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Marritt, S. (2014) *Scottish bishops and the relic-lists of the cartulary of Christchurch Priory, Twynham, Hampshire, 1200–1221 (with an edition and translation of the text by John Reuben Davies)*. *Innes Review*, 65 (2). pp. 128-152. ISSN 0020-157X

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Deposited on: 22 December 2014

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Appendix

Relic-lists from London, British Library, Cotton MS. Tiberius D VI, vol. II, fols 149v–150r

Edited and translated by John Reuben Davies

The text of the manuscript is laid out in two columns over 45 lines, with writing beginning on the top line. The text commences at the beginning of fol. 149v and ends at line 24 of fol. 150ra. The parchment has suffered damage from the fire of the Cotton library in 1731, with blackening on the outer margins and deep v-shaped tears long the edges, apparently from heat-induced shrinkage.¹ Portions of folio 149 are so thin that they are almost transparent, and the writing on the verso can in places be read more clearly in reverse through the recto by holding it to the light; this has helped to confirm some more difficult readings otherwise obscured on the verso.

Folio 149v appears to be written down to line 33 of the right-hand column in at least two performances by the same scribe, who wrote with an informal, backward-sloping hand, very conservative in character for the thirteenth century, covering the altar dedications of 1200 and November 1214 in what looks like one stint. The apparently later performance, with a narrower nib, and less confident or firm strokes, begins at line 7 of the right-hand column with, *Eodem anno vii^o idus Decembris*. Classification of this script even as bookhand is difficult, given its informality; it would be at home in the mid-

¹ Matthew Maty and Henry Rimius, officers of the British Museum charged with reporting to the museum's trustees on the state of the Cotton library in 1732, described Tiberius D VI as a 'bundle of loose shrivell'd leaves', but otherwise largely intact; the manuscript was then lost until it was rediscovered in 1837 by Sir Frederic Madden. See Andrew Prescott, "'Their present miserable state of cremation": the restoration of the Cotton Library', in *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector. Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, ed. C. J. Wright (London, 1997), 391–454, at 397.

twelfth century, and so we may safely suppose that the writing could have been done around the time of the events recorded (1214), and certainly not much later.²

The second scribe, who begins at line 34 of fol. 149vb with *Anno ab incarnatione domini m^o cc^o xxi^o*, has an upright hand, writing a formal script which is moving towards *textualis*, yet it is still very conservative in character for a performance with a *terminus post quem* of 1221. There is deliberate application of feet to minims, a degree of angularity and breaking of curves, and z-shaped tironian *et* with a cross-stroke through the shaft; but there are no instances of ‘biting’.³ In each case, therefore, these conservative hands are consistent with a date contemporary with the events recorded, and are unlikely to be later.

In notes to the translation, I provide identifications for those saints or relics which do not appear in D. H. Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th, revised edn (Oxford, 2011), or which are otherwise not obvious.

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² I am grateful to Dr Teresa Webber (Trinity College, Cambridge) and Professor Dauvit Broun for giving a second opinion on the palaeography of this manuscript.

³ In the Chronicle of Melrose, ‘z’-shaped tironian *et* with cross-stroke through the shaft appears in the 1220s; see Dauvit Broun and Julian Harrison, *The Chronicle of Melrose Abbey. A Stratigraphic Edition. Volume I. Introduction and Facsimile Edition*, Scottish History Society, 6th series (Woodbridge, 2007), 224.

TEXT

[fol. 149va]

- ¶ Anno incarnationis Domini m^o c^o xc^o ix^{o1} | iiii^o nonas Ianuariis, dedicatum est altare Domini Saluatoris a domino Rainal|do episcopo de Ros in Scotia, in quo altare iste sunt reliquie | De loco ubi natus est Dominus. | De presepio in quo est positus. | De cunabulis Domini. | De loco Iessemani. | De loco Quarentanie. | De panno in quo uoluta est crux Christi. | De sepulcro Domini. | De uinculis Domini.
- ¶ Eodem anno et eodem die et ab eodem episcopo | dedicatus est altare sancti Stephani, in quo iste sunt reliquie² | De ossibus sancti Petri apostolic. | De ossibus sancti Laurentii. | De ossibus sancti Victoris. | De ossibus sancti Blasii. | De ossibus sancti Ypoliti. | De cilicio sancti Thome martyris. | De peduli cum quo consecratus fuit. | De cuculla eius.
- ¶ Anno incarnationis Domini m^o cc^o xiii^o | pridie idus Nouembris dedicatum est altare | sancte Trinitatis a domino Waltero | (episcopo de Candida Casa in quo altare iste | sunt reliquie. | De presepio Domini. | De sepulcro Domini. | De mensa Domini. | De cinere omnium reliquiarum que sunt in cruce | argentea.
- ¶ Eodem anno et eodem die et ab eodem episcopo dedi|catum est altare apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in quo | iste sunt reliquie. | De ossibus sancti Pauli apostolic. | De ossibus sancti Petri apostolic. | De ossibus sancti Bartholomei. | De manna sancti Iohannis evangeliste. | De ossibus sanctorum Innocentium.
- ¶ Eodem anno et eodem die et ab eodem episcopo dedica|tum est altare sanctorum Augustini et G(re)g(orii), in quo iste sunt | reliquie. [fol. 149vb] De pano in quo inuolutum fuit corpus sancti Cudberti. | De capillis sancti Bernardi. | De pane sancti

