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The Santa Cruz Transcription of Benedict of Peterborough's *Liber miraculorum beati Thome*: Porto, BPM, cod. Santa Cruz 60

Following the publication of my study on the very early copy of Benedict of Peterborough's *Liber miraculorum beati Thome* in Lisbon, cod. Alcobaça CCXC/143,¹ Dr José Meirinhos drew my attention to Porto, BPM, Santa Cruz 60, which is revealed to be another early Portuguese transcription of the same text. This discovery means that of the thirteen complete copies of Benedict's *Miracula* now known, three were transcribed in Portugal in the late twelfth or very early thirteenth century; moreover, they belong to an élite group of five manuscripts (and one fragment), which transmit the earliest surviving version of the text. Furthermore, they were written in religious houses which occupied the first rank in the emerging kingdom of Portugal—S. Mamede de Lorvão, Santa Cruz in Coimbra, and perhaps Alcobaça—and, even more significantly, they represented three distinct orders, Benedictine, Augustinian canons regular, and Cistercian. The context for this remarkable precocity, and its relevance for the high level of Anglo-Portuguese relations in the twelfth century, were reviewed in 1998 and need not be repeated here.² The purpose of this study is to establish the place of the Santa Cruz

¹ «The Lorvão Transcription of Benedict of Peterborough's *Liber miraculorum beati Thome*: Lisbon, cod. Alcobaça CCXC/143», *Scriptorium*, 51 (1997), 51–68.

² Anne J. DUGGAN, «Aspects of Anglo-Portuguese Relations in the Twelfth Century. Manuscripts, Relics, Decretals and the Cult of St Thomas Becket at Lorvão, Alcobaça and Tomar», *Portuguese Studies*, 14 (1998), 1–19.

manuscript in the textual history of Benedict of Peterborough's collection of Becket miracles.

Thomas Becket was murdered in Canterbury Cathedral in the early evening of 29 December 1170; and, almost immediately, evidence of popular veneration of the dead archbishop began to manifest itself, while, simultaneously, his *familia*, led by John of Salisbury, set out to canvas the support of powerful friends to advance the cause of his canonization at the papal curia. Part of that programme included the compilation of a dossier of miracles; and it is very likely that the task of recording the evidence of Becket's posthumous sanctity fell to the monk Benedict, who became, in rapid succession, first prior of the cathedral priory (1175–77), in succession to Odo, who was transferred to Battle Abbey, then abbot of the great monastery of Peterborough (1177–93).³ Although when they referred to his authorship contemporaries tended to call him either prior or abbot,⁴ there is no doubt that his work was accomplished before he achieved either dignity, as one anonymous compiler seemed to recognize. The *incipit* of the extensive selection from Benedict's miracles appended to the Lyell Quadrilogus in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 5 (early thirteenth century), f. 94ra, records his dual status as monk and abbot in a manner which implies that the work was completed by the monk: «Incipit prologus in libro miraculorum beati Thome edito a uenerabili Benedicto pridem monacho Cantuariensi, sed postmodum abbate Sancti Petri de Burgo, de quo supra mentionem fecimus.»⁵ The *Explicit* of the same source provides confirmation of Benedict's composition of the rhymed office, which formed the musical core of Matins for Becket's feast, as it was celebrated at Canterbury (and in many other churches and monasteries across Europe): «Explicit liber miraculorum aliquorum de sancto Thoma, quem ut prediximus edidit uenerabilis Benedictus, tunc quidem monachus Cantuariensis, sed postea abbas de Burgo, qui et hystoriam satis eximie fecit que de martyre sancto in ecclesia canitur.»⁶ His work on the

³ *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940–1216*, ed. D. KNOWLES, C. N. L. BROOKE, and V. C. M. LONDON (Cambridge, 1972), 34, 61.

⁴ *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury ...*, ed. J. C. ROBERTSON and J. B. SHEPPARD, 7 vols, Rolls Series 67 (London, 1875–85 [= *MTB*], iv, 2 («Roger of Pontigny»/Anonymous I, 1175–6); iv, 413 (E. of Evesham, 1199).

⁵ Edward Grim's supplement to his *Vita et Passio*, added c. 1175, seems to imply the same thing: *MTB*, ii, 448.

⁶ Cf. Robert of Swaffam, in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*, ed. J. SPARKE (London, 1723), 98;

miracles began in early 1171; some kind of dossier was submitted to the Cardinal legates who supervised Henry II's reconciliation with the Church in May 1172, for they were able to make a formal report to the pope on their return to the curia in late 1172, well in time for Becket's canonization by Alexander III at Segni, on 21 February 1173.⁷ It is very probable, but not provable, that something like Benedict's Book I (with or without the Prologue), which concentrates on the beginning of the popular *cultus* at Canterbury, was used to support the monks' supplication to the papal legates in early 1172. No event in the first recorded version of the work (Version 1, below) can be securely dated later than April 1177,⁸ and, in any case, he departed for Peterborough at the end of May, 1177. By 1185, however, a copy, or copies, of Version 1 of his *Liber miraculorum* had already been transmitted to Portugal, where it was copied at Lorvão (*Lor*, below); exemplars of the same version were available in France, at Clairvaux and Pontigny (*Cl*, *Pont*, below), soon afterwards; and during the same period, Abbot Odo of Battle, who had been prior

R. W. HUNT, «Notes on the *Distinctiones monasticae et morales*» in *Liber Floridus: Mittellateinischen Studien*, ed. B. BISCHOFF and S. BRECHTER (St. Ottilien, 1950), 355–62, at. 359–60. According to HUNT, the «*Distinctiones*» were written in the Cistercian monastery of Louth Park in Lincolnshire.

- ⁷ For Alexander III's letter instructing Cardinals Albert of S. Lorenzo in Lucina and Theodwin of S. Vitale to investigate claims made by the prior and monks of Christ Church Canterbury about Becket's miracles, see *Decretales ineditae saeculi XII*, ed. and revised S. CHODOROW and C. DUGGAN, Monumenta Iuris Canonici Series B: Corpus Collectionum, 4 (Città del Vaticano, 1982), 61–2 no. 36. The pope's own letter announcing the canonization to the prior and monks at Canterbury (12 March 1173) refers specifically to the cardinals' report: «Nos autem, considerata gloria meritorum quibus in vita sua magnanimiter claruit, et de miraculis ejus non solum communi et celebri fama, sed etiam dilectorum filiorum nostrorum Alberti titulo Sancti Laurentii in Lucina, et Theodwini, titulo Sancti Vitalis, presbyterorum cardinalium, ... testimonio certitudinem plenam habentes...» (*MTB*, vii, 545–6); cf. Anne J. DUGGAN, «The Lorvão Transcription», 55–6, n. 28; eadem, «Diplomacy, Status, and Conscience: Henry II's penance for Becket's murder», *Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen dargebracht*, ed. Karl BORCHARDT and Enno BÜNZ (Stuttgart, 1998), i, 265–90.
- ⁸ The great fire which devastated Rochester is mentioned in iv. 6 (*MTB*, ii, 186). R. C. VAN CAENEGEM, Selden Society, 107, 509, dates the completion of the work «shortly after 1182»; Madeleine Harrison CAVINESS, *The Early Stained Glass of Canterbury Cathedral circa 1175–1220* (Princeton, 1977), 143, places it slightly earlier, «in and after 1179». The first chapter of Book IV (*MTB*, ii, 173, «Si Dominus exilis ingenii mei...cum sim pulvis et cinis»), can be read as the prologue to a new section, but in Version 3, it forms the last chapter of its Book II!

of Canterbury when Benedict was making his collection, sent a slightly expanded copy (Version 2) to relations of his in the Cistercian monastery of Igny (below, *Au* and *Sig*). The textual history of the work supports the conclusion that Benedict's own composition stopped at the end of Version 1 or 2, and that the accretions in Versions 3–6, the latest of which can be dated to 1202 (see Version 6), were added by other compilers at Canterbury.

i. The Manuscripts of Benedict of Peterborough's *Miracula*.

The thirteen complete manuscripts contain six slightly different versions of the text.

Version 1 arranges the text in four books, comprising 24, 77, 78, and 94 chapters respectively, and ends *testificati sunt*. It is thus twenty-five pages shorter than the text published by Canon Robertson in the Rolls Series edition of 1876, which exploited one French and three English manuscripts,⁹ and it has good claim to be the earliest surviving representative of Benedict's composition. The five complete manuscripts now known are:

Lor

Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional, cod. Alcobaça CCXC/143, ff. 1v–137r, from the (then) Benedictine monastery of S. Mamede of Lorvão. 1185. Arranged in four books, it ends iv. 94, *testificati sunt. Explicit liber*.¹⁰ The *Miracula* are followed (f. 137r) by a very full Colophon, describing the place and date of transcription;¹¹ the «Passio Anon. IV» (ff. 137v–142v), arranged in eight lections, with the heading «Passio sancti Thome Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qui passus est in urbe sua Cantuaria, sub Henrico rege Anglorum, in era

⁹ *MTB*, ii, p. lviii, lists the MSS used: Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 5320, ff. 69ra–142ra (MS P); London, Lambeth Palace, MS 135, ff. 26ra–117vb (MS L); Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.37, ff. 1r–181r, from St Augustine's, Canterbury (MS T); Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 509 (mistakenly numbered «309»), ff. 111r–130r, an unfinished transcription which breaks off with the words “siccum inuenit” (ROBERTSON, 72), at the end of ii. 21: the miracles to that point are in a single sequence: cf. MS P.

¹⁰ Fully described in DUGGAN, «The Lorvão Transcription». It should be noted that the description of this MS in L. AMOS, *The Fundo Alcobaça of the Biblioteca Nacional, Lisbon*, Descriptive Inventories of Manuscripts Microfilmed for the Hill Monastic Library: Portuguese Libraries, 3 vols (Collegeville, Minnesota, 1988–90), i, 182–4, is seriously misleading. It seems to be based not on the MS but on the old edition by J. A. GILES (*Benedicti abbatis Petriburgensis de Vita et Miracula S. Thomae Cantuariensis*, Caxton Society [London, 1850; repr. New York, 1967]), which reproduced the book and chapter arrangement of MS P.

m^a.cc^a.x^a.i^a, quarto kal. Januarii»; and, finally (ff. 142v–146v), a unique copy of *Sepe quidem cogimur*, sent by Archbishop Thomas to Cardinal Hyacinth of S. Maria in Cosmedin in early August 1169.¹² The manuscript was re-bound in the eighteenth century, at which time one quire (between present ff. 8 and 9) and two separate folios (between ff. 114 and 115 and ff. 121 and 123) were lost, and with them three substantial passages.¹³

Alc.

Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional, cod. Alcobaça CCLXXXIX/172, ff. 7r–143r, medieval provenance unknown, but probably Cistercian and certainly Portuguese. Saec. xii–xiii (probably xii). Arranged in four books (with 24, 77, 78, 94 *capitula* respectively, ending *testificati sunt*)¹⁴ and preceded, ff. 1v–6v, by «Passio Anon. IV», with the same heading and dating clause as in *Lor*. Although set out in eight paragraphs corresponding with the numbered Lections in *Lor*, the sections are not numbered and there is no indication that the text was used for liturgical reading. This feature would be readily explicable if, as I think, this is a Cistercian manuscript,¹⁵ for the Cistercians had their own Becket liturgy from 1185 onwards.¹⁶

SC

Porto, BPM, cod. Santa Cruz, 60, ff. 8v–169r, from Coimbra: discussed below.

¹¹ «Ad honorem Dei et sancti Mametis Laurbanensi monasterii...In era M^a.CC^a.XX^a.III^a»; for the full text, see DUGGAN, «The Lorrvão Transcription», 52.

¹² Anne J. DUGGAN, «A New Becket Letter: *Sepe quidem cogimur*», *Historical Research*, 63 (1990), 86–99; cf. *The Correspondence of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury 1162–1170* (= *CTB*), ed. and trans. A. J. DUGGAN, 2 vols, Oxford Medieval Texts (Oxford, 2000), ii, 950–63 no. 217.

¹³ The passages lost are «pondus firmitatis ... Ecce», «sociis suis ... uisus est ei», «incommodo ... audiuius»: *MTB*, ii, 32–46, 215–17, 229–30.

¹⁴ *Inventario dos códices*, i, 140; cf. AMOS, *The Fundo Alcobaça*, ii (1989), 46–7 (but Book I contains 24 capp., not 25, and the *Liber* is divided into four books, not three).

¹⁵ Despite its single column format, the decoration of this MS reflects contemporary (late twelfth/early thirteenth-century) Cistercian taste, especially in its use of large, finely-executed capitals at the beginning of major sections. The initial *P* of *Passio* on f. 1v has a drop of 19 lines; and the equally elaborate *P* of *Postquam*, which opens the *miracula* on f. 7v, has a drop of 21 lines.

¹⁶ J. M. CANIVEZ, *Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis ab anno 1116 ad annum 1786*, i (Louvain, 1933), 102, 144; S. R. MAROSSZÉKI, «Les origines du Chant Cistercien. Recherches sur les réformes du plain-chant cistercien au XII^e siècle», *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, viii (1952), 42–3, 145, 146, 147, 153, 154, 159. For evidence of implementation, see V. LEROQUAIS, *Les bréviaires manuscrits des bibliothèques publiques de France*, i (Paris, 1934), xcvi–viii; *Les ecclesiastica officia cisterciens du XII^eme siècle*, ed. Sr Danièle CHOISSELET and Br Placide VERNET, O.C.S.O., La documentation cistercienne, 22 (Elenberg Abbey, Reinungue, 1989), 49–50, 74–5, 126–7, 146–7.

CI

Montpellier, Bibliothèque inter-universitaire, section médecine (formerly École de Médecine), cod. 2, ff. 6rb–59ra, from Clairvaux.¹⁷ Saec. xii. Although the transcription of the *Liber miraculorum* ends without *explicit*, there is no evidence that the text has been curtailed; indeed the 94 chapters of Book IV correspond with the 94 *capitula* listed in the *tabula capitulorum* which precede the collection of miracles. The presentation of the *Miracula*, however, is different from that of the other four related texts. It is preceded, ff. 1ra–6rb, by a unique combination of contemporary materials, designed to form a detailed introduction to the *Miracula*. This preface comprises: part of Alexander III's canonization letter, *Redolet Anglia*,¹⁸ John of Salisbury's *VST*, a version of the Pontigny vision, «Dum beatus Thomas moratus est apud Pontiniacum ... tu glorificaberis»,¹⁹ and a summary of William of Canterbury's *Miracula*, vi. 91–5, arranged to form a sixteen-chapter *passio*, supplemented by an abbreviation of William of Canterbury's vi. 97, with the title *Quod uotum regis ad reedificationem ecclesie dilatatum sit*. This manuscript formed the supplement (tom. viii) to the Great Lectionary of Clairvaux, and can be traced in the monastery's library catalogues from 1472.²⁰

¹⁷ Q 76 in the Clairvaux catalogue of 1472, where it was described as «ung autre beau grant volume bien escript, contenant la Vie de saint Thomas martir arcevesque de Canturbie et ses miracles en .iiii. livres, la Translation saint Jacques frere de saint Jehan Evangeliste, Vitam sancti Alpini episcopi et confessoris, Vitam sancti Elasi episcopi et confessoris, Vitam sancti Leudomiri, Vitam sancti Felicis presbiteri et confessoris et Vitam sancti Servacii Tungrorum episcopi et Translationem ejusdem, commençant on second feullet *variarum necessitatum*, et finissant on penultime *ydolatrie consecratam*. Ainsi signé Q 76» (A. VERNET, assisted by J.-F. GENEST, et al., *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux du XII^e au XVIII^e siècle*, i: *Catalogues et Répertoires*, Documents, Études et Répertoires publiés par l'Institut de Recherche et d'Histoire des Textes [Paris, 1979], 247 no. 1451, 729–30); cf. «Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum scholae medicinae Montepessulanensis», *Analecta Bollandiana*, 34–5 (1915–16), 228–39, esp. 229–38.

¹⁸ «Quamuis de sanctitate illius ... intercedat. Dat. Sig. iii. idus Martii»: cf. *MTB*, vii, no. 785

¹⁹ This version of Becket's prophetic vision about his martyrdom circulated from the twelfth century onwards. It was inserted into the earliest copy of Alan of Tewkesbury's collection of the Becket correspondence (London, Brit. Libr. MS Cotton Claudius B.ii, f. 140ra) and is found in association with John of Salisbury's *VST* in at least four other manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library: MS 509, f. 14v; MS 937, f. 18v; MS Laud Misc. 666, f. xlvi^v; and Paris, Bibl. Sainte-Geneviève, MS cc.1 in 4^o 19, f. 70r (*Catalogue des Manuscrits de la Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève*, ed. C. KOHLER, i [Paris, 1893], no. 1370, at p. 642).

²⁰ VERNET, *La bibliothèque de l'abbaye de Clairvaux*, 247 no. 1451 (Q 76).

Br

Brussels, Bibl. royale, MS 3190 (7959-61), ff. 10v-125v, preceded, ff. 3r-10v by the *Vita et Passio* of «Master Euvrardus». ²¹ Medieval provenance unknown. Saec. xiii. ²²

To these five can now be added the splendid, but unfortunately mutilated copy in London, British Library, Egerton MS 2818 (formerly Phillipps 10227), ff. 2r-70vb. Although incomplete, the venerable age and provenance of the manuscript command attention, for it was written at Pontigny in the twelfth century, and is almost certainly the «lost» Pontigny *miracula*, ²³ listed in two catalogues compiled at Pontigny in the seventeenth century. In the earliest listing, Abbé Jean Le Boeuf's catalogue of books considered suitable for the Royal Library, dated 1734 (Paris, BNf, MS lat. 17173, f. 136v), the volume is described as «Epistola Suffraganeorum episcoporum provinciae Cantuariensis ad Thomam eorum metropolitanum./ Thomae responsio ex Pontiniaco. ²⁴ / Vita ejusdem de S. Thomae per Johannem Saresber./ Item libri de miraculis ejus quatuor, *in-fol.*». ²⁵ The fact that the Egerton manuscript does not conform either with this description or with that recorded later (1778/95) by Jean Depaquy, last abbot of Pontigny (Auxerre, bibl. mun. MS 226), ²⁶ is readily explained by the disturbed and incomplete state of the surviving codex. The volume is not in its original binding; some of its folios are missing; and others have been mis-bound. ²⁷ The placement of John of Salisbury's *Passio*, which occupies a separate un-numbered quire, after the *miracula*, instead of before it,

²¹ *PL*, cxc, 335-44.

²² *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum bibliothecae regiae Bruxellensis*, ii (Brussels, 1886), 177-8; cf. *Catalogue des manuscrits de la bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, v (1905), 165-6 no. 3190.

²³ DUGGAN, «The Lorrvão Transcription», 62, n. 71.

²⁴ *Que uestro, pater and Fraternitatis uestre: CTB*, i, nos. 93 and 95

²⁵ C. H. TALBOT, «Notes on the Library of Pontigny», *Analecta Sacri Ordinis Cisterciensis*, 10 (1954), 106-68, at 121.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 140-1 no. 296. Here the Becket material, «Suffraganeorum Cantuar. Ecclesiae Episcoporum Epistola ad Thomam et Thomae responsio. – S. Thomae Episcopi et martyris passio. – Libri 4 miraculorum eiusdem B. Thomae in 4^o», formed the second part of a composite volume, which included the Chronicon of Freulf of Lisieux. The physical description, «in 4^o», is probably a mistake. Talbot did not list the codex among the surviving Pontigny books, where no. 296 would have appeared (*ibid.*, 296). The MS does not appear in the inventory made by the civil commissioners in 1794 (bibl. d'Auxerre, MS 260 L [Ancien 399], ff. 37v-50): *ibid.*, 159-68.

²⁷ See the MS description below.

could be the result of faulty reassembly of the manuscript; and the exchange of letters between the English bishops and Archbishop Thomas, which would have occupied another whole quire, may have been lost at the same time.²⁸

Pont

London, British Library, MS Egerton 2818 (formerly Phillipps 10227), ff. 2r–70vb, from Pontigny. Saec. xii. Arranged in four books,²⁹ ending (incomplete), *aliis qui astabant ut presbyter* (*MTB*, ii, 238 ln. 30). The manuscript has suffered serious losses, however. The greater part of the table of *capitula* for Book III and most of the first chapter of the fourth book are missing through the loss of one folio between present ff. 32 and 33; and the last twenty-four chapters of Book IV are similarly missing, through the loss of one gathering, between ff. 70 and 71.³⁰ In addition, the middle bi-folium of quire vi (between ff. 43 and 44), has been mis-bound between present ff. 62 and 63, thus transferring a sequence of miracles from Book III into Book IV.³¹ The *miracula* are followed, on a new gathering (ff. 71ra–78vb) by John of Salisbury's *Vita*, of which the first ten and a half chapters of the published edition are arranged in twelve numbered lections.³² The manuscript is listed among Pontigny MSS in «Cistercian Manuscripts in England», *Collectanea ordinis Cisterciensium reformatorum* (*Collectanea Cisterciensia*), 14 (1952), 265–77, at 272.

