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ODO OF OSTIA'S HISTORY OF THE TRANSLATION OF ST. MILBURGA

AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE EARLY HISTORY OF WENLOCK ABBEY

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## A B S T R A C T

The aim of this thesis is two-fold: to provide an adequate edition both of the Life of St. Milburga by Goscelin of Canterbury, and of the account of the Invention of her relics by Odo Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, and also to demonstrate the connection between this discovery of her relics in the twelfth century and the earlier history of St. Milburga's monastery at Much Wenlock. The first part of this study deals with the Vita Sancte Mýlburge, the various manuscript versions, the problem of disputed authorship, the historical value of the work. The second part is concerned with the Miracula Inventionis Beate Mýlburge Virginis and its attribution to Odo of Ostia. The texts of both works are included and the latter has been translated into English.

HISTORY TRANSLATION  
ODO OF OSTIA'S ACCOUNT OF THE INVENTION OF ST. MILBURGA

AND ITS CONNECTION WITH THE EARLY HISTORY OF WENLOCK ABBEY.

I N T R O D U C T I O N

Odo of Ostia's account of the Invention of St.Milburga<sup>1</sup> is a simple piece of historical writing, containing not only the chronicle of the events which led up to the discovery of the bones of St.Milburga, but also a description of four miraculous cures which took place at the tomb shortly afterwards. The account was probably written in the spring or early summer of the year 1102, possibly at Wenlock itself. The presence of the author, Odo the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, at Wenlock in 1102 is best accounted for by the presumption that he came in official capacity, as an eminent churchman and former Cluniac monk (and possibly a former member of the community of

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1. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library MS.149 ff.83v - 89r.  
(V.R.M.Woolley, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, Oxford 1927.)  
An abbreviated account of the Invention is also to be found in a manuscript of the Lansdowne collection, No.436 (v. below Part II Cp.II, pp.329-331.

La Charité-sur-Loire) to investigate the reputed wonders that were supposed to have occurred there at the shrine of St. Milburga, a new monastery of the Cluniac affiliation. The importance of the discovery and of the miracles that followed, justified the choosing of such an eminent man to compose the official account.

Five hundred year before Odo of Ostia came to Wenlock to investigate the miracles alleged to have taken place there, the Gospel was first preached to St. Milburga's great-grandfather, Ethelbert of Kent, by the Roman mission confided to Augustine by Gregory the Great<sup>1</sup>. Forty years later another missionary effort was being launched in the north of England, a mission drawing its strength and inspiration from the monastic community of Iona<sup>2</sup>. The relative failure of Augustine and his companions in their work of conversion, and the greater effectiveness of the mission of the northern monks has frequently been analysed and explained. It seems certain that the missionaries dispatched by the Pope were unable to adjust themselves to an apostolate entirely different in form from that which they had known previously<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, Plummer, (Oxford 1896) Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum, Lib.i.Cap.xxiii. Henceforward the Historia Ecclesiastica will be referred to as H.E.).  
Augustine and his companions arrived in England early in 597. (F.Stenton, Anglo Saxon England p.105. Oxford 1943).

2. V. H.E. iii. 23.

3. Augustine had been prior of the monastery of St.Andrew in Rome. Most of his companions came from this monastery. (V. Plummer's Notes to H.E. p.38.)

While the monks of the Celtic tradition went out to their people on foot, walked among them and preached to them where they found them<sup>1</sup>, Augustine and his companions, with their experience of the calmer, more ordered life of an established Christian community in an urban centre, tended to settle themselves in the "towns" that the southern kingdoms boasted, and expect the people to come in to them<sup>2</sup>. They were undoubtedly courageous and devoted men who left all things to preach the Gospel to a pagan people whom they feared greatly<sup>3</sup>, and they earned the sincere respect of Bede but they were not - indeed they could not have been - formers of the new Christian society<sup>4</sup>.

When the new native leaders appeared in the first generation of the Anglo-Saxon Christians, their significance as religious figures was in almost all cases increased by their social status. For it was the ruling class who continued to rule under the new dispensation, it was often

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1. Bede says of Aidan, "Discurrere per cuncta et urbana et rustica loca, non equorum dorso sed pedum incessu vectus, nisi si maior forte necessitas compulisset solebat." H.E. iii.5. Cf. Also what is said of Cuthbert, H.E.iv.25.
  2. Canterbury, Rochester and London were the seats of the first bishoprics of the Gregorian mission.
  3. H.E. i. 23.
  4. V. Sir Frank Stenton's assessment of Augustine's achievement: "Under the conditions which governed his activities it was a notable achievement to secure the establishment of Christianity in one English Kingdom and to provide for the training of a clergy who would continue his work." Anglo-Saxon England (op.cit. p.ii) p.111.



the king, the prince, the lady and the noble who assumed religious functions<sup>1</sup>. But in a society where obedience and complete loyalty to the head of the family, the head of the group, was not questioned, at least as a principle, these qualities were unlikely to present problems in the religious life. The authority of such individuals as Wilfrid, Benedict Biscop, Hilda of Whitby, was always considerable and generally uncontested<sup>2</sup>. But it should not be forgotten that such an authority did not entirely pass away at the death of the person. A new abbot or abbess would be chosen to succeed (frequently a kinsman of the dead man) but the late Saint left his remains to his community as a pledge of his continued interest in the house, of his intercession in heaven on its behalf. And the relics became the most treasured possession of the monastery, guaranteed its character as a holy place and attracted the pilgrims who came to pay their devotions at the shrine of the Saint.

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1. Ethelred king of Mercia entered the monastery of Bardney in 704 and later became abbot there. (H.E. v. 24 : v.19. V. Plummer's Note H.E. 154.)  
 Sebbi king of the East Saxons received the monastic habit from Waldheri bishop of London. (H.E.iv.11.)  
 Merewald - if the legend in the Life of St.Milburga is to be believed - also became a monk, when his wife Domneva left him to assume the charge of the monastery of Thanet. (v.below Cp.5, pp.172<sup>6</sup>-270!) Sexburga, wife of king Earconbert of Kent, succeeded her sister Ethelthryth as abbess of Ely. (H.E. iv.19). Both were daughters of Anna, the saintly king of East Anglia.  
 Wilfrid was of noble birth (The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus, B.Colgrave, Cambridge 1927. Cp.1) and so also was Benedict Biscop. (H.E.v.19: Historia Abbatum.i.).
2. Wilfrid's authority was contested by kings and fellow-bishops - never by his own monks.

In contrast to the kingdom of Ethelbert of Kent, the territory ruled over by St. Milburga's father was neither free nor important<sup>1</sup>. This West Mercian principality, which acknowledged Merewald as lord, had none of the traditions and connections which in Kent preserved some slight thread of continuity with the Christianity which had prevailed in Britain before the coming of the Anglo-Saxons, and with the way of life established in the Frankish kingdoms across the Channel<sup>2</sup>. The people, who were known as Magonsaetan, lived in close proximity to their Welsh neighbours, ruling - in Merewald's day - over considerable stretches of territory that were later to pass back into the hands of their defeated but unconquered neighbours<sup>3</sup>.

The Christian influence from this last source was, however, negligible<sup>4</sup>, and to the east the conversion of Mercia

1. "Beyond the Hwicce the plain of Herefordshire north of the Wye and the broken country of southern Shropshire were occupied by a people known as the Magonsaetan". Anglo-Saxon England (op.cit.p.ii), p.46.  
Although the rulers of the Magonsaetan may originally have been independent of the Mercian king, this was no longer the case in St. Milburga's day. V. charter evidence reviewed below, Cp.5 pp.172-258. 176-250.
2. Ethelbert of Kent had married Bertha, daughter of the king of Paris. V. Plummer's Notes, H.E.p.42.
3. "There is some reason to think that towards the west they (the Magonsaetan) occupied more land than their descendants could retain, for English place-named of an early type occur sporadically beyond the frontier drawn in the eighth century by Offa's dyke". Anglo-Saxon England, (op.cit.p.ii) p.46.  
V.also the evidence afforded by St.Milburga's Testament, Cp.5.
4. For the refusal of the Britons to co-operate with the Gregorian mission in the work of converting the pagan Anglo-Saxons, V.H.E.ii.2. Cf. also Bede's own remarks when speaking of the Britons - "qui nolebant Anglis eam, quam habebant, fidei Christianae notitiam pandere ..." H.E.v.22.

was delayed for many years by the militant paganism of King Penda. It was only at the marriage of his son Peada to Oswy of Northumbria's daughter, and his baptism in 653, that it became possible for missionaries to enter the kingdom of Mercia with the consent, if not the encouragement of the old pagan king.<sup>1</sup> Penda's death and the subsequent temporary subjection of Mercia to Northumbria opened up the territories over which Peada exercised his nominal authority to Northumbrian missionaries, and with the succession of a Christian Mercian king, the "conversion" of the principality was assured.<sup>2</sup>

It would seem that Merewald, and later his people were first evangelised by a Northumbrian monk Edfrid, who was almost certainly of the Celtic tradition.<sup>3</sup> The king was supposed to have been baptised in 660.<sup>4</sup> Edfrid may well have come to

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1. Peada was baptised by Bishop Finan in 653. "Nec prohibuit Penda rex, quin etiam in sua, hoc est Merciorum, natione verbum, siqui uellent audire, praedicaretur. Quin potius odio habebat, et dispiciebat eos, quos fide Christi inbutos opera fidei non habere deprehendit, dicens contemnendos esse eos et miseros, qui Deo suo, in quem crederent, oboedire contemnerent". (H.E.iii.21).
  2. Penda was defeated by Oswy of Northumbria at the battle of the Winwaed in 654. Peada governed the kingdom of the South Mercians with the permission of his father-in-law until his murder in 657. He was succeeded by another son of Penda, Wulfheri. (H.E.iii.24.)
  3. "presbiter edfridus vir doctrina clarus et vita magnificus. ad eum (Merewald) convertendum venit. a northamhimbrorum partibus ..." V. below Cp.2, p.48.
  4. "Iam vero bis lustra sena sexiesques vicena peregerat cursus dominice incarnationis. quando MerWaldus rex ... suscepit gratiam christiane regeneraciones". V. below, p.51.

Western Mercia after the baptism of King Peada,<sup>1</sup> but it would not have been impossible for him to have come before this event, since Northumbrian interest in the Mercian principality was certainly alive before the middle of the seventh century, and such an act of independent heroism would have been in keeping with the spirit of a northern monk.

Another influence, however, appears to have been felt before the death of Merewald, that of Botulph, founder of Icanhoe.<sup>2</sup> It was he who seems to have been ultimately responsible for the foundation of the most important religious house of the West Mercian kingdom - that of Wininicas.<sup>3</sup> From the first this double-monastery was put into the charge of Merewald's daughter Milburga. The new monastery was the symbol of the people's acceptance of the new religion chosen by their prince.

As a princess claiming kinship with the royal houses of Kent, Mercia and East Anglia,<sup>4</sup> and as abbess of the most important centre of Christianity in the kingdom, St. Milburga united in her person the authority of both dispensations.

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1. V. above, p.vi.

2. For an account of Botulph V. A.A.S.S. June iv.324.

3. According to the legend of Merewald found in the Life, the king had previously founded monasteries at Leominster and Gloucester. (V. Cp.2 pp.51 and 52.)

4. St.Milburga's mother, Domneva, was a grand-daughter of King Edbald of Kent. Domneva's uncle, king Earconbert had married Sexburga who was an East Anglian princess. This created the link by marriage with the East Anglian royal house. Domneva's cousin, Eormenhilda, married King Wlfheri of Mercia and they became the parents of St. Werburga. St.Milburga's genealogy is to be found in full in the Life by Goscelin, V. Cp. 2, pp.43-47.

Her Testament reveals her as treating on terms of equality with kings and princes, selling land and arranging for its transference; the extent and distribution of these lands is an indication of the nature of her temporal authority<sup>1</sup>. The local importance of St. Milburga, the esteem in which she would have been held by her own people can probably best be illustrated by a comparison: Milburga was for the kingdom of Western Mercia and for Wininicas what St. Hilda was for Northumbria and Whitby, a force to be reckoned with by Church and State, a formative influence in the early days of Anglo-Saxon Christianity.

Between St. Milburga's death<sup>2</sup> and the Norman Conquest, Wenlock suffered decay, probably on three separate occasions<sup>3</sup>. These periods of decline may have been due to external pressure as much as to a decline in the level of religious life. While it is quite possible that Wininicas degenerated as badly as any other house mentioned in Bede's famous letter<sup>4</sup>, here as in other instances, the fact that this was the resting-place of the foundress<sup>5</sup>, together with the association of holier days,

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1. V. below Cp.5.

2. V. below Cp.4, pp.158-159.

3. V. below Cp.5.

4. Epistola Bede ad Ecgbertum Episcopum in Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica, Plummer, (op.cit. p.ii) pp.405-423.

5. St. Milburga's grave is to be found among those mentioned in the old English document The Resting Places of the Saints. V. F. Liebermann, Die Heiligen Englands, (Hanover 1889). This work is discussed in more detail in Cp.4.

would have remained as some sanction and an instigation to renewal and reformation.

Almost the first matter mentioned in the account of the Invention is a dispute about the exact site of the bones<sup>1</sup>. One is left in no doubt as to the importance of an authoritative statement on the subject - such as was eventually vouchsafed miraculously. But earlier than this, at some time during the course of the ninth century<sup>2</sup>, a certain priest named Alstan had been moved, in his anxiety for the fate of the relics, to commit to writing the exact site of St. Milburga's tomb - information which he prudently buried beneath the floor of the church in an old iron casket.

The obvious connection then, between Odo of Ostia's account of the Invention and the early history of Wenlock Abbey, is the esteem in which the bones of the Saint were held for over five centuries. The Account was written to describe the way in which the bones were found and the miracles subsequent to the discovery<sup>3</sup>. The early history of the house - in the incomplete way in which it is known to us<sup>4</sup> - can be

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1. V. below Part II, Cp. 2, p. ~~305~~. 310.

2. Id. p. ~~307~~<sup>311</sup> and V. also the discussion on the Testament in Cp. 5.

3. It should not be forgotten that the monks from La Charité were not satisfied with one lot of bones and even hoped for more V. p. ~~310~~. 315.

4. V. Cps. 4 and 5, pp. 139-271.

seen as a record of faithfulness to the cult of the relics of St. Milburga, the continuity of religious life there being to a large extent ensured by the strength of the sentiment felt for those relics.

Viewed in wider perspective, the connection between the Cardinal's Account and the early history of the monastery at Wenlock is to be perceived in the continuity of the cult of the individual Saint. The particular piety felt for the bones of a Saint is only one aspect of this cult. It was a normal convenient manifestation of this devotion. In the case of St. Milburga its strength was such that it communicated something of itself to the Norman Conqueror - in this instance Roger of Montgomery - at a time when some old English Saints were hard put to win acceptance from the new lords of England<sup>1</sup>.

Roger had accompanied Duke William to England in 1066, and later held Shropshire of the King<sup>2</sup>. Before coming to England he had already been a benefactor of Cluny<sup>3</sup>. He was responsible for the final refoundation of the monastery at Wenlock. It is probable that his choice of this house as the

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1. Professor Knowles cites several examples of Norman abbots speaking slightingly of the Saints held in honour by the English. The Monastic Order in England (Cambridge 1950) pp.118-119.
  2. Roger was invested with the barony of Shropshire in 1072. He died in 1093/4. (V. below Part 11 Cp.2, p.305.310.
  3. V.R.Graham, The Alien Priory of Much Wenlock, in the Journal of the British Archaeological Association, IV, 3rd Series, pp.117-139.

recipient of his generosity involved the dispossession of a religious community already there installed and it is certain that the new foundation demanded new buildings<sup>1</sup>. It would indeed have been a small matter for a Norman baron forcibly to eject a handful of clerks who were not - by Cluniac standards - living a regular life; similarly the construction of new monastic buildings would probably have seemed only fitting, to add dignity to the new flowering of religious life. But the old site was chosen by the new master, not merely because it was convenient, nor merely because it would lend itself to reconstruction, but because Roger recognised here an opportunity for combining piety and policy. There may well have been some desire to win the favour of this unknown Saint who seemed so intimately connected with the very heart of his new territorial possessions.

As to the new Prior of Wenlock and the community, the miraculous discovery certainly altered their status in the eyes of the local people, investing them with that particular character of sanctity which might otherwise have been hard to win. From being a group of tolerated foreigners they became the honoured custodians of the precious wonder-working relics, those who had been designated for this privilege by the Saint herself. They took over the cult of St. Milburga and glorified

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1. V. Part 11, Cp.2 p.306.<sup>311</sup> Cf. also the account of the Invention by William of Malmesbury, p.286.



her, and their institution took root and flourished in the Shropshire soil.

It is some measure of the importance attached to the discovery of these relics by the Prior and the community that they were not content to avail themselves of their own talents to write the account of these wonders. Instead they commissioned the most renowned hagiographer of the day, Goscelin of Canterbury<sup>1</sup>, to write the Life of the Saint - now their Saint - and also arranged that the distinguished Roman ecclesiastic who came to conduct the official investigations, should write the full account of the actual discovery and the ensuing miracles<sup>2</sup>. The sense of the importance of the cult of St. Milburga was certainly communicated to Goscelin - who has not spared himself in his enthusiasm for Milburga's sanctity - and to the Cardinal who consented to lend his name and authority to a document designed to contribute to the development of the cult of St. Milburga.

The text which was the occasion of the writing of this thesis is the Miracula Inventionis Beate Mýlburgae Virginis of Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia. More than half of this

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1. For a brief account of Goscelin V. Cp. 3, p. 89<sup>12</sup>. For a list of his works V. p. 99<sup>102</sup> of the same chapter.
  2. For the problem of the authorship of the Miracula Inventionis Beate Mýlburge Virginis V. Part II Cp. 3.

study is, however, devoted to the Life of the Saint. Some explanation is therefore necessary to account for such an apparent lack of proportion.

The first part of the thesis was not planned - rather, it grew as from necessity. For in order to be able to indicate a connection between the work of the Cardinal of Ostia and the early history of Wenlock Abbey, some acquaintance with that history was required. One of the obvious sources was the Life of St. Milburga, but since this Life was found in two different versions, it was essential to decide which Life represented more closely the proto-type Life<sup>1</sup>. A collated text of the Life has been included in the present study, largely in order to indicate in its context the considerable historical importance of several sections of the longer life<sup>2</sup>. The authorship of the Life was a problem that had never been entirely resolved and it seemed only suitable to offer some reflections on this score<sup>3</sup>. It is only in the fourth and fifth chapters of the first part of this study that there is an analysis of the historical material for an appraisal of the Life of St. Milburga - two chapters which effectually contain all that it seems possible to know of the early history of the monastery at Wenlock.

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1. Cp. 1.

2. Cp. 2.

3. I am unable to accept the means by which Dr. Talbot arrives at what I believe to be the right conclusion. (V. C.H. Talbot, The Liber Confortarius of Goscelin of S. Bertin in Analecta Monastica 3ième serie, Studia Anselmiana. Fasc. XXXVII. Rome 1955.) This is discussed below in Cp.3.

PART I

CHAPTER 1

THE MANUSCRIPT LIFE OF ST MILBURGA

The Latin Life of St. Milburga of Much Wenlock is found in two forms. The one, a Lectionary version, occurs first in a twelfth century manuscript<sup>1</sup>; another much longer version is to be found in a thirteenth century book from Beddgelert<sup>2</sup>. Here the Life does not form part of a collection of similar Lives but is found with several other miscellaneous works<sup>3</sup>.

The long Life begins with an anonymous preface in which the author explains why he has embarked upon this work, apologises for the shortcomings of his composition and cites his sources<sup>4</sup>. Then, as an introduction to the subject, there is a detailed genealogical description of St. Milburga's family; her ancestry is traced from Ethelbert of Kent and Penda of Mercia; no relative of note is omitted from this

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1. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library MS.149 ff.83v-89r. (V. R.M.Woolley, Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, Oxford 1927).  
The provenance of the MS has not yet been established. The book contains readings for the feasts of Saints celebrated from November to June. (Henceforward this MS will be referred to as Lincoln 149.)
  2. British Museum Additional MS 34.633 ff.206r-218v. This MS has been assigned to Beddgelert: v. N.R.Ker, Mediaeval Libraries of Great Britain, Offices of the Royal Historical Society, London 1941. (Henceforward it will be referred to as Additional 34.633.)
  3. The book (Additional 34.633) includes:
    - i) Stephani Archiepiscopi Expositio super Tobiam
    - ii) Vita Sancte Milburge virginis
    - iii) Passio sanctarum undecim milium virginum
    - iv) Opusculum (S.Augustini) de quatuor virtutibus caritatis
    - v) Sermo beati Augustini episcopi de cantico novo
    - vi) Passio Sancte Margarite virginis.
  4. Additional 34.633 f.206.r. "Dudum me tua karissima ... adoranda deitas." (v. pp.41-42.)

panegyric<sup>1</sup>. The Genealogy also mentions the foundation of the monastery of Thanet by the Saint's mother Domneva, and includes a legend relating to the conversion to Christianity of her father king Merewald through the agency of a Northumbrian priest Edfrid<sup>2</sup>.

The Genealogy is followed by the first part of the Life proper which treats of the Saint's childhood, the foundation of Wininicas, (the early name for Wenlock), her becoming abbess there, and her early piety<sup>3</sup>. This thought leads the author to expatiate upon certain aspects of her sanctity, her beauty of soul, her single-mindedness in serving God alone, her generosity as a princess who chose religious poverty<sup>4</sup>.

After this lengthy homiletic digression the author undertakes to show how St. Milburga came by her lands<sup>5</sup>. He claims to make a copy of her "Testament", a document purporting to record five diplomas made out to Wenlock in the seventh and eighth centuries. These grants, disposing in all of two hundred and twenty two hides of land, are each attested by several witnesses, and are, with one exception, the donations

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1. Additional 34.633 f.206r. "Ex gloriosa igitur prosapia ... nequam gloriosa migracio." (v.pp.42-55.)
  2. Additional 34.633 ff.207r - 209r. "Verum quia prius ... coronis accessit." (v.pp.47-54.)
  3. Additional 34.633 ff.209r - 209v: "Beata igitur virgo ... dominabatur." (v.pp.56-58.)
  4. Additional 34.633 ff.209v - 210r: "Sic sine vicio ... fulget inter filias". (v.pp.58-64).
  5. Additional 34.633 ff.210r - 211r: "Cuius vita celebs ... in adventu domini. Amen." (v. pp.64-65.)

of Mercian kings - Merchelm and Milfrid, Cheolred and Cenred<sup>1</sup>.

St. Milburga's Testament is followed by more homiletic material eloquently praising her many saintly qualities, her humility, her wisdom, her mercy<sup>2</sup>. Then comes the account of her miracles - irrefutable evidence of her great sanctity. The first describes how, while fleeing from a certain prince who wished to force her to marry him, the river Corf allowed her passage but immediately swelled into a raging torrent behind her and saved her from the prince<sup>3</sup>. The second how destructive wild geese obeyed her when she ordered them to leave her lands<sup>4</sup>. The third how she was able to hang her veil on a sunbeam<sup>5</sup>, and the last how she raised a dead child to life by her prayers<sup>6</sup>.

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1. The first grant begins: "In nomine domini mei ... and ends ... et milfrid frater eius".

The second: "Deo auctore ego merchelm...ego milfrid subscripsimus."

The third: "Regnante ac gubernante ... dux edbrectus."

The fourth: "Keonred rex...Wihctsi et eadberto."

The fifth: "Agrum quoque... kinricus dux."

C.H.Talbot, (The Liber Confortarius of Goscelin of St. Bertin, ANALECTA MONASTICA 3ième série. Studia Anselmiana. Fasc. XXXVII. Rome 1955) has already referred to three charters (v. below) although he only mentions that there are three, not five, of them.

2. Additional 34.633 ff.211r-213r: "Taliter ergo sicut...et signorum indicia." (v.pp.66-74).

3. Additional 34.633 f.213r: "Dum enim extra monasterium... miraculis notificatur". (v. pp.74-75.)

4. Additional 34.633 f.213r: "Apud predictum locum...et visu probabile" (v.pp.75-77).

5. Additional 34.633 ff.213r-214r: "Interdum virgo coangelica... virgo celebs emulabatur." (v.pp.77-80).

6. Additional 34.633 ff.214r-215r: "Quedam ut fertur... attolitur et glorificatur". (v.pp.80-84).

After the fourth miracle story the Life begins to build up to its climax, the holy death, the marriage with the heavenly bride-groom<sup>1</sup>. Milburga's eager expectation of her death is described at considerable length; there are the last words to her sorrowing community, her exhortations to them to keep peace among themselves and to preserve intact the lands of the monastery, and finally the joyful passing of her soul to receive its reward.

As an epilogue there is appended to the Life (in lieu perhaps of an account of Translation, an event which does not seem to have been known to the author of the Life) a description of some miracles attributed to the Saint by the Welsh<sup>2</sup>. These miracle stories are concerned with various stones. The first legend, which appears to have some relation to the first miracle related in the Life, tells how a king who attempted to force St. Milburga to marry him was punished by God and died on the banks of a certain river; a stone was erected where he fell. The other two stories refer to certain stones still venerated for their association with St. Milburga in the author's day. On the second of these stones the footprints of the Saint were still visible, near another a church had been built in her memory, a church which was still to be seen at the time when this was written.

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1. Additional 34.633 ff.215r-216r: "inter tam ... per infinita saecula amen." (v. pp.84-89).

2. Additional 34.633 ff.216r-216v: "Florent autem in Wallia ... arceri videntur." (v. pp.88-88).



Such are the contents of the long Life. The Lectionary Life, as it is found in the Lincoln MS has neither preface nor genealogy and there is no information given regarding Domneva or Merewald at the beginning of the Life or later in the text. The Life begins with the description of the Saint's youthful holiness and the foundation of her monastery by her father<sup>1</sup>. The homiletic section which comes after the preceding passage in both Lives is considerably shorter in the Lectionary version and there is no long preamble leading up to the Testament<sup>2</sup>.

The Testament also appears in a much shorter form in this Life; only one item is recorded, the first of the five that are found in the long Life<sup>3</sup>. Two other homiletic digressions that the longer Life supplies find no place in the Lectionary version<sup>4</sup> but all the miracles are related in full. Apart from these omissions in the Lincoln Life (and various differences in spelling, particularly in the rendering of proper names)<sup>5</sup> the texts of the two Lives are identical.

These two forms of the Life are represented in several different manuscripts. The long Life of St. Milburga is

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1. Lincoln 149 f.83v. "Beata igitur virgo..."
  2. V.pp.25-26 below where the texts are compared in parallel columns.
  3. Lincoln MS 149 f.84r: "Primum quidem hunc locum...habeat facultatem condonare". (V. pp.26-27).
  4. One praises Milburga's decision to choose, like Mary, the better part, the other is inspired by the theme of the Song of Songs. For the comparison of the texts V.below pp.28-29, 30-31.
  5. For these variations in the text V.pp.56-<sup>91</sup> where the two Lives are collated.

found in its entirety in one other MS, that of the Gotha Ducal Library<sup>1</sup>. This MS has nothing of importance to add to the text of the Additional MS. It may indeed be a copy of the latter although certain minor variations between the two suggest that the Gotha Life may well be dependent on a third, lost MS of the Additional Life. The marginal notations of the Gotha MS are an obvious feature and are intended as an indication as to the contents of the passage in the adjacent column. Not infrequently they are misplaced and come before or after the lines to which they refer. The proper names of the Life are almost always found in a different form in the Gotha MS. In particular the scribe seems to have been puzzled by the proper names occurring in the Testament; on several occasions his spelling does not seem to bear even a phonetic resemblance to the original word, but usually it is obvious that he transcribed from dictation, sometimes not bothering to see whether what he wrote made sense<sup>2</sup>.

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1. For a description of this MS. V. P.Grosjean, De Codice Hagiographico Gothano, Analecta Bollandiana, LVIII (1940) pp.90-103. The MS. is of the fourteenth century.

2. Examples of these minor differences between the two versions are found on almost every page. V.eg.p.42 of the text - "Quantis autem resplendeat ipsa sideribus a vite claritatis" Gotha has "avide claritatis"; p.51 where Gotha has changed "ferox" into "ferax", and where, while the Additional text reads - "Ubi vero regis conversio per leonem ut dictum viro dei divinitus praesagitur" - Gotha has "... ut dictum est viro dei praesagitu divinitus"; p.66, where instead of "una omnium sententia" Gotha reads "unica omnia...". Of the numerous variations between the two texts which seem to have been occasioned by the scribe hastily writing down what he thought he had heard, one may single out two representative examples Eg.p.48 "in opus praedicationis..." has been rendered "in nobis..." by Gotha; p.69 "utile ducimus vobis effari propter utilitatem imitandi" has become "propter humilitatem imitandi". For further examples reference should be made to pp. 41-88,94.

There are some omissions in the Gotha text and some inversions. Very occasionally the Gotha supplies a word or a line that is not found in the Additional Life. This is possibly an indication that the Gotha version was dictated from another Life of the A group, though not from the Additional Life itself; another indication is that, again very occasionally, the Gotha has sometimes preserved the better reading. These instances may of course be due to the fact that the scribe or the person dictating to him corrected some words in the Additional Life as he went along, but in consideration of the independent errors made by the Gotha text this seems unlikely. The little evidence that appears from a comparison of the texts suggests that the Life of the Gotha MS is independent of that of the Additional MS although it belongs to the same group<sup>1</sup>.

The long Life was also the version used by John of Tynemouth in the chapter on St. Milburga that is to be found in his *Sanctilogium*<sup>2</sup>. He has of course made considerable abbreviations in the text in order to reduce the Life to manageable proportions for inclusion in his collection. He omits nearly all the panegyric, concentrating on the plain facts of biography. His De Sancta Milburga Virgine does however represent most of the elements of the original,

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1. For the differences between the two texts reference should be made to the collated texts pp.41-44.
  2. British Museum Cotton MSS.Tiberius A.xii. ff.196v-197 (henceforth referred to as Tiberius A.xii). For an account of this MS.v.C.Horstman's introduction to his edition of the Nova Legenda Anglie (Oxford 1910) pp.ix-lxviii.

although in more compact form. For example, in the introductory genealogical section to the chapter devoted to St. Milburga (he does not reproduce the Preface) Tynemouth cites every relative of the Saint mentioned in the genealogy of the Additional MS although he dispenses with most of the detail. This is seen very clearly in the opening lines of the genealogy:

"Rex enim inclitus ethelbertus sanctissime virginis milburge abauus fuit quem prothodoctor anglorum augustinus ad fidem christi convertit. Cui successit edbaldus fidei cultor et ecclesiarum nobilis constructor..."<sup>1</sup>

"Inclitus itaque rex edelbriht sanctissime virginis Mýldburge fuit abavus. quem prothodoctor anglorum augustinus fecit primum christicolam in angligenis regibus. Cuius fidei tanquam aurora diei. previa fuit sanctitatis lumine. coniunx sua regis francorum filia berta nomine."<sup>2</sup>  
 ....Hinc ergo processit rex eadbaldus regni natalis heres nobilissimus. paterne fidei cultor devotissimus. ecclesiarum dei structor strenuissimus ..."<sup>3</sup>

He has also made considerable abbreviations in the early part of the Life:

"Beata igitur milburga sicut suis progenitoribus piis merWaldo et dompneve merciorum dominis. lux primogenita extitit. sic in regno parentum deo sacratis virginibus viduisque dux primiceria vite celestis prefulsit.

"Beata igitur virgo Milburga sponsa christi clarissima. tam regie sublimitatis eminent ortu generosa. quam eximie sanctitatis enitet actu gloriosa. A duobus anglie regnis... Dat genitorem sceptriger apex regionis

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1. Tiberius A xii f.196v.

2. Additional 34.633 f.206r. (V.p.43). In the lines here omitted there is a long panegyric in praise of Ethelbert's queen and Ethelbert himself, after he had been renewed by the waters of Baptism. Reference should be made to the collated text of the Life in order to appreciate the extent of Tynemouth's abbreviation.

3. Additional 34.633 f.206r. (V. p.43.)

Constructo enim in loco qui Winnicas antiquitus dicebatur monasterio. modo dicto Wenloke. virginibus congregatis prefuit ipsa mater et vita regularis magistra ...."1.

"mercie... Sic utriusque regni regio genere virgo splendidissima. nativo splendore irradiat utriusque regni diadema... Que sicut piis progenitoribus suis merWaldo et domenva merciorum dominis. lux primogenita beatorum signorum extitit. sic in regno parentali deo sacratis virginibus viduisque virgines imitantibus dux primiceria vite celestis praeulsit... Que sicut prolis felici nativitate nobiliter sublimatur. ita loco qui Wininicas antiquitus nuncupatur. celesti conversatione feliciter illustratur... Ubi constructo venerabili monasterio praefuit ipsa mater et angelica vite regularis magistra..." 2.

Another example that may be cited is the difference between the two versions of the first miracle related of St. Milburga:

"Cum enim vice quadam extra monasterium in quadam villa nomine stokes moraretur. filius regis cuiusdam eam per violentiam rapere et in coniugium sibi copulare affectabat. Et collecta militum manu cum moliretur sibi predam facere de virgine ostensa celitus famulae christi iuvenis nequitia fuga statim cum familia preparatur. Interea vir ille temerarius ad locum veniens et virginem non inveniens lupo rabidior agnam christi fugientem inseq-

"Dum enim extra monasterium ut refert auctoritas veterum aliquando demoraretur in quadam eius villa que vulgo stochas dicitur. quidam regis filius eam voluit per violentiam capere. et in matrimonium sibi copulare. Dum itaque multa manu militum collecta moliretur sibi predam facere de domini electa. dominus electe sue fecit cognita tanti facinoris molimina. Unde praemunita sanctimonialis her clientelam suam premonet ut secum imminens periculum effugiat. urget ut celerrimam ad monasterium Wininicas fugam arripiat. Fuga statim

1. Tiberius A xii f.196v.

2. Additional 34.633 f.209. For the lines that have been omitted reference should be made to p.56.

uitur. Erat ibi amnis  
quidam nomine corf. vado  
meabilis et alueo  
mediocris. quem virgo  
cum suis fugiens leviter  
transivit. et per-  
sequitor iniquus  
transire non potuit. Nam  
aqua subito intumescens  
omnem transeuntibus  
semitam denegabat.  
Confusus igitur  
iuvenis et attonitus  
amplius virgini talia  
inferre non presumpsit  
..." 1.

"preparatur urgetur acceleratur.  
Virgo quidem sicut periculum  
amplius timuit. sic periculi fugam  
ocius preripuit...  
Fugit ergo virum. ut columba  
nisum. columbe sibi pennas  
davitico desiderio desiderans...  
Interea militibus et armis munitus  
vir temerarius locum adierat. ubi  
ratus est offendere quam sibi  
rapere concupierat sed sicut locus  
invenitur vacuus virginis prae-  
sencia. ita nequam procus iuste  
fit delusus virginis ausencia.  
Qui delusus adhuc deludendus. immo  
celesti miraculo deterrendus.  
agnam christi fugientem lupo  
rabidior insequitur. sed insequenti  
ne contactu spurio dedicatam deo  
attingeret. divinitus resistitur.  
Erat quidam amnis obvis corf ab  
incolis nominatus. vado meabilis.  
alveo mediocris. Virgo fugiens  
amnem transivit. virginem fugans  
transire nequivit. Virgine siquidem  
prosperè transpostia. mox in tantum  
creverat amnis tempestate subita.  
ut et alveum suum excederet et  
inmeabilis fieret. Quid ad hec  
sacre virginis appetitor  
sacrilegus ... Unde confusus  
fugienti terga praebebat et ocius  
quam fugaverat fugientem  
fugiebat..." 2.

Again the passage referring to the death of St. Milburga  
has been drastically shortened by Tynemouth:

"Decursis in omni sancti-  
tate et puritate duodecim  
lustris ingravescente  
corporis molestia et  
febribus sagitata con-  
vocatis sororibus ait.

"Circiter ergo duodecim  
lustris annorum decursis in  
stadio vite transeuntis ...  
Ingravescente autem molestia  
corporis. perurgetur transitus  
beatissime virginis. Que dum

1. Tiberius A xii f.196v.

2. Additional 34.633 f.213r. V.pp.74-75. Reference should be  
made to these pages for the lines which have been omitted.

Vos inquit hactenus dilectissime sorores. sicut anime mee viscera dilexi. et sicut mater filiis prae sollicitudine prefui. Iam vero divina pietate cursu peregrinationis mee terminante. et superne vocationis me ad bravium misericorditer invitante. carnis universe viam ingredior. Deo et beate marie vos relinquo. Et multis salutationibus monitis et exhortationibus illas instruens septimo kalendis iulii migravit ad christum. et in monasterio suo cum honore sepelitur..." 1.

febris fatigatur. in victimam domini celitus concrematur. examinatur. defecatur ... Sic autem feliciter agonizans diem solemnem constituebat. virtutum in condensis. usque ad cornu superni altaris. Ante paucos itaque dies beate eius migrationis omnem familiam monasterii convocari iussit in praesentia sui. Quam assistentem et de pia matris iam imminente destitutione miserabiliter lugentem. ut mater almiflua prolem suam sic blandiens alloquitur. et consolatur. Vos inquit hactenus sicut anime mee viscera praecordialiter dilexi et sicut mater filiis et filabus pia sollicitudine prefui. Iam vero divina pietate peregrinationis mee cursus terminatur. et me superne vocationis ad bravium misericorditer invitante. carnis universe viam ingredior... Deo autem et beate deo genitrici marie semper virgini vos derelinquo. ... Ille vero qui solus est cognitor sortis electorum vobis matrem idoneam eligat et constituat. que secundum eius voluntatem maternam et affectuosam sollicitudinem de vobis habeat... Pax vobis munisceret continuam dilectionem... Sic enim dominus pacificos et corde mundos remunerat. Beati inquit pacifici ... Hiis et huius modi verbis sancte admonicionis beatissima virgo milburga suam monasterialem familiam instruens ad superne beatitudinis patriam. ~~benedicens~~ rebus humanis vale novissimum fecit... transiit autem septimo kalendas marci ... Gleba vero virginei corporis cultu celebri reconditur ante maius altare in ecclesia sancte trinitatis..." 2.

1. Tiberius A.xii f.197r.

2. Additional 34.633 f. V. pp.84-89.

Tynemouth includes in the De Santa Milburge Virgine the story of the foundation of Thanet, and that of the conversion of Merewald<sup>1</sup>. The homiletic digressions, even the abbreviated ones of the Lincoln version, are all omitted, but he has recorded all four miracle stories, stripped of their pious trappings as may be seen from the example quoted above (pp.9-10). He concludes with the record of the Saint's burial and does not mention the Welsh miracles.

The Lectionary version of the Life, that of the Lincoln MS, is also preserved in a fourteenth century MS of Lambeth Palace Library<sup>2</sup>. Like the latter manuscript this is a collection of Saints' Lives for use in the Office, arranged in the order in which the feasts occur during the year. Unfortunately the MS is mutilated, the break coming just after the Testament<sup>3</sup>. As far as it is possible to judge this Life is identical with that of the Lincoln MS, the only variations being the forms of the proper nouns<sup>4</sup>.

What appears to be another version of this Lectionary

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1. In Tiberius A xii De Sancta Milburge Virgine occupies five full columns and one half column: of these five columns just over two are devoted to the legend of Merewald.
  2. Lambeth Palace Library MS.94 ff.169r-169v. For a description of this MS. V. M.R.James and C.Jenkins, A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace, p.155.
  3. "Largis praediorum possessionibus ampliabant. variis rerum opulentiis " (V. p.67).
  4. These variations have been noted in the collation of the Life.



Life of St. Milburga is to be found in the surviving fragments of another thirteenth century Legendary similar to the Lincoln book<sup>1</sup>. The parts of two adjacent leaves which have survived contain the end of the Life and the beginning of the "Welsh" miracles of St. Milburga. Since the collection, when complete, was a Legendary conceived on the same lines as that of Lincoln 149 and 150, it seems fairly certain that the version of the Life of St. Milburga contained in both was identical.

The version of the Life that is found in a MS of the Lansdowne collection<sup>2</sup> belongs to the Lincoln group although it has certain marked differences. The author was dependent for his copy on a manuscript of this group but he has abridged as well as copied as did John of Tynemouth when working from a manuscript of the long Life. He has omitted much of the earlier part of the Life as it is found in the Lincoln text and substituted a slightly longer genealogical introduction: "Incipit de beata <sup>Mi</sup>lburga abatissa et virgine.

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1. V. Fragments of Mediaeval Manuscripts used as pastedowns in Oxford Bindings, N.R.Ker. (Oxford 1954) (Oxford Bibliographical Society Publications. New Series. vol.5). V. also P. Grosjean in Analecta Bollandiana LXXIII (May 1955) pp.256-257.
  2. British Musuem Lansdowne MS 436. ff.72v-76r. For a description of the MS. V. P.Grosjean, "Vita S. Roberti Novi monasterii in Anglia Abbatis", Analecta Bollandiana LVI (1938) pp.334-339.

Beata virgo <sup>Mil</sup>burga regali ex progenio cantauriorum merciorum ac francorum regum exorta refulsit. Huius <sup>enim</sup> ~~enim~~ pater fuit illustris princeps merWaldus pende regis merciorum filius. mater vero dompneva filia venerabilis <sup>ormenredi</sup> ~~ormenredi~~ filii <sup>Edbaldi</sup> ~~Edbaldi~~ regis cantuarie. quem genuit ex emma regine qua francorum regis filia. Hec virgo <sup>Mil</sup>burga soli deo placere cupiens in loco qui dicebatur WÿnWicas. nunc vero Wenloc monasterium monialium construxisset. possessionibus ditavit. et ibidem virginum ac devotarum viduarum multitudine collecta sancte religionis habitum cum velo suscepit. et processu temporis. sicut matris seu abatisse locum inibi digne susceperat sic quoque matris officium strenue peragebat. Letabatur pia mater electa de plebe filiarum collecta ..." 1.

There is no Testament in the Lansdowne version and the text has none of the long homiletic digressions found in the Additional Life. All the miracles are included but here and elsewhere, there are abbreviations in those passages which are not strictly narrative<sup>2</sup>. The Life comes to an end with the Saint's death<sup>3</sup> and does not record the Welsh miracles. Instead it is followed by an abridged version of the Cardinal's account of the Invention of the bones of St. Milburga<sup>4</sup>.

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1. From here the Lansdowne text runs parallel with that of the Lincoln MS until the account of the second miracle where a few lines are omitted. In order to appreciate the abbreviations which have been made here in the Lansdowne text reference should be made to pp.56-68.
  2. In the second, third and fourth miracle-stories there are omissions: in the second from "aut eium fameilice..." to "Virgo soporans solis radio percellitur..." (v.pp.76-77): in the third from "donec in se reverteretur ..." to "tandem in se reversa dei virgo..." (v. pp.78-79): in the fourth from "Mater itaque sola superstes..." to "orba simul at vidua..." (v. p.81.)
  3. The passage before the description of St. Milburga's death has been omitted in Lansdowne: "Ipsa vero iam longa sustinens praesencium fastidia ... usque ad cornu superni altaris." (V. pp.85-86.)
  4. V. below pp. ~~321-323~~ 329-331.

Early in the sixteenth century the Life of St. Milburga appeared in print in Wynkyn de Worde's edition of the Nova Legenda Anglie<sup>1</sup>. This publication added virtually nothing to what was already recorded in the fourteenth century concerning St. Milburga, but it was the source to which several writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries turned when compiling their historical and antiquarian works. These later works are, however, more interesting for what they have to say about the authorship of the Life than for any other reason, and they will be discussed later in that connection<sup>2</sup>. But before the question of authorship can be discussed it is necessary to establish which of these two versions, the Additional Life or that of the Lincoln MS, is closer to the proto-type Vita Milburge. Does the text of the Lincoln MS represent the original Life, pruned before being entered in a Legendary, or does the version in the Additional MS demonstrate how the original had suffered at the hands of an interpolater?

The problem is not one to be solved by an appeal to the dates of the respective manuscripts. The shorter Life occurs in the earlier manuscript but even so it can hardly represent the Vita Milburge in its original form. A Legendary, like

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1. V. Horstman, Nova Legenda Anglie op.cit., p.7.

2. V. below Cp. 23.

that of the Lincoln MSS<sup>1</sup>, was a collection of the Lives available to the compiler, not an anthology of original biographies; the Life of St. Milburga and equally the work attributed to the Cardinal of Ostia, dealing with the Invention of her remains, must be presumed to have had some separate existence before being incorporated into such a collection. Since it must be conceded then, that the Life in the Lincoln MS was copied into that book, the date of the latter no longer gives it any particular advantage over the Life in the Additional MS., as far as relationship to the proto-type is concerned. If both are copies, both may be imperfect copies, and may have suppressed or interpolated<sup>2</sup>.

But if the dates of the respective manuscripts cannot decide which is the nearer to the proto-type Life, analysis of the differences between the two Lives is more rewarding. The elements that are found in A but not in L are such as to suggest that the former is the more likely representative of the original Life. It is far more comprehensible that these elements, from their very nature, should be omissions from L rather than additions to A. The Preface of the longer Life<sup>3</sup> is a particularly apt instance of this.

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1. Lincoln Cathedral Chapter MS 149 contains the Lives of 58 Saints whose feasts are celebrated from November to June: MS 150 contains 54 Lives for the period June to September.
  2. In the following discussion the Additional MS. will be referred to as A, the Lincoln MS. as L.
  3. Additional 34.633 f.206v. cols.1-2. and V. pp.41-42.

It is anonymous and there is no indication as to the subject of the dedication, although he was almost certainly the author's abbot or prior<sup>1</sup>. The writer states that he has composed the Life in obedience to the commands of his "most dear father", and because of his desire to accede to the wishes of his brethren; he makes brief mention of his sources, asks pardon for the poor quality of his work, and concluding, commends himself to the prayers of his superior.

A collection of Saints' Lives must always be open to the charge of having adapted and abbreviated its material, and an anonymous preface is of interest only to those who know to whom and by whom it was addressed. The preface of the Vita Sancte Milburge would have no real relevance in a Lectionary Life - indeed it would rather impair the unity of its plan<sup>2</sup>. It is a feature that one would certainly expect to find deleted if there was to be any kind of abbreviation in the text.

The long genealogical account which precedes the A Life (it has no counterpart in L) deals in considerable detail with

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1. This is discussed in further detail below, Cp.4, p.137.141.
  2. The Life of St. Mildred, (and those of other Saints) in the MS of the Cotton collection, Vespasian B xx, had a preface - V.f.143r. This book is a collection of the Lives of Canterbury Saints written by Goscelin, but it is quite different in character from a normal Legendary such as that of the Lincoln MSS which was a book for general use. Vespasian B xx was a Canterbury book of Canterbury Saints written by a monk of St. Augustine's; the dedications of their prefaces are to Canterbury personages, the abbot Scotland, Archbishop Auselm, and the prefaces are very much part of the work and in no way obtrusive.

St. Milburga's holy and illustrious forbears. The author is at pains to show that she belonged to a truly remarkable family. In tracing her descent he is careful to include her eminent cousins, aunts and uncles, as well as her ancestors in the direct line. This genealogy has been included, he declares for the delight of the reader: "Ex gloriosa igitur prosapia regie dignitatis mundo rutilans et mundum irradians oritur sidus alme nobilitatis. sponsa christi clariissima Mýlburga virgo sacratissima. Quantis autem resplendeat ipsa sideribus a vite claritatis. et quam<sup>claris</sup> emineat lampadibus generose propinquitatis duco iocundum hic compendio seriatim intimari ..." 1.

St. Milburga's mother was a Kentish princess and this provides the author with an opportunity to describe and enlarge upon her connections with the many illustrious members of that family. The list begins with Ethelbert, first Christian king of Kent: "Inclitus itaque rex edelbriht sanctissime virginis Mýldburge fuit abavus... coniunx sua regis francorum filia berta nomine. Regi namque pagano christiana nupserat. cui velut aurora soli subterraneo prae-fulserat... Hinc ergo processit rex eadbaldus regni natalis heres nobilissimus. paterne fidei cultor devotissimus. ecclesiarum dei structor strenuissimus. nobilisque soror eius edelburga regis northamhýmbrorum eadWini regina... Predicto autem regi cancie maritatur emma filia regum augustalis gallie. Quorum regalis coniunctio regios flores regii honoris dignos heredes eormenredum et eorkombrichtum celoque dignam virginem eansuidam propagavit... Eorkombrihtus namque... sanctam sexburgam... uxorem duxit. ex qua deus ei partus felices egbrihtum et lotarium reges. erkengodam et eormenhildam reginas<sup>pl</sup> concessit... Eormenhilda vero regi merciorum Wlfero nupsit. unde beata dei gemma virgo Werburga refulsit. Eormenredus ... sanctum ethelredum atque ethelbrihtum ex imperiali coniuge oslave... generavit ... Quatuor quoque filias laude dignissimas. domnevam. hermenbýrgam. hermenburgam.

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1. Add. 34.633 f.206r. V. p.42.

hermengytham. memorabilis eormenredus habuit ... Quarum domneva sancte posteritatis spes et specula. traditur in matrimonium merwardo regi..."1.

The relations upon her father's side cannot make up such an impressive list of Saints - the house of Kent had after all been Christian for fifty years before Penda's son was baptised - but here too the author has succeeded in including every name of note. "Conregnabant autem ipse natus tercius... alter erat ultimus peada... deo carus et angelis...Ethelredus vero vir summe devocionis. successor fuit fratris sui Wlferi regis. Qui transactis in regno viginti novem annis. de rege fit monachus ... Quorum eximie sorores kyleneburga et kynequita meritis spectabiles. fulgent tanquam sidus geminum in burgensi ecclesia. cum beatissima tibia sua parentali proxima..." 2.

After the genealogy has traced Milburga's descent from the two great kings, Penda and Ethelbert, the author, implying that he has more material at hand did he choose to use it, decides to confine his attention more particularly to her parents, Merewald and Domneva: "Verum quia prius me tempus deficiet quam a me narrari tota valeat parentalis almitas huius almiflue virginis. per avitos nobiles et regios vertices sanctissimi eius generis. de utroque suo genitore cuius meritis et laudibus ipsa nobilitatur proximius. quedam subnecto sanctitatis insignia. conversacioni fidelium non inutilia..."3.

There follows the story of Merewald's conversion and the statement that Domneva returned to Kent to found the monastery of Thanet. The former is by far the more interesting story<sup>4</sup> and in this form is unique. It relates how one

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1. Add. 34.633 f.206r.v. V.pp.43-46. Reference should be made to these pages for the lines which have been omitted.

2. Add. 34.633 f.207r. V. p.46.

3. Add. 34.633 f.207r. V. p.47.

4. This MS or one identical with it must have been used by Leland who preserved in an abbreviated form the same story relating to the conversion of Merewald.

Northumbrian priest, Edfrid, was sent by God to preach the Gospel to the people of Western Mercia: how the outcome of his mission to Merewald was miraculously foreshadowed by an encounter with a lion: how he was able to interpret a terrifying dream of Merewald's and thereby induce the latter to be baptised, and finally how Merewald persevered to the end and died in the odour of sanctity. The legend is treated in more detail in Chapter 5; certainly in one point at least the story is undoubtedly fictitious<sup>1</sup>, but there are other statements which cannot be dismissed so easily. And even if the whole legend should prove to be without foundation it is as likely to have been part of the original work as a later interpolation.

The section devoted to St. Milburga's mother comes after the mention of Merewald's founding the monasteries of Leominster and Gloucester: "Tandem itaque MerWaldus<sup>+2x</sup> et domneva regia

comes. post memoratos eorum partus fastidire ceperunt pro-  
lerarios amplexus. Celibatus ergo gratia voluntate consentanea.  
dirimuntur a carnali copula. christus fit heres tocius sue  
suppellectilis. ut ~~domneva~~<sup>ipso</sup> fiant coheredes eius eterne  
beatitudinis. O quam gloriosum. quam excellens sanctitatis  
exemplum... Sicut igitur columba de laqueis avulsa turrim  
advolat amicum. sic domneva nobilis regina carnis a nexu  
libera canciam adit nativam. Ubi velud hesperus ab occasu  
rediens. denuo fit ipsa lucifer oriens. numquam ulterius  
iterum hesperus. Magis enim delectata sui prothodocoris  
augustini eiusque sociorum aulis sepulchralibus. quam mercie  
regionis cuius ipsa princeps et regina fuerat palaciis  
regalibus...Unde rex edbrictus...non modicum exultans de eius  
praesencia. votis eius et desideriiis occurrit cum omni  
votorum convivencia... Suscipit ergo domneva venerabilis a  
predicto rege locum amene mansionis. Distat non eminus ab  
urbe cantuaria grandis que tanetum nominatur insula arridens...

1. For instance the explanation offered for the name Leominster.  
f.208r. (V. p.267).



Quibus ipsa prima loci fundatrix praefuit docta karismatibus divinis. freta tamen in hoc primitus doctis patrum consiliis. Cui soboles egregia christi virgo Mildritha cum septuaginta virginibus deo consecratis a memorato primate dorobernensi antistite. feliciter vice materna successit... Inclita quoque virgo Milgitha iunior beate matris domneve filia sancte conversacionis vitam duxit in terminis northamhýmbrorum.." 1.

It will be noted that the author implicitly connects Domneva's return to her native Kent with their mutual desire to renounce their married state and to live in religious chastity. There is no word here of the murder of the two young Kentish princes and of Domneva's returning to her own country to claim the recompense due to her as their eldest sister. The story has however been briefly referred to in the genealogy: "sanctum ethelredum atque ethelbrihtum ex imperiale coniuge oslave nomine deo feliciter generavit. Quorum mors quam gloriosa celigenis. quam celebranda sit terrigenis. lux effusa de celis instar ingentis radii solaris super ipsos truculenter occisos et fradulenter absconditos. emicans omnibus propalavit. Non ignoratur multis huius historie series, quam hic iꝛcirco supersedeo brevitare serviens... 2.

Here the student must indeed be thankful that the author of the A Life, surveying the material before him, chose to preserve what is now the unique legend of king Merewald, rather than to relate the story of the wicked Thuhor and the unhappy princes, a story preserved in more than one text<sup>3</sup>.

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1. Additional 34.633 f.208r. V. pp.52-55.

2. Additional 34.633 f.207r. V. p.45.

3. V. Die Heiligen Englands. F.Liebermann (Hanover 1889) (op.cit. p.viii).

If it is at least credible that a later writer should have interpolated into the original Vita Milburge a story of her father's miraculous conversion to Christianity (which if not entirely fictitious was at any rate not part of the original) or the well-known story of Domneva's return to Kent, it is much more difficult to believe that the extra items of the Testament were additions of the like nature. A desire to hear of the miraculous and edifying may account for the appearance of a piece of writing concerned with the mission of Edfrid to convert the ruler of Western Mercia, but it is hard to see what contemporary tastes were gratified by the invention of five land-grants, purporting to be made out to Wininicas in the seventh and eighth centuries, particularly since they have apparently very little relevance to the conditions of Wenlock Abbey in the eleventh century<sup>1</sup> - let alone in the thirteenth.

On the other hand, as far as appropriateness to the subject-matter is concerned, the extra homiletic sections of A are as much part of the Saint's Life as the conventional description of her death. It could be argued that their presence may be due to the intervention of a pious scribe who wished to make the story even more edifying and that they may not have been part of the proto-type text. But a study of

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1. Several of the places mentioned in the first grant are not recorded in Domesday as ever having belonged to the Church of St. Milburga. V. Cp.5, which deals with the Testament.

these homiletic elements in relation to their place in the Life, shows that they must have belonged to the original version, if only because the Life makes better sense and the sequence of thought is more consistent when they are included.

From the beginning of the Life proper in A and the actual beginning of L both texts run parallel:

"Beata igitur virgo Milburga sponsa christi clarissima. tam regie sublimitatis eminenti ortu generosa. quam eximie sanctitatis enitet actu gloriosa. A duobus anglie regnis que tunc temporis non erat unius diadematis. prodit uterque parens huius illustrissime virginis...Que sicut prolis felici nativitate nobiliter sublimatur. ita loco qui Wininicas antiquitus nuncupatur. celesti conversatione feliciter illustratur. beata dormicione et perpetua mansione glorificatur. quam divina clemencia celebri virtutum frequentia crebro testatur. Ubi constructo venerabili monasterio praefuit ipsa mater et angelica vite regularis magistra. sacro sanctimonialium virginum predita collegio. Qualiter autem vel quibus auctoribus ipsa locum praememoratum susceperit dignum censeo subnectere. preostenso ad laudem probitatis a quota vigilia etatis cepit ad dominum ipsa consurgere... Nam ubi cunarum cessit fasciis et lactentis infancie primordiis. res veneranda satis. res digna praeconio laudis. mox a puellari florulencia deo famulatur pia reverencia. Hinc regalis et

celebs pusiola votis <sup>1</sup>  
ardet celestibus pietate  
deicola. hinc sancti  
spiritus edocta karis-  
mate christo se  
devovit alma virginitate.  
Ipsa quoque doctrix  
futura discipline dei.  
facilis erat ad  
queque discenda. sicut  
docibilis dei.

celebs pusiola votis <sup>2</sup>  
ardet celestibus pietate  
deicola. hinc sancti  
spiritus edocta karis-  
mate christo se  
devovit alma virginitate.  
Ipsa quoque doctrix.  
futura discipline dei.  
facilis erat ad  
queque discenda. sicut  
docibilis dei. Sub parentum  
ergo suorum gloriosa regalit-  
ate rerum arridente copiosa

- 
1. The left-hand column represents the Lincoln text.
  2. The right-hand column represents the Additional text. Where part of the text has been omitted, as above in the lines common to both Lives, and later in the A column, reference should be made to pp.56-59.

facilitate. crescebat puella  
 Milburga cum puero jesu etate  
 et sapientia. comitante simul  
 et erudiente peritorum  
 magistrorum diligencia.  
 Educata quidem gloria seculari  
 erudita vero gratia celesti.  
 gloriam aspernabatur. gratiam  
 amplectebatur. aspernata  
 tamen famulabatur. amplexata  
 dominabatur. Sic sine vicio  
 virtutisque dispendio. glorie  
 contemptricem gloria cum gratia  
 comitabatur... Nullus ergo laudare  
 sufficit virginale meritum. quod  
 videtur quasi precellere decus  
 angelicum. Inclita siquidem  
 virgo Milburga tota sponsi  
 celestis in amorem transfusa. et  
 celestibus concupiscentiis fec-  
 undata. regie generositatis qua  
 pollebat. et formositatis qua  
 generositati respondebat appetit-  
 ores virginali pudicitia repell-  
 ebat. nequaquam ullius nisi christi  
 solius amorem admittens. cui soli  
 voto ardenti nubere iam elegerat.  
 ... Emulatrix igitur angelici  
 moris ardebat desiderio divini  
 amoris. Unde castissima custos  
 integritatis vitam suam sancivit  
 celibatu virginitatis. sic autem  
 ardens ipsa et lucens. iniabat  
 ut filia lucis avida mente sup-  
 ernis. ... Vilescebat sibi vita  
 mundialis. sponsus mortalis.  
 prolis carnalis. dos maritalis.  
 Hinc natale palatium et affectus  
 natalium respuit et obliviscitur.  
 Unde supernus rex decorem eius  
 concupiscit et amplectitur. Igitur  
 ut ipsa iam celestis sponsa  
 secretius audiret celestium  
 nuptiarum epithalamium.  
 utque liberius videret  
 quam sit celestis  
 sponsus forma speciosus  
 pre filiis hominum. et  
 humiliter inclinaret cor-

Igitur  
 ut ipsa iam celestis sponsa  
 secretius audiret celestium  
 nuptiarum epitalamium.  
 utque liberius videret  
 quam sit celestis  
 sponsus forma speciosus  
 pre filiis hominum. et  
 humiliter inclinaret cor-

dis aurem ad discendam domini voluntatem. funditus omni subacto mundi supercilio.... 1.	dis aurem ad discendam domini voluntatem. funditus omni subacto mundi supercilio... 2.
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The expression above, with which L rejoins the A text, "And now therefore, so that she, the heavenly bride, might listen more privately to the celestial nuptial music and so that ..." - follows more naturally the preceding passage in A than the early part of L which, unlike A, has not developed the idea of the mystic marriage of St. Milburga.

It has already been noted<sup>3</sup> that L does not give as long a Testament as the one found in A. Not only is the introduction absent from L, (the proem and the lines immediately preceding the first diploma) but there is no parallel to the passage of A which discusses the origin of these land-grants. The homiletic section before the Testament, common to both manuscripts, extols the Saint's generosity in renouncing her royal status for the religious life, but the longer Life continues in the same vein for several lines further, eventually ending by introducing the Testament: "Fit pro christo subdita cenobii discipula... Pauper vestitura pro regali purpura. Pro insigni diademate regni. gestatur humile velum cenobii... Mundi queque pessus habens. triumphavit virgo celebs... Illis autem 4

et istis dulce spectaculum. dum ipsa proles regia	et istis dulce spectaculum. dum ipsa proles regia
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1. Lincoln 149 f.83v.

2. Additional 34.633 ff.209r-210r. (p.50).

3. Above p.5.

4. Additional 34.633 f.210r & Lincoln 149 f.84r.  
For the lines omitted V. transcript pp.50-62.

maluit in monasterio  
versari veligera. quam in  
palatio sublimari  
scepstrigera.

Primum  
quidem hunc locum qui  
nominatur Wininicas pari  
consensu ambarum partium  
ad quos pertinebat eiusdem  
loci potestas. sub

maluit in monasterio  
versari veligera. quam in  
palacio sublimari  
scepstrigera. Deposita ergo  
ciclade regali. de sub atra  
clamide santimoniali germinat  
in celum virginale liliium.  
et fit deo preciosum ~~eximium~~ liliium  
convallium. Unde sicut liliium  
candet inter spinas sic amica  
dei Milburga fulget inter filias.  
Cuius vita celebs et cenobialis  
conversacio. quam ipsa sanctimon-  
ialis gessit in supradicto  
cenobio. quam inclita fuisset  
praeclaris meritis. et quam  
clara fuisset virtutibus et  
signis. patet antiquioribus  
literis tam anglice quam latine  
de ipsa conscriptis. Unde  
nequaquam iam nova scribimus.  
sed que passim scripta per  
antiquas paginas invenimus. in  
unum colligentes stilo renovamus.  
Verumptamen unum ex inventis  
stilo nostro non recudimus. sed  
eisdem verbis quibus illud  
antiquitus dictatum a beata  
virgine memorata dum in hac  
vita degit. et ab ipsa posteris  
relictum in testamentum  
commerci quo praetaxati cenobii  
locum obtinuit... Nullatenus  
itaque par arbitramur pro tante  
testatricis reverencia. ut  
eius testamentum alteremus stili  
nostro tanquam lepore vel  
elegancia ... Quod igitur sic  
inchoat. Digna consilia verbaque  
venerabilia patrum... ne mors  
mea ignoratione agrorum  
ecclesie infametur. et  
successura mihi posteritas  
surofosa contencione invid-  
orum inquietetur. Primum  
quidem hunc locum qui  
nominatur Wininicas pari  
consensu ambarum parcium  
ad quos pertinebat eisudem  
loci potestas. sub

testimonio plurimorum  
comparavi..." 1.

testimonio plurimorum  
comparavi..." 2.

The author of L had been constrained by a previous statement<sup>3</sup> in the text to give some account of how St. Milburga came by her lands; but the introduction of land-grant at the end of a passage lauding the Saint's renunciation of her worldly state seems a clumsy piece of patching and an indication of a lack of interest in the archaic professions of the Testament.

The Lincoln Life, having described the donation of Wininicas, omits the other four items of the Testament found in the longer Life<sup>4</sup> and rejoins A in the sentence which comes in the latter at the end of the sanction:

"Taliter ergo sicut praemissis ostenditur sanctimonialis virgo Milburga locum ipsum Wininicas sepe dictum adeptam. iamque tam digna matris auctoritate. quam clara sanctitatis dignitate..."<sup>5</sup>

After this the versions run parallel, extolling the generosity of the benefactors to Wenlock, the nobility of the congregation of virgins there assembled, the holiness of St. Milburga, and particularly her great humility. In both versions there then

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1. Lincoln 149 f.84r.

2. Additional 34.633 f.210v. For the lines omitted here V. pp. 60-62.

3. Lincoln 149 f.83, col.2: Additional 34.633 f.209r.  
"Qualiter aut vel quibus auctoribus ipsa locum praememoratum suscepit dignum censeo subnectere..."

4. V. pp.63-66.

5. Lincoln 149 f.84r col.1. Additional 34.633 f.211r col.2. p.66.

seems to be a kind of summing-up - which A does not take seriously for he declares that he intends to develop the theme further, since he believes that it will be a truly edifying digression. He continues therefore in the homiletic vein, telling of the Saint's wisdom in choosing with Mary the better part, praising her chastity, her mercy, her austerity:

"Ab ipso namque didicerat.  
quod humili menti casteque  
viventi cohabitare ipsum  
delectat... Virgo decens  
humili castitate. celebs  
casta virginitate. sponso  
virginum christo compla-  
cuit. cui consecrata  
omni morum probitate  
omnique probata sanctitate.  
studiis celestibus incubuit.

"Ab ipso namque didicerat  
quod humili menti casteque  
viventi cohabitare ipsum  
delectat... Virgo decens  
humili castitate. celebs  
casta virginitate. sponso  
virginum christo compla-  
cuit. cui consecrata omni  
morum probitate omnique  
probata sanctitate.  
studiis celestibus incubuit.  
In quantum autem theorie  
culmen ipsa dehinc erigeretur.  
et quanta per theoriam veri  
salomonis sapientia frueretur.  
utile ducimus vobis effari  
propter utilitatem imitandi...  
Efficitur ergo celesti theoria  
domini familiaris altera maria  
virgo milburga. abstinens cum  
ipsa turbate sororis officio...  
Ecce vera iocunditas. iocunda  
beatitas. beata eternitas.  
Ut igitur earum quamque veram et  
perfectam attingeret et in  
domini sui gaudio fruens sanctor-  
um consorcio possideret...  
docta virgo milburga sapientiam  
amavit. et exquisivit a  
iuventute sua. Non huius mundi  
sapientiam. sed que docet eius  
abstinenciam... Hac in celis virgo  
cum apostolo conversabatur. hac  
pudicicie sue decus deo  
tuebatur... subiugans omnem  
libidinem. ut in cordis et  
carnis concordia diceret cum  
psalmista. cor meum et caro



Igitur sicut exercebat vitam  
angelicam deo amabilis  
milburga virginitate castiss-  
ima. sic praefererat dignit-  
atem celicam mundo spectabilis  
sanctitate clarissima.  
... 1.

mea exultaverunt in deum  
vivum... Virgo itaque dei electa  
deoque dilecta. currens elector-  
um in numero sancte pietatis  
studio. nichil affectans. nichil  
approbans. nichil accitans nisi  
quod deo placebat... Verum que  
scriptum noverat virgo sapienti-  
ssima quod in terra suaviter  
viventium non inventiur  
sapientia... Nichil voluptuosius  
in esu. nichil preciosius in  
vestitu querebat... unde lucent-  
ium eius operum splendorem. sol  
eternitatis in se perpetuavit.  
Igitur sicut exercebat vitam  
angelicam deo amabilis  
Milburga virginitate castiss-  
ima. sic praefererat dignit-  
atem celicam mundo spectabilis  
sanctitate clarissima.  
... 2.

It would seem indisputable that the concluding lines just quoted come more logically after this passage in A, with its exhaustive enumeration of her saintly practices, than after the much less explicit section in L.

The fourth and last passage found in A but not in L comes immediately after the third miracle, before the story of Milburga raising a dead child to life. The lines quoted below - the beginning is common to both Lives - refer to the Saint waking from sleep after a night spent in prayer. It will be seen that L is content to affirm the fact that the miracle took place and that the Saint rendered thanks to God

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1. Lincoln 149 f.84v.

2. Additional 34.633 f.212v. (v.pp.69-74).

for it; but A, unwilling perhaps, to allow the Life to come to its conclusion without having mentioned all the traditional saintly qualities as being St. Milburga's also, goes on to describe her exhortations to her nuns to persevere in their striving after holiness, of her long vigils spent in prayer, and of her ardent desire to die and come at last to God:

Tandem in se reversa dei  
virgo mirifica. celeste  
miraculum cognovit.  
celitus se visitatam  
intellexit. deo gratias  
inde libavit. benedixit  
et magnificavit. l.

Tandem in se reversa dei  
virgo mirifica. celeste  
miraculum cognovit.  
celitus se visitatam  
intellexit. deo gratias  
inde libavit. benedixit  
et magnificavit. Deinde vero  
magis ac magis avida divine  
cognitionis secundum illud legis  
latoris qui adheret domini pedibus.  
accipiet de doctrina eius...Unde  
iocunda deo celestis lucinia die  
noctuque meditabatur divine legis  
eloquia. Iugi melo modulans  
divinarum scripturarum ~~enologia~~ <sup>enologia</sup>.  
sorores suas christi consponsas  
invitabat ad celestium nupciarum  
epithalamia. Prudens et frequens  
omni sancta vigilia. semper ad  
deum cum psalmista de luce  
vigilabat ..... Unde cum psalmiste  
anima nolebat virginis anima  
consolari. dum ipsa manens in  
corpore mortis habebat a domino  
peregrinari. Sic cum ipso  
vescebatur pane doloris. dum ei  
differebatur fruicio divine  
visionis Cum ipso quoque vulnerata  
spiculis superni amoris rigabatur  
cotidie lacrimis intime  
compunctionis. sitiens ad deum  
fontem vivum ut cervus ad fontes  
aquarum. Quis anime virginis  
virginalem sponsum ardentis omnes  
intimos affectus enucleet... Sic

Quedam ut fertur mulier  
vidua beate virginis m̃yl-  
burge fuit convicanaea..."

1.

autem intus flagrans piis affectibus  
extra choruscans bonis actibus.  
sanctos patres meritis exhibebat.  
celi cives morbus exprimebat. Quo  
fit ut eorum comes et compar  
efficeretur. quorum mors et actus  
virgo celebs emulabatur.

Quedam ut fertur mulier vidua  
beate virginis Milburge fuit  
convicanaea..." 2.

The nature of these sections, and their position in the text, does in fact leave little room to doubt that they were an integral part of the original Life. In conclusion it should be noted that the style of the sections found in the Additional text but not in that of the Lincoln MS is identical with the style of the rest of the Life, and that the omissions from Lincoln all occur before phrases which can conveniently be used to bridge the gaps in the original text<sup>3</sup>. The Life in the Additional MS may therefore be taken as bearing the closer resemblance to the proto-type Life, although it is of course impossible to tell to what extent it may itself be a variation from the original.

