The Cult of St Æthelwold and its Context, c. 984 - c. 1400

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A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Ph.D in History

September 2016

Declaration

This thesis is submitted to the University of London in support of my application for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. I, Rebecca Browett, hereby confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own, carried out during the course of my studies.

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Abstract

This thesis documents the cult of St Æthelwold, a tenth-century bishop of Winchester, from its inception (*c*. 984) until the late Middle Ages. During his life, Æthelwold was an authoritative figure who reformed monasteries in southern England. Those communities subsequently venerated him as a saint and this thesis examines his cult at those centres. In particular, it studies how his cult enabled monasteries to forge their identities and to protect their rights from avaricious bishops. It analyses the changing levels of veneration accorded to Æthelwold over a five hundred year period and compares this with other well-known saints' cults. It uses diverse evidence from hagiographies, chronicles, chartularies, poems, church dedications, wall paintings, and architecture. Very few studies have attempted to chart the development of an early English saint's cult over such a long time period, and my multidisciplinary approach, using history, art, and literary studies, offers insight into the changing role of native saints in the English church and society over the course of the Middle Ages.

The thesis has five chapters, excluding the introduction and conclusion. Chapter 1 compares Æthelwold's early cult and the concepts of sanctity displayed in his hagiography with contemporary English and continental cults and their written saints' lives. Chapter 2 analyses the cult in the turbulent post-Conquest period. Chapter 3 demonstrates that *c*.1111 there was a hitherto unstudied revival of the cult, which spread Æthelwold's relics across southern England. Chapter 4 analyses Æthelwold in twelfth-century monastic literature, examining the different depictions of Æthelwold, and how and why Æthelwold was employed by monastic communities to protect their rights and lands. Chapter 5 examines the cult in the later Middle Ages, analysing the continued liturgical veneration of Æthelwold at monastic houses throughout England, and how the

community of Winchester used his cult to foster their internal monastic identity. The thesis places Æthelwold's cult in context and broadly examines how saints' cults, as a cultural phenomenon, developed and functioned in medieval society.

Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the generosity of many people and organisations. First of all, I would like to thank the Arts and Humanities Research Council for awarding me a full doctoral studentship, without which I could not have pursued this research. My heartfelt thanks must also go to my supervisor, Dr Alan Thacker, who provided much support and guidance throughout my studies. He has been a fantastic mentor and my thesis would have been bereft without his input and supervision.

I am also grateful to the staff at the Institute of Historical Research and its Library, in particular Professor Matthew Davies who gave excellent feedback at my upgrade. I would also like to thank Dr Stephen Baxter for his advice and comments during my first year review. Thanks must also go to Dr Tom Licence, who not only examined my upgrade, but provided thoughtful comments, feedback and guidance on multiple drafts of papers in the final years of my studies.

My studies would have been inordinately harder without the support of my friends. Thanks must go to Rebekah Moore and Charlie Berry who were sources of support, amusement and distraction (and tea!) throughout. To Emma Parr, Sara Newton and James Kidd, thank you for convincing me I could finish and keeping me sane.

And last but not least, I would like to express my gratitude to my family. My thanks to my grandparents, Linda and Derrick Evans, who have helped and supported me in every way possible. My sister, Siân Schwar: thank you for believing in me, even when I did not. And finally, thank you to my parents, Helen and Eric Browett, who have supported and encouraged me, not just during my PhD, but my whole life. You inspired my love of history and gave me confidence to pursue it. For everything you have given me, I dedicate this thesis to you as a small token of my gratitude.

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Abbreviations

AHR	*American Historical Review*
ANS	*Anglo-Norman Studies*
AMW	*Annales Monasterii de Wintonia*, ed. H. R. Luard, *Annales Monastici,* Rolls Series 3 (London, 1864-9), II
ASC	*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* eds. D. Whitelock, D. C. Douglas and S. I. Tucker (London, 1961)
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASL	M. Lapidge (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the saints,* HBS 106 (London, 1991)
B, *VsD*	B., *Vita s. Dunstani,* ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012)
Brooks *et al.*, *St Oswald of Worcester*	N. Brooks and C. Cubbit (eds.), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996)
Byrhtferth, *VsO*	Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita s. Oswaldi,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009)
CHJ	*Cambridge Historical Journal*
CMA	*Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon,* ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols., Rolls Series 2 (London, 1858).
Eadmer, *MsD*	Eadmer, *Miracula s. Dunstani,* eds. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir, *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006)
Eadmer, *MsO*	Eadmer, *Miracula s. Oswaldi,* eds. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir, *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006)

Eadmer, *VsD*	Eadmer, *Vita s. Dunstani,* eds. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir, *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006)
Eadmer, *VsO*	*Vita s. Oswaldi,* eds. A. J. Turner and B. J. Muir, *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006)
HER	*English Historical Review*
EHS	English Historical Society
Fasti:II	*Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066 – 1300, volume 2: Monastic Cathedrals,* ed. J. Le Neve (London, 1971)
Fasti:VII	*Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: volume 7: Bath and Wells,* ed. D. E. Greenway (London, 2001)
HA	*Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon,* ed. and trans. J. Hudson, 2 vols (Oxford, 2002)
HC	Hugh Candidus, *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough,* trans. W. T. Mellows and C. T. Mellows (Oxford, 1941)
HC (1966)	Hugh Candidus, *The Peterborough Chronicle of Hugh Candidus,* ed. W. T. Mellows, revised edition (Oxford, 1966)
Heads	D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, V. C. M. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales,* I, 940 – 1216 (Cambridge, 1972; 2nd edn., 2001)
HBS	Henry Bradshaw Society
HHHA	*Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon: Historia Anglorum, The History of the English People,* ed. D. Greenway (Oxford, 1996)
HN	Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia,* ed. M. Rule (London, 1884)
HSJ	*Haskins Society Journal*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*

JL	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, ed. P. Jaffé, 2nd edn. by W. Wattenbach et al., 2 vols. (Leipzig, 1885 – 1888)
Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*	M. Lapidge, M. Winterbottom (eds), *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St. Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991)
Libellus Æthelwoldi	*The Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi,* ed. and trans. S. Keynes and A. Kennedy, *Charters of Ely Abbey,* British Academy and Royal Historical Society Joint Committee on Anglo-Saxon Charters (Oxford, forthcoming); draft translation published online: [http://www.kemble.asnc.cam.ac.uk/sites/default/files/files/Libellus~TransSingSp.pdf]
Liber Eliensis, ed. Blake	*Liber Eliensis,* ed. E. O. Blake, Camden Society, 3rd series, 92 (London, 1962).
Liber Eliensis, ed. Fairweather	*Liber Eliensis: a History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century,* ed. and trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005)
Memorials	*Memorials of St. Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury,* ed. W. Subbs, Rolls Series 63 (London, 1874)
MO	D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940 - 1216* (Cambridge, 1940)
MsU	Gerhard of Augsburg, *Miracula s. Oudalrici Episcopi Augustani,* ed. W. Berschin and A. Hase (Heidelberg, 1993)
PL	J. P. Migne, *Patrologiae Cursus Completus. Series Latina,* 221 vols. (Paris, 1844 – 64),
Ramsay *et al., St Dunstan*	N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (eds.), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992)

RRAN1	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, *1066 – 1154: I Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi, 1066 - 1100,* ed. H. W. C. Davis with R. J. Whitwell (Oxford, 1913).
RRAN2	*Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, *1066 – 1154: II Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100 – 1135,* ed. C. Johnson and H. A. Cronne (Oxford, 1956).
RS	Rolls Series
S	S P.H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) = *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* [esawyer.org.uk].
The Thorney Annals	*The Thorney Annals, 963 – 1412 A.D,* ed. C. Hart (New York, 1997)
Turner, Muir (eds), *Eadmer*	A. J. Turner, B. J. Muir (eds), *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006)
VsÆ	Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St. Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991)
VsBr	Ruotger, *Vita s. Brunoni,* ed. I. Ott, *Ruogers Lebensbeschreibung Des Erzbischofs Bruno Von Koln, MGH, New Series,* vol. 10 (Gutenberg, 1951).
VsBu	[Ebbo/Eberhard of Worms], *Vita s. Burchardi,* trans. W. L. North, *Fordham Internet Medieval Sourcebook* (1998), https://legacy.fordham.edu/Halsall/source/1025burchard-vita.asp.
VsBu, MGH	*Vita s. Burchardi,* ed. G. Waitz, *Monumenta Germanica Historica SS 4* (Hannover, 1841), pp. 830 - 46
VsU	Gerhard of Augsburg, *Vita s. Oudalrici Episcopi Augustani,* ed. W. Berschin and A. Hase (Heidelberg, 1993).
Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold*	Barbara Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988)

Introduction

In the words of his own hagiographer, 'Æthelwold was terrible as a lion to malefactors and the wayward'.[1] To James Robinson in the 1920s, Æthelwold was a 'harsh, unyielding, hasty reformer...whose cruelty produced a reaction the moment he was dead'.[2] John Blair said Æthelwold was 'the sternest and most uncompromising' of his contemporary reforming bishops, whilst Frank Stenton said he had an 'unattractive personality'.[3] These words have coloured modern historical perceptions of Æthelwold and led many to believe that Æthelwold and his subsequent cult were not especially well loved.[4] This thesis seeks to readdress these interpretations and chart the development of his cult over the course of the Middle Ages. I will argue that this image of Æthelwold, as presented by Wulfstan, was in fact carefully crafted to present the ideals of Æthelwold's Benedictine monasticism and has subsequently been misinterpreted by modern historians.

St Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester from 963 until his death in 984, was one of the key figures in the English monastic reform movement of the tenth century, alongside his contemporaries: archbishops Dunstan of Canterbury (d. 988) and Oswald of York (d. 992).[5] Æthelwold was born during the reign of King Edward (904/5 - 909) and went to study in King Æthelstan's household (924- 937/8) sometime in his youth. At the command of Æthelstan, Æthelwold was tonsured by Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester (931 - 51), possibly at the same time as St Dunstan, whom Æthelwold then studied under at

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[1] *VsÆ,* c. 28, pp. 44 - 5: *Erat namque terribilis ut leo discolis et peruersis...*
[2] J. A. Robinson, *The Times of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923)*,* p. 104.
[3] J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005)*,* p. 351; F. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3rd edn (Oxford, 2001), p. 452.
[4] See above, and F. Stenton, *The Early History of Abingdon Abbey* (Stamford, 1989), pp. 6 - 7; A. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon' in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold*, pf. 55.
[5] For their lives and careers see Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold*; Ramsay *et al.*, *St Dunstan*; Brooks *et al.*, *St Oswald of Worcester*.

Glastonbury.[6] From there, King Eadred (923 - 955) made Æthelwold abbot of Abingdon, and eventually King Edgar (959 - 975) made him the bishop of Winchester in 963. At Abingdon, Æthelwold began a programme of monastic reform which included rebuilding the decrepit abbey and reinforcing the Rule of St Benedict. Once he succeeded to the bishopric of Winchester he continued his reforming practice and infamously expelled the canons from the Old and New Minsters, replacing them with monks from Abingdon. In the following years he expanded his reforming efforts until he had reformed or refounded many monasteries in the south of England, including the important abbeys of Ely, Peterborough and Thorney. Æthelwold is usually regarded as the least popular of the tenth-century reformer saints, not least because of his reputation as a harsh disciplinarian. On one occasion, he ordered a monk to plunge his hand into boiling water just to prove his obedience. Yet, his role as founder and reformer secured him veneration in monastic communities after he died, and in 996 he was translated by the monks of Old Minster and Bishop Ælfheah. His pupil, Wulfstan of Worcester, soon after wrote a *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and all the necessary liturgy for the veneration of his cult. These all survive in Alençon, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 14 (hereafter Alençon 14) a twelfth-century manuscript copied from a lost Old Minster, Winchester exemplar by Orderic Vitalis.[7]

In recent years there has been a renewed interest in the tenth-century Benedictine reform and its consequences, and this has resulted in the study of the cults of the saints that either originated from or were promoted during it.[8] The cults of Sts Dunstan and

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[6] There are differing hagiographical traditions concerning the tonsure of Dunstan. Wulfstan claims that Bishop Ælfheah tonsured him and Æthelwold on the same day, but neither of Dunstan's hagiographers substantiate this.

[7] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester,* p. cxiii; A. Holzschneider, *Die Organa von Winchester* (Hildesheim, 1968).

[8] O. Olmuşcelik, 'From obscurity to sanctity: continuity and change in the lives of St Dunstan of Canterbury' (PhD Thesis: Bilkent University, 2002); C. E. Karkov, 'The body of St Æthelthryth: desire, conversion and reform in Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North* (York, 2003), pp. 397 - 412; N. Robertson, 'Dunstan and monastic reform: tenth-century fact or twelfth-century fiction?', *ANS* 28 (Woodbridge, 2006), pp. 153 - 167; A. Hudson, 'Æthelwold's circle, saints' cults, and monastic reform, *c.* 956 - 1006' (PhD Thesis: University of Oxford, 2014).

Oswald have both been intensely analysed, but Æthelwold's has been neglected.[9] The volume of essays on Æthelwold, published on the millennium of his death and edited by Barbara Yorke, focussed on his contribution to Benedictine monasticism but did not include an analysis of his cult.[10] This is probably due to the fact that, unlike Oswald and Dunstan, Æthelwold was not the subject of a post-Conquest *vita*, and so it is often believed that his cult was not particularly important or long-lasting.

This thesis looks to rectify that oversight and to provide an interdisciplinary study of the cult of St Æthelwold of Winchester from its inception, *c.* 984, until *c.* 1400. It uses the cult of St Æthelwold as a case study to look more broadly at the development of episcopal and monastic saints' cults in England over the high Middle Ages. Since Peter Brown's work in the 1980s, there has been a dramatic rise in scholarship concerning the cult of the saints and, more recently, historians have focused on episcopal cults.[11] Thomas Head wrote a monograph about saints' cults in the diocese of Orleans, *c.* 800 - *c.* 1200, and Felice Lifshitz has written many articles, and books, about the development of episcopal cults in Normandy, particularly Rouen.[12] In England, there has been a strong focus on the study of the medieval episcopate, its duties, and characteristics, and there have been many monographs and articles discussing dioceses and/or individual bishops and their lives.[13] There have been studies of the cults of saints who happened to be

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[9] E. Mason, 'St Oswald and St Wulfstan', in Brooks *et al., St Oswald of Worcester,* pp. 269 - 284; J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: the competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum,* vol. 74, no. 2 (April 1999), pp. 279 - 309; P. A. Hayward, 'Translation-narratives in post-Conquest hagiography and English resistance to the Norman Conquest', *ANS, 21* (Woodbridge, 1999)*,* pp. 67 - 94; I. Styler, 'Establishing and analysing the sphere of influence of Saints Oswald and Wulfstan of Worcester, c. 950 - c. 1400' (M.Phil Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2014).
[10] Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold.*
[11] P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).
[12] T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of the Saints: the Diocese of Orleans, 800 - 1200* (Cambridge, 1990); F. Lifshitz, 'Eight men in: Rouennais traditions of archiepiscopal sanctity', *HSJ,* 2 (1990), pp. 63 - 74; Idem, 'The Politics of Historiography: the memory of bishops in eleventh-century Rouen', *History and Memory,* vol. 10, no. 2 (1998), pp. 118 - 137.
[13] M. F. Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2007); J. Ott and A. Trumbore Jones (eds), *The Bishop Reformed: Studies of Episcopal Power and Culture in the Central Middle Ages* (Aldershot, 2007); L. Körntgen and D. Waßenhoven (eds), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh-Century Western Europe* (Berlin, 2011); M. D. Costen, 'Saints, monks and bishops; cult and authority in the diocese of Wells (England) before the Norman Conquest',

bishops, but very few historians have specifically studied the development of English episcopal saints' cults themselves.[14] This thesis fills the historiographical gap: it is a study of a single episcopal saint's cult from its inception until the fifteenth century, when the evidence for the cult dries up. It is a case study to shed light on how English episcopal saints' cults changed and developed between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. It discusses how the image of St Æthelwold depicted in his earliest hagiography shaped the nature of the cult itself.

The study of a 'cult' can mean vastly different things to different historians. This thesis has a very specific vision of what will be studied under the term 'cult'. It will study the production, dissemination, and content of the hagiographical work written in honour of the saint. It will analyse how his relics were treated and circulated, and how monasteries venerated his feast days. It will uncover the development of Æthelwold's image in historical narratives. The thesis will focus primarily upon the monastic cult of St Æthelwold. Whilst Æthelwold was involved in the politics of the tenth century,[15] in his role as bishop he primarily concerned himself with reforming and founding monastic communities, and this (as we shall see) was how he was remembered, and portrayed, in hagiographies and historical narratives. His cult was never that successful with the laity, and there are very few examples of him being invoked, or prayed to, by secular people.

There is one possible piece of evidence that might be thought to contradict this assessment. The Middle English poetic 'Life of Adelwold' in the South English

Peregreination, vol. 3, no. 2 (2011), pp. 63 - 95; C. Lewandowski, 'Cultural expressions of episcopal power, 1070 - *c.* 1150' (PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2010); S. O'Rourke, 'Episcopal power in Anglo-Norman England, 1066 - 1145' (PhD Thesis: University of East Anglia, 2014); J. Ott, *Bishops, Authority and Community in Northern Europe, c. 1050-1150* (Cambridge, 2015).

[14] For instance, A. J. Duggan, *Thomas Becket: Friends, Networks, Texts and Cult* (Aldershot, 2007); M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003)*;* D. Marner, *St Cuthbert: His Life and Cult in Medieval Durham* (London, 2000); A. Thacker, 'In Gregory's shadow? The pre-Conquest cult of St Augustine', in R. Gameson (ed.), *St Augustine and the conversion of England* (Sutton, 1999), pp. 374 - 90.

[15] B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the politics of the tenth century', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold,* pp. 79 - 80; *Charters of Abingdon Abbey,* ed. S. E. Kelly, 2 vols. (Oxford, 2000 - 1), vol. I, pp. cxv - cxxxi.

Legendary, written *c*.1270x85, might be thought to be a striking example of secular interest in Æthelwold.[16] But, in fact, the poem is notably short, consisting only of 110 lines, and the author adds nothing to the Latin texts.[17] Indeed, it appears in only one surviving recension of the Legendary, the Z recension, which originated at Worcester in the period *c*.1270x*c*.1285.[18] Only five of the surviving manuscripts of the Z recension contain this Life.[19] The vernacular text itself did not derive from any renewed cultic activity and did not develop the cult within the lay community. The inclusion of the Life within the Legendary, a text containing over ninety saints' lives, does not necessarily reflect that the writer/audience held great reverence for St Æthelwold, but rather that he was included as part of a wider canon of saints known by the monastic compiler. The Middle English Life is a different form of text from a hagiographical life designed to promote a cult, and is part of a different cultural context, and therefore will not be studied.

The thesis will, however, examine lay interest in the cult in the sense of royal promotion and participation in the monastic cult. For example, Chapter 3 will discuss how Queen Edith/Matilda was involved in the early twelfth-century revival of the cult in monastic centres. This thesis will be centred upon the cult of St Æthelwold at monasteries that he was involved with in his life: those that he founded or reformed. Namely, Old Minster, Winchester; Abingdon; Ely; Peterborough; Thorney; and (to a much lesser extent) Nunnaminster, and New Minster, Winchester. The focus will be upon how the cult enabled them to forge their identities, create foundation stories, and protect themselves from episcopal power.

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[16] See Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. clxvi.

[17] 'The Middle English Life of St Æthelwold', ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 87 - 92.

[18] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. clxvi.

[19] Aberystwyth, National Library of Wales, 5043, fols. 3r - v; Cambridge, Trinity College, R. 3. 25 (605), fols. 136v - 137v, 235r - 236r (another copy); London, BL, Add. 10626, fols 5v - 7r; London, Lambeth Palace Library, 233, fol. 153v; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Vernon Manuscript (SC 3938 - 42), fols. 38v - 39r. Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* pp. 87; M. Görlach, *The Textual Tradition of the South English Legendary, Leeds Texts and Monographs,* 6 (Leeds, 1974)*,* pp. 32 - 8.

The cult will be analysed from its inception until *c.* 1400. Study of the *longue durée* allows us to analyse more broadly the changing nature of saints' cults in England at a time of great upheaval and social change. [20] That method, however, has its weaknesses. Recently there have been several works that utilised the *longue durée*, which have all used different methodologies. Christine Walsh studied the cult of St Katherine of Alexandria from its beginnings in *c.* 305 to the height of its popularity in *c.* 1200.[21] Her interdisciplinary study looked at the historical Katherine, the importance of her *Passio* in the construction of the saint's identity and early cult, and the growth and spread of the cult in various geographical areas, including the Byzantine Empire, Italy, Normandy, and England. The focus of the monograph is on the historical evidence: the hymns, litanies, paintings etc, not on the varying hagiographical accounts of the saint's character and sanctity. Her approach was to study the saint in isolation for the majority of the monograph, only placing the cult in context in the final chapter, where she discussed the cult of Katherine and the general development of the medieval cult of the saints. Her methodology is clear and the reader is left with a detailed narrative of the cult's development, but she does not establish where it fits into the wider discussion of the cult of the saints in medieval Europe.

Katherine Lewis's monograph on St Katherine picked up where Walsh's left off, analysing the cult exclusively in England in the thirteenth, fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.[22] She used lay wills, vernacular texts and private prayer books to demonstrate Katherine's popularity as a saint in late medieval England. Her primary aim, however, was not to chart the development of the cult, but to argue that Katherine was appropriated to be an exemplar to young women: that she was a model virgin, a bride of Christ, a

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[20] For a discussion about the use of the *longue durée* in history see J. Guldi and D. Armitage, *The History Manifesto* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 14 - 60.
[21] C. Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe* (Aldershot, 2007).
[22] K. J. Lewis, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Late Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2000).

martyr who promoted female education. Lewis focused on lay devotion, rather than the development and use of the cult within the church itself.

Karen Jankulak studied the medieval cult of St Petroc in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries and confined her analysis to the geographical regions of Cornwall, Brittany, and Wales.[23] Her first chapter analysed the hagiographic traditions surrounding St Petroc, from the tenth to twelfth century, whilst the later chapters studied the cult in successive geographical areas, before turning to the circumstances of the theft of the saint's relics from Cornwall, and then the cult's position in the Norman and Angevin empires. To trace the cult's development she used place name evidence in addition to narrative sources. Her methodology is useful since, by studying the cult's status in Cornwall and then Brittany, she was able to determine that the cult had arrived in Brittany before the theft of his relics, as was previously believed. This important analysis, however, is at the expense of clear exposition of the chronology and development of the cult itself.

Taking account of these examples, this thesis will adopt the following methodology. Æthelwold's cult will not be studied in isolation. As previously mentioned, Æthelwold reformed Benedictine monasticism in England alongside archbishops Dunstan and Oswald, who were also venerated as episcopal saints after their death. The thesis will reference these saints and their cults throughout, as they serve as excellent exemplars of contemporary episcopal saints. It will also compare prominent saints' cults at the monasteries associated with Æthelwold with that of the bishop himself: thus at Old Minster, Winchester, there will be an analysis of the cult of St Swithun, the ninth-century bishop of Winchester whom Æthelwold lifted from obscurity in 971 and raised to sainthood, and at Ely, of St Æthelthryth.

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[23] K. Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge, 2000).

The thesis is comprised of a two-fold scheme. It will follow a clear chronological order, with each chapter addressing the cult in a different time period, but will also thematically analyse the cult within the chronology. This scheme allows for the phases of the cult to be distinguished chronologically but also contextualised within contemporary monastic culture. It will also allow the thesis to situate the cult in a wider coeval context and address multiple historiographical debates specific to certain periods (for instance, Chapter 2 will tackle the discussion concerning the treatment of Anglo-Saxon saints' cults after the Norman Conquest). Thus, as each chapter will be discussing a particular time period and historiographical debate, rather than reciting the relevant historical debates in this introduction, a literature review will appear within each chapter.

As the sources available for analysis differ according to each time period, this study will draw on methodologies from different disciplines. Hagiographies, litanies, calendars, chronicles, church dedications, architecture, art, and literature will all be studied in charting the cult of St Æthelwold. Yet, in the twelfth century, monastic chronicles and histories are a particularly abundant form of evidence and so the fourth chapter will consist primarily of a critical analysis of the presentation of Æthelwold within those texts. That chapter will analyse the texts holistically and use the methodologies of literary scholars. Narrative sources, such as hagiography, chronicles, and histories will play a major role in this discussion. Some historians are disdainful of using such sources as they are unreliable; hagiography in particular has had a bad reputation. This thesis, however, is not seeking to distil historical truths from these texts, but to see how the writers, and the communities that commissioned the texts, viewed St Æthelwold. I want to discover how and why the perception and depiction of Æthelwold changed from when he died, through to the twelfth century and beyond, and what impact this had on his cult.

Before describing in detail what the thesis will entail, it is pertinent to address the issue of 'reform'. As it is evident, a key component of this research is analysing the

changing nature and role of Æthelwold's cult in monasteries which he reformed in the course of the tenth century. Recently, there has been a shift away from using the term 'reform' to describe the changes which monasteries underwent in the tenth century.[24] The term 'reform' encompasses a set of monastic ideas and ideals and has been used by historians to describe changes and processes within monastic culture from the sixth century onwards. Charlemagne and Louis the Pious's attempts to create ecclesiastical uniformity within their empire have been described as a reform,[25] as have the programmes emanating from the monasteries of Cluny and Gorze respectively in the tenth century,[26] and of, course, the papal 'Gregorian' reform of the eleventh century.[27] Whilst such a term has been used for a considerable period of time, more recent scholarship has highlighted problems with it.[28] One of the major difficulties is that it suggests that such 'reforms' were centralised, carried out under a guise of uniformity, and had lasting impact. However, as research has moved forward it has become more apparent that there is actually little evidence to tell us about what reforms were undertaken at each monastery, and what evidence does remain more often than not reveals that monasteries often did not follow

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[24] See F. Tinti, 'Benedictine reform and pastoral care in late Anglo-Saxon England', *Early Medieval Europe,* 23 (2015), pp. 235 - 6. See also J. Barrow, 'The ideology of the tenth-century English Benedictine "reform"', in P. Skinner (ed.), *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter* (Turnhout, 2009), pp. 141 - 54.

[25] See R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms, 789 - 895* (London, 1977); for a more recent summary of historiography see J. Wollasch, 'Monasticism: the first wave of reform', in T. Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History III, c. 900 - c. 1024* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 163 - 185.

[26] See B. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1982); J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2002); S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, 2013); S. Vanderputten, *Reform, Conflict, and the Shaping of Corporate Identities: Collected Studies on Benedictine Monasticism 1050 - 1150* (Berlin, 2013).

[27] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); U. Blumenthal, *The Investiture Controversy: Church and Monarchy from the Ninth to the Twelfth Century* (Pennsylvania, 1988); G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century,* trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1993).

[28] See above, and M. de Jong, 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II c.770-900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 622-53; I. S. Robinson, 'Reform and the Church, 1073-1122', in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume IV c. 1024-1198, Part I* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 268-334; J. Barrow, 'Ideas and applications of reform', in T. Noble and J. Smith (eds), *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 345-62.

uniform practices, even after said reforms. The English Benedictine reform movement, of which Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald were a part, began as a result of the decline of monasteries in the course of the ninth century. Its history and impact has been the work of much rigorous scholarship and what follows is a short summary of a complicated process.[29] In later years, most monasteries came to claim that the Viking invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries were the cause of their decline.[30] Probably inspired by his time on the continent, where reform was also underway, St Dunstan strove to increase the rigorousness of the monastic life at Glastonbury, where he was abbot, in the 940s and 950s. Æthelwold was reportedly a pupil of Dunstan's at Glastonbury and when he was appointed to Abingdon he also instituted strict reforms. Thereafter Dunstan succeeded to the see of Canterbury in 959, and Æthelwold to the see of Winchester in 963, and the reform movement greatly picked up speed. St Oswald, bishop of Worcester (961 - 992) and archbishop of York (971 - 992), reformed many monasteries in Mercia (notably Worcester and Evesham), no doubt inspired by his time at the monastery of Fleury, where he had been ordained.

Within a few years of Æthelwold succeeding to Winchester he had reformed many monasteries, probably compiled the *Regularis Concordia* (possibly written as early as 966) and wrote an Old English account of King Edgar's (959 - 975) establishment of monasteries.[31] The significance of Edgar's role in the reform movement cannot be

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[29] For a more detailed discussion see *MO,* pp. 31 - 56; M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999); J. Barrow, 'The chronology of the Benedictine 'reform'', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959 - 975* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 211 - 223; R. R. Trilling, 'Sovereignty and social order: Archbishop Wulfstan and the *Institutes of Polity',* in J. S. Ott and A. T. Jones (eds), *The Bishop Reformed: studies of Episcopal power and culture in the central middle ages* (Aldershot, 2007)*,* pp. 58 - 85, at p. 81.

[30] See J. S. Barrow, 'Survival and mutation: ecclesiastical institutions in the Danelaw in the ninth and tenth centuries', in D. M. Hadley and J. Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England and Wales* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 155 - 78; idem., 'Danish ferocity and abandoned monasteries: the twelfth-century view', in *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past,* ed. M. Brett and D. Woodman (Farnham, 2015), pp. 77 - 93.

[31] J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-c.1200* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 93; Idem, 'The chronology', pp. 219 - 21. See also Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999;

overstated. He may have convened the Council of Winchester in 970, where the *Regularis Concordia* was agreed to and promulgated; he donated lavish gifts; and he helped to provide land for or sold it to monasteries.[32] The condition of monastic and religious life definitely changed during these men's lives, not least in that secular clerics were expelled from many monasteries (and some bishoprics) and replaced with monks. Yet the term reform was not used during the course of these changes, 'where it was more common to refer to the concepts of 'cleansing' or 'rectifying'.'[33] Whilst the term 'reform' certainly has its limitations, it is very difficult to discuss the events of the tenth century, and Æthelwold's role within them, without using it. It will thus be used as shorthand for the complex set of ideas and process of change in tenth-century Benedictine monasticism.

The Reformed Monasteries

As stated above, this thesis primarily analyses the cult of St Æthelwold at monasteries with which he was involved during his life: those that he founded or reformed. Namely, Old Minster, Winchester; Abingdon; Ely; Peterborough and Thorney. These are the monasteries that Wulfstan mentions by name within the *Vita s Æthelwoldi* as being reformed by Æthelwold himself. Wulfstan does state that 'many other houses' were refounded by Æthelwold, but it is difficult to ascertain which houses those were.[34] Chertsey, Romsey, Milton Abbas, St Neots, and Wilton have all been subsequently linked to Æthelwold but there remains no definitive evidence to state that they were reformed by the saint.[35] Whilst his involvement and possible reform of Romsey abbey is discussed

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'Edgar's establishment of monasteries', in D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C. N. L Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church,* 2 vols (Oxford, 1981), I, pp. 142 - 5.

[32] For Edgar's involvement see S. Keynes, 'Edgar, *Rex Admirabilis',* in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959 - 975* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 3 - 59.

[33] Barrow, 'The ideology of the tenth-Century English Benedictine "reform"', p. 235.

[34] *VsÆ,* c. 27, pp. 42 - 5.

[35] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, version A, states that Chertsey and Milton Abbas were reformed *c.* 964, which was when the Winchester Minsters were reformed; *MO,* p. 51; B. Yorke, 'Introduction' in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold,* pp. 3 - 4; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p.125.

in Chapter 3, because there is no concrete, contemporary evidence to link Æthelwold with these monasteries' refoundation, they will be omitted from this study.

Æthelwold reformed Abingdon at some time in the mid-950s, when King Eadred (d. 955) bestowed the abbey upon him in an attempt to make up for the fact that he had forbidden him to travel to Fleury. According to Wulfstan, three monks from Glastonbury, one from London, and one from Winchester accompanied Æthelwold to Abingdon, and he appointed himself as their abbot.[36] The earliest authentic charter that names Æthelwold as abbot dates from February 956.[37] Wulfstan claims that when Æthelwold was appointed to the monastery it was impoverished, owning only forty hides.[38] However, Alan Thacker has pointed out that forty hides was a considerable sum and thus the monastery could not have been as poor as Wulfstan claims.[39] In addition to Wulfstan's *vita,* there is also the twelfth and thirteenth-century cartulary-chronicles from Abingdon, *De Abbatibus* and *The History of Abingdon Abbey,* which detail Æthelwold's reforms and time at the abbey.

When considering Æthelwold's cult at Winchester, this thesis will touch upon New Minster, but will primarily be concerned with the cult at the Old Minster, Winchester, and its Norman successor. Æthelwold's episcopal throne was there; his main community was there; he taught there; he was buried there; he was translated there; his shrine was there; and his hagiography was written there. New Minster and Nunnaminster may have included Æthelwold in their liturgy, but the physical site of the shrine was at Old Minster, which also produced the hagiography and liturgy necessary to venerate the cult. Æthelwold was appointed bishop of Winchester in 963 and instituted reforms immediately in the Old and New minsters. He called upon the secular clerics living in those monasteries to follow the Rule of St Benedict. When they refused, in 964 he forcibly

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[36] *VsÆ,* c. 11, pp. 20 - 1.
[37] S607; *Charters of Abingdon Abbey,* ed. S. E. Kelly, II, p. 244.
[38] *VsÆ,* c. 11, pp. 18 - 21.
[39] Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', p. 51.

expelled them with the help of King Edgar's agent, Wulfstan of Dalham, and brought in monks from Abingdon to take their place. Æthelwold acquired papal authority from Pope John XII before expelling the secular clerics, but this of course did not appease the displaced community.[40] Some of the canons chose to join Æthelwold and become Benedictine monks, but others, according to Wulfstan, attempted to poison him in retribution.[41] New Minster created a sumptuous Refoundation Charter in 966 to justify and protect their establishment and its rights.[42] Æthelwold and Winchester also famously hosted the Synod of Winchester between 964 and Edgar's death in 975 which resulted in the production and dissemination of the *Regularis Concordia.*[43] This synod reportedly brought together all of the abbots and abbesses in England, who agreed to follow a unified liturgical practice, purportedly written by Æthelwold himself, and based on the *Regula s. Benedicti.* Æthelwold's reform of the Old Minster included promoting the cults of Sts Birinus and Swithun and undertaking new building works. When these were finished *c.*980, Æthelwold gathered together 'King Æthelred and virtually all the ealdormen, abbots, thegns and leading noblemen of the whole race of the English' in a magnificent ceremony to rededicate the Old Minster.[44]

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[40] 'Letter from Pope John XII,' in Whitelock, Brett and Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods*, I, pp. 109 - 111. For a discussion about the authenticity of the Pope John XII confirmation for Winchester see J. Barrow, 'English cathedral communities and reform in the late tenth and the eleventh centuries', in D. Rollason, M. Harvey and M. Prestwich (eds), *Anglo-Norman Durham 1093-1193* (Woodbridge, 1994), pp. 25-39, and C. Wright, 'Vercelli Homily XV and The Apocalypse of Thomas', in S. Zacher and A. Orchard (eds), *New Readings in the Vercelli Book* (Toronto, 2009), pp. 151-84.

[41] *VsÆ,* c. 19, pp. 34 - 5.

[42] S745; British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. VIII; *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester,* ed. S. Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996), p. 28; A. R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester* (Oxford, 2002), p. 73.

[43] See *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation,* ed. and trans. T. Symons (London, 1953); *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,* ed. and trans. C. A. Jones (Cambridge, 1999).

[44] *VsÆ,* c. 40, pp. 60 - 1: *regis Aethelredi et in conuentu omnium paene ducum, abbatum, comitum primorumque optimatum uniuersae gentis Anglorum*; See D. J. Sheerin, 'The Dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester in 980', *Revue Benedictine* 88 (1978), pp. 261 - 73; Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the politics of the tenth century', p. 85; Idem, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), pf. 216.

Ely was refounded by Æthelwold *c.* 970x2 after he bought the dilapidated abbey from King Edgar.[45] Ely had originally been established as a double monastery, *c.* 673, by the East Anglian princess Æthelthryth but had suffered under the Viking attacks of the ninth century.[46] After Æthelwold established a large group of monks there (primarily taken from Winchester) he made Byrhtnoth its abbot.[47] Similarly to Old Minster, Winchester, Æthelwold renovated the abbey buildings and the church and promoted the East Anglian princess-saints whose bones resided there.[48] In the course of the tenth century, the Ely community produced the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*: an Old English document which recorded and commemorated Æthelwold's land gifts and deeds to the monastery. Whilst the original document has been lost, it was translated into Latin in the early twelfth century, and thereafter some sections were interpolated into their mid-twelfth century chronicle-cartulary, the *Liber Eliensis.*

The monasteries of *Burh,* dedicated to St Peter (thus, Peterborough), and St Mary, Thorney were refounded by Æthelwold after Ely. The order of Wulfstan's chapters in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* suggests that Peterborough and Thorney were refounded after Ely (*c.*

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[45] See E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951); L. F. Salzman, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Abbey and cathedral priory of Ely', in his A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely: Volume 2 (London, 1948), pp. 199-210 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/cambs/vol2/pp199-210 [accessed 15 December 2015]; S. Keynes, 'Ely Abbey, 672-1109', in P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 3-58.
[46] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, c. 40. It is unclear how affected Ely was by Viking raids in particular, as they may have been used as a useful scapegoat to explain the decline of the monastery. See Barrow, 'Danish ferocity'; idem, 'Survival and mutation', pp. 155 - 78; A. Wareham, *Lords and Commnitites in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005),pp. 29 - 45
[47] *VsÆ,* c. 23, p. 39. Byrhtnoth first appears as abbot in S789, written 972 (see *Charters of Peterborough Abbey,* ed. S. E. Kelly (Oxford, 2009)*,* p. 46) and appeared as a witness in a number of charters between 970 and 996 (C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Northern England and the North Midlands* (Leicester, 1975), pp. 306 - 7); *Heads,* p. 39; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. 39, n. 6.
[48] For the archaeological record see T. D. Atkinson, *An Architectural History of the Benedictine Monastery of St Ethelreda at Ely* (London, 1933), pp. 1-6. For differing interpretations of Æthelwold's promotion of St Æthelthryth see S. J. Ridyard, *Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988)*,* pp. 176 - 210; M. Clayton, 'Centralism and Uniformity versus Localism and Diversity: The Virgin and Native Saints in the English Monastic Reform', *Peritia,* 8 (1994), pp. 95 - 106; V. Blanton, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 965 - 1615* (University Park, 2007), pp. 69 - 128; Hudson, 'Æthelwold's circle', pp. 142 - 173.

970) but before the translation of St Swithun (*c.* 971).[49] Later Peterborough tradition stated that it was reformed in 972 and the Thorney *Liber Vitae* states that it was founded in 973.[50] He filled Peterborough with Winchester monks and appointed Ealdwulf as their abbot. According to Wulfstan, Æthelwold appointed his own chaplain, Godemann, as the abbot of Thorney.[51] This Godeman was the scribe of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold. Interestingly, the Thorney Annals make note that Æthelwold remained as their abbot until he died (984), and Godeman succeeded him.[52] Unfortunately very little historical or archaeological evidence survives from Thorney.[53] However, many Peterborough charters survive and in the twelfth century one of their monks, Hugh Candidus, produced a chronicle-cartulary.

Æthelwold was inexorably linked to these monasteries. He refounded, rebuilt, and endowed them. And, as will become apparent throughout this thesis, they responded by venerating his cult and using his saintly image to continue to protect his endowments. The thesis will aim to determine the popularity of Æthelwold's cult at those centres, throughout the period, seeking to establish whether it grew or diminished over the centuries. 'Popularity' is often used as a term to discuss the extent of the saint's veneration within the laity, the *populus,*[54] but here it will be used more broadly to discuss how prominent and important Æthelwold's cult was within monastic culture. Liturgical material, such as litanies and calendars, will be very important in determining this. Other

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[49] *VsÆ,* cc. 23 - 6, pp. 39 - 43; Æthelwold also wanted to refound Oundle and Breedon on the Hill as Benedictine abbeys, but was unable to do so, see Barrow, 'The chronology', p. 222.

[50] S787, which may have been forged in the twelfth century (see *Charters of Peterborough Abbey,* ed. Kelly, p. 45); for the Thorney *Liber Vitae* see L. Rollason (ed.), *The Thorney Liber Vitae, British Library Add. MS 40,000. Edition, Facsimile and Study* (Woodbridge, 2015); London, BL, Add 4000, fol. 11r.

[51] For the history of Thorney see *Charters of Peterborough,* Kelly, pp. 68 - 78; T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Monastic Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 135 - 6.

[52] Cambridge, UL Add 3020; *Heads,* p. 79.

[53] C. R. Hart, *Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966)*,* pp. 146 - 209; A. Howe and R. Mortimer, *Abbey Fields, Thorney, Cambridgeshire: Trench Evaluation and Community Archaeology Project* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 7.

[54] S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West* (Abingdon, 2013), p. 253.

indicators of the popularity of the cult will be the production of hagiography, art, literature, and histories that glorified the saint. For example, if a community owned one of Æthelwold's relics, had the liturgical pieces to celebrate his feast days, marked those days in their calendars, and included him in their written records, then we would classify his cult as popular at that monastery. It will also be vital to compare the cultic activity surrounding St Æthelwold with that relating to other saints at those centres. That will determine whether Æthelwold was venerated as the primary or secondary saint of each monastery.

Lapidge and Winterbottom, in their edition of Wulfstan's text, documented liturgical material related to the cult of St Æthelwold.[55] This thesis, however, will take a different approach and analyse the liturgical material in context with other contemporary cults and changes within the English church. One of the sources crucial in determining the popularity of a saint's cult within a monastery is liturgical calendars. Appendices to this study in this will tabulate the appearance of Æthelwold in all post-996 Benedictine monastic calendars and litanies, and these will be discussed in the body of the work. In depth analyses of each calendar and litany can be found in the relevant editions. Calendars are useful sources because communities would enter saints' feast days (deposition, translation, ordination etc) against their assigned date to ensure that their feasts were celebrated with due reverence. Of course, the appearance of a saint's feast in a liturgical calendar does not necessarily denote that the monastery venerated that saint, but it does suggest that they deemed her/him reasonably significant.[56] Scribes, however, would generally mark important feasts in calendars through the use of majuscule texts or coloured inks or by writing a cross next to it.[57]

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[55] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* pp. lx - lxxxv.
[56] R. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), p. 214.
[57] Ibid., p. 72.

In his eleventh-century *Decreta,* Lanfranc distinguished three grades of feasts.[58] The first included the five principal Christian feasts (Christmas, Easter, Pentecost, the Assumption of the Virgin) and the feast of the house (the church or monastery's dedicatory saint). The second grade included other universal Christian feasts (Ascension etc), universal major saints' feast days (St Peter etc), and important local saints' feasts (Cuthbert etc). The third is other major saints' feasts, only seventeen of which are named. From the twelfth century, important saints' days were often assigned high-grade feasts, of which there were different types, as categorized in the following table.[59]

Table 1: Feast Classifications

Octave	A feast eight days after (and including) the original feast. Usually marks a week's worth of celebration.
Triplex	Triple feast (antiphon sung three times in the service)
Duplex	Double feast (antiphon sung twice in the service)
In cappis	The monks should wear copes[60] when performing the liturgy
In albis	The monks should wear albs when performing the liturgy
12 lectio	12 lessons at matins
9 lectio	9 lessons at matins
3 lectio	3 lessons at matins
Commemoratio	Commemoration

If a saint was very important to the community they would celebrate the octave of their feast, which meant that a week's worth of celebration would follow the feast itself.

[58] Lanfranc, *Decreta Lanfranci,* ed. and trans. David Knowles and C. N. L. Brooke, *The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 56 - 67.

[59] See also R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead do Such Great Things?: Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), pp. 119 - 125.

[60] A 1321 inventory of Christ Church describes the processional cope as being 'with silver bells round the fringe and a topaz clasp set with amethysts', trans M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978)*,* p. 166, from *Inventories of Christ Church, Canterbury with Historical and Topographical Introductions and Illustrative Documents,* ed. J. W. Legg and W. H. St John Hope (London, 1902), pp. 50 - 57, as quoted by Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England,* p. 108, n.22.

The *Regularis Concordia* specified that after Christmas, certain antiphons were to be repeated everyday until the Octave.[61] The designation triplex or duplex indicates a high level of veneration and a full roster of extended liturgical activity. For example, at Canterbury in the tenth-century, Candlemas was a triple feast. The *ordo* from the Dunstan, Anderson and Lanalet Pontificals state that before the mass Christ should be 'praised by triple antiphons and collects'.[62]

Important feasts were also celebrated by hearing more readings, or lections, at Matins, and from the twelfth century, these were often marked in the margins of calendars.[63] If the feast of the saint was relatively unknown, and/or the monastery did not own a text dedicated to them, then the readings at Matins would concern something else. If, however, the saint was well known, popular, or important to the community, then the readings at Matins would discuss him/her. These lections were usually adapted from the saint's *vita* or *miracula;* many hagiographies were written specifically for this purpose. The chapter could read three, nine, or twelve lections, depending on the importance of the saint. The more important the saint: the more lections.

The type of liturgical vestment the choir had to wear to could also demonstrate feasts' importance. If the calendar said that the feast was *in cappis* it meant that the choir should wear copes: a long robe, a monastic mantle, worn by the choir.[64] If the calendar designated the feast was *in albis*, this meant that members of community had to be vested in albs: 'a long, tunic-like garment, usually white, specifically used at Mass.'[65] These

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[61] M. Bradford Bedingfield, *The Dramatic Liturgy of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 38 - 9; *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,* ed. C. A. Jones, p. 117.

[62] Translation by H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 113.

[63] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England,* p. 98, n. 102.

[64] I. Levy, G. Macy, K. Van Ausdall (eds), *A Companion to the Eucharist in the Middle Ages* (Leiden, 2012), p. 354

[65] S. M. Carroll-Clark, 'Bad habits: clothing and textile references in the register of Eudes Rigaud, Archbishop of Rouen', in R. Netherton, G. R. Owen-Crocker (eds), *Medieval Clothing and Textiles, Volume 1* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 85.

grades were not exclusive, as a duplex feast would probably have included twelve lections and might also be celebrated in albs. A triple feast would probably include twelve lessons at Matins and triple antiphons and collects.

Rebecca Rushforth has listed and analysed the calendars written in English Benedictine monasteries before *c.*1100. [66] Francis Wormald started to publish the calendars written in English Benedictine monasteries after *c.*1100, but the project was left unfinished and I have discussed these sources with Nigel Morgan who is in the process of revising and augmenting them.[67] Nigel Morgan has also published the litanies written in English Benedictine monasteries after *c.*1100, and Michael Lapidge those written earlier. Litanies were supplicatory prayers, invoking individual or groups of saints, used in various liturgical offices and ceremonies. [68] As they were written for specific monasteries, they are highly characteristic and can demonstrate which saints were important to which religious houses. But inferring the importance of saints from their presence in litanies is more difficult than doing so from the calendars. As in calendars, scribes also marked important saints through majuscule text. The order in which saints appeared in litanies can also imply their significance. All litanies listed saints in the same official classifications: first came the angels and archangels; then patriarchs and prophets; then the apostles and evangelists; martyrs; confessors; and then the virgins. Within these classifications there were other, unofficial subsections. Within the confessors, doctors of the church and universal saints often formed distinct groups and might precede more local saints. For example, first might be fathers of the church such as Augustine, Gregory, Ambrose, etc; then would come the monastery's patron saints; then universal saints; then national saints (Cuthbert etc); then local saints. The inclusion of its own patron and of

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[66] R. Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars Before AD 1100,* Henry Bradshaw Society 117 (London 2008).

[67] F. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after 1100,* 2 vols. HBS 77, 81 (London, 1939-46).

[68] *ASL*, p. 2, p. 44.

other local saints and the promoting of them in the common order rendered a litany characteristic of the monastery for which it was made. If Æthelwold appeared in a litany at all, he generally seems to have been grouped with saints who emerged from the tenth-century monastic reform: that is, Dunstan, Birinus, Swithun, and sometimes also Oswald and Benedict. This group usually appeared after the universal confessors (Gregory, Augustine, Jerome etc) and the popular English saints (Cuthbert, Edmund, and Wilfrid etc), but before the Irish and less popular saints (Columba, Patrick, Anthony etc). By using these markings, classifications, and orders as indicators, it is possible to identify those houses that regarded Æthelwold's feasts as important liturgical days.

Hagiographical Sources

One of the major aims of this thesis is to determine how the original concepts of sanctity presented in Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* shaped his cult and its popularity. As discussed in the introduction, Æthelwold's cult will be compared against contemporary cults of similar importance. Whilst this thesis will examine and discuss many hagiographies, there are a few which stand apart due to their exceptional significance. Two of these are obviously the Lives of Æthelwold himself, alongside which the *vitae* of Sts Swithun, Birinus, Dunstan, and Oswald are consistently considered. The lives and careers of Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald were intertwined and their hagiographies were also. They consistently reference each other and discuss their mutual reforms. Æthelwold's cult was also linked to the cults of Sts Swithun and Birinus. During his episcopate he promoted their cults, and after he died his tomb was placed near theirs. Thus, before beginning the thesis in truth, it is both useful and pertinent to summarise those hagiographies.

The hagiography of St Æthelwold can be summarised rather briefly. Wulfstan Cantor, Æthelwold's pupil and a monk of the Old Minster, Winchester, composed the first *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* soon after the saint's translation on 10 September 996.[69] Ælfric of Eynsham also wrote a *Vita s. Æthelwoldi, c.* 1004x1006. More weight will be given to Wulfstan's work, which was written first, and is longer: Ælfric's work was, in essence, an abbreviated version of Wulfstan's, perhaps a personal copy, intended for expansion into a fuller, possibly English, *vita.*[70] In his *vita,* and the metrical *Narratio de Translatio de Swithuni,* Wulfstan makes clear that he had enjoyed a close relationship with Æthelwold: he had been one of his pupils and confidants. Lapidge and Winterbottom have argued that Æthelwold even instructed Wulfstan to write the *vita* and to promote his cult.[71] Even if this was not the case, Wulfstan enjoyed a relationship with Æthelwold and had an eyewitness account to his life, and probably rendered an image of the saint that conformed not only to the saint's wishes, but to the Winchester community's vision of him.

There were rather more hagiographies concerning the Old Minster's premier saint, Swithun. Swithun was an obscure ninth-century bishop (d. 862) whom Æthelwold promoted as a saint during his episcopate. Lantfred, a Frankish monk resident at the Old Minster, wrote the *Translatio de s. Swithuni,* an account of the saint's translation in 971 and the miracles performed afterwards at his tomb, between late 972 and 974.[72] Wulfstan of Winchester subsequently adapted Lantfred's work into a metrical poem, *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuni*, about 996.[73] The *Narratio* was primarily intended to be read by appreciative scholars, rather than used for liturgical celebration.[74] Ælfric of Eynesham also adapted Lantfred's work: the first was a heavily abbreviated Latin work entitled *Liber*

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[69] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xiv.
[70] Ibid., pp. cxlvi - clv.
[71] Ibid., p. ci.
[72] Lapidge, *Cult of Swithun,* p. 217.
[73] Ibid., p. 68. The *Narratio* was not intended to reach a wide audience: there was an Anglo-Saxon tradition of rendering hagiographical prose into verse, and Wulfstan's *Narratio* falls into this category.
[74] Ibid.

translationis et miraculorum beati Swithuni, written between 984 and 992.[75] Ælfric

expanded his Latin account, translated it into the vernacular, and put it in his collection

of the Lives of the Saints, before *c.* 998.[76] In the late 1090s an anonymous author wrote a

Vita et Miracula s. Swithuni.[77] The work begins abruptly with no preface and so it does

not have the usual declaration stating why and for whom the hagiography was written.[78]

After the creation and dissemination of the anonymous *Vita et Miracula* no more copies

were made of Lantfred, Wulfstan or Ælfric's work.[79]

　　　The last major saint of the Old Minster is St Birinus. Birinus was the first bishop

of Dorchester and apostle of the West-Saxons, and was venerated as a saint after his death

on 3 December 649. When the see of Dorchester was transferred to Winchester during

Haedda's bishopric (*c.* 676 - 705), Birinus was translated to Winchester and enshrined

there as the founding bishop. No Anglo-Saxon *vita* for Birinus exists, but Bede's

Ecclesiastical History does contain a brief account of the saint's life and death.[80] The

post-Conquest Winchester community commissioned a *Vita s. Birini* around the same

time as Swithun's *Vita et Miracula* (*c.* 1090).[81] Love and Lapidge have speculated that

they were written by the same author and Love in particular has convincingly

demonstrated the inherent similarities and verbal parallels in the texts.[82] The *vita* imparts

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[75] Ibid., p. 553.
[76] Ibid., p. 580.
[77] Ibid.,, p. 69. Lapidge concludes that the author was from Sherborne as the *Miracula* includes a number of miracles which took place at the statue of Swithun at Sherborne.
[78] Ibid.,, p. 630.
[79] All manuscripts of Lantfred's work are eleventh century (see Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun,* pp. 217 - 240); Wulfstan's *Narratio* is only contained in one *c.* 1000 and one *c.* 1050x1075 manuscript (see Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun,* pp. 364 - 5); Ælfric's latin *vita* is found in one manuscript *c.* 984x992 (Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 553).
[80] *Bede: The Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* eds. J. McClure, R. Collins, trans. B. Colgrave (Oxford, 1969), book III, c. VII., pp. 119 - 121.
[81] Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun,* p. 613. The *Vita s. Swithuni,* the first part of the *Miracula s. Swithuni,* and the *Vita s. Birini* were probably written at Winchester in the 1090s, and the latter part of the *Miracula s. Swithuni* was finished and written later at Sherborne *c.* 1100.
[82] R. C. Love, *Three Eleventh Century Anglo-Latin Lives* (Oxford, 1996)*,* p. liv.

no new information of Birinus' life: the author merely lengthened Bede's account by inserting two new miracles and a lot of hagiographical tropes.[83]

The two other bishops who were especially involved in the tenth-century monastic reform movement in England were St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury (*c.* 960 - 988) and St Oswald, Bishop of Worcester (961 - 992) and Archbishop of York (972 - 992). Dunstan was the subject of multiple Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman *vitae.* The first *Vita s. Dunstani* was dedicated to Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury (995 - 1005) and evidently therefore had been written at least seventeen years after Dunstan's death in 988.[84] The author remains anonymous, known only by the initial 'B'. Various historians have attempted to attribute this text to Byrhtferth.[85] Lapidge has recently credited the authorship of the *vita* to a canon from Dunstan's pre-Canterbury retinue, named Byrhthelm.[86] Byrhthelm wrote the *Vita s. Dunstani* when he was based in Liège and can therefore be mined for influences from imperial *vitae* of bishops. Lapidge believes that the *vita* was not very popular: only three manuscripts survive, all *c.* 1000. Adelard of Ghent adapted this work into lections between 1006 and 1011 and this version was immediately incorporated into the Canterbury liturgy.[87] There are four surviving manuscripts of the lections, all written in England, ranging from the late eleventh to the late twelfth centuries.[88] After the Norman Conquest, Dunstan's hagiography was rewritten and brought up to date by Osbern of Canterbury.[89] His *Vita et Miracula s. Dunstani,* written *c.* 1080, included more details about Dunstan's monastic reform and his posthumous miracles. It was not long, however, until it was rewritten again by Eadmer of

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[83] Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Lives,* p. li.

[84] M. Lapidge, 'B. and the *Vita s.. Dunstani*', in Ramsay *et al., Dunstan and his Cult*, p. 247.

[85] P.S. Baker, 'The Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey', *Speculum,* vol. 55, no. 1 (1980), p. 22.

[86] See M. Winterbottom, M. Lapidge (ed. and trans.), *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012); Lapidge, 'B. and the *Vita s. Dunstani*', p. 247.

[87] *Memorials,* p. xxx.

[88] Winterbottom, Lapidge (ed. and trans.), *The Early Lives of St Dunstan,* p. cxxxi.

[89] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* 2 vols (London, 1974-1982), I, p. 108.

Canterbury. Eadmer not only rewrote the *Vita et Miracula s. Dunstani,* but also wrote a new *Vita et Miracula s. Oswaldi.* The first *Vita s. Oswaldi* was written by Byrhtferth of Ramsey *c.* 997x 1002 at the request of the monks of Ramsey.[90] There is no clear composition date for either of Eadmer's works, but they were both completed by 1116 when they were included in an autograph manuscript.[91] Eadmer probably wrote the *Vita s. Oswaldi* after 1113 when his friend Nicholas was elected Prior of Worcester: the *vita* was dedicated to the monks of Worcester and so it is likely that the commission came from Nicholas.[92] It is likely that Eadmer had probably already begun the *Vita s. Dunstani* before the succession dispute of 1114 at Canterbury.

Many of these hagiographies will be introduced in Chapter 1, which examines the depiction of Æthelwold and episcopal sanctity as recounted in Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* This chapter reassesses the *vita* in light of a comparative study of this text and the earliest hagiographies of Dunstan and Oswald, and their continental contemporaries: the Ottonian reformer-bishops Bruno of Cologne (d. 965), Ulrich of Augsburg (d. 993), and Burchard of Worms (d. 1025). Comparing the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* with these hagiographies uncovers the nature of Æthelwold's sanctity, and local and national ideals of episcopal sainthood. The final section of this chapter will discuss the contrasting development of episcopal cults in tenth century Normandy, especially as a context to inform the discussion of the treatment of Æthelwold's cult after 1066 in the following chapter.

Chapter 2 analyses the cult after the Norman Conquest, 1066-1110, and challenges the current historiographical discourse that the new Norman bishops and abbots were accepting of English saints' cults. I argue that their responses were far more

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[90] M. Lapidge (ed. and trans.), *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), p. xxxvii.
[91] R. W. Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer: A Study of Monastic Life and Thought, 1059 - c. 1130* (Cambridge, 1963)*,* p. 280.
[92] Ibid., p. 283.

complex, and varied and changed in the decades following the Conquest; the abbots of Abingdon and bishop of Winchester initially sought to suppress Æthelwold's cult. It also discusses how Æthelwold's cult developed uniquely at different monasteries in the late eleventh century.

The third chapter focuses on the apparent revival of Æthelwold's cult at the beginning of the twelfth century, and argues that Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I, was a central figure in this movement. It analyses why the translation of Æthelwold's relics in 1111 and questions why this event did not successfully promote his cult at a national level. Chapter 4 analyses the use and manipulation of the cult in twelfth-century monastic literature and chronicles, examining how and why Æthelwold was employed by monastic communities to protect their rights and lands. It also examines the varying levels of reverence accorded to Æthelwold in the historical works of authors such as William of Malmesbury.

The final chapter of the thesis examines the cult in the later Middle Ages, c. 1200-*c.*1400. It looks at the continued liturgical veneration of Æthelwold at monastic houses throughout England, and examines how rituals performed on his feast day enabled social interactions between the monks and laity of Winchester. Together, these chapters will argue that Æthelwold's cult and saintly image was based on the principles which he espoused in his reforming activities. Whilst each monastery based their veneration and saintly image of Æthelwold on Wulfstan's *Vita s Æthelwoldi,* it will also be apparent that Æthelwold's cult developed uniquely at each of the monasteries studied. This in turn provides insights into the cult of the saints in England in the Middle Ages.

Chapter 1: The Vita s. Æthelwoldi and its Continental Context

One of the main aims of this thesis is to analyse how Æthelwold's image as a bishop and saint developed between his death and the fifteenth century, and its impact on his cult. It is thus important to determine how Æthelwold was portrayed in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* which was instrumental in the inception and growth of the cult. Is the depiction of Æthelwold and his sanctity similar to the depiction of other episcopal saints, or is it unusual? Does the image of Æthelwold appeal to lay people and pilgrims, or was the *vita* primarily aimed at a monastic audience? Was Æthelwold peculiar (by tenth- and eleventh-century continental standards) since he was a monk-bishop, and his episcopal community was comprised of monks rather than secular canons? Did this affect the hagiographical topoi and rhetoric included in the *vita*? In order to answer these questions, this first chapter will analyse the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and the major themes within it. I will compare the *vita* not only with contemporaneous Anglo-Saxon episcopal saints' lives but also with certain continental *vitae,* thus determining how Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* relates to tenth-century hagiographies as a whole.

It is generally accepted that Wulfstan Cantor wrote the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* shortly after Æthelwold's translation in 996, carefully crafting the depiction of Æthelwold to promote him as an episcopal-monk saint. Lapidge and Winterbottom have demonstrated that Æthelwold's image was modelled on traditional episcopal *vitae* from the continent such as Sulpicius Severus' *Vita s. Martini,* on Anglo-Saxon works like Bede's *Vita s. Cuthberti,* and on contemporary works such as Lantfred's *Translatio et Miracula s.*

Swithuni.[1] He employed common hagiographical devices from episcopal *vitae* which would have been well known to his audience to secure acceptance of Æthelwold's sanctity. The monastic aspects of Æthelwold's life are pushed to the forefront of the *vita.* Æthelwold's commitment to monasticism and his ascetic lifestyle, his reforms of Abingdon, Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, and the Winchester communities all take up a large proportion of the text. His monastic activities and personal asceticism are discussed at a much greater extent than was common in episcopal *vitae,* resulting in a complicated image of a monk-bishop.

Although the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is commonly used as a historical source, scholarly analysis of the life's place within the hagiographical genre since the publication of Lapidge and Winterbottom's edition is not extensive. A 2003 PhD thesis by Nicola Jane Robertson surveyed sanctity in tenth- and eleventh-century England through a discussion and comparison of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita s. Oswaldi.*[2] She concluded that they were modelled on local ideals of sanctity as valued at Winchester and Ramsey, respectively. Although they did share common themes there were also differences that derived from local saintly tradition.

To gain a new perspective, this chapter will seek to place the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in a much wider context, relating it not only to other lives of contemporary English bishops (namely Oswald of Worcester and Dunstan of Canterbury), but also to look further afield, at continental exemplars. One obvious place to start is Ottonian Germany which, like England, also produced lives designed to promote the sanctity of contemporary bishops. The study will focus in particular upon the *vitae* of three Ottonian

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[1] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cvi.
[2] N. J. Robertson, 'Sanctity in tenth-century Anglo-Latin hagiography: Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi* and Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi'* (PhD Thesis: University of Leeds, 2003).

episcopal saints: Bruno, archbishop of Cologne (d. 965), Ulrich of Augsburg (d. 973) and Burchard of Worms (d. 1025). There are several reasons both general and particular why these figures have been chosen.

First, comparisons between Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian episcopal saints are very rare. In 1975 David Bullough said that ''England and the Continent in the Tenth Century' is one of the unwritten works of early medieval historiography' and whilst since then there has been important work by scholars such as David Rollason and Veronica Ortenberg, analysis in English of the interrelationships between Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian culture is still relatively sparse; especially in view of the depth of research into those between England and the Carolingian empire.[3] There has recently been an increased amount of scholarship concerning the role, duties and image of the bishop in the central Middle Ages. *The Bishop Reformed,* a collection of essays edited by John S. Ott and Anna Trumbore Jones, sought to survey the medieval bishop, focussing on the entirety of the office, rather than just lordship or ties to kings.[4] Another such collection, *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe,* sought to compare tenth- and eleventh-century English and Ottonian bishops and their roles in an attempt to discover the motivations and precursors to their actions.[5] Yet, although scholarship has compared Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon bishops' lives and duties, there have been very few comparisons of their *vitae* or cults. This chapter will place the hagiographies of Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald in their continental context and directly compare them with their Ottonian counterparts.

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[3] D. A. Bullough, 'The continental background of the reform', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millenium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (Chichester, 1975), at p. 20. For instance, P. Wormald's article, 'St Ethelwold and his continental counterparts', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold,* pp. 13 - 42.
[4] Ott, Trumbore Jones (eds), *The Bishop Reformed.*
[5] Korntgen, Waβenhoven (eds), *Patterns of Episcopal Power.*

Second, the tenth-century Benedictine reform movement in Ottonian Germany was similar to the English reform, in that it was centred on the activities of reforming bishops. The abbey of Gorze, from where the Ottonian movement started, was owned and reformed by the bishops of Metz.[6] Subsequently reformed religious communities united in a network of regional monasteries but were not subject to the monastery of Gorze. Bruno, Ulrich, and Burchard were not at the centre of the Ottonian reform movement in the same way that Æthelwold, Oswald, and Dunstan were in England. They were not monk-bishops reforming their own cathedral communities into monasteries, but clerical bishops who founded or reformed monasteries according to Benedictine rule in the Gorze tradition. The Ottonian reform at Gorze was also different from that which centred on the monastery of Cluny. John of Gorze and Einald of Toul acquired the semi-derelict abbey of Gorze from Bishop Adalbero of Metz in 933 so that they could live according to the *Rule of St Benedict*. Gorze reformed communities were usually attached to cathedral cities and reformers were increasingly promoted to important posts in the Ottonian empire in the tenth century.[7] Warren Sanderson convincingly states that 'variant forms of Gorze usages reached beyond monastic precincts to inform cathedral chapters and imperial chanceries'.[8] The Gorze-Ottonian reform movement influenced the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine reform: Æthelwold and Edgar's *Regularis Concordia* directly drew from the practices of Continental reformed monasteries.[9] It contained elements of the Aachen reform councils of 816 - 819 and its editor, Dom Symons, concluded that the Gorze model

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[6] Wollasch, 'Monasticism: the first wave of reform', pp. 165 -166; Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform,* p. 102.

[7] W. Sanderson, 'Monastic architecture and the Gorze reforms reconsidered', in T. Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3: c. 900 - c. 1024* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 84.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Yorke, 'Introduction', p. 5; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as a scholar and teacher', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold,* p. 193; L. Kornexl, 'The *Regularis Concordia* and its Old English gloss', *ASE,* vol. 24 (Dec., 1995), pp. 95 - 130.

of reform was the predominant influence on the *Regularis Concordia,* over Fleury and Cluny models.[10]

Third, whilst there are similarities between the Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon bishops' lives and careers, there are also marked differences. The main, and most interesting, difference was that the Ottonian saints were secular bishops, not monks like Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald. As mentioned above, two of the most commonly attributed characteristics of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* are its focus on monasticism, and Æthelwold's extreme asceticism. A comparison between it and three saints' lives about bishops who were concerned with monasticism, but who were not monks themselves, could inform the debate about the complicated ideals of sanctity presented in the *vitae* of Anglo-Saxon monk-bishops.

This comparison will discuss the description of the bishops as political reformers within their *vitae*. It will particularly focus on how the *vitae* differ in the nature of their authorship and intended audience and how that affects the concepts of sanctity and episcopal power therein. Stephanie Coué stated that Ottonian episcopal *vitae* presented remarkably individual and stylised images of each bishop as they were targeted at specific audiences, requested by, dedicated to, and written by particular people. In regards to this chapter, the most interesting conclusion from Haarländer's study is that the majority of the Ottonian *vitae* were written, not by the bishops' cathedral clergy, but by monks at abbeys that were founded or endowed by the bishop.[11] These tended to focus on the

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[10] T. Symons (ed.), *Regularis Concordia: The Monastic Agreement of the monks and nuns of the English Nation* (London, 1953), pp. xlv – lii; Idem., 'The *Regularis Concordia*: history and derivation', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London, 1975), pp. 37 – 59.

[11] S. Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier,* Monographien zur Geschichte des Mittelalters, Volume 47 (Stuttgart, 2000), p. 463.

monastic-bishop relationship instead of the bishops' episcopal duties. In contrast, *vitae* written by canons tended to focus on contemporary political events. For example, the *Vita s. Burchardi* was written for the cathedral canons of Worms to set out an ideal and regularised life for them.[12] Haarländer argued that the author took little interest in anything other than Burchard's role as patron to canons of Worms 'neglecting almost entirely Burchard the imperial bishop, or Burchard the legal thinker.'[13] It will be interesting to see how Æthelwold's *vita* fits into Haarländer's hypothesis, and how it compares against the Ottonian *vitae,* two of which were written by and for monks. The *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is perhaps unique because it was written by a monk, but for a cathedral community: it is a mix of the two types of episcopal *vitae* that Haarländer sets out.

Let us now consider the particular reasons for focusing upon the *vitae* of Bruno, Ulrich, and Burchard. These bishops all experienced similar careers, both within the royal court and monastic sphere: all six saints undertook secular duties for their kings and either founded or reformed Benedictine monastic communities.

