THE CROWN-WEARING ABBEYS OF WESTMINSTER, WINCHESTER, AND GLOUCESTER IN TEXT AND WRITTEN RECORD, C.1100-1170

Jennie England

PhD

UNIVERSITY OF YORK

History

November 2018

ABSTRACT

This thesis offers the first dedicated study of each of the three crown-wearing abbeys of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester between c.1100 and 1170 across their records and creative writings. In doing so this study provides new insight into three important and politically symbolic abbeys. This was a period which witnessed both contested succession and a surge in new monasticism that challenged the primacy of pre-Conquest Benedictine abbeys such as these. This study provides new findings into these circumstances by showing how English monarchy interacted with these abbeys in a time when royalty itself was insecure. It also reconstructs the fates of three ancient communities within England's rapidly changing religious landscape. Finally, this thesis also analyses different types of texts produced at these abbeys in this period, including hagiography, forged charters, and cartulary. The original findings from each of these texts are compared and contextualised, providing further insight into these communities and how they responded to the challenges of their present.

This thesis analyses each abbey and its writings in turn. The first chapter investigates Westminster Abbey. In the chapter's first section, charters are used to reconstruct the abbey's fortunes and activities across the period. With this context established, the second section investigates Osbert of Clare's *Vita Eadwardi*, and the third assesses the abbey's twelfth-century forged charters, a small corpus of which were also written by Osbert. In the fourth section of this chapter the findings from the different types of writing are considered together. A similar methodology is followed in the second chapter on Winchester Cathedral Priory, where the materials are again charters, and hagiography (in this case the anonymous *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and *Miracula Swithuni*), and a cartulary known as the *Codex Wintoniensis*. At Gloucester Abbey the writings are charters, forged charters, and Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Dubricii*.

CONTENTS

List of Figures

List of Tables

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

An essential component of my academic experience at York has been the various communities fostered by the university. In the course of my taught degrees, the History department and Centre for Medieval Studies provided me the support and space in which to push myself. I continue to reap the academic and social rewards of the inclusive environments promoted by these departments. Similarly, the Humanities Research Centre has provided me with a perfect study space for many years, and has nourished me intellectually by bringing me into contact with my peers, and literally via a seemingly endless supply of cake. I am also hugely grateful for the support and thought-provoking feedback offered by the members of my Thesis Advisory Panel, Professors Pete Biller and Elizabeth Tyler.

It is said that it takes a village to write a PhD; this thesis is no exception. When I began to mentally compile the members of my particular thesis village, I realised that my debt to these villagers cannot be fully expressed, let alone appeased, through these acknowledgements. My friends have been the essential sources for fun, joy, and emotional support throughout my thesis. These include Nik Gunn, Mikey Porter, Frankie Maguire, Emily Savage, Jennifer Bayjoo, Austin Thomas Powell (II), Esther Fisher, Phil Coventry, Ashleigh James, Dominic Spengler, Julika Matravers, Alex Alonso, Anna Reynolds, Dale Kedwards, John Jenkins, Sophie Dentzer-Niklasson, Magnus Niklasson, Megan Girdwood, Fiona Mozley, Simon Quinn, Salina Cuddy, Sarah Cawthorne, James Willock, Stephen Grace, Huw Halstead, Andrew Stead, and Graeme Callister.

Similarly, it is difficult to adequately express my thanks to my family. My parents gave me the best possible start to life, and have always encouraged my (often eclectic) interests, both academic and otherwise. It has gotten to the stage where I can no longer tell whether their enthusiasm for my PhD topic is genuine or feigned, but their unwavering support has been essential to its completion. Speaking of enthusiasm, there is little doubt that my siblings are utterly uninterested in medieval monks. I could say that their indifference has helped me to find alternate ways of articulating my research, but in actuality their greatest contributions to my welfare in the last few years has been them finding interesting and generous people to marry. Crucially, my brother-in-law and sister-in-law have not yet fully worked out how to politely ask me to stop talking about history. Joking aside,

my siblings' ability to know when to tease, guide, nurture, or encourage has had an immeasurably positive impact on my life and studies, and has more than made up for the fact that they're both scientists.

A final inexpressible thanks is reserved for my supervisor, Dr Sethina Watson. There is little doubt in my mind that I would not have achieved what I have without Sethina's support and guidance. It was the classes which I took with Sethina in the second and third years of my undergraduate degree that showed me that I wanted to be a medievalist, and ever since she has deftly helped me to most effectively channel my interests. Throughout my studies, Sethina's enthusiasm and generosity have been an essential source for the confidence I have had in my own abilities. During my PhD specifically, our supervisions, which have been packed with both rigour and humour, have been the most intellectually rewarding experiences of my life. It is perhaps these which I will miss the most.

Author's declaration

I declare that this thesis is a presentation of original work and I am the sole author. This work has not previously been presented for an award at this, or any other, University. Some aspects have been presented as conference papers, and most of the analysis of the *Codex Wintoniensis* (Chapter II: Winchester Cathedral Priory, Section 3) is published in Jennie M. England, "The Codex Wintoniensis in its Twelfth-Century Context," *Haskins Society Journal* 29 (2017): 115–139. All sources are acknowledged as references.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis examines the abbeys of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester between 1100 and 1170. These abbeys were each Anglo-Saxon royal foundations,[1] and in the eleventh and early twelfth century were the sites of the thrice yearly crown-wearing ceremonies.[2] Surprisingly, this is the first concerted study of each of these abbeys in this period, and the first time they have been compared. This was a time that saw contested succession (and contested monarchy) and a new surge of monasticism that challenged the primacy of the Benedictine order. In this thesis different types of writing from these abbeys (including charters, forged charters, hagiography, and a twelfth-century cartulary) are investigated together seeking to address three key aims. The first is to bring insight into how and when English royalty interacted with these abbeys, and in doing so shed light on a period in which both monarchy and these communities' role in royal ceremony were insecure. The second aim is to reconstruct the history of these abbeys in order to bring new findings into these communities, and how pre-Conquest Benedictine houses experienced the rapid transformation of England's religious landscape following the arrival of new religious orders. The final aim is to analyse and compare different texts written at or for the abbeys in order to provide original insights into these writings and to assess how the communities may have used these texts to respond the challenges and changes of the period.

The abbeys of Westminster, Winchester and Gloucester have the shared status of being the sites for the thrice-yearly crown-wearing ceremonies. After reporting the death of William I in 1087, the annalist for the Peterborough manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* described how the king

> ...was very worshipful. He wore his royal crown three times each year,
> as often as he was in England. At Easter he wore it at Winchester,
> at Pentecost in Westminster, at midwinter [Christmas] at Gloucester;

---

1. Westminster Abbey was refounded by Edward the Confessor in 1065, Westminster was founded by King Denwalh of Wessex in 648, and Gloucester by King Osric of Hwisse in the 670s with the permission of King Æthelred of Mercia. For more information, see the beginning of each of the three chapters below.
2. The abbeys' roles in these festivities are discussed further below.

and there were then with him all the powerful men over all England: archbishops and diocesan bishops, abbots and earls, thegns and knights.[3]

William I's custom was likely based on some form of English pre-Conquest tradition. Festival crownings originated with the first Carolingian kings, and were followed and further developed by the Ottonian and Salian dynasties in Germany during the tenth and eleventh centuries.[4] Levi Roach has argued that the practices of the Ottonian court will have had an influence on ninth- and tenth-century English kingship,[5] and Michael Hare has suggested that there is evidence for crown-wearing ceremonies in England during the reigns of King Eadred (923-55) and King Edgar (959-75).[6] Nevertheless, Martin Biddle's thorough investigation of royal itineraries showed that it was only in Edward the Confessor's reign (1042-66) that an observable practice of festivals held at these sites can be found: Edward was at Winchester for Easter in 1043 and 1053, and Christmas in 1064; at Gloucester for Christmas in 1052 and 1062, and Easter in 1058, and perhaps also 1062; he was at the newly completed Westminster Abbey at Christmas 1065.[7] Edward's routine led Biddle to conclude that this king's observance of festivals at these sites was 'the forerunner of Norman custom.'[8] Analysis of William I's (1066-87) and William II's (1087-1100) itineraries show that during their reigns eleven festivals were spent at Winchester (ten at Easter and one at Pentecost), eleven at Westminster (five at Pentecost and six at Christmas), and five at Gloucester (all at Christmas, and including the 1085 court at which the Domesday survey was ordered).[9] From these itineraries, Biddle suggested that

---

3. *ASC* (E), 219-20.

4. Carlrichard Brühl, 'Fränkischer Krönungsbrauch und das Problem der "Festkrönungen"' (1962), reprinted in his *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatik. Gesammelte Aufsätze*, 3 vols. (Hildesheim , 1989-97), I, 351-412 , and 'Kronen- und Kr önungsgebrauch im frühen und hohen Mittelalter' (1982), reprinted in *Aus Mittelalter und Diplomatik*, I, 413-43; both cited in Levi Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871–978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 203, n. 48, and M. Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 115 (1997): 41–78, 42-43.

5. Roach, *Kingship and Consent*, chpt. 9 and 203-9 in particular.

6. Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 45.

7. Martin Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the tenth to twelfth centuries," *Anglo-Norman Studies* VIII (1986): 51–72, 56 and Appendix D.

8. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 58. And c.f. the claims of William of Malmesbury, in his *Vita Wulfstani*, that festival crown-wearings were an innovation of William I: *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, ed. R. R. Darlington (Camden 3rd ser. 40, 1928), 34. Discussed and cited in Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 45 and n. 42; and Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 50.

9. These number are from a combination of Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals" and David Bates' revised itinerary for William I in *RRAN* I, 82-84 and discussed in David Bates, *William the Conqueror* (Yale University Press, 2017), 499-500. The festivals at Winchester were Easter 1068, 1069, 1070, 1072, 1086, 1095, 1100 and probably also 1071, 1076 and 1082; and Pentecost 1081. William I and William II were at Westminster for Pentecost 1068, 1084, 1086, 1099 and

the annal of 1086 gave too precise a picture of actual Anglo-Norman practice, but he also conceded that as we only know around half of the locations for the festivals in these reigns, it is possible that Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester are underrepresented in surviving evidence 'because the normal usage was too commonplace to be recorded.'[10] Regardless, in a charter most likely issued on the day of his coronation in 1100, Henry I (1100-35) ordered

> ...that the convents of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester shall have full allowance and their singers one ounce of gold, on all those feasts at which I shall wear my crown, as Maurice, bishop of London, testifies that they had in the time of my predecessors.[11]

Through this charter Henry I, at the very beginning of his reign, appears to both confirm the practice of his predecessors and highlight the ongoing importance of these three sites within the rituals of Anglo-Norman kingship.

Crown-wearing ceremonies were moments of great pomp and importance. They were immense gatherings that brought together the most important men of the realm for feasting, conducting business, and receiving foreign visitors. But most of all they were moments in which the king wore, and was seen to wear, his crown.[12] As argued by Janet Nelson, these 'impressive rituals...presented the king to his great men and their vassals as the divinely appointed ruler exalted over them all.'[13] The abbeys of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester were essential in these ceremonies. It was in these churches that the principal Mass on the feast days were held, and most likely also the *laudes regiae* performed.[14] The *laudes* celebrated the heavenly hierarchy as a model for the one on earth, led by the pope first and kings second, and when performed during a reign (such as at seasonal crown-wearings) served to reaffirm the church's support for that regime.[15] It was probably the singers of the *laudes* that Henry I was providing

1100; and Christmas 1066, 1067, 1075, 1081 1087 and 1090. And Gloucester at Christmas 1080, 1082, 1085, 1093 and 1099.

10. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 57; 55.

11. 'Precipio quod conventus Westm' et Winton' et Gloecestrie in omnibus festivitatibus quibus in eisdem ecclesiis coronatus fuero plenariam de me habeant liberacionem, et earum cantores unciam auri habeant, sicut Mauricius episcopus Lundon' testatus est tempore predecessorum meorum eos habuisse.' Printed in J. Armitage Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A study of the Abbey under Norman Rule* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 141; calendared in *RRAN* ii, 490. This translation follows that in Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 41.

12. Following the description in *ASC* (E), 219-20, William of Malmesbury's in *Gest. Regum*, 508-509, and Biddle's analysis in "Seasonal Festivals,", 57.

13. Janet L. Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1981): 117–132, 131.

14. Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 49.

15. Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror," 129, 131; Herbert Edward John Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman "Laudes regiae"," *Viator* 12 (1981): 37–78, 47.

for in his charter.[16] These abbeys role in crown-wearing ceremonies thus made them central settings for the theatre and ideology of Anglo-Norman kingship.[17]

The tradition of regular crown-wearing ceremonies shifted during the reign of Henry I. For the first ten years of his reign Henry seems to have broadly adhered to the practice he promised in his charter of 1100: he held Easter crown-wearings at Winchester in 1101, 1102, 1103, 1104, and 1108, and was at Westminster for Pentecost in 1102, 1104, 1107, 1108, and 1109. Henry, however, never held a crown-wearing at Gloucester, preferring Westminster instead for all but one of the Christmases he had in England between 1100 and 1110.[18] In the second decade of his reign Henry stopped holding regular festival crown-wearings. In 1111, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reported that in that year 'the king Henry did not wear his crown at Christmas, nor at Easter, nor at Pentecost'.[19] And while Henry was in Normandy for long stretches in the years following, when he was in England he either did not hold a ceremony or tended to prefer different venues to Winchester, Westminster, or Gloucester, such as Windsor or Woodstock. After 1109, Henry I only held crown-wearings at Winchester and Westminster once more: at Easter 1123 and Pentecost 1121, respectively.[20] Thus, when writing his *Gesta Regum Anglorum* in the second quarter of the twelfth-century, William of Malmesbury reported that William I's custom of crown-wearing ceremonies at Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester had been 'maintained by his first successor, and discontinued by his second.'[21] After this there are certainly examples of significant crown-wearing ceremonies in the twelfth century–such as King Stephen's (1135-1154) at Canterbury in Christmas 1141, and Henry II (1154-1189) and Queen Eleanor laying down their crowns at Worcester Cathedral at Easter 1158[22]–however both the regularity of these occasions and Westminster,

---

16. For a discussion of the *laudes*, see Cowdrey, "The Anglo-Norman "Laudes regiae"," especially 50-51; Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror," 130-32; and Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 47-50.

17. For discussions of the importance of crown-wearing ceremonies in this period, see Bates, *William the Conqueror*, 500; and Nelson, "The Rites of the Conqueror"; George Garnett, "The Origins of the Crown," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 89 (1996): 171–214.

18. The 1104 Christmas feast was held at Windsor. For the full list of the locations of festivals in Henry I's reign, see Table 5 on page 124 below. See too Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 52-54.

19. *ASC* (E), 243.

20. See again Table 5 on page 124. And discussed in Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 54-55. Also discussed in Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 53. For Henry I's reign, see Judith A. Green, *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009).

21. 'Quem morem conuiuandi primus successor obstinate tenuit, secundus omisit.' *Gest. Regum*, 508-509. And see Biddle's discussion of the accuracy of William of Malmesbury's account, in Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 51-56.

22. See discussions in Edmund King, *King Stephen* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010), 175-78, and the description of Henry and Eleanor putting down their crowns in

Winchester, and Gloucester's roles in them had come to an end.

Beyond crown-wearing ceremonies, the first seventy years of the twelfth century was a period of great political challenge, during which every regnal succession was contested. Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester were frequently at the centre of these contests. After William II's death in the New Forest in August 1100, William the Conqueror's youngest surviving son Henry (I) quickly ascended the English throne, seizing the royal treasury in Winchester and holding his coronation in Westminster Abbey just three days after his brother's death.[23] Henry's accession was challenged by his older brother Robert Curthose, and the many members of the Anglo-Norman barony who supported Robert. Tensions were only resolved in 1106, when Henry defeated (and captured) his brother at the Battle of Tinchebray; Robert would spend the rest of his life in English prisons, and when he died in 1134 he was buried in Gloucester Abbey. Henry continued to face challenges throughout his reign and particularly following the death of his only legitimate male heir in 1120, after which both the security of Henry's realm and its succession was again cast into doubt.[24] Despite his efforts to try and secure the succession of his daughter the Empress Matilda, when Henry died in 1135 his nephew Stephen of Blois beat Matilda to London, and with the help of his brother Bishop Henry of Winchester was crowned king through another hasty coronation in Westminster Abbey. Stephen's succession was contested by Matilda, who invaded England in 1139 with the support of her half-brother Robert earl of Gloucester and other leading barons in south-west England. The following nineteen years of warfare (the so-called 'Anarchy') included pitched battles between the rivals—such as at Winchester in 1141—and the increasingly localised exercise of power, as barons took advantage of the succession contest to pursue their own political ambitions.[25] Peace was finally secured through the Treaty of Winchester in 1153, in which Stephen recognised Matilda's son Duke Henry of

---

Roger of Wendover, *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of history*, ed. and trans. J. A. Giles, vol. 1 (London: H. G. Bohn, 1849), 532; and Roger de Hoveden, *The annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*, ed. and trans. Henry T. Riley, vol. 1 (London: H.G. Bohn, 1853), 256. Roger of Wendover reports that this in fact happened at Christmas 1158; I am following the dating of R. W. Eyton, *Court, household and itinerary of King Henry II* (Taylor: London, 1878), 35. Judith Everard has completed a new itinerary of Henry II which will form an appendix to the N. Vincent, J. C. Holt, and J. Everard, eds., *Acta Henry II: The Letters and Charters of Henry II (1154-1189)* (Oxford, forthcoming). I have not had access to this.

23. The authoritative study of Henry I's reign is Green, *Henry I*. See too, S.D. Church, "Aspects of the English Succession, 1066-1199: The Death of the King," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 29 (2007): 17–34.

24. Karl Leyser, "The Anglo-Norman Succession, 1120-25," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991): 225–241, 225.

25. For Stephen's reign: David Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154* (Pearson Education Limited, 2000); King, *King Stephen*.

Anjou as his heir. Henry II received his coronation in 1154 at Westminster Abbey, and the early years of his reign have been characterised as ones of restoration and reform as peace was settled over a war-weary nation.[26]

1100 to 1170 was also a period of great religious change. The new orders founded on the continent (such as the Savignacs, Carthusians, and Cistercians) found support in England, leading to a great proliferation of religious foundations. Augustinian canons particularly benefitted from royal benefaction during Henry I's reign, and during Stephen's reign 175 new monastic houses were founded in England: a number probably greater than that in any equivalent period of time in the medieval period.[27] As shown by Janet Burton and Emilia Jamroziak in particular, these foundations offered new outlets for lay patronage,[28] challenging Benedictine preeminence and, as argued by David Knowles, often offering a stark contrast to the wealth and worldliness of the black monks.[29]

The coming investigation of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester abbeys between 1100 and 1170 offers a series of significant insights into this period. In 1100 (as attested by Henry I's charter) these abbeys were seemingly bound together by their shared status as the site of crown-wearing ceremonies. But within a matter of decades this association had come to an end. An analysis of how the shift in these practices affected the ways in which royalty interacted with these communities has the potential to reveal the importance of royal ceremony and these abbeys within the rituals of English kingship during a period of regnal insecurity. In turn, previous investigations of the succession crises of the twelfth century have focused on the secular politics, such as the execution and experience of local

---

26. Graeme J. White, *Restoration and Reform, 1153-1165: Recovery from Civil War in England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000); see too Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent, eds., *Henry II: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2007); and W. L. Warren, *Henry II*, New Edition (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000).

27. Christopher Holdsworth, "The Church," in *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, ed. Edumund King (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), 207–229, at 216; and generally Janet Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britian, 1000-1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Emilia Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004); Emilia Jamroziak, *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders: Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century*, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 24 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, eds., *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011); David Postles, "The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350," *Historical Research* LXCI, no. 159 (1993): 1–20.

28. Janet Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*.

29. Dom David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 960-1216* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950), 268.

or national power.[30] As sites of past and present royal display, and communities frequently at the heart of contemporary affairs, the abbeys of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester offer a new, religious perspective on the politics of this period. This investigation will also bring key findings into these abbeys and England's twelfth-century religious landscape. By analysing and comparing these communities' experiences, this study will shed light on the fates of pre-existing Benedictine institutions during a period of exponential religious change. In turn, how the abbeys responded to the challenges of the time (including any shifts in their relationship with royalty) will bring insight into their communal identities and ambitions, as well as suggesting the potential routes to power and relevance across this tumultuous period.

Historiography

This thesis provides a new perspective on twelfth-century English monasticism. The first studies of the English church in this period were focused on the great institutions and orders. Knowles' *The Monastic Order in England* traced the development of the Benedictines, Augustinians, Cistercians in England from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, framing his insights around the major actors and incidents, such as the Benedictine reform movement and St Dunstan, or the Norman Conquest and Archbishop Lanfranc.[31] Similarly, Frank Barlow's and Martin Brett's more period specific studies (*The English Church, 1066-1154*, and *The English Church under Henry I*, respectively) are broad-sweeping histories in which the actions of the ecclesiastical hierarchy were used to reconstruct developments within the post-Conquest church.[32] In more recent decades an interest in novelty, rather than stability, has led to a focus on the newer elements within the twelfth-century English church. This agenda was led in particular by the work of Brian Golding, Burton, and Jamroziak, who have traced the development of the

---

30.   Judith A. Green, "Henry I and the Origins of the Civil War," in *King Stephen's Reign (1135-1154)*, ed. Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White (Boydell Brewer, 2008), 11–26; Graeme J. White, "The myth of the anarchy," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 22 (2000 for 1999): 323–37; Hugh M. Thomas, "Violent Disorder in King Stephen's England: A Maximum Argument," in *King Stephen's Reign, 1135-1154*, ed. Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White (Boydell Brewer, 2008), 139–70; Paul Dalton, "In Neutro Latere: The armed neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1999): 39–59; Emilie Amt, *The Accession of Henry II to England: Royal Government Restored, 1149-1159* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993).

31.   Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*.

32.   F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1066-1154* (London: Longman, 1979); M. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975).

new foundations and orders in England.[33] Benedictine houses were not ignored in this surge of scholarship, however focus tended to be on elements within the order which were innovative. Notable here are Sally Thompson's study of religious women, and Martin Heale on dependent priories.[34] This intense scholarly activity helped to develop new ways of investigating monastic communities. Particular attention has been given to the possible political and social implications of benefaction to monasteries. For example, Jean Truax and Burton have shown how monastic patronage in this period could be a political act through which networks of power or tenure were forged.[35] Patterns of benefaction to monastic communities have also been analysed to provide insight into broader national events. Emma Cownie used donations to English Benedictine communities to assess the effect of the Norman Conquest on these houses, and to bring insight into the new Anglo-Norman aristocracy.[36] Studies have also sought to reconstruct how communities built and maintained ties with their lay donors. This has included investigations by Karen Stöber, Julie Kerr, and Jamroziak into religious and lay interaction, and how these relationships were memorialised or commemorated through the production of monastic records.[37]

33.   Jamroziak, *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context*; Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*; Brian Golding, "The coming of the Cluniacs," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): 65–77; Brian Golding, *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c.1130-c.1300* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Burton and Stöber, *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*; Janet E. Burton, "Past models and contemporary concerns: the foundation and growth of the Cistercian order," ed. Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener, *Studies in Church History* 44 (2008): 27–45; Janet E. Burton, "The Knights Templar in Yorkshire in the twelfth century: a reassessment," *Northern History: A Review of the History of the North of England and the Borders* 27 (1991): 26–40; Janet Burton, "The abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx, and the problems of the English Savigniacs, 1134-1156," *Monastic Studies* 2 (1990): 119–131; Janet E. Burton, "The foundation of the British Cistercian houses," in *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, ed. Christopher Norton and David Park (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 24–39; and generally, Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders.*

34.   Sally Thompson, *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991); Martin Heale, *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004).

35.   Burton, *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire*; Jean. A. Truax, "Winning over the Londoners: King Stephen, the Empress Matilda, and the Politics of Personality," *Haskins Society Journal* 8 (1996): 43–61. See too Marjorie Chibnall, "The Changing Expectations of a Royal Benefactor: The Religious patronage of Henry II," in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006); Brian Golding, "The Religious Patronage of Robert and William of Mortain," in *Belief and Culture in the Middles Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 211–30.

36.   Emma Cownie, *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135* (London: The Royal Historical Society, 1998).

37.   Julie Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070-c. 1250* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007); Janet Burton and Karen Stöber, eds., *Monasteries and society in the British Isles in the later Middle Ages* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008); Emilia Jamroziak, "How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors," in *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 63–76, and the collection *passim*. For continental examples of the use of monastic records to commemorate relationships with the laity, see Constance Brit-

In recent years, due to a growing interest in monastic text production, England's ancient Benedictine abbeys have returned to discussions of the twelfth-century church. The major abbeys of Bury St Edmunds, Durham, Rochester, and Canterbury's churches have drawn particular attention because they have a significant number of twelfth-century texts surviving from their libraries, including *historiae*, *vitae* and liturgical works.[38] These investigations have developed new ways of analysing and approaching monastic writings. In particular, studies have explored the ways English monasteries wrote and rewrote their communal pasts through various types of texts in order to protect themselves in the present, often against external threats. These have included Susan Ridyard's and Jay Rubenstein's analyses of the ways hagiography and liturgy was written to preserve institutions' saints and status in the post-Conquest period,[39] as well as Richard Southern's and James Campbell's interpretations of how the Anglo-Saxon past was being written in twelfth-century narratives.[40] Similarly, diplomatic writings such as forged charters and cartularies have been the subject of investigation by (for example) Julia Crick, Robert Berkhofer, and Francesca Tinti.[41] Amongst

tain Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500-1200* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015) and Patrick J. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the end of the First Millennium* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994).

38. Tom Licence, ed., *Bury St Edmunds and The Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014); Rodney Thomson, "The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *Speculum* 47, no. 4 (1972): 617–645; David W. Rollason, "Symeon of Durham's *Historia de Regibus Anglorum et Dacorum* as a product of 12th-century historical workshops," in *The long twelfth-century view of the Anglo-Saxon past*, ed. Martin Brett and David A. Woodman (Franham: Ashgate, 2015), 95–111; Teresa Webber, "Symeon of Durham as cantor and historian at Durham Cathedral priory, c. 1090-1129," in *Medieval cantors and their craft: music, liturgy and the shaping of history, 800-1500*, ed. Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A.B. Kraebel, and Margot E. Fassler (York: York Medieval Press, 2017), 190–206; David Rollason, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich, eds., *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093-1193* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995); Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi, eds., *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015); Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe, eds., *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109* (London: The Hambledon Press, 1995).

39. S. J. Ridyard, "Condigna Veneratio: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987): 179–206; Jay Rubenstein, "Liturgy Against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury," *Speculum* 74 (1999): 271–301.

40. R.W. Southern, "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4, The Sense of the Past," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series* 23 (1973): 243–263; J. Campbell, "Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past," in *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. J. Campbell (London, 1986), 209–28; see too the collection of essays in Martin Brett and David A. Woodman, eds., *The Long Twelfth-Century view of the Anglo-Saxon past* (Routledge: London & New York, 2015).

41. J. Crick, "Historical literacy in the archive: Post-Conquest imitative copies of Pre-Conquest charters and some French comparanda," in *The Long Twelfth-Century view of the Anglo-Saxon past*, ed. Martin Brett and David A. Woodman (Ashgate, 2015), 159–90; Julia Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 25 (2005): 65–83; Robert F. Berkhofer, "The Canterbury forgeries revisited," *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007): 36–50; Francesca Tinti, "Si litterali memorie commendaretur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-century Worcester," in *Early Medieval Studies*

their many findings, these investigations all showed how a given institution might have reformatted their documentary past in order to both safeguard rights and privileges, and solidify its present communal identity.

Despite these developments, within monastic scholarship there remains a tendency to keep the archive and library separate. For example, single studies rarely analyse both archival records for patterns of patronage and library items such hagiography for assessing how a community was writing. Some important studies have bridged this gap. In the context of this thesis, the work of Christopher Brooke on Gloucester Abbey, and Pierre Chaplais on Westminster Abbey are essential examples.[42] Both of these studies investigated charters, forged charters, and hagiographical writings, and each revealed the great insights that can be found by looking across a variety of different types of text. More recently, Jennifer Paxton's investigation of Peterborough Abbey also showed how analysing charters (forged and genuine) alongside narratives texts can reveal more about both these texts and the communities that produced them than can be discerned by keeping the types of writing separate.[43] It should be noted that often (and in the cases of Chaplais and Paxton in particular) the combination of writings analysed in such investigations rest upon discernible pre-existing relationships between the different texts, such as being from the same manuscript or have shared contents. A range of different types of monastic writing have also been analysed to investigate discrete periods of history. A key example is English monasteries' experience of, and responses to, the Norman Conquest, which has been assessed through their benefaction (as recorded in charters) and their literary output,

---

in Memory of Patrick Wormald. Studies in Early Medieval Britain, ed. Stephen Baxter et al. (Farnham: Ashgate, 2009), 475–497; Francesca Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Ashgate, 2010). See too Jennifer Paxton, "Forging communities: memory and identity in post-conquest England," *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001): 95–109; Jennifer Paxton, "Monks and Bishops: The Purpose of the *Liber Eliensis*," *Haskins Society Journal* 11 (1998): 17–30; Robin Fleming, "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary," in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the 12th Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History 1995*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997), 83–155; Julia Barrow, "How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past," in *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, ed. Paul Magdalino (London: The Hambledon Press, 1992), 53–75 and Charles Rozier, "Contextualizing the past at Durham Cathedral Priory, c. 1090-1130: uses of history in the Annals of Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100," *Haskins Society Journal* 25 (2014 for 2013): 107–123.

42. See the essays collect in Christopher N. L. Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986), and especially 'St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadog of Llancarfan', 50-94; and P. Chaplais, "The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase Abbots of Westminster (1121-1157)," in *A medieval miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, ed. P. M. Barnes and C. F. Slade, vol. 36 (Pipe Rolls Society, new ser., 1962), 89–110.

43. Paxton, "Forging communities." See too, Paxton, "Monks and Bishops"; and the essays in Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, eds., *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006).

such as hagiography and history writing.[44] A small number of studies, notably those by Paul Dalton and Paul Hayward, have adopted a similar methodology for analysing monasteries and text production as a response to the 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign.[45] In turn, edited collections on a single house, such as those on Bury St Edmunds, Durham and Canterbury, have brought together investigations of a range of different writings, however within these volumes the studies themselves are discrete.[46]

The relationships between English royalty and monasteries have been the focus of previous investigations. A key example remains Paul Binski's 1995 study of Westminster Abbey between 1200 and 1400, in which (through its art and architecture) he traced how, from the thirteenth century, the abbey developed into the locus for royal display.[47] Some investigations have attempted to reconstruct the personal devotions of England's rulers. Recent examples are Judith Green's and Paul Webster's respective studies of Kings Henry I and John, in which they considered the ways in which patronage to particular houses or acts of piety can be used to interpret how religious (or not) a given ruler was.[48] Emma Mason also sought to trace any association between Anglo-Norman royal patronage to religious houses (including Westminster) and regnal stability between 1066-1154.[49] Although insightful, Mason's analysis is essentially a very brief survey of royal patronage across the period.

44. See, for example, Cownie, *Religious Patronage*; Rubenstein, "Liturgy Against History"; Ridyard, "Condigna Veneratio"; Paul Anthony Hayward, "Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1998): 67–93; Rebecca Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest of England: St Æthelwold of Winchester as a Case Study," *History* 101, no. 345 (April, 2016): 183 –202; and the collection of essays in Licence, *Bury St Edmunds and The Norman Conquest* and Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*.

45. Paul Anthony Hayward, "Geoffrey of Wells' "Liber de infantia sancti Edmundi" and the "Anarchy" of King Stephen's Reign," in *St Edmund, King and Martyr: Changing Images of a Medieval Saint* (York: University of York, York Medieval Press, 2009), 63–86; Paul Dalton, "Ecclesiastical Responses to War in King Stephen's Reign: The Communities of Selby Abbey, Pontefract Priory and York Cathedral," in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley, and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011). See too Janet Burton, "Citadels of God: Monasteries, Violence, and the Struggle for Power in Northern England, 1135-1154," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2008): 17–30.

46. Licence, *Bury St Edmunds and The Norman Conquest*; Rollason, Harvey, and Prestwich, *Anglo-Norman Durham*; Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*.

47. Paul Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: kingship and the representation of power, 1200-1400* (New Haven: Yale University Pres, 1995).

48. J. A. Green, "The Piety and Patronage of Henry I," *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001): 1–16; Paul Webster, *King John and Religion* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015). See *ibid*, 1-17 for an introduction to this field of historiography.

49. Emma Mason, "Pro Statu et Incolumnitate Regni Mei: Royal Monastic Patronage, 1066-1154," *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982): 99–117. See too Emma Mason, *Westminster Abbey and its people: c.1050-c.1216* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996), and discussed further below in the Introduction to the Westminster chapter.

The twelfth-century abbeys of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester have had varying degrees of previously investigation. Due to its significance in past and present English royalty, and the strength of its surviving records, Westminster has had the most scholarly attention.[50] Of particular note for this study is Mason's *Westminster Abbey and its people: c.1050-c.1216*, which is a neat companion to her edition of the abbey's charters from the same period.[51] In *Westminster Abbey and its people*, Mason used the abbey's records to carefully reconstruct the relationships the community had in this period. However, partly due to the long scope of her study, Mason did not look critically at the period under investigation in this thesis.[52] Westminster's other twelfth-century writings have likewise been investigated previously. The abbey's hagiography, and particular Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi* (written in the late 1130s) and Aelred of Rievaulx's rewriting of this work in the early 1160s, has been been the subject of

---

50. Studies related to this period include J. Armitage Robinson, "Introduction," in *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909); J.C.H. Aveling, "Westminster Abbey: the Beginnings to 1474," in *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey*, ed. Edward Carpenter (London: John Baker, 1966); Frank Barlow, "Appendix D: The Development of the Cult of King Edward," in *Vita Aedwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster, attributed to a monk of Saint-Bertin*, Second Edition, ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992); Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*; Chaplais, "Original Charters"; Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past"; R. D. H. Gem, "The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): 33–60; Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*; Barbara Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); Barbara F. Harvey, "The Monks of Westminster and the Peculium," in *The Study of Medieval manuscripts of England: Festchrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, ed. George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voights (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, in collaboration with Brepols, 2010), 325–348; Barbara Harvey, "Abbot Gervase de Blois and the Fee-Farms of Westminster Abbey," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* XL, no. 102 (1967): 127–142; Mason, "Pro Statu et Incolumnitate Regni Mei"; Emma Mason, "The donors of Westminster abbey charters c.1066-1240," *Medieval Prosopography* 8, no. 2 (1986): 23–39; Stuart Harrison and John McNeill, "The Romanesque Monastic Buildings at Westminster," in *Westminster: The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey and Palace* (British Archarological Association by Maney, 2015), 69–103; J. A. Robinson, "Westminster in the twelfth century: Osbert of Clare," *Church Quarterly Review* 68 (1909): 336–56; Gervase Rosser, *Medieval Westminster, 1200-1540* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989); B. W. Scholz, "Two forged charters from the abbey of Westminster and their relationship with St. Denis," *English Historical Review* 76, no. 300 (1961): 466–78; Bernhard W. Scholz, "Sulcard of Westminster: "Prologus de Construccione Westmonsaterii"," *Traditio* 20 (1964): 59–91; David Sullivan, *The Westminster Circle: The people who lived and worked in the early town of Westminster, 1066-1307* (London: Historical Publications, 2006); Emma Mason, ed., *Westminster Abbey Charters: 1066-c.1214*, vol. XXV (London Records Society Publications, 1988); E. M. Williamson, ed., *The Letters of Osbert of Clare Prior of Westminster* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929); Peter Jackson and Tom Licence, "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris': the lost sermon by Ælred of Rievaulx found?," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly: An International Review of the Monastic and Contemplative Spiritual Tradition* 40, no. 1 (2005): 45–83; Domenico Pezzini, "Aelred of Rievaulx's 'Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris': its genesis and radiation," *Cîteaux* 60 (2009): 27–77; Emma Mason, "Lawrence (*d.* 1173)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), and many more.

51. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*; *Westminster Charters*.

52. Mason's study is discussed further below in the introduction to the Westminster chapter.

multiple studies, as has the development of Edward the Confessor's cult at the abbey in this period.[53] In the late 1950s and early 1960s T. A. M. Bishop and Pierre Chaplais identified a corpus of twelfth-century forged charters composed at Westminster, among which the latter also traced the distinctive draftsmanship of Osbert of Clare.[54] These charters have subsequently been the focus of further analysis by Crick and T. A. Heslop, in particular.[55]

---

53.   Osbert of Clare, "Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum," ed. Marc Bloch, *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923); Marc Bloch, "La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare: Introduction," *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923): 5–63; Brian Briggs, "Expulsio, Proscriptio, Exilium: Exile and Friendship in the Writings of Osbert of Clare," in *Exile in the Middle Ages: Selected Proceedings from the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 8-11 July 2002*, ed. Laura Napran and Elisabeth van Houts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 131–144; Peter Jackson, "Osbert of Clare and the Vision of Leofric," in *Latin learning and English lore: studies in Anglo-Saxon literature for Michael Lapidge*, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, vol. 2 (Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 275–92; Williamson, *The Letters*; Frank Barlow, "Clare, Osbert of (d. in or after 1158)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Barlow, "Appendix D"; Frank Barlow, "The Vita Ædwardi (Book II); The Seven Sleepers: Some Further Evidence and Reflections," *Speculum* 40, no. 3 (1965): 385–397; John P. Bequette, "Ælred of Rievaulx's Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor: A Saintly King and the Salvation of the English People," *Cistercians Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2008): 17–40; Edina Bozoky, "The Sanctity and Canonisation of Edward the Confessor," in *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, ed. Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 173–186; D.A. Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult," *English Historical Review* 122, no. 498 (2007): 865–91; Joanna Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint: Virginity in the Construction of Edward the Confessor," in *Medieval Virginities*, ed. Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003), 119–139; Joanna Huntington, "Saintly power as a model of royal authority: the "royal touch" and other miracles in the early vitae of Edward the Confessor," in *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, ed. Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, vol. 14 (International Medieval Research, 2007), 327–343; Eric John, "Edward the Confessor and the Celibate Life," *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979): 71–78; Lynne Jones, "From Anglorum basileus to Norman saint: the transformation of Edward the Confessor," *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2003): 99–120; John E. Lawyer, "Aelred of Rievaulx's "Life of St. Edward the Confessor" - A Medieval Ideal of Kingship," *Fides and Historia* XXXI, no. 1 (1999): 45–65; Richard Mortimer, "Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend," in *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, ed. Richard Mortimer (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009), 1–40; Berhard W. Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," *Speculum* 36, no. 1 (1961): 38–60; Scott Waugh, "The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages," in *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002*, ed. Erik Kopper (New York, 2004), 200–18; Katherine Yohe, "Ælred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward and Confessor," *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (2003): 177–190; Francesco Marzella, "Introduction," in *Aelred Rievallensis, Opera Omnia: 7 Opera Historica et Hagiographica*, ed. Francesco Marzella, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, IIIA (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017), 13–84, and many more.

54.   T. A. M. Bishop and P. Chaplais, eds., *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1000. Presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957); Chaplais, "Original Charters."

55.   T. A. Heslop, "Twelfth-Century Forgeries as Evidence for Earlier Seals: the Case of St Dunstan," in *St Dunstan: his Life, Times and Cult*, ed. N. Ramsay, M. Sparks, and T. Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992), 299–31; Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past." See too Simon Keynes, ed., *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon charters* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991).

Winchester Cathedral, in contrast, has been the focus of less study.[56] Martin Biddle and Derek Keene's survey of the medieval city in the early middle ages included a detailed discussion of the cathedral in this period,[57] but focused work on the community at the priory itself is still forthcoming.[58] Otherwise, the cathedral priory in the twelfth-century has only been assessed via larger developments within the city (such as in Biddle and Keene's work) or its bishops.[59] Even in the in-depth investigations of Winchester's bishops in this period, such as those by

56. Selected studies are Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest"; Frederick Bussby, *Winchester Cathedral, 1079-1979* (Southampton: Paul Cave, 1979); Jane Chedzey, "Manuscript Production in Medieval Winchester," *Reading Medieval Studies* 29 (2003): 1–18; John Crook, ed., *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993* (Winchester, 1993); John Crook, "Bishop Walkelin's cathedral," in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 21–36; John Crook, "St Swithun of Winchester," in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993* (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 57–68; John Crook, "'A worthy antiquity': the movement of King Cnut's bones in Winchester Cathedral," in *The reign of Cnut: king of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (London: Leicester Univeristy Press, 1994), 165–191; John Crook, "The Romanesque west front of Winchester Cathedral," in *Intersections: the archaeology and history of Christianity in England, 400-1200: papers in honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle*, ed. Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsay (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 219–35; V. H. Galbraith, "Royal Charters to Winchester," *English Historical Review* 35 (1920): 382–400; A. W. Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 1927); Joan G. Greatrex, "St Swithun's Priory in the later Middle Ages," in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 139–166; Diana E Greenway, ed., *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 2, Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces)* (Institute of Historical Research, London, 1971); Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.iii (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002); Nicholas Vincent, "The Origins of the Winchester Pipe Rolls," *Archives* 21 (1994): 25–42.

57. Martin Biddle, ed., *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); see too Frank Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," in *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. Martin Biddle, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 1–142.

58. Of particular note is Alexander Rumble's forthcoming work on the community's Anglo-Saxon charters, and Volume 4.1 of the *Winchester Studies* series: *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters*, in preparation by Martin Biddle and the late Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle.

59. Edmund Bishop, "Gifts of Bishop Henry of Blois, Abbot of Glastonbury, to Winchester Cathedral," in *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918), 392–401; Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Bishop Walkelin and his inheritance," in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 1–12; M. J. Franklin, ed., *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester 1070-1204* (Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1993); Everett U. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the 'Mensa Episcopalis'* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); M. J. Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1989): 47–65; Edmund King, "Blois, Henry de (*c.* 1096–1171)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); M. J. Franklin, "Giffard, William (*d.* 1129)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Pamela Tudor-Craig, "Henry of Blois, the Cluny connection, and two ivories in the Victoria and Albert Museum," in *Intersections: the archaeology and history of Christianity in England, 400-1200: papers in honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle*, ed. Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsay (Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010), 243–52; Jean A. Truax, "All roads lead to Chartres: the house of Blois, the papacy, and the Anglo-Norman succession of 1135," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2009): 118–134; Edmund J. King, "Henry of Winchester: the bishop, the city, and the wider world," *Anglo-Norman Studies*

Everett Crosby and M. J. Franklin,[60] the experience and actions of community at the priory are of secondary importance. Winchester Cathedral Priory's twelfth-century writings have been the subject of some detailed study. In particular a cartulary known as the *Codex Wintoniensis*, which was created at the priory in the second quarter of the century, has been the subject of through palaeographical and codicological study by Alexander Rumble, who also produced a calendar edition of the cartulary.[61] Likewise, the priory's early twelfth-century hagiography and saints' cults have been investigated by Michael Lapidge, Rosalind Love, and Rebecca Browett.[62]

Of three abbeys under consideration here, twelfth-century Gloucester has by far had the least scholarly attention.[63] An essential investigation was conducted by Christopher Brooke in the 1960s, in which he reassessed a range of the abbey's

---

XXXVII (2014): 1–23; Yoshio Leo Kusaba, "Henry of Blois, Winchester, and the 12th-century renaissance," in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 69–80; Mark Page, *The Medieval Bishops of Winchester: estate, archive and administration* (Hampshire County Council: Winchester, 2002); Nicholas Riall, "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester: A patron of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance," *Hampshire Papers* 5 (1994): 1–28; H. E. Salter, "The Death of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester," *The English Historical Review* 37, no. 145 (1922): 79–80; Lena Voss, *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester, 1129-71* (Historische Studien, Berlin, 1932).

60. Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution"; M. J. Franklin, "Introduction," in *English Episcopal Acta 8: Wincester 1070-1204*, ed. M. J. Franklin (Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1993); and Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*.

61. Rumble (1979) i-ii; Alexander R. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," *Anglo-Norman Studies* IV (1981): 153–166; 224–232. See too, Eric John, "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 47, no. 2 (1965): 404–429; Cyril Hart, "The Codex Wintoniensis and the King's Haligdom," in *Land, Church, and People: Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, ed. J. Thirsk (British Agricultural History Society, 1970), 7–38; and H. M. Nixon, "The Binding of the Winton Domesday," in *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. Martin Biddle, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 526–540.

62. Michael Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies, 4.ii (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Rosalind Love, ed., *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, Vita S. Rumwoldi* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996); Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest"; and Rebecca Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold and it's Context, c. 984-c. 1400" (PhD diss., Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2016). I am grateful to Dr Browett for providing me with a copy of her completed thesis.

63. Michael Hare, "The Two Anglo-Saxon minsters of Gloucester," *Deerhurst Lecture*, 1992, Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals"; Rodney Thomson, "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries," in *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (British Library, 1997); William Page, ed., "Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of St Peter at Gloucester," in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2* (London, 1907), 53–61; David Walker, "A register of the churches of the monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester," in *An ecclesiastical miscellany*, ed. John Henry Somerset Kent, William J. Sheils, and David Walker (Bristol, 1976); David Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* (Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991); A. F. Wareham, "Serlo (*c.* 1104)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant, *The Romanesque Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester* (Pre-publication draft, 2017), I am grateful to Michael Hare for providing me with this prepublication draft.

records and historical writings, and identified some twelfth-century forged royal charters. Brooke also analysed a late eleventh- to early twelfth-century *Vita* of St Cadog, which was written at the church of Llancarfan, a dependency of Gloucester Abbey.[64] In turn, Brooke and Adrian Morey's authoritative work on Gilbert Foliot (Abbot of Gloucester 1139-48) brings some keen insight into the community when it was led by Foliot.[65] Since Brooke's work the abbey's early twelfth-century experience has only been further assessed through Emma Cownie's and David Bates' brief investigations of the donations the community received in the post-Conquest period.[66] The abbey's surviving medieval *acta* were edited and printed by Robert Patterson in 1998, but the focus of this study is largely palaeographical.[67] In terms of the abbey's other types of writings, beyond Brooke's analysis, Gloucester's hagiographical writings have been the subject to some limited investigation by Kathleen Hughes and, more recently, Joshua Byron Smith.[68]

Despite these studies, many aspects of the twelfth-century histories of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester abbeys remain unknown. First, the communities' experience (the patronage they received, the relationship they maintained, and any actions they undertook, etc.) in this period have not yet been fully reconstructed. This is particularly the case for Winchester and Gloucester. Second, despite their shared affiliation as crown-wearing sites, besides their shifting

64. This work was revised and reprinted in Christopher N. L. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadog of Llancarfan," in *The Church and the Welsh Border*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986), 50–94, and see this collection generally.

65. Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, eds., *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48), Bishop of Hereford (1148-63) and London (1163-87)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967); Adrian Morey and C. N. L. Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965); C. N. L. Brooke, "Foliot, Gilbert (*c.* 1110–187)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007).

66. Emma Cownie, "Gloucester abbey, 1066-1135: an illustration of religious patronage in Anglo-Norman England," in *England and Normandy in the middle ages*, ed. David Bates and Anne Curry (London: The Hambledon Press, 1994), 143–57; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54-65; and David Bates, "The building of a great church: the abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, and its early Norman benefactors," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 102 (1985): 129–132.

67. Robert B. Patterson, ed., *The Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c.1122 to 1263* (The Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998); and see too Nicholas Vincent, "Review: The original acta of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c.1122–1263. Edited by Robert B. Patterson. (Gloucestershire Record Series, 11)," *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (January 2004): 157 –159.

68. Kathleen Hughes, "British Library MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium): its purpose and provenance," in *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. David Dumville (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1980), 53–67; Joshua Byron Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii: an edition and translation," in *Arthurian Literature*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald, vol. XXIX (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 53–100. See too, Henry Summerson, "Gloucester, Benedict of (fl. c.1150)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

statuses within the royal itinerary, these three abbeys have never been studied together. Thirdly, although there have been some isolated investigations of these abbeys different types of writing (such as records of donations, hagiography, forged charters, and cartulary production), the findings from these texts have not been brought together in order to reveal what (if any) further insight may be found by considering these writings alongside each other.

Approach, Sources, and Methodology

This thesis' focus and methodology brings new findings into these abbeys, their writings, and the period c.1100-1170. The *terminus post quem* of 1100 has been chosen because this tends to be the end-limit of studies investigating pre-Conquest (and so Benedictine) foundations and their experience of the post-Conquest period. The collection of essays on Canterbury, for example, focuses on the period 1066-1109, and Francesca Tinti's study of Worcester assessed the period c.870-c.1100.[69] An end date of 1170 was chosen to provide a focused period for analysis, and also because it roughly aligns with the careers and lives of abbots and bishops of these communities.[70] 1170 was also the year of Thomas Becket's death, after which there was an abnormal period within the English church. This seventy year time period allows an appreciation of the relationships gained, lost, or maintained by these communities over several generations, as well as providing insight into the range of circumstances faced by these abbeys from, for example, political or religious change. Moreover, this timeframe incorporates three regnal periods, thereby supporting comparisons across Henry I's reign, the period of civil war under Stephen, and the years of restoration and reform following Henry II's accession.

These three abbeys have been selected for this study because of their shared status as sites of crown-wearing ceremonies and therefore their potential to shed light on changes in royal ceremonial practices and the effects this may have had on these communities. The differences between these abbeys also provide fruitful analytical tensions. Gloucester Abbey lies near the Welsh March, and therefore the twelfth-century community was exposed to the opportunities and

---

69. Eales and Sharpe, *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*. An exception may appear to be Cownie's investigations in *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135*, however her analysis of post 1100 is rather cursory.

70. Abbot Laurence of Westminster died in 1173, Henry bishop of Winchester in 1171, and Abbot Hamelin of Gloucester in 1179.

challenges that accompanied the Norman conquest of Wales; Winchester was the seat of a powerful bishop, which provided the community at the cathedral priory with a different experience of ecclesiastical leadership than that encountered at the other two abbeys; and Westminster was at the heart of contemporary kingship, both geographically in Westminster vill and ceremonially, as the coronation church. The abbeys also had different political geographies during the 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign: Westminster remained loyal to King Stephen, Gloucester to the Empress Matilda, and Winchester was the seat of the fickle king-maker, Henry of Blois. The differences between these sites are critical for helping to discern which different factors may have affected the experience and opportunities of these communities.

Due to Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester's history as the location for festive crown-wearings and that they all had historic connections to monarchy, the first key aim of this thesis is to analyse the abbeys' relationship with royalty across the three regnal periods. 'Royalty' here relates to kings, queens, and members of the royal family, rather than government. These abbeys' relationship with royalty (or lack thereof) is assessed in two ways. First, by identifying the interactions between the communities and English monarchy by establishing when royalty was at the abbeys, both for crown-wearings and other occasions. The frequency of these moments and the circumstances surrounding them are also analysed in order to assess how and why monarchy may have interacted with these abbeys. Second, the nature of the abbey's relationships with royalty is explored through the monarchy's patronage to the communities. This is evaluated by a consideration of what was granted or confirmed by members of English royalty, as well as how they may have assisted an abbey by issuing writs or precepts on its behalf. This is a question not only of frequency and value of benefaction, but also the circumstances under which patronage was granted. Potential insights from this aim include discerning how important these abbeys and their connections to past and present royal ceremonies were to Anglo-Norman royalty during a period in which both succession and monarchy itself faced severe challenges.

The second aim of these thesis is to investigate these three abbeys across the challenging period 1100 to 1170. Each community will be the focus of an individual chapter of this thesis. These chapters first identify the major actors involved and the written material available for study. The communities' fortunes are then reconstructed through an appraisal of their records of benefaction. The patronage recorded in these records is analysed to assess what the abbeys were given, as well as to expose the relationships they gained, maintained, or lost during this

period. The studies therefore also recognise and assess the communities' main resources, both material (through land and property) and political (through the relationships or roles they maintained). Then the abbeys' experience of this period are also assessed by identifying what threats the communities faced (both from politics and the changing religious landscape), any fluctuations in levels of patronage to the abbeys, and what periods or moments these experiences were particularly acute. Finally, the abbeys' activities in this period are identified and characterised in order to offer an interpretation of their ambitions, as well as showing what range of strategic responses the abbeys could deploy in the face of the challenges they faced. This research focus will shed light on Benedictine experience during a period in which it has tended to be overlooked in comparison with the exponential growth of the new religious orders. Likewise, these abbeys, as powerful political partisans in their own right, bring a fresh religious perspective on the challenges and changes to rule and order across this period.

The final aim of this thesis is to identify and analyse the different ways these abbeys were writing. In this aim the focus is on the more creative texts produced specifically by or for the community c.1100-1170, such as hagiography and forged charters. This is in contrast to genuine records of benefaction (such as charters), which tend to be the product of a least two parties. For each abbey, two different genres of creative writing are assessed in discrete investigations. First, the forms and contents of the texts are interpreted, and then their possible purposes for production are reconstructed. Further insights into these writings are then sought by comparing the findings from the two different types of text, and fully contextualising them within the given abbey's history, as reconstruct in the analysis of its genuine records. This analysis of these abbeys' writings will bring new insights both into these texts and the communities which produced them. In particular, by recognising the abbeys' writings as creative interventions designed to have tangible impacts in their presents, these texts have the potential to bring a fuller picture of the communities' identities and ambitions, as well as the abbeys' experiences (as also pursued in this thesis' second aim). In turn, the analysis of these texts can expose how different types of writing were utilised by these communities to address their contemporary concerns. These cross-genre investigations will also allow some reflection of the possible advantages and disadvantages of applying this methodology to these three abbeys. At the outset of this project it was anticipated that its key findings would relate to the abbeys' relationships with English royalty. Yet, in the course of the investigation different insights and emphases emerged, and particularly related to the vibrant and varied ways the communities were writing.

This thesis' aims dictate that a range of writings are analysed. These texts divide into two categories: genuine records, and creative writings. Each type of writing presents a different challenge in the three case studies. In terms of records, this investigation largely focuses on charters, which are the written record of a conveyance between at least two parties, in this case typically between a benefactor and a monastic community. The charters surviving from Westminster Abbey form a balanced corpus: there is a combination of royal, episcopal, abbatial, and lay documents which have survived as both originals and copies within later cartularies produced at the abbey.[71] Winchester's charters have a more uneven pattern of survival: the records only survive as copies within cartularies. A small number of royal charters from the reigns of King Stephen and Henry II were copied into a twelfth-century cartulary (the so-called *Codex Wintoniensis*), but the majority of the remaining records survive in two cartularies from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Across these three cartularies there are very few surviving records of lay benefaction to Winchester.[72] Gloucester has a huge collection of twelfth-century charters (greater in number than those of Westminster and Winchester combined), an overwhelming majority of which record lay benefaction to the abbey. Only a small number of these charters survive as originals (some of which are of doubtful authenticity); the rest are copies within a vast later cartulary. In addition, Gloucester has a fourteenth-century calendar of donations, elements of which followed a now-lost twelfth-century source.[73]

The creative texts under examination in this thesis are hagiography, forged charters, and a twelfth-century cartulary. All three abbeys produced new saints' *vitae* between c.1100 and 1170. At Westminster, building on an eleventh-century text, Osbert of Clare (monk and occasional prior of the community) wrote the first fully hagiographical *Vita* of Edward the Confessor in preparation for the abbey's canonisation attempt for the king. The only full version of Osbert's texts survives as a later twelfth- or early-thirteenth century copy, and it was edited in 1923 by Marc Bloch.[74] This text has been the subject of previous investigations,[75] but

---

71. These charters and cartularies are discussed in more detail in the introduction to the Westminster chapter (I).
72. These cartularies are discussed in more detail in the introduction to the Winchester chapter (II).
73. These records are discussed further below in the introduction to the Gloucester chapter (III). The calendar of donations is discussed in Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," and further in section 1.1 of the Gloucester chapter, below.
74. BL, Additional MS 36737, 139r-157r, 'Vita Beati Eadwardi'; Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*.
75. Notably by Bloch, "La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur"; Barlow, "Appendix D"; Barlow, "The Seven Sleepers"; and see too Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint"; Huntington, "Saintly power as a model of royal authority."

here it is assessed for the first time how Osbert constructed his abbey within Edward's saintly and historical life. In contrast to Westminster, Winchester's hagiography was focused on more ancient saints: in the early twelfth century the same anonymous author wrote two *Lives* and one miracle collection of two Anglo-Saxon bishops of Winchester, Ss. Swithun and Birinus. These texts survive together in a manuscript from the beginning of the twelfth century, and each have modern editions.[76] These texts have never before been investigated together, nor within the context of the twelfth-century priory. In comparison to Winchester and Westminster, Gloucester's hagiography was not focused on the community's Anglo-Saxon saints, nor those whose remains lay within their church. Instead, in the second quarter of the century, a monk of the community known as Benedict of Gloucester wrote a new *Vita Dubricii* (*Life of St Dyfrig*) - a Welsh saint buried at Llandaf cathedral. The *Vita Dubricii* survives in only one manuscript completed in around c.1200 and has been edited recently.[77] Despite being written by a monk of Gloucester, this text has not previously been studied in the context of that community.[78]

The next type of text is forged charters. Westminster Abbey produced a great number of forged charters in the twelfth century. Some of these documents survive as original charters, but the majority are later cartulary copies. Amongst the forgeries are several rather long and elaborate documents, in which Pierre Chaplais traced Osbert of Clare's draftsmanship.[79] The present study represents the first time all of Westminster and Osbert's forgeries have been analysed together. This analysis also provides the first chronology to Osbert's forgery production, and the first time these texts have been extensively compared to his *Vita beati Eadwardi.* In comparison to Westminster, Gloucester has far fewer forgeries from this period, and these survive as a combination of original charters and cartulary copies. These forgeries have been the subject of only minimal previous investigation.[80]

There has yet to be a comprehensive critical study of Winchester Cathedral Priory's charters (Alexander Rumble's edition of its Anglo-Saxon documents is forthcoming), and consequently any twelfth-century forging activity at that commu-

---

76. BL, Cotton Tiberius D, iv fos. 105v-121v; *Vita Birini*; *Vita Swithuni*; *Miracula Swithuni*.
77. BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv; *Vita Dubricii*.
78. N.B. Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Dubricii* is distinct from an earlier *Vita* of Dyfrig, which was written in the 1120s and included in the *Liber Landauensis.* The differences between these texts are discussed further in section 2 of the Gloucester chapter (III).
79. Chaplais, "Original Charters."
80. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester"; Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters.*

nity has not (yet) been specifically identified or codified.[81] Such a task is beyond the scope of this study, and instead of forgeries the second type of creative writing from Winchester investigated here is a cartulary, the aforementioned *Codex Wintoniensis*, which was compiled at the priory in several phases from the second quarter of the twelfth century. The *Codex* contains the copies of over two hundred Anglo-Saxon charters and a small number of post-Conquest charters. Both the *Codex* and its twelfth-century binding have survived.[82] The form and contents of the *Codex* have been thoroughly defined by Rumble,[83] however here will be the first time that the *Codex*'s production is fully contextualised within the priory's twelfth-century history. The earliest surviving cartularies from Westminster and Gloucester Abbeys are from the thirteenth century, so it is not possible to compare twelfth-century cartulary production across the three institutions. Nevertheless, like forged charters, in the *Codex* its compilers rewrote the community's records, and as is shown in the analysis of the *Codex* in Section 2 of the Winchester chapter below, parallels can be drawn between the production of this manuscript and the other abbeys' forged charters.

The material investigated in this thesis is not without its problems. The majority of the abbeys' charters (genuine and forged) only survive as later cartulary copies. As a result, few palaeographical insights can be found and some details from the charters are missing, particularly witness lists. Difficulties in accessing these materials are aided by some modern editions. Westminster's records of donations are printed or calendared in Mason's 1988 edition, *Westminster Abbey Charters: 1066-c.1214*.[84] A high proportion of Winchester's documents have been edited across a number of publications, notably its royal charters in 1920 by V. H. Galbraith,[85] and episcopal charters in the *English Episcopal Acta* series.[86] One of the priory's cartularies was also fully calendared by A.W. Goodman in 1927.[87] As part of his 1979 thesis on the *Codex Wintoniensis*, Rumble produced a detailed calendar for the manuscript, greatly aiding access to this large volume. Gloucester's original charters were edited by Patterson in 1998 (*The Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c. 1122 to 1263*), and its earliest and largest cartulary was fully printed across three volumes in the *Rolls Series* in the

---

81. In his edition of Winchester's episcopal *acta*, M. J. Franklin only identified a small number of forged charters (or elements of forgeries within them), and provided little further comment. See too Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," 51-52.
82. BL, Additional MS 15350; and BL, Bindings 1922.
83. Rumble (1979), vols. i and ii; Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis."
84. *Westminster Charters*.
85. 'Royal Charters.'
86. *EEA:Winchester*.
87. *Chart. Winch.*

1860s.[88] In addition to these editions, royal charters from the reigns of William I, William II, Henry I, and Stephen have been printed in the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* series, and David Bates' edition of William I's charters.[89] An edition of Henry II's charters is still forthcoming. These edited volumes have eased reference to the large number of charters and have helped to identify some (but not all) of the forged charters produced at these houses in the twelfth century. However, the editions have not been used unquestioningly in this investigation. In particular, many of the abbeys' charters have not been (accurately) dated or authenticated. This is particularly the case for the Gloucester materials. Where possible, this study offers new dating to charters, and has identified forgeries which had not previously been deemed suspect. All the hagiography investigated here has been edited,[90] however new datings for the production of some of these works have been developed in this thesis' analyses.

Supplementary sources from these communities will be referenced in this study, but not subjected to detailed investigation. Only a few surviving writings composed at these abbeys c.1100-1170 have been excluded. These exclusions have been made in order to aid comparisons between the sites and to retain a focused analysis. From Westminster this includes Abbot Aelred of Rievaulx's rewriting of Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi* in the 1160s. Although Aelred was meeting a commission from Westminster's abbot, as this text was composed by someone outside the community it cannot so readily be regarded as an expression of the abbey's ambitions or identity. However, Aelred's work will be briefly analysed in section 2 of the Westminster chapter in order to provide further insight into Osbert's text. A collection of Osbert's letters also survives - these will only be used as evidence for Osbert's life and career.[91] Abbot Gilbert Crispin of Westminster (c.1085-1117/18) was the author of several theological treatises and a *Vita* of Herluin, founder of Bec abbey.[92] The theological texts are beyond the scope of this study, and Osbert's *Vita* is preferred because of its connection with other actions at the abbey, including the attempt for Edward's canonisation in the 1130s and forgery production. As this thesis' focus is on new textual compositions, general book production at the abbeys will not be analysed.[93] This includes two great illustrated books produced at Winchester Cathedral in this period (the Winchester

---

88. *Original Acta*; *Historia et cartularium* i-iii.

89. *RRAN* i-iii.

90. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*; *Vita Birini*; *Vita Swithuni*; *Miracula Swithuni*; and *Vita Dubricii*.

91. Williamson, *The Letters*.

92. See Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*.

93. For these abbey's libraries, see Chedzey, "Manuscript Production in Medieval Winchester"; Thomson, "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey"; and generally Richard Sharpe, *English Benedictine libraries: the shorter catalogues* (London: British Library, 1996).

Psalter and the Winchester Bible)[94] and a calendar written at Gloucester in the third quarter of the twelfth century.[95] In turn, architectural or material evidence surviving from these abbeys will be recognised within this study, but not subjected to detailed analysis.

The abbeys are analysed in three separate chapters, starting with Westminster, then Winchester, and finally Gloucester. It is necessary to conduct discrete studies of the abbeys because each community has its own unique combination of materials, the findings from which have the potential to provide cumulative insight into that abbey. The chapters' order has been chosen because Westminster has the most material (primary and secondary) and therefore has the potential to offer the fullest point of comparison; Gloucester, by contrast, has the least. Moreover, Westminster has Osbert of Clare. As Osbert composed both hagiography and forgeries, his writings are a natural place to start for an exploration of and between records and creative writings. Insights from the investigation of Osbert's texts will be carried forward to Winchester and Gloucester's materials, which do not have the same authorial unity. In each chapter the different writings are initially analysed separately. First the abbeys' records are investigated in order to reconstruct the these communities' historical experience. The following two sections then conduct a close textual analysis of hagiography and then forged charters or (in the case of Winchester) the cartulary. This allows individual insights to be drawn from each type of material. The fourth sections of the chapters ("Discussion and Conclusion") then brings the findings from the previous three sections together.

This thesis' methodology is informed by previous studies that have investigated a range of different types of monastic writings alongside each other (such as those by Paxton, Brooke, and Chaplais discussed above). However, the scope of the present study allows a more holistic and exploratory approach than that conducted in those focused investigations. In particular, this thesis' analysis does not rely on any pre-existing association between the different types of writing investigated apart from them being written at the same community within the period c.1100-1170. Osbert of Clare's forged charters and *Vita*, of course, invite such a cross-genre analysis, but these are still very different types of writing. The

---

94.   The psalter is BL, Cotton Nero C.iv; the Bible is in Winchester Cathedral Library.
95.   Oxford, Jesus College, 10; see Richard W. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 186-91.

differences are even more acute for the writings from the other two abbeys. The fourth sections of each chapter thus explores whether we can view these texts together, and if so, what further insights might be found. Can the communities' creative texts be seen as reacting to any of the abbeys' experiences as reconstructed through the analysis of its geniune records? Can common ambitions or concerns be traced across different media? Is there a discernible chronology or rhythm to how these communities were writing? The answers to questions such as these have the potential to reveal what additional findings into these communities and their texts might be reached by analysing such different types of writing together.

This methodology does have some limits. The range of types of writings investigated requires expertise across multiple different fields and approaches. Moreover, it is exploratory. At the outset of this project it was not known how (or indeed, if) the findings from the different texts could be reconciled, and throughout the study great investigative flexibility was required. In turn, to both accommodate the scope of this project and to most effectively strike comparisons across the institutions, finite lines had to be drawn for what could be analysed from each abbey. This methodology, and the existing scholarship related to these abbeys and their writings also means that this thesis includes many different levels of analysis. These include the first critical investigations of primary source materials in both manuscripts and printed editions (for example, for Gloucester Abbey's charters); reassessing and/or building on existing scholarly work on these communities and their texts (such as Rumble's on the *Codex Wintoniensis*); and combining the findings from previous investigations in order to bring the various types of writings into conversation with each other (for example, the work on Osbert's *Life of St Edward* and Westminster abbey's forgeries). The syntheses of analyses that is achieved in this thesis brings new findings into these individual communities and their texts, and, collectively, the shifting experience of three Benedictine abbeys during a time of political and religious challenge.

Chapter one examines Westminster Abbey through its genuine charters, Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi*, and its large collection of forged charters, both composed by Osbert and otherwise. The investigation of Westminster's records of benefaction assesses the abbey's relationship with royalty, and especially the moments in which the English monarchy turned to it as a site of particular regnal or dynastic significance. This section also examines the other secular relation-

ships the abbey maintained, gained, or lost, across this period. This includes the first examination of Westminster's relationship with the powerful de Mandeville family. The second section analyses Osbert of Clare's *Life* of Edward the Confessor, and it is shown how Osbert built Westminster Abbey into Edward's saintly and royal persona. This construction is particularly underlined through a brief comparison to Aelred of Rievaulx's later rewriting of Osbert's text. The third section investigates a large number of Westminster's twelfth-century forgeries in order to expose shifting patterns to their production. This also includes a detailed analysis of some of Osbert's forgeries, which yields a chronology to his forging activities and an assessment of how he rewrote Westminster's past in order to promote its present ambitions. The fourth section then brings these different findings together, revealing distinct phases in Westminster's activities across this period.

Chapter two uses charters, hagiography, and the *Codex Wintoniensis* to conduct the first focused analysis of Winchester Cathedral Priory between 1100 and 1170. In a similar fashion to the study of Westminster, in the first section Winchester's charters are used to reconstruct the priory's interactions with Anglo-Norman monarchy and the various relationships it held. In comparison to Westminster, this includes an examination of the priory's relationship with the bishops of Winchester, as well as how the status of the bishop may have provided the priory with opportunities to pursue its own agenda. The second section investigates the *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and *Miracula Swithuni* together, exposing how and why these texts were written. The form and contents of the *Codex Wintoniensis* are then investigated in the third section to reveal how and why this cartulary was created. In the final section these conclusions are brought together in order to expose how similar ambitions can be traced across seemingly disparate types of writing.

The third chapter offers the first concerted study of Gloucester Abbey in this period. In section one, Gloucester's charters are analysed to reveal the abbey's interactions with English monarchy, as well as what relationships it held with aristocracy in the Welsh March. This section also includes a comparison between charters and a later index of donations in order to examine the different ways Gloucester may have recorded its benefaction during this period. The second section analyses the *Vita Dubricii* as a product of Gloucester, and sheds light on when and why it was composed. In the third section a new corpus of twelfth-century charters forged at Gloucester is defined and characterised. The final section of this chapter again brings these findings together and reveals what

different opportunities Gloucester may have had in comparison to Westminster and Winchester.

<div align="center">*</div>

A couple of conventions are maintained throughout this study. First, for possible date ranges 'date x date' is used to denote the years between which something may have occurred. In contrast, date - date denotes a duration of time. All the material has been studied in Latin, but English translation is provided for the reader. Where possible, published translation have been used. Any amendments to these translations are clearly noted in the text or footnotes.

I WESTMINSTER ABBEY

Introduction: Westminster Abbey, c.1100-1170

No church has been more closely associated with the English crown than Westminster Abbey. It lies within Westminster vill, is adjacent to the great royal palace, and as the coronation church is the location of the most important regnal ceremony. From the period c.1100 to 1170 there survive many genuine charters related to the abbey, and a considerable body of twelfth-century forged charters. Two *Vitae* of Edward the Confessor were also written in the twelfth century, and were related to the abbey's two attempts to have their greatest royal patron canonised. Westminster has been widely studied: elements of its activities in this period have been delineated, and the community's different writings subjected to some close examination. Nevertheless, this chapter offers a novel approach to this famous abbey. It brings together the abbey's charters, hagiography, and forgeries in order to analyse Westminster's interactions with the Anglo-Norman monarchy, the experience of this Benedictine community, and the different ways it was writing. In this discussion Osbert of Clare, monk and sometime prior of Westminster, is a key figure. As the author of both hagiography and forgeries, his works neatly support this chapter's aim to analyse different types of the abbey's writings together. Osbert also provides an authorial unity that neither Winchester Cathedral Priory nor Gloucester Abbey have in their writings from this period. While Osbert is therefore a unique asset for this chapter, the analysis will also develop insights into the whole Westminster community. Key findings from this study include a new interpretation for why Henry I's first wife (Edith-Matilda) was buried in the abbey; the development of a chronology to Osbert's forging programme; and the identification of the ways the community conducted coordinated activities across multiple media in their attempts to protect their status and privileges in this period.

Westminster Abbey had an ancient past, but in the twelfth century its particular significance was recent. The abbey was founded and dedicated to St Peter in the early Saxon period, and was greatly expanded through the monastic reforms of St Dunstan in the tenth century. Edward the Confessor (1042-1066) decided to rebuild the abbey, and chose it as his burial site.[1] Edward's refoundation of the abbey created a connection between this king and abbey which was visibly

---

1. For a description of Edward's refoundation see Anon., *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, 44-45, and for the abbey's early history Aveling, "Westminster Abbey: the Beginnings to 1474," 3-24.

celebrated in the very magnificence of the new building.[2] However, the particular circumstances of the end of Edward's reign ensured Westminster's importance within the realm and the display of royalty: after the defeat of Harold Godwin at the Battle of Hastings, William I was crowned in Westminster, no doubt seeking to underline his lawful succession through an inauguration in the church which housed the remains of his successor. The abbey has been the preferred coronation site ever since.

The twelfth century was a difficult period for Westminster. Following the death of Gilbert Crispin (?1085-1117/18) the abbey lay vacant for four years, during which time it suffered serious losses while its properties lay in the hands of the king's managers.[3] The appointment of Abbot Herbert (a monk of the community) in 1121 heralded a period of restoration as the community strove to regain the losses it suffered. In 1138/9 King Stephen's illegitimate and youthful son Gervase of Blois was elected abbot. Gervase was deposed by Henry II in c.1158 and replaced with Lawrence of Durham (c.1158-1176). Lawrence has been regarded as an efficient administrator who advanced the needs of the abbey and found favour in the Angevin court.[4] In comparison, Gervase was accused contemporaneously of impoverishing the abbey to such an extent that the monks could barely clothe themselves.[5] Gervase's reputation has been recently rescued, and Barbara Harvey in particular concluded that although Gervase can be criticised for a few of the grants made in his name, the monks of Westminster were also to blame for their suffering in this period.[6]

In addition to these internal challenges, the religious and political changes of the twelfth century also buffeted Westminster. More so than either Winchester or Gloucester, Westminster faced a great proliferation of new foundations nearby, many of which were directly patronised by members of the royal family. Henry I's first wife, Edith-Matilda founded a house of Augustinian canons at Holy Trinity,

---

2. See Gem, "The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey."

3. David Brooke Knowles, Christopher N. L. London, and Vera C. M., *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216*, second edition (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 77; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 53.

4. John of Hexham, *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia*, ed. T. Arnold (London: Rolls Series, 1892-5), ii, 330; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 57.

5. Harvey, "Fee-Farms," 127-30. This interpretation was fuelled by John Flete who in his fifteenth-century *History* of the abbey claimed that Gervase had alienated the abbey's estate by granting them to his friends and allies in perpetuity. See John Flete, *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909) (hereafter cited as *Flete*), 89, cited in Harvey, "Fee-Farms," 129.

6. Harvey, "Fee-Farms," 138; and Henry G. Richardson and George O. Sayles, *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta* (Edinburgh: Edinbrugh University Press, 1963), 413-21.

Aldgate in 1107x8, as well as the hospital of St Giles Holburn in 1101x9.[7] St Bartholomew's priory and hospital was founded in 1123 by Rahere, a courtier of Henry I, and on land the king granted; and the hospital of St Katherine by the Tower was founded by King Stephen's queen, Matilda of Boulogne, in 1148.[8] In turn, some of the key political moments of the period were played out within Westminster's environs. The abbey was the site of both Henry I's and Stephen's hasty coronations (as well Henry II's less rushed one), and from 1100 to 1110 it was the regular site for crown-wearings at Pentecost and Christmas.[9] Westminster was also the location of the decisive moments of the 'Anarchy': in the summer of 1141 the Empress Matilda arrived in capital expecting her coronation as queen, but was chased out of the city by the Londoners before she could receive it. It was at Westminster in 1153 that the formal peace agreement between Stephen and Duke Henry was proclaimed.[10] Westminster Abbey had a front row seat to some of the biggest national changes of this period.

Westminster is the most studied of the three abbeys in this thesis. This attention is no doubt a product on the abbey's importance within English royal ceremonial practices, as well as the quality of the surviving evidence from the abbey. In terms of the twelfth century specifically, many elements of Westminster's experience have been reconstructed through analyses of the abbey's records and charters. The most comprehensive study of this period is Emma Mason's *Westminster Abbey and its People, c.1050-1216.* In her analysis Mason used the abbey's charters to identify the people involved with the abbey and the various interactions between the community and members of the laity, ecclesiastical hierarchy, and Anglo-Norman monarchy.[11] Mason also applied a set of criteria through which

7.   See David Knowles and R. Neville Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales* (London: Longman, 1971); Gerald A. J. Hodgett, ed., *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate* (London Records Society Publications, 1971).

8.   See Norman Moore, ed., *The book of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church in London: The Church belonging to the priory of the same in West Smithfield* (Oxford: Early English Texts Society Publications, 1971). Other new houses founded within London in this period include St Mary's Clerkenwell (c.1144), the priory of St Leonard's at Stratford-at-Bow (1122) and both London Old Temple and London New Temple. See Knowles and Hadcock, *Medieval Religious Houses*; W. O. Hassall, ed., *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell* (Royal Historical Society: London, 1949); and David Park, "Medieval Burials and Monuments," in *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, ed. Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010), 67–92. For the development of London in this period in general, see Christopher N. L. Brooke, *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City* (London: Secker & Warburg, 1975) and Derek Keene, "London from the post-Roman period to 1300," in *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, ed. D. M. Palliser (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 187–216.

9.   Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 'Appendix C'. See too Figure 5 on page 124, below.

10.   See *John of Worcester*, 294-99; also discussed in Truax, "Winning over the Londoners"; King, *King Stephen*, particularly 145-174 for 1141; and 270-300 for 1154.

11.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*.

to examine the relationship between the abbey and monarchy across the period. These criteria included an assessment of the abbey's use as the royal burial church; the frequency of grants made to Westminster for the spiritual welfare of the royal family; the 'intensity of interest' toward the abbey displayed by monarchy; and the popularity of the cult of Edward the Confessor, including the extent to which a given dynasty professed to hold kinship with him.[12] Through the application of these criteria, Mason argued that across the period Westminster held no kind of special relationship with monarchy, and that the abbey was 'by no means first among equals.'[13] Mason's arguments resonate with Barbara Harvey's more expansive economic assessment of the abbey's estates in the middle ages. Harvey argued that the late eleventh and twelfth centuries was a 'bleak' time for the abbey, during which the community received little interest from the Anglo-Norman barony.[14] Harvey suggests that the lack of private (rather than royal) donations received by Westminster throughout the middle ages was the result of the heavy shade cast by Westminster's role as the coronation church and house of royal tombs: '[n]othing grows under a big tree'.[15]

These studies provide a solid foundation for investigations of Westminster, but analyses of the abbey's twelfth-century charters have been far from exhaustive. Due to the long chronology of Harvey's investigation (which extends up the the Reformation) Westminster's early history, and its relatively fewer sources, is largely background to the more detailed changes Harvey tracks in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In a similar fashion, William Chester Jordan's comparative study of Westminster and St-Denis, Paris remains focused on these institutions from the thirteenth century.[16] When sketching the history of Westminster before the thirteenth century, Jordan simply outlines a stable trajectory for the abbey following its refoundation by Edward the Confessor.[17] In contrast, Mason's investigation prioritises an almost encyclopaedic methodology, aiming to categorise every individual who interacted with the abbey in the twelfth century. This focus is to the detriment of an assessment of the abbey's activities: Mason's does not analyse any other writings asides from genuine charters.[18] Mason's criteria for assessing royal interest in the abbey also appears to be heavily indebted

---

12. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 270.
13. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 269-87, at 287.
14. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, 41.
15. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, 42.
16. William Chester Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009).
17. Jordan, *A Tale of Two Monasteries*, 39-40.
18. For example, Mason considers the abbey's forgeries as irrelevant because they 'do not reflect the status of the house as it was perceived by detached observers.' Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 268.

to how England's later kings would interact with the abbey in the thirteenth century and beyond. Henry III in particular was extremely devoted to the cult of Edward the Confessor, and he and a number of his regnal successors were buried in the abbey.[19] However, the Confessor was not officially canonised until 1161, and Henry III was the first king after Edward to be buried in the abbey. Before Henry III's death in 1272 kings were buried in a variety of mausolea, many of which were their own or their family's foundation.[20] In terms of the twelfth century, Mason's methodology is damningly teleological and based on assumptions regarding royal interaction with abbey that was formed in later centuries. Moreover, a set criteria for measuring how the monarchy interacted with Westminster is a rather blunt way of approaching a period in which royalty (and therefore maybe how it interacted with monastic institutions) was frequently contested. The analysis that follows in this chapter takes a far broader range of material and asks more flexible questions of the the abbey's relationships and interactions in this period, both with royalty and otherwise. As a result, the arguments that follow are distinct from Mason's.

In addition to Mason and Harvey's use of Westminster's charters, the abbey's other types of twelfth-century writing have been the focus of scholarly attention. Post-Conquest Westminster has long been recognised as a factory of forgery production. Many of these charters have survived in their original format, thereby supporting palaeographical analyses. In particular, in the 1960s T.A.M. Bishop and Pierre Chaplais' investigations of the hands writing the Westminster forged charter helped to date the production of over a dozen documents to the mid-twelfth century.[21] A few years later Chaplais identified Osbert of Clare, Westminster's occasional prior and author of the *Vita beati Eadwardi Confessoris*, as the draftsman of a number of forgeries in King Edward's name.[22] Subsequent investigations have expanded the corpus of twelfth-century forged charters created at and by Westminster,[23] and these documents have been discussed in multiple studies of medieval monastic forgeries.[24] Remarkably, given their importance, Westminster's twelfth-century forged charters have never been studied together

---

19. Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult"; see too Binski, *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets*.

20. See Church, "Aspects of the English Succession"; Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Monuments: The Burial Places of English Kings," *History Today* 31, no. 7 (1981): 44–9.

21. Bishop and Chaplais, *Facsimiles*.

22. Chaplais, "Original Charters." See too Scholz, "Two forged charters."

23. See the list in *Westminster Charters*, 'Appendix', and the forgeries identified by Bates in *RRAN* i.

24. For example Marjorie Chibnall, "Forgery in narrative charters," in *Internationaler Kongress Des Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fälschungen im Mittelalter. 6 vols.* Vol. IV (Hannover, 1988), 331–46; and Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past."

as a corpus. Therefore it is not yet fully understood how and when they were produced, nor what specific concerns they may have been addressing. This chapter fills that lacuna.

Westminster's twelfth-century hagiography has also been the subject of intense investigation. Shortly before 1139 Osbert of Clare wrote the first fully hagiographical *Life* of Edward the Confessor in preparation for the abbey's first canonisation attempt for the king.[25] Although this attempt failed, the abbey launched a second, successful attempt in the early 1160s, after which Abbot Lawrence commissioned his kinsman Aelred Abbot of Rievaulx to rewrite Osbert's work and to prepare a sermon for Edward's translation, which took place in 1163.[26] Osbert and Aelred's works have been studied individually and also compared to each other, principally to expose their particular constructions of Edward.[27] Frank Barlow also used evidence from these texts in combination with the eleventh-century *Life* of Edward to trace the development of the Confessor's posthumous cult.[28] However, within these studies Westminster Abbey itself has only been discussed in broad terms, and it has not been uncovered how these texts may have exalted the abbey specifically. Even though Osbert was the author of both hagiography and forgeries, separate findings from these writings have not been brought together. For instance, Chaplais only analysed Osbert's hagiography in order to identify the prior's draftsmanship within the abbey's forgeries; Chaplais did not also bring new insight into the *Vita*. Moreover, neither Westminster's forged charters (Osbert's or otherwise) nor hagiography have been fully contextualised within the shifting fortunes of the abbey during the twelfth century.

This chapter offers the first dedicated study of Westminster between 1100 and 1170, and the first concerted examination across its charters, *Vita*, and forged charters. This study will offer a fuller understanding of the relationship the abbey had with royalty in this period by identifying when and how kings and queens of England interacted with the community. A second aim is to bring

---

25. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*; and Bloch, "La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur."

26. Aelred of Rievaulx, "Vita Sancti Ædwardi Regis et Confessoris," in *Aelred Rievallensis, Opera Omnia: 7 Opera Historica et Hagiographica*, ed. Francesco Marzella, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, IIIA (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017); Jackson and Licence, "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris'." For the canonisation attempts, see Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor."

27. Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint"; Huntington, "Saintly power as a model of royal authority"; Yohe, "Ælred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward and Confessor"; Pezzini, "Aelred of Rievaulx's 'Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris'"; Bozoky, "The Sanctity and Canonisation of Edward the Confessor."

28. See in particular Barlow, "Appendix D"; and for the first *Vita Eadwadi*, Elizabeth M. Tyler, "The Vita Ædwardi: the politics of poetry at Wilton Abbey," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2008): 135–56.

greater clarity to the abbey's experience in this period. This is established by reconstructing the relationships the abbey gained, lost, or maintained, as well as how it responded to challenge and change. This chapter will also uncover how the abbey was writing and what needs or contexts these productions may have been responding to.

Westminster has a rich body of surviving materials from c.1100-1170. This includes approximately 150 charters related to the abbey and is estates; these documents survive as both originals and later cartulary copies. Among these charters are a large body of documents (around seventy) which have been identified as twelfth-century forgeries, some of which were drafted by Osbert of Clare. In addition to the two *Vitae* of Edward, Gilbert Crispin also wrote a *Vita* of Herluin in the early twelfth century, as well as several theological treatises.[29] A collection of Osbert's letters also survives. Very little of the abbey's twelfth-century library can be reconstructed, and there are no extant liturgical materials from this period.[30] There is also no evidence of any historical writings produced at the abbey. In order to allow for an adequate depth of analysis of different material, this chapter will consider a selection of sources. As Osbert's career is at the centre of the period under consideration and the author of two types of writing, the texts he composed for the abbey (rather than his letters) will be prioritised in this study.

This chapter therefore focuses on Westminster's charters, forged charters, and Osbert of Clare's *Vita Eadwardi*. The discussion falls into four parts. In section 1 charters are used to examine both the abbey's relationship within royalty, and its fortunes in this period through its patterns of patronage, both from the monarchy and other benefactors. Then the forms and purposes of the abbey's other writings are reconstructed first, in section 2, through an investigation of Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi*, and then in section 3 through Westminster's forged charters, including those composed by Osbert. The findings from these discrete investigations are then considered together in section 4 in order to expose what further findings might be uncovered by analysing Westminster's records and texts together.

---

29. See Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*; Christopher Harper-Bill, "Herluin, abbot of Bec, and his biographer," *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 15–25.
30. Sharpe, *English Benedictine libraries*, 608-9; Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*.

1 CHARTERS

This section will use the abbey's genuine charters from the period 1100 to 1170 to analyse the abbey's relationship with English royalty and the shifting patronage the abbey received across the period. Westminster's twelfth-century charters have been the subject of in-depth but not comprehensive investigation. The largest study has been conducted by Emma Mason, who used these records to identify the abbey's interactions and relationships between c.1050 and 1216.[1] Mason's is a thematic approach through which she reconstructed the careers of Westminster's abbots and the community's connections, such as with the royal court and the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Mason also sought to characterise the abbey's relationship with the monarchy in this period.[2] She concluded that the abbey had no success in forming the same kind of special connection with the monarchy as it held with Edward the Confessor and would hold with Henry III. Instead, for Mason the abbey's relationship with the monarchy in this period was 'fluctuating', with the moments of interaction indicated by charters which suggested a particular connection to the community, usually as indicated by a grant or confirmation being made for the souls of members of the royal family.[3]

These moments were few. Mason identified one in the first decade of Henry I's reign when he made grants to the abbey for the souls of Williams I and II, his own, and his wife and children. This was also a period in which Henry was regularly wearing his crown at the abbey at the Pentecost and Christmas festivities.[4] A second moment in Henry I's reign was in early 1121 when, in the weeks following the death of his son William in the White Ship disaster of November 1120, Henry issued three charters to Westminster which were all made for the souls of named members of his family, and two of which were also done for the soul of Edward the Confessor, who Henry described as his kinsman.[5] Mason argued that Stephen was even less interested in the abbey than his predecessor, and that only a couple of his charters explicitly linked his actions toward the abbey to his family's spiritual welfare. Moreover, Stephen's charters were issued at a lower ratio to regnal years than any reign since the abbey's refoundation. Given that Stephen's illegitimate son was abbot of Westminster for much of the reign the abbey might have expected more, but Mason argues that the civil unrest

---

1. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*.
2. 'Appendices 1 and 2' in Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 269-305.
3. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 269-287, at 278.
4. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 279-80.
5. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 280.

of the period was a limiting factor.[6] However, according to Mason, Westminster's fortunes did not shift after the resolution of the 'Anarchy'. Although Henry II deposed Gervase in c.1158 (perhaps because he was not keen on having a member of the house of Blois as abbot of the coronation church) and also supported the canonisation of Edward the Confessor in 1161, Mason argued that his charters do not indicate any kind of special relationship with the abbey.[7]

Mason's investigation of Westminster's charters has helped to identify and delineate the abbey's interactions in the twelfth century, however she did not fully contextualise these experiences. In particular, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, her criteria for assessing Westminster's relationship with royalty are ahistorical - they are based on how later kings and queens of England interacted with the abbey. In terms of charter analysis specifically, Mason focus only on grants which were made for the spiritual welfare of the royal family means that these moments have not been fully considered within general patterns of royal patronage to the abbey, nor the contours of a given reign. In turn, Mason did not fully consider Westminster's experience within the context of London's changing religious environment, arguing that as Westminster was outside of the city it had no immediate rivals.[8] However, a comparison between the fortunes of prominent London houses can suggest not only how Westminster may have been losing out to these new foundations, but also what political role (or not) the abbey held.

This analysis of Westminster's charters will therefore offer a new appraisal of the abbey's fortunes between 1100 and 1170. The abbey's role relationship with royalty be investigated through a consideration of how frequently royalty patronised to the community, as well as an examination of the circumstances which prompted these interactions with Westminster. This section will further investigate Westminster's fortunes in this period by assessing the relationships it gained, maintained, or lost, as well as the threats it may have faced from changes in levels of patronage. The abbey's actions will also be characterised in order to reconstruct both the community's ambitions and what it could offer to its donors.

Westminster's twlefth-century charters are a well balanced corpus. There are 142 genuine documents surviving from the period 1100 to 1170. These consist of a mixture of royal, papal, abbatial, ecclesiastical, and lay charters. Thirty-seven of the charters from this period survive as originals, eight of which are not preserved

---

6.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 282-83; 44.
7.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 283-84.
8.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 309.

in any other form. These originals include important royal grants and privileges, as well as a large number of abbatial and lay documents.[9] The remaining charters survive as later cartulary copies. A particularly useful volume is London, Westminster Abbey Muniments, Muniment Book 11, *'Domesday'* (henceforth, WAD), which was compiled early in the reign of Edward II. Of the 142 charters which relate to the period c.1100-1170, 109 appear in WAD, 71 of which survive in no other manuscript. WAD also tends to include the full attestations.[10] There are some problems with approaching Westminster's charters. For instance, later cartulary copies can omit details from the originals or have errors in transcription.[11] However, the navigation of any difficulties and general access to Westminster's documents is greatly helped by Emma Mason's edition of the abbey's charters, in which all the abbatial and lay charters are printed, and royal, papal, and episcopal charters calendared.[12] Following Pierre Chaplais analysis of forged and genuine original charters from the abbacies of Herbert and Gervase,[13] Mason also collated, identified, and edited scores of forgeries within the abbey's muniments and cartularies. Mason's edition is a valuable resource for the present investigation, and any of the volume's limits (such as some charters only in calendar form) can be easily circumvented through access to cartularies or other published volumes.

This section will divide into two parts. First Westminster's role as a royal abbey will be investigated through the charters they received from the monarchy in the reigns of Henry I, Stephen, and the first fifteen years of Henry II's reign. In comparison to Mason's analyses, this investigation will assess the full corpus of royal charters, rather than just the ones that might suggest a 'special' relationship with the abbey. The second part of this section examines Westminster's lay and abbatial charters between 1100 and 1170 to identify the other interactions the abbey had in this period.

1.1   Henry I and Edith-Matilda

Henry I's charters to Westminster expose periods of intense interaction between king and community which punctuated an otherwise general absence of relation-

---

9.   *Westminster Charters*, p. 4.
10.   *Westminster Charters*, p. 5.
11.   See for example a confirmation charter of Gervase which survives as both an original charter and a later cartulary (TNA, E 40/15564 and WAD, f. 476), however the cartulary copy has a different witness lists. *Westminster Charters*, no. 260.
12.   *Westminster Charters*.
13.   Chaplais, "Original Charters."

ship. Henry granted thirty-two genuine charters to Westminster,[14] but only five of these represent grants.[15] The rest are confirmations of the abbey's lands or rights, often given in terms of the conditions that they had held in the time of Henry I's predecessors. For example, in 1100x14, Henry confirmed to the abbey all their customary rights to specified lands in Essex 'sicut pater meus concessit et dedit'.[16] These confirmations are also not necessarily representative of favour bestowed by Henry onto the abbey but instead could be the result of expensive lobbying from the community. The Pipe Roll from 1130 records the abbot as being heavily in debt to the crown (one thousand marks of silver) due to the restitution of goods to his church.[17] In turn, Henry I's grants to the community were meagre, and consisted of only small gifts of alms or quittance on tolls. The single significant grant which Henry made to the community was of the church of Sawbridgeworth (Herts.) in 1120x1127. However, this gift was actually most likely the restitution of land which the abbey had previous lost.[18]

The chronological distribution of Henry's interactions with Westminster does, however, suggest the important role the abbey could play within royalty.[19] Henry issued fourteen charters to Westminster between 1100 and 1116, six of which were definitely issued before 1110.[20] Henry was also frequently wearing his crown at the abbey in this decade: he held crown-wearings are Westminster at Christmas in 1100, 1101, 1102, 1103, 1105, 1107, 1108, and Pentecost 1102, 1104, 1107, 1108, 1109, and one final time in 1121.[21] The early years of Henry's reign were marked by external threats and domestic rebellions. His swift succession to the English throne and claim to Normandy brought him into direct conflict with his older brother, Robert Curthose. This was only settled after Henry's victory at the Battle of Tinchebray in September 1106.[22] It was within this context that Henry both celebrated crown-wearings at Westminster and granted charters to its community. A correlation between a period of regnal insecurity and interacting with Westminster is suggested not only by Henry's activities in the first decade of

---

14. In *Westminster Abbey* (p. 279) Mason states that there are forty charters which purport to date from Henry's reign, but six of these are forgeries. In *Westminster Charters* the total number of forgeries is eight. I agree with this the classification of these eight forgeries.