Version 2, arranged in four books (with 24, 77, 78, and 96 capp. respectively), adds two miracles, taking the work to iv. 96, ending *talem se suscipere*. It is found in two manuscripts:

Ca

Cambrai, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 488, formerly Cathédrale, MS 317, but medieval provenance uncertain. The manuscript belonged at one time to Pierre Preudhomme, canon of

²⁸ In the earliest surviving manuscript of Alan of Tewkesbury's collection of Becket materials, for example, the two letters occupy almost exactly one quire of a double-columned folio volume: see London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius B. ii, ff. 84ra–85ra + 87va–93rb.

²⁹ Although on f. 5va the scribe erroneously merged Book I, capp. III and IV, by omitting the passage «Et jam quidem...et ecclesia affectus est major. Unde et» (*MTB*, ii, 31 line 15–33 line 22). Since there is a change to slightly paler ink following the omission (f. 5va), it is likely that the scribe interrupted his work at this point and left out the section by mistake.

³⁰ The text breaks off with the words «aliis qui astabant ut presbyter», in the middle of cap. 66 (*MTB*, ii, 238 line 30), thus lacking nineteen pages of the printed text.

³¹ Thus misplaced, the long section «coagulari et confici solebat (*MTB*, ii, 154, ln. 22)...monochos aque» (*ibid.*, 161, ln 4) follows «plenius dierum et usque ad» (*ibid.*, 217 ln. 30).

³² *MTB*, ii, 301–22. The lections end «per omnia rectissimus executor» (*ibid.*, 307 line 7), marked «finis» (f. 73ra).

Cambrai, who died in 1628. His library contained manuscripts from the Cistercian monastery of Ourscamp and also from Mont-Saint-Martin. Saec. xii/xiii.³³

D

Douai, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 860, ff. 10r–93v, formerly English College, MSS D 606 and 809; earlier still it belonged to William Reed, bishop of Chichester (d. 1383), who had bought it from John Tryllek, bishop of Rochester (d. 1372), and later donated it to Exeter College Oxford (cf. f. A), whence it was rescued from «amonge a caos of caste bookes and waste papers». ³⁴ Saec. xii. Preceded by John of Salisbury's *VST*.³⁵ There is an English translation of this MS in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Eng. Misc. c. 322.

Version 3, containing the same material, is arranged in three books (with 87, 78, and 95 capp. respectively), ending *talem se suscipere* (= iv. 96). It is found in one manuscript:

P

Paris, Bibl. Nationale, MS lat. 5320, ff. 69ra–142ra, provenance uncertain. Saec. xii/xiii. One leaf is missing between ff. 95 and 96, with the consequent loss of the section «et expulit ... Annis ferme» (*MTB*, ii, 103–6), containing six miracles (ii. 56–60, 62) and part of two others (ii. 55 and 61), the order of capp. 61 and 62 having been reversed.³⁶ The *Miracula* are preceded by John of Salisbury's *VST*. This manuscript was collated in part by Robertson (MS P) for the *MTB* edition, but he judged it textually unreliable.³⁷ That this was not just an idiosyncratic version of the miracles is shown by the survival of two fragmentary copies which are similarly arranged, though neither has *capitula* or chapter numbers. The twelfth-century Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 509, ff. 111r–130r (Robertson's MS B), terminates abruptly, without *explicit*, at *siccam inuenit*, the end of ii. 21.³⁸ The fine early thirteenth-century transcription in Rome, Biblioteca Vallicelliana,

³³ *Catalogue générale: Cambrai*, xvii (Paris, 1891), 181; cf. T. D. HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, 2 vols (London, 1865), ii, 359, where the *Miracula* are wrongly ascribed to William FitzStephen.

³⁴ N. R. KER, *The Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*, Royal Historical Society, 2nd edn (London, 1964), p. xv and n. 4.

³⁵ *Catalogue générale*, vi, 611–13; see *Analecta Bollandiana*, 20 (1901), 414.

³⁶ DUGGAN, *Textual History*, 140, esp. nn. 2 and 4; cf. HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii, 341 and n. *; *MTB*, ii, 103 n. 2, 109, 173 n. 3; see *Catalogus codicum hagiographicorum latinorum bibliothecae nationalis Parisius*, ii (1890), 197: formerly in the possession of the counts of Béthune.

³⁷ *MTB*, ii, xxv.

³⁸ *MTB*, ii, 72.

MS B. 60, ff. 103ra–134vb, is sadly mutilated, breaking off in ii. 76, with the words «nocte sequenti incredibiliter».³⁹

Version 4, arranged in four books (with 24, 77, 78 [numbered 77], and 103 capp. respectively), adds a further seven miracles, taking the collection to iv. 103 (= *MTB*, vi. 3), ending *gratia rependit*. This version is preceded by an abbreviation of Herbert of Bosham's *Thomus*,⁴⁰ which had been written in 1185/6, and a letter of dedication from Abbot Odo of Battle, from the mid-1180s; and followed by a Sequence by «Philip of Liège».⁴¹ The attachment of Odo's letter⁴² establishes that this tradition is descended from the copy which the abbot, formerly Prior of Christ Church Canterbury (1168–1175) sent in the mid-1180s to relatives in the Cistercian monastery of Igny (Marne). Four derivatives from that presentation copy were known at the end of the seventeenth century, when they were described, not entirely accurately, by Casimir Oudin.⁴³ They were distributed through a group of Cistercian monasteries in relatively close geographical proximity in northern France and Flanders: at Igny itself, Foigny (Aisne), Signy (Ardennes), and Aulne-sur-Sambre (Hainaut). The Igny⁴⁴ and Foigny copies have

³⁹ *MTB*, ii, 116. For this important English MS, see *CTB*, i, pp. cvii–cviii.

⁴⁰ HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii, 341.

⁴¹ «Sequentia quam de eodem martire domnus Philippus, Leodiensis quondam archidiaconus, postea prior Clarevallis, deinde abbas Eleemosinaris composuit»: cf. «Carmen breve rhythmicum de S. Thoma», ed. J. A. GILES (from *Au*, below), *Anecdota Bedae, Lanfranci et aliorum*, Caxton Society, 7 (1851), 167–9. This heading provides evidence that Philip of Liège (= Lüttich) was from an early stage confused with his famous name-sake, the fourth abbot of l'Aumône. The author is either Philip of Fontaine-l'Évêque, archdeacon of Liège or Philip of l'Aumône, successively canon of Tours, archbishop-elect of Tours (1133), archbishop of Taranto (1138–39, deposed at the Second Lateran Council, 1139), monk (1139–c. 1152/3), then prior (1152/3–1156) of Clairvaux and abbot of l'Aumône (1156–c. 1170), d. c. 1179 at Clairvaux: see DUGGAN, «The Lorvão Transcription», 58–9, n. 48.

⁴² *MTB*, ii, xlix n. A. «Librum miraculorum beati martyris Thomae dilectioni vestrae transmittō, quae quidem miracula probata noveritis esse et examinata, nihilque eis admixtum quod pateat falsitati. Miseram quidem jam vobis ante de ipsis miraculis librum, isto multo meliorem, sed nuncii fraude minime pervenit ad vos».

⁴³ *Commentarius de scriptoribus Ecclesiae antiquis*, 3 vols, published posthumously (Leipzig, 1722; photographic repr., Westmead, Farnborough, 1970), ii, 1478, 1510, 1513–14.

⁴⁴ Not listed in the Igny list in A. BONDÉELLE-SOUCHER, *Bibliothèques Cisterciennes dans la France médiévale: Répertoire des abbayes d'hommes*, CNRS (Paris, 1991), 134–7.

not been traced; but those from Aulne and Signy are now respectively in Brussels and Charleville.

Au

Brussels, Bibl. royale, MS IV.600, ff. 100vb–161 va (formerly Phillipps MS 4622), from Aulne-sur-Sambre (f. 1r: *Liber beate Marie de Alna*). Saec. xii. Preceded (ff. 1ra–100vb) by the Herbert of Bosham abbreviation; followed by the Sequence by «Philip of Liège».45

Sig

Charleville, Bibl. de la Ville, MS 222, ff. 104v–172, from Signy (f. 1: *Liber Signiaci*). Saec. xiii. Preceded (ff. 1r–104v) by the abbreviation of Herbert of Bosham's *Thomas*; followed by the Sequence by «Philip of Liège».46

Version 5 contains the same miracles as Version 4, but arranges them in five books instead of four (with 24, 77, 78, 100, and 3 (arranged as two) capp. respectively); ends «*gratia rependit*» (= *MTB*, vi. 3).

E

Évreux, Bibl. de la Ville, MS lat. 10, ff. 7r–82v, from Lyre (Benedictine). Saec. xiii. Arranged in five books, as above, but with an additional chapter «*De clerico cui sanctus reddidit genitalia*» (ff. 81r–82v) inserted at the end of Book V;47 preceded (ff. 1–7r) by John of Salisbury's *VST*.48

H

Heidelberg, Universitäts-Bibliothek, cod. Salem ix.30, ff. 43vb–108va, from Salem (Cistercian). Saec. xiii. Arranged in five books, as above, but lacking *capitula* and numeration; preceded by William FitzStephen's *VST*.49

45 HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii, 341.

46 *Catalogue générale*, v, 648–9; J. VAN DER STRAETEN, «Manuscrits hagiographiques de Charleville, Verdun et St-Mihiel», *Subsidia Hagiographica*, 56 (1974), p. 56; BONDÉLLE-SOUCHIER, *Bibliothèques cisterciennes*, 286–93, esp. 287 and 291.

47 Cf. William of Canterbury, *Liber miraculorum*, vi. 13–16, on the cure of the deacon Thomas who had been brutally mutilated by a neighbouring knight (*MTB*, i, 424–8).

48 *Catalogue générale*, ii, 407, 408.

49 For a full discussion of this valuable manuscript, transcribed by Br. Hugo in the Cistercian monastery of Salem (cf. f. 149ra–b), see A. J. DUGGAN, «The Salem FitzStephen: Heidelberg Universitäts-Bibliothek Cod. Salem ix.30», in *Mediævalia Christiana (XIe–XIIIe siècles), Hommage à Raymonde Foreville*, ed. C. E. VIOLA (Paris, 1989), 51–86.