Ulrich of Augsburg is an important figure in the development of the cult of the saints in medieval Europe because he was the first saint to be officially canonised. The *Vita s. Oudalrici* was written *c.* 982 by Gerhard, a close friend of Ulrich and the provost Augsburg cathedral.[14] Gerhard's *Vita et Miracula s. Oudalrici* was successfully presented

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[12] S. Coué, *Hagiography im Kontext: Schreibanlass und Funktion von Bischofsviten aus dem 11. und vom Amfang des 12. Jahrhunderts,* Arbeiten zur Fruhmittelalterforschung, 24 (Berlin, 1997), pp. 26 – 40; S. Haarländer, 'Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seinder Ziet', in W. Hartmann (ed.), *Bischof Burchard von worms 1000-1025,* Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 100 (Mainz, 2000), pp. 129 – 60.

[13] Quotation is G. Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000: The Decretum of Burchard of Worms* (Farnham, 2009), p. 54; Haarländer, 'Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner zeit', pp. 131 - 8.

[14] A. Hammer, 'Interferences between hagiography and historiography: Bishop Ulrich of Augsburg and Emperor Henry II', in U. Goerlitz (ed.), *Amsterdamer Beitrage Zur Alteren Germanistik: Special Issue, Sovereign and Saints: Narrative Modes of Constructing Rulership and Sainthood in Latin and German (Rhyme) Chronicles of the High and the Late Middle Ages* (Amsterdam, 2013), p. 181.

to Pope John XV in 993 as a petition demonstrating Ulrich's sanctity and the bishop was confirmed as a saint of the catholic church. The two part format of the hagiography, a *vita* and a set of *miracula,* came to be the standard hagiographical form.[15] Since Gerhard's work secured Ulrich's recognition as a saint by the highest worldly Christian authority, comparison of the ideals of sanctity which it presented with those presented by Æthelwold's hagiographer may further clarify if the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* conformed to universal hagiographical rhetoric and concepts of sanctity or if it was unique.

Rosamond McKitterick discussed the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in conjunction with the *Vita s. Oudalrici*, arguing that while some of the features of Ulrich's hagiography were unique, both texts contained conventional hagiographical *topoi* such as the bishops' exemplary pastoral care and their personal piety and miracles, all of which 'might be generalised as criteria for holiness.'[16] She also emphasised that the political dimension of the episcopal *vitae* could be considered the characteristic element of tenth-century episcopal hagiography because it was a recurring theme.[17]

The life and career of St Bruno of Cologne (d. 969) present an interesting comparison to St Æthelwold's. Bruno was the youngest brother of King Otto (963 - 73) and was placed in the household of the bishop Utrecht by his father, King Henry (919 - 963) when he was four years old. The *Vita s. Brunonis* was written *c.* 967x969 at the request of Folcmar, the new bishop of Cologne, by Ruotger, a monk and the school master of the monastery of St Pantaleon in Cologne, which was founded by Bruno. The *Vita s. Brunonis* seems to straddle the divide between holy biography, and a hagiography written to promote a cult. Bruno is described as *sanctus,* but there are very few miracles attributed

[15] R. McKitterick, 'The Church', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3: c. 900 - c. 1024* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 144.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.

to him. Like Wulfstan and Æthelwold, Ruotger and Bruno shared a personal relationship which allowed the hagiographer to acquire the stories and background of the subject's life.[18] David Rollason has already compared the *vita* of Bruno with B's *Vita s. Dunstani.*[19] Considering the nature of Dunstan's sanctity as viewed by his contemporaries, Rollason compared the ideologies and *topoi* present in the archbishop's tenth-century hagiography with those present in the Life of Bruno. Rollason looked at three aspects of hagiographical writing: the aim of the hagiographer; his use of hagiographical schema; and the use of miracle and vision stories. He concluded that 'B''s account of Dunstan fits with the typical conventions of saints' lives.[20] It presented

> a concept of episcopal sanctity which, while elevating asceticism as a virtue, stressed authority and proximity to the king... the tenth-century concept of sanctity was like that of contemporary Germany, and this suggests the possibility of a deeper link, a link at the level of attitudes rather than simply of contacts and parallelism of institutions between Dunstan's church and that of the Ottonian kings.[21]

The *Vita s. Burchardi* offers useful comparisons because Burchard and Æthelwold experienced comparable careers and their *vitae* contain similar descriptions of their characters and personalities. Both bishops produced documents to regulate how those in holy orders should live their lives and practice their faith: Æthelwold wrote the *Regularis Concordia* and adapted the *Regula s. Benedicti* for insular use and Burchard produced the *Decretum.*[22] Æthelwold's disciplinarian personality and its repercussions on his sanctity

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[18] H. Mayr-Harting, 'Ruotger, the Life of Bruno and Cologne cathedral library', in L. M. Smith, B. Ward (eds), *Intellectual Life in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Margaret Gibson* (London, 1992), p. 36.
[19] D. Rollason, 'The concept of sanctity in the early Lives of St Dunstan', in Ramsay *et al., St Dunstan,* pp. 261 - 272.
[20] Ibid., p. 267.
[21] Ibid., p. 272.
[22] For the Decretum see L. Kery, *Canonical Collections of the Early Middle Ages (ca. 400 - 1140): A Bibliographical Guide to the Manuscripts and Literature* (Washington, 1999), pp. 133 - 55.

and cult have often been commented upon.[23] Since Burchard's *vita* contains similar passages, it will be interesting to discuss whether this was usual or extraordinary for episcopal *vitae.* Timothy Reuter has previously commented upon the inherent similarities in hagiographical descriptions of Æthelwold and Burchard's funerals.[24] The *Vita s. Burchardi* was probably written within two years of Burchard's death in 1025.[25] As with Ulrich, Bruno and Æthelwold, a friend of Burchard wrote the *vita*, and various historians have speculated that the author was Ebbo/Eberhard, a canon of Worms.[26]

In what follows, the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* will be compared with both the *vitae* of Oswald and Dunstan and with the three Ottonian lives just discussed. Such a comparison will seek to determine how the depiction of Æthelwold in the *vita* compares to the depiction of other bishops in contemporary *vitae,* analysing the extent of the similarities between the Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian concepts of sanctity. It will look at six themes within the *vitae*: the saints' birth and status; their involvement in the monastic reform movement; their secular duties and interactions with royal power; personal authority; personal asceticism, and miracles performed.

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[23] When writing to the monks of Eynsham, instructing them on monastic observance as dictated by Æthelwold and Edgar in the *Regularis Concordia,* Ælfric did not include all of the rules lest the community 'draw back at the strictnress of so great an observance':, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham,* ed. Jones, p. 111.

[24] T. Reuter, 'A Europe of bishops: the age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms', in L. Körntgen, and D. Waßenhoven (eds), *Patterns of Episcopal Power, Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe/Strukturen bishöflicher Herrschaftsgewalt im westlichen Europa des 10. und 11. Jarhunderts* (Berlin, 2011)*,* p. 18.

[25] Coué, *Hagiography im Kontext*, p. 26.

[26] H. Boos, *Quellen zur Geschichte der Stadt Worms III: Annalen und Chroniken* (Berlin, 1893), xxvi; Haarländer, 'Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner Zeit', p. 130.

Birth and Social Status

Wulfstan follows traditional hagiographical topoi when discussing Æthelwold's birth. He states that Æthelwold was born in Winchester during the reign of Edward the Elder (899 - 924).[27] Before his birth, Æthelwold's mother received miraculous dreams that foreshadowed Æthelwold's saintly status and his role as protector of the city of Winchester.[28] She also felt his soul, sent from God, enter him during her pregnancy.[29] Wulfstan seems slightly reluctant to discuss Æthelwold's social status. He does not divulge Æthelwold's parent's names or their lineage, only stating that they 'were of noble Christian stock'.[30] Wulfstan does, however, state that Æthelwold was brought to court because his 'holy life' came to the notice of King Æthelstan (924 - 939); he then describes Æthelwold as spending *adolescentia* in the king's court, where he was Æthelstan's inseparable companion (*individuo comitatu multum temporis agens in palatio*).[31] He thus implies that Æthelwold's friendship with the king, and his subsequent appointments, were because of his own merit and inherent sanctity, rather than his lineal connections or social status.

Æthelwold's social connections most discussed by Wulfstan are those from within the monastic reform movement. His careful records of Æthelwold's pupils who went on to achieve ecclesiastical office has led to Cubitt dubbing the *vita* 'an advertisement for the efficacy of the Benedictine old boy network'.[32] Wulfstan emphasised Æthelwold's monastic associations and depicts Æthelwold as relying only on royal assistance, not help

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[27]*VsÆ,* c. 1, pp. 2 – 3.

[28] Ibid., cc. 2 – 3, pp. 4 – 7.

[29] Ibid., c. 4, pp. 6 – 9.

[30] Ibid., c. 1, pp. 2 – 3: *ingenua Christianorum.*For Æthelwold's familial background, see Barrow, *The Medieval Clergy,* chs. 2 and 4. It is possible that his father was a cleric.

[31] Ibid., c. 7, pp. 10 – 13; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. xliii.

[32] C. Cubitt, 'The tenth-century Benedictine reform in England', *Early Medieval Europe,* vol. 6, issue 1 (March, 1997), p. 90.

from secular lords, in endowing monasteries.[33] After appointing Æthelwold as abbot of Abingdon, the king and his mother sent lavish gifts and bestowed royal lands on the monastery, and King Edgar subsequently aided the building of a new church.[34] He abides by his own rules, as laid out in the *Regularis Concorida.*

In contrast, B and Byrhtferth include accounts in the *vitae* which make clear that Dunstan and Oswald were of the nobility, were very well connected in Anglo-Saxon society, and used those contacts to further their ecclesiastical careers. According to B, Dunstan was born to parents named Heorstan and Cynethryth, in Wessex, during the reign of Æthelstan. B says little about Dunstan's parents but litters the *vita* with Dunstan's familial relations. B states that Dunstan was linked to Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, and Æthelflaed, the niece of King Æthelstan, through kinship, and Bishop Cynesige of Lichfield (946/949 - 963) is described as Dunstan's kinsman (*consanguineus*).[35] His appointment as abbot of Glastonbury is also thought to have been to further his family's interests.[36] Byrhtferth omits the names of Oswald's parents because he spends the first part of the *vita* narrating the life of Archbishop Oda of Canterbury (d. 958), Oswald's uncle. Byrhtferth does say that Oswald was possibly born in Danelaw, was a member of the Anglo-Danish nobility, and the nephew to two archbishops: Oda of Canterbury and Oscytel of York (d. 971).[37] Byrhtferth also had no qualms with including how much those connections helped Oswald's ecclesiastical career. Oda purchased Oswald a minster in Winchester, and later gave him permission (and the funds) to travel to and study in Fleury.

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[33] Hudson, 'Æthelwold's Circle', pp. 244 - 5.
[34] *VsÆ*, c. 13, pp. 24 – 5.
[35] There is also very little historical evidence about Dunstan's parents, see Lapidge, Winterbottom, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan,* pp. xv – xvi; B, *VsD,* c. 7, c. 21; *causa religionis simul etiam propinquitatis,* B, *VsD,* c. 10.
[36] Yorke, 'Ethelwold and the politics tenth century', p. 67.
[37] Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey,* p. lxvi.

After Oda's death, Oscytel looked after Oswald in England, and introduced him to Dunstan who attained for him the bishopric of Worcester.[38] And, it was of course a secular lord, Ealdorman Æthelwine (d. 992), who helped Oswald found the monastery of Ramsey.[39]

Similarly, the Ottonian lives include accounts of familial connections. Bruno was the son of King Henry of Germany and the brother of King Otto I.[40] Throughout the *vita,* Ruotger refers to Bruno's connection to his royal kinsmen and his duties as a prince and duke.[41] Gerhard tells us that Ulrich was nobly born into the family of the counts of Dillingen in Augsburg in 890.[42] As with Oswald, male relatives helped him with his ecclesiastical career: Ulrich's uncle, Adalbero (d. 909), bishop of Augsburg, kept Ulrich in his household as a priest, and Ulrich's maternal cousin, Duke Burchard of Swabia (d. 926), helped Ulrich attain the bishopric of Augsburg in 923.[43] Burchard's hagiographer claims that Burchard was born in the province of Hesse to unnamed parents 'who were not low according to the world's dignity.'[44] Although no senior members of his family are mentioned, his hagiographer imparts that Burchard's brother Franco preceded him as the bishop of Worms, and their sister, Mathilda, was an abbess of the convent of Nonnemünster, close to Worms.[45]

Thus it appears that Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is unusual, in contrast to the Ottonian lives, in that it does not discuss Æthelwold's social status in any great detail.

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[38] Byrhtferth, *VsO*, iii.5, pp. 58 – 9.
[39] See A. Wareham, 'Saint Oswald's family and kin', in Brooks *et al., St Oswald of Worcester,* pp. 46 - 63 for an indepth analysis of Oswald's family and their influence.
[40] *VsBru,* c. 2, cc. 23 - 25, p. 4, pp. 23 - 26.
[41] See below.
[42] *VsU,* c. 1, pp. 86 - 9.
[43] *VsU,* c. 1, pp. 94 - 98.
[44] All English translations of Burchard's Life are taken from W. North's online edition, and the Latin is supplied from the MGH edition; *VsBu,* c. 1; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 832: *parentibus secundum seculi dignitatem non infimis.*
[45] *VsBu,* cc. 3, 6 - 7.

According to Wulfstan, Æthelwold earned his career and status through his own holy works and connection to the king, rather than from the assistance of familial ties or secular lords. The other hagiographers all acknowledged their subject's noble status and important kin, and Oswald, Dunstan, Bruno and Ulrich all had powerful male relatives who helped them with their careers.

Involvement in monastic reform

One of the main concerns of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is Æthelwold's contribution to the reform movement. In the preface to the *vita,* Wulfstan states that Æthelwold

> ...burst on his time brilliant as the morning star among the other stars; the founder of many monasteries and teacher of the Church's doctrines, he shone alone and unique among all the English bishops.[46]

Wulfstan spends a large proportion of the *vita* narrating Æthelwold's ecclesiastical career from its earliest days. According to Wulfstan, Æthelwold trained in the household of Bishop Ælfheah at Winchester and was ordained as a priest, at King Æthelstan's command, by Bishop Ælfheah; he and Dunstan were ordained together alongside a man named Æthelstan.[47] Ælfheah prophesised that one of the men would go on to become archbishop of Canterbury, another would succeed to his own see of Winchester, whilst the last would live a sinful life and die in the stink of luxury.[48] By emphasising Æthelstan's incompetence and lack of commitment to the holy orders, Wulfstan draws attention to Æthelwold's diligence and success.

Thereafter Æthelwold became a monk under Ælfheah, but throughout the *vita* Wulfstan denotes Æthelwold's zeal for the correct monastic life: wishing to lead a more

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[46] *VsÆ,* preface, pp. 2 - 3: *uelut lucifer inter astra coruscans, suis temporibus apparuit, multorumque coenobiorum fundator et ecclesiasticorum dogmatum institutor inter omnes Anglorum pontifices solus singulariter effulsit.*
[47] Ibid.*,* c. 7, pp. 10 – 11.
[48] Ibid.*,* c. 8, pp. 12 – 13.

ascetic life, Æthelwold left the household of Ælfheah at Winchester and travelled to Glastonbury to study under Dunstan.[49] Even there he was unfulfilled and wished to travel overseas to better learn the monastic life, but was stopped by Queen Eadgifu, the mother of King Eadred.[50] Instead, Eadred gave him the monastery of Abingdon, which Æthelwold could reform to his own monastic standards.

In accordance with hagiographical convention, but probably also with a modicum of truth, Wulfstan states that at the start of Æthelwold's abbacy, Abingdon was a small, neglected and derelict monastery.[51] Five monks, from monasteries in Glastonbury, Winchester, and London, followed Æthelwold and soon he was the abbot and teacher of a flock of monks all living under the *Rule of St Benedict*.[52] After Æthelwold's appointment as bishop of Winchester, Wulfstan explicitly discusses his expulsion of the canons from both the Old and New Minsters and their replacement with monks.[53] The *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* paints an exceedingly unfavourable picture of the canons, who were

> …victims of pride, insolence, and riotous living to such a degree that some of them did not think to celebrate mass in due order. They married wives illicitly, divorced them, and took others; they were constantly given to gourmandizing and drunkenness.[54]

In contrast, the monks who were installed at Winchester began to sing the psalms and worship God on the very day they arrived.[55] This language may be a rhetorical device to justify Æthelwold's unprecedented removal of the canons from the cathedral and their replacement with monks, but it exemplified Æthelwold's reforming beliefs. Chapters

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[49] Ibid., c. 9, pp. 14 – 15.
[50] Ibid., c. 10, pp. 18 – 19.
[51] Ibid., c. 11, pp. 18 – 21; see Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', pp. 43 – 64.
[52] Ibid.
[53] *VsÆ* cc. 16 - 20, pp. 28 - 37.
[54] Ibid., c. 16, pp. 30 – 31: *elatione et insolentia atque luxuria praeuenti, adeo ut nonnulli illorum dedignarentur missas suo ordine celebrare, repudiantes uxores quas inlicite duxerant et alias accipientes, gulae et ebrietati iugiter dediti.*
[55] Ibid., c. 17, pp. 31 – 33.

eighteen through to twenty four directly concern Æthelwold's reforming activities in Winchester, Thorney, Peterborough and Ely.[56] Wulfstan also discusses the greater trend of Benedictine reform being carried out by Edgar and Dunstan stating that

> ...thanks to both Dunstan's counsel and activity and Æthelwold's unremitting aid, monasteries were established everywhere in England, some for monks, some for nuns, governed by abbots and abbesses who lived according to the Rule.[57]

It is clear that Æthelwold's roles as a monk and reformer were at the forefront of his depiction as a saint. In the final chapters of the *vita* before Æthelwold's death, Wulfstan relates how St Dunstan received a heavenly dream where he saw a tree with its branches loaded with monastic cowls. At the top of the tree was the greatest cowl of all, protecting all those below it. An angelic figure explained the vision to Dunstan:

> "The tree you see, abbot Dunstan, denotes this island. The big cowl standing at the top of this tree is that of your monk Æthelwold, who is Christ's devoted servant in this monastery"...[58]

The other cowls were all the monks of England, to whom Æthelwold would act as a protector. Alison Hudson argues that this story sought to emphasise Æthelwold's creation of a strong circle of monks, and Cubitt sees this account as Wulfstan's attempts to claim Æthelwold's superiority over Dunstan.[59] In fact, Wulfstan was portraying Æthelwold as a figure comparable to St Benedict; he names Æthelwold as the 'father of monks'. This title was frequently given to St Benedict, and Wulfstan here attaches it to

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[56] Ibid., cc. 18 - 24, pp. 33 - 43.

[57] Ibid., c. 27, pp. 42 - 3: *ut partim Dunstani consilio et actione, partim Æthelwoldi sedula cooperatione, monasteria ubique in gente Anglorum, quaedam monachis, quaedam sanctimoniabilibus, constituerentur sub abbatibus et abbatissis regulariter uiuentibus.*

[58] Ibid., pp. 56 - 7: *'Arbor haec quam uides, abba Dunstane, situm designat huius insulae: magna autem cuculla, quae in huius arboris summitate erigitur, ipsa est monachi tui Æthelwoldi, qui in hoc monasterio deuote Christo famulatur...'*

[59] Hudson, 'Æthelwold and his circle', p. 244; Cubitt, 'The tenth-century reform', p. 93.

Æthelwold, who is depicted as the protector of all the monks of England.[60] Wulfstan evidently sought to promote Æthelwold as a reformer akin to the great St Benedict, '...unique among all the English bishops', whose sanctity inspired his efforts.[61]

Byrhtferth took measures to depict Oswald in a similar vein; Lapidge has stated that the 'principal concern of the *Vita s. Oswaldi* is Benedictine monasticism.' [62] Byrhtferth did not just focus on Oswald's work, but on the career of his uncle, Archbishop Oda, the efforts of Ealdorman Æthelwine, and the state of the English church. Like Wulfstan, Byrhtferth describes Oswald as 'the holy father of the monastic order'.[63] The themes and chronology of Oswald's career within the *vita* are very similar to those in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* According to Byrhtferth, after settling in a minster in Winchester and being disappointed with the lax religious observance there, Oswald travelled to the continent and entered the monastery of Fleury. There he concerned himself with 'complete adherence to the monastic rule'[64] and gave himself utterly to the monastic life. Once he had absorbed their learning and attained the grade of deacon, he returned to England at the request of his uncle Archbishop Oda, who unfortunately died before Oswald set foot on English soil.[65] His other uncle, Archbishop Oskytel of York, introduced him to St Dunstan, who then gained for him the bishopric of Worcester.

Byrhtferth placed considerable emphasis on Oswald's reforms at Ramsey. After inspecting lands in St Albans, Ely and Benfleet, and finding them all unsatisfactory to house a community of monks, Oswald was approached by Ealdorman Æthelwine who

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[60] For the use of this title see R. Deshman, '*Benedictus monarcha et monachus:* early medieval ruler theology and the Anglo-Saxon reform', *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* 22 (1988), pp. 211 - 19 and p. 227.
[61] *VsÆ,* preface, pp. 2 - 3: *inter omnes Anglorum pontifices solus singulariter effulsit.*
[62] Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald', in Brooks *et al., St Oswald,* p. 66.
[63] Byrhtferth, *VsO*, v.5, p. 149; *VsÆ,* c. 9, p. 14: *pater pius monastici ordinis.*
Byrhtferth, *VsO,* ii.6 - ii. 9, pp. 42 – 51, at p. 48: *summa rectissime regule obseruatione.*
[65] Ibid., ii.9, pp. 50 – 51, iii.3 - iii.4, pp. 54 -59.

offered him the island of Ramsey, where there were already three men awaiting to observe the monastic life.[66] Oswald quickly inspected the area and, finding it pleasing, sent Eadnoth, a priest of the monastery of Westbury, there to make it suitable for habitation. That August, Oswald led the community of Westbury across England to their new monastery at Ramsey. Byrhtferth gives details of Oswald's building works, his consecration of the church, and his many gifts to the community.[67] He also briefly discusses Oswald's reform of the see of Worcester and his building of St Mary's church:

> Did he not make monks serve God in that place, where once dwelled 'dragons and ostriches'? He built the doors of a new Jerusalem; he laid new foundations for that monastery, which he brought to completion and offered 'in purity of spirit' to God.[68]

In like manner, Burchard's hagiographer includes details about his subject's reforming activity, both in regards to canonical and monastic communities, stating that Burchard rebuilt the destroyed city of Worms, its cathedral and the monastery of St Paul.[69] Upon finding the church of St Peter *ad sedem* too small, he knocked it down and built a new monastery of tremendous size within a few years. Its building was so swift, it seemed to 'have appeared suddenly because Burchard wished it so.'[70] He also divulges that Burchard half-built the monastery of St Martin and reformed the canonical communities of Mainz and Worms, regulating the canons' education and food allowances.[71] That is very similar to Æthelwold's food regulations at Abingdon, which remained in place until

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[66] Ibid., iii.12, p. 79; c. 15, p. 87.
[67] Ibid., iv.15, pp. 130 - 3, V cc. 10 - 11, pp. 172 - 179.
[68] Ibid., v.9, p. 173: *Nonne in eo – quo quondam mansitabant 'dracones et struciones' – fecit Deo seruire monachos? Edificauit noue Hiesrosolime portas; construxit ipsius coenobii noua fundamenta, que ad perfectionem perfecit et cum 'simplicatate cordis' Deo optulit.*
[69] *VsBu,* c. 6 – 9; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, p. 65; Haarländer, *Vitae Episcoporum,* pp. 178 – 99; Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext,* p. 28; Haarländer, 'Die Vita Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner Zeit', pp. 134 – 38.
[70] *VsBu,* c. 11; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 837: *sed quasi exoptando subito ibi constitisse.*
[71] *VsBu,* cc. 2, 16, 20; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, p. 65

the twelfth century.[72] Burchard's most famous work, the *Decretum,* written for the cathedral provost of Worms to guide priests in their pastoral care within the diocese, is included.[73]

One episode within the *vita* reveals Burchard's view on the roles of monks and canons. As regards his reforms and expectations of the religious communities living under his rule, Burchard was perhaps more similar to Dunstan and Oswald than to Æthelwold. The *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* makes clear that Æthelwold viewed the canonical life as beneath the dignity of monks and that he would not accept them within his communities. Upon arriving at Winchester Æthelwold used royal authority to 'order the canons to chose one of two courses: either to give place to the monks without delay or to take the habit of the monastic order.'[74] The two different religious orders would not coexist within the same chapter.[75] By contrast, Burchard's *vita* states that Burchard believed that canons should work together with monks. He believed that all men served God in different ways and the world needed the different religious orders. For if all religious men were monks then who would minister the laity? According to the *Vita s. Burchardi,* Burchard enjoined canons to continue in their proper order:

> Therefore, whoever is a canon, let him not depart from his monastery[76] for the monastic life without permission, but rather work in common with his brothers; and if he desires to lead a stricter life, let him devote himself to works pleasing to God and keep himself from evil within his own monastery...[77]

[72] Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', p. 56; *CMA,* I, pp. 346 – 7; II, p. 279.

[73] J. Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire: Tithes, Lordship, and Community, 950 - 1150* (Cambridge, 2012), p. 101.

[74] *VsÆ,* c. 18, pp. 32 - 3: *mandauit canonicis ut unum de duobus eligerent, aut sine mora dare locum monachis aut suscipere habitum monachici ordinis.*

[75] Ibid., c. 16, pp. 30 - 1.

[76] *Monasterium* was the common noun for religious communities.

[77] *VsBu,* c. 17; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 840: *Ergo qui canonicus sit, pro monastica vita de monasterio suo sine licentia non exeat, sed cum fratribus in commune laboret; et si districtiori vita vivere desideret, intra monasterium suum operibus Deo placentibus inseruiat et de malis se sustineat.*

This was a far cry from Æthelwold's exclusive monastic communities. Burchard's reforms attempted to regularise the life and practices of the religious orders in their houses: he never tried to replace one with another. One reason that Burchard's hagiographer spelt out his subject's beliefs in this manner was that he was writing for the canonical community of Worms. While we need not doubt that the reforming Burchard asserted that canons and monks lived lives of equal worth, his hagiographer emphasised this aspect of his teachings because of the nature of his audience.

Ruotger similarly records Bruno's reforming efforts. He notes that as deacon of Lorsch and Corvei, Bruno instituted reforms so that his clergy would live a regular life.[78] After assuming the archbishopric of Cologne, he administered his pastoral duties and built churches and monasteries in many places within his diocese.[79] In particular, we are told that at the monastery of St Mary he established nuns in the place of monks whom he moved to the (collegiate) church of St Andrew[80] and that he built the monastery of St Pantaleon in Cologne, where he brought monks to live according to the *Rule of St Benedict* and appointed Christian, a monk from the Gorze-reformed monastery of St Maxim in Trier, as abbot;[81] Ruotger asserts that Bruno always ensured that his communities lived according to the rule:[82]

> ...he [Bruno] decreed that in the many people making up the various communities belonging to his honourable see, there should be one heart and one mind; so that superfluity of clothes, divergent customs, and whatever of this kind seemed effeminate or inappropriate in his church should, by true and spiritual circumcision...which is the beginning of wisdom, be most diligently

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[78] *VsBr,* cc. 9 - 10, pp. 9 - 11.
[79] Ibid., c. 31 - 33, pp. 30 - 34.
[80] *VsBr.*, c. 34, pp. 34 - 35.
[81] Ibid*.,* c. 28, pp. 28 – 9; Mayr-Harting, 'Ruotger, the Life of Bruno and Cologne Cathedral Library', p. 35; I. Ott (ed.), *Ruogers Lebensbeschreibung Des Erzbischofs Bruno Von Koln, MGH, New Series,* vol. 10 (Gutenberg, 1951), pp. vii-x.
[82] *VsBr,* c. 21, p. 22: *ut divinis ministeriis omnes, quorum id intererat, intentissime secundum prefixam sibi regulam viverent nec aliam sibi sue salutis causam ullatenus estimarent*; c. 31, pp. 31 - 2.

cut out. Hence, with regards to the divine mysteries, all whom it concerned should live strictly according to the fixed rule...[83]

Gerhard, Ulrich's hagiographer, does not discuss Ulrich's particular reforming beliefs but he does detail his activities as a builder and patron of monasteries. He reports that Ulrich, educated at the Gorze-reformed monastery of St Gall, did not enter the monastery and instead served Bishop Adalbero of Augsburg in his canonical household.[84] Gerhard details not only Ulrich's episcopal visitations within his diocese and his questioning of the clergy on their duties and daily service,[85] but also his construction of new churches, his establishment of St Afra (which was later converted to a Benedictine monastery), his acquisition of relics, his visitation of the monastery of St Gall, his foundation of the monastery of St Stephen for nuns, and his construction of the church of St John the Baptist.[86]

Interestingly, the focus on monastic fervour and activity is not mirrored in the *Vita s. Dunstani.* B's account of Dunstan's life glosses over his involvement in the monastic reform movement. B lists Dunstan's early education at the church of St Mary at Glastonbury;[87] his time in the household of Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester (where Dunstan was tempted by the Devil into considering marrying a young woman but subsequently experienced a terrible illness and was persuaded by Ælfheah to become a monk at Glastonbury);[88] his troubled career at the royal court; and his appointment as

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[83] Translation by Henry Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany: The View from Cologne* (Oxford, 2007), p. 41; *VsBr,* c. 21, pp. 22: *et apostolicam auctoritatem secutus instituit, ut multitudinis, que in diversis congregationibus ad eius honorabilem sedem pertinentibus erat, unum cor esset et anima una, ut vestium superfluitas, morum inequalitas et quicquid hoc modo effeminatum et indecens in eius ecclesia videretur, vera et spirituali circumcision, quod est inicium sapientie, diligentissime abscideretur, ut divinis ministeriis omnes, quorum id intererat, intentissime secundum prefixam sibi regulam viverent nec aliam sibi sue salutis causam ullatenus estimarent.*
[84] *VsU,* c. 1, pp. 94 - 100.
[85] Ibid., c. 6, p. 148. See Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform in the German Empire*, p. 57.
[86] *VsU,* cc. 7, 14, 15, 19, 20.
[87] B, *VsD,* c. 3, pp. 12 - 15.
[88] Ibid., c. 7, pp. 26 - 7.

abbot of Glastonbury by King Edmund. B, however, is reticent concerning Dunstan's reforms and refers to such activities in quite general terms:

> [Dunstan] rebuilt what had been destroyed, mended what had been neglected, enriched holy places, instructed the ignorant, corrected the wicked, loved the just, recalled the arrant to the way of truth, built churches to God, and in every way lived up to the name of true shepherd.[89]

B reports that Dunstan also engaged in building works, surrounding the monastic cloisters of Glastonbury with new structures, but no monastic foundations are listed, and B does not mention Dunstan's supposed reform of Canterbury.[90] This may be because B was a member of Dunstan's retinue only before Dunstan was appointed to Canterbury, and thus was not witness to the reforms. Or, which is more likely, Dunstan did not institute monastic reforms at Canterbury.[91] Furthermore, B was a canon and unconcerned with orating on the righteousness of Benedictine monasticism, and more interested in demonstrating Dunstan's sanctity and his good works.

We may conclude then that within this group of lives the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* stands at one end of a spectrum. It documents the bishop's monastic activities at an almost unprecedented level. The authors of the *vitae* of Bruno, Oswald and Burchard's were evidently also highly concerned with promoting the efforts of the monastic revival and the ideal of regularised monastic communities, whereas Ulrich's *vita* simply records his reforming efforts, rather than his particular beliefs. Dunstan's *vita* lay at the other end of this sliding scale, barely mentioning his reforms. The *Vita s. Oswaldi* and the *Vita s.*

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[89] Ibid., c. 28, pp. 84 – 5: *Deinde autem destructa renouare, neglecta quaeque iustificare, loca sancta ditare, indoctos erudire, prauos corrigere, iustos amare, errantes ad ueritatis uiam reuocare, Dei aecclesias fabricare, nomenque ueri pastoris in omnibus adimplere.*
[90] Ibid.,, c. 15, p. 51.
[91] See N. P. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066* (Leicester, 1984) and Robertson, 'Dunstan and monastic reform: tenth-century fact or twelfth-century fiction?' pp. 153 – 167.

Brunonis perhaps sit the closest to the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* whilst the *Vita s. Burchardi* and *Vita s. Oudalrici* sit comfortably in the middle.

Secular duties

In their role as bishops these men had a duty to serve the king and were often involved in law making and royal councils. In life, these worldly duties often complimented their spiritual ones, but it could create tension in the hagiography. Reuter argues that by the tenth century 'closeness to the king and royal service are stressed heavily by the writers of episcopal lives' in England and Ottonian Germany.[92] Yet, Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* stands away from this trend.

Robertson has claimed that Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* consistently focuses on Æthelwold's association with the crown, indicating that the political dimension of sanctity was important at Winchester.[93] She points out that Æthelwold spends his *adolescentia* at the court of Æthelstan, and had royal patronage for his monasteries. But a close reading of the *vita* demonstrates that Wulfstan removed all references to Æthelwold's secular duties which did not occur in a religious context. In reality, of course, Æthelwold was heavily engaged in the politics of the tenth century.[94] But Wulfstan carefully crafted an image of the bishop whereby he was presented as enjoying close relationships with the kings of England, but not as engaging in secular activity strictly outside the remit of a churchman. As section one has demonstrated, Wulfstan narrated the beginning of Æthelwold's career and his social status as being directly linked to his holiness: he came to the notice of Æthelstan as 'rumour brought word of his holy life' to

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[92] Reuter, 'A Europe of bishops: the age of Wulfstan of York and Burchard of Worms', p. 36.
[93] Robertson, 'Sanctity in Anglo-Latin hagiography', pp. 49 – 71, p. 228.
[94] See Yorke, 'Ethelwold and the politics of the tenth century', pp. 65 – 88.

the king.[95] His time at Æthelstan's court is summarised in a sentence, and although he learnt much from the king's witan, Wulfstan never claims that he was a part of it. But after Æthelwold was tonsured, he is never again mentioned with the king in a secular setting. From this point on the only interactions the king and Æthelwold share are within a religious context.[96] When Eadred and his Northumbrian thegns visit Æthelwold and drink to excess it happens within the confines of the monastery of Abingdon and only after Eadred had 'visited the monastery to oversee the building works' and, with his own hand, checked its foundations.[97] Æthelwold is connected to the king only through his capacity as a holy man; he does not engage in any secular or temporal duties. Wulfstan makes clear that the kings felt a 'great affection' for Æthelwold and favoured him, guided his career and endowed his monasteries, because he was a holy man and servant of Christ.[98] According to Wulfstan, Æthelwold did not spend any further time at the king's court after his *adolescentia* -- he did not attend council meetings, he did not engage in war. Although Æthelwold enjoyed close contact with the king he was not a temporal bishop but a religious man serving his king in a monastic setting.

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[95] *VsÆ,* c. 7, pp. 10 - 11: *praeconium sanctae conuersationis eius Æthelstano regi.*

[96] *VsÆ,* c. 9: Æthelstan places him in Ælfheah's household to improve his education as a cleric; c. 10, Eadgifu, Eadred's mother, stops Æthelwold going abroad to study to ground himself further in the monastic life; c. 11, Eadred gives Æthelwold the abbacy of Abingdon and endows it; c. 13, during the reign of Edgar, Æthelwold built the church of St Mary at Abingdon; c. 16, Edgar chooses Æthelwold for the bishopric of Winchester and expels the canons; c. 18, Edgar sends one of his agents to order the canons out of Winchester; c. 20, Æthelwold, with the permission of Edgar, drove the canons from New Minster; c. 23, Æthelwold establishes Ely, after buying the abandoned land from Edgar; c.25, Edgar's close relationship with Æthelwold and how he [Edgar] dedicated churches in many places and preached the Gospels; c. 40, the rededication of the Old Minster, which Æthelred and his thegns attended, who all loved him.

[97] *VsÆ,* c. 12, p. 23: *rex quadam die ad monasterium, ut aedificiorum structuram per se ipsum ordinaret...* It is worth noting that this story appears to mirror one of the stipulations in the *Regularis Concordia,* which states that abbots should not 'meet persons of importance, either within or just outside the monastery, for the purpose of feasting together, but only according as the well-being and defence of the monastery demand.' As Eadred had visited Abingdon to check the church and its foundations, the feasting is authorised. *Regularis Concorida,* ed. Symons, p. 7.

[98] *VsÆ,* c. 11, p. 19

In comparison with the rest of the *vitae,* Wulfstan's restriction on Æthelwold's interactions with the king and secular world is unusual. B emphasised Dunstan's interaction with and service to the kings of Anglo-Saxon England. The *Vita s. Dunstani* contains thirty-nine chapters and Dunstan has direct encounters with the king in fifteen of them.[99] B states that Dunstan served Æthelstan and his successors as a member of the royal court and the witan, and was even the guardian of King Eadred's treasure.[100] Oswald's royal service was not as extensive as Dunstan's but Byrhtferth touches upon the personal connection between Oswald and Edgar. After the Council of Winchester at Easter, Oswald was given favour to stay behind after the assembly in the king's presence (*regis praesentia*).[101] Gerhard presents Ulrich as an imperial prelate enjoying a close relationship with the king: acting as a host to the king's vassals, Ulrich received them with the highest honour and placed them in opulent rooms.[102]   Bachrach states that the *vita* 'focuses on Burchard's secular duties, particularly his restoration of the city and bishopric of Worms, and his participation in imperial politics, including military affairs' and this is largely true.[103] Burchard's hagiographer included stories that made it clear that Burchard

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[99] B, *VsD,* c. 6, Dunstan attends the king's court; c. 10, King Æthelstan visits Dunstan and his friend, Æthelflaed; c. 13, King Edmund summons Dunstan to court, welcomes him, and then banishes him; c. 14, King Edmund almost dies in Cheddar Gorge, reconciles with Dunstan; c. 15, Dunstan takes up his office at the king's command; c. 19, King Eadred succeeds and gives Dunstan his treasury; c. 20, Eadred is dying and Dunstan goes to visit him; c. 21, Eadwig's coronation feast; c. 22, Dustan is sent into exile by the king's mistress; c. 24, King Edgar summons Dunstan back to England; c. 25, Dunstan attends the king's witan and is selected for a bishopric; c. 26, Edgar appoints Dunstan to Worcester and then promotes him to London and Canterbury; c. 31, Dunstan travels in King Edmund's retinue; c. 32, Dunstan travels in Edmund's retinue; c. 33, Dunstan dines at the king's estate.
[100] B., *VsD,* c. 19, p. 91, n. 179; N. Brooks, 'The career of St Dunstan', in Ramsay *et al., St Dunstan,* p. 14.
[101] L. Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871 - 978: Assemblies and the State in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 167; Byrhtferth, *VsO,* iii.10 - iii.12, pp. 74 - 81.
[102] *VsU,* I, c. 3, pp. 114 - 116, *vasalli autem imperatoris ab eo pergentes vel ad eum redeuntes summon honore suscepti et in tantum opulentati ut in nullo eos aut iumenta eorum ulla indigentia fatigaret.* See D. S. Bachrach, *Warfare in Tenth-Century Germany* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 181; M. C. Miller, 'Masculinity, reform, and clerical culture: narratives of episcopal holiness in the Gregorian era', *Church History,* vol. 72, no. 1 (March, 2003), p. 29.
[103] D. S. Bachrach, *The Histories of a Medieval German City, Worms c. 1000 - c. 1300* (Farnham, 2014), p. 12. For an alternative view see Coué, *Hagiographie im Kontext,* pp. 27 - 8; Haarländer, 'Die Vita

was close to and served each of the rulers of Germany: Otto III, Henry II (1002 - 1024), and Conrad II (1024 - 1039).[104] According to Timothy Reuter's calculations, Bruno's encounters with each of the rulers in reality only accounted for about five per cent of his period as bishop yet they comprise twenty per cent of his *vita*.[105] Bruno was intimately connected to the royal house, and Ruotger discusses it at length: after Bruno's father Henry I died, Ruotger states that Otto I 'called his brother Bruno, dedicated to God, still a youth but as if an equal, from the schools to his court…'[106] His secular duties were not even restricted to his role as bishop as Otto made Bruno archduke of Lotharingia.[107]

Personal authority

Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* presents the bishop's saintly and episcopal authority in a highly stylised and individual manner through his interactions with the monks of Abingdon and Winchester. Æthelwold's general character and exercise of authority are described in very specific terms in a striking passage in Chapter 28 of the *vita*:

> Æthelwold was terrible as a lion to malefactors and the wayward; but to the humble and obedient he showed himself the meekest of lambs... If ever zeal for the right compelled him to impose discipline of the law on his subjects, his very rage proceeded from love, not from cruelty, and inwardly he loved with a father's tenderness those whom he seemed on the surface to be correcting and harrying.[108]

Burchardi im Rahmen der Bischofsviten seiner Zeit', pp. 131 - 8; Austin, *Shaping Church Law around the Year 1000*, p. 54.

[104] *VsBu,* c. 8, Burchard travels to Italy on Otto's request; c. 9, Burchard receives Henry at Worms and joins him in councils to decide/accept his succession as king; c. 14, Henry II comes to Worms and consecrates the completed monastery; c. 21, Conrad, who was raised and educated by Burchard, succeeds to the throne and visits Worms in the years following.

[105] Reuter, 'A Europe of bishops', p. 36, n. 77.

[106] *VsBr*, c. 5, pp. 6 - 7. Translation taken from 'An Ottonian courtier/bishop: Ruotger, *Life of Bruno, Archbishop of Cologne',* ed. and trans. B. H. Rosenwein, *Reading the Middle Ages: Sources from Europe, Byzantium, and the Islamic World* (Plymouth, 2014), p. 217.

[107] *VsBru*, c. 20; for his duties in war see cc. 15 - 18, pp. 14 - 16.

[108] *VsÆ,* c. 28, pp. 44 - 5: *Erat namque terribilis ut leo discolis et peruersis, humilibus uero et oboedientibus se quasi agnum mitissimum exhibebat... Quem si quando zelus rectitudinis cogeret ut iura*

This 'harsh but loving' character of personal authority is closely paralleled in the Life of Bruno and, to a lesser extent, in the Life of Burchard. Their *vitae* carry strong themes of admonition and punishment and employ almost the exact same language to describe the saints' authority:

Thus, Ruotger writes of Bruno:

No one was more humble toward the meek and humble, and no one more terrible against evil and presumptuous men. This severity, from which there was no way to purchase exemption, was feared equally by natives and by strangers; whoever heard tell of his greatness learned, in proper and very fitting order, first to fear him and later to love him..[109]

Burchard's hagiographer also employs much the same language:

'His words were so tempered by discretion that the firmness of his heart was easily comprehended by those listening.'[110]
'...an intrepid man in word and deed, he often terrified even his enemies themselves.'[111]

The three saints tempered their admonitions with *blandimenta*.[112] The origins of this lie in the *Regula s. Benedicti,* particularly the description of abbatial authority, which was expanded and publicized by Gregory the Great in the *Regula Pastoralis.* The *Regula*

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disciplinae subiectis imponeret, furor ipse non de crudelitate sed de amore processit, et intus paterna pietate dilexit quos foris quasi insequens castigauit.
[109] Translation from Mayr-Harting, 'Ruotger the Life of Bruno and Cologne cathedral library', p. 56; *VsBr*, c. 30, p. 31: *Apud mites et humiles nemo humilior, contra improbos et elatos nemo vehementior fuit. Hunc terrorem, qui beneficio obligari non potuiut, indigena eque et alienigena formidavit, et recto convenientissimoque ordine omnis, ad quem magnitudinis eius fama pervenit, primo eum timere, postea consuevit amare.* This passage directly echoes the *Regula S Benedicti,* c. 64.
[110] *VsBu,* c. 20; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 844: *Verba eius discretion ita fuerant temperate, ut firmitas cordis eius ab audentibus facile intelligeretur.*
[111] *VsBu,* c. 7; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 835: *plerumque etiam ipsos hostes dictis et factis intrepidus terrebat.*
[112] Mayr-Harting, 'Ruotger the Life of Bruno and Cologne cathedral library', p. 56.

s. Benedicti focuses on abbatial authority and discipline. Chapter 64 states that the abbot should 'strive to be more loved than feared'.[113] Expanding on this, it details that the abbot:

> ...should always let mercy triumph over judgement so that he too may win mercy. He must hate faults but love the brothers. When he must punish them, he should act prudently and not do what would be too much; otherwise, by rubbing too hard to remove the ruse, he may break the vessel by rubbing too hard to remove the rust ... By this we do not mean that he should allow faults to flourish, but rather, as we have already said, he should prune them away with prudence and love as he sees best for each individual.[114]

It is clear to see how this language was mirrored in the lives of Æthelwold, Bruno, and to a lesser extent, Burchard. Furthermore, Wulfstan's account echoes the duality of the ecclesiastical ruler's love and his exercise of strict authority as depicted by Gregory the Great in the *Regula Pastoralis*. Written in the sixth century, the *Regula Pastoralis* defined the ideal bishop or abbot's background and behaviour, and drew upon the stipulations in the *Regula s. Benedicti*. Gregory specified those most suited for such office were 'tender in the grace of kindness, and strict in the severity of judgement.'[115] The pope's ideal spiritual leaders were those who practiced asceticism and yet made the personal sacrifice to put aside their eremitic life and work for the benefit of others. This imagery is clearly mirrored in Wulfstan's description of Æthelwold's authoritative behaviour. The *Regula Pastoralis* was an important source for most hagiographers writing about bishop-saints and, as Hollis claims, 'the ideal of the bishop-confessor

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[113] *The Rule of St Benedict,* ed. and trans. B. L. Venarde (London, 2011), c. 64, pp. 208 – 9: *et studeat plus amari quam timeri.*

[114] Ibid.: *et semper superexaltet misericordia iudicio, ut idem ipse consequatur. Oderit vitia, diligat fratres. In ipsa autem correptione prudenter agat et ne quid nimis, ne dum nimis eradere cupit eruginem fragatur vas... In quibus non dicimus ut permittat nutriri vitia, sed prudenter et cum caritate ea amputet ut viderit cuique expedire, sicut iam diximus.*

[115] As translated and quoted in G. E. Demacopoulos, 'Gregory's model of spiritual direction in the *Liber Regulae Pastoralis',* in B. Neil, M. J. Dal Santo (eds), *A Companion to Gregory the Great* (Leiden, 2013), at p. 214; *Grégoire Le Grand, Règle Pastorale, Tome I,* ed. B. Judic (Paris, 1992), I.5, p. 144:...*pietatis gratia benigni, iustitiae seueritate destricti sunt.*

derives from Gregory's work.'[116] Indeed, in addition to dictating the patterns of behaviours which bishops should follow in the *Regula Pastoralis,* in his *Dialogues,* Gregory depicted bishops enacting this type of spiritual and episcopal authority. Gregory defined how a bishop should behave and hagiographers used this as a basis for the traditional depiction of bishop-confessor saints. Benedictine reform in both England and Ottonian Germany drew on and was influenced by Gregory's Pastoral Care and in so doing therefore Æthelwold, Bruno and Burchard's hagiographers drew upon this text in their writings, but in an unusual way.[117] Accounts of pastoral care, based on Gregory's text, were commonplace in episcopal *vitae* and general criteria for holiness.[118] The general prescriptions of these authors were commonplace in the hagiography of episcopal saints but this emphasis on loving harshness is distinctive. It does not occur, for example, in the Lives of Ulrich, Oswald, and Dunstan. Whilst they include typical accounts of the saints administering their pastoral duties in their diocese, they do not include descriptions of the bishops' 'harsh but loving' characters.[119] For example, Gerhard narrates how Ulrich exercised his episcopal authority by:

> Gathering the clergy before him, he sought to find the archpriests, deacons and leading men among them and carefully inquire how they fulfilled the daily service to God, and with how much diligence infants were baptised, the sick visited and anointed, with how much compassion the bodies of the deceased were given over for burial [and how the poor and weak were aided from the tithes and oblations of the faithful].[120]

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[116] S. Hollis, *Anglo-Saxon Women and the Church: Sharing a Common Fate* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 119.
[117] For the influence of the Pastoral Care see Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, pp. 248 - 60; D. J. Dales, 'The spirit of the *Regularis Concordia* and the hand of St Dunstan', in Ramsay *et al., St Dunstan,* p. 47; for pastoral imagery in Benedictine reform texts see M. Lapidge, 'Hermeneutic style in tenth-century Anglo-Latin literature', *ASE,* 4 (Dec., 1975), p. 144; C. E. Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 99 - 104.
[118] McKitterick, 'The Church', p. 144.
[119] See below.
[120] Translation by Eldevik, *Episcopal Power and Ecclesiastical Reform*, p. 57; *VsU,* i.6, p. 148: *Congregatis ante se clericis, archipresbiteros, et decanos, et optimos quos inter eos invenire potuit, caute interrogavit, qualiter cottidianum dei servitium impleretur, et qualiter illis populous subiectus ex eis regeretur in studio praedicandi docendique quantaque cautela infants baptizarentur, infirmi visitarentur*

Dunstan's abbatial authority at Glastonbury is described in vague terms:

> Playing the role of a prudent shepherd, he first surrounded the cloisters on every side with solid monastery buildings and other works…here he could pen in the sheep of the Lord, collected in their flocks from far and wide, to ensure that that invisible wolf did not tear them limb from limb.[121]

His episcopal authority is barely mentioned.[122] Byrhtferth similarly discusses Oswald's episcopal duties, and his love for his monks whom he 'sought to assemble' once he had become bishop.[123] Yet there are no accounts of Dunstan, Oswald or Gerhard inspiring terror in their followers, or undertaking any 'harsh but loving' behaviours. This suggests that Æthelwold, Burchard and Bruno's hagiographers interpreted Gregory's text in a distinctive way. This is perhaps linked to the fact that these hagiographers also included detailed accounts of the bishops' reforming efforts. It is interesting that Byrhtferth did not include more borrowings from the Pastoral Care because he certainly had access to it.[124]

Wulfstan and Ruotger also use St Benedict's depiction of the exercise of abbatial authority to craft their depictions of Æthelwold and Bruno in more specific ways. Wulfstan not only uses exact phrasing taken from the *Regula s. Benedicti* and the *Regula Pastoralis,* but also interprets the generalities of the *Regula s. Benedicti* and presents them in very circumstantial and detailed ways, including stories. In Chapter 23 of the *Regula s. Benedicti,* it is ruled that if a monk was disobedient, his abbot had to publicly admonish

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et ungerentur, defunctorum etiam corpora quanta compassione sepulturis traderentur, vidius et orphanis in universis necessitatibus subvenirent, quantoque studio in hospitibus et advenis.

[121] B, *VsD,* c. 15, pp. 50 – 1: *Tunc ergo perprudens opilio primum septa claustrorum monasticis aedificiis ceterisque munitionibus… ubi oues Dominicas longe lateque gregatim collectas, ne a lupo inuisibili dilaniarentur, includeret.*

[122] See above for the quotation of Dunstan's reforming efforts, which are discussed after he was made Archbishop of Canterbury.

[123] B, *VsO,* iii.6, pp. 60 – 1: *postea monachos coadunare sollicite studuit.*

[124] M. Lapidge, *The Anglo-Saxon Library* (Oxford, 2005), p. 125.

him if private reprimands had not previously succeeded.[125] Chapter 46 enjoins that if any

monk commits a fault he should immediately confess before the abbot and do penance. If

however

> ...he does not at once come before the abbot and the community and voluntarily
> announce his fault and make satisfaction… he should be subject to more serious
> punishment.[126]

Wulfstan makes use of these rulings to demonstrate Æthelwold's holiness in

Chapter 33 of the *vita.* A monk of Winchester, inspired by the devil, had committed a

theft. All of the brothers knew a theft had been committed, but none had admitted to the

fault. Wulfstan describes how Æthelwold followed the *Regula s. Benedicti* in his

instruction to the monks:

> The holy bishop therefore issued a restrained reprimand to the assembled
> brothers, ordering that if anyone knew himself guilty of the theft he should with
> God's blessing give back what he had stolen with all speed, or drop it where it
> could be found.[127]

When the monk refused to admit his guilt and return the stolen item, Æthelwold

cursed the monk and made him 'bound in body as well as soul by my [Æthelwold's]

authority.'[128] The monk was immediately bound and unable to move. Terrified, he went

to Æthelwold 'confessed to him in secret that he was the guilty one and had committed

the theft'.[129] Æthelwold absolved him of his sin, blessed him, and the invisible bindings

fell away. Æthelwold did not tell anyone of the incident. Wulfstan's story mirrors

Chapters 33 and 46 of the *Regula s. Benedicti* and demonstrates not only how Æthelwold

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[125] *The Rule of St Benedict,* ed. Venarde, c. 23, p. 99.
[126] Ibid., c. 46, pp. 156 – 7: *Si quis dum in labore quovis… et non veniens continuo ante abbatem vel congregationem ipse ultro satisfecerit et prodiderit delictum suum … maiori subiacet emendationi.*
[127] *VsÆ,* c. 33, pp. 48 - 53, at p. 51: *Pro qua re sanctus antistes in conuentu fratrum modesta correptione mandauit ut, si quis furti illius sibi conscius esset, rem quam abstulerat quantotius cum Dei benedictione redderet, aut in loco tali eam proiceret ubi inueniri potuisset.*
[128] Ibid: *...et sit ipse ligatus, non solum in anima sed etiam in corpore, nostra auctoritate.*
[129] Ibid: *confessus est si sectreto se fuisse reum.*

adhered to the rule, but how his miracles were a physical manifestation of his authority as abbot and bishop.

It is possible that the most infamous passage in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was inspired by Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* and/or the *Regula s. Benedicti*. Wulfstan relates that Æthelwold found a monk named Ælfstan in the kitchen and 'all the pans sparkling and the floors swept'.[130] As he had 'stolen this service' from Æthelwold, in performing it without the bishop's knowledge, Ælfstan was bidden to plunge his hand into a pot of boiling water to fetch a morsel of food for Æthelwold to prove his obedience, which is the equivalent of an Anglo-Saxon judicial ordeal.[131] Although the monk's hand returned unscathed, proving Æthelwold's saintly power, the narrative presents a harsh, disciplinarian image of Æthelwold. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe has interpreted Æthelwold's statement that Ælfstan had been 'stealing this obedience' from him as accusing him of stealing the abbot's function, and in so doing of usurping his (Æthelwold's) monastic identity and putting the relationship of abbot and monk in jeopardy.[132] Nevertheless, the overwhelming impression is the more straightforward one that Wulfstan is basing Æthelwold upon the definition of ecclesiastical rulership in Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis* and the *Regula s. Benedicti* primarily to draw attention to the saint's harshness or ability to inspire terror in correction. He does this, however, in a distinctive way through a specific incident vividly described. Wulfstan describes the account in vivid detail and Æthelwold's actions are almost sadistic: he hands out the order 'with a cheerful expression'.[133] The specificity about the monk who was

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[130] Ibid., c. 14, pp. 24 - 29, at p. 27: *uidit omnia uasa mundissima ac pauimentum scopatum.*
[131] Ibid., p. 29; D. W. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1989)*,* p. 171.
[132] Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (London, 2012), pp. 3 - 7.
[133] *VsÆ,* c.14, pp. 26 - 7: *ad eum hilari uultu.*

punished is also unusual. Wulfstan notes that Ælfstan was a 'straightforward and highly obedient man' who was later ordained as an abbot and made bishop of Ramsbury.[134]

Similarly, even though Bruno was not a monk, Ruotger includes detailed stories about Bruno that were based on the *Regula s. Benedicti.* When describing Bruno's character and actions, for example, Ruotger draws on multiple chapters of the *Regula s. Benedicti,* which discuss appropriate behaviour in such particular matters.[135] Ruotger states that when Bruno performed the divine office, he was 'commending himself to the Lord with prayer that was short indeed, but pure'.[136] This is a reference to the stipulation in the *Regula s. Benedicti* that 'prayer should be brief but pure.'[137] Ruotger also notes that during his reform of his diocese, Bruno made sure that 'superfluity of clothes, divergent customs, and whatever of this kind seemed effeminate or inappropriate in his church' should be cut out.[138] Henry Mayr-Harting has identified that this emphasis on superfluous clothes is a reference to Chapter 55 of the *Regula s. Benedicti,* which states that it is superfluous to own anything more than two tunics and two cowls.[139] Here we can see that Ruotger, like Wulfstan, has interpreted the *Regula s. Benedicti* and produced specific incidents illustrating Bruno's interactions with his flock.

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[134] Ibid., pp. 26 - 29: *simplex et magnae oboedientiae uir.*

[135] See F. Lotter, *Die Vita Brunonis des Ruotger: Ihre historiographische und ideengeschichtliche Stellung,* Bonner historische Forschungen, vol. 9 (Bonn, 1958)*,* pp. 39 - 41, 50 - 60; *VsBr,* c. 9, p. 9. The Ott edition marks out all uses of the rule of St Benedict.

[136] Translation by Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany,* p. 42; *VsBr,* c. 9, p. 9.

[137] *Regula s. Benedicti,* ed. Vernarde, c. 20, pp. 92 – 3: *Et ideo brebis debet esse et pura oratio*; Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany,* p. 42;

[138] Translation by Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany,* p. 41; *VsBr,* c. 21, pp. 22: *ut vestium superfluitas, morum inequalitas et quicquid hoc modoeffeminatum et indecens in eius ecclesia videretur.*

[139] Mayr-Harting, *Church and Cosmos in Early Ottonian Germany,* p. 42; *Regula s. Benedicti,* ed. Vernarde, c. 55, pp. 178 – 181.

Wulfstan based Æthelwold's sanctity on his adherence to and exemplification of the *Regula s. Benedicti* and the *Pastoral Care.* That is also why Wulfstan does not discuss Æthelwold's secular duties and maintains that his relationship with the king was always in a religious context. Æthelwold was a standard, classical ascetic, modelled on the ideals of Gregory the Great and St Benedict, serving his country and king through his episcopal duties. While the virtues he exemplifies are undoubtedly those recommended by Benedict and Gregory for the ecclesiastical ruler, Wulfstan does present their realisation in a very specific and detailed way. And this is probably linked to Æthelwold's own reforming efforts: for how better could he be an example to monks, and demonstrate his superiority to those evil clerics, than by exemplifying in specific actions the exercise of virtue and pastoral authority as prescribed in the *Rule of St Benedict*.[140]

In respects to the depiction of episcopal and saintly authority, Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is more similar to the *Vita s. Brunonis* than it is to the English *vitae*. For Dunstan and Oswald's authority is not shown through their interactions with monks, nor their exemplification of Gregory and Benedict's text, but through their fights with the devil. B and Byrhtferth both state that when the devil had perceived that Dunstan and Oswald were stealing souls from him he appeared to them individually. Taking the form of a great bear, the devil sought to frighten Dunstan, who only ignored him. The devil returned twice more, once in the shape of a dog and then as a fox, but Dunstan remained undaunted and banished the devil with the sign of the cross.[141] When appearing to Oswald, the devil unleashed on him the terrible noise of animals, which Oswald destroyed with the sign of the cross before he 'climbed mightily onto the giant's back, seized his

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[140] The links between the written depiction of Æthelwold as a contemporary Benedict, and the manuscript image depictions of Edgar as Benedict (Karkov, *The Ruler Portraits of Anglo-Saxon England,* pp. 93 - 104) would be worth exploring further.
[141] B, *VsD,* c. 16, pp. 55 – 57.

sword, and struck off his head with his mighty hand'.[142] The fact that both saints were able to dismiss the devil by making the sign of the cross demonstrates the authority they wielded on behalf of Christ as one of his saints. B and Byrhtferth modelled Dunstan and Oswald's spiritual authority on the classical ascetic saints.

Personal asceticism

Thus far, the image of a bishop based on these *vitae* is one who was connected to the royal house and exerted power and authority, albeit in different ways according to the audience and writer of the *vitae*. Whilst the *vitae* of Æthelwold, Oswald and Dunstan contain episodes where they behave with authority, they also, to a greater or lesser degree, contain accounts of their personal asceticism.

Æthelwold is often considered to be the most austere of the English reformers. Wulfstan relates that Æthelwold suffered from a debilitating illness, which caused stomach problems and swellings in his legs. The pain would be so great that he could not sleep, yet during the day he acted as if he were pain-free. But, throughout his life he adhered to the *Rule of St Benedict*: he stayed awake at night praying, and abstained from eating any kind of meat except for two occasions.[143] Once when he was severely ill for three months and Archbishop Dunstan commanded him to eat meat, and once again during the illness which subsequently took his life.[144] Wulfstan models Æthelwold's asceticism on St Benedict, rather than the traditional desert church fathers.

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[142] Byrhtferth, *VsO,* ii.10, pp. 50 – 1: *quinque super dorsum gigantis potenter ascendit, cuius gladium arripuit et caput forti manu percussit.*
[143] *VsÆ,* c.37, pp. 54 - 7.
[144] Ibid., c. 30, pp. 46 - 7.

Apart from the fact that both Wulfstan and B model their saints' behaviour on St Martin, stating that they never relaxed their souls from prayer,[145] the other English saints' asceticism is not as extreme as Æthelwold's. Dunstan kept night-time vigils, praying and singing the sacred psalms; Oswald also prayed at night and 'would never return to the quiet of slumber unless the instance of great illness compelled him or monastic custom commanded him'.[146] Dunstan in particular appears in his *vita* as rather a worldly figure.

Wulfstan's emphasis on Æthelwold's asceticism is actually more similar to that in the Ottonian lives, in which such behaviour is a prominent feature. Ruotger specifically states that Bruno was 'mature in his habits, humble and gentle…' even restraining himself from laughing at the jokes he read in classical comedies.[147] When Bruno attended councils with the king and his men, he would scorn their elegant attire and wear coarse cloth and sheepskins.[148] Ruotger admits that Bruno lived most of his life in the company of such men but states that otherwise 'he lived for the most part like a hermit' practicing abstinence, sleeping on hard beds, and rarely bathing.[149]

Whilst observing Lent in his diocese, Ulrich had a Palm-Ass with him during the Psalm Sunday procession (an ass carrying a wooden life-sized nobleman on its back).[150] In 972, Ulrich attempted to retire from episcopal office and stated that he wanted nothing except to relinquish this world and to live a contemplative life, following the rule of St

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[145] B, *VsD,* c. 37, p. 105.
[146] Byrhtferth, *VsO,* ii.7, p. 47: *post terminationem ipsius sinaxei ad quietem dormitionis exiret, nisi maxime infirmitatis causa compulisset aut consuetudinalis mos precepisset.;* v.2, p. 149.
[147] *VsBr,* c. 8, p. 9: *scurrilia et mimica, quae in comoediis et tragoediis a personis variis edita quidam concrepantes risu se infinito concutiunt, ipse semper serio lectitabat.*
[148] Ibid., c. 30, p. 31: *Molles et delicatas vestes, in quibus nutritus et ad hominem usque perductus est, etiam in domibus regum multoties declinavit, inter purpuratos ministros et milites suos auroque nitidos vilem ipse tunicam et rusticanos ovium pelles induxit.*
[149] Ibid., c. 30, p. 31: *Nam ille popularis plerumque quasi solitarius vixit; mirum dictu inter convivas letissimos letior ipse frequenter abstinuit.*
[150] W. Berschin, 'Realistic writing in the tenth-century: Gerhard of Augsburg's *Vita s. Uodalrici',* *Proceedings of the British Academy*, 129 (Oxford, 2005), p. 378.

Benedict, until the day of his death.[151] After Burchard had died, his *familia* found, locked in a cabinet, 'the roughest possible hair-shirt and an iron chain worn down on one side from use.'[152] Like Æthelwold, throughout his life he was afflicted with a horrible paralytic illness, yet pretended to be well when he served the king; he frequently fasted and would only eat bread, vegetables and fruit. He would only eat meat if his illness forced him.[153] These accounts are similar to those in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* One wonders if their asceticism is stressed to deflect attention from their duties in the secular world.

Miracles

As discussed above, Wulfstan modelled the miracles which Æthelwold performed during his life on regulations stipulated in the *Regula s. Benedicti.* These miracles demonstrated his absolute observance of and dedication to the rules governing Benedictine monks. This was the focus of most of the miracles within the *vita.* If they did not relate to the *Regula s. Benedicti,* then they occurred within a religious or monastic setting. Wulfstan's account of Æthelwold curing himself from poisoning is based on a similar account in Sulpicius Severus's *Vita s. Martini.* But, Æthelwold was poisoned by the clerics because they were incensed that their replacement by monks at the Old Minster had been so successful.[154] Their plan was, after Æthelwold had succumbed to the lethal draught, to drive away those monks and regain their place at the cathedral. The fact that Æthelwold was miraculously cured of the poison meant that

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[151] *VsU*, c. 23, p. 250: *desiderium domini mei est relinquere saeculum . et secundum regulam sancti Benedicti sanctam inire vitam . et in contemplativa vita diem expectare obitus sui .*

[152] *VsBu,* c. 23; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 845: *Inveniumus autem in eo cilicium hirsutissimum et catenam ferram ex una parte quasi ex usu contritam.*

[153] *VsBu,* c. 20.

[154] *VsÆ*, c. 19, pp. 34 - 5.

...the evil plan of the clerics were brought to nought; they saw their wickedness had no effect, and they were scattered through the different provinces of England till the end of their lives.[155]

Æthelwold's miracle saved the monks from being displaced by the unscrupulous canons. Although it conformed to hagiographical tradition, when Æthelwold 'snatched a host of poor people from the very jaws of death' during a famine he was re-enacting a similar miracle performed by St Laurence and it emphasised his pastoral care. [156] Æthelwold's miracles directly related to his work as a bishop, abbot and monk.[157] Some of those miracles have been discussed in the previous sections, but it may be useful to further expand upon the miracles included in the *vita*. In Chapter 15, Wulfstan relates that whilst Æthelwold was undertaking building works at Winchester 'both as abbot and bishop', the devil attempted to kill him. A huge post fell on Æthelwold, knocking him into a pit, but he miraculously survived.[158] Æthelwold's abbatial authority was also seen to save a monk who fell from a great height when undertaking building works at the Old Minster. He fell from a great height but 'at once got up uninjured.'[159] Wulfstan relates that he was not harmed thanks to 'the man who had commanded him to go out to do this work

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[155] Ibid: *dissipatum est malignum consilium clericoru, qui uidentes suam nichil praeualere nequitiam tandiu per diuersas gentis Anglorum prouincias huc illucque dispersi sunt quousque uitam finierunt.*

[156] Ibid., c. 29, pp. 44 – 47: *multitudinem pauperum ab ipsis faucibus mortis eripuerit*; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cv, p. 45, n. 5.

[157] *VsÆ*, c. 15, Æthelwold 'both as abbot and bishop' was building a church and the devil pushed a huge post on him, knocking him into a pit, but he survives; c. 19, the attempted poisoning; c. 29, saved the poor from starving; c. 32, a flask of holy oil for the Mass was lost but then found and refilled; c. 33, the thieving monk; c. 34, Æthelwold commands a monk to help with building works at the Old Minster, the monk falls from a great height but is not harmed, thanks to 'the man who had commanded him to go out to do this work of obedience'; c. 35, Æthelwold was reading (according to the rule) and a monk attempted to read the pages after him, a vision rebukes him for reproaching the bishop; c. 36, the bishop's powers stop a holy book from burning.

[158] Ibid., c. 15, pp. 28 - 9: *esset abbas et cum esset episcopus.*

[159] Ibid., c. 34, pp. 52 - 3: *incolumis surgens stetit, nil mali passus de tanta ruina.*

of obedience'.[160] Wulfstan is again specific about this incident: he describes Æthelwold's orders and states that the monk was named Godus.

It is unsurprising that Byrhtferth stylises Oswald's miracles in a similar manner; they primarily occur in a religious setting and involve monks.[161] For instance, when a boat carrying the monks of Ramsey began to sink upon a lake Oswald prayed to God and St Benedict and raised the boat from the water and safely delivered the monks to the shore.[162] Byrhtferth stresses that Oswald 'was found worthy to accomplish this through his apostolic blessing'[163] and draws similarities between this miracle and one performed by St Cuthbert: '[b]oth Cuthbert and Oswald were monks, both were crowned with the robe of pontifical glory while on earth, and likewise they share a similar glory in heaven.'[164] The fact that Oswald was both a monk and bishop was the most relevant factor for this miracle.