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1. Lincoln 149 f.85v.

2. Additional 34.633 f.214r. V. pp.78-81 for the lines that have been omitted.

3. In the first instance the Lincoln text rejoins the text of the longer Life with the words "Igitur..." (V.p.50) in the second instance with the words Primum quidem... (V.p.62) in the third instance with the words Taliter ergo... (V.p.65) in the fourth instance with the words Igitur sicut... (V.p.72) and in the final instance with the words Quedam ut fertur... (V. p.80).

This original Life was probably written at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century. L dates from the last two decades of the twelfth century<sup>1</sup>, and since the longer version of the Life precedes the Lincoln version, the date of its composition may be pushed back to the middle of the century. But as A, representing the earlier version of the Life, is found without the Cardinal's account of the Invention appended, it seems extremely likely that the proto-type Life was issued before, or at any rate contemporaneously with but independently of, the Miracula Inventionis; that is, about the year 1100. Confirmation of this hypothesis must however, wait upon the examination of the evidence with regard to the authorship of the Life. The discussion and evaluation of this evidence forms the subject of the next chapter.

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1. The hand of Lincoln 149 belongs to this period.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 1

It is interesting to note that the liturgical authorities of the Cathedral Church at Hereford made use of both versions of the Life on different occasions. The Breviaries of the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries used the version found in Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library MS 149 for the lessons on the feast of St. Milburga, while the fifteenth century Breviary took its lessons from the longer Life, that of British Museum Additional MS 34.633<sup>1</sup>.

The following are the lessons for the feasts of St. Milburga according to the different breviaries:

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1. The Hereford Breviary edited from the Rouen printed edition of 1505 with collations of MSS. edit. W.H.Frere and L.E.G.Brown vols. 1-3.

The thirteenth century Breviary is the noted Breviary belonging to the Chapter Library at Hereford: the fifteenth century one is the small Breviary belonging to the Chapter Library at Worcester: that of the sixteenth century was the printed edition of Hughelbert Haghe.

On December 10th 1346 John Trilleck, Bishop of Hereford borrowed a Libellus de Vita Sancte Milburga from Wenlock. It must have been this Life (belonging to the A group) which was responsible for the slightly different lessons in the fifteenth century Breviary. (Register of John Trilleck, edit. J.H.Perry, Canterbury and York Society, London, 1912, pp.96-97.)

## XIII

"Beata igitur virgo  
 milburga. sponsa  
 christi clarissima.  
 tam regie sublim-  
 itatis eminet  
 ortu generosa.  
 quam eximie  
 sanctitatis enitet  
 actu gloriosa. A  
 duobus anglie  
 regnis que tunc  
 temporis non  
 erat unius  
 diadematis. prodit  
 uterque parens  
 huius illustrissime  
 virginis. Dat  
 genitorem sceptriger  
 apex regionis  
 mercie. dat  
 genitricem regia  
 domus et corona  
 cantie." 1.

## XV

"Beata igitur virgo  
 milburga. sponsa  
 christi clarissima.  
 tam regie sublim-  
 itatis eminet  
 ortu gloriosa.  
 quam eximie  
 sanctitatis enitet  
 actu gloriosa. A  
 duobus anglie  
 regnis que tunc  
 temporis non  
 erat unius  
 diadematis. prodit  
 uterque parens  
 huius illustrissime  
 virginis. Dat  
 genitorem sceptriger  
 apex regionis  
 mercie. dat  
 genitricem regia  
 domus et corona  
 cantie." 2.

XVI  
(Printed)

"Beata igitur virgo  
 milburga. sponsa  
 christi clarissima.  
 tam regie s<sup>u</sup>blim-  
 itatis ~~eminet~~<sup>eminet</sup>  
 ortu generosa.  
 quam eximie  
 sanctitatis enitet  
 actu gloriosa." 3.

- 
1. First lesson from the thirteenth century Breviary.
  2. First lesson from the fifteenth century Breviary.
  3. First lesson from the printed Breviary.

Sic utriusque	Sic ex utroque	A duobus anglie
regni regio	regni et regio	regnis. que tunc
genere virgo	genere splendiss-	temporis non
splendissima	ima nativo	erat unius
nativo splendore	splendore irradiat	diadematis. prodet
irradiat. utriusque	utriusque regni	uterque parens
regni diadema.	diadema. tam	huius illustrissime
tam claris	claris meritis	virginis. Dat
meritis quam	quam egregiis	genitorum sceptriger
egregiis moribus	moribus exor-	apex regionis
exornans et	nans et augens	mercie. dat
augens inclitum	inclitum genus	genitricem regia
genus quod ex	quod ex regiis	domus et corona
regiis simul	simul et almifluis	cancie." 3.
et almifluis	duxit parentibus." 2.	
duxit parentibus." 1.		

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1. Second lesson from the thirteenth century Breviary.

2. Second lesson from the fifteenth century Breviary.

3. Second lesson from the printed Breviary.

Que sicut piis  
progenitoribus suis  
Merwaldo et  
domneva merciorum  
dominis cum  
primogenita  
prefulsit" 1.

Que sicut piis  
progenitoribus suis  
Merwaldo et  
domneva merciorum  
dominis lux  
primogenita  
beatorum pignorum  
extitit. sic in  
regno parentali  
deo sacratis  
virginibus vid-  
uisque. virgines  
imitantibus  
dux primiceria  
vite celestis  
refulsit. Felix  
constat merciorum  
provincia. virginis  
huius parens et  
nutricia. Que sicut  
prolis felici  
nativitate nobiliter  
sublimatur ita  
loco qui Wininicas  
antiquitus nuncupatur  
celesti conversatione  
feliciter sublimatur.  
beata dormitione et  
perpetua mansione  
glorificatur quam  
divina clementia  
celebri virtutum  
frequentia crebro  
testatur." 2.

Que sicut piis  
progenitoribus suis  
lux primogenita  
beatorum pignorum  
extitit. sic in  
regno parentati  
deo sacratis  
virginibus  
viduisque  
virgines imitanti-  
bus dux  
primiceria vite  
celestis prefulsit".3.

- 
1. Third lesson from the thirteenth century Breviary.
  2. Third lesson from the fifteenth century Breviary.
  3. Third lesson from the printed Breviary.



"Felix constat merciorum provincia virginis huius parens et nutricia. Que sicut prolis felici nativitate nobiliter sublimatur. ita loco qui Wininicas antiquitus nuncupatur. celesti conversatione feliciter illustratur. beata dormitione et perpetua mansione glorificatur. quam divina clementia celebri virtutum frequentia crebro testatur" 1.

Ubi constructo venerabili monasterio profuit ipsa mater et angelica. vitae regularis magistra sacro sanctimonialium virginum predita collegio. Qualiter aut vel auctoribus ipsa locum praememoratum suscepit dignum censeo subnectere. preostenso ad laudem probitatis aquota vigilia etatis cepit ad dominum ipsa consurgere. Virgo itaque dulce decus natalium et celeste sydus eximium. dum adhuc primeva veneraret claritate."2.

Felix constat merciorum provincia virginis huius parens et nutricia. Que sicut prolis felici nativitate nobiliter sublimatur. ita loco qui Wyninicas antiquitus nuncupatur celesti conversatione feliciter illustratur. beata dormitione et perpetua mansione glorificatur. quam divina clementia celebri virtutum frequentia crebro testatur. 3.

- 
1. The fourth lesson from the thirteenth century Breviary.
  2. The fourth lesson from the fifteenth century Breviary.
  3. The fourth lesson from the printed Breviary.

Ubi constructo  
venerabili  
monasterio pre-  
fuit ipsa mater  
angelica vite  
regularis magistra  
sacro sanctimonial-  
ium virginum  
predita collegio.  
Virgo itaque  
dulce decus  
natalium et  
celeste sydus  
eximium. ut  
praeornaret orbis  
sui natale  
centrum. stellis  
insignibus irradi-  
antium virtutum.  
dum adhuc primeva  
venaret etate veri  
solis insignitur  
claritate." 1.

Benign<sup>e</sup> ergo  
preventa sponsi  
celestis septiformi  
gratia. mire  
cepit ab infantia  
venustari morum  
elegantia. Nam  
ubi cunarum  
cessit fasciis  
et latentis  
primordiis. mox a  
puellari florulentia  
deo famulatus  
pia reverentia.  
Despecta  
itaque ciclade  
regali desudatur  
clamide sanctimoniali  
ubi germinat in celum  
virginale liliium. et  
fit deo preciosum  
ex liliis convalium.  
Unde sicut liliium  
candet inter spinas.  
sic amica mea  
sancta milburga  
fulget inter filias." 2.

Ubi constructo  
venerabili  
monasterio pre-  
fuit ipsa mater  
angelica vite  
regularis magistra  
sacro sanctimonial-  
ium virginum  
predita collegio" 3.

- 
1. The fifth lesson from the thirteenth century Breviary.
  2. The fifth lesson from the fifteenth century Breviary.
  3. The fifth lesson from the printed Breviary.

The last twelve lines taken from the fifteenth century Breviary are from the long Life. V. pp. 60. 61

Benigne ergo  
 preventa  
 sponsi celestis  
 septiformi gratia.  
 mire cepit ab  
 infantia venus-  
 tari morum  
 elegantia. Nam  
 ubi cunarum  
 cessit fasciis et  
 lactentis infantis  
 praemordiis. res  
 veneranda satis.  
 res digna prae-  
 conio laudis.  
 mox a puellari  
 florulentia deo  
 famulatus pia  
 reverentia" 1.

Dum enim  
 extra monasterium  
 ut refert auct-  
 oritas veterum  
 aliquando demor-  
 aretur in quadam  
 eius villa que  
 vulgo stochias  
 dicitur. quidam  
 regis filius eam  
 voluit per viol-  
 entiam capere  
 et in matrim-  
 onium sibi  
 copulare. Dum  
 itaque multa manu  
 militum collecta  
 moliretur sibi  
 predicta facere  
 de domini electa." 2

Virgo itaque  
 dulce decus  
 natalium et  
 celeste sydus  
 eximium. ut  
 praeornaret orbis  
 sui natale  
 centrum.  
 stellis insignibus  
 irradiantium  
 virtutum dum  
 adhuc primeva  
 vernaret etate  
 veri solis  
 insignitur  
 claritate. 3.

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C H A P T E R 2

THE LIFE OF ST MILBURGA

In this chapter the text of the Life of St. Milburga of British Museum Additional MS 34.633 is collated with the version of the Life found in three other manuscripts: in a MS of the Gotha Ducal Library,<sup>1</sup> in a MS of Lincoln Chapter Library,<sup>2</sup> and in a MS of Lambeth Palace Library.<sup>3</sup>

The foliation references in the margin are to the A Life; those of the Gotha manuscript are to be found in the footnotes to the text. The occasions where the reading offered by G has been preferred<sup>er</sup> to that of A have been indicated in the notes.

The punctuation in the text is a simplification of that found in the A MS,<sup>4</sup> but the contractions and suspensions have not been retained, the word always being given in full.<sup>5</sup>

- 
1. V. above. Professor F. Wormald kindly lent me the photo-stats of the MS. Throughout the chapter it is referred to as G.
  2. V. above, p.5.
  3. V. above, p.1.
  4. Except for the equivalent of the question mark, all other punctuation in the MS has been represented in this chapter by a full stop.
  5. I would like to record here my sincere gratitude to Father Paul Grosjean, Bollandiste, for his great kindness in revising and correcting the text for me.

Incipit praefatio in vita beate ac deo dilecte virginis Mild-  
burge.<sup>1</sup>

Dudum me tua karissima michi paternitas ammonuit. et quorundam  
mecum commanentium pia iraternitas sepius innuit.<sup>2</sup> ut in uno  
volumine concluderem ea que de beatissima virgine Mýldburga<sup>3</sup>  
passim in antiquis nostrarum hystoriis<sup>4</sup> repperiuntur. et que  
per antiquorum ora virorum fama frequenti<sup>5</sup> disseruntur. queque  
monasterii eiusdem virginis veterum privilegiorum scedulis  
inscripta leguntur quatinus de ipsa scire quaerentibus hinc  
velut ex proprio eius speculo reluceat gratius; et claritudo  
sue generositatis. et excellencia eximie sanctitatis. Animatus  
itaque tuo hortatu gratifico. iratrumque venerabilium pio captus  
praecario.<sup>6</sup> immo gloriose virginis cultu delectatus et prae-  
conio. grantanter ad ferramentum<sup>7</sup> et calamum manus explosas  
applico. Protinus autem occurrit in primis genealogia clarissi-  
me virginis que tam eximia sanctitate mirabilis. quam regia  
dignitate spectabilis. feliciter emicuit ab attavis. Nobilis  
inquam et titulosa progenies. cuius titulis insignibus illust-  
ratur totus orbis anglicus. De qua quidem<sup>8</sup> scribere mihi posset  
imputari stulta praesumpcio. nisi tua mihi hoc iniunxisset pat-  
erna monicio. et ad hoc me duxisset sedula fratrum peticio. cum  
mihi fere nulla scribendi pericia. fere nulla suppetat linque  
facundia.

1. The Life begins at f.166v. col.2 in G.

2. G has "inuit" and A "imminuit". G omits sepius.

3. G has "mildburga". 4. G has "historiis".

5. G has "frequentu". 6. G has "amore" instead of praecario".

7. G has "domum", and A "ferrumtomum". I owe "ferramentum",  
which here replaces the meaningless substitutes offered by  
the scribes of A and G, to Professor F. Wormald.

8. G omits "quidem".

col.2 et ipsa sit materies cuiuslibet facundi stilo sufficiens. Verum<sup>1</sup>  
 ego sicut scribendi te paternum hortatorem habuisse me gaudeo.  
 ita scripti benivolum susceptorem et censorium lectorem habere  
 desidero. Quamvis igitur ego par imparque<sup>2</sup> minor tanta materie.  
 quicquid tunc<sup>3</sup> hinc et ex praedictis aggredior elicere. non modo  
 tuis<sup>4</sup> edoctis obtutibus. sed et piis exhibeo fratrum petencium  
 auditibus. ad honorem et gloriam superni regis cuius gratie est  
 et muneris. quicquid almirlua virgo Mildburga sanctitatis habuit  
 et operis. Valeat tua reverenda paternitas. cui pro me oranti  
 faveat clemens adoranda deitas.<sup>5</sup>

Explicit praefacio. Incipit Genealogia beate Virginis Mýlburge.<sup>6</sup>

Ex gloriosa igitur prosapia regie dignitatis mundo rutilans et  
 mundum irradians oritur sidus alme nobilitatis. sponsa christi  
 clarissima Mýlburga<sup>7</sup> virgo sacratissima. Quantis autem resplend-  
 eat ipsa sideribus a vite<sup>8</sup> claritatis. et quam claris emineat  
 lampadibus generose propinquitatis. duco iocundum hic compendio  
 seriatim intimari. quo nobilitas virginis posset sublimius<sup>9</sup>  
 annotari. licet hoc alias locis in pluribus scriptum habeatur  
 diffusius. Inclitus itaque rex edelbriht sanctissime virginis

---

1. G has "vere".

2. G has "impar et minor".

3. G has "etiam".

4. G has "minus".

5. This is the beginning of col.1 of f.176r. in G: "da deitas".

6. Omitted in G. In the margin, parallel to the large E of ex  
 is written "De Genealogia Sancte Mildburge".

7. G has "Mildburga".

8. G has "avide".

9. G has "sullimius".

f. 206v  
 col. 1

Mýldburge<sup>1</sup> fuit abavus. quem prothodoctor anglorum augustinus fecit primum christicolam in angligenis regibus. cuius fidei tanquam aurora diei. previa fuit sanctitatis lumine. coniunx sua regis francorum filia berta nomine. Regi namque pagano christiana nupserat. cui velut aurora soli subterraneo praefuls-erat. Regnum vero quod sub noctis filio rege profano. quasi nox atrum extiterat.<sup>2</sup> regni regina. lucis filia. veluti luna. noctis domina. fidei sue disciplina. morumque doctrina. quantum sola potuit decoraverat. At<sup>3</sup> ubi rex cognovit lucem veritatis et suscepit gratiam baptismatis. factus est in christo sole iusticie sol et dies. non solum aurore sibi previe sed et orbi tocuis anglie. Secundum itaque nomen eius quod anglice sonat nobilis clarus. regnum quod deformaverat fuligine prophane paganitatis. nobiliter clarificavit. fulgore sancte christianitatis. Ex hiis autem tam praeclaris primoribus<sup>4</sup> tanquam ex duobus magnis celi luminaribus christi diem totus sumpsit orbis britannicus. irradiatur exemplis et actibus<sup>5</sup> eximiis. instellatur almis regibus quasi celigenis<sup>6</sup> sideribus. Hinc ergo processit rex eadbaldus regni natalis heres nobilissimus. paterne fidei cultor devotissimus. ecclesiarum dei structor strenuissimus. nobilisque soror eius edelburga<sup>7</sup> regis northamhýmbrorum eadWini regina.

---

1. G. has "Edelbrichtus" and omits "Mýldburge".

2. G has "exstiterat".                      3. G has "Et".

4. G has "prioribus".

5. In the margin, parallel with the next three lines G has "De ethimologia nominis regis De ethelbeorthi".

6. G has "seligenis".

7. G has "Ethelburga regis Northamhimbrorum Edwini regina".



Que rege interfecto viduata simul et regno. ad praedictum eius fratrem tunc cantuariorum regem revertitur. et in liminga constructo monasterio. vitam monasticam agens et finiens. meritis gloriosa reconditur.<sup>1</sup>

col. 2 Predicto<sup>2</sup> autem regi cancie maritatur emma filia regum augustalis gallie. Quorum regalis coniunctio. regios flores regii honoris dignos heredes eormenredum<sup>3</sup> et eorkombrichtum<sup>4</sup> celoque dignam virginem eansuidam<sup>5</sup> propagavit. cuius celebs conversacio folcastanensi virginum cenobio. ubi et beata eius depositio celebris habetur. deo digniter militavit. Ex praedictis quidem regie propaginis floribus. eormenredo<sup>6</sup> videlicet ac eorkombrihto<sup>7</sup> regis eadbaldi<sup>8</sup> claris pignoribus. gratia superne pietatis florificavit sibi rosas glorie<sup>9</sup> martirialis. et lilia pudicie.<sup>10</sup> virginalis. cum violis proletarie castitatis. Eorkombrihtus<sup>11</sup> namque post obitum patris sui regnum optinens a patre praelectus est<sup>12</sup> rex. sanctam sexburgam anne regis et heresuithe<sup>13</sup> filiam illustrissime virginis edeldrithe<sup>14</sup> germanam uxorem duxit.

- 
1. At the bottom of column 1, in the same hand as the marginal additions G has "De rege Cancie Edbaldo filio regis Ethelbeorthi De Ethelburga filia ipsius Ethelbeorthi que apud Lymmynge post sepulta fuit".
  2. This is the beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital 'P' in G. In the margin, parallel with the next three lines G has, "De Ermenredo et Erkonbrichto filiis regis Edbaldi".
  3. G has "Ermenredum".      4. G has "Erkonbrichtum".
  5. G has "sWidam".      6. V. 3.
  7. V. 4.      8. V. 2.
  9. G has "eterne" for "glorie" here.
  10. In the margin G has "De Sexburga".
  11. V. 4.      12. G omits "est".
  13. G has "heresWyde".      14. G has "Ethelride".

ex qua deus ei<sup>1</sup> partus felices egbrihtum et lotarium reges.  
 erkengodam et eormenhildam<sup>2</sup> reginas pie concessit. Quorum primus  
 rex egbrihtus<sup>3</sup> successor patris in regnum extitit. Soror eius  
 virgo erkengoda peregre profecta trans mare religionis amore  
 defuncta. subhospita quiescit.<sup>4</sup> Eormenhilda<sup>5</sup> vero regi merciorum  
 Wlfero nupsit. unde beata dei gemma virgo Werburga refulsit.  
 Eormenredus<sup>6</sup> autem clarus sui nominis auspicio. lingua scilicet  
 anglica<sup>7</sup> miserorum consolatio.<sup>8</sup> quo nomine merito pollebat  
 studio pietatis et officio magis quam imperio. duas imperiales  
 rosas et martiriales. sanctum ethelredum atque<sup>9</sup> ethelbrihtum<sup>10</sup>  
 ex imperiali coniuge oslava nomine deo feliciter generavit.  
 Quorum mors quam gloriosa celigenis. quam celebranda sit terri-  
 genis. lux effusa de celis<sup>11</sup> instar ingentis<sup>12</sup> radii solaris  
 super ipsos truculenter occisos et fraudulenter absconditos.  
 emicans omnibus propalavit. Non ignoratur multis huius historie  
 series. quam hic icirco<sup>13</sup> supersedeo brevitati serviens.<sup>14</sup>

f. 207r.  
col. 1

- 
1. G has "ei deus partus".
  2. G has "Egbrichtum...et Ermenhildam". In the margin parallel with the next four lines G has "De Egbrichto et lotario filiis Eorkonbrichti et de Eorkongida et Eormenilda eius filiabus".
  3. G has "Egbrichtus".
  4. In the margin parallel with this line G has "De Sancta Werburga".
  5. G has "Ermenhilda".
  6. G has "Ermenredus". The E of Eormenredus is a large capital in A.
  7. In the margin parallel with this and the next line G has "De Eormenredo et de nominis eius interpretatione".
  8. G has "consolatio", but A the meaningless "consilio".
  9. Parallel in the margin for the next three lines G has "De sanctis martyribus Ethelredo et Ethelbrichto filiis Eormenredi".
  10. G has "Ethelbrichtum".
  11. Parallel in the margin G has "De filiabus Eormenredi Domneva Eormenbyga Eormengitha".
  12. G has "ingenti".
  13. G has "iccirco hic".
  14. Parallel in the margin G has "De merWaldo rege merciorum et de aliis".

Quatuor quoque filias laude dignissimas. domnevam. hermenbyrgam. hermenburgam. hermengytham.<sup>1</sup> memorabilis eormenredus<sup>2</sup> habuit<sup>3</sup>. quas diversis virtutum radiis insignitas. ut decebat regis eterni corone. margaritas. rex eternus ipse sibi connexuit. Quarum domneva sancte posteritatis spes et specula. traditur in matrimonium merWardo<sup>4</sup> regi Westehanorum hesperie partis merciorum. Conregnabant autem ipse natus tercius. et frater eius Wlferus natu secundus. fratres enim fuerant<sup>5</sup>. filii pende strenuissimi<sup>6</sup> regis. cui decesso successerant quasi diarche regni natalis. Quibus erant<sup>7</sup> duo germani fratres. quorum alter primogenitus. alter erat ultimus peada scilicet et ethelredus.<sup>8</sup> Peada deo carus et angelis. rex extitit mediterraneis anglis. Ethelredus vero<sup>9</sup> vir summe devocionis. successor fuit fratris sui Wlferi regis. Qui transactis in regno viginti novem annis. de rege fit monachus. spreto fastu pompe regalis.<sup>10</sup> Quorum eximie sorores. kyneburga et kynesuita<sup>11</sup> meritis<sup>12</sup> spectabiles. fulgent tanquam sidus geminum in burgensi ecclesia. cum beatissima tibba sua parentali proxima. Hiis<sup>13</sup> itaque tam praeclaris

- 
1. G has "Ermenbirgam. Ermenburgam. Ermengidam".
  2. G has "memorialis Ermenredus".
  3. Parallel in the margin G has "Iuxta quod Ethelredus et Wlferus reges et fratres praedictarum keneburge et kyneWithe construxerunt monasterium vocatum nomine Petresborgh".
  4. G has "MerWaldo regi Westhanorum". 5. G has "erant".
  6. Parallel in the margin G has "De kyneburga et kyneWyda filiabus Pende".
  7. Parallel in the margin G has "De patre et matre sancte Mildburge virginis".
  8. "scilicet et Ethelredus" is omitted in G.
  9. Parallel in the margin G has "De sororibus sancte Mildburge".
  10. G omits the sentence beginning "Qui transactus in regno... pompe regalis".
  11. G has "kyneWyda".
  12. Parallel in the margin G has "De fratre sancte Mildburge".
  13. G has "his".

natalibus. set ut ita dicam consanguineis sideribus illustrata  
 nobilitas. egregie virginis Mýlburge<sup>1</sup> mundo resplenduit. edita  
 regaliter ex patre merWardo<sup>2</sup> et matre domneva merciorum dominis.  
 dote virginali<sup>3</sup>. vita celesti. sponsum celestem. et virginalem<sup>4</sup>  
 christum condecuit. Cuius quoque nobilitas non modo progenitorum  
 insignium generoso<sup>5</sup> sanguine. vel avorum praelucentium glorioso  
 stegmate sublimiter cumulatur. verum et subsecutis floribus  
 trine propaginis couterine germanitatis feliciter exornatur.  
 mýldrida videlicet atque mýlgitha<sup>6</sup> couterinis eius sorcibus deo  
 dilectis virginibus et sacris. almoque fratre couterino nomine  
 merevino<sup>7</sup>. quem ab ipsa raptum infancia deus evexit<sup>8</sup> ad  
 innocencium gaudia.

Verum quia prius me tempus deficiet quam a me narrari  
 tota valeat parentalis almitas huius almiflue virginis. per  
 avitos nobiles et regios vertices sanctissimi eius generis. de  
 utroque suo genitore cuius meritis et laudibus ipsa nobilitatur  
 proximius.<sup>9</sup> quedam subnecto sanctitatis insignia. conversacioni  
 fidelium non inutilia. Quod igitur enarro. narrat vetus  
 historia. quam ego partim didici lectione. partim cuiusdam  
 venerabilis presbiteri et antiqui viri relatione. Unde tamen non  
 nulla praetereo. ne multiplicitate sua sint lectori tedio. Erat

- 
1. G has "Mildburge".                      2. G has "merWaldo".  
 3. Parallel in the margin for the next five lines G has "Quomodo  
 Edfridus presbiter de partibus northimbrorum veniens regem  
 merciorum merWaldum ad christi fidem convertibat".  
 4. G has "virginialem".  
 5. G has "generosa", and then "praeluentium".  
 6. G has "Mildrida videlicet atque Milgida couterinis sororibus  
 eius". A has here "mýlgitham".  
 7. G has "MerWýno".                      8. G has "evexerat".  
 9. G has "proximiis".

f. 207v.  
col. 1

inquit MerWaldus rex merciorum paganismo deditus. quem sanctus presbiter edfridus<sup>1</sup> vir doctrina clarus. et vita magnificus. ad eum convertendum venit. a northamhimbrorum<sup>2</sup> partibus. celesiti oraculo praemonitus. Ut autem fertur divinum ipse susceperat oraculum. ut in terram merciorum loco Reodesmuthe<sup>3</sup> vocato pergeret. ibique verbum dei predicans. regem et eius gentem paganos ad christianismum<sup>4</sup> converteret. Segregatus itaque sacer edfridus tanquam alter apostolus in opus<sup>5</sup> predicationis viam arripuit. ignorans regem et locum. quo celitus pergere iussus fuit. Celitus ei via praecipitur. et celitus ad locum usque perducitur. Demum ergo locum attigit. et sol occasum adiit. Nocte dies obducitur. tecto carens novus hospes divo noctu tegitur. Ubi vero ne desolaretur ambiguo proventu sue peregrinationis. divinitus visitatur praesagio regie conversionis. Dum enim assedisset cenulam sub vespera<sup>6</sup> noctis. prius deo debitis solutis laudibus et votis. adest leo quidam immanissimus. iubis per colla crispantibus. Cui viso vir sanctus ut deifer intrepidus nullatenus cessit. sed tanquam celesti misso frustum<sup>7</sup> de pane suo porrexit. Porrectum autem ipse iam<sup>8</sup> non leo sed mansuecior agno rictu blando suscepit. susceptum ante pedes porrigentis se pervoluens. ut mansuetus comedit. Quid multis? leo pastus disparuit. vir autem sanctus in loco pernoctavit. Sol redit ad superos. dies fulsit aurea. de loco surgit vir<sup>9</sup> praedictus

1. G has "quem presbiter sanctus Effridus".

2. G has "Northaminbrorum".

3. G has "Reodesmunde vocabulo". 4. G has "christianisimum".

5. G has "in nobis".

6. G has "Vespera", A, "vesperta".

7. G has "fructum".

8. G has "tam".

9. G has "ubi". At the bottom of col.2 f.167v. G has "Quomodo MerWaldus rex merciorum et pater sancte Milburge convertitur ad fidem christi. "vir predictus advena" is the first line of f.168r.

advena. circuit queque loci confinia. devenit ubi rex quesitus manebat et eius familia. Ad hospitandum sibi domus eligitur. a col. 2 quodam regis milite suscipitur. Subsequenti autem nocte rex vidit sompnum. quod mane facto suis prolatum solvere sibi poterat nemo suorum. Regi tandem suggerit memoratus miles de suscepto eius hospite. velut<sup>1</sup> pincerna suus pharaoni de ioseph sompni coniectore. Domine mi rex inquit iubeat excellencia tua sibi virum quemdam<sup>2</sup> praesentari. quem mecum nocte transacta pro hospite sub tecto recepit. Cuius mores a nostris videntur alieni. qui nisi fallor cultor est christiane fidei. Diis namque nostris detrahit et calumpniatur. nobis eorum ob cultum mortis eterne supplicium promittit et minatur. Qui fortassis si domini mei regis<sup>3</sup> sompnum audierit. non falsus ut arbitror interpretus eius erit. Rex ad militem. Accersatur inquit ocius talis hospes tuus. Accersito<sup>4</sup> christi legato coram rege. rex sompnum ita cepit edicere. Nox praeterita dum me in<sup>5</sup> sompno datum in stratu teneret. videbar mihi videre duos canes teterrimos<sup>6</sup> et immanes me per iugulum arripere. E regione vero personam quandam<sup>7</sup> venerabili facie. tonsam<sup>8</sup> per aures in coronam cesarie. mihi praesidio adesse et de canum dentibus aurea cum clave quam in manu ferebat me potenter eruere. Quo fit ut hinc terreat me tanta canum immanitas. et eorum in me grassabunda rapacitas. inde foveat tam festina ab eis erepcio. et iocunda ereptoris mei visio. Set et nescio<sup>9</sup> quid portenti habeat<sup>10</sup> tam tetra bestia.

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1. G has "velut ut pincerna". 2. G has "quendam".  
 3. G has "domini regis mei". 4. G has "Accersito itaque christi."  
 5. "in" is omitted in G. 6. G has "teterimos".  
 7. G has "quendam", A, "quemdam". 8. G has "tonsam", A, "tonsa".  
 9. G has "Set quia nescio". 10. G has "habebat".

tam insolens et efferata. quid auspicii<sup>1</sup> tam grata persona  
 ereptrix mea. tam decens<sup>2</sup> et clavigera. utrobique mens mea  
 redditur sollicita. Rex desierat loqui. subinfert<sup>3</sup> assecla  
 f.208r. christi. Rex gratulare tue visioni. famulatur enim tue perpetue  
 col.1  
 saluti. Quid ergo portendat sanum in te grassancium et te  
 iugulare moliencium tam horrenda species. quid auspicietur<sup>4</sup>  
 clavigere persone liberatricis tue tam iocunda facies. rex  
 accipe et intellige. Teterimi<sup>5</sup> canes et immanes sunt fuliginosi  
 plutonis satellites vite et salutis tue mortiferi hostes. quorum  
 tu faucibus in praedam et devoracionem daberis. ubi devoratus  
 semper devorandus eris. ut sic usque moriens. et nunquam morte  
 finiens perpetuis terroribus. sulfureis<sup>6</sup> fetoribus. dentium  
 stridoribus. ignium ardoribus. penis inmanibus et intollerab-  
 ilibus cum ipsis in tartari medio crucieris. nisi funditus  
 abnegaveris paganismum. et ex toto corde converteris ad christ-  
 um dei vivi filium. Reverendus ille claviger cuius potencia  
 liberaris. sicut tibi videtur de beluis tam efferis et voraci-  
 bus. ianitor est et princeps regni celestis. et in terra christi  
 salvatoris mundi vicarius. Clavis enim aurea celestis est  
 potencia. qua quicquid ipse ligat ligatur. quicquid liberat  
 liberatur. Cui tu domum edificabis in regno tuo ad agendas  
 laudes et gratias. dies noctesque regi superno. in quem tu  
 corde credens. quem ore confitens. cuius quoque baptismi vestem  
 induens. vite gentilis, demonicos abdicaveris ritus. et idolatrie

---

1. G has "auspicii".

2. A has "decus".

3. A has "subinfret".

4. G has "auspicietur", and "horrida" for horrenda".

5. G has "teterimi".

6. G has "sulphureis".

prophanos abiuraveris cultus. ut superni regni<sup>1</sup> sedibus  
 merearis fieri idoneus.<sup>2</sup> Cuius regni frequens et beata leticia.  
 defectus et mortis est nescia. cuius tu felix et perhennis  
 heres eris cum liberatus de canum dentibus fueris. per  
 suscepcionem sancte fidei beati petri liberatoris tui. qui  
 confessione christi filii dei vivi claves meruit. Et principa-  
 col.2 tum paradisi. Hiis et multimodis fidei rudimentis sacer heros<sup>3</sup>  
 regi christum praeconatur. christo regem conformari praeconando  
 conatur. Quibus diligenter auditis. rex ait ad interpretem sue  
 salutis. Quicquid tua me docuerit christiana erudicio.<sup>4</sup> mea  
 paratur suscipere devota subiectio. quatinus evadere queam tam  
 horribilis belue rictus. Preventus itaque rex superna clemencia.  
 sua queque destruit et pessundat idola.<sup>5</sup> Deponit regni insig-  
 nia. sceptrum. purpuram. et diadema. cinere conspersus cilicio  
 induitur. dolet. ingemit. et totus in penitenciam compungitur.  
 Sancti pedes advoluitur. paganismum abiurat. cultum dei profit-  
 etur. sacro fonte renascitur. christicola sanctus efficitur et  
 prompte devocionis ad omnia. quibus eum chatezizat suos  
 evangelista. Iam vero bis lustra sena sexiesque vicena  
 peregerat cursus dominice incarnationis. quando MerWaldus rex  
 merciorum a sancto presbitero edfrido suscepit gratiam christ-  
 iane regeneracionis. Ecce rex hactenus ut leo praefiguratus<sup>6</sup>  
 leone superius memorato iam non ferox<sup>7</sup> ut leo sed micior agno  
 erroris sui de luco se reum fatendo prodiit. et veritatis

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1. G has "regis".

2. Spelt "ydoneus" in G.

3. G has "heres". 4. G has "me christiana docuerit erudicio".

5. G has "ydola". "insignia. sceptrum. purpuram.." is the  
 first line of f.168v. in G.

6. G has "praesignatus".

7. G has "ferax".



fidem vite panem. ab eius conviva fidei scilicet et vite dogmatista. percepit. Ubi vero regis conversio per leonem ut dictum<sup>1</sup> viro dei divinitus praesagitur.<sup>2</sup> locus fundande domus regio liberatori regni celestis ianitori eligitur. Unde locus iste postea vertitur in leonis monasterium. Domus autem fundata regaliter soleratur. rebus et opibus regiis opulenter ditatur. Cui beatus praeficitur edfridus cuius doctrina vere lucis gratia primo<sup>3</sup> refulsit in plaga merciorum hesperia. cuius ibi digne pro meritis est recolenda celebris et felix memoria. Rex<sup>4</sup> igitur suscepta veritatis noticia. tanta fervet in deum sanctitatis flagrantia. ut videretur reparare sibi cum plurimo fervore. quidquid<sup>5</sup> neglexerat retroducto tempore. Queque sibi congesserat mundiali potencia. christi pauperibus erogat viscerali clemencia. Fundat et construit deo passim ecclesias. constructis uberes dat fundos et familias. fertur autem utrumque regem et reginam comitem glorioso martiri osWaldo regi clavecestre construxisse monasterium. quod ab utroque non solum largis possessionibus dilatatur. Set et tantis ornatibus decoratur. ut prae habundancia ornatuum a vulgo vocaretur aureum. Parum quoque fuerat uterque modus communis vite. nisi posthaberetur paucis inexperta delectacio carnis. et assumere- tur multis incognita conversacio celestis.<sup>6</sup>

Tandem itaque MerWaldus rex et domneva regia comes. post

- 
1. G has "ut dictum est".    2. G has "praesagitu divinitus".  
 3. G has "primore fulsit".  
 4. A has "ex" here, leaving a space for a large capital R which was never filled in. Parallel with the next six lines in the margin G has "Quomodo rex merWaldus totus christo devotus construxit monasterium Claudecestrie in honore meritis sancti osWaldi".  
 5. G has "quicquid".  
 6. In the margin at the bottom of the column G has "Quomodo rex merWaldus et domneva uxor sua venerunt in castitate".

memoratos eorum partus. fastidire ceperunt proletarios amplexus. Celibatus ergo gratia voluntate consentanea. dirimuntur a carnali copula. Christus fit heres tocius sue suppellectilis. ut ipsi fiant coheredes eius eterne beatitudinis.<sup>1</sup> o quam gloriosum. quam excellens sanctitatis exemplum. Tanto<sup>2</sup> quidem excellencius. quanto fit rarius a paucis hominibus. Quis enim rex hodiernus imitatur tantum exempli decus. Utinam imitaretur vel pauper et mendicus.<sup>3</sup> cui thorus coniugalis dolor est et gemitus. Sicut<sup>4</sup> igitur columba de laqueis<sup>5</sup> avulsa turrim ad- volat amicam. sic domneva nobilis regina carnis a nexu<sup>6</sup> libera canciam adit nativam. Ubi velud hesperus ab occasu rediens. denuo fit ipsa lucifer oriens. numquam ulterius iterum hesperus. Magis enim delectata sui prothodoctoris augustini eiusque sociorum aulis sepulchralibus. quam mercie regionis cuius ipsa princeps et regina fuerat palaciis regalibus. malens quoque frui vite celestis ducibus sancto theodoro archipresule et beato adriano abbate. tunc cantuarie vivis et deiferis lumin- aribus. quam merciis hesperialibus. adeo tunc sacre fidei rudibus. ut inter eos rarus esset qui subderetur veri dei cultibus. retinetur cancie perpetuo sociata suis deicolis natalibus specimen et forma sanctitatis. et tocius imitande pietatis. Unde rex edbrictus<sup>7</sup> patruelis suus non modicum exultans de eius praesencia. votis eius et desideriiis occurrit

cc1. 2

- 
1. G omits the lines beginning "Christus fit..." and ending "eterne beatitudinis".  
 2. G has "tanta".                      3. G has "vel".  
 4. A new paragraph with a large capital S in G.  
 5. Parallel with the next three lines G has, "Quomodo regina Domneva Canciam redit".  
 6. G has "carnis anexu".    7. G has "Egbrichtus".

cum omni votorum conivencia. Hinc letatur anglie primas sacer  
 theodorus. hinc congaudet totus orbis canticus. Suscipit<sup>1</sup> ergo  
 domneva venerabilis a predicto rege locum amene mansionis.  
 Distat non eminus ab urbe cantuaria grandis que thanetum<sup>2</sup> nom-  
 inatur insula arridens bona rerum copia. regni flos et talamus<sup>3</sup>  
 amenitatis gratia. in qua tanquam in quodam elisio datur ei  
 duodecies quatuor aratorum<sup>4</sup> possessio. Qua suscepta beata  
 domneva non ut prima mater eva suis posteris fuit ve et calam-  
 itas. sed sacris virginibus quas ibi deo congregavit<sup>5</sup> salus  
 et felicitas.<sup>6</sup>

Comitata siquidem matrona venerabilis opibus regis sui  
 patruelis. et ab ipso munita quibusque sibi necessariis virgin-  
 ale construit cenobium. in honore beate virginis virginum. ad  
 cuius filii celeste servitium congregat ibi virginum ac viduarum  
 sanctimoniale collegium. Quibus ipsa prima loci fundatrix prae-  
 fuit docta karismatibus divinis. freta tamen in hoc<sup>7</sup> primitus  
 doctis patrum consiliis. Cui soboles egregia christi virgo  
 Mildritha<sup>8</sup> cum septuaginta virginibus deo consecratis a memorato  
 primate dorobernensi antistite. feliciter vice materna succesit.  
 et e vestigio<sup>9</sup> materne pietatis vitam agens. et claudens<sup>10</sup> sub  
 titulo virginee castitatis. ad matrem in supernis gloriosam  
 meritis centeni<sup>11</sup> fructus redimita coronis accessit.

f.209r.  
col. 1

- 
1. A new paragraph with a large capital S in G.
  2. G has "thanetum".                      3. G has "thalamus".
  4. G has "quodam elysio ... quatuor oratorum".
  5. End of the column in G. Below the line there is added "Quo-  
modo beata Dompneva ad insulam de thanet venit ibique domum  
dei construxit".
  6. "Salus" is the first word of col.1 f.169r. in G.
  7. Parallel with this line in the margin G has, "De sancta  
Mildreda".                      8. G has "mildreda"    9. G omits "e".
  10. G has "claudans".    11. A has "centem", and G "centum".

Inclita<sup>1</sup> quoque virgo Milgitha<sup>2</sup> iunior beate matris domneve<sup>3</sup> filia sancte conversacionis vitam duxit in terminis northamhýmbrorum<sup>4</sup>. ubi per eam gesta sunt divinitus ac deinceps geruntur non nulla miracula signorum ad dei laudem et glorificationem. et ad eius integerrime castitatis veneracionem. que suos piis fovens patrociniis plurima prestat beneficia fidelibus populis.

Rex<sup>5</sup> autem merciorum MerWaldus post legitimi certaminis agonem et cursus sui<sup>6</sup> beatam consummacionem. ob fidei servate meritum vite celestis suscepit gaudium. corpore pausans ut fertur apud rependune monasterium. olim satis nobile conversacionibus virorum insignium et sanctimonialium feminarum. Qui locus secundum eius ethimologiam. non tacere videtur regis excellenciam. Sonat enim manipulus montis. unde quasi sic loquitur nobis. Rex memorabilis quod in valle terrestri collegit vallem transiliens<sup>7</sup> in monte celesti reposuit. Hec de beate virginis genealogia compendio praemisimus. ut hinc eluceat ex quam claris et sanctis natalibus processit ortus eius nobilissimus. Superest igitur ut explicetur celebs eius conversacio. et ad dominum de saeculo nequam gloriosa migracio. Explicit genealogia beate virginis milburge.

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1. The beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital I in A & G.

2. G has "milgida".

3. Parallel in the margin G has "De sancta milgitha".

4. G has "northamhimbrorum".

5. The beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital R in A & G.

6. Parallel in the margin G has, "Quomodo rex merWaldus apud Rependon sit sepultus".

7. G has "transsiliens".

col. 2 Beata<sup>1</sup> igitur virgo Milburga<sup>2</sup> sponsa<sup>3</sup> christi<sup>4</sup> clarissima. tam regie sublimitatis eminenti ortu generosa.<sup>5</sup> quam eximie sanctitatis enitet actu gloriosa. A duobus anglie regnis que tunc temporis non erat unius diadematis. prodit uterque parens huius illustrissime virginis. Dat genitorem sceptriger apex regionis mercie. dat genitricem regia domus et corona cancie. Sic utriusque regni regio genere virgo splendidissima. nativo splendore irradiat utriusque regni diadema. tam claris meritis quam egregiis moribus exornans et augens inclitum genus. quod ex regis simul et almifluis<sup>6</sup> duxit parentibus. Que sicut piis progenitoribus suis merWaldo et domneva merciorum dominis. lux primogenita beatorum pignorum extitit. sic in regno parentali deo sacratis virginibus viduisque virgines imitantibus dux primiceria vite celestis praefulsit. Felix constat merciorum provincia. virginis huius parens et nutricia. Que sicut prolis felici nativitate nobiliter sublimatur.<sup>7</sup> ita loco qui Wininicas<sup>8</sup> antiquitus nuncupatur. celesti conversacione feliciter illustratur. beata dormicione<sup>9</sup> et perpetua mansione

- 
1. The beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital B in A & G. This is the opening line of the Life in Lincoln, the first three words are in large capitals, the second three in smaller capitals.
  2. G has "mildburga".
  3. Parallel in the margin G has, "Hic incipit vita sancte mildburge virginis".
  4. Alongside these words, in the same column, A has in red letters, "Incipit vita beate virginis Milburge".
  5. G has "sullimitatis ... gloriosa".
  6. G has "melifluis".
  7. G has "sullimatur".
  8. G has "Wyninicas".
  9. G has "dommicione".

glorificatur. quam divina clemencia celebri virtutum  
 frequencia crebro testatur.<sup>1</sup> Ubi constructo venerabili  
 monasterio praefuit ipsa mater et angelica vite regularis  
 magistra. sacro sanctimonialium virginum premita collegio.  
 Qualiter autem vel quibus auctoribus ipsa locum praememoratum  
 suscepit dignum censeo subnectere. praestenso ad laudem  
 probitatis a quota vigilia etatis cepit ad dominum ipsa  
 consurgere.<sup>2</sup> Virgo<sup>3</sup> itaque dulce decus natalium<sup>4</sup> et celeste<sup>5</sup>  
 sidus eximium. ut praepararet orbis sui natale centrum stellis  
 insignibus radiancium virtutum. dum adhuc primeva vernaret  
 etate. Veri solis insignitur claritate. Benigne<sup>6</sup> ergo preventa  
 sponsi celestis septiformi gratia. mire cepit ab infancia  
 venustari morum elegancia. Nam ubi cunarum cessit fasciis et  
 lactentis infancie primordiis. res veneranda satis. res digna  
 praeconio laudis. mox a puellari florulencia deo famulatur  
 pia reverencia. Hinc regalis et celebs pusiola votis ardet  
 celestibus pietate deicola. hinc sancti spiritus edocta  
 karismate. christo se devovit alma virginitate. Ipsa quoque  
 doctrix futura discipline dei. facilis erat ad queque  
 discenda sicut docibilis dei. Sub<sup>7</sup> parentum ergo suorum

- 
1. Parallel in the margin G has, "De loco Wymnicas qui et Wenlok nominatur".
  2. G has "rosa consurgere".
  3. The beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital V in G, A & L.
  4. Parallel in the margin G has, "De puritia beate Mildburge".
  5. G has "celesti".
  6. "Benigne ergo..." is the beginning of col.1, f.169v. in G.
  7. The beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital S in G. In Linc. the passage beginning "Sub parentum ergo..." and ending "concupiscit et amplectitur" is omitted. (V. p. 60).

gloriosa regalitate<sup>1</sup> rerum arridente copiosa facilitate.  
 crescebat puella Milburga<sup>2</sup> cum puero iesu etate et sapientia.  
 comitante simul et erudiente peritorum magistrorum diligencia.  
 Educata quidem gloria seculari. erudita vero gratia celesti.  
 gloriam aspernabatur. gratiam amplectebatur.<sup>3</sup> aspernata  
 tamen famulabatur. amplexata dominabatur. Sic sine vicio  
 virtutisque dispendio. glorie contemptricem gloria cum gratia  
 comitabatur. Quid itaque non eam praeconabatur. Unde non  
 ipsa perornabatur. Preco clarus et eminens. tam sancta quam  
 col. 2 generosa eius indoles. Ornatus vero eius praeter quod erat  
 intrinsecus. tam elegans forma corporis quam emicans gloria  
 generis. Set de forma virginei corporis ut quid ad laudem  
 eius commemorem. cum intactus pudor virginis omnem excellat  
 corporeum decorem? Nitor enim mentis pudice virginis. decus  
 optinet angelice similitudinis. Sororiant sibi<sup>4</sup> angeli  
 puritas et virginis castitas pudica germanitate. sed virgo  
 angelum excellit virtute non dignitate. merito. non felicitate.  
 Virgo namque vix optinens<sup>5</sup> cum gratia gravi difficultate.  
 quod angelus in natura possidet felici facultate. maius est  
 itaque meritum angelicam gloriam adquirere. sicut divinus  
 interpretes ieronimus attestatur. quam habere. Sic autem maiori  
 merito fulget<sup>6</sup> difficilis optentus virginee castitatis. quam

- 
1. Parallel in the margin G has "Quomodo sancta Mildburga crescebat in virtutibus".
  2. G has "Mildburga puella".
  3. G has "amplectabatur".
  4. This word is omitted in G.
  5. G has "optinet".
  6. The beginning of col.2, f.169v. in G.

expers difficultatis habitus naturalis angelice felicitatis. Nullus ergo laudare sufficit<sup>1</sup> virginale meritum. quod videtur quasi precellere decus angelicum.<sup>2</sup> Inclita<sup>3</sup> siquidem virgo Milburga<sup>4</sup> tota sponsi celestis in amorem transfusa. et celestibus concupiscenciis fecundata. regie generositatis qua pollebat. et formositatis qua generositati respondebat appetitores virginali pudicicia repellebat. nequaquam ullius nisi christi solius amorem admittens. cui soli voto ardenti nubere iam elegerat. Cuius dulcedine inspirata et pulcritudine adtracta. nitebatur omnimodis vitare<sup>5</sup> contagia carnis. quatinus ipsa primiciis<sup>6</sup> celi primeva valeret dicari. Emulatrix igitur angelici moris ardebat desiderio divini amoris.<sup>7</sup> Unde castissima custos integritatis vitam suam sancivit celibatu virginitatis. Sic autem ardens ipsa et lucens. iniabat<sup>8</sup> ut filia lucis avida mente supernis. Non captabatur specie nitencium<sup>9</sup> gemmarum. non dissolvebatur mollicie vestium praeciosarum. Sese magis exornabat<sup>10</sup> virtutum monilibus. quam purpureis vel aurotextis vestibus. Vilescebat sibi vita mundialis. sponsus mortalis. proles carnalis. dos maritalis. Hinc natale palacium et affectus natalium respuit

f. 210 r.  
col. 1

- 
1. This word is omitted in G.
  2. G has "angelorum".
  3. G, like A, has a large capital I at the beginning of "Inclita".
  4. G has "Mildburga".
  5. This word is not found in G.
  6. G has "primitiis".
  7. This word is not found in G.
  8. G has "inhiabat".
  9. G has "mentencium".
  10. G has "ornabat".



et obliviscitur. Unde supernus rex decorem eius concupiscit et amplectitur. Igitur<sup>1</sup> ut ipsa iam celestis sponsa<sup>2</sup> secretius audiret celestium nupciarum epithalamium<sup>3</sup> utque liberius videret quam sit celestis sponsus forma speciosus pre filiis hominum. et humiliter inclinaret cordis aurem ad discendam domini voluntatem. funditus omni subactis mundi supercilio. sese contulit cenobiali domicilio. Fit pro christo subdiata cenobii discipula. que fuerat inclita regii larum alumna. Palatii domina. cenobii vernula. Pauper vestitura. pro regali purpura<sup>4</sup>. Pro insigni diademate regni. gestatur humile velum cenobii. Digna laudis praeconio. regie virginis conversio. Quam celebris eius victoria. qua subegit regni queque fastigia. dum pretulit palatio cenobium purpure cilicium. diademati velum. Mundi queque pessum habens. triumphavit virgo celebs.<sup>5</sup> Gaudium ingens celigenis et exemplum fulgens terrigenis. dum ipsa celigenas celibatu decuit. dum et in se terrigenas celibatum docuit. Illis autem et istis dulce spectaculum. dum ipsa proles regia maluit in monasterio versari veligera. quam in palatio sublimari sceptrigera.<sup>6</sup>

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1. The beginning of a new paragraph with a capital I in G. It is at this point that Linc. rejoins the text of A and G. (V. p.57).
  2. Parallel in the margin G has, "Quomodo christi famula sese contulit cenobiali contubernio".
  3. Linc. has "epitalamium".
  4. "purpura. Pro insigni..." are the first words of f.170r. col.i in G.
  5. G has "celebres".
  6. G has "versari veligera. quam in palatio sublimari sceptrigera".

Deposita<sup>1</sup> ergo ciclade regali. de sub atra clamide  
 col.2 sanctimoniali germinat in celum virginale liliū. et fit deo  
 preciosum liliū<sup>2</sup> convallium. Unde sicut liliū candet inter  
 spinas. sic amica dei Milburga<sup>3</sup> fulget inter filias. Cuius  
 vita celebs et cenobialis conversacio. quam ipsa sanctimonialis  
 gessit in supradicto cenobio. quam inclita fuisset praeclaris  
 meritis. et quam clara fulsisset<sup>4</sup> virtutibus et signis. patet  
 antiquioribus literis tam anglice quam latine de ipsa con-  
 scriptis. Unde nequaquam nova iam scribimus. sed que passim  
 scripta per antiquas paginas invenimus<sup>5</sup>. in unum colligentes  
 stilo renovamus. Verumptamen unum ex inventis<sup>5</sup> stilo nostro  
 non recudimus. sed eisdem verbis quibus illud antiquitus  
 dictatum legitur subnectimus. Quod quidem legimus partim fuisse  
 dictatum a beata virgine memorata dum in hac vita degit. et  
 ab ipsa posteris relictum in testamentum commercii quo  
 praetaxati cenobii locum obtinuit.<sup>6</sup> partim autem ab aliis  
 dictatum et ipsi contraditum pro testimonio donacionum  
 commutationum. empcionum quibus ipsa monasterio suo plures  
 adquisivit possessiones sub egregiis testibus et regiis  
 auctoribus. ut lucet in sequentibus. Nullatenus itaque<sup>7</sup> par  
 arbitramur pro tante testatricis reverencia. ut eius testa-  
 mentum alteremus stili nostro tamquam lepore vel elegancia.  
 Presertim cum ipsum beate virginis scriptum<sup>8</sup> ita iocundum

1. In Linc. the passage beginning "Deposita ergo..." and ending "Scrofosa contencione invidorum inquietetur" is omitted. (V. p.62).

2. G has "liliū", A, "ex liliis". 3. G has "Mildburga".

4. A has "fuisset". 5. G has "inventus".

6. G has "optinuit". 7. G has "ita par arbitramur".

8. G has "scriptam".

et mellifluum habeatur. quociens nobis eius domesticis  
 recitatur. Quasi nobis hinc ipsa presens corpore reddatur. et  
 viva voce modulari videatur. Quod igitur sic inchoat. Digna<sup>1</sup>  
 f. 210v. consilia verbaque venerabilia patrum antiquorum suo tempore  
 col 1 regulariter peracta. non nunquam in futur<sup>a</sup> posterorum progenie  
 nichil posse prodesse experimento didiscimus. quia memoria  
 labitur a lingua nisi cyrographorum caucionibus ab exordio  
 antiquitatis sub testimonio plurimorum astipulante<sup>2</sup> karaxatis.  
 illorum quoque cognicio legentibus redintegretur. Quamobrem  
 ego Milburga suplex christi vernacula.<sup>3</sup> monastice conversacionis  
 magistra. prima fronte huius paginule universa terrarum loca.  
 que deo annuente possideo. et quomodo vel quibus auctoribus  
 mihi concessa sunt sacrorum apicum attestacione<sup>4</sup> promulgare  
 contendo. ne mors mea ignoracione agrorum ecclesie infametur.  
 et successura mihi posteritas scrofosa<sup>5</sup> contencione invidorum  
 inquietetur.<sup>6</sup> Primum quidem hunc locum qui nominatur Wininicas<sup>7</sup>  
 pari consensu ambarum parcium ad quos pertinebat eiusdem loci  
 potestas. sub<sup>testimonio</sup> plurimorum comparavi. Nam et venerabili abbati  
 edelheio et religiose abbatisse liobsynde<sup>8</sup> pro commutatione  
 predicti loci terram sexaginta<sup>9</sup> manentes habentem in loco qui

- 
1. The beginning of a new paragraph in G with a large capital D.
  2. G has "a stipulante".
  3. G has "Mildburga suplex christi vernula".
  4. G has "atestacione".
  5. G has "schrophosa".
  6. Parallel in the margin G has, "De terminis et mansionibus quod beata virgo Mildburga confirmante loco de Wynninicas vocato". It is at this point that Linc. rejoins the text of A and G.
  7. This word is spelt "Winninicas" in the Lambeth MS. f. 169v.
  8. This word is mis-spelt in G, "Liosbiye". The word is spelt "Liobsinde" in the Lambeth MS. f. 169v.
  9. G has "quadraginta". Also, in the same line, "homtu" for "homtun".

col. 2 dicitur homtun dedi.<sup>1</sup> Literas quoque mihi<sup>2</sup> idem abbas prefatus pro confirmatione huius commercii fecit<sup>3</sup> ascribi. que ita sese habent. In nomine domini mei iesu christi ego edelheg abbas monasterii cuius vocabulum est icheanog<sup>4</sup> terram nonaginta<sup>5</sup> septem manencium in loco qui dicitur Wininicas.<sup>6</sup> et in alio loco iuxta amnem munube<sup>7</sup> terram duodecim manentes habentem.<sup>8</sup> et in alio loco qui nominatur magana terram quinque tribut-  
 ariorum et in regione que appellatur lýdas<sup>9</sup> terram triginta manencium. cum consensu tocuis familie reverende memorie botulfi<sup>10</sup> abbatis. sanctimoniali virgini Milburge<sup>11</sup> in propriam perpetualiter per dono<sup>12</sup> potestatem. ut secundum regularis vite normam cuicumque voluerit vivens sive<sup>13</sup> moriens integram habeat facultatem condonare.<sup>14</sup> Ita tamen ut sub iurisdicionibus ecclesie venerabilis botulfi<sup>15</sup> abbatis idem locus non coacte sed spontanee secundum deum immobiliter perduret. quia eiusdem ecclesie pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur merWaldus.

- 
1. In both the Lincoln and Lambeth MSS. "dedi" has been altered to "dedit"; similarly, two lines previously, "comparavi" has been changed to "comparavit".
  2. In the same two MSS. "mihi" has been changed to "sibi".
  3. This word is omitted in G.
  4. G has "ichenei". Linc. has "ichennog" with the word "ichenei" overwritten; Lambeth has "icheni".
  5. G has attempted to convert this figure into numerals and has rendered it as "LXXXta septem".
  6. V. p.62, footnote 7.
  7. G has "Miaremue". Linc. has "amnem m<sup>u</sup>nube" with "munemue" overwritten. Lambeth has "munemue".
  8. G has "habentem manentes".
  9. G has "Lýa". Linc. has "lydas".
  10. Spelt "botulphi" in G. This is the beginning of col.1, f.170v.
  11. G has "Mildburge virgini".
  12. G has "perdonam".
  13. G has "vel".
  14. In Linc. the following passage beginning "Ita tamen..." and ending "in adventu domini amen". is omitted. V. p.66.
  15. V. footnote 10.

Pro confirmatione autem huius donacionis subscripserunt edelheg abbas. theodorus archiepiscopus. edelred rex. seaxulf<sup>1</sup> episcopus. edelricus abbas. ~~scot~~merchelm rex.<sup>2</sup> et milfrid frater eius. Et ut uno<sup>3</sup> concludam sermone. terra huius monasterii centum quadraginta quatuor continet manentes. Post hanc vero donacionis cartulam quam supra exposuimus. non nullas terrarum possessiones in diversis locis per diversas donationes fratrum meorum merchelmi regis et milfridi<sup>4</sup> viva voce me adquisisse profiteor. non tamen sine nutu et subscriptione excellentissimi regis edelredi patrum mei. Harum itaque donacionum sceda. continet hunc modum. Deo auctore ego merchelm<sup>5</sup> et ego milfrid quandam partem terre iuris nostri quam pius dominus nobis largitus est. hoc est terram sexaginta<sup>6</sup> trium manencium in diversis locis tibi germane ac sorori Milburge<sup>7</sup> cum consensu excellentissimi regis edelredi perdonamus in propriam potestatem. habendi donandi. commutandique prout tibi placuerit. Quarum quidem terrarum pars quedam circa montem qui dicitur clie.<sup>8</sup> continetur. Quedam vero iuxta amnem qui corf dicitur. Quedam autem in loco qui kenbecleag nuncupatur.<sup>9</sup> Quedam etiam.<sup>1-0</sup> in loco qui cheilmers nominatur.

f. 211r  
col. 4

- 
1. Spelt "seaxulf" in G.
  2. G has "schotmerchem rex et milfrid frater eius"; A, "scotinerchelim rex". V. p. below.
  3. A omits "ut". 4. G has "Mildfridi".
  5. G has "Merchel". and A, "merchelin".
  6. G has converted this figure into numerals: "LXta".
  7. G has "Mildburge".
  8. G has "Clye continetur. Quendam..."
  9. The clause "Quedam autem... nuncupatur" is omitted in G.
  10. G has "autem".

Ego merchelm. ego edelred. ego milfrid<sup>1</sup> subscripsimus. Hiis itaque legitime peractis. rex quoque principatus honore satis inclitus cheolred terram mihi dedit quatuor<sup>2</sup> manencium. que peandanWrÿe<sup>3</sup> appellatur. Cuius donacionis hec caucio est. Regnante<sup>4</sup> ac gubernante nos domino nostro iesu christo ego cheolred<sup>5</sup> rex sub cirographorum firmitate terram quatuor manencium tibi Milburge<sup>6</sup> abbatisse in propriam perpetualiter per dono potestatem. ut liberam deinceps habeas facultatem donandi commutandique. prout tibi utile<sup>7</sup> videtur. Et subscriperunt cheolred<sup>8</sup> rex. cedda<sup>9</sup> episcopus. elricus abbas. et dux edbrectus. Post autem non nulla temporis intervalla sanctimonialis femina deique famula feleburga dedit mihi terram octo manencium. simulque et literas quas pro testimonio donacionis accepit. hunc tenorem habentes. mihi nullo cogente optulit.<sup>10</sup> Keonred<sup>11</sup> rex pro redempcione anime sue terram octo manencium in lingen<sup>12</sup> famule dei feleburge in propriam perdonavit potestatem. hiis testibus praesentibus atque consentientibus. turhctello episcopo. Wihctsi<sup>13</sup> et eadberto. Agrum<sup>14</sup> quoque emi a regis comite. qui sigWardus<sup>15</sup> cognominatur. Nam ei

- 
1. G has "Mildfridi".
  2. G has converted this figure into numerals, iijj (or over-written).
  3. G has "Pende Wrÿe".
  4. "Reg(nante ac..." is the beginning of col.2 f.170v. in G.
  5. G has "Cholred".
  6. G has "Mildburge".
  7. G has "vale" for "utile". 8. V. note 5.
  9. G has "Ceadda" and "Ebbrechtus".
  10. G has "obtulit".
  11. G has mistakenly put "Cheolred" for Keonred" here.
  12. G has "lÿÿa". A has "liya" written above the word in the original hand.
  13. G has "Thurhctello episcopo Wicti et Edberto".
  14. G has "Grum".
  15. G has "SigWaldus".

pecuniam dedi copiosam. et ipse<sup>1</sup> dedit mihi terram trium  
 col 2 manencium cum sceda agri qui magdalee<sup>2</sup> nuncupatur. Huius  
 empcionis testes fuer<sup>u</sup>nt et subscripserunt edelbaldus<sup>3</sup> rex.  
 Walhstot episcopus.<sup>4</sup> Wilfridus episcopus. ova abbas. et  
 kinricus dux. Principum itaque qui has donaciones fecerunt.  
 et testium qui hiis donacionibus consensum dederunt. una  
 omnium sententia hec est per omnes agrorum scedas.<sup>5</sup> Si quis  
 regum seu<sup>6</sup> episcoporum vel cuiuscumque gradus persona<sup>7</sup> contra  
 has donaciones venire temptaverit. et hoc munus deo dedicatum  
 in toto vel in parte infringere praesumpserit. sit anathema  
 in adventu domini amen. Taliter<sup>8</sup> ergo sicut praemissis ostend-  
 itur sanctimonialis virgo Milburga<sup>9</sup> locum ipsum Wininicas<sup>10</sup>  
 sepe dictum adepta. iamque tam digna matris auctoritate. quam  
 clara sanctitatis dignitate. virginum ibi monasterio compet-  
 enter edificato. votis omnium electa praeficitur regum sent-  
 enciis et assertionibus confirmatur. praesulum officiiis et  
 benedictionibus consecratur. Primas praesulum ipsam conse-  
 crancium.<sup>11</sup> sacer erat theodorus. dorvernensis episcopus.<sup>12</sup>  
 Quisque vero regum. genus erat virgineum. Nullus enim aut fere

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1. This word is omitted in G.      2. G has "Madaleyā".  
 3. G has "Edbaldus".              4. G has "Wa hstot".  
 5. G has "unica omnium". A has "una omnium sententia hec est.  
 Per omnes agrorum scedas...".  
 6. G has "vel".                      7. This word is omitted in G.  
 8. At this point Linc. rejoins the main text.  
 9. G has "Mildburga".  
 10. Lambeth has "Winninicas". f.169v.  
 11. "conse(crancium. sacer erat..." is the beginning of col.1,  
 f.171r. in G. At the bottom of the page is added, "Quomodo  
 sancta mildburga suscepit velumena sancto theodoro".  
 12. G has "Dorobornensis archiepiscopus".

nullus in anglia principabatur tunc tempestatis. qui non esset  
 eius aliquod vinculum consanguinitatis. Cuius itaque pater et  
 patruus MerWaldus et Wlferus<sup>1</sup> merciorum incliti reges. domus  
 dei decorem et gloriam oppido diligentes adeo dei domum in  
 cuius curam ipsa iam ordinata fuit abbatissa. largis praediorum  
 possessionibus ampliabant. variis rerum opulenciis<sup>2</sup> adornabant.  
 et quod hiis omnibus erat gloriosius. multis et preciosis  
 sanctorum reliquiis decorabant. ut ad instar supercelestis<sup>3</sup>  
 domus nichil ibi videretur deesse deum timentibus. deoque  
 fideliter servientibus. Et ut esset plenius instar divine domus  
 tam insignis virginea domus. sicut ab utroque praedicto rege  
 regia ditatur facultate. sic et regia sublimatur libertate.  
 Nulli terrene potestati coacte subdebatur. nulla penitus ab  
 ipsa servitus cuiquam nisi sponte debebatur. Hec autem omnia  
 domum dei decorancia sanctitudo virginis excellebat. excell-  
 entius hiis eam sanctitudine sua decorabat. Sicut igitur<sup>4</sup> matris  
 locum in ipsa digne susceperat. sic quoque matris officium  
 strenue peragebat. Deo namque nobilem<sup>5</sup> sanctimonialium con-  
 gregationem vitalibus monitis ut vite filia parturiebat.  
 moralibus doctrinis ut mater morigera christo conformabat.  
 celestibus<sup>6</sup> exemplis ut virgo celigena chatezarabat.<sup>7</sup> iugibus  
 cathecismis<sup>8</sup> celo coaptabat. Sic in dies crescebat sacra

1. Spelt "Walferus" in Lambeth, f.169v.

2. At this point the Lambeth text fails. G has "oppulenciis".

3. G omits "super".

4. The beginning of a new paragraph in G with a large capital S.

5. G omits "nobilem".

6. G has "celestis".

7. "chatezizabat" in G.

8. G has "catecisimis".



milicia virginalis familie. hinc magis in deum fervebat amor  
 et sanctimonia virginis egregie. Letabatur pia mater electa.  
 de plebe filiarum coelecta. deo dicata conversione. christo  
 desponsata professione. Iocundabantur ad invicem. congrat-  
 ulabantur invicem pie matris affectio et familie filialis  
 dilectio. Unde fiebat ipsa domus ut ita loquar. velut elisia<sup>1</sup>  
 domus. immo quasi paradisus et celestis thalamus. dum in ipsa  
 tam libera quam prospera. sic floreret<sup>2</sup> sanctitatis et  
 virtutis<sup>3</sup> studium. ut supernam celi regiam condeceret sanctitudo  
 cohabitancium. Cohabitancium filiarum celebs conversacio.  
 sancte matris erat felix et iocunda gloriacio. Quibus autem  
 col. 2 nequando visu vilesceret sanctimonialis habitus. aut a  
 castitate christi deflueret virginalis animus. sancta mater  
 de lampade sanctitatis indesinenter prebebat imitande lumen  
 humilitatis. Quarum quidem eo verior ipsa mater et magistra.  
 quo humilior erat omnium procuratrix et ministra. Contendebat  
 enim domini imitatione cunctis<sup>4</sup> esse minor humilibus obsequiis.  
 ut domini pia promissione cunctis<sup>4</sup> esset maior sublimibus<sup>5</sup>  
 meritis. Clarior itaque cunctis<sup>4</sup> ipsa titulo native nobilitatis.  
 celsior et loco materne dignitatis. praecelebat omnes virtute  
 sanctitatis. eque doctrix ut imitatrix dominice humilitatis.  
 Eo maior humilitas. quo clarior eius nobilitas. Sed quo maior  
 erat pro deo regie prolis humilitas. eo dignior eminebat apud

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1. G has "elisa".

2. The first word of col.2, f.171r. in Gotha.

3. G puts "et virtutis" after "studium".

4. G and Linc. have "cunctis".

5. G has "sullimibus".

deum eiusdem sublimitas. Beata imitacio humilitatis.<sup>1</sup> cuius  
 tanta est utilitas. ut nobis eam in se<sup>2</sup> commendaret omnica-  
 trix divinitas. Quam imitando clarissima virgo Milburga.  
 celestis sponsi contubernium optinere<sup>3</sup> meruit. cui de suo  
 humili pectore virgineoque corpore iocundum cubiculum exhibere<sup>4</sup>  
 studuit. Ab ipso namque didicerat.<sup>5</sup> quod humili menti casteque  
 viventi cohabitare ipsum delectat. super humilem inquit.  
 spiritus meus requiescet.<sup>6</sup> Et apostolus ut celestis archi-  
 triclinus. non nisi virginem castam exhibet<sup>4</sup> christo sponsam.  
 Quid plura ? Virgo decens humili castitate. celebs casta  
 virginitate. sponso virginum christo complacuit.<sup>7</sup> cui  
 consecrata omni morum probitate. omnique probata<sup>8</sup> sanctitate.  
 studiis celestibus incubuit.<sup>9</sup> In quantum autem theorie culmen  
 ipsa dehinc erigeretur. et quanta per<sup>10</sup> theoriam veri salomonis  
 f.212r. sapiencia frueretur. utile ducimus vobis<sup>11</sup> effari propter  
 col.1 utilitatem<sup>12</sup> imitandi. Vos vero delectet praebere auditum. qui  
 et theoriam et sapienciam desideratis<sup>13</sup> habere. Efficitur  
 ergo celesti theoria domini familiaris altera maria virgo  
 milburga. abstinens cum ipsa turbate sororis officio.  
 condelectata<sup>14</sup> beate quietisque contemplacionis ocio. Domini

1. G has "humilitatis imitacio".

2. G omits "in se " but inserts it after "commendaret".

3. Linc. has "obtinere".

4. G and Linc. have "exhibere"... "exhibet".

5. A has "didiscerat". 6. G has "requiescit".

7. G has "copulavit". 8. G has "beata" for "probata".

9. The following passage, from "in quantum..." to "in se perpetuavit", is omitted in Linc. (V.p.73) The "I" of "In quantum..." is a large capital initial in G.