15. The grants are *Westminster Charters*, nos. 58, 69 71, 79, and 86.

16. Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 143, no. 22; *Westminster Charters*, no. 67.

17. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 33-34.

18. *Westminster Charters*, no. 86. Sawbridgeworth is discussed further below.

19. Charters from this period tend to be undated, so there is a certain level of insecurity in their dating. Nevertheless, limits can be suggested by the lifetimes of any witnesses. In the following analysis charters are included within a possible period if they could have been produced in those years.

20. See *Westminster Charters*, nos. 57-72

21. 'Appendix C' in Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," and Table 5 on page 124 below.

22. For a longer discussion of these early years of Henry's reign, see Green, *Henry I*, 60-95 in particular.

his reign, but also the shift away from Westminster seen in the decade following 1110. Between 1110 and 1120 Henry issued perhaps just one confirmation charter to the community and he stopped wearing his crown in the abbey.[23]

The connection between Henry interacting with Westminster and regnal insecurity can be seen again in the early 1120s in the context of a fresh succession crisis. On 25 November 1120, Henry's son William Adelin died in the sinking of the White Ship. The death of Henry's only legitimate male heir threw not only his succession into doubt, but also the immediate stability of the reign.[24] Between 25 November 1120 and 1123 Henry issued fifteen charters to Westminster, eight of which may have been granted before the end of January 1121.[25] Many of these charters represent restorations of properties which the abbey had lost during the vacancy following Abbot Gilbert's death in 1117/18, but they also included grants to maintain a light burning at Edith-Matilda's tomb, and perhaps also the church of Sawbridgeworth church (Herts.).[26] Henry also held a Pentecostal crown-wearing at Westminster in 1121. Mason observed that several of these grants were made for named members of the royal family, including Edith-Matilda, William Adelin, and Edward the Confessor, and consequently argued that Henry was appealing to his 'kinsman' Edward in hope of intercession for a resolution to the succession crisis.[27] However, having just lost his only legitimate son it seems highly unlikely that Henry would have turned to this famously heirless predecessor as a source of assistance or reassurance. Instead, this moment appears to be about the abbey itself, when, as he also did in the first decade of his reign, Henry seems to have turned to Westminster at a moment of insecurity within his dynasty and rulership. This is further underlined by the specific dating of the grants. The grant for the light burning at Edith-Matilda's tomb was issued on the 7 January 1121, the day after Henry had announced his intention to marry Adeliza of Lorraine; they were married at Windsor on 29 January. The day after the wedding, Adeliza was consecrated and crowned queen by Archbishop Ralph of Canterbury.[28] On the very same day Henry issued perhaps as many as six charters to Westminster, including those made for the souls of recently deceased

---

23. *Westminster Charters*, no. 72.
24. Leyser, "The Anglo-Norman Succession, 1120-25," 225.
25. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 73, 75-82, 84, 86-90.
26. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 79; 86-87. Sawbridgeworth had come into royal hands following the death of Otwel fitz Count in the White Ship disaster, and although Mason could only date the charter to the period 1120x27, we should perhaps also place this charter within the cluster Henry granted in the direct aftermath of the White Ship. The property is also discussed in C. Warren Hollister, "The Misfortune of the Mandevilles," *History* 58, no. 192 (Feb. 1973): 18–28, at 21; and further below.
27. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 280.
28. *John of Worcester*, 148-151.

members of his family. The concessions which Henry made to Westminster in the aftermath of his wife's death and the White Ship disaster may be a reflection of his personal bereavement, but they also reflect the importance of Westminster in this moment. In 1121 the abbey appears to have been central at the start of a new phase to Henry I's kingship.

This flurry of attention did not convert to a new relationship between king and abbey. Following those granted in 1120x1123, Henry only issued a further four charters to Westminster, all of which are simply writs regarding the abbey's claims to lands.[29] Westminster's fortunes in the last decade of Henry's reign appear particularly stark when compared to the Cluniac abbey at Reading. Henry founded Reading abbey in 1121, and between 1123 and 1133 issued fifteen charters to the abbey, five of which were were sizeable grants, such as of the churches of Cholsey and Handborough (Oxon.), in addition to various customs and rights.[30] Henry chose Reading as his mausoleum and was buried there even after he died in Normandy in 1135. It seems that after 1121 Henry both as a king and a man had little interest in Westminster.

Amidst Henry's relative neglect of Westminster, Edith-Matilda's burial in the abbey in 1118 stands out. Although Edith-Matilda's popularity within London and her generous patronage of its religious houses has been the subject of previous investigation,[31] scholars have only been able to offer hypthotheses for how and why the queen was buried in Westminster. These assumptions are a result of the perceived lack of evidence for a particularly strong relationship between queen and abbey. Edith-Matilda made minimal gifts to Westminster: in her sole surviving charter to the abbey (dating from 1113x1118) she granted a tenement on the abbot's wharf; her only other grants are recorded in John Flete's fifteenth-century history of the abbey, which notes that she gave relics of Mary Magdalene and St John the Evangelist to the community.[32] Consequently, Edith-Matilda's modern biographer, Lois Huneycutt, could only describe the queen as a 'sporadic' patron of Westminster, and therefore suggested that as she'd always 'identified with her Anglo-Saxon heritage' she may have wanted to be buried in the abbey which held

---

29. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 91, 94-96.

30. Brian Kemp, ed., *Reading Abbey cartularies: British Library manuscripts Egerton 3031, Harley 1708 and Cotton Vespasian E xxv* (London: Royal Historical Society, 1986-7), no. 3 and 7

31. See Brooke, *The Shaping of a City*; and Lois L. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003).

32. *Westminster Charters*, no. 97; *Flete*, 70, 72; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 110-11. See too Denis Bethell, "The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection," in *Popular Belief and Practice*, ed. J. Cuming and Derek Baker, Studies in Church History, 8 (Cambridge, 1972), 69-70.

the remains of her kinsman, Edward the Confessor.[33] There is also a pervasive opinion that Westminster may not have been Edith-Matilda's first choice. It is recorded in the fifteenth-century chronicle of Holy Trinity Priory Aldgate (an Augustinian priory founded by Edith-Matilda in 1108) that although the quee,n had wanted to be buried at her own foundation, the monks of Westminster had persuaded the king to order her interment in their abbey.[34] While this later source should not be taken at face value, its claim seems to resonate with the queen's minimal patronage to Westminster. Consequently, it has been argued that the queen's burial in Westminster may have been 'fortuitous' and probably aided by the queen having died in the adjacent Westminster palace.[35]

These assumptions, however, are not based on a through investigation of the abbey's twelfth-century charters, within which there is evidence for a significant relationship between Westminster and this queen. A connection between the abbey and Edith-Matilda can be traced in the queen's foundation (at sometime before her death) of the hospital of St Giles Holborne,[36] which appears to have been founded on land which had belonged to Westminster. Evidence for this can only been reconstructed from earlier and later documents: a charter issued by King Edgar in 972x975 listed the area which came to be St Giles's parish among the lands under the jurisdiction of the abbot of Westminster,[37] and by 1222 this area was excluded from a description of the abbot's lands. As there is no record of the abbey ever laying claim to the land, Marjorie Honeybourne argued that Queen Edith-Matilda, when granting her hospital the soke and manor of St Giles, 'caused the southern part to be taken out of the jurisdiction of the abbot of Westminster.'[38] Her suggestion can be supported by a grant from Stephen to Westminster in 1150x1152 in which he gave to the abbey quittance of geld and customary exactions on six and a half hides in Westminster manor 'on account of the king's court and house standing on that land, and the infirmary of St Giles

33. Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 120; 145. This is also mentioned in Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 270.

34. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, no. 13. See 'Appendix', p. 230 for the full description.

35. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 270.

36. For St Giles, see Sethina Watson, "The Origins of the English Hospital," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006): 75–94, 89.

37. Marjorie B. Honeybourne, "The Leper Hospitals of the London Area," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 21, no. 1 (1963): 4–61, 20 and notes. The charter is printed in Robinson, *Gilbert Crispin*, 170.

38. Honeybourne, "The Leper Hospitals of the London Area," 20. See too G. Saunders, "The Extent of Westminster at Various Periods," *Archaeologia* 26 (1836): 223–41. The earliest royal charter relating to St Giles dates from Henry II's reign, and only survives within a fifteenth-century cartulary (BL, Harley MS, 4015.). This charter is printed in William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum* (London: Sam Keble, 1693), vol. vi, 635-66.

that was also built there'.[39] If St Giles' was built on abbey land then it represents a substantial agreement reached between queen and abbey.

Beyond charters there is evidence to suggest that Edith-Matilda may have been frequently in contact with the community. William of Malmesbury noted that following the birth of her two children, the queen retired from the royal court to live in Westminster vill.[40] When her chaplain Bernard was appointed bishop of St David's in September 1115, Edith-Matilda insisted he was consecrated in Westminster Abbey (rather than Lambeth Palace as Archbishop Ralph had planned), because she particularly wished to attend the ceremony.[41] This demand suggests that Edith-Matilda had a particular relationship with Westminster, and perhaps the abbey had even served as the site for her personal devotion.

In this context, the circumstances surrounding Edith-Matilda's burial in the abbey must be re-examined. The tangible personal relationship between the queen and abbey during her lifetime suggests that her burial there was not fortuitous at all. When contemporary chroniclers recorded her funeral there is no suggestion that it was exceptional or scandalous. For Eadmer of Canterbury the choice of Westminster was 'fitting' ('decenter') and William of Malmesbury states that 'her body was honourably buried at Westminster'.[42] Equally, in the Warenne (Hyde) chronicle, which provides the fullest account of Edith-Matilda's funeral, it is recorded that the ceremony was conducted by Roger Bishop of Salisbury and that

> almost all of England's bishops, magnates, abbots, priors and indeed the innumerable common masses assembled with great sadness for her crowded funeral, and with many tears they attended her burial.[43]

---

39. 'quietantiam vi hidarum et dimidie hide in manerio Westm(onasterii) de omnibus geldis et consuetudinibus mihi et ministris meis pertinentibus, quoniam curia et domus regie in fundo illo consistunt et infirmaria Sancti Egidii in eodem fundata est'. *RRAN* iii, 938; *Westminster Charters*, no. 118.

40. *Gest. Regum*, 754-57.

41. Eadmer of Canterbury, *Historum novorum in Anglia*, ed. Martin Rule (London: Rolls Series, 1866), 235-36; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 155.

42. Eadmer, *Historum novorum in Anglia*, 248; *Gest. Regum*, 758-9.

43. Elisabeth van Houts and Rosalind Love, eds. and trans., *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013), 64-5. The Warenne chronicle is also unique in the information it provides about the commemoration arrangements for Edith-Matilda, see 64-67; lxi. It has recently been suggested that the author of the Warenne Chronicle was Master Eustace of Boulogne, who served William of Blois while he was earl of Warenne, *c.*1148-9, with the Chronicle composed during the same period. He was well equipped to gather the details of the queen's memorial arrangements with connections to the queen's court, as well as the canons of St Martin-le-Grand and Holy Trinity Aldgate (who served as royal chaplains). For the specific description of Edith-Matilda's funeral the author most likely relied on written sources preserved

Such an occasion was neither hasty nor covert, however much the canons of Holy Trinity may have have argued. This was a magnificent and well attended ceremony, an occasion which was 'fitting' given the deep relationship between the queen and the abbey in her lifetime.

Further evidence of this connection can be traced in the years following Edith-Matilda's death. In 1127x1134, Abbot Herbert founded a small cell of nuns at Kilburn priory, granting three women (Emma, Gunhild and Christine) a hermitage on abbey lands and placing the community under the wardenship of the hermit Godwin.[44] Sally Thompson has shown that such a foundation was not unique among Benedictine communities in this period, however in comparison to other houses Westminster appears to have granted Kilburn a degree of autonomy.[45] While Herbert had provided the priory's site, lands, and rents, later abbots simply confirmed his grants and did not maintain any further links with the women of the community or their warden.[46] In the fifteenth-century Flete recorded that Emma, Gunhild and Christine were 'handmaidens of good Queen Matilda, wife of Henry I.'[47] No specific mention of Edith-Matilda is made in either the foundation grant for Kilburn or subsequent charters relating to the priory, yet the queen was famously pious and Thompson suggests that she may have inspired her servants through her conduct.[48] Kilburn priory can perhaps therefore be regarded, just like St Giles hospital, as an example of collaboration between Edith-Matilda and Westminster in the foundation of pious institutions.

The significance of this relationship can also be observed in the ways Westminster protected and promoted its connection with the queen after her death. In 1118x24 Edith-Matilda's brother David, then earl of Huntingdon, granted to the abbey £1. 10s worth of land for lights, love-feasts, and pittances on the anniversaries of his sister and their parents.[49] In the decades which followed the abbey went to

at Westminster Abbey. See 'Introduction' in Houts and Love, *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle*, xxv-ii, lxii-iii.

44. *Westminster Charters*, no. 117.

45. Thompson, *Women Religious*, 57-63, where she observes that Kilburn's independence is in sharp contrast to the convents of Markyate and Stamford, which were founded in a similar period.

46. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 264-5, 280. Thompson, *Women Religious*, 63.

47. 'camerae Matildis bonae reginae, consortis regis Henrici primi.' *Flete*, 88; Thompson, *Women Religious*, 25-26.

48. Thompson, *Women Religious*, 26. In addition to these women, Edith-Matilda's former chaplain Ernisius also retired to live out the rest of his life as a hermit in Monmouthshire. See J.C. Dickinson, *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England* (London, S.P.C.K, 1950), 111.

49. G.W.S. Barrow, ed., *The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-1165, together with Scottish Royal Acts prior to 1153, not included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters'* (Edinburgh: The University Press, 1960), no. 6; *Westminster Charters*, no. 99.

great lengths to obtain successive confirmations of this grant: in 1139 an abbey delegation sent to Rome obtained a request from Pope Innocent II to David (now King of Scotland) for a reaffirmation of this grant, which he duly gave in 1141.[50] The grant was renewed by David's son, Malcolm IV in 1159, and again by William I 'the Lion' in 1170. In both cases the scribe for the grant was English, if not from Westminster itself.[51] David's donation appears to have provided a link that Westminster was keen to maintain throughout the twelfth century.

There is also evidence that in the years immediately following her death the abbey may have tried to promote a cult of Edith-Matilda. Mason argued that the queen was 'popularly regarded as a saint', an enthusiasm which was probably born from the good works the queen supported in London, as well as the holiness of her mother, St Margaret of Scotland.[52] Evidence from a series of legatine charters suggests that the abbey was sponsoring the queen's cult.[53] During his visit to England in the summer of 1121, the papal legate Peter Pierloni granted two charters to Westminster. The first gave forty days of indulgences to those who worshipped in the abbey on the feasts of St Peter and St Paul;[54] the second, which is an abridged version of the first, adds the detail that the indulgences were granted on account of Edith-Matilda's and Edward the Confessor's burials in the abbey.[55] The authenticity of these documents is questionable, but the latter was shown to the papal legate John of Crema in 1125 who clearly accepted it as he produced a similar charter in his name.[56] Even after her death, Westminster appears to have been finding ways to bind their community to the queen.

This reappraisal of Edith-Matilda's relationship with Westminster has not only provided new insight into why this queen was buried in the abbey, but also has important implications for how Henry I's interaction with the community is assessed. The queen's burial in the abbey did not affect Henry's relationship with the abbey: beyond the flurry in 1121x23 he did not start patronising the community, and significantly he chose Windsor as the location for his second wedding, rather than the church which houses the tombs of both his late wife and Edward the Confessor. Indeed, given how little Westminster received in the years following the crisis of 1121x23, it seems that the queen's death, and perhaps

---

50. *Westminster Charters*, no. 160; Barrow, *The Acts of Malcolm IV*, no. 13; *Westminster Charters*, no. 100.

51. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 103, 104. See too Barrow, *The Acts of Malcolm IV*, 104-5.

52. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 281. See Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 146-47.

53. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 280-81.

54. *Westminster Charters*, no. 188.

55. *Westminster Charters*, no. 187.

56. *Westminster Charters*, no. 198; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 281.

also that of her son, may have loosened the connection between monarchy and this house. In January 1121 it would have seemed as if the royal Anglo-Saxon line had once again died out, leaving Henry expecting a new heir through his union with Adeliza.[57] Through the deaths of William Adelin and Edith-Matilda, Westminster lost not only a significant patron, but also expected to permanently lose a dynastic link to the ruling monarchy. In the years which followed, when Henry's favour was directed elsewhere, Westminster nevertheless turned to the memory of Edith-Matilda by pursuing her cult and stressing their connection to her through successive generations of her Scottish relatives. In doing so the community sought to promote its ties with royalty at the very moment they were weakening.

The abbey's efforts failed, and the 1120s and 1130s was as a barren period for Westminster, with the community effectively orphaned following the death of Edith-Matilda. This analysis of Westminster's charters within the context and contours of Henry I's reign has shown that between 1100 and 1135 the abbey's relationship with monarchy was intermittent and fragile. Despite Edith-Matilda's connection to the abbey, Henry granted very little in the way of patronage to the community. However, Henry does appear to have turned to the abbey at moments of particular crisis within his kingship. This is visible both in the first decade of his reign and in the aftermath of November 1120. In these moments Henry both patronised the community and also visually display his royalty through crown-wearing ceremonies. The intensity of these periods of interaction is further underlined by how the community was abandoned in-between these moments. In contrast to Mason's observations, this analysis has shown that the contexts behind these waves of interaction suggest that although Henry as a man had minimal personal connection to the abbey, Henry as king recognised the importance of display and interaction with the coronation church when his rule was most vulnerable.

---

57. In his *Gesta Regum*, William of Malmesbury in particular lamented how the deaths of William and Edith-Matilda signalled the end of the Anglo-Saxon line. For William of Malesbury William Adelin had represented 'the hope of England' and the fulfilment of Edward the Confessor's reported deathbed prophecy. In the first *Life* of Edward the Confessor, composed between 1065-67, the anonymous author described how Edward foretold the coming destruction of England. Such evils would only end '[a]t that time...when a green tree, if cut down in the middle of its trunk, and the part cut off and carried the space of three furlongs from the stock, shall be joined again to its trunk, by itself and without the hand of man or any sort of stake, and begin once more to push leaves and bear fruit from the old love of its uniting sap, then first can a remission of these great ills be hoped for.' Anon., *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, 118-9. For William of Malmesbury, the young prince was the person in which the green tree would again 'blossom and bear fruit', bringing to an end to 'the evil time.' But with the sinking of the White Ship the hope of peace was lost, and 'the bright fruit of so much labour...was thrown into confusion by the mutability of human things.' *Gest. Regum*, 758-59.

1.2 Stephen and Henry II

Like Henry I, Stephen's interactions with Westminster were extremely limited, and there is little evidence within his charters of any kind of enduring relationship with the community. In his nineteen year long reign Stephen issued just eleven charters to Westminster, only one of which (a grant of forty acres of assarts in Kelvedon, Essex) represented a significant grant to the community.[58] Mason argued that this low level of benefaction was the result of the civil unrest of the reign, however, in his investigation of Stephen's government, Keith Stringer observed that written administration barely deteriorated during the years of conflict: while Henry I issued nearly 1,500 charters in his reign, Stephen issued around 730, 'executed to the same high standard, during his much shorter nineteen-year reign.'[59] Although the volume of land which Stephen controlled had decreased in the years following 1141, in terms of royal administration he remained most active in the south-east: 74 percent of Stephen's charters from the period 1142-53 were issued in, or within 60 miles of London.[60] Given this, the civil war alone cannot be blamed for Westminster's lack of royal benefaction during Stephen's reign.

In a similar fashion to Henry I's reign, the chronological distribution of Stephen's grants suggests that this king interacted with Westminster at times of regnal insecurity. Although outright civil war did not start until 1139, Stephen accession in 1135 was not a simple affair: his swift coronation was the result of careful machinations by Stephen and his brother, Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester.[61] Between 1135 and 1139, Stephen granted eight charters to Westminster.[62] Two of these (the confirmation of quitclaims the abbey had on certain lands and the grant of land in Kelvedon) were made for the souls of the king, the queen, their children, and of Henry I. Moreover, the witness list for the Kelvedon grant event suggests that it was made on the day of Stephen's coronation.[63] As Gervase was not appointed until 17 December 1138, this flurry of charters was unrelated to abbot's relationship with the king. Instead, and like his predecessor, Stephen appears to have combined display at Westminster with patronage to the community, and likewise in a period in which his kingship was insecure.

---

58.   *Westminster Charters*, no. 114.
59.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 44; Keith J. Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, warfare and government in twlefth-century England* (Routledge: London & New York, 1993), 56-57.
60.   Stringer, *The Reign of Stephen*, 57.
61.   See King, *King Stephen*, 43-48.
62.   *Westminster Charters*, nos. 105, 107, 108, 109, 112, 113, 114, 115.
63.   *Westminster Charters*, no. 114.

Westminster's possible role in supporting Stephen's rule appears to have been limited to the beginning of his reign. Although after 1139 Stephen faced near continuous challenge to his rule, only two royal charters to Westminster can be securely dated to this period.[64] In contrast, at this time Stephen and his wife were giving generously to other religious foundations. Stephen issued forty-one charters to the college of Martin-le-Grand in London, twenty-one to Reading abbey, while Matilda founded the hospital of St Katherine's by the Tower in 1147.[65] The royal couple particularly favoured the priory of Holy Trinity Aldgate: Matilda granted the priory both lands from her own inheritance and in 1147x52 she gave the priory the hospital of St Katherine.[66] Jean Truax has shown the importance of the networks of personal relationships Stephen forged with the Londoners in his fight to secure the English throne, the fruition of which was seen vividly in the summer of 1141 when the city rallied behind his cause even when he was imprisoned. Truax argued that these links were carefully maintained by the royal couple through religious houses, such as Holy Trinity, which were particularly favoured by the citizens of London.[67] Westminster, even though it was the coronation church and was next door to the royal palace, appears to have had no role in such politicking. In turn, the abbey had no role in Stephen and Matilda's personal or familial pieties. The prior of Holy Trinity was Matilda's confessor, and two of the couple's children, Baldwin and Matilda, were buried there.[68] In 1148 the couple founded the Cluniac abbey at Faversham with the intention for it to serve as a familial mausoleum equivalent to Henry's at Reading.[69] Again, in a similar way to Henry I, there is no evidence within Stephen's charters to suggest that he had a particular personal connection to Westminster, despite Gervase's position as abbot. At the beginning of his reign, when his rule was insecure, Stephen seems to have briefly turned to the abbey in a burst of interaction comparable to that

---

64. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 117-18. One further charters (no. 116) cannot be dated more precisely than 1138x1143 or 1149x1154.

65. See *RRAN* iii and Kemp, *Reading Abbey cartularies*. On Martin-le-Grand see R.H.C. Davis, "The College of St Martin-le-Grand and the Anarchy, 1135-54," *London Topographical Record* XXIII (1974): 9–26; Pamela Taylor, "Ingelric, Count Eustace and the Foundation of St Martin-le-Grand," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 24 (2001): 215–237.

66. Truax, "Winning over the Londoners"; Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, 973; 976; For Matilda's benefaction, see John Carmi Parsons, "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500," in *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference held at Kings College London, April 1995*, ed. Anne J. Duggan (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 317–337, and Patricia A. Dark, "The career of Matilda of Boulogne as Countess and Queen in England, 1135-1152" (PhD diss., Oxford, 2005).

67. Truax, "Winning over the Londoners," 55-56; 57

68. Parsons, "Burials and Posthumous Commemorations," 330; Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, 973.

69. Elizabeth M. Hallam, "Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1066-1330," *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359–80; Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 318 in particular.

of the start of Henry I's reign. However, Stephen and his queen's relationships with houses in London suggest the limits of Westminster's practical role within the politics and pieties of this reign.

There is also no evidence from Henry II's reign to suggest that he had a significant relationship with the abbey. None of Henry II's charters betray a special connection to Westminster,[70] and between 1154 and c.1170 he issued only eight genuine grants to the abbey, and just a further two in the rest of his reign.[71] Unlike Henry I and Stephen, there is no chronological distribution to Henry II's charters which could suggest that this king turned to the abbey to support his rule. Although half of Henry's charters to the abbey were issued 1154x57, these were either confirmation charters or orders for the repayment of debts to the abbey,[72] and therefore reflect the period of general restoration which characterised the years following the civil war. A similar concentration of confirmations were issued to other religious houses at the beginning of Henry II's reign.[73] A reason for the difference from the reigns of Stephen and Henry I could be related to the fact that in comparison to his predecessors Henry II's accession to the throne was uncontested. This security is particularly reflected in Henry's rather slow return to England following Stephen's death. Stephen Church has argued that in the twelfth century the length in time between the death of a king and his successors coronation was a reflection of how fraught the interregnum period was. Henry II was crowned fifty-five days after Stephen's death, whereas Henry I had waited just three days, and Stephen twenty-one.[74] Although Henry II received his coronation in Westminster Abbey, with the immediate security of his realm secure, unlike his predecessors he may have found no additional use for the abbey within his royal rule.

Even though Henry did not personally patronise Westminster, there is some evidence from the early years of his reign to suggest that he did recognise the dynastic importance of the abbey. Henry lent his support to Westminster's second and successful campaign for the canonisation of Edward the Confessor in 1161, and was present for the translation of the new saint at the abbey in 1163.[75] Henry seems to have been particularly motivated by the potential of this saint to enhance his own kingship: Henry was related to Edward the Confessor through

---

70. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 28.
71. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 122, 124-25, 127-28, 130-33.
72. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 122, 124-5, 127 and 128.
73. Dalton, "Ecclesiastical Responses to War," at 147 in particular.
74. Church, "Aspects of the English Succession," 33.
75. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 303-4. See too Barlow, "Appendix D"; Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor."

his maternal grandmother Edith-Matilda (who was the Confessor's great niece) and consequently Henry's accession to the throne represented the return of the Anglo-Saxon bloodline. This reunification was recognised by Aelred of Reivaulx in his *Vita Eadwardi* (written in the early 1160s), and also by Henry himself who when writing to Pope Alexander III in 1160 in support of Edward's canonisation emphasised his kinship to the Confessor.[76] However, in contrast to the majority of the other letters sent from England in support of the canonisation, Henry's did not mention Westminster or its abbot. Henry appears to have been interested in his relationship with Edward, but not the abbey itself.

Henry may also have been involved in a translation of Edith-Matilda's remains. The chronicle of Holy Trinity records that many years after Edith-Matilda's burial in the abbey

> she was raised [up] by the decision of King Henry II and St Thomas then archbishop of Canterbury, and the other royal nobles, [and] she is honourably buried on the side of the Eastern High Alar, to the right side of Queen Edith and [her] consort the saintly virgin King and Confessor Edward[77]

There is no mention of this translation in any other source, and as discussed above the testimony of this later chronicle must not be taken at face value. However the 'translation' described here seems similar to the reburial of Edward the Confessor in 1163, which was also attended by Henry, Archbishop Thomas Becket, and the leading nobles of the realm.[78] Indeed, given that Henry sponsored Edward's canonisation and was present for the saint's translation, he may also have thought it fitting to raise his grandmother to a more honourable resting place. The act— and great ceremony— further emphasise his kinship with Edith-Matilda who was the root of his connection to the saintly Confessor. This connection to Edith-Matilda also linked Henry II to the time of his grandfather which was in turn essential for his claim to the throne.[79] Although Henry appears to have been interested in the members of his dynasty interred at the abbey, a connection

---

76. Aelred, *Life of St Edward*, 91; 'King Henry II to Pope Alexander III' in Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970), 310; also discussed in Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," 53; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 303-4.

77. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, 'quo loco annis plurimis requiescens, Regis Henrici secundi et Sancti Thome Archiepiscopi tunc Cantuariensis necnon ceterorum regni nobilium consilio, assumpta in parte orientali summi altaris a latere dextro Edithe regine et virginis sanctissimi Regis et Confessoris Edwardi consortis honorifice recondita est'.

78. The fullest account of the translation is from the second half of the thirteenth century, and was incorporated into Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum historiale*, Jackson and Licence, "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris'," 45-46.

79. For Henry II routing his claim through Henry I, see George Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 299-325.

which he celebrated through perhaps two translation ceremonies, this did not effect his relationship with the community.

<div align="center">*</div>

This analysis of Westminster's royal charters has brought fresh insights into the abbey relationship with royalty in the twelfth century. In particular, although it has been shown that neither Henry I, Stephen, nor Henry II had a particular personal connection to the abbey, there were moments in which Westminster lurched into view and appears to have been highly important to securing English kingship when it was particularly vulnerable. This can be seen in specific moments with Henry I's and Stephen's reign, and also, conversely, further suggested by the ways in which Henry II *did not* use the abbey. Thus, while Mason observed only sporadic moments interaction, by fully positioning Westminster's royal patronage within the shifting circumstances of these reigns, this discussion has revealed a certain consistency in the abbey's interactions with royalty. Westminster, particularly in the first forty years of the century, appears to have been a distinctly royal place, but in a specific—and highly political—way at times of succession and succession crises. In addition, this discussion has provided new insight into the circumstances surrounding Edith-Matilda's burial in the abbey. The importance of this relationship for Westminster is visible in the community's actions in the queen's lifetime and after her death. But it also underlines how the abbey was otherwise passed over for royal patronage, and particularly in the barren years following Edith-Matilda's death.

1.3   Lay and Abbatial Charters

The preceding investigation focused on royal interaction with the abbey. This section will contextualised this relationship through an examination of lay and abbatial charters to explore the other interactions the abbey maintained in this period. Barbara Harvey claimed that Westminster largely failed to cultivate private benefaction on account of the shadow cast by royal patronage.[80] However, as shown above, the abbey received little in the way of consistent royal attention in this period. This raises new questions as to the effect this may have had on

---

80. Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, 42.

the abbey's other relationships. In particular, it must be determined who was interacting with Westminster and what expectations they may have held of the abbey as a potential source of spiritual, royal, or political power. Such connections are especially important when considering any role the abbey may have played in the local and national power struggles of Stephen's reign.

There is some evidence within Westminster's charters that the abbey sought to build relationship with royal officials. Mason argued that these connection are especially evident during Lawrence's abbacy (c.1158-1173) when there were several grants made by the abbey to key members of the Angevin court.[81] This included Lawrence's lease of Bloxham (Oxon.) to Ralph de Beaumont, who was a royal clark and physician to the king, and also the grant to Richard of Ilchester (archdeacon of Poitier and a prominent figure within the realm) of a house in Fishmarket to hold in fee.[82] Mason was reluctant to ascribe agency to the abbey for these relationships, and instead argued that some of these gifts may have been a result of pressure placed on Laurence by '[p]owerful figures' angling for 'the most lucrative of Westminster's benefices'.[83]

However, links between the royal court and Westminster can also be seen during the abbacy of Gervase (c.1138-1158), suggesting that the cultivation of these relationships was a policy from the abbey. For example Gervase granted to Gerin 'ministro regis' land in Effing near Westminster,[84] and entered into a rental agreement the chapter of Martin-le-Grand (the training-ground for royal clerks) regarding the church of St Agnes in London.[85] Beyond Westminster and London, Gervase also granted Bloxham in 1138x48, this time to Robert de Chesney, the future bishop of Lincoln and brother of William de Chesney, a staunch supporter of King Stephen in the midlands.[86] In general, Gervase issued almost twice as many charters per year than either Herbert and Laurence,[87] and seventy-percent of his land transactions related to properties in London, Westminster, or Middlesex, suggesting that the monastery was building relationships within its environs

---

81.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 147-61; Mason, "Lawrence (*d.* 1173)."

82.   *Westminster Charters*, nos. 286; 277. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 57; for Richard of Ilchester, see Charles Duggan, "Richard of Ilchester, Royal Servant and Bishop," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16, nos. 1-21 (1996).

83.   Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 57.

84.   *Westminster Charters*, no. 261.

85.   *Westminster Charters*, no. 257.

86.   *Westminster Charters*, no. 253; Dorothy M. Owen, "Chesney, Robert de (d. 1166)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

87.   Herbert issued nine charters in his fifteen years as abbot, Laurence ten in fifteen years, and Gervase twenty-two in twenty years. See *Westminster Charters*.

across this period.[88] Thus both Gervase and Laurence appear to have cultivated relationships with members of the royal court through land and property transactions, and given the general lack of royal patronage the abbey received in these years, these relationships might point to a policy of trying to foster an indirect relationship with the monarchy through peripheral royal figures and institutions.

Despite these strategies, in comparison to London foundations Westminster failed to cultivated lasting relationships with the laity. Holy Trinity Aldgate, in particular, was a favourite among the citizens of London, and the majority of the priory's income came from the City.[89] Likewise, soon after its foundation in 1123, the Hospital of St Bartholomew's received a great number of endowments: the choir of the priory church, which was built in the mid- or late twelfth century, still stands as a testament to this early success.[90] The only prominent Londoner to appear in Westminster's charters in this period was Richard Blund, who granted to the abbey one of his stalls in the parish of St Nicholas Shambles in c.1150.[91] Mason argued that as Westminster did not actually fall within the City, it was not exposed to the same patronage possibilities from Londoners as other foundations were, and that in turn these foundations did not represent local rivals to the abbey.[92] However, there is evidence to suggest that the abbey directly lost out to new London foundations. In 1108, three daughters of Deorman (a London moneyer from the time of Edward the Confessor) gave land to Westminster in return for alms for their souls and burial in the abbey.[93] Their brother Theodoric appears to have formed a different relationship: between 1108-47 the prior of Holy Trinity rented to Theodoric and his heirs land in the parish of St Faith the Virgin.[94] Although slight, this evidence may suggest that Westminster was struggling to gain or retain lay donors in the face of new foundations in London.

Amidst this growing breach is an unlikely actor: the de Mandeville family, members of whom maintained a relationship with Westminster across the first half of

---

88. 12 out of 17 charters. See *Westminster Charters*.

89. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, xvi.

90. Brooke, *The Shaping of a City*, 327; Moore, *The book of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's*.

91. *Westminster Charters*, no. 385. Mason suggests that Richard was perhaps the uncle of Robert Blund (who became sheriff of London in 1196-7), and thus represented a major city family: Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 314; 311. However, Pamela Nightingale has argued that the large number of 'Blunds' living in London in the twelfth century makes it hard to fully reconstruct any possible relationships: Pamela Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London, 1000-1485* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995), 55-56.

92. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 309.

93. *Westminster Charters*, no. 68; Nightingale, *A Medieval Mercantile Community*, 25.

94. Hodgett, *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate*, 624.

the twelfth century.[95] The first record of any association dated from 1086x1110, when Geoffrey de Mandeville (I) (d.*c.*1100) made two grants to Westminster: the first of the church of St Mary's, Hurley (Berks), along with the whole vill of Hurley; the second the manor of Ebury (lying directly west of the Abbey's precinct), which he gave

> for [his] soul and for the soul of [his] wife, Athelais, who is buried in the cloister of St Peter's, which is also next to where [he] will be buried, and likewise for the souls of [his] sons and daughters[96]

Geoffrey's origins are obscure and there is little evidence of his life before his arrival in England with the Conqueror in 1066.[97] Nevertheless, by 1086 he was ranked among the wealthiest of the Norman magnates, holding lands valued at approximately £740 pounds, the custodianship of the Tower of London, and the office of sheriff for Essex, London, and Middlesex and Herefordshire.[98] Geoffrey's relationship with Westminster is significant. As presumably a minor Norman lord (presumably because otherwise his origins would be better known) raised to a position of great importance in England, he chose Westminster as a site for piety and dynasty, perhaps even intending the abbey to be his family's mausoleum.[99]

Geoffrey (I) and Athelais' relationship with Westminster seems to have also bound their successors to the community. Geoffrey (I)'s grandson, Geoffrey II de Mandeville (d.1144), and his own sons Geoffrey III and William II all either made grants to the abbey or confirmed those of their predecessors.[100] A connection between this family and Westminster also appears to have been maintained through

---

95. Hitherto, this relationship has received little scholarly attention. Mason only briefly discussed the de Mandevilles within a general survey of the abbey's patrons (Mason, "The donors of Westminster abbey charters c.1066-1240," 33-34), and it is not discussed in J. H. Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Study of the Anarchy* (London: Longmans, Green, 1892).

96. 'pro anima mea et pro anima coniugis mee Athelais in claustro Sancti Petri sepulte, que etiam iuxta eam sepeliendus sum, pro animabus quoque filiorum filiarumque mearum', *Westminster Charters*, no. 346.

97. C. Warren Hollister, "The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief," in *Domesday Studies: Papers read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, ed. J. C. Holt (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987), 231. The identity of his first wife, 'Athelias', is also uncertain: K.S.B. Keats-Rohan was only able hint at the possibility that she was related to the counts of Eu, who were kinsmen and supporters of the Conqueror; K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, "The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England: Four Case Studies," *Medieval Prosopography* 14, no. 1 (1993): 1–53, 11; 8.

98. Hollister, "The Misfortune of the Mandevilles," 220; and C. Warren Hollister, "Mandeville, Geoffrey de, first earl of Essex (d. 1144)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

99. For the patterns of Anglo-Norman knightly burial in the generations after the Conquest, see Brian Golding, "Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials," in *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood. Papers from the first and second Strawberry Hill Conferences*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986), 35–48, 37 in particular.

100. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 266-7; 464 and 470.

the custodianship of the Tower of London. In 1107x16, Henry I issued three (and indeed his only known) charters from the Tower of London, all of which related to Westminster Abbey. Two of these charters were confirmations of privileges granted to the de Mandeville foundation at Hurley and the final granted Westminster exemption from specified financial exactions, which besides the confirmation of the crown-wearing ceremonies represents the only pre-1121 grant Henry I made to the abbey.[101] All three grants were made *per* Otwel fitz Count. Otwel had married the widow of Geoffrey de Mandeville's son William, and also succeeded William as custodian of the Tower.[102] Together with lands and offices, Otwel seems to have inherited the de Mandevilles' relationship with Westminster Abbey. The relationship between Westminster and the de Mandevilles appears to have extended beyond personal pieties or dynastic imperatives: it was also related to their political position.

A similar connection seems to have threaded through the church of Sawbridgeworth (Herts.). William de Mandeville fell out of royal favour when Ranulf Flambard escaped from the Tower of London while under William's custody in 1101. In retribution Henry I confiscated lands and offices from William, many of which were only recovered by William's son Geoffrey (II) during the 'Anarchy'.[103] Sawbridgeworth was one of the estates confiscated but Henry gifted it back to the abbey after it came into royal hands following the death of Otwel fitz Count in the White Ship disaster of 1120. Otwel had inherited Sawbridgeworth from Eudo *dapifer* (d. February 1120), who in turn had come into its possession after it was confiscated from William.[104] By 1142, Sawbridgeworth was listed among the churches Geoffrey (II) de Mandeville granted to his foundation at Walden (Essex), before Westminster again appeared to be in possession of it following a papal confirmation granted in 1157x58.[105] As with the Tower, the de Mandevilles and Westminster Abbey seems to be been connected across multiple lifetimes through this one property.

The on-going association between Westminster and the de Mandevilles is also found in a grant to the abbey made by Geoffrey (II) in the summer of 1141. This

---

101. *RRAN* ii, 1174 and 1176; 1175.
102. Hollister, "The Misfortune of the Mandevilles," 23; 24.
103. Hollister, "The Misfortune of the Mandevilles," 18-19 in particular. See too Nicholas Vincent, "Warin and Henry fitz Gerald, the King's chamberlains: the origins of the Fitz Geralds revisited," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 233–260, and for Geoffrey (II), Round, *Geoffrey de Mandeville.*
104. Hollister, "The Misfortune of the Mandevilles."
105. Diana Greenway and Leslie Watkiss, eds., *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999), 201.

moment is highly significant. King Stephen had been captured by the Empress'
forces at Lincoln in February and that summer she arrived in the capital seeking
coronation as queen. It was also at this moment that Geoffrey, now earl of
Essex, finally regained his father's inheritance, including the custodianship of the
Tower.[106] One of Geoffrey's first actions following this promotion was to confirm
and renew his family's relationship with Westminster Abbey. He granted 20s
worth of land from his rents in London to the abbey for the anniversary of his
mother and for the needs of the monks in the refectory. The grant was made for
the souls of his parents and ancestors, as well as for the health of his body ('pro
salute corporis mee') and for the souls of himself, his wife, and his heirs.[107] The
wording of this charter is noteworthy. It is the only charter from the period in
the abbey's collection to use the term 'pro salute corporis mee', suggesting that
was an emphasis that came from the donor.[108] Westminster was one of several
religious houses which Geoffrey II de Mandeville patronised. Geoffrey founded
a priory at Walden in *c.*1140 and, after his death in Suffolk in 1144, Geoffrey
was buried in Temple Church London. On account of the presence of the leading
Templar in England at the earl's deathbed and the removal of Geoffrey's body
to London, David Park has argued that it is likely that Geoffrey also founded
Old Temple 1139x43.[109] Between the Templars and Walden priory, Geoffrey de
Mandeville (II) seemed to service his spiritual needs. What then was Westminster
for?

The timing of Geoffrey's grant to the abbey is suggestive. His recent elevation
to custodian of the Tower of London had effectively put him in control of the
capital and its defence.[110] Set beside castles at the western end of London, the

---

106. The political allegiances of Geoffrey II de Mandeville have been the subject of much
debate. See J. O. Prestwich, "The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville," *The English Historical
Review* 103, no. 407 (1988): 283–317; F. M. Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism,
1066-1166, Second Edition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961), 224. See *Westminster
Charters*, no. 350 for Mason's dating of the charter.

107. 'pro anima patris et matris mee et antecessorum meorum, et pro salute corporis et
anime mee et uxoris mee et heredum meorum, xx solidatas terre de redditibus meis London' ad
anniversarium matris mee ad opus monachorum in refectorio...' *Westminster Charters*, no. 350.

108. On the impact of the lay donor on the wording of diplomatic in monastic charters see
Janet Burton, "Commemoration and Memorialization in a Yorkshire Context," in *Durham Liber
Vitae and its Context*, ed. David Rollason, A. J. Piper, and Margaret Harvey (Woodbridge:
Boydell & Brewer, 2004), 231 in particular.

109. 'Payn of the Temple' is included among the witnesses to a charter seemingly composed
on Geoffrey's deathbed, given the presence of two doctors (see Hodgett, *The Cartulary of
Holy Trinity Aldgate*, 962). Park has identified this figure as Payen de Montdidier, who had
been master of the Templars in 1130, and travelled to England during Stephen's reign. Payen
also served as a witness to Geoffrey's foundation charter to Walden priory (see Greenway and
Watkiss, *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery*, 169-71), and to the earl's gift
to Westminster in 1141 (*Westminster Charters*, no. 350). See Park, "Medieval Burials and
Monuments," 70-1.

110. A. L. Poole, *Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216*, 2nd (Cambridge, 1963), 297-

Tower both protected the city from enemy approaches to the east and symbolically served as a 'permanent and intrusive' reminder of the Norman kings' power in the capital.[111] Located on opposite sides of the capital, the Tower and Westminster were great symbols of royal power. While the abbey may have received little royal favour, it was still adjacent to the royal palace, and, like the Tower, was physically imposing in its landscape. As argued above, a connection between the Tower and Westminster Abbey was maintained even when the de Mandevilles were not serving as custodians. In 1141, Geoffrey (II) further underlined this relationship by turning personal triumph into political display. Through Westminster, Geoffrey not only recalled the relationship the abbey had with his family but forged fresh ties at the very moment in which he assumed a position of great political power in the capital. In addition to the renewal of this relationship, Westminster Abbey will have been at centre stage in these weeks: as the coronation church it was the Empress Matilda intended destination. As was also visible in the royal charters, in 1141 Westminster once again lurched onto the royal scene at a moment of succession crisis.

<div align="center">*</div>

This analysis of Westminster's charters has provided a new picture of the abbey's twelfth-century history. In some ways 1100 to 1170 was a desolate period for the abbey: it received little in the way of patronage from England's kings; other new royal foundations were built to serve as royal mausolea; and although it continued to serve as the coronation church, the traditional crown-wearing ceremonies at Westminster fell out of regular practice early in Henry I's reign. However, this discussion has revealed that Westminster held an important relationship with Edith-Matilda, and even though her death may have loosened the ties between abbey and crown, the queen's association with the community was invoked at and by abbey in the decades after her death. This analysis has also shown that Westminster hove into view at moments of succession crisis. This was through ceremonies in the first decade of Henry I's reign, and again in 1121 following the White Ship, where also in this moment of personal grief Henry sought security and perhaps also solace through the abbey. Likewise, at the beginning

---

8, cited in Park, "Medieval Burials and Monuments," 71. At various times in its history, the Tower of London served as the seat of the Sheriff of Middlesex, London, Essex and Herefordshire. Edward Impey, "Summary History of the Tower of London," in *The White Tower* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 1–10, 5.

111. Jeremy Ashbee, "The function of the White Tower under the Normans," in *The White Tower*, ed. Jeremy Ashbee (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008), 125–140, 126; 139.

of Stephen's reign, and the presumed beginning of the Empress Matilda's, those seeking political influence built and renewed their ties with the abbey. Henry II's interactions Westminster in the 1160s, although not conducted during a period of succession crisis, were nonetheless used to consolidate this king's regnal claim, though in this case through members of his dynasty interred in the abbey.

The focus of this section has been on what Westminster's charters can reveal of the abbey's relationship with English royalty and the shifting relationships the community held. Some insight has also been provided into the abbey's actions, such as the cultivation of their relationships with Edith-Matilda and other politically important people. The next sections of this chapter will seek to further identifying Westminster's actions through the production of different types of writing. This will first be through a consideration of the abbey's hagiography, before a final section on its forged charters.

2   Vita beati Eadwardi

This section will analyse Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi Confessoris* to examine how this text constructed the relationship between Edward and Westminster Abbey. In the late 1130s, Osbert of Clare, monk and occasional prior of Westminster wrote the first *Vita* of Edward the Confessor in preparation for the abbey's first canonisation attempt for their most recent founder.[1] Osbert's text fed into a longer tradition regarding Edward's sanctity at the abbey. Edward had been buried in the abbey as a king in January 1066, but in the years following his cult began to grow. The first quasi-hagiographical *Life* was finished shortly after his death, in which the anonymous author constructed Edward as a saintly virgin who proclaimed prophesies and bestowed miracles.[2] A version of this text was kept at Westminster Abbey, where at least one miracle was added and other parts of the *Vita* were revised or expanded between c.1085 and c.1130. There may even have been a schedule kept at his tomb to record the miracles occurring at it.[3]

According to Osbert's text, in 1102 there was a translation of the king's body during which it was discovered that Edward's corpse remained incorrupt.[4] In 1139 a delegation from the abbey (which included Osbert) travelled to Rome armed with the new *Vita* and a collection of documents regarding Edward's patronage of the abbey.[5] This attempt ended with failure, with Pope Innocent II claiming that the petition required more support: 'since such a great feast should be made to the honour and the profit of the whole realm, it should be desired likewise by the whole realm.'[6] Westminster's campaign was certainly not helped by the political situation in England - news of Stephen's arrest of the bishops reached the papal court before the Westminster delegation.[7] Despite this failure the abbey

---

1. Osbert's life and career will be discussed in more detail in section 3 of this chapter.
2. See Anonymous, *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*, Second Edition, ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), and Barlow's introduction in the same volume for its dating. For the context of its production see Tyler, "The Vita Ædwardi: the politics of poetry at Wilton Abbey."
3. Frank Barlow, "Introduction," in *Vita Aedwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster, attributed to a monk of Saint-Bertin*, Second Edition, ed. Frank Barlow (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), xxxv; and Barlow, "The Seven Sleepers," see 395 in particular.
4. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, ch. XXX, 121-23.
5. This collection included several forged charters of Edward the Confessor, which will be discussed below.
6. 'cum tanta festivitas debeat fieri ad honorem et profectum totius regni, ab omni regno pariter debet postulari'; 'Innocent II to Abbot Gervase and the convent', in Williamson, *The Letters*, no. 19. My translation.
7. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 302.

launched a second attempt in 1160. This was successful and Edward was officially canonised in 1161. Abbot Lawrence then commissioned his kinsman Aelred of Rievaulx to rewrite Osbert's *Life* and compose a sermon for the occasion of Edward's translation, which was held in October 1163 in the presence of Henry II and prominent members of the English ecclesiastical hierarchy.[8]

Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi* has been the subject of previous investigations. Frank Barlow, as a part of his analysis of the anonymous first *Vita* and the development of Edward's cult in the century after his death, also investigated Osbert's and Aelred's texts and identified the sources used by the authors.[9] Subsequent scholarship has built upon Barlow's findings, and there has been a general interest in tracing the difference between the three texts. This has included analyses of the different ways Edward's character was crafted across the works,[10] as well as the authors' differing historical perspectives of their subject matter.[11] Some studies have also considered Osbert's text within the context of his community, however these conclusions have tended to be offered in only generalised terms, that is that Osbert was a fervent champion of the Confessor and sought to promote Westminster simply through its association with the saint.[12] This focus on individual author(s) has meant that the place of the abbey itself within these texts has not been fully explored.[13] In turn, although Osbert's text has been placed within the growth of Edward's cult and the circumstances surrounding the canonisation attempts, his *Vita* has not been contextualised within the changes and challenges Westminster faced in the first half of the twelfth century. As shown in section 1 of this chapter, in this period (and the 1130s in particular) the abbey was generally neglected by the English monarchy and was only turned to haphazardly at times

---

8. See Aelred, *Life of St Edward*, 17; Jackson and Licence, "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris'"; David N. Bell, "Ailred [Ælred, Æthelred] of Rievaulx (1100-1167)," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). The fullest account of the translation dates to the second half of the thirteenth century, and was incorporated into Richard of Cirencester's *Speculum historiale*, Jackson and Licence, "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris'," 45-46.

9. Barlow, "Introduction," xxxiii-xliv; Barlow, "Appendix D." See too Marc Bloch, *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*, trans. J. E. Anderson (Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1973).

10. Bequette, "Ælred of Rievaulx's Life of Saint Edward"; Huntington, "Saintly power as a model of royal authority"; Yohe, "Ælred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward and Confessor."

11. Laura Ashe, *Fiction and History in England, 1066-1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 28-34 in particular; Waugh, "The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages."

12. Barlow, "Appendix D," 160; Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," 48; Pezzini, "Aelred of Rievaulx's 'Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris'," 32; Jackson and Licence, "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris'," 282.

13. An exception here is Joanna Huntington, whose work will be discussed below. See Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint"; Huntington, "Saintly power as a model of royal authority."

of crisis. This text should be considered within these circumstances.

Crucial elements within Osbert's *Vita* therefore remain understudied. Westminster Abbey was closely bound to Edward. He had refounded the abbey. It was his burial site as the last Anglo-Saxon king, and consequently the abbey served as the coronation church for England's Anglo-Norman kings. It must therefore be determined how Osbert wrote the abbey within the *Vita Eadwardi*, and what role it may have played within Edward's sanctity and kingship. These insights can not only more keenly expose the purpose of Osbert's work, but also highlight how his community may have turned to their saintly and royal founder in a time when Westminster's relationship with English royalty was insecure.

In his composition of the *Vita Eadwardi* Osbert rewrote the hagiographical elements of the anonymous eleventh-century work and added new in-life and posthumous miracles.[14] The *Vita* is relatively long (it is by far the longest *Vita* investigated in this thesis) and Osbert's Latin rather ornate.[15] The only full version of Osbert's text survives as a late twelfth- or early thirteenth-century copy, and Barlow has shown that five miracle stories which survive only in copies of Aelred's text were actually originally written by Osbert, forming part of a now lost appendix.[16] The *Vita* was fully edited by Marc Bloch in 1923 and short sections were included within Barlow's edition and translation of the anonymous first *Vita* in order to fill lacunae within that work.[17] Even though Aelred's *Life* of Edward was answering a commission from Westminster's abbot, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter this text does not directly represent writing from the community and therefore will not be the subject of focused analysis. However, as shown in previous studies, comparisons between Osbert's and Aelred's texts can help to shed greater light on the emphases within the former's work. Aelred's work will therefore be an important supplementary source for this analysis.[18]

This section consists of two phases of analysis. First, the way Osbert rewrote Edward and the history of his abbey will be assessed through the structural additions he made to the eleventh-century anonymous work. Building on previous studies which have identified Osbert's sources, the focus here will be on how Osbert combined and moulded the traditions within these materials in order to

---

14. For Osbert's sources, see Barlow, "Appendix D."
15. BL, Additional MS 36737, 139r-157r, '*Vita Beati Eadwardi*'; it is printed on 67 pages in Bloch's edition.
16. Barlow, "Introduction," xxxviii.
17. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*; Anonymous, *Vita Ædwardi Regis*.
18. Editions of Aelred's *Vita* are Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*; Aelred, *Life of St Edward*.

present a particular narrative of Edward's relationship with the abbey. Sections of Osbert's text will then be compared to Aelred's in order to expose the different ways Westminster was constructed and employed within Edward's royal sanctity.

2.1 Re-Writing Edward: Sources and Structure

When Osbert rewrote the first anonymous *Vita* of Edward he greatly altered its layout and emphasis. In the first work Edward's sanctity was 'little more than an appendix', where as in Osbert's *Vita* it was central.[19] Osbert added eight new chapters related to Edward's life and a further five miracles into the posthumous collection. The structure and contents of these additions are shown in Table 1.[20] Osbert's sources for the posthumous miracles appear to have been a schedule maintained at Edward's tomb; Osbert mentioned the schedule in the letter to the papal legate Alberic of Ostia. This letter serves as a preface to the *Vita*. Osbert also added historical details of Edward refoundation of Westminster, some of which follows a history of the abbey written by Sulcard (a monk of the community) in the 1080s.[21] Although the eleventh-century *Life* includes some details of Edward's patronage of Westminster, the author's main focus had been the new royal foundation at Wilton, conducted by Edward's queen Edith.[22] In his additions Osbert promoted his abbey's role dramatically: over half of his text was related to either Edward's refoundation of the abbey or miracles which occurred at it (in life and at his tomb).[23] Previous studies have identified Osbert's sources and generally characterised how his additions related to Westminster Abbey.[24] However, the specific composition of Edward and Westminster's relationship through these additions has not been assessed. Given Edward's historical importance to Westminster, the way in which Osbert wrote his community within his hagiographical exposition may be crucial for understanding Osbert's

---

19. Pezzini, "Aelred of Rievaulx's 'Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris'," 33.

20. The identification of Osbert's source material follows Brian Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare" (PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2004),'Table 3:1' at p. 75 .

21. Barlow, "Introduction," xxxv-xxxvii. Evidence for Osbert's sources can also be traced in a letter he wrote to Bishop Henry of Winchester, in which he stated he used writings left by his predecessors in the church, some from eyewitness accounts of those surviving up to his present day, and a certain number which he had experienced himself (Williamson, *The Letters*, no. 84). For Sulcard's work and an edition of his text, see Scholz, "Sulcard of Westminster."

22. For a discussion of the first *Vita* and Wilton abbey, see Tyler, "The Vita Ædwardi: the politics of poetry at Wilton Abbey."

23. Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 258; Scholz, "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor," 42.

24. For example, Brian Briggs, among others, argued that Osbert transformed Edward from an English saintly king, to a saint of Westminster Abbey. Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare," 71.

purpose for writing and for exposing Westminster's concerns and ambitions in the 1130s.

When rewriting the first *Vita* Osbert composed a new history of Edward's relationship with Westminster. Elements of this history were built upon previous traditions from the abbey. One of these came from Sulcard's *Historia*, which recounted the miraculous story of Westminster's first foundation in the sixth century and the circumstances surrounding Edward's refoundation of the community. According to Sulcard, following his accession to the throne of England Edward had planned a pilgrimage to Rome but his nobles, fearful for the safety of the newly pacified realm, persuaded him instead to refound a church honoured to St Peter - the Lord's guidance ensured that Edward's choice was Westminster.[25] Osbert's *Life* followed Sulcard's foundation account, but expanded upon Edward's motivations for patronising Westminster. Osbert argued that Edward had made a vow while in exile to undertake a pilgrimage to Rome if he were to safely ascend the English throne.[26] Papal dispensations were then required to release the king from his promise, and therefore Osbert's *Life* includes several (forged) letters of correspondence between Edward and Popes Leo IX (1049-54) and Nicholas II (1059-61). These charters also list various privileges the abbey held, including episcopal exemption.[27] According to Osbert, in lieu of his pilgrimage Edward was directed by a vision of St Peter, via the hermit Wlsinus, to restore Westminster.[28] Osbert's incorporation of these charters and expanded account of Edward's refoundation had two related effects: first, by providing the text of imagined papal charters, Osbert gave Edward's refoundation pseudo-historical grounding and consequently additional (saintly) legitimacy to the rights and privileges within those charters. Second, through the new narrative of Edward's relationship with the abbey, Westminster was linked to Edward's right to be king, and its refoundation bound to the enduring safety of the realm.

A similar emphasis can also be traced in the new miracles Osbert added into Edward's life. The story of Edward's refoundation is spread across four chapters (VI, VII, VIII, and XI) and is broken up by three accounts of miracles performed by the saint (chapters V, IX, and XII). All three occurred in Westminster Abbey. The first described how Edward while celebrating Pentecost in the church had

---

25. Scholz, "Sulcard of Westminster," 64-69; 82-91.

26. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 77. This expansion is also discussed in Scholz, "Sulcard of Westminster," at 70.

27. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, chp VII and XI, Scholz, "Sulcard of Westminster," 70. This expanded story of Edward's foundation is not supported by any other contemporary source.

28. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 80-82.

Chapter	Contents	Osbertian addition?
I	Prologue	✓
II	Edward's genealogy	✓
III	Edward's succession; Bishop Brihtwald's vision	✓
IV	A description of Edward, and his marriage to Edith	
V	Edward's vision of King Swein's death	✓
VI	Edward's vow to go on pilgrimage to Rome	✓
VII	The objections of Edward's nobles; Pope Leo's dispensation	✓
VIII	Wlsinus' vision of St Peter directing Edward to restore Westminster	✓
IX	Edward's curing of Gillomichael	✓
X	St Peter's ancient dedication of Westminster; divine punishment suffered by a fisherman who refused to pay his tithe	✓
XI	Envoys sent to Pope Nicholas; his privileges to Westminster	✓
XII	Edward and Leofric's vision of Christ	✓
XIII	Edward's cures of scrofulous woman	
XIV	Edward heals blind men	
XV	Edward heals a blind man from Lincoln	
XVI	Edward heals a blind man through his touch	
XVII	Edward heals three blind men and one monocular	
XVIII	The vision of the Seven Sleepers	
XIX	Edward's illness and the dedication of Westminster abbey	
XX	Edward's grants to Westminster	
XXI	Edward's vision of the Green Tree	
XXII	The interpretation of the Green Tree	
XXIII	Edward's last words	
XXIV	Edward's death and burial	
XXV	The curing of a crippled man at Edward's tomb	✓
XXVI	The curing of seven blind men and one monocular at his tomb	✓
XXVII	Abbot Aelfwine's vision of Edward predicting Harold's victory	✓
XXVIII	A bellringer regains his sight after having a vision of Edward	✓
XXIX	The attempted deposition of Bishop Wulfstan	✓
XXX	The translation of 1102	✓

Table 1: *Chapters and contents of "Vita Beati Eadwardi", with Osbert's additions marked*

a vision of King Swein of Denmark slipping from his ship and drowning when setting out for his planned invasion of England.[29] The second recounts how a certain Gillomichael, who suffered from leg infirmities, received a vision from St Peter who told him to travel to the royal court to seek Edward's healing powers. Upon hearing his plea, Edward carried Gillomichael on his back from the palace into the abbey, where the afflicted man was healed.[30] Finally, Osbert recounts how Edward and Earl Leofric of Mercia together had a vision of Christ while

celebrating mass at the altar of the Holy Trinity in the abbey.[31]

The position of these miracles in Osbert's account of Westminster's foundation served to directly tie the abbey to Edward's saintly rule. Joanna Huntington argued that the placement of the cure of Gillomichael after Pope Leo's acceptance of Edward's accession and the hermit's vision, underlined the connection between St Peter and the abbey.[32] This is clearly the case, but it is part of a larger picture. Edward's vision of King Swein's death (the first miracle in the *Vita*) struck when he was in the abbey attending mass; steeped in the liturgy and ceremony of the Pentecostal service, Edward foresaw the end of the immediate threat to his kingdom. Immediately after this, Osbert imagined Edward's refoundation of Westminster as the fulfilment of the vow the king made in exile. Consequently, the abbey became a manifestation of Edward's right to rule and the enduring safety of his kingdom. Osbert's reworking made the story of St Peter's original sixth-century foundation subservient to a bigger narrative. Recounted directly before the second envoy to Rome, the early foundation serves to further underline the link between Westminster, St Peter, and Edward. By interspersing the story of Edward's refoundation of the abbey with details of the king's miracles performed in that same church, Osbert bound Westminster to both Edward's kingship and his sanctity.

2.2   Re-Writing Edward: Ceremony and Regality

The structure of Osbert's additions to the Anonymous' *Life* reveal how he carefully built the story of Westminster's refoundation into Edward's sanctity and right to rule. Further insight into Osbert's particular construction of Westminster can be found by tracing other emphases within his work, especially in comparison to Aelred's later reworking of his text. Aerlred wrote his *Life* of Edward shortly after the Confessor's canonisation in 1161. His work retained the structure and contents of Osbert's, but, as argued by Francesco Marzella, was expressed in a 'more fluid and rhetorically balanced style' and with some different emphases.[33] The differences between Osbert's and Aelred's words can be used to explore the

---

29.   Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 75-77.

30.   Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 82-83.

31.   Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 91-92; see too Jackson, "Osbert of Clare and the Vision of Leofric," 277-8.

32.   Huntington, "Saintly power as a model of royal authority," 337.

33.   See Marzella, "Introduction," 70, and 69-71 for the differences between Osbert and Aelred's works.

motivations of the authors, as well the contrasting ways they constructed Westminster. This was demonstrated in Huntington's analysis of how the two authors described Edward's virginity. Huntington argued that Osbert rooted Edward's saintly virginity within the saint's corporal remains in order to promote Westminster as 'locus of saintly power'. In contrast Aelred depicted Edward's virginity as lived and fragile: Edward was a 'virgin king in life', appealing to wider ideals of saintly virginity, and consequently promoted Edward's cult beyond the confines of Westminster specifically.[34] This section will follow Huntington's methodology to compare different sections from Osbert's *Vita* with those of Aelred's, but will specifically focus on how each author constructed the relationship between Edward and the abbey.

Osbert stressed Edward's regality within his miraculous deeds. Before recounting Edward's vision of King Swein's death, Osbert described the Whitsuntide festival (Pentecost) at which it occurred:

> On the day of the glorious festival which was brightened by fire sent from on high at the coming of the Holy Ghost, the distinguished King Edward took up the sceptre at Westminster in the church of the blessed Peter, first of the apostles; and the leaders of the whole of England and the prelates flocked to him, gracing the royal feast with the ornaments of their riches, many coloured in their golden fringes.[35]

In the late eleventh and early twelfth century, Westminster was the site of the Pentecostal (Whitsun) crown-wearing ceremony. Osbert's description of Edward's court invoked the pomp and ceremony of such an occasion. However, the link between this festival and Swein's death cannot have been rooted in any historical reality or communal memory: Swein died in 1074.[36] Instead Osbert deliberately located Edward's miraculous vision in an invented moment of royal display at the abbey. Aelred's reworking of the miracle removed this emphasis. Although Aelred followed the location and timing for Edward's vision of Swein (though the Danish king is not specifically named), Edward's regal pomp is qualified:

> in externals Edward was indeed distinguished in his sceptre, gleaming in his vestments, and crowned by the royal diadem, but inside what-

---

34. Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint," 125-132; at 127 and 132.

35. 'In die gloriose festiuitatis quam in aduenta Sancti Spiritus missus de supernis serenauit ignis, rex insignis Eadwardus apud Westmonasterium in ecclesia beati Petri apostolorum principis agebat in sceptris; eoque totius Anglie duces confluxerant et pontifices, sollempnitatem regiam uariis diuitiarum suarum delitiis in fimbriis aureis decorantes.' Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 75. My translation.

36. Discussed in Barlow, "The Seven Sleepers," 392.

ever of honour was in these things he deemed it as dung; and what was of the sacrament, he cherished for good conscience.[37]

In Aelred's account Edward's regality is incidental: he was regal almost despite himself, submitting to the expectation that came with his splendid earthly ornaments. In contrast, the sanctity of Osbert's Edward was intimately associated with the open celebration of his regality at Westminster. The visual magnificence of his kingship served as contrast to what Osbert described as Swein's 'miserable death' ('miserabiliter exspirauit').[38] Through this miracle Osbert bound together the political security of the realm (as facilitated by Swein's death), Edward's sanctity, and royal ceremony, and made them all reliant on the abbey.

Similarly divergent constructions of Edward can be seen in of the curing of Gillomichael. In Osbert's account, Gillomichael came to Edward seeking help when the king was at 'his palace by the church of the blessed apostle Peter'.[39] Once Edward agreed to fulfil Gillomichael's request, Edward set off from the palace carrying Gillomichael on his back:

> And hurrying to the church, [the king] put down his burden before the altar of the blessed prince of the apostles, and urged God of his grace for a miracle.[40]

There at the altar Gillomichael was cured, after which he was tended to by the abbey sacristan before being sent on his way. Edward's route from palace to abbey was presumably that taken during ceremonial processions on feast days and coronations.[41] The miracle linked the holy space of the abbey to the secular site of royal rule, as literally enacted in Edward's walk.

In Aelred's account the structure of the miracle is slightly different. As soon as Edward began to carry his load, Gillomichael started to heal:

> when the king had advanced a little, charged with his honourable burden, suddenly the nerves which had been contracted by the long

---

37. 'exterius quidem sceptro insignis, veste splendidus, regio diademate coronatus, interius vero quod in his honoris erat arbitrabatur ut stercora; quod sacramenti, sustinebat pro conscientia.' Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*, 109. My translation.

38. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 76.

39. 'sua regia secus ecclesiam beati Petri apostolis'. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 82.

40. 'Festinansque ad ecclesiam, ante altare beati principis apostolorum onus suum exposuit, et Deo pro miraculo gracia egit.' Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 83. My translation.

41. See W. T. Ball's reconstruction of the abbey in the late eleventh century for an illustration of the path between the palace and the abbey: in Gem, "The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey," 48-49.

standing illness were relaxed: the flow of blood, which had been obstructed by the tightness of his veins, was renewed; the bones grew strong, the withered flesh made whole.[42]

When Edward reached Westminster Abbey he entered the church and 'resigned the sacrifice he was bringing to God and Saint Peter in front of the sacred altar.'[43] Katherine Yohe argued that Aelred greatly expanded Osbert's account of the healing of Gillomichael in order to bring more Christocentric imagery to the tale.[44] However, there is a further difference between these two narratives. In Osbert's description Gillomichael was Edward's physical 'burden' which he carried into the church in order to be healed at the altar. The focus for Aelred remained on the saint himself: when Gillomichael climbed on Edward's back he was an 'honourable burden', but by the time they had reached the church he was a 'sacrifice' Edward had brought to God and St Peter. In Aelred's telling of this miracle the abbey is simply the destination for Edward and Gillomichael, not the site or agent for the miracle as it was in Osbert's *Vita*.

A recasting of the relationship between the abbey and Edward's regality is also seen in the opening of Edward's tomb in 1102. Osbert relates how Abbot Gilbert invited 'plures honestatis personas' to the abbey for the translation of Edward's corpse.[45] When the slab was removed from the top of the tomb the church filled with a sweet fragrance and Edward's body was shown to be whole and incorrupt. According to Osbert the king had a ring on his finger, a sceptre at his side, and a crown on his head.[46] Aelred develops a different emphasis. The circumstances and people present in his account of 1102 are the same but Aelred did not describe any items of regalia within Edward's tomb. Instead those inspecting his body simply removed the shroud which was wrapped around the king's body and examined the other ornaments and clothes.[47] Once again, Aelred focused on Edward's personal

---

42. 'Cum itaque oneratus nobili illo onere rex paululum processisset, subito nerui quos inueteratus ille morbus contraxerat extenduntur, meatus sanguinis quos uenarum rigor obcluserat reserantur, rigantur ossa, carnes marcide recalescunt.' Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*, 120; Aelred, *Life of St Edward*, 49.

43. 'ingressusque ecclesiam, ante sanctum altare holocaustum quod detulerat Deo ac beato Petri resignat.' Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*, 120; Aelred, *Life of St Edward*, 49-50.

44. Yohe, "Ælred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward and Confessor," 184.

45. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 121.

46. 'regioque digitum anulo circumdatum...sceptrum a latere et corona in capite...' Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 121-22.

47. Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*, 169-70; Aelred, *Life of St Edward*, 108-9. This shroud is mentioned in the letter of the papal legates Cardinals Henry and Otto to Pope Alexander III from *c.*1160, in which they support the abbey's petition to have Edward canonised. The legates inform the Pope that Abbot Laurence had told them about Edward's holy life and death, and shown them the unstained and intact pall in which Edward had been wrapped. 'Letter from Cardinals Henry and Otto to Innocent III', in Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, Appendix D, 311-12.

sanctity, omitting the symbols of his regality. In contrast, even in death Osbert's Edward was depicted as a king, his incorrupt body still wearing the accessories of royal rule.

This comparative analysis of Osbert and Aelred's differing constructions of their subject's saintly kingship maps onto Huntington's investigation of Edward's virginity: whereas Aelred depicted Edward's holiness as rooted in the saint, suggesting that his royalty was incidental, Osbert employed Edward's saintly kingship to enhance the abbey. Royal display and the abbey itself were essential contexts for Edward's miraculous deeds. However, Osbert's emphasis establishes more than a simple link between abbey and saint. Edward's saintly deeds were bound up with and reliant upon his regality acted out at the abbey. The abbey was intertwined with Edward's successful accession to the English throne, and he reciprocated through the gratitude he bestowed on the abbey. In Osbert's *Vita* the abbey was not simply the place of Edward's holy remains, it was the site that brought together—indeed realised—his sanctity and kingship. That this emphasis was lost by the time Aelred rewrote Osbert's work in the 1160s only serves to further emphasise the significance of this earlier construction.

<p style="text-align: center;">∗</p>

The different emphases of Osbert and Aelred's works require contextualisation. This will be done more fully in the analysis of Westminster's forgeries, and the concluding section of this chapter. Here a few circumstances relating specifically to the texts' construction provide some insight. Osbert's and Aelred's texts should be considered with the Westminster's relationship with English monarchy. As shown in section 1 of this chapter, in the twelfth century the abbey received little royal benefaction, and only played a fleeting role in the ceremonies of the realm: crown-wearings at the abbey fell out of regular practice in the first decade of Henry I's reign. One final crown-wearing at the abbey was held in 1121. Writing in the late 1130s, Osbert appears to have composed historical and saintly Edward in such as way as to stress the connection between abbey and English royalty. His invention of historical moments of ceremony and pomp at Westminster offered an argument for the abbey's central role in English monarchy. Indeed, Osbert was writing this text in the years following Stephen's accession. The start of a new regime could be precisely the point at which to push for such a renewal of the abbey's role within royalty.

Aelred's reduced emphasis on the role of Westminster can also be interpreted as a result of the abbey's relationship with contemporary monarchy. Aelred was not a member of the community but the very fact that he was commissioned to write a new work (rather than using Osbert's *Vita*) suggests that a different text was needed. Aelred described his task as akin to pouring wine from an old vessel into a new one; he preserved the sense of Osbert's work, but built in biblical imagery and moral topoi, helping to give Edward's cult broader appeal beyond the confines of Westminster.[48] Aelred's most substantial change to Osbert's work was to reinterpret Edward's deathbed prophecy of the Green Tree. In the 1130s, in the aftermath of the White Ship disaster, Osbert would not have seen much contemporary relevance in a prophecy which now seemed unlikely to be realised.[49] In contrast, writing in the 1160s Aelred could regard Henry II's accession as Edward's prophecy fulfilled and the English bloodline renewed.[50] Both Aelred's interpretation of the Green Tree and his diminishing of Westminster may have reflected contemporary attitudes. In his letter to Alexander III requesting support for Edward's canonisation in 1160, Henry II stressed his personal kinship with Edward, but made no reference to the abbey itself.[51] In the 1160s neither Henry II nor Aelred were interested in the relationship between abbey and Edward. Aelred's emphases may also reflect a change at Westminster itself. Osbert wrote a letter to Duke Henry shortly before his coronation in 1154. In this letter Osbert exalted the duke's lineage and right to the the throne, but never mentioned Henry's ancestor Edward, instead linking Henry to the throne through his grandfather Henry I.[52] While slight, this evidence and Aelred's *Life* may suggest that by the 1160s King Edward was no longer a relevant route through which Westminster sought to promote its relationship with the English monarchy.

This analysis has shown how Osbert of Clare wrote Edward as king and saint in such as way as to promote Westminster Abbey and particularly its role within English royalty. In doing so, Osbert appears to have been responding to the shifting relationship between abbey and monarchy in his present. The next section of this chapter will now assess a further way Osbert and the community at Westminster

---

48. Marzella, "Introduction," 70; Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*, 92; Huntington, "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint," 132.

49. Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 106-10; and discussed in Ashe, *Fiction and History*, 30-31.

50. Aelred, *Life of St Edward*, 91. Discussed in Ashe, *Fiction and History*, 31-35. See too Aelred's earlier work, where the same theme is discussed: Aelred of Rievaulx, "Genealolgy of the English Kings," in *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, ed. Marsha L. Dutton and Jane Patricia Freeland (Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2005).

51. '[d]e cuius sanguine propagatum me, licet ingidum, dignatus est dominus sua dispositione in solio regni eiusdem regis sullimare, sicut datum fuerit desuper pro tempore regnaturum.' 'King Henry II to Pope Alexander III' in Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, 310.

52. 'To Prince Henry', in Williamson, *The Letters*, 130-32. See too Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare," 155-64.

were writing their relationship with royalty, this time through forged charters.

3   FORGED CHARTERS

This section will analyse Westminster's large corpus of twelfth-century forged charters to uncover the different ways the community was writing these texts, and how it may have used these fake records to react to the present circumstances at the abbey. In addition to the abbey's general forgery production, there will be a particular focus on those forged charters drafted by Osbert of Clare.

In the twelfth century, Westminster Abbey has been described as having had a 'factory of forgeries' which not only produced many charters claiming rights and privileges for its own house, but also contributed to the production of forgeries for other Benedictine communities, including Coventry, Ramsey and Gloucester.[1] For Julia Crick the productivity and 'dazzling effrontery' of the abbey's creations 'established Westminster as the *locus classicus* of English monastic forgery', producing both elaborate royal *acta*, and embellishing preexisting, shorter documents such as land grants to the abbey.[2] Westminster was not alone in this practice: the twelfth century has been regarded as the pinnacle of medieval forgery. Religious institutions in particular created false documents 'designed to support legal claims to territories, restore lost or precariously held economic privileges, and authenticate relics.'[3] The recourse to forgery might be part of a longer tradition, but any production was a response to a specific set of tensions experienced by a community: perhaps a threat to a piece of property, or the need to solidify a right the abbey professed to hold.[4]

Westminster's forged charters have been the focus of previous studies. In the 1960s, T.A.M. Bishop and Pierre Chaplais identified several different twelfth-century hands working on the abbey's forgeries, and due to unique borrowings

---

1. J. Tait, in *Essays in History presented to R. L. Poole*, e.d. H. W. C Davis (Oxford, 1927), 159 n., cited in Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Approaches to medieval forgery," *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3, no. 8 (1968): 377–86, 379.

2. Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past," 67; and see Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 102.

3. M.T. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*, third edition (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013), 319, in particular for his discussion of forgery; Gabrielle M. Spiegel, "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship," *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975): 43–69, 53.

4. For further discussion of the uses of medieval forgery, see, for example, Nicholas Brooks, *History and myth, forgery and truth* (Birmingham, 1986); Paxton, "Forging communities"; Julia Barrow, "Why Forge Episcopal Acta? Preliminary Observations on the Forged Charters in the English Episcopal Acta Series," in *The foundations of medieval English ecclesiastical history: studies presented to David Smith*, ed. Philippa M. Hoskin, Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke, and Richard Barrie Dobson (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005), 18–39.

between the twelfth-century *Vita beati Eadwardi* and some of the forgeries, Chaplais found that Osbert of Clare's was responsible for drafting some of the abbey's longer and more elaborate forgeries.[5] Chaplais also revealed two scribes working at Westminster in this period. Of particular interest here is the hand of a single scribe (henceforth 'Scribe L') who compiled genuine charters during the abbacies of Gervase and Laurence, and a number of Osbertian forgeries. Chaplais determined that Scribe L had a period of activity ranging from 1139 to shortly after 1154.[6] Ever since this analysis there has been a focus on identifying further forgeries (Osbertian or otherwise) within the abbey's collection. A particular contribution has been from David Bates who in his edition of William I's *acta* identified new twelfth-century forged documents in the name of William which were forged at Westminster, and by Osbert.[7] Beyond adding to the corpus, individual or small groups of Westminster forged charters have been used to investigate specific forging impulses, or used as a comparison to other forging practices. Notable examples are Crick's comparison of Westminster's and St Alban's forging activities,[8] and T. A. Heslop's analysis of Westminster's forged seals.[9] Thus far, the full bodies of Osbert's and Westminster's charters have never been considered together, and none of the previous investigations have fully considered Westminster's forgeries within its twelfth-century experience.[10] For Mason, Osbert's forgeries are simply 'an imaginative campaign', and in no way reflected 'the status of the house as it was perceived by detached observers.'[11]

Forged charters can, however, reveal not only the different ways a community was writing but also the threats it was facing. In comparison to charters, which are the result of an interaction between two parties, forged charters are the creation of just one party and their needs. Moreover, these documents had to be of practical use, and therefore believable: innovations were rooted in customs, and acts of imagination shaped by law and history. Forged charters are both the response to specific circumstances and were designed to have tangible impact within the

---

5. Bishop and Chaplais, *Facsimiles*; Chaplais, "Original Charters."

6. Chaplais, "Original Charters," 97.

7. See notes to *RRAN* i, nos. 293-4, 298, 301-3, 305-306, 308, 312, 316, 318-322, 324, 327-8, 331-2, 335.

8. Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past."

9. Heslop, "Twelfth-Century Forgeries as Evidence for Earlier Seals." See too, Joan C. Lancaster, "The Coventry Forged Charters: A Reconsideration," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 27 (1954): 113–40; Scholz, "Two forged charters."

10. Brian Briggs has recently completed a PhD thesis on Osbert of Clare. In his discussion of Osbert's forgeries, Briggs combined the many insights from previous palaeographical and diplomatic scholars. His focus remained firmly on Osbert's life and works and he did not specifically use Osbert's forgeries to assess the fortunes of Westminster Abbey in this period. Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare," see 43-54 in particular.

11. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 269.

environment they were produced. As argued in section 1 of this chapter, between 1100 and 1170 Westminster was struggling to garner benefaction and held only an intermittent role within the practice of English royalty. The abbey's forged charters not only provide additional insight into the community's experience of these challenges, but also how it may have used this type of writing as a response.

Over seventy forged charters in favour of Westminster Abbey can be dated to the post-Conquest period. These documents survive as a combination of original charters and cartulary copies. There are some difficulties in securely defining this corpus. Those which have survived as originals can be diagnosed as twelfth-century products on palaeographical grounds, but otherwise only textual overlaps can be offered to suggest a common drafter, such as Osbert of Clare. This investigation will largely focus on those which have previously been identified; however, as these charters have only been previously identified within separate publications, the present study represents the first time the full corpus has been brought together.[12] Given the number of charters, this analysis will be conducted in two stages. First, the full body of forged charters will be considered together in order to highlight phases within their production and any changes in where the abbey was rooting its rights through these charters. This investigation will be particularly aided by the known years of activity of Osbert of Clare and Scribe L. Part two will then focus on Osbert's forgeries. This focus has been adopted in order to best strike comparisons between the other creative writings produced at Westminster during this time, that is Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi*. Through a comparison between these forgeries and known elements of his career, this study will provide the first developed chronology to Osbert's forgery production. With these contexts established, the final stage of analysis will be a close reading of a selection of Osbert's forgeries to expose how and why he was writing these texts. As with the hagiography, the rights and privileges asserted through these Osbertian forgeries can suggest not only how the abbey was recalling its relationships with past and present kings, but also how the abbey might use these texts to promote its contemporary relationships or identity.

We have already met Osbert in the late 1130s, as the author of Edward the Confessor's *Vita.* However, given his leading role in the abbey's forging program, it is necessary here to give greater outline of his career. The first record of Osbert appears in the early years of Herbert's abbacy when in approximately 1123 he wrote to a monk at St Pancras, describing himself as an 'outlaw' ('proscriptus')

---

12. The charters have been calendared, edited, or printed in a range of volumes, including *Westminster Charters*, and the *RRAN* series.

from the community at Westminster and in exile at Ely.[13] The editor of Osbert's letter collection E. W. Williamson suggests that in the vacancy after the death of Abbot Gilbert Osbert may have been elected abbot by a party within Westminster, but then expelled after Henry I's appointment of Herbert in January 1121.[14] Early in his exile Osbert wrote to Hugh the prior of St Lewes claiming that 'the king with smooth entreaties urged me to leave our church for a while and visit Ely, to which I was sent.'[15] Williamson admits that the suspicion of a frustrated election cannot be confirmed, yet at the very least in these early years Osbert was important enough to warrant Henry I interfering with whatever plan Obsert had hatched at the abbey.[16] Osbert returned to Westminster in the spring of 1134 where he served as a witness for the foundation of Kilburn priory.[17] In 1139 he led the abbey's unsuccessful mission to Rome seeking the canonisation of Edward the Confessor. Shortly thereafter he was once more sent into exile, only to reappear at the abbey in 1158 (after Gervase's deposition), when he witnessed a grant of the convent.[18] Although Flete included Osbert in the second delegation to Rome in 1161, it is likely that if Osbert was still alive his influence was over.[19] As just fragments of Osbert's career are known, thus far only approximate dates have been given to a small number of his forgeries.[20] However, in comparison to previous investigations this discussion will seek to fully contextualise Osbert's forged charters within the abbey's shifting fortunes during this period, and in doing so develop a chronology to their production.

3.1   Westminster's forgeries: Patterns of Production

This section will seek to bring together all of Westminster's post-Conquest forgeries in order to discern any patterns in their production. The corpus will be particularly characterised through the texts produced by Scribe L and Osbert, both of whom have a known period of activity. In order to support comparisons, this section will only look at forged royal charters.

13.   J. Armitage Robinson, "A Sketch of Osbert's Career," in *The Letters of Osbert of Clare Prior of Westminster*, ed. E. W. Williamson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929), 2-3, see also Williamson, *The Letters*, no. 1; Barlow, "Clare, Osbert of (*d.* in or after 1158)."

14.   Robinson, "Osbert's Career," 3.

15.   Williamson, *The Letters*, no. 1, and discussed in Robinson, "Osbert's Career," 3.

16.   Robinson, "Osbert's Career," 3-4.

17.   Williamson, *The Letters*, no. 11; see also *Westminster Charters*, no. 249.

18.   Robinson, "Osbert's Career," 19; see *Westminster Charters*, no. 341.

19.   *Flete*, 92, cited in Williamson, *The Letters*, 19; 19-20. Certain aspects of this chronology have been questioned by Brian Briggs, however, he was not able to offer a persuasive new narrative to Osbert's life. Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare."

20.   See Chaplais, "Original Charters."

Due to the difficulties in identifying and dating forgeries, only general conclusions can be offered in regards to Westminster's production these documents. As with forgeries produced at other religious communities, Westminster appears to have used forged charters to assert their right to particular lands they had lost, or to backdate rights or privileges through earlier authorities. For example, Scribe L forged two charters related to land at Lessness (Kent) in the names of Edward the Confessor and William I.[21] The charter purported to be in Edward's name confirmed the grant of Lessness to Westminster by a certain Azor; and then in the spurious William I charter the king confirmed Azor's grant 'sicut rex Æadwardus cognatus meus...concessit'. According to the Domesday survey, in 1066 Azor was the tenant of Lessness, but in 1086 the land was held by Robert Latimer from bishop Odo of Bayeux. David Bates thus argued that the abbey may have come into possession of Lessness during the reign of William II, but subsequently the property had passed into the hands of the Count of Meulan.[22] As Scribe L was writing between 1139 and c.1154, these two charters appear to have been written to construct the abbey's right to land they no longer held. The two spurious charters not only confirmed Azor's grant, but also the William I forgery served to reinforce both the grant and the forged Edward charter. Similar purposes can be traced throughout the corpus, both in individual charters and across multiple documents.

Some patterns in Westminster's general post-Conquest forgery production can be suggested through a consideration of the authorities through which they attempted to root their rights or lands. Table 2 compiles the total number of post-conquest forged royal charters per reign, and that number as a percentage of total corpus of forgeries. This is the first time that Westminster's forgeries have been quantified in such a way,[23] and generally suggests that the abbet looked particularly to the reigns of Edward and William I to root their rights and privileges.[24]

---

21. London, Westminster Abbey Muniments [W.A.M] xi (P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated bibliography* (Offices of the Royal Historical Society: London, 1968), no. 1120; F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952), no. 76) and W.A.M. xxii (*RRAN* i, no. 308). For the identification of Scribe L's hand for these charters see Chaplais, "Original Charters," 97 and notes, Keynes, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon charters*, p. 11, and notes to *RRAN* i, no. 308.

22. See Bates' notes to *RRAN* i, no. 308.

23. For the forgeries in Edward's name, see Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* and *Westminster Charters*, 'Appendix'. For William's *RRAN* i and *Westminster Charters*. Bates and Mason disagree in regards to the authenticity of *Westminster Charters*, no. 21. I agree with Bates' assessment that the charter is a twelfth-century forgery. See *RRAN* i, no. 314 and notes. For forgeries in the names of Henry I and Stephen see *Westminster Charters* and *RRAN* ii-iii.

24. Such a practice was far from unique to Westminster: Michael Clanchy showed that of the 164 total extant charters in the name of Edward the Confessor, over 120 (73%) are either forgeries or of undecided authenticity. See Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 319. In turn, Bates has shown that of the 208 English *acta* in William I's name, 62 (30%) were composed

King	# Post-Conquest Forgeries	% of the corpus of forgeries
Offa of Mercia	1	1%
Edgar	2	3%
St Dunstan	1	1%
Æthelred (II)	1	1%
Edward the Confessor	33	43%
William I	25	32%
Henry I	8	10%
Stephen	6	8%
Total	77	100%

Table 2: *Westminster's post-Conquest forgeries*

There are some limits to the findings displayed in this table. In particular, there remains disagreement regarding the authenticity of some of these charters, and the dating of the forgeries themselves cannot be securely confirmed.[25]

The shape of Westminster's twelfth-century forgery production can be more clearly delineated through the work of Scribe L and Osbert of Clare. Table 3 collates the royal forgeries which have been attributed to Osbert and Scribe L.[26] These have been distinguished into groups of those drafted by Osbert, those written by Scribe L, those drafted by Osbert *and* copied by L, and the total number of forgeries they produced. As their periods of activity are known (Osbert was active c.1130-1155 and Scribe c.1134-1154) they provide insight into the abbey's forging activities within a discernible period. In particular, Scribe L and Osbert's activity suggest that c.1130 to 1155 was a period of intense forgery production, during which time they were producing the equivalent of a forgery per year between them.[27] Like Westminster's general forgery production, Scribe

---

in the twelfth century, and over a third of these were created *ex nihilo*. See *RRAN* i, 4, 73. See also Alfred Hiatt, *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England* (London & Toronto: The British Library & University of Toronto Press, 2004), 22.

25.   See Mason's Appendix in *Westminster Charters*.

26.   Table 3 is a tabulation of Chaplais' data in regards to Osbert's draftsmanship and Scribe L's hand in Chaplais, "Original Charters," at 97 in particular; and those further attribute to Osbert or Scribe L by Bates in *RRAN* i. See too Keynes, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon charters*, p. 11. One of the charters in Stephen's name (*Westminster Charters*, no. 111) has not previously been credited to Osbert. The reasons for including it within Osbert's corpus are discussed further below.

27.   Besides the activities of Scribe L and Osbert, Bates has also suggested approximate datings for other forged charters in the name of William I. Through similar emphases and details (such as shared witness lists), Bates has suggested that the production of a further 12 texts can be dated to the period 1125-50 (see *RRAN* i). This period overlaps with the careers of Osbert and Scribe L, thus confirming that this was indeed a period of intense forging activity. However, as this dating is only approximate it will not be included alongside the more precise

King	Osbert	Scribe L	Scribe L & Osbert	Total # forged by Osbert + Scribe L	% Corpus
Edgar	1	-	-	1	4%
Dunstan	1	1	1	1	4%
Edward	4	8	1	11	46%
William I	4	4	1	7	29%
Henry I	1	-	-	1	4%
Stephen	2	3	2	3	13%
Total	13	16	5	24	100%

Table 3: *Forgeries of Osbert of Clare and Scribe L*

L and Osbert wrote a high proportion of their forgeries in the names of Edward and William I, however, in the course of, or shortly after, Stephen's reign they were also creating forgeries in his name. As shown in section 1 of this chapter, during Stephen's reign the abbey received little in the way of royal attention or benefaction. Scribe L and Osbert's work may suggest that the abbey turned to forgery in response, and not only forging to distant royalty but also contemporary or near contemporary monarchs.

This analysis has offered some general insights into the patterns of production of Westminster's forgeries. In particular, through the collation of Scribe L and Osbert's forging activities it has been shown that Stephen's reign was a period of intense forgery production. These insights will now be further contextualised through a close examination of Osbert's forgeries.

3.2   Osbert of Clare's forgeries: Towards a Chronology

Chaplais diagnosed Osbert's distinct draftsmanship through significant borrowings between several forged Westminster charters and Osbert' *Vita beati Eadwardi*. These borrowing ranged from unique details (such as that the abbey was founded by King Sæberht of Essex) to whole passages (for example those found in the so-called *First* and *Third Charters of Edward the Confessor*0.[28] Chaplais also traced the distinct literary style of Osbert's letters, particularly his rather 'florid greetings', across many forgeries both for Westminster and other institu-

---

chronology that comes from Scribe L's and Osbert's periods of activity.

28.   Chaplais, "Original Charters," 92-94.

tions.[29] Applying Chaplais' criteria, Bates identified further forged charters in the name of William I that betray Osbertian literary emphases.[30] In total Osbert's distinctive draftsmanship has been identified in thirteen royal charters and two papal bulls.[31] Thus far only general periods of production have been suggested for these charters.[32] Here the focus will be on eleven of his charters: the *Magna Carta Edgari*, *Magna Carta Dunstani*, *First Charter of Edward the Confessor*, *Second Charter of Edward the Confessor*, *Third Charter of Edward the Confessor*, *First Charter of William I*, a papal bull in the name of Innocent II, a general confirmation charter in the name of Henry I, and two in the name of Stephen. One of the charters in Stephen's name (henceforward referred to as 111), has not previously been identified as an Osbertian forgery. However it is practically identical to Osbert's charter of Henry I and it was also written by Scribe L, thus was created during Osbert's period of activity. On these grounds it should be included in Osbert's corpus.[33] These specific charters have been selected for this discussion because they share certain commonalities (some of which have previously been recognised within scholarship) and have brought some approximate dates of production. As these separate findings have not previously been synthesised, the coming discussion will both combine these different insights, and develop further conclusions.

Two of Osbert's charters in the name of Edward the Confessor, the so-called *First* and *Third Charters of Edward* were grouped by Chaplais and their production dated to the late 1130s.[34] These charters can be linked because they both share heavy overlaps with sections of Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi*, specifically in relation to the Confessor's refoundation of the abbey. While these forgeries certainly contain Osbertian inventions, Simon Keynes has also argued that some parts may have been based on genuine charters of Edward the Confessor.[35] The *First Charter* lists

---

29. Chaplais, "Original Charters," 93-94 and notes.

30. See for example *RRAN* i, 305.

31. Chaplais originally identified Osbert's draftsmanship in eleven charters: the *Magna Carta Edgari*, *Magna Carta Dunstani*, *First Charter of Edward the Confessor*, *Second Charter of Edward the Confessor*, *Third Charter of Edward the Confessor*, the 'Widmore Charter', the 'Telligraphus of William I', *Second Charter of William I*, Henry I's 'Coronation Charter' (calendared in *Westminster Charters*, no. 57), Stephen's charter (calendared in *Westminster Charters*, no. 110), and a bull of Pope Pascal II (1099-1118): Chaplais, "Original Charters." In addition to these, Bates has shown that the *First Charter of William I* and *Third Charter of William I* are also Osbertian forgeries: see *RRAN* i, nos. 290 and 305. In turn, Mason has argued that Osbert forged a bull of Pope Innocent II purporting to date from 1139: Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 41, and discussed further below.