This focus on the episcopal and monastic in terms of miracles contrasts sharply with that of the *vitae* of Dunstan, Bruno and Ulrich.[165] Their miracles were not restricted to the religious life but were also performed in secular settings for the benefit of secular men. When Ulrich was travelling to the king's assembly in Regensburg, the ship on which he was aboard began to sink.[166] Ulrich was saved by a cleric named Mesi whilst the others

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[160] Ibid., c. 34, pp. 52 - 3: *Cui ergo hoc miraculum adscribendum est nini illi cuius iussu ad opus oboedientiae exiuit?*
[161] Byrhtferth does not include many miracle stories in the *Vita s. Oswaldi.* There are those at the beginning, where Oswald fights the devil (II, c. 8), but there after there are few: *Vita s. Oswaldi,* iv.16, Oswald saves the monks of Ramsey from drowning; v.2, a monk of Ely dies and Oswald commands that they say Mass and vigils for his soul, the monk then appears to Oswald and thanks him, for his prayers allowed him to attain eternal salvation; v.3, Oswald performs Mass at York, a mouse eats part of the unconsecrated bread and dies.
[162] Byrhtferth, *VsO,* iv.16, pp. 134 – 5.
[163] Ibid: *Hoc ille promeruit apostolica benediction patrare.*
[164] Ibid: *Ambo monachi, ambo pontificalis laudis redimiti podere in aruis, simul et simili Gloria gratulantur in astris.*
[165] Burchard performs no obvious miracles.
[166] *VsU,* c. 17, p. 232 - 4: *sed ex meritis in eas sedentis interim super aquam nature cogebatur donec cunctis stipendiis et oneribus relaretur postea vero inmersa nunciabat.*

tried to salvage everything they could carry. Ulrich's miraculous powers, however, stopped the ship from sinking until all of its cargo and freight could be removed to shore. The focus here is on worldly goods, rather than the religious life. Whilst on a hunting trip, Dunstan saw multiple visions foreshadowing Kind Eadmund's death.[167] Their *vitae* discuss their pastoral care and the works they performed for the church, but the authors did not restrict their miracles to the religious realm. The bishops were worldly men and their miracles reflected that.

Besides miracles performed by the living saint, Wulfstan also included accounts of Æthelwold's posthumous miracles and translation as irrefutable evidence of the bishop's sanctity. In his preface to the *vita,* he states that he was '[d]etermined that the memory of so great a father should not be consigned to complete oblivion'.[168] Wulfstan included accounts of Æthelwold's miracles 'to add weight to [his] assertion' that Æthelwold was a saint so that those who could not witness them firsthand could read of them instead.[169] He also included hagiographical tropes which demonstrated that Æthelwold had reached heaven after his death; at the moment of Æthelwold's death, his corpse was miraculously renewed and 'suffused with a whiteness as of milk, and became lovely with a rosy redness, so that his face looked in a way like that of a seven-year-old boy.'[170] Thereafter, Æthelwold performed no miracles for twelve years, the first of which prompted the saint's translation by Bishop Ælfheah. Wulfstan consciously based his account of Æthelwold's posthumous activities and translation on Winchester hagiographical tradition, echoing Lantfred's *Translatio et Miracula s. Swithuni.*[171]

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[167] B, *VsD,* cc. 26, 31, 33 - 36.
[168] *VsÆ,* preface, pp. 2 - 3: *et ne tanti patris memoria penitus obliuioni traderetur.*
[169] Ibid, c. 43, pp. 66 - 7: *ad firmitatis indicium perstrinximus.*
[170] Ibid., c. 41, pp. 62 – 3: *lacteo candore perfusum roseoque rubore uenustum, ita ut quodam modo septennis pueri uultum praetendere uideretur.*
[171] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cvi.

Wulfstan then records that Æthelwold performed 'heavenly miracles' at his shrine, and imparts three of them: he cures a young girl who was close to death, restores a young boy's sight, and frees a thief from his chains after he confesses his crimes.[172] This last miracle, Wulfstan explains, demonstrates that Æthelwold 'while enjoying eternal life, is able by the virtue of his merits to release us from the chains of our sins and take us to the heavenly kingdom'.[173] Wulfstan emphasised Æthelwold's supernatural powers, made evident by these miracles, which were the ultimate proof that God worked through this holy man.

Byrhtferth and Gerhard also include accounts of their saints' posthumous activity. Byrhtferth reports that by the time of his writing 'a number of miracles' had taken place at Oswald's tomb at Worcester.[174] Although he does not mention specifics, he does record a song sung by Worcester community that mentions posthumous miracles:

> These divine miracles take place through St Oswald; through his prayers blind men are restored to sight and on his feast day demons are put to flight and diseased persons healed, through the bounty of Jesus Christ, Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost lives and reigns as God for ever and ever.[175]

Gerhard sought to provide irrefutable proof of Ulrich's sanctity by writing a dossier of his miracles in an addendum to the *vita*. Comprised of thirty chapters, the *miracula* details the posthumous miracles performed not only at Ulrich's tomb, but across vast distances. In one of many such stories Mieszko, Duke of Poland (d. 992), had been shot in the arm by a poisoned arrow and the wound quickly became infected and threatened his life.[176] Mieszko prayed to Ulrich and swore that if he was healed he would

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[172] *VsÆ*, cc. 44 – 6, pp. 66 – 9.
[173] Ibid., c. 46, pp. 68 – 9: *aeternae uitae coniunctum, uirtute meritorum suorum posse nos a peccatorum nostrorum uinculis soluere et ad caelestia regna perducere.*
[174] Byrhtferth, *VsO,* v.22, pp. 200 – 201: *metris tanti pontifices plurima existent patrata miracula.*
[175] Ibid, pp. 200 – 203: *Per beatum Osuualdum fiunt hic diuina mysteria; per orationes eius ceci illuminantur et in natale eius demonia effugantur et infirmi sanantur, Iesu Christo largiente, qui cum patre et spiritu sancto uiuit et regnat Deus per omnia secula seculorum.*
[176] *MsU,* c. 22, p. 380.

send a silver cast of his arm to Augsburg.[177] The arm soon healed, and Mieszko did not renege on his promise.[178]

Dunstan, Bruno and Burchard, however, have no reported posthumous miracles. B may not have included any of Dunstan's posthumous miracles because he had not yet been translated, which at this time in Anglo-Saxon England was the official recognition of sanctity. B's statement of Dunstan's sainthood is ambiguous as he merely states that Dunstan 'went to his eternal rest, led by the Lord Jesus Christ', and the *vita* ends.[179]

Ruotger specifically states that Bruno did not perform miracles at his tomb:

> Men visit constantly his grave; they remind one another eagerly of what he did, what he taught, how he lived, how he died. Now they pray for him, now they ask him of his charity to pray for them. They seek no miracles. They think back over the years; they feel sure that from him some great thing will come, for them or for their children. For, as they were moved to the heart while he was among them, so now that he has gone, for him they give praise and glory to God.[180]

That men prayed to Bruno, and felt 'sure that from him some great thing will come' suggests that signs of his sanctity, although not yet seen, were imminent. Ruotger confirms Bruno's sainthood by finishing the *vita* stating that Bruno was rested with God.

Burchard's hagiographer does not impart any of his posthumous miracles, but he does not deny their existence, and firmly states that Burchard had attained sainthood:

> We therefore hope and firmly believe that he has achieved the eternal fruit with God for such things and received the eternal reward for his secular actions and that, as he remains with Christ, he may hold the eternal priesthood under the

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[177] For a discussion of the connection of Ulrich's cult with Polish rulers, see A. Pleszczynski, *The Birth of a Stereotype: Polish Rulers and their Country in German Writing c. 1000 A.D.* (Brill, 2011).

[178] *MsU,* c. 22, p. 380.

[179] B, *VsD,* c. 38, pp. 108 – 9: *ad perhennem requiem Domino Iesu Christo ducente commigrauit.*

[180] *VsBr,* c. 48, p. 51: *Frequentant locum sepulture eius, certatim memorant, quid fecerit, quid docuerit, qualis vixerit, qualis obierit. Modo pro illo orant, modo, ut ipse pro se orare dignetur, rogant. Signa non querunt, vitam adtendunt doctrinam recolunt, futurum in eo aut sibi aut posteris suis magnum aliquid pollicentur. Denique omnes eius monimentis sicut olim per vivum, ita nunc per mortuum ad Dei laudem et gloriam excitantur.*

leadership of our Lord Jesus Christ, to whom be praise and glory forever and ever.[181]

It is interesting that Bruno, Burchard and Dunstan's hagiographers did not feel the need to include an account of the saints' posthumous miracles. As in the cases of Æthelwold, Oswald, and Ulrich, the miracles performed by saints at their tombs tended to be healing miracles (as this is what would typically attract pilgrims).[182]

Lapidge and Winterbottom have argued that Wulfstan based Æthelwold's translation on Lantfred's popular *Translatio* of St Swithun as this had proven to be a successful model in promoting a saint's cult at a national level.[183] Gerhard's *Vita s. Oudalrici* was also obviously attempting to promote Ulrich's cult at a national, and international level, as it was presented to the pope for official canonisation. [184] Wulfstan and Gerhard wrote the *vitae* so that the saints' reputation and holy works would be widely disseminated and officially recognised. The readers of the *vitae* would not be able to visit the saint's tomb in person and witness any miracles that were performed there, and so the authors had to include accounts of the saints' posthumous miracles to assure the readers of the saints' supernatural intercessory powers and sainthood. This was also the case for Byrhtferth's *Vita s. Oswaldi,* which was written for the monks of Ramsey: Oswald was buried in Worcester and so the community of Ramsey was not the keeper of his shrine

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[181] *VsBu,* c. 24; *VsBu,* MGH, p. 846: *Ergo fructum aeternum apud Deum pro talibus illum acquisisse et praemia sempiterna pro secularibus eum recepisse, speramus ac firmiter credimus, et ut cum Christo mauens sempiternum habeat sacerdotium, praestante domino nostro Iesu Christo, cui sit laus et Gloria per infinita seculorum secula, Amen.*

[182] For miracles and pilgrims see: D. Webb, *Pilgrimage in Medieval England* (London, 2000); S. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006); R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2011).

[183] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* pp. cvi – cviii.

[184] R. McKitterick, 'The Church', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3: c. 900 - c. 1024* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 144.

and could not witness the miracles performed by it. They had to rely on Byrhtferth to report them.

In contrast, the other hagiographers were commissioned by and writing for specific religious communities which held the saints' tombs: B wrote the *Vita s. Dunstani* for the archbishop of Canterbury; Stephanie Haarländer has demonstrated that the *Vita s. Burchardi* was written for the canonical community of Worms; and the *Vita s. Brunonis* was written by Ruotger at the request of Bishop Folcmar of Cologne. Those religious houses owned the saints' shrines and relics. The canons and/or monks would have walked past the saintly bishop's tomb each day and would have been able to witness first-hand any miracles that were performed there. Including posthumous miracle stories to prove the efficacy of the saint's intercessory powers was not entirely necessary.

Conclusions

This analysis of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* has demonstrated that Wulfstan carefully constructed an image of Æthelwold that adhered to classical and contemporary models of episcopal and abbatial authority and sanctity. The *vita* focuses on two issues: promoting Æthelwold as a monk-bishop who adhered to all regulated monastic and episcopal customs; his connection to multiple monasteries and the circle of monastic reformers.

The accounts of Æthelwold's immoderate asceticism and unrelenting 'harsh but loving' exercise of authority, often commented upon as extreme and unusual, were actually Wulfstan's highly individualised interpretation and depiction of the role of the bishop and abbot as regulated by Gregory the Great and St Benedict. These features were shared by certain other contemporary authors; Burchard and Bruno's hagiographers in particular also used the same patristic models in this distinctive way. Their subjects' asceticism was as extreme as Æthelwold's (indeed, one wonders how Bruno's attire of

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coarse sheepskin and habit of rarely bathing would have been greeted in the Imperial court), and modelled on the guidelines laid down by Gregory and Benedict. Æthelwold's punishment of monks, either for theft or disobedience, was directly linked to the stipulations in the *Rule of St Benedict* which detailed how an abbot should govern their monks. Wulfstan used this tool, which was seemingly reasonably common for hagiographers writing about bishops involved in monastic reform, in a unique manner, resulting in the infamous passages in the *vita.*

This comparison has also illuminated one aspect of Æthelwold's *vita* which stands apart from all the other hagiographies: Wulfstan's avoidance of Æthelwold's social status and familial ties. Æthelwold's secular associations are not discussed; instead Wulfstan focuses on how Æthelwold came to the king's attention, and came to be loved by him and his successors, because of his own sanctity. This is starkly different from other tenth- or early eleventh-century Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon *vitae,* which as McKitterick and Rollason have argued, are characterized by their saintly subjects' involvement in politics and close relationship with the king. Æthelwold was remarkable in being depicted as not involved in politics. Wulfstan does not include any of Æthelwold's secular career or duties. While he certainly includes material that shows how the kings of England loved Æthelwold, after he is made a monk he is only linked to those rulers in religious settings; he is not involved in the royal court and does not carry out any secular duties.

Instead, Wulfstan focuses on Æthelwold's ties to the people and places of the monastic reform movement. McKitterick has stated that hagiographers usually 'referred to saints and their real or supposed involvement with the history of a particular town or city to produce a story which was understandable within the context of that particular

place or city.' [185] But whilst the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* does emphasise Æthelwold's involvement with the monasteries of Winchester, Wulfstan also refers to many other monastic communities and his involvement with them. Æthelwold is not necessarily depicted as being particularly associated with Winchester over Abingdon, or even Ely, Peterborough or Thorney. Instead, he is primarily associated with Benedictine monasticism. Wulfstan stresses how Æthelwold built many monks' careers and acted as a 'father of all the monks' of England. The vision of Æthelwold as a great monastic cowl atop a giant tree, covered in cowls, demonstrates his influence on English monasticism and his status as its protector.

The intended audience of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* also played a large role in how the saint was portrayed. Like the *vitae* of Ulrich and Oswald, Æthelwold's was intended to be read widely: that is, by people who did not have direct access to the saints' shrines. While the Life of Oswald was written primarily for the monks of Ramsey, that of Æthelwold was written, not only for the communities at Winchester, but for the monasteries of Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney, so that Æthelwold's sanctity would be known to them, and his cult would be promoted; and Ulrich's *vita* was written for the canonisation process. The authors therefore had to include accounts of their posthumous miracles because the readers would not be able to witness them firsthand. In contrast, the *vitae* of Dunstan, Burchard, and Bruno were written for the communities, and the heads of those religious houses, where the saints' tombs were held.

One thing that ties all six *vitae* together is the bishops' involvement in monasticism. The *vitae* depict their subjects' involvement in monasticism and/or reform to different extents, but all of the saints are connected to monasticism, in one way or

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[185] R. McKitterick, 'Intellectual life', in Timothy Reuter (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History, vol. 3: c. 900 - c. 1024* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 197.

another. Dunstan, Oswald, and Æthelwold all enter monasteries in their youths; Æthelwold, Oswald, Burchard all heavily engage in monastic reform; Bruno, Ulrich and Dunstan are mentioned to be reformers; Bruno's character is modelled on St Benedict's; and Ulrich attempts to enter a monastery at the end of his life. The enduring image of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian episcopal saints is that they were not wholly worldly and secular men, but dedicated their life to the church, and monasticism in particular.

Chapter 2: The Cult of St Æthelwold after the Norman Conquest

Current historiography has overlooked the cult of Æthelwold in post-Conquest England. In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years,* Æthelwold is only mentioned in regards to his reform, building works and promotion of Swithun's cult at Winchester: his cult is not discussed.[1] John Crook, in his *English Medieval Shrines,* dedicates a large section to discussing Winchester's post-Conquest building works, translations and the many saints' cults at the cathedral, but does not mention Æthelwold's tomb or shrine.[2] The following chapter attempts to explore those unexamined issues and the fate of Æthelwold's cult after the Conquest, placing it firmly in the context of the continued debate concerning the status and treatment of Anglo-Saxon saints after 1066.

This chapter will focus on the fate of Æthelwold's cult at Winchester and Abingdon, its primary loci, in the immediate aftermath of the Conquest. As the custodians of Æthelwold's shrine, the Winchester cathedral community were instrumental in initiating and spreading his cult, which was quickly taken up at Abingdon, where he had been abbot. The main sources will be the written histories, annals, chronicles and other documents of these houses in conjunction with the liturgical documents pertaining to the cult.

Traditionally, the post-Conquest Norman bishops have been regarded as hostile to native English cults. In 1940, David Knowles argued that the incoming Norman abbots

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[1] J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Chichester, 1993).
[2] J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011).

and bishops held 'disrespectful attitude[s] towards the old English saints' that inhabited their monasteries.[3] The new churchmen, supposedly, were sceptical of these unheard of English saints and therefore suppressed their cults. This interpretation prevailed until Susan Ridyard reassessed the evidence in her 1986 paper '*Condigna veneratio:* post-Conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons'.[4] Ridyard was not only interested in the relationship between English saints and Norman churchmen, but also in how Anglo-Saxons perceived that relationship. Her study examined the Normans' treatment of local saints in a range of monasteries and concluded that Norman bishops and abbots acted favourably towards their new communities by embracing their inherited traditions and saints and using them to establish their authority, integrate themselves into their new religious houses, and guard their communities' lands and possessions.

Jay Rubenstein re-analysed the hagiographical and liturgical evidence from Christ Church, Canterbury and argued that Lanfranc's treatment of Anglo-Saxon saints was not as Anglo-Saxon contemporaries, such as Eadmer, perceived it. He asserted that Lanfranc reformed Canterbury's liturgy so that it focussed on the universal, not local, symbols of Christianity.[5] Canterbury's local saints were removed from its calendar and their relics were dislodged from their central places in the cathedral. This approach offended some Anglo-Saxon churchmen and lead to the production of hagiographies defending the saints. More recently historians such as Paul Hayward and Tom Licence have queried

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[3] *MO,* p. 118. For the discussion of ethnic hostilities between the Normans and English see H. M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, c. 1066-1220* (Oxford, 2003).

[4] S. J. Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio:* post-Conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies 9* (Woodbridge, 1986), pp. 179 – 208.

[5] Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against history', p. 308. For the purge of Anglo-Saxon saints from the Canterbury calendar see R. Pfaff, 'Lanfranc's supposed purge of the Anglo-Saxon calendar', in T. Reuter (ed.), *Warriors and Churchmen in the High Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Karl Leyser* (London, 2002), pp. 95 – 108, and T. A. Heslop, 'The Canterbury calendars and the Norman Conquest', in R. Eales and R. Sharpe (ed.), *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest* (London, 1995), pp. 53 - 86.

whether there can be an overreaching theory to account for the treatment of Anglo-Saxon saints' cults after the Conquest, arguing that, in fact, there was some Norman scepticism of and hostility towards the veneration of native saints.[6]

Before the Conquest, Æthelwold's cult had enjoyed limited success. As Lapidge and Winterbottom have shown, it never gained much traction outside the milieu of the monastic reform movement, but flourished within those communities that the bishop reformed or founded.[7] Thus, his cult was venerated at the Winchester monasteries, Abingdon, Ely, Thorney and Peterborough. There is, however, very little documentation about the cult at the monasteries of Ely and Peterborough immediately after the Conquest.

The new churchmen's treatment of Anglo-Saxon cults was influenced by the popularity and prominence of those cults in their communities. In order to ascertain whether the new heads of Winchester and Abingdon treated Æthelwold's cult in a positive or negative manner after the Conquest, we must determine its popularity in England at 1066. One measure of this is the inclusion of a saint's feast in the liturgical calendar of a monastery. Appendix A, Table 1 displays (in rough chronological order) the English Benedictine calendars that are relevant for the period 984 – 1066, indicating for each whether the feast for Sts Æthelwold, Swithun, Birinus, Dunstan, and Oswald were commemorated.[8] The poor survival rate of calendars from smaller monastic houses means that this table can only provide a general overview of the observance of saints' feast days in late Anglo-Saxon Benedictine monasteries. Æthelwold's deposition was potentially a crowded day in the liturgical calendar: Lammas, and the Christian feasts of

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[6] P. A. Hayward, 'Translation-narratives', pp. 67 - 94; Idem, 'Saints and cults', in J. Crick, E. Van Houts (eds.), *A Social History of England, 900 – 1200* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 309 - 320, at p. 314; T. Licence, 'The cult of St Edmund', in T. Licence (ed.), *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 104 – 130.

[7] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxliii.

[8] Calendar information taken from Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars Before AD 1100*.

Maccabees and Peter in chains also fell upon 1 August. Despite this, Æthelwold's feast days were commemorated in all the Winchester calendars, and also in calendars of other monasteries such as Bury St Edmunds, before 1066. Indeed, his feasts appear in eight late Anglo-Saxon calendars. St Swithun's feasts were more popular and appear in an additional four calendars: those from Canterbury and Worcester. Although the Worcester calendars do not record Æthelwold's feasts, the Portiforium of St Wulfstan contains collects for both of Æthelwold's feasts.[9] This does not necessarily mean that the Worcester monks celebrated his feasts, although they certainly had the necessary liturgical apparatus to do so. Æthelwold's feasts were clearly more popular than St Oswald's, which appear only in five calendars.

The evidence from litanies returns a similar result. Appendix B, Table 3 also records the pre-1100 litanies in which those saints appear. Æthelwold is invoked in eight litanies dated between 1017 and 1066, from Winchester, Bury St Edmunds, Worcester, Exeter, Crowland and Ramsey.[10] Again, this is far more than Oswald, who is only invoked in litanies from Worcester and Bury St Edmunds. The comparison of entries of Æthelwold in calendars and litanies, of the other prominent Winchester saints (Swithun and Birinus) and of the other two reformer saints (Dunstan and Oswald), suggests that Æthelwold's cult was less popular than Dunstan's and only marginally less popular than Swithun and Birinus's cults, but enjoyed more widespread observance than Oswald's.

Looking at Æthelwold's cult at Winchester it is apparent that in late Anglo-Saxon times Swithun and Æthelwold's cults enjoyed a similar status. Yet this did not continue after the Conquest; under the supervision of Bishop Walkelin Æthelwold's cult was either ignored or deliberately suppressed. Æthelwold's cult at Winchester was connected with

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[9] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxx.
[10] *ASL,* nos. VI, VIII.i, VIII.ii, XVI, XXII, XXXII, XLV, XLVI .

the cathedral's monastic chapter, and this is reflected in the new bishop's treatment of the community and the cult. Walkelin (d. 1098) was bishop of Winchester from 1070 to 1098 and began his career as a canon in the secular cathedral of Rouen.[11] The sources do not indicate when Walkelin entered the cathedral community, nor when he left it, but he witnessed one of Archbishop Maurilius's (1055 – 1067) charters dated 1055x1066.[12] Walkelin must have been quite well known and important at Rouen as William of Malmesbury states that Maurilius expressed personal anxiety and care regarding the start of Walkelin's career.[13] At an unknown date, Walkelin subsequently took up a place at the royal court as chaplain to William the Conqueror.[14] Thomas Rudborne, writing in the fifteenth century, made claims that Walkelin was a kinsman to the Conqueror, but this cannot be substantiated.[15] William I nominated Walkelin as bishop of Winchester 23 May 1070 after Stigand was deposed, and he was consecrated by Lanfranc on 30 May 1070.[16]

Eadmer and William of Malmesbury tell us that upon succeeding to the bishopric of Winchester in 1070, Walkelin immediately sought to oust Winchester cathedral's monastic chapter and replace them with canons.[17] He was stopped by the intervention of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070 – 1089) and Pope Alexander II (1061 – 1073).[18] Curiously, when discussing the deeds of the bishops of Winchester, William of

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[11] D. S. Spear, 'The Norman Empire and the secular clergy 1066 – 1204', *The Journal of British Studies,* vol. 21, no. 2, (Spring, 1982), p. 5.

[12] M. J. Franklin (ed.), *English Episcopal Acta VIII: Winchester 1070 – 1204* (Oxford, 1993), p. xxx; D. S. Spear, 'The canons of Rouen Cathedral in the ducal period', *Annales de Normandie,* 41 (1991), p. 137.

[13] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops,* ed. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson (Oxford, 2007), vol. I, i.44.5, pp. 105 – 107.

[14] *Fasti:II,* p. 85.

[15] Thomas Rudborne, *Historia Maior,* ed. H. Wharton, Anglia Sacra, II vols. (London, 1664 - 95) I, p. 255; Franklin ed., *English Episcopal Acta VIII*, p. xxx.

[16] *Fasti:II,* p. 85.

[17] *HN,* pp. 18 – 19; M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978), p. 183; H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003), p. 150.

[18] Anglia Sacra, ed. H. Wharton, 2 vols. (London, 1691), vol. I, pp. 320-322; V. H. Clover, 'Alexander II's letter *Accepimus a quibusdam* and its relationship to the Canterbury forgeries', in G. U. Langé (ed.), *La Normandie benedictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquerant* (Lille, 1967), pp. 417 – 42.

Malmesbury mysteriously states that Walkelin merely disliked the monks and later regretted his 'unfounded prejudice'. But when discussing the deeds of Lanfranc he reports that Walkelin was a leader of the party attempting to remove monks from their episcopal sees and had 'equipped more than forty canons with cap and surplice' ready to replace them.[19] Other than their accounts, very little is known about this event. Previously it has been assumed that Walkelin was baffled by England's unique cathedral-priories and simply wanted his cathedral to adopt the continental model.

Walkelin's attempt to remove the monks was not radical. Already in the 1060s, canons were being favoured over monks, as witnessed by the reforms of Archbishop Ealdred (d. 1069) at York and Beverley and King Harold's decision to install canons at Waltham Abbey.[20] After the Conquest, incoming clergy were confronted with monastic cathedrals, unique to England, which presented various problems, including a shortage of active preaching clergy to attend to pastoral care. By canon law convention, monks were not supposed to preach to the laity, and the presence of monks in cathedrals complicated this. Francesca Tinti has remarked that the tenth-century monastic reform brought monks and the laity closer together: St Oswald was known to have preached from outside St Peter's cathedral in Worcester.[21] This, however, did not prevent the adoption of critical attitudes. William of Malmesbury reports that Wulfstan of Worcester, as prior, was criticised by Winrich, a continental monk in the Worcester community, for preaching to the people.[22] Lanfranc remedied his situation at Canterbury by founding St Gregory's

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[19] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum,* ed. Winterbottom and Thomson, vol. 1, i.44.5, pp. 105 – 107.

[20] F. Barlow, *The English Church 1000 - 1066,* 2nd edn, (London, 1979), p. 90; *MO,* p.141.

[21] F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 7.

[22] Ibid.; William of Malmesbury, *Vita Wulfstani,* ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and R. M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury: Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 36 - 7.

priory, which was served by canons, to provide pastoral care to the city.[23] Walkelin, however, was not the only bishop to react negatively to the presence of monks. A similar situation occurred at the monastery of Bury St Edmunds. Herfast, formerly William's chancellor and now the new Norman bishop of East Anglia (1070 – 1084/5), sought to establish his see at Bury St Edmunds and replace the monks there with canons, also in the period 1070 - 1072.[24] Abbot Baldwin went to Rome in 1071 and procured a papal immunity for his abbey, issued at the Lateran on 27 October 1071.[25] Alexander II's papal privilege decreed that Bury should remain forever monastic and that no one should be allowed to convert the monastery into an episcopal see.[26]

Knowles argued that after Walkelin was forced to keep the monks in his cathedral he 'lived with his monks in perfect goodwill, leaving behind him a memory of benediction.'[27] Most historians concur with Knowles' analysis and agree that Walkelin recognised the papal judgement and whole heartedly accepted the monastic community at Winchester. Various historians have commented upon the positive treatment of Swithun's cult after the Conquest, linking it to Walkelin's favourable treatment of the community and the continuity of its liturgical practice. Brooke commented that Walkelin quickly overcame his secular background and adhered to Lanfranc's vision of monasticism and fostered 'the local traditions of his see by providing the monks with magnificent new buildings and St Swithun with a splendid new setting for his shrine.'[28]

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[23] *HN,* pp. 298 - 308.

[24] T. Licence, 'St Edmund, his cult and centre', in T. Licence ed., *Herman the Archdeacon and Goscelin of St Bertin: Miracles of St Edmund* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. xxxiii.

[25] Ibid; P. Jaffé ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed., rev. by W. Wattenbach, 2 vols., no. 4692 (3462).

[26] Jaffé, no. 4692: *idem monasterium in hoc statu et monastico ordine perpetua stabilitate permaneat*; and see Licence, *Miracles of St Edmund*, p. xxxii-iv, and pp. 66-80 for Herfast's attempts.

[27] *MO,* p. 130.

[28] C. Brooke, 'Bishop Walkelin and his inheritance', in J. Crook (ed.) *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Chichester, 1993), p. 2.

Klukas labelled Walkelin as an 'unusually tolerant Norman' and argued that Walkelin did his utmost to continue Winchester's liturgical traditions.[29] Crook contends that the presence of Swithun's reliquary on the high altar of Walkelin's new cathedral bears witness to his benevolent character and opposes the notion that Walkelin tried to suppress Winchester's past.[30]

But whilst Swithun was certainly the principal saint at Winchester, he was not the only prominent saint in the Old Minster, which also held the relics and cults of Æthelwold and Birinus (d. 649), both translated in the tenth century and actively venerated thereafter, and Bishops Haedde (d. 705), Beornstan (d. 934) and Ælfheah (d. 951) who appear to have been accorded less honour.[31] Evidence for the fate of these saints at Winchester after the Conquest is fairly sparse. The Winchester Annals, written in the late twelfth century, is, by its very nature, brief and undescriptive. The earlier parts of the annals (up to 1139, and perhaps 1202) have been attributed to Richard of Devizes, who wrote in the late twelfth century.[32] Other sources include the *Vita et Miracula Swithuni* and *Vita s. Birini,* which will be addressed later. Both were written in the 1090s but do not discuss the particulars of the history or politics of Winchester after the Conquest.

There is, however, a hitherto overlooked letter in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* from the monks of Winchester to Pope Alexander II, written *c.* 1070x1072, at the time that

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[29] A. W. Klukas, 'The continuity of Anglo-Saxon liturgical traditions as evident in the architecture of Winchester, Ely and Canterbury Cathedrals', *Les Mutations Socio-Culturelles, Au Tournant Des* XIe – XIIe Siècles, Paris (1984), p. 112.

[30] Crook, *English Medieval Shrines,* pp. 109 - 110.

[31] It is often assumed that the relics of 'Ælfheah' mentioned in Winchester's translations belong to the Ælfheah who was martyred by the Danes in 1012 (Crook, *Medieval Shrines*, p. 175). Bolton has argued that Cnut may have donated his relics to the Old Minster sometime in the mid-eleventh century (T. Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great: Conquest and the Consolidation of Power in the Early Eleventh century* (Boston, 2009), p. 96). But the Winchester Annals denote that the relics belonged to a *confessus* (*AMW,* p. 54), and the relics are grouped with the pre-reform bishops of Winchester, Haedde, Beornstan, and Birinus.

[32] J. T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the annals of Winchester', *Bulletin of the IHR,* 36 (1963), pp. 70 - 77; Gransden, *Historical Writing,* I, p. 252; Crook, *Medieval Shrines,* p. 126.

Walkelin attempted to remove them.[33] The letter was once transcribed in Cotton Vitellius E. IV, which was damaged in the fire of 1731. The remains of the manuscript are now at the British Library, but the folio that held the letter was unfortunately destroyed in the fire.[34]

The letter starts with the monks stating that they were writing from the Old Minster, which they call the church of the Saints Birinus, Swithun and Æthelwold, and they plead for help as they are under threat of eviction. Old Minster was actually dedicated to the apostles Peter and Paul, but the monks focus on their Anglo-Saxon saints, whose cults had been fostered from the time of Æthelwold's introduction of Benedictine monasticism into this cathedral. They describe the reforms of King Edgar, Dunstan, and Æthelwold, stating that after a synod with all the bishops of Britain they reformed the metropolitan see of Canterbury, and the important bishoprics of Winchester and Worcester, expelling the canons and replacing them with holy monks. They go on to tell of the deeds and miracles of their holy patron St Æthelwold, who founded the monastic community at Winchester, and whom they presented as a guarantor of their contemporary community. They tell several stories of Æthelwold's miracles, all taken from Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*, including that in which his mother receives a vision of great tree hung with monastic cowls sprouting from her mouth. Then, finally, in the concluding section they reach their point:

> Seeing even now that we are terrified, again and again we pray to you a thousand times, prostrating ourselves at your fatherly feet, that you may put aside the suggestion of the malevolent ones, O fatherly one, and act in favour of your beseeching supplicants, for love of St Benedict and the aforementioned patrons

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[33] Anglia Sacra, ed. Wharton, I, p. 320.

[34] This is presumably the case. The letter is not contained in any of the folios of the current manuscript and T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland,* 3 vols. (London, 1862-71)*,* II, p. 21, no. 21, lists that it was already missing. The remaining manuscript contains: fols. 1 - 18, Thomas Stubbs, *Chronica pontificum ecclesie Eboracensis*; fol. 19, an imperfect Adam Orleton, *Responsiones ad appellationem contra ipsum propositum*.

of our land; and so that you may mercifully reinstate us in our place, and attentively make us secure by your Papal authority through the gracious defence of your privilege, so that we cannot again be torn out.[35]

The letter is an appeal from the monks of Winchester for protection from Walkelin in 1070x1072 when he wanted to expel them: they were asking for a charter of privilege. The monks of Winchester wanted Alexander to ignore the suggestion of Walkelin and his associates, the malevolent ones, and to let them stay at Winchester, for the love of St Benedict and St Æthelwold, clearly pre-eminent among the aforementioned patrons of their land. This letter was probably the impetus behind Lanfranc and Alexander II's intervention.

The reason for the neglect of this letter is that in Cotton Vitellius E IV it is associated with three other letters, one of which H. E. J. Cowdrey considered a forgery.[36] The full dossier is as follows:

Letter A: It was written *c.* 1070x1072 by the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester to Pope Alexander II.
Manuscript: lost, but once written in London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E IV.
Printed: *Anglia Sacra,* ed. H. Wharton (London, 1691), I, p. 320.

Letter B: It was written *c.* 1070x1072 from Pope Alexander II to the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester. *Ep. 144,* PL 144, col. 1416 -1417 (JL 4763).
Manuscript: London, BL, Harley 633 fol. 58v; Cambridge, University Library, KK 46, fol. 278.

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[35] *Anglia Sacra*, ed. Wharton, I, p. 320: *Quod vero nunc vestro terremur tempore, precamur item itemque millies vestris paternis provoluti pedibus; ut malivolorum suggestione posthabita, paterne agatis in nobis vos pro amore B. Benedicti et supradictorum terrae nostrae patronorum suppliciter exorantibus; ut nos et loco nostro reinseratis clementius, et Apostolica vestri auctoritate, ne denuo evelli possimus, per privilegii vestri gratuitum propaganculum stabilitatis intentius.*
[36] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Bury St Edmunds, 2000), Appendix A, p. 495.

Printed: *Anglia Sacra,* ed. H. Wharton (London, 1691), I, p. 321. For a textual analysis see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Bury St Edmunds, 2000)*,* p. 495.

Letter C: A letter written *c.* 1070x1072 from Pope Alexander II to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. *Ep.* 143, PL 144, col. 1416 (JL 4762).

Manuscript: London, British Library, Harley 633, fols. 58v – 59r; Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4. 6, fol. 278.[37]

Printed: *Anglia Sacra,* ed. H. Wharton (London, 1691), I, p. 322. For a textual analysis see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Bury St Edmunds, 2000)*,* pp. 493 - 4.

Letter D: A letter written *c.* 1070x1071 from Pope Alexander II to Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury. *Ep.* 142, PL 146, col. 1415-1416 (JL 4761)

Manuscript: London, BL, Cotton Cleopatra E. I, fol. 52; BL, Harley 633, fol. 59; Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV. 18, fol. 70; Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 4 .6, fol. 278.[38]

Printed: the letter is quoted in full, with discussion, by Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia,* ed. M. Rule (London, 1884), p. 19 – 21. It is not printed in the *Anglia Sacra.* For a textual analysis see H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century* (Bury St Edmunds, 2000), Appendix A, pp. 489 - 93.[39]

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[37] H. Clover, M. Gibson eds., *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979), p. 183, note 5

[38] Ibid., p. 183, note 4

[39] For a discussion about Alexander's letters and forgeries at Canterbury see H. Clover, 'Alexander II's Letter *'Accepimus a quibusdam'* and its Relationship with the Canterbury Forgeries', in *La Normandie bénédictine au temps de Guillaume le Conquérant* (xi siécle) (Lille, 1967), pp. 417 – 442 and R. Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', *EHR,* vol. 53 (1958), pp. 193 – 226; R. F. Berkhofer, 'The Canterbury Forgeries Revisited', *HSJ,* 18 (2007), pp. 36 – 71.

Letter A has not previously been analysed, probably because it is buried in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra.* The original manuscript has been lost, and so there can be no palaeographical confirmation of the date. A is the only letter, of the four, to have no surviving manuscript witnesses; letters A, B and C are all printed in the *Anglia Sacra.* Letters B, C, and D, which are from Pope Alexander II to Lanfranc, and the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester, while broadly accepted as genuine, contain suspicious phrases. The letters allegedly reveal papal support for the preservation for extension of monastic chapters in cathedrals in England and so may have been forged in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries.[40]

Letter B, which Cowdrey believes probably is a forgery, is strongly linked to letter A. It is from Alexander to the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester, *c.* 1070x1072. Alexander assures the community that his legates have told him about the monastic constitution at Winchester, dating back to St Augustine, and confirms their monastic constitution and privilege.[41] This letter is suspicious on two fronts. Firstly, the monastic constitution at Winchester did not go back to St Augustine. Secondly, Alexander describes Augustine as *legatus beatissimi papae Gregorii,* which he was unlikely to have done. It is possible that Canterbury monks forged this letter to reinforce the supposed papal support of Lanfranc, monastic chapters in England, and the primacy of Canterbury. With this presumably being Alexander's reply to letter A, it casts doubts upon its authenticity.

Letter C is from Alexander to Lanfranc, *c.* 1070. In it the pope urges Lanfranc to protect the monks of the Old Minster, Winchester as he has heard rumours that they are

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[40] Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform in the Eleventh Century,* p. 489.
[41] Ibid.*,* p. 495.

under threat of eviction.[42] Cowdrey argues that letter B names the source of the rumours as Alexander's legates, who attended the council of Winchester in 1070. But in letter B Alexander only states that the legates informed him of the ancient monastic constitution of Winchester, not that it was under threat from Walkelin. Letter B:

> Legati nostri, qui ad partes vestras missa Concillium ibi celebraverunt, sicut a plerisque majoribus et antiquioribus gentis vestrae se didicisse confessi sunt, Ecclesiam vestram vetusta constitutione in ordine et officio atque cultu Monachorum extitisse nobis indicaverunt.[43]

So it might be that it was actually letter A that informed Alexander of the threat. Alexander may have been diplomatically vague in naming his source as he did not want to implicate the monks and further exacerbate their troubles with Walkelin.

Although the first sentences of letter C are closely related to B, which is possibly a forgery, it is possible that the forgers used the opening sentences of letter C as a starting-point when writing letter B in an attempt to establish authenticity. Cowdrey credits letter C as genuine, as the last two issues deal with specific contemporary matters. The first is an issue of a captive bishop, for whom Alexander urges Lanfranc to intervene, and second a request to Lanfranc to look into a plea of the messenger. It is unlikely that a forger would have included such matters which were unimportant to the rights of cathedral monks. Accepting letter C as genuine, it is a major point in favour of letter A being authentic as it provides direct evidence that Alexander knew of the Old Minster monks' plight, possibly from letter A itself.

Letter D was written *c.* 1070x1071, from Alexander to Lanfranc. In the letter, Alexander states that he has heard rumours that certain clerks were attempting to remove

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[42] Ibid., p. 493.
[43] *Anglia Sacra,* ed. Wharton, I, p. 321.

the monks from Christ Church, Canterbury and other cathedrals in England. This is probably a reference to Walkelin, who as Eadmer reports attempted to remove the monks from Canterbury itself.[44] In response, Alexander states that he instituted a search at Rome for privileges confirming the monastic rights of the community; he cites material from Popes Gregory I and Boniface IV about the institution of monks at Christ Church and confirms these privileges.[45] Cowdrey doubts the authenticity of this letter for two reasons. Firstly, Alexander describes Canterbury as 'the metropolitan of all Britain (*est metropolis totius Britanniae)*. This phrase is suspect because it did not appear in English or Roman documents before the constitution of 1072.[46] Secondly, Cowdrey's textual analysis indicates the two citations of Gregory and Boniface used by Alexander are from documents which Rome was not reported to have owned in 1070, but were at Canterbury.[47] He suggests that the letter was confected from documents preserved in Canterbury. Since Canterbury probably only became monastic around 1020, the Gregory I and Boniface IV privileges would have been impossible.

It would appear that letters B and D are possible forgeries. B's close connection to A could suggest that A is also a forgery. The suspect phrases in B and D, however, are not present in letter A: it makes no reference to St Augustine (as a *legatus* or otherwise), and it does not it make any claims concerning the primacy of Canterbury. There is no mention of any other political matters; its only concern is the monastic rights of Winchester cathedral priory. It is therefore probably not a forgery.

If then, this letter is genuine it is quite revealing in that it shows that events did not happen exactly as described Eadmer and William of Malmesbury. Both historians

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[44] *HN,* I, pp. 18 – 19
[45] Cowdrey, *Popes and Church Reform,* p. 489 - 90.
[46] Ibid., p. 489 - 90.
[47] Ibid., p. 493.

claimed that Lanfranc appealed to Pope Alexander to stop Walkelin's plans; Gibson has previously stated that there was no evidence that Lanfranc did anything more than follow his pope's orders.[48] This letter reveals that in fact the monks of Winchester appealed directly to Alexander themselves. They were not passive, but forceful in their fight against their bishop.

The letter clearly shows that the monks invoked St Æthelwold, rather than the more prominent and powerful St Swithun, to protect their monastic status. St Swithun and his miracles were famous and attested to in multiple Anglo-Saxon hagiographies. His cult was widespread in Anglo-Saxon England and pilgrims from as far as Germany came to seek his aid.[49] But Swithun is not mentioned in the letter, apart from being named as a patron of the church alongside Birinus and Æthelwold, whereas almost half of the letter is devoted to outlining Æthelwold's role as bishop in founding their community. Æthelwold is described as the *patrem et instructorem multorem monachorum* as well as their protector. His dual role as saint and founder of Winchester is emphasised throughout, strengthening his position as their heavenly protector against Walkelin.

The monastic community chose St Æthelwold as their defender precisely because he had founded their community. It looks as if they sought to prove that their foundation had been a holy work of a powerful saint, and that consequently their removal would be sacrilegious and offensive to that saint. That is why a large part of the letter recites miracles from the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* by Wulfstan: by interlinking Æthelwold's miracles and holy life with their own foundation, the monks established themselves as the rightful spiritual and material heirs of the cathedral. Rather than Walkelin, as the bishop, being

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[48] Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec,* p. 183, n. 1.
[49] Lantfred, *Miracula S Swithuni,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), c. 8, pp. 166 – 167.

the rightful successor to Æthelwold, the monks presented themselves as Æthelwold's children and flock and Walkelin the bishop as an intruder.

The fallout of this dispute had an effect upon the cults of St Swithun and Æthelwold. There is evidence to suggest that Walkelin may have made a conscious decision not to promote the cult of St Æthelwold alongside the cult of St Swithun. As stated earlier, evidence for the fate of the saints at Winchester after the Conquest is fairly sparse. But, what the Winchester Annals report is as follows. On 8 April 1093, the monks were moved from the Old Minster into the partially built, but now usable, new cathedral. On St Swithun's day, 15 July, the monks led a great procession into the new cathedral, holding aloft St Swithun's shrine and placing it inside, presumably on the high altar. The church and its high altar were dedicated to St Swithun, the Holy Trinity and Sts Peter and Paul on that occasion. The destruction of the Old Minster began the next day.[50] The next year the 'relics of St Swithun and of many other saints were found under the altar of the old church' and moved into the new cathedral.[51] These were probably the supposed relics of Haedde, Beornstan, Birinus, and Ælfheah.[52] It is unlikely that this refers to the relics of Æthelwold, which were not under the high altar. The *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* tells us that after his 996 translation Æthelwold's shrine was placed in the choir.[53] The fate of this shrine in 1093 is not mentioned in the annals.

Although there are many reasons that information pertaining to Æthelwold's relics and shrine could have been lost between the late 1070s and the late twelfth century, the

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[50] *AMW*, p. 37.

[51] Ibid: *Inventae sunt reliquae sancti Swithuni aliorumque plurimorum sanctorum sub altari veteris monasterii.*

[52] This passage probably refers to Birinus's relics although, according to the eleventh-century *vita*, they were next to the high altar (*iuxta maius altare*) in the Old Minster. *Vita s. Birini,* ed. and trans. R. Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996), pp. 46 - 47.

[53] *VsÆ,* c. 43, pp. 66 - 7.

annalist did reliably record events both of national importance and those which were only of interest to Winchester, such as Æthelwold's translations at Winchester in 996 and 1111.[54] The fact that the annalist included those two translations discredits suggestions that, by the time the annalist wrote, Æthelwold and his relics were not considered significant enough to be mentioned. It is more likely that the absence of information concerning the treatment of Æthelwold's relics in this period reflects the fact that they were neither part of the ceremonial procession from the Old Minster into the new cathedral, nor properly translated. This is different from the experience of other cathedrals that housed the shrines of two major saints' cults. At Canterbury, Archbishop Lanfranc translated both Ælfheah and Dunstan to temporary resting places whilst the new cathedral was being built. Once it was completed, Lanfranc placed them either side of the high altar.[55] The omission of similar detail in the Winchester account suggests that Walkelin chose to honour St Swithun but ignored St Æthelwold during the important events of 1093 and his episcopate.

The hagiographical production at Winchester after the Conquest also suggests that Walkelin deliberately ignored Æthelwold's cult. As at other centres where new churches had been built and their saints translated, such as Bury St Edmunds, Christ Church, Canterbury, and St Augustine's, Canterbury, new hagiographies were written for the major saints of Winchester with the exception of Æthelwold. Although it is possible that Wulfstan's tenth-century *vita* was thought to be adequate, it should be noted that early *vitae* of Dunstan, of the same date and quality, were rewritten at Christ Church, Canterbury, during the 1080s.

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[54] *AMW*, pp. 11 – 13, 32 – 4, 37 – 8, 43 – 4.
[55] Turner, Muir (eds.), *Eadmer*, p. xvi, n. 4.

A *Vita s. Birini* and a *Vita et Miracula s. Swithuni* were written towards the end of Walkelin's episcopate in the 1090s. Love and Lapidge have demonstrated the similarities and verbal parallels in both works, suggesting that they were written by the same author.[56] Neither *vita* has a preface and the author did not state who or what prompted the works but it can be assumed that the bishop and/or priory of Winchester commissioned both.[57] Hayward argues that Swithun's hagiography was written 'to defend the received constitution of the cathedral by reasserting the saint's preference for a monastic form of life,' because the author depicts him as a 'quasi-monastic figure', unmarried, frugal with food, humble and undertaking barefoot pilgrimages.[58] This, however, is typical saintly behaviour not restricted to monks and is also an example of the hagiographical *topoi* that make up the bulk of the *vita*, which specifically describes Swithun as a cleric (*clericatus*).[59] The *Miracula* also avoids discussing monasticism at Winchester. Whilst Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno* (on which the anonymous *c.*1090 work is almost entirely based) connects the revelation of Swithun's sainthood and miracles to the introduction of monks at Winchester, the *Miracula* barely mentions it. The author also suppresses a miracle, told by Wulfstan, in which Swithun appears to a lady of Winchester, informing her of his anger towards the monks of the Old Minster.[60] Whenever Swithun performed a miracle, the monks had to sing a hymn in the cathedral, whether this was day or night. When Æthelwold was absent from the cathedral, the older monks, tired of having their sleep disturbed, decided to abandon their observance and not sing the hymns during the night. For two weeks the majority of monks copied their

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[56] Love (ed.), *Three Anglo-Latin Lives*, p. liv.
[57] Ibid., p. 3. Swithun's *vita* was written earlier in the 1090s and the *miracula* between 1098 and 1100.
[58] Hayward, 'Saints and cults', p. 314.
[59] *Vita s. Swithuni,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), c. 2, p. 630.
[60] Wulfstan, *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), c. 13, p. 474.

example. An outraged St Swithun appeared in a dream to this lady, telling her to inform Æthelwold about his negligent monks and that unless they resumed singing the *Te Deum* he would stop performing miracles. Æthelwold immediately rebuked the monks and they resumed their observance. In Wulfstan's *Narratio* this story implicitly mirrors the fact that Swithun performed no miracles for canons who served in the cathedral because they were wicked and negligent. Wulfstan's use of phrases, describing the monks as wicked and negligent: 'they themselves are so wickedly carried away by human activities that they do not return a due service of praise to Him, but they are devoted to worldly pursuits (which is a crime!) and disdain the divine gifts',[61] directly evokes his condemnation of the canons earlier in the *Narratio,* who had been 'of a worldly and wanton disposition' and 'enslaved to ephemeral things'.[62]

The anonymous author of the *Miracula* may have omitted this miracle story because it also reflects poorly on canons, equating them with bad, negligent monks. The author did not mention the removal of the canons from Winchester, nor this tale of the monks' behaviour that evidently imitated that of the canons, because he was writing either for a community that was headed by a secular bishop or for that bishop himself. In fact, the author avoids the use of the noun *monachus*, instead using the noun *fratres* wherever possible to describe the community of Winchester. Although it was standard to describe monks *fratres*, the author only deviates and describes them as '*monachorum*' once in the entire *Vita et Miracula.* [63] In contrast Wulfstan uses *fratres, coenobii* and *monachii* indiscriminately throughout the *Narratio.* This suggests that the author of the anonymous

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[61] Ibid., c. 13, pp. 476 - 7: *male sic rapiuntur et ipsi rebus in humanis ut munia debita laudum non referant illi, studiis sed mente caducis (quod scelus est!) inhiant diuinaque munera calcant.*
[62] Ibid., c. 1, pp. 420 - 1: *idem canonicus, qui mente biotticus atque lubricus ante fuit… qui subiectus fuerat paulo ante caducis rebus.*
[63] *Miracula s. Swithuni,* ed. and trans. M Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), c.4, pp. 652 - 3. He also describes Archbishop Ealdred of York as '*ex monacho Wintoniensi'*, c. 43, p. 678.

Vita et Miracula s. Swithuni was wary of drawing attention to the monastic constitution of Winchester. Perhaps the author omitted the above miracle story because he did not want to emphasise that Winchester tradition stated that monks were superior and holier than canons, and that Æthelwold was responsible for their regular observance and the revelation of Swithun's sainthood.

The *Vita s. Birini* similarly does not discuss Winchester's monasticism. In fact, the author records Birinus's devotion to the clerical rule: '[t]hat which he had learnt of divine order, clerical rule and canonical discipline, he practices towards them and as first among them.'[64] When describing the saint's tenth-century translation, which took place after monks were instituted there in 964, Æthelwold, the officiating prelate, is not described as a monk-bishop and neither are those who witnessed it.[65]

In light of this evidence, it is unconvincing that the new hagiography for Swithun and Birinus was written to defend and promote the monastic constitution, newly enforced by Walkelin, at Winchester. For if this was the case, would it not have been more effective to write about the miracles and holy deeds of their monk-bishop founder St Æthelwold? It is more likely that Walkelin chose to promote Swithun and Birinus because they were canon-bishops like himself.

The monks of the Old Minster used the cult of St Æthelwold for their own anti-episcopal ends and won. Walkelin had accepted the monastic constitution of Winchester, after his failed attempt, and presumably needed to appease the community that he tried to remove. As a canon, Walkelin chose to promote the cult of St Swithun, the canon-bishop, the only acceptable alternative to Æthelwold, in order to fund his building programme

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[64] *Vita s. Birini,* ed. Love, p. 42: *Quod ordinis diuini, quod regule clericalis, quod discipline canonice didicerat, in eis et inter eos primus exercet.*
[65] Ibid., pp. 44 – 46.

and increase pilgrimages to the cathedral. But whilst he had accepted the monastic constitution of Winchester, it is unlikely that Walkelin would have wanted to promote Æthelwold's cult, which could further empower the monastic community in any struggle against him. It seems as though he favoured Swithun, a respectable canon-prelate, but slighted Æthelwold, a reforming monk-bishop who was a useful rallying point for the monastic community.

There are no surviving calendars from Winchester immediately after the Conquest to demonstrate whether the liturgical veneration of Æthelwold was suspended during Walkelin's episcopate. Nigel Morgan reconstructed the cathedral priory's post-Conquest liturgical calendar through a textual comparison of the limited evidence available.[66] In this reconstruction, and in the later calendars, Æthelwold's deposition was marked as a double feast and his translation was usually entered in majuscule text. This reconstruction, however, is based on the assumption that there was no interruption in veneration of Winchester cults between 1066 and the later calendars. It is possible that Æthelwold's feast days were removed under Walkelin and reintroduced at a later date when the cult was in fashion once more (discussed in the next chapter). There is an intriguing passage in Chapter 52 of the *Miracula s. Swithuni* that states that a miracle occurred at Swithun's shrine during Walkelin's episcopate 'when, after several years, the holy feast day returned...'[67] Lapidge is sceptical, but this could be evidence that, for a short time, Swithun's feat day was not celebrated.[68] Walkelin is alive in this miracle story, and so if Swithun's feast was suspended during his episcopate, he also reinstated it. This passage

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[66] N. Morgan, 'Notes on the Post-Conquest calendar, litany and martyrology of the cathedral priory of Winchester with a consideration of Winchester Diocese calendars of the pre-Sarum period', in A. Borg and A. Martindale (eds.), *The Vanishing Past: Studies of Medieval Art, Liturgy and Metrology presented to Christopher Hohler* (Oxford, 1981), pp. 133 - 74.
[67] *Miracula s. Swithuni*, ed. Lapidge,c. 52, pp. 686 - 7: *die festo post annos plures redeunte.*
[68] Ibid., p. 686, n. 44.

does imply that Winchester saints' feast days, even that of the great St Swithun, were not wholly safe during Walkelin's episcopate.

The treatment of saints' cults at Abingdon after the Conquest is a challenging issue, primarily because the only sources for this period come from the *History of Abingdon Abbey* and *De Abbatibus Abbendonie,* both written in the late twelfth century.[69] These house histories are problematic, not least because they are not contemporary to the events they describe.[70] No liturgical material from eleventh- and early twelfth-century Abingdon survives, and so we must rely on the accounts in the *History* and *De Abbatibus.* Rollason and Ridyard have stated that the allegations of Norman scepticism towards the cults Æthelwold and Edward the Martyr at Abingdon 'prove on examination to be untenable' whilst others are more accepting of the evidence.[71]

In the immediate aftermath of the Conquest Abingdon remained under the leadership of its Anglo-Saxon abbot, Ealdred (1066 – 1071).[72] Although he had been appointed by Harold Godwinson he was allowed to continue as abbot after he submitted to William I.[73] Initially, Abingdon's situation was secure and many of their alienated lands were returned to them.[74] In 1071 Ealdred joined with the abbey's men's rebellion against William and that inevitably led to the abbot's imprisonment.[75] With no abbot to protect them Abingdon suffered losses. Queen Matilda I demanded precious ornaments

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[69] *HA,* I, p. xv, p. lvi. Both of these sources are discussed in detail in Chapter 4.

[70] For discussions on the reliability of monastic chartulary-chronicles see J. Paxton, 'Textual communities in the English fenlands: a lay audience for monastic chronicles', *ANS,* 26 (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 123 - 37; Idem, 'Monks and bishops: the purpose of the *Liber Eliensis',* *HSJ,* 11, (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 17 - 30; J. Campbell, 'Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past', in his *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History* (London, 1986), pp. 209 - 28; Gransden, *Historical Writing,* I, pp. 78 - 88, pp. 240 - 254.

[71] Quote is Rollason, *Saints and Relics,* p. 225; Ridyard, *'Condigna veneratio',* pp. 198 - 200; for those that accept the repression see *MO,* p. 119; Crook, *English Medieval Shrines,* p. 114; S. E. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey* (Oxford, 2000), I, p. xliv.

[72] *Heads,* p. 24.

[73] E. Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England: 1066 – 1135* (Woodbridge, 1998), p. 39.

[74] Ibid.

[75] *ASC D* 1072, *E* 1071

for herself; royal officials seized gold, silver and whatever else they wanted.[76] William appointed Adelelm (1071 – 1083), a monk from Jumièges, to be the new abbot of Abingdon.[77]

Adelelm did not look kindly upon Æthelwold's cult: upon his succession to the abbey he banned the celebration of Æthelwold and Edward the Martyr's feast days as they were 'rustic Englishmen' (*Anglici rustici*), unworthy of the title of saints.[78] *De Abbatibus Abbendonie* paints an exceedingly unfavourable picture of this abbot, heavily insinuating that he did little for the abbey, which could indicate that his banning of Æthelwold's feast day was seen as a great insult.[79] This was certainly the case concerning Adelelm's attempts to rebuild the pre-Conquest church. *De Abbatibus,* which titles the relevant passage '[t]he ills which Abbot Adelelm did to Abingdon', reports that Adelelm's project was taken as a lack of respect for Æthelwold's church and cult.[80] The author then tells of Adelelm's death, implying that the two were linked. Adelelm was sitting with his men, insulting Æthelwold and the church, saying that 'the church of English rustics should not stand but be destroyed.'[81] When he left to relieve himself after dinner, he let out a great cry. The few who came running found him dead - a fitting end to an unfit abbot.

There are no surviving pre- or post-Conquest Abingdon calendars to substantiate the author's claim. The earliest surviving calendar is from the late thirteenth century and marks Æthelwold's deposition in coloured inks and majuscule. *De Abbatibus* states that

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[76] Cownie, *Religious Patronage,* p. 40; J. Hudson, 'The Abbey of Abingdon, its *Chronicle* and the Norman Conquest', *ANS,* 19 (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 192.
[77] *Heads,* p. 24.
[78] *CMA,* II, p. 284: *Anglicos rusticos.*
[79] *HA,* II, p.xli
[80] *CMA,* II, pp. 283: *Quae mala abbas Ethelelmus fecit Abbendoniae.*
[81] *HA,* II, p.xli; *CMA,* II, p. 284: *Ad tantam etiam devolutus est ut prohiberet ne aliqua memoria neque memoratio fieret de Sancto Æthelwoldo, neque de Sancto Edwardo; dixit enim esse Anglicos rusticos, nec etiam debere ecclesias quas ipsi fundaverunt.*

Abbot Faritius (*c.* 1100 - 1117) instituted a new feast with twelve lessons praising the saint after acquiring his relics in his 1111 translation.[82] The fact that there is no new feast for Æthelwold in any of the Abingdon calendars could suggest that Faritius reinstated Æthelwold's deposition feast which had been banned by Adelelm in the 1070s.

Ridyard was not convinced that Adelelm forbade the celebration of Æthelwold and Edward's feast days. Noting that the story appears only in *De Abbatibus*, which she argued is of 'doubtful reliability' and believed to have been written in the mid-thirteenth century, she suspected that it was 'a product of [the author's] own fertile imagination'. [83] However, John Hudson's recent analysis of the *History* and *De Abbatibus* casts doubts on Ridyard's arguments. [84] *De Abbatibus* is contained in a thirteenth-century manuscript (London, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A. xiii) and is usually regarded as a later source than the *History* (written *c.* 1160), but Hudson is inclined to disagree. The final chapter of *De Abbatibus* does attend to late twelfth- and early thirteenth-century events, but Hudson believes that it is a later addition to the rest of the text. Its presentation in the manuscript is quite different, using frequent red and green initials unlike all previous chapters.[85] Hudson argues that the chapter was added at a later date at Colne priory, a dependent cell of Abingdon, after the rest of the manuscript had been written.[86] *De Abbatibus* is more likely to be an extended version of a text which once stopped with Ingulf's abbacy (1130 – 58) and therefore written before the *History.* Moreover, Ridyard herself admits that *De Abbatibus* 'occasionally preserves facts omitted from earlier sources'.[87] We should therefore be a little more wary

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[82] *CMA,* II, p. 287; *HA,* II, p. civ – cvi, pp. 66 – 7.
[83] Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio'*, p. 192.
[84] *HA*, II, p. xxii.
[85] Ibid., n. 45.
[86] Ibid., p. xxii.
[87] Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio'*, p. 11, n. 84.

of dismissing *De Abbatibus'* version of events concerning Adelelm's abolition of Æthelwold's feast day.

A letter from Archbishop Lanfranc to Adelelm reveals that some of the monks of Abingdon temporarily deserted the abbey upon his appointment.[88] The reason for their desertion is unknown but Lanfranc's admonishing tone in his letter has led Gibson to believe that the abbot was partly to blame.[89] These two events could be linked: perhaps the monks left the abbey, protesting Adelelm's stipulation that they could not celebrate the feast of their founder. Lanfranc hardly would have looked kindly upon Adelelm if his insensitive embargo on Æthelwold's feast day was the cause of the monks' desertion.

The *History* and *De Abbatibus Abbendonie* omit the personal views of Adelelm's successor regarding Æthelwold's cult. Reginald, previously chaplain to William I and monk of Jumièges, became abbot in 1084 and led the abbey until his death in 1097.[90] The *History* presents him as a dependable abbot; there are no great turbulences during his abbacy and life at Abingdon continued undisrupted. Although the Abingdon sources do not directly refer to Reginald's policies concerning saints' cults, *De Abbatibus* states that some Abingdon monks, previously of Jumièges, stole abbey valuables that were connected to the cult of St Æthelwold.[91] Treasures of gold and silver with gems, all made or donated by Æthelwold himself, were stolen from Abingdon by its sacrist and sent to the abbey of Jumièges. Knowles doubted the author's claim that the treasures were sent to Normandy,[92] but C. R. Dodwell has identified a surviving Jumièges manuscript that

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[88] Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, p. 41; Clover, Gibson (eds), *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury,* no. 28.
[89] Clover, Gibson (eds), *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishop of Canterbury,* no. 28.
[90] *Heads,* p. 24.
[91] *CMA*, II, p. 345, p. 278: *Illo enim tempore erant in hac domo quidam monachi et sacristae de coenobio Gemeticensi, qui ornamenta quamplurima a beato Atheluuoldo laboriose adquisita et huic domui collata tam aurea quam argentea, eruderato penitus argento a rota memorata, secum in Normanniam fraudulenter asportaverunt.*
[92] *MO,* p. 117, n. 4.

confirms *De Abbatibus'* account. [93] Although the manuscript itself was written at Jumièges, its binding and inscription on the first folio are very significant. The binding is Anglo-Saxon, made with gold and silver and with inset gems, and matches the description given in the *History* of the Gospel book that Æthelwold gave to Abingdon, and the treasures which were reportedly stolen and sent to Jumièges.[94] The inscription on folio 1v of the manuscript reads:

> Reginald… abbot of Abingdon sent this text of the holy gospels adorned as it is with gold, silver and gems to the blessed mother of God and ever virgin Mary and to St Peter of the monastery of Jumièges.[95]

This not only identifies the manuscript's binding as the one taken from Abingdon, but confirms that Reginald himself sent it to Jumièges. Whilst Reginald would not have regarded his use of the monastery's resources as a theft, the community evidently did so and recorded it as such in *De Abbatibus*.[96]

This incident was far more than a simple act of theft but is indicative to an inherent lack of respect for the cult of Æthelwold during Reginald's abbacy. The poaching of Anglo-Saxon art was common immediately after the Conquest: Queen Matilda I stole some of Abingdon's treasures before Adelelm was appointed. Reginald's theft, however, occurred around twenty years after the Conquest; it was internally committed and involved prized treasures donated by the founder and highly regarded saint. Reginald and the monks who chose to make of these items a gift seemingly held no esteem for Æthelwold's sanctity. This lack of respect is also evident in the treatment of the treasures

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[93] Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 32, fo. 3v, C. R. Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art: a New Perspective* (Cornell, 1982), p. 218.

[94] *CMA*, II, pp. 277-9; *HA,* I, pp. 339 – 41.

[95] Dodwell, *Anglo-Saxon Art*, p. 218, n. 17: *Rainaldus . . . abbas abbendonensis hunc sancti evangelii textum sic auro argentoque ac gemmis ornatum beatae dei genetrici ac semper virgini marie beatoque PETRO Gemmeticensis coenobii mittit.*

[96] It is worth noting that MS B of *The History* does not condemn Abbot Vincent (d. 1130) for stripping down a gold retable made by Æthelwold to use as payment to King Henry. *HA,* I, p. 339.

at Jumièges. They were not sent there to be held as sacred objects, but broken up and reused for parts: Æthelwold's precious Gospel book was not used as such. Rather, the binding was torn away from the manuscript and reused to house another. Its only worth was the gold of the binding, rather than its sacred past. The Gospel book itself was lost.[97] All this is evidence of a disregard for Æthelwold's cult at Jumièges, by the monks who removed the treasures, and by the abbot of Abingdon.

Aside from their connection to Æthelwold's houses, the abbots of Abingdon and the bishop of Winchester do not share a common background. They started their careers at different Norman houses: Walkelin was a canon from Rouen, whilst the abbots of Abingdon were monks from Jumièges.[98] From the charters and *acta,* it does appear that Adelelm, Reginald, and Walkelin were in the royal court around the same time, but the only charter in which they all appear as witness is a spurious charter possibly forged by Osbert de Clare confirming the privileges of Westminster abbey on 29 December 1076.[99] Adelelm and Walkelin witnessed the accord between Archbishops Lanfranc and Thomas regarding the primacy of the see of Canterbury on 27 May 1072.[100] Reginald and Walkelin may have been in closer contact. They were both part of the court circle: Walkelin had been chancellor to William I and Reginald had been William's chaplain.[101] Walkelin collected Reginald from Rouen in 1084 and escorted him to Abingdon after William had nominated him as abbot.[102] They were also both witnesses to a charter

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[97] There is no reference to a gospel book from Abingdon written in the mid-late tenth century in Helmut Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies, 241 (Tempe, 2001).
[98] Spear, 'The Norman Empire and the secular clergy 1066 – 1204', p. 5.
[99] *RRAN1:* 90: as Raynald the Chaplain. There are many witnesses listed indicating that this was a gathering of the court (Christmas).
[100] *RRAN1*: 64.
[101] *Heads*, p. 24.
[102] Richard Sharpe, 'H1-Abingdon-2013-1', Charters of William II and Henry I Project, released online 23/9/13.

confirming to John, bishop of Bath, the abbey and all its appendages in 1091.[103] It is worth

noting that Herfast, who tried to evict the monks of Bury St Edmunds, was another former

chaplain and chancellor to William, and thus part of this same courtly circle.

But whilst Æthelwold's cult was being suppressed and ignored at Winchester and

Abingdon, at other centres it was being actively praised and his saintly image was being

developed. At Winchcombe, Æthelwold was employed as an authorising figure in the

anonymous *vita* of St Kenelm, king and martyr (d. 819), written *c.* 1066x1075, possibly

by Goscelin of Saint-Bertin (d. in or after 1107). The author established Kenelm's

worthiness for sainthood through St Dunstan and Æthelwold:

> The holy fathers Dunstan and Æthelwold and the venerable Oswald himself,
> and the other holy fathers, would never have celebrated him (sc. Kenelm) nor
> consented to his cult, unless they had recognized that he was worthy of it.[104]

Before this period Kenelm was a little-known saint and this stamp of approval

from recognized saints would have confirmed his holiness to the reader.

This device also appears in the Legend of St Edith, written by Goscelin *c.* 1080

for the female community of Wilton abbey. The Legend tells the story of Edith (d. 984),

a daughter of King Edgar (959 – 975), and a secular member of the nuns' community,

who died at the tender age of twenty-three. Goscelin subsequently adapted the work and

dedicated it to Lanfranc.[105] Within the narrative, Æthelwold and Dunstan are depicted as

Edith's saintly guardians who help her achieve sanctity:

> She had Dunstan and Æthelwold as her principal gatekeepers and sacristans so
> that the king of glory might enter her gleaming inner court and most inward
> shrine; she set them before her face as two disciples ... Relying on these guides
> on her left hand and her right, she journeyed towards the heavenly kingdom, and

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[103] *RRAN1*: 315.

[104] *Vita s. Kenelmi,* ed. and trans. R. Love, *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996), preface, pp. 50 - 1.

[105] S. Hollis, 'Goscelin's writings and the Wilton women', in S. Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatonus* (Turnhout, 2004), p. 236.

they, with the Lord's encouragement hastened her, as though her hand had already been given, towards the heavenly bridal chamber.[106]

Hollis suggests that this passage may have been inserted to 'vouch for the overall orthodoxy of Edith's setting, neutralising the effect of the irregularities of her life...' to appease Lanfranc.[107] For Goscelin to use Æthelwold as a heavenly judge of sainthood, and name him and Dunstan within the same breath implies that their sanctity was of comparable repute: there was no scepticism about, or suppression of, Æthelwold's cult at Winchcombe, Wilton, or indeed Canterbury, between 1069 and the 1080s.