10. G has "pro" for "per" and "salamonis".

11. G has "vobisque". 12. G has "humilitatem".

13. This is the first word of col.1, f.171v. in G.

14. G has "condelecta".

electa. electrix optime partis. que non auferetur eligenti nec minuitur fruenti. O tam eligenda porcio. quam iocunda eius fruicio. Tam beata eius electio. quam eterna eius possessio. Nichil enim omnium eligi dignum habetur. si non eligens electio iocundetur. iocunditas beatificetur. beatus eternetur.

Eternitas beatitudini. beatitudo iocunditati subtrahatur. in misero exitus sola queque terminatur. Unius autem optime partis electio. que est celestis sapiencie dilectio. eligentem se letificat. diligentem beatificat. perfruentem eternat. Nam ut scriptum est sapiencie dilectio ducit in regnum divinitatis. que<sup>1</sup> pandit cognicionem eterne veritatis. Qua fruentibus manet<sup>2</sup> status beatitudine perfectus. hinc cedit beatis vite interminabilis tota simul et perfecta possessio. Ecce vera iocunditas. iocunda beatitas. beata eternitas. Ut igitur earum quamque veram et perfectam attingeret. et in domini sui gaudio fruens sanctorum consorcio possideret. illud sapientis qui minoratur actu ipse percipiet sapienciam. exercens egregia virgo Milburga. percepit sapienciam. Perceptam praeosuit regnis et sedibus. nichilque divicias duxit in comparacione illius. Quam sicut omnium bonorum matrem elegit. sic eam super salutem et pulcritudinem dilexit. Noverat enim edocta divina lectione simul et sancti spiritus unctione. neminem expertem sapiencie. fore participem divine misericordie. Non

col. 2

1. G has "et".

2. A has the meaningless "manibus".

est inquit vox prophetalis populus sapiens. propterea non miserebitur eius qui fecit eum. nec parcet ei qui formavit eum. Et fatue virgines in evangelio. repelluntur a celesti thalamo. Ne igitur mariam a domino<sup>1</sup> non mereretur et cum virginibus fatuis repulsas a celestibus nupciis pateretur. prout iam dixi. docta virgo Milburga sapienciam amavit. et exquisivit a iuventute sua. Non huius mundi sapienciam<sup>2</sup>. sed que docet eius abstinenciam. Quam qui sectatur. sumet ut salomon<sup>3</sup> testatur. scienciam. Scienciam videlicet caute. prudenterque versari. in medio huius nequam seculi. Quid inquam nequius eo cuius sapiencia iuxta patrum sensus non est desursum. sed terrena. stulta. animalis. diabolica ? Non hanc elegit. non hanc dilexit prudentissima christi sponsa celica milburga.<sup>4</sup> sed quam divinus sensus ita luculenter describit. Que autem inquit<sup>5</sup> desursum est sapiencia. primum quidem est pudica. deinde pacifica. modesta suadibilis. bonis consenciens. plena misericordia. et fructibus bonis. Hec erat virgini celesti vite speculum. hac vitabat<sup>6</sup> omne quod fedat praesens seculum. et eius dilectoris animum. quicquid diligitur propter deum et proximum. Hac in celis virgo cum apostolo conversabatur. hac pudidicie sue decus deo tuebatur. hac cum omnibus pacem habebat. hac omnibus pacem exhibebat. Hac parcabat totum suum hominem. mentis regno subiugans omnem libidinem. ut in cordis

f. 212 v.  
col. 1

1. "a domino" is omitted in G.

2. "sapienti(am...)" is the beginning of col.2, f.171v. in G.

3. G has "salamon".

4. G has "Mildburga".

5. G has "inquit".

6. A has "vitebat".

et carnis concordia diceret cum psalmista. cor meum et caro  
mea exultaverunt in deum vivum. Hac sanctorum doctrinis moribus  
sacris respondebat. celestibus disciplinis actibus piis  
consenciebat. Hinc plene misericors. primum sui miserebatur  
placens deo. demum pro aliis mori parabatur.<sup>1</sup> plena deo. Talis  
autem exhibicio<sup>2</sup> misericordie. virtus est et vera laus  
iusticie. Non est enim plena iusticia. nisi sic exhibita miser-  
icordia. Sic ergo plene misericors et vere iusta Milburga.<sup>3</sup>  
unicuique quod suum erat misericorditer et iuste reddebat.  
Deo soli quem super omnia diligebat. fidelis et pia vivebat.  
fidelis enim nichil ob<sup>4</sup> inanis<sup>5</sup> glorie cupiditatem. nichil  
agebat ob humane laudis vanitatem. Docebatur divinitus. nec  
pie deum diligere nec in deum fideliter credi. si queratur altera  
quam que ex<sup>6</sup> deo est gloria. studebat omnium saluti pia cum  
pio agno celesti. qui vult omnes salvos fieri. Sic<sup>7</sup> quoque  
virgo celebs dum adhuc in carne fragili morabatur.<sup>8</sup> celestem  
agnum quocumque pergit studio celesti comitabatur. Ad omnes  
quos eligit sibi celestis agnus pia voluntate pergit<sup>9</sup>. dum  
eorum salutem et vult et approbat et afficit. A reprobis autem  
discedit quos tamen salvos<sup>10</sup> fieri approbat. sed nequaquam  
salvos facit. dum eos pro meritis indurari permittit. quod  
nec approbat nec afficit. Virgo itaque dei electa deoque

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1. G inverts the order here, and has "pro aliis parabatur mori  
plena ...".

2. G has "exhibicio"; the two lines on, "exhibita".

3. G has "mildburga".

4. G has "ab".

5. A and G have "manis".

6. G has "a deo".

7. This is the first word of col.1, f.172r. of G.

8. G has "morebatur".

9. G has "pergitur".

10. G has "fieri salvos".

dilecta. currens electorum in numero sancte pietatis studio.  
 col 2 nichil affectans nichil approbans. nichil accitans nisi quod  
 deo placebat. dei agnum sequebatur quocumque beneplacito suo  
 meat. Fructibus ergo referta bonis lampas huius electe  
 virginis tota redolebat oleo pietatis que nunquam deprimitur.  
 tota rutilabat lumine veritatis que nunquam extinguitur. quibus  
 idonea sponso venienti christo preparatur.<sup>1</sup> et ad nupcias  
 ingredi cum christo promerebatur. Non enim patet nisi fulgide  
 lampadi. felix ingressus celestis thalami. fulgida lampas vita  
 est laudabilis inter homines. oleum et lumen lampadis vera  
 pietas et viva fides. hiis divinitus praeornata praeclarius  
 virgo Milburga.<sup>2</sup> gustavit et vidit quam bona est negociacio  
 celestis sapiencie. que negociatori suo<sup>3</sup> locum optinet  
 interminabilis glorie. Verum que<sup>4</sup> scriptum noverat virgo  
 sapientissima quod in terra suaviter viventium non invenitur  
 sapiencia. lumbos suos ut fortis virago succingens. nulla  
 sibi parcebat terrene voluptatis indulgencia. Nichil volup-  
 tuosius in esu. nichil preciosius in vestitu querebat. tantum<sup>5</sup>  
 utroque modico abiecto. famem. frigus. arcebat. Neve quidam  
 ociosa sibi foret incorruptio virginalis aut minus officiosa  
 exercitatio<sup>6</sup> corporalis ad omne opus pietatis sine qua nulla  
 virtus utilis sese dilatavit. unde lucencium eius operum  
 splendorem. sol eternitatis in se perpetuavit. Igitur<sup>7</sup> sicut

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1. G has "ad nupcias preparatur".

2. G has "Milburga".

3. G has "sue."

4. G has "quia".

5. A has "tam".

6. A has "extertacio", G, "exercitatio".

7. At this point Linc. rejoins the texts of A and G. (V.p.69)  
 In G, the "I" of "Igitur" is a large capital at the  
 beginning of a new paragraph.

f. 213r  
col. 1  
exercebat<sup>1</sup> vitam angelicam deo amabilis Milburga<sup>2</sup> virginitate  
castissima. sic praefererat dignitatem celicam mundo  
spectabilis<sup>3</sup> sanctitate clarissima. Cuius autem quanta fuissent  
apud deum merita celestia. prodidere celitus<sup>4</sup> opera virtutum  
et signorum indicia.

Dum enim extra monasterium ut refert auctoritas veterum.  
aliquando demoraretur<sup>5</sup> in quadam eius villa que vulgo stochas<sup>6</sup>  
dicitur. quidam regis filius eam voluit per violenciam capere.  
et in matrimonium sibi copulare. Dum itaque multa manu militum  
collecta moliretur sibi predam facere de domini electa.  
dominus electe sue fecit cognita tanti facinoris molimina.  
Unde praemunita sanctimonialis hera clientelam suam premonet<sup>7</sup>  
ut secum imminens periculum effugiat. urget ut celerrimam ad  
monasterium Winin<sup>i</sup>cas fugam arripiat. Fuga statim preparatur.  
urgetur acceleratur. Virgo quidem sicut periculum amplius  
timuit. sic periculi fugam ocius preripuit. tam praecavens<sup>8</sup>  
nivei pudoris maculam. quam perhorrens thori maritalis copulam.  
Fugit ergo virum. ut columba nisum. columbe sibi pennas daviti-  
co desiderio desiderans. quibus ipsa volet ut requiescat. sic  
elonet ut solitaria maneat. Solitaria<sup>9</sup> nulli viro cognita.  
solitaria deo soli dedita. Interea militibus et armis munitus<sup>10</sup>

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1. A has "excertebat".                      2. G has "Mildburga".  
3. "spectabilis" is the last word of column 1. of f.172r. in G.  
At the bottom of the column, in the margin, is added, "Quomo-  
do quidam regis filius voluit vi optinere sanctam Mild-  
burgam sed illa aquam pertransiens parvam et mox permaxima  
cressit ita quod regis filius illam apprehendere nequivit".  
4. G has "celicum".                      5. G has "domaretur".  
6. G has "stokas".                      7. G has "premonuit".  
8. Linc. has "praecariens".              9. G has "sollitaria".  
10. A has "munitis".

vir temerarius locum adierat. ubi ratus est offendere quam sibi rapere concupierat. sed sicut locus invenitur vacuus virginis praesentia. ita nequam proci iuste fit delusus virginis absentia. Qui delusus adhuc deludendus. immo celesti miraculo deterrendus. agnam<sup>1</sup> christi fugientem lupo rabidior insequitur. sed insequenti ne contactu spurio dedicatam deo attingeret. divinitus resistitur. Erat quidam amnis obvius coram incolis nominatus. vado meabilis. alveo mediocris.

Virgo fugiens amnem transivit. virginem fugans transire nequivit. Virgine siquidem prospere transposita. mox in tantum creverat amnis<sup>2</sup> tempestate subita. ut<sup>3</sup> et alveum suum excederet. et inmeabilis fieret. Quid ad hec sacre virginis appetitor sacrilegus insecutor nequissimus? Hinc attonitus et exterritus.<sup>4</sup> passus est condignas sue temeritatis repulsas. Sicut ei fluminis meatus. sic denegatur et virginis contactus. Unde confusus fugienti terga praebebat. et ocius quam fugaverat fugientem fugiebat. Virgo sacrata deo sanctitate mirifica. magis exinde mirificatur. Dum gloriosa meritis mundo quoque gloriosa miraculis notificatur.

Apud<sup>5</sup> predictum locum celebre miraculum christi virginem Milburgam<sup>6</sup> preconatur. quod ibidem divinitus per ipsam dum

1. G has "agnum".

2. G has "animis".

3. This is the first word of column 1, f.172v. in G.

4. G has "exteritus".

5. In A and G the "A" of "Apud" is a large capital beginning a new paragraph. Parallel with this line and the next, in G, is written in the margin, "Quomodo sancta Mildburga fugavit aucas indomitas".

6. G has "mildburga".



viveret sic actum enarratur. Hiemps<sup>1</sup> erat. et pia procuratrix virgo locum reviserat. Hiemps secum annuas reduxerat hospites. aucas indomitas. segetum depopulatrices. Tale vulgus avium virginis agros occupat. seminatos depascit. passimque<sup>2</sup> depopulat. Dampnum<sup>3</sup> domine nunciatur. de dampno domina non turbatur. sed ut erat pietatis plena dampnum miseratur. Potens enim meritis et virtutibus. miseris avibus illis<sup>4</sup> imperat. ut in agris eius earum nulla remaneat. Et ut inde sic recedant interminatur. quatinus ultra nunquam ab ipsis vel<sup>5</sup> a suis posteris. dampnum agris inferatur. Quid plura? Virginis imperio volucres urgentur ut abeant.<sup>6</sup> lege cohercentur. ut satis eius ultra non noceant. Res miranda. que fuerant indomite fiunt<sup>7</sup> ad praeceptum ut domestice. iussis obediunt. agris valefaciunt. Sicque deinceps<sup>8</sup> domine iussa custodiunt. ut quociens annue bruma reducente veniunt. miraculum renouent. et plus mirandum exhibeant<sup>9</sup> dum quasi iussionis memores iussionem transgredi metuentes agros eius evitent. et a satis abstineant. Aut enim famelice<sup>10</sup> sic ad pascua secus eos descendunt. ut eorum limites non excedant. aut volatu fatigate quasi respirando sic perparum eis insidunt. ut inpaste dicto citius discedant. O<sup>11</sup> quam potens virginis meritum. quo tam

f. 213 v.  
col. 1

- 
1. Spelt "Hiems" in G and Linc. here and below. In the margin in Linc. is written the word "anserres".
  2. G has "pastimque".
  3. Linc. has "damnum" here and below.
  4. G. and Linc. have "illis avibus imperat".
  5. G has "ulla".
  6. G has "habeant".
  7. G has "fiant".
  8. G omits "deinceps".
  9. G and Linc. have "exhibeant".
  10. G has "familiar".
  11. This is the first word of column 2, f.172v. in G. The "O" is a large capital letter in A.

insigne perpetratur miraculum. Quod quidem eo sublimius<sup>1</sup> et insignius habetur. quo semel exhibitum sepius exhibetur. Quod usque hodie sicut annuatim frequentatur. sic annuali frequentia sui sese testatur. Quod hodiernus videt et admiratur. viso<sup>2</sup> gaudet et gloriatur. Est itaque sicut actu mirabile. sic et visu probabile.

Interdum<sup>3</sup> virgo coangelica Milburga<sup>4</sup> sanctimonialis solito vigilancius in divinis pernoctat. pernox sese multo delectabilius in supernis dilatat. Nunc ut christi columba profundis gemitibus. nunc ut celi philomena. deo iocundis affectibus. Gemit. affectat. horret. desiderat. exilium. patriam. mundum. deum. Sic pernoctans et multa meditans. corpore quod corrumpitur<sup>5</sup> aggravatur. terrena habitacione fatigatur. fatigata tandem prope noctis<sup>6</sup> terminum soporatur. Oritur aurora. nox terminatur. sole mundus illuminatur.<sup>7</sup> Sol illustrat virginis cubiculum. hactenus<sup>8</sup> oratorium magis quam col.2 dormitorium. Set non puduit hac vice virginem longioris pause cubiculi. cum hinc sibi divinitus<sup>9</sup> effulserit res egregia praeclivis miraculi. Rem loquar egregiam. Virgo soporans<sup>10</sup> solis radio percellitur. perculsa de sompnis<sup>11</sup>

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1. G has "sullimius".                      2. G has "visio".  
 3. This is the beginning of a new paragraph in G, A, and Linc. The "I" is a large capital letter. In G, parallel in the margin is written, "Quomodo velamen sancte Mildburge pendebat super radium solis".  
 4. G has "Mildburga".                      5. G has "corumpitur".  
 6. The scribe has made a mistake in G: at the end of one line is "noc", and at the beginning of the next "noctis".  
 7. G inverts the order here and has "sole illuminatur mundus".  
 8. G has "actenus".                          9. G omits "divinitus".  
 10. G has "soporatur".                      11. Linc. has "somnis".

expergiscitur. expergefata redditur attonita. quod solet accidere soporatis,<sup>1</sup> insolenter excitatis. Que dum usu solito surgere maturat. seque processuram maturius<sup>2</sup> preparat. ut erat attonita sic quasi nescia de capite suo sacrum velamen proiecit. quod ad terram ne caderet. solis radius nutu divino suscepit. et in aere pendulum coram ipsa sustinuit. tanquam ridelis paranimphus. donec in se reverteretur communis<sup>3</sup> animi sensu. Cuius itaque tam insigni miraculo sol videtur obsequi et venerari. nonne videtur et tam mirabili obsequio quasi sic eam alloqui et consolari ? Domina mi lucis filia veri solis sponsa clarissima. non tibi succenseas. nec ullatenus doleas. quod sic insolenter<sup>4</sup> excitaris. icta radio mei iubaris. Redi ad te et adverte superne visitacionis indicium. quod tibi clarescit in me per angelicum obsequium. Non tibi demonstratur angelus. et tibi per me famulatur extrinsecus. Non est enim officium sensu carentis. sed obsequium intelligentis quod tibi defero<sup>5</sup>. quod vexillum tue sanctitatis signum angelice puritatis. terram attingere non tolero<sup>6</sup>. Agnosce signiferum. mirare obsequium. eo quidem plus mirandum. quo minus usitatum. Rarissime sanctorum cuiquam tale aliquod per me divinitus est exhibitum. Per miraculum itaque rarissimum. vite tue meritum patet esse deo preciosissimum. Diligenter intuere miraculum. et gratanter amplectere sponsi tui beneficium. Tandem in se

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1. G has "soporati".

2. G has "maturus".

3. G has "communi".

4. This is the first word of col.1, f.173r. in G.

5. G has "differo".

6. G has "tollero".

f. 214r  
col 1

reversa dei virgo mirifica. celeste miraculum cognovit.  
celitus se visitatam intellexit. deo gratias inde libavit.  
benedixit et magnificavit.

Deinde<sup>1</sup> vero magis ac magis avida divine cognitionis  
secundum illud legis latoris qui adheret domini pedibus.  
accipiet de doctrina eius. coherens evangelicis<sup>2</sup> christi  
vestigiiis. delectabatur<sup>3</sup> in eius verbis sicut in omnibus  
diviciis. Unde iocunda<sup>4</sup> deo celestis lucinia die noctuque<sup>5</sup>  
meditabatur divine legis eloquia. Iugi melo modulans divinarum  
scripturarum eulogia.<sup>6</sup> sorores suas christi consponsas invit-  
abat ad celestium nupciarum<sup>7</sup> ephitalamia. Prudens et frequens  
omni sancta vigilia. semper ad deum cum psalmista de luce  
vigilabat. et concina choris celestibus ut vera christi  
timpanistria. prae aliis divinis concentibus<sup>8</sup> psalmodie grata  
deo carmina frequentabat. Quibus enim devote frequentatis.  
adquiritur penitentiae spiritus et compunctionis. ut asserit<sup>1</sup>  
nostre gentis apostolus. vir theologus<sup>9</sup> papa gregorius. cuius  
assertioni non incredula pia virgo Milburga.<sup>10</sup> frequencius  
et devocius exercebat.<sup>11</sup> quod a tanto patre sit commendatum  
sciebat. Deo itaque devotissima sacre<sup>12</sup> virginis anima.

- 
1. The beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital "D" in A & G. The following passage, from "Deinde vero..." to "celebs emulabatur" is omitted in Linc. V. p. 80.
  2. G has "evangelici".                      3. G has "dilectabatur".
  4. Parallel in the margin in G is the word "Philomena".
  5. G has "die et nocte".
  6. G has "elegia". Parallel in the margin is written the word "miseria".
  7. "ad celestium nupciarum" is omitted in G.
  8. G has "consentibus".                      9. G has "theologus vir".
  10. G has "Mildburga".                      11. A has "excertebat".
  12. This is the first word of col. 2, f. 173r. in G.

psalmiste sensus et affectus in se trahebat. tractos in se suos proprios efficiebat. Unde cum ipso laborabat gemitu continuo. praevidens furorem venturi iudicis. sese configebat<sup>1</sup> timore divino. timens et sibi praecavens a tremendis eius iudiciis. Unde cum psalmiste<sup>2</sup> anima nolebat virginis anima consolari. dum ipsa manens in corpore mortis habebat a domino<sup>3</sup> peregrinari. Sic cum ipso vescebatur pane doloris. dum ei differebatur fruicio divine visionis. Cum ipso quoque vulnerata spiculis superni amoris rigabatur cotidie lacrimis intime compunctionis. sitiens ad deum fontem vivum ut cervus ad fontes aquarum.<sup>4</sup> Quis anime virginis virginalem sponsum ardentis omnes intimos affectus enucleet<sup>5</sup> ? Quis<sup>6</sup> eius angelice conversacionis omnes inclitos actus enumeret ? Quod enim virginem sacram et celestem sponsam decebat. quicquid in sacris litteris agendum discebat. omnimodis pro viribus exequi<sup>6</sup> satagebat. Sic autem intus flagrans piis affectibus extra choruscans bonis actibus. sanctos patres meritis exhibebat. celi cives moribus exprimebat. Quo fit ut eorum comes et compar efficeretur. Quorum mores et actus virgo celebs emulabatur.

Quedam<sup>7</sup> ut fertur mulier vidua beate<sup>8</sup> virginis milburge<sup>9</sup>

- 
1. G has "confugiebat".                      2. G has "psalmista".  
 3. G has "a domina".  
 4. G has "ad fontes ut cervus aquarum..."  
 5. G has "enuclet".                              6. G has "exegi".  
 7. A large capital "Q" in G and A, and the beginning of a new paragraph in G. At this point Linc. rejoins the text of A and G.  
 8. Parallel in the margin in G is written: "Quomodo deus resuscitavit filium cuiusdam vidue precibus sante Mildburge".  
 9. G has "Mildburge", Linc., "mýlburge".

f. 214 v. col 1 fuerat convicanea. Cui cum esset affectus unius filii superstitis viduitatis solacium et dulce vinculum vite praesentis. contigit ut idem vita defunctus. fieret matri miserabile vulnus. Mater itaque sola superstes.<sup>1</sup> orbitatis sue doloris impaciens. nesciebat quo se verteret. dum undique sibi dolor occurreret. Dolor erat unicum videre mortuum. dum nollet ab ipso viva separari. Dolor erat et ipsum tradere sepulchro.<sup>2</sup> cui mallet mortua confunerari. Quis ad funus unice prolis matrem viduam flere prohiberet? Orba simul et vidua. dolores sous lacrimis et gemitibus reciprocatur.<sup>3</sup> multisque modis flebilibus sese torquet et lacerat. Sic autem vexata doloribus plena singultibus et suspiriis. tandem ut in spem contra spem crederet et respiraret. spe fidelis habrahe<sup>4</sup> divinitus aspiratur et refocillatur. Pignus itaque defunctum mater orbata sibi collegit. et onusta funere memoratam dei<sup>5</sup> virginem crebris iam virtutibus insignem adivit. Cuius oratorium vix irrumpens. ipsamque solam deo vacantem offendens.<sup>6</sup> exponit ad eius pedes miserum onus funeris. lugens et lamentans. et sic lamentando clamitans. Me miseram. me infelicem. mariti viduatam solacio. geniture destitutam gaudio. Quid me miserius? Quid infelicius? Eheu<sup>7</sup> quam multiplici distrahor infortunio. Tam infortunata mulieri. tam desolate parenti miserere felix amica dei. que iam vite meritis prodiga virtutum efficeris. Restituatur oro.

1. G has "superstites".

2. A has "sepultum".

3. This is the first word of column 1, f.173v. in G.

4. Linc. has "abrahe".

5. G has "de".

6. Linc. has "offendans".

7. G and Linc. have "heu".

restituatur vite precibus tuis mortua proles. ne sit matri mors miserabilis vita superstes. Hec ad virginem mater anxia. Quid ad hec virgo p<sup>r</sup>ouissima ? Sicut erat omnibus afflictis compacientissima consolatrix. condolet et collacrimatur.

Set<sup>1</sup> quia tale aliquid hactenus nunquam fuit experta. stupet et abnegat quod flagitatur. Non est inquit ad<sup>2</sup> matrem sane mentis. quod a me fieri tantopere deposcis. Vade autem et sepeli mortuum tuum. teque prepara morti future post filium. Ad hoc enim ut moriatur. omnis homo nascitur. Unde mors et ruina quemque manet. nullus excipitur.<sup>3</sup> Non a te recedam ait mater ad virginem. nisi prolem meam mihi restituas vivam.<sup>4</sup>

col. 2 Videns ergo christi virgo benignissima matris orbate doloris vehemenciam. animi pertinaciam. et fidei constanciam. flectitur ad praesumendum quod praesumere metuerat. Protinus itaque iuxta defuncti corpusculum<sup>5</sup> in oracionem se prosternens obtinuit ut reviveret qui mortuus fuerat. Sed priusquam redisset ad vitam. dignum perhenni<sup>6</sup> memoria<sup>7</sup> contigisse refertur de virgine egregia. Nam dum ipsa prope defunctum in preces prosterneretur. tantus ignis et tam indicibilis super eam de celo venit. ut inde tota cooperiri atque comburi videretur. Quod cum uni sanctimonialium feminarum que in oratorio gratia secrete oracionis delituerat. divinitus concederetur intueri.

1. Linc. has "sed".

2. G has "inquit".

3. G has "cipitur".

4. G and Linc. have "nisi prolem meam restituas mihi vivam..."

5. "cor(pusculum in ...)" is the beginning of col.2, f.173v. in G.

6. Linc. has "perenni".

7. G has "memoratio".

non intelligens ipsa divinum ignem et misticam<sup>1</sup> visionem. estimavit dominam suam tali incendio penitus amburi. Rem tamen explorans. et sic formidans propius accessit. vociferans et exclamans. sic sanctam sepius accersit. Domina mi inquit<sup>2</sup> domina surge velocius et exi foras<sup>3</sup> de incendio. totam enim te coopertam igne grandi video. Mater almiflua virgo Milburga<sup>4</sup> deo tota mente coherens. et intenta celestibus. velud<sup>5</sup> immobilis fixa manet in precibus. Ut autem speculatrix tam mirifice visionis inter hec mira plus miranda videret. mox ubi testis eius pia exploratione efficitur<sup>6</sup>. ignea species qua cremari virginem estimabat. ab ipsius intuitu videntis exinanitur. igne mistico<sup>7</sup> denudata virgo beatissima nil lesa. nil ambusta comparet. Unde iam intelligens lumen divinum fuisse quod viderat. sese graviter reprehendit. quod tam divinam christi sponsam sic inculcatis clamoribus molestaverat. O beatissime matris Milburge<sup>8</sup> meritorum prerogativa cuius sanctimonialis filia tanta refulsit mundicia vite spiritualis. ut non indigna fieri mereretur aspectu tam divine visionis. Interea fuis in celum pro defuncto gemitum ac suspiriorum piis aromatibus. deoque libatis precum et devotionum. sacris thimiamatibus<sup>9</sup> virgo superna maiestate potita.

f. 215r  
col 1

- 
1. Linc. has "mysticam". G inverts the order and has "visionem misticam".
  2. G has "Domina mi inquit".
  3. G has "ei foras".
  4. G has "Mildburga" and Linc., "mýlburga".
  5. G and Linc. have "velut".
  6. This word is omitted in G.
  7. Linc. has "mystico."
  8. G has "myldburge"; Linc. "mýlburge".
  9. Linc. has "timiamatibus".



leticie celestis oleo delibuta. ab oracione surrexit. et defunctum<sup>1</sup> a funere erexit. Qui reviviscens matri vidue sanus et incolumis restituitur. mater hactenus pre dolore morti proxima. iam recepto pignore quasi resuscitata mortis faucibus eripitur. Hinc agitata<sup>2</sup> mater gaudiis devolat<sup>3</sup> in publicum. publicat et divulgat tam celeste beneficium. Convenit in unum vulgus convicaneum clerus et chorus sanctimonialium. virginis meritum undique attollitur et glorificatur.

Inter<sup>4</sup> tam pia vite celestis exercicia. tamque praeclara celestium<sup>5</sup> miraculorum insignia. virgo christi milburga<sup>6</sup> feliciter in diebus multis processit. Quatuor enim regum merciorum sibi per ordinem in regno succedencium tempora transegit. Quorum primus rex Wlferus decem et septem annis. secundus frater eius rex ethelredus<sup>7</sup> bis tribus<sup>8</sup> lustris. tercius kinredus quinque annis. quartus cheolredus septem annis. nobiliter imperavit. Circiter ergo duodecim lustris annorum decursis in stadio vite transeuntis. benignus virginis filius sponse sue virgini feliciter currenti preparabat bravium vite permanentis. pulsans ad eius ianuam egritudinis

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1. This is the first word of col.1, f.174r. in G.

2.

3. G has "duobat".

4. This is the beginning of a new paragraph with a large capital "I" in all three MSS.

5. Parallel with the next three lines in the margin G has, "sub quibus christi mildburga deguit. et de beato fine ipsius sancte mildburge".

6. G has "Mildburga", Linc. "mýlburga".

7. Linc. has "aedelredus".

8. G does not have the word "tribus", but has a symbol between bis and lustris which presumably represents this word.

col. 2 molestia. tanquam invitans ad celestium<sup>1</sup> nuptiarum epithalamia.<sup>2</sup>  
 Ipsa vero iam longa sustinens praesencium fastidia. sicut  
 provecta sancte senectutis eminencia. pulsanti respondebat  
 omni desiderio fruendi eius contubernio. Nam quo amplius ad  
 eum cum propheta de luce vigilabat pis virginis anima. eo  
 multiplicius ad eum prophetali flagrantia. siciebat et caro  
 virginea. Unde sanctorum filia mater angelica iam attingens  
 omnium virtutum fastigia summe sanctitatis excellencia.  
 gaudebat instare sibi diem finiende mortalitatis. quo trans-  
 iret ad diu desideratum diem eterne felicitatis.<sup>3</sup> Set ut  
 lampas virginea flagrantibus desideriis exeundi de convalle  
 lacrimarum ad supernam arcem leticiarum magis<sup>4</sup> accenderetur.  
 exitus differtur in aliquantum temporis contra votum et spem  
 desiderantissime virginis. Dum enim<sup>5</sup> amanti differtur quod  
 desiderat. ad desideratum ardencius anhelat. Anhelantissimam  
 itaque christi sponsam in celestem thalamum ad eterni regis  
 emplexum. pulsat instancius corporis incommodum. acriusque  
 prosequitur estuacio febrium. Ingravescente<sup>6</sup> autem molestia  
 corporis. perurgetur transitus beatissime virginis. Que dum  
 febribus fatigatur. in victimam domini celitus concrematur.  
 examinatur. defecatur.<sup>7</sup> tota celestibus thalamis praeparatur.  
 tota divinis amplexibus idoneatur. Quanta tunc virtutum

---

1. Parallel in the margin G has "dulcia carmine".

2. G has "epithalamaia". 3. A has "felicitas".

4. "accenderetur" is the first word of col.2, f.174r. in G.

5. These two words are omitted in G.

6. G has a word before "Ingravescente" that is not found in A or Linc. It appears to be an abbreviation of "quia".

7. G has "defectatur".

odoramenta sacre virginis pectus spirabat. et emmitebat<sup>1</sup> in  
 ethereos meatus. Quam pia votorum incensa flagrabant. quam  
 suavia desideriorum balsama fragrabant.<sup>2</sup> ex intimi cordis eius  
 ara in celeste propiciatorium. in veri salomonis reclinatorium.  
 Quam intima eius suspiria deum affectancia celos penetrabant.  
 et frequentabant. Quam continui gemitus vulnerate caritatis  
 assiduabant. et occupabant aures superne pietatis. Sic domini  
 victima virgo Milburga<sup>3</sup> tam martiriali animo quam celesti  
 desiderio concremata. redolebat divinis odoratibus omni  
 aromate suavius. Sic autem feliciter agonizans diem solempnem<sup>4</sup>  
 constituebat. virtutum in condensis. usque ad cornu superni  
 altaris.

Ante<sup>5</sup> paucos itaque dies beate eius migracionis omnem  
 familiam monasterii convocari iussit in praesencia sui. Quam  
 assistentem<sup>6</sup> et de pie matris iam imminente<sup>7</sup> destitucione  
 miserabiliter lugentem. ut mater almiflua prolem suam sic  
 blandiens alloquitur et consolatur. Vos inquit hactenus<sup>8</sup> sicut  
 anime mee viscera praecordialiter dilexi. et sicut mater  
 filiis et filiabus pia sollicitudine prefui. Iam vero divina  
 pietate peregrinacionis mee cursus<sup>9</sup> terminatur.<sup>10</sup> et me

- 
1. Linc. has "emittebat". 2. Linc. has "flagrabant".  
 3. G has "mildburga"; Linc. "mýlburga".  
 4. Linc. has "sollemnem".  
 5. The beginning of a new paragraph in all three MSS. Parallel  
 in the margin in G is written, "Quomodo sancta mildburga  
 ante obitum suum instruxit verbi vite familiam suam". G  
 inverts the order here and has "Ante paucos itaque beate  
 migracionis dies omnem..."  
 6. Spelt "asistentem" in G. 7. Spelt "iminente" in G.  
 8. There is an unreadable word in the margin here in G.  
 9. G and Linc. have "cursum".  
 10. This is the first word of col.1, f.174v. in G. G and Linc.  
 have "terminante".

superne vocacionis ad bravium misericorditer invitante. carnis  
 universe viam ingredior. Nolo itaque vos cuiusquam mortalium  
 subicere servituti. quos per dei gratiam et eius doctrinam  
 genui superne libertati. Deo autem et beate deo genitrici  
 marie<sup>1</sup> semper virgini vos derelinquo. meique praesencia mox  
 carituros. et sic velut orphanos et pupillos omni materno  
 affectu commendo.<sup>2</sup> Ille vero qui solus est cognitor sortis  
 co1. 2 electorum vobis matrem idoneam eligat et constituat. que  
 secundum (eius)\* voluntatem maternam et affectuosam sollicit-  
 udinem de vobis habeat. que conservet et multiplicet liberam  
 possessionem domus dei. quam ego a regis natalibus meis  
 consensu multorum principum et episcoporum adquisivi. et  
 maxime primatis nostri venerabilis theodori archiepiscopi.  
 quorum omnium unanimi<sup>3</sup> sententia anathematis vinculo innodatur.  
 et sanctorum a consortio auctoritate divina sequestratur.  
 quisquis<sup>4</sup> cuiuscumque sit gradus libertatem aut facultatem  
 monasterii huius infringere vel minuere praesumpserit.

Habentes<sup>5</sup> igitur tante libertatis domicilium et tam  
 libere facultatis praesens subsidium. pacem et sanctimoniam  
 certatim sequimini.<sup>6</sup> sine qua nemo deum potest adhipisci.<sup>7</sup>  
 Pax vobis munisceret continuam dilectionem. dilectio veram

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1. This word is written in capital letters in Linc.

2. G has "comendo".

3. G has a word here which does not appear to be "unanimi".

4. G has "quicquid".

5. The beginning of a new paragraph in all three MSS. "H" is a large capital initial.

6. G has "sequamini".

7. Linc. has "adipisci".

\* G omits "eius".

concordiam et indissolubilem. Sanctimonia semper in vobis  
 effulgeat et castitate corporis et puritate cordis. Hiis  
 namque virtutibus ad gloriam vere libertatis filiorum dei  
 pertinetis.<sup>1</sup> hiis<sup>2</sup> sane visum superne claritatis promereri  
 potestis. Sic enim dominus pacificos et corde mundos remunerat.<sup>3</sup>  
 Beati inquit pacifici. quoniam filii dei vocabuntur. Beati  
 mundo corde. quoniam ipsi deum videbunt. Hiis<sup>4</sup> et huius modi  
 verbis sancte admonicionis<sup>5</sup> beatissima virgo milburga<sup>6</sup> suam  
 monasterialem familiam instruens<sup>7</sup> ad superne beatitudinis  
 patriam.<sup>8</sup> rebus humanis vale novissimum fecit. suisque  
 lugentibus cunctis<sup>9</sup> vale tristissimum intulit. Tandem enim  
 divinis ascita visitacionibus. et a sanctis viris et  
 religiosis munita sacramentis celestibus beate consumavit  
 diem ultimum quo migravit ad eterni regis cubiculum. ubi de  
 germine virginalis pudicicie parit florem et fructum immortalis  
 leticie. transiit autem septimo kalendas marcii<sup>10</sup> gloriosa  
 meritis. et meritorum coronis. comitantibus eam et ducentibus  
 beatis supernorum civium agminibus. Inter quos iam segura  
 de celesti gloria. et glorificata veri solis praesencia.  
 radiat omni sidere<sup>11</sup> splendidior. Cum quibus et agnum quocumque

f. 216 r.  
col 1

- 
1. G has "pertingens".      2. Linc. has "his".  
 3. G has inverted the order here, and has "Sic enim pacificos  
 et corde mundos dominus remunerat".  
 4. Linc. has "his".      5. G has "monitionis".  
 6. G has "mildburga"; Linc., "mýlburga".  
 7. Parallel in the margin in G is written, "De morte sancte  
 virginis Mildburge. vij.kl.marciij".  
 8. This is the last word of col.1, f.174v. in G.  
 9. G and Linc. have "cunctis".  
 10. Written "vii Kl.MARCII" in A.  
 11. Linc. has "sydere".

meat letabunda<sup>1</sup> sequitur. ipsumque regem glorie omni iam affectu iocunditatis amplectitur. Hinc gaudet ipsa cum superis superior omnibus celis.<sup>2</sup> suppremo regi thalamo coniuncta perhenni.<sup>3</sup> O quam perhennis et quam felix est illa superna societas. in qua cives angelorum eterna perfudit iocunditas. cum beatam virginem <sup>M</sup>Milburgam<sup>4</sup> eis ascivit deus unus adoranda trinitas. Gleba vero virginei corporis cultu celebri reconditur ante maius altare in ecclesia sancte trinitatis. habens ad caput altare constructum<sup>5</sup> in memoriam beati georgii martiris. Ubi divinitus ad glorificandum virginis meritum. morbis omnigenis frequens confertur beneficium salutis. celo terraque summum opificem collaudante et magnificante. cui<sup>6</sup> trino et uno deo laus et potestas. salus et perpetuitas per infinita saecula amen.

Florent<sup>7</sup> autem in Wallia<sup>8</sup> gloriose virginis Milburge<sup>9</sup> virtutes et miracula. loco qui eius nomine eo quod sui iuris aliquando fuerat.<sup>10</sup> landmýlien<sup>11</sup>Wallice<sup>12</sup> dicitur. quod in terram Milburge<sup>13</sup> latino sermone vertitur. Plura namque preter

col. 2

- 
1. G has "letabundaque".      2. G has "orbis".  
 3. Linc. has "perenni", and below "perennis".  
 4. G has "Mildburgam", and Linc. "mýlburgam".  
 5. G has inverted the order here and has, "Habens altare ad caput constructum..."  
 6. C has "cum".  
 7. "Florent" has a large capital "F" in Linc.  
 8. Spelt "Walea" in Linc.  
 9. G has "Mildburge"; Linc. "mýlburge".  
 10. G has inverted the order here but has made a correction: "eius nomine sui iuris eo quod aliquando..."(sic).  
 11. G has "Lanmýlyen".      12. Linc. has "Walice".  
 13. G has "Mildburge"; Linc. "mýlburge".

hunc locum predia possessionum ibi dudum possederat iure monasteriali ipsa vite monastice magistra virgo Milburga.<sup>1</sup> quibus iam amissis. rerum variis eventibus. stat adhuc ut ita dicam. uno tantum in loco antiqui nominis umbra. Recolitur itaque plebs indigena. quedam<sup>2</sup> de virgine memorie digna. Quorum quidem historiam non promittit de libris annalibus. sed asserit de<sup>3</sup> rerum indicibus. signis arrestantibus. patrumque suorum relatibus. Non nulle vero sine scripturis sciuntur historie.<sup>4</sup> dum a serie patrum in seriem filiorum patre filium instruente. retinentur memorie. Sic namque dominus olim multa mandavit patribus antiquis ut ea nota facerent filiis suis. et filii qui exsurgerent. filiis quoque suis enarrarent. ut recognosceret generatio altera. que fecit apud eos deus mirabilis. Adiacent igitur in loco memorato tres lapides admodum grandes. a se aliquantum distantes. Quorum unus perhibetur ab incolis antiquitus ibi fuisse positus in monumentum divine ultionis. qua quidam rex Wallorum<sup>5</sup> paganus terribiliter percussus ibidem occubuit. dum celicam<sup>6</sup> christi sponsam sanctimoniam Milburgam persequens. in coniugem sibi rapere violenter voluit. Alter vero retinet in se velut impressa molli luto virginee vectricis mule videlicet vestigia. quibus mirabiliter

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1. G has "Milburga"; Linc., "mýlburga".

2. "quedam" is the final word of col.2, f.174v. in G. (end of photostats.)

3. This word is omitted in Linc.

4. Linc. has "hýstorie" and above "hýstoriám".

5. Linc. has "Walorum".

6. Linc. has "celibem".

f. 216v  
col 1

insignitum incola pro miraculo virtutis veneratur. et ad glorificationem virginis sepius inde miseris divina benignitatis opitulatur. Aqua siquidem pluvialis remanens in ipsis concavis vestigiis a febricitantibus sepe colligitur et hauritur. et prout fides eorum<sup>1</sup> meretur. salus eis pristina restituitur. Similiter et ex ipsa lesis luminibus infunditur. et divinitus eis gratia luminaris refunditur. Tercius autem lapis sedes amica beate virginis extitisse dicitur. cui tanta maiestas sanctitatis post eius usum inesse dinoscitur. ut ad ipsum bestia nullatenus accedere. nec herbam adiacentem possit depascere. quin ipsa statim aut moriatur. aut aliqua gravi peste corripatur. Erigitur itaque deinceps pro tante sanctitatis indicio. secus ipsum domus oracionis in honorem memorate virginis. ut inde velut quondam a legis monte bestiarum arcessus prohibetur. illuc tanquam ad lapidem iacob celicolarum conventus aggregetur. Ipse vero lapis praedictus iam ab incolis circumseptus est spinis. ut qui bestiis eorum habetur accessu formidabilis. spinis circumpositus fiat aditu inaccessibilis. Cernitur autem usque hodie iacere pre foribus ecclesie. quasi celitus exemplo sui commonens advenientes. ut non intrent domum dei bestialiter intellectum non habentes. nec sic ab eius lapide angulari christo scilicet jesu miserabiliter sequestrentur. sicut ab ipso bestie divinitus et mirabiliter arceri videntur. Explicit vita sancte Milburge virginis.

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1. Linc. has "ipsorum".



C H A P T E R 3

THE AUTHORSHIP OF THE ORIGINAL VITA SANCTE MILBURGE

P A R T O N E.

None of the manuscripts mentioned in Chapter I give the name of the author of the Life of St. Milburga. The earliest attribution of the Life to Goscelin<sup>1</sup> comes from John Leland.<sup>2</sup> He entitles his excerpt from the Saint's Life - "Ex libro Gotcelini de Vita Sancte Milburge".<sup>3</sup> Leland had been commissioned (in 1533) to 'make a search after England's antiquities, and peruse the Libraries of all Cathedrals, Abbies, Priories, Colleges, etc. as also all places wherin Records, Writings and Secrets of Antiquity were reposed'.<sup>4</sup> He set himself to his task with great enthusiasm and diligence, recording meticulously all that he saw.<sup>5</sup> Many of the books

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1. Originally a monk of St. Bertin, Goscelin came to England with Herman, Bishop of Ramsbury in 1043/45. He spent the end of his life at St Augustine's Canterbury where he died in the first decade of the twelfth century. The exact year is not known - it may have been 1107. For a discussion of the date of his works and of the year of his death V. Talbot (op.cit.p.xiii). A list of his works is given below on p.102.
  2. Born c.1506, died 1552.
  3. Johannis Lelandi Antiquarii de rebus Britannicis Collectanea edit. T. Hearne. (Oxford 1715) t.iii. p.169.
  4. Collectanea (op.cit) t.i. p.Lii from Mr. Wood's Life of John Leland the Antiquary out of Athenae Oxon. vol.i. col.67.
  5. V. the list of the MSS which Leland left, in Wood's Life (op.cit.) pp.liii-lv.

which he examined were soon after destroyed,<sup>1</sup> and among them may well have been a Life of St. Milburga by Goscelin. In view of the conscientiousness with which he availed himself of this unique opportunity to record the contents of hundreds of libraries,<sup>2</sup> his statement is entitled to considerable respect.

The excerpt regarding St. Milburga occurs in a series of similar excerpts from the Lives of other Anglo-Saxon Saints. For several of them Goscelin is suggested as the author:

"Ex vita Sexburgae cujus esse autor videtur Gotcelinus.

Ex libro de vita S. Fredisuuidae.

Ex vita Edburgae virginis.

Ex uita S. Botulphi.

Ex Odonis vita.

Ex vita Withburgae.

Ex libello de vita S Wulfhildae quem Goscelinus scripsit.

Ex libro de vita S. Werburgae autore, ut arbitratur Lelandus Gotcelino.

- 
1. Leland's antiquarian tour covered the period of the Dissolution of the monasteries. (The suppression of the lesser monasteries began in 1535. Waltham Abbey was the last of the greater houses to surrender in 1540.)
  2. For the fate of some of these books, v. Bale in his annotated edition of Leland's New Year Gift, published under the title The laboryouse Journey and serche of Johan Leylande, for Englandes Antiquitees... in 1549: "A great nombre of them which purchased those superstycyouse mansyons, reserved of those lybrarye bokes,... some to scoure theyr candelstyckes, and some to rubbe their bootes. Some they solde to the grosserss and sope sellers, and some they sent over See to ye bokebynders, not in small nombre, but at tymes whole shyppes full..."

Ex libro S. Ermenhildae eodem Gotcelino, ut conjicit Leland.

Ex libro Gotcelini de vita S. Eadgithae.

Ex libro Gotcelini de vita S. Mildburgae".<sup>1</sup>

Leland does not hesitate to indicate whenever he had any doubts as to Goscelin's authorship, but in the case of the present Life, it would seem that he had no doubts at all.<sup>2</sup>

John Bale<sup>3</sup> published The laboryouse Journey and serche of Johan Leylande for Englandes Antiquitees in the year after Leland's derangement,<sup>4</sup> adding to the work a Register of the Names of English Writers. This catalogue, enlarged, was later included in Bale's Scriptorum Illustrum maioris Brytanniae Catalogus.<sup>5</sup> But in neither publication is a Life of St. Milburga included among the works of Gotcellinus monachus Cantuariensis, although one might have expected Bale to have profited by the discovery of Leland, particularly since he had access to the latter's MSS. after his death in 1552.<sup>6</sup>

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1. Collectanea (op.cit.p.92) Totus Operis Conspectus. p.c.
  2. Hearne says of Leland, in his Preface to the Collectanea (op.cit.p.92) that "he never failed to distinguish such authorities from others which were more certain, and less liable to suspicion and censure".
  3. 1495-1563.
  4. 1548.
  5. This was the second edition of this work, published in 1557; the first edition was published in 1548 under the title Illustrum maioris Britanniae Scriptorum. V. R.L.Poole, and M. Bateson, Bale's Index Britanniae Scriptorum. (Anecdota Oxon. Mediaeval & Modern Series. Part 9. 1902).
  6. Bale had however seen a MS of the Miracula Inventionis Beate Milburge Virginis. V. below, p. 277.

When Leland died his MSS. and collection were placed by royal command in the custody of Sir John Cheke,

"who not long after gave the four Tomes or Vol. of his collections before mentioned to Humph. Purefoy Esq; (afterwards of the Privy Council to Queen Elizabeth in the North parts of England) whose son Tho. Purefoy of Barnwell in Leicestershire, giving them to Will. Burton of Lyndley in the same County in the year 1612, came many years after by his gift... to the Bodlejan or pub.-Library at Oxon. together with the Itinerary in five... As to some other of his Collections, they came after the death of Sir John Cheke into the hand of Will. Lord Paget, and Sir Will. Cecyl, but to whom from them I find not..."<sup>1</sup>

Nicholas Roscarrock<sup>2</sup> was the next person to designate Goscelin as the author of the Vita Sancte Milburge. He was a Cornish recusant, known for his 'industrious delight in matters of history and antiquity'<sup>3</sup>, as well as for the illegal religious activities which brought him several times

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1. Wood's Life of Leland (op.cit.p.92) p.lvi.

2. born c.1549; died c.1634.

3. Carew's Survey (London 1602) Quoted in John Morris, The Troubles of Our Catholic Forefathers (London 1812 - 1822) p.95.

to the Tower.<sup>1</sup> Bearing in mind the vicissitudes of his chequered career one cannot readily suppose that Roscarrock was ever in a position to borrow the Leland MSS. from their custodians, all of them staunch supporters of the Government and the Government's religious policy. Bale, as we have seen, had not transcribed the information relevant to St. Milburga from the collections, although he made use of other of Leland's material. It is therefore safe to assume that when Roscarrock, in his Lives of English Saints<sup>2</sup> attributes the Life to Goscelin, he was not dependent on Leland.

Roscarrock appears to have thought that there was more than one Life of St. Milburga, and he was considerably confused as to the authorship of the Miracula Inventionis.<sup>3</sup> "Her Life was written by Goscelin about the year 1100 and her Invention by St Odo Abbot of Battaile Abbey. Both which I never saw, but it is likely that Capgrave followed Goscelin as he doth in the Life of her sister St Mildred...". He does not attempt to criticise and judge the material which

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1. V.J.Gillow, Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics (London 1885) vol.5, pp.447-448.

In 1577 Roscarrock was indicted at Launceston, in 1580 he was under surveillance and in 1581 he was tortured in the Tower. Five years later he was released but in 1594 he was once more a prisoner, and again in 1599. In 1607 he took up residence with William Howard of Naworth, with whom he lived till his death.

2. Cambridge University Library, Additional MS.3041. ff. 311v - 312.

3. For a discussion of the authorship of this work V. Part 2, Chapter 3.

he has collected; to discuss, for example, whether there actually were two accounts of the Invention of St. Milburga both written by ecclesiastics named Odo.<sup>1</sup> And he does not seem to have realised that the 'legend' referred to by Harpsfield was very closely akin to the De Sancte Milburge of the Sanctilogium, his 'Capgrave'.<sup>2</sup> But this can easily be condoned if one remembers the difficulties under which his material must have been collected, and also the fact that his MS. seems to have undergone no revision. Certainly his scrupulousness in recording his sources is of considerable importance for the present case of deciding the authorship of the Life.

At the end of his account of St. Milburga Roscarrock cites his authorities:

Doctr Harpsfield                      7 cap 23<sup>3</sup>

1. A little later Roscarrock speaks of "Odo Bishop of Ostia and Cardinal who wrote her Life, writing more particularly of her Invention....".
2. V. Horstman's edition of the Nova Legenda Angliae (op.cit. p.7 ).
3. Nicholas Harpsfield, Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica. (Douai 1622) Cp.23, Septimum Saeculum, "Ex vita eius qua incipit 'beata igitur virgo' et finit 'arceri videntur' (ie. the Lincoln Life) Vide et Jo. Capgrave". Harpsfield gives the date of Milburga's death correctly as the twenty-third of February; he does not appear to know of the Testament; in the previous chapter, he has included Egfridus among the Mercian bishops. This information he took from Capgrave (i.e. the fourteenth or sixteenth century edition of John of Tynemouth's Sanctilogium. v. C.Horstman, op.cit.p.7 ). After the Vita he gives an abbreviated version of the Miracula Inventionis, "Miracula Milburgae post eius inventionem Ato Ostiensis Episcopus et Cardinalis conscripsit, ex quo ista sumptos sunt". He also quotes William of Malmesbury as a source. He does not mention the date of the Translation.

Reed of her Polichron	lib 7 cp 48 <sup>1</sup>
Vincent in Specul:	lib 25 <sup>2</sup>
Westm a: 676 <sup>3</sup>	
Florent wigorn:	a 675 and in his Genealogie of the Kings of Mercia. 4

1. "De fundatione monasteriorum Salopiensis et Wenlokensis. Comes Salopiae Warinus construxit duo cenobia, unum in suburbio Salopiae et aliud apud Wenlok in honorem Sanctae Milburgae..." Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, edit. C. Babington (London 1865) Rolls Series. Lib.vii.Cap.iii (p.296)  
V. also id. Lib.v. Cap.xviii: "Igitur regi Wolfero tres fuerunt germani ... et Merwaldus qui occidentalibus Mercii praefuit. Cui regina sua Ermenberga filia regis Cantuariae Ermenredi peperit tres filias sanctas, Mildburgam Mildredam et Mildridam..." (p.128).  
V. also id. Lib.vi. Cap.xxvi. "Hoc etiam anno.... comes Leofricus...obiit... Qui aliquando consilio Dei et beatae Mariae cultricis Godgivae uxoris suae ditavit et reparavit monasteria Leonense juxta Herefordiam, Wenlocense, Wygornense. Eveshamense, et duas ecclesias in Legescestria..."(p.198)
2. Vincentius Bellovacensis, Speculum Historiale (Strasburg 1473) Pars.2, Liv.26, Cap.33:- De quibusdam alii sacris virginibus in Anglia. "Frater Wlferii Merwardus ex Ermenburga filia Ermenredi fratris Erconberti habuit filias sanctas mildritam et milburgam. Quarum prima...alter apud Weneloc requiescit. cuius mauseolum quodam tempore fractum multum odores velud balsame effudit."
3. "Istius Regina, Sancta Ermenburga... tres ei (merwale) filias generavit, Sanctam videlicet Milburgam, Sanctam Mildritham, Sanctamque Mildgytham..." Flores Historiarum, edited by H.R. Luard (R.S.London 1890). Roscarrock ascribes this work to Matthew of Westminster.
4. "Merewald, qui in occidentali plaga Merciorum regnum tenuit; cui regina sua, sancta Ermenbeorga, regis Eormenredi filia, peperit tres filias, sanctam videlicet Mildburgam, sanctam Mildthrytham et sanctam Mildgitham..." (A.D.675) Florentii Wignorniensi, Chronicon ex Chronicis, edit. B.Thorpe (London 1848) t.i, p.33.

In the Genealogy (t*f*, p.252) the name of the Saint is spelt Mildburh.



Camden in Shropshire <sup>1</sup>

Stephane Lusignanus Coror 4 cap 9 <sup>2</sup>

Gotzlin wrote her life about the year 1110<sup>3</sup> and  
Odo Bellen: of her Invention<sup>4</sup>

Petr de Natal: Lib.11 cap 68<sup>5</sup>

Wion in Martr Febru 23 saith she florished a<sup>o</sup> 680 <sup>6</sup>

Reed St Merewald <sup>7</sup>

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1. Camden's Britannia, edit.E.Gibson (London 1695) col.543.
  2. Steffano di Lusignano, Raccolta di Cinque Discoris... Intitolati Corone. (Padua 1577) "Mildritha et Milburga sorelle..., Milburga si fece monacha, vel monasterio Wenole, il sepolchro della quale accidentemente rotto fu conoscinto in corrotto et odorifero come balsano et ambe lenute sante". Lib.iv, Cp.ix.
  3. This is a mistake for 110<sup>o</sup>. V. above p.96.
  4. Odo, abbot of Battle from 1175 to his death in 1200, was believed by Leland also to have written the account of the Invention of St Milburga, (V. below p. 276 ). V. also note 1 of following page.
  5. Catalogus Sanctorum et gestorum eorum ex diversis voluminibus collectus editus a ... Petro de Natalibus Episcopo Equilino (Vincenza 1493) Lib 11: De Sanctos quorum certa dies celebri ignoro Cap 68: De Sancto Nuldruta et Nulburga virginibus. "Nuldruta et Nulburga virgines sorores carnales in anglia claruerunt. De quibus Beda scribit: que fuerunt filie menguardi fratris guelferii regis: ex uxore memburga filia hermenredi fratris herconberti. Quarum prima in cenobio sancti augustini... secunda apud venelock ambe signis radiantibus quiescunt".
  6. V. Martyrologium Sanctorum Ordinis Divi Benedicti, auctore R.P.D. Hugone Menard. (Paris 1629) pp.17 & 203. There is no mention either of the Life by Goscelin or of the Cardinal's work here. (Menard re-edited Wion's original work - Menologie de l'Ordre de S. Benoît.)
  7. Roscarrock's reference here is to his own account of St. Merewald f.309v. of the same MS. There is nothing of particular interest here.

Molanus in Adds ad Usuard <sup>1</sup>

Galesinius <sup>2</sup>

Contynuer of St Bede Lib. 2 Cap 33 <sup>3</sup>

Malmesbury Lib: 4, PONTIF IN MONAST:<sup>4</sup>

POLIDOR VERGIL Lib 5 <sup>5</sup>

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1. V. Migne, Patrologus Cursus Completus, t. 123, col.792. Usuardi Martyrologium. Feb. 23 "... Milburgis virginis, filiae regis Merciorum cujus vitam Ato Cardinalis scripsit". (This addition to the original text of the Martyrology is found in the sixteenth century edition of Molanus).
  2. Pietro Galesino, Martyrologium Sanctae Romanae Ecclesiae (Milan 1578) 7 cal. Mart ... "in angliam sanctae Milburgae virginis".  
In the Notationes to the same work we read "S. Milburgis. Cuius vita litteris mandata est a Gozelino monacho S. Bertini". (p.84) Galesino cites no authority for this statement. Nothing in the known facts of Galesino's life (c.1520 - c.1590) accounts for his information on this point. For several years he was Apostolic Protonotary at Milan where he was intimate with St Charles Borromeo.
  3. Simeon of Durham's Historia Regum was intended to continue Bede's History, but I have been unable to trace this reference of Roscarrock here or elsewhere.
  4. V. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum. (Edit. N.E.S.A. Hamilton 1890. Rolls Series.)
  5. Urbinatis Anglicae Historiae (Gandavii 1556)  
Lib iv: (p.178) "... is (i.e. Merewald) ex Ermenburga uxore, tres genuit filias, Milburgam, Mildredam, Milguidam. Hae praestantissime virgines, partim vitae sanctimonia, partim religionis cultu, in quo se continentur exercuerunt, dignae inventae sunt, quas postea patres inter divos commemoraverint". (This work was dedicated to Henry VIII).

I W in his Sanctiloge<sup>1</sup> noteth that her body was taken up a<sup>o</sup>ll101 in the Conqueror's time and was found uncorrupted and was inshrined and so rested till Henrie the 8<sup>th</sup>'s time when the monasteries were suppressed .... "

This, the second of Roscarrock's sources<sup>2</sup> to name Goscelin as the author of the Life of St. Milburga, may in its turn have been dependent on Galesinius,<sup>3</sup> and cannot therefore stand as an independent witness.

Roscarrock's use of this source would suggest that his section on St. Milburga may have been written after 1608 (the date of the publication of the English Martyrologe)<sup>4</sup>. Not necessarily, however, since one of the Roscarrock brothers is recorded as having journeyed to Rheims in or about the

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1. The English Martyrologe (1608) published probably at Rheims or Douai. The following are the sources listed by I W after his summary account of St. Milburga:

Gotzelinus monachus in eius vita.  
Ma.West.An.Do. 676  
Pol Verg. L.4 histo  
Vincent Specul L.25  
Petr in Natal  
Guil Malmes in his Angl  
et alii omnes hac die.

All that the work states explicitly of its author was that he was a catholic priest.

2. V. Richard Challoner, Memorial of Ancient British Piety (1761) p.5, "Among those that were set forth for particular nations, there was a British Martyrology, published about one hundred and fifty years ago, by Mr. John Wilson, an English Priest, who lived abroad in the Low Countries, under the title of the English Martyrology".
3. The forms of Goscelin's name are very similar in either work: Galesin<sup>o</sup> has Gozelinus and I.W. has Gotzelinus.
4. V. footnote 1.

year 1580,<sup>1</sup> and he may there have discussed points of antiquarian interest with this priest who was compiling a work similar to that which Nicholas had in mind.<sup>2</sup>

There remain then, the categorical statements of the English Antiquary and Pietro Galesino.<sup>3</sup> This concurrence of opinion between two contemporary scholars whose experience and background were so widely different is of considerable support to the truth of their claim. And if it were surmise on their part to attribute the Vita Sancte Milburge to Goscelin, it must be admitted that they decided upon the man who was particularly well suited to fulfil the task that they believed had been his.

The favourite subjects of Goscelin's biographies<sup>4</sup> were

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1. V. Gillow, op.cit., p.96.
  2. There is a mention of a John Wilson on two occasions in the Third and Fourth Douay Diaries (Cath.Rec.Soc. Publications, vols.10.11. 1911):- August 1605 - "Venientes Roma ... D. Joannes Wilsonus, sacerdotes..." and July 1648 - "Ad Collegium ex Angliae venerunt... D.Joannes Wilson. sac. qui vocabatur al. Tatlocke..." There is no hint at all of any literary work being associated with this man.
  3. There is one other work (published in the lifetime of Roscarrock but one which he is unlikely to have consulted) which states that Goscelin was responsible for a Life of St.Milburga: "Gotcelinus... Eruditionis suae monumenta reliquit haec... Vitam D. Milburgae." V.Ecclesiastica historia... per aliquot studiosos et pios viros in urbe Madeburgica. (Basle 1562) Cap.X, col.1677.
  4. The following list of Goscelin's works has been suggested "Adrien, Augustin, Edith, Erkenwald, Ethelburga, Etheldreda, Ethelredus, Grimbald, Guthlac, Ivo, Letaruds, Milburga, Mildreda, Swithan, Uulfliedis, Werburga, Withburga, Plusieurs noms doivent certainement disparaître ou méritent a peine d'etre retenus: tels Erkenwald, Guthlac Milburga..." La Légende de Ste Edith ... par le moine Goscelin. A.Wilmart, Analecta Bollandiana Lvi (1938) pp.5-101 and 265-307.

those persons who combined eminent sanctity with his ecclesiastical office or royal dignity, and had, if possible, some connection with the church of Canterbury. Now St. Milburga was related to the royal houses of Kent and Mercia: she had been venerated as a saint for centuries in the Old England to which Goscelin had come as a foreigner<sup>1</sup>: and furthermore, she was sister to St. Mildred, the particular patron of Canterbury and herself the subject of three works by Goscelin.<sup>2</sup> The original Vita Sancte Milburge was probably written in the early years of the twelfth century or at the end of the eleventh;<sup>3</sup> Goscelin was still alive in 1099.<sup>4</sup> And, a final consideration, Milburga's name and house must surely have attracted some notice when Wenlock

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1. V. the two old English texts in which St. Milburga's name is found (Die Heiligen Englands, op.cit. p.viii). Liebermann considers that the original composition of the first of these two texts, The Legend of the Kentish Royal Family probably belongs to the ninth or tenth century, and that the second, a list of the burial places of the Saints, dates from the tenth century (pp.vii & xi). St. Milburga's feast is celebrated on the twenty-third of February in three Pre-Conquest Calendars: British Museum Additional MS.37517, a tenth century MS. from St. Augustine's Canterbury: Cotton MSS. Nero A.ii, an eleventh century Wessex calendar: Cambridge University Library MS.Kkj.32, a late eleventh century West Country MS. V. English Kalendars before 1100, F. Wormald (H.B.S.1934).
  2. Vita Sancte Mildrethe  
De Translatione eiusdem  
Libellus contra inanes Sancte Mildrethe usurpatores.  
Cotton MSS. Vespasian Bxx ff. 145-197.
  3. V above p.32
  4. V.Talbot, (op.cit.p.xiii) p.10. In this year Goscelin completed his work on the Translation of St. Augustine.

was refounded in 1081 by the Cluniac monks from La Charité-sur-Loire.<sup>1</sup>

Goscelin had therefore a strong interest in writing a Life of the Abbess of Much Wenlock. No alternative suggestion for the authorship of the Life was raised then, or has been since. It has accordingly been decided to explore first this possibility, and only to move other proposals if this proposition cannot be substantiated.

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1. V. below p. 280.

P A R T T W O.

In order to judge the case for Goscelin's authorship<sup>1</sup>

1. In his edition to the Liber Confortarius of Goscelin of St Bertin (op.cit.p.xiii) Dr. C.H.Talbot assigns the Life of St. Milburga to Goscelin on the same grounds that he gives in his discussion of the Life of St. Werburga. (V.op.cit. p.8). The reference here is to the concluding lines of a certain miracle attributed to St. Werburga, after the expulsion from her lands of wild geese which had been devastating the crops: "Tale prorsus miraculum in vita beatissime virginis Amalbergae, quam nostro stylō recudimus (an almost identical phrase is found in the preface to the Testament of St. Milburga, v.p.61) legitur, quatenus in eodem opere fides utriusque, licet diverso tempore et loco extiterint comprobetur". (Vita Sancte Werburgae Virginis auctore Goscelino. Migne P.L. t.155 col.105. Dr. Talbot appears to consider that "Amalberga" is here a misreading for "Milburga". Certainly in the Life of St. Milburga a similar miracle does occur (Additional 34 633 f.213. V. above p.676) but it is by no means identical with that recorded of her cousin Werburga. However a miracle related of St. Amalberga (Auctore fortasse Theodrico Abbate Trudonopolitano A.A.S.S.JUL.iii. 87-88) is identical with that found in the Life of St. Werburga. There is the description of the destructiveness of the birds, the scepticism displayed at the Saint's orders to restrain them, the reward of obedience, the theft of one of the birds and its miraculous restoration. The corresponding incident in the Life of St. Milburga mentions only their destructiveness and their immediate obedience when the Saint bids them begone.

Here then, perhaps, is another Life to be added to the list of Goscelin's works, the biography of a compatriot - written perhaps before he came to England with Herman of Ramsbury. It remains to be seen whether or not Goscelin was responsible for the Vita Sanctae Milburgae, but it is certain that the reference in the Life of St. Werburga cannot be taken as evidence that the same author was responsible for both works. Further, the date suggested by Dr. Talbot for the composition of the Life of St. Milburga, soon after 1083, depends on the argument that this Life was written before that of St. Werburga and that it was written before the "Canterbury series of Lives" - a statement for which there is no evidence at all, and which does not accord with the evidence offered by the Account of the Translation of St. Milburga. (V.Cp.2 of Part II.)

it was necessary to select one established work of his which seemed suitable for comparison with the Vita Sancte Milburga. The work that has been chosen is the Life of Milburga's sister, the Vita Sancte Mildrede,<sup>1</sup> and the relationship between them has been thoroughly examined. First the structure of the two works has been compared, then the actual content of the Vitae, and finally comparison has been made of examples of 'rhyming-prose' that are found in both works. In the following analysis other known works of Goscelin have been referred to only in so far as they illustrate or elucidate a point already made; for since the Vita Sancte Mildrede is undoubtedly the work of Goscelin,<sup>2</sup> it has not been considered necessary to multiply comparisons. For the present chapter all references to the Life of St. Milburga will be to the Life of the Additional MS 34,633,<sup>3</sup> all references to the Life of St. Mildred to the Life found in the Cotton MS. Vespasian B.xx.<sup>4</sup>

To facilitate the process of comparison both Lives have been divided into 'sections', or rather an attempt has been made to discover where the natural divisions of the

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1. British Museum Cotton MSS. Vespasian B XX. ff.143-167.
  2. Vespasian B XX is a twelfth century manuscript containing exclusively the works of Goscelin. A contemporary MS. such as this, coming from the monastery (St. Augustine's) in which the Life has been written, can hardly be mistaken in naming the author of these Lives.
  3. Henceforth referred to as A.
  4. Henceforth referred to as V.



Life lie from an analysis of the topics. According to this definition each 'section' deals with a particular aspect of the Saint's Life. The following tables show how A can be divided into nineteen 'sections', V into ten.

V

1	Prologue. <sup>1</sup>	
2	Preamble to the Genealogy.	(Cp. 1)
3	Genealogy, bringing Mildred's story up to the foundation of Thanet.	(Cps. 2-6)
4	Mildred's sojourn at <u>Kale</u> , until her return to Kent and her consecration at the hands of Archbishop Theodore.	(Cps. 7-21)
5	The death of her mother, Domneve, and her assumption of the office of Abbess.	(Cp. 22)
6	Of her virtue in office.	(Cp. 23)
7	Of an encounter with an evil spirit, and how an angel came to her aid.	(Cps. 24-25)
8	Of how the Holy Ghost appeared to her.	(Cp. 26)
9	Her death.	(Cp.27)
10	The succession of Eadburga, and the discovery of Mildred's body uncorrupted when the new church was built.	(Cp.28)

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1. After the Prologue there is the list of chapters into which the work is divided, and a description of what is to be found in each.

A

1	Praefacio. <sup>1</sup>	(f.206r.)
2	Preamble to the Genealogy.	(f.206r.)
3	Genealogy, including the account of Domneva's return to Kent <sup>2</sup> and the miraculous conversion of king Merewald.	(ff.206r. 209r)
4	A recapitulation <sup>3</sup> of the Preamble to the Genealogy.	
5	Notice of the foundation of Wenlock.	(ff.209r-209v.)
6	Of Milburga's purity and love of God.	(ff.209v-210r.)
7	Of her poverty.	(f.210r.)
8	The Testament.	(ff.210r-211r.)
9	Of her virtue in office and her humility.	(ff.211r-212r.)
10	A dissertation on the religious life.	(ff.212r-213r.)
11	Story of the prince who tried to seize Milburga by force and marry her.	(f.213r.)
12	The miracle of the geese.	(ff.213r-213v.)
13	The miracle of the sunbeam.	(ff.213v-214r.)
14	Dissertation on Milburga's holiness.	(f.214r.)
15	The miracle of the dead child brought back to life.	(ff.214r-215r.)
16	Notice of the regnal years of her brothers.	(f.215r.)
17	Of her last years.	(ff.215r-215v.)
18	Of her death.	(ff.215v-216r.)
19	Posthumous miracles.	(ff.216v-216r.)

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1. This Life is not divided into chapters.

2. This is all accounted as part of the Genealogy by the author.

3. A second introduction to the subject of the work has been made necessary because the last few columns have been dealing with Merewald. In the case of St. Mildred, the account of Domneva's return to her native Kent is part of Mildred's own life story.

These sections can themselves be grouped in larger divisions within the framework of either Vita, their nature being determined by the material available and the conventions of the hagiographer's art. The ordering of these larger divisions, the 'elements' which make up the Saint's Life, is the pattern upon which the individual hagiographer works.