¹ ix^o] others have read vi^o, but the parchment is damaged at this point. The first minim is most likely a backward-sloping i, followed by an x, whose long tail, comparable to the same letter-form two characters before it, can be seen extending below the previous letter, i.

² ¶ written on the line below because of lack of space.

Colu(m)bani. | De zona sancti Petri episcopi. | De ligno sancti Marcialis. | De zona sancti Malachie.

¶ Eodem anno vii^o idus Decembris ab eodem episcopo dedica|tum est altare sancti Iohannis baptiste et omnium prophetarum, in quo iste continentur reliquie. | De uestimentis Domini. | De uinculis. | De stipite Domini. | De capa Domini. | De uestimentis beate Marie uirginis. | De ossibus patriarchum Abraham, Ysaac, Iacob. | De ossibus Iohannis baptiste et apostolorum Petri et Pauli. | De sanguine sancti Stephani. | De ossibus sanctorum martyrum, Laurencii, Blasii, Vincentii, Victoris, Albani, Ypoliti, Clari, Ciriaci, Policarp, Crisogoni, Vrbani, Arcissi, Innocentis, Quatuor Coronatorum. | De ossibus sanctorum confessorum, Martini, Iuliani, | Simplicii, Honesti,³ Pat(er)ni, Ebrulfi, Columbani, | Laudi, Macloui, Gorwini, Iouini, Sadilonis, Carileofi, Euesmundi, Ioseph ab Arimathia, G(u)il(ie)lmi Firmati.⁴ | De oleo sancti Nicholai, Romani monachi. | De ossibus sanctarum uirginum, Agnetis, Celicilie, Lucie, Iuliane, Perpetue, Margarete, Anast|asie, Agathe, Barbare, Beatricis, Rotridis, Afi,⁵ Praxedis, Marthe, Aldegundis.

¶ Eodem anno, eodem die et ab eodem episcopo dedica|tum est altare sancti Edmundi, in quo continentur | iste reliquie. De ossibus sancti Petri apostoli. | De ossibus sanctorum martirum, Laurencii, | Victoris, Blasii, Ypoliti, Oswaldi regis.

¶ Anno ab incarnatione domini m^o cc^o xxi^o dedica|tum est altare sancti Michaelis arcangeli, a domino Nicholao episcopo Insularum, et hec sunt reliquie que in eo sunt condite. | De loco in quo natus fuit Dominus. | De presepio, in quo Dominus fuit positus. | De cunabulis Domini. | De petra super quam steterunt pedes Domini, quando ob|latus fuit in templo. | De loco Iessemani. | De sepulcro Domini. | De monte Syon. [fol. 150ra] De petra ...⁶ | De ligno quod Dominus plantauit manibus suis. | De petra

³ Thomas incorrectly read Issoveli.

⁴ Thomas read Guillelmi, Firmati.

⁵ Thomas gives Agnetis, which is not right.

⁶ Illegible word.

super quam Dominus comedit cum discipulis suis. | De mensa Domini. | De petra ubi ascendit in celum. | De petra super quam locutus est Dominus cum muliere Samaritana.⁷ | De petra super quam oravit ad Patrem, et factus est sudor | eius sicut gutta sanguinis decurrentis in terram. | De uestimentis beate Marie. | De sepulcro, et lapide, de quo gloriosa uirgo Maria migravit a seculo.⁷ | Reliquie sanctorum martyrum, Sergi, et Bachi. | De sepulcro sanctorum confessorum, Hylarii, et Patricii, | de ossibus sancti Patricii. | De ossibus sancti Columbani abbatis. | De casula sancti Remigii, cum qua cantauit. | De palla altaris eiusdem. | De panno in quo requieuit per cccc annos. | De sandaliis eiusdem. | De ossibus xi milium virginum. | De ossibus sancte Agnetis uirginis. | De sepulcro sancte Anne matris beate uirginis Marie.

¶ Eodem anno, eodem die, et ab eodem episcopo, dedicatum est altare sancti Martini, et \omnes/ reliquie suprascripte ¶ in eo sunt condite.