L

London, Lambeth Palace, MS 135, ff. 26ra–117vb, English, once belonged to Lord John Lumley (cf. f. 1). Saec. xiii. Arranged in five books (as above, except that Book IV is mis-numbered to 101 capp. and Book V is set out with an introduction and 2 capp.); preceded by the «Lambeth Anonymous» VST.⁵⁰

Version 6 is represented by one manuscript only,

T

Cambridge, Trinity College, MS B.14.37, ff. 1r–181r, from St Augustine's, Canterbury (Benedictine). Saec. xiii. Arranged in four books (with 24, 77, 79, and 107 capp. respectively); ends iv. 107 (= *MTB*, vi. 6), *non inmemor est reuersus*.⁵¹ It is clear that the last four miracles (*T*, iv. 104–107 = *MTB*, vi. 4–7) constitute late additions to the work by another hand, for they concern events which occurred between 1194 and 1202, after Benedict's death in September 1193/4.

ii. The Santa Cruz *Miracula*: Porto, Bibl. Pública Municipal, cod. Santa Cruz, 60, ff. 1r–169r.⁵²

This important manuscript belonged to the Augustinian monastery of Santa

⁵⁰ *MTB*, ii, 80–144; HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii, 359 (where the *Miracula* are wrongly ascribed to William FitzStephen); M. R. JAMES and C. JENKINS, *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Manuscripts in the Library of Lambeth Palace*, 5 fascicles in 1 vol. (Cambridge, 1930–32), 214–16. The manuscript formerly belonged to Lord John Lumley (d. 1609), though it had left his library by the time the catalogue was compiled in 1609: cf. S. JAYNE and F. R. JOHNSON, *The Lumley Library*, British Museum Publications (London, 1956), 302. Collated by Robertson for the *MTB* edition, but his statement (*MTB*, ii, 261 n. 1) that the text is divided into six books by the insertion of the heading *LIBER SEXTUS* before his vi.1, is mistaken: the text is clearly arranged in five books, not six. MSS L and T share the *homoioteleuton* omission, «in uocem ... martyris' (289).

⁵¹ Canon ROBERTSON (*MTB*, ii, 273, n. 3), reversed the last two chapters, which he numbered vi. 6 (ending *non inmemor est reuersus*.) and vi. 7 (ending *ad mare processit*). For the MS, see HARDY, *Descriptive Catalogue*, ii, 359–60 (where the *Miracula* are wrongly ascribed to William FitzStephen); M. R. JAMES, *The Western Manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Cambridge: A Descriptive Catalogue*, 3 vols (Cambridge, 1900–01), i (1900), 436; KER, *Medieval Libraries*, 41. MS T shares with L the *homoioteleuton* omission, «in uocem ... martyris' (289).

⁵² The following study is based on a microfilm of the Santa Cruz manuscript, kindly lent by Dr MEIRINHOS. I have also benefited from the excellent description of the manuscript by Dr Bernardino MARQUES in Aires Augustino NASCIMENTO and José Francisco MEIRINHOS,

Cruz in Coimbra,⁵³ and may have been transcribed there, at least in part.⁵⁴ Its 169 parchment leaves are numbered consecutively in a modern hand; the text is in single columns, with 22, 23, or 24 lines to the column, and the pages are pricked and ruled. The manuscript was re-bound in the eighteenth century, when it received paper endleaves, of which the verso of the second bears the contemporary inscription:

Este liuro da morte e milagres de S. Thomas Arcebispo de Cantuarea e Conego Regular foi conposto por Benedito Abbate de S. Pedro de Brugo, aquem o santo apareço a noite sequinte ao seu martireo, como consta deste mesmo liuro. Nº 349.

The volume comprises two segments: the first, a gathering of seven parchment leaves (ff. 1–7), with twenty-three lines to the page; the second, with twenty-two lines, comprises twenty eight-leaved gatherings and a bi-folium, all, except the final binion, linked by catchwords. Dr Bernardino Marques distinguishes three hands, responsible respectively for ff. 1–7r (Part I), 8v–15 (first quire of Part II), and 16r–169r, and he dates the script to the thirteenth century. A slightly earlier dating (to the late twelfth century) can be argued, however. Its punctuation consists of the four-part scheme of *punctus*, point (.), *punctus flexus* (.), *punctus elevatus* (.), and *punctus interrogativus*, question mark, used with consistency and care. In this feature it conforms very closely with its two Portuguese relations, *Lor* and *Alc*.⁵⁵

Catálogo dos códices da livraria de mão do mosteiro de Santa Cruz de Coimbra na Biblioteca Pública Municipal do Porto (Porto, 1997), 277–9.

⁵³ Founded by Tello, archdeacon of Coimbra, in 1132, on land given by Afonso Henriques, the later King Afonso I of Portugal (1139/40–85): see *Catálogo dos códices*, xxv–lII; *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques* [= *DHGE*], 13 (1956), 207.

⁵⁴ Part I was transcribed separately.

⁵⁵ On this scheme, see M. B. PARKES, *Pause and Effect: An Introduction to the history of punctuation in the West* (Berkeley, 1993), 35–40, and 306. For *punctus flexus*, which became a characteristic feature of Cistercian and Carthusian books, see N. R. KER, *English Manuscripts in the Century after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford, 1960), 47–9. For examples of its use in twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Portugal, see *A iluminura em Portugal. Identidade e Influências. Catálogo da Exposição. 26 de Abril a 30 de Junho '99* (Biblioteca Nacional: Lisbon, 1999), 157 (Alcobaça), 179 (Alcobaça), 181 (Coimbra), 201 (Alcobaça). The *flexus* is usually employed in texts intended for public reading in the chapel or refectory.

- (I) ff. 1r–6v: *Passio sancti Thome Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, qui passus est in urbe sua Cantuaria, sub Henrico rege Anglorum, in era m^a.cc^a.xi^a. quarto kal. Ianuarii.*

Digne fratres ... ut peruiamus cum eo ad regnum lucis et glorie, in qua regnat Deus per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.⁵⁶

This is a version of the anonymous «Passio Anon. IV»,⁵⁷ here arranged in eight *lectiones*. Each of Lections 1–7 is followed by the abbreviation «T.»,⁵⁸ and the *incipit* of the Gospel reading, «Euangelium. Si quis uenit ad me» is inserted in smaller script at the end of Lection 6 (f. 4v). Neither authorship nor provenance have been established, although an early appearance in an English Cistercian manuscript has been cited in support of an English and Cistercian origin.⁵⁹ Close reading of the text certainly confirms its English provenance (St Thomas is *pater noster* and *patriae protector*), but although it was evidently composed for public reading in a religious community (the audience consists of *fratres*), one cannot define its place of composition more narrowly. Nor can one say whether it was originally intended for liturgical reading, although its brevity made such adaptation easy.

The *passio* ends on f. 6v without *explicit*, and the remainder of the quire (to f. 7v) is ruled but without text. The decoration of this section is more elaborate than that found in Part II. The first initial (*P*, of *Passio*), in blue, decorated with reddish brown and green, has a striking seven-line drop; and the subsequent paragraphs are marked by smaller initials, with a two- or three-line drop, finely executed, and multi-coloured (reddish brown embellished with blue, green with reddish brown, red with green, blue with red). These features (lack of physical continuity with the remainder of the volume, combined with the distinctness of its script, decoration and ruling pattern, and the fact that Part II begins with an unruled recto, f. 8r) suggest that the two parts were transcribed separately.

- (II) ff. 8v–169r: [*Liber miraculorum beati Thome* by Benedict of Peterborough. Arranged in four books (24, 77, 78, 94), ending iv. 94 ... *testificati sunt. Explicit.*]

The work begins *sine titulo*, but the space of three lines, which precedes the first line of the *tabula capitulorum*, could have accommodated a full heading. The scribe inserted the

⁵⁶ A later hand has written «Notum sit» on the same line as the «Amen».

⁵⁷ *BHL*, no. 8209; *MTB*, iv, 186–95; cf. *Patrologiae Cursus Completus, series Latina*, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols (Paris, 1844–64 [= *PL*]), cxc. 317–24: from *Vita Sancti Thomae*, ed. J. A. Giles, 2 vols, Patres Ecclesiae Anglicanae (Oxford, 1845), ii, 137–45.

⁵⁸ For the response: «Tu autem, Domine, miserere nostri».

⁵⁹ Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodl. 509, ff. 15r–20r, from the Cistercian monastery of Combe in Warwickshire: see Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket: A Textual History of his Letters* (Oxford, 1980), 25–6, 34.

pious invocation, *Sancti Spiritus adsit nobis gratia*, along the top edge of the first page of the text (f. 8v).⁶⁰

ff. 8v–9r: Chapter headings 1–24 for Book I, unnumbered (*MTB*, ii, pp. iii–iv).

ff. 9v–13r: *Prologue*: Postquam igitur ... sumatur exordium. (*MTB*, ii, 21–27).

ff. 13v–34r: [*Book I*]: *Aspiciebam in uisu ... uicina despectui* (*MTB*, ii, 27–56). The 24 chapters are transcribed without headings or numbers.

ff. 34r–37r: Chapter headings 1–77 for Book II (*MTB*, ii, pp. iv–vii).

Capp. 1–69 are numbered in Roman numerals; capp. 61 and 62 are in reverse order. The last 8 headings are not numbered.

ff. 37r–80v: [*Book II*]: *Aderat resurrectionis ... solide fixit* (*MTB*, ii, 57–117, but capp. 61 and 62 are in reverse order). The chapters have no headings, and only the first is numbered.

ff. 80v–82v: Chapter headings 1–78 for Book III (*MTB*, ii, pp. viii–x), ending «*Expliciunt capitula libri tercii*». Capp. 1–65 [= Robertson, 66] are numbered in Roman numerals, but the numeration goes astray from no. 53, where the headings of capp. 53–4 are merged (through *homoioleuton*) to form a single heading (liii).⁶¹ The remaining numeration is consequently one digit wrong (liiii–lxv, *recte* 55–66). The final 12 headings (67–78) are not numbered.

ff. 82v–113v: [*Book III*]: *Instabat iam ... copia fecit* (*MTB*, ii, 118–72). Again, there are no chapter headings, but capp. 1–4 are numbered.

ff. 113v–116r: Chapter headings 1–78 and 80–94 for Book IV, omitting cap. 79, «*De aliis eadem de causa accusatis*» (*MTB*, pp. x–xiv). Roman numbers are supplied only for .i.–.xxvi. and .xxviii.–.xxxiii., but the numeration is incorrect from no. 15 onwards, because the *capitula* for capp. 14 and 15 are merged to form a single confused heading, numbered.xiiii., «*De euerardo de wintonia paralisi repente eiusdem fratre radulfo presbitero*» (f. 113v).

ff. 116r–169r: [*Book IV*]: *Si Dominus ... testificati sunt* (*MTB*, ii, 173–257).