If A and V, dealing with two closely related subjects were written by the same man, one would not be surprised to find that they shared some similarity of construction. Although there is considerable discrepancy between the number and content of the 'sections' in A and V, the number of 'elements' in either Saint's Life corresponds very closely.

The Elements.

A		V
.....	Prologue	.....
.....	Preamble	.....
.....	Genealogy	.....
Sections 5 - 8	Historical	Sections 4 - 5
Sections 9 - 10	Homiletic	Section 6
Sections 11 - 15	Miraculous	Sections 7 - 8
Sections 17 - 18	Homiletic	Section 9
Section 19	Conclusion	Section 10

It must now be demonstrated that the parallelism indicated in the list of 'elements' is not an artificially contrived arrangement, but on the contrary, the reflection of a very real similarity of plan in either composition.

The first three stages of the comparison present no difficulty: Praefacio in A can be set against Prologus in V, Preamble against Preamble, Genealogy against Genealogy.<sup>1</sup> The fourth element in either work has been named the 'historical' - though 'narrative' might perhaps be a less mis-leading term. In A this 'historical' element consists of four sections; in V of two. The two middle sections of A are homiletic, and although the corresponding element in V is couched in homiletic language (the natural tone of both Lives), it is much more strictly narrative. It deals with the youth of St. Mildred and her training in the religious life.

Besides the conventional description of her early progress in sanctity, there is the dramatic story of her 'passion'. Wilcoma, the abbess of the monastery of Kale<sup>2</sup>, wishes Mildred to marry her nephew, a wealthy young noble. Mildred refuses categorically, reminding Wilcoma that it was not in order to seek a suitable husband that she has

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1. No attempt will be made at this point to compare the actual substance of each corresponding element and section. The first stage of the argument is concerned only with the likenesses in structure.

2. Chelles. Mildred left England to receive her training in religion in this monastery. Cf. Bede, H.E. iii. 8.

crossed the sea. She is thereupon subjected to various tortures; she is thrust into a furnace from which, miraculously, she emerges unscathed; then she is attacked by the infuriated Wilcoma who beats her and tears out her hair. Eventually Mildred manages to communicate with her mother, escapes, and after an eventful journey reaches the shores of Kent.<sup>1</sup>

The author of A knew nothing of Milburga's early years (naturally he assumes that they were pious) nor whether she received any training in the religious life, although he implies this.<sup>2</sup> He mentions the fact of the foundation of Wenlock and then declares, "qualiter autem vel quibus auctoribus ipsa locum praememoratum suscepit dignum censeo subnectere...",<sup>3</sup> but he does not actually come to this point until some time later.<sup>4</sup> The intervening period is filled with praise of Milburga's purity, poverty, and love of God. Then he picks up the thread again and proceeds with the

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1. There is even more 'factual' material in Goscelin's Life of St. Wulfhilda of Barking, than in the present Life of Mildred. v. M. Esposito in Analecta Bollandiana xxxii (1913) pp. 10-26.

2. Cf. (Additional 34.644 f. 210r) 'fit pro christo subdita cenobii discipula...' It is highly unlikely that the writer is here referring to some definite fact, but it is possible that he has hit upon the truth inadvertently. Many of the great abbesses of this century were novices first in another's house before ruling their own. v. e.g. Aethelthryth took the veil at Coldingham, Aebbe's monastery before becoming Abbess of Ely. (H.E. iv. 19) Aelfflaed, daughter of Oswy, lived first at the monastery of Hartlepool under St. Hilda, before becoming Abbess of Whitby. (H.E. iii. 24).

3. Additional f. 209v.

text of the Testament: "Digna consilia verbaque..."<sup>1</sup>. He has interrupted his story merely to add body to it, and in spite of the interpolation of the homilies the element remains one unit of composition, comparable to the parallel unit in V, whose aim is to describe the Saint's holy youth and her first important action, her assumption of the office of Abbess at Wenlock.

This instance of the author of A using a fairly long homiletic section to add weight to his story does not stand alone. Since it is obvious from a comparison of the list of elements and of the sections that A is by far the richer in homily and miracle story, it might be profitable, before proceeding any further, to discuss briefly the significance of this. This difference in the two Lives is not to be interpreted as evidence of two different authors. Quite simply, it can be accounted for by the fact that Goscelin had more material for his Life of St. Mildred than had the author of A for his Vita.

For a Life of St. Mildred there was some information

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1. Additional 34.633 f.210r. col.2.

2. ~~Additional 34.633 f.210v. col.1.~~

in the Legend of the Kentish Royal Family<sup>1</sup> (which knows nothing of Milburga beyond her parentage and the name of her foundation) an old Anglo-Saxon Life,<sup>2</sup> (no Anglo-Saxon Life of Milburga is known to have existed) and the resources of Thanet and Canterbury tradition.<sup>3</sup> Some Wenlock tradition survived the various calamities which befell the house between the eighth and the eleventh centuries,<sup>4</sup> but there was no parallel case of a great neighbouring house adopting the cause and promoting the cult of the Saint, as happened for St. Mildred at Canterbury, after her Translation in 1035.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Die Heiligen Englands (op.cit.p.viii).

"Post hec (i.e.the gift of Thanet to Domneva) suam beatam Mildretam in transmarinas partes misit, ut ibi disciplina regulari imbueretur, quam in eodem monasterio custodiri cupiebat. Beata vero Mildretha, matre obediens mare transivit ibique reliquias plurimas sanctorum adquisivit. quas inde secum retulit.

Postquam beata virgo patriam matremque revisit, dedit sibi monasterium quod construxerat ad regendum. Nec mora; beata virgo cum aliis lxx virginibus, quas rex et mater ad instruendas, ut ibi Deo servirent congregaverant, sacrum velamen a beato Theodoro archiepiscopo recepit.

Ibique Deo serviendo religiose vixit, vitamque eternam promeruit, sicut postea sepe miraculorum declarant".(p.6).

2. Of this work only a fragment now remains, Cotton MS. Caligula A xiv ff.121v-124v, and ff.211r-211v. This is edited and translated by O.Cockayne, Leechdoms, Wortcunning and Starcraft of Early England (London 1864. R.S.) vol.iii, pp.401-433.
3. For Goscelin's use of this material v. his other works on St. Mildred, cited above on p.103.
4. The refoundations on the site of her seventh century monastery testify to the strength of West Mercian tradition in regard to St. Milburga. This point is dealt with at greater length on Cp. 5.
5. V. Translatio Sancte Mildrethe. Vespasian B xx.

To compensate for these deficiencies the author of A has preserved a unique legend<sup>1</sup> concerning the Mercian ruler Merewald, and a 'Testament' which claims to be a record of land-grants made to Milburga's house in her life-time.<sup>2</sup> The latter is a document of some value in regard to the early history of Western Mercia, but as material for the hagiographer it was definitely second-class.<sup>3</sup> The meagreness of the resources available to the author of A will account for more than one long drawn-out homiletic passage indicated in the subsequent analysis, and was a device as likely to have been resorted to by Goscelin as by any other writer.

The homiletic element is represented by one section in V but by two in A. The Lives have just recounted how the two Saints both became abbesses in their respective monasteries; this thought leads both authors to describe their virtues in office - as will be seen later, in very similar words. After this eulogy V goes on to describe St. Mildred's encounter with an evil spirit, but A, continuing for a while in the strictly homiletic vein, proceeds with a general dissertation on the religious state.<sup>4</sup>

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1. V. Cp. 5.

2. V. Cp. 5.

3. The Testament is greatly abbreviated in later versions of the Life, in the Lincoln and Lambeth MSS. It is not even mentioned in the Lansdowne Text. V. Cp.1, pp. 3, 5, 13 and 14.

4. Additional 34.633 ff.212r-213r.



The miraculous element of either work follows immediately on the homiletic. Goscelin records two miracles of St. Mildred after her return to England. One concerns an encounter with an evil spirit, the other a vision of the Holy Ghost. The four miracles of the Life of St. Milburga concern the Saint's escape from the prince who wished to marry her, her expelling wild geese from her lands, her veil being suspended on a sunbeam, and her raising a dead child to life. None of the miracles of either Saint are of particular importance;<sup>1</sup> they are of symbolic rather than historical interest; symbolic in that they are mystical indications of the Saints' holiness and of their fellowship with all other great saints, not reports of historical incidents. Milburga's flight from her suitor and Mildred's trial at the hands of Wilcoma are meant to illustrate the value which they both set on their vows of chastity. In the structure of the Saints' Lives these miracles may be taken as a symbolic representation of the middle years of their lives when they were confirmed in holiness.

The final elements of both Lives exhibit further resemblances in plan, although here too A is longer than V. In the former this element deals with the aspirations of Milburga's last years, her longing after dissolution and

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1. With the possible exception of the first miracle related to St. Milburga, which may owe its form to an old legend told of the Saint. This is discussed in detail in Cp.4.

her holy death. The corresponding element in the Life of Mildred deals only with the Saint's death; a parallel though, to the first section of the same element in A (section 17) is to be found in the preceding miraculous element of V (section 8), where there is a description of a vision of Mildred's in which the Holy Ghost appears to her in answer to her prayer to be allowed to die and go to heaven. The language of both Saints' prayers is similar, Milburga's prayer being described rather than expressed in direct speech. These two passages are admittedly found in different elements within the two works but the sections come in the same sequence and an analysis of the content of these two sections shows striking similarities both in style and in language.

And lastly, the concluding elements. In A this consists of an account of some miracles which occurred after the Saint's death in Wales;<sup>1</sup> in V, of the succession of Eadburga at the death of Mildred and of the discovery of the uncorrupted body of the latter during the building of the church. As the author of A mentions no translation of Milburga, one may presume that he wrote before 1101,<sup>2</sup> or

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1. Sections 17 and 18.

2. The translation of St. Milburga took place in 1101, according to the account of the event written by Odo, Cardinal of Ostia: "Nostris igitur modo temporibus anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo centesimo primo...loco qui dicitur winlocum virginem suam mýlburgan dominus ubi iaceret miraculis aperuit..." Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library MS. 149. f.87v. V. below p. 309.

that he had some very good reason for not mentioning it, for if he wrote after this date he could hardly have been ignorant of the event. However, posthumous miracles and the finding of a body still intact are, as far as the hagiographer is concerned, two classic means of proving most tellingly that the Saint in question was just as holy during her lifetime as he has been at pains to relate. The concluding element of either Life are intended by the authors of them both as uncontrovertible evidence of great sanctity in Saint Mildred and Saint Milburga.

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Before passing to the next stage of the argument it must be acknowledged that in the process of demonstrating that both Vitae have a similar plan of construction by the method of comparing them, element by element, no mention has been made of section 16 of A. This section is historical, and in the sequence of the Life comes between the miraculous and homiletic elements in A. It has no counterpart in V.

This section is a somewhat incongruous link between the final miracle and the events leading up to Milburga's

death.

"Inter tam pia vite celestis exerci<sup>c</sup>ia. tamque praeclara celestium miraculorum insignia. virgo christi milburga feliciter in diebus multis processit. Quatuor enim regum merciorum sibi per ordinem in regno succedencium tempora transegit. Quorum primus rex Wlferus decem et septem annis. secundus frater eius rex ~~W~~<sup>et</sup>elredus bis tribus lustris. tercius kinredus quinque annis. quartus cheolredus septem annis nobiliter imperavit. Circiter ergo duodecim lustris annorum decursis in stadio vite transeuntis. benignus virginis filius sponse sue virgini feliciter currenti preparabat bravium vite permanentis. pulsans ad eius ianuam egritudinis molestia..." 1

The reason for the introduction of this piece of annalistic information<sup>2</sup> at this point would seem to be an attempt to compensate for the thinness of the actual records relating to Wenlock. For the history of Thanet there was ample material available, as Goscelin showed in his three works dealing with St. Mildred;<sup>3</sup> he is able, for example to name the successors of Mildred, and he knew of the destruction of Thanet by the Danes. But of the latter 'history' of Wenlock the author of A knew nothing - for if he had, he would surely at least have recorded the name of the abbess who succeeded Milburga. Since the scanty records had nothing to tell him on this point, he was obliged to recall the regnal years of those kings of Mercia, her 'brothers', who had been contemporaries of hers, in order to show her

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1. A. f.215r, col.i. (V. above p. ).

2. Taken from Bede. V. H.E. Recapitulatio chronica totius operes (pp.354-6).

3. V. p.103.

life against a chronological background.<sup>1</sup> In passing, it should be noted that the author did not, in this context, avail himself of information which his reading of the Testament must already have given him; that is that St. Milburga's life extended into the reign of Aethelbald, Ceolred's successor. It is on the whole to the credit of the hagiographer that he did not attempt to correlate his different sources of knowledge, and certainly a point in favour of the Testament.

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1. There is of course no foundation for the statement that Milburga lived for 'about sixty' years. At the end of the seventh or beginning of the eighth centuries there was as yet no widespread method of reckoning the years. Neither the year of her birth, nor of her death would have been recorded. The important date the day of her death, would have been preserved in the liturgical calendar of her house, whence, as her cult grew, it would have been adopted by neighbouring churches.

P A R T   T H R E E .

A comparison of the elements of the two Lives has shown that structurally they have much in common.<sup>1</sup> But, it might be urged, any two Lives dealing with two such closely related and limited themes would necessarily have followed much the same pattern. However, a closer investigation of the contents of both works reveals further likenesses which are not easily explained away. Not only is the order, and broadly speaking, the nature of the elements parallel in either Life, but the matter of some of the elements is also strikingly similar. This can be seen most clearly in the Preambles, the Genealogies, some of the passages praising the virtues of the two Saints and the descriptions of their deaths.

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1. The argument does not seek to prove that if both Lives had been written by the same author they would necessarily have followed the same plan structurally; Goscelin's Life of Edith is different in plan from the Life of St. Mildred. But the fact that the Lives of the two Mercian Saints, two sisters, are so similar in this respect, is surely not without significance.

The following are the texts of the Preambles,<sup>1</sup>

- V. "Regum Proles dignissima virgo domini mildritha tam pollet stemmate quam sanctimonia. Gentem merciorum clarissima nativitate. populum cantuariorum perpetua illustrat mansione. Inde genitorem. hinc sortita est genitricem. Ab utroque parente. non solum regificum. sed et sanctificum genus trahit. terreque nobilitatem celo attolit. Quod ut lucidius comprobetur. progenitores eius et cognatos ab his modo qui christo initiati sunt retexere dignum videtur. ut horum nativo auro et gemmis vel rosis ac liliis corona virgini formetur. sic per apostolicos patres exordium. Nec fastidiat lector. florulentum hoc diverticulum. vel supplementum ad iacentium alveorum. quo refectus irriguus pratis currat iter ceptum." 2

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1. Little importance can be attached to any resemblance between the Prologue of V and the Preface to A; the preface, perhaps more than any other part of the Saint's Life was likely to have been adapted word for word - or with only very slight alterations - from another work, or to have been compounded from suitable elements taken from several other prefaces. V. C.W. Jones Saints Lives and Chronicles in Early England (Ithaca 1947) Romanesque Literature 1. Dr. Talbot (op.cit. p. xiii) in referring to "the long list of works attributed to Goscelin ... many of which bear no author's name", has discussed some aspects of his style. "As regards style, it must be admitted quite simply that Goscelin does not always write in the same vein... In all his works however he shows a predilection for certain words and phrases which are the stock-in-trade of his vocabulary and it is through these that we are able to discover who the real author is. Some examples of this are, gleba (the body of a Saint), pignus (a child), adjectives like almifluus, dulcifluus, latifluus, mellifluus, adverbs ending in -aliter, words beginning with the prefix con, the constant recurrence of triumphus, triumphare, martiriales, scepdrigera and so on. He constantly employs similes such as that of the four rivers of Paradise, the Three Persons of the Trinity, the stars in the firmament, roses and lilies, Scylla and Charybides. When he has found a phrase or sentence that pleases him immensely, he invariably repeats it in another work almost word for word". (pp.14-15).
2. Vesp. B.xx ff.143r.

- A. "Ex gloriosa igitur prosapia regie dignitatis mundo rutilans et mundum irradians oritur sidus alme nobilitatis. sponsa christi clarissima Mýlburga virgo sacratissima. Quantis autem resplendeat ipsa sideribus a vite claritatis et quam claris emineat lampadibus generose propinquitatis. duco iocundum hic compendio seriatim intimari. quo nobilitas virginis posset sublimius annotari. licet hoc alias locis in pluribus scriptum habeatur diffusius..." 1

Beata igitur virgo Milburga sponsa christi clarissima. tam regie sublimitatis eminet ortu generosa. quam eximie sanctitatis enitet actu gloriosa. A duobus anglie regnis que tunc temporis non erat unius diadematis prodit uterque parens huius illustissime virginis. Dat genitorem sceptriger apex regionis mercie. dat genitricem regia domus et corona cancie. Sic utriusque regni regio genere virgo splendidissima. nativo splendore irradiat. utriusque regni diadema..."<sup>2</sup>

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1. Additional 34 633 f.206v. (p. 42 ).
  2. Additional 34 633 f.209r. (p. 56 ). At the end of the Genealogy in this Life there is the account of the conversion of King Merewald. There is therefore at the beginning of the Life proper, a fresh introduction to the subject, a second preamble. At the end of Mildred's genealogy there is the story of the founding of Thanet, and the establishment of Domneva there as abbess; there is no need for a second preamble as Domneva's story is part of her daughter's.



The sense of these preambles is identical; both emphasise the concurrence in the two Saints of worldly nobility and supernatural nobility - a theme frequently reverted to in either work - and the extraordinary sanctity of so many of their ancestors and relations. The authors of both passages are inspired by the same sentiments. One phrase in the preamble of A deserves particular attention before passing on to the Genealogies "duco iocundum hic compendio seriatim intimari. quo nobilitas virginis possit sublimius annotari. licet hoc alias locis in pluribus scriptum habeatur diffusius".<sup>1</sup> The last few words could very well be understood as a reference on the part of the author to a previous work or works of his, where he has already set forth the material which he is now going to reproduce.

The two Genealogies, naturally enough, used the same material for their accounts of the ancestors of St. Mildred and St. Milburga.<sup>2</sup> But while a greater emphasis is laid on the Kentish royal family in the genealogy of St. Mildred, and a correspondingly greater emphasis on the Mercian connections of the other Saint in her genealogy, both

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1. Additional 34 633 f.206r. (v. p. 42).

2. The Legend of the Kentish Royal Family and Bede. (v. below Cp. 4 pp. 140-149).

Genealogies are treated in a very similar manner.<sup>1</sup>

They begin with Aethelberht, first Christian king of Kent.

V

"Huius itaque decentissime sobolis tritauus. antecessorum et parentalium regum potentissimus ac fidelissimus, rex choruscathelbertus. Primus anglorum regum fide christi ac baptisate conduit. primus celeste regnum de terreno obtinuit. Hic illud precluentissimum romam orbis decus et magnum mundi luminare augustinus"<sup>2</sup>

A

"Inclitus itaque rex edelbriht sanctissime virginis Mýldeburge fuit abauus. quem prothodoctor augustinus fecit primum christicolam in angligenis regibus. Cuius fidei tanquam aurora die. preuia fuit sanctitatis lumine".<sup>3</sup>

In treating of Aethelberht's son Eadbald -

"rex fidelissimus dei cultor et ecclesie devotissimus adiutor"<sup>4</sup>

"regni natalis heres nobilissimus. paterne fidei cultor devotissimus. ecclesiarum dei structor stenuissimus"<sup>5</sup>

V recounts the story of the latter's apostasy, Bishop Lawrence's vision, and Eadbald's subsequent repentance, but A does not even hint at the episode. After Eadbald,

1. Cf. Talbot (op.cit.p.xiii): "The openings of his (Goscelin's) biographies follow an almost stereotyped pattern... One of Goscelin's favourite beginnings, particularly when dealing with royal Saints, is to embark upon a long genealogy, and whenever we meet this, especially in those cases where through family relationships the genealogies overlap, we are more or less certain that we are reading Goscelin's work". (p.15)

2. V. f.1445.

3. A. f.206r. (V. p.43)

4. V. f.146v.

5. A f.206v. (V. p.43)

the names of his three children are given:

Nam ex regina emma francorum  
regis filia ermenredum ac  
erconbertum filios ipsiusque  
avos et beatissimam virginem  
christi eansuidam genuit." 1

"(Eadbaldo) maritatur  
emma filia regum august-  
alis gallie. Quorum  
regalis coniunctio, regios  
flores regii honoris  
dignos heredes eormenred-  
um et eorkombrichtum  
celoque dignam virginem  
eansuidam propagavit.  
cuius celebs conversacio  
folcastanensi virginum  
cenobio, ubi et beata  
eius deposicio celebris  
habetur." 2

It should be noted that there is a slight difference in the order of the two genealogies at this point. V treats first of the children of Ermenred and Oslava, drawing attention to their sons, murdered after their uncle's death with the tacit consent of their cousin Egbert. Their story is of particular importance for the history of Thanet, as it was in consequence of the offered reparation for this crime that the monastery was founded. A deals first with the children of Eorcenberht and Sexburga; the connection of the Kentish princes with the holy house of East Anglia is here indicated; attention is also called to the other famous marriage between the Kentish and Mercian royal families, that of Ermenhilda and Wulfhere, the parents of St. Werburga.<sup>3</sup>

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1. V. f.145v.

2. A. f.206v. (V. p.44).

3. V does not refer to Erkengoda and Ermenhilda until after the 'saga' of the two young princes. f.146v.

The following passages are parallel, although they do not occur in the same order in the two works<sup>1</sup> :

V

"Primogenitus regis ermenredus ex regali coniuge oslava gemellas et martýriales christi laureas athelredum atque athelbertum genuerunt. sanctas quoque paradisiaci et evangelici fontis filias. Domnevam. Ermenbergam. Ermenburgam. Ermengitham. 2

A

"Ermenredus autem ... .. duas imperiales rosas et martiriales. sanctum ethelredum atque ethelbrihtum ex imperiali coniuge oslava nomine deo feliciter generavit... Quatuor quoque filias laude dignissimas. domnevam. hermenbyrgam. hermenburgam. hermengytham. memorabilis ermenredus habuit". 3

Both Lives attribute four daughters to Ermenred and Oslava. As Liebermann has shown,<sup>4</sup> this is an error: there were only two daughters, Ermenburga (otherwise known as Domneva) and Ermengitha. The Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Mildred,<sup>5</sup> and the recension of the Legend which Liebermann refers to as C,<sup>6</sup> name only these two: "Eormenburh et sancte Eormengid et sancte AEpelred et sancte AEpelbriht pis

1. Since in A the children of Eorconberht are mentioned before those of Ermenred.

2. V. f.145v.

3. A. f.206v - 207 r. (V. pp.45-46).

4. Op.cit. (p. viii ) p.ix.

5. V. Cockayne, (op.cit. p.113).

6. Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS.201. (op.cit.p. viii ). p.xiv  
This is an eleventh century MS.

waeron Eormenraedes bearn et Oslafe his cwéne".<sup>1</sup> and, "Further Eormenburh, by another name Dame Eafe (domne eave) and Eormengid and Aepelred and Adelbriht were children of Eormenred and his queen Oslave".<sup>2</sup>

Liebermann's MS. S<sup>3</sup> and the Latin Versio of the Saints of England, depending on a corrupt transmission of C, name three daughters: "Hi~~u~~ verum filii Ermenraedi et uxoris sue oslave Aedelraedus, Aedelberhtus, sororesque sorum tres Ermenberga et Ermenburga simulque Ermengytha".<sup>4</sup> Goscelin must have availed himself of one of these corrupt texts for his genealogy of St. Mildred. He added to the confusion by assuming that the title borne by the wife of Merewald was the name of another daughter, thus creating the fourth. It is curious that the author of A (assuming he were not Goscelin) should have made precisely the same mistake.<sup>5</sup>

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1. Liebermann, (op.cit. p.viii ) p.3.1.
  2. Cockayne, (op.cit.p.113) p.423, the editor's translation.
  3. Stowe MS 944. (This MS belongs to the early years of the eleventh century. Liebermann (op.cit.p. xiii ) p.xiv.
  4. Liebermann, from the Latin Versio, p.1.2.
  5. Liebermann implies that not every version of the Legend rightly identifies Ermenburh with Domneva; he shows how the Winchester MS. made the mistake of naming an Ermenberga and an Ermenburga, and states that Goscelin, and others, copied the error. He does not make it clear however that it was Goscelin who did not distinguish between Ermenburh and Domneva, and therefore was able to credit Ermenred with four daughters. The mistake in this form was peculiar to Goscelin (and the author of A) but Florence of Worcester also records four names: "Eormenborga, Ermenburga, Ermengitha, Aetheldritha". (Chron. ex Chron. op.cit.p.98, Genealogia p.286.)

After giving the names of Ermenred's children, V, like A, ignoring the other 'daughters', tells of Domneva's marriage to Merewald and of their four holy offspring, Mildred, Milburga, Mildgitha and Merefin.<sup>1</sup> Then there follows the statement that after the birth of their son Domneva and Merewald mutually renounced their marriage and worldly possessions.

V

"Post tanta pignora pii  
parentes renuntiantes  
coniugio et regno.  
terrenis cum possession-  
ibus se transtulere  
in hereditatem incorr-  
uptam conservatam in  
celo". 2

A

"Tandem itaque merWaldus  
rex et domneva regia  
comes. post memoratos  
eorum partus fastidire  
ceperunt proletarios  
amplexus. Celibatus ergo  
gratia voluntate con-  
sentanea. dirimuntur  
a carnali copula.  
Christus fit heres  
tocius sue suppellect-  
ilis. ut ipsi fiant  
coheredes eius eterne  
beautitudinis". 3

Both the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Mildred and the Legend record this fact, and then give the story of the murder of the two princes. There are however a few divergencies in their accounts. According to the Anglo-Saxon Life it was on the advice of his great men and of the Archbishop (here called Deusdedit, though as Cockayne points

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1. V. f.146r. A. f.207r. (V. p.47).

2. V. f.146r.

3. A. f.208v. (V. pp.52-5).

out it must have been Theodore, as the former died in the same year as king Eorcenberht,<sup>1</sup> and this event took place in the reign of Egbert) that the king summoned his aunt to claim the Wergild of her murdered brothers. The counsel of the Archbishop is not mentioned in the Legend : "Et de ea causa post sororem eorum Domnevam misit ut ipsa interfectionis eorum precium reciperet..."<sup>2</sup>

It is tempting to interpret this reference as another attempt<sup>3</sup> on the part of Theodore to pacify the warlike people over whom he exerted a certain measure of authority, and to convert what might have become an occasion of civil war<sup>4</sup> into an occasion of thanks-giving.

The story of Domneva and Merewald's separation is also found in the Legend<sup>5</sup> and in the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Mildred<sup>6</sup>. It is possible that the original order of events

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1. H.E. iv. 1.

2. Die Heiligen Englands (op.cit.p.viii ) p.4.

3. Cf. the occasion after the battle of Trent in 679 when Theodore made peace between Ecgfrith of Northumbria and Aethelred of Mercia. H.E. iv. 21.

4. V. the later history of Kent, after the death of Hlothere in 685 when the succession was disputed for several years. (H.E. iv. 26).

5. "Post quorum procreationem pro desiderio eterne vite se deo devoverunt. Porro Domna Eva Cantiam redit et pretium fratrum interfectorum a Rege Ecgberto qui eos interfici consensit in insula Taenet recepit..." Die Heiligen Englands (op.cit.p. viii ) from the Versio, p.4.

6. "And after that (i.e.the birth of Merewald) Merewald and his wife for the love of God and of mankind separated from their conjugal estate, and gave their children and their worldly possessions to God ..." Cockayne (op.cit.p.113).

has here been inverted, when it is implied that Domneva had already left her husband and was leading the religious life when she received the summons to return to Kent. The nature of the evidence does not allow the case to be put more strongly; certainly the theme of a married couple separating "to make Christ their heir" was popular with the writers of Saints' Lives,<sup>1</sup> but in one recorded instance when a queen attempted to leave her husband on this account, it was bitterly resented by the king in question who did not hesitate to revenge himself on the Bishop who had persuaded his wife to such a course.<sup>2</sup>

The Genealogy of St. Milburga ends with the legend of her father's conversion: that of St. Mildred with the story of the foundation of Thanet, to which is appended a mention of Erkongoda and Ermenhilda and finally, the birth of St. Werburga.<sup>3</sup>

In the course of the two Lives there are many descriptions of the virtues of the two Saints. According to the hagiographical convention, all Saints have all the

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1. Reginald of Durham attributes this renunciation to Oswald and his queen. (V. Vita Sancti Oswaldi Regis et Martyris printed as an appendix (iii) to Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia edited by T. Arnold (R.S. London 1882) vol.i.pp.326-385.)

2. H.E. iv. 19.

3. This has already been mentioned in the genealogy of St. Milburga. V. p.45



same virtues. There is no original evidence of sanctity here: both Mildred and Milburga were renowned for the same edifying qualities, and the manner of describing these qualities is very similar in either work.

The following passages describe the docility of the two young Saints:

V

"Tradita ergo litterali discipline. docentes se praecurrebat divina capacitate. Vix audierat et docta erat. Thesaurizata memorie. nec volucres celi nec fures poterant auferre. Condiscipulas superabat magistras equipiebat. vel preveniebat..."<sup>1</sup>

A

"Ipsa quoque doctrix futura discipline dei. facilis erat ad queque discenda sicut docilibis dei. Sub parentum ergo suorum gloriosa regalitate rerum arridente copiosa facilitate. crescebat puella Milburga cum puero jesu etate et sapientia. comitante simul et erudiente peritorum magistrorum diligencia. Educata quidem gloria seculari. erudita vero gratia celesti..."<sup>2</sup>

The next passage in A praises St. Milburga for having recognised the riches of this world for what they are; this is also a favourite theme of Goscelin:

"Hanc praeclara genitrix (Domneva) non aurotextis vel gemmatis purpuris. sed virtutum monilibus et divinis dotibus adornare. atque ad ardentem lampadem ipsius oleum indeficiens administrare satagebat..."<sup>3</sup>

"Non captabatur specie nitentium gemmarum. non dissoluebatur mollicie vestium praeciosarum. Sese magis exornabat virtutum monilibus. quam purpureis vel aurotextis vestibus..."<sup>4</sup>

1. V. f.147r.

2. A. f.209v.

3. V. f.148v. Cf. also the following passages from two other Lives by Goscelin: "pro aurotextis purpura induitur nigra peregrinantis a domino tunica, pro aureis monilibus ornatur pudore, pro regali diademate fusco velatur flammeolo..."  
Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis (op.cit.p.102) Cp.4.

"Viluerant divitias tam matri quam filiae. palatium habebant pro monasterio. aurum gemmae, vestes aurotextae, et quidquid fert pompatica mundi iacantia, onerosa sibi magis erant quam gloriosa". Vita Sancte Werburge Virginis, edit. C.Horstmann, The Life of St. Werburga. (E.E.T.S. 88) 1887.

4. A. f.210r.

There is the conventional reference to the Saints' humility:

V

"Una erat contentio. que humilior. que obedientior. que vigilantior. que in omni probitatis emulatione sanctissime matris esse proximior... ..Ministra esse malebat quam magistra, prodesse quam praesse. famulatu quam praecepto caritatis obsequium docere. Mansuetudine magis quam rigore. patientia quam terrore vincere curabat..."<sup>1</sup>

A

"Sancta mater de lampade sanctitatis indesinenter prebebat imitande lumen humilitatis. Quarum quidem se verior ipsa mater et magistra. quo humilior erat omnium procuratrix et ministra. Contendebat enim... cunctis esse minor humilibus obsequiis. ut domini pia promissione cunctis esset maior sublimibus meritis... Eo maior humilitas. quo clarior eius nobilitas. Sed quo maior erat pro deo regie prolis humilitas. eo dignior eminebat apud deum eiusdem sublimitas..."<sup>2</sup>

to their prayers and long vigils:

"De luce vigilavit dei sapientiam. in foribus suis assidentem invenit illam. Ultro eam spiritus sanctus eterna caritate allacavit..."<sup>3</sup>

adeo cum bethleemitis pastoribus vigilabat et vigilias noctis supra gregem suum custodiebat... Ab oratione repetebat lectionem et alterna vicissitudine reparabat virtutem..."<sup>4</sup>

"Unde jocunda deo celestis lucinia die noctuque meditabatur divine legis eloquia... Prudens et frequens omni sancta vigilia. semper ad deum cum psalmista de luce vigilabat. et concina choris celestibus ut vera christi timpanistria. prae aliis divinis concentibus psalmodie grata deo carmina frequentabat. Quibus enim devote frequentatis. acquiritur penitentiae spiritus et compunctionis..."<sup>5</sup>

1. V. f.159r.

2. Add. f.211v. (v. p.68).

3. V. f.148v.

4. V. f.159v.

5. A. f.214r. (V. p.79).

In both Lives there is considerable emphasis on the Saints' longing for their end, and, as we have noted, much of this is expressed in the language of the Song of Songs:

V

"...~~atque celestium desideriorum~~ suspiriis. Clamor .gemitus. luctus. ululatus. implebat oratorium. Non tam verba quam planctus. non tam preces quam eiulatus agebat.." 1

"Iam beata attigit diem supremum desideratum. Contremuit chorus sororum ... Advocat totum contubernium suum. hortatur et obtestatur servare omnes in christo caritatis vinculum. et totum suum inviolatum. et memores esse parturitionis et viscerum suorum... sic memoratus dixisse Pacem et sanctimoniam inter vos habete carissime... una domus dei estote et deus pacis ac dilectionis maneat semper cum omnibus vobis. His et huius modi hortationibus cum consolationibus maternis domesticas christi docebat. et omnibus oscula sancta dabat. Iamque refecta vivifico dominici sacramenti

A

"Nunc ut christi columba. profundis gemitibus. nunc ut celi philomena deo iocundis affectibus. Gemit. affectat. horret. desiderat. exilium. patriam. mundum. deum..." 2

"Ante paucos itaque dies beate eius migracionis omnem familiam monasterii convocari iussit in praesentia sui... (There is omitted here a practical exhortation to preserve the lands of the monastery intact, and the 'liberty' granted with them. These lines owe their place in the Vita to the influence of the Testament.) ...Pax vobis munisceret continuam dilectionem. dilectio veram concordiam et indissolubilem. Sanctimonia semper in vobis effulgeat. et castitate corporis et puritate cordis... Sic enim dominus pacificos et corde mundos remunerat. Beati inquit pacifici quoniam

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1. V. f.160v.

2. A. f.213v. (V. p. 77 ).

viatico. splendidam  
animam effudit in manum  
domini. 1

filiis dei vocabuntur. Beati mundo  
corde. quoniam ipsi deum videbunt.  
His et huius modi verbis sancte  
admonicionis beatissima virgo  
milburga suam monasterialem  
familiam instruens ad superne  
beatitudinis patriam. rebus humanis  
vale novissimum fecit. suisque  
lugentibus cunctis vale tristissimum  
intulit. Tandem enim divinis  
ascita visitacionibus et a sanctis  
viris et religiosis munita  
sacramentis celestibus. beate  
consumavit diem ultimum quo  
migravit ad eterni regis  
cubiculum". 2

\*

Goscelin is well known for his extensive use of a  
rhyming prose.<sup>3</sup> It is perhaps the evidence afforded by this  
final stage of the comparison of the two Lives which deals  
with Goscelin's peculiarities of style, reinforcing the  
impression gained from the continual recurrence of his  
favourite words and phrases, rather than the preceding

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1. V. f. ~~167~~r. 162r.

Of the very similar description of the death of Hilda, H.E.  
iv.23: "VII<sup>o</sup> ergo suae infirmitatis anno, converso ad  
interanea dolore, ad diem pervenit ultimum, et circa galli  
cantum, percepto viatico sacro sanctae communionis, cum  
arcessitis ancillis christi quae erant in eodem monasterio  
de servanda eas invicem immo cum omnibus pace evangelica  
ammoneret; inter verba ex hortationis laeta mortem vidit,  
ut verbis domini loquar, de morte transivit ad vitam".

2. A. f. 215v - 216<sup>r</sup>v. (V. pp. 86-88).

3. V. A. Wilmart in Analecta Bollandiana LVI (1938) p.5  
(op.cit.p.102).

arguments, which impels the conclusion that he was indeed the author of the Vita Sancte Milburga. Below are some typical examples of Goscelin's rhyming prose. Afterwards some similar examples will be cited from the Life of St. Milburga.

"Hec enim non ut terrigena sed ut celigena. id est non quasi in terris sed in celo nata. ita a tenera etatula spernebat infima et anhelebat ad superna... Ultro enim spiritus sanctus <sup>cum</sup> eterna caritate allactavit. ultro sibi christum perpetue virginitatis sponsam adamavit et in illo aromatico tocius sancte dilectionis pectore thalamum collocavit." 1

"At virgo domini in simplicitate columbina armata prudentia serpentina". 2

"Thalamus virgini fit fornax torrida. tentorium apricum domus ignita. prunarum area quasi rosarum atria. et fulgurantes torres lampadarum vincebant obsequia." 3

"Sorores post <sup>ymnes</sup> ~~ignos~~ matutinos solito sopor reficiebat. una philomela dei noctem sacro cantu mulcebat. adeo cum bethleemitis pastoribus vigilabat. et vigiliis noctis supra gregem suum custodiebat". 4

"Virgo gemebat. et columba columbam suam permulcebat. Ipsa ore placido pacem ferebat. alis blandifluis per tempora virginea applaudebat. faciem et cervicem gratissimis pennis reverberabat. totum caput amicabiliter velut corona florida astringebat". 5

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1. V. f.148v.

2. V. f.150v.

3. V. f.151v.

4. V. f.159v.

5. V. f.161r. Cf. also other examples of this rhyming prose in passages from the Life of St. Mildred already quoted above.

"Dilectissima autem deo Werburga erga subjectos ita erat magistra.<sup>1</sup> ut potius videretur ministra. vel magis subjiciebat se infimis: malens si liceret. locum extremitatis quam praelationis. Portabat omnes quasi viscera sua. fovebat acsi uterina pignora erudiebat exemplo attentius quam imperio. Totam possederat dilectio et benignitas. pax et hilaritas. Ad indigentes promptissima illa largitas ad afflictos compatientissima erat pietas".<sup>2</sup>

"Ipse pater Dunstanus singultanti voce sacrum ministerium conficiebat. et qui sorores et qui matrem a lacrimis prohibere volebat non se ipse cohibere valebat. Ipsa vero beata anima, quam intenta et anhela in transitum eternitatis flagrabat, quanta dilectione consororum animas in christi viscera affectas commendabat, quibus vite sue accusationibus se precibus summittebat..."<sup>3</sup>

The following quotations are from the Life of St. Milburga:

"Gloriam aspernabatur. gratiam amplectabatur. aspernata tamen famulabatur. amplexata dominabatur."<sup>4</sup>

"Vilescebat sibi vita mundialis. sponsus mortalis. dos maritalis. proles carnalis".<sup>5</sup>

"Dum ipsa proles regia maluit in monasterio versari veligera. quam in palacio sublimari sceptrigera."<sup>6</sup>

"O tam eligenda porcio. quam iocunda eius frucio. Tam beata eius electio. quam eterna eius possessio."<sup>7</sup>

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1. Cf. this passage with that from the Life of St. Milburga on p. beginning, "Sancta mater..." (A. f.211v, col.2).

2. Vita Sancte Werburge Virginis, (op.cit.p.131).

3. Vita Sancte Edithe Virginis. (op.cit. p.102).

4. A. f.209v. col.i. (V. p.58).

5. A. f.210r. col.i. (V. p.59).

6. A. f.210r. col.i. (V. p.60).

7. A f.212r. col.i. (v. p.70).

"Hac sanctorum doctrinis moribus sacris respondebat, celestibus disciplinis actibus piis consenciebat. Hinc plene misericors, primum sui miserebatur placens deo, demum pro aliis mori parabatur, plena deo. Talis autem exhibitio miseri cordie, virtus est et vera laus iusticie. Non est enim plena iustitia, nisi sic exhibita miseri cordia." 1

"Que dum febribus fatigatur, in victimam domini celitus concrematur, examinatur, defecatur, tota celestibus thalamis prae paratur, tota divinis amplexibus idoneatur". 2

"Quorum tu faucibus in praedam et devoracionem daberis, ubi devoratus semper devorandus eris, ut sic usque moriens, et nunquam morte finiens perpetuis terroribus, sulfureis fetoribus, dentium stridoribus, ignium ardoribus, penis immanibus et intollerabilibus cum ipsis in tartari medio crucieris..." 3

Goscelin, it has already been noted, is the only person to have been suggested as the author of the Vita Sancte Milburga. The manuscript Lives are anonymous, and the first explicit statement on his behalf comes from Leland who had every opportunity to discover who was responsible for this work. And the second attribution, equally explicit, comes from Roscarrock, who was independent of Leland, and received his information from an Italian

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1. A. f.212v. col.i. (V. p.~~85~~).

2. A. f.215r. col.ii. (V. p.85).

3. A. f.208r. col.i. (V. p.50).

Cf. also further examples in some of the passages already quoted from the Life of St. Milburga: in the two preambles, pp.121, 122; in the second excerpt on p.131 beginning - 'Non captabatur...'; in the first excerpt on p.132; and in the lines describing the death of Milburga, pp.133-134.

This list by no means exhausts the number of examples of rhyming prose to be found in the Life.

ecclesiastic, a contemporary of Ieland, who could have had no interest whatsoever in inventing such a statement. It has been shown that this suggestion was in fact most plausible, that it could have been Goscelin, since he lived at the time when the original Vita was written, and since it was a subject that would have had a particular attraction for him.

Then the Life itself has been examined in detail, and compared with a recognised work of Goscelin. Resemblances in the construction of the two Lives have been noted, in the order and nature of the elements of which each is comprised; in the very similar treatment of kindred subjects in parallel passages, and in the constant use of a particular rhyming prose peculiar to Goscelin.

There seems no reason to refuse to add this Vita Sancte Milburge to the definitive list of Goscelin's works. All the evidence points to him. The one thing missing is the authentic autographed manuscript. It is of course possible that he had a disciple who, modelling himself closely on his master, produced this Life, but until evidence for such a disciple is forthcoming, the Vita Sancte Milburge must remain to the credit of Goscelin of Canterbury.



C H A P T E R 4.

THE HISTORICAL VALUE OF THE LIFE OF ST MILBURGA.

In this chapter the different factual elements of which the Life is composed, are examined in order that their historical value may be assessed in the light of Goscelin's opportunities for collecting reliable material for his work. From it have been excluded the Testament of St. Milburga, and the legend relating to king Merewald: the former is by far the most interesting section of the Life, and it has required such detailed examination that it has been judged wiser to treat it in a separate chapter: the Merewald legend, although it does not permit of the same treatment<sup>1</sup> has been appended to the chapter on the Testament because if there is any truth in it, its provenance may be presumed to be the same as that of the Testament and other ancient traditions embodied in the Life.<sup>2</sup>

There remain the claims of the Saint's genealogy, the miracles with which she is credited and the details concerning her death and burial, to be considered. For even statements which are plainly unhistorical may serve to illustrate the nature of the cult of St. Milburga and the particular legends which it inspired.

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1. To the text of the Merewald legend have been added notes which attempt to distinguish between what cannot be true and what may be true.

2. V. below, pp. 260-271.

The Genealogy in the Life.

One may assume, not unreasonably, that part of Goscelin's motive in writing the Life of St. Milburga of Much Wenlock (and certainly a reason for his obvious enjoyment of the work) was his devotion to her sister, St. Mildred of Thanet.<sup>1</sup> Dr. Talbot considers that the Vita Sancte Mildrethe of Goscelin, along with the other Canterbury Lives, was written during the last twenty years of the eleventh century.<sup>2</sup> Now it has been shown how close a resemblance exists between the Lives of the two sisters,<sup>3</sup> a resemblance most noticeable in the genealogical sections which are practically identical. One must ask therefore, which Life served as model for the writing of the other?

There is as yet no means of ascertaining the date of the composition of the Vita Sancte Milburge,<sup>4</sup> but it is undeniable that the more important Life (more important as far as Goscelin, a Canterbury man, was concerned) served as the pattern for the less important; that the Life of

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1. The body of St. Mildred was translated from Thanet to Canterbury in 1035. (For the works which Goscelin devoted to her V. Cp. 3 p.103.)

2. Liber Confortarius (op.cit. p. xiii ) p.8.

3. V. Cp.3.

4. I am unable to accept Dr. Talbot's suggestion that the Life of St. Milburga was written before the Canterbury series. (V. below p.105.)

the illustrious abbess of Thanet was the model chosen for the biography of the obscure Saint whose monastery lay so far from Canterbury, rather than that the reverse order prevailed. It is after all unthinkable, that Goscelin should have modelled the Vita Sancte Mildrede on a relatively unimportant work such as the Vita Sancte Milburge.

For the first part<sup>1</sup> of the Vita Sancte Milburge, the genealogical introduction to his subject, Goscelin accepted

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1. There is no need to question the 'historicity' of the Preface to the Life of St. Milburga. Several of Goscelin's works, including the Life of St. Mildred, are introduced by Prologues. (V. Cp.3 p.121) The Preface to this Life might equally well have been addressed to Wenlock or Canterbury. If it were addressed to Wenlock, then the person addressed may be the prior of Wenlock, or perhaps even the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, the alleged author of the account of the Invention. (V. below Cp.7<sup>3</sup>, Pt.II).

It is perfectly feasible that the monks of Wenlock should have asked Goscelin to write the Life of their patron. On the other hand, Canterbury celebrated the feast of St. Milburga (her feast is kept on the twenty-third of February in a late tenth-century calendar from St. Augustine's, British Museum Additional MS 37 517. V. F.Wormald, English Calendars before 1100 op.cit.p.103) and it may have been the interest aroused in the family of Merewald which caused the monks of St. Augustine's to demand a Life of this Saint. In this case the person addressed may have been Goscelin's abbot, Wido or Hugo (V. British Museum Cotton MS. Julius Dii f.2v.), or Archbishop Anselm himself. According to the Miracula Inventionis Beate Milburge Virginis (V. below p.312) the monks of Wenlock appealed to Anselm for permission to dig for the bones of St. Milburga. It is possible that he may have learnt something about the Saint of Wenlock on the occasion of his visit to Chester in 1092 when he was present at the foundation of the Abbey of St. Werburga. V. Eadmeri Historia (R.S.) pp.27-29, 359; Annales Cestrienses, edited by R.C.Christie (The Record Society for the Publication of Original Documents relating to Lancashire and Cheshire, vol.xiv, 1886) p.16.

the authority of the writers on whom he had previously relied in the Life of St. Mildred: Bede, but more particularly the author of the Legend of the Kentish Royal Family.<sup>1</sup> The Ecclesiastical history of Bede provides the names of only some of the Kentish antecedents of the royal family of the Magonsaetan, completely ignores Mildred and Milburga, and is silent as to the affairs of the West Mercian peoples.

The original Legend of the Kentish Royal Family was composed in the ninth or tenth century, and was probably the work of a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury.<sup>2</sup> It is found in three forms: as the first part of the composite work known as the Saints of England,<sup>3</sup> in the Genealogia regum Cantuariorum and Annales of Florence of Worcester,<sup>4</sup> and in the account of the murder of the Princes Aethelred and

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1. V. Liebermann (op.cit. p.vii ) p.vii. For a comparison of the Genealogy as it is found in the Lives of St.Milburga and St. Mildred, reference should be made to Chapter 3, pp.124-127. At the end of this chapter the Genealogy of St.Mildred is given in full together with the first part of the Legend of the Kentish Royal Family. For the complete Genealogy of St. Milburga V. Chapter 2, pp.43-47.
  2. V. Liebermann (op.cit. p.viii ) p.viii.
  3. Liebermann considered that the two distinct halves of the Saints of England (the Legend and the list of the Resting-Places of the Saints), were joined in the second or third decade of the eleventh century, the person responsible obliterating the Kentish and archaic forms of the first half of the work. (V. p.xiii).
  4. V. Florence of Worcester (op.cit.p.98) pp.252 and 258, vol.i.

Aethelberht which is to be found in the fragment of the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Mildred,<sup>1</sup> Goscelin's Life of St. Mildred,<sup>2</sup> his Passio Sanctorum Ethelberti et Ethelred<sup>3</sup> and several other works.<sup>4</sup>

The Legend is a complete and detailed genealogical account of the descendants of Aethelberht of Kent in the seventh and eighth centuries, together with the names of the religious establishments connected with several of these royal personages, and their burial places. It includes an account of the treacherous murder of the two sons of Ermenred (they were St. Milburga's uncles) at the hands of Thunor, and the latter's divinely appointed punishment. It provides the earliest evidence for St. Milburga's existence and parentage.

The second part of the Saints of England, the Resting Places of the Saints, - a kind of tenth-century pilgrim's guide-book, according to Liebermann<sup>5</sup> - records that St.

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1. British Museum Cotton MS Caligula A xiv f.12lv. This work is edited by Cockayne (op.cit. p.113) p.18.
  2. British Museum Cotton MS Vespasian B xx. (V. <sup>above</sup>~~below~~ Cp.3)
  3. MS. Bodl. 285. ff.116-120b. (V. Hardy. Cat.i.685).
  4. V. Liebermann (op.cit.p. ~~xiii~~ ) p.v. There are minor variations in the several versions of the Legend preserved be separate traditions, particularly in the saga of the two Aethelings. V. Liebermann, pp.v-vii.
  5. (Op.cit.p. ~~xiii~~ ) p.xii.

Milburga was buried at Winlocan<sup>1</sup> by the river Severn.

This statement has the support of all tradition relating to St. Milburga.

It is unfortunately impossible to deduce from the Legend any dates relevant to the life of St. Milburga.<sup>2</sup> It is not known if the marriage of her parents took place before or after Merewald's conversion, although it would seem Merewald was not married when Edfrid came and interpreted his dream; for it is certainly implied that the Northumbrian priest was preaching the Gospel to people as yet quite untouched by Christianity, and if Domneva had by this time become the wife of Merewald there would presumably have been at least one Kentish christian priest in attendance upon the West Mercian court.<sup>3</sup>

Nor is it possible to tell whether Domneva's decision to abandon the married state preceded, or was consequent

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1. (Op.cit.p. 110 ) p.12. This is the earliest instance of this form of the name of St. Milburga's monastery. V. Chapter 5, p.222.
  2. The suggestion that St. Milburga died at about the age of sixty ("Circiter ergo duodecim lustris annorum decursis in stadio vite transeuntis...") is no more than a guess on Goscelin's part. He had no means of verifying such a statement, and if the evidence of the Testament is worth anything (V. below p. 66 ) his guess was quite inaccurate as St. Milburga was still alive in the reign of king Aethelbald.
  3. The Frankish wife of Aethelberht of Kent brought her own chaplain with her to her husband's court. Their daughter Aethelberg was accompanied by Paulinus when she left her father's kingdom to marry Edwin of Northumbria. (H.E.i. 25, ii. 9).

upon the crime of Thunor and king Egfrith's obligation to pay the wergild to her.<sup>1</sup> The Legend remains an important source of information, but it is unrealistic to look for precision of detail there, least of all in regard to the history of St. Milburga who is only remotely connected with its main theme.

No member of St. Milburga's immediate family is mentioned by Bede in his great work, and yet one must believe that she was an important religious figure in Western Mercia in Bede's own life-time, and that her father was the ruler of a substantial<sup>2</sup> Mercian border kingdom in the second half of the seventh century. How can one account for Bede's apparent neglect?

In his Introduction Bede has listed his sources. For Mercia he has relied on the brothers of Lastingham.<sup>3</sup> Now Lastingham is near Whitby, miles away from the heart of

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1. The murder of the two young princes took place between the years 668-670. (V. A.A.S.S. Oct.viii.pp.90-94).
  2. Merewald was reputed to be the son of Penda. . This is probably a ninth century fiction, although he was almost certainly politically dependent on the Mercian kings. (V. Professor Stenton in Anglo-Saxon England, (op.cit.) p.47, "a statement of this kind in so late a text (i.e. the Legend) has little if any authority".)
  3. Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica. (edit. Plummer)  
Praefatio ad Regum Ceoluulfum: "Qualiter vero per ministerium Ceddi et Caedda religiosorum Christi sacerdotum, vel provincia Merciorum ad fidem Christi, quam non noverat, pervenerit, vel..... diligenter a fratribus monasterii... Laestingaeu cognominatur agnovimus".



Merewald's kingdom. The monks of this monastery had scarcely more opportunity than had Bede at Jarrow to inform themselves of the history of the Magonsaetan. Nor does Bede seem to have been aware of the few occasions when their history became part of the wider history of the Anglo-Saxon peoples, as for instance, the conversion of Merewald, and his marriage with Domneva of Kent.

It is not only in regard to the Magonsaetan that Bede is ill-informed. He knows very little about the way in which the whole of the Mercian kingdom was evangelized. He knows that kings were baptised, that bishops were appointed.<sup>1</sup> But of what happened inside these kingdoms he knows nothing. It is true that the most important step in the conversion of the Mercian peoples was taken when Peada, the son of Penda, ruler of the Middle Angles, was baptised by Bishop Finan in 653,<sup>2</sup> but at least a year before this, Christian priests had been allowed to preach in Mercia,<sup>3</sup> and it is possible that Merewald's conversion may ~~possibly~~ pre-date this period.

The fact that the marriage of Merewald to a Kentish princess is not mentioned by Bede is consistent with his curious silence as to the descendants of Ermenred, son of Eadbald of Kent.

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1. H.E. iii 21.

2. H.E. iii 21.

3. Id.

Ermenred was apparently the elder of Eadbald's two sons,<sup>1</sup> although it was Eorcenberht who succeeded his father. Ermenred may have been the son of Eadbald's first marriage with his step-mother, a union which was later dissolved under pressure of episcopal censure, and which was followed by the marriage with Emma, daughter of the Frankish king.<sup>2</sup> This might account for the fact that Eorcenberht was preferred to Ermenred in the line of succession, and also in some measure for Bede's silence in regard to him. Bede's history of the English peoples was never intended to be a political history, and there is more than one noteworthy passage which will probably always remain obscure because Bede did not consider it necessary to furnish explanatory details.<sup>3</sup>

The Legend of the Kentish Royal Family, it has been stated, begins as a genealogical work, listing all the holy and illustrious progeny of Aethelberht of Kent, and ends as a saga with the story of the murder of the two young princes. It provided Goscelin with the few main facts that were essential to his Life of St. Milburga. Bede confirms some

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1. V. Goscelin in his Genealogy. (V. p.125).
  2. Bede records the story of how the king was induced to dissolve the first marriage (H.E. ii, 5 & 6) but does not mention Emma.
  3. V. eg. lib.iii. Cp. xxiv where Bede states that Aedilheri, successor of Anna of the East Anglian kingdom, was responsible for the war between Oswy and Penda which terminated in the Battle of the Winwaed. "Bede nowhere tells us how this was" (Plummer II. 183).

of the statements of the Legend but has no fresh information to offer.

Of the organisation of the monastery and the manner of living which prevailed at Wininicas Goscelin naturally knew nothing. He does not appear to have considered the possibility of this being a double monastery. He refers to Milburga as "monasticae conversacionis magistra"<sup>1</sup> but the life at Wenlock would certainly not have borne much resemblance to the regular life that Goscelin knew. Any estimate of the religious life at Wenlock in the seventh and eighth centuries must take into account all existing evidence for these early double communities: evidence from Bede,<sup>2</sup> from the correspondence of St. Boniface,<sup>3</sup> from the Lives of certain Saints, and from parallels drawn from similar communities on the Continent.<sup>4</sup> Even then it would be rash to deduce too much regarding the character of any one of them. These early institutions were to a very large extent the creation of founder or superior, and were also considerably affected by

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1. Additional 34 633 r.210v. col.i.

2. This is discussed in Chapter 1 of Part II.

3. V. M. Tangl, Die Briefe des Heiligen Bonifatius und Lullus in Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Epistolae Selectae, t.i. (Letters 10, 14 and 27).

4. V. M. Bateson, The Origin and Early History of double Monasteries in T.R.H.S. (New Series) vol.13 for 1899 (pp.137-198).

the conditions in which the foundation had taken place. It would be tempting here to make use of some of the statements contained in the Testament, and the account of Merewald's conversion, in order to indicate the possible influence that an Edfrid (trained in the Celtic tradition probably, as he was a Northumbrian) or an Edelheg (a disciple of St. Botolph whose youth had been spent at Chelles) might have exerted on Wenlock. But any such estimates have only the value of supposition while the hypothesis remains unproven, and must be deferred to the end of the next chapter.

### The Miracles.

The miracles recorded in a Saint's Life were intended to stimulate the devotion of the reader, to inspire him with a desire to imitate the virtues of which these miracles were the fruit, to provide a little light entertainment perhaps, to illustrate some particular quality and, most important, to demonstrate the Saint's right to the honours of the altar - to his place in the communion of Saints.<sup>1</sup> These

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1. Cf. C.W.Jones, Saints' Lives and Chronicles, (op.cit. p.121).

aims are well served in the Life of St. Milburga which contains seven miracle-stories.<sup>1</sup> Four of these are found in the main part of the Life;<sup>2</sup> they are told at some length, and in style are one with the rest of the work. The last three, coming right at the end of the Life, are not so fully developed and are told almost as hear-say.

In the case of the first four miracles it is clear that the author intended to edify and hoped to inspire emulation. For these purposes it was obviously of secondary importance whether or not there was documentary (or any other) evidence that this event actually took place in the manner recorded. But if the miracle did have some historical support, some traditional association, it was certainly no disadvantage and it would be incorporated by the hagiographer into his work. It is therefore permissible to hope that the Life of St. Milburga contains in its miracle-stories something older than the fruit of Goscelin's fertile imagination and receptive memory.

Given his long and illustrious career in the writing of Saints' Lives,<sup>3</sup> Goscelin could never have been at a loss to supply the apt illustration for his text. In order to

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1. Apart from the second miracle of the Life (which has already been discussed in connection with a similar legend relating to St. Werburga, (v.p.105) none of those related of St. Milburga occur in any other work of Goscelin that I have consulted.

2. Additional 34 633 ff.213r-215r (pp.74-84 ).

3. V. Cp.3 p.102.

write of the miracles of St. Milburga he would not have needed to make the long journey from Canterbury to Wenlock to interrogate a community of monks who would have known little more than he did of what tradition ascribed to her. Yet evidence reviewed in the next Chapter<sup>1</sup> will show that it was certain that Goscelin did visit Wenlock, and that he collected material there, and this being so, one must of course concede that he would not have lost the opportunity to inform himself of any existing traditions relating to the Saint. It is therefore possible that some of the miracles which are found in the Life may form part of a popular tradition which had survived into the twelfth century in spite of the varying fortunes of the monastery and the lack of continuity of religious life there.

The first of the group of four miracles which form the sixth element of the Life, is concerned, it will be recalled, with the miraculous escape of the Saint from a certain prince who wished to marry her.<sup>2</sup> Intending to seize her against her will, he sets forth with an armed band of soldiers, prepared to overcome any resistance that may be offered. But Milburga is forewarned of his plan, and she flees back

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1. V. below pp. 176-271.

2. Additional 34 633 f.213r. V. above pp.74-75

to Wenlock with her band of nuns. As she crosses the river Corf<sup>1</sup> it swells into a raging torrent behind her; the wicked prince is unable to follow, and, horrified by the miracle which his action has invoked, himself flees as fast as he had once pursued her.

This is the conventional picture of the bride of Christ defending her virginity: the image of the soul<sup>d</sup> who desires to belong to God alone.<sup>2</sup> It is probably not unjust to say that Goscelin felt that this Life needed some such story in order to illustrate St. Milburga's gift of herself to God and God's acceptance of that gift - a theme which he has laboriously developed. But that is by no means all that can be said. Certain details suggest that the story may have an ancient origin, that it was perhaps part of early local tradition relating to St. Milburga.

The miracle-story begins with the words "ut refert auctoritas veterum"<sup>3</sup> - a phrase which is by no means in itself an infallible guide to the authenticity of what follows, but which does not, it should be noticed, precede any of the other miracles of the Life.

Then there is the phrase "dum enim extra monasterium

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~~L.V. map.~~

2. Cf. the "passion" endured by her sister Mildred at Chelles at the hands of the Abbess Wilcoma (Vespasian B. xx ff. 149v - 151v).
3. Additional 34 633 f.213r. V. above p.74

aliquando demoraretur",<sup>1</sup> referring to the fact that St. Milburga was some distance from her monastery when she learnt that the prince had set out to capture her. It would not have been the practice of an abbess of the twelfth century to wander about with her retinue of nuns, far from the monastery, and not therefore an idea that would have been likely to occur to Goscelin. It sounds very like a reference to primitive practice when the great royal abbesses of Anglo-Saxon England, probably followed the examples of their fathers and journeyed about over their lands, living off their various properties.<sup>2</sup> And the statement that the unnamed prince assembled a band of armed men is either entirely imaginative or must be explained as a practical measure necessary to overcome the resistance that would be offered by the men in St. Milburga's retinue.

And finally, in a nineteenth century collection of legends relating to old Shropshire<sup>3</sup> there is a tale told of St. Milburga which bears some resemblance to this story. The legend (which was still current in the village of Stoke St. Milborough<sup>4</sup> when the author collected his material) relates how St. Milburga, who was famous for her beauty and

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1. Additional 34 633 f.213r. V. above p.74

2. Cf. the reference in the Life of St. Werburga (op.cit. p.131) "Cum in ipsius Wedunae mansione moraretur regia virgo....."

3. C.S. Burne, Shropshire Folklore (London 1883) pp.418-419.

~~4. V. map.~~



her holiness, was obliged to live in hiding as she had so many enemies; but her retreat became known and she was forced to flee from her foes, mounted on a white horse. She fled for two days and two nights and then fell fainting from her horse: where she fell, a spring of water gushed forth which has never failed to this day: but her foes still pursuing her, a miracle was performed on her behalf and a field of barley sprang up in one day and afforded her protection.<sup>1</sup>

There is little comment to be made on this story. The essential theme, of flight and miraculous escape, is the same as that of the Latin Life of Goscelin, although it has not the former's specifically Christian character. It is impossible to tell which version preserves the more ancient tradition but on the whole it is probable that the twelfth

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1. This may be inspired by the legend of the Mower in the Flight into Egypt. V. H.O.Hassall, The Holkham Bible Picture Book (London 1954), p.95.

Cf. also a similar story related of St. Radegond:  
 "Cum autem ad beatam Radegundam, in villa Suedas, quam a conjugē rege acceperat, residentem, nuntiatum esset, brevi affuturum Clotarium, quo eam in regiam civitatem conjugiumque revocaret, effugit. Verita autem, ne deprehenderetur, agricolae in quem forte iter incidit, avenam serenti imperavit, ut interrogatus si quem vidisset illac iter liabentem, vere responderet, neminem prorsus transisse, ex quo suam seminaret avenam; statim autem illa stupendo prorsus miraculo in tantam excrevit altitudinem, ut in ea Regina tuto posset abscondi. Quo Rex ubi pervenit et rei gestae seriem edoctus consilium simul iterque deponit".

A.A.S.S. August III pp.66-89.

century account provides the more reliable version. It is interesting that the author of Shropshire Folklore does not seem to have known of the Life of St. Milburga.

A third form of this same story occurs at the end of the Life,<sup>1</sup> the first of the legends said to be related of St. Milburga among the Welsh. One is not given the account of the pursuit and flight, but it is merely stated that a certain pagan king of the Welsh was struck down by God for his sacriligious attempt to lay hands on St. Milburga.

This accumulated evidence, the details in Goscelin's version of the story, the coincidence of what is essentially the same story being found in two entirely different sources, would suggest that here is the basic theme of a genuine tradition which appears to have been common to several districts of the wide stretch of land that once made up the Land of St. Milburga: a tradition which was still alive in the nineteenth century.

The second miracle of St. Milburga,<sup>2</sup> which tells how she expelled from her lands a flock of wild geese that were devastating the crops, bears a close resemblance to a story related of St. Werburga, although the two accounts are not

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1. Additional 34 633 f.216r. (p.90).

2. Additional 34 633 f.213r-213v. V. above pp. 75-77

entirely identical.<sup>1</sup> It is possible that Goscelin chose and used the story for both Lives because it was suitable for royal abbesses who both owned great lands and should therefore be associated with the land. But it may have been genuine tradition which independently associated a similar story with the memories of two great Saints of the first century of Christian England: a tradition which may well express the veneration of a semi-pagan society for a holy person in terms which suggest some confusion in the popular mind between the new Christian Saint, and the old pagan nature-goddess.

For the third and fourth miracles related of St. Milburga it is no longer possible to postulate any evidence for ancient tradition. The story of the Saint's veil being suspended on a sunbeam while she slept<sup>2</sup> is unmistakably the stock-in-trade of the professional hagiographer. It follows on a long descriptive passage of the Saint's piety, and is intended as an illustration of her assiduity in prayer. And the final tale, of the Saint's raising a dead child to life, with its obvious debt to the incident in the Gospel when Christ healed the daughter of the Chanaanite woman,<sup>3</sup>

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1. This has already been discussed in Cp. 3 p.105.

2. Additional 34.633 f.213v - 214r. V. above pp.77-79

3. Matt. xv. 21-28.

*In the life of  
The Bright*

is similarly of no historical interest.<sup>1</sup> It serves here to illustrate the charity and compassion of St. Milburga.

With regard to these four miracles Goscelin's material seems to be the result of questioning the monks of Wenlock, and some of the English servants of the monastery, and perhaps even some of the oldest inhabitants of the village. He was however obliged sometimes to supplement from other, entirely unassociated sources when the oral testimony of Wenlock failed him.

But the Welsh miracles seem almost to be an after-thought an epilogue to the Life. It is difficult to believe that Goscelin would have prefixed the title "Welsh Miracles" without some good reason, however mistaken he may have been. And it is not impossible that he may have been moved to carry his researches beyond the border of the Norman kingdom, into the lands of the Welsh princes, or at least that he should have had an informant who could tell him about the cult that St. Milburga still enjoyed in Wales.

These Miracles<sup>2</sup> as already stated, are concerned with three stones which were believed to have been associated

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1. The story of St. Milburga raising a dead child to life is told in considerably more detail in the Sixteenth century MS from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, No.433, f.63.

2. Additional 34 633 ff.216-216v. (pp.89-91).

with St. Milburga. The first has already been fully discussed;<sup>1</sup> the second is of little historical interest. But the third story is more interesting. It is said, Goscelin relates, that St. Milburga used to sit on a certain stone which afterwards was imbued with peculiar virtues: that because of its holy associations it was raised up and a church was built on the same spot - a church which could still be seen on Goscelin's day with the stone outside it. It is unlikely that such a statement would be pure fabrication.

#### The Death and Burial of St. Milburga.

In an earlier chapter<sup>2</sup> an explanation has been given for the reference to the reigns of the four kings who were supposed to have been contemporaries of Milburga: Wulfhere, Aethelred, Cenred and Ceolred. The paragraph is of no historical importance and is in any case inexact.<sup>3</sup> It would indeed have been suspicious had Goscelin been able to furnish the date of St. Milburg's death. No means existed in early eighth century Mercia for making such a

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1. V. p.155 above.

2. V. Cp. 3, p.118.

3. V. above p.118.

computation. But there is no reason for refusing the evidence afforded for the day of her death, (the date of deposition) by early calendars. This day would immediately become memorable for the community of Wininicas and would have been entered into whatever liturgical book the house possessed. From there it would have passed to other houses and into their calendars accordingly as the cult of St. Milburga developed. One may therefore with complete confidence, accept the evidence offered by three existing Pre-Conquest calendars, that St. Milburga died on the twenty-third of February.<sup>1</sup> And she was buried, according to Goscelin, in the church of the Holy Trinity, by the altar of St. George.<sup>2</sup>

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1. V. F. Wormald, English Kalendars before 1100 (Henry Bradshaw Society 1934).

2. "Gleba vero virginei corporis cultu celebri reconditur ante maius altare in ecclesia sancte trinitatis. habens ad caput altare constructum in memoriam beati georgii martiris" (Lincoln, f.86w. Additional f.216).  
Lansdowne however has 'gregorii martyris', which is, according to Miss Graham (op.cit.p.x) a misreading for George. But if this was an early dedication, it is far more likely to have been to St. Gregory rather than to St. George, the 'martyris' being possibly a mistaken afterthought when the 'gregorii' had already become 'georgii'.  
Levison knows of no early dedication to St. George although there are three to St. Gregory, at Canterbury, Whitby and York. (The Patron Saints of English Churches in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries, Appendix V in England and the Continent in the Eighth Century). (1946) pp.259-265.  
Devotion to St. George increased after the alleged occasion of his coming to the aid of the 'Franks' during the battle of Antioch in 1098. The earliest known dedication to him is late eleventh century. Cf. also Arnold-Forster: "In three instances at least, in small country parishes, there seems some hesitation whether the patron saint is St. Gregory or St. George. In all such cases we may unhesitatingly believe in St. Gregory's claim in as much as his is by far the least familiar name of the two and very liable therefore to be superseded in the Middle Ages by that universal favourite St. George". Studies in Church Dedication (1899) vol.1, p.309.

It is at this point that the problem of the interdependence of the Life and the Account of the Invention is raised. For the Account also states that St. Milburga was buried in the church of the Holy Trinity - according to its author this information was found written on a piece of parchment discovered in 1101. Did Goscelin receive this information from Wenlock - setting aside for the moment the question of whether it was true or not - or did the monks there receive it from him?

If Goscelin was first responsible for publishing this statement, then it is implied that he had some source of information on the resting place of St. Milburga other than Wenlock, and that having read the Life the monks decided to fabricate a document referring them to that very spot where they later discovered the bones. Neither of these instances are very likely: where else would the tradition relating to St. Milburga's grave have been preserved if not at Wenlock, and why should the monks of Wenlock have constructed such a very elaborate story to account for their discovery when they could quite simply have acted on what the Life told them?

It is much more likely that Goscelin received this information from them - as he certainly received other information relating to her miracles for example, - and

incorporated it in his Life of the Saint. It was not in accordance with his interests or inclinations deliberately to invent such a statement. Had he written without reflection (and without information) he would have said that she was buried in her monastery or in the monastic church, as Tynemouth did.<sup>1</sup>

If then Goscelin was indebted to Wenlock for knowledge of the Saint's resting place, it follows that the Life was written after 1101, when the relics were discovered and it must therefore be one of his latest works. But it was not necessarily written after the Account of the Invention, as the Cardinal may have written as late as two years after the event which he is describing. And this again is highly probable, as it is more likely that the increased interest in the Saint after the discovery of her relics, the beginnings of a properly organized cult at the shrine, created a demand for a Vita which might be used for liturgical purposes as well as for edification, than that the Life, produced independently at Canterbury stimulated a desire to discover the relics of the Saint. Although it is impossible to establish a precise date, the writing of the Life may be assigned to the years 1101-1105 - and probably the earlier part of this period. Indeed it may have been written simultaneously with the Account, both writers perhaps having been approached at the same time by the Wenlock community.