32. See Chaplais, "Original Charters," 93-95; and *RRAN* i, notes to nos. 290, 303, 305, and 324. See too, Scholz, "Two forged charters."

33. This charter is calendared at *Westminster Charters* no. 111, where its connection to Osbert's forged charter of Henry I is mentioned.

34. Chaplais, "Original Charters."

35. Simon Keynes, "Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988): 185–

88

the properties the king gave to the abbey and enumerates the privileges the abbey held (including the right to a free election for the abbot) and the relics it had in its possession.[36] The charter also includes the narrative of Edward deciding to refound the abbey and the spurious bull of Pope Leo IX from 1049 which excused the king from his pilgrimage to Rome. The *Third Charter* continues the narrative found in the *First* by describing the second embassy sent by Edward to Rome in the time of Pope Nicholas II (1059-61).[37] It contains a forged bull from Nicholas which confirmed and enhanced the abbey's privileges, granting it episcopal exemption and naming the abbey as the site of regnal consecrations and the 'repositorium regalium insignium' ['repository of the royal emblems']. Chaplais argued that these forgeries were completed before Osbert left for Rome in 1139 to seek Edward's canonisation, and it seems probable that the forgeries and *Vita* were being written in a similar period: whole passages are identical in the two writings, save for the charters being in the first person and the *Vita* in the third.[38] As shown in section 2 of this chapter, the forgeries were key components within Osbert's narrative of Edward's relationship with Westminster, and as argued by Chaplais, Osbert may also have taken them to Rome not only to support the canonisation claim but also to obtain papal confirmations for the rights included in the forgeries.[39] In this respect Osbert was successful. In April 1139 Pope Innocent II issued a bull confirming the abbey's possessions and privileges (including episcopal exemption), and taking it under his protection, as his predecessors Nicholas II and Leo IX had done.[40]

A possible dating has also been offered for Osbert's forging the papal bull of Pope Innocent II. Mason has argued that following his aforementioned trip to the papal curia in 1139, Osbert used one of three genuine grants he received from Innocent as a model for a forgery.[41] In this bull Abbot Gervase is strongly rebuked and commanded to return to the abbey the lands which had been alienated without the common consent of the convent.[42] Mason argued that the bull shared similar concerns to the *First* and *Third Charters* of the Confessor, including a clause ruling that abbots could not alienate possession of the abbey, and the specification

---

222. See too Keynes, *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon charters*, p.11.

36. BL, Cotton Charters vi. 2; printed in *Codex Diplomaticus*, IV, no 824, 173-181.

37. London, Westminster Abbey, W.A.M XX; printed in *Codex Diplomaticus*, IV, no 825, 181-190, at 182.

38. Chaplais, "Original Charters," 93.

39. Chaplais, "Original Charters," 95.

40. *Westminster Charters*, no. 156.

41. The genuine bulls are *Westminster Charters* nos. 156-58, the forgery 161. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 41. See too Garnett, "The Origins of the Crown," 202-205.

42. See Harvey, "Fee-Farms"; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 41.

that Westminster was the repository of the royal regalia.[43] In the bull 'Innocent' orders that:

> the regalia of the glorious king Edward, which is held by you, we decree that [these] emblems are to be watched over in the same monastery, intact and untouched.[44]

Given the bull's treatment of Gervase, Mason argues that Osbert's forgery was prepared in time for summer 1141. In the context of King Stephen's capture at the battle of Lincoln and the arrival of the Empress Matilda and her supporters in the capital, this was precisely the moment for Osbert to push for Gervase's deposition using this forgery to reinforce 'political expediency' with 'alleged papal censure.'[45] As Osbert appears to have had at least a functioning relationship with Gervase in the early years of his abbacy, Mason suggests that Osbert's subsequent exile from the abbey in the 1140s was probably caused by the production of this forgery.[46]

A further four charters can be grouped together due to their common sources and shared emphases. Three of the four—the so-called *Magna Carta Edgari*, *Magna Carta Dunstani* and *Second Charter of Edward the Confessor*—have been shown to be based on various royal charters from the French monarchy to the abbey of Saint-Denis, Paris.[47] The *Magna Carta Edgari* purports to date from 959, but was written by Scribe L, and follows several charters of Merovingian kings.[48] It was also the particular details in this charter that led Chaplais to identify Osbert as the architect of the Westminster forgeries: only in this document and Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi* is Westminster's original founder named as King Sæbert of Essex (604-616).[49] In the forged charter Edgar confirmed to Westminster all its lands and liberties. It also includes a bull from Pope John XIII (955-64), in which further estates are confirmed. The *Magna Carta Dunstani* shares some phrases

---

43. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 41; and discussed in Chaplais, "Original Charters," 95.

44. '[r]egalia quoque gloriosi regis Edwardi, que apud uos habentur, insignia ita in eodem monasterio intacta et integra decernumus obseruari.' The bull survives only in cartularies, and is Walther Holtzmann, ed., *Papsturkunden in England: 1. Band, Bibliotheken und archive in London. 1. Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreubungen* (Berlin, 1930), no. 24; calendared in *Westminster Charters*, no. 161. C.f. Chaplais, "Original Charters," where he considered it to be a genuine bull.

45. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 90.

46. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 90.

47. Scholz, "Two forged charters," and A.S. Napier and W.H Stevenson, eds., *Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895), 88-102. See too Keynes, "Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)," 198-99 in particular.

48. Napier and Stevenson, *Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*, no. VI, 90-92.

49. See line 29 and Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 83; Chaplais, "Original Charters," 92.

and ideas with the Edgar charter, and is concerned with similar lands at Blecenham and Lothereslege (Middx.). It too was written by Scribe L.[50] In the charter Dunstan bestowed upon Westminster a series of rights and liberties, including the abbot's full jurisdiction over the monks. Scholz showed that elements of this charter was based on one granted on 1 July 652 by Archbishop Landery of Paris to Saint-Denis.[51] Finally, the *Second Charter of Edward the Confessor* is likewise based on a Frankish charter: passages of this charter are practically identical to a privilege from a charter of King Philip I of France to St Denis issued 1 August 1068.[52] In the Westminster charter, which purports to date from 1 August 1045, Edward grants Abbot Wulnoth of Westminster freedom from all episcopal interference, and forbade the bishop of London from interfering with the monastery.[53] These three forgeries can be grouped together because in each Osbert copied charters related to Saint-Denis to suit particular Westminster needs.[54] Bates has also argued that a further charter, the so-called *Second Charter of William I*, should be regarded as part of the same forging campaign as the *Second Charter of Edward the Confessor* and *Magna Carta Dunstani* because, although it has no obvious overlaps with the Edward and Dunstan charters, it too focuses on Westminster's episcopal exemption.[55] In this forged charter William I states that as he wishes to follow the practice of earlier kings, the Bishop of London is commanded never to interfere with the monks.

If these four charters can be grouped, then they may be related to Westminster's struggle for episcopal exemption during the 1120s and 1130s. Throughout Herbert's abbacy (1121-c.1136) the abbey's resistance to the Bishop of London's jurisdiction was building.[56] This came to a head in June 1133 when Bishop Gilbert the Universal presented himself at the abbey and proceeded to celebrate mass.[57] Following Gilbert's intrusion, the monks of Westminster directly appealed to the papacy, and a bull was issued in their favour by Innocent II in September 1133, and further confirmed in a second in 1139.[58] The *First* and *Third Charters* of

50. Westminster Abbey Muniments (WAM) IX; printed in Walter de Gray Birch, ed., *Cartularium Saxonicum: a collection of charters relating to Anglo-Saxon history* (London: Whiting, 1865-69), iii, 262 ff., and in part in Scholz, "Two forged charters." Also discussed in Robinson, "Introduction," 12.

51. Scholz, "Two forged charters," 469.

52. Scholz, "Two forged charters," 467-68.

53. Chaplais, "Original Charters"; Scholz, "Two forged charters," 467; 474.

54. Scholz, "Two forged charters," 467. N.B., Scholz was writing prior to Osbert's identification as the Westminster forger.

55. *RRAN* i, see no. 303 and notes.

56. Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 34.

57. The episode is described in the bull of Innocent II, printed in full in Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden*, no. 17; calendared in *Westminster Charters*, no. 155. See Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 55; Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 34.

58. *Westminster Charters*, no. 155 and 156.

Edward also refer to Westminster's episcopal exemption, but there is reason to see this group of four charters as part of a different and perhaps earlier phase in forgery production. First, as the four charters do not share narrative elements with Osbert's *Vita*, they are clearly separate from the two Edward charters. Second, it seems likely that they preclude Innocent's charter from 1139, and they may also predated the 1133 charter, which states that Westminster's right to exemption was based in part on 'regum antiquorum priuilegi', proof of which may have been provided in these Osbertian forged charters.[59] Finally, Brian Briggs has argued that Osbert may have had access to the Saint-Denis documents which informed these charters while he was in exile at Bury St Edmunds in the 1120s. The charters were likely brought to Bury by Baldwin (1065-97), the abbey's first post-Conquest abbot and who had been a monk of Saint-Denis.[60] If these indeed were the source for the Westminster charters, then it may have been when Osbert was in Bury that he created the forgeries for Westminster. Osbert's absence from Westminster would not have stopped this activity: his letter collection shows that he was still in contact with the monks and Abbot Herbert while in exile,[61] and thus perhaps able to answer a commission. He did not return to the abbey until 1134. While the evidence is slight, it appears that these forgeries can be tentatively dated to the 1130s, a period in which Osbert had access to the French charters and the abbey was actively resisting the Bishop of London.

A further charter of Osbert, the *First Charter of William I*, can be dated due to its similarities to the forged papal bull of Innocent. In this charter, which purports to date from 1067, William I confirms all the grants he made to the abbey as well as those made by the citizens of London.[62] Bates has shown that this charter is grossly spurious. It was written by Scribe L, and includes many anachronistic details, including the obvious error of describing the tomb of Edward the Confessor's wife Queen Edith, in a charter claiming to be issued a full eight years before her death.[63] The *First Charter* places a particular emphasis on crowns, discussing the practice of crown-wearing ceremonies in the abbey twice, and, like the forged bull of Innocent, the charter includes the claim that Edward

---

59. Holtzmann, *Papsturkunden*, no. 17. This is also noted by Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare," 47.
60. Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare," 47-48.
61. Williamson, *The Letters*, for example nos. 2 and 3.
62. *RRAN* i, no. 290. Bates has shown that another Osbertian forgery in the name of the Conqueror, the *Telligraphus of William I* (purporting to date from 1085x87), is a companion document to the *First Charter*. However the *Telligraphus* (which is *RRAN* i, no. 324) is incomplete, and therefore cannot be the subject of the same level of textual analysis as the *First Charter*.
63. See notes to *RRAN* i, no. 290.

the Confessor had left his crown and other items of regalia to the abbey.[64] The royal regalia are not mentioned within any extant genuine Westminster charters from this time. The concern for Edward's crown and regalia found in both the forged royal charter and papal bull suggests that they are the products of similar concerns and perhaps a shared moment. On the brink of a change in regime, Matilda's court at Westminster in summer 1141 offered a perfect opportunity to push for reconfirmation of the abbey's rights and to make a case for Westminster's preeminent role in royal ceremony. The erroneous mention of Queen Edith's tomb may have even been intended to serve as a deliberate reminder to the Empress Matilda that her own mother, Edith-Matilda, was interred in the church. In such a context, a papal bull and royal charter made an ideal pair through which to pursue Westminster's ambitions.

Three final charters can also be tentatively dated to the beginning of a new regime. Osbert forged a charter in Henry I's name, and two charters in Stephen's, here referred to as '57', '110' and '111' respectively, on account of their numbering within Mason's edition of charters.[65] The charter in the name of Henry I purports to have been issued at his coronation and in it Henry takes the abbey under his protection, doing so for the souls of his parents and King Edward. The forged charter of Henry I also acknowledges the abbey as the coronation church and Edward's burial site, and confirms all the abbey's liberties and privileges with reference to charters of past kings and popes.[66] The two purported charters Stephen are similar to 57. 111, which claims to date from 1138/9, follows 57 word for word, its only difference being that William I is referred to as 'avus' rather than 'pater' as he was in Henry's charter.[67] It was written by Scribe L. 110 was purportedly granted by Stephen at a legatine council held at Westminster in 1138. It likewise is a general confirmation of Westminster's various rights and privileges, and was also written by Scribe L.[68] The Stephen charters were obviously produced after their purported dates of 1138 and 1138/9. 57 could conceivably have been drafted by Osbert at any point within his period of activity, however the references to the papal bulls of John, Leo and Nicholas (which appear in the *Magna Carta Edgari*, *First* and *Second* charter of Edward respectively) suggest that 57 must have been completed after these other forgeries. Thus 57, like 110 and 111 has a

---

64. 'predictus rex dimisisset coronam et alia regalia regni pro[pria] ad ecclesiam sancti Petri Westmonasterii'. *RRAN* i, no. 290. See Garnett, "The Origins of the Crown," 202-209.

65. *Westminster Charters*.

66. Mason does not describe Osbert as the author of this forgery (see *Westminster Charters*, no. 57), but Chaplais does due to stylistic overlaps with other Osbertian charters: Chaplais, "Original Charters," 92.

67. *Westminster Charters*, no. 111; and printed in *RRAN* iii, no. 929.

68. *Westminster Charters*, no. 110; and printed in *RRAN* iii, no. 928.

terminus post quem of c.1138/9. From their contents it is not immediately clear for what occasion Osbert created these forgeries. It is notable however, that 57 is the only Osbertian charter in the name of Henry I. Much of Henry II's rhetoric from the early years of his reign concerned his desire 'to renew grandfatherly times'.[69] 57 appears to be responding to precisely this climate. As the Stephen charters must have been written during Scribe L's period of activity (c.1134-c.1154), it is possible that they too were written around the beginning of Henry II's reign. Therefore with at least 57 it emerges that, as in 1141, Osbert was creating forgeries at the start (or presumed start) of new regimes.

The arguments developed above are displayed in Table 4. Owing to the nature of the surviving evidence and that elements of Osbert's career still remain unknown, the chronology suggested in Table 4 can only be tentative. However, the different groups of forgeries expose phases in Osbert's forgery production. First, in the early 1130s, Osbert predominately looked to the abbey's founders in the tenth century with Edgar and Dunstan, and their eleventh-century refounder Edward in order to fortify Westminster's claims. Then in the prelude to the first canonisation attempt for Edward, Osbert created forged charters in this king's name. After 1141 he looked only to more contemporary kings through whom to root Westminster rights and privileges, a practice that is also suggested in Scribe L's forging activities displayed in Table 3. These different phases are significant. They show the shifting ways Osbert was writing, and therefore also suggest the shifting priorities and needs of his abbey.

3.3 Osbert of Clare's forgeries: Ceremony and Regality

This final section will conduct a closer analysis of three Osbertian forgeries in order to offer further insights into the shift after c.1141 within his forging activities that was suggested by the analysis in section 3.2. The three forgeries are the *First* and *Third Charters of Edward*, and the *First Charter of William*. This charters have been selected because they are among the more lengthy of Osbert's forgeries and because they were likely forged either side of an apparent change in Osbert's forging emphases.

---

69. F. E. L. Carter C. Johnson and D. E. Greenway, eds., *Dialogus de Scaccario and Constitutio Domus Regis* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1983), 77 cited in Garnett, *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure*, 299. See too *ibid*, 299-326.

Date	Charter	Scribe	Contents
	*c.*1121-*c.*1134: Osbert in exile from Westminster		
Early 1130s	Magna Carta Edgari	L	General confirmation
	Magna Carta Dunstani	L	Confirmation, including of episcopal exemption
	2nd Charter of Edward	-	Confirmation, including of episcopal exemption
	? 2nd Charter of William I	-	Confirmation of episcopal exemption
	1133: Innocent II confirms Westminster's episcopal exemption		
	*c.*1134-*c.*1138: Osbert back in Westminster serving as prior		
_c._1134-_c._1138	First Charter of Edward	-	General confirmation of lands; narrative of Edward's refoundation
	Third Charter of Edward	-	General confirmation of lands and rights; narrative of Edward's refoundation
	1139: Osbert's trip to Rome		
	1141: Stephen's capture and the Empress in London		
_c._1141	First Charter of William I	L	General confirmation, + crowns and crown-wearings ceremonies
	Letter of Innocent II	-	Rebuking of Gervase; order that Edward's crown safeguarded
Early Henry II	57 (Henry I)	-	General confirmation
	? 111 (Stephen)	L	General confirmation
	? 110 (Stephen)	L	General confirmation

Table 4: *Osbert's Forgeries for Westminster, c.1130-1154*

We begin before the change with the *First* and *Third Charters of Edward*. As described above, these charters include lengthy overlaps with Osbert's *Vita Eadwardi*, including the narrative for Edward's refoundation of the abbey and the papal charters of Popes Nicholas II and Leo IX. However, the *First* and *Third Charters* are distinct creations from the *Vita*: they are in their own separate texts, and are not making an argument for Edward's sanctity. Instead, these forgeries have their own agenda. Their purposes are suggested by their format. In the *First Charter*, following the narration of Edward's refoundation, the king is recorded as confirming numerous listed estates and privileges he and his predecessors granted to the abbey, as well as those granted by his magnates. The charter ends with a lengthy witness list, and is dated to 28 December 1065. In the *Third Charter*, following the description of the second embassy sent to Rome and Nicholas' bull, Edward grants or confirms extensive rights and privileges to the abbey are listed. It is attested with a lengthy witness list which is not identical to that in the *First Charter*, but contains many of the same individuals, representing the great ecclesiastical and lay personalities of the realm.[70] It too purports to date from 28 December 1065. While many of the lands and rights listed in these charters can be found in other charters of Edward (forged and otherwise),[71] between the *First* and *Third Charters*, the abbey's endowment from various separate charters are grouped together within two documents. In this sense in particular, these forgeries are pancartes: they compile the substance of several gifts made at different times into one composite charter.[72]

The date provided for these forgeries is significant: according to Osbert's *Vita* 28 December 1065 was when the newly finished abbey was consecrated.[73] Although Edward was too ill to attend this ceremony, these forgeries in his name seem to be functioning as foundation charters for Westminster. The imagined

---

70. The *Third Charter* has 41 attestations, the *First*, 33. The common witness are as follows: King Edward; Queen Edith; Archbishop Stigand of Canterbury; Archbishop Ealdred of York; Bishop William of London; Bishop Hereman of Sherborne; Bishop Wulfwig of Dorcester; Bishop Walter of Hereford; Bishop Leofric of Exeter; Bishop Giso of Wells; Bishop Wulfstan of Worcester; Bishop Siweard of Rochester; Abbot Æthelsige; Abbot Eadwine; Abbot Æthelwig; Abbot Leofric; Abbot Baldwine; Abbot Wulfwold; Earl Harold; Earl Eadwine; Earl Gyrth; Earl Leofwine; and thegns Asgar; Bondig; Raulf; Rodbert; Eadnoth; Æthelnoth; Wigod; Wulfric; Siwerd; and Godric. The *Third Charter* also includes: Bishop Godwine (of an unknown see); Abbot Eadmund; Reginald, chancellor; Osbern, royal chaplain; Peter, royal chaplain; Rodbert, royal chaplain; Earl Morkere; and thegns Colo; and Wulfweard. And the *First* lists Abbot Ælfwine, who is not in the *Third Charter*. See Simon Keynes, *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670-1066* (Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic, University of Cambridge, 2002), Tables LXXI-LXXV.

71. See Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*.

72. For a discussion of pancartes in this period see Chibnall, "Forgery in narrative charters," 331.

73. See Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*, 104-5.

confect of the pancartes would not appear unusual, it was common for monastic foundation charters in this period to include narrative sections describing the circumstances of or motivation for a house's foundation.[74] To Marjorie Chibnall narrative sections such as these although they may perhaps be based on a combination of genuine charters or the recollections of a community can read 'like a slightly imaginative dramatization and telescoping of more than one event'.[75] This telescoping effect is certainly visible in these forgeries, and it serves not just to highlight the abbey's relationship with Edward but also to compress all of the abbey's interactions with the king into this one moment. Furthermore, Osbert manufactures this relationship to be manifest within a grand occasion. It was this act of refoundation and Edward's burial in the abbey a week later which propelled the abbey into its royal role. Through these forgeries Osbert not only commemorated this occasion but also rooted all the abbey's properties and rights, and even its relationship with Edward, in this moment of pomp and ceremony.

The importance of occasion can also be seen in Osbert's *First Charter of William I*. This charter will henceforward be referred to as '1' (the number it is calendared in Mason's edition of charters) in order to differentiate it from the *First Charter of Edward*.[76] Like the *First* and *Third Charters of Edward the Confessor*, 1 can be characterised as a pancarte: it lists the grants and exchanges William I made to the abbey, and then those made by the citizens of London. While many of the lands listed in these charters can be found among Westminster's possessions in Domesday Book, Bates identified that the charters also include properties which were either given after the charter's purported date, or actually never came into the abbey's hands.[77] Like the charters of Edward the Confessor, 1 is set in an elaborate occasion; however, in this case it is an imagined event. The forgery begins with a short narrative recoding that in 1067 after defeating Harold and his allies and becoming king William the Conqueror learnt that Edward had sent the crown and other items of regalia to Westminster. Wishing to honour the church where his predecessor was buried and where he himself was crowned, William visited the abbey and laid fifty marks and a 'pretiosum pallium' (precious pall) on the altar of St Peter, and two equally expensive palls on Edward's tomb, before then placing two marks of gold and two palls on the abbey's High Altar. This

---

74. Chibnall, "Forgery in narrative charters," 331; Sarah Foot has also discussed narratives within charters, with a particular interest in their use in settling disputes in the Anglo-Saxon period. Sarah Foot, "Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?," in *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, vol. 16, Studies in the Early Middle Ages (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 39–65, 59-65.

75. Chibnall, "Forgery in narrative charters," 338.

76. *RRAN* i, no. 290. The dating clause is found in preamble of the charter.

77. *RRAN* i, notes to no. 290.

was done in the presence of bishops, abbots, and the rest of William's French and English nobles.[78] There is no evidence to suggest that such a gathering occurred in 1067,[79] and Osbert therefore appears to have invented this ceremony in order to root the confirmation of these rights and properties within a ceremony at the abbey. Moreover, the short narrative at the beginning of the forgery, by referring to Edward's burial in the abbey and William I's coronation on Christmas day 1066, likewise tied the abbey to royal ceremony.

As well as being set within an elaborate occasion, the forgery is also generally concerned with royal ceremonies at the abbey. An emphasis on Westminster as the site of coronations and royal burial (specifically Edward's) is echoed in a number of other Osbertian forgeries, such as the long confirmation charters of Henry I and Stephen.[80] As noticed above, there is a particular emphasis in 1 on the crown and crown-wearings. In addition to Edward's supposed bequest of his regalia, the forgery records that 'William' granted to the abbey the manor of Battersea 'for the recovery of (Edward's) crown and other royal emblems which pertained to him.'[81] In the forged charter William also states that he will add two wild beasts from his own hunt whenever the crown-wearing ceremonies are held at Westminster and on the feast of St Peter.[82] Crown-wearings are mentioned again at the end of the charter, when William confirms the custom by which a mark of gold is granted to Westminster, Winchester and Gloucester on the occasion of crown-wearings at the abbeys. In these closing lines the king promises that whenever he returns from an expedition ('whether from Normandy or indeed from outside the borders of England') he will visit Westminster, 'quia mihi prima sedes regialis est et principalis' ('because it is my first royal seat and my foremost').[83] Here William promises future royal patronage which is itself rooted in the enduring identity of the abbey as the 'first and foremost' royal seat and

---

78. 'presentibus...episcopis, abbatibus, et ceteris optimatibus meis francis et anglis.' *RRAN* i, no. 290.

79. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* makes no mention of such an event at the abbey (see *ASC*, 194-293) and Bates also argued that the event did not take place. See *RRAN* i, notes to no. 290.

80. *Westminster Charters*, nos. 57 and 110.

81. 'pro redemptione corone ipsius supra memorati regis ceterorumque regalium insignium que illi pertinent.' *RRAN* i, no. 290. George Garnett argues there is no reason to believe that this had been William's motivation when he granted the manor, but there are other examples of genuine confirmations or grants of lands in England by William Rufus or Henry I 'in order to "redeem" the crown which the Conqueror had bequeathed to it': Garnett, "The Origins of the Crown," at 203, and 202-209 generally.

82. 'Addidi etiam quotienscunque in solennitatibus corona redimitus in eodem loco fuissem, et ad principalem festivitatem sancti Petri duas feras de mea propria venatione donandas.' *RRAN* i, no. 290.

83. 'Itaque quotiens ab expeditione aliqua sive Normannia, sive etiam extra Anglie limites rediero, et ecclesiam prefatam Uuestmonasterii...quia mihi prima sedes regialis est et principalis visitavero...' *RRAN* i, no. 290.

the location of the most solemn annual ritual of kingship. But more than this, all these confirmations, both of future ceremonies and properties, are confirmed during and through an imagined occasion: a gift of thanks in 1067, a moment of pomp and regality at the abbey at the start of a new reign. Osbert is not simply creating confirmations, he is crafting a memory of a ceremonial tradition at the abbey.

The use of ceremony in these Osbertian forgeries finds some comparison with near contemporary practice at the royal abbey of Saint-Denis. Bernhard Scholz revealed heavy textual borrowings in many of Osbert's forgeries from extant charters from Saint-Denis dating from between the seventh and eleventh centuries.[84] For Scholz, Westminster's use of Saint-Denis' charters was deliberate, and chosen because Saint-Denis was one of the first abbeys to gain episcopal exemption, as well as serving as the repository of the royal regalia for the French kings.[85] Because Scholz was writing before Osbert was identified as the author of these texts it has been left to other scholars to suggest the possible links between the prior and Saint-Denis. As noted above, Briggs suggests that Osbert may have been exposed to the French material while in exile at Bury St Edmunds during the 1120s.[86] Yet the borrowing seems more than merely textual: 1 also appears to be influenced by genuine royal ceremonies at Saint-Denis held by the Capetian kings in the 1120s. For example, in August 1120 a great ceremony was held at Saint-Denis during which Louis the Fat, in the presence of the queen, court and papal legate, made a series of grants to the abbey, including returning to Saint-Denis the crown of his father Philip I, an act he should have done after his coronation in Orléans Cathedral in 1108.[87] This ceremony was then followed by a second at the abbey in 1124, where more significant grants were made to Saint-Denis and the king recognised the abbey (serving as it did as the protector of the crown and of the bodies of past French kings) as 'caput regni'.[88] Through such elaborate ceremonies the practice of Capetian kinship was being tied ever more closely to Saint-Denis.[89] But this was still not enough for Saint-Denis' ambitious abbot Suger, who appears to have sought further rights in this period. Royal

---

84. Scholz, "Two forged charters." The focus of Scholz's analysis was the *Magna Carta Edgari* and *Second Charter of Edward the Confessor*, but he also shows overlaps with a number of further charters, including the *First* and *Third Charters of Edward the Confessor*.

85. Scholz, "Two forged charters," 472.

86. Briggs, "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare," 47-48. See too Keynes' analysis in Keynes, "Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)."

87. For the full text of the charter see Jules Tardif, *Monuments Historiques* (Paris: Claye, 1866), no. 37. Discussed in Lindy Grant, *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France* (London: Longman, 1998), 103.

88. Tardif, *Monuments Historiques*, no. 391; Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 113.

89. See Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," for a longer discussion of the relationship between Saint-Denis and the Capetian monarchy in this period.

grants made between 1120 and 1124 were confirmed and extended in a forgery in the name of Charlemagne (D.Kar.286) that was completed soon after 1124.[90] In it Charlemagne purportedly confirmed Saint-Denis as the head of the French church, the abbey's freedom from episcopal control, its status as the coronation church (a right the abbey had not actually secured in the twelfth century), and that it was the repository for the royal regalia.[91] Moreover, in D.Karl.286 Charlemagne is described as placing four besants of gold on the altar of St Denis in a ceremony which reflected Louis' practice at the abbey in 1124.[92] Through the production of this forged charter, Saint-Denis sought to backdate and extend the existing privileges of the abbey by invoking past (and imagined) ceremonies.

The similarities between D.Kar.286 and 1 are clear: in both charters the abbeys are confirmed as the head of the respective realms, the coronation church, and the repository of the royal regalia.[93] Moreover, both charters construct royal ceremonies at their abbey as the occasion for the confirmation of such privileges, tying the abbeys and their rights into royal display and practice. The borrowings between Westminster and Saint-Denis were perhaps contemporary. Westminster was aware of the latest spectacles and ploys of Saint-Denis, suggesting that contact between these two abbeys was more recent (and more direct) than a textual exchange via Abbot Baldwin and Bury St Edmunds. How might Osbert and the Westminster community have knowledge of the practices at Saint-Denis? There were certainly opportunities for the community to be in contact with monks from Saint-Denis or at least learn of their activities: throughout the 1130s there were a number of large ecclesiastical councils on the continent which brought together delegates from communities across Europe. Orderic Vitalis notes that Pope Innocent II 'summoned all the bishops and abbots from every part of the West' to a council at Rheims in October 1131.[94] Closer to home, the two abbeys held neighbouring lands. At some point during his reign Edward the Confessor divided the estate of Deerhurst (Glos.) between the two houses, giving Westminster the

90. E. Muhlbacher, ed., *Diplomatum Karolinorum I: Pippini, Carlomanni, Carlo Magni Diplomata* (Hannover, 1909), 428-30, cited in Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 119.

91. Grant, *Abbot Suger*, 119-20; Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," 60.

92. For a longer discussion of the possible implications of Charlemagne's gift, see Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," 60.

93. These rights also occur in a number of other Osbertian forgeries. For example, Westminster is described as 'corona regni' in a forged bull of Paschall II (*Westminster Charters*, no. 161), and a parallel sentiment ('sedes regni') appears in the *First* and *Third* Charters of the Confessor (Scholz, "Two forged charters," 473). This phrase is also found in 1, as well as a forgery in King Stephen's name (*Westminster Charters*, no. 110).

94. Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume VI: Books XI, XII, and XIII*, ed. Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 420-21. Orderic went on to state the numbers of attendees: 13 archbishops, 263 bishops, and 'a great multitude of abbots and monks and secular clerks', at 423.

manor and Saint-Denis the church, with Baldwin, the future abbot of Bury St Edmunds, serving as its first prior.[95] There were thus multiple possible moments at which the monks of Westminster could have learnt of the actions of Saint-Denis in the second quarter of the twelfth century.

Significant here is that both houses related the customs and rights of their community to royal ceremonies. When considering Saint-Denis's forgeries Spiegel suggested that the 'fabulous background with which the charters were supplied was in a sense ancillary to the original intention of the documents, [the background] set in motion traditions that came to have a life of their own.'[96] While her argument is persuasive in the context of Saint-Denis, for Westminster's Osberterian charters I would argue that the 'background' events to these forgeries were never incidental but was always fundamental to the texts.

This close examination of three of Osbert's forgeries has exposed commonalities in how he created these texts. In these constructions Osbert sought ceremony and display through which to confirm his abbey's status. In the case of the 'Edward' charters this meant that Osbert compressed the abbey's interactions with this king into one occasion at the very end of his reign, just as the abbey was lurching onto the royal scene. In comparison, the occasion in 1 was invented, but the aim and effect was the same - here the abbey, its status, and properties, were all bound to royal display in the church. Even though the Edward charters and the *First Charter of William I* perhaps represent different phases in Osbert's forging practices, they shared this common aim.

<p align="center">*</p>

This analysis has exposed the different ways Westminster Abbey and its community was producing forgeries to preserve and defend its rights during the twelfth century. Marco Mostert has argued that charters can be understood 'as repre-

---

95. See Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 1143; Patrick Wormald, "How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?," in *The Times of Bede: Studied in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, ed. Stephen Baxter (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006), 240-41. The Confessor's gifts were confirmed by William I. See *RRAN* i, 254 and 295. Little is known about Saint-Denis' management of their overseas dependency, however it certainly belonged to the abbey until the mid-thirteenth century. Meanwhile, Westminster held its land in demesne until it was fee-farmed during Gervase's abbacy. C. R. Elrington, "Parishes: Deerhurst," in *A History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. 8 (Victoria County History, 1968); Harvey, *Westminster Abbey and its Estates*, 344.

96. Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," 59.

sentatives of the power of those who promulgated them or instigated the legal changes to which they testified...charters could be potent symbols of rule, power and authority.'[97] Westminster's forgeries were not simply static recreations of a lost past but active parts in how the abbey constructed its present. By bringing together for the first time the abbey's corpus of twelfth-century forged charters, some patterns to their production have been exposed. In turn, section 3.2 offered the first chronology for a selection of Osbert's creations, likewise exposing shifts in his practices. These findings suggested the abbey used these texts to recast relevant rights and relationships at specific moments. This is seen in the ancient charters produced in the 1130s through which the abbey sought confirmation for its episcopal exemption, and is also visible in 1141 when Osbert (at great personal risk) prepared forgeries for the start of a new but never realised regime.

The shifts and changes to Westminster's forging practices require further contextualisation, both in terms of the abbey's fortunes during this period, and in the context of the hagiography discussed in section 2 of this chapter. This will be done in the final section of this chapter. Nevertheless, here some conclusions regarding Westminster's forgeries can be developed. In her discussion of Saint-Denis' forgeries Spiegel argues that in these forgeries 'assertions concerning a special bond between the abbey and the king were set forth in a sense incidentally, as cause for the confirmation of territorial, legal, or religious privileges.'[98] At Westminster it was almost the reverse. In Osbert's forgeries in particular, the rights and privileges of the abbey were constructed *through* the special relationship the texts forged with monarchy. Patrick Geary has argued that the land and names were the 'two essential coordinates of monastic memory': in these components were preserved the abbeys resources and who granted them.[99] Charters (forged or genuine) could therefore be more than simply a list or record; they were an active attempt 'to connect people and land into a narrative framework that indicates not only what ought to be remembered but how it should be remembered.'[100] For Westminster it appears that we should add a third coordinate: royal ceremony. This is overwhelmingly apparent in Osbert's forgeries, where the relationship between abbey and monarchy is rooted in the abbey's status as the coronation church, site of the Confessor's burial, and repository of the royal regalia. Moreover, in these charters Osbert constructed a new memory of the

---

97. Marco Mostert, "Forgery and trust," in *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages. Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages" (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002)*, ed. Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 37–59, 46.
98. Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," 53.
99. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 118.
100. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 118.

abbey's relationship with England's kings by associating its privileges with royal ceremonies, both real and imagined.

4   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

This section will bring together the findings from the preceding investigations in order to uncover what additional insight can be found by considering Westminster's different types of writing together. As Osbert of Clare wrote both hagiography and forged charters, his writings provide a clear opportunity to consider different types of writing together, but this section will also seek to discern action and policy from the Westminster community at large.

Primarily, when Westminster's different writings are considered together coordinated responses and consistent methods can be detected. The evidence from the genuine charters reveals how Westminster hove into view at moments of perceived regime change, real or otherwise. This is visible in how Henry I patronised and used the abbey in the first decade of his reign when his rule was contested, and again in 1120/21, in the context of a fresh succession crisis and his marriage to Adeliza. Stephen also turned to the abbey in the years immediately following his hasty accession and Geoffrey (II) de Mandeville rebuilt his familial ties with the abbey in 1141, at the very moment his power in the capital peaked—for the earl, the abbey was as much a dynastic as a political site. Similar timings can be traced in Westminster's activities, literary or otherwise. The first canonisation attempt, with its accompanying hagiography and forgeries, was advanced in the early years of Stephen's reign, and the second, successful attempt was launched soon after Henry II's coronation. It may have also been in the early years of this reign that Osbert crafted spurious charters in the names of Henry I and Stephen. Similarly, on the eve of the Empress' expected coronation in 1141, the abbey produced forged royal and papal charters seeking to promote and protect the abbey's privileges.

A further consistency within Westminster's different writings was their invocation of ceremonies at the abbey. This was acutely visible in how Edward's sanctity in the *Vita* is manifested in royal display at the abbey, and in turn how Osbert rooted the fake promulgation of his royal forgeries within grand occasions, both real and invented. Beyond writing, there is further evidence of the abbey conjuring royal display at the abbey. A woodcut of a capital (the actual capital is lost) from Westminster survives in which King William II is depicted sitting uncrowned on a X-shaped throne, holding a lengthy pancarte, and flanked by Abbot Gilbert

Figure 1: *Woodcut of a Capital from Westminster abbey.*

Crispin and another monk (see Figure 1).[1] Stuart Harrison and John McNeill
have recently argued that on stylistic grounds this capital probably dated from
the later 1120s or 1130s.[2] As there is no equivalent charter from William Rufus
to the abbey (and indeed no known occasion such as that depicted), McNeill and
Harrison suggest that the capital was a 'visual equivalent' of Osbert's forgeries.
This suggestion aligns with the emphasis on royal occasions constructed within
Osbert's forgeries. The capital depicts the same kind of ceremonial presentation of
a pancarte as that manufactured in the *First Charter of William I* (1). Moreover,
the capital is itself an act of display, serving as a visual reminder of the abbey as
a location for royal display, as also stressed across Osbert's different writings. It
therefore appears that Westminster was using a variety of media through which
to advertise the abbey as site of royal ceremonies.

These commonalities across support a closer examination of the abbey's activities
across different types of writing. By considering Westminster's hagiography and

---

1. The image is taken from William Capon's drawing in E. W. Brayley, ed., *The Graphic
and Historical Illustrator* (London, 1834), 88.

2. Harrison and McNeill, "The Romanesque Monastic Buildings at Westminster," 88-90.
Although it had been assumed that the capital was from the cloister arcade, McNeill and
Harrison argue that its style and size is incompatible with it being from this location. Its
original setting thus remains unknown.

forgeries together a distinct chronology to the abbey's writing programme can be detected. In the 1130s the abbey appears to have looked to its pre-Conquest past in order to root its rights, privileges, and status. This can be seen in the charters forged in the names of Edgar and Dunstan through which Osbert sought to confirm the abbey's episcopal exemption, and in the later 1130s Osbert's charters and *Vita* of Edward the Confessor. It is significant that Osbert pursued the abbey's connection with Edward through two types of writing. Although the forgeries and the *Vita* had overlapping sections and emphases, they are distinct creations. It appears that both were required in conjunction to secure the abbey's position. This combination of different writings may suggest a particular anxiety from Osbert and Westminster. In her analysis of the *Liber Eliensis*, Virginia Blanton argued that the combination of hagiographical and historical writing visible within that volume pointed to an 'anxiety over documentation' which prompted that community to bolster its historical narrative with acts of saintly intercession.[3] Osbert's combination of genres could be symptomatic of equivalent concerns at Westminster. As shown in the charter analysis of section 1, in the 1120s and 1130s the abbey became less relevant to royalty. In both the *Vita* and forgeries Osbert appear to have been trying to fashion documents which not only secured the abbey's rights, but also its relationship with England's monarchs. His different types of writings in the 1130s can therefore be seen not only as responses to the struggles the abbey was facing in this period, but also as evidence of the depth of the community's concerns.

A second phase to Westminster's writings emerges in the years after the first canonisation attempt. Following the failure in 1139, the abbey appears to have begun to increasingly root its rights in more recent kings and relationships. This is particularly visible in Westminster's general forgery production, as suggested in sections 3.2 and 3.3, and particularly in the forged charters prepared for 1141. The *First Charter of William I*, which was produced on the eve of the Empress Matilda's expected coronation, looked to her grandfather as a route to relevancy. The use of more recent models was not just about the specific circumstances of the 1140s, it also appears to indicate a shift within the abbey. It is significant that after 1139 Osbert did not forge any further charters in the name of the Confessor. In turn, Aelred's *Vita Eadwardi* diminished the connection between Westminster and Edward's kingship which Osbert had so doggedly stressed within his own work. Instead Aelred focused on the saint himself. It therefore seems as if from the

---

3. Virginia Blanton, "Ely's St. Æthelthryth: The Shrine's enclosure of the female body as symbol for the inviolability of monastic space," in *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, ed. Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury (Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2005), 66.

1140s Edward as king was no longer so tightly bound to Westminster's practical needs. There are a number of possible reasons for this disconnect, including Osbert's absence from Westminster from c.1141: he was clearly a champion for Edward's cult.[4] The step away from using Edward to secure the abbey's temporal rights may also relate to the Confessor's saintly status. Patrick Geary has argued that when part of a monastery's history, for example its foundation, is associated with a miraculous events then that past is 'depoliticized and decontextualised', presiding in the 'world of sacred myth' rather than the realm of human events.[5] Through Osbert's construction of saintly Edward, this king may have become too transient a place to root Westminster's rights and privileges, forcing the community to look instead to more recent and human events through which to seek relevancy.

These phases in writing will be considered further below, but here it is first necessary to try and understand why Westminster used ceremony as a way to promote its role within English royalty. First, Westminster's special significance was reliant on the ceremonies it had hosted in 1066, that is Edward's burial and William I's coronation. In turn, coronations were the only consistent occasion through which monarchy interacted with Westminster in this period. While Saint-Denis may have provided a model (textual and otherwise) for Westminster's forging programme, the fortunes of the French abbey also serve to highlight all the things Westminster did not have in the twelfth century. Spiegel argued that under the Capetian kings the cult of Saint Denis (as cultivated at the abbey) 'performed a critical function in the definition of French national identity under the aegis of the monarchy.'[6] Building upon its existing relationship with the Capetian dynasty (serving as it did as a royal mausoleum), Saint-Denis used its patron saint to enhance and extend the monastery's importance in the realm.[7] No such opportunity was available for Westminster. The kings of England did not choose it as their burial site: William I was buried at his foundation of Saint-Étienne at Caen; William II died in the New Forest and was hastily buried in Winchester Cathedral; Henry I was buried at his foundation at Reading, even though he died in Normandy; and Stephen was interred alongside his wife at their foundation at Faversham, Kent. In turn, and as shown in section 1 of this chapter, with the exception of Edith-Matilda the Anglo-Norman monarchy had no strong relationship with the abbey. Finally, the cult of Edward the Confessor did not capture

---

4. Barlow, "Appendix D," 157.
5. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 132.
6. Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," 43.
7. Spiegel, "Cult of Saint Denis," 46.

the devotion of a king of England until Henry III in the 1230s.[8] As coronations were the only moment in which the abbey held relevance for the Anglo-Norman monarchy in the twelfth century, it was also through ceremony that it sought to maintain and enhance its status.

Beyond Westminster's experience, contemporary commentators reflected on the importance of royal display. When describing the breakdown in centralised power during Stephen's reign, Henry of Huntingdon lamented that to say where the king spent Easter or Christmas was of no importance because

> '[a]t this time, to be sure, the ceremonies of the court and the custom of royal crown-wearings, handed down from the ancient line, had completely died out...there was no peace in the realm, but through murder, burning and pillage everything was being destroyed, everywhere the sound of war, with lamentation and terror.[9]

For Henry the regularity of royal ceremonies operated as a barometer for peace and stability.[10] Westminster's promotion of itself as a site for ceremony may not have just been an argument drawn from its historic relationship with monarchy, but also reflected a more universal model which would have been particularly relevant during a period of instability. Indeed the connection between ceremony and regnal security is explicitly made in the forged *First Charter of William I* (1) where the events listed within the forgery (Edward's burial in the abbey, William I's conquest and coronation in Westminster, and the invented gift-giving ceremony in the abbey in 1067) constructed a link between ceremonies held in Westminster and a successful accession to the English throne.

More generally, the contested nature of the Anglo-Norman realm between 1066 and 1154 is an essential context to Westminster's twelfth-century experience, activities, and writings. Across this period English kingship was fragile and insecure. It frequently faced the possibility of falling apart, and each reign brought a reorientation and recreation of the monarchy. Mason argued that this instability is vividly epitomised in how each new king and dynasty chose a different site for their mausolea.[11] As uncovered in the present investigation, this instability was also reflected within Westminster's writings and activities. Due to its role as the

---

8. See Carpenter, "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult."

9. *Hist. Anglorum*, 724-25.

10. Richardson considers crown-wearing ceremonies as important moments for both the king and the other peripheral figures involved. H. G. Richardson, "The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and Oath," *Traditio* 60 (1960): 111–202, 128.

11. Mason, "Pro Statu et Incolumnitate Regni Mei," 116-17.

coronation church and its position within Westminster vill, the abbey was bound to monarchy. However, it was consistently passed over by England's kings, who, again with the exception of Edith-Matilda, preferred to bestow their patronage and personal pieties on other foundations. As it failed to build ties, with each new king and every potential change in regime the abbey had to reconfigure its relationship with monarchy. This is seen in the abbey's cultivation of Edith-Matilda in the years following her death, then the cult of Edward, and then finally the more recent English kings in the forging campaign of the 1140s and 1150s. Equally, this pattern of reconfiguring itself with each change in regime is reflected in the timing of the abbey's activities and writing productions, which were clustered around the beginnings of new reigns. Each of the abbey's attempts ultimately failed and the abbey never built a consistent relationship with the Anglo-Norman monarchy in this period. Nevertheless, in each of these refashionings Westminster continued to cultivate its role in royal ceremonies. Its historical and (albeit intermittent) contemporary roles in the grandest royal occasions of realm made ceremony fundamental to the abbey's identity and claims to relevance; Westminster may have been neglected by royalty, but it never abandoned its claim to ceremonial significance.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

This chapter has provided new findings into Westminster abbey between 1100 and 1170. Elements of Westminster's experience of the twelfth century were beyond the community's control. England's kings were uninterested in the abbey and the community did not cultivate lay patronage, and particularly in comparison to new religious foundations in London. However, by bringing together the abbey's different types of writing, the ways the community responded to these circumstances have been more keenly revealed than they would have been through just one type of material. The abbey's activities demonstrate both a coordinated and reactive writing program at the abbey, and also underline just how vulnerable the community was to the changes and challenges of the twelfth century.

II WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY

Introduction: Winchester Cathedral Priory, 1100-1170

In comparison to Westminster Abbey's central (but unstable) role within post-Conquest kingship, Winchester Cathedral's links to English royalty were ancient and well-established. In the pre-Conquest period the cathedral had been the site of coronations and housed the tombs of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish royalty. In turn the city of Winchester held the key instruments of governance, including the royal treasury. This chapter will offer the first investigation of the community at Winchester Cathedral (Old Minster) between c.1100 and 1170 in order to analyse Winchester's relationship with royalty, the community's experience of this period, and to investigate the different ways it was writing. From twelfth-century Old Minster there survives a solid body of royal and episcopal charters, three pieces of hagiographical writing, and a large cartulary into which was copied over two hundred Anglo-Saxon charters related to the cathedral's endowment. Although the medieval city of Winchester has been thoroughly investigated,[1] the community at the cathedral has not been.

This chapter provides the first comprehensive investigation of the priory and its writings from this period. It uses royal and episcopal charters to reconstruct Old Minster's relationships with royalty and Winchester's bishops, and its hagiography to assess how the community wrote its Anglo-Saxon saints. It also studies the priory's monumental twelfth-century cartulary (the so-called *Codex Wintoniensis*) to analyse how the priory reformatted its ancient endowment to meet contemporary needs. The findings from these analyses will then be considered together. In comparison to Westminster, Winchester had no figure like Osbert of Clare to aid navigation between the different genres of writing. And unlike Gloucester Abbey, there are few charter surviving from this period relating to Old Minster's lay benefaction. Nevertheless, the investigations of the different texts analysed in this chapter brings hitherto unfound insights into the cathedral priory and its writings. Key findings from this study include the reconstruction of Old Minster's experience of and activities in this period; the first full investigation of the *Codex Wintoniensis* as a product of the twelfth-century priory.

Old Minster was founded by King Cenwalh of Wessex in 648 with a dedication

---

1. In particular through the *Winchester Studies* series. See Biddle, *Winchester in the early middle ages*; and Rumble (2002).

to Saints Peter and Paul. Since the first bishop of Winchester was not consecrated until c.660, it possible that before it was the seat for the episcopal see the church serviced the royal residence which lay adjacent.[2] Little is known about the Old Minster's history between the seventh and the ninth centuries, but later accounts record the cathedral as the site of both royal ceremonies and burials.[3] Winchester became a recognisable urban centre in the late ninth century when King Alfred refounded the town, and provided a new layout for its streets and refurbished defences.[4] This moment also marked Winchester's emergence as a major ecclesiastical centre. Old Minster had been the only religious community in the city for 250 years but shortly after 900 two new minsters (New Minster and Nunnaminster) were founded.[5] The new institutions reflect the increasing status of the city during this period, and New Minister's size and awkward proximity to Old Minster seems to suggest that it was designed to serve a considerable urban congregation.[6] Nevertheless, Old Minster remained the seat of the bishop, and the community was reformed under Bishop Æthelwold (963-84). The church was most likely the site of the promulgation of the *Regularis Concordia* in 973.[7] It was also in the tenth century that the cathedral began to venerate St Swithun, who had been bishop of Winchester 852-62. His body was translated from outside the west door of the original cathedral on 15 July 971; St Swithun's tomb still holds pride of place in the modern cathedral.[8] By this time there was a close physical association between Old Minster and the Anglo-Saxon royal residence in Winchester, and in the later tenth century the minster's west end, which was opposite the palace, may have included a balcony designed to accommodate royal presentations on ceremonial occasions.[9] Martin Biddle and Derek Keene argue that the tombs of kings and relics of saints housed in both Old Minster and New Minster 'enshrined the heart of the Old English kingdom.'[10]

The royal importance of Winchester city and cathedral continued throughout the

---

2. *ASC* (F), 648 ; Martin Biddle and D. J. Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. Martin Biddle, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 306-7.

3. See *Gest. Regum*, for the burials of Kings Cynewulf, Ecgberht, Æthelwulf, and princess and Saint Eadburh. In the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries: Kings Eadred, Cnut, Harthacnut, and William II.

4. Martin Biddle and D. J. Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," in *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, ed. Martin Biddle, Winchester Studies, 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), 450.

5. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 452.

6. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 452.

7. Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 307.

8. Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 307.

9. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 465; see too Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 62-63.

10. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 465.

eleventh century. Edward the Confessor's coronation at Easter 1043 was conducted in the cathedral, and it was also during the Confessor's reign that the church was the site for Easter crown-wearing ceremonies.[11] William the Conqueror maintained this tradition: of his ten known Easter festivals in England, five were held at Winchester.[12] The importance of Winchester as a royal and ecclesiastical centre is also underlined by the architectural developments in this period. Old Minster was rebuilt during the episcopacies of Bishops Walkelin (1070-1098) and Giffard (1100-1129). By the early twelfth century the southeastern enclave of Winchester contained the huge new cathedral, the royal palace, the bishop's palace, New Minster, and Nunnaminster. The city of Winchester lay in the shadow of the 'twin pillars of the Norman establishment, the church and the crown', a domination that Christopher Norton has described as both institutional and physical.[13]

The twelfth century, however, was a period of change and challenge for city and cathedral. The hasty burial of William II in St Swithun's in 1100 was the last royal entombment in the church. Biddle and Keene have argued that the twelfth century brought a 'slackening' in the association between Winchester city and the English monarchy. This slackening was first apparent in the opening decade of Henry I's reign when regular crown-wearing ceremonies were abandoned and the city featured less and less frequently within the royal itinerary.[14] For Biddle and Keene this decline was cemented through the events of 'the Anarchy'. Several key political and military moments of the civil war occurred at Winchester, and the damage to the royal palace during the siege of the city in 1141 and its subsequent demolition, may have been key factors in determining that monarchy would never return to the city 'on its old basis.'[15] Moreover, across the twelfth century the instruments of royal governance gradually moved away from the Winchester. The royal treasury, once kept in the palace, had been transferred to the castle at the western edge of the city by the time of Henry I's death in 1135, and during the reign of Henry II, the principal treasury had migrated from Winchester to the

---

11. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 'Appendix D' in particular.

12. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 'Appendix A'. The location of the remaining five are unknown.

13. Christopher Norton, *St William of York* (York: University of York, York Medieval Press, 2006), 19.

14. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 489; Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 295-96; *RRAN* ii, xxix-xxxi. Henry I was at Winchester for his accession in August 1100, and July, August, October 1101; May 1106; 1107; 1111; 1114; after mid-September 1115; February, April-May 1121; 1122; January and Pentecost 1129, September-October, and Christmas 1129, the middle of 1130, and April-May and June 1133. Of the thirty five Easters of Henry I's reign, 17 were in France and 6 in Winchester: Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 67 in particular, and Table 5, on page 124, below.

15. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 489.

capital.[16] With it not only did the tools of royal administration relocate, but also royal officials.

Winchester Cathedral Priory, like Westminster Abbey, was a Benedictine monastery with historic ties to monarchy that was facing a period of uncertainty in the twelfth century. Significantly, and unlike Westminster, Old Minster had had a long run at the heart of power. It was more than a royal foundation: it was also the mausoleum for Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish royalty, and a site for coronation and crown-wearing. A further important difference from Westminster Abbey is that Winchester was the seat of one of England's most powerful bishoprics, and thereby brought the cathedral priory into contact with the shifting politics of the realm.

Also in contrast to Westminster, the twelfth-century community at Old Minster is yet to be the object of dedicated study. The medieval city has been the focus of intense historical and archaeological investigations (spearheaded by Martin Biddle),[17] but thus far Old Minister has been secondary within these discussions, and its fortunes extrapolated from the larger changes in the town or the bishopric. For example, Biddle and Keene consider Old Minster's status in this period as simply reflecting the broader decline of the city. For them the movement of both treasury and royal residence from the royal palace from beside Old Minster to the more distant castle signified a physical and metaphorical separation between cathedral and monarchy. The decline in crown-wearing ceremonies at the cathedral likewise represented 'the waning importance of Winchester as a royal centre.'[18] While these shifts within the city are significant, one should be cautious of accepting a simple decline for Winchester city and cathedral in the period between 1100 and 1170. The end of crown-wearings does not reflect an abandoning of Winchester, but rather this tradition falling into disuse. Moreover, the legacy of the city's importance as a royal centre is apparent during the 'Anarchy' of King Stephen's reign. Following Stephen's capture at the Battle of Lincoln in 1141, it was at Winchester that the Empress Matilda received not only the instruments and symbols of royalty, but also a popular proclamation as 'Lady of the English'.[19] After Matilda's failure in London, it was at Winchester

---

16. R. Allen Brown, "The "treasury" of the later twelfth century," in *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, ed. J. Conway Davies (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957), 35–49.

17. See Biddle, *Winchester in the early middle ages*. See too the *Winchester Studies* series in general, including the forthcoming volume: *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters*.

18. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 472-3; Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 311.

19. See *Gest. Steph.*, 118. For a fuller discussion of 1141, see S. Church, "Succession and Interregnum in the English Polity: The Case of 1141," *The Haskins Society Journal* 29 (2017):

that her forces were overrun and her closest ally Robert of Gloucester captured. The ensuing exchange of captives brought a stalemate that was not broken until the civil war was finally resolved with the Treaty of Winchester in 1153. The importance of Winchester during the civil war was certainly compounded by the fact that throughout the period it was the seat of the king's brother, the fickle king-maker Henry of Blois (1129-1171). Henry's episcopacy kept Winchester at the heart of twelfth-century politics.

Winchester's twelfth-century bishops have been well investigated, with bibliographical studies of William Giffard and Henry of Blois conducted by M.J. Franklin, Nicholas Riall, and Lena Voss.[20] Bishop Henry in particular remains the focus of much scholarly attention, largely due to his involvement in both the politics of the 'Anarchy' and (through his patronage of art) the 'twelfth-century Renaissance'.[21] In each of these studies, the experience and activities of the cathedral priory has been secondary to their focus on the bishops. An exception is Everett Crosby's analysis of the division between conventual and episcopal estates from the eleventh to thirteenth centuries.[22] In his discussion of Winchester, Crosby concludes that there was some distinction between the land of the bishop and that of the community in the early twelfth century, but the priory was subjected to 'an aggressive episcopal presence' throughout this period, and it was not until the end of the century that the community could begin to exert its own independence.[23] As Crosby's study is focused on estate management, he does not consider the other avenues through which the community may have sought to pursue their ambitions, such as through different types of creative writing.

Besides charters, some of Old Minster's other twelfth-century writings have been the subject of isolated investigations. Alexander Rumble has conducted thorough palaeographical investigations of the *Codex Wintoniensis*, which was produced at Old Minster in the second quarter of the twelfth century. Rumble identified the different hands working on the manuscripts, and so also the phases and methods to its production.[24] Given this focus, Rumble did not provide a thorough analysis of the contexts at the priory which may have influenced the cartulary's

---

181–200.

20. Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution"; Franklin, "Introduction"; Riall, "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester"; Voss, *Heinrich von Blois*.

21. See for example, Riall, "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester"; Kusaba, "Henry of Blois, Winchester, and the 12th-century renaissance"; Tudor-Craig, "Henry of Blois."

22. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*.

23. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 225; 233-4.

24. Rumble (1979), i-ii; Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis"; and Rumble (2002).

production. Winchester's hagiography has also been the focus of some scholarly attention. In particular, it has been shown that one anonymous author composed hagiography at the turn into the twelfth century related to two Winchester saints, Birinus and Swithun.[25] Despite this shared authorship, the contents of these works have never been considered together nor fully contextualised within the priory's twelfth-century experiences.

This chapter offers the first investigation dedicated to Winchester Cathedral Priory between 1100 and 1170, and the first to examine a range of its different writings together. One of this chapter's aims is to analyse Old Minster's relationship with English monarchy. This is examined by identifying the interactions between the community and royalty, as well as assessing how the monarchy was patronising the priory in terms of frequency, substance, and the circumstances which may have prompted those interactions. The second aim is to bring greater clarity to the community's experience in this period. This is established through a reconstruction of its relationship with its bishop and the opportunities it may have faced from changes in rule (royal or episcopal.) Moments in which these experiences were particularly acute are identified and their causes explained. The final aim of this chapter is to uncover what the abbey was writing in this period. This is considered through an analysis of its creative writings, and a consideration of what needs or contexts these texts may have been designed to meet.

Old Minster has a strong body of materials surviving from this period. A large corpus of royal charters and ecclesiastical *acta* survive as copies within later cartularies. The *Codex Wintoniensis* was compiled at Old Minster in the second quarter of the twelfth century; this monumental cartulary contains the copies over two-hundred Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman charters. The only hagiographical writings related to Old Minster from this period are *Vitae* of Ss Birinus and Swithun, and a *Miracula* of St Swithun. These were written by the same author at the very end of the eleventh or the early twelfth centuries.[26] There are no twelfth-century liturgical materials surviving from St Swithun's,[27] and the only narrative history related to this period are the *Winchester Annals*.[28] There are also several large manuscripts which were produced as Old Minster during this

---

25. Rosalind Love, ed., *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, Vita S. Rumwoldi* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996); Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*.

26. Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, liv-lx.

27. Pfaff, *Liturgy in Medieval England*.

28. *AM*, ii; see too J. T. Appleby, "Richard of Devizes and the annals of Winchester," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 36 (1963): 70–77.

time. These include the magnificent Winchester Bible[29] and a copy of Hegesippus, *De excidio Judeorum.* The heavily illustrated Bible falls beyond the scope of this investigation, but the Hegesippus does, at least initially, appear to have some connection to the priory's twelfth-century writings: its binding has many of the same stamps which also adorn the binding for the *Codex Wintoniensis*, suggested that both bindings were most likely made in Winchester.[30] However, there is no evidence that the Hegesippus was ever held at the medieval priory–it was given to the Cathedral library in 1947–and only its binding connects the work to the city.[31] As it cannot be definitively linked to the twelfth-century priory, the Hegesippus will not be included in this investigation. Further, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, the absence of a critical comprehensive analysis of Old Minster's charters means that no discernible corpus of twelfth-century forged charters has been uncovered. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

This chapter will focus on Old Minster's charters, the *Codex Wintoniensis*, and the *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and *Miracula Swithuni*. Together these writings provide original insight into the priory's fortunes and ambitions in this period. The charters support an examination of Old Minster's relationships including with royalty and its bishop, as well as an assessment of the communities experience of and actions in this period. Old Minster's three hagiographical texts will be investigated in order to see how the community was writing its ancient Anglo-Saxon saints in c.1100.[32] Although these texts may have been composed near the limit of this study's timeframe, they are the only twelfth-century hagiography from Old Minster, and therefore are an important part of understanding how the community was writing across this period. Finally, the *Codex Wintoniensis* will be examined as a deliberate creative act designed to engage with the contexts in which its different phases were created. In the production of this cartulary multiple charters were rewritten and therefore repurposed into a new type of writing. The *Codex*, much like Westminster's forgeries, represent the deliberate use of diplomatic records to meet a specific need. The analysis of the *Codex* in this chapter will lay out this case and in doing so offer a new reading of Winchester's cartulary. Access to these materials is aided by a series of editions of Old Minster's charters,[33] modern editions and translations of the hagiography,[34] and a calendar

---

29. See Claire Donovan, "The Winchester Bible," in *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, ed. John Crook (Chichester: Phillimore, 1993), 81–96.

30. Nixon, "The Binding of the Winton Domesday." The same stamps are also found in the Winton Domesday, which is discussed in section 3 of this chapter.

31. Nixon, "The Binding of the Winton Domesday," 534, note 1; 540 and note 1.

32. This dating is from Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 612-13, and discussed further in section 2 of this chapter

33. 'Royal Charters'; *Chart. Winch.*; *EEA: Winchester*; and *RRAN* i-iii.

34. *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and *Miracula Swithuni*.

of the *Codex* produced by Rumble.[35]

This chapter falls into four parts. The first section investigates the charters issued to and from Winchester between 1100 and 1170 in order to reconstruct the priory's relationships and its shifting fortunes across the period. Then the forms and purposes of the abbey's other writings will reconstructed first through an investigation of the three hagiographical texts, and then the *Codex Wintoniensis*. Finally these distinct genres will be considered together in the the fourth section of this chapter to assess how Winchester's different writings can expose the community's fortunes and ambitions across the twelfth century.

---

35. Rumble (1979), ii.

1 CHARTERS

This section analyses the charters of Winchester Cathedral Priory in order to shed light upon the community's fortunes between c.1100 and 1170. Although Old Minster has featured in previous investigations (such as Biddle and Keene's), the priory itself and its extant charters have not been subject to thorough analysis. An exception here is Crosby's study of episcopal *mensa*. Crosby used episcopal *acta* and a selection of Old Minster's charters to trace divisions between the monks' and the bishops' land.[1] Although Crosby's conclusions are helpful for interpreting the longer developments between Winchester's bishops and the priory, his study is inevitably only focused on the charters that shed light on this particular relationship. In contrast, this section will identity and analyse all of Old Minster's surviving charters (royal, episcopal, and lay) from the period under investigation.

Old Minster's charters will be analysed in order to bring insight into the community's history in this period by assessing what relationships it retained, gained or lost. In particular, given Old Minster's historic ties to Anglo-Saxon royalty, the patronage it received from the Anglo-Norman rulership in the twelfth century can suggest what place (if any) it held within contemporary monarchy. While Biddle and Keene have argued that the city was experiencing a decline in its relationship with monarchy from the 1130s,[2] it must be ascertained whether Old Minister's fortunes echoed those of Winchester at large, or whether, like Westminster Abbey, there were moments in which the cathedral and its community held a central role within the performance of English kingship.

In addition to external political challenges, the twelfth century was a period of physical change around Old Minster. In 1110, St Swithun's local rival New Minster moved to a new site at Hyde, just north of the city walls.[3] Before this relocation the ecclesiastical complex had been so crowded that, according to William of Malmesbury, the walls of the two minsters were touching and 'the voices of those chanting in either interfered with the other.'[4] While New Minster was now further away from to St Swithun's, throughout the twelfth century it continued to offer an alternative avenue for lay and royal patronage in Winch-

---

1. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 216-34.
2. Biddle, *Winchester in the early middle ages*, and above.
3. See *RRAN* ii, no. 1070.
4. *Gest. Regum*, 194-95.

ester. In addition, around 1070/80 work began on a grand and distinctly Norman cathedral to replace Old Minster's Anglo-Saxon church. The new cathedral occupied the same site as its predecessor, preserving the large royal and ecclesiastical complex in the south-east of Winchester city, as well as allowing religious life in the priory to continue uninterrupted.[5] The new building was unlike anything witnessed in England before: its grand length (164 meters) far exceeded any previous churches that had been built in Normandy or post-Conquest England.[6] The relics and bodies of the various venerable people buried in the Anglo-Saxon minister were translated into the new church in several stages during the twelfth century. Notably, St Æthelwold was translated in 1111, and the relics of Saints Birinus, Swithun, Hæddi, Beornstan, Ælfheah, and many royal figures were moved into the new cathedral in *c.*1150.[7] Also around mid-century, a raised platform was constructed within the apex of the church's apse and included a tunnel-vaulted passage under the platform. This is now known as the 'Holy Hole' and was most likely provided to allow pilgrims to crawl beneath the platform and benefit from their proximity to St Swithun's relics, which were probably kept on the feretory above.[8] These various stages of construction, although largely unrecorded in the surviving diplomatic record, provide an essential context to the priory's twelfth-century history.

A strong body of material survives from Old Minster. There are seventy-three surviving genuine charters relating to the priory from the period 1100 to c.1171, including papal correspondence, royal grants, and records of conveyances. These are all preserved as later copies, the majority of which can be found in two cartularies created at the cathedral: BL, Additional MS. 29436 was compiled in the second half of the thirteenth century and contains fifty-two charters from the period 1100-c.1170; Winchester, Cathedral Library and Archives, W52/74, *'St Swithun Cartulary'* was largely compiled in the first half of the fourteenth century and contains thirty-seven charters from 1100-c.1170. There is also one twelfth-century cartulary BL, Additional 15350, the '*Codex Wintoniensis*' (henceforward *Codex*), that contains thirteen charters relating to the twelfth century, five of which are not found elsewhere.[9] Each of the Winchester cartularies have

---

5.   Franklin, "Introduction," xxxi; Crook, "Bishop Walkelin's cathedral," 21.

6.   Crook, "Bishop Walkelin's cathedral," 22.

7.   See *AM*, ii, 43-44; 54.

8.   Crook, "St Swithun of Winchester," 59-60.

9.   For these cartularies, see G.R.C. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*, ed. Claire Breay, Julian Harrison, and David M. Smith (The British Library, 2010), 211-12. Further copies of Winchester's royal charters survive in the Charter Rolls from the reign of Edward II. See *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the public record office: Edward I, Edward II, A.D. 1300-1326*, vol. III (London: Mackie & co. Ltd, 1908), pp. 345, 346, 348, and 353. Henceforward *CCR*, iii.

a particular character: BL. Add. 29436 has a higher proportion of royal charters than St Swithun's Cartulary, which in turn contains more episcopal records. The *Codex* exclusively has royal charters. There are several overlaps between all three cartularies, which allows missing witness lists or errors in copying to be mediated through cross-comparison.[10]

In comparison to the collection from Westminster abbey, Winchester's corpus has several deficiencies. Primarily, there are far fewer charters surviving from Old Minster, and all are copies.[11] This means that any analysis of the Winchester documents is inevitably shaped by the agendas of the media (the cartularies) through which they survived. Moreover, unlike for Westminster there are few charters which directly relate to lay benefaction to the cathedral, therefore limiting how far the priory's relationships in this period can be reconstructed. Although there are several separate editions (of varying levels of detail) of the three cartularies discussed above ,[12] there is no collection which collates every cathedral charter. For this reason, Appendix A (from page 306) enumerates every known charter to or from Old Minster during this period, listing them chronologically and providing details of their manuscript copies and modern editions. For ease of reference, in the coming discussion all charters will be referred to by their number in this appendix.

In addition to the practical problems arising from Winchester's corpus of charters, there is a further methodological issue coming from Old Minster's status as an episcopal seat. When analysing this material it can be difficult to differentiate between the bishops' relationships and the priory's, or to separate the community from a given bishop's career. This is accentuated by the fact that there was no formal division of the episcopal *mensa* in the early twelfth century.[13] However, the scope of this analysis goes some way to moderate these issues. By considering the priory's charters across multiple royal and episcopal periods, the community's experience can be traced (and delineated from the bishops') through the continuities and changes in this period. In turn, which rights and how they were pursued has the potential to reveal the distinctly monastic ambitions. The coming discussion will thus use Old Minster's charters to reconstruct the fortunes

---

10. For example the full witness list for the charter of King Stephen on BL. Add. 29436 fos. 18r-v can be recovered from the copy in *CCR*, iii, 353.

11. A number of original twelfth-century episcopal charters appear to have survived at least until 1258 when they were inspected by the papal nuncio Arlotus and papal subdeacon Rustand. See the notes to #26, #60, and #64, in *EEA: Winchester*. It is not known what happened to these documents after the mid-thirteenth century.

12. 'Royal Charters'; *Chart. Winch.*; Rumble (1970); Rumble (2002).

13. See Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 216-34.

of the priory during this period, and in particular its relationship with English monarchy. Alongside this, the various responses of the community will be traced in order to expose the moments in which they pushing their own priorities. This will be conducted first by an analysis of the episcopal *acta* and the bishops' relationships with the priory, before moving onto royal charters, and finally a brief discussion of lay benefaction.

1.1   The Bishops of Winchester

The careers of Winchester Cathedral's twelfth-century bishops provide insight into the relationships between priory and the bishopric, and cathedral and monarchy. William Giffard (1100-1129) had been a canon and subdeacon at Rouen, a royal clerk under William I, and chancellor under William Rufus.[14] Giffard was appointed to the see of Winchester by Henry I only days after Rufus' death, a move that has been regarded as one of 'political expediency' at a moment when Henry's succession was not yet secure.[15] Giffard sided with Archbishop Anselm in the Investiture crisis and his consecration was delayed until 1107. Nevertheless, Giffard appears to have held a close relationship with Henry I throughout his episcopacy: he aided in the election of Bernard of St David in 1117, accompanied the king to Normandy in 1119, and was also one of those selected to attend to Council of Rheims in the same year. In January 1121 he celebrated Henry I's marriage to Adeliza at Windsor.[16]   Henry of Blois (1129-1171) was likewise a royal appointment and held ties to Anglo-Norman kingship in his own right: he was a son of Adela of Blois, daughter of the Conqueror. Henry has long been recognised as one of the great personalities of the twelfth century.[17]   In his long life he was a monk of Cluny, dean of the College of Martin-le-Grand (*c.*1135-58), abbot of Glastonbury (1126-71), bishop of Winchester (1129-71), and papal legate (1139-43). In addition to being a grandson of the Conqueror, he was brother to a king of England (Stephen), and a count of Blois. As much as he was despised by some of his ecclesiastical contemporaries (Bernard of Clairvaux famously called him 'the whore of Winchester'; to Henry of Huntingdon, he was 'a new kind of monster'), he has been a figure of fascination for historians, particularly as a generous patron of the "twelfth-century renaissance".[18] This section will not seek to

---

14.   Franklin, "Giffard, William (*d.* 1129)."

15.   Franklin, "Introduction," xxxii-iii; Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 224.

16.   See Franklin, "Introduction," xxxiv-v.

17.   King, "Blois, Henry de (*c.* 1096–1171)."

18.   Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, 285-93. Kusaba, "Henry of Blois, Winchester, and the 12th-century renaissance"; Riall, "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester"; Tudor-Craig,

treat the life and career of Henry of Blois nor the supporting historiography with any great depth, but will instead, as it will with William Giffard, remain focused on what their episcopacies can reveal of the relationships Winchester held during this period.

William Giffard

William Giffard's relationship with Henry I may have been a key factor in preserving Winchester's status as a crown-wearing site during the first decade of the twelfth century. Shortly after his coronation in 1100, Henry I granted to Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester their full allowance when the king wore his crown at feast days in their churches.[19] This grant has been discussed above in the context of Westminster Abbey's own relationship with the monarchy in this period, but it is of particular note here because the sole recorded witness to the grant was William Giffard when he bishop-elect of Winchester. Although this charter appears to represent a promise to all three sites, Giffard's status as the only witness suggests a Winchester agenda. This agenda appears to have converted into practice. As shown in Table 5, of his seven Easter festivals in England before 1109, Henry I celebrated five at Winchester, and of the eight Pentecost festivals, five were at Westminster. While this pattern could suggest that Henry was following the promise of his charter and the tradition of his predecessors, he never held a Christmas festival at Gloucester and instead attended Westminster on seven occasions, and Windsor once.[20] Rather than observing a rotation between the three 'traditional' crown-wearing sites, in the first decade of his reign Henry I appears to have preferred Winchester for Easter, and Westminster for Pentecost and Christmas. In light of this, Henry I's grant might be read as a confirmation of Winchester's place in festival itinerary, rather than a promise to all three sites. While Giffard may have been able the pursue this agenda owing to his relationship with Henry I, it should not be assumed that the initiative came solely from the bishop-elect. The priory would also have also have been keen to secure Winchester's role as a crown-wearing site at the start of a new regime. In fact, at the beginning of Henry I's reign crown-wearing ceremonies at Winchester were neither contingent on Giffard's presence nor favour: Henry I held the Easter feast at Winchester shortly after Giffard was banished in 1103, and again in 1104

"Henry of Blois," among many others.

19. *RRAN* ii, 490.

20. William I and William II both celebrated successive festivals at the three 'traditional' sites in 1085 to 86 and 1099 to 1100. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," Appendices A and B.

Year	Easter	Pentecost	Christmas
1100	–	–	Westminster
1101	**Winchester**	St Albans	Westminster
1102	**Winchester**	**Westminster**	Westminster
1103	**Winchester**	Windsor	Westminster
1104	**Winchester**	**Westminster**	Windsor
1105	*In Normandy (N)*	*N*	Westminster
1106	Bath	Salisbury	*N*
1107	Windsor	**Westminster**	Westminster
1108	**Winchester**	**Westminster**	*N*
1109	*N*	**Westminster**	Westminster
1110	Marlborough	New Windsor	*In England (E), no ceremony (nc)*
1111	*E(nc)*	*E(nc)*	*N*
1112	*N*	*N*	*N*
1113	*N*	*N*	Windsor
1114	*E(nc)*	*E(nc)*	*N*
1115	*N*	*N*	St Albans
1116	Odiham	*N*	*N*
1117	*N*	*N*	*N*
1118	*N*	*N*	*N*
1119	*N*	*N*	*N*
1120	*N*	*N*	Brampton
1121	Berekley	**Westminster**	Norwich
1122	Northampton	Windsor	Dunstable
1123	**Winchester**	Portsmouth	*N*
1124	*N*	*N*	*N*
1125	*N*	*N*	*N*
1126	*N*	*N*	Windsor
1127	Woodstock	Winchester	*N*
1128	*N*	*N*	*N*
1129	*N*	*N*	Worcester
1130	Woodstock	Arundel	*N*
1131	*N*	*N*	Dunstable
1132	Woodstock	*E*	Windsor
1133	Oxford	*E*	*N*
1134	*N*	*N*	*N*
1135	*N*	*N*	–

Table 5: *Sites of Henry I's festivities, 1100-1135*[a]

[a] This table follows that found in Biddle, 'Seasonal festivities', 'Appendix C', with the exception of the location of the Christmas feast in 1129 at Worcester, not Winchester, as Biddle claimed. See *Hist. Anglorum*, 486, note 264. The bold text is my emphasis.

when the bishop-elect was in exile with Anselm.[21] It is thus entirely possible that Henry I's confirmation charter was the product of a priory enterprise, taking advantage of a new king and a new (royally-connected) bishop to pursue its place within the ceremonies of the realm.

Evidence from Giffard's *acta* and historical sources at Winchester suggest that the community was actively resisting episcopal incursion during this episcopacy. The Winchester annals recorded that in 1122 there was an 'enormous disagreement' between Giffard and the monks regarding property that he had taken from them.[22] The dispute lasted a couple of years until it was settled with the king's mediation in 1124. Further details regarding this argument can be deduced from charters issued by Giffard to the community towards the end of his episcopacy. In charter #29 Giffard states that his predecessor, Bishop Walkelin, removed 300 *librates* of land from the monks' endowment to help fund the building of the new cathedral.[23] Giffard corrects Walkelin's action and surrendered to the priory the patronage of their churches with all their rights and liberties. In a second charter, #26, which may have been issued on Giffard's deathbed in 1129, the bishop restored seventeen churches he had unjustly taken from the priory. The rights of his clerks which held the land were, however, preserved for the rest of their lifetimes. The new cathedral was completed in *c.*1121, and Crosby suggests that the date of this dispute and the contents of the charters seem to suggest that the completion of the building work prompted the monks to demand a return of the land that Walkelin had seized, and the settlement of the priory's churches which Giffard had been using to support his *familia*.[24] The enduring importance of this moment for the priory is underlined by the survival of these charters in later copies: #29 and #26 were the first two documents copied into 'St Swithun's Cartulary' in the early fourteenth century.[25]

---

21. It should be noted that there may have been an association between Henry I's Easter crown-wearing feast at Winchester and the meeting of (an early form of) the Exchequer. The earliest reference to the Exchequer is from around 1110, but Judith Green has argued that although the explicit use of a chequered cloth may have been an innovation of that time, there is evidence of a central court of audit in the late eleventh century. The sessions of the Exchequer were held at Winchester twice a year, at Easter and Michaelmas. However, although Edith-Matilda presided over the Exchequer in 1111, there is no explicit evidence that Henry I ever did himself. See Judith A. Green, *The Government of England Under Henry I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 40-43.

22. 'fuit enormis et non tam narranda quam tacenda discordia inter Willelmum episcopum Wintoniea et monachos suo pro dilapidatione, et praecipue pro novem ecclesiis, quae de maneriis monachorum fuerant, quas eis abstulit.' *AM*, ii, 48.

23. This charter is in a narrative, and rather suspect form. Although it is most likely a later creation, I am following M. J. Franklin's argument that it provides a more accurate reflection of the quarrel than that found in the *Winchester Annals.* See Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," 51-52. See too, Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 223-24.

24. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 224 and notes.

25. The contents of 'St Swithun's Cartulary' are arranged roughly according to subject mat-

The contexts of some of Giffard's charters provide additional insight into how the priory pursued its rights and privileges. In particular, two surviving charters suggest that the community took advantage of grand public occasions to do just this. In charter #13 it is recorded that Bishop Giffard returned to Prior Geoffrey II and the monks of Old Minster three hides in Alton Priors and Patney (Wilts.) which had been alienated from the community during the reign of William I. This charter has been dated by the editor of Giffard's episcopal *acta* (M. J. Franklin) to 1111x1114.[26] The charter records that this grant was made 'per consilium et favorem' of Queen Edith-Matilda, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Robert bishop of Lincoln, Richard bishop of London, and many other important figures of the realm.[27] Henry I had issued a charter returning the lands to the prior and monks in 1108,[28] but it appears that the priory sought an additional confirmation of their rights and had petitioned the bishop via the queen and the court. It is possible to suggest a more precise date for the charter. Edith-Matilda was in Winchester on 30th September 1111 for a meeting of the Exchequer while she was serving as regent when Henry I was in Normandy. The *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis* includes a list of those present at the Exchequer in 1111 when recording Edith-Matilda's judgment in favour of the abbey in regards to lands at Lewknor.[29] Nine of these individuals (including the queen) are also listed in Giffard's charter[30] suggesting that it may have been issued during the same meeting of the Exchequer. Edith-Matilda also attended the translation of St Æthelwold's relics at Old Minster on 10th September 1111, along with three bishops and five abbots.[31] It therefore appears that Winchester Cathedral Priory took advantage of both the translation and the meeting of the Exchequer to seek a reaffirmation of their rights from William Giffard via Queen Edith-Matilda and other leading members of the realm.

---

ter. The first three pages are filled with charters related to grants and confirmations to the priory by twelfth-century bishops of Winchester (and one from Joscelin of Salisbury, see #46). These charters are not arranged chronologically. See *Chart. Winch.* for full details.

26. #18; EEA: Winchester, no. 18.

27. These figures (in addition to those already listed) were Ranulf bishop of Durham, Walter of Gloucester, Adam de Port, Nigel de Oili, Ralph de Limesi, Herbert the Chamberlain, Nigel de Calne, sheriff Walter fitz Edward, Ralph Basset, Hugh de Bouclon, Geoffrey Ridel, and 'multorum aliorum baronum regis'.

28. #14.

29. John Hudson, ed., *"Historia ecclesie abbendonensis": The history of the Church of Abingdon* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002-2007), II, 170-71; *RRAN*, ii, no. 1000; also cited in Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold," 124.

30. The overlapping witnesses are Edith-Matilda, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Robert bishop of Lincoln, Richard bishop of London, Walter of Gloucester, Adam de Port, Herbert the Chamberlain, Ralph Basset and Geoffrey Ridel.

31. *AM* ii, 43-44. For a discussion of those in attendance and the dating of the ceremony, see Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold," 122-25, and her analysis of the 1111 translation in general. Edith-Matilda's relationship with Old Minster will be discussed further below.

A second occasion is recorded in charter #28. Here Bishop Giffard granted to the monks of Old Minster the lights and other necessities of the oblations of Pentecost henceforward to be given by all priests and parishioners of Hampshire, Surrey, and the Isle of White, according to the customs of all other mother churches of episcopal sees.[32] In addition to the specific details of the grant, #28 also describes the various phases to its promulgation: first Giffard made the gift before Hugh the prior and Geoffrey the sacrist in the prior's lodgings in the presence of the great men of the church together with the monks and clerics. On the same day (27th July 1121)[33] the bishop dedicated an altar in the cathedral to St Swithun, and then placed his donation to the priory on the altar. This was all done in the presence of a great multitude of people and clergy who had gathered for the dedication ceremony.[34] It has been argued that this ceremony of dedication marked the completion of the new cathedral, which is otherwise unrecorded.[35] If so, there is a clear association between the provisions in #28 and the day of the dedication. The completed cathedral was now ready to receive the populace for grand ceremonies, including the Pentecostal celebrations.[36]

William Giffard has been credited with the introduction of the Pentecostal processions at Winchester (for Franklin, it is 'Giffard's famous innovation'[37]), however the possibility of priory involvement should not be discounted. Christopher Brooke suggested that the advent of Pentecostal processions aligned well with the enormous naves being built for post-Conquest English cathedrals. Brett argued that although Winchester could have been the perfect example of these twin developments, such an association is undermined by the fact that Old Minister's

32. At Pentecostal processions the clergy led their parishioners to the cathedral church. This has been regarded as a Norman innovation of 'first importance', as it created a 'direct bond between cathedral and people more obvious and demanding than any other.' See Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 162-64. For processions within the city of Winchester see too Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 268-70.

33. See Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 309, n. 3, for a discussion of the date of this charter.

34. 'Hanc autem donationem cum primo fecissem coram Hudone tunc priore ad manum et curam Godefridi tunc temporis secretarii coram maioribus ecclesie tam monachis quam clericis in camera prioris postea tamen eam plenius concessi et confirmavi die v Kalendarum Iulii. Ipsa siquidem die dedicavi altare in honorem domini et patroni mei beatissimi Swythuni et hanc ipsam donationem meam eidem altari iam dedicato dotis nomine superimposui coram omni multitudine cleri et populi qui ad eiusdem dedicationis solemne officium solemni frequentia convenerunt.' #28.

35. See Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 309.

36. The new cathedral had aisles on the west and east sides of both transepts, and also connected around the end of the transepts, providing a continuous circuit for processions within the church. This layout had no contemporary parallels in Normandy, but was similar to that found in other great pilgrimage churches from the time, such as Santiago de Compostella (built c.1078). Crook, "Bishop Walkelin's cathedral," 24.

37. Franklin, "Introduction," xxxiv.

rebuilding was begun by Walkelin, not William Giffard.[38] However, the priory had witnessed the full transformation of their cathedral and they just as much as (if not more than) the bishop would be seeking to promote the role of their church in local liturgical practices. The monks' involvement in this innovation is suggested by the two settings of the charter's promulgation. The bishop's first declaration, in the prior's lodgings in front of the most important members of the church, was a distinctly monastic occasion, and provided the priory with an audience to Giffard's promise to the community. This first setting was clearly not sufficient, and the charter was then presented at a grand public ceremony before the great secular and spiritual figures who had gathered together for the dedication ceremony. The act of laying a charter on top of an altar as a gift or offering was not unique to Winchester,[39] however this particular act is significant. On a practical level, the occasion reflected the contents of the grant and the presentation served to make the bishop's promise to the priory public and simultaneously to alert at least some of those witnessing of their own obligation to provide the monks' provisions for the oblations. Additionally, this act of theatre at the very moment the cathedral was finally completed highlighted the central importance of Old Minister in the spiritual welfare of the see. It is not hard to imagine the priory taking advantage of the dedication ceremony to pursue these rights and their public promulgation at a grand ceremony in the newly completed cathedral.

Henry of Blois

As with William Giffard, Henry of Blois' political relevancy appears to have helped to foster a relationship between Old Minster and the English crown. King Stephen issued at least eleven charters to the cathedral in the first five years of his reign, including multiple grants and restorations to Old Minster.[40] While it might seem obvious that Bishop Henry, as Stephen's brother, would bring royal benefaction to Winchester, it is worth remembering that Stephen's illegitimate son Gervase had not been able to secure equivalently generous benefaction for Westminster during his abbacy.[41] Factors beyond family appear to be involved. The author of the *Gesta Stephani* (among others) stressed that Stephen's successful accession had relied on Henry's support; the grants to Winchester in the first few months of the reign have consequently been interpreted as a reward for

---

38. Brett, *The English Church under Henry I*, 164, n. 1, where Brooke's argument is referenced.
39. See the discussion in Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 258.
40. See Appendix A. The contents of these charters will be discussed further below.
41. See the discussion of Westminster above.

the bishop's help.[42] In turn, a breakdown in the brothers' relationship may have contributed to Winchester Cathedral's loss of royal patronage: following the arrest of the bishops in 1139, Henry's brief support of the Empress Matilda in the summer of 1141, and the expiration of his papal legateship in 1143, the bishop lost a great deal of political and ecclesiastical influence.[43] Appendix A reveals that after 1141 Stephen granted very few charters to the community, suggesting that the king's relationship with the community had changed since the beginning of his reign, and perhaps reflecting the deterioration in the relationship between bishop and king.[44]

Bishop Henry did not have the same political relevancy during the reign of Henry II: he was denied a role in the new government and retreated to his see to focus on the religious concerns of his bishopric for the rest of his life.[45] None of the royal charters to St Swithun's between 1154 and 1171 reflect a relationship between the bishop and the monarchy, suggesting that unlike the beginning of Stephen's reign Henry of Blois was not able to build a significant connection to royalty. An exception appears to be the very end of the Henry's bishopric when the king issued two charters to the cathedral (#67 and #69). In these Henry II confirmed the bishop's final provisions for the monks of the priory, including the restorations of lands and possessions which he had unjustly taken from them ('injuste abstulerat').[46] At a similar or same time, Henry II took the possessions of the priory under his protection.[47] Ralph Diceto recorded that Henry II landed back in England on 6th August 1171, the same day that the king is recorded as being in the bishop's palace confirming Henry of Blois' final arrangements for the monks.[48] The royal charters issued to the cathedral around this occasion seem to suggest that even at the very end of his long career, Bishop Henry was still able to cultivate royal attention.

---

42. *Gest. Steph.*, 8-9; King, *King Stephen*, 78-79.

43. Riall, "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester," 5.

44. A similar pattern can be observed at Glastonbury abbey, where Henry of Blois was abbot. Stephen granted Glastonbury two charters before 1139, but nothing further until after the peace of Westminster in 1153. However, as there are only three royal grants from Stephen to Glastonbury no definitive conclusions can be advanced from this evidence alone. See *RRAN* iii, nos. 341-42, and 344.

45. Riall, "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester," 5.

46. #67, and see Bishop Henry's charter, #66.

47. #69. It is unclear whether this charter was issued before or after the bishop's death as there is evidence to suggest that Henry of Blois suffered from a long final illness: the Pipe Roll of 1172 shows that the king was in possession of the see's revenues from 3rd July 1171 (a month before the bishop's death); and in a letter from Bishop Gilbert Foliot to Alexander III a protracted period of sickness is referred to as a reason to make a hasty new appointment to the see of Winchester. Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, no. 223; cited in Franklin, "Introduction," xlviii.

48. Salter, "The Death of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester," 80; #67.

Beyond revealing these relatively brief interactions with English monarchy, Henry of Blois' *acta* provide little further insight into the priory during his episcopacy. A reason for this may be that on the whole Henry was a positive force in his see and episcopal city. For Barlow, Henry's 'administrative dynamism', wealth, and transnational connections helped to keep Winchester relevant during a period in which it was losing its importance as a site for royal residence.[49] Likewise, Crosby has argued that while Henry may have used the priory's property as his own, the monks were not deprived of support and instead profited from the increase in wealth and notoriety that came with Henry's administration of the cathedral church.[50] There is no specific evidence of disputes between Henry of Blois and the priory, however, the Henry II charters mentioned above do suggested that Henry appropriated some lands from the community, and at the end of his life the Biship made detailed returns to the community.[51] However, Henry suffered from a protracted last illness, and rather than reflecting activity from the priory, these charters may simply be the community consolidating its position at the end of a long episcopacy. This is also seen in two papal grants issued to the prior and monks in 1171/2 (after Henry's death) in which Alexander III confirmed the priory's rights and privileges, including the restorations Bishop Henry made in his lifetime.[52]

The priory's silence in Henry's *acta* may equally be a result of the limits to the surviving evidence. In the cartulary BL, Add. 29436 is enumerated a lengthy list of gifts from Henry to the priory, including two gold candelabras, and a gold processional cross which held sixteen sapphires, ten topazes, seven garnets, ten emeralds, and 257 oriental pearls.[53] This great material benefaction to Old Minster is not recorded in any surviving charters. In terms of reconstructing the relationship between the cathedral priory and the bishop in the period, we should therefore be reminded of limits of the (surviving) charter evidence alone.

*

---

49. Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 28.

50. Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 226.

51. #66, #68. See too the discussion in Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," 57-58.

52. #70, #71.

53. 'Crux processionalis tota aurea, in qua habentur lvi saphiri et x topatii, et vii granati, et x smaragdi, et cclvii perle orinetales.' BL. Add. 29436, fos. 44r-48r. These folios were incorporated into the fourteenth-century cartulary from a different and earlier manuscript: the list, which appears in a long (fos. 47r-48r) and short form (fo. 46v), is composed in a twelfth-century hand. Bishop, "Gifts of Bishop Henry of Blois, Abbot of Glastonbury, to Winchester Cathedral," 398 in particular.

During the episcopacies of William Giffard and Henry of Blois the monks of St Swithun's were subject to an aggressive episcopal presence.[54] Nevertheless, the above analysis has argued that these episcopacies also influenced Old Minster's relationship with English royalty, and saw several moments when the priory pursued its ambitions and protected its interests. The priory perhaps took advantage of Henry I's accession and Giffard's appointment in 1100 to secure their status as the location for the Easter crown-wearing ceremony. More directly, Henry of Blois' prominent position during the early years of Stephen's reign brought royal benefaction to the community. Although the evidence is slight and at times obscure, Giffard's *acta* suggest that during a period in which the priory had many of its lands appropriated, the community pursued their rights from the bishop (via the dispute and its resolution) and took advantage of public occasions to seek a wider audience to witness and proclaim Old Minster's rights. In particular Giffard's charter issued at the dedication ceremony in June 1121 exposes an ambitious community aware of how audience and ceremony could also play essential roles in securing their status.

1.2   Winchester Cathedral and Royalty

Before analysing the royal charters issued to Winchester Cathedral Priory between c.1100 and 1170, it is first necessary to outline how the English monarchy interacted with the city and cathedral across this period. As discussed above, Biddle and Keen have argued that there was a distinct slackening in the relationship between Winchester and the Anglo-Norman monarchy during Henry I's reign. This was characterised by an end of crown-wearing ceremonies, the decreasing frequency of royal visits, and architectural transformations within the city.[55] However, in the first half of the twelfth century the city remained the location of the royal treasury and the seat of a politically important bishop. The enduring political importance of Winchester was particularly reflected in key political and military moments of the 'Anarchy' which occurred in the city, most vividly the siege of 1141, and the first steps towards peace undertaken in 1153. Following their procession into Winchester that year, it was at St Swithun's that Duke Henry and King Stephen performed homage to each other, and sealed their allegiance with a kiss of peace.[56] E. King argued that the location of the events of 1153 reflect the political landscape wrought by the civil war, as well as the

---

54.   Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 225

55.   Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions."

56.   See King, *King Stephen*, 280-82; *Hist. Anglorum*, 770-71.

ability of Henry of Blois 'to set the agenda.'[57] Nevertheless, as it had been for Henry I in 1100, and the Empress Matilda in 1141, Winchester city and cathedral were at the heart of the political ceremonies of the realm and the road to the crown began once more in that city.[58] Like Westminster abbey, Winchester was intermittently at the centre of royalty, however, the nature of this interaction was different. Winchester was the place there the throne was seized (like Henry I in 1100); Westminster was where regality was performed.