The chapters lack headings and only nos. 1–4 and 13–18 (= Robertson, 19) are numbered; capp. 17 and 18 are both numbered .xvii. (131r–v).

f. 169r: *Explicit*.

⁶⁰ The same invocation is found at the beginning of the transcription of the Customary of Becket's shrine, London, BL, Addit. MS 59616, f. 1; and also on the first page of the *Florilegium Gallicum* in Paris, Bibl. nat., lat. MS 7647, f. 34r.

⁶¹ The two headings «*De aureo quem sanctus cuidam dedit*» (c. 53) and «*De argenteo quem sanctus cuidam facete abstulit*» (c. 54) are fused, producing the single heading, «*De aureo quem sanctus cuidam facete abstulit*» (liii).

There is no doubt that the Santa Cruz copy of Benedict's *miracula* is closely related to those in the Lorvão and Alcobaça manuscripts, with which it shares a similar format and errors in the capitular tables. In the list of headings for Book III, for example, it follows *Lor* and *Alc* in reading *fluxerunt* for *fluebunt* in cap. 39, in omitting the phrase *et non est effusa* in cap. 43, and in committing the same *homoioleuton* which fused the headings of capp. 53 and 54 to form a single erroneous heading, liii.⁶² In the list for Book IV, it follows *Lor* and *Alc* in running the headings for capp. 14 and 15 together to create a single meaningless title;⁶³ and it agrees with them in omitting the heading of cap. 79, *De aliis eadem de causa accusatis*. Agreement in errors of this kind suggests a very close relationship; and this is confirmed by more detailed textual collation.

Using a slightly extended version of the select collation of the Lorvão manuscript published in 1997, the Appendix collates three hundred and fifteen readings, where *Lor* differs from Robertson's standard edition, with *SC* and *Alc*; and the results are dramatic. Two hundred and forty-nine variants are shared by all three Portuguese manuscripts.⁶⁴ Most, indeed, are fairly minor—*possit* for *posset* (24), for example, or *poterat* for *potuerat* (87), and many are orthographical variants of place and personal names.⁶⁵ But some are more significant, involving more than differences of spelling or slips of the pen: *clericis* for *ecclesiis* (65),⁶⁶ *igitur* for *pater* (74), *salutem* for *miser ricordiam* (83), *martirio* for *miser ricordia* (84), *ab hoc* for *a mundi huius* (103), *miracula* for *miranda* (124), *coronauit* for *donauit* (140), *sub altare* for *retro altare beate Marie* (146), *ornamento* for *orario* (179), *inpetrauit*

⁶² See above, n. 27.

⁶³ «De Euerardo de Wintonia, paralisi repente eiusdem fratre Radulfo presbitero.»

⁶⁴ Appendix, nos. 1–4, 6–8, 10–14, 16–18, 20–27, 29–30, 32–40, 42–43, 45–51, 53–54, 56–58–60, 62, 64–67, 69–72, 74, 77–78, 81–89, 94–96, 99–101, 103–107, 110–119, 121–129, 131, 133–135, 137–141, 143–147, 150–157, 160–172, 174, 176–183, 185–187, 190–193, 195, 199–200, 202–211, 213–214, 217–220, 222–223, 225–227, 231–234, 236–245, 247–255, 257, 259–261, 263–265, 267–269, 271–282, 286–294, 296–297, 299–301, 303, 306–310, 313–315. In twenty-one of these instances, however (25, 37, 47, 64, 74, 82, 83, 88, 100, 103, 104, 115, 116, 125, 128, 154, 160, 165, 168, 204, 226), *SC*'s agreement was achieved by correction.

⁶⁵ Appendix, nos. 32, 113, 153, 161, 163, 164, 166, 170, 171, 174, 189, 198, 202, 203, 208–209, 214, 218, 219, 226–228, 231, 235, 237, 238, 240, 247, 249, 259, 261, 265, 268, 273, 275, 277, 279, 281, 294, 296, 310.

⁶⁶ *Lor* mistakenly reads *oculis*.

for *mane exaudiit uocem eius* (181), the reversal of capp. 61 and 62 (183), *tumorisque* for *timorisque* (223), *norfolkia* for *sudfolkia* (240), *utique* for *utrique* (286); some are better readings: *intutis* for *intimis* (11), *linierat* for *liuerat* (78), *astitit* for *institit* (118), *aqua in latus contrarium* for *aquam in aliud pyxidis latus* (125), *Dolentes* for *Volentes* (176), *martiri* for *martiris* (185), *et quia non est firmamentum* for *quia est firmamentum* (193), *Audit* for *Addit* (205), *iterum* for *item* (248), *loca* for *merita* (254); *mortuo quam uiuenti similior* for *morienti simillimus* (260), *iuliane* for *uillane* (294), *omnibus* for *omnis* (303); *Discedunt* for *Descendunt* (306), *prorsus* for *prius* (309). More significant, however, are the agreements in fifty-two omissions,⁶⁷ of which the shared omission of *misisset... quantum* (27), *pauper quidem* (77), *qualiter... doluerit* (178), *Nonnulli... comparauit* (207), and *Reuersus autem... deterioratus est* (299) are particularly significant. Among the seven additions,⁶⁸ the insertion of *ecclesie* after *universalis* (6) and of the phrases *turbatus post paululum quietem cum uisu recepit* (107), *in modum* (before *serpentium*: 154), and *in uocem ... beatissimi martyr* (289),⁶⁹ are telling. Most telling of all, however, are their agreements (or near agreements) in evidently erroneous readings: *ordomisse et/obdormisse et* for *obdormientem* (59), *Voluit* for *Doluit* (127), *martiris* for *matris* (150), *Fundoniensis* for *Lundoniensis* (156), *Giro* for *Viro* (222), *Durandus osberni augensis cuiusdam filius amatus forte uocatus. lapillos ludebat cum lapilos in aera sparsit* for *Ludebat cum lapillis Durandus Osberni Augensis cuiusdam filius. A matre forte uocatus lapillos in aera sparsit* (264),⁷⁰ [*—*]7¹*oroides/Moroides* for *Hemorrhoides* (291), *mane* for *mare*

⁶⁷ Appendix, nos. 1, 4, 8, 13, 20, 27, 30, 33–35, 38, 40, 45, 53, 58, 62, 67, 69, 70, 71, 77, 81, 86, 88, 94–96, 99, 117, 121, 133, 139, 141, 151, 162, 169, 172, 178, 187, 204, 207, 211, 213, 243, 250, 252, 257, 274, 278, 299, 314, 315.

⁶⁸ Appendix, nos. 3, 6, 18, 107, 154, 168, and 289.

⁶⁹ Also in *H* (f. 100vb) and in the selection of miracles appended to the «Lyell Quadrilogus» in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Lyell 5, f. 119vb: see Anne J. DUGGAN, «The Heidelberg FitzStephen», n. 19; eadem, «The Lyell Version of the *Quadrilogus* Life of St Thomas of Canterbury», *Analecta Bollandiana* (Brussels), 112 (1994), 105–138, n. 24.

⁷⁰ *SC*'s scribe was confused at this point (f. 133r). He seems to have begun the chapter with the words [*—*] *ludebat cum lapilos in aera sparsit*, leaving space for the insertion of a coloured capital *L*; then he inserted some text into the space which had been left between the chapters, erased it, and wrote *Durandus osberni augensis cuiusdam filius amatus forte uocatus. lapillos l....*

⁷¹ Initial, probably *M*, not inserted.

(297), *Virum* for *Mirum* (308). In addition, *SC* agrees with *Lor* in a further twenty-eight readings (not shared by *Alc*).⁷² In four of these cases, *SC* agreed with *Alc* before correction, by the erasure of words or syllables, to agree with *Lor* (224, 230, 256, 270); in two, *Alc* originally agreed with *Lor* and *SC* (68, 120), but was corrected; and in one (304), *SC* was marked for correction..

The small number of instances in which *SC* and *Alc* agree on differences from *Lor*'s readings comprise very small orthographical variants of place or personal name, often involving differences in the transcription of *uu* (= *w*),⁷³ or better readings of words misread or simply mis-transcribed by *Lor*'s scribe;⁷⁴ although their shared reading of *Eilwlinus/Eiluulinus* for *Eilwinus* (201), may be significant. Some words evidently caused difficulties. In no. 93, the English name *Ædmondus* confused the scribes, perhaps because of the unfamiliar initial diphthong *Æ*. *Lor*'s scribe first wrote *et mudus*, then corrected it to *et nudus*; *Alc*'s wrote *et mundus*, and the Santa Cruz scribe made a better effort with *Edmundus*. In no. 189, *Lor* mistakenly read *Ite*. Since the true reading is *Vite*, *Lor*'s mistake could have arisen from the absence of the initial capital *V*; alternatively, the exemplar may have read *Item*, which *Lor* transformed into *Ite* through a simple *lapsus calami*, by which its scribe omitted the suspension mark over the letter *m*. If this is so, then *SC* and *Alc* transmitted accurately the mistaken reading from their common ancestor.

This evidence demonstrates that the three Portuguese manuscripts are very closely related to one another. Indeed, a comparison of the punctuation of one sample folio in *Alc* (f. 70r) with the corresponding text in *Lor* (f. 61r–v) and *SC* (f. 88r–v) reveals that the three manuscripts agree exactly in the placement of all nine examples of the distinctive *punctus flexus*. Moreover, all three share mistakes in the tables, omissions, and the *homoioleuton* in no. 27; and these errors distinguish the Portuguese transmission from *Cl* and *Pont.*, which constitute the nucleus

⁷² Appendix, nos. 55, 61, 68 (*Alc ante corr.*), 75, 80, 102, 120 (*Alc ante corr.*), 136, 158, 159, 173, 175, 188, 196, 212, 216, 224 (*post corr.*), 230 (*post corr.*), 246, 256 (*post corr.*), 258, 266, 270 (*post corr.*), 285, 298, 304 (*but marked for corr.*), 305, 312.

⁷³ Appendix, nos. 15, 91, 198, 215, 221, 228, 235.