⁷ ¶ written on the line above because of lack of space.

TRANSLATION

- ¶ In the 1199th year of the Lord's incarnation, on the 4th Nones of January [i.e. 2 January 1200], the altar of our Lord and Saviour was dedicated by the lord Reginald, bishop of Ross in Scotia. These are the relics that are in this altar. From the place where the Lord was born. From the manger in which he was placed. From the Lord's cradles. From site of Gethsemane. From the site of the Qarantal.¹ From the cloth in which the cross of Christ was wrapped. From the Lord's sepulchre. From the Lord's fetters.²
- ¶ In the same year and on the same day and by the same bishop, the altar of St Stephen was dedicated. These are the relics in that altar. From the bones of Saint Peter the apostle. From the bones of Saint Laurence. From the bones of Saint Victor. From the bones of Saint Blaise. From the bones of Saint Hippolytus. From Saint Thomas the martyr's hair-shirt. From the buskins in which he was consecrated. From his cowl.
- ¶ In the 1214th year of the Lord's incarnation, on the day before the Ides of November [12 November 1214], the altar of the Holy Trinity was dedicated by the lord Walter, bishop of Whithorn. These are the relics in that altar. From the Lord's manger. From the Lord's sepulchre. From the Lord's table. From the ashes of all the relics which are in the silver cross.
- ¶ In the same year and on the same day and by the same bishop, the altar of the apostles Peter and Paul was dedicated. These are the relics in it. From the bones of Saint Paul the apostle. From the bones of Saint Peter the apostle. From the bones of Saint Bartholomew. From the manna of Saint John the Evangelist.³ From the bones of the Holy Innocents.

¹ The Mount of Temptation in the Judaeen desert, northwest of Jericho, the supposed site of Christ's temptation.

² Christ was bound after his arrest (Jn 18: 12).

³ A miraculous dust, called manna, which emanated from the tomb of Saint John the Evangelist at Ephesus. The manna was known to Augustine of Hippo and Gregory of Tours: for a full account of the cult, see Clive Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity: A Late Antique, Byzantine and Turkish City* (Cambridge, 1979), 36, 126–7.

- ¶ In the same year and on the same day and by the same bishop, that altar of SS. Augustine and Gregory was dedicated. These are the relics in it. From the cloth in which the body of Saint Cuthbert was wrapped. From the hair of Saint Bernard. From the bread of Saint Columbanus. From the girdle of Saint Peter the bishop. From the wood of Saint Martial. From the girdle of Saint Malachy.
- ¶ In the same year, on the 7th Ides of December [7 December], by the same bishop the altar of St John the Baptist and All the Prophets was dedicated. These are the relics contained in it. From the Lord's clothing. From his fetters. From the Lord's pillar.⁴ From the Lord's cloak. From the clothes of the Blessed Virgin Mary. From the bones of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. From the bones of John the Baptist and the apostles Peter and Paul. From the blood of Saint Stephen. From the bones of the holy martyrs, Laurence, Blaise, Vincent,⁵ Victor, Alban, Hippolytus, Clarus,⁶ Cyriacus, Polycarp, Chrysogonus, Urban, [N]arcissus⁷, Innocent,⁸ the Four Crowned [Martyrs]. From the bones of the holy confessors, Martin, Julian, Simplicius, Honestus,⁹ Paternus,¹⁰ Ebrulf (Evroul), Columbanus, Laud (Lo), Malo, *Gorwinus*,¹¹ Jovinus,¹² *Sadilo*,¹³ Carilef (Calais),¹⁴ *Euesmundus*,¹⁵ Joseph of Arimathea, William

⁴ Presumably from the pillar at which Christ was scourged by Pilate's command (Jn 19: 1, Mk 14: 65, Mt 27: 26).

⁵ Vincent of Saragossa, deacon and martyr.

⁶ Clarus (Clair) of Lectoure, bishop and martyr, 1 Jun. (*Acta SS.*, Jun. I, 8–15).

⁷ Although Urban could be Urban, pope and martyr (died 230), that the name is next to *Arcissus* suggests that the latter is a mistake for *Narcissus*, and that the two are the Urban and Narcissus commemorated on 31 Oct. in the Roman Martyrology, and mentioned by Paul in Rm 16: 9, 11.

⁸ Innocent, martyred at Sirmium with Sebastia and thirty others, 4 Jul. (*Acta SS.*, Jul. II, 6).

⁹ The only Honestus who appears in *Acta Sanctorum* is the third-century martyr of Pamplona, 16 Feb., and not a confessor (*Acta SS.*, Feb. II, 859–62).

¹⁰ Either Paternus of Avranches, bishop and confessor; or Paternus (Padarn) of Llanbadarn Fawr, bishop and confessor.