Æthelwold' saintly image was also developed at Thorney. Between 1069 and 1083, Abbot Folcard of Thorney wrote a treatise, *On the Translation of the Saints Who Rested at Thorney Abbey*, devoted to the ninth-century saintly anchorite siblings, Tancred, Thortred and Tova, who supposedly first settled at Thorney.[108] Significantly, Folcard claimed that Æthelwold occasionally retreated to a hermitage at Thorney that was once occupied by St Tova. Folcard is the only hagiographer to depict Æthelwold in such a manner. Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* does not claim that Æthelwold had any anchoritic

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[106] Goscelin, *Vita S Edithae*, trans. M. Wright and K. Loncar, in S. Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatorius* (Turnhout, 2004), c. 9, p. 35; Wright and Loncar used Cardiff, Public Library, MS I. 381, fols. 81 - 120 but did not supply the original Latin for their edition of the text. The following Latin comes from the edition of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 938, fols. 1 - 29, A. Wilmart, 'La legende de Ste Edith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin' *Analecta Bollandiana* 56 (1938), pp. 5 - 101, 265 - 307, at 57: *Huius etiam aule sue splendidissime et intimi sacrarii rex glorie quo introiret precipuous Dunstanum et Adeluuoldum ediles et candelabra lucentia ante faciem suam direxit, qui suum habitaculum omni apparatu decorarent uirtutum, et in turibulo suspiriosorum aromatum ignem caritatis diuine continuum inextinguibili fomite enutrirent exhortationum. Hi ut fideles serui, caritate et legatione angelica functi, a dextris et a sinistris data manu, dominici mandati alcius flagrantem accelerant cubiculo celesti.*

[107] S. Hollis, 'St Edith and the Wilton community', in S. Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton women: Goscelin's Legend of Edith and Liber Confortatonus* (Turnhout, 2004), p. 259; Edith's *vita* was far from conventional: she was a secular woman living within a monastic community; wore opulent purple garments adorned with jewels; and was prominently involved within the secular realm, meeting with advisers and ambassadors.

[108] Text of Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova, and *Translatio* in *Liber vitae: register and martyrology of New Minster and Hyde abbey, Winchester*, ed. W. de Gray Birch, Hampshire Record Society (London, 1892), pp. 284-6. The *Translatio* is securely attributable to Folcard: see C. Clark, 'Notes on a Life of three Thorney saints, Thancred, Torhtred and Tova', *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 69 (1979 for 1980), pp. 45-52.

tendencies, and Tom Licence has suggested that Folcard reimagined Æthelwold as a hermit, actually enhancing his saintly status, to make his cult more similar to the community's other hermit saints.[109] Æthelwold was evidently still venerated as a holy man and saint, and the community valued his cult to such an extent that they rewrote and developed his saintly image. This is not surprising for he had founded the monastery himself as one of several such projects in the fens.

Importantly, this text was dedicated to Walkelin. In manuscripts, the *Translatio* is prefaced by Folcard's dedicatory letter to Walkelin, and his Life of St Botulph. The letter survives in two manuscripts: the eleventh-century London, BL, Harley 3097, ff. 61b - 64v, and the thirteenth-century London, BL, Cotton Tiberius D III, ff. 223v - 225v. It is unclear whether Folcard dedicated the text to Walkelin alone or whether he sent multiple texts with dedicatory letters to different bishops requesting their patronage, and only those letters dedicating the text to Walkelin survive. If it was only dedicated to Walkelin, it is interesting that he chose him, rather than his diocesan bishop, Remigius of Lincoln (1067 – 1092).[110] In the dedicatory letter, Folcard refers to Æthelwold in a reverential manner, but not necessarily as a saint. He calls Æthelwold the most devoted priest of God' (*devotissimi Deo Praesulis Adeluuoldi*) and 'preeminent priest' (*ipse praecipuus praesulis*). Folcard notes how Æthelwold made Thorney famous, enriching it and gathering saints' relics there.[111] He does not, however, relate any of Æthelwold's miracles nor describe him as *sanctus*.[112] If the text was only dedicated to Walkelin, it could have

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[109] T. Licence, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society* (Oxford, 2011), p.63.
[110] Reportedly, Folcard and Regimus quarrelled a fair few times and the bishop never consecrated Folcard as abbot.
[111] Preface is printed in T. D. Hardy, *Descriptive Catalogue of Materials Relating to the History of Great Britain and Ireland*, RS 26, 3 vols in 4 (London, 1862-71), I, 373n-4n: *….praeterea desiderio et affectu devotissimi Deo Praesulis Adeluuoldi illustrata, et tot Sanctorum pignoribus pio ipsius studio ditata…*
[112] Ibid.
[112] Licence, 'Cult of St Edmund', p. 123; Licence, *Miracles of St Edmund,* p. 144, p. 252.

been an attempt, by Folcard and/or the Thorney community, to rehabilitate Æthelwold's image and sanctity into a form pleasing to Walkelin.

These hagiographical works by Goscelin and Folcard, written in the decades after the Conquest, establish that Æthelwold's cult developed independently at different centres: Æthelwold was still considered to be a legitimate saint in centres outside Winchester and Abingdon at a time when the heads of those communities were suppressing his cult.

Conclusions

Ridyard's model is an excellent thesis for the communities that she used for her study, but Winchester and Abingdon do not fit into it. Nor was the treatment of Æthelwold's cult a temporary 'review' or 'inspection' to determine whether or not it was authentic.[113] The attitude of the incoming Normans to Anglo-Saxon saints and their cults was complex. They were neither invariably hostile nor necessarily favourable but promoted some and reduced or even suppressed others. Jay Rubenstein's analysis demonstrated that Lanfranc purged the feasts of Anglo-Saxon saints from the calendar, and de-emphasised the importance of those saints' relics within the cathedral because he wanted to institute a liturgical programme which promoted the universal, not local, symbols of Christianity.[114] In a similar manner, Walkelin did not suppress Æthelwold's cult because he was sceptical of his sanctity, but because of wider issues in the English church; he ignored the cult because of his dislike of the monastic community at Winchester. At Abingdon the banning of his feast day may have caused the community

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[113] See Rollason, *Saints and Relics,* pp. 225 -228.
[114] Rubenstien, 'Liturgy against history', p. 308.

to break apart, whereas at Thorney Æthelwold's image was refashioned to reflect the interests of the community he had founded but without much emphasis on his sainthood per se. Hagiographical works by Goscelin establish that Æthelwold was still considered to be a legitimate saint at a time when the heads Winchester and Abingdon were suppressing his cult; the treatment of Æthelwold in these hagiographies demonstrate that there were important regional differences regarding the reputation and handling of certain cults. That further suggests that it was the individual Norman abbots and bishops who dictated how cults were treated in the post-Conquest climate. This discussion has demonstrated that the background of one bishop strongly influenced his treatment of the English monastic community of which he was made head, and its Anglo-Saxon saints' cults. The past of other Norman bishops and abbots may also have been informative as to how they treated the resident Anglo-Saxon saints' cults within their new communities. Although most churches and bishops treated their saints well there were obviously some exceptions.

This chapter has demonstrated that Æthelwold's cult developed independently at each monastery in which he was venerated. At Winchester his cult was used by the monks to protect their community, but once they won the cult was suppressed by their bishop. At Abingdon, his cult was suppressed from the outset and treated in a disrespectful manner by the abbots from Jumièges. Yet at Winchcombe and Wilton, his saintly status was used to authorise the saintly status of others, and at Thorney it was developed to claim that he had once been a hermit. But whilst Æthelwold's cult underwent changes and was evidently suppressed at Winchester and Abingdon, that situation did not prevail. In the early twelfth century there was a revival of Æthelwold's cult at Winchester, Abingdon, and beyond, and that is what will be discussed in the next chapter.

Chapter 3: Revival of the Cult in 1111

In 1111 the relics of St Æthelwold were translated from the crypt of Winchester cathedral and placed in the new feretory behind the high altar.[1] This grand ceremony took place in the presence of Queen Edith/Matilda, wife of Henry I, and marked the beginning of a revival of the cult of St Æthelwold, which saw his relics dispersed to monasteries around the south of England and an increase in the manuscript production of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*

The Translation

MCXI...Ipso anno depositae sunt reliquae sancti Adelwoldi de veteri feretro et positae in novo. Interfuit autem regina et tres episcopi et quinque abbates.

1111… In this year the relics of St Æthelwold were taken up from the old feretory and placed in the new. The queen, three bishops, and five abbots attended.

Although the Winchester Annals only state that Æthelwold was translated sometime in 1111, it is possible to identify the actual date. The presence of Queen Matilda but the absence of Henry I at the ceremony indicates that it took place following his departure to Normandy after confirming the rights and privileges of the city of Bath and its bishop on 8 August 1111.[2] We know that Queen Matilda was at Winchester soon thereafter as she held a meeting of the exchequer there on 30 September.[3] The translation must have taken place before 23 October, because on this date Thorney abbey received

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[1] *AMW,* pp. 43 – 4.
[2] *RRAN2*: 988
[3] *RRAN2*, 1000; *HA,* II, pp. 170 – 1; J. A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, 2006)*,* p. 300. The Abingdon charter from which this information derives from dates Henry's absence, and this meeting, to between August 1111 and July 1113, whilst the *RRAN* states that the *acta* were issued on 30 September 1111.

Æthelwold's relics, which were delivered by two Winchester monks.[4] We therefore have a *terminus post quem* of 9 August and a *terminus ante quem* of 9 October (allowing two weeks for monks to travel the 137 miles from Winchester to Thorney). Post-1111 liturgical calendars denote no new translation feast for Æthelwold and so it is likely that it occurred on 10 September – the day of his original translation.[5] Winchester had previously translated St Swithun using this arrangement.[6]

It is not entirely clear where the newly translated relics of St Æthelwold were placed within the cathedral. Saint's relics were often placed on or behind the high altar, or in their own chapel. With the exception of the high altar, there are no surviving records of the pre-reformation chapels or altars at Winchester. Klukas has estimated that the Norman cathedral at Winchester had twenty-one subsidiary altars over three levels of the monastic enclosure.[7] He argued that the relics of Sts Swithun, Birinus and Æthelwold were accessible to monks and pilgrims in the crypt below the high altar.[8] John Crook's recent revaluation of the architectural and historical evidence of the physicality of the shrine of St Swithun, however, has demonstrated that this was not the case. According to Crook, the feretory platform behind the high altar was the main repository for Winchester's relics. It is not explicitly stated that Æthelwold's relics were moved onto the feretory platform in 1111 but the Winchester Annals' wording, that the relics were taken up from the old feretory and placed in the new, imply that that was the case. The noun that governs the adjective *novo* is not given, but the neuter ablative *novo* does agree with *feretro*. A *feretrum* could mean either coffin or shrine, but it most commonly pertained to

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[4] *The Thorney Annals,* p. 17.
[5] See Appendix A.
[6] See previous chapter.
[7] Klukas, 'The continuity of Anglo-Saxon liturgical traditions', p. 115.
[8] Ibid.

a place or thing storing reliquaries.[9] In this case it probably referred to the feretory behind the high altar where the Winchester community evidently kept their relics. Æthelwold's relics were probably moved from an old shrine-area (*feretrum*) in the crypt below and placed in the feretory near the relics of St Swithun on the high altar.

The annals state that the queen, three unnamed bishops, and five unnamed abbots attended the ceremony. It is possible to identify some of these men as Abingdon's *History* records Matilda's meeting of the exchequer at Winchester on 30 September 1111 in detail as its abbot, Faritius, attended.[10] It lists the names of the prominent attendees including Roger, bishop of Salisbury, Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and Richard, bishop of London.[11] The date and location of this meeting implies that the three bishops listed above were also the three bishops present at Æthelwold's translation. Neither the annals nor the *History* indicate whether the three bishops present were in addition to the presiding bishop, Giffard, or whether the total number included Giffard himself. Nevertheless, some combination of Giffard and the three bishops listed above are likely to have been those at the translation.

The five abbots mentioned by the annals are difficult to identify. The *History of Abingdon* reports Faritius, their abbot, was present in Winchester not only at the meeting of the exchequer but also at Æthelwold's translation where he claimed the saint's shoulder and arm bones as relics for Abingdon.[12] The royal *acta* and the charter within the *History*

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[9] B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001)*,* p. 35.

[10] *HA,* II, pp. 170 – 1: 'in thesauro.'

[11] Ibid.

[12] Ibid., pp. 66 – 7: 'He [Faritius] also added a holy relic of our father St. Æthelwold, that is his shoulder blade with his arm. While Æthelwold's sacred relics were being solemnly transferred from an old into a new reliquary by the venerable Bishop of Winchester, William surnamed Giffard, in the presence of bishops and archbishops and the great men of the realm, Abbot Faritius obtained what he had previously sought with many prayers, and they were brought here with great jubilations.'

of Abingdon list twelve other witnesses, but none are abbots.[13] It is possible that two of the abbots at the translation were Gunter of Le Mans, abbot of Thorney, and Ernulf, abbot of Peterborough Abbey. Both Peterborough and Thorney claimed to own Æthelwoldan relics early in the twelfth century and as the saint was not translated again it is probable that they originated from this ceremony.[14]

The presence of the queen and distinguished churchmen, in addition to the dissemination of Æthelwoldan relics throughout southern England, suggests that this translation was a high status event. It is possible that Æthelwold's translation was a response to the translations of Alfred, Ealhswith, and Edward the Elder at Hyde Abbey the previous year. When the royal palace at Winchester was extended in 1069 - 70, New Minster lost part of its grounds and the remaining space became extremely cramped.[15] To escape this, the monastery moved to a new site north of the city in 1110. Just outside the city walls, the site was called Hyde and from this, the monastery took its new name, Hyde Abbey. In solemn procession, the monks carried Cnut's great gold cross and the bones of Alfred, Ealhswith, and Edward the Elder from the New Minster to Hyde Abbey and translated them to new graves in front of the High Altar.[16] It is possible that the cathedral priory, concerned that they would lose pilgrims and offerings to the new monastery and its newly publicized relics, translated Æthelwold in response.

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[13] Ibid: William de Curci [royal steward]; Adam de Port [royal steward]; Turstin the chaplain [clerk and royal chaplain]; Walter of Gloucester [sheriff]; Herbert the chamberlain [chamberlain of the treasury since William I]; William d'Oilli [of Early, royal chamberlain]; Geoffrey fitz Herbet; William de Anesy [royal despenser]; Ralph Basset [royal justice]; Geoffrey de Mandeville [later 1st earl of Essex]; Geoffrey Ridel [royal justice]; Walter, archdeacon of Oxford.

[14] *The Thorney Annals,* p. 17; For the Peterborough relic list see Cambridge, University Library MS. Dd. XIV. 28. 17th century copy of a *c.* 12th list in chronicle. It was transcribed into register of bishops Swaffham (at Peterborough) and Whittlesey (BM Add.MS. 39758). Printed: *HC,* pp. 53 – 56.

[15] M. Biddle, 'Early Norman Winchester', in J. C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies* (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 315, p. 320; Idem, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday,* Winchester Studies I (Oxford, 1976), pp. 313 - 17.

[16] *Liber Vitae,* ed. Keynes, pp. 17, 43, 47 n. 308, and p. 81.

Æthelwold was little-known outside the monastic sphere, however, and so it is unlikely that his translation was a strategy to steal back pilgrims. Had the cathedral priory sought to rival the translations of Alfred and his family, they could have translated any number of Anglo-Saxon kings and members of the royal line that resided within the cathedral church.[17] One such set of relics that would have perfectly mirrored Hyde's were the bones of Cnut, Queen Emma and Hardacnut.[18] Raising Cnut's bones certainly would have been a more fitting response to Hyde's translation of Alfred and his family. Although Cnut was a patron of both the cathedral priory and the New Minster, the latter remembered him with particular reverence.[19] The frontispiece of the *Liber Vitae,* composed *c.*1031, depicts Cnut presenting a cross to the New Minster, which he places upon the high altar.[20] This cross, which one of the continuators of John of Worcester's chronicle described as 'a great and holy cross... most splendidly enriched by him [Cnut] with gold and silver, with gems and precious stones', was a prominent feature in the 1110 procession from the New Minster to Hyde Abbey.[21] If the cathedral priory had wanted to best the New Minster/Hyde Abbey translations, translating Cnut would have been a much sorer blow to the Hyde Abbey community. Cnut, Queen Emma and Hardacnut almost certainly would have been better known to the laity than Æthelwold, who was rarely

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[17] A fourteenth-century inscription above the holy-hole claims that the cathedral held the bones of *Kinegilsus Rex; Kinewaldus Rex; Egbertus Rex, Adulphus Rex; Eluredus Rex, filius eius; Edwardus Rex Senior; Athelstanus Rex, filius eius; Edredus Rex; Edgarus Rex; Emma Regina; Ethelredus Rex; Sanctus Edwardus Rex, filius eius; Cnutus Rex; Hardecnutus Rex, filius eius. Some of these are certainly those which now reside in the mortuary chests upon the choir walls.*

[18] Such an event probably occurred in 1158 when Bishop Henry translated the bones of pre-Conquest kings and bishops onto the high altar, around the shrine of St Swithun.

[19] For his grants and gifts to the Old Minster see Bolton, *The Empire of Cnut the Great,* pp. 96 - 7.

[20] BL, Stowe 944.

[21] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume III: The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141,* ed. P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998), 1141 pp. 300 - 1: *iussu regis Kanuti dudum fabricata, et ab eodem auro et argento, gemis et lapidibus preciosis decentissime adornata.*

venerated outside monastic centres, and would probably have attracted more visitors and offerings.

The manner of the two translations is also quite dissimilar, indicating that that one probably did not inform the other. The monks did not translate Alfred and his family to recognize publicly their sanctity but quite literally to translate, carry, their bones from a grave at the New Minster to a new grave at Hyde Abbey. That is very different from the nature of Æthelwold's translation which was a typical 'elevation' of his sacred relics. Æthelwold's ceremony furthered his cult: it allowed pilgrims easier access to his relics, which were also dispersed to multiple centres. There is no evidence to suggest that a traditional saintly cult ever arose around Alfred, or his family, following this translation. Whilst some medieval literature boasts of Alfred's saintly qualities, there are no recorded miracles performed by him or at his tomb.[22] The New Minster/Hyde Abbey translations may have influenced the cathedral priory to translate Æthelwold but the nature of the translations, and their audiences (lay for Alfred, monastic for Æthelwold) were starkly different.

It could be that Matilda's presence at Æthelwold's translation in 1111 was to balance royal favour between Hyde Abbey and the cathedral priory. Henry was very involved in the re-settlement of the New Minster to Hyde, granting them the land and the churches of Kingsclere and Alton and a further five hides in Alton. Biddle has said that he was 'in a real sense the founder of Hyde abbey'.[23] Emma Cownie suggests that Hyde Abbey lured royal patronage away from the cathedral not only because of Henry's

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[22] See S. Keynes, 'The cult of King Alfred the Great', *Anglo-Saxon England,* 28 (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 225 - 356.
[23] Biddle, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages,* p. 318; H. A. Doubleday and W. Page, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: New Minster, or the Abbey of Hyde', in their *A History of the County of Hampshire: Volume 2* (London, 1903), pp. 116 – 122; *British History Online* http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/hants/vol2/pp116-122 [last accessed 26 August 2016.

involvement in the foundation of Hyde, but because Henry, Matilda and William's names are in the abbey's *Liber Vitae*.[24] However, the fact that Giffard invested 800 marks of his own money into the movement of New Minster to Hyde, suggests that Cownie and Biddle have slightly over-stressed the royals' centrality in the proceedings.[25] Henry's patronage to Hyde Abbey was not unique and Brooke has stated that he was 'the most extensive monastic patron of the age - perhaps any age.'[26] In contrast, Matilda's attendance at Æthelwold's translation is unique as she did not attend any other saint's translation alone. She may have been with Henry when they and their son William attended the consecration of the abbey church in St Albans in 1115.[27] Henry also was present at Sées for the consecration of the Cathedral in 1126.[28] Although Henry sponsored the community's movement from New Minster to Hyde, there is no evidence that he or Matilda attended the event itself.

So why did Matilda attend the translation of St Æthelwold? The translation presumably took place in the first month of her first regency for Henry when he was away in Normandy. It is difficult to ascertain whether the meeting of the exchequer and the translation were planned to coincide, or if it was by happy chance that Matilda and such distinguished guests were at Winchester at the time of Æthelwold's translation. There is circumstantial evidence, however, to suggest that Matilda consciously placed herself and her court at Winchester to attend the translation because she venerated St Æthelwold.

Matilda was the elder daughter of King Malcolm III and Queen Margaret of Scotland. Originally named Edith, she was descended through her mother from the West-

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[24] Cownie, *Religious Patronage,* p. 142; BL, Stowe 944.
[25] Franklin, *Episcopal Acta VIII,* p. xxxiii; *AMW,* ii, pp. 43 – 4.
[26] C. N. L. Brooke, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London, 1999), p. 162, 150 - 55.
[27] Green, *Henry I,* p. 58.
[28] Ibid., p. 291.

Saxon royal line: she was the great granddaughter of Edmund Ironside.[29] Matilda's family greatly valued their connection to the line of the West-Saxon kings: her parents named four of their six sons and one of their two daughters after their Anglo-Saxon forbears. Matilda's interest in her Anglo-Saxon past ultimately inspired William of Malmesbury to write the *Gesta Regum.*[30] A pious woman, Matilda used her position as queen to help religious houses in England. She was very interested in the Augustinian priories and in 1107 she began work on the foundation of her own house, Holy Trinity, Aldgate, in conjunction with Archbishop Anselm.[31] Lois Huneycutt has remarked upon her patronage of Durham cathedral priory and linked it to her strong identification with her natal family: St Cuthbert was one of her mother's favourite saints.[32] Connections with her natal family, heritage, and personal friends were influential as to how Matilda spent her time and money. Various historians have looked at the pattern of her patronage of religious houses to determine if she venerated any saint in particular.[33] Four saints stood out: the Virgin, Mary Magdalene, Edward the Confessor and John the Evangelist.[34] But Huneycutt also stresses that 'personal factors reigned supreme' for Matilda when it came to benefaction, favour, and worship: '[p]laces associated with her childhood or her ancestry were likely to be favoured…'[35]

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[29] Ibid., p. 53.

[30] L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 133; *Gesta Regum,* ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thompson, M. Winterbottom (Oxford, 1998), ep. i. 7, vol. I , pp. 4 – 5; R. Thomson, 'William of Malmesbury as historian and man of letters', *JEH,* vol. 29 (1978), p. 391, 410.

[31] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* pp. 108 – 9.

[32] Ibid., p. 122.

[33] For a summary see Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 110.

[34] Virgin: N. Cantor, *Kingship and Lay Investiture in England, 1089 – 1134* (Princeton, 1958), p. 297; M. Magdalen: D. Bethell, 'The making of a twelfth-century relic collection', in J. Cuming, D. Baker (eds), *Popular Belief and Practice,* Studies in Church History 8 (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 69 – 70; Edward the Confessor: E. Mason, 'Westminster Abbey and the monarchy between the reigns of William I and John (1066 – 1216)' *JEH*, vol. 41 (April, 1990), pp. 199 – 216.

[35] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 124.

It is possible that Matilda attended Æthelwold's translation because she had been introduced to his cult as a child. She was educated at the abbey of Romsey, Hampshire, alongside her sister Mary under the care of their maternal aunt Christina.[36] Matilda and Mary probably travelled to Romsey abbey in 1086 when Matilda would have been around twelve years of age.[37] By the time of her arrival it was one of the wealthiest nunneries in England. It was also in the heart of royal demesne and less than ten miles from Winchester, the centre of Æthelwold's cult.[38] Her family, the royal house of Wessex, had long favoured Romsey abbey which had been established by Edward the Elder in 907 and where his daughter, Elfleda, was made abbess.[39] It was a small monastery, akin to St Mary's convent in Winchester.[40] Both of these convents were transformed during the tenth-century Benedictine reform. St Mary's was refounded by Æthelwold as a Benedictine community, and King Edgar reconstituted Romsey for Benedictine nuns in 967 as it had fallen into decay. Since Romsey was within Æthelwold's bishopric, it is probable that he had a hand in its refoundation.[41] As we have seen thus far, monasteries which were reformed by Æthelwold generally went on to venerate him as a saint. There is only one surviving liturgical book from Romsey: a *c.* 1430 psalter, which does include a calendar which celebrates Æthelwold's translation.[42] Unfortunately, no twelfth-century material survives. There is, however, evidence to suggest that they followed similar liturgical practices to those of Winchester, Ely, and Abingdon. The list of the Romsey nuns in the Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey (1016 – 25)

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[36] *HN,* pp. 122 – 3; *ASC E* 1085; *Heads,* pp. 218 – 9.
[37] H. G. D. Liveing, *Records of Romsey Abbey 907 – 1558* (Winchester, 1912), p. 39.
[38] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, p. 17.
[39] *Heads,* p. 264.
[40] Liveing, *Records of Romsey,* p. 11.
[41] Ibid., p. 13.
[42] See Appendix A, Table 2.

follows similar lists of Ely and Abingdon monks, an indication that Romsey was united by an 'agreement of spiritual confraternity with Hyde Abbey', as were Abingdon and Ely.[43] The abbey was also united with the cathedral priory of Winchester, whose cartulary lists Romsey, Abingdon, Chertsey, Tewkesbury, and many others as entering into a compact with them.[44] Furthermore, twelfth-century Romsey owned a redaction of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*.[45]It is thus probable that Romsey's twelfth-century liturgy included the celebration of the feasts of St Æthelwold.

It is evident that Romsey held a special place in Matilda's heart during her adult life. Henry issued eight charters and notifications from the abbey of Romsey, and there is evidence to suggest that Henry issued these whilst he visited the abbey with Matilda, perhaps at her instigation.[46] First, three of the documents concern donations and endowments to Abingdon.[47] Matilda's relationship with Abingdon is discussed in detail below, but she was a great patron of this house. The fact that these notifications and charters were issued at Romsey indicates that Matilda was exerting her influence for Abingdon whilst visiting her childhood home. Secondly, Henry issued no more charters, *acta* or notifications from Romsey after Matilda's death in 1117. This suggests that Henry did not travel back to Romsey, or at least stay there long enough to conduct business, after Matilda's death. This implies that the visits there were especially for Matilda and that as an adult Matilda continued to have a strong connection with Romsey Abbey.

At some point before 1093, Matilda moved from Romsey to the abbey of Wilton. It is unclear whether Wilton was reformed during the tenth century: Ridyard believes so,

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[43] Liveing, *Records of Romsey,* p. 29; *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey Winchester,* ed. W. De Gray Birch (London, 1892), pp. 62 - 3.
[44] Ibid., p. 29; BL Add 29436, ff 446, b 45.
[45] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. clxxxi; London, BL, Lansdowne 436, fos 81r – 85v.
[46] *RRAN 2:* 682, 683, 684, 685, 686 (All Feb 1105), 758 (May 1113 – 31), 956, 957 (1100).
[47] *RRAN 2:* 683, 758, 956. (684 and 685 are for Ely, which also culted Æthelwold.)

whereas Hollis and Foot think not.[48] In his *Vita s. Edithae,* however, Goscelin leaves clues which suggests that Wilton was reformed. Firstly, Goscelin portrays Edith as enjoying close relationships with Dunstan and Æthelwold. Goscelin also specified that, in his own time, Wilton still owned Edith's personal manual of her devotions.[49] One of the prayers recorded in it, and quoted in full by Goscelin, is a collect specified in the *Regularis Concordia,* the third prayer in the *Trina Oratio.*[50] Edith evidently knew of, and abode by, the *Regularis Concordia.* Since she would have been following Wilton's liturgy, this suggests that Wilton abbey was reformed.

The previous chapter has demonstrated that, after the Conquest at least, Æthelwold and his sanctity were thought of favourably at Wilton, and it is necessary here to further expand the discussion of Goscelin's *Vita s. Edithae.* This work frequently draws on information, miracles, and imagery from Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* indicating that they owned a copy of it. Goscelin's text also presents Æthelwold as a powerful episcopal saint.[51] Edith's hagiography implies a close relationship between Edith and Æthelwold: he was responsible for bringing Edith and her mother, Wulfthryth, to Wilton; he gently rebuked her for wearing opulent robes; Edith and her mother attempted to give Æthelwold a fragment of the nail of the Passion; and Æthelwold, the 'heavenly eagle', consecrated her at Nunnaminster.[52] St Edith was the most popular saint at Wilton and it would be remarkable to think that Matilda did not read, or hear, Goscelin's *vita* and that she was not influenced by it.

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[48] For a summary of the arguments see S. Hollis, 'St Edith and the Wilton community', pp. 254 - 277.
[49] Goscelin, *Vita s. Edithae*, trans. Wright and Loncar, c. 8, p. 37
[50] Ibid., n. 49: 'Almighty and most merciful Lord, who brought forth for your thirsty people a string of living water from the rock, bring forth from the hardness of my heart tears of contrition...'; *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation,* ed. Symons, p. 24.
[51] See previous chapter.
[52] Goscelin, *Vita s. Edithae*, trans. Wright and Loncar, c. 4, p. 27; c. 12, p. 43, c. 14, pp. 45 - 6; c. 16, p. 47.

Goscelin based some of Edith's miracles on Æthelwold's as told in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*. In the Life of Edith, a serving woman 'let drop a wax candle' that was still smouldering onto a chest full of Edith's clothes. Whilst the women were sleeping a great fire went-up and threatened the whole abbey. Once the fire was put out, Edith 'laughed at her losses' and when they unfolded and checked the clothes 'all the things were found to be as they had been before the fire, unharmed by the burning...'[53] In Chapter 36 of Æthelwold's *vita,* Æthelwold fell asleep whilst reading and 'a burning candle fell from the candlestick' onto the book which he had been reading and it burned on the page until a brother happened past and removed it. Upon blowing away the ash lying across the book, he 'found the page undamaged.'[54] Aside from the inherent drama in Edith's story, the accounts are very similar.

It may be that the hagiography, liturgy, and history of the abbeys of Romsey and Wilton left Matilda in reverence of St Æthelwold. While Matilda was living at the two houses, each year they probably celebrated the two feasts of St Æthelwold and stories and miracles from the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* would have been read aloud. Goscelin's Legend of St Edith would have further imparted the holiness and importance of Æthelwold. Throughout her life Matilda maintained strong connections with Benedictine monasticism and its practices: her ancestors in the royal line of Wessex had long been associated with church reform and Benedictine monasticism. King Alfred (849 – 899) established two new monasteries during his reign: Athelney for monks and Shaftesbury for nuns. [55] Edward the Elder (899 – 924) continued and laid the foundation of

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[53] Ibid.,, c. 13, p. 43; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C 938, fols. 1 - 29, A. Wilmart, 'La legende de Ste Edith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', pp. 71 - 2: *Beata uero Editha, mente in Christo fundata, sua damna ridere... ita omnia ab omni ustulatione inuenta sunt illesa, ut fuerat ante ipsa incendia...*
[54] *VsÆ*, c. 36, pp. 54 - 5: *et candelam ardentamde candelabro...inuenit paginam inlaesam.*
[55] Symons, *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, p. x.

Newminster at Winchester. From Alfred, to Edgar, through to Matilda, Benedictine monasticism is often seen as the legacy of the West-Saxon line, especially the unique cathedral priories of England, which were the result of the reforms of King Edgar.[56]

If her early life included the veneration of St Æthelwold, then Matilda may have placed herself at Winchester in 1111 to witness his translation as an act of personal devotion. Henry's absence from that translation is suggestive. The king was a promoter of saints' cults and attended many translations. In Normandy he visited Rouen in 1124 when the relics of St Romanus were displayed.[57] In England Henry visited Bury in Suffolk and the tomb of St Edmund twice, in *c.*1106/07 and 1132.[58] Æthelwold's translation was not held on any special anniversary year or associated with a particular ceremony at the church (apart, of course, from the bishop's earlier translation). If royal attendance at the event was a duty, or the bishop's expectation, it would have waited until Henry returned from Normandy. The absence of the king suggests that Æthelwold's translation was primarily the concern of the queen rather than another ecclesiastical function necessitating the presence of the monarch.

Matilda was also connected to three of the men present at Æthelwold's translation who began to promote his cult as a result: Bishop William Giffard of Winchester, Abbot Gunter of Le Mans of Thorney, and Abbot Faritius of Abingdon. All three of these men were a part of the royal household and had some kind of relationship with Matilda.

Bishop William Giffard of Winchester was chaplain to William I and II before becoming chancellor, and he was nominated by Henry to be bishop of Winchester.[59] As

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[56] See N. Banton, 'Monastic reform and the unification of tenth-century England', in S. Mews (ed.), *Religion and National Identity,* Studies in Church History, 18 (Oxford, 1982), pp. 71 – 85.

[57] Green, *Henry I,* p. 291.

[58] Ibid., p. 258.

[59] *Fasti:II,* p. 85; *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae: The Norman Cathedrals in the Ducal Period 911 – 1204,* ed. D. S. Spear, (London, 2006), p. 200.

Henry's chancellor, Giffard worked closely with him and the evidence suggests that he did so also with Matilda. Both he and Matilda were involved in founding and endowing Augustinian communities, and Giffard also attested two of the queen's surviving charters.[60] That Matilda had a close working relationship with the priory of Winchester whilst Giffard was bishop is evident from the fact that she tried to persuade Anselm to accept Edulf, a monk of Winchester, as the abbot of Malmesbury in 1106.[61] Giffard was the head of the monastery that enshrined Æthelwold and so he was obviously involved in the revival of his cult in the beginning of the twelfth century. His promotion of the cult is interesting, however, because he had shown no previous inclination towards the promotion of saints' cults, and showed none afterwards. His treatment of Æthelwold's cult was also in stark contrast to his predecessor, Walkelin, who had seemingly suppressed the cult.[62] Giffard's relationship with Matilda may have encouraged him to become involved in the development of the cult.

The community of Winchester evidently continued to feel a special connection to Matilda as they later claimed that the queen had been buried there. Thomas Rudborne, the fifteenth-century historian of Winchester, asserted:

> Matilda queen of England, commonly called Molde the good Queen, died in 1118, and was buried at Winchester in the old monastery, where this epitaph is to be seen on a marble stone over the place of her burial in the eastern crypt. "Here lieth Matilda the Queen, daughter of Margaret Queen of Scotland, and wife of King Henry the First, called by the English Molde the good Queen." Nevertheless, in certain other monasteries of England a tomb may be seen to her as if she were buried there, although her true place of sepulture is in the old monastery of Winton.[63]

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[60] *RRAN2*: 526, 906.

[61] M. Brett, *The English Church Under Henry I* (Oxford, 1975), p. 83; *Sancti Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi, Opera Omnia*, ed. F.S. Schmitt (Edinburgh, 1946-63), V, pp. 326 - 7, no. 384.

[62] See previous chapter.

[63] Thomas Rudbourne, *Historia Maior,* ed. A. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra,* 2 vols. (London, 1664 - 95), I, p. 276, as translated and quoted in *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland at Winchester, September 1845* (London, 1846), p. 21: *MCXVIII. et anno regni*

It is unclear as to when this legend came into being, but we can be sure that

Matilda was, in fact, buried at Westminster.[64]

Gunter of Le Mans, the abbot of Thorney, was also a part of the royal circle.[65]

Gunter had been a monk of St-Wandrille and came to England with the Conqueror as a

royal chaplain, and then became the archdeacon of Salisbury and eventually abbot of

Thorney (1085 – 1112).[66] It is difficult to gauge the extent of Gunter and Matilda's

relationship. He is not listed as a witness to any of Matilda's *acta,* nor any other

documents or charters to which she was witness, but he was clearly part of the court circle

and an intimate of her husband. As he was the head of a monastery founded by

Æthelwold, Matilda may have ensured that he received his relics which were also

personally delivered to Gunter and Thorney by two Winchester monks.[67]

Faritius, abbot of Abingdon, was not only a member of the royal household but

Matilda and Henry's personal physician. Henry often refused medical advice from any

other doctor and even nominated Faritius to be the new archbishop of Canterbury in 1114,

although he was ultimately unsuccessful in that attempt. Matilda and Henry made many

donations to the abbey, and these allowed him to rebuild and extend the church and its

buildings.[68] Faritius helped Matilda birth all of her children between 1101 and 1103 and

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Regis Henrici primo nono decimo obiit Matildis Regina Anglie. Anglice usque in hodiernum diem
appellate Molde the good Quene; et secundum auctorem in Flores Historiarum Wyntoniae in Veteri
Monasterio sepulta est et idem habetur in scriptis ejusdem monasterii. Nam habetur consimile epitaphium
ejusdam in quodam lapide marmoreo posito super locum sepulturae ipsius Reginae in crypta orientali
Hic jacet Matildis Regina filia Margaretae Reginae Scotie et uxor Regis Henrici primi, ab Anglis
uocata, Molde the good Queen. Attamen in quibusdam monasteriis Angliae fit tumba ipsius, ac si ibidem
jaceret; sed in rei ueritate sepulturae locum habuit in praedicto Verteri Cenobio Wytonae.

[64] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* pp. 145 - 6.

[65] *Heads,* p. 74.

[66] *The Thorney Annals,* p. 2.

[67] Ibid., p. 17.

[68] *HA,* II, p. 66, 72, 75 – 7, 145-7, 157, 163.

Abingdon always enjoyed several gifts afterwards.[69] She visited Abingdon alone on many occasions and celebrated the feast of the Assumption there in 1104, specifically as Faritius' guest.[70] Abingdon has been dubbed 'Queen Matilda's favourite Benedictine foundation' and Faritius 'one of her dearest friends.'[71] As the queen's patronage of other monastic houses was more sporadic than her endowments to Abingdon, it has been surmised that Abingdon received such gifts because of the personal relationship between Faritius and the royals.[72] That is confirmed by the fact that royal patronage to Abingdon dried up almost immediately after Faritius' death.[73]

Faritius began to promote the cult of St Æthelwold at the beginning of the twelfth century. In addition to attending the translation itself, he acquired relics of Æthelwold for Abingdon, including the saint's shoulder and arm bones, and he instituted a new feast, in copes, with twelve lessons praising the saint.[74] As the previous chapter demonstrated, Æthelwold's cult had suffered under the first Norman abbots of Abingdon. There must have been a reason for Faritius to have adopted such a radically approach from his predecessors. It is possible that his promotion of Æthelwold's cult was connected to his relationship with Matilda. He had previously written a Life of St Aldhelm, another saint whom Matilda was interested in and connected to through her West-Saxon family.[75]

Around 1111 there was evidently an active court circle that was involved in the revival and promotion of the cult of St Æthelwold. Although the identity of the instigator

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[69] *HA,* II, pp. 74 – 5; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 118; P. Horden, 'Faricius (*d.* 1117)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/9157, accessed 19 March 2013].
[70] W. Farrer, 'An outline itinerary of King Henry the first', *EHR,* vol 34, no. 135 (July, 1919), p. 328; *HA,* II, pp. 142 – 3.
[71] C. W. Hollister, *Henry I,* ed. A. C. Frost (London, 2001)*,* p. 130
[72] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 118.
[73] E. J. Kealey, *Medieval Medicus: a Social History of Anglo-Norman Medicine* (Baltimore, 1981)*,* p. 68.
[74] *HA,* II, p. civ – cvi, pp. 66 – 7, p. 287;
[75] Thomas, *The English and the Normans,* p. 142.

of this movement is unclear, Matilda appears to have played a major role. Giffard and the abbots of Peterborough, Thorney and Abingdon headed monasteries which were refounded by Æthelwold and venerated him as a saint in the eleventh century. But there is no clear motivation as to why they began to promote his cult *c.* 1111, especially as it had previously been suppressed and they had all held office since the beginning of the century. It is possible that this was an interconnected court circle, and that Matilda played a role in initiating or supporting the revival of the cult. In this she would have been following family tradition: St Cuthbert was one of their favourite saints and so she, her mother and father endowed and supported Durham cathedral priory.[76] It is especially telling that only houses which were under the leadership of royal chaplains definitely received relics from the 1111 translation. There was a flurry of activity around St Æthelwold's cult in the early twelfth century seemingly centred around Matilda, spreading out via her web of friends, royal chaplains and advisers.

Was the revival successful?

As we have seen, it is evident that this translation successfully promoted Æthelwold's cult in the years immediately following the year 1111. Contemporary documents state that his relics were dispersed throughout southern England. Later relic lists record that Peterborough held the saint's hair, Glastonbury had one of his fingers, and the abbeys of Bath and Shrewsbury had unspecified relics of St Æthelwold. But, how long lasting was this revival? Can it be stated that Æthelwold's cult continued to be popular at those centres after the immediate effects of the 1111 translation passed?

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[76] Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland,* p. 122.

At Winchester, liturgical observance of Æthelwold's cult (which, as the previous chapter suggested, had been suspended under Walkelin) was reinstated. The Winchester liturgy is particularly difficult to study because there are no surviving calendars or litanies from this period. In Nigel Morgan's reconstruction of the post-Conquest calendar of Winchester cathedral priory, Æthelwold's translation feast was marked *in cappis* and his deposition was a *duplex festum* and generally graded high in the calendar. [77] They also celebrated the rare octave for the deposition, which involved commemorating the feast for the following week.

The twelfth-century Winchester Psalter has long been associated with Henry of Blois, brother of King Stephen and bishop of Winchester 1129-1171.[78] It was probably made for use in Winchester, but it is difficult to pinpoint for whom it was made for a number of reasons. While both Æthelwold's translation and deposition are included in the calendar, neither are in majuscule text or coloured inks, but nor are the other Winchester saints' feasts. Birinus, Swithun and Æthelwold are also listed consecutively in the litany, and are not marked for double invocations.

Orderic Vitalis also made an copy of a Old Minster exemplar, which contained the offices, hymns, collects and masses for Æthelwold's feast days. [79] Twelfth-century Winchester clearly owned the complete liturgy to celebrate Æthelwold's feasts, indicating that they were a prominent feature in Winchester cathedral priory's liturgical year. The breviary of Hyde Abbey (formerly the New Minster), also contains two sets of lections, one for each feast day.[80] Æthelwold's feasts were evidently celebrated in the Winchester

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[77] Morgan, 'Notes on the Post-Conquest Calendar, Litany and Martyrology of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester', p. 133; see Appendix A, Table 2 for more calendar information.
[78] London, BL, Cotton MS. Nero C.iv
[79] Alençon, BM, MS 14, fols. 34ᵛ – 36ʳ (hereafter Alençon 14); Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxiii.
[80] Oxford, Bodl. Lib., Rawlinson, Liturg. e. I; Gough Liturg. 8; Ibid., p.cxxxiii; *The Monastic Breviary of Hyde Abbey Winchester,* ed. J. B. Tolhurst, 6 vols, HBS 69 – 71, 78, 80 (London, 1932 – 42).

liturgy as high status events. It is clear that his cult was re-instated to its prominent place in the Winchester liturgy in the twelfth century.

The surviving liturgical evidence from Abingdon also indicates that Æthelwold's cult underwent a revival in this period. No twelfth-century calendars or litanies from Abingdon survive, but in the thirteenth century his deposition feast was so highly regarded it was marked in coloured inks and celebrated on both 1 and 2 August.[81] The 2 August feast was also to be celebrated *in cappis* and was marked as a principle feast of the abbey.[82] The Abingdon community celebrated additional feasts for Æthelwold. On the 5 August, they celebrated a four lection feast (marked in coloured inks), and on 8 August they also celebrated the rare octave for the deposition, which was marked in coloured inks and celebrated *in albis*.[83] This demonstrates a large level of veneration for Æthelwold at Abingdon, indicating that Faritius' promotion of Æthelwold (including acquiring relics and instituting feasts with twelve lessons) was long lasting and the community's veneration of the saint continued well into the thirteenth century.[84]

This is corroborated by the documentary evidence from Abingdon. The *History* says that during his abbacy Ingulf (1130 – 1159) constructed two chapels and an infirmary. This is confirmed by *De Abbatibus* which comments '[h]e made a chamber for the abbot above a cellar, and the chapel of St Swithun, and the infirmary, the chapel of St Æthelwold, the prior's chamber, and the chapel of St Michael.'[85] Hudson has suggested that the form of the statement implies that each chapel was within or associated with the

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[81] See Appendix A, Table 2.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.
[84] *HA,* II, p. civ – cvi, p. 287.
[85] Translation *HA,* II, p. ciii; *CMA,* II, p. 291: *Fecit et cameram abbatis super cellarium, et capellam sancti Suithuni, et infirmaria[m], capellam sancti Adeuuoldi, et cameram prioris, et capellam sancti Michaelis.*

building immediately preceding it in the sentence. So, it is possible that Æthelwold's chapel was in the infirmary.[86] It is quite likely that the chapel of St Æthelwold was built to house his prized relics. Ingulf was the prior of Winchester (1126 – 1130) before he became abbot of Abingdon and it is likely that he began his training at the cathedral priory as a novice.[87] As a young monk at Winchester he was probably influenced by the grand translation of Æthelwold in 1111. His personal devotion to the saint is evident in his will, which was written during the reign of Stephen. In it, Ingulf gave the abbey of Abingdon the rent of a mill in Watchfield for 'celebrating the feasts of Saints Swithun and Æthelwold.'[88] The rent of the mill, 25s, was allocated to the office of the *coquina* in the *De Consuetudinibus* of Abingdon (1185).[89] The money presumably covered the kitchen's expenses for culinary feasts on days on which both saints were commemorated. This would have been especially necessary if St Æthelwold was celebrated liturgically as often as the thirteenth-century calendar would suggest.

Interestingly, MS B reports that Abbot Vincent (1121 – 1130), under pressure from the king, stripped Æthelwold's retable to provide 300 marks needed to confirm Abingdon's market.[90] *De Abbatibus* states that the retable was supposedly made by Æthelwold himself and was topped by sculptures of the twelve apostles in silver and gold.[91] The *Historia* discusses this without condemning the abbot, in notable contrast to

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[86] *HA,* II, p. ciii
[87] *Heads,* p. 25.
[88] Presumably this was the feast of the deposition of Æthelwold (since the 13th century calendar does not celebrate his translation on 10th September) celebrated on both the 1st and 2nd of August in Cambridge, UL, MS KK.i.22, f.1b-7. HA, II, pp. 296 – 7: *ad celebranda festa sanctorum Swithuni et Æthelwoldi.*
[89] The rent of the mill is valued at 25s in the Domesday Survey and *De Consuetudinibus,* Appendix III in *HA,* II, p. 295. See also C. F. Slade and G. Lambrick, *Two Cartularies of Abingdon Abbey,* 2 vols. (Oxford, 1989), p. xlvi.
[90] *HA,* I pp. 338 – 9: *Tunc Abbas Vincentius tabulam sancti Aþelwold, ex auro et argento fabrefacta, penitus eruderauit; HA,* II, pp. 338 – 341.
[91] *CMA,* II, p. 278: *Fecit et sanctus Athelwoldus tabulam supra altare, in qua erat sculpta et xii. apostoli, ex auro puro et argento, pretio ccc. librarum.*

their treatment of Abbot Reginald.[92] This suggests that it was not necessarily taken as an act of disrespect to Æthelwold, but as a required evil to secure the abbey's rights and liberties.

The liturgy of Ely suggests that the monastery continued and expanded their veneration of Æthelwold in the twelfth century. He was invoked there in a litany dating from around 1100x25, and every one thereafter.[93] A calendar of *c*. 1200 suggests that Æthelwold's cult was very important to the community. The feast of his deposition, 1 August, is marked in coloured inks and celebrated *in cappis*. The calendar also celebrates the rare octave for the deposition of St Æthelwold on the 8 August as a twelve lection feast. His translation on 10 September is also included, and was to be celebrated *in albis*.[94] In a similar manner to Abingdon, twelfth-century Ely also initiated a new feast for Æthelwold: the 8 October. It is noted as the *Commemoracio Sancti Etheluuoldi episcopi et confessoris,* and marked as a three lection feast.[95] The 8 October feast is unusual because it does not appear in other calendars from other monasteries. It is thus likely that it marked a special day for the cult at Ely.[96] The only Ely calendar in which it does not appear is Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AF. XI. 99, which was written before 1170. It could be that whatever event or anniversary this denotes occurred after 1170 but before the completion of calendar in Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 2. 1, which was written 1170x1189.[97] Alternatively, it could be that the feast was erroneously omitted from the Milan calendar (the important *commemoratio Sancti Albani,* 15 May, is also

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[92] See previous chapter.
[93] See Appendix B, Table 2.
[94] Ibid; London, BL, Arundel MS 377, fols. 3 – 5v.
[95] See Appendix B, Table 2.
[96] It appears in London, BL, Harley MS 547, fols. 1v-7 (13th century); London, BL, Arundel MS 377, fols. 3 – 5v (*c*. 1200); London, BL, Add MS 33381, fols 2v-8v (*c*. 1400); Cambridge, TC MS O. 2. 1., fols. 1v-13.
[97] Cambridge, TC MS O. 2. 1., fols. 1v-13

missing).[98] It is possible that the feast marked the acquisition of relics of St Æthelwold, although this is unlikely because there is no evidence of Ely owning any such relics.[99]

It is also possible that Ely commissioned or produced a new copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in the early twelfth century. In the fifteenth-century they composed a composite manuscript (now London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. VIII) which included a twelfth-century copy of Wulfstan's *vita*.[100] As the rest of the manuscript contents originate from Ely, Lapidge and Winterbottom have drawn attention to the fact that it is possible that the early twelfth-century *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* bound with them was also written there.

Æthelwold's 1111 translation took place during the episcopate of Bishop Hervey of Ely (1108 – 31), who also commissioned the translation and adaption of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*.[101] The *Libellus,* which is discussed in detail in the next chapter, was based on a tenth-century Old English document which commemorated the refoundation of Ely under Æthelwold. According to its author, when Hervey discovered that some of Æthelwold's holy deeds were not recorded, he ordered the Old English document to be translated into Latin. The new version of the text had four new chapters and seven Latin poems, which Lapidge and Winterbottom believe were written by Gregory of Ely, the author of a metrical *Vita s. Æthelthryth*.[102] The chapters and poems greatly praise Æthelwold and suggest a high level of veneration of the saint. It is interesting that the *Libellus* was commissioned during Hervey's episcopate. It looks as if there was a flurry

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[98] In the fourteenth century, the Translation of St Æthelwold *in cappis* was added, as were a number of other saints' feasts.

[99] For a list of Æthelwold's relics see I. G. Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England' (PhD Thesis: Queen Mary, University of London, 1975), p. 397.

[100] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. clxii.

[101] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* Appendix B, pp. 84 – 5.

[102] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* Appendix B, pp. 81 - 86; for the metrical poem on St Æthelthryth see P. A. Thompson and E. Stevens, 'Gregory of Ely's verse Life and Miracles of St Æthelthryth', *Annalecta Bollandiana* cvi (1988), pp. 333 - 390.

of activity surrounding Æthelwold's cult at Ely around the time of Æthelwold's translation of which the commission of the *Libellus* formed a part. It may be that the new Ely feast day for Æthelwold on 8 October was to commemorate the completion of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi.*

It is possible that Peterborough acquired the hair of St Æthelwold in 1111. A seventeenth-century copy of a twelfth-century relic list from Peterborough claims that the community had hair of Æthelwold,[103] as does Hugh Candidus' chronicle.[104] Hugh also states that relics of Æthelwold (presumably the hair) were held in the 'silver tower' alongside the relics of various saints including the sepulchre of St Mary, relics of the apostles and relics of the Anglo-Saxon saints Aldhelm, Egwin the abbot, St Cecily and Eadburgh.[105] The importance of this relic, and Æthelwold's cult, is reflected in the Peterborough litanies. The only litany to survive from twelfth-century Peterborough lists Æthelwold in a double invocation, high up among the confessors.[106] The only other saints marked as important are the Virgin Mary (majuscule); St Peter (majuscule text and double invocation); St Oswald the Martyr (double invocation) and St Benedict (double invocation), all of whom were major saints of the abbey and were celebrated in their own chapel. Æthelwold's cult evidently continued to flourish through the rest of the twelfth century; two early thirteenth-century litanies from Peterborough list Æthelwold prominently among the confessors.[107] None of the saints in the first litany (Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 12) are in majuscule text or listed for double invocation, but in the

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[103] Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England', p. 397; *HC*, pp. 53 – 56.
[104] *HC,* p. 29.
[105] Ibid. Little is known about this silver tower, 'turri argentea'. Thomas translated it as a silver pyx and suggested that it was a small reliquary designed 'to hold a few small items broken off the larger relics' (Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics in medieval England', pp. 201 - 3).
[106] See Appendix B, Table 2; London, BL Arundel 230, fols. 157 – 160r.
[107] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* LV, LVI**.** See Appendix B, Table 2.

second (London, Society of Antiquaries 59) Æthelwold is listed for double invocation (alongside Oswald, king and martyr; Thomas Becket and Benedict). Æthelwold's inclusion in this prestigious list indicates that his cult was important at Peterborough during and after the twelfth century.

A Peterborough calendar written 1160x1180 includes Æthelwold's deposition, in coloured inks, as a duplex feast and his translation, in coloured inks, to be celebrated *in albis*.[108] Interestingly, when Hugh Candidus reports that on the 1 August 1135 Henry I crossed to Normandy, he dates it by the feast of St Peter in Chains, rather than the feast of the deposition of St Æthelwold, which was also on the 1st August.[109] Æthelwold's inclusion in the Peterborough calendar and prominence in the litanies suggests that his cult was strong at Peterborough, and their acquisition of his relics implies that it was promoted during the twelfth century.

It appears that the monastery of Thorney promoted Æthelwold's cult, within their community, after acquiring relics after the 1111 translation. In a tenth-century Gospel book from Thorney there is a relic list written in three twelfth-century hands.[110] Æthelwold's relics are listed three times, in each list. The entry in the Thorney Annals for their acquisition of the relics is quite interesting:

> In this year two brothers from Winchester, namely Dom Ordmer and Anthony, brought to Thorney the relics of the blessed Æthelwold, the founder of this house, namely bones from his back, on Monday 23 October, twenty-six years after Lord Abbot Gunter received the care of the same house.[111]

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[108] See Appendix A, Table 2.
[109] *HC,* p. 54.
[110] The Thorney *Liber Vitae:* London, BL, Add. 40,000; Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* I, p. 129.
[111] *Thorney Annals,* pp. 16 – 17: *1111 Hoc anno duo fratres de Wintonia scilicet dominus Ordmerus et Antonius detulerunt Thorneiam reliquias Sancti episcopi Athelwoldi conditoris illius loci, videlicet spinam dorsi, in mense octobri in feria. ii. decimo die ante festiuitatem omnium sanctorum, idest .x. kalendas nouembris, .xxvi. anno postquam dominus abbas gunterius eiusdem loci curam suscepit.*

The specific naming of Gunter, and the dating of his abbacy, implies that he personally had something to do with gaining the relics. It was also at this time that Gunter commissioned the writing of the Thorney Annals. In either 1110 or 1111 Gunter sent two Thorney monks to Ramsey to copy the Ramsey computus.[112] A computus was a complex table which made it possible to calculate the moveable Christian feasts of Lent and Easter.[113] The Ramsey community made annalistic entries against the years 538 – 1016 and the Thorney monks made copies of both. When the copy came to Thorney the annalistic writing was reactivated, retrospective entries were made for years 1035 – 1100 and then continued by succeeding scribes.[114] The Thorney annals, however, are separate from the earlier Ramsey annalistic entries. When the copied quires came to Thorney, a monk there (scribe A) made a small series of annalistic entries for the years 1085 to 1111 against a subsidiary table in the compendium. He also made retrospective entries for the years 963 to 1049 against the main Easter table, and he would continue to write the annals until the year 1118. A number of Thorney scribes continued the annals until 1412.

Interestingly, the annals begin, not with the foundation of the monastery, but with the appointment of Æthelwold to the see of Winchester. The earliest entries all relate to Æthelwold. The first is Æthelwold being made bishop of Winchester in 963; the second is Æthelwold's foundation of Thorney in 973; and the third is Æthelwold's death in 984.[115] The fact that the annals immediately focus on Æthelwold's life and death, rather than building works at the abbey, deaths of kings or important synods, suggests that

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[112] The date is uncertain as on fol. 3v is a calculation of the date from the Creation ending 'From birth of Christ to the present time 1110 (years)', whereas on fol. 29v is dated 1111 in the same hand in the margin.
[113] R. M. Liuzza (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Prognostics* (London, 2011), p. 76.
[114] *The Thorney Annals,* pp. 3 – 4.
[115] *The Thorney Annals,* p. 11.

Æthelwold was deemed to be of the highest importance when they were written at the beginning of the twelfth century.

It is possible that Gunter's acquisition of Æthelwoldan relics and the beginning of the Thorney annals are connected. The initiation of the annals could have been prompted by arrival of the relics, which would explain the focus on Æthelwold as the primary saint at the abbey, not just in terms of his foundation of Thorney, but more generally on his life, death and cult.

Unfortunately, no liturgical material survives from Thorney itself to shed light on how his cult was viewed there in twelfth century. A 1332 calendar of Deeping priory, a cell of Thorney abbey, founded in 1139, does, however, survive.[116] As it includes the dedication of Thorney on 5 November is included, it presumably reflects the liturgy of Thorney itself. The calendar does not have an entry for Æthelwold's translation feast but it marks the deposition of Æthelwold on 2 August in coloured inks and requires it to be celebrated with a procession in copes (*processio in cappis*).[117] This presumably reflects the usage of Thorney itself. If a procession also took place there, it would probably have involved the relics of Æthelwold. Significantly, the Deeping calendar also includes a new feast, an *exceptio sancti Adelwoldi, in cappis,* recorded in red inks, on 23 October. This date must be the celebration of their acquisition of his relics in 1111.[118] The evidence from Thorney and Deeping strongly suggests that there was a burst of activity surrounding Æthelwold and his cult at Thorney *c.*1111. Not only did they acquire his relics, but they began a new feast to commemorate the event, and initiated their own historical annals, which focussed on Æthelwold.

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[116] London, BL, Harley MS 3658, fols. 2 – 7v. Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* II, p. 129.
[117] Ibid., p. 140; see Appendix A, Table 2.
[118] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100*, II, p. 142.

This pattern seems to be reflected in the treatment of Æthelwold's cult at Abingdon, Ely, and Peterborough after *c.* 1111. Most of these communities not only acquired relics, but instituted new feasts for Æthelwold. They also began to write new historical works, centred on his contribution to their monastery. The Winchester community translated his relics to a prominent area of the cathedral and Abingdon built a new chapel to house their Æthelwoldian relics. The evidence suggests that Æthelwold's cult was revived, promoted, and actively venerated in the twelfth century.

Vita s. Æthelwoldi

The translation possibly sparked the creation of new copies of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*. Three of the five surviving copies of the life of St Æthelwold were written around the beginning of the twelfth century, and Lapidge and Winterbottom have suggested that two were written at Winchester cathedral itself, and the other was from Ely.[119] Monastic book lists and catalogues also show that many other centres held copies of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* indicating that that the *vita* was much more widespread than the manuscript survival would suggest. The *vita* is recorded in booklists from Peterborough in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and in Glastonbury's 1247 book catalogue.[120] It was also present in twelfth-century Abingdon, Ely, and Thorney where it was used as a source for their twelfth-century chronicles and histories.[121] Wulfstan's work was also available at late eleventh and early twelfth-century Canterbury, Lincoln, and Malmesbury; Osbern, Eadmer and William of Malmesbury used it as a source for their

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[119] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. clxviii, clxxi - clxxiii; Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Lives*, pp. xxvii-iii, xxxi.
[120] Lapidge, 'Anglo-Saxon booklists', pp. 76 – 81; F. Friis-Jensen, J. M. W. Willoughby (eds), *Peterborough Abbey* (London, 2001), p. 12; R. Sharpe (ed.), *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues* (London, 1996), pp. 196 - 7.
[121] Ibid., pp. clix –clxii; *The Thorney Annals,* p. 11.

work on Dunstan and William also included stories from it in the *Gesta Pontificum*, as did Henry of Huntingdon in his *Historia Anglorum.*[122] The *vita* was obviously well circulated and widely accessible in twelfth-century England.

Orderic Vitalis also made a copy of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* (Alençon, 14).[123] He could have made this copy when he visited Thorney in 1115,[124] but since it is followed by a collection of Winchester liturgical materials, Lapidge and Winterbottom have concluded that Alençon 14 was copied from a manuscript originating from the Old Minster, Winchester.[125] It may be possible to identify the source of Orderic's exemplar. In his *Ecclesiastical History,* Orderic relates that a monk named Anthony from an unnamed Winchester monastery travelled to Saint- Évroul and allowed him to copy his manuscript of the Life of St William of Gellone.[126] It is not unreasonable to suppose that this monk from Winchester, evidently carrying some sort of hagiographical collection, may also have had with him the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*. Daniel J. Sheerin has identified two monks from Winchester who may have been this Anthony. One was that it was an 'Antonius puer' entered into the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster during the abbacy of Riwallon (1072 – *c.*1078).[127] It is possible that this Antonius survived into the early twelfth century and travelled to the continent. More likely, however, is Sheerin's other contender, an Antonius from the Old Minster who is known to have travelled with Bishop William Giffard on business. In the *History of Abingdon*, this Anthony was documented as attending a meeting which took place when King Henry I dedicated a church at

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[122] Turner, Muir, *Eadmer,* pp. lxx – lxxi; Winterbottom, Thompson (eds), *William of Malmesbury,* I p. xxiii.

[123] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p.xxiii, cxiii.

[124] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* I, p.128.

[125] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. xxiii.

[126] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* ed. and trans. M. Chibnall, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1969 - 80), III, book 6, c. 3, p. 5, p. 128, n. 1.

[127] D. J. Sheerin, 'Antonius, Guentoniensis Monachus, (Orderic Vitalis, H.E. VI, 3)', *Revue Benedictine* (1971), p. 321.

Kingsclere, Hampshire, *c.* 1114 – 5. Bishop William Giffard granted to Abbot Faritius and the monastery of Abingdon a house outside the wall of Winchester, and 'Lord Geoffrey, prior of the monks of the bishopric, with Anthony his monk, was present at this agreement, and approved these grants'.[128] As Sheerin summarises, this Antonius 'was of sufficient importance that he could accompany his Prior and Bishop' on business and thus it is possible that he 'could have visited Orderic' at Saint - Évroul.[129]

The connections between the Anthony in this charter and Giffard and Faritius, the chief promoters of Æthelwold's cult, also suggest that this Anthony may have distributed Æthelwold's *vita* in Normandy. Significantly, it was also a monk of Old Minster, Winchester, named Anthony who carried the relics of St Æthelwold to Thorney in 1111. Orderic does not state when this Anthony came to Saint-Évroul, but only says that he had been there 'not so long since',[130] so we can probably assume that he visited in the first quarter of the twelfth century. We cannot be certain, but if these two Anthonys were actually one in the same, active in transporting Æthelwold's relics to monasteries and possibly carrying copies of his *vita* and the liturgy for the celebration of his feast says, this could indicate that there was a concentrated effort, by Winchester, to spread and strengthen the cult of St Æthelwold in the early twelfth century. Æthelwold's corporeal relics were translated into a new shrine, and distributed to monasteries in southern England, while new copies of his *vita* were made and possibly sent abroad. Indeed, Lapidge and Winterbottom have concluded that it was one of the most widely read of all pre-Conquest Anglo-Latin saints' *vitae*.[131]

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[128] *HA,* II, pp. 163 – 5: *Huic conuentioni affuit prior monachorum de episcopate domnus Gaufridus, cum Antonio suo monacho, et concessis fauit…*
[129] Sheerin, 'Antonius', p. 320.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. clxvii.

It is clear then that the cult of St Æthelwold was relatively successful in the period around 1111. The continued production and popularity of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is particularly noteworthy and it seems clear that no need was felt to replace it. That is unusual – and it seems especially so in the light of contemporary hagiographical production in England at this time – most evidently in the fact that the early *vitae* of Dunstan and Oswald, of the same date and quality, were rewritten by Eadmer for Christ Church, Canterbury, and for Worcester during the 1110s.[132] Eadmer probably wrote the *Vita s. Oswaldi,* which is dedicated to the monks of Worcester, after 1113 when his friend Nicholas was elected as their prior.[133] It is likely that Eadmer had probably already begun the *Vita s. Dunstani* before the succession dispute of 1114 at Canterbury.

It would be useful here to consider the context for the rewriting of Dunstan and Oswald's lives, and other episcopal saints' lives in the first decades of the twelfth century, as this may shed light on why Wulfstan's work was not rewritten. The motivations behind Eadmer's rewrite of both Dunstan and Oswald's *vitae* should be particularly illuminating, as their cults were very similar to Æthelwold's. In recent years, there has been a debate about whether or not hagiography constitutes a form of institutional history; whether or not hagiographers wrote their works to promote, defend, or explain a monastery's history. In the 1990s Felice Lifshitz argued that hagiographies were written as a form of institutional memory and history, and served multiple functions:

> Biographies of saints provided communities and institutions with written traditions; they defended the independence of communities and institutions against those who wished to subject them; they defended property rights and territorial endowments; they fuelled episcopal rivalries; they conveyed political

[132] Southern, *Saint Anselm and His Biographer,* p. 280.
[133] Ibid., p. 283.

and theological stances; they propagated an individual author's or group's notion of 'the holy'; they served, in short, manifold purposes.[134]

Lifshitz perhaps understates the important devotional aspects of saints' lives, but her argument that hagiographies were texts written to provide a multitude of functions is compelling. Her discussion of the hagiographies written for and competition between the canonical community of the cathedral of Rouen and the monastery of St Ouen within the city walls is a particularly convincing case study for this argument.[135]

English historians have largely followed this view. The argument that hagiographies were written as a response to a threat, real or perceived has been a popular one. In more recent years, however, Rachel Koopmans has opposed the theory that *vitae* and sets of *miracula* were written to serve 'the immediate political needs of monastic communities' and instead argues that authors simply enjoyed collecting these stories and creating these texts for posterity.[136] Her idea that miracle stories were constructed orally over time, when they were moulded to fit typical conventions before being written down, is very interesting. The concept that saints' cults survived by oral tales and interactions is persuasive. But the argument that the production of written hagiography was completely removed from political or cultural influences is not convincing. To remove texts from the immediate environment in which they were written seems anachronistic.

Whilst many historians have put forward arguments as to why Eadmer wrote the *Vita s. Dunstani,* there has not been a study as to why Eadmer wrote the *Vita s. Oswaldi* and if it was connected to his hagiographical writings for Canterbury, although Gransden

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[134] F. Lifshitz, 'Beyond positivism and genre: hagiographical texts as historical narrative', *Viator,* 25 (1994), p. 97, n. 7.
[135] F. Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684 – 1090* (Toronto, 1995)*,* pp. 137 - 202.
[136] Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*, p. 2.

remarked that there were close ties between the Canterbury and Worcester communities. [137] Lanfranc had aided Wulfstan with his successful battle against Archbishop Thomas of York about to which archdiocese Worcester was subject. Eadmer was also friends with Nicholas, the prior of Worcester. In a letter, written by Eadmer to Nicholas on the eve of the election of a new Bishop of Worcester in 1123, Eadmer urged them to elect a monk-bishop. He said: '[t]hink in how much envy the monastic order now stands of evil intentioned men, and how they plot to remove it from the bishoprics.'[138] Here, Eadmer refers to the fact that secular bishops had come to sit in almost all the sees of England.