⁷⁴ Appendix, nos. 5, 9 (*SC post corr.*), 19, 41, 44, 63, 65 (*SC post corr.*), 76, 79, 90 (*SC post corr.*), 97, 98, 108, 109, 130, 142 (*SC post corr.*), 184 (*Alc post. corr.*), 194, 262. In no. 52, *SC* corrects *ad dulcedinem* (which is found in *Lor*) to the correct reading *a dulcedine*, found in *Alc* and *Cl*; an example where *SC* made the same mistake as *Lor*, but corrected it?

of a French Cistercian family.⁷⁵ These important manuscripts have yet to be studied in detail; but a cursory examination confirms both their derivation from a parallel version of the first known text of Benedict's *miracula*, and their differences from the Portuguese descent. Briefly, although they contain the same text, to iv. 94,⁷⁶ and agree with about half of the variant readings listed in the Appendix below, they do not share the mistakes in the *capitula*, the erroneous readings,⁷⁷ or the *homoioteleuton* at no. 27. They are, moreover, more carefully organized. Their *tabulae capitulorum* are fully numbered, as are their individual books and chapters. The overwhelming weight of textual evidence therefore suggests that all three Portuguese transcriptions of Benedict's *miracula* derive from the same textual tradition, possibly from the same exemplar.

Despite the association in the Portuguese manuscripts of «Passio Anon. IV» with Benedict's *miracula*, it is unlikely that both texts were originally transmitted together. In *Lor*, the *Passio* follows the *miracula*, being written after the colophon which recorded their place and date of transcription; in *SC*, it occupies a separate gathering inserted at the front of the book, which was written by a different scribe and decorated more elaborately than the remainder of the codex. *Alc*, in contrast with *Lor* and *SC*, was conceived as a single entity. The same scribe wrote both *passio* and *miracula*, and the *passio* functions as an introduction to the miracles.

The arrangement and text of the *Passio* is virtually identical in all three manuscripts, however. It has the same heading and date as well as readings which distinguish it from the generally received text published in the nineteenth century by Canon Robertson.⁷⁸ Moreover, all three arrange the *passio* in the same eight sec-

⁷⁵ And perhaps *Br*, which I have not yet been able to see.

⁷⁶ *Pont.* is now incomplete; but its *tabula capitulorum* for Book IV confirms that it contained the same material as *Cl* and the Portuguese MSS.

⁷⁷ Appendix, nos 127, 150, 156, 222, 264, 291, 297, 308.

⁷⁸ Among the more significant readings which they share is *uigiliis crebrior, prolixior in oratione, sollicitior in predicatione* for *in uigiliis crebrior, in oratione prolixior, in predicatione sollicitior* (*MTB*, ii, 188 lnn. 8–9), *facinoris* for *facinus* (*ibid.*, 193, at n. 3), *elideret* for *illideret* (*ibid.*, 194, n. 3); their insertion of the sentence *Quid (Lor Quis) enim...pro Christo?* (*ibid.*, 188, n. 7) and the phrase, *et eum gratiarum actione clamantibus* (*ibid.*, 192, n. 4), and their omission of the paragraph *Cumque regis...sententiam minabatur* (*ibid.*, 189–90) and the phrase *noster beatissimus et invictus* (*ibid.*, 194 at n. 4).

tions. In *Lor*, the sections are numbered as lections, and five of them are followed by the abbreviation «tu autem»,⁷⁹ which suggests immediate derivation from a liturgical book designed for secular, that is, non-monastic use.⁸⁰ With the addition of a Gospel reading, such an arrangement would have provided enough lections for the celebration of St Thomas's feast (29 December) in a cathedral church or in a community of canons regular. This adaptation seems to have been made at Santa Cruz. Although there are no numbers in *SC*, its text indicates that the *passio* was adapted for local liturgical use. Each of paragraphs [1]–[7] is followed by the abbreviation «T», and a contemporary hand has inserted, between Lections [6] and [7], the *incipit* of an appropriate reading from St Luke's gospel, «Si quis uenit ad me» (f. 4v).⁸¹ Santa Cruz, of course, was a monastery of Augustinian canons; and it is interesting that the librarian who entered a description of the work on the flyleaf (f. ii^v) in the eighteenth century thought that Becket was a «Conego Regular»! No such adaptation seems to have been made at Lorvão, where monastic custom would have required a twelve-lection structure: *Lor*'s scribe merely copied what he had in front of him. In the *Alc* transcription there is no numeration and no liturgical abbreviations, but the *passio* is arranged in the same eight sections, and the insertion of stress marks suggests that it was used for public reading, perhaps in the refectory.

Five years ago I suggested that the Lorvão manuscript was copied from the first exemplar which Abbot Odo of Battle sent to his relatives in the Cistercian monastery of Igny. Further work on the surviving manuscripts suggests a modification of that attractive theory. In the light of the survival of what appear to be two traditions of the earliest text, one can now propose that Odo's text was taken to France, where it became the ancestor of the transcriptions in Pontigny and Clairvaux, while a less carefully produced transcription, perhaps hurriedly copied from it, found its way to Portugal by 1185 at the latest, when it was copied at Lorvão, before transmission to Coimbra and (perhaps) Alcobaça.

⁷⁹ «Tu autem», which follows Lections 1, 2, 4, 6 and 7, is an abbreviation for the response, «Tu autem Domine, miserere nostri».

⁸⁰ The secular office of Matins was distinguished from the monastic office by having nine lections instead of twelve for major feasts.

⁸¹ Luke 14: 26.

APPENDIX

Select Collation of Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional, cod. Alcobaça CCXC/143 (from Lorvão), Porto, BPM, cod. Santa Cruz 60 (from Santa Cruz, Coimbra), and Lisbon, Bibl. Nacional, cod. Alcobaça cclxxxix/172 (? from Alcobaça).

The following table contains a select collation of the variants in the three Portuguese manuscripts of Benedict of Peterborough's *Liber miraculorum b. Thome* compared with Canon Robertson's edition in *Materials for the History of Thomas Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury ...*, ed. J. C. ROBERTSON and J. B. SHEPPARD, 7 vols, Rolls Series, 67 (London, 1875–85), ii (1876), 21–257 (= *MTB*).

+ agreement with the reading or omission noted for the Lorvão MS
 [...] erasure
 [—] omission
underline on erasure

	Lorvão MS	Santa Cruz MS	Alcobaça MS	<i>MTB</i> p.
1	<i>om. immo</i>	+	+	21 ln. 6
2	<i>apostatam for apostata</i>	+	+	23 n. 3
3	<i>ins. mundi</i>	+	+	23 n. 5
4	<i>om. ecclesie</i>	+	+	23 n. 6
5	<i>de ecclesie for decedere/discedere</i>	decedere	decedere	25 n. 1
6	<i>ins. ecclesie after universalis</i>	+	+	25 ln. 10
7	<i>super for sub</i>	+	+	26 n. 1
8	<i>om. et penitentibus</i>	+	+	26 ln. 8
9	<i>essent for esset</i>	esset <i>expunct.</i>	esset	at n. 2
10	<i>uirgas for uirgulas</i>	+	+	30 n. 6
11	<i>intutis for intimis</i>	+	+	31 n. 2
	32 ln. 23–46 ln. 18: <i>om. uisioni ...</i> <i>Ecce (cod. mutil.)</i>			
12	<i>circa for citra</i>	+	<i>circa post corr.</i>	47 n. 5
13	<i>om. coruscaret</i>	coruscaret <i>ins. marg.</i>	+	47 n. 6
14	<i>sclirosin for sclirosim</i>	+	<i>sclirosin post corr.</i>	48 n. 1
15	<i>uerthe for werde</i>	werde	werde	n. 5
16	<i>dictum est for diximus</i>	+	+	49 n. 1
17	<i>paruitate for paucitate</i>	+	+	49 n. 3
18	<i>ins. reiterare</i>	+	+	50 n. 2
19	<i>Exultante for Exulante</i>	Exulante	Exulante	50 ln. 20
20	<i>om. est</i>	+	+	51 ln. 1
21	<i>cloecstreensem for colecestrensem</i>	+	+	51 ln. 1-2
22	<i>cloecstreensi for colecestrensi</i>	+	+	51 ln. 10
23	<i>conseruabatur for conseruatur/seruatur</i>	+	+	51 n. 7

24	possit <i>for</i> posset	+	+	51	n. 8
25	Estimant <i>for</i> estimantes	Estimant <i>post corr.</i>	+	51	ln. 24
26	cloceestriam <i>for</i> coleceestriam	+	+	52	ln. 31
27	<i>om. (per homoioteleuton)</i> misisset ... quantum	+	+	52	ln. 3
28	susceperit <i>for</i> susceperint	susceperit <i>post corr.</i>	suscepit	52	n. 2
29	resumptam <i>for</i> resumpta	+	+	52	n. 4
30	<i>om. illum</i>	+	+	52	ln. 9
31	fixa <i>for</i> fissa	fissa	+	52	n. 5
32	guillelmus <i>for</i> Gillemmus	+	+	52	n. 7
33	<i>om. vir et</i>	+	+	52	ln. 16
34	<i>om. et (2)</i>	+	+	52	ln. 17
35	<i>om. enim</i>	+	+	52	n. 9
36	deportatione <i>for</i> deportationem	+	+	52	n. 11
37	carius <i>for</i> impossibilis	impossibilis <i>del.</i> ; carius <i>interlin</i>	+	53	ln. 2
38	<i>om. non</i>	+	+	53	ln. 2
39	speciosas <i>for</i> pretiosas	+	+	53	ln. 4
40	<i>om. martyris</i>	+	+	53	ln. 9
41	ampullam <i>for</i> ampulle fundo	ampulla	ampulla	53	ln. 17
42	residuum in ampulla <i>for</i> in ampullam residuum	+	+	53	ln. 19
43	Funditur <i>for</i> Finditur	Funditur <i>corr. to</i> Finditur	+	53	ln. 25
44	sanguis <i>for</i> sanguinis	sanguinis	sanguinis	53	ln. 30
45	<i>om. ei</i>	+	+	54	ln. 13
46	Etheldritam <i>for</i> Atheldridam	Etheldritam <i>post corr.</i>	+	54	n. 4
47	<i>om. quamdam</i>	<i>om. quamdam ? by erasure</i>	+	54	ln. 19
48	expertum <i>for</i> experimentum	+	+	55	ln. 2
49	nec <i>for</i> non	+	+	55	n. 1
50	commixtione <i>for</i> per commixtionem	+	+	55	ln. 8
51	processit <i>for</i> processit	+	+	55	n. 2
52	ad dulcedenem <i>for</i> a dulcedine	ad dulcedenem <i>corr. to</i> a dulcedine	a dulcedine	55	ln. 25
53	<i>om. fore</i>	+	+	55	ln. 27
54	tamque <i>for</i> tantumque	+	+	56	ln. 9
55	circa <i>for</i> citra	+	citra	56	n. 2
56	resurrectionis dominice dies, in qua tota letatur et exultat ecclesia; dies quam fecit dominus <i>for</i> dies resurrectionis ... ecclesia	+	+	57	ln. 1-3
57	attraxerat <i>for</i> attraxit	+	+	57	ln. 14
58	<i>om. et</i>	+	+	57	n. 1
59	obdomisse (!) <i>et for</i> obdormientem	ordomisse (!) <i>et</i>	ordomisse (!) <i>et</i>	57	ln. 20
60	sansonem <i>for</i> samsonem	<i>reading uncertain:</i>	+	57	n. 4
61	expimendum <i>for</i> expimendis	+	expimendis	58	ln. 1