While Winchester may have been significant at the very start of his reign, Henry II's visits to the city were infrequent between 1154 and 1171. Robert of Toringi recorded a council at Winchester in 1155 to discuss a conquest of Ireland and evidence from Henry II's *acta* suggest that the king was also in the city August 1158, October x December 1165, as well as visiting Henry of Blois at his deathbed shortly before the bishop died in 1171.[59] Winchester's role in royal government was also declining: by the beginning of Henry II's reign the meeting of the Exchequer had moved to Westminster, and charter evidence likewise points to a continued move of the mechanisms of government from Winchester to the capital.[60] Winchester city and cathedral did retain some role in royal ceremonies during Henry II's reign. Although Henry no longer practiced crown-wearing ceremonies, the Young King wore his crown at St Swithun's in August 1172 for his wife's (Margaret of France) coronation.[61] Winchester Cathedral was also the location of Richard I's second coronation in 1194.[62] Nevertheless, these fleeting moments of display had little effect on the city's decline throughout Henry II's

---

57. King, *King Stephen*, 282.

58. King, *King Stephen*, 282.

59. Robert of Torigny, "Chronica Roberti de Torigneio, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Michaelis in Periculo Maris," in *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, ed. R. Howlett (London: Rolls Series, 1884-90), 81–315, 186, cited in Warren, *Henry II*, 195; Eyton, *Court, household and itinerary of King Henry II*. Judith Everard has completed a new itinerary of Henry II which will form an appendix to the Vincent, Holt, and Everard, *Acta Henry II: The Letters and Charters of Henry II (1154-1189)*. I have not had access to this. See too Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 296 and Franklin, "Introduction," xlix.

60. See White, *Restoration and Reform*, 30; 131; Nicholas Vincent, "Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt," in *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (4-7 Octobre 2001)*, ed. Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau (Caen, 2003), 75–88; Nicholas Vincent, "The Court of Henry II," in *Henry II: New Interpretations*, ed. Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007), 278–334; Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 503.

61. These were, however, exceptional circumstances: Strickland claims that in the aftermath of the Becket crisis this coronation/crown-wearing was deliberately not held at Westminster Abbey, which was 'inextricably linked to the right of Canterbury to crown monarchs'. The coronation was officiated by the archbishop of Rouen, an acceptable official for all parties, and Henry II himself remained in Normandy. Matthew Strickland, *Henry the Young King: 1155-1183* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2016), 116.

62. John Gillingham, *Richard I* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999), 271-72.

reign.[63] However, it remains to be determined what were St Swithun's experience of and responses to these changing circumstances.

Henry I

Henry I's charters to St Swithun's do not suggest that this king had any kind of special relationship with the community. Henry issued twenty-three charters to Old Minster in his thirty-five year reign;[64] in comparison, Westminster Abbey received thirty-four. The majority of these (thirteen) are confirmations, either of rights the community had received from Henry's royal predecessors or non-royal benefaction.[65] For example, in 1103 Henry I confirmed to Bishop William Giffard and the monks the liberties and customs that they held in the time of Kings Edward, William I, and William II.[66] And in 1107x22 the king confirmed a gift from a certain Bernard of St Valery to the prior and monks of Winchester of a rent of 10s. in a place of their choosing in Winchester.[67] Appendix A reveals that over two-thirds of Henry's charters to the community were issued within the first decade of his reign.[68] Between 1110 and 1120 he only granted six charters,[69] and in the final fifteen years of his reign only one (#25). This higher number of charters at the beginning of his reign aligns with the period in which Henry I was more frequently at Winchester and still practicing crown-wearings in the town. However, the high proportion of confirmation charters in that first decade also reflects the common monastic practice of seeking reaffirmations of their rights at the beginning of a new regime, and therefore should not on numbers alone be taken to indicate that Winchester was receiving exceptional royal attention during the period.

A lack of a significant royal relationship is also suggested by the fact that Henry I only issued one gift to the cathedral priory. This single grant appears to have been related to bigger changes to the ecclesiastical complex in Winchester, rather

---

63.   Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 508.

64.   #2, is an Old English copy of #6, and so has not been included in these numbers. With thanks to Dr Nikolas Gunn for help with the translation. All dating of the royal charters follow those given in the *RRAN* collections, unless stated: the dating for #6 follows Galbraith (1920).

65.   #1, #3, #8, #4, #5, #6, #7, #12, #22, #23, #24, #17, #20.

66.   #6: 'quas a tempore regis Edwardi eadem ecclesia habuit tempore patris ac fratris mei'

67.   #22.

68.   Three charters (#22, #23, and #27) have been excluded from the coming analysis as they cannot be dated any more precisely than to the period 1107x22/9. #24 could be from 1107x22, but I am inclined to follow the suggestion of the editors of *RRAN* ii that the charter dates to the earlier part of this period.

69.   #15, #16, #17, #19, #20, and #21.

than St Swithun's specifically. At Pentecost 1110 Henry granted to Winchester Cathedral five more days for the fair of St Giles, extending the three days originally given by William Rufus in 1096.[70] This grant was part of a convoluted series of land transfers related to New Minster's move to their new site at Hyde, just outside the city walls. Bishop William Giffard (via the king) granted New Minster land at Hyde for the new church and, in exchange, the abbot granted to the bishop and cathedral the land that the old church had stood on.[71] Henry I, for his part, granted the extra days for the fair. Rumble thus suggested that Henry was serving predominantly as a mediator in the arrangements for New Minster's move, and that the extension of the fair perhaps contributed to the success of the arrangement.[72] As a result, even Henry I's sole grant to Old Minster does not indicate a relationship between the community and this king.

There is evidence in Henry I's charters to suggest that the priory was successful in securing royal justice and reparations during his reign. Henry issued several returns to the community of lands they had lost in the post-Conquest period, and also settled a number of disputes in their favour. For example, in 1107x1129 Henry I demanded the chapter's land in Binstead (Isle of Wight) to be restored and stipulated that he wanted to know why they were dessiesed and by whom.[73] In 1108 Henry restored to the priory the land in Alton Priors and Patney (as discussed above),[74] and likewise, in 1127 Henry restored the manor of Chilbolton (Hants.), which had belonged to William Estrumi before he lost it by judgement of the king's court.[75] Chilbolton had also been a part of the monks' *mensa*, but they had likely lost possession at some point after 1086.[76] Significantly, all these restorations and resolutions related specifically to the monks rather than

---

70. #16, and #15. See *RRAN* ii, no. 949 notes. For William Rufus' grant see *RRAN* i, no. 377.

71. See #19.

72. Rumble (2002), 166. Biddle and Keene have argued that Henry I can be seen as the founder of Hyde abbey and that New Minster's migration was 'undertaken on royal initiative and under strict royal control.' (Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 318.) However, M. J. Franklin has argued that the initiative was Giffard's, not Henry's, because the bishop paid the king 800 marks in 1111, presumably as payment for the arrangement.(Franklin, "Introduction," xxxiii; Giffard's payment is recorded in *AM* ii, 43-44.) I agree with Franklin's conclusion particularly because in the years following 1110 Henry I granted only four further charters to New Minster, none of which represented significant grants to the community, thus suggesting that Henry I had no particular investment in the community at Hyde (see *RRAN* ii, nos. 1070, 1125, 1126, 1425, and 1886).

73. '...scias quod volo scire quare dissaisiti sunt et qui eos dissaisvit', #27.

74. #14. See *RRAN* i, no. 341 for William I's grant of this land to William Escudet, his cook.

75. #25.

76. Chilbolton was one of the few properties that the monks leased out in 1086, (Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 219.) The lord recorded in Domesday was a certain Richard Sturmy, and thus it seems likely that the monks had lost Chilbolton to the Strumy/Estrumi family after this date. See DD, Hants, 3.3.

the bishopric. In a similar way to the priory's resistance to episcopal incursions during Giffard's episcopacy, it seems that in the first thirty years of the twelfth century the priory was also seeking restorations for encroachments and alienations to their lands through royal justice.

There is also some evidence to suggest that Henry I's first wife, Edith-Matilda, had a connection to St Swithun's. We have noticed Edith-Matilda as present at the 1111 translation of St Æthelwold's relics into the new cathedral. The Winchester Annals recorded that in that year:

> the relics of St Æthelwold were put aside from the old feretory, and were placed in the new. The queen, three bishops, and five abbots were present. The King had crossed over the sea.[77]

There is no indication that St Æthelwold had another translation feast after 1111, so it is probable that this ceremony conducted on 10th September, the day of the saint's original translation: the community had followed a similar procedure for St Swithun's translation in 1093.[78] The *Winchester Annals* give no insight into why Edith-Matilda attended the translation, however the queen was in Winchester for the Exchequer meeting on 30th September. Perhaps it would be natural to invite her to the ceremony, just as they did to secure her support in petitioning Bishop Giffard for the return of their alienated lands.[79] Rebecca Browett has also argued that Edith-Matilda may have personally venerated St Æthelwold. Edith-Matilda was raised at the abbeys of Romsey and Wilton, both geographically close to Winchester and with historical, hagiographical, and liturgical ties to Æthelwold. It could have been through her time at these institutions that she developed her devotion for this saint.[80]

If Edith-Matilda personally venerated St Æthelwold, this worship did not lead to direct patronage for the community. Edith-Matilda did not issue any grants to Winchester Cathedral in her own name. She is mentioned only once in Henry I's charters, when the king restored the cathedral's manor of Chilbolton, which he did for Edith-Matilda's soul and those of Henry's mother, father and son William.[81] There is no evidence that her relationship with the priory endured beyond her lifetime. In contrast, at Westminster abbey the devotion of the queen

---

77. '...depositae sunt reliquae sancti Adelwoldi de veteri feretro et positae in novo. Interfuit autem regina et tres episcope et quinque abates. Rex transfretavit.' *AM* ii, 43-44. My translation.

78. See Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold," 123; 105.

79. #18.

80. Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold," 130-34.

81. #25.

was shown in practical patronage during her life, in her burial, and the memory of this association, which resonated long after her death. Any relationship Edith-Matilda may have had with Old Minster was short-lived and may have been dictated by her personal devotion to St Æthelwold.

The charters of Henry I suggest that the priory of St Swithun's did not maintain any sort of special royal relationship during this reign. The decrease in royal interaction and patronage to the cathedral between 1100 and 1135 might appear to chime with Biddle and Keene's general observation of the slackening association between Winchester and the monarchy at this time.[82] But rather than a slackening, it is not actually apparent from the charter evidence that Henry I ever had any kind of personal or political relationship with the community: unlike Westminster Abbey, Henry never turned to Old Minster as a site that held royal or dynastic significance. Although the priory may have been successful in gaining royal justice in the resolution of disputes and the return of alienated lands, Henry I's actual patronage and interaction with the cathedral priory was minimal.

Stephen

King Stephen issued fifteen known charters to Winchester Cathedral during his nineteen year reign. Although this is a similar ratio to regnal years as Henry I's charters to Winchester, the contents and chronological distribution of Stephen's charters suggest that this king held a different relationship with this community. Stephen made three grants to the community and restored six estates which had been alienated from their possession; this far exceeded Henry I's interaction with the community.[83] All of Stephen's restorations or grants were made within the first four years of his reign, and therefore (as discussed above) suggest that Stephen's relationship with St Swithun's was intimately connected to his personal (and political) relationship to Bishop Henry, who had been so instrumental in securing his accession to the throne. This is likewise confirmed by the dramatic drop-off in Stephen's interactions with the community following 1141.[84]

The contents and timing of these charters expose the priorities of Old Minster and its bishop at the beginning of Stephen's reign. In this period both Stephen and

---

82. See above, and Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 489.
83. The grants are: #41, #32, #30. The restorations are: #36, #35, #33, #34, and #31.
84. See above, and Appendix A.

Queen Matilda made grants which suggest a personal connection to St Swithun's. At Easter 1136 Stephen granted the manor of Bishop's Sutton (Hants.) in exchange for the cathedral's manor of Steeple Morden (Cambs.), which the king then gave to Count Waleran of Meulan (#30). This exchange was far from equal: Domesday records that in 1086 Steeple Morden yielded £20, whereas Bishop's Sutton, which was then owned by Count Eustace of Boulogne, yielded £60.[85] As she was the granddaughter of Count Eustace, Bishop's Sutton formed part of Queen Matilda's inheritance. During Stephen's reign, the honour of Boulogne was kept distinct from royal lands and Matilda's charters as queen almost exclusively dealt with her patrimony.[86] Therefore, the 1136 exchange was not only a generous grant to Winchester, but may have also be made at the queen's insistence.[87] Stephen himself returned Crowcombe (Som.), and the villages of Bradford (on Tone), Norton Fitzwarren, and Hele (all in the Taunton hundred in Som.) to St Swithun's.[88] In 1086 all of these lands were held by the Count of Mortain, a title Stephen inherited early in Henry I's reign.[89] This suggests that early in their reigns, both Stephen and Matilda were making grants to Winchester from their own patrimonies.

This benefaction from the royal couple was significant; it was also comparable to that of other houses they had a personal connection with. As discussed in the Westminster chapter, Stephen and Queen Matilda were generous patrons of the College of St Martin-le-Grand and Holy Trinity Priory, Aldgate, both in London.[90] In the course of their reign they issued a large number of charters to these houses, including confirmations of these institutions' rights, settlement of disputes, and several gifts from the queen's honour of Boulogne.[91] In 1139x46 Stephen granted to Holy Trinity one hundred shillings' worth of land in Braughing (Herts.), which had been a part of the Boulogne estates. Likewise, in 1145x47 Queen Matilda gave to St. Martin le Grand the church of Chrishall (Essex) which had also formed part of her honour.[92] Although Stephen's charters to St Swithun's were smaller in number than those to either of the London houses, they shared many of the same hallmarks. The grants and restorations to Winchester were from the royal demesne and the couple's own inheritance. Likewise,

---

85. *DD, Cambs*, 2.1; *DD, Hants*, 20.1.
86. King, *King Stephen*, 237.
87. This argument is advanced in Dark, "The career of Matilda of Boulogne," 26.
88. #35, #36.
89. *DD, Som*, 19.7; 19.39. For Stephen's inheritance of Mortain, see King, *King Stephen*, 12.
90. For a discussion of Stephen and Matilda's patronage in the city, see Truax, "Winning over the Londoners."
91. *RRAN* iii, nos. 499-561.
92. *RRAN* iii, nos. 508; 553. See Truax, "Winning over the Londoners," 56; 54.

No.	Date	Location	Contents of charter
#30	Easter, 1136	Westminster	Exchange with Count Waleran of Steeple Morden for Bishop's Sutton.
#31	Pentecost, 1136	Winchester	Restoration of East Meon and Wargrave.
#32	Summer, 1136	Siege of Essex	Grant of six more days for St Giles' fair.
#33	Easter–November, 1136	Westminster	Restoration of East Meon.
#34	Easter–November, 1136	Westminster	Restoration of Wargrave.
#35	Easter–November, 1136	Westminster	Restoration of Crowcombe.
#36	Easter–November, 1136	Westminster	Restoration of Taunton villages.

Table 6: *Stephen's charters to Old Minster in 1136.*[a]

[a] #30 can be dated to the Easter court on account of the presence of Henry son of the King of Scotland and absence of Robert of Gloucester (for dating see *RRAN* iii, 944); #31: E. King places Stephen at Winchester at Pentecost (King, *King Stephen*, 68); #32 (see *RRAN* iii, 952, notes); #33, #34, #35, #36: these must have been granted after Easter 1136 as Robert of Gloucester is present and Henry son of the king of Scotland is absent (*RRAN* iii, nos. 945-8, notes.)

in the charters to Holy Trinity Priory the royal couple frequently (in ten of the twenty charters) made their grants for the souls of past and present members of the Anglo-Norman royal family, just as Stephen did in five restoration charters issued to Winchester in 1136.[93] The scale and terms of Stephen and Matilda's grants to Winchester suggests a rejuvinated relationship between monarchy and cathedral, one that shared characteristics with their patronage of the London houses and, significantly, marked a departure from the years of neglect during Henry I's reign.

The setting and occasions in which Stephen issued some of these charters also suggest the personal and political prominence the cathedral held at the beginning of this reign. Stephen issued seven charters to St Swithun's in 1136 that can be dated with precision (see Table 6). The first charter Stephen issued to Old Minster (#30) was made in a highly political occasion. Only a few magnates had been present at Stephen's coronation the previous year, so the Easter court of 1136 represented one of the first royal gatherings of Stephen's reign.[94] Henry of Huntington described the Easter festival as '...more splendid for its throng and size, for gold, silver, jewels, robes, and every kind of sumptuousness than any

---

93. For example *RRAN* iii, no. 507; #36, #35, #33, #34, and #31.
94. King, *King Stephen*, 57.

that had ever been held in England.'[95] Stephen's wife Matilda had not been crowned with him and therefore, as E. King suggests, this Easter ceremony may have been both a coronation and a crown-wearing ceremony.[96] The contents of charter #30 reflect the grandeur of this occasion: its witness list includes fifty-six attestations from the greatest ecclesiastical and secular figures in the realm.[97] Moreover, the exchange of lands recorded in charter #30 (the grant of Steeple Morden to Count Waleran) appears to be related to the politicking of this court. E. King suggests that at the Easter court Stephen arranged the marriage of one of his infant daughters to the count, no doubt in an attempt to secure the support of this powerful magnate, if not also that of his brother Earl Robert of Leicester.[98] The exchange of lands with Stephen and St Swithun's may thus be related to these arrangements. If so, charter #30 not only represents a generous gift to the cathedral from the queen's patrimony but was also associated with the political machinations of the new regime. Another moment when Winchester received patronage during a grant occasion is seen later in the same year, when Stephen issued four restoration charters to the community (see Table 6). Each charter was attested by twenty or more of the greatest lay and ecclesiastical figure in the realm.[99]

If these charters were granted in a grand political contexts, then #31, promulgated in Winchester at Pentecost, was issued on a familial occasion. This can be seen through two other charters that Stephen issued at that time. The first was a grant to the monks of Cluny of the manor of Letcomb Regis (Berkshire) in place of the pension Henry I had granted to the community for the soul of William I.[100] Bishop Henry of Blois was a former monk of Cluny, and this grant may represent the maintenance of a spiritual relationship between the king's family and Cluny that extended from the time of William I to the present day. In the second charter Stephen granted his protection to the abbey of Marcigny, where his mother

---

95. '...qua numquam fuerat splendidior in Anglia, multitudine, magnitudine, auro, argento, gemmis, uestibus, omnimoda dapsilitate.'' *Hist. Anglorum*, 706-7.
96. King, *King Stephen*, 57.
97. The full witness list appears in Camden's transcript, BL, Landsdowne 229, f. 122.
98. King, *King Stephen*, 59.
99. King, *King Stephen*, 68. The exception to the lengthy witness lists is #35, with fifteen attestations. However, this document only survives as a copy in *Codex* (with the fifteen witnesses) and BL. Add. 29436 with no *signa*, and there is reason to believe that the attestations in *Codex* had been truncated: every other charter of Stephen in *Codex*, when compared to other copies preserved in Charter Rolls, had a shortened witness list. See, for example, *RRAN* iii, no. 947.
100. *RRAN* iii, no. 204. For Henry I's grants see *RRAN* ii, 1691 and 1713. E. King described Stephen's charter to Cluny as being 'in solemn form', adorned with 'an impressive set of subscriptions', including probably the first attestation of the king's son, Eustace. King, *King Stephen*, 68.

Adela was a nun.[101] E. King suggests that Stephen's family was never far from his thoughts,[102] and at Pentecost 1136 with his younger brother they appear to have been front and centre. Familial relations may have also played a part in the additional days for St Giles' fair (#32), which was granted during the siege of Essex. Henry of Blois was present (and providing counsel) at the siege, and he may have taken the opportunity to obtain a grant which brought him significant financial gains.[103] Generally, each of these types of occasion, familial or political, seem to further highlight the central importance of Henry of Blois in securing royal support for St Swithun's in the first year of Stephen's reign.

It is possible to trace the distinctive ambitions of the priory within these charters, and particularly in the lands Stephen restored. In addition to Crowcombe and the villages in Somerset discussed above, Stephen also restored to St Swithun's the manors of East Meon (Hants.) and Wargrave (Berks).[104] All of these restorations were made in similar terms: passages of text are identical between the charters, and all include the statement that the lands had been forcibly removed from the church by William I: 'avus meus…Willelmus rex…abstraxit ecclesia'. The way in which Winchester received these restorations once again suggests Henry of Blois' influence: the description that the land had been removed by William I directly follows the specific clauses of Stephen's 'Oxford Charter' which was issued in April 1136,[105] and Bishop Henry is known to have taken advantage of this development on behalf of Glastonbury (where he was abbot) to secure a return to them of Uffculme (Devon) also in 1136.[106] Moreover, there are many textual overlaps between this Glastonbury charter and the Winchester ones, including the used of 'abstraxit/abstrahere', which appears in no other known charter of Stephen.[107] It is therefore likely that all these charters were written by a draftsman in the service of Bishop Henry.

---

101. *RRAN* iii, no. 575. See too King, *King Stephen*, 68.

102. King, *King Stephen*, 68. King does not refer to the charter granted to Winchester at this occasion.

103. *Gest. Steph.*, 40-41; see Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 286-88 for a discussion of the fair.

104. #33 and #34

105. In the 'Oxford Charter' Stephen stressed his lawful consecration as King of England by the archbishop of Canterbury and listed the promises he had made to his subjects. This included confirming to the Church various rights and privileges and had the stipulation that 'all the property of the churches and the tenures that they had on the day when my grandfather William was alive and dead I grant to them in free and absolute possession, not permitting any form of legal challenge. If the church afterward seeks restoration of what it held or possessed before that king's death and no longer has, I reserve the investigation or restoration of this to my own indulgence and disposal.' *Hist. Novella*, 34-35. See too *RRAN* iii, no. 271.

106. H. P. R. Finberg, *Lucerna: Studies of some problems in the early history of England* (London: Macmilland co Ltd, 1964), 204-21; 212-15 in particular.

107. See *RRAN* iii, no. 341, which includes an analysis of common passages between this charter and the restoration of Wargrave, *RRAN* iii, no. 946/#34.

While Henry's efforts on behalf of his communities are revealed in these charters, it is likely that the initiative for the returns was supplied by the priory. It was after all the community's land which had been alienated: Domesday specifies that East Meon has been held in 1066 by Archbishop Stigand for the sustenance of the monks, and Crowecomb as having been held directly by the church of St Swithun.[108] Moreover, there is little evidence that either the villages in Taunton or Wargrave had ever been held by Winchester. In 1066 Bradford (on Tone), Hele, and Norton Fitzwarren were in the hands of various different individuals, and by 1086 were all held by the count of Mortain.[109] The only evidence that Wargrave was ever in the hands of Winchester is in a highly dubious charter of Edward the Confessor in which he confirms his mother's (Queen Emma) grant of land at Wargrave to Old Minster.[110] However, in 1066 Wargrave was held by Queen Edith (Edward the Confessor's wife), and by King William I in 1086.[111] The priory's claims for these lands appear to have been based in a tradition that pre-dated Henry's episcopacy, and it seems likely that the community used the bishop's prominence at the beginning of Stephen's reign as a vehicle through which to pursue their ambitions.

Priory ambitions are also reflected through the occasions in which some of these charters were promulgated. As shown in Table 6 the manors of East Meon and Wargrave were returned to the community together in one charter at Winchester in Easter 1136, and then again in two separate charters (#33 and #34) later the same year. These later charters do not contain any additional details or provisions, the difference is in the circumstances of their promulgation. As established above, #31 had been issued in a familial context, and was attested by fourteen witnesses, a large proportion of whom were ecclesiastics.[112] In contrast, #33 and #34 had twenty-seven and twenty-four witnesses respectively, representing the great ecclesiastical and secular figures of the realm. It appears that Winchester sought a larger political occasion in which to secure a repeated promulgation of their rights to these lands. There is good reason to suspect that this policy came from the priory. As discussed above, the community at St Swithun's sought grand

---

108.   *DD, Som*, 19.7; *DD, Hants*, 2.16.
109.   *DD, Som*, 19.39, *T.R.E.* held by 'Edwin'; 19.40, *T.R.E.* held by 'Aldred'; 19.41, *T.R.E.* held by 'Osmund'.
110.   London, British Library, Cotton Charters x. 17; Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* no. 1062; for a discussion of the forgery, see F. E. Harmer, "Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Historian," *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 22 (1938): 339–67, 349-51 in particular.
111.   *DD, Berks*, 1.15.
112.   The witnesses were King Stephen, Queen Matilda, William archbishop of Canterbury, Thurstan archbishop of York, Roger bishop of Salisbury, Nigel bishop of Ely, Bernard bishop of St. David, Robert bishop of Hereford, Roger count of Warwick, Alan count of Richmond, Robert filli Richardi dapiferi, Alberic de Ver, Robert de Ver, and William Martel.

occasions in which to secure their rights, such as at St Æthelwold's translation in 1111 and the ceremony of dedication in 1121. It would follow that they continued this practice in the 1130s. Moreover, the contemporary significance of these restorations for the priory, including the occasions at which they were granted, is enshrined in the *Codex Wintoniensis*: these charters and much of their lengthy witness lists were copied into this cartulary near contemporaneously.[113]

After the flurry of grants, restorations and ensuing notifications at the beginning of his reign,[114] Stephen only issued three further charters in favour of Winchester, all of which were confirmations related to land Bishop Henry bought in Southwark.[115] The fact that after 1141 royal benefaction of the cathedral practically ceased shows how far St Swithun's relationship with royalty was dependent on Henry of Blois' political and personal position with Stephen. Despite this, 1135 to 1141 should be regarded as a highly important moment for Winchester Cathedral. Stephen's accession marked the start of a new relationship with king and cathedral which, short though it was, brought far more royal benefaction to the community than the entirety of Henry I's reign. The gifts which Stephen and Queen Matilda bestowed to the community suggest a personal connection between cathedral and the royal family, a relationship which was also exemplified by the distinctly familial occasion held at Winchester at Pentecost 1136. While Henry of Blois facilitated (and also ultimately ended) this period of royal patronage to Winchester, the distinctive policies of the priory are visible in the rights it pursued, and the forums and occasions through which it sought their promulgation. In particular, it shows that the community reacted (and acted opportunistically) in the period immediately following Stephen's coronation and his promulgation of the 'Oxford Charter'. It took advantage of the position of its bishop and of the ceremonies of the new regime to pursue a way back from the bleak years of Henry I's reign.

Henry II

Despite any political importance Winchester and its bishop may have had in securing peace in 1154, Henry II showed no sign of following in King Stephen's

---

113. See Appendix A and the discussion of the *Codex* in section 3 below.

114. #39 and #43 are writs to the subtenants of Crowecombe and the villages in Taunton respectively informing them of the restorations to Winchester.

115. #47, #48, and #50. #47 could date from 1135x54, but as it relates to land in Southwark like the other charters, it is likely that it too is from the later period in the range.

footsteps by bestowing any special royal benefaction or personal gifts on the cathedral. Henry issued only twelve charters to the cathedral between 1154 and *c.*1171, all but one of which were confirmations of pre-existing rights. For example, in 1154x62 Henry II gave a general confirmation to the monks and Bishop Henry of their rights as granted by Kings Edward, William I, and Henry I;[116] and also confirmed the terms of the Bishop's Sutton/Steeple Morden exchange,[117] and the manors of East Meon and Wargrave.[118] Henry II's only grant to the community was an extension of the fair of St Giles by eight days, a grant he made for the benefit of his soul and that of his grandfather Henry I.[119] While the charter refers to Henry I's grant related to the fair, the extension to eight days Stephen had given in 1136 is not mentioned, and consequently Henry II's own benefaction is less generous than it may appear. This grant may have been the product of the priory's anxiety to secure privileges at the beginning of a new regime: Rumble has argued that this charter was issued shortly after Henry's coronation on 19th December 1154. This anxiety is also be echoed in the cathedral's record keeping: the charter, like the restoration charters of 1136, was copied into the *Codex Wintoniensis* almost immediately after it was granted.[120]

Henry II's benefaction was a carbon copy of his grandfather's: both predominantly issued confirmation charters to the cathedral, and at similar rates; and both kings' sole grant to the community was extra days to the fair of St Giles. The evidence from Henry II's charters to St Swithun's thus continues to confirm the importance of Winchester's bishop as a bridge to royal benefaction to the community. Henry II had little political or personal relationship with Bishop Henry, and as a result St Swithun's was passed over by the English monarchy. Aside from the flurry of grants and restorations at the beginning of Stephen' reign, iOld Minster received very little royal attention or benefaction in this period.

1.3   Lay benefaction to Winchester Cathedral

Unlike Westminster's muniments, the Winchester cartularies (in which the majority of Winchester's records survive) do not contain many non-royal secular records from this period. It is difficult to discern whether this is because original

---

116.   #56.
117.   #61.
118.   #51.
119.   Also in #51.
120.   *Codex*, f. 6r; Rumble (1980), ii, no. 13, see notes.

charters were not copied into the cartularies which survive, or if it is the result of a general absence of lay patronage. Consequently, only minimal conclusions can be offered here in regards to lay benefaction to the cathedral. Between 1100 and c.1170 there are only three records of grants to St Swithun's from lay benefactors. In Henry I's reign, a servant of the king, William *Poccarius* granted the monks of St Swithun a house outside the gates of Winchester; and a certain Bernard of St. Valery granted to the prior and monks a rent of 10s in a place of their choosing in the city - this grant was made for the soul of Bernard's son, who was buried in Old Minster.[121] In c.1155, John de Port granted to the church and Henry of Blois two mills near the bishop's house. The grant was made for the welfare of John's soul, for those of his parents, and his brother William (#52). John was the third and sole surviving son of Henry de Port (d.1153), sheriff of Hampshire, 1101x6.[122]

If Old Minster did only receive a low level of lay benefaction, a reason may be that New Minster was gaining patronage from the laity at the cathedral's expense.[123] The Hyde *Liber Vitae* lists the names of Henry I, Queen Edith-Matilda, William Ætheling, as well as some of the most important men of the realm, including Walter Giffard, Alan I Rufus (or Alan II Niger) count of Richmond, Hugh de Port, Herbert the Chamberlain and Hugh the Sheriff of Dorset.[124] Emma Cownie has argued that even if these individuals were not strictly speaking benefactors (for example, Henry I gave little to Hyde), the inclusion of their names suggests some sort of association with New Minster.[125] Cownie suggested that in contast post-Conquest Old Minister failed to 'capture the imagination' of the Anglo-Norman court.[126] However, Hugh de Port was John de Port's grandfather, and thus it could be suggested that St Swithun's had in fact drawn the patronage of this local family away from Hyde Abbey. Without further evidence, such as, for

---

121.   #22, #23; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 142.

122.   K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166. II. Pipe Rolls to "Cartae Baronum"* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002), 645. By the late 1140s, the Port family were no longer major landholders in the city and had little direct interest in Winchester affairs. See Biddle and Keene, "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," 372-73.

123.   This is suggested in Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 142.

124.   Simon Keynes, ed., *The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944; together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A.VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D.XXVII* (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1996), 94; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 142.

125.   Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 142. For Henry I's charters to Hyde, see RRAN, ii, nos. 1125, 1126, 1425, and 1886. As this list does not include Queen Adeliza, it must have been compiled before Henry I's second marriage in 1121. Walter de Gray Birch, *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (Simpkin % Co., Limited, 1892), 50, see notes.

126.   Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 141.

example, an equivalent book of confraternity from Old Minster, little else can be proven conclusively.

<center>*</center>

There were multiple ways for a king to interact with the cathedral, from practical gifts to royal ceremonies. However, it has been shown here that whether Winchester Cathedral was being consistently used as a site of crown-wearings (at the beginning of Henry I's reign) or intermittently for moments of political theatre (such as in 1141 and 1153) this did not translate into a consistent or lasting benefaction for the community. While the experience of St Swithun's has traditionally been extrapolated from the fortunes of the city, this analysis has brought additional nuance to the picture of a 'slackening' relationship with royalty. There was not a simple decline from Henry I's reign onwards. Instead this investigation has shown that although Henry I did grant the community a number of confirmation charters at the beginning of his reign, this benefaction was never generous, and dropped off sharply in the course of his reign. The beginning of Stephen's reign then marked an intense period of interaction, when the community was at the centre of the politics and ceremonies of the new regimes. However, the transience of this relationship and its intimate connection to Winchester's bishop, is underlined by Stephen's near neglect of the community outside of the first year of his reign. In the first fifteen years of his reign, Henry II granted very little but confirmations to Old Minster. Indeed, that Henry II gave the same level of benefaction as Henry I only serves to emphasis how distant the community's relationship with royalty was throughout the twelfth century.

This lack of practical benefaction echoes Westminster's experience of this time. However Winchester was never turned to as a dynastic site by royalty or aristocracy, as Westminster was by Henry I and de Mandevilles. While Winchester city and see maintained some importance in the politics of the realm, especially during the early years of the 'Anarchy', it appears that its relationship with royalty was not only dwindling but was also largely mediated through its bishops. At times this was an advantage to the community, opening it up to moments of opportunity to regain relevance or lost properties, such as in 1100 and in 1136, but for the majority of the period St Swithun's status as a seat of the bishopric may have hamstrung the community's attempts to maintain its own networks of benefaction, royal or otherwise.

Regardless, this investigation of Winchester's charters has revealed some of the priory's agendas and priorities. At several points in the 1120s and 1130s in particular, the community exercised power against or through its bishops in defence of its rights: this was seen both in its reaction to current and historical episcopal incursions during the episcopacy of Giffard, and in the series of restorations it gained through Bishop Henry in 1136. Moreover, across this period, the community appears to have sought relevance and advantage through ceremonies and public occasions. In this respect, Old Minster's activities are similar to the emphasis on ceremonies (especially royal ones) that was traced in Westminster abbey's *Vita* and forgeries. This investigation of St Swithun's charters has not only exposed the shifting fortunes of the community in this period, but also the actions the priory took in response. Further insight into these responses in particular will now be sought in other texts created at the cathedral during this period.

2   VITAE

The analysis of Osbert of Clare's *Vita beati Eadwardi* revealed how Osbert used historical and saintly Edward to reinforce Westminster's relationship with this king and to promote the abbey as a site for royal saintly ceremony. This section will investigate three hagiographical texts (the *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and the *Miracula Swithuni*) produced at Winchester Cathedral Priory at the turn of the twelfth century in order to assess how the community at Old Minister constructed the *Lives* of these saints and what contemporary circumstances these writings may have been responding to.

The three hagiographical texts tell the lives and posthumous deeds to two of Winchester's Anglo-Saxon saints. Birinus was an Italian missionary sent by Pope Honorius I to Britain in the early seventh century. He successfully converted King Cynegils and the people of Wessex, and became bishop at Dorchester-on-Thames, where he was buried.[1] During the episcopacy of Hædde (676-705), Birinus' body was transferred to Winchester and buried in Old Minister. It may have been considered inappropriate for the saint who was regarded as 'the apostle and first bishop of the West-Saxons' to rest anywhere other than Winchester, which had become the centre of the see in c.648.[2] Birinus was translated again during Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester's (963-84) episcopate, and his body was placed next to the high altar in the new cathedral.[3] Swithun had been bishop of Winchester in the early ninth century. Although relatively obscure in life, from around 968 stories of his miraculous posthumous interventions began to circulate. As a result, Æthelwold translated Swithun's remains from outside the cathedral into the church's chancel on 15 July 971, after which even more miracles occurred (both at his tomb and further afield) and the cathedral began to hold a dedication to the saint.[4] Both Swithun's and Birinus' feast days feature in monastic kalendars from the tenth century, attesting to an established and widespread commemoration of their cults.[5] The *Winchester Annals* record that on the feast of St Swithun (15 July) 1093, St Swithun's *feretrum* was moved from the old cathedral into the now

---

1. Birinus' exact origins are unknown, so there is no way of determining the exact rendering of his name. Accordingly, the following discussion will solely use the Latinized form of his name. As discussed in Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, xlix.

2. Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, lx.

3. *Vita Birini*, 46-47. See n. 2.

4. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 217.

5. For these kalendars, see Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest," 'Table 1', 186; and Rebecca Rushford, *Saints in English Kalendars Before 1100 A.D.*, Henry Bradshaw Society 117 (Woodbridge, 2008) generally.

usable new building that was being constructed within the cathedral precinct.[6] Both saints were mentioned in the *Winchester Annals* among the community's illustrious dead whose relics were translated in 1150 by Bishop Henry of Blois. In the later middle ages Birinus was commemorated in his own chapel in the rebuilt east arm of Winchester cathedral,[7] while St Swithun's tomb still holds pride of place at the east end of the modern cathedral.

At around the turn into the twelfth century, new hagiographical texts related to saints Birinus and Swithun were composed. The *Vita Birini* is a short but verbose text. It draws on an account of Birinus' career written by Bede in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, but the *Vita Birini* is in essence the first hagiographical *Life* of the saint.[8] Likewise, the *Vita Swithuni* is the first account of Swithun's saintly life (rather than just posthumous miracles).[9] Also short, the *Vita Swithuni* seems to have been intended to accompany the *Miracula Swithuni*, which appears in six of the ten manuscripts preserving the *Vita*.[10] Unlike the *Vitae*, the *Miracula* drew heavily on pre-existing Winchester material. Within a few years of Swithun's translation in the tenth century the first account of St Swithun's posthumous miracles was written down by Lantfred (a Frankish monk of Old Minster) in *Translatio et Miracula S. Siwthuni*.[11] Lantfred's work was then fully rewritten twenty years after its completion by Wulfstan, cantor of Old Minster. Wulfstan's text, the *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, was is likely conceived of as a 'twinned work' to the *Translatio*.[12] Indeed Wulfstan followed Lantfred's work closely, retaining his wording as far as possible, and only departing on a few occasions.[13] The early twelfth-century *Miracula* contains

---

6. *AM*, ii, 37; John Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011), 125-6.

7. *AM*, ii, 54; Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*, 174.

8. *Vita Birini*, and Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*.

9. *Vita Swithuni*; Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*.

10. For the manuscript survival, see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 643.

11. See Lantfred of Winchester, "*Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni*," in *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Winchester Studies, 4.ii (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003); Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 217. Ælfric of Winchester, the famous homilist, wrote an epitome of Lantfred's work (at some point between 984-992x998), and a 'Life of St Swithun', which was heavily based on Lantfred's *Translatio* and the epitome. For a discussion and edition of Ælfric's texts on St Swithun, see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 553-630.

12. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 335. At nearly 3,400 lines, Wulfstan's *Narratio* is the longest surviving Latin poem from pre-Conquest England. The *Narratio* is printed in Wulfstan of Winchester, "*Narratio Metrica de S. Swithuno*," in *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Winchester Studies, 4.ii (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). Wulfstan was also the author of the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, which he wrote shortly after bishop Æthelwold's translation on 10 September 996. See Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St Æthelwold*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004).

13. This included the addition of his own preface; inserting preparations for the ceremony of the translation; two miracles immediately before and after the translation; a description of the reliquary commissioned for Swithun's relics by King Edgar; a description of a certain Eadsige

fifty-six chapters: the first forty are closely based on Wulfstan's *Narratio*, and the forty-first chapter follows a miracle recorded in the tenth-century by Ælfric of Winchester. The remaining sixteen chapters are accounts of eleventh-century miracles.

None of the early twelfth-century texts bear declarations of authorship, but through a close textual examination of the works Rosalind Love has shown that they were all composed by the same author (henceforward Anonymous).[14] It can be assumed that Anonymous was either a monk of the community or working on its behalf. The cathedral housed the tombs of both saints and in a letter to Pope Alexander II in 1070x72, the monks styled themselves as of the church of Saints Birinus, Swithun, and Æthelwold.[15] Similarly, it appears that Anonymous had access to New Minster's *Liber Vitae*, suggesting that he was nearby.[16] Likewise, the additional miracles added to the *Miracula Swithuni* have a particular Winchester locus; as these miracles have no other textual precedent it is likely that Anonymous was drawing on personal knowledge of these events.[17]

The dating for these works' production is helped by the contents of the last sixteen chapters of the *Miracula Swithuni*, which mention several identifiable people: Ealdred monk of Winchester and future Bishop of Worcester and Archbishop of York (d. 1069); Walkelin, bishop of Winchester (1070-98); and Durand, Sheriff

as custodian of the shrine; and the countless miracles which Wulfstan saw as an oblate. See Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 341-42

14.   Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, liv-lx. Also discussed in Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 611-12. Although the *Vita Swithuni* has long been associated with Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, both Love and Michael Lapidge have firmly dismissed the possibility that he was its author. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 614-21.

15.   The letter is printed in H. Wharton, ed., *Anglia Sacra*, vol. I (London, 1691), 320. For a discussion of this letter, see Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest," 190; and Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold" 98-104.

16.   Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 613: Anonymous' appears to have referenced New Minster's *Liber vitae* for its list of West-Saxon regnal genealogy. In c. 1 of *Vita Swithuni*, King Ecgberht is referred to as the eighth in succession to Cynegils. This list was actually incomplete - it omits five names from other contemporaneous genealogical lists - but follows exactly the list in the New Minster *Liber vitae* (London, BL, Stowe 944, 14r).

17.   See *Miracula Swithuni*, cc. 41-56, and Table 8, on page 160. Lapidge suggests that Anonymous may have written the *Miracula Swithuni* at Sherborne abbey (Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 613-14). This is largely based on the fact the *Miracula Swithuni* includes four miracles from Sherborne and, generally, Anonymous does not use Lantfred's prose work for his text (preferring instead Wulfstan's poem), an ignorance which Lapidge suggests cannot have occurred if he was based at Old Minster. Sherborne had a copy of Wulfstan's work, but not Lantfred's. Asides from the dedicatory letter and a rather generic preface, Lantfred's work does not include anything that was not also in Wulfstan's *Narratio* and it does not necessarily follow that Lantfred's earlier text was ignored because Anonymous did not have access to it. It may simply be that Anonymous preferred to work from Wulfstan's text. Consequently, I do not agree with Lapidge's suggestion in regards to the *Miracula Swithuni* having been composed at Sherborne.

of Hampshire (c.1086-1100/1). Walkelin is described as 'uenerabilis memorie', therefore providing an absolute *terminus post quem* for the *Miracula Swithuni* of 3 January 1098, the date of his death.[18] The earliest versions of all three texts are in BL, Cotton Tiberius D, iv fos. 105v-121v (hereafter, **T**). Michael Lapidge has argued on palaeographical grounds that this manuscript was written c.1100 or the first few years of the twelfth century. Love is slightly more flexible in her dating for the hand which copied the *Vitae* and *Miracula* into **T**, which she argued is from 1100x1125.[19] Lapidge has suggested that since the reference to Bishop Walkelin is one of the final chapters, the earlier chapters of the *Miracula*, the *Vita Swithuni*, and the *Vita Birini* may all have been written before 1098.[20] However, given the palaeographical evidence I am reluctant to assume an earlier date for these texts. Consequently, I will ascribe all their periods of production to *c.*1100. Regardless of the precise dating of these texts, as the first extant hagiographical writings from Old Minster in this period, the *Vitae* and *Miracula* can bring key insight into how the cathedral priory was writing within, and responding to, the circumstances around the early twelfth century.

These texts have been the subject of some previous investigations. The most thorough studies have been conducted by Lapidge and Love, who edited the Swithun and Birinus texts respectively.[21] Love was the first to identify Anonymous as the common author of all three texts, and provided an analysis of the *Vita Birini*'s style, sources, and latinity, as well as the development of Birinus' cult.[22] Lapidge investigated the *Vita Swithuni* and *Miracula Swithuni* within his wide-ranging investigation of the cult of St Swithun across the medieval period, and particularly analysed the texts' style and place within the development of Swithun's cult.[23] Despite their shared authorship, the form and purposes of the *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and *Miracula Swithuni* have never been compared, and there has been no attempt to consider these writings in the context of early twelfth-century Winchester priory. Part of this may be due to the perceived limits of these texts: the *Miracula Swithuni* (besides from the final sixteen chapters) is largely a reworking of previous writings; the *Vita Swithuni* is rather is short; and

---

18.   Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 613.

19.   Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, lxxiv-lxxx.

20.   Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 613.

21.   *Vita Birini*; *Vita Swithuni*; *Miracula Swithuni*.

22.   Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*.

23.   Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*. John Crooke has also considered the cult of St Swithun in the architectural development of the cathedral: see among many others, Crook, "St Swithun of Winchester" and Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*. Recently, Rebecca Browett has briefly discussed these texts within her investigation of the cult of St Æthelwold in the middle ages, but the works are not the subjects of her study and are largely used as comparative elements to her larger discussion. Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest"; and generally Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold."

the *Vita Birini* has been maligned within scholarship (for Love it is 'pompous and verbose', for Lapidge, 'prolix').[24] However, each of these texts is significant. The *Vitae* are the first accounts of these saints' lives, and can expose how the community was writing its Anglo-Saxon past. In turn, even Anonymous' rewriting of Wulfstan's work is a historiographical act through which he refashioned previous accounts in order to bring them into line with his (and Old Minster's) current needs.[25]

This section will analyse these texts in order to determine how Old Minster was writing its Anglo-Saxon saints and in what ways the community may have been using this type of writing to respond to contemporary circumstances. In order to fully appraise each work, the texts will be investigated in turn, starting with the *Vita Birini*, then the *Vita Swithuni* and finally *Miracula Swithuni*. Particular focus will be given to how the saint was depicted in each work, and how this construction may have been used to exalt the community at Winchester. Further possible purposes for these works will then be advanced through a comparison between the texts, and a consideration of the contemporary circumstances that they may have been reacting to.

2.1   *Vita Birini*

In writing the *Vita Birini* Anonymous transformed a very short account of Birinus' life from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* into a full hagiographical *Vita*.[26] In the sections following Bede, Anonymous copies him often near verbatim, but expands greatly on the narrative, including adding two new miracles to the saint's life. The structure of the *Vita Birini*, Anonymous' additions, and his use of Bede are shown in Table 7. Often the padding to Bede's narrative can appear desperate, and Love argues that it was almost as if Anonymous was trying to produce as many pages or minutes of reading as possible.[27] Beyond analysing the *Life*'s style, length, and authorship, Love offered no further insight into how

---

24.   Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, li; Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 611.

25.   Following Felice Lifshitz who argued that re-visions or re-writings can be historiographical acts: 'medieval historians revised the pictures of the past which had been transmitted to them by their predecessors...to bring those images more in line with contemporary needs.' Felice Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative," *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–113, 99.

26.   See Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, ed. Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969), iii, 7.

27.   Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, li.

Chpt	Contents	Source
1	Birinus' life and upbringing.	Anonymous
2	His origins and holy way of life.	Anonymous
3	The growth of Birinus' holy reputation and his ordination as a priest.	Anonymous
4	Birinus' presentation to Pope, and order to conduct a mission to Britain.	Bede and Anonymous
5	Birinus is elevated to bishop by Asterius, Bishop of Genoese; he is commanded by the Pope to take Britain as his province.	Bede and Anonymous
6	Birinus leaves for Britain.	Anonymous
7	How Birinus will convert Britain, save it from false idols with the power of his evangelising.	Anonymous
8	A comparison with Caesar's and Birinus' conquests of Britain.	Anonymous
9	Birinus reaches the sea and celebrates Mass before boarding the ship.	Anonymous
10	Birinus realises he left his corporal on the shore.	Anonymous
11	Birinus miraculously returns over the water to the shore.	Anonymous
12	His return to the ship, which had stayed at a standstill; the sailors venerate God.	Anonymous
13	Birinus teaches and baptises the sailors; Birinus leads the ship to shore.	Anonymous
14	Birinus' preaching on the shore for three days.	Anonymous
15	Description of how a blind and deaf woman had a vision that the bishop would heal her.	Anonymous
16	Birinus heals the woman.	Anonymous
17	Birinus travels to kingdom of the Gewisse (West Saxons), where paganism was rife; his preaching to King Cynegils.	Bede and Anonymous
18	Conversion of King Cynegils; his baptism; and his reception by King Oswald of Northumbria, whose daughter Cyneglis would marry.	Bede and Anonymous
19	The King's family is baptised, along with his household, and the whole region.	Bede and Anonymous
20	Establishment of Birinus' see at Dorchester-on-Thames; and a description of his holy life.	Bede and Anonymous
21	Birinus' death; and the translations of his body in the eighth and tenth centuries.	Bede and Anonymous

Table 7: *Contents and sources of Vita Birini*

Anonymous wrote St Birnus. In turn, Browett only briefly considered with *Vita Birini* within her broader analysis of the cult of St Æthelwold, and argued that in the context of Bishop Walkelin's anti-monastic stance, Anonymous deliberately wrote out Winchester's monasticism and depicted Birinus as devoted to canonical rule.[28] However, I consider that a closer reading of how Anonymous manipulated and added to his source material can reveal further insights into how the author crafted St Birinus, as well as the possible contexts (and reasons) for writing.

Much of Anonymous' additions follow hagiographical topoi, for example for the saint's parentage (which was 'distinguished') and his early life (which was conducted in 'divine obedience').[29] Birinus was a priest and Anonymous describes that when he lead the community he established at Dorcester, '[t]hat which he had learnt of divine order, clerical rule and canonical discipline, he practices towards them and as first among them.'[30] Browett took this and the fact that *Vita Birini* does not discuss Winchester's monasticism as evidence of an anti-monastic stance at the priory when it was under Walkelin's control.[31] However, this passage relates specifically to Dorchester's clerical rule, and otherwise Browett's argument is largely based in an absence of evidence.[32] Instead a closer reading of the life shows that throughout Anonymous actually describes Birinus as bearing quasi-monastic qualities. For example, the saint is modest, humble, and chaste. He rejected earthly passions, and 'inwardly undermined the general onslaught of fleshly pleasure.'[33] Shortly before his recounting his death, Anonymous characterised Birinus as:

> In humility, in gentleness, in temperance, in chastity, he lived so perfectly that he was thought to lead not a human but an angelic life.[34]

Despite Birinus' worldly mission, Anonymous appears to stress the monastic nature of his saint's life.

A further emphasis in Anonymous' additions was on Birinus' national impor-

---

28. Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest," 190.

29. *Vita Birini*, cc. 2. See too Love, *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives*, li.

30. 'Quod ordinis diuini, quod regule clericalis, quod discipline canonice didicerat, in eis et inter eos primus exercet.' *Vita Birini*, 42-43. Also cited in Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest," 190.

31. Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest," 190.

32. For example, Browett suggests that when Birinus' tenth-century translation is related, the fact that Æthelwold is not described as a monk is a deliberate and telling omission. See Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest," 190.

33. *Vita Birini*, 2-7, at 5.

34. 'In humilitate, in mansuetudine, in continentia, in castitate, ita perfecte uiuebat, ut non humanam sed uitam agere crederetur angelicam.' *Vita Birini*, 42-43.

tance. In Bede, Birinus' mission is focused on the region of Gewisse (which would later become Wessex),[35] however in the *Vita*, Birinus' mission is explicitly constructed as having an impact across Britain. Immediately before the saint's death, Anonymous emphases his national importance:

> This is your fortress of defence, Britain, your father and shepherd [*pater et pastor*], an apostle, a herald of truth, evangelic trumpet, messenger of chaste counsel, the physician who is ready to heal your wounds.[36]

Similar sentiments are expressed throughout the *Vita*. Although when describing the reach of Birinus' mission, Anonymous does not extend it beyond the region of Gewisse, he nevertheless uses these passages to suggest that the effects of Birinus' life ultimately reached across the whole country.

The changes Anonymous made to Bede's account of the conversion of King Cynegils of Wessex also served to emphasise Birinus' wide-spread impact. Bede recounts that Cynegils was baptised along with all his people, and that Oswald the holy king of Northumbria was also there and took Cynegils as his godson, and future son-in-law. The two kings gave Birinus Dorchester-on-Thames to establish his see. Anonymous follows Bede closely in this section (he even directly credits Bede),[37] but he changes the story's order. In the *Vita*, Birinus converts the king, and like Bede, Anonymous then describes Oswald's presence at the baptism and the relationship between the two kings.[38] However, there is then a lengthy description of how the king's family, household, and whole province was baptised. Only after this does Anonymous return to Bede's narrative in order to discuss the see at Dorchester.[39] This change from Bede's narrative serves to stress the causal link between Birinus' baptism of the king and the conversion of the whole region. Once again, Anonymous was sought to emphasise the wide effects of Birinus' mission across the population.

Anonymous also used Birinus to promote Winchester. Anonymous follows Bede's description of the translation of Birinus' body by Bishop Hædde in the seventh century, but adds a specific reason: Hædde had thought it unworthy that Birinus should lie in such a mean place (Dorchester), and so with God's consent transferred the saint to Old Minster

---

35. Bede, *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, 232-33.
36. *Vita Birini*, 42-5.
37. *Vita Birini*, 34.
38. *Vita Birini*, 34-39.
39. *Vita Birini*, c. 19.

> ...so that the city of Winchester, which was both exalted by the stronghold of the bishopric, and also, amongst the cities of Britain more thronged, and more renowned for its riches, might be still more gloriously and copiously celebrated for its apostle.[40]

Birinus' translation to Old Minster was fitting not only because it was the seat of the Bishop, and also because of the city's preeminent status. A saint for all Britain should be interred in Britain's greatest city. In his construction of St Birinus' *Life*, Anonymous took a short historical account from Bede's and consistently crafted a saint whose mission had national importance across Britain. Through this construction not only was Birinus' elevated in status, but so too Old Minster, the locus for the veneration of this British saint.

2.2   *Vita Swithuni*

Like St Birinis, Anonymous' 'Swithun' is also cast in a monastic mould. In particular, Paul Anthony Hayward has argued that Anonymous described Swithun as a quasi-monastic figure, and 'not as the married cleric which he had almost certainly been.'[41] In the *Vita* Swithun is humble, moderate in sleep, frugal with food, and devoted to psalmody and chant; he would not travel by horse, but instead would walk barefoot.[42] The *Vita* also emphasises St Swithun's relationships with the kings of Wessex. King Ecgberht heard of his holiness and took Swithun as a counsellor and loyal friend, and Swithun was later appointed as tutor to the future King Æthewulf.[43] This connection remained even when Swithun was bishop. Anonymous describes how he took care 'to assist the king diligently and effectively so that he could rule his people justly and kindly'.[44] And it was through Swithun's exhortations that Æthewulf came to give a tenth of his lands to the Church.[45]

Anonymous also worked to place Swithun within Anglo-Saxon history. The *Vita* opens

---

40.   *Vita Birini*, 44-45.

41.   Paul Anthony Hayward, "Saints and cults," in *A Social History of England, 900-1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 309–321, 314.

42.   *Vita Swithuni*, ch. 7; Hayward, "Saints and cults," 314.

43.   *Vita Swithuni*, 632-33.

44.   'regi ut populum suum iuste et benigne regat sedulus et officiosus assistere': *Vita Swithuni*, 634-35.

45.   See Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 634-35, n. 29 for a discussion of Swithun's involvement in Æthelwulf's 'decimation'.

During the reign of Ecgberht, the glorious king of the English who was the eighth in succession to Cynegils, the king who was converted from idol-worship to Christianity through Birinus, the apostle of Wessex, St Swithun, the future father and shepherd [*pater et pastor*] in God's church, started the beginning of his course in the stadium of the world through God's mercy.[46]

From his opening passage Swithun is placed in relation to Birinus' mission, thus connecting the two Winchester saints. Swithun is also constructed as a saint of Winchester. The *Vita* describes how, after the death of Bishop Helmstan, the clergy and populace of Winchester petitioned King Æthelwulf to appoint Swithun: '[b]lessed be the town and people to whom so merciful, holy and wise a man be given for the governance of their church!'[47] The *Vita Birini* and *Vita Swithuni* share phrases and vocabulary - elements which contributed to Love suggesting their common authorship. One of these phrase is the description of the saint as 'pater et pastor', three times in the *Vita Swithuni* and twice in the *Vita Birini*.[48] However, the application of this phrase is different between the two *Lives*. In the *Vita Birini*, Birinus is 'pater and pastor' of Britain. In *Vita Swithuni*, Swithun is father and shepherd to Winchester. In Chapter 1, Swithun is introduced as the future father and shepherd in God's church (i.e. as Bishop of Winchester); in Chapter 4, the townspeople of Winchester petition Æthelwulf to make Swithun their father and shepherd; and finally, in Chapter 8, just prior to his death in the third year of King Æthelberht's reign, Swithun is described as having arranged the affairs of the cathedral over which he had presided as 'pater et pastor.'

This emphasis on Swithun's relationship with Winchester is also found in his worldly and holy acts. Anonymous states that whenever the bishop turned to matters of the outside world, his priority was the common welfare of the people of Winchester.[49] As an example of this Anonymous describes a bridge that Swithun had built at the East Gate of the town.[50] This bridge and the building project is the site of Swithun's only in-life miracle. A certain poor old woman was carrying some eggs through the building site while Swithun was supervising the work. The woman was grabbed by the playful workmen and the eggs broken. The bishop made the sign of the cross over the eggs which were miraculously reconstituted.[51] In the *Vita Swithuni*, Anonymous therefore carefully constructed

---

46. *Vita Swithuni*, 630-31. My translation, which only slight differs from Lapidges' in ordering.

47. 'Felicem et ciuitatem et populum esse cui tam pius tam sanctus, tam sapiens in regimen daretur ecclesie!': *Vita Swithuni*, 632-33.

48. *Vita Swithuni*, 630-31, 632-33, 639; *Vita Birini*, 14 and 42 - also cited above.

49. *Vita Swithuni*, 634-35.

50. *Vita Swithuni*, 634-35, and notes.

51. *Vita Swithuni*, 636-37.

Swithun's relationships with Winchester and Wessex's kings, as well as his place in the conversion of Britain.

2.3   *Miracula Swithuni*

In the *Miracula Swithuni*, Anonymous rewrote, and generally shortened, the accounts of Swithun's miracles in Wulfstan's *Narration metrica de S. Swithuno* and one story from Ælfric's *Life* of Swithun. Anonymous then added a further sixteen miracles related to Swithun from the eleventh century. In order to analyse how Anonymous constructed Swithun in this text and to what end, this section will first assess how Anonymous rewrote his source material.

A comparison between how Wulfstan and Anonymous started their texts exposes their different priorities. The beginning of Wulfstan's work is devoted to recounting the miracles which prompted Bishop Æthelwold to translate Swithun's relics in 971. In particular, the very first miracle in the *Narratio* states how, three years prior to Swithun's translation, the saint appeared to a certain smith in a dream and commanded him to pass a message to Eadsige, a canon who (along with the other canons) had been expelled from Old Minster. The message was that Eadsige should return to Winchester and tell Bishop Æthelwold to take up Swithun's remains and inter them in the cathedral, for it had been divinely granted that during his episcopacy Swithun's sanctity was to be revealed. The smith hesitated in relaying the message, but was miraculously cured of an infirmity after praying at Swithun's tomb. Spurred on by this proof of Swithun's sanctity, the smith was able to get the message to Eadsige via one of his retainers. However, Eadsige was so devoted to the things of the world, he failed to listen. Moreover, on account of his and his colleagues' expulsion from Old Minster, he hated Bishop Æthelwold and the monks. Two years later, Eadsige had a change of heart, abandoned his material life, and became a monk at Old Minster, where he lived until his death. Wulfstan then finishes the chapter by claiming that he had learnt all of this from Eadsige's own report.[52]

Anonymous's version of this miracle is markedly different. Firstly, it is far shorter (17 to 115 lines, in Lapidge's editions). He also begins the story (and the whole *Miracula Swithuni*) by situating Swithun within his historical time period. The

---

52.   Wulfstan of Winchester, "*Narratio Metrica de S. Swithuno*," 412-21.

> In the days of that most holy and peaceful king of the English, Edgar, who was the ninth king after Æthelberht to occupy the throne, the blessed bishop Swithun appeared at night to a certain man asleep in his bed...[53]

By mentioning King Æthelberht (in whose reign Swithun died) Anonymous immediately links the end of the *Vita Swithuni* to the beginning if the *Miracula*. Likewise, in his vision to the sleeping man (who was disabled in all of his limbs) Swithun commands the man to go quickly to Bishop Æthelwold, 'who was [Swithun's] tenth successor'.[54] Both these descriptions of the king's and bishop's succession from Æthelberht and Swithun is an addition from Anonymous.[55] Anonymous also changes the narrative by omitting any mention of Eadsige. Instead, it is the smith who, having risen from his dream fully restored to health, goes directly to Æthelwold to tell the bishop that Swithun's remains must be translated.[56] In Wulfstan's account the narrative was revolved around Eadsige's return to the new monastic cathedral, and it is never revealed whether the canon even relayed Swithun's message to Æthelwold. In contrast, in Anonymous' version Swithun takes centre stage.

A similar promotion of the saint is found in a comparison between Anonymous and Wulfstan's descriptions of the translation of Swithun's remains by Æthelwold. In the *Narratio* the translation is described across three lengthy chapters and serves to complete the narrative begun in chapter one, where it was foretold that Swithun's sanctity would be revealed in Æthelwold's episcopacy. Wulfstan recounts that while the saint was being reinterred, a woman cast her disabled son into the tomb from which Swithun was raised, and when the boy climbed out he had been healed. Wulfstan finished his account of the translation by stating:

> From that day on, and even up to this present time, God does not cease, in His kindness to bestow His favours on all the throngs of the sick through the merits of the holy bishop.[57]

The claim of the first chapter is therefore fulfilled and is further confirmed by all that follows in the rest of the *Narratio*. In the Anonymous' work this entire emphasis is removed. Wulfstan's chapters are greatly abbreviated, and Anonymous does not repeat Wulfstan's association between Bishop Æthelwold's time

---

53. *Miracula Swithuni*, 648-49.
54. *Miracula Swithuni*, 648-49.
55. *Miracula Swithuni*, 648-49 and see Lapidge's notes.
56. *Miracula Swithuni*, 648-49.
57. *Miracula Swithuni*, 462-63.

and the beginning of Swithun's miraculous acts. A key reason for this change is the existence of the *Vita Swithuni*. Unlike in Wulfstan (and Lantfred's) texts, Anonymous' Swithun was saintly in life and not only the years immediately prior to his translation. With the *Vita* and Anonymous' rewriting of Wulfstan's text, Swithun's sanctity was no longer rooted in Æthewold's epsicopacy. Wulfstan was also the author of the first *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, so it is not surprising that his devotion to Æthelwold might shape his account of Swithun's miracles. Anonymous appears not to have shared these priorities, and lessened the role of Æthelwold and his time in favour of promoting St Swithun.

The differences in the opening chapters can also be detected in one of Wulfstan's chapters that Anonymous omitted from his work.[58] In this chapter Wulfstan recounted that every time a miraculous healing occurred, Bishop Æthelwold commanded the monks of Old Minster to go to the church and render a hymn to God, whether it was day or night. When the bishop was away, the monks abandoned this practice as an excessive hardship which involved rising multiple times a night. Angered by this, Swithun appeared in a dream to a certain lady, and told her to instruct the bishop to order the monks to resume their praising, which they duly did.[59] Browett has argued that the 'suppression' of this miracle in *Miracula Swithuni* is related to a general reluctance of Anonymous' to discuss the priory's monasticism, as can also be traced in the omission of the ex-canon Eadsige in his rewrite.[60] However, is is possible that Anonymous omitted this chapter because it was largely about Æthelwold: it was his command that the monks disregarded when he was away from Winchester, and when he was informed of their disobedience he issued a threat of punishment should the monks continued to ignore him. Via the bishop's authority it was this threat, not any direct divine intervention from St Swithun, that brought the monks back into line. As also seen in the rewriting of the opening chapter of Wulfstan's work, Anonymous' omission of this chapter can be recognised as another way in which he sought to keep his work focused on Swithun specifically and not another bishop's authority.

The final fifteen chapters of the *Miracula Swithuni* represent the only fully original elements of the work, and include the saint's deeds and miracles which occurred

---

58. In total, Anonymous omitted three chapter from Wulfstan's *Narratio*: Book I, cc. vii and xiii; and Book II c. vi. Book I, cc. vii and Book II c. vi in the *Narratio* simply declare how many miracles had been occurring, without any specific details. Anonymous must have decided that these generic platitudes did not bring any additional weight to his hagiographical exposition of Swithun. The possible reason for the exclusion of Book I, cc. xiii is discussed below.

59. Wulfstan of Winchester, "*Narratio Metrica de S. Swithuno*," 474-79.

60. Browett, "The Cult of St Æthelwold," 107-8.

Chapt	Contents	Location	Date[a]
42	An old woman is saved from wolves after invoking St Swithun's name.	Village bordering Winchester	
43	Archbishop Ealdred, former monk of Winchester, calls upon St Swithun to save his boat during a storm.	At sea (presumably the Channel)	1054
44	A man afflicted with leprosy is cured by the saint's intercession.	The statue at Sherborne	
45	A woman is cured of her muscular contortion after a vision of St Swithun.	The statue at Sherborne	
46	Man who was injured when working on a Sunday, is only healed when taken to the statue of St Swithun.	The statue at Sherborne	
47	Blind boy is cured after his parents prayed to St Swithun.	Tomb at Old Minster	
48	A disfigured man from Normandy, was housed by Queen Emma in Winchester. He is cured on the day of St Swithun's translation feast. He then left Winchester prematurely, and was struck down with same ailment. He is again healed at the tomb.	Tomb at Old Minster	1043x 1052
49	Slave girl is freed from fetters by the saint's intercession.	St Swithun's altar, Old Minister	
50	A crippled man was transported to Winchester by Edward sheriff [of Wiltshire], where he is healed.	Tomb at Old Minster	1070x 1097
51	A deaf man is cured after offering prayers and donations.	Shrine at Old Minster.	
52	A deaf and mute boy cured while Bishop Walkelin was beginning the 'Te Deum'.	Tomb at Old Minster	1070x 1098
53	A crippled man cured following a vision.	The statue at Sherborne	
54	A crippled priest travelled from the Isle of Wight to Winchester for St Swithun's feast day and is healed.	Tomb at Old Minster	
55	Young boy from Isle of Wight blinded in one eye, has his eye was recovered when he visited St Swithun's shrine.	Tomb at Old Minster	
56	A poor man without the use his knees or feet was taken into the household of Durand sheriff [of Hampshire]; years later, the man travels to Winchester to seek Swithun's protection; he is healed, and the sheriff provides proof of his earlier disability.	Tomb at Old Minster	c.1086x 1100-01

[a] For the dating, see Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 613.

Table 8: *Chapters 42-56 of the Miracula Swithuni.*

in the eleventh century. Generally, Anonymous' depiction of the saint in these chapters is consistent with his rewriting of Wulfstan's work: Swithun remains front and centre in the retelling of these miraculous events. These miracles also stress Swithun's role as a saint of Winchester. As shown in Table 8, nine of these miracles took place at Old Minister, underlining the saint's connection with the church and continuing the *Vita*'s construction of Swithun as a local saint. This is not undermined by the presence of miracles which took place at the statue of St Swithun at Sherborne. When the statue is first introduced into the narrative, it is described as having been acquired by the bishop of Sherborne from the monks of Winchester.[61] The ensuing miracles which take place around the statue are a satellite of, not alternative to, Swithun's cult as experienced at Winchester.

Swithun's connection to Winchester is further underlined in these final chapters through the presence of contemporary and near-contemporary Winchester figures, including sheriff Durand, Archbishop Ealdred, Bishop Walkelin, and Queen Emma (mother of Edward the Confessor), who had spent the last nine years of her life in retirement in the city.[62] The inclusion of Emma is noteworthy because besides Edgar's brief role in approving Swithun's translation in 971, and his commissioning of an ornate feretory to house the saints relics, there is no other mention of Anglo-Saxon royalty in the *Miracula Swithuni*.[63] Emma is ever-present throughout the miracle story. Before receiving his miraculous cure, a man healed by Swithun (who was from Normandy) lodged with Emma, and following his cure:

> the queen joyously celebrated this happy event with all her family; she enriched and adorned this compatriot of hers with horses and garments; and at her own wish she retained him, thus splendidly enriched and adorned, at her court for a long time.[64]

When the man went to leave Winchester his ailment suddenly returned, which Anonymous hypothesised was because he had not obtained permission from St Swithun to leave. He was then brought back to Old Minster'at the queen's command', where he was again cured.[65]

---

61. *Miracula Swithuni*, 680-81.

62. Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in eleventh-century England* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001), 248-53.

63. See *Miracula Swithuni*, cc. 4 and 20. In c. 27 the laws enforced by King Edgar's are also mentioned in order to provide context for the healing of a thief who, as punishment for his crime, had had his eyes plucked out, and his hands, nose, and ears cut off. He later had his hearing and sight restored having prayed to St Swithun.

64. *Miracula Swithuni*, c. 48. For the location of Emma's house in Winchester, see Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 252.

65. *Miracula Swithuni*, c. 48.

The way in which Emma was incorporated into every part of this miracle story meant that the account also served to underline the Queen's connection to the cult and the church.[66] Emma died in Winchester in 1052, the city in which she had been given land as dower when she arrived in England as a young bride fifty years previously. She was buried next to her second husband Cnut, in Old Minster.[67] Pauline Stafford has argued that Emma's memory remained evergreen in the city: her death was commemorated in the city in the later eleventh century, and the house she had resided in was still recognised as hers in the twelfth-century Winton Domesday.[68] This miracle story likewise seems to suggest that the community at Old Minster remembered, and through this text was commemorating, the Queen's involvement in their church and Swithun's cult.

These miracles also helped to build a connection between the saint's past miracles and his intercessions in Anonymous' present. As shown in Table 8, the miracle accounts are recounted roughly chronologically, bringing the account up to what must have been Anonymous' near present. As a result of this ordering, a chain was built to connect the present to not only the tenth century and Bishop Æthelwold (as found in the opening chapters of the *Miracula*) but also to historical Swithun, as found in the *Life*.

2.4   Ss Birinus and Swithun in context

The analysis of these separate texts have shown the different ways in which Anonymous wrote the *Vitae* and *Miracula* of Birinus and Swithun. This final section will now consider the different writings together to further expose how and why these texts were written, and what contemporary circumstances at Winchester they may have been responding to.

A common theme across the texts is the depiction of the saints as having wide regional and national significance. This is seen explicitly in the *Vita Birini* where, despite the regional focus of his mission, Birinus is constructed is a national saint.

---

66. Emma's involvement in the cult of Swithun is also attested by a miracle recorded in the *Winchester Annals* by Richard Devizes at the end of the twelfth century. In this miracle, Emma is aided by Swithun in the course of a trial by ordeal she was undertaking related to the rumour of her affair with Bishop Ælfwine. For the miracle see: *AM*, ii, 23-5; Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, 149-53. It is also discussed in Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 19-21.

67. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 253; *AM*, ii, 25.

68. London BL MS Vitellius E XVIII, the Vitellius Psalter, fo. 3r; Biddle, *Winchester in the early middle ages*, 46. Both cited in Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 253.

Likewise, in the *Vita Swithuni* Swithun's relationship with Wessex's kings was emphasised, and in the new sections of the *Miracula* in particular, the saint is connected to individuals of local and national importance, including Archbishop Ealdred and Queen Emma. In turn, each of these constructions underline the saints' connection to Winchester and Old Minster: Swithun in life and death was a saint of Winchester; and Birinus' burial in the cathedral was fitting given the status of the city and was to the further glory of the cathedral. Consequently, these texts also implicitly served as reminders for Winchester's historical preeminence in Wessex and within the conversion of Britain and its kings.

In both *Lives*, Birinus and Swithun are constructed as quasi-monastic figures, despite the fact that they were clerics. In his analysis of the *Vita* and *Miracula* of Swithun alone, Hayward suggested a context to, and reason for, this particular construction of the saint.[69] Shortly after his election to Winchester in 1070, Bishop Walkelin had tried to replace the monks with canons. As depicted in the *Miracula*, Walkelin is an enthusiastic participant in Swithun's cult.[70] Hayward therefore argues that, written shortly after Walkelin's death in 1098, the *Vita* and *Miracula* were used to protect the cathedral's monastic constitution, 'by reasserting the saint's preference for a monastic form of life', as also indicated by the enthusiastic participation of a once anti-monastic bishop.[71] Hayward's argument is further supported through the *Vita Birini*, in which Birinus likewise lives a quasi-monastic life.

In addition to conflicts with its bishop, developments at the cathedral may have further prompted the composition of these works. In 1093, the community moved into the new cathedral, and later the same year Swithun's relics were translated into the church.[72] Although there is no contemporary evidence of a similar translation for Birinus, it is highly likely that his remains were also moved into the new cathedral around this time.[73] These translations would have served as a reminder

---

69. Hayward, "Saints and cults," 314.

70. *Vita Swithuni*, chp. 52.

71. Hayward, "Saints and cults," 314. In contrast to Hayward's arguments, Browett argued that the cults of Swithun and Birinus were promoted in these texts precisely because they, like Bishop Walkelin, were canon-bishops. In particular, Browett traces a reluctance to discuss Old Minster's monasticism within this hagiography, as shown in the removal of Wulstan's emphasis on the association between Æthelwold's episcopacy and the advent of Swithun's miracles, and the suppression of the canon Eadsige. See Browett, "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest" However, as argued above, Anonymous act of rewriting was more focused on emphasising the role of St Swithun (and continuing the narrative started in the *Vita Swithuni*) rather than actively diminishing Æthelwold.

72. Crook, "St Swithun of Winchester," 57-9.

73. John Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300-1200* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000), 218.

to the community both of the great saintly treasures housed in their church, and of its long history: these saints (and so the cathedral) could be linked to Britain's conversion. These texts may also have been aimed at a wider audience: the cost of the building could have provided a financial imperative to bolster Old Minster's saints. Cult promotion often coincided with the building of churches, with the pilgrimage trade offering a ready way to fund the construction.[74] In this context, the production of new hagiography could function as adverts for saints' abilities. Such an emphasis can be seen in the *Miracula* in particular, which included multiple accounts of people travelling from far and wide to Winchester after hearing of Swithun's healing powers. Moreover, in contrast to other miracle stories which could imply that financial offerings were not expected following miraculous interventions,[75] the *Miracula* includes multiple (ten out of fifty-six chapters) cases of miracles being directly related to donations given to the church.[76] For example, in chapter 51, a certain servant named Richard regained his hearing only after he offered prayers *and* donations.[77] The *Vitae* and *Miracula* may therefore have been written to provide financial support for the building the new cathedral, and the presence of these saints in the new church to underline Old Minster's central importance within West Saxon and British history.

These texts can all also be regarded as history-writing. The *Vitae* both represent the community's first attempts at creating historical accounts of two of their most important figures. Moreover, Anonymous carefully constructed Birinus and Swithun historically by precisely positioning them within British history. Such an impulse was not always a priority for hagiographers,[78] but meant that in the production of these texts Anonymous could use these figures as a way to write elements of his community's distant and recent pasts. Furthermore, the different periods of time in all three texts were explicitly linked: Swithun's birth was identified in terms of number of kings since Birinus' mission, and his posthumous miracles in reference to the number of kings since his death. In the *Miracula*, Anonymous brought the narrative of Swithun's cult all the way up to his present day. Consequently, across all three texts Anonymous essentially presented a saintly history of Wessex from the conversion of Cynegils to the very end of the eleventh century. Such an imperative is also suggested in the earliest surviving manuscript versions of these works (**T**), in which the *Vita Birini* is

---

74. Hayward, "Saints and cults," 310.
75. See Hayward, "Saints and cults," 312.
76. *Miracula Swithuni*, cc. 3, 9, 10, 15, 30, 35, 36, 42, 43, and 51.
77. *Miracula Swithuni*, c. 51.
78. See the examples cited in Campbell, "Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past," 146-50 in particular.

followed by the *Vita Swithuni* and then the *Miracula*.[79]

Developments within the city of Winchester can help to explain the historical imperatives beyond Anonymous' texts. While the building work at the cathedral may have provided a prompt and need for hagiographical production, the cathedral priory may also have felt a certain replacement of the old order by the new. The Anglo-Saxon cathedral, which had been the principal church in Wessex (if not all England) was demolished in 1093/4 and replaced by a decidedly Norman construction, its huge nave rising bay by bay in the first decades of the twelfth century.[80] In turn, not only was Bishop Walkelin a secular canon, but so was his successor, William Giffard. Changes at the cathedral echoed that of Winchester at large: Biddle and Keene argued that 'the monumental architecture of the new royal and ecclesiastical buildings in the centre of the city bore witness on a scale nowhere else attempted to the measure of the Norman domination.'[81] The *Vitae* and *Miracula* were written in this context. As the physical reminders of Anglo-Saxon Winchester were being pulled down, the community at Old Minster reached back into their history as far as possible in order to create, and thereby preserve, its institutional history. Through these texts they forged an argument for the ancient sanctity of their church and the preeminent place its saints held within Winchester, Wessex, and Britain.

*

This analysis of the *Vita Birini*, *Vita Swithuni*, and *Miracula Swithuni* has shown that the community at Old Minster used their hagiographical writing as a way to both write the history of their saints and bolster their identity as an ancient monastic community. By writing new historical accounts of their saints, Old Minster constructed the cathedral as central to the conversion of England's kings, and pronounced Winchester's preeminent status within Wessex and beyond. Moreover, through the historical imperatives of these works Anonymous built a link which connected the past to the present. How Anonymous constructed these saints and their *Lives* was directly shaped by the community's twelfth-century concerns. The rebuilding of the cathedral may have presented a financial need for active and important cults at the cathedral, as was promoted in these texts. In turn, the threat of non-monastic bishops and the erosion of the Anglo-Saxon

---

79. BL, Cotton Tiberius D, iv, fos. 105v-110v; 111r-112r; 112r-121v.
80. Norton, *St William of York*, 19.
81. Biddle and Keene, "General Survey and Conclusions," 472.

past within city of Winchester added further imperatives and emphases to how Anonymous wrote his saints. Through these texts we can thus begin to trace the concerns and priorities of the community at Old Minster. These activities and how the community may have used further writing as a response, will now be further contextualised through an analysis of the ways in which Old Minster was rewriting its documentary past, that is through the production of the *Codex Wintoniensis*.

3   THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS

The *Codex Wintoniensis* is one of the most magnificent surviving medieval English cartularies.[1] Begun at Winchester Cathedral Priory in the first half of the twelfth century, the *Codex* contains the copies of nearly 250 Anglo-Saxon charters related to the cathedral's endowment. These charters amount to approximately ten-percent of the total number of extant pre-Conquest English charters. This section will investigate this cartulary in order to assess how the cathedral priory was rewriting its documentary past and what circumstances this cartulary may have been responding to.

The *Codex* is large (395 x 280 mm) and its contents were completed in monumental script. Throughout it is adorned with coloured and decorated initials (see Figure 2). The manuscript was bound in a splendid mid-twelfth-century stamped-leather binding, until this was removed in 1961; both the cartulary and this binding are now held in the British Library.[2] Through its production the combiners collected, selected, and organised a vast number of documents. In doing so they created a new type of record for their ancient endowment. The ways in which the *Codex* was crafted can suggest both how the community viewed its past, and how it employed that past, and this type of record, within its present.

The cartulary has attracted Anglo-Saxonists who—given its volumes of pre-Conquest charters—have long appreciated its value. The cartulary once had an unsavoury reputation (William Stubbs described it as 'of the lowest possible character'), but this was amended through the works of H.P.R. Finberg and Eric John, both of whom proved the veracity of many charters in the collection which had once been dismissed as fraudulent.[3] Understandably, ever since historians have focused on what the *Codex*'s contents can reveal about Anglo-Saxon England. Charters from the cartulary have formed the keystone to investigations on topics ranging from royal consecrations,[4] to the tenth-century English monastic

---

1.   Much of this section has been published in Jennie M. England, "The Codex Wintoniensis in its Twelfth-Century Context," *Haskins Society Journal* 29 (2017): 115–139.

2.   *Codex*; BL Bindings, 1922.

3.   A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs, eds., *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii (Oxford, 1869–78), iii, 638. Cited in John, "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation," 404; H. P. R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester Univeristy Press, 1964), 214-48. The rescuing of the *Codex*'s reputation is further discussed in Hart, "The Codex Wintoniensis and the King's Haligdom," 8-9.

4.   Catherine Cubitt, "Finding the Forger: An Alleged Decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield," *The English Historical Review* 114, no. 459 (1999): 1217–1248.

revival,[5] and the storing of royal charters in early medieval Winchester.[6]

Less attention has been paid to the *Codex* as a twelfth-century product. Thus far, the most comprehensive investigation of the cartulary's creation has been completed by Alexander Rumble.[7] Rumble conducted a palaeographical and codicological examination which identified sixteen different scribal hands working on the manuscript, and three distinct phases in its construction. The first phase, here called 'Codex I', consisted of 102 folios, into which were copied 193 Anglo-Saxon charters. Approximately 80 percent of the documents were royal diplomas related to the cathedral's estates, and range in date from the seventh to the eleventh centuries.[8] The royal diplomas are in Latin, and the majority of them have boundary clauses in Old English. Those documents which are not royal diplomas are largely in Old English.[9] The first and last charters in 'Codex I' are distinguished by large and multicoloured initials.[10] The second stage of the cartulary's construction, 'Codex II', comprised of the addition of new front and back quires to the manuscript. Most of the documents in these new quires are copies of Anglo-Saxon charters and were written in several late-twelfth-century hands, seemingly over several decades, with variations in presentation. It is likely that the binding which survives was added following the manuscript's reconstitution to accommodate these new quires.[11] The final phase, 'Codex III', represents the further charters copied into the *Codex* during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, predominantly in gaps at the bottom of preexisting folios.[12]

In addition to recognising these phases, Rumble has also suggested a dating for the cartulary's construction, and consequently reasons for its compilation. Rum-

---

5. John, "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation."

6. Hart, "The Codex Wintoniensis and the King's Haligdom."

7. Rumble (1979); Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis."

8. The charters range from the reign of King Coenwealh (643-672) to 1066. One document (at fol. 27r-v) is a copy of a charter drawn up 1066x1086, but its contents represent dues that belonged to the manor of Taunton at the end of King Edward the Confessor's reign; see Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*, no. 544. See too, Rumble (1979) ii, no. 63 and notes.

9. Rumble (1979) i, 81.

10. *Codex*, 9r and 110r. Rumble spotted that the majority of the contents of 'Codex I' were completed by one hand (scribe *a*) with a second hand (scribe *b*) following behind, providing rubrics and correcting minor errors. In contrast to Rumble's palaeographical distinctions, my definition of the phases of the cartulary's production are codicological. Rumble regards the charters in fols. 11v-13v and 67r-v, which were completed by scribes *c* and *b* respectively, as part of the second phase of production; in contrast, I consider these documents to be a product of the first phase because they fall within the *Codex*'s original quires. To differentiate between the two descriptions, my phases are termed 'Codex I' etc., in comparison to Rumble's 'Cod. Wint. I' etc. See Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 156.

11. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 164-65; Rumble (1979) i, 3-4.

12. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 165-66, and generally for a fuller discussion of the *Codex*'s contents.
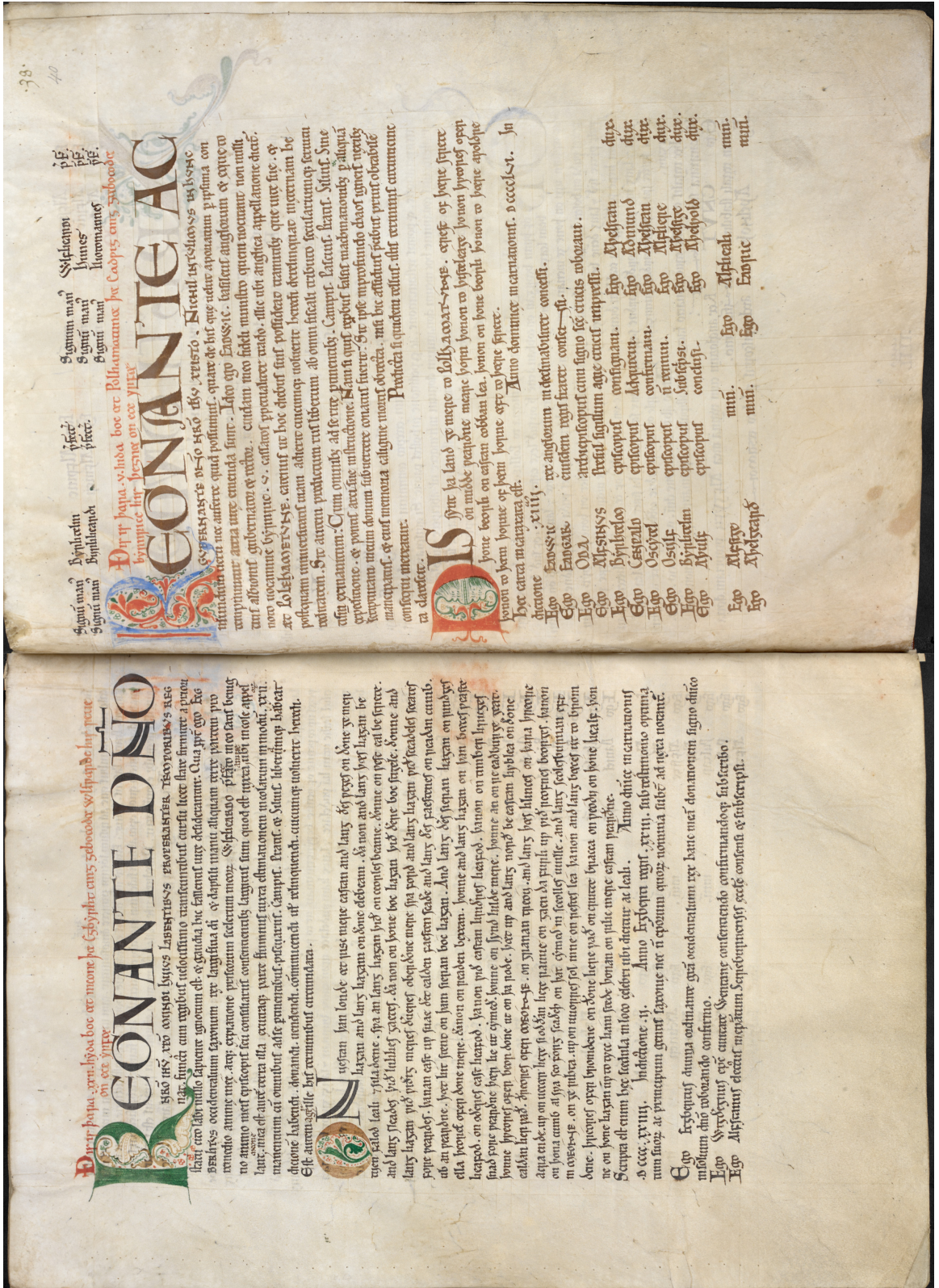
Figure 2: © *British Library Board*, Codex, *fos. 39v-40v.*

ble argues that 'Codex I' was completed within the first decade of Bishop Henry of Blois' episcopate at Winchester (1129-1171). This dating is based on several factors. Firstly, as discussed above, in the early 1120s the cathedral priory and Bishop Walkelin (1100-1129) were embroiled in a bitter quarrel over lands that the bishop had alienated from the community.[13] Rumble found no reflection of this dispute within the cartulary's contents, and therefore questioned whether it could have been produced during or in the immediate aftermath of such a contest.[14] In contrast, Rumble noted how Bishop Henry was renowned for his administrative energy at the other monastic institutions he was affiliated with, including the abbeys of Cluny and Glastonbury. At the latter in particular he was committed to returning to the community the properties which had been unjustly removed from their endowment.[15] Winchester Cathedral likewise suffered alienations of their property in both the pre- and post-Conquest periods, and documents related to some of these estates can be found in 'Codex I'.[16] Rumble argued that although the sole purpose of 'Codex I' cannot have been to collect documents related to the alienations (the cartulary contains many charters related to properties not alienated from Winchester), 'Codex I' nevertheless would have served as 'a convenient edition' of the various documents related to the Anglo-Saxon endowment of Old Minster, and a helpful source for those interested in the history of the alienated estates.[17]

The manuscript's surviving binding also dates from Bishop Henry's episcopate. It is adorned with distinct stamped designs that were heavily influenced by Parisian techniques and were unique to England at that time. These stamps can also be found in the bindings of two further twelfth-century manuscripts: the Winton Domesday, and a copy of Hegesippus, *De excidio Judeorum.* H. M. Nixon has suggested that these three bindings were all likely made mid century at Winchester and that Bishop Henry was precisely the kind of patron to attract such a craftsman.[18]

---

13. Franklin, "Introduction," xxx-xxxv.
14. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 161-62.
15. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 163.
16. Rumble has shown that up to sixty-five estates were alienated from Winchester Cathedral between 683 and 1107x1130, and that documents related to thirty-four of these estates can be found in 'Codex I'. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 159-61.
17. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 161-63. Rumble also suggests that 'Codex I' may have been prepared as evidence on which an extensive confirmation charter of Old Minster's rights would be based. However, no such confirmation charter was ever made. Although Rumble suggests that this may be a result of the shifting political circumstances of King Stephen's reign, the current discussion will seek possible reasons for the cartulary's purposes within the surviving evidence.
18. See Nixon, "The Binding of the Winton Domesday," 540.

The production of the *Codex* has not been fully positioned within its twelfth-century context. In particular, although it is certainly compatible with Bishop Henry's interest in administration and the defence of ecclesiastical rights, the purposes of the *Codex* should not be extrapolated solely from one individual's involvement in the project. The cartulary was created during a period of change and challenge at Old Minster, and its production may expose the ways the community at the priory tried to weather the storms of its present. In turn, the *Codex* is yet to be studied within the the context of monastic cartulary production. The first half of the twelfth-century was a period of significant cartulary construction in England, the production of which have been linked to an anxiety in documentation that grew in the period following the Norman Conquest and the 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign.[19] Studies of these early cartularies have stressed their administrative purpose, showing that these texts were often produced to address specific grievances or to construct a legal snapshot of the past that was designed to have tangible impact on the monastery's present.[20] Recent scholarship has greatly advanced our understanding of cartularies, and has shown that a cartulary was often more than a collection of rights or privileges: it could also be a form of commemoration. These commemorative imperatives could be as, if not more, important that any administrative purposes.[21] Emilia Jamroziak has suggested that such acts of remembrance were not only a symbolic gesture, but also a way of developing and maintaining ties between monasteries and the laity. Memories, and shared memories in particular, were essential for a monastery to build a network of benefactors - an enterprise that was particularly important when relationships were strained or broken.[22] Here the internal organisation of a cartulary can be key: through the selection and combining of documents, people and land are recorded into a narrative framework that indicates, as Patrick Geary argues, 'not only what ought to be remembered but how it should be remembered.'[23]

What follows is the first examination of the *Codex Wintoniensis* both within

---

19. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 103-4.

20. See among many others Tinti, "Si litterali memorie commendaretur"; Fleming, "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary"; O'Brien and Bombi, *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*.

21. For Patrick Geary, a cartulary can record 'a tradition, but one aimed at remembering and thus, perhaps, recuperating, not simply administering': Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 93. See too Constance B. Bouchard, "Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity," in *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, ed. Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth (Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002), 31: where it is argued that cartularies could be 'less a legal brief than another form of *liber memorialis.*'

22. Jamroziak, "How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors," 64 in particular.

23. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 118.

the context of the twelfth-century cathedral priory, and through the interpretative frameworks offered by recent cartulary studies. This discussion is aided by Rumble's extensive work. In addition to close palaeographical examinations of the manuscript and identification of surviving exemplars, Rumble also produced a calendar for the *Codex*, which is an invaluable tool for approaching this vast body of material.[24] Given the richness of this manuscript, the analysis here will focus predominately on how the form and arrangement of the twelfth-century phases of *Codex* may reflect this text's purpose. Although specific contents of the cartulary will be considered, this will not extend to an examination of its palaeography, or use of Latin and Old English. The 'Codices I and II' will be examined in turn so to delineate the different purposes behind these stages of compilation. First the contents and arrangement of 'Codex I' will be characterised. This characterisation will then be developed through a comparison with other early English cartularies. Then the contents of 'Codex I' will be subjected to a closer analysis in order to expose the different initiatives which governed its constriction, and what circumstances at Winchester they may have been responding to. Finally, the later twelfth-century stages of production ('Codex II') will be briefly analysed in order to reveal whether this phase held any different purposes than 'Codex I', and if so, why.