¹¹ The best explanation is that this is a mistake for Goswinus.

¹² Either Jovinus, abbot and confessor, 1 Jun., from Poitou (*Acta SS.*, Jun. I, 73–4); or Jovinus (also Juvinus), confessor, from Campania Galliae (Champagne), 3 Oct. (*Acta SS.*, Oct. II, 214–219).

¹³ I can discover no saint called Sadilo, but a mistranscription could have produced *Sadilonis* instead of *S. Adilonis*; in which case, *Adilo* could be Odilo of Cluny, fifth abbot of Cluny, 1 Jan. (died 1048). Another perhaps more likely option is that the name is Badilo, *S* being a miscopying of *B*: Badilo was abbot of Leuze-en-Hainaut, Belgium, 8 Oct. (*Acta SS.*, Oct. IV, 394–361).

¹⁴ Priest and confessor, 1 Jul., patron of the abbey of St Carilef (or St Calais), Saint-Calais, Le Mans (*Acta SS.*, Jul. I, 85–102).

Firmatus.¹⁶ From the oil of Saint Nicholas,¹⁷ of Romanus the monk.¹⁸ From the bones of the holy virgins, Agnes, Cecilia, Lucy, Juliana, Perpetua, Margaret,¹⁹ Anastasia, Agatha, Barbara, Beatrice, *Rotridis*,²⁰ *Afi*,²¹ Praxedes, Martha,²² Aldegonde.²³

- ¶ In the same year, on the same day and by the same bishop, the altar of St Edmund was dedicated, in which these relics are contained. From the bones of Saint Peter the apostle. From the bones of the holy martyrs, Laurence, Victor, Blaise, Hippolytus, King Oswald.
- ¶ In the 1221st year of the Lord's incarnation, the altar of St Michael the Archangel was dedicated by the lord Nicholas, bishop of the Isles. And these are the relics which are placed in it. From the place in which the Lord was born. From the manger in which the Lord was placed. From the Lord's cradles. From the stone upon which the Lord's feet stood, when he was presented in the Temple. From the site of Gethsemane. From the Lord's sepulchre. From Mount Sion. From the rock ... From the wood which the Lord planted with his own hands. From the stone upon which the Lord ate with his disciples. From the Lord's table. From the rock where he ascended into heaven. From the rock upon which the Lord spoke with the Samaritan woman. From the rock upon which he prayed to the Father, and his sweat became as drops of blood, trickling down upon the ground. From the clothes of Blessed Mary. From the sepulchre, and the stone, from which the glorious Virgin Mary departed from the earth. The relics of the

¹⁵ I cannot make a satisfactory identification of this person.

¹⁶ 24 Apr. (*Acta SS.*, Apr. III, 334–342).

¹⁷ Also known as the manna or myrrh of Saint Nicholas, the water that emanates from the shrine of St Nicholas at Bari; see Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.

¹⁸ Probably Romanus, abbot and confessor, 22 May, who ministered to Saint Benedict in his cave, bringing him bread (*Acta SS.*, May V, 152–165; see the Life by Giselbert, §3, *ibid.*, 154; also the Life of Saint Benedict by Gregory the Great, §1, *Acta SS.*, Mar., III, 277).

¹⁹ Most likely Margaret of Antioch.

²⁰ The name is perhaps a corruption of Rothildis, in turn a corruption of Chrothildis, or Clotilde (*Acta SS.*, Jun. I, 293–7; see under 'Clotilde' in *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*). I am grateful to Stephen Marritt for this observation.

²¹ This name is obscure.

²² More likely Saint Martha of Astorga, virgin and martyr, 23 Feb., than the biblical Martha (*Acta SS.*, Feb. III, 361–2).

²³ Seventh-century Benedictine abbess of Maubeuge, 20 Jun. (*Acta SS.*, Jan. II, 1034–1040).

holy martyrs Sergius and Bacchus.²⁴ From the sepulchre of the holy confessors Hilary and Patrick. From the bones of Saint Patrick. From the bones of Saint Columbanus the abbot. From the chasuble of Saint Remigius (Rémy), with which he sang [mass]. From the the altar pall of the same. From the cloth in which he reposed for 400 years. From his sandals. From the bones of eleven-thousand virgins.²⁵ From the bones of Saint Agnes the virgin. From the sepulchre of Saint Anne, the mother of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

¶ In the same year, on the same day, and by the same bishop, the altar of St Martin was dedicated, and all the relics written above were placed in it.

²⁴ Sergius and Bacchus, 7 Oct., Roman soldiers martyred in Syria under the persecution of Maximian (*Acta SS.*, Oct., III, 833–88)

²⁵ Who supposedly died with Saint Ursula; Farmer, *Oxford Dictionary of Saints*.