In 1960 Cantor drew attention to the fact that Eadmer and other English chroniclers were despairing of the attacks on the rights of monks in the 1120s that coincided with the rise of the secular cathedral clergy.[139] Bethell has demonstrated that the number of monks assuming episcopal sees were in decline after *c.* 1050.[140] The cathedral priories of Winchester, Canterbury, and Worcester, had remained in the hands of monk-bishops after their tenth and early eleventh-century reform (excluding the episcopate of the pluralist Stigand) until the Norman Conquest. Despite the initial reluctance of new Norman bishops to accept the presence of monks within cathedrals, the benefits of the communities were quickly realised. Successions of new cathedral priories, headed by Normans, were established: Rochester, Durham, Norwich, Bath and Ely. But, after the death of Lanfranc, secular bishops began to be appointed to monastic sees. By

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[137] See previous chapter; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* I, p. 121.
[138] D. L. Bethell, 'Black monks and the Episcopal elections of the 1120s', *EHR,* vol. 84, no. 333 (Oct., 1969), Appendix; p. 681, p. 697; London, British Library, Cotton Claudius, A. I, f. 36v: *Cogitate in quantam invidiam quorundam malignorum hominum ordo monachicus hoc tempore venit et quantum niantur eum saltem ab episcopatibus extirpate.*
[139] N. F. Cantor, 'The crisis of western monasticism', *AHR,* vol. 66, no. 1 (Oct., 1960), p. 54.
[140] Bethell, 'Black monks', p. 686.

the succession dispute of 1123 'apart from the two archbishops of Canterbury, St Anselm and Ralph, and Ernulf as bishop of Rochester...no monk had been elected to a bishopric in England, Wales or Normandy for thirty years'.[141]

After the death of St Wulfstan of Worcester in 1095 Samson, a canon of Bayeux and the king's treasurer, became bishop and remained so until his death in 1112.[142] Bishop Theulf of Worcester (1113 – 1123) was also a canon of Bayeux and the king's chaplain. Winchester fits into this pattern. After the removal of Stigand in 1070, it was governed by a succession of royal secular appointments: Walkelin (1070 – 1198), William I's chaplain, and Giffard (1100 – 1129), royal chancellor.[143] Canterbury and Rochester, however, did not have secular bishops appointed to their sees until later.[144] Canterbury was protected by the legacy of St Augustine and Gregory the Great, and the bishopric of Rochester was within the archbishop's gift. With Canterbury's protection, Rochester retained monastic bishops well into the late twelfth century.[145] But even these sees still faced pressure to conform. During the 1114 dispute over the archbishopric of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury states that the secular bishops specifically objected to a monk assuming the see. Faritius of Abingdon was the choice of the king and the monks. When the bishops' argument was refuted on the grounds that the Archbishop of Canterbury had always been a monk, the bishops claimed their objection was specifically against Faritius. They argued that because of his familiarity with the programme of the reform papacy and his authoritative nature there would be 'quarrels and schisms all over again...' in the same vein as St Anselm.[146] They also stated that it would be inappropriate for a man who made

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[141] Ibid., p. 674.
[142] *Ibid.,* pp. 99-102.
[143] *Fasti:II,* pp. 85-87.
[144] Ibid., pp. 3-8.
[145] *Ibid.,* pp. 75-78.
[146] Ibid.

a career of handling women's urine to assume the seat of St Augustine. Ralph D'Escures, bishop of Rochester (1108 – 1114) and Herbert Losinga of Norwich (1090/1 - 1119) were the only two monk-bishops left in England. Ralph D'Escures was put forward as a compromise: a monk, but at least he was already a bishop.[147] Ralph's amiable nature, approachability, and his untroubled assumption of the responsibilities of the archbishop's duties since Anselm's death made him the obvious choice over the elderly Losinga.

It is in this context in which Eadmer's *Vita s. Oswaldi* and *Vita s. Dunstani* should perhaps be considered. It is apparent that this conflict between monks and bishops was deeply felt within monastic communities.[148] Sometime after Anselm's death, a monk wrote to Bishop Herbert Losinga asking him to replace Anselm as a defender of monks.[149] The content of the *Vita s. Dunstani* and *Vita s. Oswaldi* suggests that Eadmer may have written with these thoughts in mind. His letter of 1123 demonstrates that he was aware of the issue of secular bishops, and their possible encroachment on monasteries' rights and lands.

Eadmer's *vitae* of Dunstan and Oswald have strong monastic themes and contain more detail about their reforms than their Anglo-Saxon *vitae*.[150] Nicola Robertson has demonstrated that the image of Dunstan as a strong reformer emerged in the twelfth century, stemming from Osbern's *vita,* which was adapted by Eadmer.[151] Dunstan's own ascension to the monastic life is described in detail by Eadmer. As a young man, Dunstan came to the attention of Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester, who begged him to become a

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[147] J. Truax, *Archbishops Ralph D'Escures, William of Corbeil and Theobald of Bec: Heirs of Anselm and Ancestors of Becket* (Farnham, 2012), p. 36.
[148] See E. U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the Mensa Episcopalis* (Cambridge, 2003).
[149] H. M. Thomas, *The Secular Clergy in England, 1066 – 1216* (Oxford, 2014)*,* p. 345.
[150] See Chapter 1.
[151] Robertson, 'Dunstan and monastic reform', pp. 153 – 167.

monk.[152] After suffering from a terrible illness which was effective in 'extinguishing the desire of the flesh in him', Dunstan decided to do so and 'was made a monk without delay'.[153] Thereafter he went to Glastonbury and built himself a tiny cell, where 'he dwelt, prayed, sang psalms there'.[154]

Eadmer implies that Dunstan's reforming practices began whilst he was at Glastonbury. After receiving portions of lands from his parents and a friend, Dunstan distributed the lands between 'five churches he had decided to build.'[155] Thereafter, the churches 'were enriched substantially with lands and chattels through his efforts, to such an extent that in each church a large band of monks served under the constraints of the regular life at the command of father Dunstan.'[156] After his exile and reinstatement to Glastonbury by King Æthelstan, he expanded the church and built whatever was necessary for the monks. Eadmer states that the excellence of the religious life there was demonstrated by the fact that 'from there were chosen and accepted for the position of bishop, to become abbots, and for all ecclesiastical offices…. so too all the churches of England received the light of true religion from this place, which was founded on the teaching of Dunstan.'[157]

Eadmer expands this and claims that Dunstan was the driving force behind the reforms of monasteries in England.

> At that time the clerical order was very corrupt, and the canons together with the priests of the people were given inordinately to the pleasures of the flesh. Wishing to rectify this evil, and relying on the authority of John, the bishop of

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[152] Eadmer, *VsD,* c. 10, p. 65.
[153] Ibid: *ad extinguendam carnis suae concupiscentiam.*
[154] Ibid., c. 11, p. 67: *Illic ergo conuersari, orare, psallere.*
[155] Ibid., c., p. 75: *quinque aecclesiarum quas construere disposuerat.*
[156] Ibid., c. 14, p. 75: *ac subsequenti tempore in tantum sunt mobilibus ac immobilibus rebus illius instantia auctae, ut in singulis multiplex monachorum coetus ad nutum patris Dunstani sub regularis uitae custodia militaret.*
[157] Ibid., c. 17, pp. 80 - 83: *quod ita fuerti, quoniam inde ad episcopatus, ad abbatias, ad quaeque officia aecclesiastica persona eligebantur... ita ex hoc loco, ipsius Dunstani doctrina instituto, omnes aecclesias Angliae constet uerae religionis lumen sumpsisse.*

the apostolic see, Dunstan obtained authority at the court to expel canons who did not wish to live in chastity from the churches which they possessed and to introduce monks in their stead.[158]

Following Dunstan's orders, Æthelwold expelled the clerics from Winchester and replaced them with monks from Abingdon. Eadmer goes on to claim that this occurred in many monasteries throughout England, and that forty-eight religious houses for monks or nuns were founded by men working for Dunstan.[159]

Eadmer's *Vita et Miracula s. Oswaldi* focuses on Oswald's monastic spirit. As Turner and Muir state '[t]he Oswald who appears in Eadmer's *Vita s. Oswaldi* is above all a Benedictine saint, *pater Oswaldus,* whose overriding concern is for the spiritual safety and development of his monks...'.[160] When a canon at Winchester 'he bemoaned his plight daily and prayed both day and night' to be delivered away from the worldly pomp and corruption that surrounded him.[161] At Fleury he flourished under the Benedictine Rule and when he became bishop of Worcester and subsequently archbishop of York he continued to console brothers and to unceasingly direct the focus of his mind towards God.[162]

Eadmer specifically focuses on Oswald's reform of the Worcester diocese and cathedral priory. As soon as he was made bishop the 'blessed Oswald established seven monasteries observing the Rule in his own diocese after he had expelled the clergy who had put living with women before their churches…'[163] This is a departure from

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[158] Ibid., c. 57, p. 139: *Ordo clericalis ea tempestate plurimum erat corruptus, et canonici cum presbiteris plebium uoluptatibus carnis plus aequo inseruiebant. Quod malum Dunstanus corrigere cupiens, fretus auctoritate Iohannis, apostolicae sedis antistitis, apud regem obtinuit quantis canonici qui caste uiuere nollent aecclesiis quas tenebant depellerentur, et monachi loco eorum intromitterentur.*
[159] Ibid., c. 57, p. 143.
[160] Turner, Muir, *Eadmer,* p. cxi.
[161] Eadmer, *VsO,* c. 5, p. 225: *gemebat cotidie, et ut sibi ad salutem suam Deus consuleret precabatur nocte ac die.*
[162] Ibid., c. 6, pp. 18 - 20, pp. 23 - 24.
[163] Ibid., c. 18, pp. 250 – 1: *beatus Osuualdus septem monasteria in sua diocesi regulari disciplina, eiectis clericis feminarum consortium aecclesiis anteponentibus.*

Byrthferth's *Vita s. Oswaldi* which barely mentioned any of Oswald's reforms in his bishopric.[164] Hillaby has remarked that at no stage did Oswald actually expel the canons from the four most important old minsters in his diocese: St Peter's; St Oswald's in Gloucester; Berkeley; and Cirencester.[165]

When discussing Oswald's reform of the Worcester community itself, Eadmer states that Oswald found their hearts turned against him, and began to build a new church and monastery. For a while, the laity still attended mass with the canons at the old church, but soon, 'admiring the religious life of the monks and venerating it in their admiration, they began little by little to absent themselves from the assembly of the clerks' and attended the monks' service.[166] The see was then transferred to the new church, St Mary's. Subtly, Eadmer implies that this conversion occurred swiftly. The chapter detailing Oswald's appointment to the archbishopric of York, which came about because he heard of how 'vigorously Oswald was governing the episcopal see' of Worcester, occurs immediately after the chapter describing how Oswald reformed Worcester.[167] The contemporary literature pertaining to the tenth-century reform of Worcester suggests its conversion was a slow process, a view reinforced by Sawyer's analysis of Worcester's charters from the reform period.[168] Byrhtferth's *Vita S Oswaldi* also details a slow conversion of the community.[169]

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[164] D. J. V. Fisher, 'Anti-monastic reaction in the reign of Edward the martyr', *CHJ,* vol. 10, no .3 (1952), pp. 254-270.
[165] J. Hillaby, 'St Oswald, the revival of monasticism and the veneration of saints in the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman diocese of Worcester', *Transactions of the Worcester Archaeological Society,* third series, 16 (1998), p. 84.
[166] Eadmer, *VsO,* c. 21, pp. 258 – 9: *admirantes et admirando uenerantes monachorum religiositatem, paulatim se clericorum collegio coeperunt absentare...*
[167] Ibid., c. 22, pp. 260 - 3: *quam strenue cathedram pontificalem cui eo usque praesidebat gubernarit edisserit...*
[168] P. H. Sawyer, 'Charters on the reform movement: the Worcester archive', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (London, 1975), pp. 84- 93.
[169] Byrhtferth, *VsO*, p. 101.

Eadmer's *vita* emphasised Oswald's monastic reforms, and status as a monk-bishop. If it is mentioned that he undertook the administration of the bishopric, or celebrated Mass, or travelled around his diocese, Eadmer links it back to monasticism. When Eadmer was writing a secular bishop had been appointed to the diocese of Worcester. Bishop Samson was a canon who had been ordained as a priest the day before he ascended to the bishopric. One of his first actions as bishop was to order the removal of the monks from Westbury monastery, which had been refounded by Oswald, and their replacement with canons.[170]

Turner and Muir have proposed that Eadmer's writing style and rhetoric 'indicate strongly that these works were intended to be read aloud for a monastic audience' possibly in the 'refectory, during chapter, or during manual labour' and that they must, therefore, be understood as didactic as well as historical.[171] It is possible that the *vitae* of Dunstan and Oswald were a form of collective reminiscence, of looking back at the first monk-bishops of Canterbury and Worcester and the perceived glory of the tenth-century reform, at a time when monastic cathedrals were frequently being governed by secular bishops.

Potter has argued that the *Vita s. Gundulfi* was written for Rochester in response to the threat of appointments of secular bishops to their see in the 1120s.[172] The author, a monk who identifies himself with the monks of Rochester cathedral priory, emphasises Gundulf's dual role as a monk and bishop. Even whilst dying, Gundulf preferred to die 'humbly as a monk and in the midst of monks' rather than in the grand bishop's palace.[173]

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[170] For a discussion of Samson and Westbury see J. Barrow, 'The Chronology', p. 216, n. 26.

[171] Turner, Muir, *Eadmer,* p. xxxiv.

[172] J. Potter, 'The historical context of the *Vita S Gundulfi*', *HSJ,* 7 (London, 1995), pp. 89 - 100.

[173] *The Life of Gundulf,* trans. The nuns of Malling Abbey (West Malling, 1968; 1984), c. 42, p. 66; *The Life of Gundulf Bishop of Rochester,* ed. R. Thomson (Toronto, 1977), p. 64: *ut monachus et inter monachos in loco humiliori mori mallet.*

The *vita* contains passages which imply that the author was concerned about the power of the bishops, and the monastery's independence from them. The author states that the priory was founded at Rochester as 'monks had been there formerly' and so they were re-established according to the 'ancient statutes'.[174] He establishes that there was a strong monastic tradition at Rochester, and that there were many historical safeguards in place to protect its rights. One story, concerning the separation of the monastery's revenues, is particularly revealing. The author states that in the time of Gundulf, the monastery's revenues increased. To prevent any future difficulties, Gundulf and Lanfranc decided that the bishops and monks' portions of the revenue should be separated. The author includes the charter detailing this arrangement, which states that the provision was 'made chiefly lest any future bishop should be unfriendly to the monks and seek to reduce what had been set aside for them.'[175] King Henry ratified the statute and stated that anyone who violated the arrangement 'should undergo the banality of excommunication and share the sentence of damnation with the traitor Judas.'[176] This section of the *vita* functions as a record of this agreement so that it could not be changed or violated by future bishops. It, perhaps, also functions to warn future bishops against encroaching on the monastery's rights.

The *vitae* of Oswald and Dunstan do not contain overt passages such as this but they certainly focus on the monastic careers and accomplishments of the bishops during their lives and after their deaths. This is a stark contrast to their Anglo-Saxon *vitae,* which,

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[174] *The Life of Gundulf,* trans. The nuns of Malling Abbey, c. 17. p. 25; *Life of Gundulf,* ed. Thomson, p. 40: *Ea uero conditione redduntur, ut in aecclesia Rofensi, sicut iam praesul uterque deliberauerat, monachi ponantur….ad antiqua statua redeuntes monachorum…*
[175] *The Life of Gundulf,* trans. The nuns of Malling, c. 26, p. 39; *Life of Gundulf,* ed. Thomson, p. 49: *Hoc autem ideo maxime factum est, ne quis episcopus superuenturo tempore esset qui monachos non adeo diligens res eis diuisas minuere posset.*
[176] *The Life of Gundulf,* trans. The nuns of Malling, c. 36, p. 58; *Life of Gundulf,* ed. Thomson, p. 60: *anathematis mucrone percussus sententiam damnationis cum Iuda proditore sortiatur.*

as we saw in Chapter 1, barely discussed their reforms. It appears that the monastic communities, concerned about the rise of secular bishops, commissioned new hagiographies of their monastic patrons to glorify their monastic past. Whether or not they were written as a defensive measure against future bishops is debatable.

It is thus this context in which we should consider the absence of an Anglo-Norman *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* Worcester and Canterbury may have commissioned new hagiographies to provide new evidence of their commitment to Benedictine monasticism, because the circumstances of their reform in the tenth century were not properly recorded. In contrast, as Chapter 1 has demonstrated, Winchester's forceful reform in 964 was properly recorded and discussed at length in Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* Wulfstan describes the date and the manner of Æthelwold's reform of the new and old Minsters and states that upon succession to the bishopric '[Æthelwold] lost no time in expelling from the monastery such detestable blasphemers against God. He replaced them there with monks from Abingdon…'[177] He discusses the expulsion of the canons twice more and devotes a large amount of the *vita* discussing Æthelwold's reforms at other centres.[178] Æthelwold's Anglo-Saxon *vita* proved Winchester's dedication to Benedictine monasticism. For instance, when the chapter was threatened by Walkelin in 1070, the monks wrote to Pope Alexander II for protection and invoked Æthelwold as their patron and protector. The evidence they used to justify their community was the miracle stories directly taken from Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* [179] Wulfstan also mentioned Æthelwold's reforms in his *Narratio,* and Lantfred's *Miracula* also touches upon them.

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[177] *VsÆ,*c. 16, p. 31: *expulit citissime detestandos blasphematores Dei de monasterio, et adducens monachos de Abbandonia locauit illic.*
[178] Ibid., cc. 18, 20.
[179] See above.

There was also a large compendium of Anglo-Saxon historical documents that could support Wulfstan's stories. The entry for 963 in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle version E says that the following year Æthelwold 'founded many monasteries, and drove the clerks out of the bishopric because they would not observe any rule and set monks there', and then went on to restore other monasteries.[180] When describing the 'anti-monastic reaction' in 975, versions D and E say that the monasteries which were attacked were those which Bishop Æthelwold had founded or reformed at the request of Edgar.[181] Byrhtferth also discusses Æthelwold's expulsion of the clerics from Winchester in his *Vita s. Oswaldi*.[182] The continuing dispute between the monks and canons of New Minster after the reform in 964 allowed for the creation of the sumptuous Refoundation Charter of 966.[183] The very controversial nature of the reform at Winchester created a plethora of documents.

Whilst the communities of Worcester and Canterbury may have been concerned that secular bishops were being appointed to their sees in the 1100s (and thus produced the aforementioned *vitae*), Winchester had been governed by such bishops since the Conquest. Although Walkelin's episcopate began in a turbulent manner, Giffard had treated the Winchester community very well. On excellent terms with the brethren, Giffard ate in their refectory and slept with them in the dormitory.[184] Giffard also demonstrated his acceptance and support of their monastic foundation in 1111 when he translated Æthelwold. Giffard was evidently felt to be a friend to monks generally because, as Bethell pointed out, Prior Nicholas of Worcester even wrote to Giffard

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[180] *ASC* 963.
[181] *ASC* 975 E. D.
[182] Byrhtferth, *VsO,* p. 76.
[183] S745; British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. Viii; *Liber Vitae,* ed. Keynes, p. 28; Rumble, *Property and Piety*, p. 73.
[184] *AMW,* pp. 48 – 50.

requesting his help in their quest to elect their own bishop.[185] Considering that Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* contained such extensive accounts of Æthelwold's reforms, they owned documents evidencing said reform, and they enjoyed a good relationship with their suffragan bishop, it is unlikely that they felt the need to produce a new *vita* of their founder in the same manner as Canterbury and Worcester. They did not need to do so to prove and promote their community's monastic rights and commitment to monasticism: such evidence already existed in the form of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*

It is imprudent to suggest that Eadmer wrote the *Vita s. Dunstani* and the *Vita s. Oswaldi* purely out of a motivation to promote or protect the monastic sees of Worcester and Canterbury by glorifying and providing evidence of the monastic pedigree of their saints. But the rise of secular bishops and the production of this hagiography do appear to be connected. In the years following the 1123 Canterbury election, where a secular bishop was made archbishop, many monastic chapters sought and were granted papal privileges or immunities.[186] Where possible, papal protection was sought. Durham and Canterbury were promised that their cathedrals would always have monastic chapters; Bury St Edmunds was guaranteed that if their monastery was transformed into a see that one of their own monks would be bishop.[187] Between the 1120s and the end of the twelfth century, 'several Benedictine communities were so worried about threats to their status that they forged charters to secure their position.'[188] Julia Barrow has proven that, in the 1140s or 1150s, the community of Worcester forged documents and entries in chronicles

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[185] Bethell, 'Black monks', p. 682.
[186] Ibid., p. 680.
[187] Ibid.
[188] J. Barrow, *The Clergy in the Medieval World: Secular Clerics, Their Families and Careers in North-Western Europe, c. 800-c.1200* (Cambridge, 2015), p. 97; R. W. Southern, 'The Canterbury forgeries', *EHR,* 73 (1958), pp. 193 - 226; J. Barrow, 'How the twelfth-century monks of Worcester perceived their past', in P. Magdaliano (ed.), *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe* (London, 1992), pp. 53 - 74.

which argued that their community had been forcefully reformed by Oswald in the tenth century.[189] Brett argued that the forgeries made in monastic houses in the twelfth century were caused by the 'growing activity of the bishop and his diocesan agents, seeking to regulate the monks' conduct of their external affairs.'[190] The monks of Worcester created their forgeries, arguing that their conversion from canonical to monastic had been swift, as 'proof that the monks' own position in the cathedral was legitimate.'[191] Robertson has demonstrated that Eadmer and William of Malmesbury were, in part, responsible for promoting Dunstan as a leader of the monastic reform. It may be that the production of the *Vita s. Dunstani* and *Vita s. Oswaldi* by Eadmer, which promoted the communities' monastic past, was part of an earlier phase of this defensiveness, before papal appeals, forgeries, and the re-writing of history.

Miracles

Considering the evidence suggesting that several houses continued to venerate St Æthelwold during the twelfth century, it is interesting that none of them attempted to build upon the cult of St Æthelwold by producing a *Miracula s. Æthelwoldi.* That would have added power and legitimacy to the cult and relics, further protecting their foundation myths and endowments. During the twelfth century, it became more common for communities to assemble collections of *miracula* to testify to a saint's sanctity.[192] Usually recording posthumous miracles, the collections were important to a house's history and collective identity.

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[189] Barrow, 'How the twelfth-century monks of Worcester perceived their past', pp. 53 – 74.
[190] M. Brett, 'John of Worcester and his contemporaries' in R. H. C. Davies and J. M. Wallace-Hadrill (eds), *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to Richard William Southern* (Oxford, 1990), pp. 125 – 26.
[191] Barrow, 'How the monks of Worcester perceived their past', p. 74.
[192] Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun,* p. 70.

It might have been expected of Winchester, the site which housed the saint's tomb, but the community did not record any supernatural activity or *miracula* for Æthelwold after the tenth century. Nor did it produce a *Miracula s. Birini* in the twelfth century. The anonymous author of the *Vita s. Swithuni* of *c.* 1090 produced an accompanying *Miracula* at the same time, based upon Wulfstan's *Narratio* and adding sixteen new miracles to the dossier.[193] The new miracles bridged the time gap between Swithun's original posthumous miracles (*c.* 971 – 96), recorded in Lantfred's *Translatio* and Wulfstan's *Narratio,* and miracles performed during the author's own time (*c.* 1090). [194] This demonstrates there was an active tradition of miracle collecting at Winchester in the eleventh century, but not in the twelfth. As there is no such record of Birinus or Æthelwold's miracles this suggests that the Winchester community only recorded miracles performed at the shrine of St Swithun. The reason for this may be that Swithun's miracles simply eclipsed those of Æthelwold and Birinus both in terms of number and power. Neither Æthelwold nor Birinus had a reputation as miracle healers; the Anglo-Norman *Vita s. Birini* details no posthumous miracles for Birinus whatsoever and Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* includes only a few brief posthumous miracles and they are standard hagiographical *topoi*. Wulfstan spells out his intention in including the miracle stories: 'In my own sight heavenly miracles have been performed there [at his tomb], two of which I have briefly touched upon *to add weight to my assertion*' of Æthelwold's sanctity.[195] Wulfstan included the stories to legitimise Æthelwold's claim to sanctity; only posthumous miracles could confirm that Æthelwold now dwelt in God's heavenly court. Wulfstan further adds that the stories make clear

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[193] Ibid.

[194] Bishop Walkelin was present for one of the miracles so the *terminus ante quem* is 1098.

[195] *VsÆ,* c. 43, pp. 66 – 67: *ubi etiam nobis intuentibus caelestia sunt perpetrata miracula, e quibus duo breuiter ad firmitatis indicium perstrinximus.*

that this saint, while enjoying his eternal life, is able by the virtue of his merits to release us from the chains of our sins and take us to the heavenly kingdom: the same who while still dwelling in the flesh had granted him by heaven the power of bind and loosing, through the gift of our Lord Jesus Christ...[196]

Swithun's hagiography nullified any doubts concerning Swithun's sanctity raised by his inactivity before his translation. Swithun's efficacy as an intercessor was undisputedly proven by the recounting of forty of Swithun's posthumous miracles in the *Translatio et Miracula s. Swithuni* by Lantfred, the *Narratio Metrica de Swithuno* by Wulfstan and the vernacular Life by Ælfric. Lapidge has suggested that reports of his miracle-working had reached parts of Southern England soon after his translation in 971, notably Canterbury, Rochester and Somerset.[197] Swithun's miracles drew so many pilgrims to the Old Minster, Winchester that

> '[t]he Old Minster was completely hung around, from one end to the other and on either wall, with crutches and with stools of the cripples who had been healed there: and nevertheless they couldn't hand half of them up!'[198]

Swithun's miracles were so efficacious and well documented that the few posthumous miracles recorded by Wulfstan in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* seem rather feeble in comparison. Whereas Lantfred recorded that in just one day twenty-five people were healed by Swithun,[199] Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* reported only three of Æthelwold's posthumous miracles in total: a girl close to death, a daughter of a house servant called Æthelweard, slept at Æthelwold's tomb and was cured;[200] a blind boy was taken to the

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[196] Ibid., c. 46, pp. 68 – 69: *Constat ergo sanctum hunc, aeternae uitae coniunctum, uirtute meritorum suorum posse nos a peccatorum nostrorum uinculis soluere et ad caelestia regna perducere, cui adhuc in carne degenti caelitus est concessa potestas ligandi atque soluendi, praestante Domino nostro Iesu Christo...*

[197] Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun,* p. 25.

[198] Ælfric, *Life of St Swithun,* ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), c. 27, pp. 606 - 607: *Seo eadle cyrce wæs eall behangen mid criccum and mid creopera sceamelum fram ende oð oþerne on ægðerum wage, þe ðær wurdon gehælede: and man ne mihte swaðeah macian hi healfe up!*

[199] Lantfred, *Miracula s Swithuni,* ed. and trans. Lapidge, c. 14, pp. 298 - 299.

[200] *VsÆ,* c. 44, pp. 66 – 67.

tomb at the 'fog of blindness at once departed';[201] and a thief in stocks was freed after he confessed to St Æthelwold in a vision.[202] Although these are standard hagiographical rhetoric, they are rather weak in comparison with the wealth of miracles recorded for Swithun.

Swithun was Winchester's primary pilgrim-shrine. The large number of miracle stories, including wealthy lay people, indicates that Swithun's shrine would have been a major source of revenue for Winchester cathedral. It was important to record Swithun's miracles, which were so effective and reputable, to keep his reputation alive and thus keep pilgrims travelling to Winchester. It is possible that because Æthelwold and Birinus did not have strong reputations as healers or intercessors, and thus did not draw in the pilgrims and money like Swithun, the Winchester community did not keep a record of their miracles.

There was a similar situation concerning the saints' cults of Canterbury in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Eadmer records Dunstan's posthumous miracles from his death until *c.* 1116. Whilst Dunstan's original Anglo-Saxon hagiography did not include any of these both Osbern and Eadmer recorded an abundance of miracles performed at his tomb, the earliest of which would have taken place just after Dunstan's death, in their respective *Miracula s. Dunstani*.[203] But the Canterbury community assembled no such dossier for St Ælfheah. Since there was no Anglo-Saxon *vita*, *passio*, or *miracula* for Ælfheah, Lanfranc commissioned Osbern to write a hymn to the martyr (now lost), a *vita/passio*, and a *Translatio*.[204] The fact that such a large compendium of hagiography

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[201] Ibid., c. 45, pp. 68 – 69: *mox caligo caecitatis abscessit.*
[202] Ibid.
[203] See below.
[204] Hayward, 'Translation-narratives in post-Conquest hagiography', p. 72. Osbern, *Vita s. Elphegi,* ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra,* 2 vols. (London, 1664 - 95), II, pp. 122 - 142; For Osbern's *Historia de Translatione Corporis s. Elphege,* ed. and trans. R. Morris and A. R. Rumble,'Textual Appendix', in A.

on Ælfheah contains no *miracula* suggests that the eleventh-century community did not record Ælfheah's posthumous miracles.

The few posthumous miracles included by Osbern in his *Vita s. Ælfheah* are hagiographical *topoi,* written expressly to demonstrate that Ælfheah was a saint, akin to Wulfstan's stories in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* Once Ælfheah was martyred, a crowd of people demanded the Danes hand his body over to them so that they could bury his holy body with the reverence he deserved. They held a council to determine whether Ælfheah was a saint. To do this, they devised a test, begging the saint that if he had any power, he should show it to them.

> To put an end to the enquiry, the Danish enemy should choose the nature of that trial of strength. "Here is an oar", they said, "cut from an ash bough, entirely stripped of sap and bark. If the dawn should find this growing after it has been dipped in his blood, we too will agree that we have killed a just and holy man, and he will be yours to bury with honour…"…So it was, in order that everyone should agree that Alfege [Ælfheah] was still living after death, against all the laws of nature the dry wood in the space of one night began to sprout.[205]

The story unfolds that Ælfheah's body was taken to the tree underneath which he had been martyred and the posthumous miracles ensue, again simply *topoi:*

R. Rumble (ed.), *The Reign of Cnut* (London, 1999), superseding the text in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra.* MS surviving: two late eleventh-century MS (London, BL, Cotton Otho A xii and Vitellius D xvii), both charred. Also preserved in later medieval MS. Both the *vita* and the *Historia de Translatione* are translated in F. Shaw, *Osbern's Life of Alfege* (London, 1999).

[205] *Osbern's Life of Alfege,* ed. F. Shaw (London, 1999), c.30, p. 78; Osbern, *Vita s. Elphegi,* ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra,* II, p. 140: *Cumque in hoc quaestio terminum inveniret; ut virtutis genus inimici Dani eligere debuissent: "Ecce, inquiunt, remus de ramo fraxini excisus succo et cortice omnimodis nudatus. Si hunc ejus sanguine litum matutina lux virentem inveniret; justum nos et sanctum occidisse constabit; et quo illum honore sepeliatis, penes vos erit. Si vero in pristina lignum ariditate permanserit; errasse vos in ejus amore dicemus, nostri autem arbitrii erit quid de ejus cadavere statuere velimus." Placuit itaque omnibus statuti conditio: conditionem sequitur facti approbatio.Ut igitur constaret omnibus, quod post mortem viveret Elphegus; contra ordinem naturae aridum lignum sub unius noctis florere viderunt.*

...very soon health was restored to the infirm, bright light shed on the blind, the gift of hearing granted to the deaf; the dumb man received the organ of speech, the lame man walked with an even step.[206]

These are all standard *topoi* of saintly miracles, and not very specific, suggesting Osbern had no written record to draw from and thus had to rely on standard hagiographical rhetoric. Osbern himself states the miracles stories he includes were 'faithful evidence of truth! Evidence given to prove his worth!'[207] This is very similar language to Wulfstan's; the few miracles are included to demonstrate his sanctity.

Osbern's hagiographical works on St Ælfheah do not include any posthumous miracles performed by Ælfheah later than 1023, when his body was translated from St Pauls, London, to Canterbury cathedral. Osbern's *translatio,* when briefly discussing the posthumous miracles Ælfheah performed at St Paul's, London, uses the same brief and unspecific passage as he did in the *vita* (as quoted above). This suggests that there was no discernible source or record of miracles performed by Ælfheah at the tomb in St Pauls, and so Osbern again had to draw upon basic hagiographical rhetoric and *topoi*. Osbern also only includes a small number of posthumous miracles performed by Ælfheah at Canterbury, and again these are standard *topoi* and rhetoric. No specific names are mentioned, nor are the stories detailed:

So that the most holy Father might show some spark of his grace to his sons, seven days later he returned the power of speech to a dumb man. Also, a little later he freed another man who was bound in iron chain by breaking the iron.[208]

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[206] *Osbern's Life of Alfege,* ed. Shaw, p. 79; Osbern, *Vita s. Elphegi,* ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra,* II, p. 141: *Deinque mox salus languidis innovatur, caecis lumen clare perfunditur, audiendi munus surdis tribuitur, linguae organum mutus recipit, compsito gradu loripes incedit.*

[207] *Osbern's Life of Alfege,* ed. Shaw, p. 80; Osbern, *Vita s. Elphegi,* ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra,* II, p. 142: *O fidele veritatis testimonium ad comprobanda viri merita declaratum.*

[208] *Osbern's Life of Alfege,* ed. Shaw, pp. 86 - 9; Osbern, *Translatio s. Elphegi,* ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra,* II, p. 146: *Atque ut aliquam filiis idem sacratisimus Pater gratiae suae micam ostenderet, post septem dies muto cuidam reddit loquelam, aliam post paulum ferro vinctum, consracto ferro, reddit solutum.*

Osbern was writing in the 1090s but did not include miracles performed by Ælfheah after 1023 in either the *vita/passio* or *translatio*. Probably, then, the eleventh-century Canterbury community did not keep records of Ælfheah's miracles. Furthermore, Osbern states himself that all the information he imparts in the *Translatio* was gathered orally from a Canterbury monk, rather than any written document:

> Godric, once a disciple of the martyr himself [Ælfheah] and after some years the dean of the church of Canterbury, from whom we learnt all these things which, having made diligent inquiries, we now relate.[209]

The Canterbury community did keep some miracle records. Dunstan's hagiographical works by Osbern and Eadmer contained posthumous miracles performed by Dunstan, dating from immediately after his death until their own time.[210] Osbern and Eadmer both relate a miracle by which sight was returned to three blind women at Dunstan's tomb.[211] Since it is noted that, when he was alive, Dunstan used to visit and care for the elderly ladies in their home this miracle must have taken place soon after Dunstan's death. Both *miracula* collections also record miracles performed in the authors' own time, such as Dunstan curing a young monk, Æthelweard, of demonic possession, and restoring health to Archbishop Lanfranc and his cleric.[212] Many miracles performed in the intervening period are also documented. This implies that there was an active tradition of recording Dunstan's miracles at Canterbury.

Osbern and Eadmer's *Miracula* collection for Dunstan demonstrate that Dunstan was an effective, national saint whose intercession could be sought by anyone. Eadmer

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[209] Osbern, *Historia de Translatione Corporis S Elphege,* ed. and trans. Morris and Rumble, pp. 304 – 5: *Godricus eiusdem martyris quondam discipulis. ac post aliquot annos Cantuariensis ęcclesię decanus. a quo etiam hęc omnia quę narramus diligenter perquisita accepimus.*

[210] These miracle collections seem to have been started in the mid-eleventh century. For the slow growth of Dunstan's early cult at Canterbury see Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury: relics and reform under Dunstan and his successors', Ramsay *et al., St Dunstan*, pp. 221 – 245.

[211] Eadmer, *MsD,* c. 3, pp. 160 – 163.

[212] Ibid., c. 19, pp. 183 – 189; cc. 21 – 2, pp. 192 – 5.

said that Dunstan was 'unable to refuse the abundance of his love to anyone seeking it from the bottom of his heart.'[213] Dunstan's reputation as an intercessor was evidently widely known.[214] Akin to Swithun at Winchester, Canterbury cathedral had to make special provisions to cope with the vast number of pilgrims seeking Dunstan's aid. A special vessel was erected to hold the water of St Dunstan's staff. This water, in which Dunstan's staff had been dipped, was said to cure pilgrims afflicted with horrendous illnesses. Eadmer reported that 'nearly every day many people rush there to get some [water] and carry away with them a certain cure for those who are sick'[215] so the vessel was set up so pilgrims were not 'hindered in recovering their health by any kind of delay or inconvenience.'[216] By this Eadmer implies that beforehand there were crowds and queues of pilgrims waiting to access the water and receive their cure. Indeed, the miracles performed through the water were so vast that Eadmer doesn't relate most of them because 'this occurrence is so evident and commonplace that it appears more remarkable whenever on occasion someone is not cured of illness by having drunk of this same water than when someone is cured.'[217]

This suggests that, at Canterbury, there was a tradition of recording the miracles performed at Dunstan's tomb, but not Ælfheah's. This parallels Winchester's saints' cults. As with Winchester, where records were kept of Swithun's miracles but not Birinus or Æthelwold's, Dunstan's miracles were recorded at Canterbury but not Ælfheah's. The communities recorded Dunstan and Swithun's miracles because they were so effectual,

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[213] Ibid., c. 28, pp. 208 – 210: *etenim quia pietatis suae abundantiam nulli eam ex corde quaerenti nouit non exhibere.*
[214] Ibid.*,* c. 8, pp. 166 – 167.
[215] Ibid., c. 29, pp. 210 - 11: *Nam fere cotidie illuc pro ea a pluribus curritur, et certa medicina egrotantibus inde defertur.*
[216] Ibid: *uidelicet ne ii qui ea indigent aliqua mora uel incommodo ab adipiscenda sanitate praepediantur.*
[217] Ibid: *quoniam res ita euidens est et usitata, ut plus nonnunquam mirabile uideatur, cum aliquis eadem aqua in potum sumpta ab infirmitate non sanatur, quam cum sanatur.*

and renowned, and drew pilgrims from far and wide. The records of the vast and varied miracles of Sts Dunstan and Swithun attest to not only their efficiacy as intercessors, but the popularity of their cults. Dunstan and Swithun were the primary saints and pilgrimage points of their respective cathedrals. The likelihood is that the communities did not record the cathedrals' other saints' miracles for one of two reasons. Either Ælfheah, Birinus and Æthelwold did not perform any posthumous miracles from the mid-eleventh century onwards or the multitude of miracles performed by Dunstan and Swithun completely eclipsed the few eleventh and twelfth century miracles they did perform.

Saints' cults offered cathedrals the chance to establish their importance within the ecclesiastical hierarchy of England. These communities probably focussed on promoting only one of their saints' cults as it was easier and more effective to spread the reputation of one saint rather than two or three. It is not coincidence that the cult of St Dunstan declined after the martyrdom of St Thomas Becket.[218] Durham cathedral also focussed on one saint: Cuthbert. In 1104 Durham cathedral translated the bones of the illustrious Cuthbert and rooted the new community's importance in the ancient power of the Anglo-Saxon saint.[219] The holy sisters Æthelthryth and Seaxburgh both had cults at Ely, alongside St Æthelwold, but it was St Æthelthryth who enjoyed the status of primary saint of the community. It was she who was the focus of the great translation in 1106 and most of the attention in Ely's documents.[220] Worcester is perhaps unusual in that after the early twelfth century the cults of Wulfstan and Oswald seem to have been of equal importance

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[218] For the political and financial gains for Canterbury because of the cult of Thomas Becket see: A. Duggan, 'Canterbury: the Becket effect', in C. Royer-Hemet (ed.), *Canterbury: A Medieval City* (Newcastle, 2000)*, pp. 67 - 91; Idem, 'The cult of St Thomas in the thirteenth century', in M. Jancey (ed.), *St Thomas Cantilupe* (Hereford, 1982), pp. 21 - 44.
[219] P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. J. Wilkinson*, 'Introduction', in P. Dalton, C. Insley and L. J. Wilkinson (eds), *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World* (Woodbridge, 2011), p. 13.
[220] See above; Crook, *English Medieval Shrines,* p. 155.

to Worcester cathedral. Eadmer wrote a new *Vita s. Oswaldi,* containing new posthumous miracles, one of which can be dated to 1113. Wulfstan was the subject of a vernacular Life by Coleman between 1095 and 1113 (now lost) and William of Malmesbury adapted this into the first Latin *Vita s. Wulfstani* between 1124 and 1143. Both of these works contained posthumous miracles performed by Wulfstan at his tomb.[221] Senatus of Worcester (d. 1207) also wrote lives of both Wulfstan and Oswald.[222] Senatus added a new miracle performed by St Oswald, not found in Eadmer or Byrhtferth's *vitae,* and miracles performed by St Wulfstan up until the thirteenth century.[223] Their cults were certainly intertwined as they enjoyed dual translations on 7 June 1218 when their relics were raised and placed in tombs either side of the tomb of King John.[224] Worcester recorded the miracles of both of their saints and promoted the cults alongside one another. This may be because of Wulfstan's role in promoting Oswald's cult and reforming the cathedral, which inevitably led the two bishops to be viewed as a pair by the community.[225] Oswald's cult, moreover, was restricted to Worcester and Ramsey in the eleventh century: his cult could not compete with the national cults of Swithun, Dunstan, Cuthbert and Æthelthryth.[226] The community may have decided to promote Wulfstan as co-patron saint because of the limited reach of Oswald's cult.

The major difference between the cults of Oswald and those of Ælfheah, Birinus and Æthelwold is that, although Oswald was not a saint of national importance, the community kept records of his posthumous miracles. This enabled Worcester to continue

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[221] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* I, p. 74; William of Malmesbury, *Vita s. Wulfstani,* ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Thompson, pp. 1 – 165.

[222] Edited by J. Rayne, *Historians of the Church of York,* 2 vols., RS 71 (London, 1886), II, pp. 60 - 70; Durham, Cathedral Library, B. IV 39b.

[223] Turner, Muir, *Eadmer,* p. cxxv; R. Flower, 'A Metrical Life of St Wulfstan', *National Library of Wales Journal,* i (1940), p. 119.

[224] E. Mason, *St Wulfstan of Worcester* (Oxford, 1990), p.283.

[225] E. Mason, 'Oswald and Wulfstan' in Brooks *et al., St Oswald of Worcester*, p. 284.

[226] See Appendix A, Table 1 for Oswald's appearance in Anglo-Saxon calendars.

to promote his cult after the eleventh century, alongside the new cult of St Wulfstan. Because of the rhetorical nature and *topoi* of the posthumous miracles included in the hagiography for Æthelwold and Ælfheah, and the lack of any posthumous miracles in Birinus's hagiography, I would suggest that they never had a strong reputation as intercessors. These men became saints because of the work performed during their life, rather than the miracles they performed when they died. Because of the nature of their cults, their communities did not keep records of their miracles. Furthermore, the cathedrals of Winchester and Canterbury were already home to Sts Dunstan and Swithun whose intercessory powers had been demonstrated time and time again through a multitude of posthumous miracles. They did not need the cults of Ælfheah, Æthelwold or Birinus to bolster the numbers of pilgrims visiting the cathedral. The cults of Ælfheah, Æthelwold and Birinus served different functions to their communities.

Conclusions

This chapter has highlighted important and overlooked developments in St Æthelwold's cult. There was a revival of Æthelwold's cult in after *c.*1111, when he was translated at Winchester. The translation and revival of Æthelwold's cult was connected to a circle of royal chaplains and court men, and Queen Matilda herself. There is a possibility that Matilda was involved in promoting Æthelwold's cult as she had venerated the saint from her childhood. The revival certainly involved the participation of a network of high status individuals that seemed to be centred around Queen Matilda, Bishop Giffard of Winchester, Abbot Faritius of Abingdon, and a monk named Anthony. It is possible that this Anthony from the Old Minster, Winchester, travelled through southern England and Normandy, dispensing relics of Æthelwold and carrying a *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*

to be copied by the communities that he visited. An Antonius from the Old Minster known to travel with Bishop William Giffard, may have been the same Anthony who brought relics of Æthelwold to Thorney and who journeyed to St Évroul carrying some sort of hagiographical collection, which may have included the Life of St Æthelwold. The connections between this Anthony and Faritius and Giffard also indicate that there may have been closer connections between these men than previously thought.

After his translation, Æthelwold's relics were spread across monasteries in southern England, and his *vita* was copied and circulated in England and Normandy. The monasteries of Abingdon, Peterborough, Ely, and Thorney instituted new feast days venerating the saint, built new chapels to house his relics, and commissioned new historical and liturgical works to commemorate Æthelwold. The lack of an Anglo-Norman *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is not indicative of a lack of interest in the cult at Winchester or his other centres. The evidence suggests that the production of *vitae* for Dunstan and Oswald, while having devotional importance, was primarily due to Worcester and Canterbury's wish to emphasise their connection to the monastic past. The rise of secular bishops may have caused an atmosphere of anxiety that the production of *vitae* assuaged. In contrast, Winchester cathedral priory had had (reasonably) good experiences with secular bishops and Æthelwold's efficient reform of Winchester produced a plethora of historical documents to demonstrate their commitment to monasticism. Æthelwold also appears not to have performed many posthumous miracles in the eleventh and twelfth century and so the dossier recorded in Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* did not need updating. Yet, in the early twelfth century there was a revival of historical writing concerning Æthelwold at his reformed or refounded houses, and continued interest in his cult. That will be examined in the next chapter.

In the broader context of saints' cults, this chapter has highlighted how the monks themselves, rather than their abbots or bishops, utilised saints' cults in the early twelfth century. Canterbury, Worcester, and Rochester used their saints in an attempt to stop the encroachment of the secular bishops who wanted to, or were successful in, assuming their sees. That is why the cults of Æthelwold and other saints discussed in this chapter were promoted in the early twelfth century: the communities viewed them as fathers, founders, and protectors of Benedictine monasticism.

Chapter 4: The Development of Æthelwold's Cult in the Twelfth Century

This chapter aims to discover and discuss how Æthelwold's cult developed during the course of the twelfth century. Thus far it has been apparent that Æthelwold's saintly persona was a curious mix of episcopal and abbatial authority. But, as this chapter will make clear, at different times and in different places his episcopal or monastic spirit was emphasised by communities for different means. This chapter aims to discuss how Æthelwold's cult and image changed during the twelfth century, after it had been revived after *c.*1111.

We cannot easily reconstruct how Æthelwold's cult changed between the tenth and thirteenth centuries because he was not the subject of an Anglo-Norman *vita.* When analysing the changing functions and perceptions of a saint's cult, historians have tended to focus their attentions on the adaptations made in subsequent versions of their *vita.* For instance, in her analysis of the cult of St Katherine of Alexandria, Christine Walsh studied how the later writers who adapted her *passio* into a *vita* reconstructed Katherine; elements such as her conversion to Christianity and marriage to Christ were the 'first significant additions'.[1] Maureen Miller mapped the changing depictions of St Ulrich by subsequent hagiographers and demonstrated how it was linked to the author's support for the ideologies of the Gregorian reform.[2] Yet, because Æthelwold was not the subject of a later *vita,* it is difficult to determine how his saintly image, and the perception of it, changed. Chapter 2 has demonstrated that Æthelwold's image as a powerful reformer,

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[1] Walsh, *The Cult of St Katherine of Alexandria in Early Medieval Europe,* p. 4; Katherine is usually spelt with a C, and the use of a K reflect a specific later medieval English usage.
[2] Miller, 'Masculinity, reform and clerical culture', pp. 25 - 52.

protector and benefactor of monasteries continued until after the Conquest and that it was used to protect the Winchester monks. Yet the outcome of this was to have Æthelwold's cult suppressed by Bishop Walkelin. Through an analysis of the Thorney and Wilton hagiographical material, it has also been apparent that Æthelwold's image developed independently at different monastic houses in the late eleventh century. Whilst his cult was being suppressed at Winchester, Goscelin of Saint-Bertin used Æthelwold as an authorising figure to promote St Edith of Wilton's sanctity. At Thorney, in order to make Æthelwold's saintly image more similar to the monastery's patron anchorite saints, Folcard developed his saintly image and stated that Æthelwold had occasionally retreated to a hermitage. Chapter 3 has also demonstrated that, thanks in part to his 1111 translation, Æthelwold continued to be venerated by monasteries that he had reformed or founded. To determine the development, perception, and use of Æthelwold's cult and saintly image in the twelfth century, this chapter will analyse the literary and historical material produced by the monasteries which he was associated with in life, and also his portrayal by authors of national histories such as William of Malmesbury.

In the first instance, this chapter will consider the extent to which these monasteries continued Wulfstan's unique portrayal of Æthelwold's abbatial and episcopal authority. Did they characterise Æthelwold's leadership as 'harsh but loving'? Was it based on the *Regula s. Benedicti* and Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care*? Or was he a saintly figure, but one that no longer exemplified the values of the tenth-century reform? Did they emphasise his abbatial authority over his episcopal role, or vice versa? Did each monastery craft their own version of St Æthelwold, or did they base it on Wulfstan's *vita?*

The second objective will be to determine how Æthelwold's saintly status was perceived in the twelfth century; was he presented as an active saint? We have already

determined that at Winchester Æthelwold was not a miracle worker post *c.* 996. Was this the same for all the other monasteries? Or did they perceive Æthelwold as an active saint who performed miracles and would intervene to defend and protect their monastery and interests? Having determined how his saintly status was perceived, the chapter will analyse how was it used by those monasteries.

The final section of this chapter will consider how Æthelwold was presented in national histories and chronicles, in particular the works of William Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. This will illustrate how Æthelwold was perceived outside the immediate circle of monasteries which culted him. This analysis will also help to place Æthelwold's cult in the wider context of the cult of the saints in the twelfth century and to consider the degree to which it was unique or typical.

The sources for this chapter pose a methodological problem. Many of those available belong to the complicated genre of chronicle-chartularies, which are often comprised of an amalgamation of historical narratives, poems, and legal deeds and charters.[3] Because these documents cannot be clearly defined and labelled, historians have often viewed them as messy or incoherent. Their unconventional structure and miscellaneous content have caused historians to take apart their components and study them separately. Charters and legal documents are commonly removed from the narrative text and studied in isolation as evidence for historical legal proceedings. For instance, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* has primarily been examined for the Anglo-Saxon charters recorded within it; the historical narrative and poems that occur alongside the charters have largely been ignored.[4] The *Liber Eliensis* has suffered similar treatment: Blake commented that

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[3] C. Given-Wilson, *Chronicles: The Writing of History in Medieval England* (London, 2004), p. 86.
[4] For land acquisition see A. Kennedy, 'Law and litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*', *ASE,* 24 (1995), pp. 131–83; P. Wormald, 'Neighbors, courts, and kings: reflections on Michael Macnair's vicini', *Law and History Review* 17.3 (1999), pp. 597 – 601.

the *Liber Eliensis* was most useful when broken up into its constituent parts, and whilst Ridyard agreed, she also acknowledged the usefulness of the hagiographical and narrative sections of the text.[5]

Recently, there has been a shift, led by interdisciplinary and literary scholars such as Jennifer Paxton and Catherine Clarke, in the methodology of analysing chronicle-chartularies. Paxton and Clarke stress that these documents should be analysed within the context in which they were created, not divided into their 'useful' and 'inconsequential' parts; their component elements fulfil a specific purpose within the confines of the document itself.

Paxton has argued that chronicle-cartularies are distinct documents which aimed to include all relevant information and documentation which formed a monastery's identity.[6] The documents were designed to be inclusive in order to provide the community with a coherent identity and history. Thus, charters, legal deeds, hagiographies, miracles, and narrative texts were carefully fashioned together to create the document itself. Chronicle-cartularies quite literally presented everything which gave the community its identity. In her study of the *Liber Eliensis,* Paxton discovered that the miracle stories and narrative accounts worked with the documentary and charter evidence to reinforce the monks' authority and rights.

> The narrative, charters and miracles authenticate each other, providing double or even triple support for the monastic community's claims to property and prestige.[7]

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[5] E. O. Blake ed., *Liber Eliensis* (London, 1962), p. lvii; S. J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 52.

[6] J. Paxton, 'Monks and bishops: the purpose of the *Liber Eliensis', HSJ,* 11 (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 17 - 30.

[7] Ibid., p. 20.

The miracle stories were the most eloquent case for the holiness of the community and the inviolability of its property.[8] They served a specific function within the text; removing the charters from the historical narrative and miracle stories in which they occurred would have undermined their validity. Paxton concluded that chronicle-cartularies had to be studied as a whole. The different genres of document combined within the chronicle-cartularies functioned together to create a cohesive document which presented the identity of the community and protected the inviolability of its rights.

Clarke came to a similar conclusion when she studied the *Libellus Æthelwoldi.* Clarke focussed her study on why the author employed both prose and verse. In a similar fashion to the *Liber Eliensis,* the prose text's function was to commemorate Æthelwold's land acquisitions, underpinning the validity of his gifts to and purchases for Ely. The legal documents, recording these gifts, were embedded within the prose. The prose and legal deeds presented Æthelwold as a powerful earthly patron of Ely. The verses, which praised Æthelwold's saintly powers by using biblical imagery and hagiographical rhetoric, relocated Æthelwold in a hagiographical – rather than historical or legalistic – context. This created an image of Æthelwold as a spiritual patron.[9] Because the *Libellus* presented Æthelwold as both a spiritual intercessor and an earthly, political bishop, the contemporary community could consequently invoke him as a legal person of interest and spiritual protector in legal disputes. The legality of the gifts of land to Ely from Æthelwold could not be nullified because this would challenge the sanctity of Æthelwold himself. The poems and prose allowed

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[8] Ibid., pp. 17 – 30. *passim.*
[9] C. Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England: Texts, Hierarchies, Economics* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 169.

a double way of perceiving Æthelwold, enabling the text to present a dual model of patronage as simultaneously both saintly and transcendent, and pragmatic and politically-engaged...[10]

The form of the *Libellus* allowed for the presentation of legal documents embedded within hagiographical text and verse, thus supporting and reinforcing the rights of the abbey and monks. The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* was carefully constructed to protect the lands bestowed on Ely by Æthelwold.

Clarke and Paxton's methodologies provide new insight into the function of chronicle-cartularies and the mentalities of the communities that produced them. This study will follow their methodologies and seek to analyse the chronicle-cartularies as a whole. The use of this interdisciplinary methodological approach should allow a fuller comprehension of the function of Æthelwold's cult within monasteries in the twelfth century, and of the role that Æthelwold played within the consciousness of those communities.

The monasteries of Winchester, Abingdon, Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney produced varying amounts of historical writing in the twelfth century. Unfortunately, Winchester cathedral priory did not embark on any such work during this period. Except for its production of hagiographies for Swithun and Birinus in the late eleventh century, the cathedral priory seems not to have engaged in literary or historical writing. The monks did not create a *Historia* of the monastery, perhaps because they produced a plethora of documentation in the tenth and eleventh centuries. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the community of Winchester had no real need to produce new documentation stressing their continuity with the Anglo-Saxon past, as they had rich and authentic documents to support their claims to land and prestige. Richard of Devizes, a monk of the priory, did

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[10] Ibid., p. 168.

produce two works during his lifetime: the *Annals of Winchester* and the *Chronicle of the Time of King Richard I.* As they survive today, the *Annals of Winchester* deal with the history of Winchester cathedral priory from the Incarnation to 1277. The entries up to 1139, and possibly up to 1202, are attributed to Devizes, after which they were then taken over by another Winchester monk.[11] Because of their annalistic nature, they contain no descriptive or laudatory passages concerning St Æthelwold. They are brief, undescriptive, and entirely different from the other sources discussed in this chapter. For that reason, they will not be discussed.

The circumstances at Thorney are similar. Although Thorney was a small abbey which produced no known surviving *Liber* or *Historia* like Ely or Abingdon, the community did begin annals *c.* 1110 or *c.* 1111. Written alongside Easter tables copied from a Ramsey Computus, they are brief and undecorated: there is no use of majuscule text or coloured inks as the scribes wrote their entries in cramped margins alongside the tables. The importance they accorded to events and people can only be assessed from what they chose to include. Consequently, they will also be excluded.

Abingdon

The monastery of Abingdon wrote two historical works during the twelfth century. *De Abbatibus* is contained in a thirteenth-century manuscript (London, BL, Cotton MS Vitellius A. XIII) but was probably written *c.*1158x60. *De Abbatibus* discusses the abbots of Abingdon up to Hugh (1189/90 – *c.*1221).[12] The community also produced a *History of Abingdon Abbey,* which was written *c.* 1160. There are two

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[11] For a discussion on the survival and copying of the chronicle at Hyde abbey see N. Denholm-Young, 'The Winchester-Hyde Chronicle', *EHR,* vol. 49, no. 193 (Jan., 1934), pp. 85 - 93.
[12] *HA,* I, p. lvi.

manuscripts surviving: London, British Library, Cotton Claudius C. IX (hereafter MS C), is most likely also the first fair copy, written in the 1160s.[13] The second manuscript, London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. VI (hereafter MS B), was written after the death of Abbot Hugh in 1221. In his edition of the text, Hudson used MS C and included all variations in MS B in an appendix. In general, the *History* text gives a more detailed account of the history of the monastery than *De Abbatibus*. It contains narrative and hagiographical accounts as well as charters. There are many themes and motivations for the *History* but Hudson argues that it was probably written to protect monastic lands and to lay claim to traditions.[14] It is possible that the history 'was written in response to a more pro-abbatial account of the abbey's affairs presented' in *De Abbatibus*.[15]

Ely

The earliest of the Ely texts is the *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* which was commissioned by Bishop Hervey of Ely (1108 – 31).[16] The author states that when Bishop Hervey discovered that some of Æthelwold's distinguished deeds were not recorded in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*, he requested that the author translate a tenth-century Old English text into Latin. The original text had been written shortly after Æthelwold's death, and it commemorated his refoundation and endowment of Ely. The new version of the text had four new chapters and seven Latin poems probably written by Gregory of Ely.[17]

The second historical work produced by Ely was the *Liber Eliensis.* It was written *c.*1170s, just after the martyrdom of Thomas Becket, during and just after Bishop Nigel's

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[13] Ibid., I, p. xv
[14] Ibid., p. xix.
[15] Ibid.,. xx
[16] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Fairweather, pp. 84 – 5.
[17] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* Appendix B, pp. 81 – 86.

episcopate (1133 – 1169). It survives fully in two manuscripts.[18] It received its first full

printed edition by E. O. Blake in 1962, and was translated into English in 2005 by Janet

Fairweather. Fairweather argues that the *Liber Eliensis* was written

> to glorify the monastery of Ely, its foundation saints and subsequent
> benefactors...designed to inculcate into the monks' consciousness a knowledge
> of the historical foundations upon which the privileged legal standing of the
> monastery of Ely rested...[19]

The three major themes uniting the *Liber Eliensis* were the veneration of St

Æthelthryth; the relation between church and state; and the glorification of monasticism.[20]

Paxton argues that the compiler wrote the *Liber Eliensis* with two goals in mind: to

demonstrate the sanctity of the Ely monastery, and to criticize the newly-created

bishops.[21] The creation of the bishopric, unpleasant and unwanted by the monastery,

brought on a series of disagreements between the monks and bishops, and this provided

the main incentive for creating the text.[22] It has generally been accepted that the primary

motive for the *Liber Eliensis* was to provide evidence and protection for the monastery's

lands, rights and privileges.

Peterborough

Hugh Candidus, a monk of Peterborough Abbey, wrote a chronicle about the

aforesaid abbey in the early twelfth century. The chronicle narrates the events of

Peterborough monastery from its foundation *c.* 655 until Abbot William de Waterville's

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[18] Trinity College, Cambridge MS O.2.1, known as the E manuscript, dating from the late twelfth century with three scribal hands; and Ely Cathedral Chapter, known as the F manuscript, dating from the early thirteenth century, with four scribal hands.
[19] *Liber Eliensis*, ed. Fairweather, p. xxi.
[20] Ibid., pp. xxi - xxii.
[21] Paxton, 'The purpose of the *Liber Eliensis*', p. 18.
[22] Ibid.

deposition in 1175.[23] The original chronicle was interpolated into the mid-twelfth century Register of Robert Swaffam (Peterborough Cathedral, MS 1/ Cambridge, University Library, PDC 1), which continued the chronicle from 1175 to 1256.[24] In 1941 brothers William Thomas and Charles Mellows published the first translation of Hugh Candidus' Peterborough Chronicle, and a Latin edition of the text followed in 1949. Hugh's Chronicle is another document which is a mixture of narrative and charter accounts. It has been used especially for its connection to the *Liber Niger* and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, version E, to determine their origin and date of completion. The most recent analysis of Hugh's work is in an unpublished PhD thesis 'Forging Links with the Past: The Twelfth-Century Reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Peterborough', by Avril Margaret Morris at Leicester. In assessing Hugh's character and philosophy, Morris determined that Hugh thoroughly disapproved of the Norman invasion and so emphasised and glorified the Anglo-Saxon past of Peterborough, seen as a continuum from its foundation to his own time.[25]

It is easy to see that there are strong themes connecting these histories, chronicles, and chartularies. It will be interesting to consider if these interconnecting themes had an impact on the presentation of Æthelwold and his cult, or whether his image continued to develop uniquely at each monastic house.

Ideal Abbot and Bishop: Harsh But Loving?

In his *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* Wulfstan of Winchester interpreted Gregory the Great's *Pastoral Care* and the *Rule of St Benedict* in a unique way to depict Æthelwold's abbatial and episcopal authority. Yet, of the four narrative sources from Abingdon, Ely, and

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[23] A. M. Morris, 'Forging links with the past: the twelfth-century reconstruction of Anglo-Saxon Peterborough' (PhD Thesis: University of Leicester, 2006), p. 7.
[24] Ibid., p. 7.
[25] Ibid., pp. 109 - 10.

Peterborough, only the *History* of Abingdon continued Wulfstan's 'harsh but loving' depiction of Æthelwold. The chronicles of Ely and Peterborough instead generally discuss Æthelwold's reforms, but not his personal devotion to the *Rule of St Benedict*.

Hugh Candidus enjoins that Æthelwold established many monasteries, all of which lived under the Rule, and was diligent in his care of them. He founded many religious houses 'some for monks, some for nuns established under abbots and abbesses, living under the rule, and the blessed Æthelwold often visited them.'[26] Although he relates that Æthelwold acted as an abbot to many of the monasteries, he does not give details of Æthelwold's abbatial practices or episcopal authority. Indeed, the most well-known of Æthelwold's authoritative deeds, his expulsion of the canons in the Winchester minsters, is glossed over to a certain extent. Whilst Hugh disparages the canons, who were 'given over to a wicked and evil way of life, puffed up with insolence and pride', he does not describe Æthelwold's character.[27] Instead,

Æthelwold could not at all endure this, soon driving these abominable blasphemers of God from the monastery...and the bishop bringing the monks from Abingdon, set them there with himself as their bishop and abbot.[28]

The *Liber Eliensis* continues this pattern, but the author embellishes Æthelwold's refoundation of Ely and claims that he had to eject canons there.[29] It follows the same blueprint that was given by Wulfstan in his description of Æthelwold's reforms at Winchester:

Æthelwold 'carefully built anew the aforesaid monastery, having expelled the clerics who had been living there in an unworthy fashion for a considerable

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[26] *HC*, p. 24; *HC* (1966), p.46: *quedam monachis, quedam sanctimonalibus, constituerentur sub abbatibus et abbatissis regulariter uiuentibus, et circuiuit ipsa beatus Adeluuoldus sepe.*

[27] *HC*, p. 23; *HC* (1966), p. 45: *nefandis scelerum moribus implicati, elacione et insolencia atque luxuria preuenti.*

[28] *HC*, p. 23; *HC* (1966), p. 45: *Quos minime ferens sanctus Adeluuoldus expulit citissime destandos blasphematores dei de monasterio...Et adducens sepedictus episcopus monachos de Abandonia locauit illic, quibus ipse abbas et episcopus extitit.*

[29] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 97.

time...And thus in accordance with God's ordinance, a band of monks...arrived in Ely... Specifically, he admitted into monastic life the clerics who consented to receive a monk's habit, and expelled those who refused...'[30]

A spurious privilege of King Edgar confirming the liberty of the monastery and its lands states that the nuns and monks of Ely lived under the *Rule of St Benedict*.[31] Generalities of Æthelwold's reforms are included in the *Liber Eliensis,* and they are given a rather militant flavour stating that Æthelwold 'was active in the founding and repair of monasteries, thereby carrying out a campaign, as it were, of the Lord's warfare and the stationing of His troops.'[32] Yet the author does not draw upon or use any of Wulfstan's harsh but loving imagery from the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*

In contrast, the *History of Abingdon* draws on Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* extensively, so much so that Hudson suggests it be 'taken as new composition' based on material in the *vita.*[33] This is perhaps an exaggeration because it omits many stories of Æthelwold's episcopate. Instead, it records Æthelwold's youth and education in the household of Bishop Ælfheah of Winchester before regaling the reader with his abbacy of Abingdon.[34] It is in this section that the *History* can be seen to retain Wulfstan's disciplinarian image of Æthelwold. Chapter 29 of Book I imparts the story (taken from Wulfstan's *vita*) of how Æthelwold made a monk of Abingdon put his hand into a boiling cauldron of water and fetch a morsel of food to prove his obedience.[35] It could be argued that the author included this story primarily because it concerned Æthelwold's time as

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[30] Ibid., p. 98; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, p. 74: *cenobium diligenter innovavit, clericis expulsis qui ibidem diutius indigne vivebant et, ut liber precedens demonstravit, dominati sunt, monachos cum multimodo sonorum plausu....Clericos habitum consentientes in monachicum suscepit habitum, rennuentes de monasterio expulit...*

[31] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 99. See n. 35 about authenticity and Blake, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 1.

[32] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 145; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, ii.53, p. 121: *Ventano presulatu in fundandis vel reparandis monasteriis velud procinctum Dominici belli et castrorum agebat*

[33] Ibid., p. xxvi

[34] *HA,* I, pp. 44 – 47.

[35] Ibid., I, pp. 53 – 5.

abbot of Abingdon. Yet, other statements in the *History* suggest that it was included to demonstrate the rigorousness of Æthelwold's monastic lifestyle and abbatial authority. In a following chapter, the author states how 'very many men of God, from divers parts of England and instructed in different manners of reading and singing' flocked to Æthelwold 'to follow a stricter way of life'.[36] It also states that when Æthelwold attained the bishopric of Winchester he 'did not, however, relax at all from the yoke of monastic discipline' and goes on to describe his expulsion of the canons from the Winchester minsters.[37] The fact that the only other monastery mentioned as reformed by Æthelwold is Ely (which was filled with Abingdon monks) suggests that the community of Abingdon was not so much concerned with Æthelwold as the great monastic reformer, but as their own personal abbot and saint.

That is also evident in the version of the *History* in MS B. MS B states that Æthelwold arranged Abingdon pleasingly, that is, 'as to the observance of the ordered life, and likewise the customs worthy of every memory.'[38] In particular, it gives details of the exact food allowance of the monks, as regulated by Æthelwold.[39] It is a long and prescriptive bit of text and one wonders why it would have been included, except to display the fact that they were still adhering to Æthelwold's rules which he had assigned, never to be changed 'under the threat of anathema'.[40] MS B expands further upon these food allowances, and how they were viewed by the twelfth-century community. When Abbot Faritius, a much loved and praised abbot, altered them, the monks grumbled and

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[36] *HA,* I, c.31, p. 54 - 5: *Ut, districtioris autem uita tramitem, cum e diuersis Anglie partibus uiri Dei, audita Æthelwoldi sanctitate, plurimi differenti more legendi canendique instituti, ad eum conuenirent atque reciperentur...*

[37] Ibid., I, c. 71, pp. 114 - 115: *non tamen a monachice iugo discipline aliquatenus se relaxauit.*

[38] Ibid., I, p. 337: *uidelicet, quoad ordinis obseruantiam, et institutiones ordini admodum necessarias, similiter et consuetudines omni memoria dignas.*

[39] Ibid., I, pp. 340 - 345.

[40] Ibid.,, I, p. 343: *fecit quod potuit et firmiter prohibuit sub anatematic.*

complained that 'the portions of cheese, as it seemed to them, had been changed and diminished' from the regulations laid down by Æthelwold.[41] Apparently, this was quite scandalous and the news spread to King Henry himself.[42] Henry sent Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury, and Roger, bishop of Salisbury, to settle the matter. The abbot stated that he had 'never broken the disposition of St Æthelwold' and nor had he 'diminished the church's internal or external possessions'.[43] The problem was that Faritius had increased the community by fifty-two new brothers, who had to eat from the same weight of cheese that had been assigned to the smaller community of the time of St Æthelwold. The archbishop resolved the issue, stating that with the addition of new brothers, the disposition of St Æthelwold was not sufficient, and that the weight of cheese would be assigned every five days, rather than every ten.[44] This story not only provides an interesting glimpse into medieval monastic regulations, but demonstrates that when the author was writing Æthelwold's reforms were still perceived to be the orthodox and pinnacle of monastic practice and that deviation from them, no matter how well-intentioned, was frowned upon.