3.1   Codex I

This section characterises the format and contents of the first phase of the cartulary ('Codex I'), and for the first time compares Winchester's cartulary to other contemporaneous English cartularies in order to further expose elements within the *Codex*'s construction. 'Codex I' begins with fourteen charters which are all confirmations made by King Edgar to Old Minster shortly after its refoundation as a monastic cathedral in 964.[25] Although there are no surviving originals for these documents, through internal textual evidence Rumble established that at a point prior to being copied into the *Codex*, these fourteen charters had been collected into a single dossier. The individual documents share diplomatic features such as long *arengae* and vehement anathemas, and there is cross-referencing between the separate charters, with 'the aforementioned Bishop Æthelwold', and 'the aforesaid

---

24.   The calendar is an appendix to Rumble (1979) ii.

25.   *Codex*, 9r-13v; the charters are discussed in John, "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation"; and Rumble (2002), 98-135, where the charters are edited and translated.

church' referring to the details of preceding documents.[26] The charters also have no bounds, witness lists, or dating clauses. These absences are uncharacteristic for both tenth-century diplomas and the rest of the *Codex Wintoniensis*,[27] and suggests that the compilers of 'Codex I' were following an exemplar that was itself a reformatted version of the original charters. An indication of this reformatting is found in the first charter, in which King Edgar states that he has restored to the community various alienated properties which had been acquired by Bishop Æthelwold '*in hoc presenti sinthamate*' ('in this present arrangement of text').[28] Finberg, and scholars following him, have taken the use of the grecism *sinthama* as a reference to the full collection of Edgar charters, an argument supported by the contents of the fourteenth document, in which the confirmations made in the preceding charters are detailed and reaffirmed, seemingly bringing the series to an end.[29] While the occurrence of *sinthama* in other surviving Æthelwoldian charters does not signal an equivalent dossier,[30] it is nevertheless an appropriate term to apply to the Edgar charters (whether or not this was the intent) because in this group multiple separate documents were arranged into one textual unit. Due to overlaps between these charters and surviving diplomas from between the late tenth and early eleventh century, Rumble has dated the production of the *sinthama* to some time during the reign of Æthelred II (r.978-1016).[31] For this discussion, however, the dating of the *sinthama* is less important than the fact that in the twelfth century the compilers recopied this collection into the very front of 'Codex I'.

Following the *sinthama*, the contents of 'Codex I' are arranged topographically, with documents relating to the same land or property grouped together (see Appendix B). Few originals survive, but a comparison with the small number that do reveals further editorial practices in the construction of the *Codex*.[32] The contents, bounds, and witness lists of the exemplars were copied in full, following the order and languages (Latin and Old English) of the original. Changes were

---

26. *Codex*, 11v and 12v, and 11v and 12r, respectively; see John, "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation," 406; Rumble (2002), 100.

27. John, "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation," 406.

28. *Codex*, 9v; following Rumble's translation in Rumble (2002), 108.

29. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*; Rumble (2002), 108, note 21; and 114-115, notes 76 and 78; *Codex*, 13r.

30. See for example a confirmation charter from King Edgar to the church of Abingdon in 959: in a notarial subscription Abbot Æthelwold states 'hoc sintagma triumphans dictaui'. S. E. Kelly, ed., *Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part 2*, Anglo-Saxon Charters (Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 2001), no. 84.

31. Rumble (2002), 102-3.

32. The eleven surviving exemplars are BL, Cotton Charters viii. 9, 11, 12, 16A, 16B, 17, 22; BL, Harley Charters 43 C. 1, 2, 8; Edinburgh University Library, Laing Charters 18. Rumble (1979) ii, 256-323.
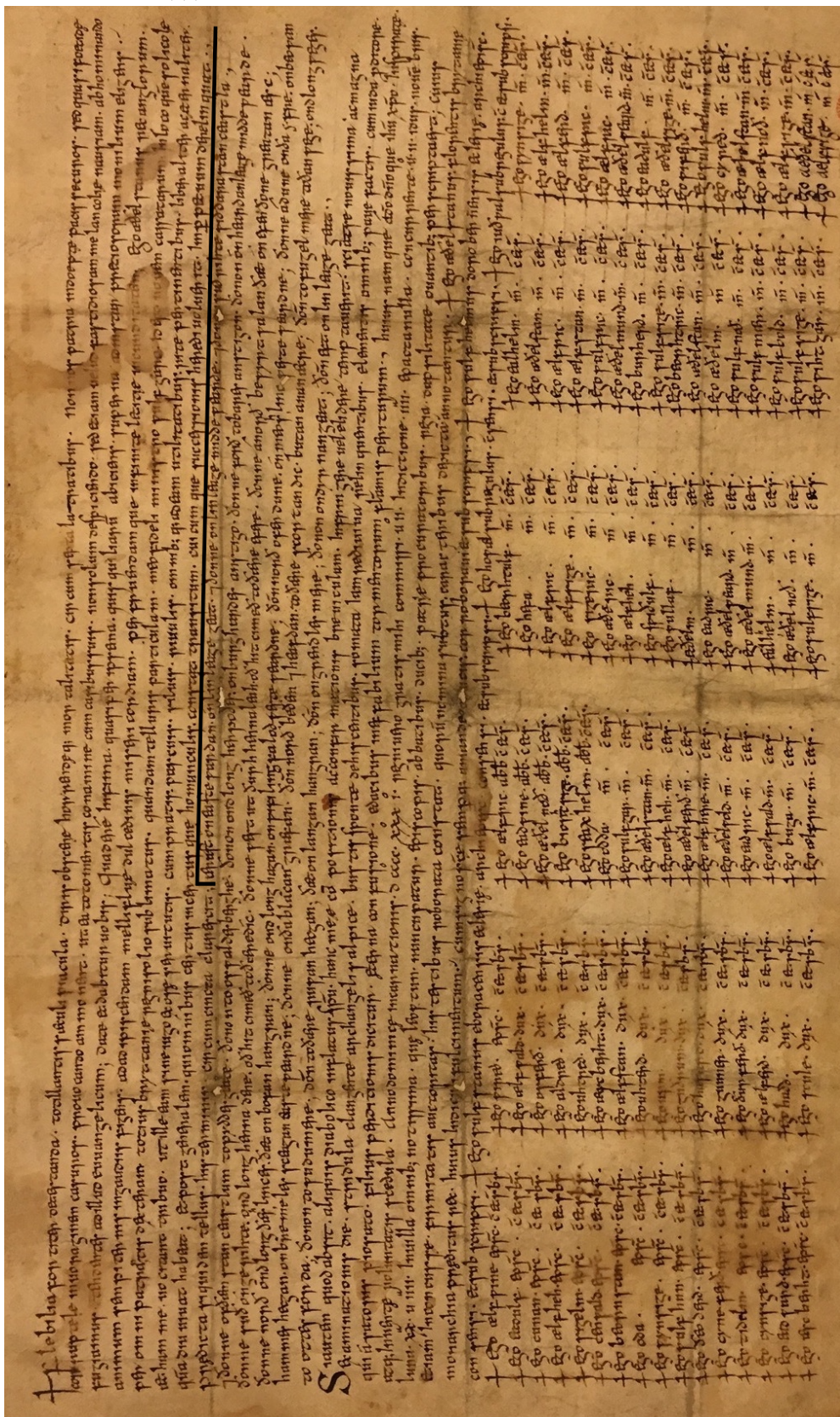
Figure 3: © *British Library Board, BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 16A (my annotations); exemplar for Codex, 81v-83r (Figure 4).*
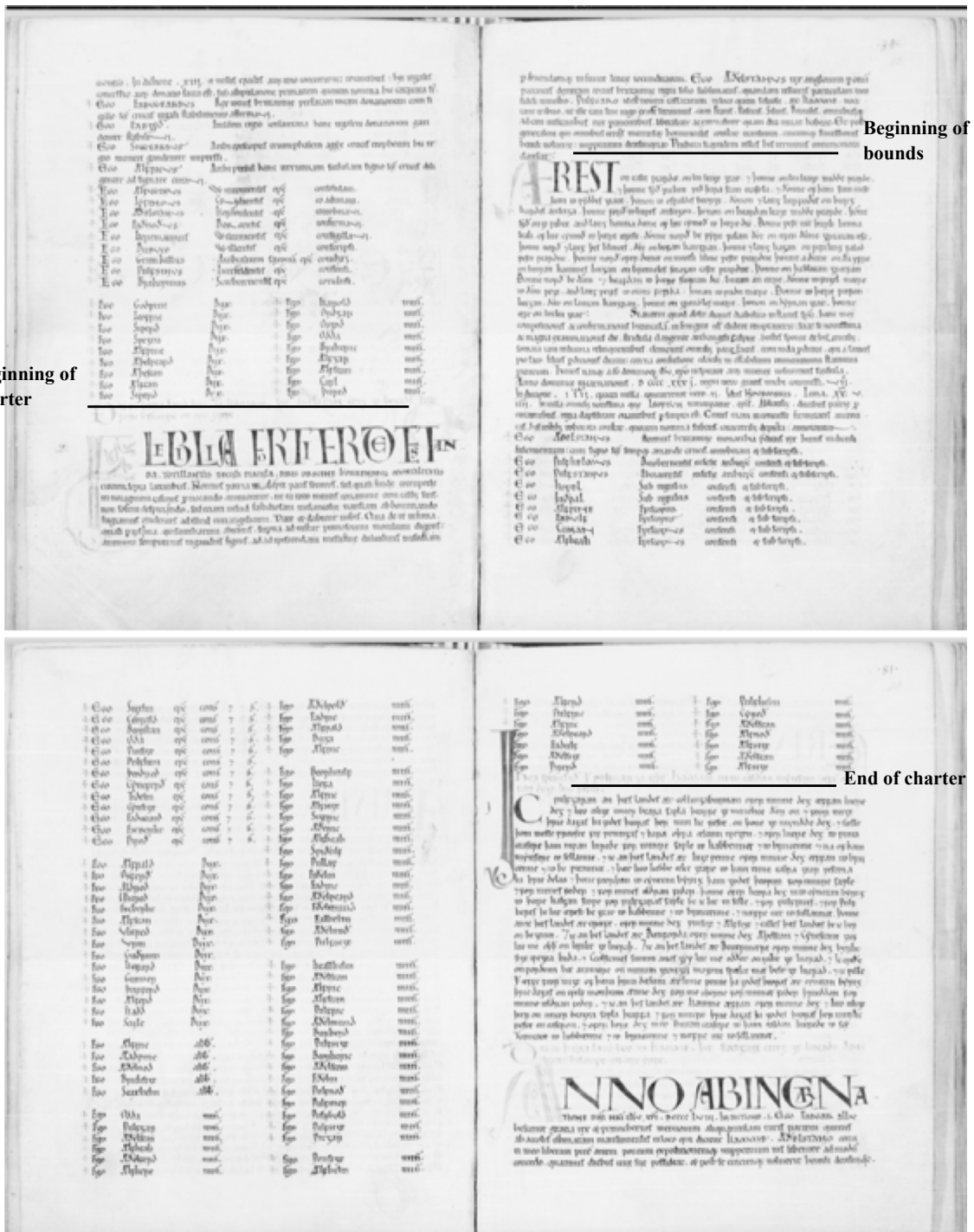
Figure 4: © *British Library Board*, Codex, *81v-83r (my annotations)*.

made in the presentation of the charters: the exemplars typically start with a single monochrome enlarged initial or a chrismon, and the internal contents (such as the description of the bounds) are minimally marked, if at all (see Figure 3). In contrast, in 'Codex I' each document begins with a large, coloured initial (any chrismon or equivalent is not copied), and the first line is completed in decorative capitalised letters (see Figure 4). If a charter includes bounds, then the beginning of the bounds is marked by a coloured first letter and capitalisation, but in a smaller and less decorated style than the initial at the start of the document. When copying charters into the cartulary, the structure of the witness list was also changed. The scribe capitalised the first few names, which were typically either of royalty or archbishops,[33] and rearranged the subscriptions into two columns (rather than the three to six columns of the exemplars), inserting line breaks between witnesses of different status, for example, bishops and thegns. It can be assumed that the changes made between exemplar and 'Codex I' were undertaken to aid reference to the documents within the cartulary; the start of each charter and the bounds of the relevant estate were now clearly distinguished, as were the statuses of those who witnessed the exchange.

A comparison between the *Codex Wintoniensis* and other contemporaneous English cartularies exposes the ways in which the Winchester text is exceptional. 'Codex I' was one of the earliest cartularies produced in England: indeed, only five are known to predate it.[34] Three of these five cartularies were created at Worcester cathedral in the eleventh century, and have been thoroughly investigated by Francesca Tinti.[35] The earliest Worcester cartulary, the so-called *Liber Wigorniensis*, was completed between 1002 and 1016. The contents are largely arranged topographically, and Tinti has argued that the collection was designed both to conserve these documents and present them in a purposefully practical format to support Worcester's claims to various lands.[36] The second Worcester cartulary, the 'Nero-Middleton', was created in the late eleventh century, and contained the same charters (in the same order) as those in the *Liber Wigorniensis*, but was copied into a large Bible (470 x 290 mm) which dated from the

---

33. For example the charter in Figure 4, with 'ÆTHELSTAN', 'WULFHELM' and 'WULF-STAN'.

34. Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, nos. 163, 817, and 1068 (a) and (b), and 1069.

35. Francesca Tinti, "From episcopal conception to monastic compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in context," *Early Medieval Europe* 11, no. 3 (2002): 233–261; Tinti, "Si litterali memorie commendaretur," 475-497; and Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 75-150.

36. The first part of the *Liber Wigorniensis* contains royal land grants to Worcester, and is organised geographically according to the five shires in which Worcester held lands. The cartulary's second part contains leases issued by Bishop Oswald in the second half of the tenth century. Tinti, "From episcopal conception to monastic compilation," 235; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 124.

late seventh or early eighth century.[37] Tinti argued that, in addition to seeking to preserve the records of Worcester's endowment, by copying the charters into a Bible, the compilers of the Nero-Middleton cartulary sought to confer on those documents a special significance and 'sacral authority which could not be matched by any other literary context.'[38] The third Worcester cartulary (now named 'Hemming's cartulary' after its compiler) was also made at the end of the eleventh century, and is arranged topographically. In a narrative section at the beginning of the cartulary, Hemming claims to have compiled the text to record for posterity which of the monastery's lands were for the sustenance of the monks, and which of their estates had been unjustly removed from them.[39] Tinti has concluded that, despite their differences each of the Worcester cartularies represents the proactive strategies adopted by the community to organise their endowment in such a way as to preserve their past and to defend themselves from present incursions.[40]

The fourth English cartulary to predate the *Codex Wintoniensis* was created at Christ Church Canterbury between 1073 and 1083. The contents of this cartulary are arranged chronologically, with the traditional diplomatic elements of the originals (such as invocations, boundary clauses, and witness lists) removed. Additionally, the dating clause from the exemplar was moved from the end of the charter to the top, collectively creating not only a cartulary, but essentially an annal.[41] Robin Fleming has argued that this reconstitution was intended to emphasise a series of 'facts' about Christ Church's lands, and thus protect those lands most vulnerable following the upheavals of the Norman Conquest.[42] The fifth cartulary, the *Textus Roffensis*, was created in the early 1120s at Rochester cathedral. The cartulary is also arranged chronologically, and lists grants from King Æthelberht's reign in the sixth century through to its present, that is, Henry

---

37. The Nero-Middleton only survives in fragmentary portions across the two separate manuscripts from which it has taken its name: four folios are in BL, Cotton Nero E. i, part 2, and a further one complete folio and portions of another leaf in BL, Additional MS 46204, which was once owned by Lord Middleton. In comparison to the *Liber Wigorniensis*, the charters in the Nero-Middleton appear to have been abbreviated. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 126-27; Tinti, "Si litterali memorie commendaretur," 479.

38. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 135. The compilation of the Nero-Middleton is described in a later narrative account (*Enucleatio libelli* from the opening of Hemming's Cartulary), in which it is described how Bishop Wulfstan II (1062-95) ordered the charters detailing Worcester's endowment to be copied into the church's Bible in order to secure their preservation. The *Enucleatio* is edited and translated in Tinti, "Si litterali memorie commendaretur," 492-497. See too, Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 125.

39. Tinti, "Si litterali memorie commendaretur," 492-493.

40. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief* 147-150.

41. Fleming, "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary," 94.

42. Fleming, "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary," 93-96.

I's reign.[43] Therefore, like the cartularies described above, by being up to date at the time of its construction, as well as having a clear structure and layout, the *Textus Roffensis* was, as argued by Nicholas Karn, 'a monument to Rochester's past, and...a resource for defending the legacy of that past'.[44]

This brief overview has exposed the variety of ways cartularies were made in eleventh- and twelfth-century England. Nevertheless, in each of the texts produced at Worcester, Canterbury, and Rochester, their arrangement and contents were carefully chosen to serve a clear function for their communities. They were designed to be relevant and useful for addressing present concerns. The *Codex Wintoniensis* appears to be wholly different. There is no immediately obvious purpose to the cartulary; it lacks a narrative passage or any statement explaining why the compilation was put together, or indeed to shed light on why all the documents in 'Codex I' are Anglo-Saxon. There is no evidence of twelfth-century forgeries in the cartulary,[45] creations which could be seen to speak to current circumstances at the priory. The contents of 'Codex I' were not brought up to date with contemporary grants or losses, and thus were not useful as a legal tool at the time of its creation; it is willfully archaic.

The *Codex* also lacks any overriding organisational features, thus appearing to undermine the usefulness of the collection. After the *sinthama*, the charters in 'Codex I' are arranged topographically, but unlike 'Hemming's' cartulary, in 'Codex I' estates from the same county are not grouped together. Instead properties from diverse locations and of various sizes follow each other. For example, charters relating to the Rimpton and Ruishton estates in Somerset were copied in after documents regarding West Tisted in Hampshire, and immediately before a grant of various lands in Berkshire.[46] There is also no chronological ordering within each topographical group. In the group related to the cathedral's estate at Alresford (Hants.), a restitution from King Edward the Elder of 909 is followed by one of King Ine of Wessex from 701. The next document is a grant from King

---

43. The compilers of the *Textus Roffensis* largely followed the original exemplars, and provided rubrics to aid reference to the cartulary. Peter Sawyer, ed., *Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A. 3. 5*, vol. II, Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, Vol. 11 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1962), 11-19; Mary P. Richards, "The 'Textus Roffensis': Keystone of the Medieval Library at Rochester," in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, ed. Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 19–48, 25.

44. Richards, "The 'Textus Roffensis': Keystone of the Medieval Library at Rochester," 26; Nicholas Karn, "'Textus Roffensis' and its Uses," in *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, ed. Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 49–67, at 49.

45. Rumble (1979) i, 202.

46. *Codex*, 50v-54v. See Appendix B.

Eadwig in 956.[47] This lack of detectable scheme can be observed throughout the cartulary. Types of document (that is, grants or confirmations) are not grouped together, and there is no editorial division in the cartulary between monastic and episcopal lands. There are no visual markers on the page to indicate that a new topographical section has begun, and there are also repetitions of groupings. Alresford, for example, is the subject of one charter in the *sinthama*, five charters on fols. 20r-22r, and then a final charter on fol. 61r-v. One charter on fols. 43v-44v is repeated word for word on fol. 50r-v. This lack of organisation directly affects how the reader (modern or medieval) can approach the cartulary. One cannot easily navigate its contents to determine the history of a specific estate, and the details of the cathedral's various properties are scattered throughout the quires. These features render 'Codex I' essentially unusable as a reference tool, suggesting that it was never intended for this purpose.

In addition to its contents, the *Codex* is also physically dissimilar from the other cartularies; it is markedly bigger, and is in fact larger than almost any other surviving English cartulary from the 1100s.[48] While the Nero-Middleton is bigger than the *Codex*, the size of the Worcester cartulary was determined by the preexisting Bible, and any significance the compilers may have drawn from the dimensions of the compendium was inextricably intertwined with what that Bible represented and how it could confer sacred authority onto the Worcester charters. The reason for the large size of the *Codex Wintoniensis*, however, is less obvious. Its dimensions cannot solely reflect the sheer number of charters that the compilers wished to include because the text is not cramped on the page and there are large margins. The relatively small size of the *Textus Roffensis* has contributed to it being variously described as a 'portable' and 'public' collection.[49] The dimensions of the *Codex Wintoniensis* are not big enough to fully disqualify it from either of these roles, but may suggest that the cartulary had an intended ceremonial purpose.[50] While this cannot be ruled out, no evidence survives for the *Codex* having been used in this way and instead we should, at least initially, regard its monumentality as another way in which the Winchester cartulary differs from its contemporaries.

---

47.   *Codex*, 20r-21v.

48.   The *Codex* is 395 x 280 mm; the *Liber Wigorniensis* and Hemming's cartulary are 320 x 250 mm; the Nero-Middleton is 470 x 290 mm; the Canterbury cartulary 280 x 190 mm; and the *Textus Roffensis* 230 x 165 mm. For the sizes of the other manuscripts, see Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*.

49.   Richards, "The 'Textus Roffensis': Keystone of the Medieval Library at Rochester," 21; Karn, "'Textus Roffensis' and its Uses" 49.

50.   Rumble briefly discusses the potential ceremonial purpose for the *Codex*, but his conclusions are largely conjectural. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 162.

A further appropriate comparison is between the *Codex* and the so-called 'Winton Domesday.'[51] The Winton Domesday refers to two twelfth-century surveys of the borough of Winchester contained in one contemporary manuscript.[52] The first survey (Survey I) was ordered in c.1110 by Henry I in order to recover the rights in royal demesne which King Edward the Confessor had held in Winchester. The report produced was a list of the royal lands in the city which paid landgable and brewgable, with the *T.R.E.* holder named and then followed by the current (twelfth-century) details.[53] Frank Barlow argued that this list was likely based on an earlier survey from c.1057, and that Survey I was 'essentially a modernization of an Edwardian list of tenements.'[54] The second survey, Survey II, was carried out by Bishop Henry in 1148, and in contrast to Survey I covered the whole city. Barlow suggests that the survey was prompted by the destruction suffered by the city following the fighting in and around Winchester in 1141, and that Henry, as the largest landlord in the city may have been looking to consolidate his estates.[55] Both surveys were copied into the manuscript in the same hand shortly after Survey II was completed.[56] As discussed above, the binding of this manuscript was likely crafted by the same person as made the surviving binding for the *Codex*. Its dimensions are 253mm x 182 mm.[57] Henry of Blois' involvement with the Winton Domesday and the shared binding naturally suggest a link to the *Codex Wintoniensis*. However, these are vastly different creations. Although the precise purposes for the Surveys are unknown, unlike the *Codex* they have clear practical application. The Winton Domesday is also a different type of production than the cartulary: it is a written record of inquests, and although Survey I also lists pre-Conquest rights, unlike 'Codex I' these details are brought up to date with the status of the tenements in Henry I's reign. And while Survey II may reflect the same administrative energy from Henry of Blois that Rumble argued is also reflected in the *Codex*, the scope of these products are different. Survey II is concerned with the city of Winchester whereas the *Codex* is focused on the cathedral's lands, both in the city and beyond. Finally, although the same craftsman may have created both their surviving bindings, the two items are have very different dimensions: the *Codex* is almost one and a half times bigger than the Winton Domesday.

---

51. The Winton Domesday is edited and translated in Biddle, *Winchester in the early middle ages*.
52. Society of Antiquaries of London, MS 154; Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 1.
53. Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 9-10.
54. Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 10.
55. Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 18.
56. Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 4.
57. See Nixon, "The Binding of the Winton Domesday." The size of the vellum in the Winton Domesday is 251 x 174mm (Barlow, "The Winton Domesday," 4.)

This comparison between the *Codex* and other early English cartularies and the Winton Domesday has revealed the exceptional nature of this cartulary. By being wholly archaic it lacks any obvious legal utility in the twelfth century, and the absence of overriding organisational features hinders its use for reference. These factors do not undermine Rumble's central conviction that the *Codex* was simply intended as a 'convenient edition' of the cathedral's Anglo-Saxon endowment.[58] For Rumble, the lack of organisation in 'Codex I' was a product of the difficulties arising from the vast number of exemplars being compiled, combined with the level of editorial skill of the scribes and the overall purpose of the project, which was simply to collect, not chronicle.[59] But one need only look at the *Codex Wintoniensis'* monumental size and lavish decoration inside and out, to doubt that this cartulary was ever conceived of as just a helpful repository. In turn, given that other early-twelfth-century cartularies were seeking to address current issues at their institutions, the *Codex* equally must be analysed as more than a passive compendium. Aspects of the construction of 'Codex I' certainly challenge what has been considered as a central purpose for medieval cartularies, but rather than leading us to dismiss this text, these differences prompt us to ask fresh questions of this cartulary, and of this genre. If the *Codex* was never intended to function as a contemporary reference tool, then for what reason was it compiled? And by being deliberately archaic, what parts of Old Minster's history were being commemorated and why?

3.2   The purpose of Codex I

This section will seek to expose the purposes of 'Codex I' through a closer examination of its contents. The *sinthama* at the front is a clear starting point. As discussed above, these charters relate to some of Winchester's most important and ancient estates, including the three hundreds of Downton, Alresford, and Taunton. The charters in the *sinthama* are solely confirmations of various lands to the church and community, and do not include any grants of property or rights. In the context of the Benedictine Reformation such royal confirmations would have been essential to secure the monks' tenure of these properties after the expulsion of the secular canons.[60] Indeed, as suggested by Rumble, through the compression of multiple confirmations into one documentary package, the *sinthama* emerges as a kind of re-foundation charter for the tenth-century com-

---

58. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 162 in particular.
59. Rumble (1979) i, 229-230.
60. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*, 239.

munity.[61] But in the twelfth century the *sinthama* served a different purpose. By copying the entire collection into the front of 'Codex I', rather than redistributing its contents into different topographical groups, the emphasis on the community's reform found in the *sinthama* was preserved. As a result, Winchester's refoundation by Edgar and Æthelwold became not only the starting point for the cartulary and the documents it contains, but also for Old Minster itself. The repurposing of the *sinthama* in the twelfth century was thus both a reaffirmation of the community's ancient privileges and a commemoration of their moment of reform under Edgar and Æthelwold.

In the early twelfth century the specific provisions within the *sinthama* may also have had additional resonance for the monks at Winchester Cathedral Priory. The final charter in the *sinthama* stands out because its main subject was not land ownership but ensuring the correct organization of the priory as a monastic house under Bishop Æthelwold's successors.[62] After confirming the lands returned in the preceding documents, the charter catalogues the duties of the bishop, which included giving advice and help to the monks in the ruling of their lands; not depriving them of any food-rent; dispensing any excess income from these estates to the poor; and generally preserving the custom of the Rule. Detailed provisions are also outlined for the election of a new bishop, who should not be a canon but a monk chosen from within Old Minster, or another worthy monastic community.[63] The final provision states that the bishop should not despoil any of the estates bestowed by kings or other benefactors for the use of the monks by granting them to laymen or members of their kin.[64] In the post-Conquest period the monks at Old Minster had good reason to feel that their monastic status was being threatened, and the commands laid out in the *sinthama* undermined. As discussed in sections 1.1 and 2.4 of this chapter, neither of the first two Norman bishops of Winchester (Walkelin and William Giffard) were Benedictine monks, and once bishop, Walkelin had even attempted to replace the monks at Winchester with canons.[65] Walkelin and Giffard both appropriated land from the monks' income, and a surviving charter issued by Giffard between 1128 and 1129 acknowledges that his predecessor removed 300 librates of the monks' endowment to fund his rebuilding of the cathedral.[66] In turn, Giffard himself

---

61. Rumble (2002), 99.

62. *Codex*, 13r-v. Discussed in Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex*, 241.

63. *Codex*, 13r-v.

64. 'Rura tam a regibus quam a diuersis catholicis ad usus fratrum Domino largiflue collata huius seculi militibus siue propinquis carnalibus pro munere quolibet adulando tribuens ad anime sue detrimentum nequaquam disperdat.' *Codex*, 13v; edited in Rumble (2002), 134.

65. Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," 47-65; Franklin, "Introduction," xxx-xxxi.

66. *EEA: Winchester*, no. 20. Discussed in Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the

took over the patronage of at least seventeen churches belonging to the priory in order to support his *familia*.[67] M.J. Franklin has argued that the completion of the work on the cathedral in c.1121 prompted a dispute between bishop and priory when the monks demanded the return of the lands which the bishops had removed from them.[68] The argument was resolved by 1124, and in the final years of his episcopate Giffard returned the churches to the priory, but preserved the lifetime interests of his clerks who held them.[69] The compilers of the *Codex* cannot have failed to notice how the provisions within the final charter of the *sinthama* were meant to protect the priory from exactly the kind of episcopal leadership they had experienced from 1070 to 1129. The inclusion of the final charter in the *sinthama*, especially as it did not relate to land ownership, can thus be seen as a response to these circumstances. The *sinthama* presented the guidelines for correct episcopal leadership through the authorities of Edgar and Æthelwold, implicitly rebuking Walkelin and Giffard's actions, and simultaneously creating munition against future interferences.

The structure and contents of the rest of 'Codex I' provide further insight into the purpose of the cartulary. The first six groups of estates following the *sinthama* are listed in chronological order according to when Winchester acquired them.[70] For ease of reference, this chronological sequence will henceforth be referred to as 'Series A'. Up to this point the purpose of the arrangement is clear; through the *sinthama* and Series A, Winchester's oldest and most important estates were placed at the front of the collection to underline the antiquity of the community's privileges. However, this chronological organisation stops abruptly at the seventh group,[71] and the rest of the cartulary's contents follow no discernible overriding organisational structure, chronological or otherwise. This change in scheme is also reflected in the number of charters within each topographical group. In Series A, there is an average of just over eight per group.[72] After the end of this series, the number of charters per group drops significantly, and for much of the rest of the

---

Monastic Revolution," 51-52; Crosby, *Bishop and Chapter*, 223-24; Vanessa King, "Share and Share alike? Bishops and Their Cathedral Chapters: The Domesday Evidence," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 28 (2005): 138–152 at 149-151.

67. Franklin, "Introduction," xxxiv.

68. Franklin, "Introduction," xxxiv.

69. *EEA: Winchester*, no. 21; Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," 52, and notes.

70. Downton and Alresford were both given to the cathedral by King Coenwealh in c.639; Taunton and its dependencies were given by Queen Fristheswitha and King Æthelred (I) in 721; Clere in 749 by King Cuthred; and Meon and Poolhampton by Bishop Elwinus in 1043. *Codex*, 13v-41v; *AM* ii, 5-25, and notes. Four of these estates (Downton, Alresford, Taunton, and Clere) also feature in the *sinthama*. See Appendix B.

71. The estate of Moredon was granted to Old Minster in 975x979. Rumble (1979) ii, no. 91, and notes.

72. Forty-nine charters in six groups. See Appendix B.

cartulary there are only one or two charters per group (see Figure 5). This change cannot be attributed to the original source material. As discussed above, there are repetitions in the topographical groupings in 'Codex I', thus indicating that the compilers copied in charters without seeming to care if they had included every available document related to that specific estate. Instead, the decrease in number of charters per group seems to suggest that the initiative which had governed the chronological ordering, whatever this may have been, had come to an end.

A further initiative in 'Codex I' can be detected from groups 32 to 41, where the previous pattern of a small number of charters per grouping is interrupted by a cluster of forty-eight documents related to ten different estates. In comparison to the rest of the cartulary that came after Series A, these groups of estates stand out and should be considered as a single isolated collection. They will henceforth be referred to as 'Series B' (see Figure 5). The estates contained in Series B are not random: each was the object of dispute between the priory and Bishop Giffard, who had either alienated the land from the priory, or appropriated its income for himself. Eight of the seventeen churches that Giffard returned to the priory's possession in c.1128 are listed in these charters. The estates are marked on Figure 5.[73] The three estates, Easton, Bushton, and Ham (groups 33, 35, and 37), which do not feature in the Giffard returns were also subject to challenge and change in the 1110s and 1120s.[74] Easton had belonged to the bishopric since 961, but was surrendered by Bishop Giffard in 1110 to King Henry I in exchange for a further five days for the fair of St Giles in Winchester. This land then became the new site for the cathedral's local rival, New Minster.[75] In the Domesday survey, both Ham and Bushton were listed under the lands assigned for the sustenance of the monks. However, unlike other lands marked for this purpose in 1086 (such as Alton Priors), Ham and Bushton were both held by the bishop, not the monks.[76] Vanessa King has argued that this distinction in ownership may identify which of the monks' properties had been removed by Bishop Walkelin to fund the building of the new cathedral.[77] If it can thus be held that Ham and Bushton were among the lands appropriated by Walkelin, then it can also be assumed that they were the subject of dispute in the 1120s. Indeed, such a supposition seems to be confirmed through the inclusion of Ham

---

73. Groups 32, 34, 36, and 38-41. The churches were Alverstoke, Alton, Fyfield, Patney, Wanborough, Wylye, Millbrook, and Worthy. See *EEA: Winchester*, no. 21.

74. None of these lands lie within the city of Winchester, and therefore are not mentioned in the Winton Domesday.

75. *Codex*, 72v-73r; *RRAN* ii, no. 947.

76. *DD, Wilts*, 65d.

77. King, "Share and Share alike?," 149-150.

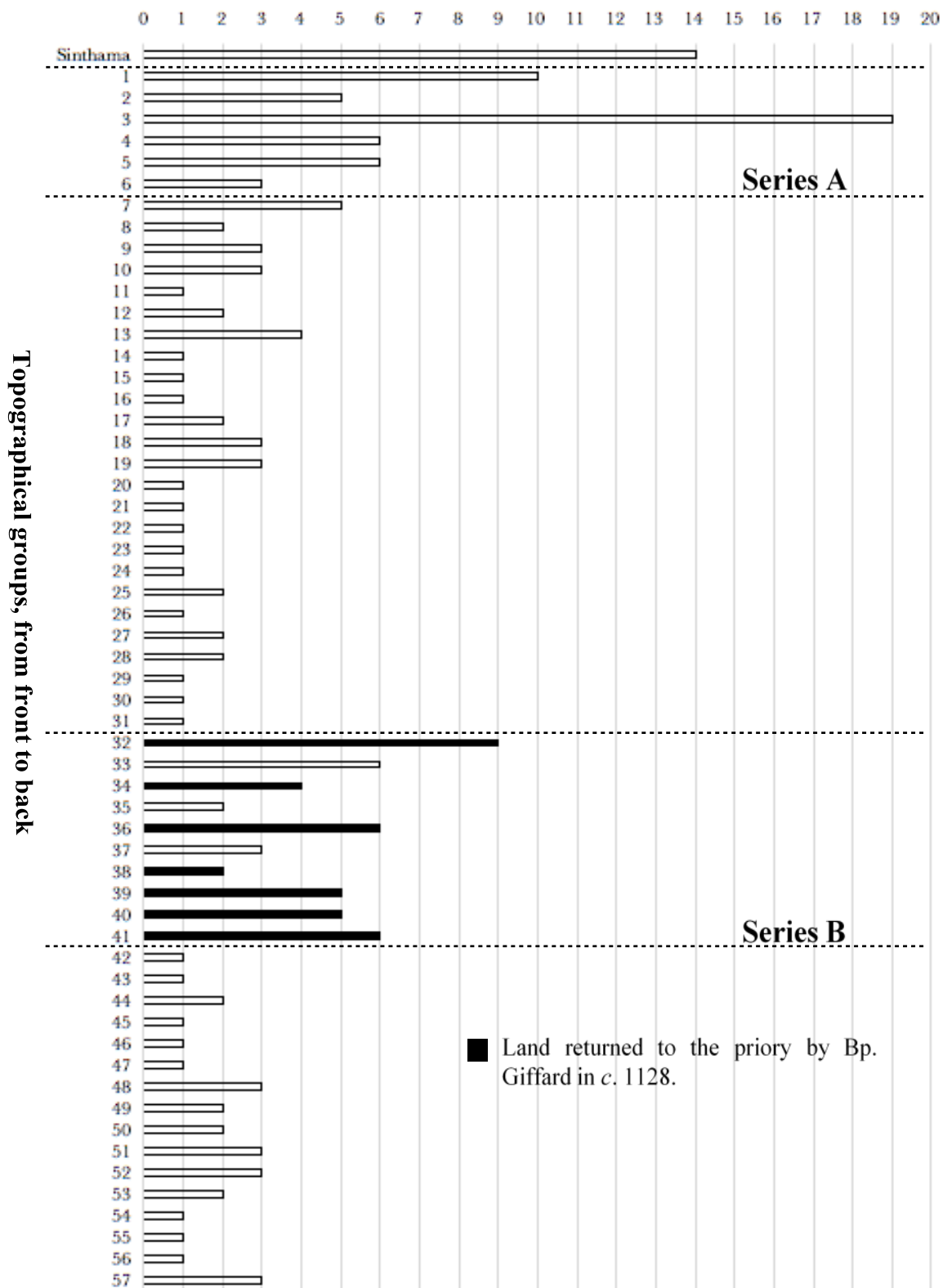**Number of charters per group**

Figure 5: *Number of charters per topographical group in 'Codex I'.*

and Bushton alongside the other appropriated properties in Series B.

Series B appears to have been included in 'Codex I' because these lands were the subject of disputes around the time of the cartulary's composition. Before to Series B only one other charter in the cartulary related to a property featured in the Giffard returns.[78] In turn, a comparison between the contents of the cartulary and surviving twelfth-century royal, lay, and episcopal *acta* shows that no other part of 'Codex I' is as heavily populated with charters related to current circumstances at Winchester.[79] Rumble has suggested that the quarrel between Giffard and the priory in the early 1120s may have prompted the investigation into the cathedral archives which ultimately furnished the cartulary with its ancient documents.[80] It is possible that in the course of such archiving activity the individual exemplars which came to make up Series B had been grouped together on account of their shared status, and that the compilers of the *Codex* simply preserved this preexisting arrangement when copying in the documents. However, a detail within Series B suggests that these charters were intended to have an active role in 'Codex I'. One charter in this section is introduced by an initial that is much bigger and far more elaborately decorated than any other charter around it (see Figure 6).[81] Moreover, between folios 73r-80r there is a distinct sequence of decoration for the initials, with the primary colour of decoration cycling between green, red, blue, and brown.[82] The decoration of the 'U' shown in Figure 6 interrupts this pattern. The contents of the document which follows record the original gift of the estate at Alton Priors by King Ecgbeorht of Wessex in 825, with the explicit provision that the land must never be inhabited by secular men nor alienated from the priory's authority.[83] This was, however exactly what happened when William the Conqueror granted land at Alton Priors to his cook.[84] In 1108 Henry I returned the land to the prior and monks, and in 1111 William Giffard issued a second confirmation at the behest of Queen Edith-Matilda.[85] Within a sea of similarly decorated charters, the Alton Priors initial is striking, and clearly made in order to draw explicit attention to this charter and its conditions.

---

78. *Codex*, 63v-64r (group 26), regarding land at Millbrook (Hants). Millbrook is also the subject of group 36 in Series B.

79. See *RRAN* ii and iii; *EEA: Winchester*; *Chart. Winch.*

80. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 161-62.

81. *Codex*, 75v. The dimensions of the initial are 115 x 90 mm. In comparison, the average size of the rest of the initials in the *Codex* is 60 x 60 mm. Rumble discusses this particular initial's decoration, but does not link it to contemporary land disputes. See Rumble (1979) i, 68-79.

82. Rumble (1979) i, 68-79 on the decoration in 'Codex I.'

83. *Codex*, 76r, printed in Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: a collection of charters relating to Anglo-Saxon history* ii, part 2, no. 390.

84. *RRAN* i, no. 341.

85. *RRAN* ii, no. 884; *EEA: Winchester*, no. 18.

Figure 6: © *British Library Board, Initial for the charter related to Alton Priors, Codex, fo. 75v.*

This must have been done to protect this land from a repeated alienation, and particularly at the hands of secular men. Thus, in the copying and decorating of this charter, and in Series B in general, the compilers appear to have reused their documentary past to try and protect the priory's most vulnerable lands.[86]

This analysis of the contents of 'Codex I' has demonstrated that, although there is no discernible overriding organisational structure to the cartulary, certain sections of the text were directly shaped by contemporary circumstances at Old Minster. The *sinthama* commemorated the cathedral's refoundation under Edgar and Æthelwold, and also sought to protect the community from aggressive episcopal leadership such as it had experienced under Bishops Walkelin and Giffard. Further on in 'Codex I', Series B likewise reflected the disputes between the community and bishop in the 1120s, and lands which had been alienated from Old Minster. The presence of the highly-decorated initial for Alton Priors confirms that the contents of 'Codex I' were meant to be looked at, and to have resonance in the present. As a result, the *Codex Wintoniensis* must be recognised as more

---

86. Several of the churches returned by Giffard were later granted by Henry of Blois to the Hospital of St Cross, Winchester. See *EEA: Winchester*, no. 133; and Franklin, "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution," 53-54. Nevertheless, for the reasons outlined above, and particularly the initial for the Alton Priors charter, I consider Series B to be related to the Giffard returns, rather than any subsequent gifts made by Bishop Henry.

than just a convenient repository for the community's documents, but rather a carefully constructed catalogue of texts which sought to actively engage with contemporary circumstances at the community. In this way, 'Codex I' appears to have a similar purpose to the other early-twelfth-century cartularies discussed above, such as those from Worcester and Canterbury, in which the communities reorganised their documentary pasts to address current preoccupations. As a result, the findings from these sections of 'Codex I' should be extrapolated onto the entirety of the cartulary. Each of the charters within 'Codex I' represents voices from Old Minster's pre-Conquest past, and by being copied into the *Codex Wintoniensis* they were incorporated into the community's present.[87]

In addition to referencing contemporary issues at Winchester, by predominantly including royal charters 'Codex I' also emphasised Old Minster's relationship with the English monarchy. The inclusion of royal charters within a cartulary represented more than a collection of rights; it indicated that the supreme secular authority in the country had recognised the spiritual power of an institution, and the worth of its members.[88] Thus in 'Codex I' the priory's corporate and spiritual identity was constructed predominantly through its relationship with the kings and queens of England.[89] In the development of this relationship, Winchester's refoundation in the tenth century under Edgar and Æthelwold, as found in the placement of the *sinthama*, was the most important place to start. This starting point is not undermined by the topographical arrangement of the rest of the cartulary, or the inclusion of charters dating from before the refoundation. Bouchard has argued that when cartularies were organised by geographical location the original gift continued to be as important as the most recent, and both the property and the various benefactors were bound together, despite any differences in time.[90] Collectively the charters in 'Codex I' essentially present a non-linear record of the community's relationship with the English monarchy from the seventh to the eleventh centuries. Significantly, only Anglo-Saxon charters were used in this construction. Therefore, rather than using the cartulary to link the community's past and present relationship with royalty, the 'Codex I' only documented Old Minster's history prior to the Norman Conquest.

Herein lies an apparent paradox within the *Codex Wintoniensis*. While the above

---

87. From Bouchard's general description of cartularies in Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, 22.

88. Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, 34.

89. Following Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, 34: 'The cartulary and its legal texts were not separate from liturgical or narrative texts; they were an integral part of a church's corporate and spiritual identity.'

90. Bouchard, *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors*, 29.

analysis of the cartulary's contents has shown that the compilers sought to address current concerns, the charters selected for compilation into 'Codex I' were archaic. This seeming contradiction can be explained by the changing status of Winchester in the early twelfth century. As discussed in section 1 of this chapter, the city and cathedral were swiftly losing relevance in the opening decades of the century, and despite the grand new cathedral rising in the south-eastern quarter of Winchester, the community at Old Minster was receiving little royal patronage or favour. Current circumstances must have jarred with the records of past glories held within the priory's archives. In turn, by the late 1120s there would have been few members of the community who remembered the pre-Conquest world. By solely copying Anglo-Saxon charters, the compilers of 'Codex I' both celebrated and preserved the memory of the priory's ancient relationship with the English monarchy, and at the very moment when that past and status was threatening to disappear.

The *Codex Wintoniensis* should therefore be recognised, like the production of the *Vitae* and *Miracula* of Swithun and Birinus discussed in section 2 of this chapter, as an example of Winchester priory writing its Anglo-Saxon past in order to address contemporary needs. In 'Codex I' the community re-wrote its Anglo-Saxon history through the rights and relationships documented in their charters. In doing so, they both commemorated this past, and sought to utilise it to protect Old Minster's present. This was done not only through the privileges preserved within the individual charters (such as those in Series B), but also in the whole cartulary, which collectively pronounced the community's ancient relationship with English royalty during a period in which this relationship was deteriorating. In this context the reason for the omission of any contemporary charters in 'Codex I' appears clear. Old Minster's past fortunes did not match its post-Conquest experience and by not copying recent charters into 'Codex I' the community ignored the post-Conquest period along with all its disappointments. Instead the cartulary reformatted Winchester's illustrious past in an attempt to change its future. The example of Edgar and Æthelwold at the front of 'Codex I' provided a forceful statement for the ancientness of the community's status, which was then further confirmed through the multitude of royal charters copied into the rest of the cartulary. In addition to consolidating Winchester's historic ties to English royalty, the contents of 'Codex I' made an argument for the renewal of that relationship.

The production of 'Codex I' must also be recognised as a form of history writing. The historiographical quality of cartularies has been recognised. As discussed

above, Fleming argued that Canterbury's eleventh-century cartulary was constructed to resemble annals, and Sarah Foot has suggested that when charters are read collectively (such as in a cartulary) they can narrate a version of an institution's history that is different in form but not necessarily in intent from more conventional historical writings.[91] 'Codex I' cannot be regarded as a narrative in the purest sense as it lacks any overriding ordering, chronological or otherwise, however, its intent was only ever to be historical. It was constructed to be a history of, and monument to, Old Minster's pre-Conquest past.

As well as its contents, the physical form and presentation of the *Codex* must be regarded as a carefully considered choice by its creators. Michael Clanchy has argued that with the growth of documentary culture in England during this period, charters could be highly significant and symbolic objects.[92] Extrapolating this argument onto a cartulary, such a collection could hold immense symbolic power, a physical objectification of the scale of a community's endowment. Indeed, when thumbing through the pages of the *Codex Wintoniensis*, one cannot help but be struck by the sheer size of the compilation; we should presume that this was always part of the compilers' intention and argument. Moreover, by recognising this cartulary as an object which could hold symbolic power, the lack of overriding organisational features in 'Codex I' is explained. Rather than regarding this as a mistake or deficiency of the compilers, it should be accepted that they did not care that the cartulary could not be used as a reference tool. The *Codex* was not meant to be navigated. The visual impact of the collection was more important than any individual charter.

Equally, the specific dimensions of the *Codex* were a deliberate decision by the compilers. Winchester cathedral produced several large books in the twelfth century, but none of them resemble the size of the *Codex*.[93] However, the cartulary's dimensions (395 x 280 mm) are similar to those of the Great Domesday Book (365 x 255 mm). In the early twelfth century the Domesday Book was held in the royal treasury, located opposite Winchester Cathedral. Finberg and Hart both argued that some of the charters copied into the *Codex* may have originally come from the royal treasury,[94] thus suggesting that the Winchester monks had

---

91. Fleming, "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary," 94; Foot, "Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters," at 45.
92. Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 256-58.
93. The Winchester Psalter (made between 1120-1161) is 320 x 222.5 mm, the Winchester Bible (made between 1160 and 1175) is 583 x 396 mm, the Winton Domesday (c.1150) is 253 x 182, and the Hegesippus (which can only be linked to the city of Winchester through its binding from c.1150) is 288 x 207mm. See Biddle, *Winchester in the early middle ages*, plates IV-IX.
94. Hart, "The Codex Wintoniensis and the King's Haligdom"; Finberg, *The Early Charters*

access to Domesday and knowledge of its dimensions. In her analysis of the Nero-Middleton cartulary, Tinti argued that the Worcester monks' choice of a large, ancient Bible in which to copy the records of their endowment imbued their documents with a special and sacred significance which could not be replicated in any other textual setting.[95] By following the size of Domesday, the compilers of the *Codex Wintoniensis* seem to have chosen to imitate that literary context. A possible reason for this choice is preserved in the *Dialogus de Scaccario*, which was begun in the late 1170s by Richard FitzNeal, a royal treasurer. FitzNeal recounts the story of the creation of the Domesday Book which he had heard from Henry, bishop of Winchester. In particular, it is explained that the Domesday Book was so named by the 'natives' because of the infallibility of its contents: 'so when any controversy arises in the kingdom concerning the matters contained in the book, and recourse is made of the book, its word cannot be denied or set aside without penalty'.[96] This description suggests that, almost a century after the survey the Domesday Book still held great legal and symbolic power, and that this status was being promulgated by Bishop Henry, the likely patron of the *Codex Wintoniensis*. It therefore seems that by following the size of the Great Domesday Book, the compilers of the Winchester cartulary may have hoped that through this act of physical imitation their ancient endowment and Anglo-Saxon past would attain the same enduring and unshakable authority.

The *Codex Wintoniensis* is a confusing and complicated volume. In a similar fashion to other early twelfth-century cartularies, the collection gathers its community's various ancient rights and privileges into a single compendium. Nevertheless, in comparison to the cartularies produced at Canterbury, Worcester, and Rochester, 'Codex I' was never intended to be a usable reference tool, nor a complete record of the community's endowment up to its present day. Instead, it appears that the predominant purpose of the *Codex* was to present a history of, and memorial to, Old Minster's Anglo-Saxon past.

This investigation has important implications for how we view the production of 'Codex I'. First, while the cartulary was most likely started during the episcopate of Bishop Henry, 'Codex I' also reflects the concerns of the cathedral priory. Both the *sinthama* and Series B suggest that the community sought to use the

---

of Wessex, 214-244.

95. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, 135.

96. 'sic cum orta fuerit in regno contentio de his rebus que illic annotantur, cum uentum fuerit ad librum, sententia eius infatuari non potest uel impune declinari.' Richard fitzNigel, *Dialogus de Scaccario and Constitutio Domus Regis: The Dialogue of the Exchequer, and The Establishment of the Royal Household*, ed. and trans. Emilie Amt and Stephen Church (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007), 96-99.

cartulary to protect their lands and privileges, and particularly from episcopal incursions such as they had experienced under Walkelin and Giffard. Thus, while Bishop Henry's administrative energies may have contributed to the production of the cartulary, this text can also provide an invaluable glimpse into the priory, revealing a sophisticated and proactive community which was prepared to employ its ancient diplomatic records to protect itself from the threats of the present. Second, by having predominantly commemorative functions rather than administrative, 'Codex I' appears to capture a transitional moment in which its compilers were less concerned about the cartulary's utility than what the collection represented. Like the Nero-Middleton cartulary from Worcester, the contents of 'Codex I' were copied into something which could confer additional significance onto Winchester's charters. However, in the case of the *Codex* this was a literary context which Winchester had fashioned specifically for this cartulary. By imitating the size of Great Domesday for their own collection of rights, the compilers reveal a perception (and presumably expected the same perception from those viewing the cartulary) of how the physical presentation of the *Codex* could confer symbolic power and authority onto its contents. These documents did not need to be referenced individually—although they could be, as seen with the *sinthama*, and Series B—but instead their cumulative purpose was to preserve and present the story of the priory's ancient relationship with the English crown. 'Codex I' pronounced Winchester's importance within the realm at the very moment this was threatened, and preserved the community's pre-Conquest history just as it was slipping from view.

3.3   Codex II

In c.1150 a new binding was added to the *Codex* in order to accommodate new front and back quires - the contents of these quires are here referred to as 'Codex II'.[97] In comparison to 'Codex I', 'Codex II' was written in a range of different mid-twelfth-century hands, and includes Anglo-Saxon charters, and for the first time also post-Conquest charters. Rumble argued that as 'Codex II' was a more varied compilation, it is difficult to isolate the motivations of its compilers. However, he suggested two general aims for making these additions to the preexisting cartulary: first to further augment the collection; and second, to bring an aura of authenticity to documents by collecting them into such a magnificent volume.[98]

---

97.   For my labels for the different phases of the *Codex*, see footnote 10, above, on page 168.
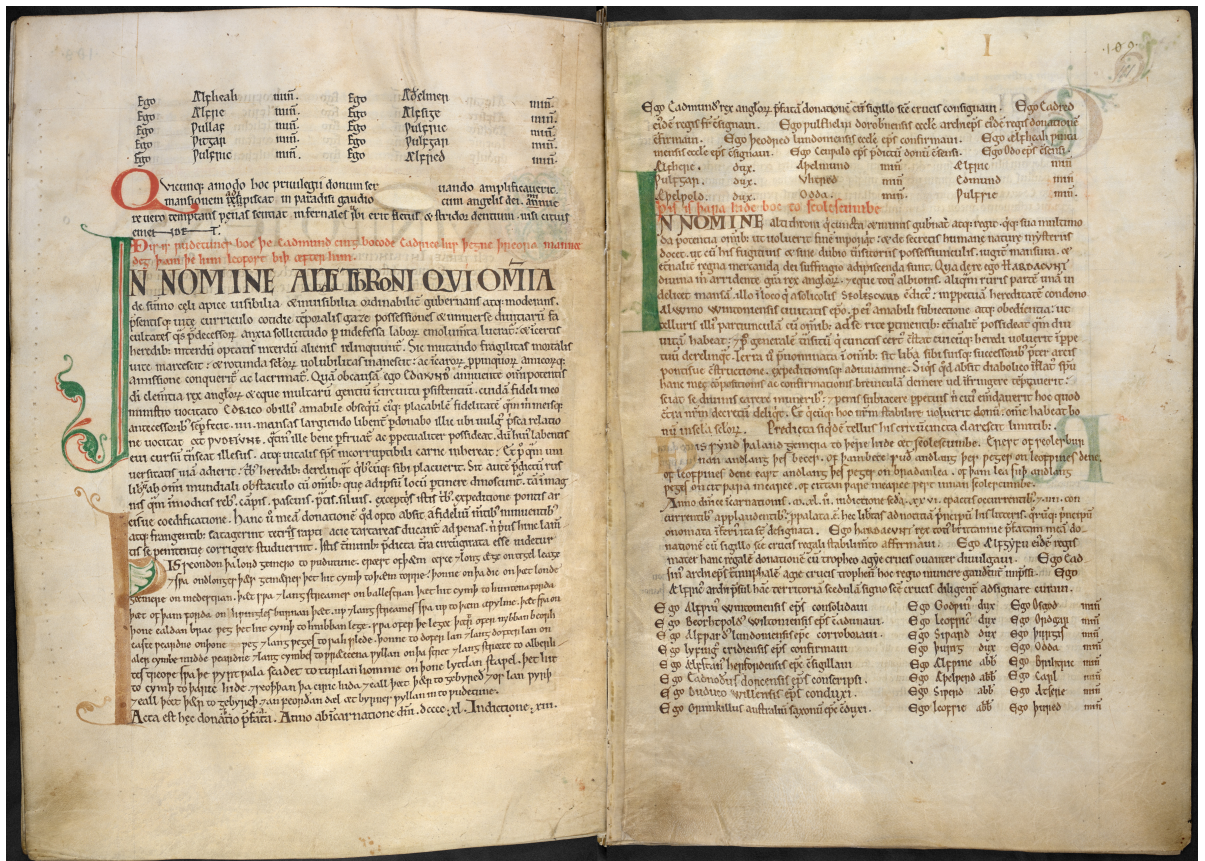98.   Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 164-65.

Figure 7: © *British Library Board*, Codex, *fos. 110v-111r.*

Although Rumble did not explicitly say as such, the two aims he suggest appears to point to first the motive for copying further Anglo-Saxon charters, and second for including post-Conquest charters. However, in light of the above analysis of 'Codex I, a more active role for 'Codex II' can be suggested. This section will characterise the contents and format of the back and then the front quires in order to uncover why these additions were made to the *Codex*, and what this can suggest about the ways in which the priory continued to use this cartulary in response to contemporary concerns.

The new back quire is very much a continuation of 'Codex I.' Although the contents of this quire (twenty-four charters) were copied by different mid-twelfth-century hands seemingly over several decades,[99] there is a clear attempt to visually and thematically join the new quire to the end of the original arrangement. The contents were copied in a similar style and layout as those in the original part of the cartulary, and are likewise adorned with decorated initials. No gap was left between the last document in 'Codex I' and the first in the new scheme, as shown in Figure 7 (the first full charter in 'Codex II' begins at with the large green 'I' on fo. 110v). In turn, there is an attempt at continuity in subject matter: the last

---

99. For these hands (which included scribe *b*), see Rumble (1979) i, 309-52.

group of charters in 'Codex I' was related to Winchester's estate at Wooton, as does the first document Scribe *b* copied into 'Codex II'.[100] Like 'Codex I', all of the documents in the back quire are Anglo-Saxon charters. Rumble has suggested some possible contemporary concerns which may have governed their inclusion into the volume. Two charters relate to national episcopal issues, and in particular the relationship between Canterbury and York, and the various bishoprics in Wessex. Rumble has argued that the inclusion of these charters into 'Codex II' may be due to archival research conducted during Henry of Blois' two attempts (in 1144-45 and 1148-50) to gain a metropolitan status for the see of Winchester.[101] A further contemporary concern may be visible on folio 114r, where there is a charter of King Æthelred (Unræd) related to land at Long Sutton (Hants.). In 1154x1171, this land was the subject of a confirmation charter issued to the priory by Henry II (#63). It is unclear whether this twelfth-century confirmation was caused by, or was the result of, archiving activity which uncovered the Æthelred's charter. Nevertheless, in a similar way to 'Codex I', it is possible that other charters in the back quire were responding to contemporary concerns at the priory which have not survived in the historical record. Regardless, owing to the consistency in form and execution, the back quire of 'Codex II' appears to have been intended as a continuation of the original scheme of the cartulary.

The front quire displays a very different phase in comparison to the rest of the cartulary. Like the back quire, the charters in the front quire are completed in a range of twelfth-century hands, including a version of Scribe *b*'s.[102] However, both the format and arrangement of this quire is irregular: it consists of a combination of bifolia and single sheets, and the charters copied onto these sheets do not flow across multiple folios, but are instead fitted onto one page, resulting in some witness lists being truncated. At the point of binding in the mid-twelfth century, there were also blank spaces left in the quire. For example, fo. 7r was completely blank, and 8r only half full. There is also inconsistency in layout: the contents of fo. 6r were completed in two columns (the only such arrangement in the whole cartulary), and there is variation in decoration throughout. Perhaps the most significant change was in content: the front quire includes both Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman charters. By placing a new quire at the front of the preexisting cartulary, in addition to these visual and conceptual deviations, the argument

---

100. Ironically this attempt at continuity was unsuccessful as only one of the four charter on folios 108v-111v actually related to the estate at Wootton St. Lawrence, *pudatun* (Hants.). The other charters were presumably copied in error, following a misidentification of this estates for other various 'Woottons'. (*pudutune/pude tune/pudetune.*) See Rumble (1979) i, 112-13.
101. Rumble, "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis," 164-65. For a discussion of these two charters, see Cubitt, "Finding the Forger."
102. Rumble (1979) i, 309-24.

fos.	Contents	Date of charter
2r	*blank*	
2v	*blank*	
3r	*blank*	
3v	*blank*	
4r	- Stephen restoring East Meon and Wargrave (#31)	Whitsuntide, 1136
	- Stephen restoring East Meon (#33)	Easter x 21 November, 1136
4v	- Stephen restoring Wargrave (#34)	Easter x 21 November, 1136
	- Stephen granting manor of Bishop Sutton in exchange for Steeple Morden (#30)	Easter, 1136
5r	- Stephen confirming the land of West Hatch (#42)	1136x39
	- Stephen restoring Crowcombe (#35)	Easter x 21 November, 1136
	- Stephen notifying sub-tenant at Crowcombe about restoration (#39)	1136x37
	- Queen Adeliza surrendering service from Crowcombe (#37)	1136x37
5v	- Stephen restoring Bradford, Norton Fitzwarren, and Hele (#36)	Easter x 21 November, 1136
	- Queen Adeliza surrendering service from Norton Fitzwarren, Bradford, and Hele (#38)	1136x37
	- Stephen confirming Henry of Blois' purchases in Southwark (#50)	1147x1154
6r	- Henry II confirmation of East Meon and Wargrave, 8 extra days for St Giles' fair (#51)	December 1154
	- Æthelred (II) confirming land at Chilcomb	no date [n.d] (984x1001)
	- List of lands pertaining to Chilcomb	n.d. (c.1086)
	- List of cathedral lands in Hants.	n.d (1033x1066)
6v	- Æthelred (II) confirming various restorations in Winchester city and Middlesex	996
7r	- Æthelred (II) grant of land in Hants.	980
	- Edward the Confessor grant of Portland (Dorset)	n.d. (1053x1066)
7v	*blank*	
8r	- Tenth-century exchange of lands in the cathedral precinct with New Minister	n.d. (975x979)
	blank half page	
8v	- Edgar's grant to three monasteries in Winchester of land adjoining their buildings	984
	- Record of adjustment between three monasteries in Winchester, done at Edgar's command	n.d. (974x975)

Table 9: *Twelfth-century contents of the front quire*

constructed through original arrangement, and the *sinthama* in particular, is undermined.

The contents of the front quire (as shown in Table 9) give some indication of why this new arrangement was completed. The first four pages contain eleven royal charters from the beginning of Stephen's reign - all of these were copied by scribe *b*. These charter were visually distinct from other charters in the *Codex*. As shown in Figure 8, they were completed in a far less elaborate style, and had no decorative elements. These charters include the series of grants Stephen made to Old Minster at the beginning of his reign. The significance of these grants have been discussed above in section 1.2 of this chapter (see page 138), where it has been argued that this flood of benefaction was indicative of both the support lent to Stephen by Bishop Henry of Blois in 1135, and of a relationship between St Swithun's and the royal family. As attested by the witness list copied into the *Codex*, some of these charters were issued at grand royal courts held within the first year of Stephen's reign. In addition to these charters, *b* also copied in further charters issued by Stephen and Queen Adeliza between 1136-39, and a later confirmation of Bishop Henry's purchase of lands in Southwark.

Several intertwined factors may have governed the incorporation of these documents into the front of the new arrangement of the *Codex*. Firstly, the flood of benefaction represented in these charters echoed the cathedral's relationship with the English monarchy found in 'Codex I', including their promulgation at large gathering. Moreover, the charters mark a relationship between Stephen and Bishop Henry (a Cluniac monk no less) akin to that of Edgar and Æthelwold found in the *sinthama* at the front of 'Codex I'. The benefaction granted to St Swithun's in 1136-39 may have been interpreted as the beginning of a new golden age at the cathedral. Like the rest of the *Codex*, the copying of these documents was seeking to do more than simply commemorate this occasion: their inclusion both associated these charters with Winchester's illustrious past and sought to build fresh ties between cathedral and monarchy. In particular, as no charters from Kings William I, William II, or Henry I were included within 'Codex II', Winchester's past and present fortunes were seamlessly linked, and the disappointments of the post-Conquest period written out.

There are several reasons to speculate that these charters were prepared for inclusion into the *Codex* shortly after they were issued. The charters' distinct lack of decoration and heavily abbreviated hand could suggest that they were copied
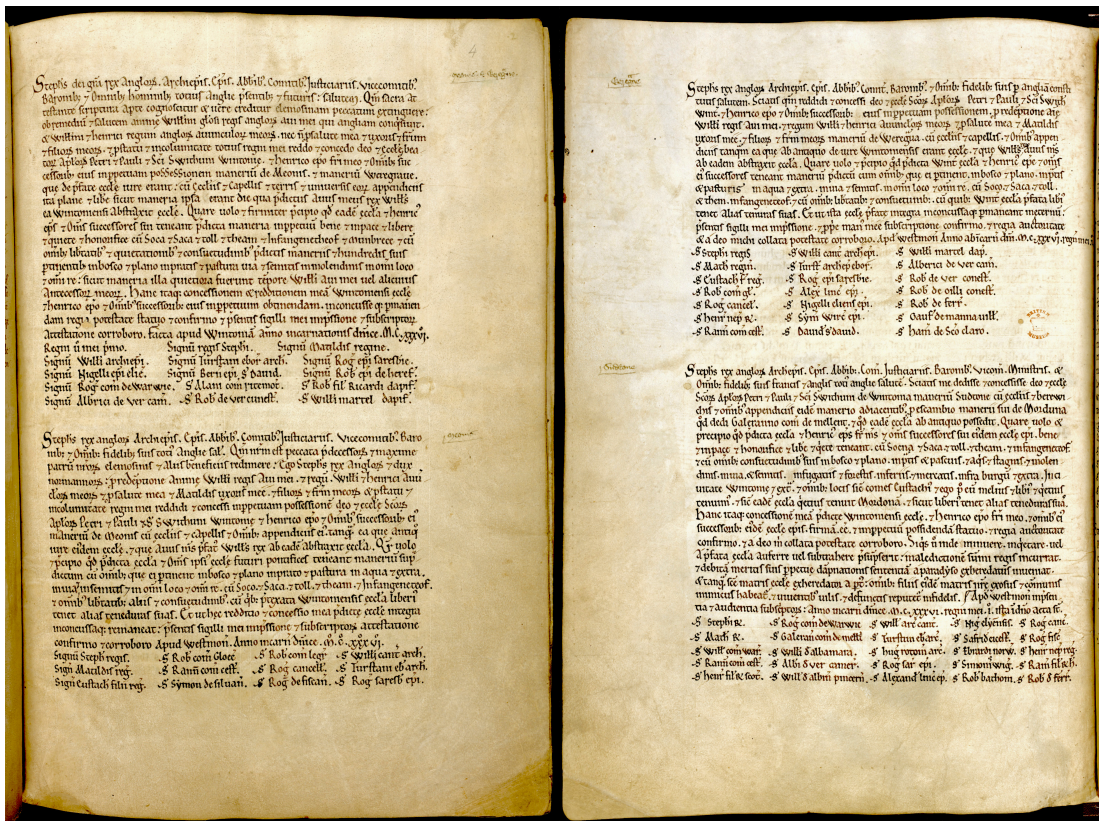
Figure 8: © *British Library Board*, Codex, *fos. 4r-v.*

in some haste.[103] Moreover, the argument constructed in these charters had a very short lifespan: Stephen's benefaction to Winchester cathedral all but ceased following 1140, but the beginning of this new reign was the perfect opportunity in which to reassert the ancientness of Winchester's endowment and its enduring relevance to royalty, as stressed in the *Codex*. The remaining contents of the front quire similarly suggest that the inclusion of post-Conquest charters was a short-lived scheme. Henry II issued a confirmation charter to Winchester shortly after his coronation in 1154 (#51), which Rumble has argued was almost immediately copied in to fol. 6v of the *Codex*.[104] Following this, the cartulary returned to its original plan by solely including Anglo-Saxon documents, and in doing so also reflected the general purpose of the back quire to update the contents of the original arrangement. Indeed, on the final page of the front quire there is an attempt to create a seamless visual and conceptual link with the contents of 'Codex I' (see Figure 9). The two charters on folio 8v were written by scribe *b* and decorated in a similar way to the contents of 'Codex I'; the documents themselves were both from King Edgar's reign and were relating to the Benedictine Reform, just as also found in the *sinthama*, which began on the facing page.

---

103. Rumble described this version of *b*'s hand as 'very frequently abbreviated' with 'some documentary features.' See, Rumble (1979) i, 311,

104. See Rumble (1979) ii, no. 13, notes.

Figure 9: © *British Library Board, Codices I and II, fos. 8v-9r.*

The inclusion of post-Conquest documents into the cartulary marked a clear conceptual shift by the *Codex*'s compilers, but not necessarily a deviation in purpose. This intervention was aimed at the royal court at the beginning of Stephen's reign, and a new audience required a new argument. Ironically, this can perhaps be seen most clearly because it did not work. Stephen's reign did not mark a new beginning for the Winchester, and this disappointment is reflected by the cartulary reversion to its original form and conception. Nevertheless, the Anglo-Norman charters copied into the front of the new arrangement of the *Codex Wintoniensis* reflect how important (and perhaps desperate) those few months in 1136 were for the priory, and consequently the perceived role this magnificent piece of record-keeping might play in these circumstances.

<p align="center">*</p>

In several ways, the *Codex Wintoniensis* resembles other medieval English cartularies. Through the compilation and copying of their ancient charters, the Winchester monks sought not only to preserve the records of their endowment, but also to protect itself from the challenges of the early twelfth century. Nevertheless, many of this cartulary's elements are confusing and even contradictory:

its lack of overriding organisation undermines any use of it as a reference tool, yet, going by its lavish decoration alone, it was clearly meant to be looked at. However, the vast majority of its contents cannot have been considered as relevant for protecting Winchester's rights to its lands in the twelfth century because they are deliberately archaic. This section has shown that the original and unadulterated purpose of 'Codex I' can only be revealed by regarding this cartulary as more than simply a repository of legal documents to be referenced. Its form and format suggest that the compilers regarded the physical presentation of the cartulary as more important than the ability to reference individual rights or privileges. Instead, by considering the cartulary as a whole, a single argument emerges across its folios, an argument for Winchester cathedral's ancient relationship with English royalty, and its preeminent place within the kingdom. Geary has suggested that cartularies, by collating lands and names, recorded the 'two essential coordinates of monastic memory', binding them together into a deliberate narrative framework that stressed both what and how a community's past should be remembered.[105] Through the contents and lengthy witness lists within the *Codex*, the Winchester cartulary advanced this association, and restaged a deliberately Anglo-Saxon past in which to root its rights and status. Despite this emphasis, the *Codex* was a modern and relevant collection. It is a hybrid in which Anglo-Saxon documents are encased within post-Conquest shell: its nod to Great Domesday Book in particular reveals the priory's desire to elevate their records to contemporary standards.

The final form of the *Codex Wintoniensis*, however, exposes the mutability of such arguments. The inclusion of Anglo-Norman documents into the very front of the new arrangement undermined and obscured the cartulary's original purpose. While it could be easy to associate these later additions as unrelated activities, the presence of scribe *b*'s hand in the charters of the front quire binds this phases to the original part of the *Codex*. Instead, 'Codex II' and the front quire in particular suggest that the priory repurposed the cartulary to meet present needs and requirements. Indeed, captured within the cartulary and its phases is a reflection of how the priory recycled its documentary past. The tenth-century *sinthama*, itself a fabrication, was reused for the front of 'Codex I', which in turn was conceptually and then physically rearranged, first through the addition of new front and back quires and second with a new and distinctly continental binding in c.1150. The post-Conquest charters at the front of the final arrangement of the cartulary exposed that, for a short period at least, the priory turned to different and more present relationships to argue for its enduring relevance.

---

105. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 118.

Regardless, this analysis of two phases to the *Codex*'s construction have both provided new insights into the priory, exposing a responsive and opportunistic community prepared to take advantage of the rapidly shifting circumstances of the 1120s and 1130s to pursue its agenda.

4   Discussion and Conclusion

The final part of this chapter will bring together the different findings from the preceding three sections in order to discern what further insights can be found. Initially it might seem that these Winchester texts have few opportunities to yield cross-genre insights. Old Minster had no individual equivalent to Westminster's Osbert of Clare through which to connect the different types of writing, and the Winchester texts which are comparable to Osbert's work (that is the hagiography and the *Codex*) were not produced in the same period and therefore cannot be considered as of the same mind or mission. Furthermore, there are only a few charters in the *Codex* which refer to Birinus or Swithun, none of which were copied into the cartulary with any particular emphasis that can be distinguished, and therefore provide no evidence for the community using different genres to construct the same narrative, as could be traced in Osbert's *Vita* and forgeries. In the case of Winchester, the benefits of bring different types of writing in to conversation with each other are not through direct overlaps between texts, but rather how the differing forms and purposes of these texts might together help to bring additional insight into the priory's actions and ambitions.

In particular, the fortunes of the priory as reconstructed in the charter materials has exposed how the multiple strategic initiatives launched by the community were also echoed within the format and presentation of the *Codex*. For example, the priory's strategy in 1108-11 for pursuing a return for their lands at Alton Priors was also reflected in the large coloured initial within 'Codex I', which in turn sought to prevent the repetition of such an alienation. In a similar fashion, the way the priory took advantage of their bishop's status in the early years of Stephen's reign in order to secure restorations and gains for their community, was written into the very front of the newly formatted *Codex*, thereby both seeking to preserve this renewed relationship with monarchy and commemorate the grand occasions in which Winchester had (albeit briefly) held renewed political relevance. Furthermore, the priory's reaction against episcopal incursions found within William Giffard's charters from the 1120s, can likewise be traced in both the *sinthama* and Series B.

Despite not being produced at the same time and not having directly overlapping features, the *Codex* and Anonymous' hagiographical works suggest common concerns and consistent elements within the priory's identity. Both types of writing

created histories of the community which were rooted in Winchester's Anglo-Saxon past; and how and why they were written also both suggest a concern for preserving that past. Through the *Vitae* this was expressed in the composition of original historical accounts of past saint-bishops, and in the *Codex* through the reformatting of the priory's pre-Conquest records. Specifically within these histories, both types of writing have an emphasis on the community's monastic reform in the tenth century. This is explicit in the *Codex*'s original starting point with the *sinthama*, and is implied within the quasi-monastic constructions of Sts Birinus and Swithun. Given the clerical status of Bishops Walkelin and Giffard, it is perhaps not surprising that the community may have felt that their monastic status was threatened (especially following Walkelin's early attempts to replace the monks with canons), and that this concern would be traced in its writings. But it also suggests that the priory's corporate identity in the twelfth century was very much rooted in its status as a site of ancient Benedictine monasticism.

Winchester's use of its ancient past, although far from unique in the twelfth century,[1] offers a stark comparison to Westminster's literary activity. Besides a few charters in the names of King Edgar and St Dunstan, the latter community's forgeries and hagiography was focused on more recent models of authority. The probable reason for this difference lies in the relative availabilities of Winchester's and Westminster's pasts. Westminster's status was recently won, and although unstable, their tradition as a site of royal coronation and display could only be secured through relevant and modern models. As a result their creative literature largely relied on Edward the Confessor and, when he was no longer available, post-Conquest moments of ceremony in the abbey. In contrast, Winchester's privileges and relationship with royalty was ancientand, as suggested particularly by the *terminus ante quem* for documents compiled within 'Codex I', the post-Conquest period had provided few positives for Winchester. Old Minster's experience since 1066 appears to have offered its community limited opportunities for its ambitions or imagination.

As well as suggesting a consistency to the community's concerns, Winchester's different types of writings also expose what routes were available for the community to pursue its ambitions. While the charter material suggests that Old Minster struggled to maintain a consistent relationship with England's kings, there is some evidence that the community was trying to use queens as a way

---

1. Among many other examples, see Barrow, "How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past"; Campbell, "Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past"; Crick, "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past"; and Crick, "Historical literacy in the archive," amongst many others.

to relevance. This can be traced in how the priory employed Edith-Matilda to help them secure their rights against Bishop Giffard by taking advantage of her presence in the city and personal devotion to St Æthelwold. Similarly, at the beginning of Stephen's reign, Queen Matilda was patronising the community directly from her own patrimony, and Queen Adeliza was relinquishing her right to services from lands which had been returned to the community. Indeed, the writ-mandates issued by Adeliza in this period were perhaps copied into the front of the new arrangement of the *Codex* by scribe *b* shortly after they were issued.[2] These documents survive in no other format, but nonetheless suggest that Adeliza's acts took on a particular importance in that moment. Although the evidence is slight, this relative consistency to queenly interaction with Old Minster may suggest that in the face of a slackening relationship with royalty, the priory saw queens as an alternative route to relevance. It is unclear how these links may have developed. Pauline Stafford suggested that Queen Edith (wife of Edward the Confessor), like her mother-in-law Emma, may had had a special connection to the Old Minster. Bishop Ælfwine of Winchester (1032-47) may have consecrated Edith, and Stafford suggests that the generous benefaction granted to Old Minster in 1045 by Edward and Edith may have been an expression of gratitude from the new royal couple.[3] Perhaps Emma's and Edith's relationship with Westminster in the 1040s left a memory of queenly interaction at the cathedral which continued to influence the community and its actions into the twelfth century.

Another consistent strategy from Old Minster was the use of display to support their activities and ambitions. This is visible in how the priory took advantage of moments of great political or ecclesiastical gatherings in which to secure their rights, for example at the consecration of the new cathedral, and in the repeated promulgation of the 1136 restorations. In turn, the physical presentation of the *Codex* and how this conveyed particular authority on its contents, was an essential part of the compilers' intentions. Additional examples of the deliberate use of display to present the abbey's rights and relationships can be seen in architectural developments at the cathedral in the course of the twelfth century. In particular, John Crook has argued that around mid-century there was 'a major movement' of relics within the cathedral.[4] Documentary evidence for these developments include the *Winchester Annals'* description that in 1150 the 'relics of the holy confessors Birinus, Swithun, Hæddi, Beornstan, and Ælfheah were translated',[5]

---

2. #s 37 and 38; *Codex*, fos. 5r and 5v.
3. Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, 261.
4. Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 219.
5. 'translate sunt reliquiae sanctorum congessorum Birini, Swithuni, Æddae, Birstani,

and an entry in the late thirteenth-century 'St Swithun's cartulary' records that in 1158 Bishop Henry moved the bodies of kings and bishops to the high altar.[6] A part of this reorganisation of relics seems to have included the construction of a raised platform within the apex of the apse. This was surrounded by a retaining wall and included a tunnel-vaulted passage which extended westwards under the platform (the 'Holy Hole'), probably built so to allow pilgrims to crawl underneath the platform and benefit from proximity to the saints housed above.[7] Surviving elements from this retaining wall bear twelfth-century inscriptions related to the mid-century translations, and list the deceased and the specific land(s) they granted to Old Minster.[8] For example, as shown in Figures 10 and 11, one block (once reconstructed) reads

> Hic iacet Alwinus episcopus, qui dedit huic ecclesiae Stan[eham, duas Meon]es, Hentone, Witeneye, Hel[i]nge, [Melbroke, Pol]hamtone [et Hodyngtone].[9]

These inscribed blocks thus display two essential coordinates of monastic memory: people and land.[10] They are an outward expression (and commemoration) of the priory's endowment and the people who granted it. Although this architectural activity cannot be more securely dated, it seems to reflect a similar ambition as the *Codex*. In the cartulary, the cathedral endowment and its past relationships were commemorated and displayed within an object intended to have visual significance. Therefore across the inscribed blocks and the *Codex* (and in a similar way to the capital from Westminster) it is possible to trace coordinated strategies from the priory across multiple media.

Finally, a moment of deviation in Winchester's writings exposes the reactive nature of the priory's responses, and also the depth of the challenges it was facing in this period. The *Vitae*, *Miracula*, and 'Codex I' are all predominantly focused on reconstructing Winchester's Anglo-Saxon past. This consistency in message was interrupted in c.1136 when the original scheme of the cartulary was altered through the inclusion of contemporary charters. As argued above, the charters

Elfegi.' *AM*, ii, 54; Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 218.

6. St Swithun's cartulary, 1v; Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 219. It is likely that both sets of remains (saints, and kings and bishops) had been brought into the choir of the new cathedral in 1093-94. See M. Biddle and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, 'Knud den Store og hans familie', in K. Kryger (ed.), *Selskabet til Udgivelse af Danske Mindesmærker* (Copenhagen, 2014), cited in Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 220, n. 53.

7. Crook, "St Swithun of Winchester," 59-60.

8. Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 229-30.

9. Crook, *Architectural Setting*, 230; see too Crook, "'A worthy antiquity': the movement of King Cnut's bones in Winchester Cathedral."

10. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*, 118.

Figure 10: *Four inscribed blocks (nos. 13, 12, 10, 11) from the retaining wall to the raised feretory platform in Winchester Cathedral. From Crook,* Architectural Setting, *fig. 92.*
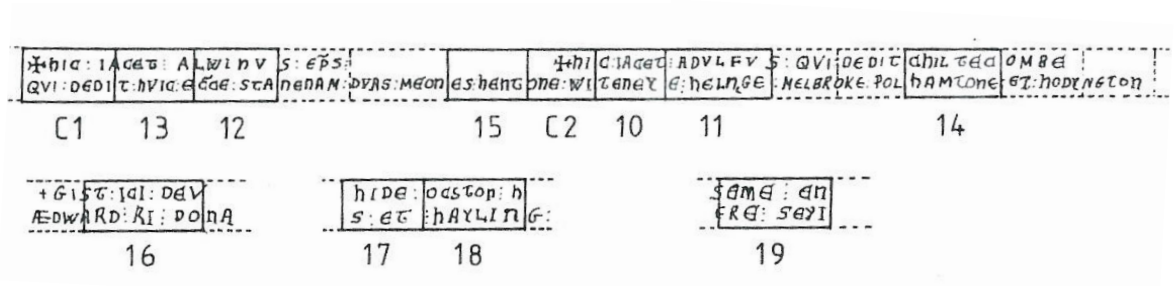

Figure 11: *Reconstruction of extant inscriptions from the retaining wall to the feretory. From Crook,* Architectural Setting, *fig. 93.*

reflect the active strategies Old Minster was pursuing in that year; nevertheless, the textual act within the *Codex* itself appears desperate. By suddenly including contemporary charters alongside the ancient records in 'Codex I', the priory seem to have been trying to craft a new identity for itself. This subversion in scheme (from both the rest *Codex* and the hagiographical productions) points to a community frantic to rectify the loosening of its relationship with royalty that had occurred so dramatically in the first thirty years of the twelfth century. The charter evidence has shown that this effort failed: after 1136 Winchester never held enduring significance for either Stephen or Henry II. This disappointment is echoed in the rest of 'Codex II', which reverted to its original scheme of recording only Anglo-Saxon charters.

For the community at Winchester Cathedral Priory, the twelfth century was a period of great challenge. The priory held no significant or consistent relationship with English royalty in this period, and suffered from domineering episcopal oversight. The comparison between the different writings conducted within this section has brought both further insight into the community's experience, and the different strategies it launched in response. Although Winchester's writings do not have the same authorial unity as Westminster's, coordinated efforts across its charters, hagiography, and cartulary can be detected. In particular, its different writings share a consistent anxiety regarding the monastic status of the cathedral

205

and the degradation of the Anglo-Saxon past. This anxiety converted into action: the community wrote and rewrote its history in such a way to try and protect its present, particularly taking advantage of display as a means through which to pursue its ambitions.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

This chapter has provided the first dedicated study of Winchester Cathedral Priory in the period c.1100 to 1170. It has showed that although the priory faced a series of challenges in this period, but found ways to assert its own agenda, both through its actions and its different writings. While elements of the priory's twelfth-century history remain unknown (for example little evidence survives for the priory's experience during the first fifteen years of Henry II's reign) this chapter has shown the great benefits of studying Winchester's charters, hagiography and cartulary production alongside each other.

III GLOUCESTER ABBEY

Introduction: Gloucester Abbey, c.1100-1170

Compared to Westminster Abbey and Winchester Cathedral Priory, Gloucester Abbey was remote in every way. This remoteness was in one sense institutional: Gloucester was not directly in the shadow of the instruments of royal governance (as were Westminster and Winchester), and in comparison to Winchester, Gloucester was free from direct episcopal oversight. Gloucester was also geographically remote. Its location near the Welsh Marches brought the community into contact with the idiosyncratic and changeable nature of Marcher lordship, as well as the opportunities and consequences of the Norman advance into Wales.

Gloucester Abbey has been the subject of minimal scholarly investigation, and as such this is the first full-scale investigation of this abbey and its writings between c.1100 and 1170. This study establishes the abbey's relationship with English monarchy, and uncovers its experiences and actions in the period. It also reveals the different ways the abbey was writing in this time of challenge and change. A rich body of material survives from Gloucester in this period, including over three-hundred charters, a small corpus of twelfth-century forgeries, and a piece of hagiographical writing. This chapter uses charters to reconstruct the abbey's interactions with monarchy, as well as the relationships it held with the laity in the Welsh March. Gloucester's different types of records of benefaction are also analysed to expose the shifting way the community was documenting its donations. The abbey's hagiographical writing is examined to assess how and why the community wrote the *Vita* of a Welsh saint, and its forgeries are investigated to reveal how the community used these documents to pursue its ambitions during the tumultuous years of the twelfth century. The findings from these investigations are then considered together. Key contributions of this chapter include a reconstruction of Gloucester's interactions and activities between c.1100 and 1170; the definition of a new corpus of twelfth-century forgeries; and an appreciation of how Gloucester's remoteness provided opportunities to this community. This study shows that in response to political and religious challenges, the community at Gloucester found ways to make itself relevant to Marcher nobility.

According to its fourteenth-century *Historia*, Gloucester Abbey was founded as a double monastery in the late seventh century by Osric king of Hwisse, with

the permission of King Æthelred of Mercia.[1] The town of Gloucester was at the centre of Mercian power for a short time between the 880s and 918, during the rule of Æthelflæd and Æthelred. In this period Gloucester was transformed from a rather ruinous Roman walled town into a burgh, equipped with defences and an urban layout.[2] This importance was short lived, and Gloucester did not retain any significance for the Mercian kings;[3] unlike Winchester, the town was not the capital of its respective Anglo-Saxon kingdom. The history of Gloucester and its abbey of St Peter is relatively obscure between the tenth and eleventh centuries, until Bishop Wulfstan (I) of Worcester reformed the monastery under the Benedictine Rule in the 1020s and, in the 1040s the town became a mainstay in the royal itinerary.[4]

Like Westminster, Gloucester was particularly favoured by Edward the Confessor who was likely attracted to the hunting opportunities in the nearby Forest of Dean. Indeed, Edward visited the town more frequently than any other place in his kingdom apart from Westminster.[5] Gloucester was also a site for Edward's seasonal festivals: Christmas celebrations are recorded in the town in 1052, 1062 and perhaps 1059; and Easter in 1058 and possibly 1062.[6] It was also in this period that St Peter's was rebuilt from its foundations by Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, and later Archbishop of York. For his troubles, Ealdred appropriated from the abbey the three Gloucestershire manors of Northleach, Oddington, and Standish (with Barton), sparking the dispute between Gloucester and the see of York which would run for another hundred years.[7] In spite of its ancient roots and the recent royal presence in the town, in 1066 St Peter's was a very modest foundation. At the accession of its first Norman abbot, Serlo in 1072, the abbey's *Historia* records that the new abbot found only two monks of full age and eight little boys.[8]

Serlo's abbacy heralded great change for the abbey. Following a wave of royal and

---

1. *Historia Monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ* printed in W. H. Hart, ed., *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, vol. i-iii (London: Longman, 1863-67), i, 3-58. Henceforward, *Historia*.

2. Carolyn Heighway, "Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald," in *Edward the Elder: 899-024*, ed. N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (Routledge: London & New York, 2001), 102–127, 102-3; Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 53.

3. Heighway, "Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald," 110.

4. *Historia*, 8; see too Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 55; Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," where his argument is 53-4.

5. Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 54.

6. Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 52.

7. *Historia*, 9; see too Hare, "The Two Anglo-Saxon minsters of Gloucester," 25.

8. 'duos ibi tantum perfectæ ætatis monachos et circiter octavos juvenes parvos...'. *Historia*, 10.

aristocratic donations, the income from Gloucester's land rose dramatically from £29 in 1086, to at least £145 by the time of Serlo's death in 1104.[9] Supported by this surge of benefaction, and prompted by damage suffered during the 1088 rebellion, between 1089 and first decades of the 1100s the church was magnificently rebuilt, much of which can still be seen today.[10] According to Adrian Morey and Christopher Brooke, the great nave of the new building no doubt reflected Serlo's ambition that St Peter's was to be the monastic capital of the South March and Gloucestershire.[11] It was also during Serlo's abbacy that the custom started by Edward the Confessor of Christmas crown-wearings at Gloucester became routine. William I was at Gloucester for Christmas in 1080, 1085 (when the Domesday survey was ordered), and perhaps also 1082; and William II in 1093 and 1099.[12] The suddenness of Gloucester's ascent cannot be understated. As argued by Emma Cownie, while the abbey's origins were Anglo-Saxon, Gloucester's wealth and influence in 1100 was new.[13]

As it was for Winchester Cathedral Priory and Westminster Abbey, the period c.1100-1170 was one of change and challenge for St Peter's. Gloucester's wealth may have been recently acquired but the abbey was still far poorer than both Westminster and Winchester: in 1086 Gloucester's possessions were only worth a sixth of each of the other communities'.[14] The abbey was damaged by two fires in 1102 and 1122, the later leaving the church severely damaged and, according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, destroying all the abbey's treasures apart from a few books and three vestments.[15] In 1164 the western tower fell down.[16] Abbey finances were undoubtedly depleted by a continuous building campaign, and the community also had to support the seven dependent cells it acquired between 1100 and 1155.[17] Nevertheless, in his reconstruction of Gloucester's library Rodney Thomson concluded that the mid- to third-quarter of the twelfth century was 'a real high point of learning' at the community, where local history, hagiogra-

---

9. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54.

10. *Historia*, 11-12; Bates, "The building of a great church"; see too Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 53-4; Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 63. For the architectural history of the church, see Welander, *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral* and Heighway and Bryant, *The Romanesque Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester*, which was generously supplied to me in advance of publication by Michael Hare.

11. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 83.

12. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," Appendices A and B, 64-5.

13. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 57. See too Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals."

14. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 57.

15. 'E' in 1122, *ASC*, 250.

16. BL, MS. Cotton Vespasian A.v., fos, 195-203v, *'Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent'*, fo. 199r.

17. Thomson, "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey," 4. These cells were the priories of Bromfield, Ewenny, Ewyas Harold, St Guthlac, Kilpeck, Leonard Stanley, and the church of Llancarfan.

phy, and biblical commentaries were composed, and pupils of the abbey school included the young Gerald of Wales and perhaps also Walter Map.[18] In the course of the twelfth century the abbey was involved in several fierce disputes, including arguments regarding their claims to various lands, and their right to bury certain members of the laity. Perhaps most famously, Gloucester and its abbot, Gilbert Foliot, were openly charged with forgery during their ongoing dispute with the see of York, a charge of which they were certainly guilty.[19] In addition to these internal problems, St Peter's status within its environs was directly challenged by the arrival of new foundations. Tewkesbury Abbey was refounded as an independent monastery in 1102 by Robert fitzHamon; St James' Priory, Bristol by Robert Earl of Gloucester in 1129; St Augustine's, Bristol in 1140 by Robert FitzHarding; and closer and more threatening to Gloucester, the Augustinian priory of Llanthony *Secunda* was founded by Miles de Gloucester in 1136. Each of these new foundations offered the laity of Gloucestershire fresh avenues for their patronage and devotion, threatening St Peter's newly won position.

The twelfth century also brought shifts in Gloucester's relationship with the English monarchy. Henry I's promise made in 1100 to maintain the seasonal festivities at the three sites was not fulfilled at Gloucester - Henry I never wore his crown there.[20] Royal visits to the town were infrequent after 1100: Henry I and Stephen are each recorded as having visited Gloucester only once (in 1123 and 1138 respectively), and Henry II once while duke (in 1153), and twice while king (in 1158 and 1163).[21] However, during the civil war of Stephen's reign the Empress Matilda's power was rooted in the south-west of England, and Gloucester the home of one of her fiercest supporters, Miles de Gloucester, the first twelfth-century Earl of Hereford.[22] Therefore, and unlike either Westminster or Winchester, throughout the 'Anarchy' Gloucester was firmly positioned among the landed power of the greatest lords challenging Stephen's kingship.[23] The Empress' allies in the South-West extended beyond her closest supporters (such as Miles, and her half-brother Roger earl of Gloucester) and included mighty Marcher lords such as Brian FitzCount, Robert fitz Harold of Ewyas, and his brother John fitz Harold of Sudeley.[24] In turn, Gloucester's proximity to the frontier between England and

---

18. Thomson, "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey," 4.
19. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 124-46.
20. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals."
21. *RRAN* ii and iii; Eyton, *Court, household and itinerary of King Henry II*. Henry II also visited Gloucester in June 1175, March 1179, and July 1184.
22. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, *passim*; for Miles, see David Walker, "Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 77 (1959 for 1958): 66–84; and *Heref. Charters*.
23. See Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 110-14
24. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 110-113, in particular.

Wales exposed the community to the rewards of the Anglo-Norman advance into central, southern, and west Wales. These included grants to the abbey of newly controlled land—such as the church of Llanbardarn Fawr by Gilbert FitzRichard (de Clare) in 1111[25]—and an exposure to the traditions of the pre-Norman Welsh church, as seen most vividly in the collection and writing of Welsh saints' *Lives* at twelfth-century Gloucester.[26] Like Westminster and Winchester, Gloucester therefore offers a case study for how an ancient Benedictine abbey negotiated the religious and political landscape of the twelfth century. But in comparison to the previous two institutions, Gloucester Abbey offers a community on a frontier, both geographically within England, and politically during the 'Anarchy.'

Gloucester has attracted only minimal scholarship and it is by far the least studied of the three abbeys in this thesis. In a brief chapter within a longer study, Emma Cownie analysed the patterns of patronage to the community between 1066-1135, and suggested several factors which contributed to Gloucester's dramatic ascent in the post-Conquest period.[27] Given the scope of her study, Cownie focused on Gloucester's fortunes in the generation following 1066, and not the political turmoil of the 'Anarchy', nor the period of restoration following its resolution. Otherwise, investigations of Gloucester have been scattered across a variety of topics. Adrian Morey and Christopher Brooke produced the definitive investigation of Gilbert Foliot, abbot of Gloucester (1138–1149) (later Bishop of Hereford and London), and an edition of his letters.[28] Inevitably, the community at St Peter's is only discussed as a context to Gilbert's career. Brooke also analysed the production of diplomatic records at St Peter's, including a consideration of now-lost annals written at Gloucester and the community's forged charters.[29] Brooke's insightful analysis does not extend to fully contextualising these literary productions within the shifting fortunes of Gloucester across the twelfth century, nor how they may have formed part of a response from the community to these circumstances. Kathleen Hughes investigated the potential Gloucester provenance for a manuscript written in around c.1200, and argued that its contents expose a period in which the abbey was collecting Welsh hagiography.[30]

---

25. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 106; ii, 73-4, no. DXLVII.
26. As discussed in Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV."
27. Cownie, "Gloucester abbey, 1066-1135"; and in a similar form: Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54-65. Cownie's analysis will be discussed further below. See too Bates, "The building of a great church."
28. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*; Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*.
29. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester." In this chapter Brooke also analysed the *Life of St Cadog*, which was written at Llancarfan. He does not analyse any hagiography from Gloucester Abbey itself.
30. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV."