APPENDIX TO CHAPTER 4.

Nec fastidiat lector. florulentum  
hoc diverticulum. vel supplementum  
adiacentium alveorum. quo  
refectus irriguis pratis currat  
iter ceptum. 1

In nomine domini nostri  
Jesu christi. 1

Huius itaque decentissime sobolis  
tritavus. antecessorum et parent-  
alium regum potentissimus ac  
felicissimus. rex choruscat  
aethelbertus. Primus anglorum  
regum fide christi ac baptis-  
mate canduit. 2 primus celeste  
regnum de terreno obtinuit. Hic  
illud precluentissimum romam  
orbis decus et magnum mundi  
luminare augustinus. ~~Augustinis~~  
excellentissimi GREGORII immo  
christi legatione functus.  
eterni solis agnitione. in  
angliam convertit. quem ut  
magnum maris ~~ceterum~~\*apostolica

Beatus Augustinus Edelber-  
htum regem Cantie cum  
gente sua convertit et  
baptizavit,

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1. On the left is the genealogy of St. Mildred. The first five lines are the end of the prologue, Vespasian B xx f.144r.

On the right is the Legend of the Kentish Royal Family. (V. Liebermann op.cit.p.viii . The Latin text is from the eleventh century MS. from the British Museum, Cotton MS Vitellius A2 ff. 3 - 5. For a discussion of this MS and its relation to the Anglo-Saxon texts of the Legend V. Liebermann op.cit. above).

. The whole of this genealogy should be compared with that found in the Life of St. Milburga (V. above pp.41-91. ).

2. 'ac baptis-  
mate' are the first words of f.144v.

\* there is a word here that I was unable to read in the MS.

beati petri sagena cum sua gente  
 celo triumphavit. Imperavit usque ad humbram  
 fluminum cunctus australibus provinciis  
 late britanniae. fovebat et  
 subiectos reges grata ditione.  
 Nec contentus sua salute. omnes  
 certabat domino lucrifacere.  
 et christianitate ubique propagare.  
 Gaudebat domini famulis obedire  
 magis quam regnare. reverebatur  
 verba sacerdotum. potius quam bella augustorum.  
 Quinquaginta et sex annis regnavit.  
 longe felicior qui christum  
 videre in sua gente nasci et christo  
 renasci meruit quam cesar  
 augustus qui totidem annis  
 imperavit. sed christum suo  
 tempore humanatum fide non  
 attigit. Post xx<sup>ta</sup> autem annos  
 sue in salvatore regenerationis anno videlicet  
 incarnati ubi sexcentesimo sextodecimo  
 assumptus ad supernum solium.  
 conditus enim in portico sancti  
 martini intra ecclesiam beatorum petri  
 et pauli apostolorum ubi et  
 berta regina possidet manimentum.  
 Multa adeo divine et humane  
 honorificentie bona indictum  
 idem pater patri<sup>8</sup> sue decernens  
 attente quicquid sanctius didicisset  
 a patribus et transmarin<sup>8</sup> comitate.  
 Maxime autem amore beati petri evangelicique  
 progenitoris sui AUGUSTINI romanis  
 legibus ac decretis informavit  
 patria iura. ut anglia sicut alter  
 orbis. ita altera videretur roma.  
 tanquam filia tante matris emula.  
 quarum omnium institutionum exemplaria.  
 ad huc habentur angelico eloquio  
 descripta. sicut tunc mencione  
 sapientum sancita fuerant et accepta.<sup>1</sup>

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1. This is the end of Chapter II in Vespasian B xx.

Huic succedens filius eadbaldus.  
interim a paterna pietate declinavit.  
et in idola ac stupra defluxit. unde  
traditus ei cui se mancipaverat  
satane. crebra agitabatur v~~e~~cordia  
et invasione demonica ac vexatione.  
ut a tam seuo tyranno disceret.  
iugum christi<sup>1</sup> quam suave esset et  
a casu<sup>o</sup> firmiter staret. Roborabat  
hanc apostasiam transitus ad  
ãthera christianissimi regis  
orientalium saxonum sigeberti...<sup>2</sup>

qui reginam habebat  
nomine Bertam, que  
genuit sibi filium  
Eadbaldum

filiamque Edelburgam,  
alio nomine vocitatem  
Tate, que data  
fuit Eduuino regi Nord-  
anhymbrorum in coniugem;  
sanctusque Paulinus cum  
eam missus regem illum  
cum gente sua convertit  
et baptizavit.

Post eius interfectionem  
reversa est regina ad  
fratrem suum Aedbaldum,  
qui tunc rex Cantie erat.  
Ipse vero dedit sibi  
villam Limmince nomin-  
atam. Qua recepta,  
fecit ibi monasterium  
ibique sepulta est.

- 
1. 'iugum christi' are the first words of 145r.
  2. There follows an account of the expulsion of Mellitus from London, the decision of the Bishops to flee, Laurence's vision of two angels, his recounting this vision to the king and the latter's subsequent repentance. (cf. H.E.ii, 5 & 6). The passage that has been omitted runs from f.145r (the third line from the bottom of the page) to the thirteenth line of f.145v.

Dignum scilicet attavum successure  
nepti mildride se exhibuit. cui  
etiam regios parentes non solum  
anglia. sed etiam ex augustali  
francia addidit. Nam ex regina  
emma francorum regis filia  
ermenredum ac erconbertum  
filios ipsiusque avos et  
beatissimam virginem  
christi eansuidam genuit.  
que requiescit in monasterio  
folcanstan quod ipsa  
condidit. 1

Primogenitus regis ermenredus  
ex regali coniuge oslava  
gemellas et martyriales  
christi laureas athelredum  
atque athelbertum germinavit.  
sanctas quoque paradisiaci  
et evangelici fontis filias  
Domnevam. Ermenbergam alias 2  
Ermenburgam. et Ermengitham. 2  
sanctissimos scilicet nostre  
virginis avunculos et matertās et  
matrem beatissimam. Gloriosa  
autem Domneva tres pretiosissimas  
sancte trinitatis gemmas. tres  
sanctissimas christi sponsas  
mildburgam. mildredam. mildgytham  
florificavit. et hoc quasi  
trifolium lilium praesceptra tulit  
Nomina simillima. par formarum  
glorie. equalis gratia. mens et  
amor et sanctitas trium erat unica.  
hinc Mildburga ut fides. inde  
Mildgytha ut spes. media chrouscat  
Mildritha ut caritas. Nam et in  
cantico canticorum media caritate  
constrata sunt. 3 Et ut aliquid  
hic de poetarum fabulis adiungamus.  
tres etant pariles gratis sorores.  
His tribus sidereis, lampadibus  
tria britannici orbis regna

Eadbaldus vero habebat in  
uxorem filiam regis Francorum  
nomine Ymmam, que  
genuit sibi filios duos  
Ermenredum videlicet et  
Erconberhtum, filiamque  
Eanbuidam que ad Folcan-  
stan pausat.

Hi vero filii Ermenraedi  
et uxoris sui Oslave:  
Aedelraedus, Aedelberhtus,  
sororesque eorum tres  
Ermenburga et Ermenberga  
simulque Ermengytha. 2

Fuerunt autem rex Ecberhtus  
et rex Lodarius et  
sancta Ermenhilda et Erc-  
ongota filii Erconberhti  
regis fratris Ermenredi  
et Sexburge regine.

Ermenburga vero, que  
Domna-Eva nominabatur,  
tradita est filio Pandan  
regis Merciorum nomine  
Merwale in coniugam, que  
genuit sibi filium Mere-  
phin, filias quoque tres:  
sanctam Mildburgam sanct-  
amque Mildredam et sanctam  
Mildgytham.

1. This is the end of Chapter III in Vespasian B xx.

2. For a discussion of the daughters of Ermenred v. above  
p. 127.

3. 'sunt' is the first word of f.146r.

siderum conditor irradiavit.  
 Sancta Mildgida in partibus  
 northanymbrorum sancta Myldburcha  
 in native terra merciorum monasterio  
 winlocan dicto. sancta vero  
 Mildritha in parentali regno  
 et principali anglie regione  
 apud principem et protoparentem  
 anglie regenerationis. post  
 multos annos de taneto translata  
 requiescit augustinum. Que  
 singula deo sacrate virgines  
 singula loca celestibus  
 assiduam miraculis. Quartam  
 quoque sobolem virginem fratrem  
 merefin dictum quasi croceum florem in  
 medio liliorum produxit.  
 quem christus parvulum suscipiens  
 paradysi floribus addidit.  
 Post tanta pignora pii  
 parentes renuntiantes coniugio  
 et regno. Terrenis cum possessionibus  
 se transtulere in hereditatem  
 incorruptam conservatam in  
 celo. A patre quoque  
 prelustrissima mildritha  
 regibus patruis cum pia  
 et sacra progenie claruit.  
 per quos nichilominus christianam  
 propage floruit. Nam meruuale  
 genitoris tres germani reges.  
 peada mediterraneos anglos  
 wlfers mercios ad christum convertit.  
 subiectosque reges data provinciarum  
 et amplioris potestatis  
 praemio christi cultores  
 effecit. succesorque uulferi  
 fratris athelredus post  
 xx viiii annos imperii sui  
 monastice professioni se  
 mancipavit. Quorum beatissime  
 sorores cyneburga et  
 cinesuitha. velut gemelli  
 oculi domini burgense beati

Post quorum procreationem  
 pro desiderio eterne  
 vite se Deo devoverunt.  
 Porro Domna-Eva Cantiam  
 rediit et pretium fratrum  
 interfectorum a rege  
 Ecgberto qui eos interfici  
 consensit, in insula  
 Taenet recepit.

PETRI ecclesiam clarissimis meritis  
 illustravit et condigne amite alme  
 Mildrithe gloriam et honore inter  
 ceteros natales accumulavit.  
 Cýneburga regina sui nominis  
 castrum. immo præclariora virtutum  
 insignia dereliquit cinesuitha  
 regi occidentalium anglorum offe  
 desponsata. a mundi domina  
 MARIA sibi splendide apparente.  
 et tuis lacrimis irrigata venio  
 dicente. perpetue virginitatis  
 palmam extorsit. regnumque  
 celorum violentia rapuit.  
 His etiam in eadem apostolica  
 ecclesia beata virgo tibia<sup>1</sup>  
 in sancte trinitatis gratia<sup>1</sup>  
 adiuncta tercia consanguinitate ut fertur  
 Mildrith<sup>2</sup> proxima. meritis vero  
 certissimis ~~enim~~ cognatissima.<sup>2</sup>

Ad huc autem immorantes in parentala  
 tam splendide virginis Mildrithe.  
 poscimus legentis vel audientis  
 patientia. dum exponamus  
 causam quam illam adducamus  
 cantiam. Iam eadbaldus rex fidelissimus dei cultor  
 et ecclesie devotissimus  
 adnitor migrans ad eternum  
 regnum iuniori filio  
 eorconberto scepra inperii  
 delegavit. Que ille xxiiii annis excellentissime  
 tenuit. Hic igitur accinctus  
 fortitudine. primus regum  
 anglorum ab universo regno  
 idola exterminavit.  
 primus etiam ieiunium  
 quadragesimale proposita  
 pena transgressoribus per  
 omnes summa auctoritate.  
 observandum sancivit.  
 Coniunx illa sanctissima sexburga.  
 anne regis orientalium anglorum  
 christianissimi ac piissimi

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1. 'gratia adiuncta' are the first words of f.146v.

2. This is the end of Chapter IV in Vespasian B.xx.

filia. beatissimeque virginis  
 etheldrithe germana. que peperit ei  
 egbrihtum filium successorem.  
 duasque filias sanctissimas  
 ercongodam et ermenhildam. Quarum  
 ercongodam virginei flore deo  
 sacrata missa est transmare  
 sacris litteris et religione  
 imbuenda. sancta vero eormenhilda data  
 supradicto ~~W~~lfero regi  
 merciorum. sanctam domini  
 virginem Werburgam protulit.  
 que in monasterio henuburch signis  
 praeclara requiescit. Ermenredus  
 autem regia dignitate decentissimus  
 qui paternum regnum pietate  
 attentius quam imperio decorabat.  
 ubi vite finem vidit. filios  
 suos aethelredum atque aethelbrihtum  
 geminum sua lumina sidus. fratri  
 eorconberti regi adhuc infantulos  
 commendavit. ut pro patruo  
 eis pater et servator esset et  
 hereditatem suam usque ad  
 maturum evum procurando  
 reassignaret. Quod ille  
 benignissime implevit dum  
 vixit. Qui et ipse in  
 anniversario sancti archiepis-  
 copi deusdedit obiens  
 fraternum depositum cum regno  
 egbrihto filio reliquit.  
 Isque successor novem annis  
 regnavit. et omnia  
 orientalia atque australia regna  
 optinuit. qui et commissos sibi  
 consobrinos suos vice  
 patris habuit. Erat tunc regis<sup>1</sup>  
 prefectus et popularis impius  
 thunor vocabulo. quod latine  
 resoluitur in tonitruum. hic  
 nigrofelle metuens vigore et  
 prudentia crescentem regalium  
 puerorum industriam et indolem  
 divina atque humane prerogativa

Consilarius vero regis,  
 qui eos interfecit et  
 in triplexclinio aule regis  
 ad Estrige sepelivit,  
 Thunor vocabatur. Innoc-  
 entes quoque pueri  
 cuius meritis fuerint,  
 divina virtus declaravit,

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1. 'regis prefectus' are the first words of f.147r.

omnibus amabilem et gratiosam  
 naturalem regis affectum crebro  
 sibilo subplantandi regni  
 exterritat. corrumpit et inclinat.  
 ut sibi hanc culpam permitat. quo  
 regis caput contra insurgentes  
 tyrannos defendat. Qui tandem  
 audiens regem quasi invitans  
 voluntate et quasi voce  
 pilati et iudeorum dicentem.  
 quid ad me. tu videris. data  
 nocte. tenebrarum satelles in villa  
 regia hestrie utrosque  
 innocentes obtruncat. et sub ipso regis  
 solio tanquam commune nefas  
 occultat. donec altis gurgitibus  
 ab humana notitia dimergat. Sed  
 qui revelat abscondita tenebrarum.  
 mox effuso instar solis radio.  
 a corporibus sanctorum et ipsis  
 regalibus tectis usque ad celi  
 fastigia. multis intuentibus  
 publicavit et carnificis vesaniam  
 et martyrum gloriam. Rex  
 quoque vidit. et quasi in caput  
 suum libratum hoc fulmen  
 conspexisset expavit. dum  
 tamen cogitaret potius quam certum haberet. cui malo  
 frenum relaxaverit. hoc celesti  
 indicio reperte regales glebe  
 regaliter funerantur. patratum  
 scelus ubique vulgatum plebis  
 querimonia in regem et  
 detestabilem ministrum grassatur  
 et gemellum patrie iubar impie  
 extinctum defletur. Hic  
 tumultibus sanctissimus archipresul  
 THEODORUS a primicerio anglice  
 fidei augustino septimus. cum  
 beatissimè patre ADRIANO se medium  
 interserit. quos per sanctum papam  
 vitalianum perpetuos patronos roma  
 anglie miserat. Denique ADRIANUS  
 impositum sibi primitus hunc  
 apostolatam in THEODORUM transtulit  
 et ultimum locum in nuptiis dominò celo  
 promovendus occupavit. laborem vero  
 fructumque peregrinationis et evangeliei  
 perhonore inglorius invasit.  
 nec minus prelato prodesse ecclesie  
 concertavit. Hi itaque habito

ita ut lux celestia,  
 quasi radians sol, per  
 noctem super corpora  
 eorum sepiissime luceret.  
 Quod videns rex multum  
 expavit iramque dei se  
 incurrisse intellexit.



concilio pontificali et populari. regem arguunt parricidi. Qui enim consensit. fecit. Cui ultro ad penitentiam manus dante.<sup>1</sup> suadent ut primitus neptem suam sororem martirum reginam merciorum domnevam accersiat. et ab eius orbitate veniam dignis beneficiis expetat. Accersita venit. Rex ingemiscens non solum suum reatum. sed etiam amabilem ablatam sibi iocunditatem consobrinorum benignissimis verbis et rerum satisfactionibus illam sanara consurgit. thesauros auri. argenti. gemmarum. vestium auratarum. ceterarumque opum regalium proponit. At regia liberalitas domneve omnia respuit. crudele esse iudicans ut quasi fraternum sanguinem alieno praecio venditaret. que pro eternis diutius propria reliquisset. Sed que evangelica erat discipula. gratis mavult ignoscere. Tunc rex beneficus insistit sum patribus ut ibi in nativo regno et in splendore ortus sui regia matrona perpetuo remaneat. Ubi inter sanctorum luminaria<sup>ut</sup> populos divina religione florentes. beatius quam inter rudes adhuc christicolos domino serviat. At illa quamquam spetiosa tempe et rerum opulentia. et cantici maris faustitas. et transmarini orbis commeatus. et divitie ac populositas ibidem arrideat. certius tamen principali sanctorum apostolorum PETRI et PAULI monasterio sancti conversatione et ~~in muneris~~ sanctorum pignoribus clarissimo  
in muneris

Et ~~in~~ ea<sup>de</sup> causa post sororem eorum Domnevam misit ut ipsa interfectionis eorum precium reciperet. Que veniens recepit terram, numero videlicet xlviiii aratorum iugera, ibique monasterium adiutorio regis pro animabus eorum quorum pretium erat construxit.

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1. 'manus dante' are the first words of f.147v.

maxime autem primi institutoris sui  
 AUGUSTINI amore et praesentia vel vicinia capitur  
 ac tenetur. Unde regem obsecrat.  
 quatenus sibi in taneto insula  
 proxima locum concedat. ubi monasterium  
 pro sancta germanorum memoria  
 et regis indulgentia constituat.  
 Rex vero in eius preces deditissimus.  
 rogat edicere quantum velit.  
 Tunc illa. Quantum inquit cerva mea  
 uno curriculo ambire poterit.  
 Nec cunctatus rex promptissime  
 annuit. simulque cum turba procerum  
 et patrum ac populi. ad incompensabilem  
 distributionem in insulam transit.  
 Cerva divino arbitrio emissa. instar  
 sagite evolat. Rex cum omni comitatu  
 prosequitur. Mira omnium expectatio.  
 quo fera pertingat. tunc vero  
 infandus thunor non se ferens a  
 stimulis invidie. exclamat in  
 principem. Flos et thalamus  
 o rex hec insula ex regni tui  
 et tu eam heu bruti animalis l  
 iudicio auferendam tradidisti. Quem modum quem terminum  
 tibi insensata bestia ponet.  
 Quanto probabilius portionem  
 modestam et consultam ipse  
 distribuisses. quam incantatricis  
 femine et efrenate fere conditionem  
 seculis ridendam subisses. Vix ea fatus erat  
 et ira dei ascendit super eum.  
 excussusque equo. more impiorum retrorsum cecidit.  
 quem subito tellus infinito hyatu deiscens. vivum  
 inverso capite absorbuit.  
 et in ventrem inferni addatha<sup>n</sup> et abiron  
 consortes traiecit. nec aliud  
 in toto mundo sepulchrum  
 meruit. qui innocentibus quos extinxit  
 partem etiam alieni terre  
 detraxit. Agger vastus illi loco inpositus qui  
 THUNORSHLEAP dicitur. infamis nominis

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1. 'et tu eam' are the first words of f.148r.

infandum memoriale pretendit.  
 Diffugiunt omnes procul apereunte.  
 cum clamore et horripilatione.  
 Nec humus satis tuta sub pedibus videbatur.  
 que <sup>un</sup>ius raptu ceteris minitabatur.  
 Regia vero industria. eo erat trepidantior.  
 quo crimini vicinior. At cerva iam excurso  
 termino in longum et latum xlviij aratrorum  
 substitit. atque inde passim ad notam dominam  
 domestica fide se recepit. Nec mora  
 gloriosa regis devotio magnificas  
 gratias rependens deo auctori  
 tam evidentis electionis sue.  
 totum hoc spacium tradidit.  
 illustrissime proxime sue domneve  
 omnique posteritate<sup>s</sup> sue ecclesiastice.  
 beato THEODORO cum omnibus  
 patribus benedicente et confirmante.  
 Que ibi ipso rege indefessa munificentia  
 amministrante opes et impensas  
 edificiorum divitiasque necessaria  
 rerum. constituit virginale  
 cenobium. in honore dei genitricis  
 et virginis virginum. et devotissimo  
 patre THEODORO dedicari optinuit.  
 turbeque virginum religiosissime  
 quas ibidem prima fundatrix ecclesie  
 prima coadnuavit et instituit.  
 prima mater prefulsit. sicque  
 beatissimam filiam suam Mildritham  
 secum vel ad se transductam huic  
 genitivi regioni sue perpetuavit.  
 Qua adducta et redita maternis  
 natalibus ut supra proposimus. iam via  
 vite sue qua supernos thalamos  
 attigit procedamus. 1

Post hec filiam suam  
 Mildredam in transmar-  
 inas partes misit ut  
 ibi disciplina  
 regulari inbueretur  
 quam in eodem monast-  
 erio custodiri cupie-  
 bat. Beata vero  
 Mildretha, matri  
 obediens mare transivit  
 ibique reliquias  
 plurimas sanctorum  
 adquisivit, quas inde  
 secum retulit.

Postquam beata virgo

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1. This is the end of the Genealogy proper in Vespasian Bxx.  
 The next chapters are concerned with Mildred's trial at  
 Chelles at the hands of the Abbess Wilcoma.

patriam matremque revisit  
 dedit sibi monasterium,  
 quod construxerat, ad  
 regendum. Nec mora. beata  
 virgo cum aliis lxx  
 virginibus, quas rex  
 et mater ad instruendas  
 ut ibi Deo servirent,  
 congregaverant, sacrum<sup>1</sup>  
 velamen a beato Theodoro  
 archiepiscopo recepit.

Ibique Deo serviendo  
 religiose vixit, vitamque  
 eternam promuerit, sicut  
 postea sepe miraculorum  
 insignia declarant.

Matertera vero eius sancta  
 Ermedgida usque ad finem  
 vite secum mansit ibique  
 dum adhuc viveret, pausam  
 elegit uno miliario ad orientem  
 monasterii.

Quod beata virgo Eadburga in hon-  
 ore apostolorum Petri et Pauli  
 construxerat, que supradicte  
 virgini successerat, in quo et  
 corpus eius decenter locaverat,  
 ubi per multorum, videlicet ccc<sup>torum</sup>  
 ferme annorum tempora requievit,  
 quousque revelatione divina et  
 sui summonitione sacratissimi  
 corporis pignora ad decentiorem  
 sunt locum translata, ad monasterium  
 scilicet apostolorum principis  
 Petri, in quo beatissimus apostolus  
 anglorum Augustinus simul cum  
 ceteris sanctis archipresulibus  
 sibi succedentibus requiescit.

His ergo beata virgo inuncta in  
 celis consepeliri delegit in  
 terris.

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1. In the Anglo-Saxon Life of St. Mildred the Archbishop mentioned is Deusdedit (V. Cockayne, op.cit.p.113).

Sexburga vero regina Cantie monasterium Sancte Marie ad Sceapige construxit ibique Deo servientes locavit. filiusque eius rex Lotharius terram sibi unde vitam ducerent, dedit.

Fuerunt autem sancta Sexburga et sancta Aedeldryda et sancta Wihtburga filie Anne regis Occidentalium Anglorum.

Beata vero Aedeldryda data erat Ecgfrido regi nordanimbrorum in coniugem. et tamen virginitatem suam integram usque ad finem vite custodivit, pausamque sibi in monasterio quod dicitur Elig eligit ubi per merita eius divina fiunt miracula.

Sanctaque soror eius Wihtburga secum requiescit.

Ermenhilda vero, filia regis Erconberti et Sexburge, coniugis sue data erat Wulphero regi, fili Pandan regis Merciorum in coniugem.

Quorum tempore gens Merciorum baptismum recepit.

Et ibi sanctam virginem Werburgam genuerunt, cuius corpus in loco qui Legeceastre nominatur requiescit.

Ermenhilda quoque in monasterio Elig cum matre sua Sexburga et matertera Aedeldreda requiescit.

Sancta Ercongota vero, soror eius, in transmarinas partes ad materteram eius Aedelburgam abatissam pro disciplina regulari missa est. ibique Deo servivit vitamque finivit. cuiusque meriti fuerit, divina virtus statim declaravit.

Erat autem Wihtredus rex Cantie, filius Ecgberhti regis. Qui Wihtredus monasterium in honore sancti Martini ad Dovera construxit, in loco ubi ipse sanctus Martinus ut fieret prius

demonstravit. Quo perfecto, servos Dei locavit, villasque dedit, quibus usque in hodiernum diem perfruuntur.

Ips<sup>e</sup> vero ad sanctum <sup>A</sup>ugustinum requiescit in porticu australi monasterii sancte Dei genitricis Marie, quam proavus suus Eadbaldus rex ad laudem Dei et sue genitricis construxit.

CHAPTER 5

THE TESTAMENT OF ST MILBURGA

AND

THE LEGEND OF KING MEREWALD.

THE TESTAMENT  
OF  
ST MILBURGA



Digna<sup>l</sup> consilia verbaque venerabilia patrum antiquorum  
 suo tempore regulariter peracta. non nunquam in futura poster-  
 orum progenie nichil posse prodesse experimento didiscimus.  
 quia memoria labitur a lingua nisi cyrographorum caucionibus  
 5 ab exordio antiquitatis sub testimonio plurimorum astipulante  
 karaxatis. illorum quoque cognicio legentibus redintegretur.  
 Quamobrem ego Milburga suplex christi vernacula. monastice  
 conversacionis magistra. prima fronte huius paginule universa  
 terrarum loca. que deo annuente possideo. et quomodo vel qui-  
 10 bus auctoribus mihi concessa sunt sacrorum apicum attestacione  
 promulgare contendo. ne mors mea ignoracione agrorum ecclesie  
 infametur. et successura mihi posteritas scrofo<sup>s</sup>la contencione  
 invidorum inquietetur. Primum quidem hunc locum qui nominatur  
 Wininicas pari consensu ambarum parcium ad quos pertinebat  
 15 eiusdem loci potestas. sub testimonio plurimorum comparavi.  
 Nam et venerabili abbati edelheio. et religiose abbatisse liob-  
 synde pro commutatione predicti loci terram sexaginta manentes  
 habentem in loco qui dicitur homtun dedi. Literas quoque mihi  
 idem abbas prefatus pro confirmacione huius commercii fecit  
 20 ascribi. que ita sese habent. In nomine domini mei <sup>i</sup>jesu christi

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l. Additional 34 633 ff.210v - 211r. V. above Cp.2,  
 pp.62-66.

ego edelheg abbas monasterii cuius vocabulum est icheanog<sup>1</sup>  
 terram nonginta septem manencium in loco qui dicitur Wininicas.  
 et in alio loco iuxta amnem munube<sup>2</sup> terram duodecim manentes  
 habentem. et in alio loco qui nominatur magana terram quinque  
 5 tributariorum et in regione qui appellatur lýdas terram trig-  
 inta manencium. cum consensu tocius familie reverende memorie  
 botulfi abbatis. sanctimoniali virgini Milburge in propriam  
 perpetualiter perdono potestatem. ut secundum regularis vite  
 normam cuicumque voluerit vivens sive moriens integram habeat  
 10 facultatem condonare. Ita tamen. ut sub iurisdicionibus eccles-  
 ie venerabilis botulfi abbatis idem locus non coacte sed spon-  
 taneae secundum deum immobiliter perduret. quia eiusdem ecclesie  
 pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur MerWaldus. Pro  
 confirmatione autem huius donacionis subscripserunt edelheg  
 15 abbas. theodorus archiepiscopus. edelred rex. seaxulf episcopus  
 edelricus abbas. merchelm<sup>3</sup> rex. et milfrid frater eius. Et  
 uno concludam sermone. terra huius monasterii centum quadra-  
 ginta quatuor continet manentes. Post hanc vero donacionis  
 cartulam quam supra exposuimus. non nullas terrarum possess-  
 20 iones in diversis locis per diversas donaciones fratrum meorum  
 merchelmi regis et milfridi viva voce me adquisisse profiteor.

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1. Lincoln has ichennog (f.84r.) with ichenei overwritten:  
 Lambeth has ichenei.

2. Lincoln has munube with munemue overwritten: Lambeth also  
 has munemue.

3. A has scotinerchelim, V.p.64 . V also below, p.227.

non tamen sine nutu et subscripcione excellentissimi regis  
 edelredi patru mei. Harum itaque donacionum sceda. continet  
 hunc modum. Deo auctore ego merchelm<sup>m</sup> et ego milfrid quadam  
 partem terre iuris nostri quam pius dominus nobis largitus est.  
 5 hoc est terram sexaginta trium manencium in diversis locis tibi  
 germane ac sorori Milburge cum consensu excellentissimi regis  
 edelredi perdonamus in propriam potestatem. habendi. donandi.  
 commutandique prout tibi placuerit. Quarum quidem terrarum  
 pars quedam circa montem qui dicitur clie. continetur. Quedam  
 10 vero iuxta amnem qui corf dicitur. Quedam autem. in loco qui  
 kenbecleag nuncupatur. Quedam etiam. in loco qui cheilmers  
 nominatur. Ego merchelm. ego edelred. ego milfrid. subscripsi-  
 mus. Hiis itaque legitime peractis. rex quoque principatus  
 honore satis inclitus cheolred terram mihi dedit quatuor  
 15 manen<sup>c</sup>ium que peandanWrye appellatur. Cuius donacionis hec  
 caucio est. Regnante ac gubernante nos domino nostro jesu  
 christo ego cheolred rex sub cirographorum firmitate terram  
 quatuor manencium tibi milburge abbatisse in propriam perpet-  
 ualiter perdono potestatem. ut liberam deinceps habeas  
 20 facultatem donandi. commutandique. prout tibi utile videtur.  
 Et subscripserunt cheolred rex. ceda episcopus. elricus abbas.  
 et dux edbrectus. Post autem non nulla temporis intervalla  
 sanctimonialis femina dei que famula feleburga dedit mihi  
 terram octo manencium. simulque et literas quas pro testimonio  
 25 donacionis accepit. hunc tenorem habentes. mihi nullo

cogente optulit. Keonred rex pro redemptione anime sue terram octo manencium in lingen famule dei feleburge in propriam perdonavit potestatem. his testibus praesentibus atque consentientibus. Turhctello episcopo. Wihetsi. et eadberto.

5 Agrum quoque emi a regis comite qui sigwardus cognominatur. Nam ei pecuniam dedi copiosam. et ipse dedit mihi terram trium manencium cum sceda agri qui magdalee nuncupatur. Huius empcionis testes fuerunt et subscripserunt edelbaldus rex. Walhstot episcopus. Wilfridus episcopus. ova abbas. et kinric-

10 us dux. Principum itaque qui has donaciones fecerunt. et testium qui hiis donacionibus consensum dederunt. una omnium sententia hec est, per omnes agrorum scedas. Si quis regum seu episcoporum vel cuiuscumque gradus persona contra has donaciones venire temptaverit. et hoc munus deo dedicatum in

15 toto vel in parte infringere praesumpserit. sit anathema in adventu domini amen.

The Testament and Goscelin

The Testament begins with a proem,<sup>1</sup> ("Digna consilia verbaque...") which gives the reasons for committing the account of these transactions to writing. After this the text moves into the first person singular with the introductory words preceding the first donation, "Quamobrem ego M̃lburga..." and the Saint declares that for the reasons cited above (in the proem) she is going to make a statement concerning her lands, and how she came by them. First she relates how Wininicas was acquired, how hontun was exchanged for it and how she received litteras as evidence of the transaction that had taken place. Then the personal narrative is abandoned and the text of the first donation is given, beginning with the invocation "In nomine domini iesu christi..." The donor grants in the first person singular ("ego edelheg") to St. Milburga who is addressed in the third person singular ("sanctimoniali virgini Milburge perdono ..."). After the concluding list of signatories the narration is once again resumed by St. Milburga. In the next sentence there is both first person singular and plural - "cartulam quam supra exposuimus ... fratrum meorum", but this is not unusual and

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1. V. lines 1-6, p.176. This proem does not occur in any other charter that I have examined.

is not a sign of forgery.<sup>1</sup> The donors of the second diploma give, in the first person plural, to St. Milburga in the second person singular, and again the narrative is resumed and is followed by the third grant in which king Ceolred ("ego cheolred") gives land to St. Milburga ("tibi Milburge abbatisse"). In the narrative preceding the fourth grant the Saint relates how one Feleburga gave her eight manentes of land, together with the testifying charter which she, Feleburga, had received from king Cenred - "mihi (Milburga) nullo cogente optulit". There follows the text of this charter with its signatories. The last item of the Testament has really no right to be considered a diploma at all, for it is only the narrative account of how a sale was effected, and attested by king Aethelbald; the only factor which may be retained from the original document is the list of signatories. Finally these items are concluded by the formal sanction, and the Saint's assurance that all those concerned with these donations were of one mind in their attestation of the guarantees afforded by the sanction.<sup>2</sup>

Goscelin, whom one may presume to have copied the documents which are here termed the Testament into his Life

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1. Cf. charter 42 of Birch's Cartularium Saxonicum (London 1885) "Ego Suabhardus rex ... quibus modo addidimus ..."  
Charters will henceforward be identified by the initials C.S. followed by their respective numbers.

2. A 34 633 f.21<sup>1</sup>or. col.ii.

of St. Milburga, asserts that he has made a faithful copy of that which lay before him. (The following lines come immediately before the Testament in the Additional MS)<sup>1</sup>

"et quam clara fuisset (Milburga) virtutibus et signis. patet antiquioribus literis tam anglice quam latine de ipsa conscriptis. Unde nequaquam iam nova scribimus. sed que passim scripta per antiquas paginas invenimus. in unum colligentes stilo renovamus. Verumptamen unum ex inventis stilo nostro non recudimus. sed eisdem verbis quibus illud antiquitus dictatum legitur subnectimus. Quod quidem legimus partim fuisse dictatum a beata virgine memorata dum in hac vita degit. et ab ipsa posteris relictum in testamentum commercii quo praetaxati cenobii locum obtinuit. partim autem ab aliis dictatum et ipsi contraditum pro testimonio donationum commutationum. emptionum quibus ipsa monasterio suo plures adquisivit possessiones sub egregiis testibus et regiis auctoribus. ut lucet in sequentibus. Nullatenus itaque par arbitramur pro tante testatricis reverentia. ut eius testamentum alteremus stili nostri tanquam lepore vel elegantia. Praesertim cum ipsum beata virginis scriptum ita iocundum et melifluum habeatur. quotiens nobis eius domesticis recitatur. Quasi nobis hinc ipsa presens corpore reddatur et viva voce modulari videatur. Quod igitur sic inchoat ..."

Whether the statement that he made a faithful copy be true or not, Goscelin must at the outset be acquitted of any possible charge of forging the whole Testament himself; that would have been an understandable action only if he had been a member of the Wenlock community, and even then its utility may be doubted. But although one may not doubt Goscelin's good faith, there is no need to credit him with a critical appreciation of the documents that he transcribed, no need

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1. A 34 633 f.210r. col.ii.

to take his word for their antiquity. The Testament may well have been a much later document, or rather collection of documents than he believed. At least one may be sure that he received them from Wenlock, for no other house would have had any interest in preserving or producing such a collection.

### The Testament's claim to authenticity

#### 1. External evidence

Is it possible that the Testament is genuine? Can arguments be deduced from what may be called external evidence to support its claims to authenticity? (That is, that it represents substantially the texts of five diplomas of the seventh and eighth centuries.) It must be made clear from the beginning that in no wise can the Testament be treated as a possible example of an eighth century document in the form in which Goscelin has presented it. It is credible that St. Milburga may on one occasion have



made a declaration of all her lands,<sup>1</sup> or that there may originally have been in her monastery the texts of grants made to her by contemporary kings. It is also conceivable that some elements of such early charters should have become incorporated in later fraudulent documents.<sup>2</sup> What is not tenable, is that St. Milburga should have recorded her property in this manner, half autobiography, half chartulary. The proem that is found at the beginning of the Testament could never have prefaced the text of a genuine early charter. Nor can the narrative parts of the Testament, (in particular the section which precedes the first grant) possibly date from the first half of the eighth century.<sup>3</sup> To these parts of the Testament at least,

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1. Cf. Eddius' Life of Bishop Wilfrid (op.cit.p. iv) cp. xvii "Then St Wilfrid the bishop stood in front of the altar, and, turning to the people, in the presence of the kings, read out clearly a list of the lands which the kings, for the good of their souls, had previously, and on that very day as well, presented to him, with the agreement and over the signatures of the bishops and all the chief men, and also a list of the consecrated places in various parts which the British clergy had deserted when fleeing from the hostile sword wielded by the warriors of our nation. It was truly a gift well pleasing to God that the pious kings had assigned so many lands to our bishop for the service of God; these are the names of the regions; round Ribble and Yeadon and the region of Dent and Catlow and other places. Then when the sermon was over, the kings started upon a great feast lasting for three days and three nights, rejoicing amid all their people, showing magnanimity towards their enemies and humility towards the servants of God ..." (Colgrave's translation)
2. V. F.M. Stenton, Medeshamstede and Its Colonies in Essays in Honour of James Tait. (Manchester 1933) pp. 313-327.
3. No early authentic documents, professing to be Testaments, appear in this form. The other example of a 'Testament' claiming an early date (that of Bishop Ecgwine of Evesham, C.S. 130) is manifestly false.

must be attributed a date considerably later than the early years of the reign of Aethelbald.

The authentic charters of the early Anglo-Saxon period are documents of great simplicity.<sup>1</sup> They are plain unaffected records of transactions that have been effected by word of mouth and symbolic action. Some, but by no means all, of these early charters begin with a pious invocation.<sup>2</sup> The proem, however, does not appear (at least in Mercian charters)<sup>3</sup> until well on in the eighth century, and then it is a far simpler affair than the introductory lines of the Testament.

None of the charters attributed to Aethelbald of Mercia have proems,<sup>4</sup> but there is one prefixed to his grant of privileges to churches and monasteries:

"Plerumque contingere solet pro incerta futurorum  
temporum vicissitudine, ut ea quae multarum et  
fidelium personarum testimonio consilioque roborata

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1. This is discussed in more detail below.
  2. C.S. 154, 157 and 163 have no invocations. V. F.M. Stenton, The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings, English Historical Review, xxxiii (1918) pp. 439, 442 and 443.
  3. Reference here is made mainly to Mercian sources as the scribes who copied the charters of Wininicas are unlikely to have been much influenced by Kentish or West-Saxon styles.
  4. C.S. 137, 149, 152 and 153 may be genuine charters of Aethelbald, and so may 164 and 181. 154, 157 and 163 are certainly authentic. (V. F.M. Stenton, The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings. op.cit. above). Unless otherwise stated, Sir Frank Stenton's assessment of the individual charters quoted here has been accepted unreservedly.

fuerunt. ut fraudulenter per contumaciam plurimorum et machinamenta simulationis, sine ulla consideratione reitionis periculose dissipata erant, nisi auctoritate literarum et testamento cyrographorum aeternae memoriae inserta sint. Quapropter ..." 1

Since the king has recently been rebuked by St. Boniface for the abuse of those very privileges which he now defends,<sup>2</sup> the choice of the proem is particularly apt.

Later, in the second half of the eighth century, identical proems appear in two diplomas<sup>3</sup> issued by Uhtred of the Hwicce:

"In nomine ... Certissime itaque absque dubitatione constat omnia quae videntur temporalia esse. et quae non videntur aeternae esse ..."

a theme which occurs in innumerable later charters.

C.S. 213 and 214, original diplomas of Offa,<sup>4</sup> also share an identical short proem. The Salmonsbury charter of 779, which has been described as the "earliest diploma of unimpeachable authenticity whose author was consciously striving after elegance of diction",<sup>5</sup> is prefaced by a proem slightly longer than those of the two previous

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1. C.S.178. V. F.M.Stenton, Godmundeslaech, (English Historical Review xx, 1905) pp.697, 699.

2. V. Tangl, (op.cit.p.148) Letter No.73.

3. C.S.203 & 204. For 203 V. F.M.Stenton, Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period (Oxford 1955) p.57.

4. The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings, (op.cit.p.185) p.446.

5. Ibid. p.445 (C.S.230).

diplomas of Offa:

"Regnanti in perpetuum domino nostro Jhesu Christo, Universa quippe quae hic in praesentia visibus humanis corporaliter contemplantur nihil esse nisi vana et caduca transitoriaque ex sacrorum voluminum testimoniis certissimi verum patet. Et tamen cum istis aeternaliter sine fine mansura alta polorum regna et jugiter florentis paradisi amoenitas mercari a fidelibus viris queunt. Qua propter ..."

Proems are found also in non-royal instruments at the end of the eighth century. There is an example of this in C.S.256,<sup>1</sup> a document which records an agreement between Bishop Heathored and one Wulfheard:

"Saeculi namque labentis tempora velocius vento aerem tranant. Ideoque omnes firmas statutiones seriae litterarum adnotamus ne forte in posterum aliquis ignorantiae avaritiaeve ea decreta infringere praesumat quae venerabilium virorum fiunt verbis confirmata ..."

The language is rather plainer than that of the Testament's proem but the theme is common to both. It is interesting that this thought should already have found expression in a document produced by a West Mercian church.

Unlike the pious themes normally found in the proems of royal charters, which emphasise the unimportance and transience of all earthly possessions, and the advantages of almsgiving, the theme of the Testament is secular and extremely practical. Its concern is not with the desire

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1. This charter was copied by Hickes and Smith from a single sheet original, V. N.R.Ker, Hemming's Chartulary in Studies in Mediaeval History Presented to Powicke, (Oxford, 1948) pp.49-75.

to expiate personal and family crimes, but with the need for protection against the follies and criminal tendencies of others. It is not surprising to find this theme used frequently in records of transactions between churchmen,<sup>1</sup> in those in which their rights are re-stated,<sup>2</sup> or in documents which were drawn up to replace previous records lost, stolen or destroyed.<sup>3</sup> In spite of the impersonal formality of some solemn charters, the proem has at least in certain documents, a true correspondence with reality.

There is a collection of charters of the church of Worcester,<sup>4</sup> dating from the late eighth to the early tenth centuries, which use this theme in the proem. Although one may concede that in essentials the charters copied by Hemming are probably authentic,<sup>5</sup> it is certain that in some

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1. V. C.S.381. (The original charter is in the British Museum, Ashburnham Stowe 13.)
  2. V. the Evesham forgery. C.S.130.
  3. C.S.603 and 606 for example. (603 is not one of those charters which have been noted by Sir Frank Stenton as authentic. However, even if the diploma is a forgery - and it may not be - it is still significant that this proem should have been chosen.) For C.S.606 V. Latin Charters (op.cit. p.186) p.52.
  4. British Museum Cotton MS. Tiberius A xiii. V. C.S.205, 283, 455 & 608.
  5. V. F.Maitland, Domesday Book and Beyond (Cambridge 1907) "Among the charters that have come down to us there is no series that is longer, there is hardly a series that is of better repute than the line of land-books which belonged to the church of Worcester." p.227.

cases at least, the copying included some alterations,<sup>1</sup> occasionally perhaps the addition of a more elegant proem. On the other hand, to some of the documents mentioned, the proems may have been prefixed from the beginning. C.S. 608, a late example of this group, is prefaced by a proem which is certainly not an anachronism in a diploma claiming 904 as its date:

"Omnibus namque sapientibus notum ac manifestum constat. quod dicta hominum vel facta pro multiplicibus criminum perturbationibus et cogitationum vagationibus frequenter ex memoria recedunt nisi litterarum apicibus et custodiae cautela scripturarum reserventur et ad memoriam revocentur. Quamobrem ... has ob memoriam posteritatis litteras scribere iussimus ..."

Apart from the diplomas found in Hemming's Chartulary there are some other charters whose proems claim attention, and which are important as a means of deciding the date at which the first part of the Testament was composed. C.S.308 is particularly relevant for this purpose.<sup>2</sup> It is a grant made by Bishop Deneberht of Worcester in the early ninth century. The proem is similar to that of the Testament:

"In nomine ... Ea quae secundum ecclesiasticam disciplinam ac synodalia decreta salubriter definiuntur quamvis solus sermo sufficeret tamen pro evitando futuri temporis ambiguitate fidelissimis scripturis et documentis sunt commendata. Quapropter ego Deneberhtus episcopus fui memorando pristinae locutionis antecessoris mei ..."

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1. C.S.205 is considered by Stevenson to be spurious or interpolated. (Asser's Life of King Alfred (Oxford 1904) p.151.)
  2. C.S.308 like C.S.256, was copied from a single sheet original. (V. Hemming's Chartulary op.cit.p.187).

The intention that is set forth is plainly practical as in the Testament, and here also the clause after "ego ..." maintains the theme of the proem.

Two Kentish documents, the record of the Synod of Aclea,<sup>1</sup> and a Canterbury diploma of 833,<sup>2</sup> use this theme in the respective proems:

"In nomine Dei summi regis aeterni. Plerumque etenim contingere solet ut res possessae hereditatis acquisitae in contentionem plerisque et altercationis conflictum deveniunt nisi cum idoneis testibus et subscriptionibus sapientium et fidelium personarum testimoniis tractata et confirmata fuerint. Quapropter sapientes salubrem consilium prudentium quaerunt et cyrographorum cautionibus et heroicorum virorum testimoniis confirmantur ne imposterum aliquibus altercationibus vel scrupulo falsi suspicionis corrumpuntur, aut nebulo ignorantiae in aliquo fuscetur. Idcirco ..."

and,

"Regnante in perpetuum domino nostro Jhesu Christo sermo sine serris scripturarum difficili servatur et cogitatio incalcabilis absque litterararum calculis sed omne quod oblivione traditur memoria labitur. Ideo ergo prudentes sapientes quique eorum verba et cogitationes et actos bone memorie in membrane scedulis litterarum notis provide mentis sagacitate curiose commendare solent ne venturis progenium posteris in aliquam praecedentium difinitionum oblivionis causam vel in superbe praesumptionis disceptationem erumpere valeant ..."

Both these proems are rather more elaborate than those of

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1. C.S.445 (810). Stubbs accepts this as the date of the document, V. A.W.Haddan and William Stubbs, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents relating to Great Britain (Oxford 1869) vol.iii, pp.567-568.
  2. C.S.406. The original charter is in the British Museum, Stowe Charter 16. (Wrongly referred to as 15 in the Cartularium Saxonium.)

C.S.256 or 308, (quoted on pp.187 and 189 respectively) but like the Testament, are not as ambitious as some later West-Saxon charters. If Canterbury scribes could produce such specimens of charter style at the beginning of the ninth century, it is not incredible that a West Mercian monk should be capable of writing in a similar vein a hundred years later.

Another example of a charter whose proem may be compared with that of the Testament, is C.S.490, a grant by a Bishop of Worcester.<sup>1</sup> It begins,

"In nomine domini. Certe ea quae sunt a sapientibus prudentibus etiam a pontificibus proceris salubria ac necessaria componenda characteribus litterarum certis signis scedularum scribenda sunt notanda ne forte philosophorum et stoicorum scientia in oblivionem tradatur ..."

At the very end of the ninth century there is an example of the use of this type of proem in a genuine charter of Alfred to a lay-man:<sup>2</sup>

"Quicquid concedendum est fidelibus regali dono libello litterarum muniri debetur. quia fragilis hominum memoria recedit. tradicio litterarum semper ad memoriam reducit ..."

It is one of the few instances of the theme being used in a

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1. This diploma is printed in the Appendix to Smith's Beda. (1722) Smith's was the first truly critical edition of the Historia Ecclesiastica. In the Appendix are preserved the texts of a valuable series of Anglo-Saxon charters whose originals have since been lost.
  2. C.S.581. V. F.M.Stenton, The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon (Reading 1913) p.32.



completely secular document, before the reign of Aethelstan.

Some of the words used in the Testament, and also in the narrative preceding the first grant, suggest a tenth rather than a ninth century scribe. But they are none of them such as could not be found in the vocabulary of a monk writing in the early years of the tenth century. For example, "cýrographorum cau<sup>t</sup>ionibus" is used in C.S.445<sup>1</sup> "karaxatis" in the original charter of Aethelstan of 925,<sup>2</sup> "scedula" in C.S.490.<sup>3</sup> "Paginule" is a diminutive of "pagina" a word that was already current in the eighth century.<sup>4</sup> The expression "Ego M<sup>l</sup>burga suplex christi vernacula",<sup>5</sup> may represent an attempt to produce something equivalent to the titles kings assumed in the phrase of donation, or after their signatures; but it is perhaps also influenced by the formulas used by bishops in their professions of faith.<sup>6</sup>

Finally, it should not pass unnoticed that the first

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1. V. p.190 above.

2. C.S.642. V. Latin Charters (op.cit.p.186) p.53.

3. Printed in the Appendix to Smith's Beda (op.cit.p.191) p.769.

4. V. Mediaeval Latin Word List (Baxter, Johnson and Abrahams, London and Oxford 1934).

5. Cf. the opening words of the following letter to St. Boniface: "Bugga vilis vernacula ..." Tangl (op.cit.p.148) Letter 15.

6. Cf. C.S.517, "... ego Alfredus humilis servulus ..." Cf. also C.S.527.

part of the Testament has much in common with several phrases found in the group of Evesham documents. Some lines of C.S.127 and 130 in particular deserve quotation.

"Beantis universorum voce monemur ... tamen omnibus namque sapientibus notum ac manifestum constat quod dicta futura vel facta pro multiplici erumpnarum perturbatione et cogitationum vagatione frequenter ex memoria recedunt nisi literarum apicibus et custodiae cautela scripturarum reserventur, et ad memoriam revocentur ... Idcirco Ego Cheolredus ... Ecgwini beneficium dignum duxi manifestare ..." 1

and,

"~~P~~ Ego Ecgwinus Uicciorum humilis episcopus volo manifestare ... (he then gives the reasons why he had to build a church) ... Volo igitur ostendere omni sequenti generationi quas possessiones supradicto loco adquisivi, et ipsas terras ab omni exactione ... Itaque ab Aethelredo rege quoddam cenobium quod Flendaburch nominatur obtinui ... Post parvum vero tempus a praedicti regis fratre Oswardo 20 mansas in loco qui Twuiforda nominatur ..." 2

The Evesham forgeries are attributed by Stubbs<sup>2</sup> to the late ninth and early tenth centuries - the period in fact, to which it would appear that the proem of the Testament belongs.

This resemblance in phraseology, (particularly noticeable in the second example quoted, although even here the wording is not identical) does not necessarily condemn St. Milburga's Testament with that of Bishop Ecgwine - if it is a forgery, the Wenlock document is far less ambitious than that of Evesham - but it is good evidence that a certain

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1. This proem is adopted by other charters, C.S.763, 768, 776.

2. Haddan and Stubbs (op.cit. p.190) iii p.278.

literary style and manner of expression was current at the time, and in that part of the country, when and where the Testament of St. Milburga was produced.

Enough has perhaps been said to demonstrate the affinities of the proem of the Testament with those of other documents, especially those of the early tenth century.<sup>1</sup> Examples of this theme being used in later charters can also be quoted<sup>2</sup> - not all tenth century charters have the flamboyancy of C.S.669.<sup>3</sup> But in spite of these resemblances to later charters, external considerations render it very unlikely that the Testament was concocted at Wenlock between the middle of the tenth century and the third decade of the eleventh.<sup>4</sup>

Nothing is known of the history of Wininicas between 901 and the refoundation by Leofric of Mercia in the middle

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1. The charter of Aethelred and Aethelflaeda (C.S.587) of 901, exchanging land with the monks of Wenlock uses this theme in the proem. But the latin is poorer than that of the Testament, and it is difficult to believe that they could be the work of the same scribe. V. Appendix III at the end of this chapter, p.258.
  2. V. C.S.699, 709, 755.
  3. This is a grant by king Adelstan to Beomheah, Bishop of Chichester (930). It begins: "Regnante perpetualiter atque omnem humanae imbecillitatis sensum benignitate transcendente largissima tonantis Idumaque mirando ineffabilique proprii arbitrii privilegio alta media infima justa invictae fortitudinis lance treutinata gubernat ..."
  4. Wenlock was refounded sometime during the reign of Edward the Confessor, before 1057, the year when Leofric of Mercia died, V. below, p.202.

of the eleventh century, but refoundation implies that a completely new beginning was made, that Wininicas had for some time before that been deserted. It is more probable that the monastery was already deserted by the middle of the tenth century rather than later. The evidence for the state of English monasticism prior to the revival under Dunstan, Ethelwold and Oswald has been assessed by Professor Knowles;<sup>1</sup> he concludes, "It would appear therefore that we are justified in regarding England in the reign of Aethelstan as being wholly without any organized monastic life." It is possible that Wininicas continued to exist as a house of clerks, but if this were so, one would not have expected it to have remained unaffected by the revival.<sup>2</sup> There is no record of any contact between the monastery of St. Milburga and the reforming movement; one is forced to conclude that this was probably because by 960 there was no longer any religious life at Wenlock, the monastery having been abandoned.

The compiling of the Testament (if it is authentic) must then be attributed to the years before the middle of the tenth century, at a time when one may presume that

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- f. Symonds*
1. The Monastic Order in England (op.cit.p.x ) p.36.
  2. If Wenlock had at all the character of a religious establishment in the early years of the second decade of the tenth century it is unlikely that it would have been immune from the influence of Oswald. His reforming influence had been felt at Worcester (probably Evesham) and Winchcombe, which was founded under his patronage.
- V. The Monastic Order (op.cit.above) p.51.

there were still monks at Wenlock who would have been responsible for the work of compilation.

There can be no positive evidence that the narrative parts of the Testament should be attributed to the writer of the proem, but on the whole this seems very likely. It is not improbable that the interpolation of the narrative,<sup>1</sup> (if it is not to be attributed solely to his sense of style) was necessitated by the addition of the proem; the editor, having made one addition, found himself committed to another; having prefaced a formal proem to a list of five ancient documents he was at a loss to connect the theme of the proem with the donor of the first grant - in this case not a royal personage, the normal grantor, but an unknown abbot and abbess. The narrative portion after "Quamobrem",<sup>2</sup> is an attempt to link the thought of the proem to the actual donations, by making the Saint, the recipient of the grants, declare that it had been her intention to commit these matters to writing as a safeguard. Then a regard for consistency demanded that each ensuing item should be entered as part of this plan - as the Saint's own record of the land that had been booked to her.

The narrative, however, is used for more than this.

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1. V. Appendix I at the end of this chapter, p. 251.

2. Ibid.

Not only does it serve as a link between individual charters, but to a greater or lesser extent, it contains information properly belonging to, and abstracted from, the individual items. For example, in the narrative preceding the first item of the Testament,<sup>1</sup> there is mention of an Abbess Liosýnde and of the exchange of Wininicas for homtun; these matters are simply not mentioned at all in the text. The second item of the Testament seems to have undergone very little change (there is a description of it before the text is given), whereas the fifth is completely paraphrased, the only charter feature left being the list of signatories. It is hardly possible to reconstruct some of these charters as they were, so much has the editor of the Testament adapted and epitomised. And if the document is a forgery, the forger certainly intended to convey the impression that there had originally been five charters; and that the information found in the narrative had once been part of those charters. Otherwise the mention of various details and circumstances is quite inexplicable.

The preceding discussion of the nature of the proem

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1. Add. 34. 633 f.210v. col.i.

and narrative sections of the Testament<sup>1</sup> cannot resolve the question of authenticity. These two elements must almost certainly be attributed to the late ninth or early tenth centuries, and the five items are, or claim to be, grants made to St. Milburga's house in her life-time. The discrepancy in date between the two parts of one document, may of course, be used as evidence that the Testament is a forgery. But it may also reasonably be accounted for as the result of the copying of a series of authentic early diplomas by a later scribe who was influenced by his own experience of contemporary charters, and who allowed himself some liberty in transcription. Provided that the possibility of a different origin for the substance and the trappings of the Testament is admitted, (and indeed this is the only alternative to a complete condemnation of the Testament) the five items may be judged apart, and on their own intrinsic merits as claiming to represent authentic early diplomas.

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1. The Sanction that is appended to the Testament is much simpler than the proem, and it is possible that it was originally part of one of the five items. There does not seem to be any charter extant which has the exact wording of this anathema (Cf. though the anathema of C.S.600 (903): "Si quis autem hanc nostram donationem augere vel multiplicare voluerit augeat Deus omnipotens dies eius prosperos hic et in futuro Si autem quod non optamus evenerit. ut aliquis malivolo animo. istam nostram munificentiam confringere vel in aliud mutare conaverit. Sciat se esse maranatha cum Juda proditore in die adventus domini"). The phrase "Per omnes agrorum scedas ..." may have been an interpolation on the part of the editor, (it would be useful in order to indicate that the Sanction applied to all the items) while the remainder of the Sanction - beginning perhaps "Siquis ..." - was the original anathema.

Since the original text of the Testament has not been preserved, (the manuscript that Goscelin saw and copied) all possibility of paleographical evidence is eliminated. One is told nothing of the appearance of the Testament, except that it seemed ancient;<sup>1</sup> as there is no comment on the language it was probably in Latin, which is only to be expected of charters purporting to come from the eighth century. Is it credible that a writer of the late eleventh century should have had access to a document claiming to be an authentic copy of diplomas dating from the early days of St. Milburga's monastery?

The first part of the Saints of England,<sup>2</sup> the Legend of the Kentish Royal Family, states that Milburga was the daughter of Domneva of Kent, and Merewald son of Penda -

"þonne waes sancte Eormenburge oðer nama Domne Eve; heo waes forgifen Merwale Pendan sunu cynges; þar hi begeaton sancte Mildburge & sancte Mildryðe & sancte Mildgide & sancte Merefygnn."

The second part of the same work, The Resting Places of the Saints states that her body lay at Wenlock - "onne rested sancte Mildburh on am mýnstre Wenlocan neah are ea e mon Saefern hateð ...". This is the earliest source of information on St. Milburga - Bede, as has already been stated, does not mention her or her family.<sup>3</sup> The monastery

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1. V. quotation from the text p. 182.

2. V. Die Heiligen Englands (op.cit. p. viii ).

3. V. above Cp. 4.



that was founded for her by her father at Wenlock, must as a condition of its existence, have had its endowments recognised by the Mercian sovereigns, and one would have expected it to have been generously endowed by them, if, as it is claimed, St. Milburga was a member of that ruling house. From Bede,<sup>1</sup> from Eddius,<sup>2</sup> there is ample evidence that kings and reguli were making liberal grants to the religious establishments that were being founded in their newly converted kingdoms. Further, there are extant some original diplomas, (three Kentish, one Mercian)<sup>3</sup> dating from these years, and some authentic copies of genuine charters.<sup>4</sup> There is no lack of evidence to show that documents such as the articles of the Testament claim to be, were a new but already accepted form of recording a land-grant at the turn of the seventh century. There is nothing to lead one to doubt that Wenlock was endowed with lands, or that these lands should have been the subject of evidence-documents, the land-books. On the contrary, the general, and increasingly normal usage of the time and the example of other kings would have led one to expect that at some time such documents had in fact been in existence. What one

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1. V. Oswy's fulfilment of his vow after Winwaed. H.E.iii 24, and also the gift of king Aedilualch to Wilfrid. H.E. iv. 13.

2. Eddius' Life of Bishop Wilfrid (op.cit.p.iv) Cp.41.

3. C.S.45, 97, 98 and 154 (V. footnote 4 on p.185).

4. C.S.42 and 107, and very probably 36, 57, 60, 75 and 76.

would not have expected was that early copies made of these documents would have survived at Wenlock.

Between the years when St. Milburga presided over her house,<sup>1</sup> and the twelfth century, Wenlock was re-established on three different occasions. It was destroyed by the Danes during the latter half of the ninth century when they over-ran Western Merica;<sup>2</sup> but there is a charter of Aethelred and Aethelflaeda of 901,<sup>3</sup> exchanging land with the Congregatio Wininicensis ecclesie, so one must presume that the religious life had been resumed on the old site, (possibly in the ruins of the early building)<sup>4</sup> although it was probably by then a house of clerks, not of nuns and monks, and no longer under the rule of an abbess.<sup>5</sup> But during the tenth and eleventh centuries - and probably before the middle of the tenth century - the monastery must once

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1. Probably the last two decades of the seventh century and the first two decades of the eighth.
  2. "Probably c.874 ..." R.Graham, History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock, (op.cit.p. x ) p.117.
  3. C.S.587. V. Appendix III to this chapter, p. 258.
  4. V. D.H.Cranage, The Monastery of St Milburga at Much Wenlock in Archaeologia LXXII, pp.107-131. The excavations undertaken in 1901 brought to light the foundations of what may have been the seventh century church. Cranage does not commit himself but thinks this probable. He does not however note any signs of building between the destruction by the Danes and the time of Earl Leofric.
  5. Cf. Knowles (op.cit. p.x ) p.695. Also F.M.Stenton, Anglo Saxon England (op.cit.p.ii) "Most of their houses (i.e. double monasteries) perished in the Danish invasions in the ninth century, and the double monastery had fallen out of favour before English monasticism was restored in the age of Dunstan." (p.162.)

again have been deserted, for in the reign of Edward the Confessor, Leofric of Mercia enriched the house and installed there a community of religious.<sup>1</sup> This congregation was in turn superseded by the last foundation of all - that of Roger of Montgomery in 1079.<sup>2</sup>

Although it is credible that the diplomas could have survived the first collapse of religious life at Wenlock, it is difficult to account for their survival after the second desertion of Wenlock. In the first instance, in the ninth century, the house may not have been deserted for long - at the most for twenty-five years, and it is even possible that continuity was maintained in so far as the community at Wenlock in the early tenth century may well have included monks who had fled at the approach of the Danish armies. There is considerable contemporary evidence to show that in the late ninth and early tenth centuries it was not uncommon for new charters to be made out to replace older documents that had been lost, stolen

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1. Florence of Worcester (op.cit.p.98) i 216: Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum (op.cit.p.100) i 237.

2. V. Shropshire Domesday, Victoria County History, (Shropshire I) pp.309-349.

Annales Prioratus de Wigornia, Anno MLXXIX. "... Comes Salopiae Warinus construxit cenobia. unum in suburbio Salopiae et alterum apud Wenloc in honore Sanctae Milburgae."

Annales Monastici vol.IV (R.S.36) 1869.

or destroyed.<sup>1</sup> After such a crisis, the inhabitants of St. Milburga's monastery in the early years of the tenth century, may well have wished to make a new definitive record of their possessions; their ancient land-books may have been in a fragile condition, or the monks may have wished to replace diplomas that had been lost before the memory of them grew too faint. It is in fact both possible and feasible that the Testament should have been drawn up in the early tenth century.

But the second desertion - preceded perhaps by a gradual decline - meant that Wenlock was abandoned for nearly a century. Continuity was completely broken, as it may not have been in the ninth century. A priori then, it seems very unlikely that the Testament should have survived this second period of decay to re-appear in a twelfth century MS.<sup>2</sup>

Further there were obviously several occasions and motives for the fabrication of such a document between the

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1. Abingdon was destroyed by the Danes in 871, but the charters escaped. "Reliquiae sanctorum cum cartis ipsius domus, quas superius in hoc libro annotavimus, et inferius sunt annotatae, clandestine sunt reservatae." Historia Monasterii de Abingdon (R.S. II) vol.i, p.47.

V. also The Early History of the Abbey of Abingdon, (op.cit.p.191) p.31.

2. On the point, (the possibility of documents surviving at Wenlock between the tenth and eleventh centuries) one must for the moment reserve judgement. The matter is discussed in the first chapter of part 2 in connection with the other discoveries at Wenlock (pp.282 - 284).

seventh and twelfth centuries. It should however be borne in mind, that although many forged charters seem entirely fraudulent, they may well represent rights which the monks unquestionably believed were theirs; but for which rights in land, they were not fortunate enough to have the evidence of diplomas for the transactions that had really taken place. Already in the first century after the foundation of Wenlock, it may have been urgently necessary to produce records of transactions which may have been only informal<sup>1</sup> i.e. not committed to writing. One reads in the correspondence of St. Boniface of abbesses whose religious property was by no means regarded as sacrosanct, asking him to defend their rights against encroachment; they explicitly wished to look upon him, not only as a father in God, but as an earthly kinsman who could defend them against those who were not sufficiently deterred by the eschatological guarantees of their charters.<sup>2</sup>

Conditions may have been even more insecure in the period at the end of the century when the Danes were established in Mercia and occasionally harried the western part of the province;<sup>3</sup> then the law and order of a loosely

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1. V. H.D.Hazeltine, General Preface to Anglo-Saxon Wills, edit. D.Whitelock, (Cambridge 1930) pp.i-xlvi.
  2. V. Tangl, (op.cit.p.148) Letters 14, 29 & 94.
  3. C.S.487 mentions that in the year 855 the heathen were then in the country around the Wrekin. (V. Anglo-Saxon England, op.cit.p. ii ) V. also the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (A) for 894: "but as soon as they came to Benfleet and the fort was built he (Haesten) went harrying in that very quarter of Alfred's kingdom that Aethelbert had to rule over ..."

organized society must have been maintained with great difficulty, if at all. After the house was re-peopled with the men who concluded the agreement with Aethelred and Aethelflaeda in 901,<sup>1</sup> the need may have been felt for an authoritative diploma to assert their claims to what they believed had been the former possessions of their house;<sup>2</sup> and the same expedient could have suggested itself to the clerks who benefitted from Leofric's gifts, or later still to the monks of Earl Roger's foundation. (Although on none of these occasions would one have expected the lost lands to have been recovered in their entirety. During the period of the monastery's decline, the land would almost certainly have been cultivated by others; over a number of years, perhaps even generations, the rights of the more recent possessors would have the sanction of living memory, and would be over-ruled with difficulty.) It is therefore possible that the Testament was a forgery for which there was both sufficient occasion and motive. Further, it is well-known that such a forgery was beyond neither the technical competence nor the standards of integrity of more than one house of monks in the eleventh century.

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1. C.S.587. V. Appendix III, to this chapter, p.258.

2. The proem certainly, and very probably the narrative parts of the Testament also, belong to this period. For the narrative part of the Testament V. Appendix I to this chapter, p. 251.

There are however a few last points to consider, which suggest that perhaps the Testament is more likely to be substantially true than false. If the Testament was fabricated, was a complete fraud, what exactly does that mean? That it does not represent the documents that it claims are its proto-types, original charters of the seventh and eighth centuries. But it is almost incredible that there should be no shadow of truth at all behind any of the statements in the Testament. At least it may be said, St. Milburga was certainly given lands at this time, that the people mentioned in the Testament would almost certainly have been the benefactors, and that she would probably have been given some lands round her monastery ... So may a potential forger have argued, and one cannot deny that his conclusion (though unscrupulously contrived) would in its broad outlines, have borne some resemblance to the truth. Not only this; examination of the Testament will show only too clearly that there is a great deal of detail and circumstance which one is at a loss to explain; much that it is difficult to understand a forger troubling to invent. For example, in the first item of the Testament, it is stated that the house of Wininicas was to remain under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the monastery of Icheanog. Icanhoe was destroyed by the Danes in the ninth

century, and was never rebuilt.<sup>1</sup> Why should a forger have bothered, at any time after its destruction, to have invented a fictitious connection with this house? Further, in the fourth and fifth items, why should a forger go to the trouble of creating an intermediary relationship between St. Milburga and the king who attested the charter?<sup>2</sup> In both these grants it would surely have been more natural for him to have represented the gifts as direct from the kings concerned to St. Milburga. A forger is a practical person who will not go out of his way to write nonsense; one would, for instance, have expected an eleventh century forger to have produced something more obviously intended to obtain advantage - to have laid claim perhaps, to some of those vills, which Domesday records were wrongly in the possession of other persons in 1086.<sup>3</sup> And if this is the production of a tenth or eleventh century forger, although it is easy to attribute the proem to him, he has been skilful enough not to let his sense of style obtrude in his fabrication of the charters. If one thinks of the compiler as a man of the eighth century, one is very near the range of living memory, when one can no longer call the documents forgeries but records that were made sometime

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1. Victoria County History, Lincolnshire II, p.96.

2. In item 4 of the Testament the intermediary is Feleburga: in item 5, Sigward.

3. V. below, p. 239.



after the event, on the strength of the memory of those actually present at the transactions.

External evidence has proved neither the one case nor the other; but it has suggested that it is perhaps from a positive, rather than from a negative approach that understanding of the Testament may eventually come.

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While examining the internal evidence for the authenticity of the Testament, it should always be borne in mind, that although the core of the work may be genuine, it has nevertheless passed through the hands of at least two copyists; the earlier of the ninth or tenth century, and Goscelin. Any seeming anachronism, mis-spelling, or suspected emendation should not therefore be taken as a certain evidence of forgery; it may very well not have existed in the original text, but it is as likely to have been added by the honest copyist as by the forger. (Even a superficial experience of Anglo-Saxon charters teaches a student that an essentially conscientious transcript of an early charter may contain undeniably later additions which the copyist considered the sense, or his normal experience of charters demanded.) Any argument based on the hypothesis that the Testament is substantially a faithful record, must continually take into account the part played by these two copyists in transmitting the text.

## 2. Internal evidence

The internal evidence afforded by the individual items of the Testament must now be considered. Sir Frank Stenton has written: "that the surest method of testing the genuineness of a reputedly Anglo-Saxon charter, preserved in a mediaeval copy, is the comparison of its formulas with those of documents of the appropriate period, written in hands which seem to correspond with the ostensible dates".<sup>1</sup> According to the dates of those signatories who can be identified, the first item of the Testament (henceforth referred to as T.1 and the other items as T.2, T.3, T.4 and T.5 respectively) must have been written between the years 675-690;<sup>2</sup> T.2, whose signatories have already attested T.1, could not have been written long afterwards - not after 704;<sup>3</sup> T.4 and T.3 - they are not in chronological order in the Testament - between 704-709,<sup>4</sup> and 709-713<sup>5</sup>

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1. Latin Charters of the Anglo-Saxon Period (op.cit.p.186).