The belief that Æthelwold was the embodiment of the ideal abbot or bishop, or the personification of ideal monastic practice, is reflected in the other texts where he was commonly used as an historical example to praise or condemn subsequent leaders of the abbey. In Abingdon's *De Abbatibus,* Æthelwold is portrayed as the antithesis of the new abbots of Abingdon after the Norman Conquest, of whom the writer much disapproved. The author implies that Abbot Adelelm's sudden death was a consequence of his insults

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[41] Ibid., II, p. 334 - 5, see also n. 40: *eo quod frusta casei, ut eis uisum fuerat, ab institutione sancti patris nostria Adelwoldi immutata asserent et inminorata...*
[42] Ibid., II, p. 335.
[43] Ibid., II, p. 334 - 5: *institutiones sancti Adeluuoldi, ut mihi obiectum est, infregisse; sed neque res ecclesiasticas intrinsecus seu forinsecus diminuisse...*
[44] Ibid., II, p. 337, n. 40.

to Æthelwold's church, which he said was a church of English rustics and should be destroyed.[45] Yet, the *History* uses the example of Æthelwold to praise Abbot Faritius: it says that 'none of the prelates from the time of the holy father Æthelwold or the most zealous Abbot Wulfgar was more attentively in charge of the internal or external well-being of the monastery than he…'[46] In the *Liber Eliensis,* Æthelwold and Dunstan were even compared to the founders of the Church itself: 'Dunstan and Æthelwold illuminated this their sphere most brilliantly, like a latter-day Peter and a latter-day Paul.'[47]

In the *Liber Eliensis,* St Æthelwold was also used to demonstrate the perceived inadequacy of the bishops of Ely. Paxton has argued that the division of the *Liber Eliensis* into three books deliberately juxtaposes the early history and the recent past of the monastery: Book I narrates the foundation by St Æthelthryth; Book II details the refoundation by Æthelwold; and Book III denotes the 1109 transformation and recent history of the bishopric.[48] The compiler deliberately contrasted the reign of the bishops with the two major figures in the house's history to emphasise the inequality between them. Books I and II laud Æthelthryth and Æthelwold, whilst Book III gives no praise to the new bishops. In Chapter 1 of Book II, Æthelwold is introduced as 'an outstanding bishop'[49] who 'was endowed with the adornments of all the virtues and with an exemplary series of good works, and had made an undertaking to rule over the Church of God.'[50] Yet, in Book III, when discussing how Hervey transformed the monastery into a cathedral abbey, the author makes it abundantly clear that he acted 'entirely without the consultation

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[45] See Chapter 2.
[46] *HA,* II, pp. 66 - 7: *Nec quisquam prelatorum a tempore sancti patris Ædelwoldi uel studiosissimi abbatis Wlfgari eo pro curatius circa huius loci utilitates intrinsecus siue forinsecus prefuit...*
[47] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 145; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, ii.53, p. 121: *Inter quos hunc suum orbem illustrarunt prefulgide Dunstanus et Eðelwoldus, quasi minor Petrus et minor Paulus.*
[48] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 21.
[49] Ibid.; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, ii.1, p. 73: *egregius pontifex.*
[50] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 96; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, ii.1, p. 73: *Qui cum ornamentis omnium virtutum bonorumque exemplis operum preditus essed et ecclesiam Dei regendam suscepisset...*

with the monks'[51] and the deed was done without their knowledge.[52] The following passages contain very little narrative account or commentary and are primarily copies of letters and charters about Hervey and Nigel's episcopates; there is no praise of them or joyfulness about the fact that they were governed by bishops. Neither Hervey nor Nigel are equal to St Æthelwold, who is depicted as the model bishop and patron.

All three abbeys perceived Æthelwold as the personification of ideal monastic practice and an exemplar abbot and bishop. Yet Abingdon's portrayal of Æthelwold seems to stand apart from Ely and Peterborough's as the *History* gave many more details of his abbatial authority and reforming efforts at their monastery.

Perceptions of Æthelwold's Intervention

Each of these texts undoubtedly present Æthelwold as a holy man who represented the ideals of Anglo-Saxon Benedictine monasticism. Yet, did they venerate him as an active saint who could perform miracles or intervene on their behalf in spiritual and temporal matters? This is a small but critical difference when it comes to cultic activity.

The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* writes of Æthelwold as if he was the most prized saint of the abbey. The poems in the *Libellus* focus on the sanctity of Æthelwold, his realisation of sainthood, and his role as heavenly protector of Ely: '...he [Æthelwold] took his course to the regions above, [and] came through the havens of life to the beginnings of eternity.'[53] Consistently placing Æthelwold in heaven, some of the poems are written as if the community were speaking directly to Æthelwold, almost in prayer:

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[51] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 298; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, iii.1, p. 246: *monachis omnino inconsultis ecclesie filiis et ignorantibus.*
[52] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 298; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, iii.1, p. 246.
[53] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 9, p. 6; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 398: *Dumque suum cursum direxit ad ethera sursum, Per vite portus eternos venit ad ortus.*

As a steward, as a faithful worker, a priest of Christ as you were Father Æthelwold, you honour no brightness of silver, no sight of gold, nor do you dig in the earth, but you know to gather riches and wealth in heaven, where robbers achieve nothing by evil, from where you rule in security, following those treasures which you sent in advance, which you portioned out so well. You are among eternal riches and celestial treasures, enjoying the peace of Christ, whom you wisely served, from where be you, a secure protector, compassionate towards us.[54]

This poem demonstrates that Ely viewed Æthelwold as their personal patron and protector. The poems characterise Æthelwold as a saint primarily functioning as a heavenly protector of the earthly riches he 'sent out in advance' to Ely during his life. Interestingly, however, no posthumous miracle stories are included. They do not narrate any stories where Æthelwold interceded from heaven on behalf of the abbey against their enemies. It seems that Æthelwold was viewed as the spiritual saint who endowed the Ely community in life and whose legacy protected it in death, but not as an active miracle-working saint.

The *Libellus* barely mentions St Æthelthryth, who was the community's primary saint for most of the medieval period. Instead, Ely's greatness is attributed to Æthelwold, his reforms, and his endowments. The author uses biblical imagery in the poems to liken the time of Æthelwold as being in the 'golden ages in the world.'[55] Indeed, '[t]here was a good state of affairs then when that protector was in his prime.'[56] If the reader were not to know of any other history of Ely, they would presume that Æthelwold was their most highly venerated saint.

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[54] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 34, p. 15; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 399: *Qui dispensator, qui fidus erat operator, Qui cultor Christi, pater Æðeluuolde, fuisti, Non decus argenti, speciem non excolis auri, Non fodis in terris, sed nosti condere celis, Divitias et opes ubi nil temptant male fures, Quo regnas tutus, thesauros ipse secutus, Quos premittebas, quos tam bene distribuebas. Interes eternis opibus gazisque supernis, Pace fruens Christi, quem prudens excoluisti, Quo nobis certus patronus adesto misertus.*

[55] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *In mundo vere tunc aurea secula fere.*

[56] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *Tunc erat ordo bonus, cum floruit iste patronus.*

Yet the *Liber Eliensis,* written just a few decades later, reasserts the prominence and importance of St Æthelthryth. It may be granted that the text does describe them in a similar manner:

> She [Æthelthryth] shone out as one remarkable for her outstanding sanctity…[57]

> …blessed Æthelwold, an outstanding bishop, like a lamp aflame and spreading light, began to shine forth among the people of God.[58]

But whereas it recounts Æthelthryth's early life and miracles, it does not do the same for Æthelwold. It does not include the poems from the *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* nor does it describe any of Æthelwold's miracles. He is primarily depicted as an historical, holy bishop. He is introduced full in Chapter 1 of Book II:

> This man was endowed with the adornments of all the virtues and with an exemplary series of good works, and had made an undertaking to rule over the Church of God. He emerged subsequently not only as an energetic leader but also as the founder of a great many monastic communities.[59]

Whilst the *Libellus* spoke of his restoration of monasteries, it also included verses praising the saint's sanctity and holy powers. In the *Liber Eliensis,* it is rather St Æthelthryth who is depicted as the abbey's saintly protector and patron. Paxton has argued that the *Liber Eliensis* focussed on St Æthelthryth and her miracles in order to present a holy narrative which protected their rights and lands. The miracle stories and narratives of St Æthelthryth work alongside the documentary and charter evidence to provide dual evidence for the community's claims; they sanctified the monks and their property, justifying the acquisitions of land. [60] For example, in Book III, Chapter 119,

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[57] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 12; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, i.1, p. 10: *que tam eximia sanctitate mirabilis.*
[58] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 96; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, i.1, p. 73: *beatus Æthelwoldus egregius pontifex, ut lucerna ardens et lucens, in populo Dei fulgebat.*
[59] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Fairweather, p. 96; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, i.1, p. 73: *Qui cum ornamentis omnium virtutum bonorumque exemplis operum preditus essed et ecclesiam Dei regendam suscepisset, non solum rector strenuus, verum etiam cenobiorum fundator plurimorum extitit.*
[60] Paxton, 'The purpose of the *Liber Eliensis',* p. 20. *passim.*

the compiler includes two tenth-century miracles within the twelfth-century narrative. Fairweather regarded this as a careless mistake on the part of the compiler, but Paxton believes that this was a deliberate act.[61] These stories, in which St Æthelthryth punishes enemies of Ely for backing out of agreements to sell land to the monks in the tenth century, also appear in Chapter 11 of Book II, in the proper chronological order.[62] In Book III they function as *miracula*, whereas in Book II they are simply a component of the narrative. That is why in Book II the chapter is merely titled '[c]oncerning Downham',[63] but in Book III the chapter is entitled '[h]ow God severely punished injuries against his beloved St Æthelthryth'.[64] The stories are inserted, out of sequence, to comment on the narrative of Book III, demonstrating that Æthelthryth can and will intervene to protect her monks, not only against the laity, but their own bishop.[65]

In the *Liber Eliensis* St Æthelthryth is depicted as the community's primary saint, and Æthelwold is relegated to a saintly historical figure The *Liber Eliensis* almost reverses the work of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*: the *Libellus* presented Æthelwold as the primary saint and defender of the abbey but the *Liber Eliensis* reinstates Æthelthryth in that role. Æthelwold is preserved as a model bishop but is accorded no special praise as a saint. His posthumous miracles are not mentioned and he is not depicted as actively intervening from heaven to protect the abbey or its monks. Æthelwold becomes a respected historical figure who did great deeds for the abbey, rather than an active saint still working on behalf of the monastery.

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[61] Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis,* p. xviii.
[62] Paxton, 'The purpose of the *Liber Eliensis',* p. 26.
[63] *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, p. 84: *De Dunham.*
[64] Paxton, 'The purpose of the *Liber Eliensis'*, p. 27; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, p. 368: *Quam districte Deus vindicavit iniurias delecte sue virginis Æđeldređe.*
[65] Paxton, 'The purpose of the *Liber Eliensis'*, p. 27.

Hugh Candidus' chronicle of Peterborough treats Æthelwold in a similar way. Hugh describes him as a saint, and states that

> …spreading the golden wings of the eagle, (to which he has been likened), [he] sped far and wide throughout the realm of England; and began to found and build many monasteries in divers places, or to repair their sites, with the help of God, and the aid of the good and pious king Edgar.[66]

Although the chronicler gives Æthelwold the title of *sanctus* he does not go into great detail of Æthelwold's saintly activity. He does not describe any of his miracles. The overall impression is that although he was a holy man, and did God's deed in reforming Peterborough, he was not the abbey's primary saint. The charters and land deeds were given to and protected by St Peter, whilst the arm of St Oswald, king and martyr, performed miracles and protected the monks.[67] Æthelwold did not was not an active saint who would intervene on behalf of the monastery.

In contrast, the Abingdon material implies that the community viewed Æthelwold as capable of direct supernatural intervention. The *History of Abingdon* relates Æthelwold's miracles whilst he was abbot of Abingdon and MS B also details the wondrous things which he gave to and made for the monastery.[68] The *History* probably accords the highest praise to Æthelwold. Æthelwold is always referred reverentially: *sanctus pater, beatus, venerabilis, vir dei Æthelwoldus*.[69] The scribes also marked his sanctity and special status: Æthelwold's (and Faritius's) names predominantly appear in red ink.[70] Other abbots and kings' names also appear in red inks, but none to the same

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[66] *HC*, p. 14; *HC* (1966), p. 27: *qui expandens aureas alas aquile sibi prefigurate late per orbem Anglie cepit plurima monasteria per diuersa fundare, uel contruere, aut reparare loca, adiuuante domino, et amminiculante [sibi] rege pissimo [et benignissimo] Edgaro.*

[67] See *HC* pf 58 for the miracles performed by St Oswald's arm.

[68] How Æthelwold refilled the mead at the king's feast; *HA,* I, p. 339

[69] Ibid., I, pp. 294 – 7; pp. 336 – 9; pp. 340 – 3; pp. 358 – 61; II, pp. 32 – 3; pp. 66 – 7; pp. 222 – 3; pp. 334; pp. 337 – 1;

[70] Ibid, I, p. clxxxi; fols. 111r, 113v, 114r, 114v, 117v, 118r, 118v, 119r, 124r. Faritus: fols. 148v – 164v.

extent as those of Æthelwold and Faritius. Æthelwold's importance in the *History* is further marked on the final page of book one in MS C. Summarising the contents of Book I, focussing on the revival of monasticism under Æthelwold, folio 111r marks its importance through large decorated initials.[71] Æthelwold's abbacy, told in Chapters 27 - 70, takes up approximately 29% of the total word count of Book I in MS C.[72] This is more than 13% higher than any other abbacy in that book.[73] Æthelwold's abbacy in the later manuscript (MS B) comprises 49% of the total word count of Book I (Chapters 82 – 209), a much higher proportion still.[74]

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the *History* is that it documents Æthelwold's only known post-996 supernatural activity. Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was completed in 996 and as we have seen the only posthumous miracles it records are those immediately preceding and succeeding the saint's translation in that year.[75] All subsequent documents and literature which included miracles performed by Æthelwold used the accounts from Wulfstan's *vita.* Even the poems in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* new compositions on the holiness of St Æthelwold, ascribe no new posthumous miracles to him. MS B of the *History* apparently provides the only record of Æthelwold's posthumous activity after 996. The miracle occurs during the abbacy of Siward (1030 - 1044), who was considering demolishing the church built by Æthelwold and building another.[76] After being granted permission by the king, Siward began to regret his plans, thinking that Æthelwold would see it as an insult. The wording of the *History* at this point is interesting: Siward 'feared to demolish it, very frightened lest he incur the anger of the most glorious confessor

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[71] *HA,* I, p. lxix
[72] Ibid., I, p. lxxi.
[73] Wulfgar's abbacy is the next highest, taking up 15% of Book I.
[74] Ibid., I, p. lxxv.
[75] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xiv.
[76] *HA,* I, pp. 358 - 61.

[Æthelwold] over such a deed.'[77] This phrasing could suggest that Siward was fearful as Æthelwold's wrath had already been incurred by a previous abbot. To seek guidance about whether or not to continue Siward's plans, the whole monastery 'imposed several days of fasting on themselves and implored divine clemency and also the patronage of the blessed Æthelwold' in order to learn his will.[78] This ritualistic fasting could be indicative that it was customary at Abingdon to invoke the aid of St Æthelwold.[79] The fasting was successful: '[a]fter a few days, when the venerable man Abbot Siward was resting on his bed, the blessed Æthelwold appeared to him in his sleep'[80] and told Siward not to continue his plans to build a new church, for three future abbots (Adelelm, Faritius and Vincent) would build one instead. Hudson has commented that this story functions to justify the Norman abbots' rebuilding works; Æthelwold grants advance approval for rebuilding the church.[81]

Whilst this is Æthelwold's only known supernatural activity post-996, there are other clues in the Abingdon texts that suggest Æthelwold was perceived as an active and vengeful saint. As discussed earlier, in *De Abbatibus,* the author insinuated that Abbot Adelelm's early death was due to his insults of Æthelwold and his church.[82] According to MS B of the *History,* when Abbot Roger died (30 March 1185) the monastery fell into the possession of King Henry II who then sent Thomas of Hurstbourne to take custody of

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[77] Ibid., I, pp. 358 - 9: *timuit idem opus infringere, admodum pauidus ne super huiuscemodi facto gloriosissimi confessoris incurreret offensam.*
[78] Ibid: *indictis sibi aliquod dierum ieiuniis, diuinam implorabamt clementiam insuper et beati Aþelwoldi patrocinium...*
[79] Patrick Geary has also commented upon the preparations medieval pilgrims must undertake when approaching a saint's shrine to receive a miracle or vision, which including fasting (P. J. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), p. 170). Keeping vigil at the shrine or fasting in order to receive miraculous aid was known in the cult of St Katherine in eleventh-century Normandy (Walsh, *The Cult of St Catherine,* p. 96).
[80] *HA,* I, pp. 360 - 1: *Post aliquot dies, uiro uenerabili Siwardo abbate in lectulo suo quiescenti, apparuit ei beatus Aþelwoldus in sompnis...*
[81] *HA,* I, p. xcii.
[82] See Chapter 2.

the abbey. As the abbey was to be taxed, Thomas took an inventory of what each obedientiary (sacrist etc) received in payment and gifts from their lands.[83] When reporting his findings to the king's justiciar, Ranulf de Glanville, at the exchequer, he commented that the monastery did not have enough oats to feed their horses and that the monks ate too much cheese and milk, to the point that 'the whole of Berkshire would not suffice for finding the monks' cheese and milk.'[84] The monks replied that in the time of St Æthelwold dairy farms had been provided for finding the cheese and milk and that the bishop, and his fellow bishops of England 'excommunicated all those through whom that provision be brought to nothing.'[85] Such was the worry of Ranulf de Glanville that he ordered Thomas to 'diminish nothing at all of the old customs of the house of Abingdon' lest he 'gravely incur the sentence of the blessed Æthelwold'.[86] These tales, the vision miracle and the community's ceremony to invoke Æthelwold's help suggest that twelfth-century Abingdon viewed Æthelwold as a powerful saint who could be invoked by the community in times of need. Yet, it is odd that this is the only account of Æthelwold performing miracles at Abingdon because, after 1111, they owned some of his relics.

Although Æthelwold's cult was evidently important at these communities, for the most part, Æthelwold was never venerated as their primary saint as each monastery already had other saints who had a tradition of posthumous miracles and thus could provide reliable effective saintly intercession. It was also these saints whom pilgrims came to visit. Winchester had Swithun, whose entire Anglo-Saxon hagiography focused

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[83] *HA,* II, pp. 359 - 71.

[84] *HA*, II, p. 370 - 1: *dixit quod tota Berchesira non sufficeret ad caseum et lac monachorum inueniendum*.

[85] Ibid: *sollempniter excommunicauit omnes illos per quos prefata institutio foret adnichilata.*

[86] Ibid: *ut nullum de antiquis domus Abbendonie consuetudinibus dum procurator esset aliquatenus diminueret, et maxime de caseo et lacte et auena, timens ne si secus faceret beati Adeluuoldi et coepiscoporum Anglie grauiter incurreret sententiam.*

on his posthumous miracles. Ely had Æthelthryth, whose miracles were attested to by Bede, Goscelin, and the *Liber Eliensis,* suggesting a continuation of miracles during the twelfth century.[87] Peterborough claimed to have the primary English Petrine shrine and it also had the arm of St Oswald (king and martyr), which Bede reported to be incorrupt and miraculous in his own time and Hugh Candidus said performed miracles during the eleventh century.[88] Hugh Candidus reports that when the Danes had invaded the monastery of Peterborough, the arm of St Oswald protected Prior Æthelwold (a different Æthelwold) whilst he removed it from the feretory and sent it to Ramsey for protection.[89] The arm continued to perform miracles well into the twelfth century, healing the sick and inducing King Stephen to bestow money upon the abbey.[90] The water of St Oswald (presumably water in which the arm had been washed during its display in 1140) cured the sick, exorcised a demon from a certain woman and was taken to London to cure those sick there.[91] No such miracles are recorded for any of Æthelwold's relics at any centres, except those in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and the singular posthumous activity recorded in Abingdon's *History*.

Among the monasteries housing Æthelwold's cult which produced historical and hagiographical material in the twelfth century, Abingdon was unique in supplying the only known instance of his intervention in earthly affairs since the end of the tenth century; and it also accorded high status to him as a saint and protector. It is possible that this is because Abingdon did not venerate another local, Anglo-Saxon saint's cult. The

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[87] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* eds. McClure, Collins, trans. Colgrave*,* Book IV.19 - 20; Thompson and Stevens, 'Gregory of Ely's verse Life and Miracles of St Æthelthryth'; prose *vita* and *miracula* for Æthelthryth are also embedded in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* and *Liber Eliensis*.
[88] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People,* ed. McClure, Collins, trans. Colgrave, p. 100; *HC,* p. 41.
[89] *HC,* p. 41.
[90] Ibid., p. 55.
[91] Ibid.*,* pp. 55 - 56. This is similar to the miracles performed by the water of St Dunstan, as reported by Eadmer, discussed below.

cult of St Vincent, a Spanish martyr, was a popular cult at Abingdon that was introduced during the time of Æthelwold.[92] It is unclear if Æthelwold was involved in its promotion as he did not generally promote foreign saints' cults at his other communities.[93] An early eleventh-century list of the resting-places of saints states that his arm and thigh bones, part of his shoulder blade, and a rib were at Abingdon.[94] There are two conflicting stories as how Vincent's relics came to be at Abingdon. The *History of Abingdon* claims that King Edgar acquired them for the abbey, but *De Abbatibus* states that during Osgar's abbacy they were stolen from Glastonbury, alongside the head of St Apollinaris.[95] The cult seems to have remained popular at Abingdon. The *History* remarks that Abbot Faritius 'raised to particular magnificence the solemn day of St Vincent'.[96] This probably refers to Faritius' institution of the grading of his feast *in cappis,* with a twelve lesson matins, alongside the feasts of Æthelwold, Apollinaris, John the Baptist, Aldhelm, Cedde, Mary Magdalene and Batillis, of whom the abbey possessed relics.[97] All of the surviving calendars of Abingdon record his feast on 22 January in coloured inks, *in cappis.*[98] They also celebrate the octave of the feast of Vincent, *in albis,* which indicates a similar level of veneration at Abingdon for both Vincent and Æthelwold. Yet, in the *History* he is not accorded the same importance as Æthelwold and it also does not mention any of his miracles. The tone of the accounts, however, in the *History,* where Abbot Siward and Thomas of Hurstbourne were afraid to carry out certain actions because they were fearful

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[92] See *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints,* ed. W. W. Skeat, EETS, Original Series, 114 (London, 1900), p. 443 for the Life of St Vincent by Aelfric.

[93] Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', p. 60 – 1.

[94] D. W. Rollason, 'Lists of saints' resting-places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE,* 7 (1978), p. 90.

[95] *CMA,* II, pp. 48, 280. There is no head of St Apollinaris in the twelfth-century Abingdon relic list.

[96] *HA,* II, p. 70 – 71: *Sancti Vincentii sollempnem diem pre cunctis antecessoribus suis magnificentius extulit, et tanto martiri deuote sese assidue commendare studuit.*

[97] Batillis is probably a misspelling of Batildis, whose feast was celebrated on 30 January and whose relics (arm and jaw with teeth) the abbey possessed. *HA,* II, p. 287; p. civ – cvi.

[98] See Appendix A, Table 2.

Æthelwold would take revenge; and where *De Abbatibus* implies that Abbot Adelelm was killed because of his disrespect of Æthelwold, suggest that Æthelwold was viewed as an active and vengeful saint at Abingdon.

Of the others, Ely's *Libellus* is the only text to present Æthelwold as the community's primary saint, although it supplies no instance of specific intervention. In the *Liber Eliensis* and Hugh's Chronicle, Æthelwold was generally permitted an historical role, rather than a saintly one. Whilst all the authors acknowledged his holiness, and used it to their advantage, only one related a recent posthumous miracle and none ascribed miracles to the relics which they owned. That ties in with the evidence of houses such as Winchester and Thorney which did not produce historical/hagiographical material. In general, these communities honoured Æthelwold for his deeds in life but not in death: other saints performed posthumous miracles at their monasteries, whilst Æthelwold did not.

Æthelwold as Underwriter; Cult as Guarantor

If Æthelwold was not a miracle worker, and was not venerated by the lay community, it is unlikely that the cult would have made money from pilgrims. So, how did the cult function within the monasteries with which he was associated? Unsurprisingly, they continued to remember his contribution to Benedictine monasticism. One of the common themes running throughout all the house-histories is that Æthelwold's reform or refoundation of monasteries was perceived, or at least portrayed, as a holy work, inspired by God.

For example, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* uses hagiographical narrative, prose, charters, and poems to present Æthelwold's refoundation of Ely as a holy deed. As

discussed above, Clarke argues that the prose and verse were employed to serve two completely different functions: the prose commemorate Æthelwold's land acquisitions and the verses place Æthelwold within the heavenly sphere, focussing upon his Æthelwold's miraculous deeds, his battles with the devil and consistently associated him with otherworldly concerns.[99] The functions of the prose and verse are, however, more blurred than Clarke suggests. Paxton's analysis of the *Liber Eliensis* suggests that it is possible to see that the prose and verse work together to support the abbey's land claims. The prose in the *Libellus* is not simply a record of land acquisition but also contains hagiographical rhetoric; it presents the endowment of Ely as a heavenly deed. That is especially evident in the beginning sections of the *Libellus* where the prologue introduces the text as a quasi-hagiographical work. Æthelwold is described as

> The blessed Æthelwold, truly of their [the saints'] company, was in his time eminent as a chosen bishop of God, whose most glorious and distinguished life shone forth in virtues and miracles.[100]

Clarke has pointed out that the imagery used in the prologue is similar to the rhetoric of other Benedictine reform texts.[101] The author states that Bishop Hervey had commissioned him to translate the English *Libellus* into Latin. But the purpose of the work is plainly cited [emphasis mine]:

> we have supposed it worthy that the *words and deeds of the saints be written down* and, once committed to writing, *be applied to the praise and honour of Christ*, so that through them and in them He Himself may be glorified and declared marvellous, through whom they become glorious and perform their marvels.[102]

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[99] Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 162 – 5.

[100] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* preafce, p. 1; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 395: *De quorum siquidem consortio beatus Aetheluuoldus electus Dei pontifex suis temporibus floruit, cuius vita virtutibus gloriosa et miraculis clara effulsit.*

[101] Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England,* p. 149.

[102] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* preface, p. 1; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 395: *dignum duximus ut sanctorum dicta et facta describantur et descripta ad laudem et honorem Christi referantur, ut per illos et in illis ipse glorificetur et mirabilis predicetur, per quem ipsi gloriosi fiunt et mirabilia operantur.*

The author is stating the book records Æthelwold's miraculous deeds, as if it were a *Miracula s. Æthelwoldi* of Ely. That implies that all the deeds recorded in the book have the status of miracles. The *Libellus* details Æthelwold's land acquisitions for the abbey, and so the prologue confers upon them the status of sanctified actions.

The first three chapters are purely narrative prose; they have the structure of hagiography and foundation stories. They discuss the role of 'the blessed and outstanding bishop Æthelwold'[103] and 'the glorious King Edgar'[104] in restoring the monastery and community at Ely. It describes the reputation of Ely, its saints and relics, and the inspiration from heaven that motivated Æthelwold and Edgar to restore Ely. Chapter 3 in particular (entitled: 'How Æthelwold established monks in the monastery of Ely'[105]) presents Æthelwold as undertaking the work of God and the king, and includes Biblical quotation. Although concluding with a legal formula, stating that Æthelwold confirmed the refoundation 'by a charter of royal authority',[106] the final passage of the chapter employs much hagiographic rhetoric, summarising Æthelwold's restoration of the community of Ely in an 'outstanding manner'[107] entrusting it 'all to God and St Æthelthryth'.[108] These early chapters of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* present it as a hagiographical document. The hagiographical prose underwrites and lends divine authority to the charters and legal accounts in the rest of the work.

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[103] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 1, p. 2; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 396: *beatus Aedeluuoldus egregius pontifex.*
[104] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 3, p. 2; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *gloriosus rec Aedgarus.*
[105] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 3, p. 2; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *Quomodo Aedeluuoldus in Elyensi monasterio monachos inthronizavit.*
[106] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 3, p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *regieque auctoritatis privilegio confirmatum.*
[107] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 3, p. 2; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *diligenter renovavit.*
[108] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 3, p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 397: *Deo ac sancta Æðeldryðe totum commendavit.*

Chapter 4 contains the first land transaction, which documents how Æthelwold bought a large parcel of land (the whole region surrounding the Isle of Ely) from King Edgar. The deed, however, is surrounded by hagiographic prose and verse. The chapter is preceded by the first verse in the *Libellus,* which is abundant with biblical and heavenly imagery. The verse likens the time of Edgar and Æthelwold to a Golden Age with rivers of milk and streams of honey. As Clarke has pointed out the biblical imagery of the Promised Land is evident here, as is the prophetic language of a miraculous reversal in a bush transforming into a rose.[109] This heavenly life is associated with Æthelwold. The introduction of the chapter opens with a description of Æthelwold being 'filled with the Holy Ghost'.[110] The chapter then lists the number of hides given to Ely and Æthelwold's payment to Edgar. The chapter concludes with a statement that the lands were bought from Edgar 'with all royal rights and confirmed with a charter of eternal liberty, the holy Æthelwold presented [it] to God and St Æthelthryth.'[111] The legality of the gift of land to Ely is cemented by stating that it was a holy gift: the land was bequeathed to God and St Æthelthryth. The gift of the land is given triple protection through the sanctity of St Æthelwold, the legal terms of the document, and its presentation to God and St Æthelthryth.

The chapter concludes with another verse presenting Æthelwold as a saint and, concentrating on Æthelwold's continuing activity as a holy protector:

> O bountiful founder, you will live honoured through the ages. You took up
> heavenly concerns when you gave away earthly ones. Indeed you attain

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[109] Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 149.
[110] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 4, p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, ii.4, p. 75: *repletus Spiritu Sancto.*
[111] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 4, p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, ii.4, p. 76: *a rege emptas cum omnibus regiis consuetudinibus et cum privilegio eterne libertatis coroboratas sanctus Ædelwoldus Deo et sancta Æðeldreðe optulit.*

heaven, to where may you direct our course so that we may rule together in eternity, your fellow citizens with you.[112]

The verse implies that the sanctity of Æthelwold supersedes any legal or earthly claim. Because the land given to Ely, as related in the preceding chapter, was a holy gift from St Æthelwold it was not to be removed from the Ely community. The hagiographical prose and verses bookend the chapter and function as *miracula,* presenting proof of Æthelwold's saintly status, so that his legal deeds have the same validity as his miracles. This structure continues for most of the *Libellus.* While, as Clarke points out, the verses embed Æthelwold in a saintly world, away from the 'grubby realities of land acquisition and tenth-century politics,'[113] the prose also functions in a similar manner. Like the miracle stories of St Æthelthryth in the *Liber Eliensis,* the verses and hagiographical narratives of St Æthelwold act as support and justification for the legal procedures and deeds by which Ely came to own their lands. Æthelwold is consistently described as a saint, their patron, and a great defender of the abbey. The *Libellus* is a carefully prepared document presented to show that Ely was refounded and endowed by a powerful saint whose deeds were supported by God. This, in turn, depoliticises and protects their endowments.

The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* demonstrates that the twelfth-century Ely community valued Æthelwold as their personal saint and refounder. His legend was utilised to create a document that would protect their lands and create a precedent for the new bishop to sustain and enlarge Ely's holdings and power. [114] The *Libellus* turned Ely's legal documents and charters into quasi-hagiography focussed on Æthelwold, reshaping the

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[112] *Libellus Æthelwoldi,* c. 3, p. 3; *Liber Eliensis,* ed. Blake, Appendix A, p. 398: *Institor o dives, felix per secula vives. Celica sumpsisti, dum tu terrena dedisti. Ecce tenes celum, quo nostrum dirige velum, Concives tecum, quo conregnemus in evum.*
[113] Clarke, *Writing Power in Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 161.
[114] Ibid., p. 169.

historical, political reforming bishop into a saintly monastic founder who would provide heavenly protection.

The monastery of Peterborough used Æthelwold's cult in a similar manner. Whilst St Oswald protected their community by performing miracles and intervening in their affairs from heaven, Æthelwold's sanctity underpinned and protected the endowments he bestowed upon them during his life. The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus presents Æthelwold as a saint who secured the monastery's reputation and holdings. The manuscript denotes that the section dealing with Æthelwold's refoundation of Peterborough is a distinctly new part of the chronicle. Beginning on folio 30r in the copy in the register of Walter de Whittlesey (London, BL, Add 39758), the P initial of 'Post', the beginning of the sentence, is large, gold and decorated. The beginning of the passage is also marked in the margin with '*Restaur[atus] Burgi p[er] Sanctum Adelwoldum'* in red inks. Within the prose a flower accompanies the term *Sanctissimus Adelwoldus* and the A of *Adelwoldus* is in red inks; evidently the scribe wanted to identify this as a new part of the abbey's history, concerning an important figure.

Hugh's Chronicle uses a similar structure to the *Libellus Æthelwoldi.* Charters and legal deeds, recording Æthelwold's endowment and refoundation of Peterborough, are embedded in narrative, hagiographical prose. As quoted in full above, when narrating Æthelwold's refoundation of Peterborough, Hugh begins by describing his miracles, visions and the bestowal of God's favour upon him. Æthelwold is likened to an eagle (the description of which is lifted directly from Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*). The narrative then describes the saint's refoundation of Peterborough, which is identified as a holy deed: God appeared to him in a vision and bade him restore it. After hearing God's demands and visiting Peterborough, Æthelwold went alone to his oratory to pray to God

for help from the king and queen. The queen had hidden herself in a corner behind a curtain with the intention of overhearing his prayers.[115] Emerging from her hiding place, she told Æthelwold that his prayers had been received and swore to solicit her husband's help. Edgar proved to be easily persuaded and he immediately called Æthelwold into his presence and promised to help him refound Peterborough.

The method of Edgar's inclusion in the refoundation story is significant. As it was supposedly through God's intervention that the queen heard of Æthelwold's wishes, King Edgar's role in refounding the monastery is an element within the holy action. The account of the refoundation of the monastery is a sacred deed; these stories thus function as *miracula*.

The following section of the text contains charters and legal deeds that detail the refoundation of Peterborough. The rights of Peterborough are firmly stated in a charter by King Edgar (the pseudo-Edgar charter):

> This holy and apostolic convent shall be for ever free from all secular claims and services so that no-one ecclesiastical or lay shall ever have any dominion over it or over its abbot but the abbot himself with his subject family of Christ...and by the authority of our most revered archbishop Dunstan, it shall stay absolved also in perpetuity from all Episcopal exaction and disturbance...Also we grant by perpetual liberty those lands...[that] have been added by the aforesaid bishop [Æthelwold] to the said monastery… be forever free from all royal rights, from all secular yoke...[116]

The chronicle then describes how Peterborough was named the 'Gildeburgh' because it was so enriched with lands and gold. Then charters from all the successive

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[115] *HC*, p. 15.

[116] *HC*, pp. 17 - 18; *HC* (1966), p. 34: *illud sanctum et apostolicum cenobium in perpetuum esse liberum ab omni seculari causa et seruitute, ut nullus ecclesiasticorum uel laicorum super ipsum uel super ipsius abbatem ullum umquam habeat dominum set ipso abbate cum subiecta Christi familia ... Set et ab episcopali exaccione et inquietudine ex apostolica libertate et reuerentissimi archiepiscopi nostri Dunstani auctoritate cum suis appendiciis...absolutum....Item terras nostro adiutorio, uel dono, uel optimatum meorum per prefatum episcopum eidem monasterio adiectas... ab omni regali iure [et ab omni seculari iugo] in eternum libere...*

kings until William the Conqueror grant, acknowledge, and confirm the said privileges and charters.[117] The structure of the text ensures that the endowment of Peterborough is depicted as a holy deed. The hagiographical prose at the beginning of the section provides context and divine sanction for the legal deeds.[118] Æthelwold acquired lands for the abbey at God's behest, and thus it is protected by them. These legal deeds are then confirmed and ratified by the kings of England. This provides triple protection for the refoundation, endowment and rights of Peterborough.

The Edgar (pseudo-Edgar) charter and the successive kings' confirmation of privileges in the chronicle are a group of forgeries probably created in the abbacy of Ernulf (1107 - 1114).[119] They were certainly written before *c.* 1112 when they were interpolated into ASC E.[120] Morris notes that the charters avoid the lands of the bishopric of Ely, indicating it was written after its creation in 1109.[121] Therefore they were probably written *c.*1109x1112.

It is uncertain whether or not Hugh knew the charters were spurious.[122] Ernulf was Hugh's mentor, and Morris has postulated that Hugh was aware of their forgery, and believed them to have been necessary to 'satisfy the Norman demand for written proof of pre-Conquest possessions and privileges'.[123] The fact of their forgery does not invalidate their use in the chronicle because they are informative of the mindset of the twelfth-century Peterborough community that created them, demonstrating that it wanted to emphasise its connection with the Anglo-Saxon past.

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[117] J. Paxton, 'Forging communities: memory and identity in post-Conquest England', *HSJ,* 10 (Woodbridge, 2002), p. 98.
[118] *HC,* p. 18.
[119] Also known as the 'Relatio Heddae', they are included in the *Liber Niger* (the Peterborough cartulary) and the Peterborough retention of the ASC (E).
[120] Morris, 'Forging links with the past', p. 53.
[121] Ibid., p. 56.
[122] Ibid., p. 114.
[123] Ibid.

These forgeries from Ernulf's time may be connected with another set of forgeries. The 'Relatio-Heddae' charters were also created during Ernulf's abbacy, and claimed that Peterborough was the English place of pilgrimage for the shrine of St Peter; it was a second Rome in England.[124] If this were true, it would have meant that Peterborough was the highest ranking monastery in England. In his chronicle, Hugh maintained that Peterborough was an apostolic site and vested with the authority of St Peter.

> ...whosoever in all England and the neighbouring realms could not go on foot to visit S. Peter at Rome ... might seek S. Peter here, and here perform his vows. Here might he receive absolution for his sins and apostolic benediction, and he might confidently believe that the gates of the kingdom of Heaven are here opened to him.[125]

Kelly has commented that the forgeries were 'clearly intended to document the history of the house from its earliest foundation and to project a vision of its outstanding importance as the first monastery of Mercia...'[126] Paxton argues that they constructed an identity for Peterborough, stressing specific connections with the past which served their present needs.[127] Her analysis focused on the presentation of these forged texts in the *Liber Niger* and the Peterborough ASC (E), rather than in Hugh's Chronicle. Paxton stressed that 'legal documents and historical accounts were both seen as vital to the creation of an authentic past for the Peterborough community.'[128] That is also evident in the way in which Hugh interpolated the Pseudo-Edgar charters into his chronicle. The forgeries and their claims anchored the contemporary community to their Anglo-Saxon

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[124] For a discussion of the forgeries see Morris, 'Forging links with the past'; M. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, (Oxford, 1993), p. 7; Paxton, 'Forging communities'; J. D. Martin, *The Cartularies and Registers of Peterborough Abbey* (Peterborough, 1978).

[125] *HC,* p. 17; *HC* (1966), p. 31: *et inter cetera quod quicumque non solum de tota Anglia, set et de proximis regnorum nacionibus, uel uie longinquitate aut uaria necessitudine prepediti, Rome beatum Petrum reuisere non sufficerent...hic absolucionem peccatorum et apostolicam benedictionem accipere, ac celi ianuam sibi aperiri fideliter credant.*

[126] *The Charters of Peterborough Abbey,* ed. Kelly, p. 15.

[127] Paxton, 'Forging communities', p. 98.

[128] Ibid., pp. 105 - 6.

past, creating a strong institutional identity and history that would allow them to retain and sustain their rights and independence.

It seems that Hugh used Æthelwold's saintly status to underwrite the rights and lands that Peterborough acquired during his episcopate. The presentation of legal documents and charters within hagiographical prose lends them authority as the narrative confers upon them holy status. By interlinking the sanctity of Æthelwold with the monastery's lands and rights, Hugh renders them inseparable. Anyone disputing Peterborough's claims or rights therefore would be repudiating the holy power of St Æthelwold. Hugh adds more support by including royal charters and grants from Edgar up to and including William the Conqueror. Although they are now known to be spurious, contemporaries may not have been aware of the fact and would have acknowledged and respected such charters. The charters and hagiographical prose together provide a unified narrative protecting the rights, land and privileges of Peterborough abbey. St Æthelwold's role in its foundation history was utilised by the twelfth-century community to secure its privileges and rights, and his representation as a saint with outstanding power and virtue was crucial to that cause.

The fact that Hugh includes deeds of Æthelwold not directly related to Peterborough further supports this; the chronicle contains tales of Æthelwold's refoundation of Thorney, Ely, Abingdon and Winchester.[129] Although Thorney and Ely could perhaps have been included as fenland neighbours of Peterborough, the reference to Abingdon and Winchester suggests that Hugh sought to present Æthelwold's refoundation of monasteries throughout England as holy works.

Indeed, Hugh finishes the section on Æthelwold by stating:

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[129] *HC*, pp. 22 - 25.

These deeds, few indeed among the many that we have culled from the records of a man holy in the sight of God and beloved by many, we have here set down, that all men may know how great, how magnificent, and how many were his deeds, how he endured great labours and toils and sore tribulations and persecutions and grave dangers for the building of churches and for the religion of the monks, as for example when he drank poison, and endured many other things, and how he left a noble example to the pastors of the church.[130]

Akin to the Ely documents, Æthelwold is held up, not only as a saintly protector, but as a model bishop and exemplar for Anglo-Norman abbots.

Æthelwold was used in exactly the same manner in the *History* of Abingdon. In the now familiar pattern, Æthelwold was perceived by King Æthelstan to be 'a zealous practitioner of virtues'[131] and so sent to study in Bishop Ælfheah's household. The author then speaks of the king's death, and inserts charters issued by his successors in favour of Abingdon. The author then returns to Æthelwold's monastic career, discussing how he 'took the habit of sacred religion at Glastonbury under Father Dunstan' and that he was then appointed as abbot of Abingdon as he was a 'servant of God'.[132] The king ordered the monastery to be rebuilt and handed over to sacred men. Thus, the holy Æthelwold, a servant of God, undertook this holy deed by command of his king and his God. As in the chronicle of Hugh Candidus and the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, the author inserts King Eadred's charter concerning land gifts to Abingdon. This charter is immediately succeeded by narrative sections recording Æthelwold's deeds at Abingdon: two of his miracles, how he sent Osgar to Fleury, and how the king's mother gave gifts to Æthelwold and Abingdon.[133] Then, more charters follow. The author ensures that the charters from

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[130] Ibid., p. 24; *HC* (1966), p. 47: *Hec pauca de multis que excerpsimus de huius sanctissimi et deo et hominibus dilecti antistitis factis attigimus, ut cofnoscatur quam multa sunt et magna que gessit. Et quia magnos labores et sudores, ed immensas tribulaciones et persecuciones, et maxima pericula, pro edificandis ecclesiis, et pro religione monachorum sustinuit, sicuti quando uenenum bibit, et multa alia que pertulit, et quia optima exempla pastoribus ecclesiarum [de]reliquit.*

[131] *HA*, I, p. 44 - 5: *uirtutum emulum.*

[132] *HA*, I, pp. 48 - 49: *scandere ratus, Glestonie sub patre Dunstano sacre habitum religionis induit... seruum Dei*

[133] *HA*, I, pp. 53 - 59.

Æthelwold's abbacy, which made Abingdon one of the richest monasteries of the tenth century, are embedded in hagiographical text describing Æthelwold's holiness and good works. St Æthelwold was the protector of their monastic properties and rights.

Thus, in the twelfth century, Æthelwold became the 'undying landlord' of the communities of Ely, Peterborough, and Abingdon, but not in the traditional sense. Rollason has argued that the 'undying landlord' is the saint to whom charters and land deeds were dedicated.[134] So, for instance, at Ely this would be St Æthelthryth as land was generally recorded as being given 'to God and St Æthelthryth'. But, in these twelfth-century texts, Æthelwold acted as a higher level landlord: he was the one who acquired the properties, gave it to the monasteries, and continued to protect it. It appears that Æthelwold lived on as an 'undying benefactor' or 'undying guarantor'. Any persons wishing to violate the monasteries' rights or properties would have to challenge the sanctity of St Æthelwold in addition to the saints to whom the original charters were dedicated. Æthelwold's sanctity and cult added an extra layer of protection to these communities' rights and privileges. These twelfth-century communities evidently saw Æthelwold as proving remote protection through his saintly status, which underwrote their legal and territorial claims.

Æthelwold in National Histories

Some of these themes are also seen in his portrayal by the authors of national histories such as William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon. Henry of Huntingdon 'finished' his *Historia Anglorum* he six times: first in 1129 and lastly in 1154.[135] He began the work under the exhortation of Bishop Alexander of Lincoln, who was appointed to

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[134] Rollason, *Saints and Relics,* pp. 196 - 214.
[135] *HHHA*, pp. lxvi – lxvii.

the see in April 1123.[136] A copy of the first version of the *Historia Anglorum* was made in 1131, and Henry made subsequent alterations when he gained additional sources to supplement the work. William of Malmesbury's first work, *Gesta Regum Anglorum,* was started before 1118 and completed *c.* 1126 but extensively revised thereafter, and his *Gesta Pontificum* was written after his initial draft of the *Gesta Regum* but at much the same time as the later ones.

Henry first introduces Æthelwold when noting his appointment as bishop of Winchester by Edgar in 963.[137] Æthelwold's status as a saint is not mentioned, nor are his miracles, but he is given the adjective *venerabilis*.[138] Henry goes on to discuss Æthelwold's expulsion of the canons from the Old Minster and his foundation of monasteries throughout England. Unfortunately, Henry gets most of the details wrong. He overlooks Æthelwold's expulsion of the canons from New Minster and then claims that it was Old Minster which was subsequently moved outside the walls of Winchester, rather than New Minster/Hyde Abbey. He also claims Æthelwold founded the abbey of Glastonbury and encouraged ealdorman Æthelwine to found Ramsey abbey, rather than St Oswald.[139]

In Book IX, however, '[o]n the Miracles of the English',[140] when Henry summarises the saints listed in the previous books he says that he gave earlier 'an abbreviated account of SS Dunstan, Æthelwold and Ælfheah'[141] whose 'works are celebrated in writing where their holy bodies rest.'[142] Henry also lists Æthelwold amongst

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[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid., v.25, pp. 320 – 1.
[138] Ibid
[139] Ibid.
[140] Ibid., ix.9, p. 622 – 3: *De miraculis anglorum.*
[141] Ibid., ix.7, p. 626 – 7: *de sanctis Dunstano, Athelwoldo, Elfego, pauca libauimus.*
[142] Ibid., ix.7, pp. 626 – 9: *quorum ubi corpora sancta requiescunt et opera scripta nitescunt.*

the eighteen other recent saints of the English and is quite emphatic upon the holiness of Æthelwold:

> Who, beholding the church of Winchester and looking at the brilliant deeds of father Æthelwold, will not praise the Father who alone works through him and his miracles? O how many churches this bishop established for God, how many congregations he designated for the practice of the regular life, how many fires of impiety he extinguishes with the dew of the Holy Spirit?[143]

Henry was more sympathetic to Æthelwold than other twelfth-century historians. Whereas the pervading trend of twelfth-century writers was to ascribe Edgar's interest in reforming to Dunstan, Henry ascribes it to Æthelwold.[144] That may have been because of his connection to Ramsey, where Byrhtferth's *Vita s. Oswaldi* names Æthelwold as the leader of the Benedictine reform movement.[145] Robertson suggests that there was a Ramsey tradition of assigning the leading role in Edgar's reforms to Æthelwold, to the detriment of Dunstan, which pervaded into the twelfth century and was taken up by Henry in his *Historia.*[146]

In William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum* Æthelwold is represented as an austere figure. Æthelwold's harsh character is exemplified in one tale where he thoroughly rebukes Eadgyth, the daughter of King Edgar, for the splendour of her garments. Eadgyth cleverly replies that her pure heart, just as good as his, was hidden by garments as his were hidden by ragged sheepskin. Æthelwold was abashed, blushing and displeased to be spoken thus, whereas in stark contrast, St Dunstan blessed her and burst into tears at the

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[143] Ibid., ix.52, pp. 688 – 9: *Quis Wintoniensem uisens ecclesiam, et patris Adelwoldi lucidissima gesta reuoluens, non laudet patrem, qui solus per se et suos operatur miracula? O quot ecclesias presul ille Deo instituit, quot congregationes regularibus disciplinis insigniuit, quot impietatis incendia rore sancti spiritus extinxit?*

[144] Robertson, 'Tenth-century fact or twelfth-century fiction', p. 163.

[145] Ramsey abbey was within the county of Huntingdon, and so part of Henry's archdeaconry. And Henry probably spent his childhood at Little Stukeley, Huntingdonshire, which was a tenancy of the abbot of Ramsey.

[146] Robertson, 'Tenth-century fact or twelfth-century fiction', p. 163.

foresight of her imminent death. [147] William speaks of Æthelwold's refoundation of monasteries, but does not mention his miracles or relief for the poor as he does for St Dunstan.[148]

William's depiction of Æthelwold in the *Gesta Pontificum* is more favourable. Æthelwold's foundation of the fenland monasteries is mentioned intermittently during his accounts of the appropriate diocesan bishops. The entry for Æthelwold amongst the bishops of Winchester discusses his whole life and deeds and inserts miracle stories throughout, presenting Æthelwold as saint who primarily worked his miracles in life.

William first introduces Æthelwold when discussing the episcopate of Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester (934/5 – 951). He recounts the story from Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in which Ælfheah ordained Dunstan, Æthelwold and one Æthelstan who later 'threw off the monastic habit, rejected celibacy, and died in the arms of a whore.'[149] Ælfheah prophesised their fates: that one would rise to be archbishop of Canterbury, another bishop of Winchester, and one would meet a pitiable end after living a life of excess. This story retains the same functions as it does in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*: to emphasise the holiness of Æthelwold and Dunstan by contrasting it with the sinful priest.

The next chapter recounts Æthelwold's early life and tutelage under Dunstan at Glastonbury. It includes the miracle story of Dunstan's dream of the tree covered in countless cowls. William also tells the miracle story of Æthelwold's mother, whilst pregnant with the saint, seeing an eagle fly from her mouth and circle the city of Winchester for a long time until it flew upwards into the heavens. The next two chapters denote his abbacy of Abingdon and appointment as bishop of Winchester. William

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[147] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum,* ed. Mynors *et al.,* vol. I, ii.218, pp. 402 – 3.
[148] Ibid., ii.149, pp. 240 - 3.
[149] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* ed. Winterbottom *et al.,* vol. I, ii.75.31, pp. 260 – 1: *qui postmodum monachicae uestis apostate, celibate contempto, in meretritiis amplexibus uitam effudit.*

focuses on Æthelwold's foundation of monasteries and contribution to monasticism: 'It is impossible to know what was more deserving of praise: his zeal for holiness or his practice of instruction, his urgency in preaching or his energy in building works.'[150] He then accounts for the expulsion of the monks from the Old and New Minsters and the building of Nunnaminster.

However the last entries concerning Æthelwold link him with Swithun and make it quite clear that Æthelwold was a saint of tremendous power.[151] He is brought into the narrative in the relation of the miracles of St Swithun following his translation:

> But Æthelwold took no rest from working wonders. There seemed to be a competition between the two merciful saints, one alive, one dead. Their miracles multiplied on every hand, this man having his faith strengthened, that his health restored.[152]

William then lists miracles and good works from Wulfstan's *vita*: Æthelwold recovered from poisoning; he miraculously found a mislaid vial of oil; he bound a thieving monk until he confessed his crimes; he healed a monk who fell from a high ledge of the church; he ordered the breaking up of sacred vessels to sell and feed the poor during a time of famine.[153] These miracle stories are all recounted in one section that concludes with the death of Æthelwold. His translation and post-death miracles are not mentioned.

The passage reporting Æthelwold's death is interesting:

> …to the great sorrow of the monks though not himself, he was taken from the world. He rejoices on high in glory; but of the houses he had built many were later destroyed, and all were diminished.[154]

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[150] Ibid., ii. 75.38, pp. 261 - 3: *Nescires quid in eo magnis laudares, sanctitatis studium an doctrinarum exercitium, in predicatione instantiam, in edifitiis industriam.*
[151] Ibid., ii. 75.40, pp. 264 – 5.
[152] Ibid., ii. 75.45, pp. 265 – 7: *Sed nec ipse Aethelwoldus a miraculis otiabatur, uidebaturque emula uiui et mortui sanctorum pietas, dum, hinc inde credbrescentibus sanctorum prodigiis, huius corroboraretur fides, illius reuocaretur sanitas.*
[153] Ibid., ii. 75.45 – 76.
[154] Ibid., ii. 75.46: *sullatus est mundo, magna monachorum erumna, sua nulla. Quippe ille sullimis in Gloria exultat; cenobia quae fecerat post obitum multa diruta, cuncta minorata.*

This is probably a reference to the destruction wrought by the invasion of the Danes.[155] Henry of Huntingdon also connects the death of Æthelwold with the destruction wrought by the Danes. When discussing the Danish wars Henry explicitly links the invasion of the Danes with the deaths of Æthelwold and Dunstan:

> At this time St Æthelwold the bishop, the father of monks and star of the English, was granted the vision of the Lord that he had always desired. Not long afterwards Archbishop Dunstan crossed from the shadows of the world to the glory of heaven. With these two luminaries taken from the English people, England was without the breastplate of her defence, and in her desolation lay open to God's premeditated vengeance…The Danes came from many directions and covered England like the clouds of the sky.[156]

The imagery of the star presumably comes from Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* where he describes him as *uelut Lucifer inter astra coruscans.*[157] The Anglo-Saxon chronicle (versions D and E) call Æthelwold the 'father of monks' and the successive years report the ravaging of coastal towns.[158] But Henry and William's accounts are the first to directly draw parallels between Æthelwold's death and the Danish destruction. Both William and Henry also link the death of Dunstan and the invasion of the Danes, which is a common motif.[159]

The literary tradition linking Dunstan's death with the invasion of the Danes is evident from the early eleventh until the fourteenth century. In his lections on the Life of St Dunstan, Adelard reports that Dunstan himself supposedly prophesised how the

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[155] It could be a reference to the 'anti-monastic reaction' but this is unlikely as it primarily affected the Merican houses.

[156] *HHHA,* v. 28, pp. 326 – 7: *Eo tempore sanctus Adelwold episcopus, pater monachorum et sidus Anglorum, Domini uisionem, quam semper optuerat, adeptus est. Nec longe post, Dunstanus archiepiscopus a mundi tenebris transiit ad celi gloriam. Hic ergo duobus luminaribus Anglorum genti subtractis, caruit Anglia lorica protectionis sue, et uindicte Dei premeditate desolata patuit…Veneruntque Daci ex multis partibus et operuerunt Angliam nubes celi.*

[157] Ibid; *VsÆ,* p. 3.

[158] ASC D, E, 984 ASC D, E, 987; ASC A, C, D, E, F 988.

[159] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* ed. Winterbottom *et al.,* vol. I, i.20.12, pp. 40 - 1: 'For at once the joyful visage of the elements withered away, and the peace his wisdom had produced disappeared in the Danish invasions'; '*Siquidem statim laeta elementorum faties emarcuit, pax per eius sapientiam procurata superuentu Danorum euanuit…';*Henry: see above quotation.

barbarians would invade after his own death.[160] Eadmer, in his *Vita s. Dunstani,* also alludes to the destruction caused by the Danish invasions and links it to Dunstan's death:

> …it is clear enough from the chronicle and from our own tribulations without my saying anything what misery has enveloped all of England since his [Dunstan's] death, and by enveloping it has ruined it…[161]

An implicit link is suggested in the mid-fourteenth century Chronicle of Glastonbury: 'When blessed Dunstan was dead, then, the Danes came in great droves to almost every port in England.'[162] The Glastonbury chronicler uses the destruction of Christ Church, Canterbury by the Danes as the premise for Glastonbury acquiring the relics of St Dunstan: the community rescued his body from the rubble and destruction and returned them to Glastonbury. The above authors were from monastic centres where the cult of St Dunstan was strong; linking his death with the destruction caused by the Danes was probably an attempt to demonstrate the divine and protective power that the saint had possessed in life. When he departed from the world, there was no longer any protection to stop the Danes from attempting to invade Britain.

It is interesting, nevertheless, that William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon would link Æthelwold's death with the Danish invasion. The original source of this supposition is unknown. The authors did not use the same version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Henry of Huntingdon used a version similar to E, but also had access to material found in C but not in E. William of Malmesbury also used a version similar

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[160] Adelard, *Lectiones in Depositione S. Dunstani,* ed. and trans. M Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012), lection 12, pp. 142 - 3; S. Keynes, 'The burial of King Aethelred the Unready', in D. Roffe (ed.), *The English and Their Legacy, 900 – 1200* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 146.

[161] Eadmer, *VsD,* c. 68, pp. 158 – 9: *Miseriam praeterea quae post decessum eius Angliam totam inuoluit, et inuoluendo pessumdedit, satis est in cronicis et in nostris tribulationibus, me tacente, uidere.*

[162] *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey,* ed. and trans. J. P. Carley and D. Townsend (Woodbridge, 1985), c. 76, pp. 142 – 4: *Igitur Dunstano mortuo, superuenerunt Dani quasi in quiolibet Anglie portu in multitudine maxima…*

to E, which Whitelock believes may have been the archetype of E itself. He did not use either C or D.[163] The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle is explicit in describing Danish attacks on England before the deaths of Æthelwold and Dunstan: version C records attacks on Southampton, Thanet and Cheshire in 980; Devon and Cornwall in 981; Dorset and Portland in 982. D and E also report that seven ships ravaged Southampton in 981.[164] Since Henry and William state the attacks occurred after their deaths in 984 and 988 respectively, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle evidently was not their source. It also was not the Chronicle of John of Worcester.[165]

There is one earlier source that discusses destruction after Æthelwold's death, but like the William of Malmesbury quote, it could be alluding to the Viking attacks, or general destruction. A 993 diploma of King Æthelred confirming the rights of Abingdon abbey, believed to be genuine and contained in the *History of Abingdon*, includes a narrative passage that explains the reasons for the document to be issued.[166] Æthelred states that he is confirming the abbey's rights because he was

> …not unmindful of the afflictions frequently and manifoldly befalling me and my nation in the seventh year of my reign and thereafter, that is following the death of Bishop Æthelwold of blessed memory and most beloved to me with the deepest love, whose industry and pastoral care counselled not only for my benefit but also that of all this land…[167]

Æthelred was stating that terrible things had happened in England after Æthelwold's death. Kelly believes that these afflictions that befell the country were the

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[163] Gransden, *English Historical Documents, II,* pp. 120 - 1.
[164] ASC C 980, 981, 982; ASC D, E, 981,
[165] It reports the events as the ASC. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume II: The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk (Oxford, 1998), pp. 434 – 437.
[166] S876; *HA,* I, pp. 140 - 151.
[167] Ibid., I, pp. 140 - 3: *non inmemor angustiarum mihi meeque nationi septimo regni mei anno deinceps frequenter ac multipliciter accidentium, post decessum uidelicet beate memori mihique interno amore dilectis simi Æthelwoldi episcopi, cuius industria ac pastoralis cura non solum mee uerum etiam uniuersorum huius patrie...*

Viking attacks, but Keynes argues that it was the wrongdoings of evil intentioned men who took advantage of the king's youth and inexperience.[168] Keynes also mentions the fact that it was usually Dunstan's death that presaged the Viking attacks.[169] The placement of the diploma itself with in the *History* may provide a clue as to what the monks of Abingdon at least perceived these troubles and afflictions to be.

Working backwards from Book I, Chapter 98 in which the charter is presented, it is apparent that Æthelred was confirming the abbey's rights because of misfortunes they had suffered at the hands of the Vikings. In Chapter 97, Wulfgar was appointed as abbot to Abingdon, and his friendship with the king helped to change the king's mind, which had previously been 'inflexible towards that monastery', and thus the charter was issued.[170] Chapter 96 explains why the charter was needed: that the monastery of Abingdon 'met with loss of a great many of its possessions' as the 'Danes, with a great fleet, came ashore in England and began to attack everywhere' and the king 'imposed a heavy tribute on the English people' for the payment of the Danegeld'.[171] The passage immediately preceding the invasion of the Danes in Chapter 95 is:

> ...the greatly needed defender of churches, the most holy Bishop Æthelwold was seized from this world. Also lord Osgar, of pious memory, who had been substituted for Æthelwold as abbot of Abingdon, was allotted the end of his life. Amidst misfortune of this sort that monastery came to be without defensive protection.[172]

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[168] *Charters of Abingdon Abbey,* ed. Kelly, no. 124.
[169] S. Keynes, *The diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready', 978 - 1016: A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), pp. 186 - 93.
[170] *HA*., I, pp. 140 - 1: *hacentus ergo cenobium istud obstinatus.*
[171] Ibid., I, pp. 138 - 141: *tempestate gens Danorum, multa cum classe, in Angliam appulsa, incursara unique...Cui rex inbellis, non armis sed pecunia obuiare optimum ratus, uectigal populo Anglorum satis ad persoluendum graue iniungit. His uniuersis calamitatibus, Abbendonese cenobium paulo ante ditissimum, plurimarum iam currit suarum rerum in periculum.*
[172] Ibid: *ecclesiarum ualde necessarius defensor, Adelwoldus episcopus sanctissimus, e seculo rapitur. Sed et pie memorie domnus Osgarus, pro eo Abbendonie abbas substitutus, illo uite ultima sortitur. In huiusmodi infortunio locus iste sine defensionis fit obstaculo.*

Thus, the link between Æthelwold's death and the Viking attacks is here implied, though not explicitly stated. Evidently when Æthelred spoke of the terrible misfortunes suffered by his country since Æthelwold's death it seemed to the twelfth-century monks at Abingdon he was indeed alluding to the Viking attacks. It could be that there was a general belief in the monastic world that the death of Æthelwold, like that of St Dunstan's, heralded these events, but it was only explicitly stated in twelfth-century national histories and chronicles. This ties into the twelfth-century general glorification of the time of Edgar, and the monastic reform. Robertson demonstrated that authors such as Eadmer, William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon carefully reconstructed the tenth-century evidence to emphasise Dunstan's reforming efforts and placed him at the centre of said reform, which the contemporary sources did not. As Julia Barrow has discussed, the Vikings were used by twelfth-century authors to 'mark a turning point between the monastic fervour of Alfred and the general decline in monastic standards in the early tenth century, justifying their subsequent refoundation.[173] The deaths of Æthelwold and Dunstan, whom had lead the reforming efforts, could have been used as another such turning point which led to the percieved decline of monastic standards in the eleventh century

Henry and William seemingly viewed Æthelwold as a powerful saint who protected monasteries whilst he lived. Yet, when he died, this protection stopped and the Danes were allowed to wreak havoc. It is apparent that they did not think him much of a posthumous miracle worker, and they did not include any accounts of him intervening in worldly matters from heaven. Yet they clearly believed that Æthelwold was a saint, and an important figure to Benedictine monasteries.

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[173] J. Barrow, 'Danish ferocity and abandoned monasteries: the twelfth century view', in M. Brett and D. A. Woodman (eds), *The Long Twelfth Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (Ashgate, 2015), p. 93.

Conclusions

In the written histories of monasteries which Æthelwold founded or reformed, we can see that there were common themes of how he was portrayed. The authors of these chronicle-chartularies portrayed his deeds for their own monastery as holy works. They also used him as example by which subsequent leaders might be judged. For the most part, the authors and communities chose to focus on Æthelwold's life and his contribution to monasticism, rather than his status as a saint in death and the miracles he performed through his relics. And this is mirrored in his depiction in twelfth century chronicles: when he was alive, the condition of monasticism and England was excellent, but after his death he ceased to be active in earthly affairs and monks and monasteries were left open to destruction.

Yet it is also clear that Æthelwold's cult developed and was used uniquely at each monastery. At Abingdon, the community continued to see Æthelwold as the father of the abbey. They record that, on at least one occasion, the community solicited him for help and he intervened from heaven. The reports of abbots, king's justiciars, and officials fearing to take certain actions lest they incur the saint's wrath certainly suggests that Æthelwold was perceived to be an active saint who would intervene and seek revenge for any wrong-doings. At Ely, the early twelfth-century community used Æthelwold's reforms to guarantee their claims to land, lauding his activities as a bishop in the *Libellus* and praising him as the abbey's greatest saint. By the middle of the twelfth century, however, the *Liber Eliensis* suggests his place had been usurped by St Æthelthryth. It may be that the later community eschewed Æthelwold precisely because he was a bishop. As we have seen, the *Liber Eliensis* was used to criticise the new bishops of Ely. The compiler may have avoided promoting Æthelwold as a saint because they did not want to

unintentionally infer praise upon the other, new bishops, or give cause to those bishops to aspire to sainthood.

In the twelfth century monastic communities that he had refounded, Æthelwold was seen as a defender of Benedictine monasticism in life and in death. He was a bishop who in life had performed the deeds of God by reforming Benedictine monasticism. He endowed their monasteries with wealth and protected their lands. Although Winchester, Abingdon, Peterborough, Ely and Thorney owned relics of the saint, they did not record any instances of miracles being performed by them. He was not lauded for healing miracles, although his reforms themselves were seen as works of God.

William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Pontificum,* perhaps summarises it best*:*

> It was impossible to know what was more deserving of praise: his zeal for holiness or his practice of instruction, his urgency in preaching or his energy in building works.[174]

Once he had died, Vikings invaded the land and caused much destruction on those monasteries. Yet, in the twelfth century, those communities continued to use his sanctity to provide protection to their monastic lands and rights. His saintly image was used to support and protect the legal deeds and lands which he had bestowed upon them during his life. He was not a miracle worker; he would not heal the sick or dying; he would not attract pilgrims. But his image and his sanctity would protect their lands and monastic rights. Apart from at Abingdon, Æthelwold did not intervene as a heavenly protector of a community. Instead, his holy status underwrote and protected the monasteries' legal claims, endowments, and rights. Æthelwold offered the monasteries remote protection through his saintly status.

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[174] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum,* ed. Winterbottom, vol. I, ii.75.38: *Nescires quid in eo magis lauderes, sanctitatis studium an doctrinarum exercitium, in predicatione instantiam, in edifitiis industriam.*

Chapter 5: The Cult in the Later Middle Ages

The evidence of Æthelwold's cult in the later Middle Ages is sparse and paints an incomplete picture. The rich narratives of the histories written in the twelfth century, praising Æthelwold and Anglo-Saxon monasticism, are not repeated in later centuries. Annals do not note any further translations; his relics are barely mentioned. Thus, this chapter will attempt to piece together what little evidence remains and describe the status of the cult from the thirteenth century until the reformation.

The first section of this chapter will look at sites where Æthelwold was an unexpected addition to a monastery's liturgy in the later Middle Ages and the potential reasons why he may have been culted there. The second section will discuss how the cult fared at the now familiar monasteries of Abingdon, Ely, Peterborough and Thorney. It will look at the liturgical material, and also any historical documents that discussed Æthelwold or his cult. The crucial evidence of Æthelwold's cult at Winchester in the later Middle Ages will be discussed in the final section. It will discuss how Æthelwold was treated in historical documents, the liturgy, and how he was viewed by the contemporary community. Most importantly, it will also discuss the development of the physical site of the cult itself at Winchester: where his shrine was, and how it fitted into the fabric of the cathedral.

Non-Æthelwoldan monasteries

Throughout this thesis it has been apparent that Æthelwold's cult was, for the most part, restricted to monasteries that he either reformed or founded during his life. Yet, in the later Middle Ages, his feasts were included in the liturgical calendars of some

Benedictine monasteries which had no clear connection to him. The following section discusses the appearance of Æthelwold in those monasteries' calendars and litanies, and proposes possible reasons as to why he was included.

Abbotsbury

Æthelwold's feasts are recorded for celebration in a *c.* 1300 Abbotsbury calendar.[1] His feasts are not marked *in cappis* or *in albis,* but his deposition is written in red inks and marked as a twelve lection feast, suggesting it was of high status. He is also invoked in a *c.* 1400 Abbotsbury litany, and both his deposition and translation feasts are recorded in the accompanying calendar.[2] Wormald noted that there is a marked Winchester (probably Hyde Abbey) element to the earlier calendar, which could explain why Swithun and Birinus's depositions are also marked, in red inks, for twelve lections.[3] It may be that the presence of Winchester saints in the Abbotsbury liturgy was due to the prominent influence of the Winchester scriptorium. It is unlikely that there was a member of the community directly promoting Winchester saints: none of the early abbots of Abbotsbury were originally from either of the Winchester monasteries, and after 1213 most of the abbots were elected from within the pre-existing Abbotsbury community.[4]

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[1] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* I, pp. 9 – 10.
[2] London, Lambeth Palace Library 4513, fols. 181r – 182v.
[3] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* I, p. 1, 8, 13. Swithun's translation is also recorded, in red inks, as *in albis*
[4] *Heads,* p. 23; D. M. Smith and V. C. M. London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses: England & Wales, II. 1216 – 1377* (London, 2004), p. 15.