Recently, Joshua Byron Smith has produced an edition and commentary of the *Vita Dubricii* (*Life of St Dyfrig*), which was written by a monk of Gloucester in this period.[31] Neither Hughes nor Smith consider their respective texts within the context of twelfth-century Gloucester.

This chapter therefore provides the first detailed investigation of Gloucester Abbey in the period c.1100 to 1170, and the first to fully examine its charters, hagiography, and forgeries together. This chapter will analyse Gloucester's relationship with royalty by identifying how, and how frequently, the English monarchy interacted and patronised the community. A second, and more demanding, aim is to reconstruct the abbey's fortunes in this period. Even the most basic work has not been done here, and it is not known what lay benefaction the community received, let alone how the community may have responded to its changing, and challenging, political and religious environments. This study will reconstruct the benefaction the community gained, and the relationships it maintained or lost with Marcher nobility in this period. The final research aim of this chapter is to uncover the ways in which the abbey was writing. This will be considered through the form, contents and purposes of two different types of writing, as well as a consideration of what needs or contexts these texts may have been designed to meet.

Gloucester has an extensive but under-explored body of materials from this period. This includes a great number of charters, many of which record lay interaction with the community. These survive both as originals and later cartulary copies. Within this collection there are a small corpus of twelfth-century forgeries, some of which have previously been identified within the scholarship, but others will be identified in Section 3.1 of this chapter. The community may have been collecting Welsh hagiography in the twelfth century,[32] but only the *Vita Dubricii* is known to have been written at the abbey during the period under investigation here.[33] Evidence relating to the twelfth-century abbey can also be reconstructed from a later format: a *Historia* of the abbey and an index of donations (both from the fourteenth-century) have been shown by Christopher Brooke to contain elements from the twelfth century.[34]

This chapter will therefore focus on Gloucester's charters and other records of

---

31. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii."
32. As discussed in Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV."
33. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii." The dating of the *Vita Dubricii* is discussed further in section 3 below.
34. Discussed in Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," and further in section 1 of this chapter.

benefaction recorded in the index of donations, the *Vita Dubricii*, and forgeries. Together these writings will be used to reconstruct the fortunes and experiences of the abbey between c.1100 and 1170, as well as the different ways it was writing. Like the preceding investigations of Westminster and Winchester, this chapter falls into four parts. Section 1 will begin with an assessment of the form of the abbey's different records of donations. It then investigates the charters issued to and from Gloucester between 1100 and 1170 in order to reconstruct the abbey's relationship with royalty and laity. The forms and purposes of the abbey's other writings will be further assessed through an analysis of the *Vita Dubricii* in section 2, and then the forgeries in section 3. Finally these distinct genres will be considered together in the section 4, in order to reveal how Gloucester's different writings can expose the community's fortunes and ambitions across the twelfth century.

1 CHARTERS

Gloucester's huge body of twelfth-century charters have never the subject of detailed analysis. This section will examine the abbey's charters in order to reconstruct Gloucester's history in this period through the relationships it held with royalty and laity. It will be shown that although the abbey had limited interactions with monarchy, it maintained important relationships with Marcher nobility. It will also be revealed that the abbey faced challenges from new religious foundations within its environs, but in the face of these the community at Gloucester pursued active strategies to try and stay relevant within its locality.

Because Gloucester's charters have been understudied, unlike Westminster abbey and Winchester cathedral priory, very little of the Gloucester's twelfth-century history is known. The only significant investigation of Gloucester's post-Conquest charters was completed by Emma Cownie, who was building on a very brief (three pages) survey by David Bates.[1] Cownie's analysis of Gloucester is also brief - it is only twelve pages long. Investigating the period 1066 to 1135, Cownie offered a picture of exceptional benefaction to the abbey from the early Norman kings, whose example also encouraged the new aristocracy within Gloucester and Herefordshire, such as Walter de Lacy, his widow Ermelina, and Arnulf de Hesdin(g).[2] Cownie suggested several reasons for this flood of benefaction: Gloucester's location on the border of Wales; its association with the Anglo-Saxon regime; royal patronage to the community; the reoccurring presence of the royal court; and Abbot Serlo's (1072–1104) particular personality and ability.[3] Cownie's analysis of the abbey's fortunes and activities are skewed to the eleventh century; only three pages move beyond 1100. Moreover, her criteria for why people might patronise Gloucester 1066x1100 do not apply for the period 1100x1170. After 1100 the town was no longer the site for the Christmas crown-wearing ceremony, and royal visits were infrequent. Further, although William I's and William II's patronage may have inspired the community's first post-Conquest lay donors, during the 'Anarchy' Gloucester was at the heart of a distinctly counter-royal (or at least counter-Stephen) power bloc. It therefore remains to be determined what place this abbey, which had ancient and recent connections to royalty, held in the twelfth century and in particular how it fared during a period in which monarchy

---

1. Bates, "The building of a great church"; Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54-66. See too Cownie, "Gloucester abbey, 1066-1135," where her analysis of Gloucester is very similar to that of the later book.
2. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 57.
3. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 56. See too Bates, "The building of a great church."

was contested.

A very rich volume of charters and records of donation survive from twelfth-century Gloucester. Sixty charters from c.1100 to 1170 survive as originals, including royal, abbatial, and lay records. Around a further 270 charters related to this period survive as copies within three later cartularies. These cartularies are TNA, C 150/1, which was compiled at Gloucester during the abbacy of John of Gamages (1284–1306), and three from the abbacy of Walter Froucester (1381–1412): Gloucester, Cathedral Library [GCL], "Froucester Reg. 1393 (formerly Reg. A); GCL, "Froucester Reg. 1397" (formerly Reg. A); and GCL, Froucester Cartulary (formerly Reg. B).[4] Many of the charters in the cartularies bear evidence of having been condensed by the scribe, and some names of witnesses and details from the grant omitted.[5] Nevertheless, the sheer number of Gloucester charters (original and cartulary copies) for this period is remarkable: it is more than those of Westminster and Winchester combined. In addition to charters, a history and calendar of donations was compiled at the abbey also during Froucester's abbacy (henceforward *Historia* and *Index*, respectively).[6] It has been shown that parts of these texts directly followed a now-lost twelfth-century source.[7]

Only a few of these materials have been edited or studied. The original *acta* have been edited by Robert Patterson, however, this edition has several shortcomings, including errors in Latin, and a too-trusting attitude towards the veracity of some of the charters.[8] TNA C 150/1, the *Index*, and *Historia* were all transcribed and published to a high standard by W.H. Hart between 1863 and 1867.[9] Hart's edition is highly faithful to his source material, but his volumes have never been treated to a modern appraisal or full-scale analysis. A reason for this lack of attention is because over thirty years ago Christopher Brooke made a persuasive argument for the trustworthiness of the twelfth-century contents of the *Index*.[10]

---

4. See Davis, *Medieval Cartularies*, #s 454, 455A, 455B, 456. For a discussion of the different cartularies, also see *Historia et cartularium* iii, ix-xvi.

5. Discussed in Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54-55.

6. The *Historia* and *Index* were companion documents. The *Historia* frequently refers to the contents of the *Index* (see for example *Historia et cartularium*, i, 14), and they survive together in Oxford, The Queen's College, MS. 367, pp. 65-125; London, BL, MS. Cotton Domitian A.viii, fos. 145v-160v; and Gloucester, Cathedral Library, MS. 34, fos. 1r-43v. They are both edited in Hart, *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, i, 3-125, following Queens College and British Library MSs.

7. Identified in Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," and discussed further below.

8. *Original Acta*; Vincent, "Review: The original acta of St Peter's Abbey."

9. *Historia et cartularium*, i-iii. The only other Gloucester cartulary which has been edited is GCL, "Froucester Reg. 1393, which is calendared in Walker, "A register of the churches of the monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester."

10. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester."

Ever since this list of properties has been preferred over the cartulary material, whether published or not.[11] It is easy to see why: the *Index* is sixty-pages long, ordered alphabetically, and includes dating by specific year or abbacy. In contrast, Hart's edition run across three volumes, and contain 1,009 largely undated charters. Yet, there are fundamental reasons why the *Index* should not be used uncritically for an analysis of the twelfth century: its compilation is not contemporary; its contents have not been compared to surviving charters in order to discern how representative the *Index* is of Gloucester's twelfth-century endowment; and the *Index* only includes an outline of when and how the abbey received a property. Therefore, unlike charters, the *Index* provides no indication of the occasion behind the grant, or the larger networks of relationship related to the conveyance, as can be reconstructed from charters' preambles and witness lists.

The materials for Gloucester therefore present a series of challenges. What follows in this section is the first critical examination of Gloucester's twelfth-century charters, and as such a series of methodological decisions are taken in order to best manage the material. First, in section 1.1, the contents of the *Index* are compared to surviving charter material (original and cartulary copy) in order to determine what proportion of the abbey's donations were recorded in each type of record. These insights will suggest the reliability of using the *Index* as a source for the twelfth century, as well as displaying any shifts in how donations were recorded at the abbey. Then in section 1.2 royal interactions with the abbey will be identified in order to identify what relationship Gloucester held with monarchy across this period. In section 1.3 the attention will shift to Gloucester's lay donors. Due to the large volume of records, the abbey's lay donations will be assessed by abbacy, thereby allowing the huge number of charters to be harnessed coherently. This method will also support comparisons between abbacies, and therefore expose any shifts in frequency or type of patronage received, or any consistent policies pursued by the abbey across the period. Throughout this analysis I will prefer TNA C 150/1 (and Hart's editions of it) over the other cartularies. This is the earliest of the Gloucester cartularies and includes the most material relevant to this inquiry. It is also the only cartulary which has been edited. The scope of this study does not stretch to include a comprehensive analysis of three further volumes of cartularies. A number of further editions of charters also aid this investigation. These include the *Regesta Regum* volumes, Patterson's editions of original *acta* and of the earls of Gloucester, and David Walters' edition of the charters of the earls of Hereford. The later two volumes in particular support an

---

11. See in particular Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, in which she almost exclusively references the *Index*. As discussed in *ibid*, 54.

analysis of these important families' patterns of patronage to Gloucester.[12]

1.1   Gloucester Abbey's Records: a survey and chronology

This section examines the different ways Gloucester Abbey recorded its benefaction with the aim to determine how representative the *Index* is of the abbey's total twelfth-century patronage and whether there are any discernible changes in their recording practices. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries Gloucester wrote down its benefaction in charters and contemporary annals. These records have survived as original charters, as charter copies within later cartularies, and in the fourteen-century *Index* of donations. Brooke was the first to identify these different recording practices.[13] The majority of the *Index*'s contents appear to be summaries of charters, but Brooke spotted several entries which seem to be informed by another source. For example, the *Index* records that William II granted the church of St Gwynllyw of Newport to the abbey when he was lying seriously ill at Gloucester.[14] Although this grant is not referred to in any surviving charter, William II's illness at Gloucester in 1093 and the extraordinary acts of charity it solicited from this famously unpious king are well attested by sources outside of Gloucester, including Eadmer of Canterbury.[15] Brooke suggested that the documentary origins of this *Index* entry may have rested in contemporary writing (perhaps annals) maintained at the abbey during Serlo's abbacy (1072–1104).[16] Brooke found further evidence of these annals in the large number of entries in the *Index* which bore a precise date for their donation. As dated charters were rare in the period, Brooke argued that these grants may have been recorded as contemporary annal entries.[17] Brooke also found evidence of these annals within the thirteenth-century Gloucester cartulary (TNA, C150/1), in which several eleventh-century royal confirmation charters were precisely dated. Brooke therefore suggested that the annals may have served as a contemporary record of donations to which the king would add his seal when in Gloucester.[18] Despite significant fires at Gloucester (in 1102 and 1122) Brooke found it 'very strange' that there are no surviving genuine writs of William I or William II. He

---

12.   *Glos. Charters*; *Heref. Charters*.
13.   Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester."
14.   *Historia et cartularium*, i, 102; Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 52.
15.   See Eadmer, *Historum novorum in Anglia*, 30-45. Cited in Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 53, n. 10.
16.   Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 52-53, and generally 50-60.
17.   Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 54-56.
18.   Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 58-59. The charters are in *RRAN*, i, nos. 153, 154, and 156.

suggested that Abbot Serlo may have preferred to record the abbey's donations in the annals rather than charters.[19] Brooke's analysis of the *Index* was focused on identifying elements of the annals, and testing their veracity. He did not seek to establish the nature of the annals, nor their relationship to other types of record keeping at the abbey. This section will seek to shed further light on the annals, and then compare Gloucester's different recording practices (that is charters and the annals) in order to assess how the abbey was writing its donations in the period 1072 to 1179.[20]

The question of the lost annals deserves further attention. Some evidence for the annals can be found outside of the *Index* and cartulary. In the thirteenth century a monk of Gloucester, Gregory of Caerwent, wrote a chronicle related to the abbey (henceforward *Greg. Caer*).[21] Michael Hare has argued that up to about the year 1230 Gregory used the same source for his work as that which would inform the fourteenth-century *Index*, and therefore that it was an earlier witness to the annals.[22] *Greg. Caer* contains details that do not survive in the later sources (for example an obit for the death of Walter de Lacy in 1084),[23] however it also includes some errors and contradictions related to this period.[24] In addition, *Greg. Caer* only survives as an epitome made by the sixteenth-century antiquarian, Laurence Nowell. Its contents must therefore only be used with great caution. Nevertheless, it does provide further evidence of the existence of the annals and relevance within the community.

Additional evidence for the annals' existence is found in a letter from Bishop

19.   Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 58; 56.

20.   This timeframe has been adopted because the majority of entries in the *Index* are dated by abbacy. This date range includes abbots Serlo (1072–1104), Peter (1107–1113), William Godeman (1113–1130), Walter de Lacy (1130–1139), Gilbert Foliot (1139–1148), and Hamelin (1148–1179).

21.   BL, MS. Cotton Vespasian A.v., fos, 195-203v, *'Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent'*.

22.   Michael Hare, "The Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent: A preliminary account," *Glevensis* xxvii (1993): 42–44; and also Paul Anthony Hayward, *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles: Hitherto Unnoticed Witnesses to the work of John of Worcester, Volume One: Introduction and Commentary,* (Arizona Centre for Medieval & Renaissance Studies: Tempe, Arizona, 2010), 125-30 in particular. Brooke acknowledged the existence and importance of Gregory's chronicle as witness to annals, but did not include it in his discussion. See Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 52, n. 9.

23.   *Greg. Caer*, fo. 195v-196r, and discussed in Hare, "The Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent," 43.

24.   See in particular the year 1128 where a great number of donations to the abbey are recorded, but many are either contradicted in other sources (such as the *Index*) or are historically improbable. For example, under that year it is recorded in *Greg. Caer* that John fitz Richard granted the tithes of Saxlingham (Norfolk). The *Index* dates this grant to Serlo's abbacy (1072–1104), which is far more compatible with what is known of John's life. *Greg. Caer*, fo. 198r; and Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 284 under 'Johannes Nepos Waleraani'.

Nicholas of Llandaf to Pope Alexander II in 1173x1174. In the course of a dispute regarding some of Gloucester properties, Bishop Nicholas (previously a monk of Gloucester) wrote to Alexander II providing proof of the abbey's claims. Nicholas' letter included copies of charters and his own testimony that he had learnt from 'our chronicles' ('cronicis nostris') that the contested property was granted to the abbey sixty-two years previously, i.e 1112.[25] Since the date provided by Nicholas matches that of the *Index* entry,[26] it is probable that both Nicholas and the compilers of the *Index* were using the same source, the *cronica*/annals. Nicholas' testimony also provides some insight into the ongoing importance of the annals. At this moment in the later twelfth century the annals were more than simply a repository of donations: it was also a contemporary reference aid for the provenance of the abbey's properties.

The next question is how representative the fourteenth-century *Index* is of Gloucester's benefaction between 1072 and 1179. This can be assessed by comparing the grants recorded in the *Index* to evidence of these donations in Domesday and the abbey's charters, either originals or cartulary copies. This comparison shows that only fifty-six percent (91/160) of the donations recorded in the *Index* have documentary basis outside the *Index*.[27] The remaining forty-three percent (69/160) cannot be verified through any other surviving evidence. Of these unverifiable entries, twenty-five include a precise date for the donation. Following Brooke, such exact dating suggests that the annals were the source for this *Index* entry, rather than extant charters which are unlikely to have been dated, and (if surviving) would have been copied into the abbey's cartulary. This leaves forty-four (28%) *Index* entries related to this period which have no other documentary basis. For example, the *Index* records that a certain William de Everons (otherwise unknown), in the time of Abbot Serlo, gave a hide of land in Archenfield (Herfs.) and the tithes of Haythrope.[28] There is no trace of this grant or donor in any other extant document. This lack of verifying evidence is particularly important for the time of Abbot Serlo (1072–1104): forty-three percent of the *Index* entries purporting to date from his abbacy have no other source. These findings suggest that the *Index* entries from 1072x1179 can only be used with great caution and in conjunction with other materials.

---

25. David Crouch, ed., *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140–1287* (Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1989), no. 15, and notes.

26. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 118.

27. Evidence from charters includes both the charter from the donor, or reference to the grant in later confirmations, usually issued by the donor's heir, or the king.

28. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 118. 'Willelmus de Everons dedit unam hidam terrae in Jerchefeld, Westone, et decimas de Haythrop, tempore Serlonis abbatis.'
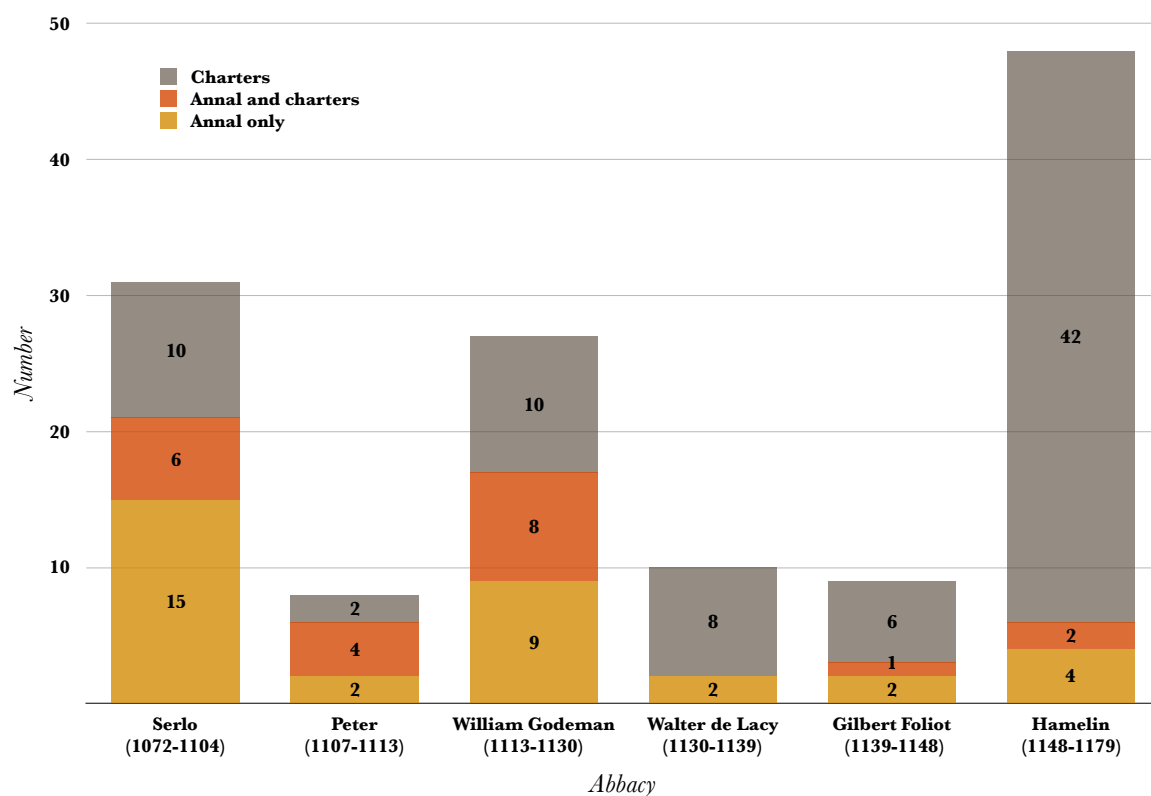
Figure 12: *Types of writing recording Gloucester's donations 1072-1179*

The shifting ways Gloucester recorded its twelfth-century donations can be further defined by delineating the types of records. These different types can be distinguished by donations which are only recorded in charters, and those which are precisely dated within the *Index* and have no corresponding charter, thereby strongly suggesting that the annals were their source. Some grants are precisely dated and recorded in both cartulary and annals. These are not necessarily evidence of that grant having been written in two different forms. Some dated charters in the cartulary closely resemble their corresponding *Index* entry, to the point that it cannot be determined whether the compiler of the cartulary was following an annal entry or an original charter. For example, Wynebald de Ballon's grant of land in Ampney is recorded as a dated annal in the *Index* and as a charter in the cartulary. The grant is described in identical terms across the two texts.[29] Donations recorded in both formats can therefore only be securely recognised as evidence for an annal entry because they bear a date which is extremely unlikely to have come from eleventh- or twelfth-century charters.

When these different types of records are compared a clear chronology emerges. Figure 12 shows a general shift between 1072 and 1179 in how donations were

---

29. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 61 and 164, no. XXVIII. The only differences are in the opening lines of the *Index* which differs slightly from the cartulary copy.

recorded, from a preference for the annals to charters.[30] In his analysis of the *Index*, Brooke suggested that Serlo may have preferred the annals to other forms of documentation.[31] Figure 12 confirms this through the lower number of charters used to record grants during his abbacy in comparison to use of the annals. Figure 12 also suggests that this preference was not limited to Serlo, and was continued by his successors up to around 1130, after which charters became the leading form of record. Fires at the abbey in 1102 and 1122 could have contributed to charter loss before these dates. However, this shift appears to the be result of something more: not only is there a rise in the number of charters after 1130, but also a clear decline in how frequently donations were recorded in the annals.

This data suggests a change in how the abbey recorded its donations from around 1130. Bishop Nicholas' testimony from 1173x1174 makes clear that the annals were still read for information regarding the history of the abbey's estates, however after 1130 the annals had a diminishing role in the abbey's record keeping practices. This finding has two effects. First, it has some minor bearing for how these records should be used as evidence of the abbey's twelfth-century fortunes. In particular after 1130, when it appears that the annals were used less and less to record donations, annal-like entries should be treated with more caution. They may be the result of a more haphazard production than in previous decades, and their provenance from a twelfth-century source less secure. Secondly this shift in how donations were recorded (from a preference for the annals to charters) signals a change in policy at the abbey, a change which will require further contextualisation with the abbey's other types of writing, such as forged charters.

1.2   Royalty and the abbey

This section will now use Gloucester's charters to identify and analyse the abbey's relationship with English royalty during the reigns of Henry I, Stephen, and the first fifteen years of Henry II's. Cownie argued that Gloucester received a generous amount of patronage from William I and William II, which it turn galvanised magnates of local and national importance to also patronise the abbey.[32] However, Gloucester's relationship with the twelfth-century monarchy (and those

---

30.   In this comparative analysis only charters recording donations are included because the contents of the *Index* and *Greg. Caer* suggest that confirmations of grants or records of leases were not consistently recorded in the annals.

31.   Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 58-59.

32.   Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54-65, at 54.

with royal pretensions, such as the Empress Matilda) has not yet been fully re-constructed.

Gloucester's interaction with royalty changed significantly after 1100. While the Anglo-Norman court was frequently in Gloucester in the eleventh-century, Henry I is only recorded as having visited the town once, in 1123 during the Feast of the Purification. It is possible that he also stayed in the town prior to his incursions into Wales in 1114 and 1121 (as William II had done in 1083). When Robert Curthose, Henry I's brother, died in Cardiff Castle in 1134, he was buried in St Peter's before the altar 'with great honour'.[33] The reasons for Robert's burial in the abbey will be discussed further below, but it cannot be seen as a reflection of Henry's relationship with Gloucester, and it does not appear to have had the time (Henry died in 1135), or significance, to influence the king's attitude towards the abbey.

Yet Henry issued a large number of charters (40) to the abbey. Almost a quarter of these were issued in the last fifteen years of his reign. This distribution is vastly different from Winchester and Westminster which received very few charters from this king after 1120. The majority (24/40) of Henry's acts were confirmations of previous royal grants or (and increasingly in the last years of his reign) writs related to lay benefaction to the abbey. For example, in 1104 Henry confirmed two assarts in Chelworth which had been granted by William II, and in c.1130 confirmed to the monks the land of Scott's Quarry (*Shotteshovere*), given to them by Roger de Berkeley.[34] Henry may have also issued a lengthy confirmation of various lay grants to the community in 1114.[35] This document is wholly unlike any other genuine charter of this king and is suspicious. Although the majority of the grants it records do date from prior to 1114, the last grant listed, according to *Greg. Caer*, was given in 1125.[36] It is likely that this charter is a later forgery, as will be addressed in section 3 of this chapter.[37] Confirmations were not always acts of generosity from the king: the 1130 Pipe Rolls reveal that the royal confirmation for *Shotteshovere* cost the monks £100.[38] The high number

33. 'magno cum honore', *John of Worcester*, 212-13.

34. *RRAN* ii, no. 673; *Historia et cartularium*, i, 239, no. CLIII; *RRAN* ii, no. 1657.

35. *RRAN* ii, no. 1041.

36. This grant from Adeliza *vicecomitissa* is recorded in *GC*, fo. 197v; and in *Historia et cartularium*, i, 81.

37. The editors of *RRAN* ii regard no. 1041 to be a genuine charter, but Brooke is less certain. See Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 60 and notes. This charter is discussed in more detail in section 3 of this chapter.

38. Judith A. Green, ed., *The Great Roll of the Pipe, for the thirty first year of the reign of King Henry I, 1130* (London: Pipe Rolls Society, Acorn Print Media, Loughborough, 2012), 61-62.

of confirmation charters issued by Henry to Gloucester, and particularly those towards the end of his reign, perhaps should be regarded as a reflection of the lay benefaction to the abbey, rather than representative of continued royal favour.

Henry himself issued minor grants to the abbey, yet none of these suggest that he held a special relationship with the community. Most were gifts of rights, such as that the monks' goods be free of custom or tithes from royal hunting beyond the Severn.[39] The exception was at the very beginning of his reign when he granted the manor Maismore (Glos.) in 1101. His charter states that he did this for the souls of his parents, his brother William, and his wife, Edith-Matilda.[40] The *Index* also records that Henry granted Ruddle (or Rodle) to pay for a light to be burned for Robert Curthose's soul. This grant is recorded in later general confirmation charters from Gilbert Foliot when Bishop of Hereford, Duke Henry (II), and a thirteenth-century forgery. None of these charters make any reference to Robert Curthose or Henry I.[41] Following the above analysis of the reliability of the *Index*, there is reason to doubt the authenticity of this grant with no other documentary basis.

Henry I may have had little interest in Gloucester, but there is evidence that his wife, Edith-Matilda was a benefactor of the abbey. The *Index* records that in 1112 a certain Robert Gernon granted to St Peter's the churches of Wraysbury and Langley Marish (Bucks.).[42] It makes no reference to Edith-Matilda but a later inquiry led by Bishop Alexander of Lincoln (in whose diocese the churches lay) suggests that Edith-Matilda was instrumental in the grant. Gloucester's rights to these lands were challenged by Gernon's successor, William de Montificet (Gernon died heirless) in 1123x1148. Bishop Bernard of St David's sent a letter to the inquiry in which he stated that he was present at Gloucester at the time of the donations, and that he saw:

---

39. *RRAN* ii, nos. 1386, 629.

40. *RRAN* ii, no. 554; *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 22, no.CCCCLVIII. Maismore does not appear in Domesday. Cownie discusses a grant from Henry I of land in Hartpury (Glos.) (Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 61), however this grant is only recorded in the *Index*, and is not mentioned in any other surviving charter, or *Greg. Caer.* Following the above analysis of the reliability of the *Index*, this grant may not have been genuine.

41. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 110-11; *RRAN* iii, no. 363a, and below; Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, no. 305; *Original Acta*, no. 40. C.f. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 61.

42. 'Anno Domini millesimo centesimo duodecimo, Robertus Gernoun dedit ecclesiæ Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ ecclesiæ de Wynturbourne, et ecclesiæ de Laverstoke [alias Laverstoke], et dimidium molendinum et dimidium terræ quae ad illud pertinet, rege Henrico confirmante, tempore Petri abbatis.' *Historia et cartularium*, 118. See too Gernon's charter, and Henry I's confirmation in *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 164, no. DCXCIX, and *RRAN*, ii, no. 1026, respectively.

My lady Queen Matilda escorted the same Robert Gernon up to the altar of St. Peter's, Gloucester, where he, standing by the queen and many others, confirmed that gift by means of a little knife on the altar.[43]

The *Abingdon Chronicle* gives additional background to this grant. The *Chronicle* records that in mid-August 1104 Edith-Matilda had travelled to visit Abbot Faritius in Abingdon. In the course of her stay in the house of a certain Robert son of Hervey, she persuaded him and his overlord, Robert Gernon, to deed some land near Colnbrook to her, which she then gave to St Mary's Abingdon.[44] Edith-Matilda also gave to Abingdon Langley Marish (a part of the Wraysbury manor) which had likewise been granted to her by Robert Gernon. This grant was later contested by Gernon's successor William de Montficet, indicating, in the words of Lois Huneycutt, that a gift had been actively solicited by the Queen 'from a man who would not have been in a position easily to say no'.[45] Gernon's grants to Gloucester of the churches of Wraysbury and Langley Marish (and the subsequent contestation by his heirs) suggest these were similarly the result of the direct solicitation from Edith-Matilda. In Bernard's description of the 1112 bestowal it now appears that the queen's role in the ceremony was not incidental; perhaps she had even travelled to Gloucester to witness the fulfilment of her request. There is now evidence that Edith-Matilda interacted with all three communities studied in this thesis, raising the intriguing possibility that she was choosing to patronise Anglo-Saxon crown-wearing abbeys.

Like his predecessor, there is no evidence that Stephen had a special relationship with Gloucester. In the course of his reign, Stephen issued fourteen charters to the abbey, the majority (8) of them are confirmations of grants by predecessors or lay donors. Stephen only issued two minor grants to the community and like Henry I these were only grants of rights, and included freedom from various tolls and customs and free warren on all their land beyond the Severn. Also like Henry, these grants were made at the very beginning of Stephen's reign.[46] Of the nine charters which can be dated precisely to before the outbreak of the civil war in 1139, seven were either addressed to, or witnessed by Miles de Gloucester, then sheriff of Gloucester and castellan of the castle of Gloucester.[47] Given Miles'

---

43. 'domina mea Matildis regina ipsum Robertus Gernon usque ad altare sancti Petri Gloec' conduxit . ubi ipse astante regina plurisbusque aliis per cultellum super altare donationem illam confirmauit.' *Original Acta*, no. 52. My translation. See too Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 99-100.
44. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part 2*, 142-45; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 59, 82.
45. Kelly, *Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part 2*, 114-15; Huneycutt, *Matilda of Scotland*, 59.
46. *RRAN* iii, nos. 346, 349.
47. *RRAN* iii, nos. 346-50, 355-56.

position, this in itself is not exceptional, however, further evidence suggests that Miles may have been the agent behind Stephen's actions. In the early years of Stephen's reign, Miles appears to have had a genial relationship with this king: in January 1136 when in Reading for Henry I's funeral, Stephen granted to Miles two confirmation charters related to his honour, office, tenures and constableship of Gloucester castle.[48] Although these were merely confirmations of privileges Miles already held, they may represent a reward for his (and Gloucester's) early profession of loyalty to Stephen.[49] In this context, Stephen's early charters to the abbey may have been the product of a request from Miles, rather than any particular affection the king held for the community.

Stephen's one major interaction with the abbey during his reign also appears to have been mediated by Miles. John of Worcester's *Chronicle*, informed by a Gloucester source, records Stephen's only visit to Gloucester for three days in May 1138. He describes how the king was led in procession through the town and that Miles led Stephen to the palace, where, the following day, the citizens of the town swore allegiance to him.[50] During his three days in Gloucester, Stephen visited the abbey twice: first following his reception into the town the king offered his royal ring at the altar of St Peter's, which was redeemed for 500 shillings the next day by royal chaplains; and then again on the third day, when he returned to the monastery to celebrate the feast of the Ascension.[51] John of Worcester's *Chronicle*, again following the Gloucester recension, subsequently records that in 1139 Stephen granted Gilbert Foliot the abbacy at Gloucester specifically at Miles' request.[52] It seems that whatever interaction Stephen had with Gloucester was predominantly the result of the politically important relationship he had with Miles de Gloucester during the early years of his reign.

Given the political geography of the 'Anarchy', it is maybe not surprising that Stephen did not patronise Gloucester Abbey after 1139. It is, perhaps, more surprising that there is no record of the Empress Matilda issuing any grants or charters to the abbey, despite her spending several months in the city in 1139 and 1141. However, Matilda was never particularly generous to English Benedictine houses,[53] and her periods in Gloucester were among the most fractious of the civil

---

48. *RRAN* iii, nos. 386-87.

49. Discussed in Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 48 and 44 notes.

50. *John of Worcester*, 240-43.

51. *John of Worcester*, 242-43.

52. *John of Worcester*, 262-65. See too Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 78-79.

53. Marjorie Chibnall, *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1992), 177-194 in particular.

war.

In contrast, Duke Henry issued eight charters in quick succession to the abbey in 1153x54.[54] This is a higher number of charters than any other English monastery received from Henry while Duke.[55] Only one of these charters represent a grant to the abbey (that of the custody of the wood of South Ridge, Ruddle),[56] the rest are confirmations or precepts related to specific abbey lands. There is also a general confirmation charter from Duke Henry which lists particular lands, many of which are also referred to in his individual charters.[57] These confirmations relate to grants from a range of dates and locations, from Thomas de St-John's grant of Rugge in 1112,[58] to Roger earl of Hereford's grant of the fishery in Dunny in c.1153.[59] This flurry of confirmation charters to the abbey also likely came before Henry's formal peace treaty with Stephen, and therefore is unrelated to the resolution of his succession claim. Instead, given that Duke Henry's confirmations were not necessarily of recent grants, we might presume that these charters were related to losses or infringements suffered recently by the community. This also seems to be suggested by the terms of Earl Roger's grant of the fishery, which includes the promise that if through any violence on the part of the king or any other magnate ('propter violentiam a rege vel ab aliquo potente') he is not able to fulfil the grant, he will make restitution to the abbey from his own property.[60] David Walker has argued that throughout the 1150s Earl Robert was making amends to the abbey (presumably on account of events during the civil war), and that this grant represented part of the process.[61] Duke Henry was in Gloucester in April 1153, and three of his charters to the abbey were issued while he was in the town.[62] The remaining five documents do not provide a place of proclamation. It seems that the confirmation charters issued by Duke Henry when he was in the city 1153-54 represent the abbey taking advantage of an opportunity to secure lands of theirs which had been threatened during the civil war.

There is no indication that as king Henry II had any particular relationship with Gloucester. He issued thirty charters to Gloucester, all but one of then confirma-

---

54. *RRAN* iii, nos. 362, 362a, 363, 363a, 363b, 364, 365, 365a.
55. See *RRAN* iii.
56. *RRAN* iii, no. 363a.
57. This general confirmation is *RRAN* iii, no. 365a.
58. Duke Henry confirms this in *RRAN* iii, no. 365a; the grant is recorded in *Historia et cartularium*, i, 109.
59. Duke Henry confirms this in *RRAN* iii, no. 363; the Roger's charter is in *Historia et cartularium*, i, 260, no. CXCIII. See too *Heref. Charters*, no. 30.
60. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 260, no.CXCIII; *Heref. Charters*, no. 30, and notes.
61. *Heref. Charters*, no. 30, and notes.
62. *RRAN* iii, nos. 363a, 363b, 364.

tions. Also like those of Henry I and Stephen, Henry II's charters predominantly confirmed lay donations to the abbey. For example, in 1158x1160 Henry II confirmed to the abbey sixty-four acres of land in Waddone which had been given by Roger Parvus.[63] The only new grant Henry II gave to Gloucester was of liberties for fishing sturgeon, issued in 1154x62.[64] Although Henry issued a relatively high numbers of charters to Gloucester, the vast majority survive only as cartulary copies and lack witness lists and some details from the text. Nicholas Vincent has expressed doubt over the veracity of many of the charters of Henry II to St Peter's preserved in either originals or the Gloucester cartularies.[65] The difficulties of the surviving materials place limits on drawing further firm conclusions. Regardless, the charters of Henry II follow a similar pattern to that of the earlier twelfth-century kings: a large number of documents exist, but within them there is very little actual royal patronage or benefaction to the abbey. Instead they show a bigger picture of lay patronage, and of the abbey's concerns to protect lay gifts.

∗

In comparison to Cownie's picture of active royal patronage in the post-Conquest period, the twelfth century was a very different world for Gloucester. The community received little in the way of royal benefaction or attention. None of the charters from Henry I, Stephen, or (Duke) Henry II indicate any kind of special relationship between the monarchy and St Peter's. Nor is there evidence for any ceremonial use of the church besides Stephen's visit in 1139. But even here the king's actions towards the town appears to have been influenced by his relationship with Miles of Gloucester, rather than reflecting any specific regnal interest with Gloucester. An exception to the general lack of royal patronage to the abbey is Edith-Matilda, who, as with Westminster and Winchester, emerges as having a particular affection for this abbey. There is some suggestion of discrete acts of royal patronage at the beginning of regimes - as seen with Henry I and Stephen's charters. However, unlike Henry I's benefaction of Westminster, and Stephen's of Winchester, none of these rulers appears to have regarded Gloucester as a place of personal or political importance. While a decrease in royal patronage and interaction can also be found at Westminster and Winchester during this period, at Gloucester it was far more dramatic.

---

63. *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 294, no. DCCCXCVI.
64. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 154, no. IX.
65. Vincent, "Review: The original acta of St Peter's Abbey," 158.

1.3 Lay Donations

This section will use Gloucester's records of lay donations to reconstruct the abbey's patronage across the twelfth century. As with much of Gloucester's materials, these lay charters have never been the subject of a dedicated study, and it is not known what relationships the community maintained, gained, or lost in this period. This analysis will investigate the lay patronage Gloucester received between 1072 and 1179. In order to assess any changes across the twelfth century, and particularly which families were patronising the abbey, it is necessary to also establish what relationships were held during Serlo's abbacy (1072–1104). Due to the large number of records, this investigation will focus on an abbacy at a time, thereby allowing the materials to be coherently managed and comparisons struck. This methodology also helps to categorise the charters, many of which can here only be dated within an abbacy.

The abbacy of Serlo has been recognised as a period of rapid ascent and expansion of land and influence at Gloucester.[66] For Cownie, royal attention and Serlo's own ability encouraged benefaction and elevated the abbey from a small and impoverished foundation to a prosperous and large community.[67] During Serlo's abbacy, Gloucester received a large number of significant grants from the new Anglo-Norman aristocracy. This included families of national as well as local importance, such as Arnulf de Hesding and his wife Ermilina,[68] Roger de Gloucester *miles*,[69] Bernard of Neufmarché,[70] Walter and Hugh de Lacy,[71] and perhaps Robert Curthose.[72] It was also most likely during Serlo's abbacy that Walter de Lacy sent his third son (the future abbot) Walter, at age seven to

---

66. See Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54-65; Bates, "The building of a great church"; Wareham, "Serlo (*c.* 1104)."

67. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 54, 63, in particular.

68. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 89; ii, 45, CCCCXCIII.

69. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 118–19. This Roger de Gloucester is identified as "miles" in the *Index* and William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Regum*, 830-31). This terminology will be followed to help distinguish the various members of the 'de Gloucester' family, as discussed further below.

70. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 315, no. CCLXXXIII

71. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 374, no. CCCLXXIV; i, 326, no. CCCIII.

72. Curthose's grant to the abbey of a hide in Ashperton (Heref.) is only mentioned in the *Index* (*Historia et cartularium*, i, 58.) and is not identified in any later genuine charter or confirmations. It is dated to 1099 in the *Index*, but this is highly improbably given that Robert was in the Holy Land during that year (see William M. Aird, *Robert Curthose: Duke of Normandy, c.1050-1134* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008), 180-89). Curthose's grant is mentioned in several twelfth-century forgeries, suggesting that a tradition related to this grant existed mid-century, but that this may not have been based on an actual donation. [See *RRAN* i, no. 157; *RRAN* iii, no. 345; Avrom Saltman, *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1956), no. 111.]

become a monk at Gloucester.[73] Cownie argued that these aristocratic donors were inspired by royal example and it appears that, in turn, tenants of these lords copied their generosity.[74] These included Gilbert de Eskecot, who in 1110 granted land in Duntesbourne (Glos.) for the soul of his lord, Walter de Lacy.[75] Cownie characterises the grants in this period as 'multi-layered', that is consisting of a range of gifts, including churches, lands, and tithes. These donations included local lands from men with local interests, such as Roger de Gloucester's grant of Westwood-in-Llanwarne,[76] and also benefactors and properties from further afield, such as Eustace fitz John and his grant of 20s a year from Saxlingham, in Norfolk.[77] Indeed, seven of the thirty-one donations St Peter's received during Serlo's abbacy came from more than one hundred miles away from Gloucester. As a result, whereas in 1066 all the abbey's properties were within a day's ride, by the end of Serlo's abbacy, St Peter's held land and properties across southern England and Wales.[78] The abbey's local and national significance had been enhanced by the status of its donors and the land which it now held. This status may have been reinforced by the grants and confirmations issued by Henry I at the beginning of his reign.

As shown in the analysis of royal charters in section 1.2, from the beginning of the twelfth century Gloucester's relationship with royalty drastically slackened. It is now necessary to trace what affect (if any) this had on the abbey's relationships with the laity. In Peter's abbacy (1107–1113), Gloucester continued to receive significant grants of land from new donors with local and national interests. Although Henry I's visits to Gloucester were infrequent in this period, royal officials still patronised the community: Hugh Bigod, a royal chaplain, granted Fornett in Norfolk to the community;[79] and in 1112, Thomas de St John, sheriff of Oxfordshire,[80] gave land in Rugge (Glos.). Gloucester appears to have continued to benefit from the Norman expansion into Wales. In 1111 Gilbert fitz Richard (de Clare) granted St Padarn's, the church of Llanbardarn Fawr, following his conquest of Ceredigion.[81] Llanbardarn Fawr was one of the most eminent Welsh

73. *Historia*, i, 15; W. E. Wightman, *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 169.
74. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 57.
75. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 73.
76. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 118-19.
77. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 114.
78. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 63.
79. *Historia et cartularium*, i ,78.
80. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 109; confirmed in *RRAN* ii, no. 1407. Keats-Rohan, ii, 691; Judith A. Green, *English Sheriffs to 1154* (London: HMSO, 1990), 69.
81. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 106; ii, 73–4, no. DXLVII. Richard Mortimer, "Clare, Gilbert de [Gilbert fitz Richard, Gilbert of Tonbridge]," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

clas-churches, and a significant gift to Gloucester, even if it was lost following the Welsh rebellion of 1136.[82] Significantly, seven out of the eight lay donations received by Gloucester during Peter's abbacy were from new donors (such as Hugh Bigod and Thomas de St John), strongly suggesting that throughout the first and second decade of the twelfth century the community continued to attract new patrons, even in the face of declining royal attention.

The castellans of Gloucester castle and their related family members also continued to patronise the community in the first thirteen years of the twelfth century (for this family see Figure 13). The first sheriff and castellan of Gloucester, Roger de Pîtres and his brother and successor Durand were Normans from Pîtres, in the fief of the Tosny family.[83] The first recorded benefaction from this family was from Roger *miles* during Serlo's abbacy (see above), and he further extended this through the grant of the manor of Coln Rogers (Glos.) during the years of vacancy before Abbot Peter's appointment.[84] Also during the vacancy, William de Gloucester (Roger de Pîtres' son and heir to the custodianship of Gloucester castle, and sheriff of the county) granted the church of St Helen in Alwestone. During Peter's abbacy, he granted the church of South Cerney (Glos.).[85] Brian Golding has argued that more often than not a community would receive an endowment when a body was being received for burial,[86] and Roger *miles*' grant during the vacancy may have been just that. Roger had suffered a fatal injury shortly before issuing his grant, and it is possible that he was subsequently buried in St Peter's. Later documents state that all of Roger de Pîtres and Durand de Gloucester's families were buried in the abbey.[87] The benefaction bestowed by the de Gloucester family immediately before and during Peter's abbacy suggest a particular dynastic relationship with the abbey, and one that was not solely associated with the hereditary position as castellan. In this way the de Gloucesters' patronage to and burial in St Peter's seems to echo that of the de Mandevilles and Westminster. Like the de Mandevilles, prior to the Conquest this Norman

82. See too Brooke's discussion of this grant: Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 55-56.
83. K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166. I. Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999), 180; see too J. H. Round, *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the XIth and XIIth centuries* (Swan Sonnenschein & co: London, 1895), 313 for a discussion of Durand's son, Roger de Gloucester *miles*; and Judith Green, *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 44, 46, and 69 for the brothers Roger and Durand.
84. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 69.
85. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 58; 69, 246, no. CLXVII.
86. See Golding, "Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials," 36.
87. See Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, no. 372. Roger was wounded at the battle of Falaise in 1105. William of Malmesbury describes how Robert, gravely injured in the head from a crossbow bolt, sought confirmation for his grant to Gloucester from Henry I. The king came at once to see him, and when Robert kissed the king's hand by way of thanks, Henry's hand was smeared with blood from Robert's head-wound. *Gest. Regum*, 830-31.
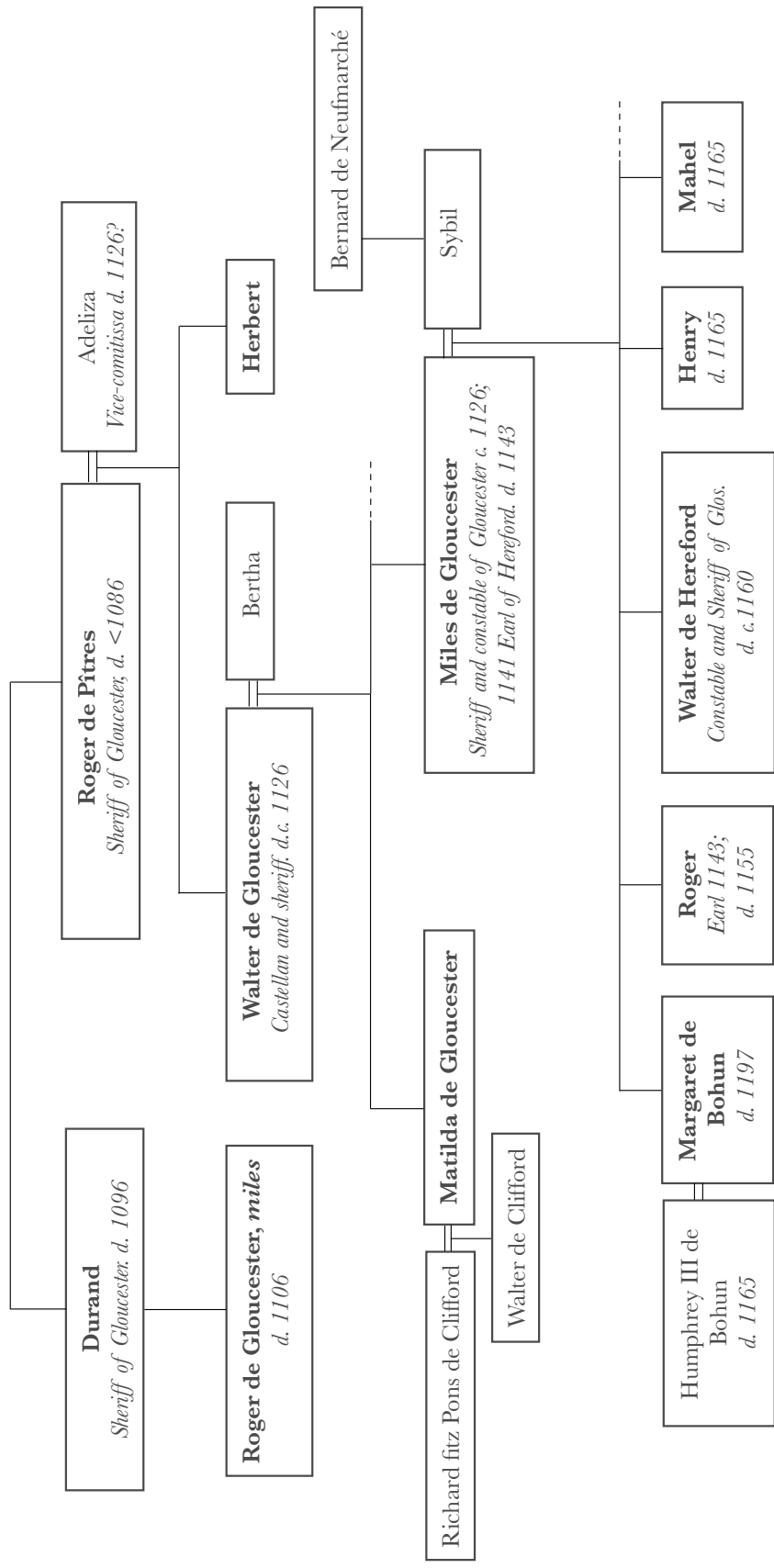
Figure 13: *Selected members of the de Gloucesters and Earls of Hereford family,
c.1086-c.1170.* Following dates given in *Heref. Charters*.

family had been based within the fief of a greater lord. The Gloucester charters reveal the de Pîtres/Gloucesters were keen to form a new dynastic site in the city where their power was based, with the abbey serving as their mausoleum.

During Peter's abbacy there is evidence of competition for donors from other churches. The *Historia* describes how a dispute arose between Abbot Peter and Bishop Reynelm of Hereford over the bishop's forced removal of the body of a certain Radulf fitz Askitil.[88] The issue was raised at the Pentecost court in front of the king, Archbishop Anselm, and many others and, having presented a document, the community successfully proved that the body should be returned to St Peter's.[89] The reasons for the community to pursue their right to Radulf's body are clear: a burial in the abbey would bring endowment and cement links between a family and a monastery, ensuring a future relationship.[90] To this end in particular, Gloucester appears to have been successful. Around fifteen years after Radulf's death, Adeliza de Swinton (identified as '*filia Askytilli*') granted to the abbey the tithes of Shipton and two hides of land in "Otynton" when her son, Thomas, became a monk of the abbey.[91] Through Radulf the abbey therefore gained temporal benefaction (tithes and land), a new member of their community (Adeliza's son, Thomas), and devotional and social bonds within a family across multiple generations. This minor and otherwise unknown patron and his family, exposes both the lengths to which Gloucester would go to in order to defend a relationship and the high value of that (seemingly minor) association.

Hindsight confirms that this was a relationship worth fighting for, but the abbey's actions also suggest that the community was pursuing a strategy centred on the burial of local knightly families at the abbey, as also seen with the de Gloucesters. In turn, the incident with Radulf in Peter's abbacy may have set a precedent for later disputes at Gloucester regarding burials in the abbey, as discussed further below.

During the abbacy of William Godeman (1113–30), Gloucester continued to receive support through a stream of donations of land, properties and tithes. The

---

88. A 'Radulpho filio Anschetilli' is one of the witnesses for Hugh de Lacy's 1100 grant to Gloucester of the church of St Peter's, Hereford; he is otherwise unknown. *Historia et cartularium*, iii, 256, no. DCCCCXCV. The charter is also in *ibid*, i, 326, no. CCCIII, but without the witness list.

89. *Historia*, i, 13-14.

90. Golding, "Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials," 37. See too the discussion of the use of lay burial to secure monastic relationships in Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, 67-75.

91. *Historia et cartularium*, i. 112. The *Index* entry is undated, but in Gregory of Caerwernt's *Chronicle*, Adeliza's grant is recorded in 1128. See *Greg. Caer*, fo. 198r.

majority were within thirty miles of Gloucester, although one grant was made of land in Lincolnshire by Roger Helle, father of William the Constable of Chester, suggesting that the community still held appeal for those with interests in the Welsh March.[92] Within Gloucestershire, St Peter's continued to obtain new local donors with interests in Gloucestershire and March. This included Wynebald de Ballon (who held lands in Wales and Somerset),[93] William de Aula Regis,[94] and three separate grants from Richard fitz Nigel, who held land in the honour of Gloucester.[95] As it had in the abbacy of Peter, between 1113 and 1130 Gloucester maintained relationships with significant landowners in the south-west of England. Patrick de Caroces made three grants to the abbey during William's abbacy from land in his lordship of Kempsford, which he had acquired through his marriage to Matilda de Hesding, daughter of Ernulf de Hesding; this union may have also bound Patrick to Gloucester Abbey. Thomas de St John added to the grants he has made during Peter's abbacy;[96] and Elias Giffard in 1121, before the abbey's altar and with the permission of his wife and son, Elias (II), confirmed and perhaps extended a grant of land in Buckholt (Glos./Monmouthshire) which he had first made in 1096.[97]

In the midst of this moderate success, Gloucester appears to have lost a major patron to emerging local competition. Despite generous grants issued at the very beginning of Peter's abbacy, the de Gloucester family seem to have stopped patronising the community by 1113x1130. The only grant recorded during this period is from Adeliza 'vicecomitissa', wife of Roger de Pîtres, who granted some land and houses in Gloucester in 1125, shortly before her death.[98] While her son Walter de Gloucester had issued grants to the community in the early 1110s, towards the end of his life he shifted his benefaction to Llanthony *Prima*, in Monmouthshire. Llanthony was first founded as a remote hermitage in the late

---

92. Roger Helle granted land in Coleby, (Lincs.); *Historia et cartularium*, i, 72.

93. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 61, 77; 164, no. XXVIII. Discussed in Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 61. See Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 303.

94. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 106. 'Aula regis' may refer to the royal palace at Kingsholm, just outside Gloucester. The Gloucester continuation of John of Worcester describes that in 1138 Miles of Gloucester led King Stephen to an "aula regis" following his reception into the town. Discussed in Hare, "Kings, Crowns and Festivals," 58. See too, *John of Worcester*, 242-43.

95. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 107, 118; ii, 89; and see Roger (fitz Regis) count of Gloucester's confirmation of Richard's grants in *Glos. Charters*, no. 82.

96. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 60, 89, 90-91. See Henry I's confirmation of these grants, *RRAN*, ii, 1005.

97. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 62-63, 205. It is unclear if this donation represents an extension or simply a confirmation of the 1096 grant, as the first gift is only recorded in a sparse entry in the *Index* (*Historia et cartularium*, i, 63), and has no surviving corresponding charter.

98. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 81; 188, no. LXXV; *Heref. Charters*, no. 59. Adeliza's grant and death are recorded successively in 1125 and 1126 in *Greg. Caer*, fo. 197v.

eleventh century, but shortly after 1114 it became an Augustinian priory and quickly acquired fame and royal favour due to its high reputation and dedication to austerity.[99] Walter de Gloucester patronised Llanthony in his lifetime: a charter issued by his son, Miles de Gloucester, confirmed his father's grant of land and a church in Great Barrington (Glos.).[100] Walter retired to the priory, and was buried there in c.1126. This act disrupted the family's practice (as followed by his father, uncle, and cousin) of being buried in Gloucester Abbey. Llanthony *Prima* offered a new explicit contrast to Gloucester. Gerald of Wales' description of life in Llanthony's later sister house in Gloucester (Llanthony *Secunda*) versus that in the mother house stressed this comparison:

> Let the bustling and active take up their residence then in Gloucester, leaving this other foundation for men of contemplation. There in Gloucester men strive for earthly possessions, but here in Llanthony let them rather turn their minds towards the promise of eternal bliss. There let them enjoy the company of mortal men, but here let them prefer the concourse of the angels.[101]

In the fight for the patronage of Walter de Gloucester, Gloucester may not have been able to compete with the pull of the new foundation at Llathony, where deep in the Black Mountains the canons offered a new and eremitical form of religious life.

Contests with more established neighbours also pulled patrons away from Gloucester in this period. During William's abbacy Gloucester received a series of grants related to small villages in south-east Gloucestershire. These properties were Ampney St Peter, where the abbey was tenant in chief in 1086; Ampney St Nicholas, where Ernulf de Hesding was lord in 1086; and the larger manor of Ampney Crucis, which was held by Tovi, and Turstin son of Ralph.[102] All three villages are within a mile and a half of each other. Patrick de Caorces granted to St Peter's a hide of his fee in Ampney St Nicholas, having come into possession of Ernulf de Hesding's land after his marriage to Ernulf's daughter.[103] In 1122 a certain Moyses and his wife gave a hide in Ampney (otherwise not distinguished) which his mother had given;[104] and in 1126 Wynebald de Ballon gave half a hide

---

99.   Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 50 in particular.

100.   *Heref. Charters*, no. 1, and p. 4.

101.   Gerald of Wales, *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*, trans. Lewis Thorpe (Penguin Books, 1978), 100-101.

102.   Ampney St Peter was assessed at nine households in 1086; Ampney St Nicholas thirteen households; and Ampney St Crucis twenty-five households. See John S. Moore, ed., *Domesday Book*, vol. 15: Gloucestershire (Phillimore: Chichester, 1982).

103.   *Historia et cartularium*, i, 60; see too *RRAN* ii, 1005. In *Greg. Caer*, fo. 197v, the grant is given the added detail that the land had been Ernulf de Hesding's.

104.   *Historia et cartularium*, i, 60, 164, no. XXVII.

of land which had been held by 'Thovi quidam Anglicus', suggesting that it was in Ampney Crucis.[105]

These grants issued within a relatively short period of time, and all related to a small area of land, may be a product of tensions between Gloucester and Tewkesbury Abbey regarding land in Ampney. Tewkesbury had been richly patronised by Richard FitzHamon (Lord of Glamorgan and a significant landholder in Gloucester), and then, after his death in 1107, by Henry I's bastard son Robert fitz Regis (later Robert Earl of Gloucester).[106] In 1101 Henry I confirmed the gifts and donations Tewkesbury had received, and included Wynebald of Ballon's grant to the abbey of fisheries in Wales and Ampney.[107] A forged Tewkesbury charter of Henry I also claims that Tewkesbury held Ampney Crucis.[108] While the charter itself was false, Tewkesbury may indeed have come into possession of Ampney Crucis at some point: the end of Wynebald's charter to Gloucester states that his grant had been made before the monks of Tewkesbury had the manor of Ampney Crucis.[109] In this context of competition, the flurry of grants issued to Gloucester may be the result of an initiative pursued by the community to try and secure their position in Ampney following Tewkesbury's acquisition of property in the area. This contest is emblematic of wider shifts in William's abbacy: there were still frequent lay donations to the abbey, but these were increasingly local lands and local families. And, even within in its locality, the abbey was beginning to lose patronage to other religious institutions.

The increasingly localised nature of Gloucester's benefaction continued into the abbacy of Walter de Lacy (1130–39). Eight out of the nine donations the abbey received in this period were within 30 miles of Gloucester. These donors and the distribution of lands suggest an orientation in the south-west of England and the March: Hugh fitz Norman (who had interests in Wales) gave the church of Taynton (Glos.) and founded and then granted to Gloucester a church at Kilpeck, which lay only five miles from the border of Monmouthshire;[110] and Robert Earl

---

105. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 61; 164, no. XXVIII.
106. See William Page, ed., "Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of Tewkesbury," in *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2* (London: Victoria County History, 1907). The Earldom of Gloucester was created in 1121. Robert Earl of Gloucester should not be confused with the de Gloucesters, who were a different family. For ease of reference, Robert fitz Regis will be referred to as 'of Gloucester' in comparison to the 'de Gloucester' family.
107. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii, 65-66; calendared in *RRAN* ii, 497.
108. Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum*, ii, 66; calendared in *RRAN* ii, 847. See too Page, "Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of Tewkesbury."
109. "Et ego Wynebaldus testis sum quod haec facta sunt antequam monachi Theokesburiae habuissent manerium de Amenel." *Historia et cartularium*, i, 61.
110. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 91, 116. See too Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 61.

of Gloucester and lord of Glamorgan granted lands in Treyguff and in Penn-onn (Glam.). Robert's were the only grants the abbey received in this period of lands that were more than thirty miles away; his also represents the first act of patronage to Gloucester from the earl, who made the grants for the souls of himself, his wife Mabil, and all his ancestors and successors.[111]

The abbey's *Historia* recorded that Abbot Walter obtained much wealth from his father Walter (I) as well as his mother Emmeline after entering the abbey as a boy.[112] This statement is certainly borne out for Serlo's abbacy when Gloucester received grants from Walter's father, mother, and brother Hugh, but by 1130 the de Lacy family had not patronised St Peter's for over twenty-five years. Hugh de Lacy had instead focused his patronage on Llanthony *Prima*.[113] Walter's promotion to abbot may have rebuilt ties with the de Lacy family. If so, these ties bore some fruit: in the late 1130s, Hugh's niece Sybil, who had inherited the majority of her father's lands, granted Gloucester land in Ewias. Sybil, and her husband Payn fitz John also patronised one of Gloucester's dependencies, St Guthlac's in Hereford, a house that had been merged with St Peter's, Hereford, and given to Gloucester Abbey by Hugh de Lacy in 1101.[114] However, beyond these minor grants, Abbot Walter de Lacy appears not to have been able to coax extensive patronage from his family during his own abbacy. The Gloucester relationship with the de Lacy family, which had been so strong in Serlo's time, had been superseded by a rival foundation. In addition Gloucester received no benefaction from either the de Gloucesters, or the de Hesding-Caorces. In Walter's abbacy the abbey was being abandoned by its greatest aristocratic donors.

Nevertheless, the house seems to have remained significant for Marcher lords and their families in the 1130s. Two prominent Marcher lords were buried in St Peter's during Walter's abbacy: Richard fitz Gilbert (de Clare), lord of Ceredigion, Tonbridge, and Clare, in 1136,[115] and Payn fitz John (a prominent land owner in Hereford, Worcestershire, and Gloucestershire; sheriff of at least Here-

---

111. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 115; and a later confirmation in printed *Glos. Charters*, no. 84, and see notes. Prior to this grant, Earl Robert had issued two conformation charter to the abbey of other lay grants. See *Glos. Charters*, nos. 82 and 83.

112. 'multa bona tam a patre quam a matre sua Emma, eidem ecclesiae acquisivit.' *Historia*, 15.

113. Wightman, *The Lacy Family*, 183, and notes.

114. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 61; David Walker, "The 'honours' of the earls of Hereford in the twelfth century," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 79, no. 2 (1960): 174–211, 188; Wightman, *The Lacy Family*, 176.

115. David Crouch, "Clare, Richard de [Richard of Ceredigion, Richard fitz Gilbert]," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

ford and Shropshire) in 1137.[116] Both Payn and Richard were powerful men in the 1130s: the author of the *Gesta Stephani* claimed that during the reign of Henry I, Payn fitz John along with Miles of Gloucester 'raised their power to such a pitch that from the river Severn to the sea, all along the border between England and Wales, they involved everyone in litigation and oppressed them with forced services.'[117] Meanwhile, according to David Crouch Richard fitz Gilbert's main ambition was to consolidate and enhance his father's conquest in Ceredigion.[118] Both Payn and Richard were killed in ambushes while fighting the in Wales following the Welsh uprising in 1136. According to the chronicle of John of Worcester both were buried in Gloucester's chapter house: Richard 'honourably', and Payn by Robert bishop of Hereford and Abbot Walter, with Earl Miles [de Gloucester] and many others standing by and grieving.[119] Payn and Robert's burials in the abbey suggests the high position that Gloucester continued to hold in the South March in the 1130s. It also exposes the limits of relying on charter evidence alone to reconstruct relationships between monastery and laity.

During the abbacy of Gilbert Foliot (1139–1148) England was in the throes of civil war, and Gloucester at the centre of the Empress' power bloc.[120] Although the difficulties and dangers of the 'Anarchy' are apparent in Gilbert's letters, Morey and Brooke argued that, lying as it did behind the city's strong walls, life within the abbey's precinct may have continued largely undisturbed.[121] The conflict does not appear to have affected the frequency of donations to the abbey, which continued at a similar rate as previous abbacies. The benefaction remained multilayered, and the community received land, properties, and churches, from both new and preexisting donors. In particular, Gloucester acquired three dependencies at Leonard Stanley (Glos.), Ewenny (Glam.), and St Guthlac's (Heref.).[122] With the exception of Maurice of London's grant of Ewenny, all the donations to the abbey were within twenty five miles of Gloucester, and followed the pattern of increasingly localised interests.

While the abbey precinct itself may have been removed from the turmoil, the

---

116. J. F.A. Mason, "Pain fitz John," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).

117. *Gest. Steph.*, chp. 12, pp. 24-25.

118. Crouch, "Clare, Richard de."

119. 'in capitulo fratrum honorifice sepelitur'; 'Milone comite et multis aliis astantibus et lamentantibus'. *John of Worcester*, 220-21 and 228-29.

120. Brooke, "Foliot, Gilbert (*c.* 1110–187)."

121. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 79.

122. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 113; *Historia et cartularium*, i, 75-76 and *Original Acta*, no. 384; *Historia et cartularium*, i, 83 and Page, "Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of St Peter at Gloucester," n. 58.

community received benefaction from politically powerful men at the centre of the conflict. Some time before 1141, the Empress' brother and general, Robert earl of Gloucester, confirmed land the abbey had received in the city,[123] and for the first time since 1125, the de Gloucesters began to issue charters to the community. In 1141x43, Miles de Gloucester, son of Walter de Gloucester (d. 1126), confirmed the manor of Glasbury with its church of St Cyndir and the tithes in Brecknock, as had been granted by his father-in-law, Bernard de Neufmarché. The charter states that Miles did this at the petition of his wife Sybil.[124] Further, as discussed above, Miles witnessed many of the charters issued to the abbey at the beginning of Stephen's reign, suggesting that Miles was maintaining a presence at, and so a connection with, the community.[125] Not long after Miles' death in 1143, his son and heir Roger earl of Hereford likewise confirmed his grandfather's grants to the abbey for his father's soul, and that of his own heirs.[126] John of Worcester records that King Stephen appointed Gilbert Foliot as Gloucester's abbot at the request of Miles, who was perhaps Gilbert's first cousin.[127] It may have been the personal connection between Miles and Gilbert that encouraged the de Gloucesters to resume issuing charters. Certainly the community had additional incentive to try and renew its relationships with the family after Miles was created Earl of Hereford by the Empress in 1141. The promotion may have galvanised the abbey into reminding Miles, through his wife, of the relationship their predecessors had held with St Peter's. The de Gloucesters' re-engagement with Gloucester Abbey seems to also have inspired their tenants: in 1143x1155, Roger Parvus issued a series of grants to the abbey, including sixty-four acres in Waddon and twenty acres in "Rugge".[128]

During Gilbert's abbacy, Gloucester faced rising competition from the Augustinian priory of Llanthony *Secunda*, which had been founded on the outskirts of the city by Miles de Gloucester in 1136. Cownie showed how, in addition to Miles and his heirs, Llathony *Secunda* acquired new local donors who had previously supported St Peter's.[129] When Miles died in 1143, there was a dispute between the two houses over his body, which Cownie interpreted as an indication of rising tensions between the two houses.[130] However, the dispute and its resolution

123. *Glos. Charters*, no. 83.
124. *Heref. Charters*, no. 6, printed in *Historia et cartularium*, i, no. CCLXXIV.
125. See Emilia Jamroziak on personal interests maintained by donors through witnessing monastic charters: Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, 96.
126. *Heref. Charters*, no. 44, printed in *Historia et cartularium*, i, CCLXXV.
127. *Historia*, 17-18; and see too *John of Worcester*, 262-65. On Miles' relation to Gilbert, see Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 35-37.
128. *Original Acta*, no. 247; *Historia et cartularium*, ii, nos. DLCCCV-VI.
129. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 62.
130. Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 62; also, Walker, "A register of the churches of the

also illuminates St Peter's concerns in this period. Miles died on Christmas Eve 1143 while out hunting, and his body was taken to Llanthony *Secunda*. Immediately the monks of St Peter's advanced a case for their right to Miles' body.[131] This argued was based in three claims. Firstly, the abbey argued that the earl had given his body to the abbey before Llanthony *Secunda*'s foundation; second, they pointed out that many members of Miles' family had been buried in St Peter's, including Roger de Pîtres, Durand de Pîtres, Roger de Gloucester *miles*, and members of Walter of Gloucester's family, even though Walter himself was interred in Llanthony *Prima*.[132] Finally, the monks argued that in the early twelfth century Walter de Gloucester had acquired land from the monks on which to build a great keep for the castle[133] and that their chaplain had (and continued to) exercise parochial rights over the land, and on that basis had sent the bodies of Miles' predecessors for burial in the abbey.[134] The monks' arguments were successful and their claim recognised. However, at the request of the bishops of Hereford, Worcester and St David's, and of Miles' son Roger and his wife, Miles' body was granted by the monks to the canons of Llanthony *Secunda*. In return, it was agreed that Earl Roger, his wife and all heirs would be buried in the abbey, as would any other future lords of the castle.[135]

The dispute regarding Miles' body suggests the immediate competition for the de Gloucesters' patronage and the community's concern for the future of that relationship. But the terms of the argument and its settlement also suggest that the abbey's agitation was inextricably intertwined with Miles' position as hereditary castellan of Gloucester castle. This is reflected in the compromise they struck with Llanthony *Secunda*: the latter received their founder's body and in return St Peter's secured a recognition of their right to bury all of Miles' future heirs, and all future castellans. Although the first two castellans of Gloucester (Roger and Durand de Pîtres) had been buried in the abbey, Walter de Gloucester had not, and, as argued by Walker, Miles' burial in Llanthony *Secunda* would make any claim St Peter's made as the burial site of castellans precarious.[136] As with the burials of Payn fitz John and Richard de Clare the decade before, the

monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester," 18-19.

131. The dispute is recorded in an *actum* of Bishop Simon of Worcester issued at the resolution of the argument on 28th Dec 1143, see *EEA: Worcester*, no. 54; see too Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, no. 372.

132. Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, no. 372.

133. These grants are recorded in *Historia et cartularium*, i, 59; *RRAN* ii, 706. See too David Walker, "Gloucestershire castles," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 109 (1991): 5–23, 10.

134. Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, no 372. See too Walker, "Gloucestershire castles," 10.

135. *EEA: Worcester*, no. 54.

136. Walker, "Gloucestershire castles," 10

dispute regarding Miles de Gloucester's body appears to form part of an active policy from the abbey to secure the burial of prominent Marcher lords in the church. This strategy was focused on more than just securing the patronage of the deceased's family, but also about actively tying the abbey to secular power in the region and especially Gloucester's castellans.

Abbot Gilbert's allegiance to the Angevin cause is well attested,[137] but during the 'Anarchy' Gloucester was not exclusively patronised by allies of the Empress. In 1146 Roger (III) de Berkeley granted to Gloucester a college of secular canons at Stanley St Leonard (Glos.) and all that pertained to it, including the gift of five churches to Stanley.[138] Roger (III) was the great-grandson of Roger (I) de Berkeley, who had patronised St Peter's and been buried as a monk of the community in 1091.[139] Roger (III), despite the general allegiance of the region, had an uneasy relationship with the Angevins and their supporters.[140] This is manifested in an incident from the same year he gave his donation to St. Peter's. Having refused to give up his castle to Earl Robert of Hereford, the latter's brother Walter captured Roger of Berkeley, stripped him, and subjected him to a mock hanging outside his castle. Roger survived the ordeal and was taken away and imprisoned.[141] Roger's grant to St Peter's was most likely prior to his capture, and was therefore unrelated to it. Care should be taken in drawing sweeping conclusions from one example. However, in this case of the de Berkeleys suggests that for this family at least, their reasons for patronising the abbey had not been altered by the political climate or the loyalties of the community's abbot.

During Hamelin's long abbacy (1148–1179) St Peter's continued to receive a high number of donations, including churches, lands, and tithes.[142] A large number of these came from within twenty-five miles of Gloucester and included grants from individuals who had not previously been donors of the abbey. For example, Jordan de San(d)ford (Oxon.) granted two asserts in Chelworth (Wilts.);[143] and Hugh Talemach, who was a successor to the St-John and Saint-Valery families, granted the church of Hampton (Glos.) prior to becoming a monk at St

---

137. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, *passim*.
138. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 113.
139. For the family see Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 401; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 321. Roger (I)'s gifts are recorded in *Historia et cartularium*, i, 112.
140. For a discussion of Roger de Berkeley, see in particular Amt, *The Accession of Henry II*, 38.
141. *Gest. Steph.*, chp. 97, p. 191. Discussed in Walker, "Gloucestershire castles," 16.
142. In comparison to the previous abbacies, the vast majority of records from Hamelin's abbacy survive as cartulary copies or as originals, and not in the *Index*.
143. *Original Acta*, no. 260; see Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 700.

Peter's.[144] Almost 20 percent of the charters surviving from 1148x1179 record leases of land or properties made by the abbot within Gloucestershire, suggesting that the abbey was building networks of relationships within the county.[145] For example, Hamelin and the community granted to a certain Bernard son of Ferin two stalls within Gloucester, in fee and inheritance for 7s rent per year.[146] The abbey also continued to have connections with local landowners, such as Roger de Staunton (Glos.) and Roger and Hugh Parvus, all tenants of Roger, earl of Hereford.[147]

The relationship between St Peter's and the de Gloucester family slackened during Hamelin's abbacy. Shortly after Henry II's coronation, Miles' heir as earl of Hereford, Roger, gave a fishery at Dunny, and he and his brother Walter restored the abbey's rights in Nunnehamme and Prethamme.[148] Walker has argued that the terms of both charters suggest that Roger was offering reparations for damages caused by him or his men during the civil war.[149] Roger also patronised St Guthlac's, an interest which most likely came through his marriage to Cecily, daughter of Payn fitz John and Sibyl de Lacy.[150] Roger's most generous grant to St Peter's was 100s worth of land, which he bestowed when he became a monk of the community in c.1155.[151] Roger's profession could be related to his fall from grace after rebelling against Henry II in that same year, or simply ill-health (he died a few months later).[152] Following Roger's death, Gloucester Abbey received very little from the de Gloucesters: Roger's brother Walter exchanged some land with the abbey in return for that given by Roger on his entry to the monastery,[153] and he, and his brother Henry, issued confirmations of their predecessor's grants

---

144. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 88. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 1123.

145. Caution should be exercised when comparing the high number of leases issued in Hamelin's abbacy to those of his predecessors. The vast majority of the leases from Hamelin's abbacy only survive as original charters and, given the short term nature of the agreement, there would have been little reason for many of these leases to be copied into later cartularies. Approximately two-thirds of the surviving original charters from 1066x1179 date after 1150 (perhaps as a result in a change of document-keeping in the abbey and/or of the series of fires at Gloucester in the early twelfth century). The relatively high number of charters related to leases in this period may reflect of patterns of survival for this kind of evidence, rather than a distinct policy from Hamelin.

146. *Original Acta*, no. 62.

147. Roger de Staunton's grants are in *Historia et cartularium*, i, 73; ii, 124, no. DCXXVII. Roger de Staunton served as a surety for Earl Roger in 1147x9. See Wightman, *The Lacy Family*, 252. The Parvus' grants are in *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 98-99, no. DCLXXXVI; ii, 149-52, nos. DCLXXII-XXVI.

148. *Heref. Charters*, nos. 30 and 31.

149. *Heref. Charters*, 3, and notes.

150. *Heref. Charters*, p. 6; and nos. 17-18, 33, and 40-43. See *ibid*, no. 63.

151. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 88-89; see too *Heref. Charters*, no. 76.

152. *Heref. Charters*, 5. For a longer discussion of Roger's rebellion see Amt, *The Accession of Henry II*, 33-35.

153. *Heref. Charters*, no. 76.

to the community.[154] Part of this decrease may have been related to the family's shifting fortunes: following Robert's rebellion, the earldom of Hereford was withheld from his successors and all three brothers were dead by 1165 (see Figure 13).[155] One of their surviving sisters, Margaret de Bohun (who inherited the majority of the family's estates) was a generous monastic benefactor,[156] but her benefaction was never directed towards Gloucester Abbey.[157] Instead Margaret greatly patronised Llanthony *Secunda*, to whom she issued nineteen charters and where she was ultimately buried.[158] Walker argued that some of these charters reveal a particular anxiety from Margaret to fulfil promised gifts from her brothers,[159] indicating that they too, despite the connection that Roger had had to Gloucester at the end of his life, preferred the priory their father had founded. It thus seems that by the 1160s at the latest, St Peter's had lost the benefaction of one of its oldest and most important family of donors. The end of this relationship also appears to have had an effect on tenants of the de Gloucesters: after 1155 Roger Parvus' heirs only issued confirmation charters.[160]

Although patronage from the de Gloucesters may have come to an end, Hamelin's abbacy is otherwise distinguished by a renewal of several relationships between the abbey and donors who had not patronised the abbey for several decades. In c.1153 Alice, widow of Richard fitz Gilbert (of Clare), granted a mill at Tathwell (Lincs.) for the soul of her husband. Her brother Ranulf II Earl of Chester confirmed Alice's grant and bestowed a further 40 shillings from mills of Olney (Bucks.)[161] There is no record of interaction from Alice or her family after Richard's burial in the abbey in 1136. Likewise, having last patronised St Peter's during the abbacy of William Godeman (1113–30), the de Coarces family began again to interact with the community in the mid-1150s: Payn de Caorces, the grandson of Patrick (I) de Caorces and Matilda de Hesding, granted to the abbey the tithes of Kempsford, for his soul and those of his brother Hugh and all his ancestors.[162] Given that the period in which these families were not interacting with the abbey coincided with the years of the 'Anarchy', it could be assumed that the civil war had interrupted their patronage to Gloucester. However, during Hamelin's

---

154. *Heref. Charters*, nos. 75; 81.

155. For a fuller discussion of the de Gloucesters, see *Heref. Charters*, pp. 1-11; and Walker, "The 'honours' of the earls of Hereford in the twelfth century."

156. Emma Cavell, "Bohun, Margaret de [née Margaret of Gloucester]," in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

157. Margaret's only grant to Gloucester was of a tenement in Haresfield (Glos.): *Heref. Charters*, no. 120.

158. *Heref. Charters*; Cavell, "Bohun, Margaret de."

159. *Heref. Charters*, p. 2, and nos. 94 and 95.

160. *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 98-9, no. DLCCCVI; 150-51, no. DCLXXIV.

161. *Original Acta*, 201.

162. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 343-44, no. CCCXXXI.

abbacy further relationships were renewed that had lapsed far before 1139. In c.1165x90, Henry (II) de Pomeroy, before the altar at St Peter's, confirmed land in Sheldon (Devon) and granted 2s a year;[163] the last recorded interaction between the de Pomeroys and Gloucester had been Henry's grandfather and great-uncle during Serlo's abbacy, at least sixty years previously.[164] In 1148x1179, Bernard de Baskevyle granted a hide in Combe (Glos.) when becoming a monk of the community.[165] The last time a de Baskerville had patronised the abbey had been 1109.[166] Additionally, there are a number of charters issued to the abbey from the Giffard family in the 1150s or 1160s.[167] Prior to this the last datable donation from that family was in 1121.[168]

This return of benefaction indicates an active attempt under Hamelin to rebuild relationships which had fractured in the preceding decades. The revival of these connections brought Gloucester wider geographical interests than they had enjoyed in recent years, as far-flung as Devon and Lincolnshire. Ironically, it is likely that the abbey sought to make these links precisely because they had lost the benefaction of important local patrons such as de Gloucesters and their tenants.

<div align="center">*</div>

The above analysis of Gloucester Abbey's charters has illuminated this community's changing fortunes in the period c.1100 to 1170. There was a distinct absence of royalty at twelfth-century Gloucester. In the late eleventh century it seemed that St Peter's had a close relationship with English monarchy: it was the site of Christmas crown-wearing ceremonies and the recipient of significant royal patronage. Moreover, the town of Gloucester was the location of regular and important royal courts, such as at Christmas 1086. However, within the first decade of the twelfth century Gloucester had lost this association and, of the

---

163. *Original Acta*, no. 252 and notes.
164. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 65, 88.
165. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 70.
166. Bernard, although otherwise unknown, may have been related to Walter and Robert de Baskerville, who confirmed his grant, and held fees of Hugh de Lacy in Weobley (Herf.). Walter and Robert (II) de Baskerville, in turn, are likely related to Roger de Baskerville, a Domesday tenant of Roger de Lacy, and who had granted land in Gloucester to St Peter's in 1109: *Historia et cartularium*, i, 81. See to Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants*, 374; Keats-Rohan, *Domesday People*, 305.
167. *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 157-160; nos. DCLXXXVI-DCXCI.
168. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 62-63; 205, no. CIV. However, due to difficulties in dating cartulary copies of charters, it cannot be definitively shown that the family was not patronising the abbey between between 1121 and the 1150s.

three 'crown-wearing abbeys' Gloucester's abandonment by English royalty was the most dramatic. Nevertheless, it was the recipient of a consistent (if shifting) stream of lay benefaction, and was the burial site for prominent members of the South March aristocracy, including Richard fitz Gilbert, Payn Fitz John, Walter (I) de Lacy, and successive generations of castellans of Gloucester. From the first or second decade of the century, Gloucester's donations were increasingly localised, both in lands and the concerns of the donors. The community also experienced a slackening in interest from major donors, including the de Lacys and the de Gloucesters.

Some of these changes in lay donation can be explained by factors beyond the abbey's control. Henry I never wore his crown at Gloucester and visits from the royal court were far less frequent than they had been during the reigns of William I and William II. As a result, and in comparison to the abbacy of Serlo, the community had fewer opportunities to interact with donors with interests beyond Gloucestershire and its environs. Further, and particularly after 1136, reduced opportunities of expansion into Wales decreased the abbey's likelihood of benefiting from the conquest of new areas, as they had done in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. Further reasons for a slackening in Gloucester's relationships included a shifting religious landscape. Llanthony *Prima* and *Secunda* in particular, offered fresh and more appealing outlets for the familial pieties of the de Lacys and de Gloucesters than St Peter's old Benedictine monasticism.

Gloucester Abbey's extant charters reveal the loss of these patrons and decreasing royal interest in the house; they also show the community's successes. The abbey continued to draw in new patrons, even in the face of immediate local competition. An aspect of its continued appeal may have been based in the abbey's renown as an institution of religious excellence. Archbishop Lanfranc had recognised Gloucester's strict observance of the Rule in the late 1070s or 1080s,[169] and there is no suggestion that this changed in the twelfth century. Moreover, Rodney Thomson has identified a steady increase of book production at the abbey during the period under consideration and has argued that it culminated in a 'real high point of learning' in Hamelin's abbacy (1148-1179).[170] Contemporaries' appreciation for the abbey's renown may also be reflected in the number of donors who had family members in the community. Both the *Index* and charters are littered with examples of donations to the abbey on the occasion of a family member

---

169. Helen Clover and Margaret Gibson, eds. and trans., *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishsop of Canterbury* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), letter 54, 168-69.
170. Thomson, "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey," 4.

entering monastic life at the abbey, as children (such as two sons of Richard fitzNigel)[171] or adults (like Roger Earl of Hereford).[172] The admission of members of local families not only reflects the high esteem in which the abbey must have been held, but also the multiple networks St Peter's would have maintained with the laity of Gloucestershire and beyond.

The charters also reveal abbey responses to the shifting challenges of the twelfth century. In the face of growing competition from nearby religious foundations, Gloucester Abbey took steps to protect its estates and its relationship with donors. Although the evidence is slight, the tussle Gloucester may have had with Tewkesbury over lands in Ampney suggests that the community was prepared to compete for patronage. The abbey also maintained relationships with successive generations of donors through female members of the family. This is most overt with Miles' wife, Sybil de Neufmarché's grants; further examples are Matilda de Hesding and the de Coarceses; and Sybil de Lacy and Payn fitz John. Each of these women may have been the key to bringing new families into a relationship with Gloucester. Conversely, the patronage which Margaret de Bohun extended to other houses seems to have brought an end to that family's relationship with the abbey. What was exceptional about each of these women is that they were all the significant or primary beneficiaries of their families' patrimonies.[173] It is difficult to identify a policy in this pattern, but it does at least suggest how a preexisting relationship with a Marcher heiress could translate into patronage from her husband and successive generations of heirs.[174]

The abbey also used lay burial in the abbey as a way to secure and maintain a relationship with donors' families. This is seen in the early twelfth century with Ralph fitz Askytil, and most vividly in the dispute with Llanthony *Secunda* regarding Miles de Gloucester's body and those of his heirs. The dispute with Llanthony also exposed the abbey's ambitions to associate itself with local secular

---

171. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 118; *ibid*, ii, 89, no. DLXXI; *Glos. Charters*, no. 82.

172. See above for Roger's charters. Further examples of local men becoming monks of the community include, among many others, Walter de Lacy (jnr) (*Historia*, 15); Roger de Frampton (*Historia et cartularium*, i, 79, 293-94); and Bernard de Baskevyle (*Historia et cartularium*, i, 70).

173. See Judith A. Green, "Aristocratic women in early twelfth-century England," in *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Boydell & Brewer, 1997), 59–82, where each of these women are discussed (although Margaret de Bohun is not named) within a broader assessment of female inheritance of lands.

174. For the role of women directing the religious enthusiasm of a family, see Cownie, *Religious Patronage*, 156-57, and for continental examples, Constance Brittain Bouchard, *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1987), 142-49.

power, particularly Gloucester's castellans. In this context, other burials in the abbey, particularly in the 1130s, may suggest both a policy from the abbey and the symbolic importance the church held within the south March. As discussed above, Robert Curthose, Richard fitz Gilbert and Payn fitz John were buried in the abbey (in 1134, 1136, and 1137 respectively), but there is little charter evidence to suggest that any of these individuals had a particularly strong relationship with the abbey in life. In 1117x1136, Richard fitz Gilbert confirmed and enhanced his father's grants to Llanbadarn Fawr (a dependency of Gloucester),[175] but his other acts of religious benefaction were directed towards his own foundations at Tonbridge (Kent) and Stoke by Clare.[176] Evidence for Payn fitz John's connection with Gloucester is also slight. His father and brother gave minor grants to Gloucester during Serlo's abbacy,[177] and he and his wife (Sybil de Lacy) both patronised the Gloucester dependency of St Guthalc's. However, Payn was far more generous to the other de Lacy foundation at Llathony, and while Sybil did patronise Gloucester (as mentioned above) she did so after Payn's death, so is not evidence for her husband's relationship with the abbey in life.[178] As with Richard fitz Gilbert, Payn's burial at Gloucester does not appear to be the result of a strong pre-existing relationship with the community, or at least a recoverable one.

There is also no immediately obvious reason why Robert Curthose was buried in Gloucester. The sparse details surrounding Robert Curthose's death in Cardiff and his subsequent burial has meant that historians have only been able to guess why he was buried in St Peter's.[179] The fullest record is in John of Worcester's chronicle, where it is recorded that following his death Robert 'was brought to Gloucester and was buried with great honour in the pavement of the church which is before the altar.'[180] William M. Aird has argued that the nature of Robert's burial, and the location of his tomb at the high altar, meant that in death Curthose retained 'great honour', and that his status was recognised and deemed worth commemorating.[181] Aird is unsure who would have selected Gloucester:

175. *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 74-75, nos. DXLVIII-DLI.

176. Crouch, "Clare, Richard de"; Christopher Harper-Bill and Richard Mortimer, eds., *Stoke by Clare Cartulary: BL Cotton Appx. xxi* (Suffolk Records Society, 1982-84).

177. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 114.

178. Sybil de Lacy's grant is printed in Welcore St. Claire Baddley, *A Cottleswold Manor: being the history of Painswick* (Gloucester: John Bellows, 1907), 55; see too 56, where Baddley discusses this dating. While Baddley believed Sybil was Hugh de Lacy's niece, I agree with Wightman that she was his daughter. See Wightman, *The Lacy Family*, 175 and notes.

179. See Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 276-77, 277, n. 179 for contemporary recording of Curthose's death and burial.

180. 'Glaornamque deportatus, in pauimento ecclesie quod est ante altar, magno cum honore sepelitur.' *John of Worcester*, 212; and my translation.

181. Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 277, and generally 276-281.

Robert Earl of Gloucester (Curthose's nephew) may have wished to honour his uncle's status as a hero of the First Crusade; and we might suppose that Henry I was unlikely to risk burying his brother in Normandy in case it reignited any opposition to his rule in the duchy.[182] Robert Curthose's preference, if ever stated, was not recorded. It is clear that Robert had only a minor relationship with the abbey before his imprisonment in 1106: the *Index* records that in 1097 he granted one hide at Aspertone to the abbey,[183] something which he cannot have done in person since that year he was fighting in the Holy Land.[184] Given the burial of both Richard fitz Gilbert and Payn fitz John in Gloucester only a couple of years after Robert Curthose, there emerges a pattern of prominent or powerful men being buried in the church, despite little evidence of previous benefaction.

The circumstances surrounding the deaths of these men may have contributed to their burials in the abbey. Each of them died relatively near to Gloucester,[185] and in the case of Richard fitz Gilbert and Payn fitz John, possible alternative locations for their burial, St Padarn's in Llanbadarn Fawr and Llathony *Prima* respectfully, were perhaps unavailable while Wales was in revolt.[186] However, a body could be transported long distances to its determined resting place.[187] Crucially, there is no evidence to suggest that any of these burials were contested, suggesting that Gloucester was a deliberate choice. Rather than Gloucester's proximity to where these people died, it may actually been its relatively distant status which made it available for these prestigious burials. Westminster abbey's closeness to the centre of royal power cast such a large shadow that little lay patronage could be cultivated, at Gloucester by the 1130s it may have been the opposite. Gloucester's diminishing royal importance may have allowed the abbey to offer something different in the south Marches and appeal to regional, rather central power. This may explain Payn and Richard's burials in the abbey, where these powerful Marcher lords could be buried with fitting decorum. In turn, Gloucester's status may have meant that in 1134 Robert Curthose could be buried in the abbey with honour and prestige, but safely removed from centres

---

182. Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 279.

183. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 58, and discussed above in footnote 72 on page 229.

184. For Robert's movements in that year, see Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 168-180.

185. Richard fitz Gilbert was killed in at Grwyne Fawr, between Abergavenny and Talgarth (Crouch, "Clare, Richard de"); and Payn fitz John in an unspecified location in Wales. *John of Worcester*, 228-29.

186. Llanbadarn Fawr was lost in 1136, and only a matter of months after Payn's death, Miles of Gloucester moved some monks from Llanthony to Gloucester on account of the difficulties they were facing from the uprising. Wightman, *The Lacy Family*, 184.

187. For example, Henry I's from Lyons to Reading (discussed in Green, *Henry I*, 219), and Geoffrey III de Mandeville from Chester to Walden priory (discussed in Daniel Power, *The Norman Frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 328-29.

of power and (by 1134) royal ceremony.

These burials also suggest an ongoing policy at the abbey to secure relationships and status through the placement of secular tombs. Active strategy is visible in the disputes over Radulf and Miles' bodies, but it is also suggested in the locations of Robert, Richard, and Payn's graves. According to Aird, Curthose's burial at the high altar meant that 'the deceased would be a presence at each celebration of the mass'.[188] Consequently, this tomb would serve as a continual reminder of the abbey's status as the burial site of such an important figure. Payn and Richard's burial in the abbey's chapter house was also symbolically significant. The chapter house was one of the few places where talking was allowed within the monastic precinct and it held the daily communal meetings at which matters concerning the abbey were discussed, readings made from the *Rule of St Benedict*, and the dead commemorated. The chapter house was also often the site of abbatial burial.[189] Megan Cassidy-Welch argued that burial in the chapter house blurred the domains of the living and the dead: the ideas of communal memorialisation which were practiced in the daily chapter meetings were visually linked to the dead 'who lurked underfoot and who were named and made present in the world.'[190] In Gloucester's chapter house these dead included Marcher lords, who became ever present in the abbey's daily life and ongoing communal identity. This was as much an internal as an external action. The chapter house could also be open to the laity for admissions of confraternity, when gifts were bestowed, the sealing and witnessing of charters, testimonies of miracles, and funerals (as seen in John of Worcester's description of Payn's, attended by Miles de Gloucester and many others).[191] Members of the laity visiting the abbey's chapter house would have been reminded by these tombs of how secular lordship within the March was commemorated and maintained at Gloucester.