2. Theodore, 669-690; Ethelred 675-704; and Bishop Saxulf, 675-691 (or 692).

3. King Ethelred is the third signatory.

4. Only king Cenred's dates are known.

5. These are king Ch<sup>e</sup>olred's dates.

respectively; T.5 can be no later than 736, the latest date at which Bishop Walchstod could still have been alive.<sup>1</sup> We have therefore to attribute the diplomas of the Testament to the first half-century of the land-book in England. Of this period there are several examples of Anglo-Saxon diplomas which may be used for comparison with the articles of the Testament. There are four original charters extant - B.C.S. 45, 97, 98 and 154, some undoubtedly authentic copies of originals, 36, 42 and 107, and some documents which may reasonably be accepted as trustworthy copies of genuine charters, 57, 60, 75, 76, 85, 137, 149, 152 and 153. Before examining the internal congruity of each item, their conformity with contemporary standards in phraseology and style must be considered.

The characteristics of genuine diplomas of this period are sufficiently well-known to need little further description here. These documents are simple and straightforward, with no pretensions<sup>t</sup> to style or elegance; one does not expect to find in them elaborate introductions, boundary descriptions, epithets qualifying the signatories or anachronistic claims to privileges civil or ecclesiastical. A cursory glance at the Testament will show that there is

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1. "his (Walchstod's) successor Cuthbert was consecrated in 736". H.E. v. 23 - Plummer's note II p.341.

no difficulty in accepting the items as seventh and early eighth century diplomas on the grounds of plainness and simplicity of formula; nowhere is there any pretentiousness or inflation. T.2, 3, 4, are only a few sentences long apiece, and T.5 is nothing but the account of a transaction with a list of signatories. T.1, by far the longest of the collection, is no exception to the rule of simplicity. The sense is always clear in this first item, even though there is some difficulty in understanding its implications; there is no phrase in the terms of donation or in the part relevant to the connection with Icanhoe, that in any way seems suspicious or anachronistic. The personal and place - names of the Testament will be dealt with under the individual sections; the majority of them are in modern - that is, eleventh century - forms, but that does not necessarily tell against the authenticity of the Testament, as the possible intervention of a copyist should be taken into account here. On the other hand, the description of the places granted (where a copyist's alterations are not so likely) is fully in keeping with the character of early diplomas. The sites granted are merely named, there is no definition of boundaries or reference to neighbouring settlements; places are located

by reference to a river, in T.1 and T.2;<sup>1</sup> this mention of rivers is a characteristic of early charters.<sup>2</sup> T.1 postulates a connection between Wenlock and Icanhoe for which we have no other evidence at all; (although we do know of other Anglo-Saxon houses that were not independent - the many that Wilfrid claimed to have founded, for instance)<sup>3</sup> but the terms of the Testament relating to the connection between Icanhoe and Wenlock contain nothing that would lead one to suspect that an idea of eleventh century ecclesiastical jurisdiction is being transposed into a would-be eighth century expression.<sup>4</sup>

The signatories of the first item are qualified: those of the second are not, but those of the third and fifth and some of the fourth item's signatories are also qualified.<sup>5</sup>

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1. In T.1 - "loco iuxta amnem munube" and in T.2 - "pars quedam circa montem qui dicitur clie. continetur. Quedam vero iuxta amnem qui corf dicitur."
  2. Cf. C.S.57, 107 & 154.
  3. Eddius' Life of Bishop Wilfrid (op.cit.p. iv) Cp.LI: (Wilfrid is appealing to the Pope for restitution of his rights) "... let it rest with your judgement to decide who can best govern the bishopric of the city of York and the other numerous monasteries, excepting only these two called Ripon and Hexham respectively ..." p.107 (my italics).
  4. Cf.C.S.42 "...Aebbae abbatissae iure aecclestastico ac monasteriali et quibuscunque successoribus ipa voluerit derelinquere."
  5. T.1: edelheg abbas. theodorus archiepiscopus. <sup>ea</sup>saexulf episcopus. edelricus abbas. ~~scotin~~<sup>m</sup>merchelin rex.  
 T.2: "Ego merchelm. ego edelred. ego milfrid.  
 T.3: "cheolred rex. ceadda episcopus. elricus abbas. et dux Xedbrectus."  
 T.4: "Murhtello episcopo. Wihctsi et eadberto.  
 T.5: "edelbaldus rex. Walhstot episcopus. Wilfridus episcopus. ova abbas. et kinricus dux".

The signatures of authentic early Anglo-Saxon charters are simple and are not followed by the person's title or office;<sup>1</sup> this does not mean that a diploma with qualified signatures should therefore be regarded as unauthentic. Here one may legitimately suspect the correcting hand of the earlier or later copyist. It would obviously have been a temptation for him to supplement where he could from his own experience of such documents and the plainness of the signatures of early documents would be a noticeable contrast to the form of those to which he was probably accustomed. The point where it is easiest to suspect the hand of a forger is in the third charter - that of Cœolred; "ego cheolred rex sub cirographorum firmitate". Was the word 'cirographum' in use (the word, not the actual kind of document) as early as the first two decades of the eighth century? The word is found in B.C.S. 58, 59, 82 and 112, all of which are probably forgeries. But it also occurs in B.C.S. 178, a charter of Aethelbald's which is perfectly acceptable;<sup>2</sup> since it is found in a diploma of Cœolred's successor, its use in a charter claiming to have been signed by Cœolred himself becomes less suspicious.<sup>3</sup>

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1. See C.S. 42, 45, 75, 107 and 154.

2. This document was probably the outcome of Boniface's rebuke to Aethelbald. V. Tangl. Letter 73. (op.cit.p. 148).

3. It is of course also possible that a copyist may have interpolated here. V. below p. ~~239~~. 240.

Any comparison and study of the items of the Testament reveals a very close resemblance between the phrases of donation in four of the diplomas<sup>1</sup> - no form is given for the fifth. Is this the mark of the limitation of a forger whose ingenuity did not run to bestowing a fresh formula of donation on each of the charters which he fabricated? Or is this similarity a phenomenon common to any group of documents coming from the same monastery, granted by the same royal house?

That T.1 and T.2 should resemble each other so closely is understandable if one considers that they may have been drawn up on the same occasion - they are at any rate close in time. (There are two original diplomas of king Wihtrud which are identical throughout, and were probably issued on the same occasion.)<sup>2</sup> But there is absolutely no evidence that any king or royal house in these early years, consistently used one form of donation in its grants to religious houses - as would seem to have

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1. T.1: "ego edelheg ... milburge in propriam perpetualiter per dono potestatem. ut secundum regularis vite normam cuicumque voluerit vivens sive moriens integram habeat facultatem condonare ..."  
 T.2: "tibi ... milburge ... perdonamus in propriam potestatem. habendi donandi. commutandique prout tibi placuerit ..."  
 T.3: "cheolred ... tibi ... in propriam perpetualiter potestatem. ut liberam ... facultatem donandi. commutandique. prout tibi utile ..."  
 T.4: "keonred ... feleburge in propriam perdonavit potestatem."
2. C.S. 97 & 98.

been the practice of Mercian kings towards Milburga and Feleburga.<sup>1</sup> There is certainly a general resemblance between the donative phrases of all early charters, but here it seems as though there were a single phrase which did duty on several occasions, arranged in a different way each time.

This may of course be an indication of forgery, but it may equally well be due to the "editing" of the ninth century copyist. Since - if the Testament was not a forgery, he arranged the diplomas in the setting that has survived, doing violence to some of the items in order to make his arrangement convincing, there is nothing incredible in his substituting a uniform formula of donation for four documents. A sense of style may have prompted this as it certainly must account for the introduction of the Proem. It is essential to bear in mind, that this curious similarity is not necessarily a condemnation of the Testament, and it does not even make it less likely that it contains elements of original charters. The question remains open.

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1. V. the fourth item of the Testament.



The first item of the Testament

(Primum quidem hunc locum qui nominatur Wininicas pari consensu ambarum parcium ad quos pertinebat eiusdem loci potestas. sub testimonio plurimorum cōmparavi. Nam et venerabili abbati edelheio. et religiose abbatisse liobsynde pro commutatione predicti loci terram sexaginta manentes habentem in loco qui dicitur homtun dedi. Literas quoque mihi idem abbas prefatus pro confirmacione huius commercii fecit ascribi. que ita esse habent.)<sup>1</sup> "In nomine domini mei jēsu christi ego edelheg abbas monasterii cuius vocabulum est icheanog terram nonaginta septem manencium in loco qui dicitur Wininicas. et in alio loco iuxta amnem munube terram duodecim manentes habentem. et in alio loco qui nominatur magana terram quinque tributariorum et in regione qui appellatur lȳdas terram triginta manencium. cum consensu totius familie reverende memorie botulfi abbatis. sanctimoniali virgini Milburge in propriam perpetualiter perdono potestatem. ut secundum regularis vite normam cuicumque voluerit vivens sive moriens integram habeat facultatem condonare. Ita tamen. ut sub iurisdictionibus ecclesie venerabilis botulfi abbatis idem locus non coacte sed spontanee secundum deum perduret. quia eiusdem ecclesie pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur merWaldus. Pro confirmacione autem huius donacionis subscripserunt edelheg abbas. theodorus archiepiscopus. edelred rex. et seaxulf episcopus. edelricus abbas. merchelm rex. et milfrid frater eius." (Et uno concludam sermone. terra huius monasterii centum quadraginta quatuor continet manentes.)<sup>2</sup>

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1. The lines in parenthesis relate to the first item although they do not form part of it.

2. V. footnote 1.

When one turns from form to content, it is immediately obvious that there is much here in the first item of the Testament to be explained. It is not that the charter makes nonsense, but it introduces a completely new situation, a new set of factors which cannot be ignored because they claim to be the actual circumstances of the founding of Wenlock. There is nothing in the scanty records of the monastery's early history (or indeed in that of Western Mercia) that would have prepared one for these revelations. The problems raised by this item may be considered under four heads: (a) who was Abbot Edelheg, how could he convey such a vast amount of land, and what was the nature of the transaction? (b) what connection was there between Icanhoe and Wenlock? (c) who are the signatories to this charter? (d) where are the places mentioned, and is it feasible that they should have formed part of St. Milburga's lands?

Neither Abbot Edelheg nor Abbess Liobsýnde can be identified.<sup>1</sup> Icanhoe was destroyed in the ninth century and has left no records,<sup>2</sup> so it is quite comprehensible that no trace should be left of the names of its Abbots; unless he were a saint, the reputation of an abbot, however holy, would survive only in his own house, or in dependent

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1. Their names are not to be found in Searle's Onomasticon, nor in any other source that I have consulted.

2. V. above p.206.

foundations.<sup>1</sup> Liobsýnde is one among several abbesses whose names have been preserved only through mention in a charter.<sup>2</sup> That the two donors cannot be identified does not therefore tell against the validity of T.1. The name 'Edelheg' appears to have undergone some modernisation - that is, if we consider the copyist very likely altered some of the ancient names he came across - as the early spelling of the first element was 'aetil'<sup>3</sup> not 'edel'; but 'Liobsýnde' may well be an early name.<sup>4</sup> It is not unprecedented that a non-royal person should make a gift of land for religious purposes;<sup>5</sup> nor even that one religious should give land to another,<sup>6</sup> but it is unusual. Neither is the fact that the transaction between Edelheg and Milburga an exchange, in itself a suspicious

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1. V. Medeshamstede and its Colonies, (op.cit.p.184).
  2. For example, Bernguidis of C.S.57: Hedilburga of C.S.81: Cudswida of C.S.85 & 122. Abbess Cudswida's signature occurs on the flyleaf of a volume now at Würzburg - N.R.Ker, Catalogue of Anglo Saxon Manuscripts, p.467. I owe this information, and much other helpful advice and criticism to Dr. H.P.R.Finberg.
  3. V. C.S.154. (This is an original charter.)
  4. Cf. the name of the nun Lioba who corresponded with St. Boniface.
  5. Cf. Friduric's gift of land to Bredun, Medeshamstede and its Colonies, (op.cit.p.184) p.316.
  6. I believe that C.S.128, in which Bishop Fortere of Sherborne grants land to Alberht, abbot of Glastonbury, is authentic. (Cf. C.S.217).

circumstance.<sup>1</sup> Other documents indicate clearly that the gift had not been unrewarded - in the temporal order; for example, in B.C.S. 42 we have, "Igitur hanc terrarum praescriptarum largitionem non solum pro pecunia seu propinquitate sed mercede quoque ab omnipotente deo ... contradimus", and in C.S.122<sup>2</sup> "v manentium quam tu a nobis proprio pretio redemisti id est de solidos".<sup>3</sup> And although it may seem extraordinary that such an exchange should have been made of land in Shropshire for land in Lincolnshire,<sup>4</sup> it would not have been impossible, politically speaking, as with the battle of Trent in 678 Lindsey passed back under Mercian lordship.<sup>5</sup>

What is most striking about the charter is the size of the donation. One hundred and forty-four hides of land are granted, and this is not the gift of a king, but of one who whatever his previous status (he may have been

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1. V. Hazeltine, op.cit.p.204.

2. A diploma of Aethilheard and Aethilweard of the Hwiccas to Abbess Cudswida. C.S.85 (accepted by Sir Frank Stenton) is a grant to the same abbess by Oshere of the Hwiccas and his son. I am prepared to accept the second of these two as genuine also.

3. Cf. the price paid by Abbot Haedda, five hundred solidi for fifteen manentes of land. (V.Medeshamstede and its Colonies, op.cit.p.184.)

4.Cf. C.S.48 where, in a list of the early possessions of Peterborough occur three place-names, probably to be located in Shropshire. (V.Medeshamstede and its Colonies, op.cit.above.)

5. H.E.iv.21.

an important noble) is here called 'abbas'. There is some evidence of kings making gifts of a size approaching this scale; Oswy, after the battle of the Winwaed, in fulfilment of his vow, made a gift of one hundred and twenty hides to Whitby.<sup>1</sup> St. Wilfrid received land to the value of eighty seven hides from king Aedilualch of Sussex;<sup>2</sup> and there is the charter<sup>3</sup> in which Aethelred grants 300 hides each to two brothers to enable them to found the monasteries of Pershore and Gloucester.<sup>4</sup> It is just possible that <sup>A<sub>2</sub></sup> ~~A~~ethelred was acting here in the same capacity towards Edelheg, enabling him to grant an estate in exchange for that which he had received at Homtun; but it would still be a very extraordinary instance. Do the details of the grant offer any further explanation?

It is the size of the first instalment of the grant that is the most surprising; the twelve hides by the 'munube', the five at 'magana', the thirty at 'lydas', these amounts are easily acceptable; it is the ninety-seven hides at 'Wininicas' that is the stumbling block. There is also a considerable difference between this amount, and

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1. H.E. iii. 24.

2. H.E. iv. 15.

3. C.S. 60.

4. "This is certainly not a mediaeval fabrication ..."  
F.M. Stenton, The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings, (op.cit. p.185) p.436.

the entry in Domesday, where Wenlock is recorded as possessing only twenty hides at Wenlock.<sup>1</sup> How can these two statements be reconciled?

According to Domesday, the Church of St. Milburga held in the hundred of Patintune, as well as Wenlock, Tichelevorde, Wenloch (Little Wenlock) Scipetune, Petelie, and Burton. Pichetorne (in Elnoestrul Hundred) and probably Hughley (in Condover Hundred) belonged to the house and are not far from it.<sup>2</sup> Since the monastery owned several neighbouring, but separate 'vills' in 1086 it is very probable that at an early date its possessions were in the form of a unified estate - not in separate parcels of land divided from each other by the holdings of different landlords.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that the evidence of Domesday shows us only a few scattered remnants of the previous possessions of the house - all that had been salvaged throughout the vicissitudes of four centuries - and that in fact, the ninety-seven manentes of the Testament can be seen as representing the whole of the territorial division

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1. "Ipsa ecclesia tenet Wenloch et tenuit T.R.E. ibi xx hidae ..."

2. Victoria County History, Shropshire I pp.309-347.

3. "But to whichever of our oldest churches we turn, the story that it proclaims in its title-deeds is always the same: - We obtained our lands by means of royal grants, we obtained them not in little pieces here a few acres, and there a few, but in great pieces." Domesday Book and Beyond (op.cit.p.188).

later known as the Hundred of Patintune.<sup>1</sup>

Further - and this is another excursion into the realm of conjecture, but if there is any truth in this second proposition, the first (above) is probably true also - the name of Wininicas has never apparently been considered as an example of an '-ing' place-name;<sup>2</sup> it does not seem too unlikely an etymology for the word. Could the original form of this name have been WININGAS (WININCAS) or WINININGAS (WININICAS)? As it stands the name is inexplicable; if it is possible that perhaps an 'i' got displaced, or an 'n' omitted, then it looked as though this may be the name of a folk, Wini's or Winin's people. If that were so it would account for the scale of the grant; not merely was this the case of the transmission of an estate, but of the land which supported a dependent people.

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1. Here, and later in this chapter, reference should be made to the Domesday Map in Victoria County History, Shropshire I. Also, when necessary, to the Domesday Maps in V.C.H. Hereford and Worcester.
  2. No etymology is suggested in the Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, E. Ekwall (Oxford 1936), nor is this place-name discussed in the author's English Place-Names in -ing (Lund 1923).  
 The charter of 901 (V. Appendix III p.258) has Congregatio Wininicensis Ecclesie (although Birch read and printed this as Wimnicensis, B.C.S.587). The Resting Places of the Saints (late 10th century) has already accepted the Welsh name Wynlocan - which became Wenlock, - but the Additional, Gotha, Lambeth and Lincoln MSS all have Wininicas, only the 14th century Lansdowne MS offering the curious Wynwicas - obviously a scribal error.

It has already been indicated that there is nothing questionable in the fact that this item records an exchange rather than a gift.<sup>1</sup> But the wording of this part of T.1 is somewhat curious here: "quia eiusdem ecclesie pecunia emitur a rege qui cognominatur Merwaldus". ("For it is being purchased from King Merewald with the money of that same church".) It seems likely that Wininicas had already been founded and endowed by Merewald, that a religious community lived there under the abbess Liobsynda before Milburga came of age, and that the house was in some way dependent on the monastery founded by St. Botolph. Later Merewald took back Wininicas for his daughter, offering in return (for the dispossessed abbess Liobsynda perhaps?) an estate of considerably less value at Homtun. But Icanhoe retained the authority over the West Mercian house - because it was being purchased from Merewald with Icanhoe money, and probably also because the abbot of Icanhoe had been spiritually responsible for the primitive foundation.

There is no evidence of any such relationship between

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1. V. Hazeltine, op.cit. p.204.



the two monasteries in the Life of St. Botolph<sup>1</sup> but this is not to be expected since the foundation of Wininicas took place during the abbacy of his successor. It is however obvious from the number of churches dedicated to this saint,<sup>2</sup> not only in Lincolnshire, the county of his major foundation, that he was an extremely important ecclesiastical figure in the early Anglo-Saxon church, of greater importance than has been generally recognised. If these numerous church dedications are a reliable indication of the influence of St. Botolph a corresponding influence must be assigned to his house; and it is then less surprising to read of a successor of his - perhaps an immediate successor - making large grants of land, and claiming absolute ecclesiastical jurisdiction of a double monastery<sup>3</sup> presided over by a relation of the royal house

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1. A.A.S.S. Junii V. 324. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum (op.cit.p.100) i, 133.

Miss Bateson remarks that while Botolph and his brother Aldulf had entered the religious life at Chelles which was certainly a double monastery, "it is not clear that their house at Icanhoe was double". (op.cit.p.148)  
Familiarity with continental usage may well have accustomed Botolph to the notion of an abbot rather than an abbess exercising the final authority over a double monastery. (V. op.cit.)

2. V. F.E.Arnold-Forster, Studies in Church Dedications, (op.cit.p.159). No less than sixty English churches are dedicated to St. Botolph.

3. V. the letter in the correspondence of St. Boniface (op.cit.p.148) where there is the account of a vision of a monk of Wenlock. (No.2).

of Mercia. St. Wilfrid was abbot of Ripon,<sup>1</sup> Hexham,<sup>2</sup> Oundle<sup>3</sup> and of other unnamed houses.<sup>4</sup> Wearmouth and Jarrow were twice under the rule of a single abbot.<sup>5</sup> There do not however, seem to be any other instances of an English double monastery, over which a woman ruled, being subject to the jurisdiction of an abbot.<sup>6</sup>

The following are the signatures appended to T.1, "edelheg abbas, theodorus archiepiscopus, edelred rex, seaxulf episcopus, edelricus abbas. merchelm rex. milfrid frater eius." Edelheg's identity has already been discussed, Theodorus is of course Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop from 669-690;<sup>7</sup> Edelred is king Aethelred of Mercia who reigned from 675-704;<sup>8</sup> Seaxulf, the founder of

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1. Ripon was given to Wilfrid by Alhfrith. Eddius' Life of Bishop Wilfrid (op.cit.p. iv) Cp.viii.
  2. Ibid. Cp.xxii.
  3. Ibid. Cp.lxv.
  4. V. above p.212, footnote 3. Cf. also Cp.lx.
  5. Historia Abbatum auctore Anonymo, Cps. 12, 13 & 16.
  6. There is however a suggestion of this practice in the Life of Bishop Wilfrid (op.cit.above). This occurred after the death of Wilfrid: "Iterum itaque praefatus abbas sinodem suam, paululum a pedibus ministrantium cordidatum, puero suo ministro involutam dedit, praecipiens ei, ut ad abbatissam sancti pontifici nostri nominē Cynethrith eam deduxisset ..." Cp.lxvi.
  7. Theodore arrived in Britain in May 669. (H.E.IV.5) He died on September 19th 690. (H.E.V.8).
  8. Aethelred succeeded Wulfheri in 675. He retired to Bardney in 704. (H.E.V.13 and II 155).

Medeshamstede was bishop of the Mercians from 675-691.<sup>1</sup> There remain Edelricus, Merchelm and Milfrid. It is permissible to suggest that when Goscelin or more probably the earlier copyist was presented with the original of this document, to which were appended a list of signatures, unqualified, his experience of later charters may have led him to amplify the record. He knew (from the text) that Edelheg was an abbot, he would have been familiar with the name of king Aethelred, and would have known from Bede's Ecclesiastical History that Seaxulf had been bishop of the Mercians;<sup>1</sup> he either learnt or guessed from the second item, that the last two signatories were St. Milburga's brothers. It is very likely, that not being able to identify Edelricus the copyist assumed that he was probably 'abbas' and entered him as such. There is no Abbot Edelricus in Searle's Onomasticon; but an Aethelric is found signing a charter of Oshere of the Hwiccas,<sup>2</sup> and two of Aethelbald's charters.<sup>3</sup> It is of course possible that Edelricus was an abbot of the time of Aethelred, but the other alternative is as likely. He may be the same person who is later found signing the third item as 'elricus abbas'.

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1. The date of this succession to the see is uncertain but he was already bishop by 676. He must have died before 692, as in that year at the latest, Wilfrid, on his second expulsion, succeeded to his functions. (H.E.II 349)

2. C.S.85.

3. C.S.157 & 154.

In this attempt to identify the other two signatories the end of this section must be anticipated, in order that the evidence of the second charter of the Testament may be considered. Here Merchelm and Milfrid are both donors and signatories, and are called the brothers of St. Milburga.<sup>1</sup> Both are historical individuals; Merchelm ('Mercelin' in William of Malmesbury and Florence of Worcester - which may account for Goscelin's confusion about the spelling)<sup>2</sup> is described as a son of Penda by William of Malmesbury;<sup>3</sup> Florence of Worcester also lists him as a son of Penda in his genealogical account of the kings of Mercia, though not in the table.<sup>4</sup> This undoubtedly represents a tradition different from that preserved by the Testament, for their Merchelm is by implication the grandson of Penda - being named as the brother of one

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1. V. text of the second item p.236.

2. Goscelin shows some uncertainty about the spelling of Merchelm's name; in the first item there is 'scotinerchelim' 'merchelm' and 'merchelim' in the second: the 'in' in the first is obviously a mistaken reading of m - giving merchelim - cf. William of Malmesbury's Merchelín on this page above. But the 'scot' is more difficult to account for - Merchelm was not a Scot, nor, - if his name is anything to go by - was Edelheg, mentioned immediately before Merchelm in T.1. The most likely, though not particularly satisfactory, explanation accounts for 'scot' by seeing in it a wrongly interpreted reading of the contraction for sanctus.

3. Gesta Regum (op.cit.p.260) i.108.

4. Op.cit.p.98

who was considered a granddaughter of Penda. Also the Testament states explicitly that Milfrid was the brother of Merchelm, and Milfrid finds no place in any genealogical account of Milburga's family. Merchelm is then, a historical personage, undoubtedly associated with the Mercian royal family, but he is not mentioned in the Legend,<sup>1</sup> and one is at liberty to doubt whether he was actually a son of Penda, or even a grandson, as the Testament prefers.

Milfrid's existence as a regulus in the Herefordshire country, is vouched for by a reference in William of Malmesbury's Gesta Pontificum.<sup>2</sup> His name was included in an epitaph inscribed by Bishop Cuthbert (who succeeded Walhstid at Hereford in 736) to the memory of his predecessors ...:- "Regulus est quartus Milfrith cum coniuge pulchra ..." There is no hint of any connection with the Mercian kings, but both he and Merchelm were probably petty princes of West Mercia.

What reasons are there for accepting Goscelin's statement that Merchelm and Milfrid were brothers of St. Milburga? Certainly they lived at a time and in that

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1. Liebermann, *op.cit.*p. viii.

2. Cp. 163. (*op.cit.*p. 100).

part of the country (Western Mercia) when and where one would have expected to find brothers of St. Milburga, sons of Merewald. It is possible that when the authorities claim Merchelm as a brother of Merewald, they are here preserving in a confused form a tradition more faithfully represented in the Testament. Particularly striking is the way in which their names alliterate with the names of other members of Merewald's family: Merewald - Merchelm - Merefin - Milfrid - Milburga - Mildrid - Milgitha. On the other hand, no source suggests that St. Milburga had more than one brother, Merefin, who died as an infant. Goscelin himself, repeats the same story in his genealogical account of St. Milburga's family.<sup>1</sup> It may have been that he had already completed the first part of his work when he came across materials which taught him this new fact, that the Saint had two other brothers besides Merefin. Or, it is possible, that either of the copyists, struck by the similarity in their names, may have come to the conclusion that they might have been her brothers, and very probably were, and so interpolated the word 'fratres' into the Testament.<sup>2</sup> However there is another more positive consideration to examine. If Merchelm and

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1. Additional 34 633 f.207r. "... fratres ... merevino. quem ab ipsa raptum infancia deus evexit ad innocentium gaudia."

2. In the first two items of the Testament.

Milfrid were indeed sons of Merewald, but not of Domneva, children born before their father's conversion to Christianity, this would explain why they have no place in the Legend, a Kentish work,<sup>1</sup> concerned primarily with the deeds of the Kentish royal family. Goscelin, who may have learnt as he read the documents of the Testament that contrary to prevailing opinion St. Milburga had three brothers, and have realised that they were half-brothers, children of a non-Christian union, would on that account have omitted entering their names in the genealogical survey, intended as it was, as a work of edification. In a piece of eulogistic writing dealing with the glorious and miraculous conversion of king Merewald to Christianity, and with the subsequent holiness of his life, an entry about two of his sons, who had been born of a pagan union, would have seemed out of place.

And finally the place-names of the first item of the Testament. In exchange for 'hontun' abbot Edelheg granted land at 'Wininicas', 'iuxta amnem munube', at 'Magana' and at 'Lydas'. A suggestion for the etymology of 'Wininicas' has already been made.<sup>2</sup> It is not possible to offer any satisfactory identification of 'Hontun'; it is a very

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1. Liebermann (op.cit.p. viii ) p.viii.

2. V. p.222 above.

common Old English place-name, and there is no sufficient reason to select one Homtun rather than another - there is no means of knowing whether it should be looked for in the neighbourhood of Icanhoe or of Wenlock.<sup>1</sup>

Unless the text is here corrupt, 'iuxta amnem munube' can only refer to the Monnow.<sup>2</sup> At first sight this may seem incredible, that an estate about fifty miles from Wenlock, should have formed part of the endowment of St. Milburga, land well within what is now the Welsh border. But it is impossible to be dogmatic about the limits of Anglo-Saxon penetration westwards into the lands of the British, in the early years of the seventh century. Later, when the frontier was defined against the Welsh by Offa's Dyke,<sup>3</sup> it appears that the English had retreated somewhat

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1. It is just possible that the 'Homtun' referred to in C.S. 781, could be the 'Homtun' of Edelheg; it is an identical spelling but this document is in an eleventh century copy, and the name may very well not represent the eighth century spelling; since however the place is spelled 'Hantone' in Domesday, it is conceivable that the former is the ancient form. In 781 the vill was already in the possession of the Bishop of Worcester. (Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, op.cit.p.222).
  2. English River Names, E.Ekwall (Oxford 1928) gives as an eleventh century form of the name 'Munuwi'. Another (perhaps earlier) spelling of this may have been 'Munuue' and, Goscelin, unfamiliar with what may have been for him an archaic hand, may have read 'b' for a 'v' or 'u', thus making 'Munube' of 'Munuue'.
  3. The Dyke "can confidently be assigned to the second half of Offa's reign". F.M.Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England. (op.cit.p.11) p.112. V. also Offa's Dyke Sir Cyril Fox, (London 1953).



from positions held earlier.<sup>1</sup> Granted that some English settlements were abandoned west of the Dyke, might there not have been lands of St. Milburga among them?

The discovery of a Welsh church dedicated to St. Milburga at Llanfilo near Brecon raises almost as many problems as it solves.<sup>2</sup> To begin with, Llanfilo is near the Wye and could only be described in a general fashion as in the region of the Monnow - but this is a small point and perhaps only of academic interest to monastic scribes writing in faraway Wenlock. More serious seem the rival claims of a Celtic saint Belyau to the church at Llanfilo.<sup>3</sup> This person - whose very existence is ill-attested - was a daughter of Brychan Brycheiniog;<sup>4</sup> he is "one of the most

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1. Non-Celtic Place-Names in Wales, B.G.Charles, (London 1938) p.xxvi.
  2. For the statement that this church was dedicated to St. Milburga V. Topographical Dictionary of Wales, S.Lewis, (London 1849): Studies in Church Dedications, F.E.A. Forster (op.cit. p.159). Theophilus Jones in his History of Brecknockshire (London 1805-1809) states that such was the dedication and that this is attested by ancient documents. (p.563.Vol.2). \* v. below
  3. V. S.Baring-Gould and J.Fisher, The Lives of the British Saints, (Cymmadorion Society London 1907) "the Breconshire church in Llanfilo clearly took its name from and is really dedicated to Belyau who was ... one of the daughters of Brychan Brycheiniog. The church is usually dedicated to St. Milburgh but this is a mere guess. It is called in ancient charters Lanbilio and Lanbilion ..." V. also E.Phillimore's note in Owen's Pembrokeshire, iii.p.325.
  4. V. A.W.Wade-Evans' article, Brychan Brycheiniog in Transactions of the Brecknock Society, No.I, (Cardiff 1930) p.7. Here the text of three lists of Brychan's children are given. Belyau is mentioned in two of the three - in one as Belyau - in the second as Felio - in which one may see a mistaken copying of the mutated form of Belio.

\* "... In some old documents, formerly in the possession of Mr Bowen of Tyle crwn, this church is expressly called Ecclesia Sanctae Milburgae Virginis, and a well in the neighbourhood takes the name of the Saint but is corruptly pronounced Plynon Villo. The day of her commemoration is on the 23rd of February, but the feast here is on the first Monday in March annually." (Vol.2. Pt.ii. p-563)

shadowy figures of Welsh legend"<sup>1</sup>: twelve sons and twenty-four daughters are assigned to him. It is of course possible that this obscure Celtic Saint was the real Saint honoured at Llanfilo - possible also that St. Milburga took over the church and supplanted the earlier Saint. But it is certain that in conjunction with the statement of the Testament, a tradition, even a disputed one, that associates Milburga with Llanfilo, has some value - particularly when it seems an inexplicable mistake to have made.<sup>2</sup> Why should a forger of the Testament, why should Goscelin,<sup>3</sup> and an early nineteenth-century historian<sup>4</sup> have committed themselves to this unlikely theory? And, if Goscelin's evidence has any value, the earliest form of the name for the Welsh lands of St. Milburga was landmýlien<sup>5</sup> - the 'm' claiming perhaps the church for St. Milburga. In the episcopal Register there is Llanbiliowe (1401, 1402) and Llanbillio (1409, 1482). But these documents with a 'b' suggestive of Belyau come three centuries later. In the absence of further evidence it must be conceded that Milburga

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1. V. Lloyd, *History of Wales*, i, p.270.

2. And a curious "guess" - V. above, p.232, footnote 3.

3. Goscelin claims for St. Milburga a great reputation for sanctity and miracle-working among the Welsh (V. pp.89-91).

4. Theophilus Jones - V. p.232, footnote 2.

5. V. Life of St. Milburga, p.89. In Pope Nicholas' taxation the name of the parish appears as Lanbylien. (Taxatio Ecclesiastica Angliae et Walliae . . . Archdiaconate of Brecon - p.273, Ecclesia de Lanbylien.)

has at least as good a claim as Belyau to the church of Llanfilo.

'Magana' no longer exists as a place-name, but the term 'Magene' was still current in the eleventh century;<sup>1</sup> it was apparently the Welsh name for the old district named 'Maund'.<sup>2</sup> The district lies east of the Wye, and there is no other evidence to connect it with St. Milburga; but since the name is certainly derived from that of St. Milburga's people, it is perfectly credible that she should have been given land in territory belonging to her family.

There are several place-names in Shropshire and Herefordshire which might conceivably derive from the 'Lydas' of the Testament. There is Lydbury North, Lydham and Ledwyche in Shropshire - Domesday Lideberie, Lidum and Ledewick - and Lyde - Domesday Leode - in Herefordshire.<sup>3</sup> Lydham, or rather its eleventh century form of Lidum seems nearest the Lydas of the Testament. Lidum is in southwest Shropshire,<sup>3\*</sup> and there is no other evidence that the district ever had any connection with St. Milburga, or her people, but Lideberie is only a few miles to the south of Lidum and it is possible that these two place-names

1. Victoria County History, Herefordshire I, pp.263-307.

2. Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names, edited by A.Mawer and F.M.Stenton (Cambridge 1924) p.29.

3. Victoria County History, Herefordshire I. p.308 (Earl\* Roger held fifteen hides at Lidum in 1086.)

represent part of a much larger district that was once known as Lydas.

Of Lydas, Magana and Munube it cannot be said with any certainty that they represent early spellings; the name 'Icanhoe' remains to be considered, and it is possible that here an ancient spelling is more likely to have been retained - at least the copyist had here a name unfamiliar to him. The Testament spells the name Icheanog, but in the other manuscripts the spelling undergoes some change;<sup>1</sup> and in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the entry for 654 records the founding of Icanhoh;<sup>2</sup> if Goscelin was unfamiliar with the name of this monastery he would have no ready standards by which to judge the spelling of this word in T.1, and would therefore be less likely to alter it; in which case his version has as good a claim to be considered the primitive title of St. Botolph's monastery as that of the Chronicle.

To conclude: this diploma bears nearly all the marks of a genuine late seventh, or early eighth century charter. Its claims, both in the nature and the extent of the grant are unusual, but the majority of them have been shown to be not unprecedented. There is too little known about the

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1. V. above p.63.

2. A Norman scribe would be likely to write 'h' as 'g'.

minor monastic establishments of seventh century England for one to be able to reject the character that abbot Edelheg gives of himself. Finally, the extraordinary statement of the diploma, that St. Milburga held land in Wales not far from the Monnow has been shown to be not entirely unworthy of consideration. On this account, and for the several reasons given above, one may, without undue temerity, accept the first item of the Testament as authentic.

#### The second item of the Testament

(Post hanc vero donacionis cartulam quam supra exposimus, non nullas <sup>possessions</sup> terrarum in diversis locis per diversas donaciones fratrum meorum merchelmi regis et milfridi viva voce <sup>me</sup> adquisisse profiteor. non tamen sine nutu et subscrip<sup>ti</sup>one excellentissimi regis edelredi patru<sup>i</sup> mei. Harum itaque donacionum sceda. continet hunc modum.) 1 "Deo auctore ego merchelm<sup>us</sup> et ego milfrid<sup>us</sup> quada<sup>m</sup> partem terre iuris nostri quam pius dominus nobis largitus est. hoc est terram sexaginta trium manencium in diversis locis tibi germane ac sorori Milburge cum consensu excellentissimi regis edelredi perdonamus in propriam potestatem. habendi. donandi. commutandique prout tibi placuerit. Quarum quidem terrarum pars quedam circa montem qui dicitur clie. continetur. Quedam vero iuxta amnem qui corf dicitur. Quedam autem. in loco qui kenbecleag nuncupatur. Quedam etiam. in loco qui cheilmer<sup>s</sup> nominatur. Ego merchelm. ego edelred. ego milfrid. subscripsimus."

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1. The lines in parenthesis relate to the second item although they do not form part of it.

The second item of the Testament also shares many of the characteristics of genuine contemporary charters; it is short and simple; there is nothing in the formulae that one would not expect to find in a seventh century diploma. It is made by two individuals, Merchelm and Milfrid, to St. Milburga with the permission of their over-lord king Aethelred. It is considerably shorter than T.1, and the interpretation of it depends to a large extent on the case that has already been made out for the previous item.

A theory has been offered to explain how the belief that Merchelm and Milfrid were brothers of St. Milburga, could have arisen and also how it is possible that the belief could have been well-founded. If they were her brothers, even indeed her kinsmen, nothing is more natural than that they too should have wanted to endow her religious establishment. There are several examples of genuine early charters in which sub-kings make their grants with the consent of their over-lords.<sup>1</sup> If the place names can be identified (or at least accounted for satisfactorily) there will be little left to discuss in connection with T.2.

Three of the places are easily identified; montem clie

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1. C.S.42, 57 & 60.

is still known as Clee Hills;<sup>1</sup> the river corf<sup>2</sup> has not changed its name; cheilmers is the present-day Chelmarsh.<sup>3</sup> No modern place-name offers a satisfactory explanation of Kenbecleag - unless perhaps it may be understood as referring to the forest of Kinver<sup>4</sup> - Kinver(Kenb(v)ec)leah?<sup>5</sup> A glance at the map<sup>6</sup> will show how probable it was that these places should all have been the subject of the same grant, of a grant made by men who may have been near kinsmen, and were certainly neighbours. These districts are all on the eastern borders of Shropshire and presumably would have formed a geographical unity.

This second item of the Testament is an extremely convincing document. There is nothing to arouse suspicion and there is no outstanding problem. It is only fair to add, that with the information in the first charter before him, and with the knowledge of the lands of St. Milburga as recorded in Domesday, a forger would have had no great

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1. The Domesday name is similar, Clee.
  2. The Corf is also Corf in the Life. (V. p. 75) V. also English River Names, op.cit.p.231.
  3. The Domesday spelling is Ceilmers.
  4. It may be that here again the copyist has mistaken a 'v' for a 'b'. (Cf. the spelling of Monnow on p.231). And perhaps an 'r' for a 'c'. (Kinver - Kenbec).
  5. 'leah' (1) an open place in woodland or (2) woodland. Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names. (op.cit.p.222). This is another instance of 'h' transcribed as 'g'.
  6. Victoria County History, Shropshire I Domesday map.

difficulty in producing this document. Since however, it does not mention neighbouring places known in 1086 to have been wrongfully in the possession of another than the house of St. Milburga,<sup>1</sup> it can hardly be a late eleventh century fabrication. And the phrase that occurs in the narrative introducing the diploma, 'donaciones fratrum meorum merchelmi et milfridi viva voce me<sup>2</sup> adquisisse' is a strong argument of the authenticity of the underlying original.<sup>3</sup>

#### The third item of the Testament

(Hiis itaque legitime peractis, rex quoque principatus honore satis inclitus cheolred terram mihi dedit quatuor manencium que peandanWrye appellatur. Cuius donacionis hec caucio est.) 4 "Regnante ac gubernante nos domino nostro jesu christo ego cheolred rex sub cyrographorum firmitate terram quatuor manencium tibi Milburge abbatisse in propriam perpetualiter per dono potestatem. ut liberam deinceps habeas facultatem donandi. commutandique. prout tibi utile videtur. Et subscripserunt cheolred rex. ceadda episcopus. elricus abbas. et dux edbrectus."

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1. Victoria County History, Shropshire I, (Domesday Survey p.29). "This was not the whole of the former possessions of St. Milburga, some of which had passed into lay hands in the days of her eclipse. Domesday itself records that Eardington ... had belonged to the saint in 1066 ... Patton and Easthope had been lost since the tenth century, and Beckbury had almost certainly once been hers." V. map in Victoria County History, Shropshire, I.
  2. Italics mine.
  3. Cf. Hazeltine. (op.cit.p.204).
  4. The lines in parenthesis relate to the third item although they do not form part of it.



The third grant of the Testament, is made to St. Milburga by king Cheolred (the successor of Kenred) whose evil deeds are castigated in the correspondence of St. Boniface;<sup>1</sup> there he is condemned for the "public display of these two most grievous sins ... that is, in the adulterous violation of nuns and the destruction of monasteries ..." In the same correspondence a monk of Wenlock is recorded as having had a vision of Cheolred's soul in hell.<sup>2</sup> It is therefore a little surprising to find him here in the role of benefactor to a house of religion, a house which was not, apparently, under any illusions as to his moral worth. (The words, "rex quoque principatus honore satis inclitus Cheolred ..." are probably to be attributed to the ninth century editor. Such a high-sounding phrase would not be found in an eighth century diploma.)

This diploma too, is plain and brief. (It has been suggested earlier<sup>3</sup> that the word 'cyrographum' need not necessarily be the mark of a forgery, but the early use of a term found generally later in the century.) Unfortunately no identification can be offered for the land granted, *pendanWrȳe*. If the authentic form is here

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1. V. Tangl. (op.cit.p.148) Letter No.73.

2. Tangl, (op.cit.p.148) Letter No.10.

3. V. above p.213.

preserved, it might possibly refer to a well-known landmark connected with king Penda, or perhaps with his son Peada. It may mean Pen(a)da's Thicket.<sup>1</sup>

It is conceivable that this grant may have been of land in Worcestershire; the church at Offenham<sup>2</sup> is dedicated to St. Milburga,<sup>3</sup> and seven miles from Offenham there is a village called Pensham.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps the same individual (it may have been the son of Penda) gave his name to Pensham and, to a now forgotten, Pendan Wrye. Certainly the dedication of the church at Offenham is strongly suggestive of influence from Wenlock in this part of Worcestershire.<sup>5</sup>

The signatures appended to this item are those of

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1. Wrid, wri = thicket. (Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names. op.cit.p.222) Cf. Pedan hrycg of C.S.820 (947), now Pettkrige Kent.
  2. Topographical Dictionary of England, S.Lewis (London 1849) and Studies in Church Dedications, op.cit.p.159.
  3. The diplomas that attribute Offenham to Evesham as early as the eighth century, are not genuine. V. Victoria County History, Worcestershire I, p.306.
  4. The first element in Pensham is Peada. V. E.Ekwall, Studies on English Place and Personal Names, (Stockholm 1936) p.11. Ekwall is here quoting Ritter.
  5. There is no comment on this dedication in Victoria County History Worcestershire I. It is most unlikely that the church was dedicated to St. Milburga at any time after the estate had passed to Evesham in the tenth century. (Chron. de Evesham. 79, 80-81. R.S.)

'cheolred rex',<sup>1</sup> 'cedda episcopus', 'elricus abbas' and 'dux edbrectus'. The great Bishop Ceadda had died in 672,<sup>2</sup> but in the Onomasticon Searle mentions one other bishop Ceadda who lived about the year 706, to whom he does not attribute a see; this man is presumably the 'cedda' of T.3.<sup>3</sup> 'Elricus abbas' is unidentifiable<sup>4</sup> but he may be the same person as 'Edelricus' of T.1.<sup>5</sup> The title 'dux' was certainly appended later to 'edbrectus' by the copyist, if T.3 represents a genuine eighth century diploma. 'Edbrectus' may be 'eadbert' who signs two charters of Aethelbald.<sup>6</sup>

Is this diploma acceptable? It is made in the name of a king who has left no genuine charters, and who was certainly no friend to the church. There occurs in the grant a word which is not found in any authentic charter until late in the following reign;<sup>7</sup> the signatories cannot be identified with any certainty, and nor can the place-name.

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1. This, and the following three names are not early spellings.
  2. H.E.II 208.
  3. This Ceadda signs two spurious charters, C.S.124 & 127 (124 is from an Evesham MS.), but it is possible that the person really existed and was not merely a name invented to add weight to a forgery.
  4. Elricus is not to be found in the Onomasticon.
  5. V. p.226.
  6. C.S.137 and 153.
  7. V. pp.213.

Neither way is the case proven, and yet on the whole the analysis seems favourable rather than otherwise. If it is a forgery, surely it was a most ineffective one - claiming a mere four hides of land at a place whose name had apparently passed out of use by the eleventh century. There is no evidence that the monks of Wenlock later laid claim to PendanWrye - or indeed to land in Worcestershire. Until sufficient reasons can be adduced to show that this charter was fabricated, it is impossible to condemn it.

#### The fourth item of the Testament

(Post autem non nulla temporis intervalla sanctimonialis femina deique famula feleburga dedit mihi terram octo manencium. simulque et literas quas pro testimonio donacionis accepi<sup>t</sup>. hunc tenorem habentes. mihi nullo cogente optulit.)<sup>1</sup> "Keonred rex pro redempcione anime sue terram octo manencium in lingen famule dei feleburge in propriam perdonavit potestatem. his testibus praesentibus atque consentientibus. Turchtello episcopo. Wihctsi. et eadberto."

The fourth item is the record, not of a gift to St. Milburga directly from king Kenred, but of a gift from the person who had originally received it from that king,

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1. The lines in parenthesis relate to the fourth item although they do not form part of it.

together with the documents guaranteeing it. This curiously indirect method of making such a record is an important argument against the diploma being a forgery. Why should a forger have gone to the trouble of inventing an unnecessary circumstance when he could have forged a document purporting to have been made out directly to St. Milburga? Either the copyist found among the Wenlock archives a charter made out, not to St. Milburga but to an unknown Feleburga; or one recording that Feleburga had freely granted to Milburga the estates which had previously been given her by Kenred at Lingen. In the first instance, he would certainly have to explain the presence of this diploma among those relating to Wenlock, and to explain it as a gift of Feleburga to Milburga, to put this explanation into the narrative before the diploma, would be an obvious solution.<sup>1</sup> Otherwise it is another instance of information being abstracted from the context apparently for reasons of style. But in either case, there is no difficulty in accepting the charter itself, whoever was its original recipient; its

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1. It is possible of course that this charter was found among the Wenlock archives for the very good reason that it belonged there, having been made out to a successor of St. Milburga, Feleburga. But this assumption would immediately discredit T.3 and T.5, for if she had been succeeded by Feleburga in the reign of Kenred, she could hardly have been the recipient of grants from Ceolred and Aethelred - and although one may be prepared to query T.3 it is not so easy to discount T.5.

form is perfectly acceptable; C.S.60 is an example of an indirect diploma which attests, not the grants of Osric and Oswald to Gloucester and Pershore, but Aethelred's permission to them to do this. And there is an example of the transmission of the land-book,<sup>1</sup> the evidence of ownership in B.S.156.<sup>2</sup>

Lingen is in Herefordshire;<sup>3</sup> there appears to be no other reason to connect land here in the west of the county with St. Milburga's monastery, except that the district was part of the sub-kingdom of the Magaesaten. 'Feleburga' is not found in Searle's Onomasticon; (where very few names have 'fel' as a first element).<sup>4</sup>

As they stand the signatories do not tell us much; Tyrhtel was bishop of Hereford,<sup>5</sup> but the name of 'Wihictsi' is not found in the Onomasticon.<sup>5</sup> 'Eadberto', however,

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1. 'Cartulam'.

2. I am prepared to accept this charter as genuine.

3. Victoria County History, Herefordshire I p.309. \*  
V.C.H. map.

4. But V. Folcberg of C.S.57: "... dono tibi Bernguidi venerabili abbatissae et Folcburgi et per vos monasterio vestro ..." 'burg' is a female name-element, and indeed from the context the co-recipient with abbess Bernguidis is unlikely to have been a man.

5. "Torthere (of Hereford) signs as late as 727; Stubbs, Ep. Succ. p.171, and his successor Cuthbert was consecrated in 736; S.D. ii 32..." H.E. II. 341.  
(Plummer's Note.)

is possibly the same person as Edbrectus of the third item of the Testament.<sup>1</sup> A suggestion may tentatively be put forward for the other signatory: 'Wihictsi' may be the Wecta who signs B.C.S.116.

In conclusion, Lingen is not known to have had any connections with Wenlock, the identification of the signatories is incomplete, and Feleburga's existence is not otherwise attested - at least not under this form of the name. But since these points are all susceptible of some explanation, and bearing in mind the extreme improbability of a forger choosing to fabricate a document in favour of St. Milburga in this form, there do not appear to be sufficient grounds to discard T.4 as inauthentic.

#### The fifth item of the Testament

(Agrum quoque emi a regis comite qui sigWardus cognominatur.  
Nam ei pecuniam dedi copiosam. et ipse dedit mihi terram

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1. V. p.242.

trium manencium cum sceda agri qui magdalee nuncupatur.)<sup>1</sup>  
 "Huius empcionis testes fuerunt et subscripserunt  
 edelbaldus rex. Walhstot episcopus. Wilfridus episcopus.  
 ova abbas. et kinricus dux." (Principum itaque qui has  
 donaciones fecerunt. et testium qui hiis donacionibus  
 consensum dederunt. una omnium sententia hec est, <sup>p</sup>Per  
 omnes agrorum scedas. Si quis regum seu episcoporum vel  
 cuiuscumque gradus persona contra has donaciones venire  
 temptaverit. et hoc munus deo dedicatum in toto vel in  
 parte infringere praesumpserit. sit anathema in adventu  
 domini am<sup>ne</sup>.)<sup>2</sup>

T.5, is not a charter but the record of a transaction with the names of the witnesses to the sale. It is conceivable that Goscelin became bored with the transcribing of an out-of-date chartulary, and therefore abbreviated the later articles of the Testament - particularly this one; (we know that the scribes of other manuscripts of the Vita had no compunction about shortening the section dealing with the Testament.)<sup>3</sup> But it is far more likely that the abbreviation was the work of the tenth century scribe. The essentials of the transaction are by no means obscured by their setting - whoever originally entered this last item in the Testament certainly

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1. The lines in the first parenthesis relate to the first item although only the list of signatories can properly be considered part of the grant.
  2. The anathema in the second parenthesis may equally well belong to any of the five items.
  3. The Testament in Lincoln Cathedral Library Ms.149, and in Lambeth Ms.94. gives only the first item, and does not mention that ecclesiastical jurisdiction was to remain with Icanhoe.



wished to give the impression that this too had been a contemporary 'grant'.

There is nothing suspicious in this 'charter' being so openly the record of a sale;<sup>1</sup> there are several authentic early diplomas which indicate unmistakably that the gift had not been made for spiritual gain alone.<sup>2</sup> It is interesting that the king's 'comes' should have treated with the saint rather than the king, and it is evidence definitely in favour of the record's authenticity; a forger would not have stood to gain by inventing a 'Sigward' when it would have been more impressive to present a grant direct from the king to St. Milburga.

Magdalee is the Madelie of Domesday; the amounts of land recorded are not quite the same - three hides according to the Testament, four according to the eleventh century survey.<sup>3</sup> This is the sole instance, in the history of the possessions of Wenlock, when the monastery more than held its own, and actually increased its holding. There is no 'Sigward' among the signatories of Aethelbald's other charters, but it is a fairly common name for the

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1. Cf. Hazeltine (op.cit.p.204) p.xix .. "Although the purchase of land was a transaction in which the contractual element was prominent, the transaction itself did not take the form of a contract of sale. It took the form of a grant."

2. Cf. C.S. 42, 122.

3. V. below, Appendix II p. 254.

period.<sup>1</sup> 'Walhstot' is mentioned by Bede - "et eis populis, qui ultra amnem Sabrinam ad occidentem habitant Ua;chstod episcopus ..." <sup>2</sup> 'Wilfridus' was Bishop of the Hwiccas in 731; according to Florence of Worcester, he died in 734.<sup>3</sup> There are very many by the name of Ova (or Oba) in the Onomasticon, but none of them is an abbot. Probably the 'Ova' of T.5 is Oba the companion of Aethelbald who is mentioned in the Life of St. Guthlac,<sup>4</sup> and who signs several of Aethelbald's charters.<sup>5</sup> 'Kinric' also signs a diploma of this king.<sup>6</sup> There can be little doubt that we have here the essence of a genuine diploma of the reign of Aethelbald.

Since the merits of each item of the Testament have been assessed after the respective analyses, there is no need here for a prolonged conclusion. In the course of their examination it has been shown that for none of the items are the arguments against their authenticity stronger than those in favour of it. In the case of three of the five (1, 4 and 5) a foundation of fact seems

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1. V. the Onomasticon.

2. H.E. v. 23.

3. (op.cit.p.98 ) i. 49.

4. Memorials of St.Guthlac, edited by W. de G.Birch (1881).

5. C.S. 137, 149, 152 and 153.

6. Kinric signs C.S.149.

historically certain. The second item would have been the easiest - and most reasonable - article to forge; and yet the lands it claims are substantially represented in Domesday - diminished it is true, but clearly recognizable. Charter evidence (i.e. that afforded by these articles) does not seem to have been invoked in the twelfth century to claim the greater amounts of land at these sites that is attested by T.2. The case for the third item is the weakest, but even here there is more to be said for the charter than against it, and it is entitled to some further consideration since it is found among documents more acceptable than itself. For these reasons therefore, and for those mentioned in the discussion of each article, the Testament may be safely accepted as a fairly faithful copy of the substance of five authentic land-books concerned with the early possessions of the monastery of Wininicas.

APPENDIX IThe narrative parts of the Testament

Digna consilia ... cognicio legentibus redintegretur.<sup>1</sup>  
 Quamobrem ego Mjlburga suplex christi vernacula. monastice  
 conversacionis magistra. prima fronte huius paginule universa  
 terrarum loca. que deo annuente possideo. et quomodo vel  
 quibus auctoribus mihi concessa sunt sacrorum apicum  
 attestacione promulgare contendo. ne mors mea ignoracione  
 agrorum ecclesiae infametur. et successura mihi posteritas  
 scrofo<sup>s</sup>la contencione invidorum inquietetur. Primum quidem  
 hunc locum qui nominatur Wininicas pari consensu ambarum  
 parcium ad quo<sup>s</sup> pertinebat eiusdem loci potestas. sub  
 testimonio plurimorum comparavi. Nam et venerabili abbati  
 edelheio et religiose abbatisse liobsynde pro commutatione  
 predicti loci terram sexaginta manentes habentem in loco  
 qui dicitur homtun dedi. Literas quoque mihi idem abbas  
 prefatus pro confirmatione huius commercii fecit ascribi.  
 que ita sese habent. In nomine<sup>2</sup> .....

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1. for the proem V. p.176.

2. For the text of the first item of the Testament  
 V. p. 177.

milfrid frater eius. Et uno concludam sermone. terra huius  
 monasterii centum quadraginta quatuor continet manentes.  
 Post hanc vero donacionis cartulam quam supra exposuimus. non  
 nullas <sup>possessiones</sup> terrarum in diversis locis per diversas donaciones  
 fratrum meorum merchelmi regis et milfridi viva voce me  
 adquisisse profiteor. non tamen sine nutu et subscripcione  
 excellentissimi regis edelredi patru mei. Harum itaque  
 donacionum sceda. continet hunc modum. Deo auctore<sup>1</sup>.....  
 ego milfrid. subscripsimus. Hiis itaque legitime peractis.  
 rex quoque principatus honore satis inclitus cheolred terram  
 mihi dedit quatuor manencium que pendanWrye appellatur. Cuius  
 donacionis hec caucio est. Regnante ac gubernante<sup>2</sup>.....  
 et dux edbrectus. Post autem non nulla temporis intervalla  
 sanctimonialis femina dei que famula feleburga dedit mihi  
 terram octo manencium. simulque et literas quas pro testimonio  
 donacionis accepit. hunc tenorem habentes. mihi nullo cogente  
 optulit. Keonred rex<sup>3</sup>.....Wihctsi et eadberto.  
 Agrum quoque emi a regis comitem qui sigWardus nominatur. Nam  
 ei pecuniam dedi copiosam. et ipse dedit mihi terram trium  
 manencium cum sceda agri qui magdalee nuncupatur. Huius  
 empcionis testes fuerunt et subscripserunt edelbaldus rex.

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1. For the text of the second item of the Testament V. p.236.

2. For the text of the third item of the Testament V. p.239.

3. For the text of the fourth item of the Testament V. p.243.

Walhstot episcopus. Wilfridus episcopus. ova abbas. et kinricus dux.<sup>1</sup> Principum itaque qui has donaciones fecerunt. et testium qui hiis donacionibus consensum dederunt. una omnium sententia hec est per omnes agrorum scedas. Si quis regum seu episcoporum vel cuiuscumque gradus persona contra has donaciones venire temptaverit. et hoc munus deo dedicatum in toto vel in parte infringere praesumpserit. sit anathema in adventu domini amen.<sup>2</sup>

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1. The signatures are the only part of item five of the Testament which remain.
  2. This is the end of the sanction which concludes the Testament.

APPENDIX IIQuod Tenet Ecclesia Sancte Milburg<sup>1</sup>In Patintune Hund

Ecclesiam sancte Milburgae fecit Rogerius comes abbatiam.

Ipsa ecclesia tenet Wenloch *et* tenuit T.R.E. ibi xx hidae ...

Ipsa ecclesia tenet Tichelevorde *et* tenuit T.R.E. ibi vii hidae geld *et* iii hidae quietae a geldo ...

Ipsa ecclesia tenet Madelie *et* tenuit T.R.E. ibi i hida non geld *et* iii aliae hidae geld ...

Ipsa ecclesia tenet Wenloch *et* tenuit T.R.E. ibi i hida non geld *et* aliae ii geld ...

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1. From the Shropshire Domesday Survey. (V.C.H. Shropshire I pp.309-347.)

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Scipetune. Ibi dimidia hida non geld & iii aliae hidae geld ...

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Petelie. Ibi dimidia hida non geld ...

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Burtune et Eadric de ea. Aluric pater huius tenuit & non p<sup>o</sup>terat recedere ab ecclesia. Ibi ii hidae & iii virgatae terrae geld ...

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit Godestoch. Comes Rogerius dedit capellanis suis. sed ecclesia debet habere. Ibi xx hidae. Ex his iii non geld ...



In Elnoestrul Hund

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Dehocsele. Ibi dimid hida geld.

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Pichetorne. Ibi dimid hida geld.

In Sciropesberie Hund

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Sudtone. Ibi i hida.

In Culvestan Hund

Ipsa ecclesia tenuit et tenet Clee. Ibi ii hidae.

In Conodoure Hund

Sancta Witburga<sup>1</sup> tenet dimid hida geld et filius Aluric de eo.

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1. = Milburga. The land referred to is <sup>perhaps</sup> probably Hughley  
Victoria County History Shropshire I, op.cit. p.254.

APPENDIX III

Grant by Aedelred and Aedflaed of the Mercians to Wenlock Abbey of land at East Hope and Patton (co.Salop.) in exchange for land at Stantun (co. Derby).<sup>1</sup> 901.

" ... et<sup>\*</sup> semper omnia ad finem festinant. ideo atramento litteras chartulis commendamus ut quae cupim<sup>2</sup> ... possint ad evitandam supervenientium scandalorum. periculo<sup>3</sup>am contentionem. ne a posteris labentur sine memoria priscorum procerum statuta . . . His itaque. predictis ad memoriam revocemus quod Aede<sup>4</sup>red Aedelfled quoque opitulante gratuita Dei gratia. monarchiam. Merceorum tenentes honorificeque gubernantes. et defendentes. insuper eorum congregatio Wininicensis<sup>3</sup> ecclesiae consentiens consensit illorum dominio terram manentium. viii. in East Hope. iii. in Peatting Tune. v. in hereditatem perpetuam habendi possidendique pro commutatione illius. terrae in Stantune x cassatarum quae prius erat foras concessa in dominium regalem. pro libertate illius monasterii. sed nos iterum cum licentia et testimonio pantorum procerum. Merceorum

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1. C.S.587. (V. also Bond E.A., Facsimiles of charters in the British Museum 1873-78, pt.iii. pl.1.)

2. These omissions are in Birch's text.

3. Birch misread this word as Wimnicensis but Bond has the correct reading, Wininicensis.

x I have omitted the Preamble to the charter.

comodavimus ea condicione ut sit sub dominio. senioris  
 illius ecclesiae et ad mensam sed et terram. iii manentium  
 quae dicitur cahing laeg ad mensam illius. congregationis  
 perpetualiter donavimus quae antea in trium hominum diem  
 foras concessa fuerat. ista quoque, supradicto terra id  
 est in east hope et in peating tune. libera scripta constat  
 ab omnium personarum jugo servitutis ... Nos etiam  
 condonavimus. kalicem aureum pensans. xxx. manncps ad  
 istam ... in Dei amore honoreque virginis. venerabilis ...  
 Mildburge abbatissae. ut securius possimus perfrui hujus  
 terre possessionem ea condicione ut permaneat indesinenter  
 semper in ista aecclesia quamdiu ... cussa permaneat. nisi  
 ... sub jurem istius aecclesiae ad illorum mensam si  
 necessitas evenerit. acta. est autem ista chartula <sup>anno</sup> ~~...~~ <sup>1</sup>  
*dominice incarnationis. dccc<sup>o</sup> 1<sup>o</sup>. indictione iiii ...*

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1. "But at least their writers (the writers of Anglo-Saxon charters) are not encumbered, like their contemporaries who wrote in Latin, by the necessity of attempting a style for which their grammar was inadequate. The most difficult of the English documents issued by Aethelred and Aethelflaeda are lucid in comparison with the solemn Latin diploma in which they record an exchange of land with the monastery of Wenlock." (F.M. Stenton, Latin Charters, op.cit.p.186, p.45.)

THE LEGEND OF KING MEREWALD

Merewald, father of Mildred, Milburga and Mildgitha, is not mentioned in Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica, "or in the authentic portions of the chronicle".<sup>1</sup> The Legend of the Kentish Royal Family<sup>2</sup> calls him a son of Penda, and states that he married Domneva, daughter of Ermenred, and by her had three daughters and a son Merefyn who died in infancy; that after the death of this son he separated from his wife (who left him to found the monastery of Thanet) and gave up all things for the sake of the life to come. Florence of Worcester refers to him as Saint Merewald, king of the West Hecanas, in his genealogical account of the royal house of Mercia.<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury also calls him a son of Penda.<sup>4</sup> From Capgrave<sup>5</sup> Roscarrock had learnt that a priest named Edfrid had converted the pagan king but he does not know the full story.

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1. Earle & Plummer, Two Saxon Chronicles (London 1880) Merewald is associated with Wulfheri and Aethelred in deliberation about the monastery of Medeshamstede (665) but is not included among those present at the consecration of the monastery. (Peterborough Chronicle (E) Bodleian MS. Laud 636) The latin charter on which this insertion is based, C.S.22, is a forgery, probably of the time of Edgar. (Earle & Plummer, op.cit.above, vol.ii, p.25.)
  2. Liebermann, op.cit.p. xiii
  3. (Op.cit.p. 98 ) i. 265.
  4. Gesta Regum Anglorum i. 108. (Edit.T.Hardy, London 1880, R.S.)
  5. The fifteenth century edition of John of Tynemouth. V. above p.97

This account, preserved in British Museum Additional MS 34 633, would seem to be the unique source of the tradition concerning his conversion - indeed of any tradition concerning his life, apart from the bare facts contained in the Legend.

... Verum quia prius me tempus deficiet. quam a me narrari tota valeat parentalis almitas huius almiflue virginis. per avitos nobiles et regios vertices sanctissimi eius generis. de utroque suo genitore cuius meritis et laudibus ipsa nobilitatur proximius. quedam subnecto sanctitatis insignia. conversacioni fidelium non inutilia. Quod igitur enarro. narrat vetus historia.<sup>1</sup> quam ego partim didici lectione partim cuiusdam venerabilis presbiteri et antiqui viri relatione. Unde tamen non nulla praetereo. ne multiplicitate sua sint lectori tedio. Erat inquit Merwaldus rex merciorum paganismo deditus. quem sanctus presbiter edfridus<sup>2</sup> vir doctrina clarus. et vita magnificus. ad eum convertendum venit. a northamhimbrorum partibus<sup>3</sup> celesti oraculo praemonitus. Ut autem fertur divinum ipse susceperat oraculum. ut in terram merciorum loco Reodesmuth<sup>4</sup> vocato pergeret. ibique verbum dei praedicans.

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1. This 'vetus historia' is of course unknown. Since however it would seem that the Testament was found at Wenlock in the early twelfth century, there may also have survived some document recording Merewald's conversion.
  2. The Resting Places of the Saints (Liebermann, op.cit.p.xiii ) records an 'Aedelredus' as lying at Leominster (p.14). It is just possible that this is Edfridus.
  3. For the conversion of the West Mercian people V. above, Cp. 4.
  4. I have been unable to find this place-name.



regem et eius gentem paganos ad christianismum converteret. Segregatus itaque sacer edfridus tanquam alter apostolus in opus praedicationis viam arripuit. ignorans regem et locum. quo celitus pergere iussus fuit. Celitus ei via praecipitur. et celitus ad locum usque perducitur. Demum ergo locum attigit. et sol occasum adiit. Nocte dies obducitur. tecto carens novus hospes divo noctu tegitur. Ubi vero ne desolaretur ambiguo proventu suo peregrinationis. divinitus visitatur praesagio regie conversionis. Dum enim assedisset cenulam sub vespertina noctis. prius deo debitis solutis laudibus et votis. adest leo<sup>1</sup> quidem immanissimus iubis per colla crispantibus. Cui vero vir sanctus ut deifer intrepidus nullatenus cessit. sed tanquam celesti misso frustum de pane suo porrexit. Porrectum autem ipse iam non leo sed mansuecior agno rictu blando suscepit. susceptum ante pedes porrigentis se pervoluens ut mansuetus comedit. Quid multis.<sup>?</sup> leo pastus disparuit. vir autem sanctus in loco pernoctavit. Sol redit ad superos. dies fulsit aurea. de loco surgit vir predictus advena. circuit queque loci confinia. devenit ubi rex quesitus manebat et eius familia. Ad hospitandum sibi domus eligitur. a quodam

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1. There is mention of wild beasts in connection with the founding of Lastingham, (H.E.iii.23) and this may refer to wolves. Cf. the story of St. Jerome and the Lion; (Migne, P.L.XXII.210) this lion also appeared 'die ad vesperascente'.

regis milite suscipitur. Subsequenti autem nocte rex vidit sompnum. quod mane facto suis prolatum solvere sibi poterat nemo suorum. Regi tandem suggerit memoratus miles de suscepto eius hospite. velut pincerna suus pharaoni de ioseph sompni coniectore. Domine mi rex inquit iubeat excellencia tua sibi virum quemdam praesentari. quem mecum nocte transacta pro hospite sub tecte recepi. Cuius mores a nostris videntur alieni. qui nisi fallor cultor est christiane fidei. Diis namque nostris detrahit et calumpniatur. nobis eorum ob cultum mortis eterne supplicium promittit et minatur. Qui fortassis si domini mei regis sompnum audierit. non falsus ut arbitror interpret eius erit. Rex ad militem. Accersiat inquit ocius talis hospes tuus. Accersito christi legato coram rege. rex sompnum ita cepit edicere. Nox praeterita dum me <sup>in</sup> sompno datum in stratum teneret. videbar mihi videre duos canes teterrimos et immanes me per iugulum arripere. E regione vero personam qu<sup>an</sup>dam venerabili facie. tonsa per aures in coronam cesarie. mihi praesidio adesse. et de canum dentibus aurea cum clave<sup>1</sup> quam in manu ferebat. me potenter eruere. Quo fit ut hinc terreat me tanta canum immanitas. et eorum in me grassabunda rapacitas. inde foveat tam festina ab eius erepcio. et iocunda ereptoris mei visio.

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1. Cf. Bishop Laurentius' vision of St. Peter, H.E.ii.6.

Sed et nescio quid portenti habeat tam tetra bestia. tam insolens et effera. quid auspicii tam grata persona ereptrix mea. tam dec<sup>en</sup>is et clavigera. utrobique mens mea redditur sollicita. Rex desierat loqui. subinfert assecla christi. Rex gratulare tue visioni. famulatur enim tue perpetue salutis. Quid ergo portendat canum in te grassantium et te iugulare molient<sup>c</sup>ium tam horrenda species. quid auspicetur clavigere persone liberatricis tue tam iocunda facies. rex accipe et intellige. Teterrimi canes et immanes sunt fuliginosi plutonis satellites vite et salutis tue mortiferi hostes. quorum tu faucibus in praedam et devor<sup>f</sup>ationem daberis. ubi devoratus semper devorandus eris. ut sic usque moriens. et nunquam morte finiens perpetuis terroribus. sulf<sup>u</sup>reis fetoribus. dentium stridoribus. ignium ardoribus. penibus immanibus et intollerabilibus cum ipsis in tartari medio crucieris. nisi funditus abnegaveris paganismum. et ex toto corde converteris ad christum dei vivi filium. Reverendus ille claviger cuius potent<sup>a</sup>ia liberaris. sicut tibi videtur de beluis tam efferis et voracibus. ianitor est et princeps regni celestis. et in terra christi salvatoris mundi vicarius. Clavis enim aurea celestis est potencia. qua quicquid ipse ligat ligatur. quicquid liberat liberatur. Cui tu domum edificabis in regno tuo ad agendas laudes et gratias. dies noctesque regi superno. in quem tu corde credens. quem ore confitens. cuius quoque

baptismi vestem induens. vite gentilis demonicos abdicaveris ritus. et idolatrie prophanos abiuraveris<sup>5</sup> cultus. ut superni regni sedibus merearis fieri idoneus. Cuius regni frequens et beata leticia. defectus et mortis est nescia. cuius tu felix et perhennis heres eris cum liberatus de canum dentibus fueris. per suscepcionem sancte fidei beati petri liberatoris tui. qui confessione christi filii dei vivi claves meruit et principatum paradisi. Hiis et multimodis fidei rudimentis sacer heros regi christum praeconatur. christo regem conformari praeconando conatur. Quibus diligenter auditis. rex ait ad interpretem sui salutis. Quicquid tua me docuerit christiana erudicio. mea paratur suscipere devota subiectio. quatinus evadere queam tam horribilis belue rictus.