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62	<i>om. paulatim</i>	+	+	58	ln. 2
63	<i>hospitati for hospiti</i>	hospiti	hospiti	58	ln. 5
64	<i>a for per</i>	a <i>interlin;</i> pueros et e' rios <i>corr. to</i> pueris et ebris	+	58	ln. 10
65	<i>oculis (!: written oc~is) for clericis/ecclesiis</i>	<u>clericis</u>	clericis	58	ln. 11
66	<i>eamque for causaque</i>	+	+	58	ln. 12
67	<i>om. est</i>	+	+	58	n. 1
68	<i>morienti for morientem</i>	+	<i>morientem post corr.</i>	58	ln. 15
69	<i>om. revera</i>	+	+	58	ln. 25
70	<i>om. viro</i>	+	+	59	ln. 1
71	<i>om. duo</i>	+	+	59	ln. 1
72	<i>aut for vel</i>	+	+	59	n. 3
73	<i>conuertit for converterat</i>	conuertat	+	59	ln. 10
74	<i>igitur for pater</i>	<u>igitur</u>	+	59	ln. 11
75	<i>intuentum for intuentium</i>	+	intuentium	59	ln. 13
76	<i>manninaus for manwinus</i>	manwinus	manwinus	59	ln. 18
77	<i>om. pauper quidem</i>	+	+	59	ln. 18
78	<i>linicrat for liverat</i>	+	+	59	n. 5
79	<i>promeruc for promeruit</i>	promeruit	promeruit	59	ln. 29
80	<i>om. nolebat/noluit</i>	+	noluit	60	@n. 1
81	<i>om. clausa</i>	+	+	60	ln. 19
82	<i>non unum for nec unum tantum</i>	<u>non unum</u> [...]	+	61	ln 7
83	<i>salutem for misericordiam</i>	<u>salutem</u>	salutem	61	ln. 11
84	<i>martirio for misericordia</i>	+	+	61	ln. 13-4
85	<i>clidida for edilda/cliditha</i>	+	+	61	n. 3
86	<i>om. in</i>	+	+	62	n. 1
87	<i>poterat for potuerat</i>	+	+	62	ln. 4
88	<i>om. pugno</i>	[...]	[...]	62	ln. 5
89	<i>credebat for cedebat</i>	+	+	62	ln. 6
90	<i>pluraritas(!) for plantas</i>	<i>plantas post corr.</i> <i>from ?</i> pluritas	plantas	62	ln. 14
91	<i>wulviuc for wlvive/wulvine</i>	wlvivue	wlvivue	62	n. 6
92	<i>renu for renum</i>	renum <i>corr. to</i> genu	genu	62	ln. 19
93	<i>et nudus (post. corr. from et mudus) for cadmundus</i>	edmundus	et mundus	62	ln. 23
94	<i>om. satis</i>	+	+	62	ln 23
95	<i>om. et (1)</i>	+	+	63	ln. 4
96	<i>om. sanguinis</i>	+	+	63	ln. 6
97	<i>peticionis for potionis</i>	potionis	potionis	63	ln. 7
98	<i>Prefectaque for perfectaque</i>	perfectaque	perfectaque	63	ln. 23
99	<i>om. per</i>	+	+	63	ln. 31
100	<i>cessat for ccssaut</i>	<u>cessat</u>	+	64	n. 1
101	<i>tantos for thanatos/tanatos</i>	+	+	65	n. 2
102	<i>mirandi for miranda/admiranda</i>	+	miranda	65	n. 4

103	ab hoc <i>for</i> a mundi huius	ab <u>hoc</u> [...]	+	65	ln. 13
104	imponatque <i>for</i> imponctque	impon[...] <u>que</u> ; <i>at interlined</i>	+	65	ln. 16
105	recordatur <i>for</i> recordatus	+	+	65	n. 5
106	oratione <i>for</i> orationem	+	+	65	n. 7
107	<i>ius</i> turbatus post paululum quietem cum uisu recepit	+	+	65	ln. 27
108	fordwinco <i>for</i> fordwico	fordwico	fordwico	66	ln. 3
109	insanians <i>for</i> insaniens	insaniens	insaniens	66	ln. 7
110	suscepimus <i>for</i> recepimus	+	+	66	n. 1
111	orationi <i>for</i> et in orationem	+	+	66	ln. 14
112	eius <i>for</i> suo	+	+	66	n. 2
113	tenbam <i>for</i> tenham/thennam	+	+	66	n. 4
114	cilwardus <i>for</i> cilward	+	+	66	n. 5
115	suauis <i>for</i> suauitatis	suaui[...] <u>s</u> [...]	suauis	66	ln. 26
116	cuidam <i>for</i> uni	cuidam <i>add. marg.</i>	+	67	ln. 7
117	<i>om. casu</i>	+	+	67	ln. 10
118	astitit <i>for</i> institit	+	+	67	n. 2
119	non <i>for</i> minime	+	+	67	n. 3
120	corde <i>for</i> cordis	+	cordis <i>post corr.</i>	67	ln. 14
121	<i>om. sanitas</i>	+	+	68	n. 2
122	ferens <i>for</i> ferres	+	+	68	n. 6
123	discreuit <i>for</i> decreuit	+	+	69	ln. 10
124	miracula <i>for</i> miranda	+	+	69	n. 2
125	aqua in latus contrarium <i>for</i> aquam in aliud pyxidis latus	aqua in latus <u>contrarium</u>	aquam in latus contrarium	70	ln. 13
126	est <i>for</i> esse	+	+	71	n. 4
127	Voluit <i>for</i> Doluit	+	+	72	n. 1
128	anne salubri <i>for</i> anne tamisie	anne <u>salubri</u> [...]	anne salubri	72	n. 3
129	uectore <i>for</i> uectori	+	+	72	n. 4
130	proectes <i>for</i> proeecte	proeecte	proeecte	73	ln. 4
131	hominis <i>for</i> hominum	+	+	73	n. 2
132	reuocari <i>for</i> renouari	renouari	+	73	n. 6
133	<i>om. que</i>	+	+	73	n. 7
134	durensi <i>for</i> dourensi	+	+	74	n. 2
135	paruit imperanti <i>for</i> paruit imperatis	+	+	74	n. 4
136	norhantonia <i>for</i> norhamtuna	+	norhantoria	74	n. 5
137	rursum <i>for</i> rursus	+	+	75	n. 1
138	presentis <i>for</i> prepopere	+	+	75	ln. 9
139	<i>om. que</i>	+	+	75	n. 3
140	coronauit <i>for</i> donauit	+	+	76	n. 7
141	<i>om. cutis</i>	+	+	76	n. 10
142	resuscitator <i>for</i> resuscitato	resuscitato <i>post corr.</i> <i>from resuscitator</i>	resuscitato	76	n. 11
143	tamen <i>for</i> tantum	+	+	76	n. 13

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144	quanto <i>a for</i> quanto	+	+	77	n. 5
145	extenta <i>for</i> extensa	+	+	77	n. 6
146	sub altare <i>for</i> retro altare beate Marie	sub <u>al[...]</u> tare	sub altare	77	ln 29
147	diuinus <i>for</i> diuinitus	+	+	78	n. 3
148	eilnodi <i>for</i> eilnoldi	+	acilnodi	79	n. 1
149	tractatu uiolento <i>for</i> tractu uiolente	tractu uiolento	tractu uiolente	79	n. 4
150	martiris <i>for</i> matris	+	+	79	n. 5
151	om. domini	+	+	80	@ n. 2
152	tanges <i>for</i> tangis	+	+	80	n. 3
153	radulfus <i>for</i> randulfus	+	+	80	n. 4
154	ins. in modum	in modum <i>add. marg.</i>	+	80	ln 23
155	citini <i>for</i> ertini	+	citini <i>post corr.</i>	81	n. 2
156	Fundoniensis <i>for</i> Lundoniensis	+	+	83	ln. 4
157	circumstantium <i>for</i> astantium	+	+	84	n. 1
158	pium gloriosum spectaculum <i>for</i> gloriosum et pium spectaculum	+	pium et gloriosum spectaculum	86	n. 2
159	tanintona <i>for</i> tanitona	tanintona	tannitona	87	n. 1
160	parid <i>for</i> paridis	parid[...]	+	87	n. 2
161	gipesuit <i>for</i> gipeswiz/gispeswiz	+	+	87	n. 3
162	om. in	+	+	88	n. 2
163	frecdonem <i>for</i> frodonem	+	+	88	n. 4
164	æilmerus <i>for</i> eilmerus	+	+	88	n. 6
165	decheui <i>for</i> becho/deche	deche <i>with</i> cui et <i>interlined</i>	+	88	n. 7
166	aedilpa <i>for</i> edilda/aedilda	+	+	88	n. 8
167	successerat <i>for</i> successit	+	+	89	ln 13
168	ins si fuerit	<i>interlined</i>	+	89	ln 23
169	om. perniox	+	+	93	ln. 22
170	malildi <i>for</i> matildi	malildi	malildi	94	ln. 10
171	gillebertus <i>for</i> gilcbertus	+	+	94	n. 2
172	om. cum	+	+	97	n. 1
173	om. abstracto	+	ins.	100	n. 1
174	erleia <i>for</i> erleya	+	+	101	n. 1
175	om. est	+	ins.	102	n. 3
176	Dolentes <i>for</i> uolentes	+	+	102	n. 4
177	ydropsim <i>for</i> hydropsin	+	+	103	n. 3
178	om. qualiter...doluert	+	+	104	ln 8-9
179	ornamento <i>for</i> orario	+	+	104	ln 9
180	lundoniensis <i>for</i> londoniensis	+	+	104	n. 1
181	inpetrauit <i>for</i> mane exaudiit uocem eius	+	+	104	ln 23
182	canleuedane <i>for</i> canleuadane	+	canleuedone	105	n. i
183	capp. 61 and 62 reversed	+	+	106	n. 1
184	Vokeleia <i>for</i> Rokeleia	bokleia	bokleia <i>post corr.</i>	106	n. 2
185	martiri <i>for</i> martiris	+	+	106	n. 4