In the period 1100 to 1170 Gloucester was losing out to rival monastic institutions, particularly Llanthony *Prima* and *Secunda*. Some of Gloucester's strategic responses directly targeted the particular challenge from the Augustinians. It remains difficult to pin down the precise differences between twelfth-century Augustinians and Benedictines, although Janet Burton has argued that 'lay patrons may have been attracted by the notion that the canons, as men in orders yet still

---

188.   Aird, *Robert Curthose*, 279-80.
189.   For the chapter house's significance for burial, see Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, 86-89, and generally Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 165-66.
190.   Megan Cassidy-Welch, *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 116.
191.   Kerr, *Monastic Hospitality*, 170-73; *John of Worcester*, 228-29.

clerics following the apostolic life, could be thought to have a wider social function than monks who were vowed to a life inside the cloister.'[192] It is possible to make assumptions about Gloucester's interpretation of the competition they faced from the Llanthony foundations: as described by Gerald of Wales, Llanthony *Prima* offered a life of remote asceticism to members; both Llanthony *Prima* and *Secunda* maintained relationships with important secular patrons, including the de Lacys and the de Gloucesters; and it is possible that the canons could provide a more social and pastoral interaction with the laity than St Peter's monks could offer. St Peter's could do nothing about its geographical location, but, perhaps in direct response to the Augustinian challenge, it found ways to make itself relevant socially and politically within the March. The abbey sought to build relationships with lay families across multiple generations through heiresses and the admission of members into the community, and by promoting the abbey as a site for burial and commemoration.

Gloucester's geographical location may have been particularly important to the community surviving the challenges of the twelfth century. The abbey's position near to the Welsh March provided two senses of remoteness from central authority: physical, and political, the latter of which was borne from the 'extensive prerogatives' Marcher aristocracy was granted in exchange for securing the frontier.[193] This particular status may have had a number of effects on patronage. In his investigation of the Norman Marches, Daniel Power observed that the Marcher aristocracy was motivated by endemic and pervasive localism when choosing which monastic houses to patronise and/or to be buried in.[194] Such was the case for Gloucester, which seemed to benefit from the aristocracy of the south Welsh Marches' preference for houses within the frontier zone. Gloucester's draw to these individuals was surely enhanced by the architectural magnificence of the early twelfth-century abbey: the great nave (which was completed in early decades of the century) made the abbey 'the monastic capital of the south march and of Gloucestershire'.[195] Due to its remoteness from central authority, the abbey was also able to free itself from the shadow of monarchy. On account of

---

192. Burton, *Monastic and Religious Orders*, 55. For the differences between canons and monks, see Caroline Walker Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studied in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982), 22-58; Christopher N. L. Brooke, "Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century," *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985): 109–29.

193. See Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 4 and notes. See too *ibid*, 2-5 for a summary of historiography related to medieval frontiers, and likewise Jamroziak, *Survival and Success*, 1-39 in particular.

194. Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 334, and generally 301-34.

195. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 83. For the architectural development of the abbey see Heighway and Bryant, *The Romanesque Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester*.

their proximity to the instruments of royalty, neither Winchester cathedral priory nor Westminster abbey could be divorced from their royal associations, even in the face of declining patronage from England's rulers. In contrast, Gloucester Abbey, within a first few decades of the twelfth century appears to have been able to adapt to its decline in royal attention. It refashioned itself for Marcher aristocracy, and in doing so effectively negotiated both its changing status and the new challenges it faced from religious changes within its environs.

When striking comparisons between the experiences of Winchester Cathedral, Westminster Abbey, and Gloucester Abbey in the twelfth century it is essential to acknowledge the differences between the surviving materials. Gloucester's records of lay donations are vastly greater than Westminster's and Winchester's combined. Nevertheless, it is apparent that in many ways Gloucester's experience of 1100 to 1170 was similar to, and in some ways more extreme than, Winchester and Westminster's. It too faced a steep decline in royal attention, and rising local competition from new religious orders. Perhaps more effectively than Westminster and Winchester, Gloucester succeeded in forging a fresh appeal to new lay donors and weathered the storms of the twelfth century. This discussion will now turn to what other means the abbey may have pursued in order to reinforce its identity during this period. The next sections analyse Gloucester's creative literature through a consideration of its hagiographical productions and the creation of diplomatic forgeries.

2 VITA SANCTI DUBRICII

This section will examine Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Dubricii* (Life of St Dyfrig) to assess how and why a monk of Gloucester was writing the *vita* of a Welsh saint. It will be shown that Benedict used this text to compose a history of Gloucester's locality, and refashioned this saint to respond to specific and political concerns of the 1130s and 1140s.

Before the twelfth century Dyfrig was a relatively obscure saint. His earliest reference is in the seventh- or eighth-century *Vita I S. Samsonis*, in which he is referred to as a saintly British bishop.[1] A Bishop Dyfrig is recorded in the *Annales Cambriae* where his death is dated to 612,[2] and he is also mentioned within Rhygyfarch's late eleventh-century *Vita S. Dauid.*[3] In the early twelfth century Dyfrig's cult rapidly grew in prominence through the machinations of Bishop Urban of Llandaf (1107-1134) and the production of the *Liber Landauensis* (*Book of Llandaf*) which includes the first *Vita* of Dyfrig (hereafter, *Vita Prima*) and records of the privileges Dyfrig gained for the see of Llandaf when he was its first bishop.[4] Dyfrig is also an important figure within Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*Historia Britanniae*) where he appears as archbishop of the City of Legions (Caerleon, Gwent), the principal church in south Wales.[5] Benedict's *Vita Dubricii* closely follows the accounts of Dyfrig found in the *Book of Llandaf* and *Historia Britanniae*, but through the collation of his sources Benedict created a new version of Dyfrig's life and deeds.

The *Vita Dubricii* has been the subject of a small amount of previous study, and has never been considered within the context of twelfth-century Gloucester. This neglect is largely a result of the text having been considered as an inferior, redacted version of its sources, as well as the assumption that it was written for the community at Llandaf cathedral where ever since 1120 Dyfrig's relics had

---

1. John Reuben Davies, *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales* (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003), 85.

2. John Williams ab Ithel, ed., *Annales Cambriæ* (London: Longman, 1860), 6.

3. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 85-6.

4. For a fuller analysis of Urban's ambitions, the development of his see at Llandaf, and the production of the *Liber Landauensis*, see Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*. See too, Christopher N. L. Brooke, "The Archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff, and Caerlon-on-Usk," in *The Church and the Welsh Border*, ed. D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986), 16–49.

5. Dyfrig is mentioned in the *Historia Britanniae* §s 101, 120-130, 143-56. See too, Brooke, "The Archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff, and Caerlon-on-Usk," 16-17.

been interred.[6] The latter argument has been advanced most recently by Joshua Byron Smith who argued that the *Vita* was written for Bishop Nicholas of Llandaf (1148-1183) in order to bolster Dyfrig's cult at the cathedral.[7] Hitherto, Smith's analysis has been the most extensive. He provides key insight into how Benedict constructed the *Life* and, in particular, how King Arthur's life and deeds were used to enhance Dyfrig's saintly status.[8] Because of his conclusion regarding Llandaf, Smith does not consider the *Vita Dubricii* within the context of twelfth-century Gloucester and instead focuses on how Benedict's text can expose the early manuscript traditions of Geoffrey's *Historia Britanniae*.[9] This focus is conducted at the expense of a close reading of the text and its sources, which (as will be argued below) can cast considerable doubt on the *Vita*'s connection to Llandaf. Regardless, if it were not for Benedict's self-identification in the prologue there is nothing which immediately ties Gloucester to the text or the saint;[10] after the prologue Gloucester is not mentioned again.

In this way the *Vita Dubricii* is very different than the saints' lives produced at Winchester and Westminster. The texts produced at those communities, although idiosyncratic, were all *Lives* of saints who had a direct connection to the community and whose relics were buried within the churches. The same cannot be said for Gloucester and St Dyfrig. There is no evidence within the *Vita Dubricii* or any other surviving source to suggest that Gloucester had ambitions to become a centre for Dyfrig's cult, and his feast day is not recorded in Gloucester's twelfth-century kalendar.[11] Nevertheless, a monk of Gloucester wrote a *Life* of Dyfrig. This anomaly allows us to ask new questions of Benedict's purpose of writing. In particular, it must be determined how and why this text was composed at Gloucester, and what circumstances it may have been responding to. This in turn then allows insight into how the community may have used this type of writing to promote its interests during a period of change and challenge.

Twelfth-century Welsh hagiography has been the focus of extensive investiga-

---

6. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 54 and notes, 55-64.

7. See Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii." Many of Smith's arguments can also be found in Summerson, "Gloucester, Benedict of." Smith appears to have reached his conclusions independently of Summerson.

8. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 64-66, and further below.

9. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 66-72 in particular. For the manuscripts of *Historia Britanniae*, see Julia C Crick, *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambrdige: D.S. Brewer, 1991). All quotes of Geoffrey's work here follow Neil Wright's translation (*Historia Britanniae*).

10. 'Benedictus habitu cenobii apostoli Petri Claudiocestriae monachus'. *Vita Dubricii*, 72.

11. Francis Wormald, *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*, vol. II: Ely-St Neots (London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1946), 39-55.

tion.[12] Robert Bartlett has argued that, in a similar way to the period after the Norman Conquest of England, the Anglo-Norman settlement of Wales prompted a spate of hagiographic activity as monastic houses reinterpreted their saints for new audiences or environments.[13] John Reuben Davies observed a similar trend in his detailed survey of Welsh saints' cults, and concluded that '[f]ar from being threatened by the incoming Norman barons, devotion to the native saints of Wales was a central part of the ecclesiastical recreation of the land in the twelfth century.'[14] The influence of Welsh saints outside Wales has also been charted. For example, Brian Golding investigated Shrewsbury Abbey's acquisition of the relics of St Winifrid from Gwytherin (Denbighshire), characterising this as a highly political act that reflected the 'negotiation of ecclesiastico-political ambitions and rivalries' of the cross-border region.[15] More generally, both Bartlett and J. R. Davies have observed a general fluidity across the English-Welsh border, with Davies arguing that regarding saints' cults, 'cultural transmission...passed as much from conquered to conqueror as the other way round.'[16] The *Vita Dubrcii* has not yet been considered in this Marcher setting, and Smith simply regards the *Life* as 'one of the few pieces of Welsh literature written outside of Wales'.[17] The coming discussion seeks to build a more nuanced interpretation of this text and the region in which it was crafted.

Benedict's *Vita Dubricii* only survives as a copy within a larger compilation of *Lives* of Celtic Saints, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv (henceforward, *Vesp.*), a

12. See for example, Brooke, *The Church and the Welsh Border*; Robert Bartlett, "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh saints in twelfth-century England," in *Britain and Ireland 900-1300: Insular responses to medieval European change*, ed. Brendan Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 67–86; Robert Bartlett, "Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales," *Speculum* 58, no. 3 (1983): 598–613; John Reuben Davies, "The saints of South Wales and the Welsh church," in *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, ed. A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2002), 361–395; Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*; John Reuben Davies, "The cult of saints in the early Welsh March: aspects of cultural transmission in a time of political conflict," in *The English Isles: cultural transmission and political conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100-1500*, ed. Seán Duffy and Susan Foran (Dublin: Fourt Courts Press, 2013), 37–55; J. Wyn Evans, "St David and St Davids and the coming of the Normans," *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* New Series, 11 (2005 for 2004): 5–18 and see the essays in J. Wyn Evans and Jonathan M. Wooding, eds., *St David of Wales: cult, church and nation* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Brewer, 2007) and those in Jane Cartwright, ed., *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003); Brian Golding, "Piety, Politics, and Plunder: Across the Anglo-Welsh frontier: Acquiring the Relics of Winifred and Beuno," in *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, ed. Emilia Jamroziak and Karen Stöber (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 19–48; amongst many others.
13. Bartlett, "Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales," 599 and *passim*.
14. Davies, "The saints of South Wales and the Welsh church," 395 and *passim*.
15. Golding, "Piety, Politics, and Plunder," at 32 and generally.
16. Bartlett, "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh saints," 77-80; Davies, "The cult of saints," 52.
17. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 53.

manuscript which was created at Gloucester and Monmouth.[18] This manuscript has been closely analysed by Kathleen Hughes. Hughes showed that *Vesp.* included *Vitae* of saints who were the patrons of churches in Gloucester's possession. These included the *Vitae* of Sts Cadog and Illtud from Llancarfan, St Gwynllyn (St Cadog's father), whose foundation church was in Newport, and St Padarn, the patron of the church at Llanbadarn Fawr which Gloucester held from c.1111 until 1136.[19] Hughes argued that this accumulation of material could only have occurred during a period in which there were opportunities for the transmission of texts.[20] Gloucester lost St Padarn's in 1136 following the Welsh uprising, the *Vita Prima Dubricii* was composed after Bishop Urban's death in 1134, and Robert Earl of Gloucester (and lord of Glamorgan) was in charge of Llandaf's temporalities until the vacancy was filled in 1140. Hughes therefore argues that the period 1130-39 must have had particularly favourable conditions for exchanges between Gloucester and communities in Glamorgan.[21] The texts collected during this period were then later copied into *Vesp.* in c.1200. Of these different *Lives* of Celtic saints, the *Vita Dubricii* is the only work which is known to have been created at twelfth-century Gloucester (rather than just copied or collected). This will therefore be the only *Vita* analysed here.

This investigation is aided by a series of editions. Benedict's text has been edited and translated by Joshua Smith, including an examination of where and how passages of the *Vita* drew on the *Book of Llandaf* and *Historia Britanniae*.[22] The *Book of Llandaf* was compiled in the second quarter of the twelfth century and contains saints' *Lives*, charters and documents related to the bishopric of Llandaf from the 'Age of Saints' through to the consecration of Bishop Urban. It survives as National Library of Wales, MS 17110E, which was edited to a very high standard at the end of the nineteenth-century.[23] As well as the *Vita Prima Dubricii*, in the *Book of Llandaf* Dyfrig also features in 'De primo statu Landauensis ecclesie' ('Concerning the Earliest Circumstances of the Church of Llandaf') in which he is presented as the founding-father of the Welsh church and the see of Llandaf.[24] Following 'De Primo' are ten charters regarding the

---

18. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV." BL, Cotton Vespasian A.xiv has been fully digitised by the British Library. Its other contents include extracts from monastic cartularies and a kalendar.

19. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV," 59-63 where further examples are listed and she discusses the kalendar in *Vesp.*, which also betrays a particular Gloucester influence.

20. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV," at 54, and *passim.*

21. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV," 61.

22. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii."

23. [NLW] MS 17110E has been digitised by the National Library of Wales; John Reuben Davies describes the edition in *Lib. Land.* as a 'near faultless, and elegantly produced, diplomatic edition', see Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 2.

24. Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 77, and 110-111; 'De Primo' is *Lib. Land.*, 68-71.

privileges and rights Dyfrig procured for the see. All of these documents were prepared in the 1120s specifically for their inclusion in the *Book of Llandaf*, and have been the subject of detailed study by J. R. Davies in particular.[25] Likewise, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britanniae*, which was completed by January 1139, has been edited, translated, and subjected to extensive examination.[26] The coming analysis will be conducted in two phases. First, through a close reading of *Vita Dubricii* and its sources, it will be established that it is extremely unlikely that Benedict's text was produced for the benefit of Llandaf. This conclusion will then allow a reappraisal of the *Vita Dubricii* within a new context.

2.1   Questioning the Llandaf Connection

The suggestion that Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Dubricii* was created for the community at Llandaf has been based on a series of assumptions.[27] Benedict's use of the *Vita Prima Dubricii* and Dyfrig's key importance in the *Liber Landauensis* do both suggest a connection between the text and the community at Llandaf. This connection may also have been personal: one of Bishop Urban's successors, Nicholas ap Gwrgan had been a monk of Gloucester before his promotion to bishop in 1148. Nicholas appears to have maintained a close relationship with the community at Gloucester, and a charter issued by Bishop Nicholas to Margam Abbey (Port Talbot) was witnessed by three monks from Gloucester, including one named Benedict.[28] Smith and Henry Summerson both argue that

---

25.   The charters (in which Dyfrig is explicitly described as archbishop) are *Lib. Land.*, 71-77. For an analysis of these texts and their dating, see Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 109-131.

26.   For the dating, see *Historia Britanniae*, vii-xi. Also see, among many others, Victoria Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place in Medieval England. From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Thomas of Erceldoune* (Cambrdige: D.S. Brewer, 2016); Julia Crick, "Geoffrey and the prophetic tradition," in *The Arthur of Medieval Latin Literature: The Development and Dissemination of the Arthurian Legend in Medieval Latin*, ed. Siân Echard (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 67–82; Martin Aurell, "Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain and the twelfth-century Renaissance," *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007): 1–18; Dennis H. Green, *The beginnings of medieval romance: fact and fiction, 1150-1220* (Cambridge: Medium aevum, 2002); John Gillingham, *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values.* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000); Siân Echard, *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Ian Short, "Gaimar's epilogue and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Liber vetustissimus," *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 69, no. 2 (1994): 323–43; Julia Crick, "Geoffrey of Monmouth, prophecy and history.," *Journal of Medieval History* 18, no. 4 (1992): 357–371; Julia C Crick, *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. III : A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts.* (Cambrdige: D.S. Brewer, 1989); Crick, *Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV.*

27.   See Summerson, "Gloucester, Benedict of"; and Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii."

28.   Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 61-2; Summerson, "Gloucester, Benedict of"; see Crouch, *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140–1287*, no. 25.

this Benedict is the author of the *Vita Dubricii* and that the charter to Margam is proof that the two men knew each other. Consequently, they conclude that Benedict wrote the *Life* during Nicholas' episcopate (1148–1183) in order to help him promote Dyfrig's cult at Llandaf.[29] Smith and Summerson found evidence for this theory within the text of *Vita Dubricii*. Before recounting three miracles related to St Dyfrig, Benedict described the saint as having enlarged the church of Caerleon with many properties 'but [he] also enlarged the church of Llandaf...with estates, many territories and fertile fields, and likewise he enriched it with woodlands and rivers teeming with fish.'[30] Smith and Summerson argue that this is one of only a few passages in the *Vita* which does not have any analogies in either the *Vita Prima Dubricii* or *Historia Britanniae*.[31] As Gloucester had no claims to Llandaf, Smith suggests that Benedict would only insert this passage to please Bishop Nicholas.[32] Smith thus argued that Benedict unified the two versions of Dyfrig in the *Liber Landauensis* and *Historia Britanniae* in an attempt to harmonise Dyfrig's characters and so align Llandaf's claims about Dyfrig with the increasingly popular *Historia Regum Britanniae*.[33]

None of these conclusions are based in strong historical evidence or a close reading of the text and its sources. The identification of Benedict the hagiographer with Benedict the witness to the Margam charter cannot be proved; consequently the hagiographer's personal connection to Bishop Nicholas also remains unproven. Further, Llandaf is not mentioned in the prologue to the *Vita Dubricii*, and Bishop Nicholas is not referred to in either the text or prologue. Benedict's only stated reason for writing the *Vita Dubricii* was to make the saint more well known.[34] It seems unlikely that if Benedict was indeed working for Nicholas, directly or indirectly, that he would not mention or allude to the bishop at least in the prologue. And the description of how Dyfrig enlarged Llandaf's properties is not in fact an invention of Benedict. In between copies of 'De primo statu' and the *Vita Prima Dubricii*, the *Vesp.* manuscript includes copies of the *Book*

29. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 61; Summerson, "Gloucester, Benedict of."

30. *Vita Dubricii*, 86-7: 'etiam Landauensem...prediis et pluribus territoriis atque fertilibus agris, siluis utique et piscosis amnibus locupletauit.'

31. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," at 61; Summerson, "Gloucester, Benedict of."

32. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 61.

33. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 62.

34. *Vita Dubricii*, 72-3: 'duxi lucubrationi insistere ipsiusque actus uel rudi stilo digerere...quo indocti etiam edita intellectu prout gnari perciperent...egre tuli ipsius gesta nesciri.'/'I considered it worthwhile to give myself over to long nights spent cataloguing Dyfrig's deeds...so that those yet learned, as well as the learned, would seize with their understanding what was written...I have scarcely been also to bear the fact that Dyfrig's deeds remained unknown'.

of Llandaf charters which enumerate the material gains Dyfrig acquired for the community at Llandaf.[35] It seems likely that the whole Llandaf dossier related to Dyfrig was available to Benedict when he was writing the *Vita*. The section on Llandaf is thus a summary of evidence found within the Llandaf charters.[36]

When Benedict rewrote the accounts of Dyfrig from *Book of Llandaf* and Geoffrey of Monmouth, he did not harmonise the narratives, but instead deliberately diminished the importance of Llandaf. This can be seen most clearly in how Benedict harnessed the accounts of Dyfrig's (arch)episcopal elections in the *Book of Llandaf* and Geoffrey of Monmouth. 'De primo' in the *Book of Llandaf* begins with the story of the introduction of Christianity into Britain and the rise of Pelagian heresy in the country. The bishops of Gaul sent Ss Germanus of Auxerre and Lupus of Troyes to combat the heresy, and after it had been defeated they consecrated Dyfrig archbishop of all the region of the southern British ('super omnes autem britannos dextralis partis britanni'). With the consent of King Meurig (an early king of south-east Wales), Dyfrig's episcopal seat ['podum'] was established at Llandaf.[37] In the *Historia Britanniae*, Dyfrig is elected to a different see, and under different circumstances. Geoffrey describes how the ruler of Britain, Aurelius Ambrosius, filled two vacant metropolitan sees during his Whitsun court. York went to Samson, and Caerleon to Dyfrig 'whom divine providence had singled out for that honour.'[38]

Benedict used both accounts in §s 7-8 of his *Vita* but with some crucial differences. In §8 (**<u>underlined and bold text</u>** follows *Historia Britanniae* exactly, and **bold text** follows *Historia Britanniae* in meaning):

> **Destitute siquidem fuerunt hac tempestate <u>due metropolitane sedes</u> pastoribus suis, <u>Eboraci uidelicet atque Vrbis Legionum,</u> que uulgo Caerligion nominatur; <u>quibus rex communi consilio</u> rectores restituere gestiens, <u>Eboracum Samsoni illustri uiro</u> sanctitateque <u>famoso</u> contulit, <u>Vrbem uero Legionum</u> archipresulatum inclito <u>Dubricio</u>, <u>quem diuina prouidentia</u> eidem sedi prelegerat.**

---

35. *Vesp.*, ff. 56r-61r.

36. For the transmission of documents between Llandaf and Gloucester, see Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV," 64 in particular.

37. *Lib. Land.*, 66. In the *Liber Landauensis* 'podum' is used as a synonym for 'cella' and 'ecclesia'. See Wendy Davies, *An Early Welsh Microcosm. Studies in the Llandaff Charters*, (London, 1978), 37-38, cited in Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 78 n. 13. Davies argues that although Meurig cannot be securely identified, the author was probably referring to Meurid Ap Tewdrig, the earliest king of Glywysing. See Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 77.

38. *Historia Britanniae*, 174-75.

> Since at this time two metropolitan sees had been lacking their incumbents – namely York and the City of Legions, which is commonly known as Caerleon – the king, eager to restore leaders to these cities with everyone's consent, bestowed York upon Samson, a very illustrious man who was famous for his holiness, and the archbishopric of the City of Legions upon renowned Dyfrig, whom divine providence had already selected for this very seat.[39]

Benedict follows Geoffrey almost exactly in this passage; the only deviation is when Benedict adds a gloss for the common name of Caerleon. In §7, his use of 'De primo statu' is less direct (<u>**underlined and bold text**</u> follows *Historia Britanniae* exactly, **bold text** follows *Historia Britanniae* in meaning, <u>*underlined and italicised text*</u> follows 'De primo statu' exactly, and *italicised text* follows 'De primo statu' in meaning):

> *Verum ut prenotati dogmatiste eandem heresim funditus eradicauerant, episcopos* ad roborandam orthodoxam fidem *in pluribus regionibus* <u>*consecrauerunt. Super omnes utique dextralis Britannie fines, beatum Dubricium*</u> **metropolitanum** *archipresulem* **ab Ambrosio Aurelio rege totius Brittonum monarchie, filio Constantino fratre quoque Vther patris Arthurii magni**, *necnon ab omni clero et populo illius archidioceseos canonice delectum* <u>consecrauerunt</u>

> When these aforementioned specialists in dogma [Bishops Germanus and Lupus] had completely destroyed the heresy, they consecrated bishops in many regions in order to strengthen orthodox faith. They consecrated blessed Dyfrig metropolitan archbishop over all the territory of southern Britain; he had been chosen by Ambrosius Aurelius–ruler of the entire kingdom of the Britons, Constantine's son, and the brother of Uther, who was the father of Arthur the Great–and also by all the clergy and people of that archdiocese.[40]

Benedict followed 'De primo statu' for the events preceeding Dyfrig's consecration and the region he presided over, but specifies that Dyfrig was appointed to a metropolitan see and replaced King Meurig with Ambrosius Aurelius. In doing so Benedict conflated the two narratives from *Book of Llandaf* and Geoffrey into one (new) story. Here following the abolition of the Pelagian heresy in Britain, Ambrosius Aurelius made Dyfrig archbishop of Caerleon. This conflation was to the detriment of Llandaf. Both Dyfrig's election to Llandaf and even the account of the church's foundation were removed. Any suspicion that Llandaf might have been the seat of the metropolitan archbishopric mentioned in §7 is dismissed in §8, where it is explicitly Caerleon.

---

39. *Vita Dubricii*, 80-81.
40. *Vita Dubricii*, 79-81. Following Smith's translation with some minor deviations.

Dyfrig's status as bishop of Llandaf is mentioned in *Vita Dubricii*, but it is secondary to his position as archbishop of Caerleon. Benedict only explicitly refers to Dyfrig as bishop of Llandaf once, when describing the saint's death: 'St Dyfrig once bishop of Llandaf, or rather archbishop of the church of the City of Legions, which is now called Caerleon'.[41] Smith prefers a translation of 'siue' with no distributing force, and suggests that by saying 'bishop or archbishop' Benedict was trying to square the different accounts of Dyfrig found in the *Vita Prima Dubricii* and *Historia Britanniae*.[42] However, in the context of how Benedict rewrote his source material 'siue' seems rather to point to a preferred alternative for Dyfrig as archbishop of Caerleon. When distilling the *Book of Llandaf* to describe the gains Dyfrig made for the church of Llandaf Benedict does not specified that this was done in Dyfrig's capacity as its bishop. In contrast, throughout the *Book of Llandaf* Dyfrig is described as archbishop of Llandaf.[43] Benedict's rather pointed devaluation of Llandaf's status was deliberate. It cannot have been done for the benefit of a Llandaf audience.

This section has undone the prevailing argument that Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Dubricii* was written for Bishop Nicholas and the community at Llandaf. Evidence from the text itself suggests that when Benedict combined his source material he knowingly diminished the role of Llandaf and focused instead on Dyfrig as archbishop of Caerleon. Llandaf was a centre for Dyfrig's cult, however this text was not written for Llandaf's benefit. Its removal from Llandaf raises fresh questions of this text and its production at Gloucester.

2.2 Benedict of Gloucester's Construction of St Dyfrig

This section seeks to explore how and why Benedict rewrote this saint's *Life*. This will be addressed first through an analysis of how Benedict constructed St Dyfrig, and then the context of the text's production. These insights will reveal what ambitions shaped the *Vita*'s compilation, and what specific circumstances at Gloucester this hagiographical text was addressing.

---

41. 'Sanctus Dubricius olim Landauensis episcopus, siue ecclesie Vrbus Legionum que nunc appelatur Caerlion archiepiscopus'. *Vita Dubricii*, 96-97. My translation.

42. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 62.

43. Dyfrig is described as archbishop of Llandaf in the 'De primo statu' and the accompanying charters. The rubricated heading for these sections (ff. 49r-50v of NLW, MS 17110E) is 'DVBRICIVS AERCHIEPISCOPVS'. For the archbishoprics of Caerleon and Llandaf, see Brooke, "The Archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff, and Caerlon-on-Usk."

Smith Chpts	Sections in *Vesp.*	Contents	Sources used by Benedict of Gloucester
1	**I**	Prologue	-
2	**II**	Claforog, Prince of Ergyng tries to drown his pregnant daughter, she is saved through God's intervention on account of the child she was carrying	*Vita Prima Dubricii* (*VP*), §I
3		Claforog tries to burn his daughter, and she is again saved. Dyfrig's birth, and the naming of his birthplace (Matle).	*VP*, §I
4		Dyfrig cured his grandfather of his mouth ailment; Dyfrig made heir to the land of Matle.	*VP*, §I & II
5		Dyfrig made heir of the entire island; his education, his base at Hentlan (Herfs.) from where his teaching shone forth across all of Britain.	*VP*, §II & III
6	**III**	How his teaching opened up heaven to the people of Britain; his power of healing; how he was the most famous man in Britain.	*VP*, §IV (part)
7		The degradation of Christianity in Britain through Pelagian heresy and the Saxons; Dyfrig appointed as archbishop of southern Britain, by Ambrosisus Aurelius, ruler of Britain.	'De Primo Statu' in *Book of Llandaf*, & *Historia Britanniae*, §101.
8		King Ambrosius' qualities; the building of a memorial on Mount Ambrius [Stonehenge]; Ambrosius appoints Dyfrig to the archbishopric of the City of Legions [Caerleon].	*Historia Britanniae*, §120-130 (summary)
9		Deaths of Kings Aurelius and Uther, and the coronation of Arthur by Dyfrig.	*Historia Britanniae*, §143.
10		Arthur's virtues; and, following Dyfrig's advice, his victory over the Saxons at Lincoln.	*Historia Britanniae*, §143, 144, & 145
11		Saxons besiege Bath; Arthur's speech to his soldiers.	*Historia Britanniae*, §146
12		Dyfrig's speech to the soldiers.	*Historia Britanniae*, §147
13		How Arthur, helped by Dyfrig's prayers, successfully defeated the Saxons	*Historia Britanniae*, §147 (part)
14		How, through the prayers and merits of holy Dyfrig, Arthur became the victor in all battles in many kingdoms.	*Historia Britanniae*, loose summary of §148-55

15	**IV**	Narrative returns to Dyfrig's worthies: how he enlarged the church of Caerleon, and also Llandaf. Dyfrig's visit to the monastery at Illtud (Glams.), and the miracles related to his promotion of [St] Samson.	*Book of Llandaf*, and *VP*, §IV
16		Dyfrig came to Samson's aid by miraculously refilling wine in the cellar at Illtud.	*VP*, §IV & V
17	**V**	Dyfrig cured the possessed daughter of a king, and how she went on to live a holy life.	*VP*, §VI
18	**VI**	Arthur's marriage to Guenevere, and how after much conquest the king returned to Britain.	*Historia Britanniae*, §152-155
19		Arthur's Pentecostal crown-wearing festival at Caerleon, at which Dyfrig crowned the king.	*Historia Britanniae*, §156 & 157
20	**VII**	How Dyfrig resigned from court to live as a hermit.	*Historia Britanniae*, §158
21	**VIII**	The consequent negative effects on Arthur's fortunes, including his fight against the Romans, and how his nephew Mordred took over the kingdom. In the last of the three ensuring battles, how both men mortally wounded each other.	*Historia Britanniae*, §158; 158-176. *N.B.*, *Historia Britanniae* is not followed for Arthur's death
22	**IX**	How Dyfrig resigned to live an anchoritic life on Bardsey island; his death from old age on 14th November.	Parts of *VP*, §VII
23		Bardsey Island's location and description.	*VP*, §VII
24		Continued description of Bardsey Island, and how further details of Dyfrig's miracles have been lost.	*VP*, §VII
25		How the author [Benedict] has added a summary of what he has found out about his burial and later translation.	Partly from *VP*, §VII
26	**X**	Dyfrig's death in 612, and how he was once bishop of Llandaf or rather [*sive*] archbishop of Caerleon. Dyfrig's translation from Bardsey Island to Llandaf in 1120 by Bishop Urban.	*VP*, §VIII
27		How the arrival of Dyfrig's remains ended the drought in Glamorgan, and how when his remains were washed they caused the water to boil. His relics were interred in the old monastery at Llandaf, which had been rebuilt.	*VP*, §VIII & IX

Table 10: *Contents of and sources for the Vita Dubricii*

The way Benedict wrote the *Vita Dubricii* can be seen in the layout of the *Vita*. Coloured and enlarged initials in *Vesp.* suggest that the work was divided into ten episodes.[44] Although this manuscript is not an autograph copy there is no evidence to suggest that the *Vesp.* scribe altered the structure or layout of the exemplar, and indeed a comparison between the structure of the *Vita Prima Dubricii* in *Vesp.* and in *Book of Llandaf* suggests that the *Vesp.* scribe dutifully followed his sources. The structure of *Vita Dubricii* is shown in Table 10. The divisions within the *Vita* are not numbered in *Vesp.* but here have been provided with Roman numerals to aid the discussion. The chapter numbers for Smith's edition of the text have also been included in the table for ease of reference. Table 10 reveals that when Benedict wrote the *Vita Dubricii* he copied, summarised, and spliced sections from the sources into a new composite narrative.[45] In his reconstruction Benedict created a series in phases to Dyfrig's life. Following the prologue, section II recounts Dyfrig's birth, education, and establishment of a residence from which he taught. Section III depicts Dyfrig's impact on Britain and its rulers, and sections IV and V provide proof of Dyfrig's sanctity through three miracle accounts. The next three sections (VI, VII, and VIII) return to the theme of Dyfrig's relationship with British royalty, and the final two (IX and X) bring the narrative to a close with Dyfrig's death and an account of his 1120 translation and related posthumous miracles.

The structure of the *Vita Dubricii* shows how Benedict carefully balanced his source material in order to harness their different constructions of Dyfrig. In the *Historia Britanniae* Dyfrig is simply a minor actor within the worldly affairs of the Kings of Britain. There is no overt declaration of Dyfrig's sanctity, the one exception to this is when he is described as 'beatus Dubricius' when he retired from King Arthur's court. In 'De primo' and the Llandaf charters within the *Book of Llandaf*, Dyfrig is Llandaf's first archbishop, and he plays an essential role in establishing and enhancing the see.[46] In contrast, in the *Vita Prima Dubricii* Dyfrig's episcopal status is only mentioned in passing; instead the text focuses on presenting him as a saintly teacher and healer.[47] Except for the Llandaf/Caerleon problem, these accounts are not contradictory. Nevertheless, Benedict appears to

---

44.   *Vesp.*, ff. 71r-77r. In comparison, Smith's edition of the *Vita Dubricii* is divided into twenty-seven chapters. Although not explicitly stated, it appears that these divisions are an editorial decision from Smith. They are not based on any indications in the sole surviving manuscript.

45.   The identification of Benedict's sources shown in Table 10 largely follow Smith's analysis in Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii." The exceptions are the *Liber Landauensis* as a source for parts of §15, and the differences between *Vita Dubricii* and *Historia Britanniae* for §21 (Smith's chapter numbers).

46.   Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, particularly 77-81.

47.   *Vita Prima Dubricii*.

have sought to balance his sources' secular and saintly constructions of Dyfrig. As shown in Table 10, Benedict alternated between the *Vita Prima Dubricii* and Geoffrey of Monmouth. This, I think, was to mediate their differing emphases. For example, he sandwiched sections IV-VI (which are predominantly about King Arthur) between Dyfrig's miracle in sections IV-V and the account of his death and posthumous miracles in sections IX-X. This careful combining of material is also seen within sections. At the beginning of section III Benedict follows the *Vita Prima Dubricii* for the effect of Dyfrig's teaching on the spiritual welfare Britain. This theme is then continued via the 'De primo statu' when Dyfrig is elected to the archbishopric in the aftermath of the Pelagian heresy, thereby directly linking Dyfrig to the country's religious orthodoxy. It has been seen how in adapting 'De primo statu' Benedict recast Dyfrig's election within the context of Geoffrey of Monmouth's history of Britain. This alteration (in addition to diminishing the Llandaf connection) allowed the narrative to transition to Dyfrig's relationship with the kings of Britain, as given in Geoffrey's narrative and the rest of section III. In this section, and the rest of the text as a whole, Benedict harnessed his source material to create a composite text which was far more than a redacted version of its sources. In *Vita Dubricii* Benedict created a new version of this saint's life.

A key element in Benedict's new construction of Dyfrig was his presentation as a saint of national religious and political importance. This is first introduced at the beginning of section III, and then is built upon in the rest of the section which described how Dyfrig was urged by the leaders of Britain to quickly crown Arthur king in the face of an imminent Saxon invasion; Dyfrig did so at Silchester. Dyfrig was then instrumental in Arthur's victory over the Saxons, first through his counsel and then a battle-field speech.[48] Twice Benedict states that King Arthur's success rested on Dyfrig.[49] At the end of section III, in a passage with no parallel in his sources Benedict states that only through 'the prayers and merits of holy Dyfrig' did Arthur conquer and subdue kingdoms from the Alps to Iceland.[50] And in section VII Benedict accounts Dyfrig's resignation from the court as the direct cause for Arthur's change of fortunes: 'when [Arthur] lost the protection of most holy Dyfrig, he never rested from the disturbance of

---

48. *Vita Dubricii*, 82-87.

49. Smith also recognises these passages [Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 65-66], but does not consider them within the bigger structure of the *Vita* nor the other sections of the *Vita* not related to Arthur.

50. 'Hoc utique modo isdem rex almi Dubricii precibus et meritis in cunctis preliis uictor extiterat'/'And so with the prayers and merits of holy Dyfrig, the king [Arthur] became the victor in all battles.' *Vita Dubricii*, 86-7.

battles as long as he lived, until he himself lay dead in war.'[51] This assertion is underlined in the following section (VIII) in which Benedict greatly abbreviates Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's downfall to more directly associate it with Dyfrig's departure. Consequently, Dyfrig became a central figure within the history of Britain as written by Geoffrey of Monmouth. As noticed above, Benedict prioritised Dyfrig's status as Archbishop of Caerleon over Llandaf's claims, and diminished the *Book of Llandaf*'s emphasis on Dyfrig's significance for the early see of Llandaf. Benedict made no attempt to reconcile Galfridian times with this Llandaf history. By positioning Dyfrig in Geoffrey's history, Benedict rejected Llandaf's claims to the historical Dyfrig.

Benedict not only crafted his own version of Dyfrig, but also made his own Arthur. Prior to the *Vita Dubricii* Arthur had appeared as a minor stock figure in Welsh hagiography, often set in opposition to the saint when the hagiographer used the king's fame as an aid in the narrative's exposition.[52] It is of significance here that King Arthur also features in William of Malmesbury's *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, which was written in c.1130 and dedicated to Bishop Henry of Blois.[53] J. Rider has argued that Geoffrey of Monmouth's work changed any flexibility in Arthur's character, making the king no longer the malleable figure of Welsh legend and therefore unavailable for moral exposition.[54] Following Rider, Smith argued that Benedict took the newly fixed elements of Arthur (his remarkable success but ultimate downfall) and attributed them to Dyfrig.[55] This can be seen in several passages from the *Vita*, including those from sections III and VII quoted above. Smith argued that by making Arthur's success reliant on Dyfrig, Benedict both emphasised Dyfrig's sanctity and also capitalised on the contemporary appeal of Geoffrey's work by making the saint a part of Arthurian history.[56]

A closer reading of Arthur's depiction in the *Vita Dubricii* suggests that Benedict did not follow Geoffrey of Monmouth's construction of the king precisely; instead he made the king a deliberately passive character. Throughout the *Vita Dubricii*

---

51. 'At ubi sanctissimi Dubricii patrocinio destituitur, quoad uixit numquam a pugnarum uexatione quieuit, donec et ipse bello occubuit.' *Vita Dubricii*, §21.
52. See Echard, *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition*, 197-200 in particular, and Jeff Rider, "Arthur and the Saints," in *King Arthur Through the Ages*, ed. Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake Day, vol. 1 (Garland Publishing Inc.: New York & London, 1990), 3–21. Also discussed in Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 65.
53. William of Malmesbury, *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation, and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, ed. John Scott (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1981).
54. Rider, "Arthur and the Saints," 17 in particular.
55. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 65-66.
56. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 66.

Arthur relies on Dyfrig's prayers and depended on his counsel. Before Arthur's first victory over the Saxons, Benedict inserted the statement that Arthur only travelled to Lincoln to fight the invading forces upon Dyfrig's advice.[57] In contrast, following Dyfrig's departure from Arthur's court, after taking counsel the king is 'roused' ('animatur') by others to fight the Romans - a decision which eventually lost him his kingdom.[58] Arthur's lack of agency within the *Vita* is further underlined by Benedict's omission of the *Historia Britanniae*'s emphasis on Arthur's martial prowess.[59] Benedict also differs from Geoffrey of Monmouth in how he depicts Arthur's death. In the *Historia Britanniae*, Geoffrey had simply stated that Arthur was mortally wounded at the battle of Camlann and then taken away to the island of Avalon to have his wounds treated.[60] In the *Vita Dubricii* Benedict provided his own narrative for Arthur's death: in the third battle between Arthur and Mordred's forces, Arthur

> was lethally wounded by Mordred in a swordfight; Arthur, nonetheless, was more powerful, and charging upon Mordred he immediately struck him down, and he sent him with many of his men to hell. Thus they both lay dead with the wounds they had given each other.[61]

There is no known source for Benedict's account for Arthur's death,[62] and it may have been created by Benedict. Its effect within the narrative is two-fold.

---

57. 'communicatoque sancti Dubricii consultu', *Vita Dubricii*, 82-83. Cf. Smith translation as 'Dyfrig's judgement'. This specific episode is also discussed by Smith, who simply says that it indicated how Benedict felt that the saint should be consulted on military matters in addition to ecclesiastical ones [Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 65].

58. *Vita Dubricii*, 92-93.

59. See for example, Geoffrey's description of Arthur's battle versus the Saxons, *Historia Britanniae* §147, in comparison to *Vita Dubricii*, 84-87.

60. *Historia Britanniae*, §178: 'Sed et inclitus ille rex Arturus letaliter uulneratus est; qui illinc ad sananda uulnera sua in insulam Auallonis'.

61. 'ad ultimum uero consertis gladiis Arthurus a Modredo letaliter sauciatur. At ille robustius in Modredum irruens extimplo prostrauit, atque cum multis suorum in cocitum direxit. Sicque mutuis occubuere uulneribus.' *Vita Dubricii*, 94-95

62. It has been suggested that the sub-group of texts (which includes the *Vita Dubricii*) that deviate from Geoffrey of Monmouth to include a single combat element between Mordred and Arthur were all ultimately influenced by Henry of Huntington's '*Epistola ad Warinum*', which he wrote in c.1139. Benedict's account of Arthur's death is not very similar to Henry's, and I doubt that Henry's account was an immediate source for Benedict. It seems instead that Benedict's and Henry's deviation from the *Historia Britanniae* were both the product of a reticence to leave the question of Arthur's death (or return) open to debate. For discussions of Arthur's deaths, see Richard Barber, "The "Vera Historia de Morte Arthuri" and its place in Arthurian Tradition," in *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001), 101–113, 106 in particular; R. H. Fletcher, *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*, Studies and Notes, Philology and Literature X (Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906), 118-121, at 121 for Benedict's version; N. Wright, "The place of Henry of Huntingdon's "Epistola ad Warinum" in the text-history of Geoffrey's of Monmouth's "Historia regum Britannie": a preliminary investigation," in *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge in Memory of Ruth Morgan*, ed. G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville (Woodbridge, 1991), 71–113; and for the '*Epistola ad Warinum*', *Hist. Anglorum*, 580-81 in particular.

First, the Arthur of the *Vita Dubricii* is unequivocally dead. By writing his own version of Arthur's death, Benedict sidestepped any ambiguity in Geoffrey's account and rejected the possibility for Arthur's return, a tradition which was prevalent even before Geoffrey's text was written.[63] Second, Arthur's death serves as the ultimate proof of Dyfrig's central importance in the king's reign. Benedict's subtle reshaping of Arthur made the king's success a result of Dyfrig's sanctity, rather than just a reflection of it. This reworking shows that even after Geoffrey of Monmouth's work some aspects of Arthur's life and death were still available to be manipulated by twelfth-century hagiographers.

A final emphasis of Benedict's work emerges through his construction of Dyfrig as a local saint of the March and south Wales. Throughout the *Vita Dubricii* Benedict glosses locations from Dyfrig's life in such a way to make them more identifiable to the reader. For example, where the *Vita Prima Dubricii* has Dyfrig visiting 'locum beati Ilduti', the *Vita Dubricii* has 'cenobium uenerabilis Iltudi abbatis quod in Glamorcanti prouincia';[64] and where the *Vita Prima Dubricii* identified Dyfrig's birthplace as 'Matle', Benedict explained that due to a corruption in the English, the location is also known as 'Meddelega'.[65] The many instances of such glossing suggest a consistent interest in place. This may be due to the particular geography of Dyfrig's life. Figure 14 (on page 270) reveals that much of Dyfrig's life was conducted within south Wales and the March.[66] Other locations are mentioned in the *Vita Dubricii* (such as Stonehenge, Silchester, and Bardsey Island), but the saint's early life and miracles were all conducted within the region and lands along the river Wye. This was the district of Archenfield, once the Welsh kingdom of Ergyng, and the south coast of Wales. The saint's particular connection to Archenfield is also suggested by the three churches (besides Llandaf) which held a dedication to the saint in the twelfth century.[67] In draw-

---

63. See *Gest. Regum*, 520-21 and '*Epistola ad Warinum*' in *Hist. Anglorum*, 580-81. And Barber, "The "Vera Historia de Morte Arthuri"''; Wright, "Henry of Huntingdon's "Epistola ad Warinum"."

64. *Vita Prima Dubricii*, 81; *Vita Dubricii*, 86.

65. *Vita Prima Dubricii*, 79: 'auulgo matle apellatus est'; *Vita Dubricii*, §3: 'Britannice Matle appelatus est,...qui modo per corruptionem Anglici idiomatis Meddelega nominatur.'

66. In Figure 14 Gloucester's properties and locations in the *Vita Dubricii* are numbered by their westerly distance from Gloucester Abbey. The map was prepared with the assistance of Professor P. England, and using the GMT software P. Wessel and W. H. F. Smith, "Generic Mapping Tools: Improved version released," *EOS Transactions Amererican Geophysical Union* 94 (2013): 409–410, which uses the publicly available CIA Data Bank (WDB) for coastlines and rivers. The course of the River Wye, which is not in the WDB, was digitised from a 30-metre topographic map prepared from data obtained by the Shuttle Radar Topographic Mission T.G. Farr et al., "The Shuttle Radar Topography Mission," *Reviews of Geophysics* 45 (2007).

67. For Archenfield, see Glanville R. J. Jones, "The portrayal of land settlement in Domesday Book," in *Domesday Studies: Papers read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, ed. J. C. Holt

ing particular attention to these locations Benedict appears to be emphasising Dyfrig's relationship to the southern March and south Wales.

Through his careful reworking of the sources, Benedict of Gloucester reinvented two Dyfrigs: the important archbishop of the *Historia Britanniae*, and the founder of Llandaf and holy healer of the *Liber Landauensis* and *Vita Prima Dubricii*. He transformed Dyfrig into a local saint with the upmost importance in the spiritual and political affairs of his day. In the wake of Geoffrey of Monmouth, Dyfrig's present in the *Vita Dubricii* was co-terminous with Arthurian times. Llandaf's competing timeline (and particular historical connection to the saint) was written out. Benedict rooted his Dyfrig in Geoffrey's historical narrative, but also rewrote Arthur himself in such a way to further underline Dyfrig's sanctity and holiness.

2.3 The Purposes of the *Vita Dubricii*

The above analysis exposed the ways in which Benedict wrote his *Vita Dubricii*; this section explores his purposes for writing. As the Llandaf connection has been dismissed, it needs to be determined why a monk of Gloucester was creating a new *Vita* of a saint who had no obvious connection to the community. This section will first establish why Benedict rewrote Dyfrig, before then suggesting what circumstances the Gloucester text may have been responding to.

In the prologue Benedict gives an explicit reason for his writing. Benedict says that he is unable to bear that Dyfrig's life remains unknown, especially as St Dyfrig 'in his time was the most outstanding of all the saints dwelling in Britain'.[68] He continues:

> Wherefore, I felt no shame to compile and unite [compilare et coadunare] with my pen what I discovered about this particular father in authentic documents of the fathers.[69]

The references 'to compile and to unite authentic documents' is not merely rhetor-

---

(Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987), 183–200, 192-95. The three further churches with dedications to St Dyfig, are discussed in Davies, *The Book of Llandaf*, 84-85, where he argues that these three dedications were relatively recent to the twelfth century.

68. *Vita Dubricii*, §1.

69. 'Quocirca que in autenticis patrum digestis super eodem patre repperi compilare et coadunare stilo non erubui.' *Vita Dubricii*, §1. My translation.

ical. It points to the *Book of Llandaf* and Geoffrey of Monmouth, and their contrasting versions of Dyfrig, as well as a desire to resolve their differences. Indeed the verbs 'compilare' and 'coadunare' point to activity which Benedict may have considered highly necessary.

A shared geography between Gloucester Abbey's properties and Dyfrig's life may further explain the community's connection to and interest in the saint. As shown in Figure 14, many events from the *Vita Dubricii* were within a few miles of the lands which the abbey held.[70] The connection between saints and Gloucester lands can also be traced in other activities from the abbey. In her analysis of *Vesp.*, Hughes showed that between approximately 1130 and 1139 Gloucester was collecting and copying Welsh hagiography from areas in which they had interests.[71] This included, for example, the *Vitae* of Sts Cadog and Illtud from Llancarfan (which is "Gloucester's properties" #16 on Figure 14). Hughes argued that the accumulation of these Welsh texts reflected the 'pseudo-historical research and literary activity' which could emerge where Anglo-Norman and Celtic traditions met.[72] Benedict's interest in the geography of Dyfrig's life, and the connection between that geography and Gloucester's possessions all appear to be a reflection of the same activity which prompted the community to collect saints' *Lives* from across Wales. In contrast to the collected texts, *Vita Dubricii* is an original composition, but Benedict's need 'to compile and to unite' the versions of Dyfrig he found in his sources points to a similar pseudo-historical motivation.

There may be another reason why Dyfrig specifically appealed to Gloucester: the saint's role in Arthur's crown-wearing ceremony at Caerleon. This passage stands out in the *Vita Dubricii* because Dyfrig only has a minor role in the events. Benedict starts section VI with a summary of Arthur's successful conquests, after which Benedict describes a grand Pentecostal crown-wearing ceremony at Caerleon.[73] Dyfrig is mentioned only once in this passage when it was described how Arthur was crowned by archbishops, and

> since the court was being held in blessed Dyfrig's diocese, he took

---

70. Two Gloucester properties west of the Severn are not included on Figure 14–Llanbadarn (Ceredigon) and Dungleddy (Pembrokeshire)–because both were lost following the Welsh uprising of 1136, before the *Vita Dubricii* was written. Their inclusion on the map would not effect the general conclusion that abbey lands were close to locations mentioned in the *Life*.

71. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV," 64 in particular. Joshua Smith offers a slightly different dating from Hughes (see Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 59 n. 24), however his argument is partly based on his assumption that the *Vita Dubricii* served Llandaf and Bishop Nicholas, as discussed above.

72. Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV," 54.
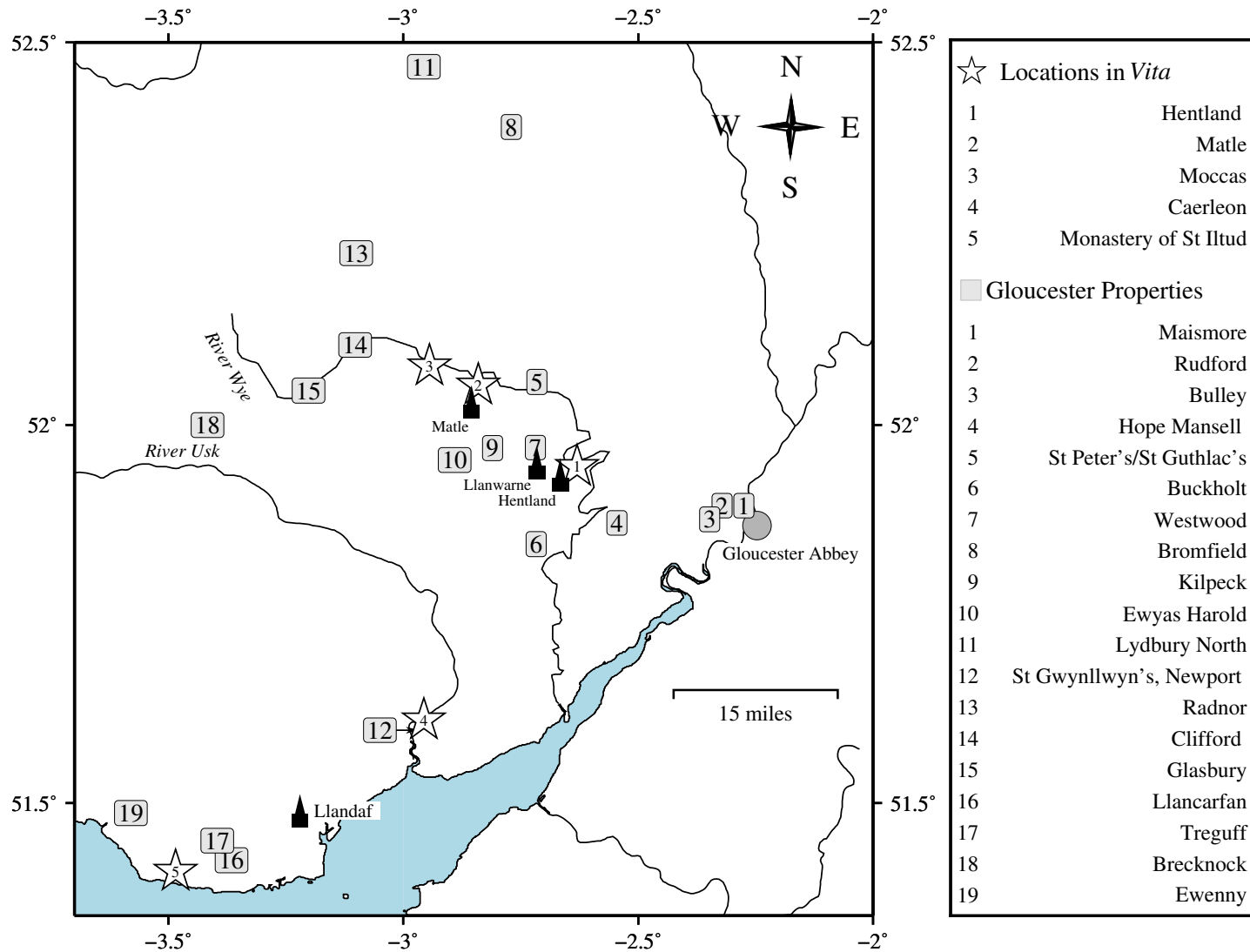
73. *Vita Dubricii*, 90-93.

Figure 14: *Locations in the Vita Dubricii, twelfth-century churches dedicated to St Dyfrig, and Gloucester's twelfth-century properties lying west of the River Severn*

responsibility for his part, and he was prepared for mass and for complying with royal custom.[74]

After this court Dyfrig retired to live an eremitical life and the king's fortunes diminished rapidly. The crown-wearing ceremony therefore serves as the zenith in Arthur's narrative within the *Vita Dubricii*, as it also does in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Britanniae*.[75] Benedict's description of the crown-wearing ceremony closely follows that found in Geoffrey of Monmouth and it could be assumed that he was merely using his sources assiduously. However, Gloucester Abbey's role in eleventh-century crown-wearing ceremonies may have drawn Benedict's attention to this passage. Geoffrey of Monmouth's account of Arthur's crown-wearing ceremony is very similar to Geoffrey Gaimar's description of William II's 1099 Easter festival at Westminster.[76] The description of Arthur's festivities in the *Historia Britanniae* may have been based on the actual ceremony as held in post-Conquest England, such as at Gloucester. There had not been a crown-wearing at the abbey since Christmas 1099,[77] but there would have still been monks alive who remembered it. When rewriting Geoffrey of Monmouth's work Benedict must have been reminded of the past role his city and monastery had played in this royal ceremony.

Arthur's crown-wearing ceremony in the *Vita Dubricii* may have held additional significance in the later 1130s. In 1136 two Welsh princes Morgan and Iorwerth ap Owain killed Richard fitz Gilbert de Clare in an ambush and seized the extensive lands in Glamorgan, including the castles of Usk and Caerleon. In a charter from Earl Roger of Hereford issued in 1143x54, Morgan is referred to as king, suggesting that he had reclaimed the title that had died with his grandfather, Caradog. Caerlon remained at the centre of Morgan's domain until his death in 1158.[78] In 1136/7, when Geoffrey was writing the later stages of his *Historia*, Caerleon must have been a place of great (and possibly portentous) political interest, and where once again there was a British king.[79] John Gillingham suggested that it was this military and political context which made Geoffrey of Monmouth place Arthur's

---

74. 'Beatus...Dubricius, quoniam in sua diocesi curia tenebatur, paratus diuinorum celebrationi regalibusque obsequelis huiusce rei curam suscepit.' *Vita Dubricii*, 90-91.

75. For the crown-wearing ceremony within the *Historia Britanniae*, see Brooke, "The Archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff, and Caerlon-on-Usk," 16-17.

76. Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis = History of the English*, ed. and trans. Ian Short (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 324-31.

77. Biddle, "Seasonal Festivals," 'Appendix A', 64.

78. John Gillingham, "The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*," in *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, ed. John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000), 19–39, where is argument in regards to Caerleon is 34-39. For 1136 see p.35 and notes. Earl Roger's charter is printed in *Heref. Charters*, 36.

79. Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 36.

court at Caerleon, rather than London where Arthur's father Uther had worn his crown.[80] Robert of Gloucester, to whom the *Historia Britanniae* was dedicated, would have been very aware of these circumstances. With the emerging struggle for the English throne, Robert had little choice but to view the Welsh as potential allies and indeed Morgan and the Welsh were to be instrumental in the Battle of Lincoln and Stephen's capture in 1141.[81] Gillingham argued that in the context of the Welsh uprising Geoffrey used his *Historia* to give 'a distinguished pedigree' to peoples who were beginning to play a role in British politics.[82]

Gloucester Abbey would have had a different perspective on these circumstances. With Caerleon no longer in Robert of Gloucester's hands, Arthur's crown-wearing ceremony in the *Vita Dubricii* and its imitation of Anglo-Norman practice could read as a reminder of Gloucester's role in such ceremonies. It was also an advert for its current availability. St Dyfrig's, albeit minor, involvement in this ceremony provided Gloucester an opportunity to rewrite the story of Arthur's magnificent crown-wearing in order to implicitly promote their abbey as a site for contemporary ceremonies. Benedict's inclusion of this passage may therefore point to an ambition from the abbey to restart Gloucester's role as a site for crown-wearing.

In general, Benedict's use of Galfridian history suggests an audience and context for *Vita Dubricii*'s construction. Geoffrey of Monmouth's reasons for writing have long been the subject of scholarly debate,[83] however, when considering Benedict's text it is the readership and reception of the *Historia Britanniae* that is far more relevant.[84] The *Historia Britanniae* was hugely popular and of the surviving 217 manuscripts approximately a third were written in the twelfth century.[85] In her monumental investigation of the *Historia Britanniae*'s manuscript tradition, Julia Crick argued that a core component of the text's popularity and circulation in the medieval period was its 'functional value': it was of interest in areas undertaking historiographical activity, and 'served as a historical source, accompanying legal

---

80. Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 34.
81. Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 36.
82. Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 36-37.
83. See especially Gillingham, "Context and Purposes"; Crick, "Geoffrey of Monmouth, prophecy and history."; Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place*; Paul Dalton, "The Topical Concerns of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie: History, Prophecy, Peacemaking, and English Identity in the Twelfth Century," *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005): 688–712; Crick, "Geoffrey and the prophetic tradition"; and Aurell, "Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain and the twelfth-century Renaissance."
84. For the manuscript traditions, circulation, and readership of the *Historia Britanniae*, see particularly Crick, *Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV*. For a discussion of the *Historia Britanniae*'s early reception, see too Dalton, "Topical Concerns," 704-8.
85. Crick, *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. III : A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts.*; see too *Historia Britanniae*, vii-viii and notes.

and historical documents.'[86]   Robert of Gloucester is mentioned in all named dedications for Geoffrey's work, often alone but in some alongside Waleran of Meulan (earl of Worcester from 1138) and in one with King Stephen.[87] We know that Robert of Gloucester had a copy of the *Hitoria*: Geoffrey Gaimar received a copy of the text from Robert via Walter Espec.[88] Victoria Flood has argued that Geoffrey's *Historia* had a clear geo-political perspective: it was addressed to powerful men with political interests in the west of England and the March but also with concerns regarding their place in the Anglo-Norman realm as a whole.[89]

In his rewriting of Dyfrig, Benedict appears to be responding to the reception of Geoffrey's work, and even taking advantage of opportunities offered by a Galfridian narrative for his *Vita*. By placing St Dyfrig into Galfridian history, Benedict positions his saint within an increasingly popular narrative of British history.[90] Benedict's Dyfrig is a saint of the March, but he also is centrally important in the spiritual and political welfare of Britain, in particular for Arthur's famous success. Each of these emphases would have been recognisable and relevant to lords such as Robert of Gloucester who had knowledge of Geoffrey's version of British history, and held vested interests in the both the Welsh March and the whole realm.[91] Indeed Robert would have been precisely the person to petition for a reinstatement of Gloucester's role as a crown-wearing abbey. Arthur's death in the *Vita* provides further evidence that the text was written for the Anglo-Norman political elite. Gillingham has argued that in the twelfth century the figure of Arthur and the promise of his return could be perceived as a threat to Anglo-Norman rule.[92] By narrating his death in the *Vita Dubricii*, Benedict presented Arthur as a great historical figure but with no potential to threaten Anglo-Norman hegemony. Benedict used Geoffrey of Monmouth's work to laud this distinctly local saint within a history of Britain that was both recognisable and palatable to the political elite within the south March.

Building on these conclusions, we can offer a new date for the *Vita Dubricii*. Several factors suggest that the *Vita* was composed in the late 1130s or early 1140s. The *Vita Prima* was completed after 1134 and Geoffrey's text before

---

86. Crick, *Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV*, 224.
87. *Historia Britanniae*, ix-x, and §3. For the different dedications of the *Historia Britanniae* see Crick, *Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV*, 5-6 and 113-20.
88. Geffrei Gaimar, *Estoire des Engleis = History of the English*, 348-51.
89. Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place*, 42-43.
90. This is also suggested, in Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 66, but only in the superficial context of *Historia Britanniae*'s popularity.
91. Following Flood's conclusions on Geoffrey of Monmouth's political geography, as above.
92. Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 33.

January 1139. Given Benedict's desire to compile and unite the different accounts of Dyfrig he may have started his work soon after the community came into possession of these texts. Michael Reeve charted two major manuscript families for *Historia Britanniae*, Φ and Δ, from which all extant texts ultimately derive.[93] Of the two, Δ preserves the best reading of Geoffrey's work. Smith's analysis of the *Vita Dubricii* showed that Benedict's exemplar largely follows Φ, but in one passage agrees with Δ. Benedict's use of Δ for this passage could attest to the earliness of his exemplar, which appears to predate the corruption of the passage as found in the rest of Φ.[94] Smith is reluctant to draw firm conclusions from this evidence, merely concluding that Benedict's exemplar came from a small family of *Historia* manuscripts originating in southwestern England and the southern Welsh Marches or western Hereford.[95] As shown above, and in contrast to Smith's conclusions, *Vita Dubricii* should be regarded as a Gloucester text and therefore also associated with the collection of saints' *Vitae* at Gloucester from the 1130s. Given this pseudo-historical activity at Gloucester the community may have indeed had an early exemplar of the *Historia*.

By recognising the *Vita* as a product of the late 1130s or early 1140s, two further emphases are exposed. The text appears to be responding to new opportunities emerging from the period's political changes. In addition to the consequences of the Welsh uprising, from 1139 the Empress Matilda and her allies were based in south-west England. This was precisely the context and audience for Gloucester to push for its role in contemporary political display. Secondly, the *Vita* appears to be responding to a sense of Britishness apparent in this period. According to Flood, Geoffrey of Monmouth wrote a history of a united British kingdom;[96] and in the late 1130s or 1140s Robert of Gloucester struck alliances with the Welsh, using a large Welsh force against Stephen in 1139, 1141, and 1144, and as early as 1136 conducted peace talks with Welsh magnates, even receiving formal homage from King Morgan ab Owain.[97] Benedict's *Vita* appears to be responding to precisely this environment. In his rewriting Benedict built a saint of the Welsh March into British history, and in doing so appears to respond to a sense of

---

93. *Historia Britanniae*, xii; and Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 69-70.

94. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 70.

95. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 70-71.

96. 'Geoffrey wrote a united Anglo-Norman kingdom into being, and warned of its dissolution in the face of alternative visions of the British future': Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place*, 43; and for 'the British hope' in the *Historia Britanniae* see Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 37-39 in particular.

97. Crouch, *The Reign of King Stephen*, 58-59, R. R. Davies, *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 47; Gillingham, "Context and Purposes," 36-37. Also cited in Flood, *Prophecy, Politics and Place*, 42.

British insular hegemony which seemed about to become a reality in his present.

$$*$$

This analysis of the *Vita Dubricii* has revealed new findings regarding both this text and twelfth-century Gloucester. It has been argued that counter to Smith's analysis this text was a product of Gloucester and not Llandaf. At first glance its production at Gloucester is surprising: the abbey was not a centre for Dyfrig's cult and there is nothing in the *Vita* which explicitly tied the saint or his life to the community. Although there are multiple reasons for writing hagiography, in the twelfth-century we might typically expect hagiographical texts to be produced at communities with a direct connection to the saint, perhaps through possession of relics or by holding a dedication to that saint.[98] This was certainly the case for the hagiography produced at Westminster and Winchester, which was all related to saints whose cults were centred at those abbeys. At Gloucester, this text appears to have had different motivations. Felice Lifshitz argued that when saints' *Lives* do not appear to serve a functioning cult and are unrelated to any liturgical veneration, the distinction between "hagiographical" and biographical/historical genres disappears.[99] This seems to be the case for Gloucester and Dyfrig, and it is perhaps in the context of historical writing that the *Vita Dubricii* is best understood. Benedict's motivations for writing the text betray a particular historical imperative: in the prologue he expresses a need to remedy the variant accounts of Dyfrig's life and in doing so he fully rooted the saint within a narrative of British history. In turn, the saint's relevance for Gloucester appears to have been rooted in how he (as a historical figure) related to the lands and practices in which the abbey had contemporary interests. It appears that the *Vita Dubricii* should be recognised as a piece of historical writing through which Benedict rewrote the life of a saintly man of the March in order to glorify the saint and the region. This was not directly about the monastic community at Gloucester, but instead its wider connections and histories.

Benedict's *Vita* also shed light on how Gloucester employed this type of writing in pursuit of its ambitions. Firstly, this text shows that in c.1135x1145 Gloucester

---

98. See discussions of hagiography's purposes see, for example, Hayward, "Saints and cults"; Robert Bartlett, *Why can the dead do such great things? Saints and worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013), 510-13; Simon Yarrow, *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006).

99. Lifshitz, "Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative," 96-97 in particular.

was writing hagiography as well as collecting it. Second, in addition to being a piece of local history writing, this type of writing was designed to meet contemporary concerns. Through the description of Arthur's splendid crown-wearing ceremony Gloucester advertised itself as a centre for local secular power, and in his use of Galfridian history Benedict employed a recognisable and relatable narrative in which to position his saint. Moreover, Gloucester was writing reactively: Benedict's reinvention of Dyfrig tapped into the specific local and national circumstances of the 1130s and 1140s.

Benedict's reasons for, and way of, writing Dyfrig also point to elements of Gloucester's identity during this period. Both this *Vita* and the other hagiographical texts collected at Gloucester from the 1130s suggest that the abbey was interested in the saintly traditions of the land and churches they held in Wales and the March. While it has been suggested that this literary activity could be the product of a general Anglo-Norman interest in the Celtic past,[100] the *Vita Dubricii* suggests a more nuanced perspective. The *Vita* is a piece of historical reinvention whereby a distinctly local saint was written into a national dialogue. That that nation was Britain, and the locality both Wales and March, points to a more porous environment for the construction and reception of this text that has been previously offered: Joshua Smith regarded the *Vita Dubricii* as simply a piece of 'Welsh literature written outside of Wales'.[101] However, as shown in both the way Dyfrig was constructed and Benedict's intended audience, it is more accurate to see this text not as literature of England or Wales, but of the March.[102] It suggests a specific arena where Gloucester's identity was based and where its ambitions were targeted. The *Vita Dubricii* displays the intense interest that Gloucester had in the geography of the March, as well as the opportunities emerging from its access to Wales' traditions and history. It appears that the rewriting of this history from the perspective of the March and Britain was central to Gloucester's contemporary ambitions and identity.

That Benedict of Gloucester's *Vita Dubricii* only survives in one manuscript (*Vesp.*) suggests that it never found much appeal or readership outside of the abbey. This may also suggest that the work was very much of its moment. Maybe, in a similar fashion to modern scholars, twelfth-century readers regarded Benedict's work as an inferior and redacted version of the *Vita Prima Dubricii* and Geoffrey of Monmouth. Nevertheless, as an original creation, the *Vita* gives

---

100. As argued in Hughes, "Cotton Vespasian A. XIV."
101. Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii," 53.
102. See Davies, "The cult of saints" for saints' cults in this setting. Davies does not discussed Benedict's *Vita Dubricii*.

insights into previously unknown activities from Gloucester Abbey in this period. This text reveals how Gloucester wrote local history to promote itself during a moment of rapidly changing politics, and also how it based its ambitions and identity firmly within the March. This way of writing and these findings will now be further contextualised through another literary activity: the production of diplomatic forgeries.

3   FORGED CHARTERS

This section will analyse Gloucester's forged charters. This investigation includes identifying the contents of this corpus, and establishing its nature. This collection of forgeries will then be used to explore the different ways the abbey was writing, and what contemporary circumstances these creations may have been responding to.

Twelfth-century Gloucester has long been recognised as a centre of forgery production.[1] The community's forging activities are best known via correspondence from the mid 1150s between Gilbert Foliot (then Bishop of Hereford) and Roger de Pont l'Évêque, Archbishop of York. York and Gloucester had been embroiled in a long-running dispute regarding estates removed from the abbey in the 1050s by Archbishop Ealdred.[2] Following a series of trials, the argument was finally settled in 1157. In the course of one of these hearings, Gilbert and Roger appear to have exchanged heated words, during which Roger had raised an 'accusatio falsi' against Gloucester relating to 'literis corruptis'.[3] This charge appears to have been justified: a series of forgeries have been identified as twelfth-century products of Gloucester. These forgeries include lengthy confirmation charters in the names of William I, William II, Henry I, and Stephen, as well as a shorter charter in the name of William I written by Scribe L of Westminster Abbey. Some of these forgeries have been identified and briefly analysed by Christopher Brooke, who argued that Gloucester's forgeries were all related to the disagreement with York, and were most likely produced in the final decade of the dispute, c.1148-57.[4] Brooke's conclusions have been followed ever since.[5]

Gloucester's forgeries have never been considered as a corpus, subjected to a close textual analysis, nor their production investigated within the broader context of twelfth-century Gloucester. Yet as shown by the analysis of Westminster Abbey's forgeries and the production of the *Codex Wintoniensis* at Winchester Cathedral Priory, the ways in which a community rewrote its diplomatic past can reveal keen insights into how an institution employed writing to support their corporate

---

1.   See Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester"; Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 124-146; Clanchy, *From Memory to Written Record*, 319.

2.   These were the manors of Oddington, North Leach and Standish (Glos.).

3.   See Morey and Brooke, *Letters and Charters*, letters 128-130; and Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 124-25.

4.   See Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 61-63, in particular. And Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 124-146.

5.   See for example *RRAN* i, nos. 152, 155, and 157.

identity and to react to the difficulties of its present.

The nature of the Gloucester forgeries presents some methodological difficulties. First the corpus has not yet been fully defined. Brooke and the editors of the *Regesta Regum* volumes flagged certain charters as suspicious, but only four—a forgery of Stephen and three in the name of William I—have previously been diagnosed as twelfth-century forgeries.[6] In Section 3.1 of this chapter it will be argued that a further five forgeries should be added to this collection. Of these nine forgeries, at the most only three survive as originals (two of which are heavily damaged), therefore limiting any palaeographical insights. The rest only survive as copies in thirteenth- or fourteenth-century cartularies, which bring their own issues in regards to how closely these texts might relate to the original documents.[7] Unlike Westminster Abbey and Osbert of Clare, none of the Gloucester texts have a known drafter or scribe (besides the identification of Scribe L for one of the forgeries). The forgeries have been edited to varying degrees and in separate editions. As a result there is little consistency in analysis and some crucial errors, including two separate texts in the names of William I and William II being confused for the same document.[8] While these difficulties present some limits to the analysis, they are far from insurmountable. Even as cartulary copies or damaged originals these texts can be compared and their possible purposes reconstructed. And as products of the community rather than of one mind or one scribe they can provide a wider appreciation of the community's concerns across the century.

This analysis will fall into two parts. First, Gloucester's corpus will be defined, including several charters which have hitherto not been recognised as twelfth-century forgeries. These texts will then be compared with each other (and briefly to those created at Westminster Abbey) in order to identify both their purposes and dating. As Gloucester's corpus of charters has never been previously identified, this analysis will refer to the numbers allocated to these forgeries in Table 11, on page 280.

---

6. These four are *RRAN* i, 152; 157; ii, 379a; iii, 345. An example of a Gloucester charter which has previously been regarded as suspicious but not fully condemned as a forgery is *RRAN* ii, 1041. See Table 11, on page 280 below.

7. The details of Gloucester's forgeries are collected in Table 11. The earliest surviving versions of the King Stephen and Bishop Simon forgeries may be the original or a later copy; these possibilities are discussed further below.

8. See *RRAN* ii, *errata and addenda to volume I*, 379a, and discussed further below.

Forgery	Donor	Purported date	Prea-mble	Contents	Earliest surviving version	Edition	Previously defined as a forgery?
1	Henry I	1114	*n/a*	A pancarte comprising of a series of charters related to a range of royal and lay grants. It includes some witness lists	Gloucester, Cathedral Library, Froucester Reg. 1397, 12r [C14th cartulary]	*RRAN* ii, 1041	No
2	William I	1086	A	Confirmation of a range of estates, including the lands appropriated by York	TNA, C150/1, 85r-v [C13th cartulary]	*RRAN* i, 157	Yes
3_A	William II	1096	A	Confirmation of a range of estates, including the lands appropriated by York	Froucester Reg. 1397, 25r	*RRAN* ii, 379a	No
3_B	William II	1096	A	Confirmation of a range of estates, including the lands appropriated by York - an interpolated version of *3_A*	Froucester Reg. 1397, 10v	*RRAN* ii, 379a	No
4	Bishop Simon	1147x1148	*n/a*	Letter to Archbishop Theobald seeking confirmations of Gloucester abbey possessions according to attached charter (*5*)	BL Cotton Charter xvii.3 (damaged) [mid-C12th]	*EEA: Worcester*, 55	No
5	Stephen	1138	A_2	Confirmation of extensive range of Gloucester estates, including the lands appropriated by York	BL Cotton Charter xvii.3	*RRAN* iii, 345	Yes
6	Archbishop Theobald	1147x1148	*n/a*	Confirmation of *5* in almost identical terms.	TNA, C150/1, 37v	*Saltman*, 111	No
7	William I	1072-1087	*n/a*	Confirmation of the return of the lands removed by the archbishop of York	Hereford Cathedral DC Archive, A. no. 1168; hand is Scribe L [mid-C12th]	*RRAN* i, 152	Yes
8	William I	1078-83	A	Confirmation of a variety of estates	TNA, C150/1, 180r	*RRAN* i, 155	Yes

Table 11: *Twelfth-century forgeries produced at or for Gloucester*

3.1 Gloucester's twelfth-century forgeries

The details of all nine twelfth-century Gloucester forgeries are recorded in Table 11.[9] The first forgery analysed here, Forgery *1*, has not previously been firmly identified as a twelfth-century forgery. *1* is a confirmation charter from Henry I related to a series of royal and lay grants to the abbey. According to its dating clause the charter was issued by Henry at Gloucester in 1114.[10] Although suspicion is cast on *1*'s authenticity by the final donation in the charter (from Adeliza de Gloucester) which was not granted until 1125,[11] neither the editors of *Regesta Regum* nor Brooke regarded this text as a forgery, focusing instead on how the majority of the charter's contents represent genuine benefaction to the community. However, *1* resembles no other genuine surviving charter of Henry I: its contents consist of a series of charters (including witness lists and locations of promulgations) stitched together into a new format. Its confected nature can be seen in Appendix C (on page 313) which shows five different records from Gloucester which were the sources for the forgery. In particular, following a brief preamble, the beginning of *1* follows word for word a charter which the abbey received from Henry I in c.1104.[12] The same charter is then followed for most of *1*'s closing clauses. Two other confirmation charters of Henry I emerge as the sources for two conveyances listed in the charter. In turn, the wording of two further grants in *1* very closely follow dated entries in the *Index*. These *Index* entries have no surviving corresponding charters for their grants, therefore, as discussed in section 1.1 of this chapter, it is likely that the source for these dated *Index* entries was most likely the abbey's twelfth-century annals. Consequently, it appears that the compiler of *1* copied entries from the annals into his forged pancarte.[13] Several shorter parts of the forgery have no identifiable extant sources but since many of these grants are accompanied by witness lists it can be presumed that these sections copied original documents.

The identification of these sources reveals the method of *1*'s compilers. A royal charter was used for the preamble and closing sources. In-between, excerpts of multiple acts of benefaction, from both the abbey's annals and charters, were copied in. In form, *1* is essentially a pancarte. Although *1* included the texts of

---

9. The definition of the different types of preambles are discussed on pages 282 and 283.

10. Froucester Reg. 1397, 12r; edited in *RRAN* ii, 1041.

11. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 82; BL, *Gregory of Caerwent*, fo. 197v. There is also a charter related to Adeliza's grant: *Historia et cartularium*, i, 188, no. LXXV.

12. Calendared and provided with a date in *RRAN* ii, 678; printed in *Historia et cartularium*, ii, 18-19, CCCCLIV.

13. See Appendix C, and section 1.1 of this chapter, from page 218.

genuine acts of benefaction, the composite charter is false in two regards. First in its overall form: the compilers forged a document to resemble a pancarte of Henry I. Second in its authentication, which was claimed through an invented interaction between the community and Henry I in 1114.

Forgeries 2, 3_A, and 3_B contain many overlapping features, and so will be considered together. Forgery 2 is a confirmation charter from William I also in the form of a pancarte and has been previously identified as a forgery.[14] It purports to have been issued in 1086 at the request of abbot Serlo and begins:

> Anno incarnationis Domini m° lxxx° vi°, ego Will(elmu)s rex Anglorum, petitione Serlonis abbatis de Glouc(estria) et quorundam optimatum meorum, concessi Deo et ecclesie sancti Petri in Gloucestria...[15]

This preamble (which has been labeled preamble 'A') is repeated in several other Gloucester forgeries (see Table 11). Despite its dating, David Bates showed that the majority of lands listed within the charter (which include the return of the York lands) were actually only held by the abbey after 1086.[16] The charter is repeated nearly word for word in 3_A, which claims to have been granted by William II in 1096.[17] The editors of *Regesta Regum* ii considered 3_A to be a genuine charter, however many elements suggest otherwise: the charter does not resemble any other charter of William II to Gloucester, and it contained anachronistic details such as the grants of lands at Ampney and Framilode (Glos.), both of which Gloucester did not hold until 1126. These anachronisms grants also appear in the spurious 2.[18] 3_A has often been conflated with another charter in the name of William II, here called 3_B.[19] 3_B initially follows 3_A verbatim (besides from some slight reordering), but it then differs by ending with the details of thirteen properties held by Gloucester which are not listed in 3_A. 3_B therefore appears to be an interpolated version of 3_A (and therefore also 2) and, as a result, should be recognised as a different text.[20] Owing to their heavy overlaps, 2, 3_A, and 3_B

---

14. See notes to *RRAN* i, 157.

15. TNA, C150/1, fo. 85r-v. No witness list survives. Edited and printed in *RRAN* i, 157.

16. See Bates' notes to *RRAN* i, 157.

17. Gloucester, Cathedral Library, Froucester Reg. 1397, 25r; printed in *RRAN* ii, *errata and addenda to volume I*, 379a.

18. These lands are a mill at Framilode and half a hide at Ampney. According to dated entries in the *Index* (see *Historia*, i, 76 and 61, respectively) the abbey did not received these properties until 1126. This is also discussed by Brooke, but he conflates 2, 3_A, and 3_B as one document. See Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 60, and note 36.

19. This conflation is most likely a result of its entry in *RRAN* ii, (*errata and addenda to volume I*, 379a) where the two texts are simply regarded as different versions of the same charter.

20. Cf. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 60.

are clearly related to each other, but any possible source(s) are unknown. Brooke suggested that these charters followed a now lost charter of Henry I. Several grants listed within the William I and II charters are also recorded in a forgery in the name of Stephen (*5*, discussed below), but *2*, *3*$_A$, and *3*$_B$ reference confirmations given by Henry I or in his reign. Brooke took this as evidence that the charters in the names of William I and II started their textual lives as a confirmation charter of Henry I, which was then backdated twice, to 1096 and then 1086.[21] However, as any such Henry I charter does not survive (if it ever existed) I believe it is more accurate to regard *2*, *3*$_A$, and *3*$_B$ on their own terms.

Forgeries *4*, *5*, and *6* are also closely related to each other, and so will be considered together. *4* is a letter from Bishop Simon of Worcester to Archbishop Theobald of Canterbury seeking a confirmation of King Stephen's charter to Gloucester, a copy of which accompanied the letter; *5* is this confirmation charter from Stephen, and it begins with a version of preamble A and purports to date from 1138;[22] and *6* is Archbishop Theobald's confirmation charter, which follows *5* practically word for word. *5* is clearly a forgery. Although it purports to date from 1138, Brooke showed that the charter contained three donations from the 1140s, the latest of which was the grant of the church of St Leonard Stanley in 1146.[23] The statuses of Simon's and Theobald's charters are less certain. Brooke regarded both charters as genuine, dating from late 1147 or early 1148.[24] However, there are several reasons to regard both as part of the same forging activity as *5*.[25] The earliest copy of Stephen's charter survives together with Bishop Simon's letter, both are written in the same mid-twelfth-century hand, and Stephen's charter immediately follows Simon's letter without any break.[26] There is no evidence that Gloucester ever kept the "original" royal charter,[27] suggesting that *5* only ever existed with Bishop Simon's letter in a pseudo-inspeximus.

---

21. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 60 and notes.
22. The preamble is: 'ego Stephanus rex Anglorum anno regni mei tertio, petitione Walterii de Laci abbatis Gloecestrie et quorundam optimatum meorum, concessi et confirmavi ecclesie Sancti Petri de Gloecestria...' This version of the preamble is labelled 'A$_2$' in Table 11 on page 280.
23. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 61-64; and 67-70.
24. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 62, in particular. These charters are edited and printed in *EEA: Worcester*, no. 55, and Saltman, no. 111.
25. In the notes to *EEA: Worcester*, no. 55, Mary Cheney states that 'Martin Brett has shown strong grounds for believing that the whole dossier – Stephen's confirmation, Simon's letter and Theobald's confirmation – were forged at Gloucester *c.*1148 (*EEA Canterbury* ii, forthcoming).' I have not had access to Brett's arguments, and what follows is my own.
26. British Library, Cotton charter xvii.3. The endorsements are obscured due to the repairs made to the charter following damage suffered in the Cotton fire; *EEA: Worcester*, no. 55, notes.
27. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 62.

Further reasons to suspect *4* and *6* are found within the texts themselves. Stephen and Theobald's charters are so similar that at two points they share errors. First, in both charters, the grant of St Guthlac's (Herf.) is recorded as 'fratris nostri Roberti Herefordensis episcopi', a phrase that is only appropriate for Theobald's charter. Secondly, both charters confirm the stream which ran through the abbey 'ex dono et concessu antecessorum meorum regum', which would only be relevant for Stephen's charter.[28] Brooke took the first example as evidence that Stephen's charter was only prepared for Theobald's confirmation, which then in turn followed the forgery so closely as to include its own error.[29] However, I think it more likely that Stephen and Theobald's charters were both forged at the abbey, and the errors were a result of the compiler confusing which figure he was imitating. Individually these examples could be dismissed as errors in transcription which could have emerged at any point in these charters' copying. However, collectively they suggest that all three texts were part of one creative initiative. Beyond these textual inferences, it seems unlikely that Bishop Simon would have written his letter at all: as Morey and Brooke identified, Stephen's confirmation does not resemble a genuine charter issued by royal chancery, and is quite evidently a fogery.[30] In turn, it is unclear why Abbot Gilbert Foliot, who is named in Simon's letter, would require an intermediary given his close friendship with Theobald.[31] On the whole, this evidence strongly suggests that the whole dossier (*4*, *5*, and *6*) was a fabrication. It included not only archiepiscopal and royal confirmations, but also the necessary circumstances under which the community received Archbishop Theobald's charter, that is at the request of Gloucester's diocesan bishop, whose letter lent further support to the abbey's claims.

Forgery *7* is a short charter in which 'William I' restored and confirmed to Gloucester Abbey the manors of Northleach, Oddington, and Standish with all appertaining to them. The charter records that these estates had been unjustly removed from Gloucester, presumably (although not explicitly stated) by Archbishop Ealdred of York, in the 1050s.[32] This charter has previously been recognised as spurious. Bates showed that although the addressees and the witnesses could suggest a date of c.1072 or 1072x1087, there are chronological impossibilities including the mention of William fitz Osbern (who died in 1071) and Abbot

---

28. *RRAN* iii, 345; Saltman, no. 111.

29. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 62-63.

30. Morey and Brooke allude to this curiosity in regards to Simon's letter, but do not offer an explanation. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 126.

31. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 62. Again this oddity is mentioned by Brooke, but not resolved.

32. Hereford Cathedral, DC Archive, A, no. 1168; edited and printed in *RRAN* i, no. 152.

Serlo (who was not appointed until 1072).[33] Moreover, there is some evidence to suggest that these estates were not returned to the abbey so early: in Domesday they are recorded as being held by Archbishop Thomas (I) of York; and even Gloucester's *Historia* does not record the return of these properties until 1095.[34] In addition to these chronological errors, this charter was written by the Westminster forger Scribe L in his characteristic style and with a forged seal which is likewise typical of the Westminster school of forgeries.[35] Bates argued that this charter is unlikely to have 'any basis in an authentic writ of William I's reign'.[36]

The final Gloucester forgery, *8*, is far less accomplished than any of the other texts. The charter opens with preamble A, but is undated.[37] In the charter 'William I' confirms various lands to the abbey from both the pre- and post-Conquest period. As shown by Bates, the text is clearly forged: its witness list could suggest a date of 1078x1082/3, but it includes lands received after William I's death in 1087.[38]

3.2   The purposes of Gloucester Abbey's forgeries

The above analysis has defined the corpus of Gloucester's twelfth-century forgeries, including the identification of previously unrecognised forged royal and ecclesiastical charters. This section will now compare these texts to each other (and briefly to Westminster Abbey's forgeries) in order to further characterise the collection. The corpus can be broadly characterised by certain attributes that it does *not* possess. None of the forgeries are in the names of Anglo-Saxon kings, and none of the charters' contents seek to root the abbey's rights or privileges in the pre-Conquest period. In contrast, over fifty percent of Westminster Abbey's twelfth-century forgeries claimed to date to before 1066.[39] By only crafting forgeries in the name of post-Conquest authorities, it appears that the community

---

33.   See *RRAN* i, no. 152, and notes.

34.   See Bates' discussion to *RRAN* i, no. 152; *Historia*, 11-12; *Index*, 93.

35.   Bishop and Chaplais, *Facsimiles*, xxi-xxii, cited in *RRAN* i, no. 152; see too Chaplais, "Original Charters," 97.

36.   See notes to *RRAN* i, no. 152.

37.   "Ego Will(elmu)s rex Anglorum, petitione S(er)lonis abbatis mei de Glouecestre et quorundam optimatum meorum, dedi et concessi, et hoc presenti scripto meo confirmavi, Deo et ecclesie sancti Petri de Gloucestre(e)..." TNA, C150/1, fo. 180r; *RRAN* i, 155.

38.   See Bates' notes to *RRAN* i, no. 155.

39.   39 out of 77 twelfth-century forgeries which have been identified. See Mason, *Westminster Abbey Charters: 1066-c.1214*, Appendix; *RRAN* i-iii, and the above discussion of Westminster's forgeries.

at Gloucester had no ambitions to root its rights in the pre-Conquest period, suggesting that its ancient Anglo-Saxon origins were not a key component in the community's twelfth-century identity. Besides preamble A there is also no consistency in the contents, form, or message across the different forging initiatives. For example, forgeries *5* and *6* are vastly different from forgeries *7* and *1*, which are in turn very different from each other. This is again dissimilar from Westminster's forgeries, particularly those drafted by Osbert de Clare. Across multiple forgeries, Osbert constructed a consistent message regarding his abbey's status as the coronation church, the site of Edward the Confessor's tomb, and the repository of the royal regalia. A reason for this is difference is certainly related to the fact that there was no individual equivalent to Osbert at Gloucester. Regardless, the great variety in the Gloucester texts is striking.

The reason for this variety is that each of these forgeries were composed for different circumstances. The contents and emphases of forgery *1* suggest that it was created in the mid 1120s as a reaction to a slackening in the relationship between the abbey and key Marcher donors. Among the benefactors and witnesses in *1* there are prominent Marcher lords, such as Bernard of Neufmarché, Robert fitz Hamon, and numerous members of the de Gloucester family. In particular, the very end of *1* records Adeliza de Gloucester's grant of several properties in Gloucester. This donation is recorded in *1* with multiple witnesses, including Adeliza's son, Walter de Gloucester. As we have seen, the de Gloucester family had once been generous benefactors to the community but ceased to patronise the abbey in the second decade of the twelfth century. Adeliza's relatively small grant in 1125 was the first act of benefaction from the family in at least twelve years and was granted shortly before her death in 1126.[40] It may have been the significance of this renewal in benefaction which compelled the compilers of *1* to incorporate the chronological impossibility.

The importance of Adeliza's grant was not only the land, but the relationships it represented. This too is evident in the compilation of *1*. The inclusion of witness lists within the body of the charter, as is done in *1*, is unlike any other surviving twelfth-century Gloucester charter, real or forged, and must be regarded as the result of a deliberate policy from the compilers.[41] As seen in the *Codex Wintoniensis*, full witness lists in copies of diplomatic records can represent a

---

40. The previous recorded grant had been Walter de Gloucester's donation in 1107x1113. See *Heref. Charters*, no. 62. Adeliza's death in 1126 is recorded in BL, *Gregory of Caerwent*, [1126] fo. 197v.

41. The only exception is within *3B*, where, in the interpolated section, three witnesses are included following a gift from Helias Giffard. See *RRAN* ii, 379a.

way in which the community sought to commemorate the people involved in a given conveyance. By including all those individuals involved with Adeliza's benefaction, not only was that particular grant reinforced through its inclusion in a royal confirmation but the abbey's relationship with Adeliza and her family was also enshrined. Adeliza's grant is both the last and the latest in *1*, suggesting that the forgery was completed shortly after 1125, and before any other grants to the abbey could be added in. The community's renewed interaction with Adeliza's family would have also been particularly vulnerable in the years after her death in 1126, further galvanising the compilers to commemorate this relationship. This purpose and dating can be extrapolated onto the other contents of *1*. The de Gloucesters were not the only family turning away from Gloucester Abbey in the early twelfth century: by the 1130s, the community had also begun to lose the patronage of other prominent local landowners, including the de Hesdings, the de Coarces, and the de Lacys. The production of forgery *1* seems related to these circumstances. In its compilation the abbey commemorated, and thus sought to protect, not only its lands, but also its relationships with Marcher nobility just as these ties were beginning to slacken.

The three forged pancartes in the names of William I and William II (*2*, *3ₐ*, and *3_B*) can be approximately dated to the late 1120s to 1130s. Due to superficial similarities in form, and their shared preambles, these forgeries have been associated with the forged charter of Stephen (*5*).[42] However, there is very little textual overlap between these texts. For example, all of the charters record Hugh de Port's grant of Littleton (Hants.), yet in the William I/II pancartes it is recorded 'in Hantescira unam terram quam Hugo de Porth in suo obitu monachus effectus ipsi ecclesie dedit, et vocatur Liteltuna' and in Stephen's pancarte it is simply stated 'in Hantescira unam terram que vocatur Lyteltuna ex dono Hugonis de Portu'.[43] The differences between these two entries makes it unlikely that either was the direct source for the other. There are numerous further such examples between the texts, which together suggest that the William I/II and Stephen pancartes were the products of different creative endeavours. *2*, *3ₐ*, and *3_B* are likewise very different from *1*: of the fourteen properties in *1*, only three also feature in the William I and II pancartes.

