *dies natalis*, and St. Æthelburh's *dies natalis* legible, too, so that we could figure out whether these lessons continued to be used at Barking into the fifteenth century, just as the lessons for the abbess-saints' translation and St. Hildelith's *dies natalis* were.⁹⁸ This technology would also permit us to see if there are any signs of the lessons' later use, such as corrections or marginalia. Medieval liturgical books were living documents for practice, often updated to meet communities' changing needs, as analysis of Barking's eleventh-century gospel book demonstrates.⁹⁹ The addition of lessons for St. Eorcenwald by a later scribe suggests that the legendary or lectionary that the fragments in Otho A XII (Part 6) once constituted was supplemented at least once to accommodate Barking's liturgical practice, but other alterations may have been made as well that multispectral imaging can reveal. For the time being, though, we must remain hopeful that we will one day see more of this remarkable manuscript.

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⁹⁸ *The Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey* (n. 5 above), 2:201 and 206.

⁹⁹ Bugyis, *The Care of Nuns* (n. 60 above), 148–71.