Bury St Edmunds

Æthelwold's deposition and translation feasts are recorded in Bury St Edmund's Anglo-Saxon calendar, and in all their post-Conquest litanies.[5] When, in 1020, King Cnut established monks at Bury to keep the shrine of St Edmund, king and martyr (d. 869), the monks and liturgical material for the house were supplied by the monastery of Ely.[6] The Ely monks who moved to the abbey, and the books brought from that house by Bury's first abbot, Ufi,[7] carried with them their veneration of St Æthelwold, whose life and miracles still resided in living memory. As the twelfth-century litany also contains the female Ely saints it can be presumed that the Ely influence remained strong after the Conquest. A similar case also occurred at Shrewsbury's Benedictine abbey. There first monks to be placed at the abbey after its foundation in 1083 came from Sées Abbey, dedicated to St Martin, in Normandy and the influence of their liturgical background can be seen in the way that St Martin, with a double invocation, was placed at the head of the confessors in Shrewsbury's litany.[8] Although the Bury community inherited Æthelwold's cult from the Ely monks who colonised the abbey, it is apparent that they did not share their enthusiasm for the saint. A twelfth-century missal from Bury contains the mass-sets for Æthelwold's translation, but they were incorrectly entered against the feast for the deposition.[9] This suggests that at Bury there was a rather lacklustre stance towards the observance of his feast days.

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[5] No post-Conquest calendar from Bury survives. See Appendix A, Table 1 for their calendars; see Appendix B, Tables 1 and 2 for the litanies.
[6] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England,* p. 192 and n. 1.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, p. 25.
[9] Laon, BM 238; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxxv; V. Leroquais, *Les Sacramentaires et les Missels Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de Frances,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1924), I, pp. 219 - 20.

Chertsey

A fifteenth-century Chertsey calendar records both of Æthelwold's feast days with high grading.[10] His deposition is marked in blue inks, *in albis,* and his translation in blue inks, *in cappis.* He is also invoked in two early fourteenth-century litanies.[11] After being founded by St Earconwald *c.* 666, Chertsey fell into disrepair and was subsequently refounded, *c.* 964, by Æthelwold at the height of the tenth-century Benedictine reform. The sources for the refoundation of Chertsey are slightly confused. The cartulary of Chertsey states that Æthelwold sent thirteen monks from Abingdon to refound Chertsey, and they named one of their own as abbot.[12] According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, however, King Edgar chose to remove those monks and placed there other regular monks with Ordbriht 964 - ?988/9 as their abbot.[13] This Ordbriht was probably the same Ordbriht who had been a monk of Glastonbury and Abingdon under Æthelwold, as it is not a common name.[14] Æthelwold may have placed him there after he founded the monastery. Æthelwold commonly placed his protégées at the head of monasteries he had reformed or refounded.[15] If this was the case, then Chertsey fits into the pre-established pattern of monasteries either reformed or founded by Æthelwold continuing to venerate him as a saint throughout the medieval period. Abbot Hugh (1107 – 1128) was previously a monk of Winchester and this influence could also explain the continued veneration of Æthelwold at Chertsey.[16]

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[10] See Appendix A, Table 2; Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* I, pp. 90 – 4.
[11] See Appendix B, Table 2.
[12] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius A. XIII, f. 32v
[13] *ASC,* 964.
[14] Smith and London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses, II,* p. 38; *CMA,* II, p. 258.
[15] See Hudson, 'Æthelwold's circle'.
[16] Smith and London (eds), *The Heads of Religious Houses, II,* p. 38; *AMW,* p. 42.

Evesham

Both of Æthelwold's feasts are recorded in a *c.* 1064x1070 calendar either of Evesham or Worcester origin. His deposition is written in two of their fourteenth-century calendars but his translation is omitted.[17] This may be because 10 September was the primary feast of St Ecgwine their founder, which is marked in red inks and *in cappis*.[18] Æthelwold is invoked in all of the surviving post-1100 litanies of Evesham.[19] Although Swithun is also invoked in the litanies, neither his nor Birinus' feasts are recorded in the calendars.[20] The history of Evesham abbey is very convoluted, especially between the years 960 and *c.* 995x7. The monastery was originally founded by St Ecgwine in 701, but, at about 946, the monks were driven away by Alchelm, a prince of Hwicce, who installed secular canons there instead.[21] In 960 St Oswald of Worcester and King Edgar restored the monks to Evesham and Oswald was made their abbot. The monks were again expelled *c.* 975 and then restored for a final time *c.* 995x7.[22] The presence of Oswald's cult at Evesham probably contributed to the occurrence of Æthelwold's feasts in their calendars and his name in their litanies. Byrhtferth's *Vita s. Oswaldi* discusses Æthelwold numerous times, calling him *sanctus* and praising his monastic zeal and activities. The lack of the other Winchester saints in the calendar suggests that the inclusion of Æthelwold's feast days was because of his connection to Oswald, rather than the influence of Winchester's liturgy.[23]

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[17] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* I, p. 21.
[18] Ibid., I, p. 35.
[19] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* I, nos. 34 – 36.
[20] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars,* I, pp. 27 – 38.
[21] J. W. Willis-Bund and William Page, 'Houses of Benedictine monks: Abbey of Evesham', in J. W. Willis-Bund and William Page (eds), *A History of the County of Worcester: Volume 2* (London, 1971), pp. 112-127 http://www.british-history.ac.uk/vch/worcs/vol2/pp112-127 [accessed 25 February 2015].
[22] *Heads*, p. 46
[23] St Edburga, a nun of Winchester, also appears in the calendars, but Wormald attributes this to the fact that Pershore, a Benedictine monastery very close to Evesham, had her relics.

Glastonbury

Æthelwold is listed, alongside Dunstan and Swithun, in a fifteenth-century litany from Glastonbury. [24] The Glastonbury Psalter contains the calendar and litany of Glastonbury, both of which are the only surviving liturgical texts from the abbey. [25] The twelfth-century Glastonbury collector also contains collects for the translation of Æthelwold. [26] Since Æthelwold was famously a monk of the abbey, studying under the tutelage of St Dunstan, his presence in both texts is predictable. By the thirteenth-century they had also acquired Æthelwold's finger bone as a relic. [27] Æthelwold's youth, his time at Glastonbury, and his episcopacy are discussed in John of Glastonbury's fourteenth-century chronicle. [28] It also later touches upon Æthelwold's role in the Benedictine reform: the chronicle states that Æthelwold undertook the reforms, but only after obtaining the authority and permission from Edgar and Dunstan.

Gloucester

The appearance of Æthelwold in the Gloucester liturgy is odd. So far as we know, Æthelwold was, in no way, connected to the history or foundation of the abbey. He is not recorded for celebration in any of the surviving calendars, but he is listed in both the surviving litanies. [29] Swithun is also included which suggests a Winchester influence. [30] It

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[24] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies*, I, p. 120

[25] London, British Library Add. 64952 (formerly Upholland College 98); Ibid., p. 28.

[26] R. Pfaff, 'The Glastonbury collectar', in J. Luxford and M. Michael (eds), *Contexts of Medieval Art: Images, Objects and Ideas. Tributes to Nigel Morgan* (London, 2009), p. 63. The collector only remains in fragments: as eight leaves, used as flyleaves in the *Liber Rubus* of Wells.

[27] Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics', pp. 169 – 87; Cambridge, Trinity College R. 5. 33, ff. 104r – 105r; See Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics', pp. 486 – 514 for a printed Glastonbury relic list from London, BL Cotton Titus D.VII, fols. 2r – 13v; J. P. Carley, and M. Howley, 'Relics at Glastonbury in the fourteenth fentury: an annotated edition of British Library, Cotton Titus D. vii, fols. 2r - 13v', in J. P. Carley (ed.), *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition* (Cambridge, 2001), pp. 569 – 616.

[28] *The Chronicle of Glastonbury Abbey,* ed. J. P. Carley and trans. D. Townsend, pp. 27, 35 – 37, 123 – 129.

[29] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* I, pp. 28 – 9.

[30] Ibid.

was changed from a secular community into a convent of Benedictine monks by Archbishop Wulfstan II of York in 1022, and was in the see of Worcester, which explains the presence of Oswald in the liturgy.

Malmesbury

A 1521 Malmesbury calendar records the deposition of St Æthelwold, without inks or capitals.[31] It is not marked as a high grade feast and so it may be that the feast was included as a matter of course. Dunstan's deposition is also in the calendar, and marked as an eight lection feast. Both of Swithun's feasts are also in the calendar, with the translation *in albis.* Æthelwold is also included in a *c.* 1325 litany, as are Swithun and Dunstan. The fact that William of Malmesbury wrote about Æthelwold in his *Gesta Episcoporum* may explain why the abbey included him in their calendar and litany, but, as his feast is ungraded, it is unlikely that the community actually observed his feast day.

Muchelney

Æthelwold is included in a litany from a *c.*1300 Breviary.[32] Wormald commented that there is a Worcester element to the calendar, which accounts for the presence of the feasts of Sts Wulfstan, Oswald, and Ecgwin. There is also a Glastonbury influence to the calendar and litany, which is unsurprising since it is reported that Muchelney, and Athelney, sought protection (and gained it) from Glastonbury abbey in the reign of Æthelred. This influence could account for the inclusion of Æthelwold in the Muchelney liturgy.

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[31] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalanders After 1100 ,* I, p. 75.
[32] Ibid. I, p. 32.

Shrewsbury

Æthelwold is listed in a *c.* 1250x75 Shrewsbury litany, which is not completely surprising since, according to a mid-twelfth-century relic list, Shrewsbury held an unidentified relic of Æthelwold.[33] Shrewsbury had no relics at all at the end of Henry I's reign, and so it is unlikely that they acquired Æthelwold's at the 1111 translation.[34] A relic of St Birinus was also at Shrewsbury, as were the other relics of Anglo-Saxon saints Milburgh, Edmund (king and martyr), Oswald of Worcester and Edith from Wilton. With the exception of the female saints, and the royal martyr Edmund, the remaining Anglo-Saxon saints were linked to the Benedictine reform movement. Shrewsbury abbey was founded in 1083 by Roger, the Norman early of Shrewsbury.[35] It was probably built upon the church of St Peter, which was first built by Siward son of Æthelgar, a kinsman of Edward the Confessor.[36] Before the conquest it was a small church, and Orderic Vitalis reports that Siward's church was a wooden chapel (*lignea capella*).[37] Domesday Book, however, refers to it as a *monasterium,* a minster.[38] Earl Roger's new abbey was built on the site formerly held by this church. Most religious houses founded by the Normans in the years after the Conquest were either dependents of Cluny or a Norman abbey.[39] Shrewsbury, as one of the exceptions, and being without an Anglo-Saxon Benedictine past, may have acquired the relics of saints linked to the Anglo-Saxon Benedictine tradition to establish a deeper connection with their religious life.

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[33] Attached to a late eleventh-century Gospel Lectionary, Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum 88-1972; Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, p. 25.
[34] Thomas, 'The cult of saints' relics', p. 227.
[35] Ibid., p. 224.
[36] N. Barker, R. Holt and A. T. Thacker, 'Shrewsbury 700 – 1200', in W. A. Champion and A. T. Thacker (eds), *A History of Shropshire: Volume VI, Part I: Shrewsbury, General History and Topography, Victoria County History* (Woodbridge, 2014), p. 11.
[37] Orderic Vitalis, *Ecclesiastical History,* II, 194.5; III 142.3.
[38] Barker, Holt and Thacker, 'Shrewsbury 700 – 1200', p. 11.
[39] *MO*, pp. 128-9.

Westminster

An 'Aethelwalde' is listed in the confessors of two of Westminster Abbey's litanies, but there is some confusion as to which Æthelwold this refers. Morgan argues that it is most probably Bishop Æthelwald of Lindisfarne (d. 737/740) because a Westminster relic list, written in the fifteenth century by the monk John Flete, but possibly based on an earlier list, states that the abbey was given his relics by Edgar.[40] The same list, however, states that Edward the Confessor gave to the abbey, in addition to most of the body of St Botolph (d. 680) and the head of St Ouen (d. 686), the relics of Ethelwold, listed among the saints Giles (d. 710), Jerome (d. 420), Earconwald (d. 693). Presuming that the relics of Æthelwald of Lindisfarne were not given to the abbey twice, this means that Westminster held the relics of another Æthelwold. This could either be Æthelwold of Winchester, or Æthelwold of Farne, a seventh-century hermit. But, judging from the fact that the other relics grouped with this Ethelwold were all from early medieval saints, and that Æthelwold of Winchester is not reported to have been translated around this time, on balance it is more likely that this refers to Æthelwold of Farne. To make matters more confusing still, in the Westminster calendar the feast for '*Ethelwoldus episcopus et confessor'* is recorded on 21 April, which is not only the feast day of Æthelwold of Farne, but also the feast for when Edgar translated the relics of Æthelwald of Lindisfarne, alongside those of St Cuthbert, to Westminster.[41] Since the feast days of Æthelwold of Winchester are not recorded in the calendar, and the 'Aethelwalde' listed in the litany is

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[40] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, p. 27; Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 1100,* I, p. 59.

[41] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars,* I, p. 59; Rushforth, *Saints in Kalendars before c. 1100,* table IV, calendar no. 1.

grouped near Cuthbert, it suggests that this refers to Æthelwald of Lindisfarne (who was translated Westminster at the same as Cuthbert), not Æthelwold of Winchester.

The Westminster Missal, made for abbot Nicholas Lytington (1362 - 1386), contains mass-sets for the feasts of St Æthelwold. [42] The text was probably not necessarily used at the high altar of the cathedral as it was ornately decorated, large, and bulky.[43] It also contains many unusual elements for an abbot's liturgical book: forms for the profession of monks; blessing of widows; coronation rite, and other pontifical rites.[44] As mentioned above, on 21 April it records the feast of an Æthelwold, probably of Farne.[45]

Winchcombe

Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald are all included in twelfth-century litany from Winchcombe.[46] The presence of Oswald in the litany is probably because he refounded their monastery. In 969 the secular clerks residing in Winchcombe were removed by Oswald, who placed monks there in their stead, and appointed Germanus of Ramsey as their abbot. The reform ideology, if strongly felt at Winchcombe, may have lead to the monks observing Æthelwold's feast days. It is also possible that Æthelwold was included in their litanies and calendars due to his appearance in the hagiographies of St Kenelm, their patron saint, written by Goscelin (discussed earlier) and both Byrhtferth and Eadmer's *Vita s. Oswaldi.*[47]

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[42] Winterbottom, Lapidge, *Wulfstan,* p. cxxv; *Missale Westmonasteriense,* ed. J. W. Legg, 3 vols., HBS 1, 5, 12 (1891 - 7), II, pp. 891 – 2.
[43] Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England,* p. 228.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., p. 230, n. 101.
[46] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, p. 31. Calendar also in BL, Cotton Tiberius E. IV, from the 2nd quarter of twelfth century; see M. Lapidge, 'A tenth-century metrical calendar from Ramsey', *Revue Benedictine,* 94 (1984), pp. 366 - 9.
[47] For Kenelm see Chapter 2. For Byrhtferth's *vita* see Chapter 1; for Eadmer's *vita* see Chapter 3.

Worcester Cathedral Priory

Although Æthelwold was excluded from Worcester's Anglo-Saxon calendars, the Portiforium of St Wulfstan, written at Worcester *c*.1065, includes collects for both of Æthelwold's feast days.[48] The full collectar was based on a Winchester exemplar and adapted for use at Worcester, but the compiler added two more collects to the translation, neither of which is found in the Winchester collectar. It is possible that these were added in as St Wulfstan had been educated at Peterborough. Alongside Swithun and Birinus, he was included in the four surviving post-1100 Worcester litanies.[49] His deposition was also included a *c.* 1230x1250 calendar, but it was not marked in coloured inks or majuscule.[50] The presence of Æthelwold in the Worcester liturgy is unsurprising considering the relationship between Oswald and Æthelwold in their lifetimes, and the monastic ideology their cults embodied.

Non-Æthelwoldan Monasteries: Conclusions

It is difficult to discern a pattern of veneration for these non-Æthelwoldan monasteries. It appears that these monasteries had some sort of tenuous connection to Æthelwold, and thus included him in their liturgy. Chertsey evidently had the clearest connection to Æthelwold and this is reflected in that their community displayed the highest level of devotion to the saint, celebrating his feasts *in cappis* and *in albis.* In other cases, it seems that Æthelwold was included in their liturgy because of the influence of the Winchester calendar and scriptorium. There are also some notable absences, however.

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[48] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxx.
[49] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, pp. 39 – 43.
[50] See Appendix A, Table 2.

It is interesting that Æthelwold does not feature in Canterbury's later medieval calendars or litanies, though this may be because they had a long list of their own saints to venerate.

Æthelwoldan Monasteries: Abingdon, Ely, Peterborough and Thorney

Æthelwold continued to be invoked in litanies from the monasteries of Abingdon, Ely, and Peterborough (and presumably Thorney) in the later Middle Ages.[51] Æthelwold generally seems to have been grouped with saints who emerged from the tenth-century monastic reform: that is, Dunstan, Birinus, Swithun, and sometimes also Oswald and Benedict. Yet, monasteries such as Peterborough and Abingdon accorded Æthelwold higher praise by marking his name for repetition in at least one of their litanies.[52] Peterborough also lists him high up amongst the confessors; he is the first English saint, between Gregory the Great and St Ambrose.[53] Swithun and Dunstan appear much lower down the list. Abingdon and Ely's litanies are different: they place Æthelwold amongst the saints of the Benedictine reform, after saints of universal importance and before local saints.

The thirteenth-century Abingdon custumal states that Æthelwold's deposition was a feast of similar solemnity to Pentecost and the Assumption of the Virgin.[54] His feast is the only one to be listed as such. The Abingdon calendars also attribute special importance to Æthelwold. In all except a *c.* 1461 calendar, his deposition, marked in majuscule and red inks, was to be celebrated on the 1 and 2 August, as a principal feast, *in cappis.*[55] His

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[51] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* I, nos. 3, 4, 31 - 33, 55 - 60.
[52] Ibid.: See Appendix B, Table 2.
[53] Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* I, nos. 54, 55 - 61. The confessors are listed (in most of the litanies) as: Sylvester, Hilari, Martin, Gregory, Æthelwold, Ambroses, Augustine, Jerome etc.
[54] *CMA,* II, p. 378.
[55] Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars After 11--,* I, p. 26.

feast, marked in majuscule and green inks, was to be celebrated again on 5 August, as a four lection feast. They did not, however, include his translation in the calendar.[56]

Ely recorded Æthelwold's translation to be celebrated *in cappis* on 2 August, in red inks, in a *c.* 1400 calendar, and the octave of the deposition was recorded for 8 August in this and a *c.* 1200 calendar, which celebrated his deposition on 1 August.[57] Æthelwold's translation was recorded in *c.* 1200, *c.* 1300, *c.* 1400 calendars, to be celebrated *in albis*.[58] These calendars also recorded an additional feast, *commemoracio Sancti Etheluuoldi,* on 8 October, which is marked as a three lection feast.[59]

Liturgical books from Ely indicate that Æthelwold's feasts continued to be observed in the later Middle Ages. A missal from thirteenth-century Ely contains mass-sets for the deposition, although not for the translation, of Æthelwold.[60] It also contains two sets of lections, each preceded and followed by a collect.[61] Interestingly, the lections are not totally concerned with Æthelwold's miracles, nor even his time at Ely: the first seven lections focus on his time at Abingdon and skip to his episcopate at Winchester, without including any miraculous activity. Lapidge 'can only wonder whether a thirteenth-century monastic congregation at Ely found any spiritual edification in the Anglo-Saxon history-lesson contained in lection v.' [62] Considering, however, the treatment of Æthelwold in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* and *Liber Eliensis*, it is not surprising that the community, again, chose to focus on his contribution to Benedictine monasticism, and thus to its own refoundation, rather than on his intercessory powers. Æthelwold's

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[56] Ibid., I, p. 27.
[57] Ibid., II, p. 15.
[58] Ibid., p. 16.
[59] Ibid., p. 17.
[60] Cambridge, UL, Ii. 4. 20; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxxv.
[61] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxxxi.
[62] Ibid., p. cxxxii.

contribution to the house in securing its lands and rights was paramount and an impetus behind its continued interest in his cult, and so this is what was commemorated on his feast days. That is especially evident in the second set of lections which focus on Æthelwold's refoundation of the fenland monasteries, beginning with Ely.[63]

Peterborough abbey's late fourteenth-century missal contains mass-sets for the deposition, but not the translation of St Æthelwold.[64] It appears as though these secondary sites chose to celebrate Æthelwold's death, and achievement of sanctity, rather than the translation of his relics at a different site. His feasts were clearly celebrated at Abingdon abbey, whose obedientiary rolls contain a singular mention of St Æthelwold. In the infirmarer's account for 1356-57, there is listed an expense of six shillings and four pennies for the feast of St Æthelwold.[65] The account rolls for the subsacrist at Peterborough show that oblations were left on the feast of St Oswald (king and martyr), and on the feast of the Purification of the Virgin, but makes no note of St Æthelwold's feast days.[66] Wine was also bought for those feasts, and money given to the clerk for the celebration of the feasts of Sts Edmund, Katherine and Bishop Nicholas.[67] Singers were also paid for the feast of St Oswald.[68] But, there is no mention of the feast, relics, or shrine of St Æthelwold.

To venerate him, and to celebrate his feasts correctly, the monasteries would have needed to own a copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* There is only one (extremely short) book list surviving from Ely, and it does not list a *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*[69] There is, however,

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[63] Ibid.

[64] Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Lit. 17; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. cxxv.

[65] *Accounts of the Obedientiars of Abingdon Abbey,* ed. R. E. G. Kirk (London, 1892), p. 12.

[66] *Account Rolls of the Obedientiaries of Peterborough,* ed. J. Greatrex (Northampton, 1984), years 1361 – 92, p. 221; 1493/94, p. 225.

[67] Ibid., 1493/94, p. 225.

[68] Ibid., 1496/97, p. 229.

[69] *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues,* ed. R. Sharpe (London, 1996)*,* B27.

evidence that may supplement this, in the form of a composite manuscript, in existence as a single book at Ely by the fifteenth century, including material mostly of twelfth-century date but ending in material of the fourteenth, and thereafter rearranged and augmented by Robert Cotton (London, BL, Cotton Caligula A. VIII) The manuscript includes two consecutive bifolia dating from c. 1100, one (fols 121r-124v) containing a fragmentary text of the anonymous *Vita s. Birini*, the other (fols 125r- 128v) containing Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*[70] Although not written by the same scribe, the hands are similar and the two bifolia may once have belonged to the same book. Both bifolia, however, are damaged and soiled in appearance. A fifteenth-century hand has made a note on the last folio of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* which appears to be a list of contents:

> *Liber ympnorum. Translacio sancti Benedicti et sancta Scolastice. Witburge Sexburge Magdalene Sancti Wilfridi Eboracensis. Sancte Werburge. Sancte Margarete. Katerine. Visio purgatorii monachi de Eyinersham.*[71]

From this contents list, Lapidge and Winterbottom have postulated that the bifolia of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was used as the front flyleaf to a manuscript, compiled in the fifteenth-century at Ely, which contained the texts listed in the contents. The *Vita s. Birini* was probably used as the flyleaf for the back of the manuscript. The bifolia containing the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and the *Vita s. Birini* thus attained their soiled and damaged appearance because were used as the front and rear flyleaves respectively.

Yet Lapidge and Winterbottom seemingly overlooked an important piece of evidence which suggests that the damage to the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* occurred before it functioned as the flyleaf to the fifteenth-century manuscript. This copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* is only fragmentary. Folio 125r begins mid-way through Chapter 34. But,

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[70] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* p. clxii.
[71] Ibid., pp. clxxiii – clxxiv.

most importantly, this imperfect text of the *vita* has been marked up for three lections. Lection one is Chapter 36: when Æthelwold fell asleep and left a candle burning which fell onto a book but left it unharmed. Lections two and three are the beginning and end of the miracle story in Chapter 38: Dunstan's dream of the tree adorned with many cowls. The manuscript was evidently marked up for lections after the beginning sections of the *vita* were lost. Had the manuscript been marked when the *vita* was complete it is likely that the early chapters, recording Æthelwold's childhood and entry into the church, would have been the first lections. Thus, the damage to the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* probably occurred as a result of the breakup of the twelfth-century volume, before the remaining bifolia were used as flyleaves in the fifteenth-century manuscript.

This suggests that the *vita* was marked for lections when it was added to Ely's manuscript of hagiographical material and used as the flyleaf. This practical treatment and rehabilitation of the incomplete *vita* is at odds with its damaged and fragmentary state. I would suggest that the full and complete twelfth-century manuscript of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was lost by the Ely community between *c.* 1200 and the fifteenth century. When it was found damaged and fragmented, the community may have marked it for lections and used it as a flyleaf for a manuscript containing other hagiographical material in an effort to rehabilitate the text. If this is the case then it provides interesting evidence for the cult at Ely during the medieval period. It suggests that whilst the community owned a copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in the early twelfth century, they became disinterested in the cult during the high Middle Ages and allowed or were not concerned when the manuscript became lost, soiled, and damaged. Yet, the text was found and rehabilitated in the fifteenth century. The fact that it was marked for lections suggests that they used it within the liturgy to celebrate Æthelwold's feast day. The treatment of the

vita seems to mirror the documentary evidence presented in Chapter 4. When Æthelwold's cult was popular and venerated as the community's primary saint in the early twelfth century, they owned (or even commissioned) a copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and wrote the *Libellus Æthelwoldi.* Yet, when St Æthelthryth supplanted Æthelwold as their primary saint in the late twelfth century, the veneration of his cult diminished, and the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was no longer used in the liturgy to celebrate his feasts.

Because of poor manuscript survival, the treatment and fate of Æthelwold's cult at Thorney is difficult to ascertain. However, in a manuscript showing the Lenten distribution of books, ordered by the *Rule of St Benedict*, we see that the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was not one of those chosen to be read by any of the brothers. Hagiographies such as the Miracles of St Mary and the Life of St Thomas of Canterbury were chosen, but the Life of St Æthelwold does not appear in the lists. Sharpe, however, has pointed out that the lists show 'for the most part the same rather limited collection' of books circulating amongst the monks.[72] He argues that there may have been a limited, set stock of books chosen to 'meet the demands of the annual Lenten distribution'.[73] It must be remembered that, by the later Middle Ages, the brothers were allowed to keep the book with them for the entire year.[74] At Thorney some monks were allowed to keep hold of certain books for years at a time.[75] Thus, the stock of books may have been limited to works of which either the community held multiple copies, or were not needed in the liturgy. It would have been inconvenient to loan out a work which was popular or commonly used in the community's liturgy. There is little evidence to recreate the

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[72] R. Sharpe, 'Monastic reading at Thorney Abbey, 1323 – 1347', *Traditio,* vol. 60 (2005), pp. 264 – 5.
[73] Ibid. See also, K. W. Humphreys, 'Book distribution lists from Thorney Abbey, Cambridgeshire, 1324 - 30', *Bodleian Library Records,* 2 (1948), p. 206, n. 5.
[74] Sharpe, 'Monastic reading at Thorney', p. 266.
[75] Ibid.

medieval library of Thorney, and it is assumed that the library they did have would have been small.[76] This is the only known surviving book list, except one short list made by Leland *c.* 1536 – 40.[77] One remaining *c.* 1332 inventory survives from their dependant priory of Deeping, which housed no more than three monks, but it also does not list a copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*[78]

At Abingdon the books allocated to each brother were kept in a cupboard, so that the cantor and succentor had direct access.[79] The three surviving book lists from Abingdon make no mention of a *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* The first is a list of books commissioned by Abbot Faritius (1100 – 1117); the second was made by Leland, *c.* 1536- 40; the last in the early sixteenth century.[80] Faritius seems to have been building up a collection of the church fathers, and Leland only lists a further two items. These limited lists do not present a coherent picture of Abingdon's library. What with the redaction of Wulfstan's *vita* in the *History,* it seems safe to say that the monastery would have owned a copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.*

The fourteenth-century Peterborough custumal contains remarkable detail on how the Lenten distribution of books should be administered, but there is no surviving record detailing which brothers read which books.[81] Peterborough owned a copy of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in the early twelfth century, but the work is not listed in the fourteenth-century *Matricularium librarie Monasterii Burgi sancti Petri,* the largest catalogue to

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[76] Ibid., p. 269.
[77] Sharpe, *The Shorter Catalogues,* B100 and B101.
[78] Ibid., B102.
[79] Sharpe, 'Monastic reading at Thorney Abbey', p. 269. Abingdon custumal (1189) edited from BL MS Cotton Claudius B. vi (s. xiii2), fols. 183r – 207v, *CMA,* II, pp. 336 – 417 (at pp. 373 – 74).
[80] Sharpe, *Shorter Catalogues,* B2, B3, B4.
[81] Peterborough Custumal (Lambeth Palace Library, MSS 198, 198b); A Gransden, 'The Peterborough customary and Gilbert of Stanford', *Revue Benedictine* 70 (1960), pp. 625 – 38; excerpts printed in K. Friis-Jensen and J. M. W. Willoughby, *Peterborough Abbey,* Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues 8 (London, 2001), pp. xliii – xlvi, and discussed, pp. xxviii – xxix.

survive from Peterborough.[82] It is clear, however, that they owned a copy of Wulfstan's *vita* in the sixteenth century. In the mid-1530s, John Leland made excerpts from Chapters 20 to 22.[83] It is therefore not unreasonable to suggest that Peterborough Abbey owned a copy of Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* throughout the medieval period.

Disappointingly, these brief glimpses are the only evidence we see of Æthelwold's cult at those centres in the later Middle Ages. This evidence suggests that Æthelwold's cult continued to be important to those communities to varying extents. The fact that a copy of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* was damaged during the course of the Middle Ages at Ely implies that his cult was perhaps uncared for, possibly until the manuscript was rehabilitated in the fifteenth century. The absence of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* in some of the library catalogues of these monasteries could suggest that their veneration of the saint lapsed. However, his feasts were included in their liturgies, his name was invoked in the litanies, and, for Abingdon at least, there is documentation of the celebration of his feasts in their obedientiary rolls. This evidence implies that his cult continued to be venerated throughout the Middle Ages, although its significance to their communities may have waned.

Winchester: Æthelwold as an Historical Figure

Æthelwold continued to be regarded as an important historical and religious figure at Winchester. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Æthelwold was held in high esteem at Winchester. In the metrical Life of St Birinus, composed by Henry of Avranches at the request of Bishop Peter des Roches, the bishop's position as successor

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[82] Friis-Jensen, Willoughby, *Peterborough Abbey,* BP2.34, BP21.

[83] J. Leland, *Collectanea,* ed. T. Hearne, 6 vols. (Oxford, 1715), I, pp. 8 – 9; Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, *Peterborough Abbey,* p. 12; Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Wulfstan,* pp. clxi – clxii.

to Birinus, Æthelwold and Swithun is stressed.[84] Addressing the bishop, Henry de Avranches says:

> Four men supply you (Peter des Roches) with a great protection; one of your native homeland, the other three of your episcopal office. Birinus, Swithun and Æthelwold provide Winchester with an example of the pontiff, St Martin gives such an example to the native (*alumnus*) of Tours.[85]

Æthelwold was held up as an example of what the bishop of Winchester should aspire to be. It is possible that Peter des Roches promoted the cult of St Æthelwold by building a chapel for Æthelwold in the new east end of the cathedral (discussed further below).

Yet, by the late thirteenth century, the relationship between the monks and bishop of St Swithun's priory had declined. After the death of Peter des Roches in 1228, the monks elected William Raleigh to the see in 1240 against the king's wishes and he was unable to assume the bishopric.[86] A turbulent period followed, with priors being appointed by the king, who exercised his *sede vacante* powers.[87] When Raleigh died, King Henry III appointed his twenty-three year old half-brother, Aymer de Lusignan, as bishop in 1250. Although his relations with the priory were favourable to begin with, they quickly became fraught. In his attempts to regularise the bishopric's finances, he requested that the monks present an annual account of their finances to the bishop's

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[84] *The Shorter Latin Poems of Master Henry of Avranches relating to England,* ed. J. Cox Russell and J. P. Heironimus, Medieval Academy of America studies and documents no 1 (Cambridge, Mass. 1935), p. 25.

[85] Ibid., p. 25, lines 20 – 4, as quoted in N. Vincent, *Peter des Roches: An Alien in English Politics, 1205 - 1238* (Cambridge, 2002)*,* p. 21: *Grande patrocinium prebent tibi quatuor, unus/ natalis patrie, tres pontificalus honoris./ Birinus, Swithunus, Adelwoldusque ducatum/ pontifici dant Wintonie, Martinus alumpno/ Turonie.* Full edition in D. Townsend, 'The Vita Sancti Birini of Henry Avranches (BHL 1364), *Analecta Bollandiana,* cxii (1994), pp. 309 – 38, p. 336 for miracles at Winchester.

[86] H.W. Ridgeway, 'The ecclesiastical career of Aymer de Lusignan, bishop elect of Winchester, 1252 - 1260', in J. Blair and B. Golding (eds), *The Cloister and the World: Essays in Medieval History in Honour of Barbara Harvey* (Oxford, 1996), p. 168.

[87] Ibid., pp. 168 – 9.

treasurer, at the bishop's manor.[88] No doubt worried about episcopal interference, the monks refused and the disagreement escalated until both sides appealed to the pope in 1254.[89] Tensions escalated and Aymer deposed the prior, kept his office vacant until at least July 1255 and (according to the monastic sources) dealt with the monks violently: some were wounded, others ejected.[90] After Aymer was exiled from England for political reasons in 1258, the monks managed to have most of their rights and monies restored to them, and made demands for the division of their property from that of the bishop.[91] This quarrel with the bishop left its mark on the community's memory. Continued disagreements with successive bishops concerning land and rights ultimately led them to re-write their own history, reducing Æthelwold's role in it.

Around 1282, there was another dispute between the monks and their bishop, John of Pontoise, who had been a papal appointment.[92] This bishop seems to have been particularly avaricious and misappropriated some of the bishopric's revenue for his own profit.[93] Supposedly, when he died 12,000 florins were discovered beneath his bed.[94] But John also wanted to appropriate the income from the cathedral priory. The bishop, like his forebears, attempted to state that, as bishop, he was the titular abbot of the monastery of Winchester. To protect themselves from John of Pontoise, the monks created a document and presented it to the king.[95] The aim of the document was to demonstrate

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[88] Ibid., p. 169; *AMW*, pp. 94 – 5, p. 349.
[89] Ridgeway, 'The ecclesiastical career of Aymer de Lusignan', p. 169; National Archives, E135/3/25.
[90] Ridgeway, 'The ecclesiastical career of Aymer de Lusignan', p. 169; National Archives, E135/3/25; *AMW,* pp. 104 – 5.
[91] Ridgeway, 'The ecclesiastical career of Aymer de Lusignan', p. 172; *AMW*, p. 97.
[92] See *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara Episcopi Wyntoniensis,* ed. Cecil Deedes, Canterbury and York Society, 2 vols. (Camden, 1915 – 1924), I, pp. xx – xxii; II, pp. 609 – 15, pp. 676 – 94.
[93] M. Page, 'William Wykeham and the management of the Winchester estate, 1366 - 1404', in W. M. Ormrod (ed.), *Fourteenth-Century England: III* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 99.
[94] Ibid.; M. Page, 'Challenging custom; the auditors of the Bishopric of Wincheser *c.* 1300 - *c.* 1310', in M. Prestwich, R. Britnell and R. Frame (eds), *Thirteenth Century England VI* (Woodbridge, 1997), p. 46; J. H. Denton, 'Complaints to the apostolic see in an early fourtheenth-century memorandum from England', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae,* 20 (1982), p. 392.
[95] *Registrum Johannis de Pontissara,* ed. Deedes, II, pf. 609.

that the kings of England were the founders of the priory, and thus the right of patronage belonged to the current king, rather than the bishop. It lists the relevant kings and bishops who acted as benefactors to the abbey, and the deeds and lands they gave to the monastery. The author claimed that the church and monastery were founded by King Kynewald of the Britons and that it was under their protection and patronage for three hundred years before the coming of St Birinus.[96] After the Pagans destroyed Christianity in Britain, however, canons were introduced into the abbey, and they remained there until the time of King Edgar. To Æthelwold's discredit, they state that it was King Edgar who removed the canons from Winchester and replaced them with monks. Edgar was the initiator: Æthelwold and Dunstan merely gave their consent.[97] Furthermore, they pointed out that Edgar had refounded the cathedral priory, but not the bishopric itself. Thus, the monks and bishop were 'separate tenants-in-chief.'[98] This meant that all lands donated by Edgar, or to the monastery, were not owned by the bishop, but by the monastery. The document reiterated the argument that they had the right to elect their own prior and govern their own administration.

These disputes had to be settled and the monks and bishop came to an agreement in 1284. The bishop remained the monastery's patron, but 'renounced all his rights as

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[96] Ibid: *Kyynewaldus Rex, filius Kynegilfi Regis primus in civitate hanc Ecclesiam fundavit, et hoc intelligendum est post tempus Britonum. Fuit alia Ecclesia, et etiam Monachi in ea sicut patebit inferius.*
[97] Ibid., p. 611: *Tempore illustris Regis Anglorum Edgari floruerunt in ecclesia Anglicana sanctus Dunstanus Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus et Sanctus Adelwoldus Wintoniensis. Hii cooperientes Canonicos in Ecclesia Wintoniensi in omni vicorum spursicia (sic) et fetore in luxurie et cujuslibet feditatis scoria degentes, nec valentes eos ad vitam regularem reducere, nec precibus nec monitis, sicut que quod eos delere non potuerint sine assensu et consilio Patroni et domini fundi, predictus Dunstanus predictum Edgarum utpote eidem et domino Pape Johannes receptis litteris regiis et ejus desiderio et peticione compertis sibi rescriptis sicut patet exterius ibi.... Unde receptis litteris Papalibus a domino Rege, ipse et dominus fundi et patronus cuijus intererat juxta tenorem litterarum Papalium. Unde creditur quod omnes possessions clericorum Monachis contulit et regia auctoritate confirmavit. Unde predictus Edgarus fundator monachi ordinis in ista Ecclesia dici meretur, quia monachos in istam Ecclesiam secundario introduxit, et eos possessionibus clericorum que prius erant monachorum tempore Britonum feofavit.*
[98] Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth Century England,* p. 231.

abbot except for that of receiving the profession of monks.'[99] In return, the monks were allowed to elect their own prior; the prior would have control over all the obedientiaries, and admitted monks to the monastery. Yet, they also had to give certain lands and manors to the bishop, and the lands were portioned out to each side.[100]

In this revision of its history to protect their own rights, the monastery greatly reduced Æthelwold's role as their founder and patron. Æthelwold was evidently no longer useful as a *patronus*, as he had been in 1070 when he was invoked to protect the community from their bishop. In the thirteenth century, it was more useful to the community to distance themselves from their founding bishop, and to claim that there had, in fact, been monks at Winchester since the second century.

By contrast, just a few years later in 1285/6, the bishop used the example of St Æthelwold to quell a quarrel between his monks. The community was demanding that the prior should give them larger food portions and treats, from his own budget. The monks were requesting 'pittances and customs, to wit liariestels, brenels, honeyedwastels called wortloaves, wafers, bread for the sacrament, wine both white and red, drinks aromatic, honeyed, sweetened...'[101] from the prior, who was indebted to the chapter: he had been using money allocated to the offices of the hordarian (*hordarius*) and chamberlain for his own purposes. Bishop John of Pontoise intervened and reprimanded the monks, reminding them that they should be living by the rules set down by St Æthelwold. He ordained that '[t]o each monk present in the monastery one loaf daily called miche of the same weight as was fixed by S Æthelwold sometime bishop of this church, and in addition

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[99] National Archives, E135/3/37; J. Greatrex, 'St Swithun's priory in the later middle ages' in J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine hundred years, 1093 - 1993* (Chichester, 1993), p. 143.
[100] Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth Century England,* pp. 232 – 3.
[101] *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral,* ed. A. W. Goodman (Winchester, 1927), no. 111, pp. 53 – 4.

to each recovery after bloodletting half a miche...'[102] The rules and regulations Æthelwold laid down for the monks of Winchester were evidently still held in high regard and expected to be followed.

It was possibly during this period that the monks of Winchester created the probable forgery *De Basilica Petri,* which has not survived to the present day. Robert Willis argued that a monk named 'Vigilantius', wrote this work on the eve of the Norman Conquest, but Sheerin, Gransden, and Crook have subsequently argued that it was written in the late thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries. [103] Numerous fifteenth-century authors used this text in their histories and from their work we can know what Vigilantius claimed about the history of the abbey. It asserted that the monastery was originally founded by the British king, Lucius, in 164 A.D.[104] According to Vigilantius, their early history was one of constant struggle: the monks were slaughtered, scattered, and then re-established two times. The presence of canons in the cathedral in the ninth and tenth centuries was irregular, and only due to the disturbance of the Viking attacks. They were re-established by King Edgar in 984, with the help of St Æthelwold. The monks argued that their community had been royally established in the second century, and then re-established by the king in the tenth, and thus the king was their patron, not the bishop. This text developed the monks' argument for the British foundation and early history of the monastery, which was taken up by all later historians of the cathedral. [105] The community of fifteenth-century Winchester cathedral produced many chronicles and histories, which were very similar, and all derived from one another. Thomas Rudborne,

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[102] Ibid.
[103] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* II, p. 493.
[104] See J. Crook, 'Vigilantius', in Lapidge, *The Cult of Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 177 – 8.
[105] Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* II, p. 493

a monk of Winchester, wrote the *Historia minor* and *Historia maior* of Winchester.[106] These, and the *Liber Hyda* and the *Chronicon Wintoniense* all use *De Basilica Petri* as a primary source for the early monastic history of the Old Minster, and maintain that it was established in British times when King Lucius had placed 250 monks in the cathedral in 167 A.D.[107] The monks of Winchester undermined Æthelwold's unprecedented move of establishing monks in cathedrals in 964, and instead argued that theirs was an ancient foundation.

The diminution of Æthelwold's role in their history is reflected in the treatment of Æthelwold in Thomas Rudborne's *Historia Maior.* Whilst Rudborne gives Æthelwold the title *sanctus,* his appearance in the *Historia Maior* was primarily for historical purposes; Rudborne was not interested in recounting a shorter version of a *Vita s. Æthelwoldi.* Æthelwold is first introduced when discussing Dunstan's career. Rudborne mistakenly states that Dunstan held the bishopric of Winchester, rather than Worcester, before being appointed to London.[108] When Dunstan moved onto the archbishopric of Canterbury, Edgar made Æthelwold bishop of Winchester.[109] Rudborne goes on to say that Æthelwold had first studied under Dunstan at Glastonbury, but after King Eadred had heard of his sanctity, through his mother Ælgifu, he made him the abbot of the derelict monastery of Abingdon.[110] He then states that when appointed to Winchester, Æthelwold expelled the clerics, and introduced monks from Abingdon there instead. Rudborne follows the Anglo-Norman *vitae* of Dunstan and asserts that afterwards there was a council to decide if

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[106] For a detailed summary of Rudborne, and the other 15th century-chroniclers, see J. Crook, 'Thomas Rudborne', in M. Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003)*, pp. 165 – 178.

[107] J. Crook, 'Vigilantius', p. 177; Rudbourne, *Historia Maior,* pp. 181 - 2; Gransden, *Historical Writing in England,* II*, p. 397.

[108] Rudbourne, *Historia maior*, p. 217: *Hic etiam praesulatum Wyntoniensis Ecclesiae contulit S. Dunstano; qui adjuncto postea Londonensis Ecclesiae Praesulatu gemino claruit Pontificio.*

[109] Ibid.: *Sanctum Athelwoldum elegit Edgarus ad Episcopatum Wyntoniensis Ecclesiae; consecravitq; illum beatus Dunstanus Dorobernensis Ecclesiae.*

[110] Ibid.

Æthelwold had acted rashly. He imparts a story whereby a voice spoke to the king from a crucifix hanging on the wall of the refectory.[111] He was convinced of the monks' righteousness, and the clerics were dispersed. Æthelwold's reforms of the New Minster, Nunnaminster, Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney are mentioned, as is how he acquired the relics of Birinus and Haedde for the Old Minster.[112]

Rudborne does not record any of Æthelwold miraculous activity, apart from the fact that his translation in 984 was due to the revelation of his sanctity by means of miracles.[113] It might be that, perhaps, Rudborne either did not have access to, or chose not to use Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* as a source for the *Historia Maior.* The details concerning Æthelwold's time at Glastonbury, his bishopric, and reforms at other monasteries all come from William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum.* It could be argued that because Rudborne was only writing a historical account of Winchester, Æthelwold's miracles and holy deeds might have been out of place in the narrative. Yet Rudbourne espouses Swithun's miraculous deeds and states that it was upon Æthelwold's expulsion of the clerics that Swithun's sanctity was revealed.[114] Rudbourne probably downplayed Æthelwold's miracles, and prominence, because of the pseudo-history the community had invented for themselves in the thirteenth and early fourteenth century.[115]

The treatment of Æthelwold as a purely historical holy figure rather than as an active miracle-working saint can also be seen in the treatment of one copy of his *vita* at Winchester. The *vita* contained in London, British Library, Arundel 169, fols. 88 - 95,

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[111] Ibid.: *Sed postmodum respirandi ad pristinam dignitatem propositum arripientibus clericis infra refectorium veteris monasterii winchester et expectantibus cunctis cum sancto Æthelwold sententiam regis praesidentis ... divinitus vox de imagine cruxifixi in muro collocata regiis auribus pariterque archbishop intonuit sub hac forma…*

[112] Ibid.

[113] Ibid.: *Post obitum vero suum Domino Sanctum suum per miracula revelante, translates est per Sanctum Elphegum suum.*

[114] Ibid., p. 223, 234 – 5.

[115] See Gransden, *Historical Writing,* II, pp. 394 – 398, at p. 397.

was written *c*. 1100, and probably kept at the monastery of Winchester. A later hand, probably late fourteenth or fifteenth century, has annotated a few of its folios.[116] The scribe has only noted upon matters of history: Dunstan's appointments to Glastonbury, Worcester, London and Canterbury; the number of monks at Abingdon during Æthelwold's abbacy; Æthelwold's reform of Winchester; the succession of kings; reform of Peterborough; Ealdwulf's accession to the see of York after Oswald. The fact that the scribe was a student of history becomes even clearer when considering his annotations on fols. 90v - 91r. On folio 90v he has written *Wulfstan* underneath the second column and drawn a box around it, and on 91r he highlighted the word *cassatis* in the same manner on the right side of column two. His focus on Anglo-Saxon hides and the identity of the author of the *vita* further implies that he was studying the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* as a historical source, rather than as a liturgical aid to the veneration of St Æthelwold. There are also no annotations or marginalia on the folios discussing Æthelwold's death, translation and subsequent miracles.[117]

Although Æthelwold's role as founder was diminished, his cult remained important in Winchester's liturgy. Æthelwold was invoked, alongside Swithun and Birinus, in every Winchester cathedral priory litany surviving from the mid-eleventh century.[118] The litanies also consistently place a high level of devotion to Æthelwold: the litany contained in a psalter of *c*. 1200 lists Æthelwold with a double invocation;[119] litanies of *c*. 1200 and *c*. 1410x25 list Æthelwold in capitals.[120] This is characteristic of

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[116] The annotation primarily occurs on fols. 89v – 91r.

[117] The one exception is on fol. 94r which marks the obit Æthelwold and notes the succession of King Æthelred.

[118] *ASL,* nos. 8, 16, 46 and also a New Minster litany, no. 12; Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, nos. 88 – 92, pp. 31 – 35.

[119] London, BL, Add. 61888, fols.119r - 121v, 117r - v; Morgan, *Litanies,* II, no. 90. As is Birinus; Swithun has a regular invocation.

[120] London, BL, Cotton Vitellius E. XVIII, fols.141r-142v; Cambridge, University Library Kk.6.39 (Litany I), fols.34r-40r; Morgan, *Monastic Litanies,* II, nos. 91, 92.

Winchester litanies, which treat Birinus and Swithun in a similar manner. The trio were evidently grouped together as the cathedral's major saints. In 1402, when the archbishop of Canterbury ordered processions to be carried out each Wednesday and Friday, Bishop Wykeham of Winchester added the Sts Birinus, Swithun and Æthelwold, whom he called the patrons of Winchester, to the litany to be chanted by the congregation.[121]

Æthelwold's feast days also remained important and were accorded high honour in the cathedral's calendars. Morgan's reliable reconstruction of the post-Conquest Winchester priory's calendar, for which no good complete text survives, denotes that Æthelwold's deposition feast was a *duplex festum* and his translation was *in cappis*.[122] A 1424 calendar from a fragmentary breviary celebrates the rare octave for the deposition feast, which was also marked for a twelve lesson matins. [123] As explained in the introduction, this means that there would have been a week's worth of commemoration following the feast day itself, suggesting a high level of devotion. The sacrist roll of 1536/7 records that extra money had to be paid out for the brothers to break their fasts on the two feasts of St Æthelwold (as well as the feasts of St John the Evangelist, St Thomas the Martyr, St Blaise, St Sitha and the two feasts of St Benedict).[124]

The Winchester cathedral documents denote that there was a special monastic ritual to celebrate the deposition of St Æthelwold. A fourteenth-century Winchester custumal contains an account of several monastic officers' duties: those within and connected to the refectory of Winchester cathedral priory. The manuscript is quite badly damaged and the handwriting is cramped and difficult to read. Dean Kitchin published a

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[121]*Register of the Common Seal of the Priory of St Swithun*, *Winchester 1345 – 1497,* ed. J. Greatrex (Hampshire County Council, 1979), pp. 15 – 16.
[122] Morgan, 'Notes on the Post-Conquest Calendar, Litany and Martyrology of the Cathedral Priory of Winchester', p. 133.
[123]Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. C. 489; Ibid.
[124] *Documents Relating to the Foundation of Winchester,* ed. G. W. Kitchin (London, 1889), pp. 29 – 30.

full edition and translation of the document for the Hampshire Record Society in 1886.

One of the refectorian's duties specifically concerns provisions for the feast:

> On the deposition of St Æthelwold at dinner the refectorian should carry the cup of St Æthelwold with a pitcher of wine in the refectory and it should be kissed by all the monks and then be carried to the infirmary, that is to the table of those who have been bled [although after being bled everyone was accustomed to attend chapel and hear the divine service]. Afterwards, the cup should be carried to the Prior's Hall, and be kissed by the Prior, the other monks, and noble men, and then be returned to the Refectory.[125]

The original Latin has caused some problems as to interpretation. The word *cyphum,* which denoted the object to be carried around, is presumed to be a corruption of the Latin *scyphus,* meaning cup or goblet, taken from the Greek skyphos, meaning the same.[126] Kitchin, however, in his 1892 edition of the obedientiaries of Winchester cathedral, alternated between a translation of 'cup' and 'reliquary'.[127] John Crook originally translated *cyphum* as 'casket or reliquary' but later favoured 'cup'.[128] If the translation of *cyphum* as 'cup' is accepted, this passage indicates that Winchester had a secondary relic of Æthelwold, which was used in a ritual on the saint's deposition feast.

The passage divulges several details about the veneration of Æthelwold's deposition feast. Firstly is the fact of the ritual itself. The refectorian would carry the cup of St Æthelwold and a pitcher of wine around the refectory for all the monks there to kiss,

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[125] Translation mine, Latin taken from *A Consuetudinary of the Fourteenth Century for the Refectory of the House of St Swithun in Winchester,* ed. G. W. Kitchin (London, 1886), p. 31, pp. 20-1: *Refectoriusportabitciphum Sancti Æthelwoldi in Depositioneejusdem Sancti in Refectorio tempore prandii cum pichicheriovini, et osculate eoibi a ceteris fratribusportabitur ad infirmariam, videlicet ad mensammunitorum et ad qui capellam potuit adire et divinorum servitum audire; munite vero eodem modo omnes solebant interesse. Postea portabitur ad aulam Prioris, et, osculate eoibi a Priore et a ceteris fratribus et ab honoratis viris, remeat ad Refectorium...*
[126] *Revised Medieval Latin Word-List from British and Irish sources,* R. E. Latham (London, 1965), p. 129, p. 427.
[127] *Obedientiary Rolls of St Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. G. W. Kitchin (London, 1892), pp. 64 - 5. I have looked at the original manuscript and the transcription is accurate.
[128] J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints in the Early Christian West* (Oxford, 2000)*,* p. 232. I am thankful to Dr Crook for discussing his translation of and thoughts on this passage.

before taking it to invalids in the infirmary. The Winchester obedientiary rolls state that the officer known as the curtarian (*curtarius*) would supply two pitches of wine to be drunk on Æthelwold's deposition day, and so it is probable that those assembled to celebrate the feast also drunk wine from the cup of St Æthelwold.[129] The cup was presumably taken to the infirmary to ensure that all of the monastic community was able to kiss the relic, and also in the hope that the cup would miraculously cure the sick there. After this, the prior and monks within the Prior's Hall would also kiss the cup, as would any *honorati viri* present. This could refer to any important lay visitors that the prior happened to receive that day, but it is more likely that notable high ranking members of the Winchester laity were invited to dine with the prior on the feast of St Æthelwold. In Anglo-Saxon times the laity were involved in liturgical celebrations, especially at reformed monastic houses, which often featured portable relics such as a cup, and lay involvement in later medieval liturgical ceremonies was also common.[130] It is likely that the laity of Winchester was involved in the celebration of Æthelwold's deposition, and high-ranking members of the community stayed to dine with the prior afterwards, and allowed to kiss the cup of St Æthelwold. The passage's concluding sentence also reveals that Æthelwold's cup was seemingly kept in the refectory rather than the sacristy. It is possible that it would have stood near the refectory pulpit, where the daily readings from a lectionary or the rule of St Benedict would have occurred, reminding the community of their saintly founder.

Documentary evidence such as this manuscript, which recorded the financing and organising of monastic offices, emerged rather late in the medieval period. Although the

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[129] *Obedientiary Rolls of St Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, pp. 64 - 5.
[130] F. Tinti, *Pastoral care in late Anglo-Saxon England,* pp. 10 – 11; S. Doran, C. Dusden, *Princes, Pastors and People: the Church and Religion in England, 1500 – 1700* (London, 2002), p. 87.

obedientiary offices themselves (the sacrist, precentor, cellarer etc) were probably established by the early eleventh century, the documentary accounts of their incomes and expenses were a later development, brought on by the gradual tendency to assign certain monastic estates to certain offices. Now responsible for specific estates and a fixed income to support their offices, the officers had to demonstrate that they were responsibly spending the money and discharging their duties. Whilst this fourteenth-century manuscript is the only evidence of this ritual on the feast of Æthelwold's deposition, it is likely that the ritual was well established, and had been occurring for centuries. The custumal was just the first documentation of the refectorian's duties within the ritual.

The monks of Ramsey abbey performed a similar ritual on the feast day of St Oswald in the eleventh century.[131] The ritual of the cup of St Oswald is recorded in Eadmer's *Miracula s. Oswaldi* which was completed by 1116. The ritual occurs during a miracle story concerning Eadwacer, a monk of Ramsey, during the pontificate of Wulfstan II of Worcester (1062 - 1095). Eadwacer was afflicted in the jaw with a cancerous ulcer. He was so ashamed of his face that he lived separately from the other monks and only joined them for the daily liturgy. On St Oswald's feast day, however, when all the people of every age and sex had been gathered together to celebrate, the brothers begged him to remain with them and so he sat with them in the hospice, before following them into the refectory to dine. Eadmer states that in the church of Ramsey 'the

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[131] Eadmer, *MsO,* c. 6, pp. 308 – 313. Eadmer reports that Bishop Wulfstan (1065 - 1095) had seen the ritual and knew the monk in question well both when he was sick and when he was ill. This supplies a *terminus ante quem* of 1095 to the miracle. Wulfstan did not become a monk at Worcester until *c.* 1038, but was an Episcopal clerk under Bishop Brihtheah (*r.* 1033–8). It is unlikely that he would have travelled to monastic Ramsey before becoming a monk himself, so a *terminus post quem* of *c.* 1038 can be assumed. This suggests that the ritual itself was being performed at Ramsey in the early eleventh century.

cup was preserved from which the holy bishop, namely the glorious father and pastor Oswald, used to drink.'[132] On his feast day,

> ... all the brothers used to drink from this vessel, believing in their simple faith, which was both loving and acceptable to God, that this would be of great advantage to them in attaining the blessing of the renowned bishop. And so on this day, when the wine had been drunk by the brothers according to custom, the cup with its draught was finally carried to him who sat furthest away, that is, to the sick brother.[133]

Eadwacer turned his mind to God and St Oswald and prayed that they would have pity on him. He drank from the cup and clasped it to his jaw. When he removed the cup 'all of the gore and decay caused by his sickness had adhered to the cup in such a way that his jaw was restored from illness and no trace of the former affliction could be detected there.'[134]

This ritual is similar to Winchester's in several ways. It takes place in the refectory on the saint's feast day. It includes all of the monks from the monastery and the cup is taken to the sick monk[s] after those in the refectory. The laity attend and play a part in the celebrations: Eadmer states that 'that people of either sex and every age were gathered there in countless multitude' to celebrate Oswald's feast.[135] At Winchester, the *honorati viri* who dined with the prior on Æthelwold's feast could have been the higher echelons of lay society, whilst the rest of the laity dined in the refectory with the brethren. The saint's cup is the focal point of the ritual, which takes place on the saint's feast day. The

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[132] Eadmer, *MsO,* c. 6, p. 310: *Seruabatur in aecclesia ipsa scifus quo sacer antistes, gloriosus uidelicet pater et pastor Osuualdus, bibere usum habuerat .*

[133] Ibid., c. 6, pp. 308 - 313: *Hoc uase in festo nobilissimi patris post refectionem, praemissa prece, potum libabant omnes fratres, pia Deoque accepta simplicitate in fide tenentes hoc sibi ad obtinendam tanti pontificis benedictionem non nichil profuturum. Hac itaque die a fratribus eiusdem scifi a liquore pro more libato, ultimo illi qui ultimus sedebat, infirmo uidelicet fratri, scifus ipse cum potu defertur.*

[134] Ibid., c. 6, pp. 312 - 3: *... morbi sanies atque putredo uasi adhesit ut, redintegrata a languore maxilla, nullum praeteriti mali indicium deprehendi posset in illa.*

[135] Ibid., c. 6, pp. 308 - 313.

cup is filled with wine, and circulated around the refectory so the monks can drink from it, after which is it taken to the sick monk[s].

Eadmer's miracle story does not prove that Winchester performed this ritual on the deposition of St Æthelwold in the eleventh century.[136] But it does demonstrate that a ritual, similar to the one recorded in the fourteenth-century Winchester custumal, was happening in eleventh-century England. It is possible evidence for the continuity of Anglo-Saxon liturgical tradition. These two documents are separated by three centuries but describe startlingly similar monastic rituals. This suggests that the ritual for the feast of St Æthelwold is far older than the manuscript in which it was recorded. The refectorian may have been carrying the cup of St Æthelwold around the monastery, bidding monks to kiss it and drink from it on the saint's feast since Anglo-Saxon times.

It is also possible that the relic cult was initiated in the following centuries, as was the case at Barking Abbey. The custumal of Barking documents that during her abbacy Katherine de Sutton (1358 - 1376) reformed the liturgy of the abbey and began a new ceremony to venerate the feast of St Earconwald, which she had raised to the level of a principal feast. During the processional, a bell of St Earconwald would be rung and taken to the abbess's chamber where it would be filled with wine. Those present would drink from it and then it would be carried to other nuns' rooms.[137] This monastic ceremony, which occurs on the saint's feast day and includes the community drinking wine from a portable contact relic, clearly mirrors those from Worcester and Winchester.

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[136] See R. Browett, 'Touching the holy: the rise of contact relics in medieval England', *JEH,* forthcoming.
[137] *Ordinale and Customary of the Benedictine Nuns of Barking Abbey,* ed. J. B. L. Tohurst, 2 vols, HBS 65 - 6 (London, 1927 - 8), II, p. 222: *Campana illius pulsetur de portando ad processionem et post missam deportetur ad cameram domine abbatisse replete uino ut omnes ex ea bibant. deinde ad cameras reliquas monialium modo predicto*.; A. Bagnall Yardley, 'Liturgy as the site of creative engagement', in J. N. Brown (ed.), *Barking Abbey and Medieval Literary Culture: Authorship and Authority in a Female Community* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 272.

Earconwald's corporeal remains were housed at Old St Paul's in London, and could not therefore be included in ceremonial activity on his feast day at Barking.[138] Thus, here we have a late medieval initiative which saw an Anglo-Saxon saint's contact relic being used within a monastic ceremonial context.

The 1515 Winchester obedientiary rolls detail the diet (and its cost) for St Æthelwold's feast days. It also denotes that Æthelwold's deposition was a *duplex festum* and the translation was a *festum in cappis*. The fact that this is recorded in such a late document suggests that Æthelwold's feasts were regarded as important and celebrated until the reformation.

Table 2: The feast of the deposition of St Æthelwold. *Duplex Festum.*2 August[139]

	S	D
Drylynge	5	7
300 eggs	2	0
Small flounders as entrée at breakfast and supper		7
Rice for pittance		4
Mustard		1 ½
Brushwood	2	8
Total	**11**	**3 ½**

The feast for Æthelwold's deposition cost the kitchen eleven shillings and three and a half pence; this is approximately £215 to £350 in today's money.[140] The diet for the deposition is more expensive but far less interesting than the feast of the translation. Considering the size of the celebration for the deposition documented in the fourteenth-century custumal it may be that a more basic fare was chosen so that larger amounts could

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[138] For Erkenwald's cult see A. Thacker, 'The cult of the saints and the liturgy' in D. Keene, A. Burns and A. Saint (eds), *St Paul's: the Cathedral Church of London, 604-2004* (New Haven, 2008), pp. 113-122.
[139] *Obedientary Rolls of St. Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, p. 357.
[140] Using the National Archives currency converter (http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/ [last accessed 15 April 2013) and the Measuring Worth calculator (http://www.measuringworth.com/calculators/ppoweruk/ [last accessed 15 April 2013]).

be afforded to provide food for the extra guests. Drylynge was a type of preserved fish, probably cod or herring,[141] and small flounders refers to the flat fish. Pittance could refer to two things. One was a daily allowance of food for sick monks, provided by the infirmarer.[142] The other was a small, extra allowance of food. It might be an extra dish of eggs or meat, provided on the anniversary of the donor. Mustard was probably included to give the poor monks some type of flavour to subsidise the otherwise boring meal. The brushwood refers to the means to cook the food: wood. The menu sticks to the customary diet for Benedictine monks: fish and no meat. The Rule of St Benedict forbade monks to eat meat, apart from the ill and infirm, and so monks generally only ate fish. But the long services required on saints' days often allowed for the provision of meat in the monks' diet for the given day. In 1336 Pope Benedict XII permitted Benedictine monks to eat meat four days a week outside Lent, so long as it was not served in the refectory.[143] This gave rise to the *misericord:* a special room where the Rule of St Benedict was relaxed and meat could be eaten.[144]

The feast of the translation relaxed this rule, and included meat, and wine, which was also forbidden by the *Rule*. Stricter monks could have adhered to the Rule as mortells (a type of seafood dish) was supplied for pittance, and the sew was a traditional pottage probably made of vegetables. Although the diet for the translation feast is much more extravagant, including beef and mutton, it is actually cheaper, costing approximately £173 to £288 in today's money. Furmety, from the Latin *frumentum,* was a dish consisting of hulled wheat boiled in milk and seasoned with cinnamon and sugar. Moile was a type of

[141] R. Nicholson, 'Southampton French quarter 1382: specialist report download E2: fish bone', *Oxford Archaeology* (2011), p. 8.
[142] B. Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540: The Monastic Experience* (Oxford, 1993), p. 93.
[143] J. Kerr, *Life in the Medieval Cloister* (London, 2009), p. 48.
[144] Ibid.

omelette, often with strips of meat within it. In Lydgate's *The Siege of Thebes,* a sort of sequel to *The Canterbury Tales,* the poet joins the pilgrims for supper. There he eats omelettes: a 'Franchëmole', a French moile, made of marrow and grated bread, and haggis.[145] Nombles, the entree, is a dish consisting of the entrails of an animal (including heart, lungs, liver etc), usually a deer. The sub-prior and hordarian's entrees must have been a good dish as they cost as much as the furmety which presumably fed the entire monastic congregation.

Table 3: The feast of the translation of St Æthelwold. *Cappis festum.* 10 September[146]

	S	d
Furmety		8
Moile		5 ½
170 eggs	1	3
Nombles as entrée		2 ½
Mortells for pittance		1
Sew for supper		6
Wine to the chaplain		6
Beef	3	2
Mutton	1	7
Calves feet for ministrants		1
Sub-Priors and Hordarian's entrée		8
Total	**9**	**2**

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[145] B. Henisch, *The Medieval Cook* (Woodbridge, 2009), p. 80.
[146] *Obedientary rolls of St. Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, p. 361.

Table 4: The feast of the translation of St Swithun. *Duplex festum.* 15 July

	£	S	d
Drylynge		5	7
Millwelle		4	8
Fresh salmon as entrée, at breakfast and supper		8	8
Plaice as pittance		2	8
"In mylettis et batis"[147]		2	6
Eggs at supper			9
Mustard			1 1/2
Five dishes bought		2	11
Half bushel of oatmeal			8 1/2
Total	1	8	7

This diet is similar to the one provided on Christmas eve, the feast of St Martin's, St Benedict (*cappis festum),* and the Assumption of the Virgin (*duplex festum*).[148] It is also similar to the diet for the translation of St Swithun, which also had 272 eggs, and 'divers vessels' that were brought for the servants of the sub-prior and hordarian.[149] The feast of the translation of St Æthelwold was the standard diet for high feast days at the cathedral. In contrast, the diet for the translation of St Swithun, a *duplex festum,* was much heartier. Although the diet contains no meat, fresh salmon was a delicacy and only appeared on the menu on major feast days.[150] Plaice was common dish for pittances.[151] Millwelle is, again, a type of cod fish.[152] The only feasts which far outstrip both

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[147]Unknown.
[148]Ibid*.,* p. 309, p. 355, p. 359. The feast of St Martin, *in cappis,* also had burson as entree (4d); an extra entree for the third prior (10s); a courtesy to the brethren in the refectory (10s); and paid to the convent depositories (13 4d); total £1, 12s 8d. The Assumption of the Virgin, *duplex festum,* also had corn for pottage (7d); two extra eggs; and an extra entree for the third prior (5d); total for feast 8s 9d.
[149]Ibid., p. 354.
[150] Harvey, *Living and Dying in England 1100-1540,* p. 49.
[151] Ibid.
[152] *Obedientary rolls of St. Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, p. 500.

Æthelwold's and Swithun's are those for the Annunciation of the Virgin and Easter Sunday.[153]

The custumal and diet roll provide clear evidence that Æthelwold's feasts were observed, with some celebration, until the reformation. The fourteenth-century custumal, in particular, suggests a ritual was held on Æthelwold's deposition feast, which may have begun in the late Anglo-Saxon era. The monastic custumal also did not mention any such ritual for the feasts of St Swithun. This could suggest that the celebrations for Swithun's feasts were held with the laity in the cathedral, as Swithun was a popular saint amongst the laity throughout the medieval period. This study has so far suggested that Æthelwold was primarily a monastic saint. The monks therefore garnered and nurtured the ritual venerating his feast day, and celebrated it in the refectory, away from the laity who did not share their veneration.

The Physical Site of the Cult

The calefactory of Winchester cathedral is thought to have originally been the cathedral's scriptorium. On one of the walls, there is a painting of a Benedictine monk-saint. He is situated within a Romanesque-arch with a red background. In his right hand he holds a book, with script upon it, and in his left hand is a writing implement. Assuming he is a figure identified with the community it is likely to be Æthelwold, since the other

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[153] Ibid., p. 322 - 4, The Annunciation of the Virgin, *duplex festum,* served Grenemillewelle [mylwelle] (3s 4d); salt salmon (4s); rogetts [red mullet] as entree (1s 1s); thornbacks [fish, probably ray] as pittance (9d); mustard (1.5d); tartes and stockfish fried for the ministrants (10d); red herrings for the ministrants supper (7d); total 10s 8.5d. Easter Sunday, *duplex festum,* they had spiced vegetables (6d); meat for batir (4d); 260 eggs (1s 3d); nombles as entree (3d); jusshelle [soup/jelly] for pittance (2d); flavons [custard] for common pittance (1s 8d); sew for supper (6d); beef (3s 4d); mutton (2s 6d); wine to the Lord Prior (1s 3d); wine to the chaplain (6d); sub-prior and hordarian's entree (6d); total 12s 9d.

prominent saints of Winchester, Birinus and Swithun, are not identified in Winchester documents as monks.