Preventus itaque rex superna clementia sua queque destruit et pessundat idola. Deponit regni insignia. sceptrum. purpuram. et diadema. cinere conspersus cilicio induitur. dolet. ingemit. et totus in penitenciam compungitur. Sancti pedes advoluitur. paganismum abiurat. cultum dei profitetur. sacro fonte renascitur. christicola sanctus efficitur. prompte devocionis ad omnia. quibus eum chatezizat suos evangelista. Iam vero<sup>6is</sup> lustra ■ sena sexiesque vicena<sup>1</sup> peregerat cursus dominice incarnationis. quando MerWaldus

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1. i.e. 660. This is a likely enough date for Merewald's conversion. (V. cp. 4 of Part I.) and Introduction, pp. vi-vii)

rex merciorum a sancto presbitero edfrido suscepit gratiam christiane regenera<sup>c</sup>tionis. Ecce rex hactenus ut leo praefiguratus leone superius memorato iam non ferox ut leo sed micior agno erroris sui de luco se reum fatendo prodiit. et veritatis fidem vite panem. ab eius conviva fidei scilicet et vite dogmatista, percepit. Ubi vero regis conversio per leonem ut dictum viro dei divinitus prae-sagitur. locus fundande domus regio liberatori regni celestis ianitori eligitur. Unde locus ipse postea vertitur in leonis monasterium.<sup>1</sup> Domus autem fundata regaliter soleratur. rebus et opibus regiis opulenter ditatur. Cui beatus praeficitur edfridus cuius doctrina vere lucis gratia primo refulsit in plaga merciorum hesperia.<sup>2</sup> cuius ibi digne pro meritis est recolenda celebris et felix memoria. Rex igitur suscepta veritatis noticia. tanta fervet in deum sanctitatis flagranti<sup>a</sup>. ut videretur reparare sibi cum

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1. V. Ekwall, Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names (op. cit. p. 222) Leominster: 'The Welsh form is or was Llanllieni. The first element is Old English Leon, the old name of a district on the Arrow and Lugg ... It is identified with the river-name Leen, and belongs to the root lei - 'to flow', in Welsh 'lliant' - 'stream', and Llanllieni means 'the church on the stream' or 'in the district of the streams'. Leominster may be a translation of the Welsh Llanllieni. "The common fame of the people about Leominster is that King Merewald, and some of his successors, had a castle or palace on the side of a hill, half a mile by East from the town; where as Leland says some tokens of ditches and buildings were in his day visible." John Price, An Historical and Topographical Account of Leominster. (Ludlow 1795).
  2. This, it has been shown, may well be true. (V.Cp.4.)

plurimo fervore quidquid neglexerat retro ducto tempore. Queque sibi congesserat mundiali potencia. christi pauperibus erogat viscerali clementiā. Fundat et construit deo passim ecclesias.<sup>1</sup> constructis uberes dat fundūs et familias. fertur autem utrumque regem et regiā comitem glorioso martiri oswaldo regi clavecestre construxisse monasterium. quod ab utroque non solum largis possessionibus dilatatur. Sed et tantis ornatibus decoratur. ut prae habundantia ornatum a vulgo vocaretur aureum.<sup>2</sup> Parum quoque

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1. Certainly Wininicas, probably Leominster, possibly Gloucester.

2. William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, op.cit.p. 100.293) states that the Priory of St.Oswald, Gloucester, was founded and endowed by Aethelflaeda of Mercia, when the relics of the Northumbrian king were translated here, in 909, from the ruined Bardney. It is possible that the first statement, that Aethelflaeda founded the house, was only assumption on his part. He adds, 'Floruit id cenobium ad tempus Danorum, fuitque affinitate arctissima nostro conjunctum, sicut in archivis utriusque reperitur ecclesiae'. But the archives of Malmesbury have not a good reputation and they may have been the source of the first statement.

The Resting Places of the Saints, refers thus to St.Oswald, "... corpusque eius reliquum in novo monasterio apud Gleaweceastre'. (Liebermann, op.cit.p. 444 ).

Besides the Additional MS. I have found only one other mention of a pre-tenth century church at Gloucester: (Vita S Oswaldi of Reginald of Durham (op.cit.p. 130 ). Cp.XLIV) 'Est in provincia Merciorum regia civitas quae Gloucesteria nuncupatur, temporibus nobilium regum Angliae divitiis satis opulenta et dignitatibus famosa, quae in temporis successu non minus celebris colebatur, beati martyris Oswaldi patrociniis sublimata. Ecclesia siquidem in eius veneratione et memoria ibidem antiquitus fundata honorabatur, regum et principum liberaliter donata ...' It is of course perfectly credible that the Northumbrian Edfrid should have dedicated the church to the great Northumbrian king.

fuerat uterque modus communis vite. nisi post haberetur paucis inexperta delectatio carnis. et assumeretur multis incognita conversatio celestis.

Tandem itaque Merwaldus rex et domneva regia comes. post memoratos eorum partus fastidire ceperunt proletarios amplexus. Celibatus ergo gratia voluntate consentanea. dirimuntur a carnali copula. Christus fit heres totius sue suppellectilis. ut <sup>ipsi</sup> ~~christi~~ fiant coheredes eius eterne beatitudinis. O quam gloriosum. quam excellens sanctitatis exemplum. Tanto quidem excellencius. quanto fit rarius a paucis hominibus. Quis enim rex hodiernus imitatur tantum exempli decus. Utinam imitaretur vel pauper et mendicus. cui thorus coniugalis dolor est et gemitus. Sicut igitur columba de laqueis avulsa turrim avolat amicam. sic domneva nobilis regina carnis a nexu libera conciam adit nativam. Ubi hesperus ab occasu rediens. denuo fit ipsa lucifer oriens. numquam ulterius iterum hesperus. Magis enim delectata sui prothodoctoris augustini eiusque sociorum aulis sepulchralibus quam mercie regionis cuius ipsa princeps et regina. fuerat palaciis regalibus. malens quoque frui vite celestis ducibus sancto theodoro archipresule et beato adriano abbate. tunc cantuarie vivis et deiferis luminaribus. quam mercis hesperialibus. adeo tunc sacre fidei rudibus. ut inter eos rarus esset qui subderetur veri dei cultibus. retinetur concie perpetuo sociata suis deicolis natalibus

specimen et forma sanctitatis. et tocius imitande pietatis. Unde rex edbrictus patruelis suus non modicum exultans de eius prasencia. votis eius et desideriiis occurrit cum omni votorum conivencia. Hinc letatus anglie primas sacer theodorus. hinc congauDET totus orbis canticus. Suscipit ergo domneva venerabilis a praedicto rege locum amene mansionis. Distat non eminus ab urbe cantuaria grandis que tanetum nominatur insula arridens bona rerum copia. regni flos et talamus amenitatis gratia. in qua tanquam in quodam elisio datur ei duodecies quatuor aratorum possessio. Qua suscepta beata domneva non ut prima mater eva suis posteris fuit ve et calamitas. sed sacris virginibus quas ibi deo congregavit salus et felicitas. Comitata siquidem matrona venerabilis opibus regis sui patruelis. et ab ipso munita quibusque sibi necessariis virginalis construit cenobium. in honore beatis virginis virginum. ad cuius filii celeste servitium congregat ibi virginum ac viduarum sanctimoniale collegium. Quibus ipsa prima loci fundatrix praefuit docta karismatibus divinis. freta tamen in hoc primitus doctis patrum consiliis. Cui soboles egregia christi virgo Mildritha cum septuaginta virginibus deo consecratis a memorato primate dorobernensi antistite. feliciter vice materna successit. et e vestigio materne pietatis vitam agens. et claudens sub titulo virgines castitatis. ad matrem in supernis gloriosam meritis centenis<sup>ni</sup> fructus redimta<sup>i</sup> coronis accessit.



Inclita quoque virgo Milgitha iunior beate matris  
 domneve filia sancte convers<sup>c</sup>ationis vitam duxit in terminis  
 northamh<sup>y</sup>mbrorum. veri per eam gesta sunt divinitus ac  
 deinceps geruntur non ~~multa~~<sup>nulla</sup> miracula signorum ad dei  
 laudem et glorifica<sup>c</sup>tionem. et ad eius intergerrime casti-  
 tatis venera<sup>c</sup>tionem. que suos piis fovens patrociniis  
 plurima prestat beneficia fidelibus populis.

Rex autem merciorum Merwaldus post legitum certaminis  
 agonem et cursus sui beatam consummacionem. ob fidei servate  
 meritum vite celestis suscepit gaudium. corpore pausans ut  
 fertur apud repondune<sup>l</sup> monasterium. olim satis nobile  
 conversa<sup>c</sup>tionibus virorum insignium et sanctimo<sup>n</sup>ialium  
 feminarum. Qui locus secundum eius ethimologiam. non  
 tacere videtur regis excellentiam. Sonat enim manipulus  
 montis. unde quasi sic loquitur nobis. Rex memorabilis  
 quod in valle terestri collegit. vallem transiliens in  
 monte celesti reposuit. Hec de beate virginis genealogia  
 compendio praemisimus .....

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1. Repton was the burial place of the Mercian king. (V. Memorials of St Guthlac, W. de G. Birch, op.cit.p.249) Aethelbald was buried at this double monastery in 755. (V. B.Colgrave, Felix's Life of St. Guthlac, p.178. (Cambridge 1956).

When one reflects on the value of the Goscelin Life of St. Milburga it is clear that one would be ill-advised to rate it as of considerable historical importance. This thesis has attempted to prove that, although anonymous, the Life must be accounted to Goscelin, but it is an unexceptional piece of hagiography, although it appears to have enjoyed a certain measure of popularity in its time. This popularity must account for the occasional complete versions of the Life being transcribed, and was thus probably responsible for the preservation and transmission of the five original charter elements in the Life.

The charters, the legend relative to Merewald, the Saint's father, these and other fragmentary pieces of information are all that will commend the Life to the general historian; and while the charters, the most interesting part of the Life, conform in general to the normal pattern of Anglo-Saxon charters, they contain a fair amount of problems and debatable matters. And this is probably the measure of the value of the Life of St. Milburga, regarded as a not particularly important, though not insignificant source for Anglo-Saxon history in the late seventh and early eighth centuries.

The Life of St. Milburga concurs with the general picture of religious life in the early Anglo-Saxon period: where it differs from the norm (as in the suggested relationship with Icanhoe) it has some interesting theory to offer. It provides a little more information about West Mercian royalty, about the relationship between the conquerors and their Welsh neighbours, it substantiates, in what it reveals of charter transactions, much of what has already been stated in authoritative works. It is a fair commentary on the period in which the Saint lives, with enough provocative and debatable matter to rescue it from insignificance.

P A R T   I I

C H A P T E R 1

THE MANUSCRIPTS AND PRINTED VERSIONS OF THE MIRACULA  
INVENTIONIS BEATE MYLBURGE VIRGINIS AND ITS VALUE AS  
A HISTORICAL DOCUMENT

Before the publication of Dr. Woolley's Catalogue of the Manuscripts of Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library,<sup>1</sup> the account of the Invention of St. Milburga (apart from the brief record to be found in William of Malmesbury)<sup>2</sup> was known only through the version preserved in a MS of the Lansdowne Collection, No. 436.<sup>3</sup> This book is a fourteenth century Collection of Lives of Saints from the nunnery of Romsey,<sup>4</sup> and includes an abbreviated Life of St. Milburga as well as the account of the Invention.

The author of the account of the Invention in the Lansdowne MS makes quite clear that he has copied the story of the finding of St. Milburga's body from another:  
 "Post multa vero tempora videlicet <sup>circa</sup> ~~ita~~ annum domini millesimum centesimum primum corpus gloriose virginis

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1. Op.cit.p.1 No. MS/149 of the Lincoln Cathedral Collection is a twelfth century Legendary, the provenance of which has not yet been established. The book contains readings for the feasts of Saints occurring in the months from November to June. There are two columns to every page of forty-seven lines: (181 ff. 11 x 11) It is written in a good legible hand with capital letters marking the beginnings and ends of items, and the beginnings of new paragraphs.
  2. Gesta Pontificum (op.cit.p.100) p.306.
  3. Henceforth referred to as Lansdowne. (V. Appendix to text of the Invention p.329).
  4. On the first folio (recto) of this book is written "Iste liber est de librario ecclesie Sancte Marie et Sancte Ethelflede virginis de Romsey". For a description of the MS. V. P.Grosjean, "Vita S Roberti. Novi Monasterii in Anglia Abbatis", Analecta Bollandiana LVI (1938) pp.334-339.

Milburge. sicut testatur dominus otto ostiensis episcopus cardinalis in libello quem fecit de miraculis inventionis praeditae virginis ..."<sup>1</sup>

In his conclusion he acknowledges that he abbreviated:

"Quorum ob sancte virginis meritum ut in praeallegato libello plenius continetur in memorabiles iuxta eorum fidem optatum petitionis sue affectum consequuti sunt..."<sup>2</sup>

This last statement has usually been understood as referring particularly to other miracles performed at the shrine of the Saint which have not been included in this account. This is so,<sup>3</sup> but Lansdowne has also made considerable abbreviations in the earlier and more interesting part of the work, the narration of the events which led up to the finding of St. Milburga's bones. Miss Rose Graham,<sup>4</sup> relying on the Lansdowne version (although she knew of the existence of the Lincoln MS)<sup>5</sup> was obliged to attempt a reconciliation between the account given there of the discovery and the account given by William of Malmesbury,<sup>6</sup> but it will be seen that the complete text shows that there is no fundamental discrepancy between the version William received, and the story as it issued from Wenlock under the name of the Cardinal of Ostia.

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1. V. Lansdowne f.75r. and below p. 329.

2. Lansdowne f.76r. (v. below p. ~~329~~<sup>331</sup>).

3. There are four miracles recorded at the shrine in the Lincoln MS, only one in Lansdowne.

4. History of the alien Priory of Much Wenlock, (op.cit.p. x )

5. *ibid.*

6. *Op.cit.* above p.274, footnote 2; and V. below p.286.

In the absence of a complete text of the Miracula Inventionis, the Lansdowne MS. with its ascription to "dominus otto cardinalis..." was evidence that in the fourteenth century the Cardinal was considered responsible for the work. Some evidence for this was certainly needed for there existed no reliable tradition claiming this work for him.

The Miracula Inventionis does not appear to have enjoyed as much popularity as the Life<sup>1</sup> - probably because it was not such suitable matter for liturgical reading in churches other than that of Wenlock. Leland does not mention the Invention in dealing with the Life of St. Milburga,<sup>2</sup> but he knew of the existence of such a work although he had probably never read it.<sup>3</sup> In Hall's edition of Leland's Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britanicis,<sup>4</sup> under chapter heading "De Odonibus",<sup>5</sup> is found an attribution of this work to Odo of Battle. Nicholas Roscarrock likewise

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1. The account of the Invention does not follow the Life in the Additional or Gotha MSS. Tynemouth, in the Sanctilogium (op.cit.p.7) gives the day of St. Milburga's feast as June the twenty-fifth, that is the day of her Translation, but contrary to his custom does not give an account of this event.
  2. V. Collectanea, op.cit. p.92.
  3. Otherwise he would surely have corrected the name of the author. (Odo of Battle was not a Cluniac monk and the Miracula Inventionis is most certainly written by a Cluniac. V. below p.333).
  4. 1710.
  5. Cp. CLXXX p.210.



attributes a work entitled "De Inventione Milburgae" to Odo of Battle.<sup>1</sup> But he also attributes a Life of St. Milburga to "Ato Cardinalis", information which he took from Molanus' additions to the martyrology of Usuard.<sup>2</sup>

Bale, in this instance, is entirely independent of Leland, and it is possible that he may have seen and read the Lincoln MS. In his notes he records that one "Atto Mediolanensis vel Lancastriensis<sup>3</sup> monachus Cluniacensis scripsit - De Inventione et Miraculis St. Milburge".<sup>4</sup> Nicholas Harpsfield<sup>5</sup> had also seen a text of the Invention, although it was probably only the abbreviated version of the Lansdowne MS. as he mentions only the first miracle performed at the tomb.<sup>6</sup> He also quotes William of Malmesbury as a source.

The Bollandists,<sup>7</sup> in discussing the sources for the history of St. Milburga quote Leland, Malmesbury, Capgrave, Harpsfield and Maihew.<sup>8</sup> They note that the latter

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1. V. above p. 96 , in Chapter III of Part I.

2. *ibid.* p. 100.

3. Professor Wormald has suggested to me that this may be a corruption of the word La Charité.

4. Index Britanniae Scriptorum (op.cit.p.94 ) Appendix 4.

5. Historia Anglicana Ecclesiastica (op.cit.p.97 ).

6. "Miracula Milburgae post eius inventionem Ato Ostiensis Episcopus et Cardinalis conscripsit, ex quo ista sumtos sunt ..."

7. A.A.S.S. Feb. iii 394. (op.cit.p.332).

8. Congregationis Anglicanae Ordinis Sancte Patriarche Benedicti trophea ... (1625) t.1, pp.248-252.

attributed the work on the Invention to Odo of Battle, but they prefer the attribution of Harpsfield.<sup>1</sup> Later, the eighteenth century Histoire Littéraire de la France of the Benedictines of St. Maur,<sup>2</sup> in speaking of Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia (whom the authors presumed was a Frenchman) notes that a work dealing with St. Milburga has been associated with his name. With the Bollandists the authors are prepared to accept that the author of this work was one and the same man as the Cardinal of Ostia, allegedly a nephew of Urban II, and they have a very likely suggestion to account for the Cardinal's presence in England at the beginning of the twelfth century.<sup>3</sup>

The appearance of the complete text of the Miracula Inventionis in the Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library affirmed that the tradition attributing the work to the Cardinal was at least as old as the later years of the twelfth century,<sup>4</sup> whatever may have been the original conditions under which the work was written. The account must certainly have existed in writing before it was copied in to the Lincoln book, and it is highly unlikely

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1. To "Ato Ostiensis Episcopus et Cardinalis".

2. 1750.

3. It is suggested that the Cardinal may have been dispatched to plead the cause of the rightful Pope, Paschal II, at the English court. For further discussion of this question V. below chapter three, pp. 332-349.

4. The hand of Lincoln 149 is of the late twelfth century.

that the ascription would have been invented to fill up a line in a book intended for liturgical use. One may therefore not unreasonably surmise that the Miracula Inventionis, with its ascription to Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, dates from the middle of the twelfth century. Its previous history, its relation with the alleged author, are matters considered later, where the internal evidence afforded by the text is examined. This MS remains the unique complete account of the Invention of St. Milburga.

The Miracula Inventionis Beate Mýlburge Virginis claims to be the truthful account of an event which took place in 1101- that is, perhaps eighty years before the date of the only manuscript in which it is preserved in full - and which was not in itself miraculous although miracles occurred afterwards.

If it can be established that the Cardinal of Ostia was responsible for this description of the discovery of St. Milburga's relics,<sup>1</sup> then an important advance will have been made in the process of vindicating the historicity of the text. For while it is not at all surprising that a monk of Wenlock, (if he had been the author)<sup>2</sup> should

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1. V. the chapter on the Cardinal, pp. 332-349.

2. The Account (i.e. the Miracula Inventionis) is unmistakably the work of a Cluniac monk, but not, it would appear from certain implications, of a monk of Wenlock.

have exaggerated and embellished a story so intimately connected with the honour of his house, a greater objectivity is surely to be expected from such a man as the Cardinal of Ostia, in whom wider interests and experience would tend to develop a greater sense of proportion, however genuine his zeal for the patron of Wenlock Abbey. But, setting aside for the moment the vexed question of authorship, to what extent may the Miracula Inventionis be accepted as a reliable historical document: what value has this work as a source of general information on the conditions prevailing at Wenlock (one of the earliest Cluniac foundations in this country)<sup>1</sup> at the beginning of the twelfth century, and to what extent may the many particular assertions relating to non-miraculous events be accepted as truthful?

The monks who came to Wenlock,<sup>2</sup> to live there according to the Rule of St. Benedict and the customs of La Charité-sur-Loire, can have known nothing of the Old English Saint

1. Lewes was founded in 1077, Bermondsey in 1082. V. R. Graham, The Priory of La Charité-sur-Loire and the monastery of Bermondsey, Journal of the British Archaeological Association (1926) pp.157-191. Miss Graham considers that Wenlock was founded in 1081-82.

2. In 1079 according to the Annales Prioratus de Wigornia f.76 (edit. H.R.Luard, op.cit.p.102).

who had given her name to their monastery.<sup>1</sup> A few years after their installation we find that doubts were being voiced among the brethren as to the claims of a certain "argenteum feretrum" to contain the bones of St. Milburga.<sup>2</sup> It is incredible that the Cluniac monks should deliberately have invented this story and then exploded it: either they discovered the shrine and presumed it was a reliquary which must hold the bones of the Saint, or else they took over the shrine and the legend attached to it when they were invested with the monastery. When they eventually opened the shrine and saw that it contained only "rags and ashes" there was general dissatisfaction. It was certainly eminently desirable that the grave should be discovered soon.

That only a very little while later the grave was most happily discovered is perhaps the most suspicious feature of the whole story. It should however be noted that the discovery was made "accidentally", and not by one of the brethren, in spite of the fact that the monks were certainly eager at this time to find the bones of

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1. Nor indeed can their patron, Earl Roger of Shrewsbury have known much of the history of this Saint. His desire to plant his new foundation on the site of the old monastery may be explained in part as a policy of propitiation towards the local population.

2. V. p. 309.

their patron.<sup>1</sup>

In the course of his story the author refers to four separate discoveries: that of the silver reliquary, of the piece of parchment found by the lay-brother Raymond, of the parchment which told of certain miracles of the Saint, and finally of that of the bones. It has already been remarked that it is nonsense to suppose that the monks of Wenlock invented the explanation of the silver reliquary with intent to deceive. But the accidental discovery of two very old scraps of parchment,<sup>2</sup> one of them containing very desirable information, is another matter, and heavy suspicion might fall on these two documents were it not for the evidence of the Testament of St. Milburga which is found independently in the Life<sup>3</sup> and is not even referred to in the Account. This document

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1. It is undeniable that some discovery was made in 1101 and that the story circulated by the monks was that the relics of St. Milburga had come to light. Malmesbury's account (given below on p.286) is fundamentally the same as that of the Miracula Inventionis although he did not know, or did not bother to include, all the details. A historian writing from Malmesbury would have had no occasion to invent such a story, and it is certain that he was only transmitting the official version that had been authorised from Wenlock. It remains to be seen whether or not the event took place as the author of the Miracula Inventionis, the spokesman of the Priory on this occasion, claims that it did.

2. V. pp.308 and 311.

3. V. cp. 5 of Part I above.

is essentially genuine, and represents the substance of five early land-grants to her monastery, made in the life-time of St. Milburga, recopied and re-arranged at the beginning of the tenth century in the somewhat flamboyant charter-style of that period.

Since the Testament, an early tenth century document, survived into the twelfth century at Wenlock, there is no reason why similar documents should not have survived also.<sup>1</sup> And further, if these documents were all hidden during a period of grave local insecurity (such as, for example, the presence of Danish troops in the neighbourhood) it is not at all surprising that among them should be information relating to the actual site of the Saint's tomb.

The parchment found by Raymond, a servant of the monastery, was written in English letters and the monks were unable to read it.<sup>2</sup> The author of the Account states that the piece of parchment to which he refers - "in quo scriptura erat quam legi. et in quantum ex ipsa percipere potui datur intellegi. a christo per eam mortuum suscitatum. et cecum illuminatum ..." <sup>3</sup> could be understood only with difficulty and it may be because this too was

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1. Perhaps preserved in an iron box, as the directions to the grave were stated to have been.

2. V. pp. 310 -311.

3. V. p. 308.

written in the unfamiliar tongue. (Goscelin in the Life, refers to a child raised from the dead through the intercession of St. Milburga, but nothing is said of sight being restored to a blind person). If one is not too far from the truth in surmising that the Testament and these two other pieces of parchment belong to the same period, that is the tenth century, then it is quite consistent that while the imposing list of royal land-grants should have been transcribed in formal Latin, the instructions about <sup>ut</sup> the site of the tomb, and perhaps a brief account of some miracles, should have been written down in the common tongue.

The discovery of the written instructions as to the site of the Saint's grave was not of immediate help as they referred to a landmark - the altar of the church of the Holy Trinity - which had long since disappeared. The problem was solved by the two children, who, playing one June night in the ruins of the church then in process of reconstruction,<sup>1</sup> literally fell upon the grave. The following day the remains of the altar came to light, thus providing the confirmation the monks needed in order to

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1. V. William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum (op.cit.p.100) quoted below, p. 286.



offer due honour to the relics.<sup>1</sup>

That the bones should have been found at Wenlock is not in itself extraordinary. Dr. Cranage reported that during the course of his excavations<sup>2</sup> he found many bones under the monastic church. St. Milburga died at Wenlock and was buried there:<sup>3</sup> there is no record of any desecration of the tomb, nor of a translation such as the monks of Lindisfarne undertook to preserve the bones of St. Cuthbert.<sup>4</sup> Of considerably more interest however, is the claim made by the author that there were two churches at Wenlock, and that the bones of St. Milburga were found not in the monastic church, (as might have been expected) but in another separate building, the church of the Holy Trinity. Since he is the only authority to make this distinction between the two churches, the truth of the assertion has obviously an important bearing on the historicity of the

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1. It is of course possible to argue that the accidental discovery of the bones occurred as recorded, and that the piece of parchment with its reference to an altar (which had already been found) was invented afterwards to "prove" that the bones were those of St. Milburga. However, the statement that an appeal was made to Archbishop Anselm for permission to dig up the floor of the church, and other evidence afforded by the text and treated later in this chapter, render it extremely improbable that this was so.
  2. D.H.Cranage, The Monastery of St. Milburga at Much Wenlock, op.cit. p.204.
  3. Liebermann, op.cit. p.viii.
  4. V. Simeon of Durham, Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesia, edit. T. Arnold 1882 . (R.S.75.)

whole text. It is necessary therefore to examine not only all the evidence relevant to the churches at Wenlock, but also to decide whether the claims of the Cardinal account in this regard admit of a rational explanation.

William of Malmesbury, the other historian of the Invention, mentions the matter very briefly and although his story is essentially the same as that of the Cardinal, there is much detail of which he knows nothing.

"... Apud Wenelock fuit antiquissima sanctimonialium habitatio; ibique beatissima Milburga ... vitam transegit et sita est. Sed Locum omnino desertum praedictus comes (Roger of Montgomery) monachis Cluniacensibus implevit, ubi modo spetiosa germina virtutum conantur in caelum. Enimvero sepulchrum virginis clam erat novis advenis, omnibus videlicet vetustatis monumentis violentia hostium et tempora deletis. Noviter vero dum inchoata novi templi fabrica quidam puer per pavementum concitatus cursitaret edfracta mausolei fovea propalam corpus virginis fecit. Tunc balsamisti odoris aura per~~xxx~~ ecclesiam spirante, altius elatum tot miracula praebuit ut catervatim eo populorum agmina, dum aquis(umbonibus dives et mendicus se agerent cunctos in commune praecipitante fide. Nec cassum eventum res habuit ut nullus exinde nisi extincta vel mitigata valitudine discederet, nonnullosque etiam regius morbus medicis sane incurabilis per merita virginis relinqueret..." 1.

He has assumed, or has been told, that the accident which befell the two boys (he only mentions one) immediately preceded the discovery of the bones. His conventional allusion to the sweet odours emanating from the tomb - a detail not found in the other account - may be intended to conceal his ignorance of what really happened.

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1. Gesta Pontificum, (op.cit.p.100) p.306.

It should be noted that Malmesbury does not specify which church was in process of reconstruction when the Invention took place. Cranage,<sup>1</sup> who conducted the excavations at Much Wenlock in 1901, assumed that this was a reference to a new monastic church erected by Earl Roger for his Cluniac congregation, a church to replace the one which had served the monks of the previous foundation. He does however admit that "there is a curious silence about Earl Leofric's church at the time, probably less than half a century later when Earl Roger's church was founded",<sup>2</sup> and he is surprised that he "could discover no sign of Earl Leofric's minster". There was apparently some disagreement between the two archaeologists who examined the site, Clapham believing that certain foundations probably belonged to the earlier part of the eleventh century, that is to say were part of Leofric's building, while Cranage remained convinced that this was part of Earl Roger's church - although Malmesbury was his only written evidence that the monastic church was

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1. In Archaeologia, (op.cit.p.204).

2. Ibid, p.106.

rebuilt by the Cluniacs.<sup>1</sup>

It should be remembered that Cranage did not know of the Cardinal's account, even in the abridged form in which it is found in the Lansdowne MS. Miss Graham,<sup>2</sup> who used the latter manuscript, (but not the full version of Lincoln 149) rightly emphasises that William of Malmesbury's words "are the only source on which it is possible to base the building of a Norman church in the place of Earl Leofric's minster".

In the text of the Invention found in Lansdowne 436, the story is told in the third person singular:

"Post multa vero tempore videlicet <sup>circa</sup> ~~ita~~ annum domini millesimum centesimum primum corpus gloriose virginis mylburge. sicut testatur dominus otto ostiensis episcopus cardinalis in libello quem fecit de miraculis inventionis praeditae virginis. miraculose ubi sepultum fuerat. extitit inventum ..." 3

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1. The two objects which were the cause of disagreement between the two eminent archaeologists were the foundations of a great central apse and a small apse south of it. Cranage remarks, "So far as I could discover there is no sign of it. (i.e. of Leofric's church). From two to three bays east of the central tower good foundations were found of a great central apse, and of a small apse south of it, corresponding to which there was doubtless a northern apse. An unusual feature is the thick wall across the chord of the central apse. This is not a common feature of late eleventh century work, and Mr. A.W.Clapham suggests that it corresponds better with early times, and thus points to the apses being part of Earl Leofric's church. My own view is that we have here the east end of de Montgomery's church which we know to have been begun about 1080 or rather later. On the twenty-sixth of May 1101 the relics of St. Milburga were translated to a spot in front of the high altar. No foundations of a shrine were found in such a position, but they may well have been removed when the church was extended eastward a century later." (op.cit. p. 101) p.108.
  2. History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock, (op.cit.p.x ).
  3. V. Appendix to Chapter 2 below p. 329.

The disappointment of the silver shrine is mentioned, and Raymond's discovery of the parchment, and the appeal to Archbishop Anselm to be allowed to dig for the grave. But the incident of the two children who stumble on the tomb in Holy Trinity Church is omitted, and the account in Lansdowne reads as though the brethren struck upon the tomb by chance in the course of their building. (In the section that is omitted, there is a specific reference to the two churches).<sup>1</sup> The only miracle mentioned in the Lansdowne version is that concerning the woman who drank the water in which the bones were washed - this is the only miracle which Harpsfield records too - but the other stories, with their references to the two churches are not related, and the account is brought to a conclusion with a mere allusion to other miracles which took place:

"Ceperant interea ex longinquis quoque urbibus atque vicis. egroti quidam in equis alii vero in lecticis ex omni parte deferri. ut in ipsa ecclesia et atrio languentium multitudo vix caperetur. Quorum ob sancte virginis meritum ut in prae-allegato libello plenius continetur. in immemorabilis iuxta eorum fidem optatum petitionis sue effectum consequiti sunt atque salutarem praestante hoc domino nostro iesu christo cui sit honor <sup>et</sup> ~~devotio~~ et imperium per omnia saecula saeculorum". 2

From the evidence before her (evidence which has been briefly reviewed here), Miss Graham concluded that the body

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1. V. p. 314.

2.V. below p. 331.

of St. Milburga was discovered within the precincts of the one<sup>1</sup> church at Wenlock. She suggests "that when the monks came to Wenlock it was soon necessary to separate the monastic choir from the nave, and to lengthen the nave of Leofric's minster to serve as a parish church for the people. The excavations of 1901 revealed the site of the nunnery, and its relation to the eleventh century church, from which as we are told in Lansdowne 436, it was but a stone's throw away as shown in Archaeologia LXXII 107.

An altar would be set up against a stone wall or partition for there was then no parish church of the Holy Trinity; it was not built until possibly the middle of the twelfth century. The population of Wenlock was purely agricultural at the time of the Norman Conquest. The town grew up gradually round the Priory. The parish church was built, probably at the expense of the monks, to remove the parishioners from the nave, for as the number of the monks increased they required it for their own use. It is significant that the dedication of the parish church to the Holy Trinity is that ascribed to the nunnery in Lansdowne 436 and C.C.C.C. 433". 2

The complete account of the Invention, as it is found in Lincoln 149, states clearly that there were two separate churches which could not be mistaken as parts of the same building. It would seem that the dedication of Holy Trinity church was certainly older than the Cluniac foundation at Wenlock, and may indeed date from the time

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1. Italics mine.

2. History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock, (op.cit.p.x ). Significant, presumably, of the association between the parish and monastic churches, according to Miss Graham's suggestion that Holy Trinity was originally an extension of the monastic nave. It is this which she considers must account for the attribution of this dedication to the nunnery in the Life. (V. Lansdowne 436. f.75r. I have been unable to find the reference to this dedication of the monastery in Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS. 433.)

of St. Milburga.<sup>1</sup> The following quotations taken from the text of the account of the Invention can substantiate this statement, and it will be seen that a very likely explanation can be offered to account for the existence of two churches on the site of St. Milburga's first foundation.

"Sed et vetustissimum monasterium hoc idem demonstrat. Quod usque hodie oculis nostris conspicimus in eius venerabili memoria fundatum. et in eius sancto nomine celebriter ex antiquo noscitur titulatum ..."<sup>2</sup>

This must undoubtedly be accepted as evidence that at least part of the earlier monastic building had been taken over by the monks of Earl Roger's foundation, and was still standing.

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1. Eyton, (Shropshire, III p.265, op.cit.p. 310 ) believed that the parish church was founded in the late eleventh or early twelfth century. "The Church of the Holy Trinity being from time immemorial the parish church of its district, had little more to do with the conventual church than that it was of the patronage of the Prior. I take it to have been founded soon after Domesday and to have been almost a corollary of the altered status of the Priory: for though the church of Earl Leofric may well have involved a parochial cure, any such charge was not congenial to the Clugniac rule".  
Cranage, (An Architectural Account of the Churches of Shropshire, Wellington, 1901) on archaeological grounds assigned its foundation to the same period. "In Pre-Conquest times there was no special parish at Wenlock ... Under the influence of a great religious house ... a parish church was soon founded. The exact date is not known, but the church in its present condition affords abundant evidence of a Norman commencement". Miss Graham (op.cit.p. x ) considered that it is possible that it may not have been built until the middle of the twelfth century, but she is here influenced by her own suggestion that fifty years before there had been an earlier attempt to provide the people of Much Wenlock with accomodation in the monastic church itself.

2. V. p. 307.

The presence of the silver casket at Wenlock in 1079 is another indication that the new monks occupied the same buildings that had housed the community established in the reign of Edward the Confessor. This casket which was thought for some time to contain the bones of St. Milburga must have been a relic belonging to the earlier community installed at Wenlock fifty years before by Earl Leofric. The earlier monks may or may not have believed in the claims of the casket, but its presence at Wenlock shortly after the arrival of the community from La Charité certainly suggests that the latter dispossessed the previous owners and took over all that belonged to the monastery.<sup>1</sup> For if the monastery stood vacant for several years, how can one account for the fact that the silver shrine was still there in 1079?

A scrap of parchment was one day discovered at Wenlock by a lay-brother, Raimundus, in "monasterio de sancta trinitate. quod quantum est iactus lapidis a sancte mylburge oratorio distat".<sup>2</sup>

The writing on the parchment was in English, and when it had been translated for the benefit of the foreign monks

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1. According to Domesday Book, "Ecclesiam Sancte Milburgae fecit Rogerius comes abbatiam". These vague words do not preclude the possibility that we have suggested.
  2. V. pp.310-II. The distance from the old monastic church (now in its turn in ruins) to the present parish church (which stands on the site of the ancient Holy Trinity church) is about two hundred yards. This could well be referred to in conversation as a stone's throw. (I owe this information about the churches of Wenlock, to the kindness of the Rev. T.E.N. Pennell, (Vicar of Much Wenlock).



they learnt that St. Milburga's body was buried in that church near the altar. The author of the account goes on to say that that altar was no longer standing,<sup>1</sup> and had presumably disintegrated in the course of time or had been destroyed.

Here then is evidence for the church of the Holy Trinity, (close by the monastic church, "oratorium sancte mýlburge") which the monks had already begun to rebuild.<sup>2</sup> That it was indeed derelict, not then used for the Opus Dei, is obvious from the next part of the Cardinal's story. On the strength of this information the monks sought permission from Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, to dig up the floor of the church in their search for the bones of the holy foundress of their house.

But the actual discovery occurred in a quite unforeseen fashion. On the eve of the feast of John the Baptist, while the monks were singing the night office in the main monastic church, a couple of children playing among the ruins of Holy Trinity church, fell into the Saint's grave. Someone immediately ran off "ad sancta mýlburge monasterium" to fetch the Prior. But since

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1. V. p. 344.

2. V. William of Malmesbury, op.cit.p. 286.  
According to the account, they had already begun to rebuild near the altar. V. p.286.

at that hour it was too dark to see anything clearly, Prior and monks returned to the monastic church to finish matins and postponed further investigations until it should be day. Later in the morning the holy relics were discovered, and the following day the foundations of the altar that had been mentioned in the parchment. After their translation the bones remained in the church of the Holy Trinity:

"Rursumque ea postea abluentes, in novo quodam scrinio recondiderunt. in quo usque ad diem translationis eorum scilicet diem purificationis sancte genetricis MARIE. in eadem ecclesia supra altare mansuerunt". 1

In three of the subsequent miracle-stories reference is made to the churches. At the end of the story of the woman who vomitted a worm, the author says that the church could hardly contain all the people who came to pray at the shrine of St. Milburga,<sup>2</sup> but he does not specify which church. The second story is however more explicit, and emphasises the distinction between the two buildings.

This miracle-story concerns a leprous girl who is carried by her step-father to Wenlock to beg alms from the pilgrims there.<sup>3</sup> They arrive on a Sunday evening when

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1. V. p.315 line 20.

2. V. p.318 line 1.

3. This detail is itself suggestive of the numbers of people who were already resorting to Wenlock.

the brethren are singing vespers before the outer altar of the greater church,<sup>1</sup> and there, in that church, the step-father lays her down.<sup>2</sup> A little later he returns -

"Vespertina namque celebrata sinaxia cum homo ad egram suam quam ante altare reliquerat revertisset. eamque ad aliam ecclesiam in honore et nomine sancte trinitatis dedicatam in qua venerabile corpus beate virginis iacebat portare voluisset. mirabile dictu. ipsam quam leprosam attulerat omniumque membrorum officio destitutam. videt subito convaluisse ...."

The girl has been healed even before she has been carried to the "other church" which housed the shrine of the Saint.<sup>3</sup>

From the third miracle story it would seem that after the Invention and the miraculous events which followed, the monks occasionally sang office at the shrine. For when a blind woman recovered her sight after spending the night in vigil at the tomb of the Saint, the Prior, (who had returned to his bed after matins) hurriedly made his way to the church which he had left only a little time before.<sup>4</sup> Having given thanks to God for this miracle, he left the church to return to his own place, stopping for a moment to speak to a blind boy at the door. But he was then met in the cemetery of that church by a messenger sent to inquire into the alleged miracles - queries which he was able to answer very promptly with the

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1. i.e. the main monastic church.

2. V. p. 319 line 17.

3. V. p. 320 line 4.

4. V. p. 323 line 5.

news of the cure of the blind boy to whom he had only recently been speaking.

Having thus asserted the distinction between the two churches at Wenlock, the original relationship between them remains to be considered. The research of Cranage brought to light the foundations of an eleventh century church ( foundations which were almost certainly part of Earl Leofric's minster) and also traces of what seem to have been an eighth century church.<sup>1</sup> There is no reason why one should not accept these ancient walls as part of the monastery erected for St. Milburga's community by her father Merewald; presumably some ruins were still visible in the early eleventh century and guided Leofric to erect his monastery on the same spot. But if the remains of the ancient house of Wininicas lie beneath the present ruins of the Priory of St. Milburga, how is it that the Saint's body (if one is prepared to believe that the bones found in Trinity Church were indeed those of the great abbess) was buried in another building, a stone's throw away?

Two explanations may be advanced to account for this: the bones of the Saint may originally have been buried

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1. V. Cranage, *op.cit.* p.201.

in or near her monastery, and may then have been translated (at some time between the eighth and eleventh centuries) and reburied in the church of the Holy Trinity; the translation would then probably have been the occasion of the priest Alstan's record.<sup>1</sup> But it is on the whole more likely that the primitive community of Wininicas, which numbered both men and women,<sup>2</sup> required two churches, and that St. Milburga was buried in the nuns' church, while later re-foundations took place on what had formerly been the site of the men's church. Very little is indeed known about the constitution of these houses, but it appears that separate churches were not a regular feature of the English double monastery.<sup>3</sup> However some early English monasteries had two churches, Wimbourne, for example, and also Barking,<sup>4</sup> and these may not have been the sole exceptions.

In the case of Wenlock, this hypothesis is not wholly dependent on the coincidence of evidence being available

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1. V. p. 311, line 12.

2. Letters of St. Boniface, edit. Tangl, Letter 2. (Op.cit. p. 148).

3. V. M. Bateson, The Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries, (op.cit. p. 148).  
 "The evidence of the nature of the English double monastery in its ordinary form is less varied than that of the Gallican.  
 ... There is no evidence that in England, as abroad it was usual for double monasteries to have more than one church ..." p. 164

4. For Wimbourne, V. A.A.S.S. IV, 246-246 (Plummer, II 150). For Barking, V. H.E. IV 7.

for two churches at Wimbourne and Barking. Miss Bateson has shown that in Gaul, on the contrary, the normal double community had at least two churches.<sup>1</sup> If the Testament is reliable in maintaining that St. Milburga's house was dependent on the monastery of Icanhoe, (and it has been shown how unlikely it is that such a statement should be a deliberate fabrication on the part of a forger) then there is here a direct link with the monastic system of northern Gaul.

St. Botolph, founder of the monastery of Icanhoe,<sup>2</sup> spent his youth in the monastery of Chelles (Kale) which was certainly a double monastery<sup>3</sup> and must be presumed to have followed the normal custom in regard to separate churches. His successor, Edelheg, is named in the Testament as superior and part-founder of the monastery of Wininicas. It would have been the regular procedure for Wininicas to have followed the example of the senior house, particularly in this instance where the foundation was the first of its kind in the newly converted kingdom, and where there were no local precedents or examples

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1. V. Bateson, (op.cit.) p.164: "As a rule the French community in its double form held a group of small churches and sometimes it is only by following the dedications of these that the fact of double organisation can be ascertained".

2. A.A.S.S. Junii 5. 324. (V. above p.224).

3. St. Mildred passed some time at Chelles before returning to her mother's house at Thanet. (V. British Museum Cotton MS Vespasian B.XX.ff.)

available.<sup>1</sup>

This separation of the places of worship, entailing the almost complete separation between the monks and nuns in all other spheres, was chosen as a symbol of the profound change, the cleavage between the new life and the old. Milburga was accordingly buried in her wooden coffin<sup>2</sup> near the altar of her church, a "stone's throw away" from the other church. Today the parish church of Much Wenlock still maintains the continuity of religious observance which was initiated in the primitive little monastery whose foundations lie beneath its own.

The claim then, of the Miracula Inventionis is not outrageous. It has been shown that it was possible for the monks to have discovered the relics by the means, and in the place, recorded in the text, although one must still concede that they were extremely fortunate. The rest of the account, and the manner in which it is written, reinforce this impression of probability.

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1. One is not thereby entitled to suppose that the model of the religious life received from Chelles through the intermediary of Icanhoe was imposed at Wininicas without modification. There must necessarily have been many concessions made in view of the nature of this royal establishment, with its extensive lands scattered between the Severn and the Monnow, its extreme vulnerability in regard to the hostile, barely-subdued Welsh, its royal abbess - as much princess as abbess - obliged to live off her lands as her father before her, travelling with her retinue from farm to farm.

2. V. p.315, line 1.

The account of the Invention, and the description of the miracles is explicitly not the report of an eye-witness. The author refers occasionally to his authorities<sup>1</sup> and he never abandons the position of recorder of the oral testimonies of others, except for the few occasions when he is able to add evidence from his own experience.<sup>2</sup> He does not, unfortunately, fully account for his presence at Wenlock soon after the discovery, but it is clear that at least some part of the reason for his presence there was to investigate the extraordinary happenings at the tomb of St. Milburga.<sup>3</sup> The accuracy of his references to contemporaries is a not unimportant point in his favour. He fixes the time of the Invention of the bones of St. Milburga in the year 1101 by reference to the pontificate of Paschal II, and the regnal year of the English king.<sup>4</sup> He is obviously conversant with the affairs of the monastery and knows the

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1. V. the beginning of the account of the first miracle: "ut non nulli ex nostris boni testimonii fratres qui eam sepiissime viderant mihi certissime testantur". (p. 316, line 9). And at the end of the third miracle: "De cuius testimonio in nullo dubitantdum esse censemus. Quam ipse qui hec videt testimonium perhibuit". (p. 326, line 22). Also the beginning of the fourth miracle story (p. 327).
  2. As for example the occasion when the author saw and handled the box which had contained the worm, (p. 317) and when he saw the young girl, Moruid, who had been cured of leprosy. (p. 327).
  3. V. p. 327, line 17.
  4. V. below p. 309.



names both of the prior of La Charité and of the new prior of Wenlock.<sup>1</sup>

He is manifestly dependent on his eye-witness reports when he records certain details which it would have been unprofitable to have invented but which indicate the vividness of these events in the memory of those recalling them.<sup>2</sup> It should be noted that not only did the author take pains to consult reliable witnesses and to elicit considerable detail, but that according to the reports he received, the actual discovery of the bones and the miracles which followed appear to have been submitted to a fairly rigorous and none too credulous examination by those present at the time.<sup>3</sup>

The style of the author, and his attitude to his

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1. V. below p. 309.

2. To select only two examples: the description of the Prior hastening to the tomb at the news of the discovery of the relics, only to return to Matins, disappointed, in order to wait until daylight should allow them to continue the search. (V. p.314 line 7).  
And the picture of the father of the blind boy, standing over his son and protecting him from the crowds with a stick. (V. p.323 line 14).

3. There is, for example, the early manifestation of scepticism in regard to the claims of the silver casket (V. p.310 line 10): the fact that even after the discovery of the bones the monks did not accord them full honour until they had come across the foundations of the altar: (V. p.315 line 10): the mention of the brothers who were sceptical of the cure of the girl who had been cured of leprosy and demanded to examine her (V. p. 320 line 19): and the Prior's incredulous and prolonged examination of the boy whose sight had been restored and his interrogation of all those who were present (V.p. 324 line. 19).

subject is another point in favour of his claim to be telling the truth. He is persuasive because he tells his story in a sober coherent fashion. There is no attempt at sensationalism whatsoever. The language is never extravagant,<sup>1</sup> and there are no incongruities in the narrative. When his references can be verified they are found to be accurate.<sup>2</sup> He is careful to establish the exact chronology and topography of events.<sup>3</sup>

The clear but uncommunicable impression received from a study of the Miracula Inventionis is that this is the work of a man who wrote with genuine sincerity and made a methodical conscientious effort to attain to the truth. Such an impression is of course purely subjective, (the

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1. William of Malmesbury mentions wonderful odours emanating from the tomb of the Saint - a detail which is not found in the Account.
  2. The monks are mentioned as having appealed to Anselm for permission to dig for the bones. No trace of a letter or reply remains but it is not impossible that the matter was conducted through a messenger - certainly Anselm was in England in 1101.  
The feast of St. John the Baptist was one of the occasions when the night office was as for Sundays, i.e. rather longer than usual (V. Reg. Ben.) and therefore worthy of mention. Prior Richard is not to be found in the Chartulary of La-Charité-sur-Loire, or anywhere else but Richard, a monk of Wenlock, is found attesting a charter of Earl Roger, and this is certainly the same person. (V. Eyton, Shropshire III p.228, op.cit.p.291).  
The 'altare exterius' of the monastic church (referred to on p.319) receives confirmation from the research of Dr. Cranage (op.cit.p. 204 above).
  3. V. eg. the description of the sequence of events after the children fell into the grave (pp.313 and 316) and the narrative dealing with the cure of the two blind persons (pp.322-326).

author may on the contrary have been merely a very ingenious fiction-writer) but it is not without value in estimating the claims of a piece of historical writing, particularly if it coincides, as it does in this case, with similar conclusions arrived at by other methods.

It is of course impossible to decide from the evidence of this text whether or not the bones discovered were those of St. Milburga,<sup>1</sup> whether miracles actually did take place at the shrine. The arguments of the following pages have always taken into account the fact that this work is the record of a man who wrote some time after the event he is describing, according to the oral testimonies of others. He was not called upon to examine the bones in question: he was not present at the "cures". He tells the story as it was told to him, and he accepts it as both natural and wonderful. Wonderful in that God should choose to manifest Himself through His Saint - "nostris igitur modo temporibus" - natural in that God permitted the discovery to be made through human means, for there was no special instance of divine intervention. An examination of the events which led up to the discovery

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1. The fact that the bones were discovered near the altar is at least strongly suggestive that they were the remains of some important person who had been honoured with such a place of burial.

has confirmed this judgement of the author. The Cluniac monks of Wenlock were extremely fortunate in their discovery, but there is no need to invoke a miracle, or to condemn the story as too unlikely to be true, in order to account for the alleged Invention. The explanation given in the Miracula Inventionis Beatae Milburgae for the discovery of the bones is competent to satisfy a critical inquiry, and the details afford consistent confirmation.

The description of the finding of St. Milburga's relics is followed by a selection of the miracles performed soon afterwards at the tomb. No mediaeval account of an Invention would have been complete without such an appendix. The miracle-stories need not however be considered as prejudicial to the historicity of the text. They may indeed have taken place - but there is no possible means of verifying this hypothesis: the author may have thought they actually took place and have recorded them as true, or they may have been deliberately invented by the author or his informant (but at any rate with the former's connivance) in order to provide a fitting epilogue. In the second instance one must presume that the stories appeared thoroughly convincing to the author or he would not otherwise have accepted them.

He had, it should be remembered, been to Wenlock; he knew the relation of the monastic church to the ruins of Holy Trinity church; he knew the Prior and the brethren, the customs of the monastery, he may even have known the names of some of the surrounding villages. He was in a position to verify some of the details concerning the alleged cures, the name, for example, of the leprous girl's dead father, the name of the man whose wife had vomitted the worm - details which no-one would therefore have risked inventing. And if one is to presume that the miracle stories were a deliberately concerted invention on the part of the author and the congregation of Wenlock - a suggestion not borne out by the nature of the work - than it is certain that all care would have been taken to have rendered the circumstantial detail as accurate as possible, in view of the fact that the work would have been read, or at least listened to, by those able to corroborate or dispute the details. While reserving judgement then, on the miracles themselves, one is not at liberty to dismiss the value of any other statement connected with them without valid reason.

CHAPTER 2

MIRACULA INVENTIONIS BEATE MYLBURGE VIRGINIS

INCIPIT PROLOGUS DOMNI ATONIS HOSTIENSIS EPISCOPI  
 CARDINALIS. IN MIRACULIS INVENTIONIS BEATE  
 MYLBURGE VIRGINIS

F.87r.  
 col.1

MIRACULA QUE AUCTORE DEO AD<sup>1</sup> sanctorum sepulchra sepe  
 choruscare cognoscimus. non solum probate vite argumenta  
 recte creduntur<sup>r</sup>. verum etiam virtutum ne cadant nostrarum  
 fulcimenta esse noscuntur. Et ideo in eorum se sp<sup>r</sup>ote sociat.  
 5 qui ipsi domino qui hec utiliter operatur. fideliter ea  
 narrando concordat. presertim cum ex fidelium numero qui  
 ex nostra relatione proficiunt. apud deum merces nostra  
 cumulatur tantum sicut dixi a mendacii vicio caveatur.  
 Constat enim mendacii culpam a diabolo esse sicut scriptum  
 10 est. quia mendax est et pater eius.<sup>2</sup> Nam quod in libro  
 sapientie scriptum est noli omni mendatio velle mentiri.<sup>3</sup>  
 non sic est intelligendum tanquam in aliquo mentiendi  
 Col.2 licentiam praebeat. sed tanquam diceret. de omni mendacio  
 hoc praecipio non solum ut non perficias. sed si in corde  
 15 consenseris te non sine pena fore cognoscas.<sup>4</sup> Qui ergo  
 sanctos quos amat extollendo veritatem transgreditur. apud

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1. These words are written in capitals in the MS. For the version of the Invention found in Lansdowne 436 V.p.329.

2. John viii 44.

3. Cf. Ecclesiasticus vii 14: "Noli velle mentiri omne mendacium assiduitas enim illius non est bona."

4. Cf. Matt. V. 28.

eosdem sanctos nimirum non sibi gratiam sed odium adipisci videtur. sed et apud deum graviore pena punitur. cum contra ipsum dixisse tanquam falsus testis convincitur. apostolo attestante qui ait. Invenimur falsi testes dei. quoniam  
 5 testimonium diximus adversus deum quod suscitavit christum a mortuis quem non suscitavit. si omnino mortui non resurgunt.<sup>1</sup> Iam itaque cur ista praemisimus aperiamus. et ad signa que ad virginis sancte mýlburge gloriam christus noviter est operatus.<sup>2</sup> ipso favente perveniamus. Beata  
 10 tamen mýlburga iam ex quo migravit a saeculo. ex veterum relationibus cum christo regnare declaratur. et ex antiquarum assertionibus scripturarum. sancta esse non dubitatur. Contestatur hoc idem. libellus ille qui de sorore sua mildrida est conscriptus. quem ego vidi et legi.  
 15 in quo praeclara eius vita praedicatur. et quod per eam miracula quam plura dominus fecerit. breviter intimatur.<sup>3</sup> Sed et vetustissimum monasterium hoc idem demonstrat. quod usque hodie oculis nostris conspicimus in eius venerabili memoria fundatum. et in eius sancto nomine

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1. I. Cor. xv. 15.

2. An indication that the Account was written fairly soon after the event which it describes.

3. V. the Life of St. Mildrid (British Museum Cotton MS. Vespasian B. xx f. 145v.) "Gloriosa autem domneva tres pretiosissimas sanctae trinitatis gemmas. tres sanctissimas christo sponsas. mildburgam. mýldredam. mildgitham florificavit. et hoc quasi trifolium liluim p<sup>r</sup>o sceptro tulit ... Que singul<sup>o</sup> deo sacrate virgines. singula loca celestibus assiduam miraculis ... sancta mýlburga in nativa terra merciorum monasterio Willocan dicto ...".



celebriter ex antiquo noscitur titulatum.<sup>1</sup> Veritatem dico  
 ego in christo non mentior. quod pergameni frustum mihi  
 est presentatum. ex antiquo situ iam exesum. quod ubi  
 sancta eius ossa noviter sunt reperta est inventum. in quo  
 5 scriptura erat quam legi. et in quantum ex ipsa percipere  
 potui datur intellegi. a christo per eam mortuum suscitatum.  
 et cecum illuminatum. sed quando vel qualiter hoc esset  
 peractum. scriptura cum hoc ipso pergameno deficiente non  
 ibi erat determinatum.<sup>2</sup> Nos vero que ad eius modo memoriam  
 10 celebrem domino operante apparuerint. conamur perstringere.  
 In qua relatione mentiendo aliquid componere. recte me nemo  
 iudicat. si superius me fallaces persequi vigilanter  
 attendat. Quia me ipsum gladio proprio transfigo. si  
 mendaces damnans. mendacii crimen non devito. Iuxta illud  
 15 apostoli. In quo alium iudicas. te ipsum condemnas. Eadem  
 enim agis. que iudicas.<sup>3</sup> EXPLICIT PROLOGUS. INCIPIUNT  
 MIRACULA<sup>4</sup>

F.87v. NOSTRIS IGITUR MODO TEMPORIBUS<sup>4</sup> anno ab incarnatione domini  
 col.1

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1. For the successive monastic foundations at Wenlock  
 V. Cp.5 (Part I) p.201-202.

2. This is the unique mention of the 'other' piece of  
 parchment in the Account. It is discussed in the  
 previous Cp.

3. Romans ii.1.

4. These words are written in capital letters in the MS.

millesimo centesimo primo.<sup>1</sup> rome vero domino paschali  
 post urbanum in apostolica sede praesidente.<sup>2</sup> regni autem  
 henrici regis anglorum anno primo. qui fratri suo Willelmo  
 in regimine successit.<sup>3</sup> loco qui dicitur Winlocum.<sup>4</sup>  
 5 virginem suam mylburgam dominus ubi iaceret miraculis  
 aperuit. eiusque dignam memoriam per totam angliam celebrem  
 reddidit. Cuius sacrum corpusculum in argenteo feretro  
 quod usque hodie in eius monasterio cernitur. reconditum  
 putabatur. Sed quia quotienscumque feretrum illud pro  
 10 interveniente necessitate aliqua deferabatur. quedam quasi  
 vacillantia intrinsecus sonitum facere audiebantur.  
 Placuit fratribus nostris<sup>5</sup> qui ibi a domino Wilenco priore  
 nostro de caritate<sup>6</sup> transmissi fuerant. iussu tamen

- 
1. In the fourteenth century Cluniac chronicle of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS.281 (2) ff.1-48, the Invention is wrongly ascribed to the year 1102. This part of the chronicle is written in a hand of the twelfth century. V. H.M.Cam & E.F.Jacob, Notes on an English Cluniac Chronicle in E.H.R. XLIV for 1929.
  2. Paschal II was consecrated on August 14th 1099 (V.Jaffé, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum I).
  3. Of the date of Henry I's coronation Malmesbury writes - "(Henry) in regem coronatus est Londoniae nonis Augustis quarto post fratris obitum die." (i.e. August 5th 1100) Gesta Regum (op.cit.p.260 ) Lib.v.p.618.
  4. For the original name of St. Milburga's monaster V. Cp.5 Pt.1. Opposite, in the margin, is written in a later hand - (comitatu Salopiae). Winlocum is underlined in the MS.
  5. This is the first instance of the author identifying himself with the Wenlock community.
  6. Wilencus was prior of La Charité from 1085-1107. V. R. de Lespinasse, Cartulaire du Prieuré de la Charité-sur-Loire. (Nevers/Paris 1887) This monastery, re-founded in 1059, was affiliated to Cluny during the abbacy of St. Hugh.

venerabilis patris nostri domini hugonis abbatis  
 cluniacensis<sup>1</sup> rogerio comite iam defuncto qui pro anime  
 sue remedio. locum illum de Winloco deo et sancte MARIE  
 de caritate donaverat.<sup>2</sup> quatenus feretrum illud aperirent.  
 5 eoque patefacto. de sancte virginis corpore certiores  
 fierent. Quod et factum est. nam ut feretrum illud cum  
 difficultate quadam tamen aperuerunt. capsas duas unam  
 intra alteram cum cýneribus panniculis involutis intrin-  
 secus aspexerunt. corpus autem sancte nullatenus  
 10 repererunt. Et ex illa iam die fratres nostri prout mos  
 est dubitantium de sancte sepultura varie disputare  
 ceperunt. Credo ego tamen divino nutu hoc factum fuisse.  
 ut de sancti corporis absentia certitudine habita. quod in  
 feretro esse putabatur. revelatio que post modicum est  
 15 secuta pro fallatia non haberetur. NAM non multo post  
 accidit quadam die ut dum quidam ex famulis fratrum  
 raimundus nomine.<sup>3</sup> in monasterio de sancta trinitate. quod

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1. St. Hugh was Abbot of Cluny from 1049-1109. The foundation charter of Wenlock Priory no longer exists, but according to Miss Graham, History of the Alien Priory of Much Wenlock, (op.cit.p. x ) the version preserved in the Gough transcript is substantially genuine. (Gough MSS. iii.591. printed by Eyton. Shropshire iii.p.228.)

2. Roger of Shrewsbury died in 1093 according to Florence of Worcester (op.cit.p.98.): in 1094 according to Orderic Vitalis, Historia Ecclesiastica, edit. Le Prévost. Eyton prefers the earlier date.

3. The "famuli" in Cluniac houses were the lay-brothers who performed the manual tasks of the monastery, but were still considered part of the community.

quantum est iactus lapidis a sancte m̃ylburge oratorio  
 distat.<sup>1</sup> quedam que antiquitate consumpta erant supra  
 altare quod ibi erat instaurando reficeret. inter alia<sup>2</sup>  
 capsam veterem que altari prominebat inspexit. in qua  
 5 cartam satis vetustam invenit quam arripuit et tenuit.  
 et fratribus qui videre voluerunt omnibus demonstravit.  
 Carta tamen illa. anglicis litteris scripta erat. ut nemo  
 legere aut intelligere posset. nisi de illius lingue  
 col.2 idiomate peritus esset.<sup>3</sup> Tandem vero per fidelem inter-  
 10 pretem didicerunt ex illa scriptura corpus sancte  
 m̃ylburge in illa ecclesia prope altare fuisse humatum et  
 quod huius rei alstan presbiter testis erat. qui hanc  
 eandem cartam conscripserat. Altare tamen illud iuxta  
 quod sancta membra iacere scriptura dicebat. supra terram  
 15 iam diu est minime apparebat. quia forsitan ex antiquitate  
 aut regionis desolatione in nichilum fuerat redactum.<sup>4</sup>  
 Fundamentum autem eius cum postea dominus quod inceperat  
 melius declaravit. in defossa terra omnibus certissime  
 apparuit. Confortati ergo fratres. et quasi iam de spe

- 
1. That is, in the church of the Holy Trinity which was about a stone's throw away from the monastic church.
  2. This vague expression may refer to other documents, perhaps among them the Testament.
  3. It would seem that the new community at Wenlock after twenty years was still entirely French, and had not yet received any English novices into its ranks.
  4. V. Cp. on the Testament, p.201.

sancti corporis recreati. iuxta illud. omnia fac cum  
 consilio. et post factum non penitebis.<sup>1</sup> miserunt ad  
 dominum anselmum reverendum tunc cantuarie archiepiscopum.<sup>2</sup>  
 qui ei hec omnia ex ordine referret. et secundum eius  
 5 iudicium que instabant perficerent. Ille autem prout erat<sup>3</sup>  
 non humanitus hoc contigisse existimans. sicut scriptura  
 docebat. iussit terram fodiendo ista inquirere. et de  
 sancte corpore certos haberi. Sed dominus qui dilectam  
 suam promoveri. et in loco sanctis condigno collocari  
 10 volebat. labore manuum fratres fatigari nolebat qui  
 prout decebat per membra pueri et innocentis. et insuper  
 virginis pueri. membra innocentis et pure virginis  
 glorificare disponebat. ut illud psalmografum videretur.  
 etiam hoc tempore adimpleri ex ore infantium et lactentium  
 15 perfecisti laudem.<sup>4</sup> NAM dum in vigilia sancti iohannis

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1. Ecclesiasticus. 32. 24: "Fili sine consilio nihil  
 facias, et post factum non penitebis".

2. There is no reference in the correspondence of Anselm to  
 such an appeal from Wenlock, (V. Migne, op.cit.p.100)  
 but it is possible that the letter and reply no longer  
 exist or that the permission was demanded through the  
 intermediary of a messenger.

3. During his life-time Anselm was acknowledged for his  
 sanctity as well as for his learning, throughout  
 Christendom.

In considering the possibility of Anselm's having been  
 appealed to by the monks of Wenlock, it should not be  
 forgotten that Anselm was a close friend of Abbot Hugh  
 of Cluny, and that he had been a frequent visitor at  
 that monastery during his exile. He was therefore likely  
 to have been considered by the Wenlock community as  
 favourably disposed towards them.

4. Psalm VII. 3. (Vulgate numbering)

baptiste<sup>1</sup> fratres pernotarent. et pro talis festivitatis  
 consuetudine divina officia diligenter celebrarent.<sup>2</sup>  
 accidit ut in monasterio de sancta trinitate de quo  
 superius dixi. in illo eodem loco ubi scriptura carte  
 5 sanctam iacere docuerat. duobus pueris<sup>3</sup> illic nocte illa  
 prout illius est etatis ludentibus. sub eorum pedibus  
 terra sponte dehisceret. et in modum rotundi foraminis  
 primum unum deinde alterum. usque ad genua absorberet.  
 Quid hic aliud divina operabatur clementia. nisi ut si  
 10 fieri posset. terra ipsa loqueretur dicens. quid domini  
 fratres. tam diu ambigitis. Huc accedite quia hic est quod  
 queritis. Si vultis. ego ubi sancta iaceat indico. que  
 sine aliqua violentia omnibus sponte dehisco. Nolite iam  
 F.88r. vacillare. quod scriptura carta loquitur. credite absque  
 col.1  
 15 dubio. quia ego ubi sit thesaurus per me ipsam vobis  
 aperio. Non imputetur pondus gravitati quod demergor.  
 quia levis est etas a qua premor. que multociens conculcata

- 
1. The Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist is celebrated on the 24th of June. In 1101 the twenty-fourth of June was a Monday.
  2. The Night Office for Saints' days was as for Sundays, rather longer than normal. (V. Regula S. Benedicti Cp. xiv.)
  3. It seems unlikely that these should be boys of the monastery, children already being prepared for their entry into the full monastic life. These boys were subject to a severe discipline; they had their own separate dormitory and were never for a moment left unsupervised. (V. Egnot, Histoire de l'Ordre de Cluny Paris 1868, pp.383-384.) Such behaviour ill accords with the precepts for the upbringing of the oblates laid down by St. Benedict. (V. Regula S. Benedicti Cp. xxx.)

a mille gravissimi ponderis viris. numquam succubui.  
 Videns autem hoc unus ex his qui illic aderant famulis.  
 de quo superius dixi raimundus nomine.<sup>1</sup> ad sancta mylburge  
 monasterium quia fratres matutinas cantabant<sup>2</sup> cuccurit.  
 5 atque fratri nostro domino richardo qui fratribus preerat  
 prior.<sup>3</sup> que acciderant ex ordine cuncta narravit. At  
 ille ut audivit. ad locum festinus perrexit. atque lumine  
 accenso per foramen quod factum fuerat. que intus essent  
 aspexit. Sed propter noctis tenebras ad plenum quid esset  
 10 nequaquam cognoscens. ad matutinas reversus. ad eundem  
 locum mane cum fratribus rediit. eis que quod contigerat  
 audientibus lete. diligenter expressit. Ducti itaque in  
 spem aliquantulum fratres propter carte scripturam que  
 concordabat. arreptis fossoriis terram fodere ceperunt.  
 15 in qua dum hoc fieret. sancta ossa satis pulchra et  
 lucida cum ligaturis ferreis rubigine iam ex parte exesis.

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1. It should be noted that the lay-brother Raimund did not take part in the night office with the choir monks, but was probably engaged in the work of reconstruction which was being undertaken in the ruined church of the Holy Trinity at this time. (V. William of Malmesbury, op.cit. p.260, p.286.)

2. The office of Lauds - Matins - followed straight after Nocturns on Sundays and Saints' days. (V. Regula S. Benedicti, Cp.xiv.)

3. No record of Prior Richard, first Prior of Wenlock, survives in the Chartulary of La Charité (V. de Lespinasse, op.cit.p.309) or in any other Cluniac source that I have consulted. But Richard, a monk of Wenlock, is found attesting a charter of Earl Roger of Montgomery to his Collegiate church at Quatford, (V. Eyton's Shropshire, III p.228, op.cit.p.291) and this must certainly be the Prior.

omnibus apparuerunt. Credo quod in ligneo loculo iuxta  
 antiquum morem gentis illius sancta membra humata fuerunt.  
 qui ex antiquitate putruerat penitus. ex stantibus inditio  
 ferreis vinculis que consumi non valuerunt.<sup>1</sup> Hesitantes  
 5 tamen aliquantulum fratres propter vestigia forsitan  
 altaris quod nondum apparuerat. iuxta quod sanctam fore  
 reconditam scriptura illa vetus dicebat. in arca quadam  
 aliquantisper reverenter non tamen prout decebat  
 collocaverunt. Postea autem die dum per totam ecclesiam  
 10 illam fodere fratres cepissent. si forte aliquod aliud  
 sanctum corpus invenire potuissent. ecce ad optinendam  
 de sancta virgine certitudinem. et ad confirmandum  
 scripture que inventa fuerat veritatem. altaris de quo  
 supra sepe meminimus fundamentum indubitanter apparuit.  
 15 iuxta quod sanctum illud corpus in die preterita se  
 cunctis innotuit. Ex qua re iam fratres certificati. die  
 tertia reverentissime sicut decebat albi induti. pedibus  
 tamen nudis ad sancta ossa accedunt. ac venerabiliter in  
 eadem arca mundissima ea abluentes aqua. reposuerunt.  
 20 Rursumque ea postea abluentes. in novo quodam scrinio  
 col.2 recondiderunt. in quo usque ad diem translationis eorum  
 scilicet diem purificationis sancte dei genitricis MARIE.

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1. St. Ethelthryth of Ely was buried in a wooden coffin.  
 (H.E.iv 19) Plummer thought that this may have been a  
 mark of her humility, as there are more frequent  
 references to stone than to wooden coffins in the  
Historia Ecclesiastica. (V. H.E. II p.239.)



in eadem ecclesia supra altare mansuerunt.<sup>1</sup> Sed ne quis  
audientium corda per cogitationem dubitationis ullius  
pulsaret stimulus. non solum ex dilecte sue reliquiis.  
sed ex his que ipsas sanctas contingebant reliquias.  
5 virtutes erumpere benignus voluit dominus. ERAT namque  
in vicina villa que vocatur peteleia mulier quedam. que  
per annos v. languerat que morbum quem tolerabat vultus  
pallore et tocuis corporis abiectioe omnibus premonstrabat.  
ut non nulli ex nostris boni testimonii fratres. qui eam  
10 antea sepissime viderant mihi certissime testantur. cui  
etiam quidam ex nostra congregatione ramelmus<sup>2</sup> nomine

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1. The Invention of the bones of St. Milburga took place on the twenty-fourth of June. The feast of the Translation is celebrated on the twenty-fifth, the third day from the children's tumble into the tomb, for this occurred on the night of the twenty-third - twenty-fourth. The second Translation took place on February the second, seven months later. The author seems to infer here that he was not at Wenlock until after this second Translation.

The earliest calendar entry of June 25th as the feast of St. Milburga's Translation is found in a twelfth century Breviary from Winchcombe. (This is one of the earliest breviaries extant.) The calendar does not give the February feast of St. Milburga. (Professor F. Wormald kindly lent me the photostats of this MS. which is at present in the municipal library of Valenciennes.)