186	hcdlega for hethlega/hclega	+	+	107	n. 1
187	om. ter	+	+	107	n. 3
188	saropesboriensis for saleberiensis/sa loberniensis	+	salesberiensis	108	n. 2
189	Itc for Vite	Item	Item	110	ln. 24
190	homberti for hercberti	+	+	110	@ n. 1
191	coartato for coarctato	+	+	110	n. 3
192	tisis for phthisis	+	+	110	n. 4
193	et quia non est firmamentum for quia est firmamentum (<i>confirming Giles's reading</i>)	+	+	110	ln 31
194	Lcsceda for lcfscda/jcbsceda	Lcfscda	Lcfscda	115	n. 3
195	tantos for tanatos/tanathos	+	+	116	n. 2
196	solide fixit for solido fixit	solide fixit	solide fimit	117	ln. 6
197	clfuuardi for Aylwardi	clfwardi	+	118	n. 1
198	elfsiestun for Elficstun	elfsiestun	elfsiestun	122	n. 1
199	mutuauit for mutauit	+	+	122	n. 2
200	reparato for reparata	+	+	122	n. 3
201	cilwinus debercanstede for cilwinus de berchamstede	Eilwlinus de bercanstede	Eiluulinus de bercanstede	124	ln. 1
202	lefstanestona for lefstantestub/	+	+	126	n. 2
203	goseale for goschale/gesehale	+	+	127	n. 2
204	om. sinus	[...]	[...]	128	ln 7
205	Audit for Addit	+	+	129	n. 1
206	abundantia for abundantiam	+	+	132	n. 2
207	om. Nonulli ... comparauit	+	+	134	n. 4
208	roheis for rocis/rocis	+	+	137	n. 2
209	norha'toniam/norhamtoniam	+	norhantoniam	138	n. 1
210	viviani for vivini	+	+	138	n. 3
211	om. de wedestoc	+	+	139	n. 2
212	peth for pech	peth/pech uncertain	beth	141	n. 1
213	om. etiam	+	+	141	n. 2
214	eggearduitona for eggerdintuna /acggerdintona	+	+	141	n. 3
215	eluidam for aluidam/aeluidam	aeluidam	aeluidam	141	n. 4
216	breth wella for breithwella/brithwelle	+	bireth wella	141	n. 5
217	cpilensia for epilepsia/epylensia	+	+	143	n. 1
218	lintana for luitona/iintona	+	+	143	n. 2
219	gunnalde for gunnilde	+	+	143	n. 3
220	infatigabilis for indefatigabilis	+	+	147	n. 2
221	weldefordensi for wellesfordensis/ veldefordnsis	wellefordensis	wellefordensis	147	n. 4
222	Giro for Viro	+	+	148	ln. 23
223	tumorisque for timorisque	+	+	148	n. 1
224	om. Itmaro id	[...]	ricardo et giro	149	ln 7

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225	<i>in natam for innatam</i>	+	+	150	n. 1
226	<i>fothestanic for folkestanac/follicestanic</i>	<u>fol-hectanic</u>	folhectanic	150	n. 2
227	<i>Maltidem for Matildem</i>	+	+	151	ln. 25
228	<i>seleuini for silewini/seleuini</i>	selewini	selewini	151	n. 2
229	<i>thoribiria for thornberia</i>	+	torbiria	151	n. 3
230	<i>om. uero aducesperasceret</i>	[...]	uero nox uiciniset	153	ln. 13
231	<i>bennintona for benintona</i>	+	+	155	n. 1
232	<i>cupiditas for cupiditatis</i>	+	+	157	ln. 12
233	<i>cilicine for cilicina</i>	+	+	164	n. 1
234	<i>apposite for crecte</i>	+	+	165	n. 1
235	<i>wlewich for welewich/ulewic</i>	ulewich	ulewich	165	n. 3
236	<i>Ydropsis for Hydropsis</i>	+	+	166	n. 1
237	<i>heysa for heisa/hesa</i>	+	+	166	n. 2
238	<i>hadewico^{pc} for hedewico</i>	+	+	167	n. 2
239	<i>inclinauit for commouit</i>	+	+	167	n. 5
240	<i>norforkia for sudfolkia</i>	+	+	167	n. 6
241	<i>aduluestre for alduluestre/alduiestre</i>	+	+	168	n. 1
242	<i>Videns for Videres</i>	+	+	170	ln. 23
243	<i>om. autem</i>	+	+	171	ln. 7
244	<i>etici for ethici</i>	+	+	173	n. 2
245	<i>cirothecas for chirothecas/ cirotecas</i>	+	+	174	n. 1
246	<i>maxime ut for maxime uero</i>	+	maxime uero	175	n. 1
247	<i>angerius for gaufridus</i>	+	+	176	ln. 1
248	<i>iterum for item (confirming Robertson's conjecture)</i>	+	+	176	n. 2
249	<i>bedeforensen for bedefordensem</i>	+	+	177	n. 4
250	<i>om. autem</i>	+	+	180	n. 1
251	<i>populique for populi et</i>	+	+	180	n. 2
252	<i>om. iam</i>	+	+	183	n. 3
253	<i>delectatur for delectantur</i>	+	+	184	n. 1
254	<i>loca for mcrita</i>	+	+	184	n. 3
255	<i>Rescederet for Residebat</i>	+	+	188	ln. 26
256	<i>om. confugiunt</i>	[...]	intrauerunt	189	ln 4
257	<i>om. in spiritu</i>	+	+	190	n. 2
258	<i>cifum for scyphum/ciphum/cyphum</i>	cifum	scifum	192	n. 1
259	<i>scleieuc for seileuc</i>	+	+	193	n. 1
260	<i>mortuo quam uiuenti simillior for morienti simillimus</i>	+	+	194	n. 1
261	<i>anfridus for ansfridus/hamfridus</i>	+	+	196	n. 1
262	<i>bterinum (bt'inum) for beitinum/bictinam</i>	bertinum	bertinum	197	n. 3
263	<i>pagano for pago</i>	+	+	198	n. 1
264	<i>Durandus osberni augensis cuiusdam filius amatus forte uocatus. lapillos ludebat cum lapilos in aera sparsit for Ludebat cum lapillis Durandus Osberni Augensis</i>	<u>Durandus osberni</u> <u>augensis cuiusdam</u> <u>filius amatus</u> <u>forte uocatus. lapillos...</u>			

	cuiusdam filius. A matre forte uocatus lapillos in aera sparsit.	sparsit	+	200	ln.17-19
265	taruennesis <i>for</i> taucmensis	t'uennesis	t'uennensis	201	ln. 5
266	quali	+	quasi	202	n. 1
267	Inposito <i>for</i> Impositos	+	+	207	n. 2
268	radulfus <i>for</i> radulphus	+	+	211	n. 1
269	idemptitate <i>for</i> identitate	+	identitate <i>post</i> <i>corr. from</i> idcmptitate	211	n. 4
270	dimittens <i>for</i> dimittentes; <i>om.</i> cymbam	dimittens [...]	dimittentes in aliam	212	ln. 26
271	absortam <i>for</i> absorptam	+	+	213	n. 1
272	aliucdus <i>for</i> aeluredus/aluredus	+	+	214	n. 3
273	ailuueker <i>for</i> cilwecher	ailweker	ailucker <i>post corr.</i>	215	n. 1
274	<i>om.</i> omnes 215 ln. 16–217 ln. 10: <i>om.</i> sociis suis ... uisus est eis (<i>cod. mutil.</i>)	+	+	215	n. 2
275	neaho <i>for</i> nean/ncau	+	+	221	n. 1
276	ferme <i>for</i> fere	+	+	221	n. 3
277	margaritam <i>for</i> margaretam	+	+	222	n. 3
278	<i>om.</i> et	+	+	223	n. 2
279	metanic <i>for</i> melanic	+	+	226	n. 2
280	domum <i>for</i> demum	+	+	226	n. 3
281	robertulus <i>for</i> rodbertulus	+	+	226	n. 4
282	reuma <i>for</i> rheuma	+	+	227	n. 1
283	attendat <i>for</i> attendat	attendat	+	227	ln. 25
284	wluiua <i>for</i> wuluiua	wluyua	+	228	n. 3
285	brichwini <i>for</i> brithwini 229 ln. 8–230 ln. 31: <i>om.</i> incommodo... audiuimus (<i>cod. mutil.</i>)	+	brichuini	228	n. 4
286	utique <i>for</i> utrique	+	+	232	n. 1
287	mauult <i>for</i> maluit	+	+	234	n. 2
288	ciceram <i>for</i> sicceram	+	+	236	n. 2
289	<i>ins.</i> in uocem ... beatissimi martyris (confirming Robertson's emendation)	+	+	237	n. 2
290	Extensus <i>for</i> Extentus	+	+	238	n. 3
291	[—]roides <i>for</i> Hemorrhoides	[—]roides	Moroides	239	n. 1
292	cimiterium <i>for</i> cemeterium	+	+	239	n. 2
293	ydropsim <i>for</i> hydropisin	+	+	241	n. 1
294	iuliane <i>for</i> uillane (confirming Robertson's conjecture)	+	+	241	n. 2
295	uiuicatum <i>for</i> uiuificatum	iN uicatVM	+	241	ln. 31
296	rodigensis <i>for</i> radingensis	+	+	242	n. 1
297	mane <i>for</i> mare	+	+	243	n. 1
298	effluenti	+	affluenti	244	n. 1
299	<i>om.</i> Rcuersus autem ... deterioratus est.	+	+	244	ln. 31
300	applicatus <i>for</i> applicatur	+	+	245	n. 1

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301	ac magis <i>for</i> magisque	+	+	245	n. 2
302	conuertit	+	conucnit	245	ln. 22
303	omnibus <i>for</i> omnis (confirming Robertson's conjecture)	+	+	246	n. 1
304	in terram corruens superatus est tenebat <i>for</i> tenebat corruens superatus est	+ <i>but marked for correction to tenebat...est</i>	t enebat in terram corruens superatus est	247	ln. 17
305	dennitota <i>for</i> denintona	+	dennintona	248	ln. 15
306	Discedunt <i>for</i> Descendunt	+	+	248	ln. 20
307	a dextera <i>for</i> dextera	+	+	249	n. 1
308	Virum <i>for</i> Mirum	+	+	250	ln. 7
309	prorsus <i>for</i> prius (confirming Robertson's emendation)	+	+	252	n. 1
310	hathfel <i>for</i> hathfeld	+	+	253	n. 1
311	Cuiusdam <i>for</i> Eiusdam	Cuiusdam	Eiusdam	254	ln. 15
312	arripiens	+	ambiens	256	n. 2
313	ac <i>for</i> et	+	+	256	n. 3
314	om. inquit	+	+	257	n. 1
315	om. inquit	+	+	257	n. 2