The depiction is similar to the image of Æthelwold on the front piece of the *Regularis Concordia*, in which he and Dunstan flank the central image of King Edgar. In both the manuscript picture and the wall painting Æthelwold is tonsured with a halo around his head, sitting within an archway. The primary difference between the two images is that in the *Regularis Concordia* picture Æthelwold is robed as a bishop, with his mitre and chasuble, whereas in the wall painting he is in monk's robes. This is not unusual: Æthelwold was portrayed wearing a monk's habit, with his girdle labelled *zona humilitatis*, on folio 133r in the Arundel Psalter.[154] In his own private prayerbook, Dunstan had himself depicted in a monk's habit.[155] It has been noted that the images of Æthelwold, Edgar and Dunstan in the frontis piece of the *Regularis Concordia* are more individual than most: Dunstan is depicted as bald, Edgar's beard is carefully drawn, and Æthelwold is depicted as having a prominent nose.[156] Unfortunately, the wall painting is damaged and the tip of Æthelwold's nose is not intact, but the curling of the nostril and bridge of the nose could suggest that it was protruding.

There is a possibility the painting could be of St Benedict, but as Æthelwold had a reputation as a writer and scholar, his representation as a scholar-monk-saint would be appropriate. Wulfstan himself speaks of Æthelwold's reputation as a teacher and tutor emphatically in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*, *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno* and the *Translatio et Miracula s. Swithuni*, leaving an impression of Æthelwold as an impressive

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[154] *Benedictional of St Æthelwold,* ed. Deshman*,* p. 180; G. Owen-Crocker, 'Image-making: portraits of Anglo-Saxon church leaders', in A. R. Rumble (ed.), *Leaders of Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand* (Woodbridge, 2012), p. 120.
[155] Owen-Crocker, 'Image-making: portraits of Anglo-Saxon church leaders', p. 119.
[156] Ibid., p. 119.

scholar. [157] Michael Lapidge has sufficiently demonstrated Æthelwold's extensive learning and discussed his literary and scholarly works. [158] Rumble has also noted that it was common practice in Anglo-Saxon art for religious figures to be depicted as holding, receiving, or writing in books or scrolls. [159] As the Anglo-Norman style was heavily influenced by Anglo-Saxon art, [160] it is not unreasonable to suggest that this particular style continued at Winchester. It would be quite fitting that Æthelwold, a saint who produced great works and commissioned the Benedictional of St Æthelwold, would be depicted as a scholar.

There is little material evidence for the tomb, shrine or chapel of St Æthelwold. After the Winchester Annals record the translation of his relics in 1111, documentation of Æthelwold's reliquary and/or chapel disappear. In his *Historia Minor* and *Historia Maior*, Rudborne does not mention Æthelwold's shrine, except to say that, when he died, Æthelwold was buried in the Old Minster, south of the High Altar: '*sanctissimus pater Athelwoldus sepultus est infra propriam ecclesiam ex australi parte magni altaris.*'[161] Æthelwold's translation in 1111 is not mentioned, but this is probably because Rudborne did not have access to the Winchester Annals.

The obedientiary rolls only mention his chapel once. The sacrist's account for 1537 reports that there were no oblations or offerings from the Station of St Catherine's on the Hill, or the chapels of St Agatha and St Æthelwold: '*De oblatione stationum sanctae Katarinae supra montem aut in capella S. Agathae et S. Athelwoldi hoc anno*

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[157] M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as a scholar and teacher', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Ethelwold,* p. 89.
[158] Ibid., pp. 89 - 118.
[159] Owen-Crocker, 'Image-making: portraits of Anglo-Saxon church leaders', p. 119.
[160] D. Park, 'The 'Lewes Group' of wall paintings in Sussex', *ANS,* 6 (Woodbridge, 1984), p. 244.
[161] Rudbourne, *Historia Maior,* p. 223.

nihil.' [162] St Catherine's on the Hill was a small church in Winchester. But the reference to a chapel of St Æthelwold appears to concern a chapel within the cathedral itself. The chances of it referring to a chapel within the cathedral are increased as the list also records oblations (or lack thereof) on the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, from St Blaise's Chapel, St Giles's pyx, and for the high altar of the cathedral. The sacrist's roll records that no offerings were made at St Swithun's shrine. It also records that there was a warden for St Swithun's shrine, who was paid £1 6s and 8d *per annum,* but does not record a warden for any other shrine, chapel or altar. The fact that the obedientiary rolls only make reference to Æthelwold's chapel on this singular occasion is not exceptional. Payments for common items and events often appeared sporadically in the rolls. For instance, for the monks to maintain their tonsure a *rastura* - a shaving day - was required. However, the expenses for such a day only appear in one obedientiary roll. The chamberlains roll from Michelmas 1416 to Michelmas 1417 records payments for *rasturae dies* for 36 of the 39 brethren, costing 4s and 6d. Two ells of shaving napkins were also supplied, costing 1s and 3d.[163] Obviously, the monks shaved their heads often, and payments would have to be made each year, but the rolls only record it this once.

The physical site of Æthelwold's reliquary in the late medieval cathedral is uncertain. The timeline for the known movement of Winchester's relics is as follows:

1093 Swithun's relics were moved from the Old Minster into the new Norman cathedral and are placed on or behind the high altar

1111 Æthelwold was translated from a *vetus feretrum* to a *novum* [*feretrum*]

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[162]*Obedientiary rolls of St. Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, p. 108; *Documents Relating to the Foundation of the Chapter of Winchester*, ed. Kitchin, p. 20.
[163]*Obedientiary rolls of St. Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, p. 131, p. 364.

1150 Swithun's reliquary was translated onto the remodelled feretory platform behind the high altar.[164] Birinus, bishop of Dorchester (d. 649) together with the following bishops of Winchester, Haeddi, (676 – 705), Beornstan (931 – 34), and Ælfheah (934/5 – 51) were also translated 'around the altar of SS Peter and Paul' and, probably placed on the feretory platform, near Swithun's reliquary.[165]

1158 Henry of Blois raised the bones of many 'illustrious dead', including Anglo-Saxon kings and bishops, placing them in lead caskets on the High Altar, next to the feretory platform.

1476 Swithun's reliquary was translated into the centre of the retrochoir.

Here it can be seen that the saints of the cathedral (which would not include the 'illustrious dead') were considered as three groups: i) Swithun ii) Æthelwold iii) the pre-Benedictine bishops associated with Dorchester and Winchester: Birinus, Haeddi, Beornstan and Ælfheah. Although group i and iii were translated together in 1150, the translation of Swithun onto the feretory platform was the main event. The relics of the pre-Benedictine bishops were translated and clustered around Swithun's reliquary, acquiring additional sanctity through their proximity.[166] Swithun was also translated earlier, separately from these other saints. For these reasons, they should be considered individual groups.

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[164]*AMW,* p. 54; Crook, *Medieval Shrines,* p. 174; Crook believes that Henry of Blois was probably not involved in the translation as it was not listed in his *Acta.* The ceremony was probably performed by the monks and was only of interest to the Winchester localities.

[165] *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral,* ed. A. Goodman (Winchester, 1927), no. 3.

[166] Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints,* p. 232.

During their translations, the saints' relics were presumably transferred from the crypt onto the feretory platform behind the high altar, an original feature of the eleventh-century cathedral. The evidence for the crypt being the main repository for the Anglo-Saxon saints of Winchester comes from a Winchester charter which states that Henry of Blois (1129 - 71) translated the relics of the saints from the crypt and placed them around the high altar.[167] Feretory platforms, behind the high altar, were commonly used to house relics and this seems to be the case at Winchester.[168] That arrangement, however, would have been problematic for pilgrims as they had no access to the high altar or feretory. Crook suggests that the 'Holy Hole' was created to allow pilgrims close proximity to the cathedral's major relics situated on the platform.[169] This hole was a fifteen-foot passage, running underneath the feretory platform, in which pilgrims could enter at the ambulatory and make their way through to prostrate themselves underneath the platform itself, where they would be at the closest proximity to the cathedral's relics.[170] Henry of Blois built the Holy Hole and his 1158 translations signalled the completion of his project.[171]

The relics of the saints were transferred onto this feretory platform in three stages: Swithun was translated in 1093, taken from the Old Minster and translated onto the high altar; Æthelwold's relics were translated in 1111 from the crypt onto the feretory; the pre-Benedictine saints were translated from the crypt onto the platform in 1150 when Swithun was also translated onto the remodelled platform. This explains why Æthelwold was not included in the 1150 translations: his relics were already on the feretory platform. Swithun and the pre-Benedictine saints joined him there in 1150.

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[167] *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral,* ed. Goodman, no. 3.
[168] B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001), p. 52; Hugh Candidus reports that the late eleventh-century Ely abbey kept the arm of St Oswald in the feretory, *HC,* p. 41.
[169] Crook, *Architectural Setting of the Cult of the Saints*, p. 233.
[170] Ibid.
[171] Ibid., p. 232.

Crook's persuasive argument on the movement of Swithun's shrine has created uncertainty concerning the intended function of the east end of the cathedral as reconstructed by bishops Godfrey de Lucy (1189 – 1204) and Peter de Roches (1205 - 38). [172] Previously, it was thought that the east end and retrochoir were enlarged in the thirteenth century to allow pilgrims greater access to Swithun's shrine, which was believed to be placed in the centre. Crook, however, has demonstrated that Swithun's shrine did not move from the feretory into the centre of the retrochoir until 1476. Consequently, the precise function of the thirteenth-century east end and enlarged retrochoir remains uncertain.[173] Godfrey de Lucy began reconstructing the east end in 1202; it was completed in 1235 and included an extended retrochoir, ambulatory, and a Lady Chapel flanked by two chapels in the southeast and northeast end respectively. The new retrochoir was also almost exactly the same size as the liturgical choir and therefore would have accommodated the presence of the entire monastic community or a considerable number of pilgrims.[174] Draper and Morris have commented that these architectural forms were those commonly used to improve access to shrines.[175] Since the relics of St Swithun were safely stowed in the feretory, it may be that the east end was built to develop the cults of the other Winchester saints.

There is evidence that Birinus was commemorated in his own chapel in the southeast chapel of the rebuilt arm of the cathedral.[176] An indulgence, dated 9 September

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[172] P. Draper and R. K. Morris, 'The development of the east end of Winchester Cathedral from the 13th to the 16th century', in J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Chichester, 1993), p. 179.

[173] J. Crook, 'St Swithun of Winchester', in J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Chichester, 1993), pp. 60 - 2. Early 13th century wall painting which adorned the sacrist's office show the relics at the high altar (Crook, *English Medieval Shrines,* p. 127. See also Crook, 'King Edgar's Reliquary of St Swithun', pp. 177 - 202.)

[174] Its hall-like structure with additional chapels and crypts.

[175] Draper and Morris, 'The development of the east end', p. 178.

[176] Crook, *Medieval Shrines,* p. 174.

1254, granting ten days penance 'to all who visit the altar of blessed Birinus and all other saints in whose honour the altar is dedicated' was found in the lining of an aumbry in the north wall of the chapel in 1923.[177] It is possible that Peter des Roches built the chapel and dedicated it to Birinus, whom he was actively promoting at the time.[178] In and after 1223, the canons of Dorchester Abbey were claiming that they had found the body of St Birinus, clothed in his pontifical robes, in their own monastery.[179] They contacted Rome and continued to press their claim to the saints' relics, against that of Winchester. As part of combating this claim, des Roches initiated a diocesan law that demanded the observation of his feast day. He also used the feast day in dating clauses, and commissioned a new, metrical life of St Birinus.[180] In the poem by Henry of Avranches mentioned above, de Roches's position as successor to Birinus, Æthelwold and Swithun is stressed.[181] De Roches was aware of his inheritance, and the importance of the bishop-saints of the cathedral. It is possible that the northeast chapel of his newly built east end was dedicated to Æthelwold. That chapel is commonly referred to as the 'Guardian Angel Chapel' because of the decorative busts of angels adorning its walls.[182] The angels, which are Byzantine in style and dated *c.* 1230, are contemporaneous with the original chapel.[183]

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[177] T. D. Atkinson, MS. notes, Society of Antiquaries MS. 783, Binder V, p.27; Text of Indulgence in 'Baigent Papers', MSS. WCL., vol. XV (loose leaf at end of volume). I am grateful to Dr John Crook for discussing the architectural evidence for the chapels of Birinus and Æthelwold with me, and supplying this information from his forthcoming chapter: J. Crook, 'The architectural setting of the cult of St Swithun in Winchester Cathedral, 1093-1538' in M. Biddle (ed.) *Winchester Studies,* vol. 4.i (Oxford, forthcoming). (Crook: 'Atkinson's conjecture that Langton's chantry chapel was formerly the chapel of St Birinus is confirmed by a passage in a late version of the Liber Historialis (BL MS. Cotton. Vespasian D.IX, fo. 24): Thomas Langton ... *iacethumatus in ecclesia sua in capella sancti Birini*. It may be that 'all other saints' referred to in this indulgence are those pre-Benedictine saints with whom Birinus was translated in 1150.)
[178] See above.
[179] Vincent, *Peter des Roches,* p.244.
[180] Ibid., p. 246.
[181] Ibid.
[182] D. Park and P. Welford, 'The medieval polychromy of Winchester Cathedral', in J. Crook (ed.), *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years* (Chichester, 1993), p. 129.
[183] Ibid.

If it was the site of the chapel of St Æthelwold, all the major saints of the cathedral would have been grouped together. Swithun, on the feretory platform; beyond in the east end would have been the Lady Chapel, and Æthelwold and Birinus's chapels flanking either side. It would have been even neater when Swithun finally came to rest in the centre of the retrochoir in 1476. This arrangement could explain why the obedientiary rolls record the employment of a warden only for St Swithun's shrine.[184] It could be that he unofficially guarded the other chapels and shrines situated so close to Swithun's.

This liturgical function fits with the architectural forms of the cathedral. It is likely that the building works were initiated to make the east end the pilgrimage centre of the cathedral. The new east end incorporated the feretory platform, holding the relics of the major saints of the cathedral, including Swithun, Birinus and Æthelwold; the new Lady chapel, used to venerate the strong cult of the Virgin; a new chapel to St Birinus and possibly a new chapel to St Æthelwold. Entering the cathedral through the pilgrims' door in the north transept, all pilgrims could be ushered into the east end of the cathedral. Once inside the east end the pilgrims could be easily directed to the chapel, altar, or shrine of their choice. The queues of pilgrims waiting to visit the shrine of St Swithun may have been inclined to visit the less crowded chapels of St Æthelwold or St Birinus, situated only a few metres away.[185]

The grouping of saints' chapels and shrines in the east end of a cathedral was characteristic of early gothic architecture and employed by other cathedrals in the twelfth and thirteenth century.[186] Worcester cathedral started building a new east arm in 1224,

[184]*Obedientiary Rolls of St Swithun's, Winchester,* ed. Kitchin, p. 111.

[185] Image copyright of John Crook. Published on the website of Winchester Cathedral: http://www.winchester-cathedral.org.uk/our-heritage/our-history/building-the-cathedral/ [last accessed 02 September 2016].

[186] T. Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury and the architecture of pilgrimage shrines in England', in C. Morris and P. Roberts (eds), *Pilgrimage: the English Experience from Becket to Bunyan* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 97.

which would contain the twin shrines of St Oswald and St Wulfstan on either side of the high altar.[187] Canterbury cathedral placed the relics of Dunstan and Ælfheah either side of the high altar *c.* 1130.[188] Following the fire of 1174 and the subsequent rebuilding works, the saints were temporarily placed in the crypt and then came to rest in the choir *c.* 1180. After the martyrdom of Thomas Becket (d. 1170) the east end was rebuilt in the early 1180s into the current Trinity Chapel. Like Winchester's east end it contained an ambulatory, allowing for a greater number of pilgrims and easier access to Thomas Becket's shrine, into which his relics were translated in 1220.[189] The east end of Durham cathedral was similarly planned around its most prominent saint's shrine: that of St Cuthbert. Built from 1242 - 1280, the Chapel of the Nine Altars, encompassing the saint's shrine, had nine subsidiary altars and an ambulatory.[190] The development of the east end of Winchester cathedral as a pilgrimage centre was fitting with contemporary architectural developments, and possibly contained chapels and/or altars for all of the major saints of Winchester cathedral including St Æthelwold.

Chapels dedicated to Æthelwold, Birinus and the Virgin may have been incorporated into Godfrey de Lucy's building plans for the new east end and retrochoir, making it the pilgrim point of the cathedral. Æthelwold's chapel was possibly in the northeast, the Lady Chapel in the centre, and Birinus's chapel in the southeast corner of the east end. Birinus and Æthelwold's relics probably remained in the feretory where they were safe from damage, but could still be reached by pilgrims by means of the Holy

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[187]Ibid., p. 98; B. Singleton, 'The remodelling of the east end of Worcester Cathedral in the earlier part of the thirteenth century', in *Medieval Art and Architecture at Worcester Cathedral,* Transactions of the Worcester Archaeological Society, 3rd series, 10 (Leeds, 1980), pp. 105 - 116.
[188] Tatton-Brown, 'Canterbury and the architecture of pilgrimage shrines in England', p. 91.
[189]Ibid., p. 96.
[190] Ibid., p. 98.

Hole.[191] Swithun remained on the feretory platform until 1476, when he was translated into a new shrine in the centre of the retrochoir.

Figure 1: Winchester Cathedral
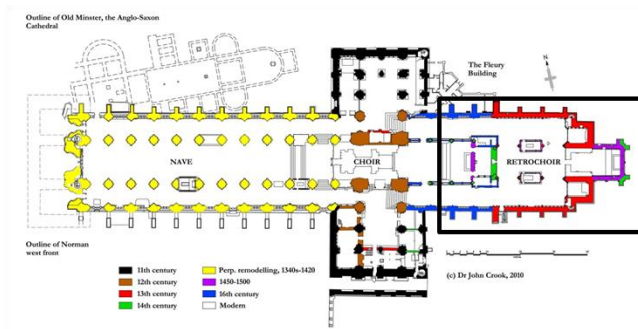
a: High Altar
b: Feretory
c: Æthelwold's Chapel
d: Lady Chapel
e: Birinus' Chapel
f: 1476 position of Swithun's shrine
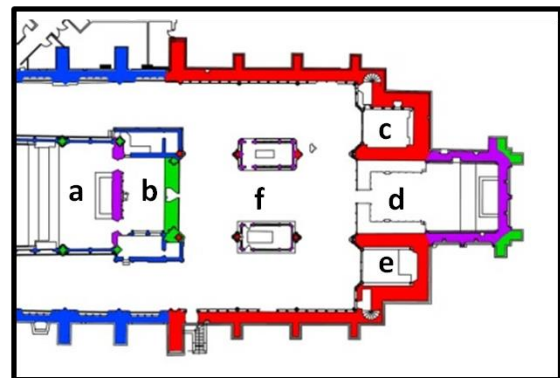
It is important to note that this is only an hypothesis based on fragmentary evidence. It is equally as possible that, when Æthelwold was translated in 1111 into a *novum feretrum,* his relics were placed south of the high altar. In the fifteenth-century the community believed they were living in the same cathedral which Æthelwold had built in the tenth century. Rudborne, in his *Historia Maior,* stated that when Æthelwold died, he was buried in the Old Minster, south of the High Altar: '*sanctissimus pater Athelwoldus sepultus est infra propriam ecclesiam ex australi parte magni altaris.*'[192] If,

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[191] It is possible that their relics were housed within the chapels themselves but this is unlikely as there is no record of any later translations.
[192] Rudbourne, *Historia Maior*, p. 223.

after his 1111 translation, his shrine was placed south of the high altar, the fifteenth-century community might have believed that his twelfth-century shrine was one in the same as the tenth. The community had somehow lost and forgotten a large amount of the architectural history of the cathedral (as documented in the annals); they believed that the fifteenth-century cathedral was that which Æthelwold had built in the tenth.[193] It is therefore possible that they still believed Æthelwold to be buried south of the high altar. It is also possible that, in 1111, Æthelwold's was translated onto the feretory platform, and his relics remained there, and he was not venerated in his own chapel. The altar in the southeast chapel of the east end could have been dedicated to Birinus and Æthelwold, as the indulgence granted ten days penance 'to all who visit the altar of blessed Birinus and all other saints in whose honour the altar is dedicated'.[194]

Conclusions

It is apparent that Æthelwold's cult underwent changes during the later Middle Ages, especially at Winchester. He continued to be culted at monasteries that were involved in the Benedictine reform of the tenth century. His feasts were sometimes added to the liturgy of monasteries that were influenced by the reform movement in later generations. The evidence discussed suggests that Æthelwold cult continued to play an important role within the communities of Abingdon, Ely, Peterborough, and Thorney and that his feasts remained an integral part of their liturgy. The sparse evidence from the

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[193] Crook, 'Thomas Rudbourne', p. 165; J. Crook, 'A worthy antiquity: the movement of King Cnut's bones in Winchester Cathedral', in A. Rumble (ed.), *The Reign of Cnut* (Leicester, 1994), p. 172, n.10; see R. Willis, 'The architectural history of Winchester Cathedral', *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Archaeological Institute at Winchester, September 1845* (1846), pp. 1 - 80.
[194] T. D. Atkinson, MS. notes, Society of Antiquaries MS. 783, Binder V, p.27; Text of Indulgence in 'Baigent Papers', MSS. WCL., vol. XV (loose leaf at end of volume).

obedientiary rolls does not reveal much about their treatment of any relics that they owned.

The most interesting development in the reframing of the cult is that the significance of Æthelwold's role as founder of the Winchester community was greatly reduced. Rather than invoking Æthelwold to protect them from bishops, as they had in 1070 against Walkelin, the monks fabricated a new history that claimed that their monastic establishment dated to the second century. Unlike in earlier times, Æthelwold's reforming efforts were problematic for the later medieval community and so they were glossed over. But although Æthelwold's historical role had been undermined, he continued to play an important role in the monks' liturgy. His feasts were celebrated with a high level of reverence and the cathedral priory also continued, or instituted, a ritual on the feast of the deposition that included drinking from a previously unknown contact relic, the cup of St Æthelwold. It is compelling that the monks either initiated, or continued to perform, this ritual on Æthelwold's feast day when considering that the Winchester monks had diminished Æthelwold's role as bishop in founding their monastic community. The fact that the ritual occurs within a monastic setting suggests that Æthelwold's feast days functioned to help the community assert their monastic identity. The cup of St Æthelwold was also stored in the refectory, the monks' domain, rather than in his own chapel, altar, or the sacristy. It is possible that the community reconfigured Æthelwold's saintly image so that they continued to venerate him, but primarily within a monastic context. Rather than remembering him as a monk-bishop, they reduced his episcopal role and remembered him as a reforming abbot. This would allow for his cult to have continued significance, but not undermine the new history which they had constructed for themselves. St Swithun continued to be the prominent saint within the cathedral itself; his

shrine was eventually placed in the centre of the east end, whilst Æthelwold's may have been next to the Lady Chapel. It seems as if these two cults functioned in highly separate manners. Æthelwold was an internally commemorated figure, venerated within the refectory on his feast day, and painted on the calefactory wall, whilst Swithun was a saint displayed to the outside world and publically lauded. Æthelwold reaffirmed their inward monastic culture whilst Swithun performed outwardly, within the public sphere, attracting pilgrims and publicising their cathedral.

The manner in which Æthelwold's cult changed function at Winchester during the later Middle Ages is mirrored in its treatment at other monasteries. At Ely, Peterborough, Abingdon, and Thorney, whilst his feasts continued to the accorded a high level of reverence, and his name was invoked in their litanies, it is not entirely clear whether or not they owned copies of the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi*. The evidence is suggestive that they did, but it cannot be certain. At Ely it appears that his *vita* was badly treated for a time (indicating a lack of reverence for the saint) before it was rehabilitated and marked up to use within the liturgy. Æthelwold certainly seemed to have retained significance to these communities, especially in regards to his historic actions as a monastic reformer, but he was not an active saint and was not accorded the same praise as those who were.

Conclusion

The aim of this study was to provide an analysis of a single early English cult over the *longue durée* by charting the cult of St Æthelwold from its inception (*c.* 984) until *c.*1400. Focussing on the monasteries which Æthelwold had reformed during the course of the tenth century, it charted the diversity of the cult as it unfolded in those centres and compared it with the development of other contemporary cults. A primary aim was to reveal how the image of Æthelwold changed throughout the centuries. In particular, the study emphasized how that image diversified as it was variously utilised in different monastic centres and transformed in accordance with their particular needs and their particular responses to contemporary political and cultural milieux. The evidence thus considered demonstrates how through such adaptation Æthelwold's cult was maintained within monasteries that he had reformed and continued to contribute to their history and identity.

As Chapter 1 has shown, Wulfstan carefully crafted an image of Æthelwold in his *vita,* which was based on his own reforming ideals, the *Regula s. Benedicti,* and Gregory the Great's *Regula Pastoralis.* Modern historians have subsequently misinterpreted this careful image. Where historians such as James Robinson and John Blair saw a man who was harshly, almost evilly, authoritative and punishment-centred, a medieval monk would have recognised an abbot fulfilling his duties according to the Benedictine Rule, and a bishop caring for his flock, as described by Gregory the Great. Wulfstan so patiently moulded his image of Æthelwold to his reforming ideals, set out in the *Regularis Concordia,* that once Æthelwold became a monk, he only interacted with the king in a religious or monastic setting (in this respect contrasting with contemporary Ottonian

episcopal Lives, such as those of Burchard and Bruno, even though their authors also used the Benedictine Rule and Gregory's *Pastoral Care* to shape their portraits). While is some ways Wulfstan's *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* contains more parallels with Ottonian than with Anglo-Saxon hagiography, it stands apart, most notably in its avoidance of any discussion of Æthelwold's social status or familial ties or of his secular or royal duties. As McKitterick and Rollason have argued, in general, involvement in politics and a close relationship with the king was characteristic of episcopal saints and conceptually integral to episcopal sanctity in both Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian tenth-century *vitae*. Instead, Wulfstan focused on discussing Æthelwold's relationship with those monasteries, pupils, and abbots who were involved in the monastic reform movement. First and foremost, Æthelwold was portrayed as a monastic reformer.

Chapter 2 demonstrated that after the Norman Conquest, Æthelwold's cult was suppressed at Winchester. The new bishop, Walkelin, attempted to remove the monks from the cathedral priory and replace them with canons. The monks successfully appealed to Pope Alexander II, invoking St Æthelwold in a new role as their heavenly protector and explaining their foundation story. After he was forced to keep the monks, Walkelin suppressed the cult of St Æthelwold, which had so effectively been used against him, and promoted Swithun's cult as the only viable alternative. At Abingdon abbey, the new Norman abbots, all monks from Jumièges, also suppressed the cult of St Æthelwold, banning his feast days and stealing prized possessions donated by Æthelwold himself. Yet, whilst this occurred, Æthelwold's saintly image was developed at Thorney, and used as an authorising figure in the hagiographies of Goscelin of St Bertin. This chapter's conclusions emphasise the regional differences in the treatment of Æthelwold's cult.

Whilst this study has confirmed Lapidge and Winterbottom's argument that Æthelwold was rarely culted outside those centres which he reformed, it also suggests that Æthelwold's cult and persona remained an important part of their history and culture. Chapter 3 has conclusively proven that it survived beyond the eleventh century and underwent a revival *c.* 1111. This revival certainly included royal action, and was possibly headed by Queen Matilda and involved her close friends Faritius, the abbot of Abingdon, and Bishop William Giffard of Winchester, and many abbots who were also a part of the court circle. The cathedral priory of Winchester may have instituted a concentrated effort to promote the cult within the Anglo-Norman realm. His relics were circulated to many monasteries in southern England and his *vita* was copied at the Winchester scriptorium. It is possible that an Anthony from Old Minster, Winchester, travelled southern England and Normandy, dispersing Æthelwoldan relics and carrying Wulfstan's *vita* to be copied by communities. An Antonius from the Old Minster was known to travel with Bishop William Giffard, and it is possible that this was the same Anthony who travelled to Thorney with relics of Æthelwold, and the same Anthony who journeyed to St Évroul carrying some sort of hagiographical collection, which may have included the Life of St Æthelwold, which was then copied by Orderic Vitalis.

The evidence considered in Chapters 3 and 4, whilst presenting an incomplete picture, suggests that Æthelwold was not a miracle worker post-996, with the exception of some supernatural activity performed at Abingdon abbey. It is possible that one of the monasteries created a now lost *Miracula s. Æthelwoldi* in the twelfth century or later, but the surviving evidence implies that Æthelwold was not known for his posthumous miracles. Instead, his reforming activities were portrayed as miracles, as holy deeds. According to the twelfth-century sources, Æthelwold worked on God's behalf and at his

instigation when he reformed a monastery. This belief seems to have been held in many Benedictine monasteries. And thus, according to national historians such as Henry of Huntingdon, when Æthelwold died the monasteries were left 'without the breastplate of her defence, and in her desolation lay open to God's premeditated vengeance…The Danes came from many directions and covered England like the clouds of the sky.'[1]

The evidence presented in Chapter 4 suggests that the monasteries of Abingdon, Ely, and Peterborough used Æthelwold's cult to protect the rights and lands with which he had endowed them. The compilers of their chronicle-cartularies made much of Æthelwold's reforming efforts, presented as having a supernatural, indeed miraculous quality, in hagiographical narratives in which charters and legal deeds were embedded. Rollason has previously asserted that, in hagiographies, saints were protectors of communities and often avenged wrong-doers. Whilst he touched upon the connection between forged charters and patron saints, he did not study how saints could be used within charters and cartularies themselves.[2] Alison Hudson has demonstrated that tenth and eleventh century monasteries selectively chose which saints were to be used in which charters. For example, at Abingdon, if a land grant was deemed to be possibly controversial, the wording of the deed would be in the form 'granted to St Mary' rather than 'to the monastery of Abingdon'. [3] This study has shown that twelfth-century communities deliberately structured their chronicle-cartularies to include hagiographical prose and narrative, and legal deeds and charters. They selectively inserted legal deeds, made by or concerning land or rights bestowed by St Æthelwold, within hagiographical prose praising his saintly works in order to protect them.

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[1] *HHHA,* v. 28, p. 326 – 7: *…caruit Anglia lorica protectionis sue, et uindicte Dei premeditate desolata patuit…Veneruntque Daci ex multis partibus et operuerunt Angliam nubes celi.*
[2] Rollason, *Saints and Relics,* pp. 196 - 214.
[3] Hudson, 'Æthelwold's circle', Chapter 1.

The evidence discussed in Chapter 5 suggests that Æthelwold's cult continued to play an important role within the communities of Abingdon, Ely, Peterborough and Winchester in the later Middle Ages, but that the significance of his role as founder of the Winchester community was reduced. It appears that Æthelwold's saintly image was transformed to reduce his episcopal role, especially within the foundation story of their community. Instead, his image as a saintly, reforming abbot was stressed and used to foster their internal monastic identity. In particular, the cathedral priory also continued, or instituted, a ritual on the feast of Æthelwold's the deposition that included drinking from a previously unknown contact relic, the cup of St Æthelwold. This cup was kept within the refectory, the monks' domain, rather than in the body of the cathedral. The community also may have venerated Æthelwold in his own chapel in the east of the cathedral.

The use of the *longue durée* has allowed us to witness changes within the cult which otherwise would not have been apparent. The study of Æthelwold's cult in multiple discrete time periods has allowed for the analysis and observation of the unique development of his saintly image, and its use, by individual monasteries over time. If we had not discovered that Æthelwold's cult was venerated by Ely as its primary saint in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* in the first decades of the twelfth century, then it would not have been apparent that St Æthelthryth supplanted him and his cult was relegated to second place in the later Middle Ages. By using the *longue durée,* this thesis has uncovered how Æthelwold's cult was treated at multiple time periods, and offered some insights into how episcopal cults developed throughout the Middle Ages.

In general, Æthelwold's cult, especially in between *c.*984 - *c.*1300, was explicitly linked to his reforming efforts during his lifetime. His reform ethic shaped Wulfstan's

portrayal of his asceticism, authority and sanctity in the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* and this had a dramatic influence on how his cult developed. His image as a saintly reforming bishop influenced the treatment of his cult by Walkelin in post-Conquest Winchester, and allowed the community to defend themselves against him. In the twelfth century those communities that he had reformed portrayed those reforms as holy deeds and miracles to protect their lands and monastic rights. The texts they produced to commemorate him, both historical (such as the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*) and liturgical (such as lections) focused on his reforming efforts, rather than any miracles he performed.

But one conclusion that emerges from this study is that we should not necessarily regard a saint's cult as a singular phenomenon. Whilst most cults will have a primary locus, it is apparent that when a saint is actively venerated at multiple centres, it develops its own unique identity at each of those centres. We best discuss the *cults* rather than the cult of St Æthelwold. Æthelwold's cult originated at the Old Minster, Winchester, and that site, which housed his shrine and primary relics, was its primary locus. Yet, as we have seen, the cult spread to other monasteries, where Æthelwold's saintly image was fostered and developed in unique forms. Whilst each centre's Æthelwold exhibited similarities, based on Wulfstan's *vita*, such as the firm exercise of episcopal authority and dedication to the *Rule of St Benedict*, nevertheless they functioned somewhat independently of one another. This could be described as regional variation in cultic activity, but it might be more useful to think in terms of separate cults. Whilst originating from the same source material (the *Vita s. Æthelwoldi* and relics of Æthelwold), the cult developed independently at each centre. At Winchester Æthelwold's episcopal identity was paramount in securing the monks' protection when Walkelin wanted to expel them around 1070. Yet by the middle of the thirteenth century his episcopal image as founding

father of the monks was abandoned in order to allow them to assert that they had been founded in the second century. Æthelwold being seemingly more helpful to them as a monastic scholar and teacher, they painted his image on the wall of their calefactory and performed a monastic ritual with the cup of St Æthelwold on his feast day. At Ely, he was promoted as the primary saint of the community in the early twelfth century, when there was uncertainty surrounding their lands with the creation of the new bishopric. Yet, only fifty years later, he was deposed once more by St Æthelthryth.

When historians consider a saint's cult in the *longue durée,* they tend to think of it developing a different identity over time. For example, Mary Clayton studied the cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England.[4] She argued that the cult could almost be split into two: the early cult, which was based in Anglia, Northumbria and Mercia; and the later cult which was based in the south of England. She defines the differences in cultic activity primarily by time period, rather than geographical location.[5] She does not consider that the later cult may have developed differently at centres in the south itself. But, as it is evident from this study, communities remembered and venerated saints in highly individualised ways. Virginia Blanton, when considering the cult of St Æthelthryth from *c.*695 -1615, made the same argument as myself:

> The medieval cult of St Æthelthryth, which spans nine hundred years, might be more usefully framed the medieval *cults* of Æthelthryth because devotion to this native saint was so varied and specific to time and place.[6]

Chapter 2 of this study demonstrated that Æthelwold's cult was treated differently at different monasteries after the Norman Conquest. At Winchester and Abingdon his cult

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[4] M. Clayton, *The Cult of the Virgin in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990).
[5] Ibid., p. 267.
[6] V. Blanton, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 965 - 1615* (University Park, 2007), p. 289.

was suppressed, yet at Thorney and Wilton his saintly image was developed. In order to make his cult more similar to their other saints, the Thorney hagiographer claimed that Æthelwold had occasionally been a hermit. Yet at Wilton, they used his saintly image to confer sanctity onto their unorthodox St Edith. The image of Æthelwold changed considerably during the Middle Ages. There were important differences in the treatment and perceptions of Æthelwold and his cult at a number of centres throughout the Middle Ages, and this cannot be the only case. It would be interesting to explore regional variation in the cults of other Anglo-Saxon or Anglo-Norman saints in medieval England.

One of the other key conclusions of this study is that whilst his cult was undoubtedly important to the monasteries under consideration, Æthelwold generally took second place to other saints. Æthelwold fell victim to his own cult building in the course of the tenth century. His monastic reforms invariably involved the promotion of saint's cults. Ely had St Æthelthryth; Thorney had Torhtred, Tancred and Tova; Peterborough had St Peter; Abingdon had St Vincent; Old Minster had St Swithun. The cults of these saints flourished during the course of the tenth century and they came to be the principal patrons of the monastery that housed them. As Alison Hudson has demonstrated, Æthelwold's protégées and students continued successfully to promote these cults, as a means of strengthening the monasteries involved and the ties between them. In the following centuries, these saints were promoted and performed many posthumous miracles, to help both laity and monks. Æthelwold's cult never surpassed them. In particular, it was the victim of his own successful promotion of Swithun's cult at Winchester. Despite holding Æthelwold's corporeal remains, the community made Swithun its patron saint and continued to update and promote that cult throughout the medieval period, creating new hagiographies in the eleventh century and reconstructing

his shrine in the fifteenth. Abingdon is perhaps unusual in that, whilst St Vincent's cult was undoubtedly popular, they seemingly fostered and venerated Æthelwold's cult more than his.

In contrast, the cults of St Dunstan and Oswald had little competition at their own monasteries. Whereas Æthelwold was an adept and enthusiastic cult builder, as Thacker has discussed, Dunstan and Oswald did not attempt to create or promote cults at their respective cathedrals during their reforms.[7] As a result, when they died they became the cathedrals' primary saints. It is also no coincidence that it was two of Æthelwold's protégés took over their respective cathedrals. Following in their mentor's footsteps, they built cults at their new cathedrals: they were instrumental in promoting the cults of Oswald and Dunstan at Worcester and Canterbury in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.

Bishop Ealdwulf of Worcester (992 - 1002) had been trained in the monastic life by Æthelwold himself. He was appointed as the first prior of Peterborough c. 970 and later became its abbot.[8] Æthelwold's cult making may have influenced Eadlfwulf in initiating Oswald's cult at Worcester and overseeing Oswald's translation in 1002.[9] Significantly, Dunstan's successor as archbishop of Canterbury was also a protégé of Æthelwold.[10] Æthelgar (d. 990) had been a monk under Dunstan at Glastonbury, and then at Abingdon under Æthelwold.[11] When Æthelwold expelled the canons from New Minster, Winchester he placed monks from Abingdon there in their stead and made

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[7] A. Thacker, 'Saint-making and relic collecting by Oswald and his communities', in Brooks, *et al., St Oswald*, pp. 244 - 268; Idem, 'Cults at Canterbury', pp. 237 - 8.

[8] *VsÆ*, c. 24, p. 40 - 1.

[9] Hillaby, 'St Oswald, the revival of monasticism and the veneration of saints in the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman diocese of Worcester', p.109.

[10] W. Hunt, 'Æthelgar (*d*. 990)', rev. M. F. Smith, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8909, accessed 10 June 2013].

[11] J. Scott, *An Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation and Study of William Malmesbury's 'De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie'* (Woodbridge, 1981), p. 136.

Æthelgar their abbot.[12] Æthelgar witnessed firsthand the outstanding results of the initiation of Swithun's cult, being involved in the translation of the relics. Upon his succession to Canterbury it is likely that he engaged in the initiation and promotion of Dunstan's cult. Ælfheah, previously bishop of Winchester, became the archbishop of Canterbury in 1006 and evinced similar attitudes. At Winchester he followed in the footsteps of his successor and promoted Swithun's cult in addition to translating and endorsing that of Æthelwold. Upon succeeding to Canterbury, Ælfheah continued to follow Æthelwold's example and promoted cults at Christ Church. Swithun's head was brought from Winchester and placed on the high altar of Canterbury cathedral and he commissioned the *Vita s. Dunstani* from Adelard of Ghent for the lections of the Night Office.[13] Oswald and Dunstan's cults were successfully promoted as they had little competition from other cathedral saints, whereas Æthelwold's cult could never outshine St Swithun's.

That is perhaps why Æthelwold was remembered and commemorated for his monastic reforms, rather than being an active saint posthumously. He was never praised above any other saint or said to be a monastery's crowning jewel. Thus, when Richard Pollard, Thomas Wriothesley, and John Williams went to Winchester cathedral on Saturday 21 September 1538, they 'made an end' to the shrine of St Swithun. The altar was worth removing, and they intended to go to both 'Hyde and St Mary's to sweep away all the rotten bones that be called relics.'[14] Æthelwold's relics and shrine are not mentioned. He was a monastic figure, not known to the laity, and not venerated for his posthumous powers.

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[12] *VsÆ*, c. 20, p. 37 - 8.
[13] Lapidge, Winterbottom, *Early Lives of St Dunstan,* p. cxxv – cxxix.
[14] *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic, Henry VIII,* ed. J. Gairdner, vol. 13 (London, 1892) part 2, no. 401.

A saint's image was not set in stone and did not remain unchanged throughout the Middle Ages. Æthelwold began as an authoritative monk-bishop, who was instrumental in the foundation and continuance of the monasteries that he reformed. By looking at Æthelwold's cult we have examined how monastic communities functioned and how their historical memory changed. Æthelwold's role in their history varied over time to suit the needs of each monastic community; this is especially evident at Winchester and Ely. This study contends that Æthelwold's cult was explicitly linked to his reforming activities and that the treatment of his cult was therefore shaped by contemporary perceptions of those activities, and as such contributes to much wider debates about monastic reform, identity, and memory, episcopal power, and the cult of the saints.

Appendix A

Table 1

Occurrence of saints' feast days in monastic calendars from c. 1000 until c. 1100
d: deposition. t: translation. o: ordination
Italics : later additions, but before c. 1100
Bold : in gold or coloured inks
CAPITALS : majuscule text

Æthelwold: Deposition 1/2 August; Translation 10 September. Swithun: Deposition 2 July; Translation 15 July; Ordination 30 October. Birinus: Translation 3/4 Sept; Deposition 3 Dec. Dunstan: Deposition 19 May; Ordination 21 October. Oswald: Deposition 28 February; Translation 15 April.

All numbers are those given by Rebecca Rushforth in her *Saints in English Kalendars Before A.D. 1100,* HBS 117 (London, 2008). For full manuscript details please see Rushforth's text. If a calendar did not include any of the relevant saints, it is not listed below.

	Æthelwold	Swithun	Birinus	Dunstan	Oswald
9. Canterbury London, British Library Add. 37517 Before *c.* 1008	-	d t	-	D	-
10. Canterbury Christ Church Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France lat. 10062 *s.* xi^{in} (partial calendar)	-	*dt*	-	d	-
11. Canterbury Christ Church,	**-**	d t	d t	D	-

Location					
London, British Library Arundel 155 *c.* 1012x1023					
12. Peterborough/Canterbury Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale Y. 6 (274) *c.* 1014x1023	**D**	d t o	d t	-	d
13. Canterbury/Glastonbury Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 32 (2074) *c.* 1012x1030	t	d t o	d t	d	-
14. Winchester New Minster London, British Library Cotton Titus D. xxvii *c.* 1012x1031	d t	d t	d t	d	-
15. Winchester New Minster Cambridge, Trinity College R. 15.32 (945) *c.* 1025x1035	d t	d t	d t	d	d
16. Leominster London, British Library Cotton Nero A. II *c.* 1026x1046	-	-	d t	d	-
17. Crowland Oxford, Bodleian Library Douce 296 (S.C.21870) *c.* 1060x1087	d t	D t	d	**D**	d
18. Bury St Edmunds Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana Reg. Lat. 12 *s.* xi. 3/4	d t	**D** t	d t	D	d
19. Sherborne Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422 *c.* 1061	d t	D t	d t	D o	-
20. Worcester Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 9 *c.* ?x1062	-	d t	d t	d	-
21. Worcester Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 *c.* 1065	-	DT	d T	D	D T

23. Winchester New Minster London, British Library Cotton Vitellius E. XVIII *c.* 1062	d t	d t	d t	d	-
22. Evesham/Worcester Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 113 [S.C. 5210] *c.* 1064x1070	d	DTO	dt	d	DT 8 October
24. Winchester New Minster London, British Library Arundel 60 *c.* 1073	dt	dt	dt	D	
25. Wells London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A. XVIII *s.* xi.2	-	dt	D	d	
26. Canterbury Christ Church London, British Library Egerton 3314 xi ex., 1083x					
27. Salisbury London, British Library Cotton Vitellius A XII *s.* xi ex.	t	dt	dt	d	

Table 2

Occurrence of saints' feast days in monastic calendars after c. 1100 until c. 1500
Ordered alphabetically by house

d: deposition. t: translation. o: ordination
do : octave of the deposition
dt : octave of the translation
co : commemoration
lc : lections
Italics : later additions
Bold : in gold or coloured inks
CAPITALS : majuscule text

Æthelwold: Deposition 1 August; Translation 10 September. Swithun: Deposition 2 July; Translation 15 July; Ordination 30 October. Birinus: Translation 3/4 Sept; Deposition 3 Dec. Dunstan: Deposition 19 May; Ordination 21 October. Oswald: Deposition 28 February; Translation 15 April.

If a calendar did not include any of the relevant saints, it is not listed below.

	Æthelwold	**Swithun**	**Birinus**	**Dunstan**	**Oswald**
St Albans's Abbey					
Oxford, New College, 358 2nd half 13th century	-	d (12 lc)	d	d	-
London, BL, Royal 2A x Before *c.* 1170	-	d (12 lc)	d	d	-
London, BL, Royal 2B vi Mid-13th century	-	d (12 lc)	d	d	-
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc 279 Early 14th century	-	d (12 lc)	d	d	-
Oxford, Bodleian, Gough Liturg 18 (S.C. 18332) *c.* 1400	-	d on 3 Sept (12 lc)	d	d	-
Abbotsbury		**d**			-
	d (12 lc)		t	**d**	

Cotton Cleopatra B ix *c.* 1300	t	**t** (t in albis)	**d** (12 lc)		
Abingdon					
Cambridge, UL, MS Kk. i. 22 Late 13th century	**d** (1 Aug co) **d** (2 Aug, cappis, principale); **5 August (4 lc)**; 8 August **do**	**d** (cappis) **t** (erased)	**d** (12 lc)	**d** (12 lc)	-
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Digby MS 227 (S.C. 1828) *c.* 1461	**d** (1 Aug principale); 8 August **do**	**t** (erased)	**d** (12 lc)	**d** (12 lc)	-
Barking Abbey Oxford, University College 169 *c.* 1404	d (co) t (co)	d	**-**	d (duplex)	d (co)
Canterbury St Augustine's					
Cambridge, St John's College, 262 Early 14th century	**-**	**d**	**-**	**d**	-
Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College, 238 13th century	**-**	**d**	**-**	**d**	-
Canterbury Cathedral Library, E xix *c.* 1253x1273	**-**	**d**	**-**	**d**	-
Oxford, Bodleian, Ashmole 1525 Early 13th century	**-**	**d**	**-**	**d**	-
Canterbury Christ Church					
London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B iii	**-**	d	**-**	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-

Early 13th century					
Cambridge, Trinity College, R 17 I (M. R. J. 987) *c.* 1150	-	d	-	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Add C 260 Before *c.* 1170	-	d	-	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-
Paris, BN, Nouv Acq lay. 1670 *c.* 1200	-	d	-	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-
Paris, BN, fond slat. 770 *c.* 1220	-	d	-	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-
London, British Library, Egerton 2867 Mid 13th century	-	d	-	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-
London, British Library, Add 6160 Early 14th century	-	d	-	**d** **do** **o** (2 lc)	-
Chertsey Abbey Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat. Lit. e. 6 (S.C. 32558) First half 14th century	**d** (in albs) **t** (in copes)	**d** (12 lc) **t** (in albs)	- (December missing)	**d** (12 lc)	-
Chester Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 169 (S.C. no. 9995) Late 12th century		*d*	dt	d (12 lc in albs)	d
Croyland London, Lambeth Palace Library 876 15th century	-	d	d	**d** (12 lc)	d
London, British Library Arundel	-	d	d	**d** (12 lc)	d

230 (only January – August survive) 12th century					
Deeping London, British Library Harley 3658 *c.* 1332	**d** (processio in cappis) 23 October (**Excepcio in cappis**)	-	**-**	**d** (12 lc)	-
Dunster London, British Library, Add 10625 Late 14th century	**-**	d	d	**d**	-
Durham					
Cambridge, Jesus College Q. B. 6 Before *c.* 1170	**-**	t (12 lc)	**-**	d (12 lc)	-
Durham, Cathedral Library, Hunter 100 *c.* 1100x1135	**-**	*d*	**-**	d (12 lc)	-
London, British Library, Harley 4664 Last quarter 13th century	**-**	t (12 lc)	**-**	d (12 lc)	-
London, British Library Harley 5289 First half 14th century	**-**	t (12 lc)	**-**	d (12 lc)	-
London, British Library Harley 1804 Late 15th century	**-**	t (12 lc)	**-**	d (12 lc)	-
Ely					
London, British Library, Harley 547 13th century	**d** (in cappis) do (12 lc) t (in albis)	d (12 lc)	t (3 lc) d (12 lc)	d (12 lc)	-

	co 8 October (3 lc)				
London, British Library, Arundel 377 *c.* 1200	**d** (in cappis) do (12 lc) t (in albis) co 8 October (3 lc)	d (12 lc)	t (3 lc) d (12 lc)	d (12 lc)	-
London, British Library, Add 33381 *c.* 1400	**d** (in cappis) d Octave (12 lections) t (in albis) co 8 October (3 lc)	d (12 lc)	t (3 lc) d (12 lc)	d (12 lc)	-
Cambridge, Trinity College, O. 2. 1 *c.* 1170x1189	**d** (in cappis) co 8 October (3 lc)	d (12 lc)	t (3 lc) d (12 lc)	d (12 lc)	-
Milan, Biblioteca Nazionale Braidense, AF. XI. 9 12th century (before 1170)	**d** (in cappis) t (in albis)	d (12 lc)	t (3 lc) d (12 lc)	-	-
Evesham Abbey					
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 41 (6481) 3rd quarter 14th century	d	d	-	**d** (12 lc)	d (12 lc)
London, British Library, Add 44874 Mid 13th century	d	d	-	**d** (12 lc)	d (12 lc)
Glastonbury London, British Library, Add. 64952	**d** (2 cappis)	**d** (7 lc)	-	**d** (4 cappis) **o** (4 cappis)	d (3 lc)
Gloucester Abbey					

Oxford, Jesus College, 10 12th century	-	-	-	d (8 lc)	d
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. liturgy. f.1 [S.C. 15807] 15th century	-	d	-	d (8 lc)	d
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, 99 First half 15th century	-	d	-	d (8 lc)	d
London, Westminster Abbey					
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson liturg. g. 10 [S.C. 15832] 2nd half 15th century	-	d (processi) t (3 capis)	-	d (5 capis)	-
London, British Library, Royal 2. A. xxii *c.* 1200	-	d (processi) t (3 capis)	-	d (5 capis)	-
London, Westminster Abbey Library, Missal of Nicholas Lytlington *c.* 1383x1384	-	d (processi) t (3 capis)	-	d (5 capis)	-
Malmesbury Abbey Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson liturg. g. 12 [S.C. 15758] 1521	d	d t (in albis)	-	d (8 lc)	-
Muchelney Abbey London, British Library, Add 43405 *c.* 1300	-	**d** t	-	**d**	*d*

St Neot's Priory					
Oxford, Brasenose College 21 15th century	-	*d*	-	d (12 lc)	-
London, Lambeth Palace Library, 563 First half 13th century	-	-	-	d (12 lc)	-
Peterborough London, British Library, Arundel 230 *c.* 1160x80	**d** (duplex) **t** (in albis)	**d** (12 lc)	**d**	**d** (in cappis)	**d** (3 lc)
Cambridge, Fitzwiliam Museum, 12 *c.* 1220x22	**d** (duplex) **t** (in albis)	**d** (12 lc)	**d**	**d** (in cappis)	**d** (3 lc)
London, Society of Antiquaries, 59 *c.* 1214x22	**d** (duplex) d 2 Aug **t** (in albis)	**d** (12 lc)	**d**	**d** (in cappis)	**d** (3 lc)
Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, 9961/62 *c.* 1300	**d** (duplex) **t** (in albis)	**d** (12 lc)	**d**	**d** (in cappis)	**d** (3 lc)
Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 53 *c.* 1310x20	**d** (duplex)	**d** (12 lc) t	-	**d** (in cappis)	*d (3 lc)*
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 22 *c.* 1320x30	*d (duplex)* *t (in albis)*	**d** (12 lc)	**d**	**d** (in cappis)	**d** (3 lc) 8 Oct trans Oswaldi erased
Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Liturg. 17 *c.* 1425x50	**d** (duplex) **t** (in albis)	**d** (12 lc)	**d**	**d** (in cappis)	**d** (3 lc)
Ramsey Abbey London, British Library, Cotton Galba E. X Before *c.* 1220	-	-	**D**	**d** (in albis)	**d** (in capis)

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 468 2nd half 13th century	-	-	-	**d** (in albis)	**d** (in capis)
New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 302 *c.* 1286x1316	-	-	-	**d** (in albis)	**d** (in capis)
Romsey Abbey Romsey Psalter *c.* 1430	t	-	-	-	-
Tewkesbury London, British Library, Royal 8 C VII Before *c.* 1254	*d (co)*	**d** (12 lc) **t** (12 lc)	**d** (12 lc)	**d** (12 lc)	**d** (albis)
Winchcombe Abbey London, British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius E IV 1st half of the 12th century	d**t**	Dt	d	**D**	d
Winchester Hyde Abbey Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough liturg.8 *c.* 1310	d t (12 lc)	**d** (in albis) t	**t** (in albis) d (12 lc)	d (12 lc)	-
Winchester Priory London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.XVIII *c.* 1200	d (duplex) t (in capis)	d (duplex) do (12 lc; in albis) t (duplex; 12lc) to (12 lc; in albis) o (in albis)	t (12 lc; 1c; in capis) to (12 lc) 1c d (duplex; 12 lc) do	d (12 lc; in albis)	-
Winchester Priory Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawlinson, C. 489 *c.* 1424	d (duplex) do (12 lc)	d (duplex) do (12 lc; in albis) t (duplex; 12lc) to (12 lc; in albis) o (in albis)	t (12 lc; in capis) to (12 lc) d (duplex; 12 lc)	d (12 lc; in albis)	-

Winchester Priory Milan, Biblioteca Braidense, MS AF. XI. 9 14th century (badly updated from Ely calendar, containing many mistakes)	t (in capis)	d (duplex) do (12 lc; in albis) t (duplex; 12lc) to (12 lc; in albis) o (in albis)	t (12 lc; in capis) d (duplex; 12 lc)	d (12 lc; in albis)	-
Winchester Priory Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, MS Vit. 23 – 8.	D (duplex) T (in capis)	D DO (12 lc; in albis) O (in albis)	T (12 lc; in capis) D (duplex; 12 lc)	-	-
Worcester Priory Oxford, Magdalen College 100 *c.* 1220x60	-	d (12 lc)	d (co)	d (12 lc)	d (7 fm) t 8 Oct (7 fm)
Worcester Priory Worcester Antiphonal Worcester, Cathedral Library F. 160 *c.* 1230x50	d	D (12 lc)	d	d (in albis)	D (7 fm) T 8 Oct (7 fm credo)

In addition to the above, Æthelwold's feasts also appear in calendars (which I have not been able to consult) from Sherborne and Tavistock.[1]

Sources:

London, British Library Cotton Tiberius E IV

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London, British Library, Add 64952

Freeman Sandler, Lucy, *The Peterborough Psalter in Brusells & Other Fenland Manuscripts* (Oxford, 1979).

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[1] Morgan, 'Notes on the Post-Conquest calendar, litany and martyrology of the cathedral priory of Winchester, p. 167 n. 77.

Living, Henry G. D., *Records of Romsey Abbey* (Winchester, 1912)

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Wormald, Patrick (ed.), *English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100, vol. I: Abbotsbury – Durham,* HBS 77 (London, 1939).

Idem, *English Benedictine Kalendars After A.D. 1100, vol. II: Ely – St Neots,* HBS 81 (London, 1946).

Appendix B

Table 3

Occurrence of saints' feast days in relevant monastic litanies before 1100
X : invoked
i. X: invoked in first litany
ii. X: invoked in second litany
iii. X: invoked in third litany
X. II: marked for repetition
Bold: written in majuscule
Italics: later additions

All numbers are the same as M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints,* HBS 106

(London, 1991). If a litany did not list any of the relevant saints, it is not listed below.

Origin Manuscript	Æthelwold	Swithun	Birinus	Dunstan	Oswald
II. Canterbury Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 44 Second quarter 11th century		i. X	i. X	i. X II ii. X iii. X II	
VI. Worcester Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 391 *c.* 1065	X	X	X	X	X II
VIII. Winchester Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 422 *c.* 1060s	ii. X	i. X ii. X	i. X ii. X	i. X	
IX. Exeter London, British Library, Add. 28188 Second half 11th century	i. X	i. X	i. X	i. X	
XII. New Minster, Winchester London, British Library, Arundel 60 1073	X	X	X	X	

XIII. New Minster, Winchester London, British Library, Arundel 155 Litany added early 12th century		X		X. II	
XV. Canterbury, Christ Church London, British Library, Cotton Claudius A. iii Second half 11th century				X	
XVI. Origin disputed (Winchester) London, British Library, Cotton Galba A xiv First half eleventh century (1035x1040)	i. X *ii. X*	i. X ii. X		i. X ii. X	i. X *ii. X*
XVIII. Canterbury, Christ Church London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius A.iii Mid-eleventh century		X		**X**	
XIX. Sherborne/Salisbury London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius C.i Late eleventh century		X			
XXI. New Minster, Winchester London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius D.xxvi Second quarter 11th century		X	X		
XXII. Unknown (Ramsey/Exeter)	i. X	i. X	i. X	i. X	

London, British Library, Cotton Vitellus A.vii First half 11th century					
XXIII. Exeter London, British Library, Harley 863 Third quarter 11th century	X	X	X	X	X
XXIV. Unknown (Winchester/Ramsey) London, British Library, Harley 2904 Late 10th century		X	X		
XXVII. Unknown (Winchester) London, Lambeth Palace Library, 427 15th century addition				X	
XXXII. Crowland Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296 Second quarter 11th century	X	X	X	X	
XXXVI. Unknown (Canterbury) Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, lat. 8824 Mid-11th century	X	X		X	
XXXIX. St Augustine's, Canterbury Rouen, Bibliothèque municipal, 231 (A. 44)		X		X	

Late eleventh century					
XLI. Unknown (southwest England) Rouen, Bibliothèque municipal, 368 (A. 27) Early 11th century			iii. X		
XLII. New Minster, Winchester Rouen, Bibliothèque municipal, 369 (Y. 7) *c*. 980s		i. X			
XLIII. Unknown (Shaftesbury) Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 150 Second half 10th century		X		X	
XLV. Bury St Edmunds Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Reg. lat. 12 Second quarter 11th century	X	X	X	X	X
XLVI. Old Minster, Winchester Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 173 Mid-11th century	X	**X**	X		

Table 4

Occurrence of saints' feast days in monastic litanies after 1100
X : invoked
X II: marked for repetition
Bold: written in majuscule
Italics: later additions

All numbers are those given by Nigel Morgan in his *English Monastic Litanies of the Saints after 1100, vol. I Abbotsbury - Peterborough,* HBS 119 (London, 2012) and *English Monastic Litanies of the Saints after 1100, vol. II Pontefract – York,* HBS 120 (London, 2013). For full manuscript details please see Nigel Morgan's editions. Dates given are those for the litanies themselves, rather than the manuscripts. If a litany did not include any of the relevant saints, it is not listed below.

	Æthelwold	Swithun	Birinus	Dunstan	Oswald
I. Abbotsbury London, Lambeth Palace Library, 4513 *c.* 1400	X	X		X	
II. Abbotsbury New Haven, Yale University, Beinecke Library, 578 *c.* 1400 – 25	X	X		X	X
III. Abingdon Cambridge, University Library, Dd. 1. 20 *c.* 1450	X	X	X	X	
IV. Abingdon Cambridge, Emmanuel College, S.1.4.6 (pr. Bk.) *c.* 1528	X II	X	X	X	
VIII. Amesbury					

Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.39 *c.* 1400x25				X	
IX. Barking Abbey Cambridge, University Library, Dd.12.56 *c.* 1450				X II	
X. Broholm Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1523, *c.* 1440x60				X	
XI. Bury St Edmunds Stockholm, Kungliga Biblioteket Holmiensis, A. 49 *c.* 1125x50	X	X		X	
XII. Bury St Edmunds London, British Library, Harley 5309 *c.* 1250	X	X		X	
XIII. Bury St Edmunds Suffolk Record Office, ES/9/608.7 *c.* 1410x20	X	X		X	
XIV. Bury St Edmunds London, British Library, Harley 5334 *c.* 1450	X	X		X	
XV. Canterbury, Christ Church Oxford, Bodleian Library, Ashmole 1525 *c.* 1210x20.		X		X	
XVI. Canterbury, Christ Church Paris, Bibliothèque		X		X	

nationale de France, lat. 770 *c.* 1210x20				
XVII. Canterbury, Christ Church Eton, College Library, 78 *c.* 1230x50		X	X II	
XVIII. Canterbury, Christ Church Canterbury Cathedral Library, Add. 6 *c.* 1340			X II	
XIX. Canterbury, Christ Church London, Lambeth Palace Library, 558 *c.* 1400x25		X	X II	
XX. Canterbury, Christ Church Canterbury Cathedral Library, 62 (Lit.E.17) *c.* 1450		X	X	
XXI. Canterbury, St Augustine New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G.53 *c.* 1320		X	X	
XXII. Canterbury, St Augustine Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 32 *c.* 1325x30		X	X	
XXIII. Canterbury, St Augustine Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 284 *c.* 1425		X	X	
XXIV. Carrow		X	X	

Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 6422 *c.* 1250x70					
XXV. Chertsey a. Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.liturg.e.6 b. San Francisco, University of San Francisco, Gleeson Library, BX2033 A2 *c.* 1310x20	X	X	X	X	
XXVI. Chester Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 169 *c.* 1170x90				X	
XXVIII. Durham London, British Library, Harley 4664 *c.* 1270x80		X		X	
XXIX. Durham London, British Library, Harley 1804 *c.* 1495X1500		X		X	
XXX. Ely Trier, Stadtbibliothek, 9 *c.* 1100x25	X	X	X		
XXXI. Ely London, British Library, Arundel 233 *c.* 1280	X	X	X	X	
XXXII. Ely London, British Library, Add. 33381 *c.* 1400x25	X	X	X	X	
XXXIII. Ely	X	X	X	X	

Cambridge, Trinity College, B.11.6 *c.* 1445x60					
XXXIV. Evesham London, British Library Add. 44874 *c.* 1250x60	X	X		X	X
XXXV. Evesham Evesham, Almonry Museum *c.* 1320x30	X	X		X	X
XXXVI. Evesham Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 41 *c.* 1350x75	X	X		X	X
XXXVIII. Glastonbury London, British Library, Add. 64952 *c.* 1460x80	X	X		X	
XXXIX. Gloucester Oxford, Bodleian Library, Lat.bibl.d.9 *c.* 1300x25	X	X		X	X
XL. Gloucester Oxford, Bodleian Library, Raul.liturg.f.1 *c.* 1450	X	X		X	X
XLI. Kirkstead London, British Library, Add. 88905 *c.* 1300					X
XLII. Lewes Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 369 *c.* 1275x1300				X	
XLIII. Malmesbury Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 26	X	X		X	

c. 1325x50					
XLIV. Malmesbury Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl.liturg.g.12 *c.* 1521	X	X		X	
XLV. Muchelney London, British Library, Add. 43406 *c.* 1300	X	X	X	X	
XLVI. Norwich Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.18 *c.* 1250				X	
XLVII. Norwich Ushaw, St Cuthbert's College, 7 *c.* 1300		X		X	
XLVIII. Norwich London, British Library, Harley 3950 *c.* 1300				X	
XLIX. Norwich Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 366 *c.* 1320x25				X	
L. Norwich Oxford, Wadham College, A.13.7 (A.5.28) *c.* 1350				X	
LI. Norwich London, British Library, Add. 49622 *c.* 1380x1400				X	
LII. Norwich Oxford, Bodleian Library, lat liturgy.f.19 *c.* 1380x1400				X	
LIII. Norwich				X	

Woolhampton, Douai Abbey, 6 *c.* 1450					
LIV. Peterborough London, British Library, Arundel 230 *c.* 1160x80	X II	X		X	
LV. Peterborough Cambridge, Fitzwiliam Museum, 12 *c.* 1220x22	X	X		X	
LVI. Peterborough London, Society of Antiquaries, 59 *c.* 1214x22	X II	X		X	
LVII. Peterborough Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, 9961/62 *c.* 1300	X	X		X	
LVIII. Peterborough Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 53 *c.* 1310x20	X	X		X	
LIX. Peterborough Oxford, Bodleian Library, Barlow 22 *c.* 1320x30	X *II*	X		X	
LX. Peterborough Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough Liturg. 17 *c.* 1425x50	X II	X		X	
LXIII. Reading New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, M. 103 *c.* 1250		X		X	
LVIX. Rochester Paris, Bibliothèque Ste Geneviève, lat. 1273		X		X	

c. 1220x40					
LXV. St Albans Hildesheim, Dombibliothek St Godehard, 1 *c.* 1129x35		X		X	
LXVI. St Albans London, British Library, Add 81804 *c.* 1150		X		X	
LXVII. St Albans London, British Library, Royal 2 A. X *c.* 1150		X		X	
LXVIII. St Albans London, British Library, Royal 2 B. VI *c.* 1246x55		X		X	
LIX. St Albans Oxford, New College, 358 *c.* 1250x70		X		X	
LXX. St Albans Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 274 *c.* 1375x1400		X		X	
LXXI. St Albans Cambridge, Trinity College, R.10.5 *c.* 1400x25		X		X	
LXXII. St Albans Oxford Bodleian Library, Gough liturg. 18 *c.* 1430x50		X		X	
LXXIV. St Albans Oxford, Bodleian Library, lat.liturg.g.8 *c.* 1430		X		X	
LXXV. St Albans London, British Library,		X		X	

C.110.a.27 (pr.bk) *c.* 1526x32					
LXXVII. Shaftesbury Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, 2-1957 *c.* 1505x28				X	
LXXX. Shrewsbury York, Cathedral Library, XVI.O.19, *c.* 1250x75	X	X	X	X	X
LXXXI. Thetford New Haven, Beinecke Library, Yale University, 417 *c.* 1330x35				X	
LXXXII. Westminster Abbey London, British Library, Royal 2 A.XXII *c.* 1200				X	
LXXXIII. Westminster Oxford, Bodleian Library, lturg.g.10 *c.* 1475x1500	X			X	
LXXXV. Wilton abbey London, Royal College of Physicians, 409 *c.* 1245x55		X		X	
LXXXVI. Wilton Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. G.23 *c.*1300x50		X		X	
LXXXVII. Winchcombe Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipal, 116 *c.* 1130x50	X	X		X	X
LXXXVIII. Winchester Priory	X in martyrs	X II	X II		

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.2.6. *c.* 1150	X in confessors			X in martyrs X in confessors	
LXXXIX. Winchester Priory Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. D.4.6 *c.* 1175x80	X	X	X	X	
XC. Winchester Priory London, British Library, Add. 61888 *c.* 1200	X II	X	X II	X	
XCI. Winchester Priory London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E.XVIII *c.* 1200	**X**	**X**	**X**	X	
XCII. Winchester Priory Cambridge, University Library, Kk.6.39 (Litany I) *c.* 1410x25	X II	X II	X II	X	
XCIII. Winchester, Hyde Abbey Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Ottob.lat.514 *c.* 1275x1300	X	X	X	X	
XCIV. Winchester, Hyde Abbey Oxford, Bodleian Library, Gough liturg.8 *c.* 1310	X	X	X	X	
XCV. Winchester, Hyde Abbey New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G.19	X	X	X	X	

c. 1300x20					
XCVI. Winchester, Hyde Abbey London, British Library, Harley 960 *c.* 1380x1400	X	X	X	X	
XCVIII. Worcester Priory Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 862 *c.* 1350	X	X	X	X	X
XCIC. Worcester Priory Oxford, Magdalene College, 100 *c.* 1220x60	X	X	X	X	X
C. Worcester Priory Worcester, Cathedral Library, F. 160 *c.* 1230x50	X	X	X	X	X II
CI. Worcester Priory Preston, Harris Museum, s.n *c.* 1250x70	X	X	X	X	X

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