A late thirteenth century or early fourteenth century Psalter from La Charité-sur-Loire has the two feasts of St. Milburga in its calendar. She is also invoked in the Litany. (Metz Municipal Library MS. 1187. V. V. Leroquais, Les Psautiers manuscrits latins des bibliothèques publiques de France. (1940-1941))

2. There is no other record of this Ramelmus.

optime frater. in arte quoque medicine valens.<sup>1</sup> medicinas  
 plures sepius impenderat et docuerat. que ab illa pro  
 medici documento suscepte. nichil ei profuerant. quia  
 eius remedium ad sancte sue revelationem studiose dominus  
 5 reservaverat. Hec cum de aqua ex que sancta pignora  
 abluta fuerant ebibisset. statim vermem evomuit satis  
 horribilem. et ilico tam perfecte sospes est facta.<sup>2</sup>  
 ut usque hodie et vultus colore. tociusque corporis vigore.  
 quanti apud deum sit meriti attestetur. que reperta  
 10 est sanctam. Vermem autem illum pro testimonio vir eius  
 oddo nomine in ligno quodam ad quantitatem ipsius vermis  
 cavato. ad monasterium attulit. quod lignum oculis meis  
 ego vidi. atque inter manus proprias contractavi. Ad  
 spectaculum autem vermis. fratres multi convenerunt. quia  
 15 contra aliorum naturam que viderant reptilium. gemina  
 cornua in capite gerens. sex gradiens pedibus. in cauda  
 quoque bicornis, erat. Hoc fuit initium signorum beate  
 mylburge. quo eius opinio late cepit crebrescere.  
 Ceperunt interea ex longinquis quoque urbibus atque vicis.  
 20 egroti quidam in equis. alii vero in lecticis ex omni

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1. V. R. Graham in English Ecclesiastical Studies (S.P.C.K. London, 1929): "There were a number of doctors within the English (Cluniac) monasteries". Cf. Regula S. Benedicti, Cp. lvii.

2. A similar miracle is recorded in the Life of St. Hugh (V. Marrier and Duchesne, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis (1614), col.440).

parte deferri. ut in ipsa ecclesia et atrio<sup>1</sup> languentium  
 multitudo vix caperetur. ERAT haud longe a monasterio.  
 in villa que vocatur hea.<sup>2</sup> virgo quedam iuvencula nomine  
 amelia. annorum circiter duodecim. que gravissima lepre  
 5 perfusione dilacerata. totque dissoluta corpore. lecto  
 prostrata iacebat. Hec siquidem. habebat matrem et  
 victricum. Nam pater eius radulfus dictus fuerat. Qui  
 eiusem infirmitatis languore correptus. ad extrema  
 f.88v. perductus. iam defunctus erat. Sed cum fama miraculorum  
 col.1  
 10 que per gloriosam virginem suam mylburgam christus cotidie  
 operabatur. omnem circumiacentem percurreret regionem. ad  
 matris puelle non longe ab ecclesia commorantis. pervenit  
 notitiam. Que filie sue duplici compassa miserie. hinc  
 infirmitatis. inde vero inopie. pauperes enim erant.  
 15 virum suum rogare cepit. quatinus puellam ad beate virginis  
 debeat portare sepulchrum. Et quia non solum eos dolenda  
 puelle infirmitas. verum etiam paupertatis angustabat  
 inopia. non tantum ut ipsam crederent ullum tante  
 debilitatis posse invenire remedium quantum ut vel a  
 20 fratribus ibidem deo servientibus. seu a confluentibus

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1. The "atrium" here may mean the porch or the churchyard.  
 Cf. P. 324, line 8.

2. The author is probably mistaken in thinking that this is  
 the name of a village. It is more likely to represent  
 "haeg", the name for an enclosed piece of meadow land.  
 (V. Ekwall, Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names.  
 op.cit.p.222 ).

populis aliquod perciperet vite praesentis subsidium.<sup>1</sup>  
 super positam humeris suis virginem. ad beate virginis  
 cepit properare sepulchrum. Cumque iam vesperascente die  
 dominica Winlocum pervenisset. fratribus pro consuetudine  
 5 vesperas decantantibus in maiori ecclesia ante altare  
 exterius.<sup>2</sup> onus miserabile infelix homo deposuit. Iacebat  
 ibi misera sine ulla spe recuperande salutis. hinc  
 plangens dolorem infirmitatis. inde merens angustias  
 paupertatis. Augebat itaque dolorem inopia. ubi in tanta  
 10 necessitate deerant etiam corpori necessaria. Sufficere  
 certe ei ad penam poterat. etiam si sana esset sola  
 inopia. sufficeret etiam egritudo. si adesset substantia.  
 Sed omnipotens ac misericors deus. qui per innocentem et  
 puram virginem. sponse sue et virginis disponebat  
 15 declarare virtutem. quanti apud eum esset meriti beatissima  
 virgo mylburga. per istius virginis ostendere voluit tam  
 celerem sanitatem. Vespertina namque celebrata sinaxia<sup>3</sup>  
 cum homo ad egram suam quam ante altare reliquerat

- 
1. This suggests that a considerable number of people were already being attracted to the shrine.
  2. According to Cranage, (The Monastery of St. Milburga at Much Wenlock, op.cit.p.201) the eleventh century foundation revealed an apse, as a chord to which there was a solid wall. He makes the suggestion that it may have been on such an erection that the shrine was placed, but since the body of St. Milburga was venerated in the Church of the Holy Trinity, not in the main monastic church (V. below) this wall probably supported the altar here referred to.
  3. "Synaxis maxime pro Cursu seu officio ecclesiastico." (Ducange) V. also Regula S. Benedicti, Cp.xvii.

revertisset. eamque ad aliam ecclesiam in honore et nomine sancte trinitatis dedicatam in qua venerabile corpus beate virginis iacebat portare voluisset. mirabile dictu. ipsam quam leprosam attulerat. omniumque membrorum officio destitutam. videt subito convaluisse. ac tocius 5 corporis maxima ex parte sospitate recepta ad dei gloriam et beate virginis laudem. tantis relaxatam doloribus. hylarem residere. Atque sola lepre sua demonstrans vestigia. per carnis innovationem. sanitatis sue gaudium 10 omnibus predicabat. Videres virginem cum exultatione et gratiam virginis attolere praeconium. videres populum undique concurrentem. ad tante maiestatis obstupescere miraculum. nostris etiam temporibus inauditum. Ostendebat puella reictis vestibus pectus et brachia innovata. 15 omnibus in aperto. et die eadem prout talis est infirmitatis consuetudo. cutem ulceribus exaratam diversisque coloribus variatam. iuvenilis ut erat. ad instar etatis divinitus reparatam. omnibus premonstrabat. In vultu et enim. veritas sanitatis omnibus apparebat. Conveniunt 20 itaque quidam ex fratribus non tamen satis creduli vocibus populorum. certius quod audierant probaturi. Adducitur virgo in medium. et qua de illa dicta erant oris eius confirmatione. et propinquorum ac vicinorum ipsius attestatione. vera esset probantur. Cum autem ad prioris 25 eiusdem loci domini videlicet ricardi de quo superius

dictum est. qui forte tunc aberat. quod factum fuerat  
 noticiam pervenisset. in consueti stupefactus novitate  
 miraculi. parentes et notos. ipsam quoque puellam. ad se  
 vocare iubet. Sed quam nulli facile in relatione miracul-  
 5 orum adquiescere volebat. nisi visu proprio comprobaret.  
 vel plurimorum fideli testimonio verum esse cognosceret.  
 cepit diligenter inquirere que esset puella. aut unde  
 vel quomodo prius infirma et quemadmodum sanata fuisset.  
 Narrant per ordinem quod de eius pristina infirmitate  
 10 cognoverant. referrunt cum exultatione et gaudio. quod per  
 dei clementiam et beate virginis meritum. de eius tam  
 insperata sanitate videbant. Gaudet itaque ipse prior.  
 novo et insolito exhilaratus miraculo. gaudet denique  
 virgo. beate virginis curata intercessione. exultat  
 15 clerus et populus. divina relevatus visitatione. Fiunt  
 preterea nota matri que circa filiam divina operabatur  
 clementia. advolat velotior. nullum sentiens laborem  
 itineris pre gaudio. optans videre sanam cum letitia.  
 quam infirmam miserat cum dolore et tristitia. Precepit  
 20 denique prior puellam ab ecclesia.<sup>1</sup> et beate virginis  
 sepulchro ne recederet. ad demonstrandam videlicet cunctis  
 F.89r. advenientibus veritatem sue sanitatis. ad declarandam in  
 col.1 novissimis etiam temporibus per insolita miracula pot-  
 entiam divine maiestatis. Hec autem in principio inter

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1. From the church of the Holy Trinity.

alios qui ad sacrum virginis corpus curati sunt. prima  
lepre sanitatem noscitur recepisse. Credo sic dignum fore.  
ut virgo diversi sexus et etatis languentes curando. a  
simplici et innocenti inciperet virgine. IN eadem vero  
5 provincia homo erat rusticus. decem fere milibus ab  
ecclesia distans. qui habebat filium quindecim ut  
videbatur annorum. a nativitate cecum. Et cum per  
universam regionem miraculorum que per dilectam virginem  
suam mýlburgam christus cotidie frequentabat fama  
10 crebresceret. ipsumque Winlocense cenobium innumerabilis  
diversi sexus et etatis populi multitudo assidue  
visitaret. prefatus homo cum filio suo devotus advenit.  
Cumque die sabbathi iam vesperascente Winlocum pervenisset.  
cum cetera populi multitudine nocte eadem vigilaturus.  
15 ecclesiam in qua sancta dei mýlburga iacebat. non  
videntem filium suus pater anxius introduxit. Cum ergo  
mane facto dominica dies illucesceret. mulier quedam que  
per decem annorum curricula lumine caruerat oculorum.  
queque nocte eadem ante venerabile virginis sepulchrum  
20 in ipsa ecclesia devote pernoctaverat. per dei miser-  
ationem et gloriose virginis interventionem diu ammisso  
lumine donata est. Cumque pro illuminatione sua debitas  
deo gratias referre cepisset. plures qui cecam eam prius  
noverant. cecamque nocte praeterita eam viderant. simul  
25 gaudentes. undique convenerunt. Et cum sanitatis illius

veritate probata per exultatione miraculi a custodibus  
 ecclesie signa pulsarentur.<sup>1</sup> omnesque in commune deo  
 laudes refferrent. excitatus sonitu domnus ricardus.  
 loci eiusdem prior qui cantatis matutinis ad stratum  
 5 reversus.<sup>2</sup> ab eadem ecclesia paulo ante recesserat.<sup>3</sup>  
 concitus surgens. et tantorum gaudens frequentia miracul-  
 orum. pervenit ad ecclesiam. Ingressus ergo. videt  
 mulierem pro illuminatione sua deo gratias referentem.  
 audit clerum et populum<sup>4</sup> laudem deo munia persolventem.  
 10 Finitis vero laudibus cum ipse reverteretur ab ecclesia.  
 in ipsius limine ecclesie supradictus a nativitate  
 col.2 cecus magnis obsessus doloribus. iuvenis sedebat. Sed  
 ne forte transeuntium pedibus in tot angustiis positus  
 premeretur. stantis ante eum patris manibus et porrecto

1. V. Knowles, The Monastic Order in England. (op.cit.p x )  
 p.543: "The composers of the Concordia noted as  
 peculiarly English the custom of frequent and joyful  
 pealing of bells and expressed their wish to retain it  
 in monastic practice ... The monasteries, to judge  
 from the customaries, were faithful to the recommend-  
 ation of the Concordia and the ringing of bells --- was  
 a feature of the daily horarium, and of certain special  
 occasions such as processions ..."

2. "A kalendis Octobris usque ad kalendis Novembris  
 revertantur fratres ad lectos suos post matutinas".  
 From the oldest customary of Cluny: 996-1030. (V.  
 B.Albers, Le Plus Ancien Coutumier de Cluny, in Revue  
Bénédictine xx 1903 p.180).

3. Some offices therefore, were already being celebrated  
 in Holy Trinity church.

4. It is possible that a priest had already been charged  
 with the responsibility of serving the shrine. Later  
 there was a properly appointed parish-priest, probably  
 nominated by the Prior.



ex adverso baculo tuebatur. Quem cum in tanta videret,  
inclinatum angustia. cepit per cunctari quis esset aut  
unde. vel quid infirmitatis haberet. Profitetur denique  
pater satis notam et proximam in qua natus fuerat villam  
5 refert suorum testimonio vicinorum. suum semper a  
nativitate cecum extitisse filium. Quo audito, eoque  
relicto. domnus ricardus. ab ecclesia egressus est. Sed cum  
domum redire voluisset. forte in eiusdem ecclesie cimiterio  
homo quidam ei obvius fuit. qui a quodam magnatum  
10 regionis illius directus ad eum legatus fuerat. Qui cum  
ei secundum consuetudinem. domini sui salutes et  
amicitias obtulisset. deinde intulit. A domino meo sub  
celeritate transmissus. ad vos veni karissime domine.  
quatinus de tantorum fama miraculorum que per beatam  
15 mýlburgam facta esse dicuntur. que etiam iam per totam  
resonat regionem. vestris litteris consignatam domino  
meo de ore vestro referre debeam veritatem. quatinus per  
vos factus certior cum uxore sua et filiis ad beate  
virginis suffragium implorandum. sacrumque locum dignis  
20 muneribus honorandum et ipse devotus adveniat. Vix verba  
compleverat. cum subito unus ex clericis de ecclesia  
cum festinatione prosiliens. loquentibus illis non sine  
admiratione maxima iuvenem a nativitate cecum videre  
proclamat. Quod audiens domnus ricardus stupefactus pre  
25 gaudio cum his qui secum illic aderant festinus intrat

ecclesiam. Atque genuflexo. ante puerum se inclinans.  
 diligentius explorare volebat si quem cecum paulo ante  
 reliquerat. tam cito videre in aliquo comprobaret. Rogat  
 denique iuvenem caput pre dolore nimio inclinatum sursum  
 5 erigere manus proprias. digitosque singillatim ostentans.  
 ac si eos agnoscat diligenter inquirit. Alii autem ei  
 festucas et lapides explorationis gratia exhibebant. sed  
 nisi hec prius tactu proprio protactaret. quippeque  
 nunquam ante viderat minime cognoscebat. Dependebat vero  
 10 ei quasi quedam duo frusta carnis ante palpebras oculorum.  
 rivi quoque sanguinis per utrasque genas<sup>1</sup> abundantius  
 F.89v. defluebant. Ipsas denique oculorum pupillas. magna adhuc  
 col.1 super infusi sanguinis copia operiebat. Iubet ergo illum  
 sursum erigere. et sine ductore aliquo usque ad altare  
 15 superius super quo beatissime virginis pignora quiesce-  
 bant.<sup>2</sup> per quam et ipse illuminatus fuerat. ut se sequi  
 debeat cohortatur. Surgit itaque ipsumque praecedentem.  
 illic subsequitur et usque ad sacratissimum gloriose  
 virginis corpus pro salute sua gratias redditurus.  
 20 populo prosequente ingreditur. Et qui prius ad manum  
 trahendo filium toris praecedere solebat ex necessitate.  
 iam nunc gaudens pater subsequitur plenus gratia et

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1. The word "genas" may be translated as "cheeks" or "eye-lids".

2. That is to the church of the Holy Trinity.

hylaritate. Imperabat hinc deo reddere laudes. ipsa  
 praesens operatio deitatis. extorquebat inde lacrimas.  
 magne devotio pietatis. Sub unius ergo momenti hora. ad  
 declarandum omnibus dilecte sponse sue meritum duo hec  
 5 praeclara fecit deus miracula. secundum illuminationem  
 amborum quodammodo similia. sed quantum ad humanam  
 estimationem pertinet valde imparia. Multum enim maius  
 videtur esse hominibus novum fieri quod nunquam fuerat.  
 quam denuo reparari quod aliquando factum perierat. In  
 10 muliere namque divina gratia reparatum est lumen amissum.  
 in iuvene autem non quod amissum fuerat est in missum.  
 sed quod in ipsa ei nativitate denegatum fuerat. nunc  
 divinitus est donatum. Denique supradicto legato adhuc  
 prestolanti quid domino suo renunciare deberet responsum  
 15 est. ne iam ulterius per denotationem litterarum.  
 miraculorum requireret, veritatem. quam suorum probaverat  
 testimonio oculorum. Nam si narranti nuntio suo que  
 viderat credere noluisset. forsitan litterio annotatum  
 penitus credere renuisset. Hec ergo que scribimus. tanta  
 20 veritatis auctoritate subnixa sunt. ut nullus ex his  
 ambigere debeat christianus. Illius et enim fideli  
 narratione conscripta sunt. de cuius testimonio in nullo  
 dubitandum esse censemus. Quam ipse qui hec videt  
 testimonium perhibuit et scimus quia verum est testimonium  
 25 eius.<sup>1</sup>

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1. John. 21. 24.

IN vicina ville que Wig<sup>1</sup> nominatur. puella quedam  
 moruid<sup>2</sup> nomine ut mihi videtur duodennis erat. quam lepra  
 gravissima tam nostri fratres monachi quam laici in seculo  
 fideliter dununtiant detentam fuisse quam ex vicinitate  
 5 sepius se testantur vidisse. Que ut ad sanctum corpus  
 devota accessit aliquandiu commorans. ita sana discessit  
 ut ullius lepre in eius corpore signa nullatenus apparent.  
 Nam iuvenilis caro naturali colore recepto vultum et  
 faciem venustabat. Oculorum pupille fugata pestifera  
 10 caligine pristinae infirmitatis. velut quadam nova  
 claritate fulgebant. Loquela vox quam praemia egritudine  
 pene amiserat clare nobis audientibus resonabat. Hanc  
 talem puellam ego vidi. et veritatem dico nisi ex visu  
 proprio testificans aliquis mihi probaret. Hanc leprosam  
 15 fuisse nullatenus indicarem. Sed non praetereundem videtur.  
 quod antequam Winlocum monasterium advenissem. et sancte  
 virginis miracula indiciis approbassem.<sup>3</sup> quosdam in sana

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1. Here again it would seem that the author mistakenly thought this was the name of a village. (V. O.E. Wic, an early loan-word from Latin vicus, meaning "dwelling, dwelling-place, village, hamlet, ... especially a dairy-farm. The latter is probably the most common meaning". Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names, op.cit.p.222 ).

2. This would seem to be a form of the mediaeval Welsh name MORUUD. It is rare though it occurs in the genealogies (V. A.W.Wade-Evans, Vitae Sanctorum Britanniae et Genealogia, Cardiff, 1944, p.318) but does not become more popular till after the fourteenth century. I owe this information to Miss K.W.Hughes.

3. This is the only occasion when the author refers to the reason for his presence at Wenlock shortly after the events he describes.

mente garrientes audivi. interquos et mulierem quandam  
 quam tamen nominare nolo credo iezabel spiritu proloquentem  
 vidi inquit sanctos dei miracula alia multa perpetrare.  
 leprosos autem minime solitos esse mundare. Quibus  
 5 miserabilibus ego respondebo. quia ab orthodoxis editis  
 in divinis leguntur scripturis. ad sanctorum sepulchra  
 et furiosi et mente capti curati fuisse. et cecos qui  
 nunquam vel longo tempore viderant. visum recepisse.  
 Maius enim cuique sapienti videtur. cordis amentiam  
 10 curatam esse que anime inesse spiritualiter creditur.  
 quam sancti merito lepram que corporaliter in carne  
 tenetur. Et tamen ut eorum satis faciamus dictis. et hec  
 dum viverent legimus sanctos fecisse. Nam et ad sancti  
 martini osculum. leprosum severus scribit fuisse sanatum.<sup>1</sup>  
 15 et in mediolanensium civitate cuius sum civis.<sup>2</sup> beatum  
 ambrosium scimus mundasse leprosum.<sup>3</sup>

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1. V. De Vita Beati Martini Sulpicii Severi. (Gallandius, Bibliotheca Veterum Patrum. Venice, 1765-81, t.viii Cp. xviii).

2. This statement is discussed in detail in Cp.3 below.

3. I have been unable to trace this miracle of St. Ambrose; possibly the Cardinal was here using an anonymous text. (This suggestion has been made by Fr. Paul Grosjean S.J. Bollandiste.)

## APPENDIX I.

The Invention of St. Milburga according to Lansdowne 436

F.75r. Post multa vero tempora videlicet circa annum domini millesimum centesimum primum corpus gloriose virginis Milburge. sicut testatur dominus otto ostiensis episcopus cardinalis in libello quem fecit de miraculis inventionis praeditae virginis miraculose ubi sepultum fuerat. extitit inventum. Nam processu a dormitione beate virginis propter varia infortunia que per invasionem hostilem danorum vel aliorum infortuniorum incommoda. loca diversa monachorum et monialium per Angliam ipsis exclusis. legitimis domus<sup>ib</sup><sub>^</sub> privabantur. Unde cum simile de monialibus de Wenloc accidisset et dominium loci illius ad quemdam comitem Rogerium nomine devenisset. pro anime sue remedio deo et monachis beate Marie de caritate ordinis cluniacensi devotius erogavit. Placuit autem monachis qui de caritate ad Wenloc mittebantur ad inhabitandum . . . ut feretrum argenteum in quo corpus virginis putabatur aperirent. eoque patefacto de sancte virginis corpore certiores fierent. Quod cum factus esset . . . intrinsecus aspexerunt. corpus autem sancte nullatenus repererunt. Et vere creditur divino nuto hoc factum fuisse ut de sancti

corporis absentia certitudine habita<sup>1</sup> quod in feretro  
esse putabatur. revelatio que post modicum est segura  
profallatia non haberetur<sup>2</sup>.....  
... et de sancte corpore certos haberi.<sup>3</sup> Iuxta consilium  
autem venerabilis anselmi fratres diligenter facientes  
arreptis fossoriis terram diligenter fodere ceperunt.  
in quam dum hoc fieret<sup>4</sup> ..... consumi non  
valuerunt. Ad confirmandu etiam scriptur<sup>a</sup> que inventa  
fuerat. veritatem altaris quo super meninimus. fundamentum  
indubitant<sup>r</sup> apparuit. iuxta quod sanctum illud corpus  
sepultum fuit. Monachi ergo gaudio magno repleti ossa  
sanct<sup>a</sup> levantes ea devote laverunt in nov<sup>o</sup> quodam scrinio  
recondiderunt. in quo usque ad diem translationem eorum

1. The passages underlined are to be found in the Lincoln text, word for word. Where he does not copy, as here, the author frequently transposes from the first to the third person singular. V. transcript of the Lincoln text p.310, line 5.
2. From non haberetur to corpore certior haberi, Lansdowne is practically identical with Lincoln. (V. pp.310-312)
3. Here Lansdowne has abbreviated considerably: the story of the two children who fall into the grave is not recorded, and the account reads as though the discovery occurred as a result of the monks complying with Anselm's injunction to begin to dig for the remains of their patron. William of Malmesbury refers to a boy who fell into the grave and thus discovered the body, (V. p.286) and it was this lack of cohesion between the two accounts which led Miss Graham to talk of a "discrepancy". (V. History of the Alien Priory of Wenlock, op.cit.p.x ).
4. The Lansdowne MS rejoins the Lincoln text here, where the latter is describing the events that occurred the day following the discovery. V.p.314.

scilicet diem purificationis sancte dei genitricis Marie  
in eadem ecclesia supra altare mansuerunt.<sup>1</sup> Et ut  
omnipotens deus omnem deret sanctarum reliquiarum  
veritatem. quedam mulier convicanea que iam per quinque  
annos languerat que morbum quem tolērabat vultus pallore  
et tocuis corporis abiectioe omnibus premonstrabat.  
de aqua qua sancta pignora lavabuntur bibit et statim  
vermem evomuit satis horribilem. Et illico tam perfecte  
sospes est facta. ut per multa tempora vultus colore  
totiusque corporis vigore. quant<sup>i</sup> apud deum sit meriti  
attestetur. que reperta est sancta. Vermem autem illum  
pro testimonio vir eius odo nomine in ligno\* quodam ad  
ipsius vermis quantitatem cavato ad monasterium attulit  
quod lignum episcopus predictus ostiensis se vidisse et  
propriis manibus contractasse. Ad<sup>2</sup> spectaculum autem verm<sup>is</sup>  
..... vix caperetur. Quorum ob  
sancte virginis meritum ut in prae-allegato libello  
plenius continetur. in immemorabil<sup>is</sup> iuxta eorum fidem  
optatum petitionis sue effectum consequuti sunt atque  
salutarem praestante hoc domino nostro iesu christo cui  
sit honor decus et imperium per omnia saecula saeculorum.

1. Here again; Lansdowne is identical with Lincoln. (V. p. 315-  
p. 316) There follows immediately the account of the  
first miracle. The two lines in italics<sup>below</sup> are found also  
in Lincoln.

2. From ad spectaculum verm<sup>is</sup> to vix caperetur Lansdowne  
is identical with the Lincoln text. V. pp. 317-318.

\* MS. has 'lingno'.



C H A P T E R 3

The Cardinal

At the succession of Urban II<sup>1</sup> to the papal throne in 1088, the See of Ostia which he vacated was filled by another Cluniac monk who bore the name of Odo. It was this second Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who is believed to have written<sup>2</sup> the account of the finding of the bones of an obscure Anglo-Saxon Saint who died in the early eighth century. The document which records this discovery, the Miracula Inventionis Beate Mýlburge Virginis, is the sole written evidence for the Cardinal's presence in England at the time when the Invention took place, or indeed at any time during his life. He is recorded as having died in 1101,<sup>3</sup> at least a year before the account of the Invention could have been written.

The problem that is set by the authorship of this work is no small one therefore, and demands a careful

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1. Odo de Langeri was born c.1042 at Châtillon-sur-Marne. He was a monk at Cluny from 1077-1078, from whence he was appointed Bishop of Ostia. He was consecrated Pope in 1088 and died in 1099.
  2. A.A.S.S.Feb.III 394. "Forsan unus idemque est Otho, vel Odo Castellonaeus, Urbani ii nepos, e monacho Cluniacensi ab eo in Episcopum Cardinalem Ostiensem anno 1088 adlectus, qui Paschalem ii anno 1099 inauguravit. et forsan ab eo legatus a latere missus est. Maximus orator dicitur in poemate Baldrici abatis Burgulensi apud Franciscum Chesnem ..."
  3. Gams, Series Episcoporum Ecclesiae Catholicae (Ratisbon 1873-86) p.v.

and critical investigation of all the available evidence. Fortunately evidence is not lacking from the Miracula Inventionis, for the author was extremely interested in the story which he was telling, interested in persons and events, and he has revealed considerably more about himself than did Goscelin in his Life of Saint Milburga. It is accordingly possible to form some impression of the man, both from his explicit statements and from that which he merely implies.

From the very beginning of the account of the Invention it is made clear that the author was a monk of Cluny. "Placuit fratribus nostris qui ibi a domino Wilenco priore nostro de caritate transmissi fuerant. Iussu tamen venerabilis patris nostris domini hugonis abbatis cluniacensis ..."<sup>1</sup> Throughout he associates himself with the Wenlock community in such phrases as "fratres nostri ... disputare ceperunt",<sup>2</sup> "ut non nulli ex nostris boni testimonii fratres",<sup>3</sup> "cui etiam ex nostri congregatione ramelmus nomine ...".<sup>4</sup> But it should be noted that he calls the prior of Wenlock

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1. Lincoln 149 f.87v. col.1 (V. p.309, l.12).

2. " " " (V. p.310, l.10).

3. " f.88<sup>r</sup>. col.2 (V. p.316, l. 9).

4. " " " (V. p.316, l.11).

'brother' not 'father',<sup>1</sup> implying thereby that he was not a monk of that house.<sup>2</sup>

A little before the conclusion of his story he makes a disappointingly brief allusion to the reason why he had come to Wenlock: "... quod antequam Winlocum monasterium advenissem. et sancte virginis miracula inditi<sup>is</sup> approbassem ..."<sup>3</sup> By this one may understand that the writer had received some kind of commission to investigate the wonders of Wenlock.

He seems to have been there quite soon after the events he describes, perhaps in the spring of 1102.<sup>4</sup> He does not claim to have been present at the actual Invention, nor at any of the miracles; but he saw the silver shrine, the opening of which had had such important consequences, and he had studied the ancient scrap of parchment which bore the account of some miracles of the Saint.<sup>5</sup> He also saw and handled the

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1. Lincoln f.87v. col.1 (V. p.314, 1.5.)

2. The reference to Wilencus of La Charité-sur-Loire as priore nostro is interesting but there is unfortunately no corroborating evidence from the sources of this house. V. below p.347.

3. Lincoln 149 f.89v. (V.p.327, 1.16).

4. V. Lincoln f.88r. col.1<sup>2</sup> (V. p.315, 1.22) where he implies that he was not at Wenlock until after the second translation which took place on February 2nd 1102.

5. Lincoln f.87v. col.2 (V. p.308, 1.2).

wooden box which had contained the enormous worm,<sup>1</sup> and more important, he had seen the young girl Moruid, who had been cured of leprosy at the shrine: "hanc talem puellam ego vidi. et veritatem dico nisi ex visu proprio ... probaret ...".<sup>2</sup> That she was leprous before he must take on the testimony of others; but he could at least testify that when he saw her there was no trace of the disease in her.

Two further items of information are vouchsafed by the author: that he had read a Life of Saint Mildred<sup>3</sup> (in the context this certainly implies that he had not read a Life of Saint Milburga) and that he was a citizen of Milan.<sup>4</sup> There are no further explicit statements in the Miracula Inventionis concerning the author, but it will be seen that further facts may legitimately be deduced from the text.

It has already been suggested<sup>5</sup> that the detailed description of the finding of Saint Milburga's body, and of the subsequent miracles, can only be explained as the report of an eye-witness made to the author. The

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1. Lincoln f.88r. col.2 (V. p.317, l.12).

2. " f.89v. (V. p.327, l.13).

3. " 149 f.87r. col.2 (V. p.307, l.14).

4. " f.89v. (V.p.328, l.15).

5. V. above p. 300.

following quotations will show to what extent the writer sought to inform himself. One has the impression of a careful man seeking to discharge a duty as conscientiously as possible.

When the two children tumbled into the grave of Saint Milburga one of the lay-brothers ran off to fetch the Prior:

"at ille ut audivit. ad locum festinus perrexit. atque lumine accenso per foramen quod factum fuerit. que intus essent aspexit. Sed propter noctis tenebras ad plenum quid esset nequaquam cognoscens ad matutinas reversus ..." 1

Quite soon after they had begun digging the monks discovered the bones of Saint Milburga. They did not immediately find the altar mentioned in the document, but that apparently was not all they sought:

"postea autem die dum per totam ecclesiam illam fodere fratres cepissent. si forte aliquod aliud sanctum corpus invenire potuissent ..." 2

In the case of the leprous girl who received her cure, the author is careful to establish correctly the facts of her family relationships and fortunes:

"hec siquidem habebat matrem et victricum. nam pater eius radulfus dictus fuerat. qui eisudem infirmitatis languore correctus. ad extrema perductus iam defunctus est ..." 3

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1. Lincoln f.88r. col.1 (V. p.314, l.6).

2. " 149 f.88r. col.1 (V. p.315, l.9).

3. " " " 2 (V. p.318, l.6)

He is careful too, to establish the exact chronology of the Prior's movements on the day when the blind boy was healed:

"excitatus sonitu dominus ricardus. loci eiusdem prior qui cantatis matutinis ad stratum reversus. ab eadem ecclesia paulo ante recesserat. concitus surgens. et ... pervenit ad ecclesiam ... Finitis vero laudibus cum ipse reverteretur ab ecclesia. In ipsius limine ecclesie supra dictus a nativitate caecus ... iuvenis sedebat ... quo audito eoque relicto. dominus ricardus ab ecclesia egressus est sed cum domum redire voluisset. forte in eiusdem ecclesie cimiterio homo quidam ei obvius fuit." 1

And finally there is the description of the father protecting his blind son before the entrance to the church:

"sed ne forte transeuntium pedibus in tot angustiis positus premeretur. stantis ante eum patris manibus et porrecto ex adverso baculo tuebatur." 2

While dealing with the type of evidence the author chooses to record, one may mention his lively interests in medical details, whether he is discussing the symptoms of the woman who had a worm, or describing the effects of leprosy or blindness.<sup>3</sup> It is possible that brother

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1. Lincoln f.89r. col.21 (V. p.323, l.3 ).

2. " 149 f.89r. col.2 (V. p.323, l.12).

3. " f.88r. col.2: f.88v. col.1 and f.89v. col.1: f.89r. col.1.<sup>2</sup> (V. pp.316, 320 and 327, 325)

Ramelmus ("optimus frater. in arte quoque medicine valens ...")<sup>1</sup> was the author's informant.

The story of the Invention, and the account of the miracles are told against the background of the monastic day.<sup>1</sup> The writer is the observer from outside, but he is also always 'one of the brethren'; a monk writing for brother monks, though not exclusively so. The aim of the work does not seem to have been primarily edification - an account suitable for devotional reading could easily have been drawn up by one of the Wenlock community. The claim of the Miracula Inventionis to have been written by an eminent prelate is supported by the fact that the document itself contains no trace of any narrow local spirit which one might have expected if the author had indeed been a monk of Wenlock.

Here then is the preliminary sketch of the author from the evidence afforded by his own work - the Miracula Inventionis Beate Mýlburge Virginis. The picture is of a one-time monk of Cluny, a native of Milan, who may have owed a particular loyalty to the Cluniac house of La Charité-sur-Loire. He was at Wenlock some time

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1. Lincoln f.88r. col.2 (V. p.317, l.1 ).



after February 1102, with some commission to look into the recent miraculous happenings there. At Wenlock he interrogated some of the monks, exacting precise eye-witness reports from them, and he appears to have met some of the local people who had been concerned with the miracles. A different picture however is obtained of the Cardinal if one consults other sources. It remains to be seen whether their evidence has more value than that of the Miracula Inventionis.

Odo, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia, who might perhaps in circumstances unknown, have been sent to Wenlock in 1102, has in the past been accounted a Frenchman, who was a nephew of Urban II, and is commonly supposed to have died in 1101. It is extremely probable that each of these three assumptions is false.

In one of the volumes of the Histoire Littéraire de la France<sup>1</sup> published by the Benedictines of St. Maur, there is a chapter devoted to Odo, Cardinal of Ostia, the prelate who is credited with the Miracula Inventionis. Here the few facts of his biography are assembled and various suggestions are advanced to account for some of

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1. Vol.9, p.251. (1750).

the many periods of his life about which very little is known.<sup>1</sup> From the works that they have consulted<sup>2</sup> the authors conclude that Odo of Ostia was a Frenchman, but no relation whatsoever to Urban II; that he spent some years as a monk at Cluny and was a friend of Baldric of Bourgueil with whom he maintained a correspondence. He was consecrated Bishop of Ostia in 1088 but may well have been living at Rome before holding this office. It is suggested that he might have been sent to Rome by Hugh of Cluny at the request of Gregory VII.<sup>3</sup>

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1. For the suggestion that Odo might have been sent to England as a legate on behalf of the lawful Pope Paschal II, the authors admit their dependence on the Bollandists, A.A.S.S. Feb. III 394.
  2. The following works are cited by the Histoire Littéraire:  
Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti: Lib.67 and Lib.69. (Paris 1703).  
 Peter Frizonis Gallia Purpurata: (Paris 1638).  
 Orderic Vitalis: Historia Ecclesiastica Lib.4.  
 André Duchesne: Historiae Francorum Scriptores: (Paris 1636-1639).  
 Ferdinand Ughelli, Italia Sacra (Rome 1647).  
 Aubéry, Histoire Générale des Cardinaux: (Paris 1649).  
 Francois Duchesne, Histoire de tous les Cardinaux Français (Paris 1660).  
 Marrier et Duchesne, Bibliotheca Cluniacensis: (Paris 1614).  
 In Gallia Purpurata and Italia Sacra Odo is described as the nephew of Urban II and is given the title of Odo Castillonæus.  
 Francois Duchesne calls him "Dom Eudes de Largery". (Largery was Urban II's title.)
  3. Orderic Vitalis (Historia Ecclesiastica, edit. A. Le Prévost, 1838) refers to this request of Gregory VII, but it is also mentioned in Herimannis abbatis narratio de restauratione S.Martini, (edit. D'Achery, Spicilegium xii p.358) and by Guibert Novigentensis, Gesta Dei per Francos (Migne, op.cit. 156, 679-834).  
 V. M.F.Stern, Zur Biographie des Papstes Urbanus II (Berlin 1883).

He was a valued councillor of Urban II and consecrated the latter's successor in 1099. He is recorded as having signed a Bull of Paschal II in 1100.<sup>1</sup> His interest in the arts and his own literary gifts are referred to,<sup>2</sup> and also the tradition that he was the author of a work concerning Saint Milburga of Much Wenlock. The suggestion of the Bollandists that Odo might have had occasion to come to England (and therefore visit Wenlock) is here repeated.<sup>3</sup> Finally it is stated that the Cardinal died in 1101 - "sans qu'on ne sache ni le mois ni le jour".

This is poor material for a biography but it cannot be said that even this collection of facts is reliable. Where the Histoire Littéraire de la France differs from the Miracula Inventionis<sup>4</sup> it is not necessary to assume

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1. Marrier and Duchesne Bibliotheca Cluniacensis (op.cit. p.340, footnote 2). In actual fact Odo signed not one but five Bulls of Paschal II, the last three of which are relevant to Cluniac affairs. (V. Jaffé, op.cit.p.309, Nos.5819, 5824, 5845 and 5849.)
  2. The evidence for this is the laudatory poem addressed to the Cardinal by his friend Abbot Baldric, and Odo's poem to the latter. (V. Phyllis Abrahams, Les Oeuvres Poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil. Paris 1926. Poems CCXXXII and CCXLI.)
  3. V. p.340 above.
  4. Notably on the nationality of the Cardinal and the date of his death. The latter of course is not given in the Miracula Inventionis but it is clear that the Account was written after February 1102.

that it is always the latter which is at fault - and it should not be forgotten that the authorities cited in the Histoires Littéraire are late compared to the late twelfth century document in which the account of the Invention had been copied from the original manuscript.<sup>1</sup>

The account of the Invention declares that its author was a citizen of Milan. All other sources are unanimous in claiming the Cardinal for France. But to what extent can this claim be justified?

Several of the earlier works<sup>2</sup> cited by the Histoire Littéraire state that Odo was a nephew of Urban II, but Mabillon, in Annales Ordinis Sancti Benedicti<sup>3</sup> dismisses this as unfounded and untrue.<sup>4</sup> He invokes the evidence of the poem addressed by Baldric of Bourgueil to Odo.<sup>5</sup> Here the poet (a friend and contemporary of Odo) declares

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1. Or from an early copy of the original.  
The earliest authority for the Cardinal of Ostia that I have found is Onuphrius Panvinius. In his Epitome Pontificum Romanorum (Venice 1557) he states that the Cardinal died during the pontificate of Paschal II but he does not attempt to decide in which year.
  2. V. p.340, footnote 2.
  3. Lib. LXIX.
  4. Miss Graham however, refers to Odo as being a nephew of Urban II. V. History of the alien Priory of Wenlock, (op.cit.p.x ) p.120.
  5. Les Oeuvres Poétiques de Baudri de Bourgueil (op.cit. p.341) Poem CCXXXII.

how fitting it would be if Odo should follow Urban II to the papal throne; he dwells upon the resemblances between their two careers, the training at Cluny, their tenure of the See of Ostia. Had he been a nephew of the Pope, Mabillon argues, Baldric would surely not have omitted to mention the fact. This is reasonable enough, but the argument may be carried even further. In that same poem there is no suggestion that Odo was French by birth - this comparison between him and the previous bishop of Ostia is not drawn.

"Qui te fecerunt Odo velut ostia Romae,  
 In modico Romae te facient dominum.  
 Hic jam coeperunt ordire provida fata;  
 Hic intellegimus, jamque favimus eis  
 Odoni factus heres pontificatum,  
 Mox in papatum substituendus eris.  
 Hoc locus, hoc nomen hoc signat copia linguae,  
 Hoc alti sensus praeciuit integritas.  
 Innuit hoc habitus tunicatae religionis  
 Vos ambos idem Cluniacus genuit  
 Ambos vos fovit, vos Hostia sustulit ambos  
 Alter papa fuit nec minus alter erit." 1

It is very likely that the attribution to him of French blood was only a deduction from the fact that he was a monk of Cluny and from the totally mistaken notion that he was a relative of Odo de Largeri, later Urban II.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Les Oeuvres Poétiques de Baudri de Bourgeuil, (op.cit. p.341.) p.232.

2. In the second edition of Ughelli's work, published in 1776, (Commentarius de Ecclesiis et Episcopis Ostiensis in quo Ughelliana series emendatur continuatur et illustratur ...) the statement that the Cardinal was a nephew of Urban II is corrected.

Although the majority of the monks at Cluny would have been French, there is ample evidence that during the abbacy of Saint Hugh several 'foreign' monks made Cluny their temporary or permanent home. There was Udalric, the German monk, much trusted by Hugh, who came to learn the Cluniac way of life and carried the customs back to Hirschau; Gerald, a former scholar of Ratisbon, who became grand-prior and later Bishop of Ostia after Peter Damien; Anastasius, a Venetian who was attracted to Cluny by the monastery's great reputation for holy living.<sup>1</sup> And, most important in this connection, there was Peter Pappacaboni, who journeyed with some of his fellow-monks from the monastery of La Cava in the principality of Salerno, and remained at Cluny for eight years. He came as a disciple, but Abbot Hugh soon recognised his merit and appointed him novice-master. In this capacity Peter was entrusted with the spiritual formation of the future Urban II.<sup>2</sup> He returned to his native land in 1070 but it is possible that some of his monks may have stayed at Cluny, among them, perhaps, Odo. The evidence we have at least makes clear that it was not uncommon for an Italian monk

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1. Dom A.L'Huillier, Vie de St. Hugues (Solesmes 1887) p.178.

2. V. P.Guillaume, Essai Historique sur l'abbaye de Cava (1877).

to make his way to Cluny.<sup>1</sup>

According to the Histoire Littéraire the Cardinal died in 1101.<sup>2</sup> Now it has been shown that the Miracula Inventionis must have been written after the second Translation of the bones of Saint Milburga which took place in February, 1102.<sup>3</sup> If therefore the Cardinal died in 1101 it was not he who wrote the Miracula Inventionis. Although this date is normally accepted<sup>4</sup>

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1. Odo undoubtedly spent some years at Cluny but if he were an Italian (a citizen of Milan perhaps) he may have graduated from an Italian monastery.

Most of the Cluniac foundations in Italy were small and drew their communities from France. (Robbio, founded in 1082, Lodi in 1068, Cremona in 1076 had all only four monks each: Bergamo, founded in 1081 had seven. V. L'Huillier, op.cit. above. The first English Cluniac foundations were similarly all-French communities at first. Of the larger Italian houses, St. James of Pontida (founded in 1087) was not in existence early enough for Odo to have passed from there to Cluny before becoming Bishop of Ostia. Farfa used the customs of Cluny but there is no evidence to suggest that he was ever a monk at Farfa. (V. U. Balzani, Il Regesta di Farfa di Gregorio di Catino, 1879, and Fonti per la Storia d'Italia, Istituto Storici Italiano vols. 33 and 34, Il Chronicon Farfanensi edit. U. Balzani.) There seems to be no evidence for assigning the Cardinal to any particular monastery in Italy, and it should not be forgotten that his training as a monk may well have begun at Cluny and not in any monastery of his own country.

2. p.252 (t.ix.)

3. V. p.316.

4. V. Gams, Series Episcoporum (op.cit.p. 332).  
G. Cappelletti, Le Chiese d'Italia (Venice 1894-70) vol.i.  
P. Abrahams, op.cit. p. 341.

the tradition which assigns his death to this year is by no means reliable and may not unjustly be questioned.

The last Bull to which the signature of 'Oddo Ostiensis' is appended is one confirming the rights of the monastery of Cluny - "petente Hugone abbate" - and is dated November 20th, 1100.<sup>1</sup> If the evidence of Papal Bulls alone were to be used in deciding the date of Odo's death this would only prove that he was still alive in 1100. It would be the first Bull carrying the signature of his successor, Leo of Marisco, which would be his death-certificate.<sup>2</sup> And yet it would seem that this, in the apparent absence of any other evidence, has probably influenced historians in their acceptance of the traditional year, 1101. The most that can be deduced from the dates of these Bulls is that Odo may

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1. Jaffé, (op.cit.p.309) No.5849. (This Bull is also printed in the Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, op.cit.p.341, col.1828).
  2. The next Cardinal Bishop of Ostia signed Bulls of Paschal II from February 1113 to July 1114. (Jaffé, op.cit.p.309). The date of his succession to the See of Ostia is normally given as 1101 (this is the date given by Gams) but this is almost certainly conditioned by the belief that Odo died in that year. V. W.Wattenbach, Leonis Mariscani et Petri Diaconi Chronica Monasterii Casinensis (Migne, P.L.173,443). "Quod quo tempore factum sit ignoramus. (The author is stating that he does not know in which year Leo became Bishop of Ostia) Anno 1101, Mart 31, Odo decessor ejus inter vivos fuit ..." Wattenbach suggests that the succession of Leo may have taken place between 1102 and 1107.



not have been in Rome in the months after November 1100, before his death.

Unfortunately there exists no early source on which to draw for the history of the Cardinal.<sup>1</sup> The archives of his See contain nothing relevant to his period of tenure.<sup>2</sup> Cluny has preserved no record of this some-time monk.<sup>3</sup> The archives of the monastery of La Charité-sur-Loire have survived only in a mutilated condition - a fact that is all the more disappointing as it will be remembered that in the Account he referred to Wilencus of La Charité as "priore nostro".<sup>4</sup> There is no evidence that he ever

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1. The earliest reference to his career (in any MS or printed work that I have consulted) would seem to be that made in the Epitome Pontificum Romanum of Onuphrius Panvinius (1577 op.cit.p.342). The Bulls of Paschal II to which he affixed his signature do not bear on his activities although it is interesting that three out of five should be concerned with Cluniac affairs. (V. above) He did not sign any Bull of Urban II and the Life and documents of this Pope furnish no evidence for the history of the Cardinal of Ostia. V. Migne, (op.cit. p.346) 151, 9-1283: P.F.Kehr, Regesta Pontificum Romanorum. Italia Pontificia., Berlin 1906, ts.i and ii: S.Loewenfeld, Epistolae Pontificum ... Ineditae, 1885: M.F.Stern, Zur Biographie des Papstes Urbanus II (op.cit.p.340): L.Paulot, Un Pape Français Urbain ii, 1903.
  2. No records for the see of Ostia at the end of the eleventh century and beginning of the twelfth century exist.
  3. A.Bernard and A.Bruehl, Recueil des Chartes (1876 etc.) Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, op.cit.p.317. G.F.Duckett, Charters and Records of the Ancient Abbey of Cluny (Lewes 1888). L.Guilloureaux, Les Prieurés Anglais de l'Ordre de Cluny in Académie de Macon, Millénaire de Cluny (1910) Guy de Valous, Le Monachisme Clunisien des Origines au xv ième siècle (Ligugé/Paris 1935).
  4. La Cartulaire de la Charité-sur-Loire, op.cit.p.309.

set foot on English soil.<sup>1</sup> No contemporary English historian mentions him<sup>2</sup> and his name is not associated with any other English Cluniac house. There can be few visitations of important Roman ecclesiastics which can have passed off as discreetly as this one.

From this examination of the alleged facts of Odo's biography there emerges one affirmation unquestioned - that he was at one time a monk of Cluny. This Cluniac connection is universally attested by historians, is supported by the testimony of the Miracula Inventionis, and is not in conflict with any other known fact of his career.<sup>3</sup> His origin, his activities in the years before he was made Bishop of Ostia remain obscure, the silence about the occasion of his visit to England

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1. Walther Holtzmann, Papsturkunden in England (Berlin 1930-1932) and H. Tillman, Die päpstlichen Legaten in England (Bonn 1926) do not mention the Cardinal.
  2. The Account states that the monks of Wenlock appealed to Archbishop Anselm during their search for the bones of St. Milburga. If the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia was in England in 1102 it is certainly surprising that there is no reference to the event either in the Life or the correspondence of Anselm.
  3. It is interesting that the two previous Cardinals of Ostia had been Cluniac monks and grand-priors of their house. V. M. Chaume, Les Grand Prieurs de Cluny in Revue Mabillon, vol. xxviii for 1938, pp. 147-152.

unaccounted for. But at least it can be said that he was almost certainly still alive in 1102, that since there is no proof that he was in Rome in that year he might have been in England, and there is nothing obviously incongruous in the suggestion that he may have been a citizen of Milan.

C H A P T E R 4

AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION OF THE MIRACULA INVENTIONIS

BEATE MÛLBURGE VIRGINIS

Here begins the Prologue of the Lord Ato, Cardinal Bishop of Hostia, to the Miracles of the Invention of the blessed Virgin Mýlburga

The miracles which we know often shine forth at the tombs of the Saints by the power of God, are rightly to be accepted as proofs of a life pleasing to God. But they are moreover to be recognised as stays of our virtues, lest they fall. And therefore, he who by his faithful narration of these things works in harmony with the very God who so advantageously ordered them, associates himself with the lot of the Saints; particularly since our reward increases before God in proportion to the number of faithful who profit by our account, in so far as we avoid the sin of lying, as I have said. For he declares that the fault of lying<sup>1</sup> is of the devil - as it is written, "For he is a liar and the father of the lie". For what is written in the book of Wisdom "Seek not to lie with all manner of lying" is not to be understood as giving occasion for lying in anything, but rather it says, "As regards all manner of lying this is my command for you. Not only that you should not do this, but if even your heart consent to it, know that you shall not be sinless".

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1. The text has only - "tantum sicut dixi a mendacii culpam a diabolo esse sicut scriptum est ..."

He therefore, who by extolling the Saints whom he loves passes the bounds of truth, shall verily be seen to gain in their sight not thanks but loathing, and will be punished by God with severer penalties in so far as he is condemned of having spoken as a false witness against Himself. And to this the Apostle bears witness when he says, "We are found false witnesses of God; because we have given testimony against God, that He hath raised up Christ, whom He hath not raised up, if the dead do not rise again." Therefore let us explain why we have put these things first and with God's help come to the wonders which Christ has recently worked to the glory of the holy virgin Mylburga.

Blessed Mylburga, from the time she left this world to the present day, has been declared by the traditions of the ancients to reign with Christ; and from the statements found in old documents it is not to be doubted that she is indeed holy. That little book which is written of her sister Mildred bears witness to the same fact - a book which I have seen and read, in which her noble life is proclaimed and the fact that through her agency God performed many miracles is briefly touched upon. And further, this same truth is indicated by her most ancient monastery, (still standing to the present

day) as we have seen with our own eyes, founded in honour of her memory and called from very early times by her holy name.

I am speaking the truth. Before Christ I do not lie. And here is my justification:<sup>1</sup> on the scrap of parchment which was shewn me - it was eaten up with mildew from age - and which was found where her bones were recently discovered, there was something written, something which I read. In so far as I was able to grasp the meaning, I understood that a dead man was brought back to life by her, and a blind man had his sight restored; when and how these things were done was not there made plain owing to the damage done to the document. We can however glance at those things which recently occurred in her memory, through the agency of the Lord.

Let no man judge that I am arranging anything in this narration by lying. Even if he carefully watches to see whether I am following the false ones who went before me, yet the fact is that I shall be self-pierced with my own sword if, condemning liars, I do not myself

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1. quod can mean and that because ... I have attempted to render the sense of this construction here.

escape the charge of lying, according to the well-known saying of the Apostle: "In the way in which you judge another you condemn yourself; for you commit the same fault which you are judging."

Here ends the Prologue and begin the Miracles.

In our very own times, in the year of Our Lord eleven hundred and one, when Lord Pascal, who succeeded Urban, was reigning from the apostolic see at Rome, in the first year of the reign of king Henry of the English, who succeeded his brother William to the throne, the Lord revealed by miracles the resting place of his virgin Mýlburga, in a place which is called Winloc, and caused her memorable name to be famous throughout the whole of England.

Her holy remains were believed to have been laid in a silver casket which is still today to be seen in her monastery. But as often as that casket was carried from one place to another, as was necessary from time to time, a certain rattling was heard within. Our brethren (they had been sent there by Lord Wilencus,



our Prior of Charity,<sup>1</sup> at the orders of our venerable father Hugh, abbot of Cluny. It was Count Roger, now dead, who had given that place of Winloc to God and St Mary of Charity for the salvation of his soul), wished to open that casket, and thereby to arrive at some certainty concerning the body of the holy virgin. Which did indeed happen. For when they opened the casket - not without some difficulty - they beheld two boxes, one inside the other, containing ashes, and rags which had previously been wrapped round something. But not a trace of the body of the Saint did they find. And from that day our brethren, as is the way with doubters, began to put forward different opinions about the holy grave. But I personally believe that this was divinely ordained, so that the brethren, being now quite certain that they had not the body which they had thought was in the casket, might not treat the revelation which took place shortly afterwards, as a fraud.

Now not long after this it happened one day that one of the servants of the brethren, Raymond by name, was engaged in restoration work in the monastery of the Holy Trinity which is about a stone's throw from the

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1. The abbreviated name of the monastery of Our Lady of Charity.

church of St Milburga. There he observed, among other objects rotten with age, on top of the altar which was being rebuilt, an old box which jutted out over the altar. In it there was a rather old document which he took out and showed all the brethren who wanted to look at it. Now that document was written in the English characters<sup>1</sup> so that no-one could read or understand it unless he was skilled in that tongue. Finally, through the offices of a trustworthy interpreter, they learnt from the document that the body of St Milburga was buried in that church near the altar, and that this fact was attested by the priest Alstan who had written the document. But a long time had passed since that altar - near which the document said her holy bones lay - had been above ground; for it had either fallen into decay through age or had been completely destroyed in a ravaging of the countryside. (But afterwards, when the Lord revealed more fully that which he had already begun to disclose, the foundations of the altar appeared to everyone quite unmistakably, in the ploughed-up earth.) Now the brethren were encouraged by this, and their hopes of finding the body being revived as it were, they sent a messenger to the revered Lord Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury, being

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1. Or perhaps "the English language".

mindful of the well-known saying, "Do all things with advice and afterwards thou shalt not regret it." The messenger was to report to him all these things in due order, and according to his decision they would accomplish that which they were eagerly demanding to be allowed to do. But he, being the kind of man he was, did not think these things had occurred through human agency, and following the instructions of the document he bade them search by digging up the ground so that they might make certain about the body of the Saint.

But the Lord who desired that His beloved should be brought into the light, and that her remains should be set up in a place worthy of the Saints, did not wish the brethren to be wearied by labouring with their hands. For He, as was fitting, had so disposed all things, that through the intermediary of an innocent child, and of one who was virgin, glory might be given to the mortal remains of His pure and innocent virgin. In order that that which was written in the psalms might at this very time be fulfilled - "Out of the mouths of babes and sucklings Thou hast perfected praise."

Now on the eve of the feast of St John the Baptist that brethren were keeping vigil and were diligently performing the night Office according to their custom for such great feasts. That same night something happened in the church of the Holy Trinity (of which we have spoken above), where the document said the holy body lay, an event involving two boys. There they were on the night in question, playing the sort of games natural to their age, when under their feet the earth of its own accord began to gape open and sucked them down, first one, then the other, into a kind of circular pit, which came up to their knees.

For what other reason should this have happened through the mercy of God unless - as though this were possible - the very earth were saying to them "Why do the brethren hesitate so long over the work of God? Approach, for here is what you are seeking. If such is your wish, I will show you where the Saint lies, and I will freely lay the secret wide open to all, without any violence whatsoever. Do not hesitate now. Believe without any shadow of doubt what the document told you. For I myself will open up to you the place where your treasure is. Do not fear the worst on account of the heavy weight which presses me down for that is not heavy

but light rather, and although I have been trodden on by a thousand men of very great weight countless times, I have never yet succumbed."

At the sight of this one of those servants who were present, Raymond by name (he of whom I have already spoken) ran off to the monastery of St Milburga where the brethren were singing matins. There he informed our brother the Lord Richard - who held the office of prior over the brethren - of everything in the order in which it had happened. When he heard this he made his way hurriedly to the spot and kindling a light, peered in through the opening that had been made to see what was within. But since it was too dark for him to be able to make out exactly what was there, he returned to matins. In the morning he returned to the same place with the brethren and to their joy carefully explained to them what had happened.

Somewhat encouraged by this to have fresh hope - because it accorded with what was said on the document - the brethren laid hold of tools and began to excavate. While they were thus engaged, the bones, beautiful and luminous, together with some iron bands partly eaten away with rust, appeared to all.

In my opinion her sacred limbs had been buried in a wooden coffin, according to the ancient custom of that people. The latter had, in the course of time, quite rotted away from the surrounding iron bands, but these, from the evidence, had not been completely destroyed.

The brethren were still a little at a loss, on account of the possible remains of the altar which had not yet appeared, near which the ancient document said the Saint lay. As a temporary measure they gathered up the bones into a shrine, reverently, but not yet with the full reverence due. The following day the brethren had begun to dig throughout the whole church, to see if they could perhaps discover another holy body, when lo and behold, so that they might be quite certain about the holy virgin and that the truth of the document which had been found might be demonstrated, the foundations of that altar, which we have so often mentioned - appeared beyond any shadow of doubt. It was next to this altar that the holy body was universally known to have been found the previous day.

On account of this the brethren were completely convinced, and on the third day, fittingly clothed in white, with feet bare, they most reverently approached

the holy bones and having washed them in purest water with all solemnity, relaid them in that same shrine. Later they washed them again and enclosed them in a new shrine. They remained there upon the altar of that same church, until the day of their translation, that is the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

But lest my audience should be pricked by any doubting thought, it so happened that our loving Lord wished her virtues to be made manifest not only through the discovery of the relics of his beloved but through the agency of those who touched those holy relics.

Now there lived in a village called Petelia a certain woman who for five years had been languishing from the disease with which she was afflicted, as was obvious to all from the pallor of her countenance and the abject state of her body. And to this not a few of our brethren of good repute who had frequently seen her before have most certainly testified to me. A member of our congregation, Ramelmus by name, a most excellent brother skilled in the art of medicine, had often advised her and had supplied her with many medicines; but these remedies which she had taken on his recommendation had done her no good at all, for the Lord had deliberately

reserved the occasion of her cure in order to reveal his Saint. When she had drunk some of the water in which the holy bones<sup>1</sup> had been washed she immediately vomitted a rather horrifying worm and from that moment was completely restored to full health, so that to this very day both the bloom of her complexion and the vigour of her whole body testify to how much merit the Saint whose bones were discovered enjoys in the sight of God. As for the worm, her husband, Oddo by name, brought it to the monastery in a wooden box carved to the size of the worm. This wooden box I have myself seen and handled. Many of the brethren came together to look at the worm for it was quite unlike any reptile they had ever seen: it had twin horns on its head, crawled on six feet and had another two horns also on its tail.

This was the beginning of the wonderful signs of blessed Mýlburga, by which her reputation began to spread far and wide. Meanwhile the sick began to come in from distant towns and villages, some on horseback, some indeed carried in litters from all over the country, so that the crown of sick could hardly be contained within that church and cemetery.

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1. Literally pledges, tokens.



Not far from the monastery, in a village called Hea, there lived a young maiden, by name Amelia, aged about twelve. She was ravaged by a most terrible out-break of leprosy and since her whole body was decomposing she was completely bed-ridden. She had a mother and a step-father,<sup>1</sup> for her father, who was called Radulfus, having been seized by the very same disease which brought him to his end, was now dead. Now when the news of the miracles which Christ was daily performing through the glorious virgin Mýlburga, travelled through the surrounding country-side, it reached the knowledge of the mother of this girl, who lived not far from the church. And the mother, having pity on her daughter for her double affliction, her illness on the one hand, her neediness on the other (for they were poor) began to importune her husband, telling him that it was his duty to carry the girl to the tomb of the blessed virgin; since not only was her illness a cause of grief to them but she was also in distress by reason of her poverty. They did not so much believe that she would find any cure for such utter prostration as that she might obtain something to keep body and soul together, either from the brethren serving God or the people who flocked there. He therefore laid

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1. Victricus for vitricus here, a mediaeval form of the word.  
(Mediaeval Latin Word-List, op.cit.p. )

the girl across his shoulders and began to hasten to the tomb of the blessed virgin.

When they arrived at Wenlock the Sunday evening was drawing to a close. The brethren, according to their custom, were singing vespers in the greater church before the outer altar, and there the unhappy man laid down his sad burden. The pitiable girl lay there without any hope of recovering her health, lamenting the pain of her disease, bemoaning the straits of her poverty. For want increased her pain - she who was in such need that she lacked the very necessities of life. Had she been in good health her penury alone would certainly have been sufficient penance for her: her sickness would have sufficed had she had means. But the Almighty and merciful God had pre-elected to manifest the holiness of his virginal spouse through another pure and innocent virgin. And He wished to demonstrate through the speedy healing of this maiden how great was the worth of the blessed virgin Mýlburga in His sight.

When the office of vespers had been sung the man returned to his sick charge whom he had left before the altar, for he wished to carry her to the other church which was dedicated in honour and in the name of the

Holy Trinity, where the body of the venerable virgin was lying. But lo and behold! She whom he had carried thither as a leper, completely paralysed, he now beheld suddenly recovered. There she sat, full of joy, relieved of the terrible pain, and to the glory of God and the praise of the blessed virgin, having regained for the most part complete bodily strength. The sole traces of her leprosy being the renewed condition of her skin, she proclaimed the good news of her recovery to all and sundry. Had you been there you could have seen this maiden offering up praise with rejoicing and thanksgiving to the virgin; you could have seen the people running together from all sides, amazed at such a great miracle, unheard of in our time.

Casting aside her garments, the girl showed everyone the restored flesh of her breast and arms, without dissimulation, and she drew the attention of all to her skin which that self-same day had been blotched with all sorts of colours and furrowed with ulcers, according to the nature of her infirmity, and which was now so restored by the divine power that it was like the skin of a child. And in her complexion the reality of her good health was obvious to all.

Thereupon there assembled together certain of the brethren who were not sufficiently trusting in the popular talk, in order to test with greater certainty the truth of that which they had heard. The maiden was therefore brought into the midst of them and those things which were said of her were proved to be true, by her own word of mouth and by the testimony of her neighbours and relatives.

Now when these happenings came to the notice of the prior of that place, that is, the lord Richard, (of whom we have spoken before) who happened to be away at the time, he was astounded at the unheard-of nature of the miracle. He ordered the girl to be brought before him, together with her parents and friends. But since he was far from being the sort of man who was easily satisfied with a tale of miracles unless he could offer the testimony of his own eyes, or knew that it was true from the faithful testimony of many others, he began to make careful enquiries about the girl: who she might be: how it had happened that she was first ill and then a little later cured. In due order they relate what they know of her previous illness; with joyful excitement they tell him what they see has happened - her unhopèd for cure - through the mercy of God and the merit of the

blessed virgin. Then the prior himself rejoices, overcome at this recent and unwonted miracle. And finally the maid rejoices too, cured through the intercession of the blessed virgin, and the clergy and people comforted by a divine visitation, give praise.

Moreover the mother had come to hear of that which had been wrought on her child's behalf by the divine pity, and she hastened swiftly to her. She did not notice the weariness of the journey for joy, longing as she did to see her child, whom she had sent forth a sick girl, with grief and anxiety, now recovered.

Eventually the prior ordered the girl not to retire from the church and the tomb of the blessed virgin, so that she might show to all comers the truth of her cure, and might so proclaim the power of the divine majesty, manifested in our very own times by such an extraordinary miracle. Now she was among the first of those who were cured at the shrine of the holy body of the virgin, but she is the very first leper who is known to have received healing there. And I think that it was fitting, that in healing the ailing of either sex and all ages, the virgin should commence with the healing of a humble guileless maiden.

In that same province there was a peasant, living about ten miles from the church, who had a son born blind, now about fifteen years old. And since the news of the miracles which Christ was daily performing through his beloved virgin Mýlburga was spreading through the surrounding countryside, and a great number of people of either sex and all ages were visiting that same monastery of Wenlock, this loving father (mentioned above) made his way thither with his son.

When he reached Wenlock on a Saturday evening, the solicitous father gently led his sightless son into the church where that Saint of God, Mýlburga, lay; there he would keep vigil that same night with the rest of the multitude of the people. Now when Sunday morning dawned, a certain woman (who had been deprived of the use of her eyes for ten years, and who that same night had piously kept vigil before the tomb of the holy virgin) was granted the sight of which she had been bereft for so long, through the mercy of God and the intercession of the glorious virgin. And when she began to render due thanks to God for her sight, many people who had known her before as blind, and had seen her still blind that previous night, at once gathered together, rejoicing, from all sides. When the truth of her healing was established

the bells were rung by the guardians of the church in joy at the miracle, and all came together to render praise in common to God.

Lord Richard, prior of that same place, had left that church a little while ago and had returned to his bed after matins. Awakened by the ringing he rose swiftly, and rejoicing at the number of such great miracles, arrived at the church. Entering, he beheld the woman returning thanks to God for the restoration of her sight, and he heard the clergy and people paying their tribute of praise to God.

When the prior was returning from the church, the service of praise being finished, the young boy who had been born blind was still sitting at the threshold of the church racked with great pain. But fearing that he might be crushed under the feet of the passers-by, hampered as he was by his infirmity, he was protected from danger by his father who stood in front of him with hands and stick outstretched. When the prior saw him, in such a painful situation, he began to make inquiries of those around as to who the boy was, where he came from and what the nature of his affliction was. The father declared that the village in which he had been born was

quite near Wenlock and was fairly well known and on the evidence of his neighbours testified that his son had been blind from his birth. Having heard all this the prior left them and went forth from the church. But when he wished to return to his own part of the monastery he chanced to come upon a certain man in the cemetery of that church. This man had been dispatched as a messenger to him from a certain noble of that region. When, according to custom, he had offered the prior the friendly greetings of his lord, he said, "I have been sent in haste to you most dear lord, from my master, to know whether I may report as to the truth (truth attested by letters dictated by your own<sup>1</sup> lips to my lord) the rumour of these great miracles which are said to be performed by the blessed Mýlburga, and of which the whole countryside is talking. So that when he receives definite information from you, my master himself may come to pay his devotions, and together with his wife and sons implore the help of the virgin and honour the holy place with worthy gifts." Hardly had he finished speaking when suddenly one of the clergy came leaping towards them in his haste and, full of wonder, cried out to those talking there that the boy who had been born blind could

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1. Literally, "truth attested by letters delivered from your own mouth ..."



now see. At this the lord Richard, dazed with joy, hastened to the church together with those who were with him. Kneeling down he bent over the boy, for he wished to make a careful investigation in order to see whether it were possible that a person whom he had left blind but a little while ago, could now so soon afterwards be able to see. Eventually he asked the boy, whose head was still quite bowed with pain, to stand upright, and showing him his hands and his fingers one by one he questioned him closely as to whether he could recognise them. Other people, to put him to the test, held out stones and leaves to him, but as far as he was concerned, recognition depended upon a preliminary tactile interpretation of material. Previously there used to hang down before the lids of his eyes what appeared to be lumps of flesh, and copious streams of blood used to course down either cheek. And up to the present time a great deal of effused blood was still covering the pupils of his eyes.

He therefore ordered the boy to stand upright, and he encouraged the lad to follow him, without any guide whatsoever, to the major altar upon which lay the bones of the most blessed virgin, through whom he had received the gift of sight. Thereupon he rose, and following

the prior who went before, proceeded to the body of the most holy virgin to render thanks for his recovery, the people close behind; and he who hitherto had been obliged to go before his son dragging him on a stretcher, now a happy father, followed behind full of thankfulness and mirth.

This recent action of God on the one hand commands our grateful thanks to Him, and on the other calls forth the tears of great spiritual fervour. For in the space of a single hour God performed these two wonderful miracles to manifest to all men the worth of His beloved spouse, two miracles that were to some extent alike in the granting - although as far as human judgement goes the cases were entirely different. For men are much more impressed when something new is created which had no existence before, than when something which has quite failed to function for some time is given a new lease of life. For in the case of the woman the sight which had been lost was restored by the grace of God; but in the case of the boy it was not that something which had been forfeited was restored, but rather that that which had been denied him from birth was divinely granted.

And last of all a reply was given to the messenger,

still waiting to know what answer he should carry back to his lord. There was no further need for him to demand the evidence of letters for the truth which he had proved with his very own eyes. For if the lord did not wish to believe what his messenger himself had seen, perhaps he would have also refused all credence to what was recounted in a document.

The matters of which we have written are established on such truthful foundations that no Christian ought to doubt them. For they are taken down from the word of mouth of a thoroughly reliable person - of whose evidence, we believe, there should be no doubt at all. "For he who gives testimony witnessed these things and we know that his testimony is true."

In the neighbouring village called Wig there was a certain girl called Moruid - about twelve years old I should say. Our brethren the monks, as much as laypersons in the world who testified that they often saw her in the neighbourhood, have faithfully reported to me that she was terribly afflicted with leprosy. It so happened that when she came piously to pay her devotions at the blessed body, and lingered there a little while, she left so completely healed that no sign whatsoever

of any leprosy appeared on her body. The skin of her face and body, of a now pleasing youthful colour, had recovered its normal colour. The fateful mistiness of the pupils of the eyes associated with her former illness had now disappeared and her eyes shone as with a new brightness. In speaking, her voice, which she had almost lost during her illness, now rang forth clearly in our ears.

Such was the girl I saw, and my word must stand unless anyone, testifying of his own eye-witness experience shall put me to the proof. That she was leprous before I can in no wise vouch for, but it seems to me that there is a certain matter which I should not pass over. Before I had come to Wenlock and had examined the evidence for the miracles of the holy virgin from the disclosures of witnesses, I had heard certain people prating in utter foolishness. Among them a certain woman - whom I do not wish to name - speaking, in my opinion, in the spirit of Jezebel, said, "I have seen the Saints perform many miracles, but it is very rarely that they heal lepers." To these wretches I will make this answer: it may be read in the orthodox and inspired writings that lunatics and those possessed have been cured at the tombs of the Saints, and blind persons who have never seen, or not for

a long time, have recovered their sight. Now it seems a greater thing to any wise man that lunacy which is of the soul, should be healed spiritually, than that leprosy, which is on the material plane, should be healed, by the merits of a Saint. However, that we may make an end of their sayings, we add this: we have read that the Saints performed even these things in their own life-times; for Severus writes that a leper was healed at St Martin's kiss, and in the city of Milan (of which I am a citizen) we know that blessed Ambrose once cleansed a leper.

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