The purpose and dating for forgeries *2*, *3ₐ*, and *3_B* can be traced in their specific contents. The three pancartes all included Wynebald de Ballon's grant of land in

---

42. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 61. Brooke also thinks that *5* and the William I and William II charters were composed at around the same time. This argument is dismissed below.
43. There are only some minor differences in spelling between the William I and William II pancartes. See *RRAN* i, no. 157, and ii, 379a; *RRAN* iii, 345.

Ampney Crucis (Glos.) which had been held of a certain Tovi. According to the annals and Wynebald's charter this grant was made in 1126,[44] thus providing a *terminus post quem* for *2*, *3$_A$*, and *3$_B$*. As argued in Section 1.3 of this chapter, in the 1120s Gloucester and Tewkesbury may have been competing for patronage in Ampney, and Winebald's grant includes the explicit statement that Gloucester received this manor before it came into Tewkesbury's possession.[45] As argued by Brooke, it may be because this grant was made in spite of Tewkesbury that the abbey's right to Ampney was backdated and included within the forged royal pancartes.[46]

More generally, the properties selected for inclusion in *2*, *3$_A$*, and *3$_B$* seem to be related to a change from around c.1130 in how the abbey recorded its donations. In *2* and *3$_A$* of the nineteen grants in these charters, fifteen were recorded in the *Index* with a specific date for the grant. None of these dated entries have a surviving related charter. As shown in Section 1.1, it is therefore likely that these fifteen grants were only ever recorded in the abbey's annals. The copying of these particular properties into these pancartes at this moment strongly suggests a certain anxiety within the community regarding how their benefaction had been recorded. It seems that the annals were no longer deemed sufficient to safeguard their properties. The pancartes *2*, *3$_A$*, and *3$_B$* were created to fashion a new type of record of their endowment, and filled a lacuna in Gloucester's documents.[47]

This anxiety in documentation is also reflected in other types of writing at the abbey. As argued above in section 1.1 of this chapter and shown in Figure 12 on page 221, from the abbacy of William de Lacy (1130-39) onwards there was a discernible shift from predominantly recording donations in the abbey's annals, to producing charters. The initiative which governed this change in record keeping could have also led the community to reexamine how its historic donations were recorded and ultimately to reformat their post-Conquest endowment, converting records in the annals into the pancartes of William I and II. If these two enterprises can indeed be linked, then the production of *2*, *3$_A$*, and *3$_B$* should be dated from c.1130-c.1146, with their *terminus ante quem* determined by the production of the forgery in Stephen's name (*5*), which represents a different initiative. Owing to the inclusion of the land in Ampney and the context of Gloucester's contest

---

44. *Historia et cartularium*, i, 61; 164, no. XXVIII.

45. "Et ego Wynebaldus testis sum quod haec facta sunt antequam monachi Theokesburiae habuissent manerium de Amenel." *Historia et cartularium*, i, 61; 164, no. XXVIII. See above, page 235.

46. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 63, n. 47.

47. The interpolations in *3$_B$* are not so based in annal entries, but equally the properties are largely unrepresented in extant charters, and may reflect a concern.

with Tewkesbury, the earlier part of this range is more likely.

Forgeries *4*, *5*, and *6* were most likely composed 1147x50 and in the context of the 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign. Although Gloucester may have felt secure in the heart of Angevin regional power in England, the situation rapidly changed following the death of Robert earl of Gloucester in 1147 and the Empress' departure from England the following year. In the aftermath of these events, several monastic communities produced forgeries in Stephen's name in order to protect their recently acquired properties in the face of a near-certain Angevin defeat.[48] Forgery *5* has a *terminus post quem* of 1146 (the date of the latest grant it includes), and Brooke argued that some of the abbey's recent gains (which were also included in *5*) may even have been dependent on the Angevin ascendency and Abbot Gilbert's loyalty to the Empress' cause.[49] Brooke argued that *5* was a product of the uncertain political climate of the late 1140s, and its use of the date 1138 allowed the abbey to root this charter in a time before the outbreak of civil war in south-west England and therefore a period in which the abbey could have successfully petitioned Stephen. *4* and *6* can be dated to a similar time: in the late 1140s-early 1150s monastic houses were increasingly seeking confirmation charters from Archbishop Theobald, who was deemed to be a more authoritative figure than Stephen during these tumultuous years.[50] The archbishop's authority in this moment could presumably be harnessed whether or not his charter was genuine. These three charters appear to be precisely a product of this environment. In this dossier the compilers invented two occasions for the confirmation of the abbey's endowment: the first, in *5*, at the beginning of Stephen's reign; the second in a later ecclesiastical confirmation. In both cases the authorities through which these confirmations were secured spoke to the particular circumstances of the late 1140s-early 1150s.

The purpose and dating of forgery *7* is again distinct from the other forgeries. Given its contents *7* is clearly related to the debate between York and Gloucester, and it seems likely that it was forged to backdate the abbey's claims to the disputed estates of Standish, Northleach, and Oddington - the only genuine charters regarding Gloucester's possession of any of these estates were confirmation charters from Kings Henry and Stephen, and these were solely related to the manor of Standish.[51] Scribe L's other forging activities help to date the production of

48. See *RRAN* iii, xvi-xvii; also discussed in *EEA: Worcester*, no. 55, notes.
49. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," where his discussion is 62-63. See too *ibid*, 67-70.
50. Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 62; and, in the context of Westminster Abbey's charters, Mason, *Westminster Abbey*, 303.
51. *RRAN* ii, 1305; iii, 350.

7. Besides his Westminster and Gloucester charters, Scribe L's hand has also been recognised in forgeries produced at Coventry and Ramsey.[52] The Coventry charter, in particular, has some similarities to *7*: it too is in the name of William I, bears a forged seal, relates to a small number of estates, and appears to have been created in order to backdate some of the community's rights.[53] Due to its reliance on a charter issued to Coventry from Stephen, Bates argued that Scribe L's forgery for this community must have been composed in 1145x1153.[54] Given the intensification of the York/Gloucester debate in the 1150s, a similar date for the production of *7* is certainly compatible.[55] This suggests that Scribe L was forging for multiple Benedictine institutions in the second half of Stephen's reign, and also that during the final years of their disagreement with York, the community at Gloucester was turning to outside, professional help to falsify their claims. Perhaps as suggested by Morey and Brooke, following the departure of Abbot Gilbert to the bishopric of Hereford in 1148, and having heard of better work being done at Westminster, Gloucester lost confidence in their previous forging methods, and turned to outside help.[56]

8 has the same preamble as *2*, *3_A*, *3_B*, and *5*, and so Bates suggested that it was either following these texts or created in a similar period.[57] Beyond this overlap, there is little else to help in the dating of *8*. Three of the lands or rights mentioned in *8* (St Peter's church, Norwich; two assarts in Chelworth (Wilts.); and the abbey's right to warren and fishing rights) are the subject of royal confirmation charters from the beginning of Henry I's reign.[58] Perhaps these charters were not deemed sufficient, and the community sought to backdate and consolidate their claims to these properties further. Besides these suppositions the purpose and dating of *8* remains uncertain. As it cannot be confirmed that *8* was written in the twelfth century it will therefore be omitted from the rest of this analysis.

Despite the differences between these texts, there are consistencies in the methods of their construction. Each of the forgeries were crafted for specific, although differing, external audiences. For example, the emphases within *1* strongly suggest that its intended audience was the abbey's local donors; and the dossier

---

52. Chaplais, "Original Charters," 97.
53. *RRAN* i, 104, and notes.
54. The Stephen charter is *RRAN* iii, 246. See Bates' notes to *RRAN* i, 104.
55. Brooke suggests that *7* was composed in c.1150-57. See Brooke, "St Peter of Gloucester," 61.
56. Morey and Brooke, *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*, 145.
57. See notes to *RRAN* i, no. 155.
58. *RRAN* ii, 555, 629, and 1937.

consisting of *4*, *5*, and *6* was composed in order to address the problems and pertinent authorities of the late 1140s. All of these texts were also designed to target particular vulnerabilities: for instance, *7* backdated the abbey's claims to the lands it was contesting with York; and the pancartes in the names of William I and William II addressed deficiencies within the abbey's records. Through the precise dating they bear, all of the forged royal charters (with the exception of the externally-produced *7*) also commemorated particular occasions at Gloucester. The dates 1086 and 1096 provided for *2* and $3_A/3_A$ do not have a precedent in any surviving charter from these kings to the abbey and therefore, rather than copying pre-existing dated charters, these particular years seem to have been chosen by the compilers. Although none of these forgeries include a location for their promulgation, it is possible that 1086 and 1096 were used because these were the years, or supposed years, in which Kings William I and II were remembered as having been in Gloucester. Famously, it was at the Christmas court in Gloucester 1085 that William I ordered the compilation of Domesday and Bates argues that he spent much of 1086 travelling around the south of England.[59] The community may have also had a memory of William II being at Gloucester in 1096/7: he launched two campaigns into Wales in 1095-97 and Gloucester was a clear way-point on the route to Wales from the south of England.[60] Likewise, it is possible that 1114 was chosen for *1* because Henry I had passed through the town on route to his campaign in Wales May-June 1114; and Stephen is known to have visited Gloucester for three days in 1138, the date given for *5*.[61] These occasions not only represented memories of when royalty was in Gloucester, but also when local, Marcher power gathered in the town. When Stephen visited Gloucester in 1138, John of Worcester described how he was received by the citizens with a great procession which culminated at the abbey. He was then led by Miles de Gloucester to the royal palace, where the citizens of the town all swore fealty to him.[62] The dates provided for these forgeries provided possible historical moments for such a royal confirmation to have been issued, and also tapped into a distinctly local memory of royalty and regional power gathered in the town.

---

59. *ASC*, E [1085]; *RRAN* i, p. 82

60. John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester: Volume II: The Annals from 450 to 1066*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, trans. Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, vol. II (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1995), 84-85, n. 1; Paul Hindle, "Sources for the English medieval road system," in *Roadworks: Medieval Britian, medieval roads*, ed. Valerie Allen and Ruth Evans (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 33–49, particularly Figure 2.4, on page 46.

61. For Henry's itinerary, see *RRAN* ii, xxix-xxxi; and Green, *Henry I*. For Stephen's visit to Gloucester: *John of Worcester*, 240-43. Forgery *5* itself does not specify a location for its promulgation.

62. *John of Worcester*, 240-43.

The nature of Gloucester's spurious documents raises the question of the appropriateness of the term "forgery" for this corpus. With the exception of *7* (which was written by someone outside the community), all of these texts are reformatted versions of genuine rights Gloucester held at the time of the forgeries' composition. However, these texts were not simply replacement documentation for lost originals. In the creation of these texts, compilers took existing written records, a memory of an event in the town, and an imagined notion of what a royal confirmation charter would look like, and combined these elements to create a new written record which met the requirements of that specific moment. The creation of these texts was not about addressing past mistakes or deficiencies but instead was governed by a pressing need to weaponise the community's records and memories in order to protect the abbey from the challenges of the present. The falsehoods within these texts were not the rights or privileges, but how records and memories were crafted together into a new format. Rather than 'forging' or 'replacing', a more appropriate term for the abbey's actions may be 'recasting', with the objects of the verb being not only the community's texts, but also their memories.

<p style="text-align:center">*</p>

This analysis had brought hitherto unknown insights into both the fortunes of twelfth-century Gloucester and the ways it was writing. It has defined the contents and nature of a fuller corpus of forgeries, and argues that Gloucester was creating these texts across a longer period (c.1125 to c.1157) than has been thought. It has also argued that each of these texts were created for different purposes, and responding to different concerns. These distinct responses highlight the shifting circumstances Gloucester faced in this period. In particular, although the pressures of the 'Anarchy' might be expected, the production of texts *1*, *2*, *3ₐ* and *3ₐ* suggest that the 1120s and 1130s was also a period of uncertainty for the abbey. In turn, that this type of writing was consistently produced in response to these circumstances exposes a policy from the abbey. In comparison to Westminster's forgeries, which showed Osbert de Clare's authorship and ambition for his abbey, Gloucester's texts reveal a longer and more clearly communal strategy. By recasting their records and memories, Gloucester adopted a dynamic writing program across the second quarter of the twelfth century through which they navigated the instabilities of their present and sought to protect their endowment when it was most vulnerable. The ways in which Gloucester wrote these texts will now be contextualised by considering this type of writing alongside both the abbey's

fortunes in this period and their hagiographical composition.

4 Discussion and Conclusion

The final part of this chapter considers together the findings from each of the three previous sections together in order to determine what further conclusion can be developed from this synthesis. The first insight is related to chronology. By considering Gloucester's texts alongside each other it emerges that c.1125 to 1155 was a period of intense literary activity: in these thirty years all of Gloucester's forgeries were produced, the *Vita Dubricii* was written, Welsh hagiography was collected, and there was a deliberate change in how the abbey recorded its donations. The nature of this text production suggests that this was a period of particular instability. This can be seen most readily in the forgeries, each of which were completed in a different format and designed to meet particular shifting and urgent agendas. This flurry of activity is further delineated by the fact that it ended so abruptly: between c.1155-1170 the abbey produced no other hagiography, and only one forgery.

There are several reasons for this intense period of instability and text production at Gloucester. The abbey's relationships with its donors was shifting throughout the period; by the second quarter of the twelfth century the abbey no longer had a relationship with Anglo-Norman monarchy and was losing the benefaction of important donors, such as the de Gloucesters. While there were isolated moments in which the community held symbolic power—as perhaps seen in the burials, in the 1130s, of Robert Curthose and important Marcher lords—these moments were fleeting. Across this period the abbey suffered from new local competition (especially Llanthony *Secunda*), as well as reduced opportunities and lost territories after the Welsh uprising of 1136. Gloucester's position during the 'Anarchy' of Stephen's reign brought further insecurity. As shown by the confirmation charters received from Duke Henry and Earl Robert of Hereford in the early 1150s, the community's temporal possessions were threatened in the hostilities.[1] In turn, its secure status at the centre of the Empress' power bloc made Gloucester vulnerable to the possible consequences of an Angevin defeat, as seen vividly in the urgent construction of the forged dossier in the names of King Stephen, Bishop Simon, and Archbishop Theobald in the late 1140s.

Additional uncertainty stemmed from a particular textual anxiety at the abbey. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* recorded that in the spiring of 1122

---

1. For other case studies of monasteries during the Anarchy, see Burton, "Citadels of God"; Dalton, "Ecclesiastical Responses to War."

the town of Gloucester burned down. Then when the monks were singing their mass and the deacon had begun the gospel 'As Jesus passed by' the fire came in the upper part of the steeple and burned down all the minster and all the treasures which were inside there except for a few books and three chasubles[2]

Evidence of the gravity of the fire survives within the stonework of the abbey's tower which still bears the marks of scorching.[3] If the *Chronicle* is taken at its word, then the fire left the community few texts, something which may also be confirmed by the lack of original charters dating from before 1122.[4] The annals in which the abbey's donations were recorded must have been one of the books which survived, but the monks may have still felt a deep insecurity about its general lack of writings, and/or a need to replace lost records. In this context, the burst of production from c.1125 perhaps can be recognised as a communal endeavour to replenish the abbey's records by producing multiple writings and in different forms. This activity is also suggested by the surge in book production at the abbey in the same period, as identified by Rodney Thomson.[5] This period of intense insecurity at Gloucester is only visible because this investigation has considered Gloucester's different genres of writing together.

While this investigation's analysis of records and creative writing has exposed these circumstances and shown the range of responses the community produced, commonalities across Gloucester's text suggest that writing was not simply a response but part of a consistent policy. The majority of Gloucester's texts were not original compositions but the recasting of existing documents. This is seen both in the forgeries (especially Forgery *1*) and the *Vita Dubricii*, where Benedict reworked Geoffrey of Monmouth and the *Vita Prima Dubricii* from the Book of Llandaf. Gloucester's different writings also expose a common ambition and audience. The forgeries and *Vita Dubricii* all seek to present Gloucester as the symbol of political relevance and power within its local environs. This is implied within the *Vita*, in which Gloucester's historic status as a site of grand courts and crown-wearing ceremonies influenced how Benedict rewrote Dyfrig's life. It emerges also in the dated forgeries in which the community's temporal possessions are directly associated with the memories of gatherings in the town.

It therefore seems that the audience for Gloucester's writings was most likely local

---

2. *ASC*, [E] 1122. The fire is also described in *John of Worcester*, 152-53.
3. Heighway and Bryant, *The Romanesque Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester*, 49 and notes.
4. See *Original Acta*.
5. See Thomson's analysis of the abbey's library, from which he suggested that there was a significant period of book production from c.1125-50: Thomson, "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey," 6 and *passim*.

Marcher nobility. The only exception may appear to be the emphasis on Arthur's crown-wearing ceremony found in the *Vita Dubricii*, however even here the text's central emphasis on how local history connected to larger national narratives seems to be directed at Marcher aristocracy in the late 1130s-early 1140s, and perhaps even Robert Earl of Gloucester himself. Because nothing of the annals' original nature survives, it is almost impossible to reconstruct what role it had, or why it stopped being used to record the community's donations. However, given that the decreasing use of the annals to record donations coincides with a time in which the abbey was reformatting the annals' records into (forged) royal pancartes, it may be that it was deemed an inappropriate format for contemporary, external audiences. The annals may thus have previously represented an internal act of record keeping, and therefore suggest that in the face of the challenges of the 1130s, Gloucester stepped away from a type of writing that they had used since the 1070s in order to meet the expectations of an audience outside of the abbey.

Commonalities in Gloucester strategies can be seen beyond writing. The texts' attempts to tie the abbey to local power is also seen in the community's policy of pursuing a relationship with the castellans of Gloucester castle and Marcher aristocracy. In turn, the invocation of memories in which the abbey was at the centre of regional power can also be traced in the burials in the chapter house, where the relationship between the abbey and important local men was literally memorialised within the fabric of the church. That common strategies can be traced in text and action suggests that the community pursued a multi-faceted approach to confront changing times. As a result, the texts Gloucester produced in this period must be recognised as not merely a response to particular issues or concerns, but also reflective of a wider strategy pursued across different media and means. Indeed the very number of such texts suggest that this policy was particularly pursued between c.1125 and 1150; in turn, the production of only one forgery after 1150 suggests that the abbey had adopted a new strategy, something which is also suggested by the fact that this single forgery (Forgery 7) was composed by someone outside of the community, Westminster's Scribe L.

The identification of these cross-media policies brings further insight into the fortunes of Gloucester Abbey and the different ways it was writing. In the face of decreasing royal attention and patronage, the communities at Westminster and Winchester used their creative literature to try and rebuild a connection with the Anglo-Norman monarchy. In contrast, Gloucester's ambitions and audience were local. In doing so, the abbey appears to have moved away from its ties to royalty,

and tapped into the endemic and pervasive localism of Marcher lordship.[6] This transformation was certainly helped by the particular conditions of the March, where local aristocracy preferred to support local foundations and monarchical power was remote. However, it also points to a particular resilience and flexibility from the community at Gloucester, as well as the opportunities which came from being geographically and politically remote from the instruments of central rule. Unlike Westminster and Winchester, by being far from royal association the monks at Gloucester were able to dismiss its ancient connection to monarchy in favour of recent and more profitable relationships.

Gloucester's policy of rewriting preexisting documents was also unlike Westminster and Winchester. When comparing Gloucester's activity to Osbert of Clare's at Westminster or the anonymous author of Winchester's *Vitae* it could be tempting to regard Gloucester's writings as the product of less imaginative minds. However, this community's texts are also sophisticated and deliberate. Instead it is more pertinent to compare what textual models were available to the compilers at these abbeys. We know that for the production of his forgeries Osbert could refer to Frankish charters acquired (perhaps) from Bury St Edmunds, in addition to the ancient records held in his own abbey. Likewise, at Winchester the contents of the *Codex Wintoniensis* reveal the huge number of pre-Conquest charters held by the cathedral priory, while the *Codex*'s form also suggests access to the Domesday Book. In comparison, after the 1122 fire Gloucester may have had very few texts to draw upon. With a lack of available models for imitation or inspiration, it is understandable why the community chose to rewrite the texts it did have, either those that survived the fire (such as the annals) or those it recently acquired from other communities (like the *Vita Prima Dubricii*). But in a parallel way to its geographical location, this lack may also have provided the community with opportunity. For example, with no surviving pre-Conquest charters the community did not have to root its rights in that historic identity. Gloucester could pursue its ambitions and priorities in models of its choosing, whether they were the records of post-Conquest rights as recorded in their annals, the stories of sanctity from Wales, or new histories of ancient Britain. In this way, Gloucester's writings in this period were not about putting memories

---

6. A trait Daniel Power recognised among lords in the Norman March. See Power, *The Norman Frontier*, 334, and generally 301-334, and as discussed on page 250 above. For the Welsh March, see David Walker, "The Norman Settlement in Wales," *Anglo-Norman Studies* I (1978): 131–143; 222–224; R. R. Davies, "Kings, lords and liberties in the March of Wales," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979): 41–61; R. J. W. Evans, "Frontiers and National Identities in Central Europe," *The International History Review* 14, no. 3 (1992): 480–502, and on Gerald of Wales' discussion of Marcher identity, Robert Bartlett, *Gerald of Wales* (Oxford, 1982), 20-26.

into records, but using records to fashion new memories and histories.

*

This chapter has provided the first investigation of twelfth-century Gloucester Abbey, revealing many elements of its history and the ways it was writing. Of the three abbeys, Gloucester experienced the greatest challenges and changes in the twelfth century. Although its wealth in 1100 was new and rooted in the support of the new Norman regime, it had been a centre of royal power and display since early in the reign of Edward the Confessor. By the second quarter of the twelfth century, the community was no longer benefiting from patronage from the Anglo-Norman regime, and the abbey had not been a site of a crown-wearing ceremony since Christmas 1099. Likewise, the community lost out to new religious foundations appearing in its environs, none more so that Llanthony *Secunda*. Changes in government and politics similarly affected the community, both in Wales and in England during the civil war. In the face of these circumstances, exacerbated by the abbey's location on a frontier, there could be every reason to expect Gloucester to fade into insignificance during the period. However, this analysis across records and creative writings has revealed an innovative and resourceful community. While it faced increasingly localised interests, the community harnessed this localism through its imaginative literature in an attempt to make itself a symbol of power in the south March. The sheer variety of ways in which it was writing attest to the shifting challenges it faced in this period, but also to the flexibility of the abbey's responses. While this investigation has focused on the abbey community, its finds also have the potential to bring further insight into the career of its famous abbot, Gilbert Foliot. Gloucester was certainly opportunistic, but analysis had also exposed to opportunities which Winchester and Westminster did not have. While this serves as a reminder of the limits other communities might have faced, it does not diminish the impressive nature of Gloucester's activity during this period. Gloucester Abbey, like the March in general, was still susceptible to the bigger national changes in this period, but the community at this abbey found a way to adapt to these challenges and remain relevant within its local environs.

CONCLUSION

By analysing charters, hagiography, forgeries, and a cartulary, this study set out to explore the three crown-wearing abbeys of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester across the tumultuous period c.1100 to 1170. Individually, the three chapters each offered the first concerted investigations of these abbeys and their writings. Charters were used to reconstruct these communities' interactions with English royalty in a time of contested monarchy, and to reveal the relationship the communities gained, maintained, and lost, shedding light on Benedictine experience in a period which has otherwise largely been characterised by the new elements within England's religious landscape. The abbeys' different writings were examined as products of these contexts, revealing new findings into these texts and the ways the communities were writing.

This thesis has brought insight into these abbeys' places within the English realm. It has shown that despite their connection to Anglo-Saxon royalty and shared status as sites of crown-wearings in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, in the period under investigation they held no significant relationship with England's kings. Moreover, besides Westminster's continued use as the coronation church, after the first decade of Henry I's reign these abbeys had no consistent role in royal ceremonies. There are some moments when these communities appear to have been turned to when monarchy was insecure. For Winchester and Gloucester this was traced in the opening few years of Stephen's reign. However these occasions seemed to have been related to the politics of that time, with Stephen rewarding Bishop Henry and Miles de Gloucester for their early loyalty. Westminster appears to have held particular political importance at moments of succession crisis in Henry I's reign and likewise the beginning of Stephen's. As Winchester and Gloucester were never used in this way, Westminster's sporadic significance appears related to its status as the coronation church.

This investigation has also brought key findings into the history of these communities. Each chapter of this thesis reconstructed the challenges and changes these communities experienced, a task which was particularly extreme for Gloucester

Abbey, whose vast number of charters had never been the subject of detailed examination. It was shown that in addition to a minimal relationship with England's kings, the communities were affected by the political and religious changes of the period. For Gloucester, the halt to the Norman expansion into Wales and the absence of the royal court caused the abbey's interests and interactions to become increasingly localised. In turn, the rise of local competition from new religious foundations (none more so than Llanthony *Prima* and *Secunda*) drew away some of the community's oldest and most important donors. Westminster likewise may have suffered from the growth of new houses nearby in London, whereas at Winchester the priory's most consistent threats across the period came from episcopal incursion. Despite the lack of a secure relationship with royalty, it was also shown that Westminster and Gloucester could hold political importance within their environs. This was apparent in the successive generations of the de Mandeville family interacting with Westminster, and particularly in 1141 when Geoffrey (II) de Mandeville turned to the abbey as a political and dynastic site. Likewise at Gloucester, the relationships the abbey held with important Marcher families and the prominent burials in the church both suggest the significant position the community held within the South March.

By reconstructing the communities' experience of the twelfth century, the range of responses they deployed were also revealed. These activities were most visible at Gloucester. Of the three abbeys Gloucester, felt the religious and political changes of the period most vividly. But the community adapted and survived, thereby exposing the opportunities that could come with its location on the periphery. Gloucester's ability to adapt also suggest the limits to Winchester and Westminster's opportunities. Westminster was perhaps constrained by its closeness to the centre of royal power, while Winchester was under the influence of an overbearing episcopal presence. Nevertheless, both communities did still find ways to assert their agendas. In the years following Edith-Matilda's death, Westminster seems to have tried to use the memory of its relationship with the queen to build ties with English and Scottish monarchy. In turn, Old Minster took advantage of their bishops' political importance to pursue its own ambitions, as seen most clearly in the lands it secured from King Stephen via Bishop Henry in 1136.

The analysis of the abbeys' writings also brought new findings into these texts and the contexts in which they were produced. This included the first chronology to Osbert de Clare's forgery production, and a new reading of his *Vita beati Eadwardi*. At Winchester, by analysing the production of the *Codex Wintoniensis*

within the context of the cathedral priory it was shown that this monumental cartulary was not simply a compilation of records but a deliberate visual argument reacting to the community's experience of episcopal incursions and its slackening relationship with monarchy. And for Gloucester, it was shown that the *Vita Dubricii* was written for this community not Llandaf, and should be seen as a piece of local history writing prepared to speak to the specific political climate of the late 1130s and early 1140s. In turn, a new corpus of twelfth-century forgeries from Gloucester was identified, and their different purposes mapped onto the communities shifting fortunes and ambitions.

Further significant insights into these abbeys and their texts were developed by considering the communities' different writings together. By considering Osbert's hagiography alongside his forgeries it was found that he pursued common ambitions for the abbey across two genres of writing. Osbert of Clare was always expected to be a ready ally for such a cross-genre methodology, yet great insights were also found across Winchester and Gloucester's texts. Gloucester's vastly different creative writings and records only make sense when they are considered together: the shift from recording donations in the annals to charters explains the contents and timing for some of the abbey's forgeries; and the increasingly localised concerns traced within Gloucester's genuine charters helped to suggest the common ambitions and audience for its hagiography and forgeries. Initially it might appear that Winchester's different writings are irreconcilable: the vast majority of the *Codex*'s contents are Anglo-Saxon charters and thus appear unrelated to its contemporary relationships. In turn, the *Codex* and Old Minster's hagiographical texts were composed decades apart. However, it was shown that the purpose of the *Codex* can only be discerned by fully positioning it within the priory's experience of the 1120s and 1130s. Moreover, although they do not have any overlapping contents, the compilation of the *Codex* and the hagiographical texts reveal a consistent concern at Old Minster to promote and preserve the community's Anglo-Saxon past just as that history was slipping from view.

While this thesis' methodology thus has had great benefits, it also has some limiting factors. Primarily, the unevenness of the survival material across the three abbeys prevents some definitive comparisons. This is particularly the case for assessing levels of lay patronage in this period. Whereas abundant records of lay benefaction to Gloucester survive, only a couple exist for Winchester. Similarly, this investigation's scope has been affected by the differing amounts of previous study. Again this is particularly the case for Winchester. There is certainly a possibility that the community was producing forged charters in this period, but

in the absence of a critical study of the priory's charters, no such corpus has yet been discerned, and this study focused on the *Codex* instead, hampering direct comparison with Westminster and Gloucester's forged charters.

At the outset of this project a key aim was to uncover these abbeys' places within English royalty. This aim was rooted in an expectation that, given their historical connection to royalty and royal display, Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester could individually and collectively provide great insight into Anglo-Norman kingship. However, in the course of this investigation it became clear that as the communities had little ongoing significance to England's kings, as a group they would not yield such findings. Consequently, it could be mooted that other sites would be more productive comparators for these sites than they are for each other. For example, for Gloucester perhaps Worcester, York for Winchester, and maybe St Albans for Westminster.

Nevertheless, significant findings into these abbeys and this period has been found by comparing these communities. First, amidst the lack of interest from England's kings, the charters from all three abbeys revealed some sort of relationships with Edith-Matilda. Most vividly, the above investigation showed that the burial of Edith-Matilda in Westminster Abbey in 1118 was not fortuitous, but rather the result of the tangible relationship between the abbey and the queen. In turn, Edith-Matilda's relationship with Gloucester was traced in the patronage she procured for the community from Robert Gernon; and likewise at Winchester she aided the priory in securing the return of Alton Priors from Bishop Giffard. Collectively, the fact that Edith-Matilda had some sort of relationship with all three communities brings new insight into her patterns of patronage and may suggest that this Anglo-Saxon princess was particularly drawn to pre-Conquest abbeys that held an associated with royal ceremonial display.

In turn, while the abbey's writings had their own individual forms and purposes, across all three communities there is a consistent interests in ceremony. This is explicit in Osbert of Clare's writings. The *Vita* built royalty at the abbey as the medium for Edward the Confessor's sanctity; and in his forgeries, Westminster's relationship with England's kings was explicitly linked to ceremony and crown-wearings. Gloucester's status as a crown-wearing abbey was also alluded to in Benedict's *Vita Dubricii*, where Arthur's crown-wearing at Caerleon was recrafted within this piece of local history writing. Moreover, Gloucester's forged charters recalled, and perhaps invented, grand gatherings at Gloucester in which to root

the abbey's rights and privileges. The community at Old Minster likewise sought ceremony and display: they took advantage of grande occassions at the cathedral to assert their agenda (as seen in with St Æthewold's translation and the consecration of the new church in c.1121), and took advantage of moments of display to stress their importance within the realm, as seen in the repeated promulgations issued in the first year of Stephen's reign. Although Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester's historic status as the crown-wearing abbeys did not appear to bring them a relationship with England's kings, it seems that the legacy of their role within these royal ceremonies continued to shape how these three abbeys constructed their communal identities.

Finally, the investigations of these abbeys and their writings have brought insight in this period of history. The abbeys' writings share a chronology: the majority were created in the second quarter of the twelfth century. The *Vita Dubricii*, Gloucester's shift in record-keeping, and the communities forgeries were all produced in c.1125-1148; 'Codex I' was compiled in the late 1120s to early 1130s, and its new front quire begun in c.1136; and Osbert wrote the majority of his forgeries and the *Vita beati Eadwardi* between c.1130 and c.1156. In these writings the abbeys were, of course, addressing their own particular needs. However, this concentrated period of activity from all three communities stands out, and may suggest a broader, national period of instability. This time includes the 'Anarchy', and therefore aligns with other studies, such as those by Dalton and Hayward, which have traced responses to the civil war in monastic writings.[1] However, Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester's activities suggest that the 1120s and early 1130s was also a period of challenge and change. Indeed the fact that each of the genres of writings assessed here were conducted in different and surprising ways seems to point to a rapidly shifting environment in which there was no one way for these monasteries to pursue their ambitions or protect their interests. These findings in particular provide opportunities for future studies through a comparison of the experiences and activities of other monasteries in the last fifteen years of Henry I's reign. It should also be noted that this conclusion could only be found through this thesis' approach of not only comparing three abbeys and three regnal periods, but also bringing monastic records and creative texts together.

An overriding contribution of this thesis has been uncovering the imaginative and strategic ways these abbeys were writing. They conducted coordinated

---

1. Dalton, "Ecclesiastical Responses to War"; Hayward, ""Liber de infantia sancti Edmundi"."

and sophisticated activities across across different types of writing to respond to the changes of the twelfth century. Neglected by the Anglo-Norman monarchy and facing new challenges within their environs, the monasteries of Westminster, Winchester, and Gloucester used their texts and written records to protect their presents and reimagine their pasts.

APPENDICES

A   Winchester Cathedral Charters, 1100-*c*.1170

A = BL Add. 15350 (*Codex*)   *CCR* = *Calendar of the Charter Rolls*

B = BL Add. 29436   *EEA* = EEA: Winchester

C = St Swithun's Cartulary   *G* = 'Royal Charters'

D = T.N.A, Charter Roll 10 Edward II *Go* = *Chart. Winch.*

                                          RR = *RRAN*, ii-iii

Only the most recent edition of a charter is referenced.

#	Date	Benefactor	MSs		Edited
1	1100x1	Henry I	**B**, 14v		*RR*, ii, 558
2	1101	Henry I	**B**, 13v-14r		*G*, 13
3	1100x2	Henry I	**B**, 17r		*RR*, ii, 625
4	1101x2	Henry I	**B**, 15v		*RR*, ii, 603
5	1102	Henry I	**B**, 15v		*RR*, ii, 597
6	1103	Henry I	**B**, 13v	**C**, 3v	*RR*, ii, 627
7	1103	Henry I	**B**, 14r		*RR*, ii, 628
8	1100x6	Henry I	**B**, 16v		*RR*, ii, 804
9	1103x6	Henry I	**B**, 17r		*RR*, ii, 805
10	1103x6	Henry I	**B**, 16r-v		*RR*, ii, 803
11	1103x6	Henry I	**B**, 15r-v		*RR*, ii, 806
12	1106	Henry I	**B**, 14r	**C**, 3v	*RR*, ii, 745

13	1107	Bp. William Giffard			C, 2v	*EEA*, 17
14	1108	Henry I		**B**, 16v		*RR*, ii, 884
15	1110	Henry I		**B**, 14v	C, 3v-4r	*RR*, ii, 949
16	1110	Henry I		**B**, 15r	C, 4r	*RR*, ii, 947
17	1110	Henry I	**A**, 120v			*RR*, ii, 948
18	1111x14	Bp. William Giffard			C, 123r	*EEA*, 18
19	1114	Henry I			**D**, m. 7, no. 9	*RR*, ii, 1070
20	1114	Henry I		**B**, 16v		*RR*, ii, 1071
21	1118	Henry I		**B**, 15v		*RR*, ii, 1185
22	1107x22	Henry I		**B**, 16r		*RR*, ii, 1378
23	1107x22	Henry I		**B**, 16r		*RR*, ii, 1379
24	1107x23	Henry I		**B**, 14r-v		*RR*, ii, 1380
25	1127	Henry I			**D**, m. 7, no. 9	*RR*, ii, 1509
26	*c.* 1128	Bp. William Giffard		**B**, 26v-27r	C, 1r	*EEA*, 21
27	1107x29	Henry I		**B**, 17r		*RR*, ii, 1637
28	1120x29	Bp. William Giffard			C, 7r	*EEA*, 19
29	1128x29	Bp. William Giffard		**B**, 26r-v	C, 1r	*EEA*, 20
30	1136	Stephen	**A**, 4v			*RR*, iii, 944
31	1136	Stephen	**A**, 4r			*RR*, iii, 949
32	1136	Stephen		**B**, 19r-v		*RR*, iii, 952
33	1136	Stephen	**A**, 4r	**B**, 18r		*RR*, iii, 947
34	1136	Stephen	**A**, 4v	**B**, 18r-v		*RR*, iii, 948
35	1136	Stephen	**A**, 5r	**B**, 20r-v		*RR*, iii, 946
36	1136	Stephen	**A**, 5v	**B**, 19v		*RR*, iii, 945
37	1136x37	Queen Adeliza	**A**, 5r			*G*, 41
38	1136x37	Queen Adeliza	**A**, 5v			*G*, 42
39	1136x37	Stephen	**A**, 5r	**B**, 20v		*RR*, iii, 950

40	1137	Pope Innocent II			*C*, 89r-v	*Go*, 450
41	1136x39	Stephen		**B**, 17v-18r		*RR*, iii, 953
42	1136x39	Stephen	**A**, 5r	**B**, 20v		*RR*, iii, 954
43	1136x40	Stephen		**B**, 20r		*RR*, iii, 951
44	1135x41	Stephen		**B**, 17v		*RR*, iii, 955
45	1142x43	Bp. Henry of Blois			*C*, 2v	*EEA*, 126
46	1150	Bp. Joscelin of Salisbury		**B**, 29v-30r	*C*, 2v	*Go*, 8
47	1135x52	Stephen		**B**, 19r		*RR*, iii, 956
48	1147x52	Stephen			**D**, m. 4, no. 3	*RR*, iii, 957
49	1136x53	Bp. Henry of Blois		**B**, 28r-v	*C* 1v-2r	*EEA*, 125
50	1147x54	Stephen	**A**, 5v	**B**, 18v-19r		*RR*, iii, 958
51	1154	Henry II	**A**, 6r			
52	c.1155	John de Port			*C*, 97r	*Go*, 453
53	1158	Bp. Henry of Blois		**B**, 28r	*C*, 1v	*EEA*, 127
54	1160	Alexander III			*C*, 11v	*Go*, 43
55	1165	Prior and convent			*C*, 37r	*Go*, 75
56	1154x62	Henry II			**D**, m. 6, n. 7	*CCR*, iii, 348
57	1154x62	Henry II		**B**, 21v		*G*, 43
58	1154x62	Henry II		**B**, 21r		*G*, 44
59	1154x62	Henry II		**B**, 21v		*G*, 45
60	1154x62	Bp. Henry of Blois		**B**, 28v	*C*, 2r	*EEA*, 128
61	1155x62	Henry II			*C*, 103r	*Go*, 467
62	1154x71	Henry II		**B**, 21v		*G*, 46
63	1154x71	Henry II		**B**, 21v		*G*, 47
64	1154x71	Bp. Henry of Blois			*C*, 3r	*EEA*, 129
65	1154x71	Bp. Henry of Blois			*C*, 7r-v	*EEA*, 130
66	6 Jan 1171	Bp. Henry of Blois		**B**, 27r-28r	*C*, 1r-v	*EEA*, 132
67	6 Aug 1171	Henry II		**B**, 25r-v	*C*, 5v	*Go*, 26

68	c.8 Aug 1171	Bp. Henry of Blois	**B**, 29r-v	**C**, 2r-v	*EEA*, 131
69	1171	Henry II	**B**, 25v		*G*, 48
70	1171/2	Pope Alexander III		**C**, 11r-v	*Go*, 42
71	1171/2	Pope Alexander III		**C**, 11v	*Go*, 44
72	1154x78	Henry II	**B**, 21r		*G*, 49
73	1154x78/9	Henry II	**B**, 21r		

B Topographical groups in 'Codex I'.

Group #	*Folio(s)*	Lands related to	# of char-ters	Date range of charters
EC	*9r-13v*	Edgar Charters	14	c.964
1	*13v-20r*	Downton and Ebbesbourne, (Wilts.)	10	639-997
2	*20r-22r*	Alresford, (Hants.)	5	701-956
3	*22v-31r*	Taunton and dependencies, including Pitminster (Somerset)	19	947-1044
4	*31r-35r*	Clere, (Hants.)	6	749-959
5	*35v-40r*	Meon, (Hants.)	6	824-967
6	*40r-41v*	Poolhampton, (Hants.)	3	940-1033
7	*41v-44v*	Moredon, (Wilts.)	5	943-1044
8	*44v-46r*	Witney, (Oxon.)	2	969-1044
9	*46r-48r*	Brightwell, (Berks.)	3	854-947
10	*48r-50r*	Harwell, (Berks.)	3	956-985
11	*50r-v*	[*Repeat of charter from group 7*] Steeple Moredon and Adderbury	1	1015
12	*50v-52r*	West Tisted, (Hants.)	2	941-950
13	*52r-53v*	Rimpton and Ruishton, (Somerset).	4	879-964/84
14	*54r-v*	Mackney and Sotwell, (Berks.)	1	948
15	*54v-55v*	Crawley and Hunton, (Hants.)	1	909
16	*55v-56r*	Kilmeston, (Hants.)	1	961
17	*56r-57v*	Overton etc, (Hants.)	2	909
18	*57v-59r*	Farnham, (Surrey)	3	688-909
19	*59r-61r*	Taunton, (Somerset)	3	737-904
20	*61r*	Downton, (Wilts.) with Calbourne, (Isle of Wight).	1	n.d
21	*61r-v*	Alresford, (Hants.)	1	n.d
22	*61v*	Candover, (Hants.)	1	n.d
23	*61v-62r*	Bishopstone, Ebbesbourne (part of Downton, Wilts)	1	902
24	*62r-v*	Calbourne (Isle of Wight).	1	826
25	*62v-63v*	Tichbourne, (Hants.)	2	908-938
26	*63v-64r*	Millbrook, (Hants.)	1	956
27	*64r-65r*	Stoke St. Mary, (Somerset)	2	854-882
28	*65r-66r*	Fonthill Bishop and Bishop's Waltham (Wilts.; Hants.)	2	900-904
29	*66r-67r*	Stoneham, (Hants.)	1	1045
30	*67r-v*	Chidden (Hants.)	1	956

31	*67v*	Aysford and Boehill (Devon)	1	958
32	*67v-72v*	Stoke, (Hants; Sussex; Wilts); Hurstbourne Priors (Hants.)	9	900-975
33	*72v-75v*	Easton/Aston, (Hants; Salop)	6	957-975
34	*75v-77r*	Alton Priors (Wilts.)	4	825-1053
35	*77r-78r*	Bushton (Wilts.)	2	983
36	*78r-81v*	Millbrook (Hants.); Heantun (Hants; Staffs)	6	956-1045
37	*81v-83v*	Ham (Essex; Wilts)	3	931-939
38	*83v-84v*	Fyfield and Patney (Hants.; Wilts.)	2	963-975
39	*84v-86v*	South Stoneham (Hants.); Wanborough (Wilts.)	5	990-991
40	*86v-88v*	Estates at/by Wylye (Wilts.)	5	901-988
41	*88v-92r*	Worthy (Hants.)	6	825-1026
42	*92r-93v*	Whitchurch and Ashmansworth, (Hants.)	1	909
43	*93v-94r*	Wroughton (Wilts.)	1	955
44	*94r-95v*	Enford (Wilts.); Chilbolton (Hants.); Asmansworth (Hants.)	2	934
45	*95v-96r*	Wroughton (Wilts.); Crondall (Hants.)	1	968-971
46	*96r*	Sparsholt (Hants.)	1	1047/57
47	*96r-v*	Princes Risborough, (Bucks.)	1	975
48	*96v-98r*	Beddington, (Surrey.)	3	899-909
49	*98r-100r*	Havant (Hants.)	2	935-980
50	*100r-101r*	Hayling Island (Hants.)	2	956-1054
51	*101r-103r*	Droxford (Hants.)	3	826-956
52	*103r-105r*	Woolstone (Berks.)	3	856-958
53	*105r-106v*	Westwood, (Wilts.)	2	983-837
54	*106v-107v*	Exton, (Hants.)	1	955
55	*107v-108r*	Bleadon (Somerset)	1	956
56	*108r-v*	Hannington, (Hants.)	1	1023
57	*108v-110v*	Wooton (Hants.; Oxon.)	3	906-990

Notes to Appendix B

The topographical groupings in Appendix I largely follow that found in Rumble (1979) i, 205-207. My groupings differ from Rumble's at six points, primarily because I am seeking to determine the compilers' intent, rather than the result. The first difference is in group 1 (my numbering) where I have grouped together the estates of Downton and Ebbesbourne (Wilts.), because Ebbesbourne was part of the Downton hundred. Although some of the charters related to Ebbesbourne were copied in by mistake and actually relate to an estate which bore a very similar name but was never held by the cathedral, the ordering of the documents in 'Codex I' shows the compilers believed that the records of these two estates belonged together. Secondly, group 3 includes the charters related to Pitmin-

ster because it was also in the Taunton hundred. Thirdly, groups 30 and 31 are included in my definition of 'Codex I', whereas Rumble considers them as a part of the second phase of the cartulary's construction. The fourth difference is at group 32, where the estates at Hurstbourne Priors have been gathered with those of Stoke. When copying these charters, the compilers assumed that the estate of Hurstbourne Priors was related to the estate of Stoke by Hurstbourne: the first charter related to Hurstbourne (fol. 71r-v) has the rubric 'Donum et confirmatio Edwardi regis de hysseburnan et Stoce'. Fifthly, in group 36, Heantun has been gathered with Millbrook, because of a confusion between lands in Staffordshire and Hampshire ('Heantune/Heantun') and Southampton ('Hamtune'), which was conterminous with Millbrook. The bounds of Southampton are also detailed within the Millbrook charters. Finally, group 39 gathers Stoneham and Wanborough because of their shared reference to lands at Hinton. Rumble discusses these associations between the lands in these charters in Rumble (1979) i, 212-213, but does not change his groupings.

C   FORGERY *1* AND ITS SOURCES

Below is the full text of a forged charter in the name of Henry I which I have labelled forgery '*1*'. This text is discussed in Section 3.1 of the Gloucester chapter on page 281. This forged pancarte comprises of separate charters and records which have been stitched together to make this one document; the edition produced below has been formatted to expose these individual sources. Some of the records can be identified from extant materials surviving from Gloucester: these are indicated at the top of the relevant passage along with details of where that source has been edited or printed. Within these passages, elements of the text of *1* which *directly* overlap with its source material have been italicised. Parts where *1* does not precisely follow the text of its source are in normal font. Passages which had no identifiable source are titled 'None identified.' Some of these 'None identified' grants do have other supporting documentary evidence (such as the *Index*), however if there is no sign of direct textual borrowing from these sources then they have not been included in this analysis. Much of the formatting of the text to *1*, including the markers at beginning of the witness lists, is my own.

Title: Carta Regis Henrici de Terra in Maisemore et Confirmatio ejusdem de terris in diversis comitatibus:

Charter of Henry I, (RRAN ii, no. 678)
Sciatis me dedisse Deo et Sancto Petro de Glocestria et Serloni Abbati ad victum monachorum terram de Maisemore sicuti ego ipse in meo dominio melius habui scilicet cum omnibus rebus illi terrae pertinentibus et sciatis Adelinam uxorem Rogerii de Ivreio meo concessu dedisse ecclesiae Sancti Petri de Glocestria et monachis terram illam quam habebat in Broctrop et terram quam Rogerius de Gloecestria dedit ecclesie Sancti Petri de Glocestria pro anima fratris sui Herberti scilicet duos Radnihtes et unam ecclesiam cum una hida terrae et unum molendinum meo concessu dedisse

None identified
et in Deveneschira terram quandam que vocatur Seldena de Goscelino de Pomereia.

Charter of Henry I, (RRAN ii, no. 1007)[2]
et de Radulfo Bloiet ultra Savernam terram que vocatur Rudelay *dimidiam hidam terrae quam Willelmus de Boleneia dedit eis concessu domini sui Radulfi*

Index, Historia et cartularium, i, 80; [dated 1088]
et concedo tres elemosinas que *Bernardo de Novo Mercato dedit* eis scilicet *Glesbury cum omnibus ad eam* spectantibus *et totam decimam totius dominii sui quod*

---

2.   The overlap between this charter and forgery *1* is not exact. The full text of the overlapping charter sections is: 'dimidiam hydam terrae quam Willelmus de Bulleya eis dedit, et Radulph Blueth dominus ejus concessit.'

habet in Brechinio scilicet annone pecorum caseorum venationum mellis in super eciam *ecclesiam de Coure cum tota decima illius parrochie et terra ad ipsam ecclesiam pertinente et unam hidam que vocatur Bece* terram etiam de Hamtona quam Willelmus Revellus dedit eis concessu Bernardo de Novo Mercato

None identified

concedo ecclesiam Sancti Cadoci cum xv. carucatis terrae que dedit Robertus filius Hamonis
§ testibus Abbate Girmundo et Radulfo Bloiet

concedo ecclesiam quoque S. Gundeli quam frater meus Rex dedit Sancto Petro cum dominio quod ibi habebat
§ teste Roberto filio Hamonis

ecclesiam quoque de Cernei cum decima ad eam pertinente et ecclesiam S. Helene cum una virgata terrae que dedit Walter Vicecomes
§ testibus Girmundo Abbate et Rogerio de Glocestr' et Hugone Parvo

Concedo etiam terra illam quam Rogerius de Glocestr' dedit eis pro escambio Westburie scilicet Athelegam et Sanderst

Charter of Henry I, (RRAN ii, no. 1026)

concedo etiam *ecclesiam de Wirectebiria et ecclesiam de Laverchestoc quas Robertus Gernon dedit eis et omnia que ad easdem ecclesias pertinent et dimidium molendini et medietatem terrae quae ad illud pertinet*
§ *teste Mathilde Regina* et Rogerio Episc. Salisberri et Willelmo Epis. Wintoniae et Bernardo Capellano et Unfride de Albinio apud Teckesberiam

None identified

et quandam decimam de Roberto Beckefort apud Aicote

Index, Historia et cartularium, i, 106 [dated to 1111]

concedo ecclesiam S. Paterni et terram quam *Gislebertus filius Ricardi dedit* eis *inter divisiones maris et duarum aquarum et* in super *medietatem magnae piscature* sue *et decimas omnium rerum de dominio suo appendentem ad Castellum suum de Pennedich* scilicet annone venationis carminum et coreorum caseorum vitulorum pistrinorum molendinorum pascuagiorum hujus donacionis
§ testes Hugo de Laci Octridus et Blaganeret Walenses, Willelmus de Curcune, Rannulfus de Baschevilla, Alveredus de Bernavale, Robertus Oil de Larun, Hugo de Loventon, et Laurentius Willelmus filius Johannis, Droco Jerevered

None identified

concedo etiam domos et terras quas habeat in Glocestria ex dono Adelaise vicecomitissa
§ teste Waltero filio suo et Hugone Parvo, et Roberto proposito et Rannulfo derico et Rev(ell)o Barbato scilicet terram et domos quas habeat de Rannulfo clerico et

omnes domos et tenuras quas habent in Glocestria aut dono aut pacto.

Charter of Henry I, (RRAN ii, no. 678 - same as above)
Has omnes elemosinas *firmiter et perpetualiter* habendas S. Petro de Glocestria
pro anima patris mei matrisque mei et fratris mei Regis Willelmi et pro salute
anime meae et Matildis Regine uxoris meae concessi et confirmavi

None identified
anno ab incarnatione Domini mille centesimo XIIII° indicione VII anno regni mei
XIII° apud Glocestria.

ABBREVIATIONS

Aelred, *Life of St Edward*   Aelred of Rievaulx, *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor, by Blessed Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx*, ed. and trans. Jerome Bertram (Saint Austin Press, 1997).

Aelred, *Vita S. Eadwardi*   Aelred of Rievaulx, "Vita Sancti Ædwardi Regis et Confessoris," in *Aelred Rievallensis, Opera Omnia: 7 Opera Historica et Hagiographica*, ed. Francesco Marzella, Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, IIIA (Turnhout: Brepols, 2017).

AM ii   Henry Richards Luard, ed., "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia," in *Annales Monastici*, vol. II (London: Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865)

ASC   Michael Swanton, ed., *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* (Phoenix Press, 2000)

BL   London, British Library

Chart. Winch.   A. W. Goodman, *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral* (Winchester, 1927)

CChR iii   *Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the public record office: Edward I, Edward II, A.D. 1300-1326*, vol. III (London: Mackie & co. Ltd, 1908)

Codex   BL, Additional MS 15350

'Codex I'   *Codex*, fos. 9r-110r

'Codex II'   *Codex*, fos. 2r-8v and 110v-117r

DD, Berks   Philip Morgan, ed., *Domesday Book*, vol. 5: Berkshire (Phillimore, Chichester, 1979)

DD, Cambs	Alexander Rumble, ed., *Domesday Book*, vol. 18: Cambridgeshire (Phillimore, Chichester, 1981)
DD, Hants	Julian Munby, ed., *Domesday Book*, vol. 4: Hampshire (Phillimore, Chichester, 1982)
DD, Som	Caroline Thorn and Frank Thorn, eds., *Domesday Book*, vol. 8: Somerset (Phillimore, Chichester, 1980)
DD, Wilts	Caroline Thorn and Frank Thorn, eds., *Domesday Book*, vol. 6: Wiltshire (Phillimore, Chichester, 1979)
EEA: Winchester	M. J. Franklin, ed., *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester 1070-1204* (Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1993)
EEA: Worcester	Mary Gwendolen Cheney, ed., *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185* (British Academy, 2008)
Glos. Charters	Robert B. Patterson, ed., *Earldom of Gloucester Charters. The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973)
Gest. Regum	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, vol. 1 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
Gest. Steph.	K. R. Potter, ed. and trans., *Gesta Stephani* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976)
Hist. Anglorum	Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People*, ed. and trans. Diana Greenway (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996)

Historia Britanniae   Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain*, ed. Michael D. Reeve, trans. Neil Wright (Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007)

Historia et cartularium   W. H. Hart, ed., *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*, vol. i-iii (London: Longman, 1863-67)

Heref. Charters   David Walker, "Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201," *Camden Fourth Series* 1 (1964): 1–75

Hist. Novella   William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*, ed. Edmund King, trans. K. R. Potter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

John of Worcester   John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume III: The annals from 1067 to 1140 with The Gloucester Interpolations and Continuation to 1141*, ed. and trans. P. McGurk (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)

Lib. Land.   J. Gwenogvryn Evans and J. Rhys, eds., *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv* (Oxford, 1893)

Miracula Swithuni   Anonymous, "Miracula S. Swithuni," in *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Winchester Studies, 4.ii (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Original Acta   Robert B. Patterson, ed., *The Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c.1122 to 1263* (The Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998)

Osbert, *Vita beati Eadwardi*   Osbert of Clare, "Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum," ed. Marc Bloch, *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923)

'Royal Charters'   V. H. Galbraith, "Royal Charters to Winchester," *English Historical Review* 35 (1920): 382–400

RRAN i	David Bates, ed., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998)
RRAN ii	Charles Johnson and H.A. Cronne, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154. Volume II: Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-1135* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956)
RRAN iii	H. A. Cronne and R.H.C. Davis, eds., *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154. Volume III: Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum, 1135-1154* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968)
Rumble (1979)	A. R. Rumble, "The Structure and Reliability of the Codex Wintoniensis (British Museum Additional MS. 15350; the Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral Priory)" (PhD diss., University of London, 1979)
Rumble (2002)	Alexander R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, Winchester Studies, 4.iii (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002)
Saltman	Avrom Saltman, *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury* (London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1956)
TNA	London, The National Archives
Vita Prima Dubricii	"Lectiones de Vita Sancti Dubricii", in *Lib. Land.*, 78-86
Vita Birini	Anonymous, "Vita S. Birini," in *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives. Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, Vita S. Rumwoldi* (Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996)

Vita Dubricii   Benedict of Gloucester, "Vita S. Dubricii", in Joshua Byron Smith, "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii: an edition and translation," in *Arthurian Literature*, ed. Elizabeth Archibald, vol. XXIX (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012), 53–100

Vita Swithuni   Anonymous, "Vita S. Swithuni Episcopi et Confessoris," in *The Cult of St Swithun*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Winchester Studies, 4.ii (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003)

Westminster Charters   Emma Mason, ed., *Westminster Abbey Charters: 1066-c.1214*, vol. XXV (London Records Society Publications, 1988)

Bibliography

Unpublished Primary Sources

BL. Additional MS 15350.

———. Additional MS. 29436.

———. Additional MS 36737, 139r-157r, *'Vita Beati Eadwardi'*.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 11.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 12.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 16A.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 16B.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 17.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 22.

———. Cotton Charters vii. 9.

———. Cotton Harley Charters 43 C. 1.

———. Cotton Harley Charters 43 C. 2.

———. Cotton Harley Charters 43 C. 8.

———. Cotton Vespasian A.xiv.

———. MS. Cotton Vespasian A.v., fos, 195-203v, *'Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent'*.

London, Westminster Abbey Muniments. Muniment Book 11, *'Domesday'*.

National Library of Wales. MS 17110E.

TNA. C 150/1.

Winchester, Cathedral Library and Archives. W52/74, *'St Swithun Cartulary'*.

Published Primary Sources

Aelred of Rievaulx. "Genealolgy of the English Kings." In *Aelred of Rievaulx: The Historical Works*, edited by Marsha L. Dutton and Jane Patricia Freeland. Kalamazoo, Michigan: Cistercian Publications, 2005.

———. *The Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor, by Blessed Aelred, Abbot of Rievaulx*. Edited and translated by Jerome Bertram. Saint Austin Press, 1997.

———. "Vita Sancti Ædwardi Regis et Confessoris." In *Aelred Rievallensis, Opera Omnia: 7 Opera Historica et Hagiographica*, edited by Francesco Marzella. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, IIIA. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

Anonymous. "Miracula S. Swithuni." In *The Cult of St Swithun*, edited by Michael Lapidge. Winchester Studies, 4.ii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

———. *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The Life of King Edward who Rests at Westminster*. Second Edition. Edited by Frank Barlow. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

———. "Vita S. Birini." In *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives. Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, Vita S. Rumwoldi*. Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996.

———. "Vita S. Swithuni Episcopi et Confessoris." In *The Cult of St Swithun*, edited by Michael Lapidge. Winchester Studies, 4.ii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Barrow, G.W.S., ed. *The Acts of Malcolm IV King of Scots 1153-1165, together with Scottish Royal Acts prior to 1153, not included in Sir Archibald Lawrie's 'Early Scottish Charters'*. Edinburgh: The University Press, 1960.

Bates, David, ed. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: The Acta of William I (1066-1087)*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Bede. *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Edited by Bertram Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

Calendar of the Charter Rolls preserved in the public record office: Edward I, Edward II, A.D. 1300-1326. Vol. III. London: Mackie & co. Ltd, 1908.

Clover, Helen, and Margaret Gibson, eds. and trans. *The Letters of Lanfranc Archbishsop of Canterbury*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979.

Cronne, H. A., and R.H.C. Davis, eds. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154. Volume III: Regesta Regis Stephani ac Mathildis Imperatricis ac Gaufridi et Henrici Ducum Normannorum, 1135-1154*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1968.

Dugdale, William. *Monasticon Anglicanum*. London: Sam Keble, 1693.

Eadmer of Canterbury. *Historum novorum in Anglia*. Edited by Martin Rule. London: Rolls Series, 1866.

Evans, J. Gwenogvryn, and J. Rhys, eds. *The Text of the Book of Llan Dâv*. Oxford, 1893.

Finberg, H. P. R. *The Early Charters of Wessex*. Leicester Univeristy Press, 1964.

Flete, John. *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.

Franklin, M. J., ed. *English Episcopal Acta 8: Winchester 1070-1204*. Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1993.

Galbraith, V. H. "Royal Charters to Winchester." *English Historical Review* 35 (1920): 382–400.

Geffrei Gaimar. *Estoire des Engleis = History of the English*. Edited and translated by Ian Short. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Geoffrey of Monmouth. *The History of the Kings of Britain*. Edited by Michael D. Reeve. Translated by Neil Wright. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007.

Gerald of Wales. *The Journey through Wales and The Description of Wales*. Translated by Lewis Thorpe. Penguin Books, 1978.

Goodman, A. W. *Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral*. Winchester, 1927.

Gray Birch, Walter de, ed. *Cartularium Saxonicum: a collection of charters relating to Anglo-Saxon history*. London: Whiting, 1865-69.

Green, Judith A., ed. *The Great Roll of the Pipe, for the thirty first year of the reign of King Henry I, 1130*. London: Pipe Rolls Society, Acorn Print Media, Loughborough, 2012.

Greenway, Diana, and Leslie Watkiss, eds. *The Book of the Foundation of Walden Monastery*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1999.

Haddan, A.W., and W. Stubbs, eds. *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*. Vol. iii. Oxford, 1869–78.

Harmer, F. E. *Anglo-Saxon Writs*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1952.

Harper-Bill, Christopher, and Richard Mortimer, eds. *Stoke by Clare Cartulary: BL Cotton Appx. xxi*. Suffolk Records Society, 1982-84.

Hart, W. H., ed. *Historia et cartularium monasterii Sancti Petri Gloucestriæ*. Vol. i-iii. London: Longman, 1863-67.

Hassall, W. O., ed. *Cartulary of St. Mary Clerkenwell*. Royal Historical Society: London, 1949.

Hayward, Paul Anthony. *The Winchcombe and Coventry Chronicles: Hitherto Unnoticed Witnesses to the work of John of Worcester, Volume One: Introduction and Commentary*, Arizona Centre for Medieval & Renaissance Studies: Tempe, Arizona, 2010.

Henry Archdeacon of Huntingdon. *Historia Anglorum: The History of the English People.* Edited and translated by Diana Greenway. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996.

Hodgett, Gerald A. J., ed. *The Cartulary of Holy Trinity Aldgate.* London Records Society Publications, 1971.

Holtzmann, Walther, ed. *Papsturkunden in England: 1. Band, Bibliotheken und archive in London. 1. Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreubungen.* Berlin, 1930.

Houts, Elisabeth van, and Rosalind Love, eds. and trans. *The Warenne (Hyde) Chronicle.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2013.

Hudson, John, ed. *"Historia ecclesie abbendonensis": The history of the Church of Abingdon.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002-2007.

Ithel, John Williams ab, ed. *Annales Cambriæ.* London: Longman, 1860.

John of Hexham. *Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia.* Edited by T. Arnold. London: Rolls Series, 1892-5.

John of Worcester. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester: Volume II: The Annals from 450 to 1066.* Edited by R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk. Translated by Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk. Vol. II. Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1995.

———. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Volume III: The annals from 1067 to 1140 with The Gloucester Interpolations and Continuation to 1141.* Edited and translated by P. McGurk. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Johnson, Charles, and H.A. Cronne, eds. *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum, 1066-1154. Volume II: Regesta Henrici Primi, 1100-1135.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1956.

Kelly, S. E., ed. *Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part 2.* Anglo-Saxon Charters. Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 2001.

Kemp, Brian, ed. *Reading Abbey cartularies: British Library manuscripts Egerton 3031, Harley 1708 and Cotton Vespasian E xxv.* London: Royal Historical Society, 1986-7.

Keynes, Simon, ed. *Facsimiles of Anglo-Saxon charters.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991.

———, ed. *The 'Liber Vitae' of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester: British Library Stowe 944; together with leaves from British Library Cotton Vespasian A.VIII and British Library Cotton Titus D.XXVII.* Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1996.

Lantfred of Winchester. *"Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni."* In *The Cult of St Swithun,* edited by Michael Lapidge. Winchester Studies, 4.ii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Luard, Henry Richards, ed. "Annales Monasterii de Wintonia." In *Annales Monastici,* vol. II. London: Longman, Roberts, & Green, 1865.

Mason, Emma, ed. *Westminster Abbey Charters: 1066-c.1214*. Vol. XXV. London Records Society Publications, 1988.

Moore, Norman, ed. *The book of the foundation of St. Bartholomew's Church in London: The Church belonging to the priory of the same in West Smithfield*. Oxford: Early English Texts Society Publications, 1971.

Morey, Adrian, and C. N. L. Brooke, eds. *The Letters and Charters of Gilbert Foliot, Abbot of Gloucester (1139-48), Bishop of Hereford (1148-63) and London (1163-87)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967.

Morgan, Philip, ed. *Domesday Book*. Vol. 5: Berkshire. Phillimore, Chichester, 1979.

Muhlbacher, E., ed. *Diplomatum Karolinorum I: Pippini, Carlomanni, Carlo Magni Diplomata*. Hannover, 1909.

Munby, Julian, ed. *Domesday Book*. Vol. 4: Hampshire. Phillimore, Chichester, 1982.

Napier, A.S., and W.H Stevenson, eds. *Anecdota Oxoniensia: The Crawford Collection of Early Charters and Documents*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1895.

Orderic Vitalis. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, Volume VI: Books XI, XII, and XIII*. Edited by Marjorie Chibnall. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.

Osbert of Clare. "Vita beati Eadwardi regis Anglorum." Edited by Marc Bloch. *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923).

Patterson, Robert B., ed. *Earldom of Gloucester Charters. The Charters and Scribes of the Earls and Countesses of Gloucester to A.D. 1217*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973.

———, ed. *The Original Acta of St. Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c.1122 to 1263*. The Bristol & Gloucestershire Archaeological Society, 1998.

Potter, K. R., ed. and trans. *Gesta Stephani*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Richard fitzNigel. *Dialogus de Scaccario and Constitutio Domus Regis: The Dialogue of the Exchequer, and The Establishment of the Royal Household*. Edited and translated by Emilie Amt and Stephen Church. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2007.

Robert of Torigny. "Chronica Roberti de Torigneio, Abbatis Monasterii Sancti Michaelis in Periculo Maris." In *Chronicles of the Reigns of Stephen, Henry II, and Richard I*, edited by R. Howlett, 81–315. London: Rolls Series, 1884-90.

Roger de Hoveden. *The annals of Roger de Hoveden: Comprising the history of England and of other countries of Europe from A.D. 732 to A.D. 1201*. Edited and translated by Henry T. Riley. Vol. 1. London: H.G. Bohn, 1853.

Roger of Wendover. *Roger of Wendover's Flowers of history*. Edited and translated by J. A. Giles. Vol. 1. London: H. G. Bohn, 1849.

Rumble, Alexander, ed. *Domesday Book*. Vol. 18: Cambridgeshire. Phillimore, Chichester, 1981.

Sawyer, P. H. *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an annotated bibliography*. Offices of the Royal Historical Society: London, 1968.

Sawyer, Peter, ed. *Textus Roffensis: Rochester Cathedral Library Manuscript A. 3. 5*. Vol. II. Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile, Vol. 11. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger, 1962.

Swanton, Michael, ed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*. Phoenix Press, 2000.

Tardif, Jules. *Monuments Historiques*. Paris: Claye, 1866.

Thorn, Caroline, and Frank Thorn, eds. *Domesday Book*. Vol. 6: Wiltshire. Phillimore, Chichester, 1979.

———, eds. *Domesday Book*. Vol. 8: Somerset. Phillimore, Chichester, 1980.

Walker, David. "Charters of the Earldom of Hereford, 1095-1201." *Camden Fourth Series* 1 (1964): 1–75.

Wharton, H., ed. *Anglia Sacra*. Vol. I. London, 1691.

William of Malmesbury. *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*. Edited and translated by R. A. B. Mynors, R.M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom. Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

———. *Historia Novella: The Contemporary History*. Edited by Edmund King. Translated by K. R. Potter. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998.

Williamson, E. M., ed. *The Letters of Osbert of Clare Prior of Westminster*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.

Wormald, Francis. *English Benedictine Kalendars after A.D. 1100*. Vol. II: Ely-St Neots. London: Henry Bradshaw Society, 1946.

Wulfstan of Winchester. "*Narratio Metrica de S. Swithuno*." In *The Cult of St Swithun*, edited by Michael Lapidge. Winchester Studies, 4.ii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

———. *The Life of St Æthelwold*. Edited by Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2004.

Unpublished Secondary Sources

Briggs, Brian. "The Life and Works of Osbert of Clare." PhD diss., University of St Andrews, 2004.

Browett, Rebecca. "The Cult of St Æthelwold and it's Context, c. 984-c. 1400." PhD diss., Institute of Historical Research, University of London, 2016.

Dark, Patricia A. "The career of Matilda of Boulogne as Countess and Queen in England, 1135-1152." PhD diss., Oxford, 2005.

Rumble, A. R. "The Structure and Reliability of the Codex Wintoniensis (British Museum Additional MS. 15350; the Cartulary of Winchester Cathedral Priory)." PhD diss., University of London, 1979.

Secondary Sources

Aird, William M. *Robert Curthose: Duke of Normandy, c.1050-1134*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008.

Amt, Emilie. *The Accession of Henry II to England: Royal Government Restored, 1149-1159*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1993.

Appleby, J. T. "Richard of Devizes and the annals of Winchester." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 36 (1963): 70–77.

Ashbee, Jeremy. "The function of the White Tower under the Normans." In *The White Tower*, edited by Jeremy Ashbee, 125–140. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2008.

Ashe, Laura. *Fiction and History in England, 1066-1200*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007.

Aurell, Martin. "Geoffrey of Monmouth's History of the Kings of Britain and the twelfth-century Renaissance." *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007): 1–18.

Aveling, J.C.H. "Westminster Abbey: the Beginnings to 1474." In *A House of Kings: The History of Westminster Abbey*, edited by Edward Carpenter. London: John Baker, 1966.

Baddley, Welcore St. Claire. *A Cottleswold Manor: being the history of Painswick*. Gloucester: John Bellows, 1907.

Barber, Richard. "The "Vera Historia de Morte Arthuri" and its place in Arthurian Tradition." In *Glastonbury Abbey and the Arthurian Tradition*, 101–113. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2001.

Barlow, F. *The English Church, 1066-1154*. London: Longman, 1979.

Barlow, Frank. "Appendix D: The Development of the Cult of King Edward." In *Vita Aedwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster, attributed to a monk of Saint-Bertin*, Second Edition, edited by Frank Barlow. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

———. "Clare, Osbert of (*d.* in or after 1158)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. *Edward the Confessor*. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1970.

Barlow, Frank. "Introduction." In *Vita Aedwardi regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit: The life of King Edward who rests at Westminster, attributed to a monk of Saint-Bertin*, Second Edition, edited by Frank Barlow. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992.

―――. "The Vita Ædwardi (Book II); The Seven Sleepers: Some Further Evidence and Reflections." *Speculum* 40, no. 3 (1965): 385–397.

―――. "The Winton Domesday." In *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, edited by Martin Biddle, 1–142. Winchester Studies, 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Barrow, Julia. "How the Twelfth-Century Monks of Worcester Perceived their Past." In *The Perception of the Past in Twelfth-Century Europe*, edited by Paul Magdalino, 53–75. London: The Hambledon Press, 1992.

―――. "Why Forge Episcopal Acta? Preliminary Observations on the Forged Charters in the English Episcopal Acta Series." In *The foundations of medieval English ecclesiastical history: studies presented to David Smith*, edited by Philippa M. Hoskin, Christopher Nugent Lawrence Brooke, and Richard Barrie Dobson, 18–39. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2005.

Bartlett, Robert. "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh saints in twelfth-century England." In *Britain and Ireland 900-1300: Insular responses to medieval European change*, edited by Brendan Smith, 67–86. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

―――. *Gerald of Wales*. Oxford, 1982.

―――. "Rewriting Saints' Lives: The Case of Gerald of Wales." *Speculum* 58, no. 3 (1983): 598–613.

―――. *Why can the dead do such great things? Saints and worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation*. Princeton & Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2013.

Bates, David. "The building of a great church: the abbey of St Peter's, Gloucester, and its early Norman benefactors." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 102 (1985): 129–132.

―――. *William the Conqueror*. Yale University Press, 2017.

Bell, David N. "Ailred [Ælred, Æthelred] of Rievaulx (1100-1167)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Bequette, John P. "Ælred of Rievaulx's Life of Saint Edward, King and Confessor: A Saintly King and the Salvation of the English People." *Cistercians Studies Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (2008): 17–40.

Berkhofer, Robert F. "The Canterbury forgeries revisited." *Haskins Society Journal* 18 (2007): 36–50.

Bethell, Denis. "The Making of a Twelfth-Century Relic Collection." In *Popular Belief and Practice*, edited by J. Cuming and Derek Baker. Studies in Church History, 8. Cambridge, 1972.

Biddle, Martin. "Seasonal Festivals and Residence: Winchester, Westminster and Gloucester in the tenth to twelfth centuries." *Anglo-Norman Studies* VIII (1986): 51–72.

———, ed. *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*. Winchester Studies, 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Biddle, Martin, and D. J. Keene. "General Survey and Conclusions." In *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, edited by Martin Biddle. Winchester Studies, 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

———. "Winchester in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, edited by Martin Biddle. Winchester Studies, 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Binski, Paul. *Westminster Abbey and the Plantagenets: kingship and the representation of power, 1200-1400*. New Haven: Yale University Pres, 1995.

Bishop, Edmund. "Gifts of Bishop Henry of Blois, Abbot of Glastonbury, to Winchester Cathedral." In *Liturgica Historica: Papers on the Liturgy and Religious Life of the Western Church*, 392–401. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1918.

Bishop, T. A. M., and P. Chaplais, eds. *Facsimiles of English Royal Writs to A.D. 1000. Presented to Vivian Hunter Galbraith*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Blanton, Virginia. "Ely's St. Æthelthryth: The Shrine's enclosure of the female body as symbol for the inviolability of monastic space." In *Women's Space: Patronage, Place, and Gender in the Medieval Church*, edited by Virginia Chieffo Raguin and Sarah Stanbury. Albany, New York: State University of New York Press, 2005.

Bloch, Marc. "La Vie de S. Édouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare: Introduction." *Analecta Bollandiana* 41 (1923): 5–63.

———. *The Royal Touch: Sacred Monarchy and Scrofula in England and France*. Translated by J. E. Anderson. Routledge and Kegan Paul: London, 1973.

Bouchard, Constance B. "Monastic Cartularies: Organizing Eternity." In *Charters, Cartularies, and Archives: The Preservation and Transmission of Documents in the Medieval West*, edited by Adam J. Kosto and Anders Winroth. Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, 2002.

Bouchard, Constance Brittain. *Rewriting Saints and Ancestors: Memory and Forgetting in France, 500-1200*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2015.

———. *Sword, Miter, and Cloister: Nobility and the Church in Burgundy, 980–1198*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1987.

Bozoky, Edina. "The Sanctity and Canonisation of Edward the Confessor." In *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, edited by Richard Mortimer, 173–186. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.

Brayley, E. W., ed. *The Graphic and Historical Illustrator*. London, 1834.

Brett, M. *The English Church under Henry I*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1975.

Brett, Martin, and David A. Woodman, eds. *The Long Twelfth-Century view of the Anglo-Saxon past*. Routledge: London & New York, 2015.

Briggs, Brian. "Expulsio, Proscriptio, Exilium: Exile and Friendship in the Writings of Osbert of Clare." In *Exile in the Middle Ages: Selected Proceedings from the International Medieval Congress, University of Leeds, 8-11 July 2002*, edited by Laura Napran and Elisabeth van Houts, 131–144. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

Brooke, C. N. L. "Foliot, Gilbert (*c.* 1110–187)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

Brooke, Christopher N. L. "Approaches to medieval forgery." *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 3, no. 8 (1968): 377–86.

———. "Bishop Walkelin and his inheritance." In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, edited by John Crook, 1–12. Chichester: Phillimore, 1993.

———. *London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1975.

———. "Monk and Canon: Some Patterns in the Religious Life of the Twelfth Century." *Studies in Church History* 22 (1985): 109–29.

———. "St Peter of Gloucester and St Cadog of Llancarfan." In *The Church and the Welsh Border*, edited by D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke, 50–94. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986.

———. "The Archbishops of St Davids, Llandaff, and Caerlon-on-Usk." In *The Church and the Welsh Border*, edited by D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke, 16–49. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986.

———. *The Church and the Welsh Border*. Edited by D. N. Dumville and C. N. L. Brooke. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986.

Brooks, Nicholas. *History and myth, forgery and truth*. Birmingham, 1986.

Browett, Rebecca. "The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest of England: St Æthelwold of Winchester as a Case Study." *History* 101, no. 345 (April, 2016): 183 –202.

Brown, R. Allen. "The "treasury" of the later twelfth century." In *Studies Presented to Sir Hilary Jenkinson*, edited by J. Conway Davies, 35–49. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1957.

Burton, Janet. "Citadels of God: Monasteries, Violence, and the Struggle for Power in Northern England, 1135-1154." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2008): 17–30.

———. "Commemoration and Memorialization in a Yorkshire Context." In *Durham Liber Vitae and its Context*, edited by David Rollason, A. J. Piper, and Margaret Harvey. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004.

———. *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britian, 1000-1300*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

———. "The abbeys of Byland and Jervaulx, and the problems of the English Savigniacs, 1134-1156." *Monastic Studies* 2 (1990): 119–131.

———. *The Monastic Order in Yorkshire, 1069-1215*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.

Burton, Janet, and Karen Stöber, eds. *Monasteries and society in the British Isles in the later Middle Ages*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2008.

———, eds. *The Regular Canons in the Medieval British Isles*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

Burton, Janet E. "Past models and contemporary concerns: the foundation and growth of the Cistercian order." Edited by Franz J. Felten and Werner Rösener. *Studies in Church History* 44 (2008): 27–45.

———. "The foundation of the British Cistercian houses." In *Cistercian Art and Architecture in the British Isles*, edited by Christopher Norton and David Park, 24–39. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

———. "The Knights Templar in Yorkshire in the twelfth century: a reassessment." *Northern History: A Review of the History of the North of England and the Borders* 27 (1991): 26–40.

Bussby, Frederick. *Winchester Cathedral, 1079-1979*. Southampton: Paul Cave, 1979.

Bynum, Caroline Walker. *Jesus as Mother: Studied in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages*. Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press, 1982.

Campbell, J. "Some twelfth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past." In *Essays in Anglo-Saxon History*, edited by J. Campbell, 209–28. London, 1986.

Carpenter, D.A. "King Henry III and Saint Edward the Confessor: The Origins of the Cult." *English Historical Review* 122, no. 498 (2007): 865–91.

Cartwright, Jane, ed. *Celtic Hagiography and Saints' Cults*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.

Cassidy-Welch, Megan. *Monastic Spaces and their Meanings: Thirteenth-Century English Cistercian Monasteries*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2001.

Cavell, Emma. "Bohun, Margaret de [née Margaret of Gloucester]." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Chaplais, P. "The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase Abbots of Westminster (1121-1157)." In *A medieval miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton*, edited by P. M. Barnes and C. F. Slade, 36:89–110. Pipe Rolls Society, new ser., 1962.

Chedzey, Jane. "Manuscript Production in Medieval Winchester." *Reading Medieval Studies* 29 (2003): 1–18.

Cheney, Mary Gwendolen, ed. *English Episcopal Acta 33: Worcester 1062-1185*. British Academy, 2008.

Chibnall, Marjorie. "Forgery in narrative charters." In *Internationaler Kongress Des Monumenta Germaniae Historica, Fälschungen im Mittelalter. 6 vols.* IV:331–46. Hannover, 1988.

———. "The Changing Expectations of a Royal Benefactor: The Religious patronage of Henry II." In *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, edited by Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

———. *The Empress Matilda: Queen Consort, Queen Mother and Lady of the English*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 1992.

Church, S. "Succession and Interregnum in the English Polity: The Case of 1141." *The Haskins Society Journal* 29 (2017): 181–200.

Church, S.D. "Aspects of the English Succession, 1066-1199: The Death of the King." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 29 (2007): 17–34.

Clanchy, M.T. *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307*. Third edition. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2013.

Cowdrey, Herbert Edward John. "The Anglo-Norman "Laudes regiae"." *Viator* 12 (1981): 37–78.

Cownie, Emma. "Gloucester abbey, 1066-1135: an illustration of religious patronage in Anglo-Norman England." In *England and Normandy in the middle ages*, edited by David Bates and Anne Curry, 143–57. London: The Hambledon Press, 1994.

———. *Religious Patronage in Anglo-Norman England, 1066-1135*. London: The Royal Historical Society, 1998.

Crick, J. "Historical literacy in the archive: Post-Conquest imitative copies of Pre-Conquest charters and some French comparanda." In *The Long Twelfth-Century view of the Anglo-Saxon past*, edited by Martin Brett and David A. Woodman, 159–90. Ashgate, 2015.

Crick, Julia. "Geoffrey and the prophetic tradition." In *The Arthur of Medieval Latin Literature: The Development and Dissemination of the Arthurian Legend in Medieval Latin*, edited by Siân Echard, 67–82. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011.

———. "Geoffrey of Monmouth, prophecy and history." *Journal of Medieval History* 18, no. 4 (1992): 357–371.

———. "St Albans, Westminster and some Twelfth-Century views of the Anglo-Saxon Past." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 25 (2005): 65–83.

Crick, Julia C. *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. III : A Summary Catalogue of the Manuscripts*. Cambrdige: D.S. Brewer, 1989.

———. *The 'Historia Regum Britannie' of Geoffrey of Monmouth. IV: Dissemination and Reception in the Later Middle Ages.* Cambrdige: D.S. Brewer, 1991.

Crook, John. "'A worthy antiquity': the movement of King Cnut's bones in Winchester Cathedral." In *The reign of Cnut: king of England, Denmark and Norway*, edited by Alexander R. Rumble, 165–191. London: Leicester Univeristy Press, 1994.

———. "Bishop Walkelin's cathedral." In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, edited by John Crook, 21–36. Chichester: Phillimore, 1993.

———. *English Medieval Shrines.* Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011.

———. "St Swithun of Winchester." In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, 57–68. Chichester: Phillimore, 1993.

———. *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West, c.300-1200.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.

———. "The Romanesque west front of Winchester Cathedral." In *Intersections: the archaeology and history of Christianity in England, 400-1200: papers in honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle*, edited by Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsay, 219–35. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010.

———, ed. *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993.* Winchester, 1993.

Crosby, Everett U. *Bishop and Chapter in Twelfth-Century England: A Study of the 'Mensa Episcopalis'.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994.

Crouch, David. "Clare, Richard de [Richard of Ceredigion, Richard fitz Gilbert]." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———, ed. *Llandaff Episcopal Acta 1140–1287.* Cardiff: South Wales Record Society, 1989.

———. *The Reign of King Stephen, 1135-1154.* Pearson Education Limited, 2000.

Cubitt, Catherine. "Finding the Forger: An Alleged Decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield." *The English Historical Review* 114, no. 459 (1999): 1217–1248.

Dalton, Paul. "Ecclesiastical Responses to War in King Stephen's Reign: The Communities of Selby Abbey, Pontefract Priory and York Cathedral." In *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World*, edited by Paul Dalton, Charles Insley, and Louise J. Wilkinson. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2011.

———. "In Neutro Latere: The armed neutrality of Ranulf II Earl of Chester in King Stephen's Reign." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 14 (1999): 39–59.

———. "The Topical Concerns of Geoffrey of Monmouth's Historia Regum Britannie: History, Prophecy, Peacemaking, and English Identity in the Twelfth Century." *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005): 688–712.

Davies, John Reuben. *The Book of Llandaf and the Norman Church in Wales*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003.

———. "The cult of saints in the early Welsh March: aspects of cultural transmission in a time of political conflict." In *The English Isles: cultural transmission and political conflict in Britain and Ireland, 1100-1500*, edited by Seán Duffy and Susan Foran, 37–55. Dublin: Fourt Courts Press, 2013.

———. "The saints of South Wales and the Welsh church." In *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West*, edited by A. Thacker and R. Sharpe, 361–395. Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2002.

Davies, R. R. "Kings, lords and liberties in the March of Wales." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 29 (1979): 41–61.

———. *The Age of Conquest: Wales, 1063-1415*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000.

Davis, G.R.C. *Medieval Cartularies of Great Britain and Ireland*. Edited by Claire Breay, Julian Harrison, and David M. Smith. The British Library, 2010.

Davis, R.H.C. "The College of St Martin-le-Grand and the Anarchy, 1135-54." *London Topographical Record* XXIII (1974): 9–26.

Dickinson, J.C. *The Origins of the Austin Canons and Their Introduction into England*. London, S.P.C.K, 1950.

Donovan, Claire. "The Winchester Bible." In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, edited by John Crook, 81–96. Chichester: Phillimore, 1993.

Duggan, Charles. "Richard of Ilchester, Royal Servant and Bishop." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16, nos. 1-21 (1996).

Eales, Richard, and Richard Sharpe, eds. *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest: Churches, Saints and Scholars, 1066-1109*. London: The Hambledon Press, 1995.

Echard, Siân. *Arthurian Narrative in the Latin Tradition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.

Elrington, C. R. "Parishes: Deerhurst." In *A History of the County of Gloucester*, vol. 8. Victoria County History, 1968.

England, Jennie M. "The Codex Wintoniensis in its Twelfth-Century Context." *Haskins Society Journal* 29 (2017): 115–139.

Evans, J. Wyn. "St David and St Davids and the coming of the Normans." *Transactions of the Honourable Society of Cymmrodorion* New Series, 11 (2005 for 2004): 5–18.

Evans, J. Wyn, and Jonathan M. Wooding, eds. *St David of Wales: cult, church and nation*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer Brewer, 2007.

Evans, R. J. W. "Frontiers and National Identities in Central Europe." *The International History Review* 14, no. 3 (1992): 480–502.

Eyton, R. W. *Court, household and itinerary of King Henry II*. Taylor: London, 1878.

Farr, T.G., P.A. Rosen, E. Caro, R. Crippen, R. Duren, S. Hensley, M. Kobrick, M. Paller, E. Rodríguez, and L. Roth. "The Shuttle Radar Topography Mission." *Reviews of Geophysics* 45 (2007).

Finberg, H. P. R. *Lucerna: Studies of some problems in the early history of England*. London: Macmilland co Ltd, 1964.

Fleming, Robin. "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary." In *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the 12th Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History 1995*, edited by C. Warren Hollister, 83–155. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1997.

Fletcher, R. H. *The Arthurian Material in the Chronicles*. Studies and Notes, Philology and Literature X. Boston: Ginn & Company, 1906.

Flood, Victoria. *Prophecy, Politics and Place in Medieval England. From Geoffrey of Monmouth to Thomas of Erceldoune*. Cambrdige: D.S. Brewer, 2016.

Foot, Sarah. "Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?" In *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*, edited by Elizabeth M. Tyler and Ross Balzaretti, 16:39–65. Studies in the Early Middle Ages. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Franklin, M. J. "Giffard, William (*d.* 1129)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. "Introduction." In *English Episcopal Acta 8: Wincester 1070-1204*, edited by M. J. Franklin. Oxford: British Academy/Oxford University Press, 1993.

———. "The Bishops of Winchester and the Monastic Revolution." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 12 (1989): 47–65.

Garnett, George. *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007.

———. "The Origins of the Crown." *Proceedings of the British Academy* 89 (1996): 171–214.

Geary, Patrick J. *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the end of the First Millennium*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1994.

Gem, R. D. H. "The Romanesque Rebuilding of Westminster Abbey." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): 33–60.

Gillingham, John. *Richard I*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1999.

———. "The Context and Purposes of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *History of the Kings of Britain*." In *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*, edited by John Gillingham, 19–39. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000.

———. *The English in the Twelfth Century: Imperialism, National Identity and Political Values*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2000.

Golding, Brian. "Anglo-Norman Knightly Burials." In *The Ideals and Practice of Medieval Knighthood. Papers from the first and second Strawberry Hill Conferences*, edited by Christopher Harper-Bill and Ruth Harvey, 35–48. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1986.

———. *Gilbert of Sempringham and the Gilbertine Order, c.1130-c.1300*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.

———. "Piety, Politics, and Plunder: Across the Anglo-Welsh frontier: Acquiring the Relics of Winifred and Beuno." In *Monasteries on the Borders of Medieval Europe: Conflict and Cultural Interaction*, edited by Emilia Jamroziak and Karen Stöber, 19–48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2013.

———. "The coming of the Cluniacs." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 3 (1980): 65–77.

———. "The Religious Patronage of Robert and William of Mortain." In *Belief and Culture in the Middles Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, edited by Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser, 211–30. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001.

Grant, Lindy. *Abbot Suger of St-Denis: Church and State in Early Twelfth-Century France*. London: Longman, 1998.

Gray Birch, Walter de. *Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*. Simpkin % Co., Limited, 1892.

Greatrex, Joan G. "St Swithun's Priory in the later Middle Ages." In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, edited by John Crook, 139–166. Chichester: Phillimore, 1993.

Green, Dennis H. *The beginnings of medieval romance: fact and fiction, 1150-1220*. Cambridge: Medium aevum, 2002.

Green, J. A. "The Piety and Patronage of Henry I." *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001): 1–16.

Green, Judith. *The Aristocracy of Norman England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Green, Judith A. "Aristocratic women in early twelfth-century England." In *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance: Proceedings of the Borchard Conference on Anglo-Norman History*, edited by C. Warren Hollister, 59–82. Boydell & Brewer, 1997.

———. *English Sheriffs to 1154*. London: HMSO, 1990.

———. "Henry I and the Origins of the Civil War." In *King Stephen's Reign (1135-1154)*, edited by Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White, 11–26. Boydell Brewer, 2008.

———. *Henry I: King of England and Duke of Normandy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

———. *The Government of England Under Henry I*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.

Greenway, Diana E, ed. *Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae 1066-1300: Volume 2, Monastic Cathedrals (Northern and Southern Provinces)*. Institute of Historical Research, London, 1971.

Hallam, Elizabeth M. "Monuments: The Burial Places of English Kings." *History Today* 31, no. 7 (1981): 44–9.

———. "Royal burial and the cult of kingship in France and England, 1066-1330." *Journal of Medieval History* 8 (1982): 359–80.

Hare, M. "Kings, Crowns and Festivals: the Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 115 (1997): 41–78.

Hare, Michael. "The Chronicle of Gregory of Caerwent: A preliminary account." *Glevensis* xxvii (1993): 42–44.

———. "The Two Anglo-Saxon minsters of Gloucester." *Deerhurst Lecture*, 1992.

Harmer, F. E. "Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Historian." *Bulletin of the John Rylands University Library of Manchester* 22 (1938): 339–67.

Harper-Bill, Christopher. "Herluin, abbot of Bec, and his biographer." *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978): 15–25.

Harper-Bill, Christopher, and Nicholas Vincent, eds. *Henry II: New Interpretations*. Woodbridge, 2007.

Harrison, Stuart, and John McNeill. "The Romanesque Monastic Buildings at Westminster." In *Westminster: The Art, Architecture and Archaeology of the Royal Abbey and Palace*, 69–103. British Archarological Association by Maney, 2015.

Hart, Cyril. "The Codex Wintoniensis and the King's Haligdom." In *Land, Church, and People: Essays Presented to Professor H.P.R. Finberg*, edited by J. Thirsk, 7–38. British Agricultural History Society, 1970.

Harvey, Barbara. "Abbot Gervase de Blois and the Fee-Farms of Westminster Abbey." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* XL, no. 102 (1967): 127–142.

———. *Westminster Abbey and its Estates in the Middle Ages*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977.

Harvey, Barbara F. "The Monks of Westminster and the Peculium." In *The Study of Medieval manuscripts of England: Festchrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*, edited by George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voights, 325–348. Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Centre for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, in collaboration with Brepols, 2010.

Hayward, Paul Anthony. "Geoffrey of Wells' "Liber de infantia sancti Edmundi" and the "Anarchy" of King Stephen's Reign." In *St Edmund, King and Martyr: Changing Images of a Medieval Saint*, 63–86. York: University of York, York Medieval Press, 2009.

Hayward, Paul Anthony. "Saints and cults." In *A Social History of England, 900-1200*, edited by Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts, 309–321. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

———. "Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1998): 67–93.

Heale, Martin. *The Dependent Priories of Medieval English Monasteries*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2004.

Heighway, Carolyn. "Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald." In *Edward the Elder: 899-024*, edited by N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill, 102–127. Routledge: London & New York, 2001.

Heighway, Carolyn, and Richard Bryant. *The Romanesque Abbey of St Peter at Gloucester*. Pre-publication draft, 2017.

Heslop, T. A. "Twelfth-Century Forgeries as Evidence for Earlier Seals: the Case of St Dunstan." In *St Dunstan: his Life, Times and Cult*, edited by N. Ramsay, M. Sparks, and T. Tatton-Brown, 299–31. Woodbridge, 1992.

Hiatt, Alfred. *The Making of Medieval Forgeries: False Documents in Fifteenth-Century England*. London & Toronto: The British Library & University of Toronto Press, 2004.

Hindle, Paul. "Sources for the English medieval road system." In *Roadworks: Medieval Britian, medieval roads*, edited by Valerie Allen and Ruth Evans, 33–49. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016.

Holdsworth, Christopher. "The Church." In *The Anarchy of Stephen's Reign*, edited by Edumund King, 207–229. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994.

Hollister, C. Warren. "Mandeville, Geoffrey de, first earl of Essex (d. 1144)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. "The Greater Domesday Tenants-in-Chief." In *Domesday Studies: Papers read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, edited by J. C. Holt. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987.

———. "The Misfortune of the Mandevilles." *History* 58, no. 192 (Feb. 1973): 18–28.

Honeybourne, Marjorie B. "The Leper Hospitals of the London Area." *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 21, no. 1 (1963): 4–61.

Hughes, Kathleen. "British Library MS. Cotton Vespasian A. XIV (Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium): its purpose and provenance." In *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages*, edited by David Dumville, 53–67. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1980.

Huneycutt, Lois L. *Matilda of Scotland: A Study in Medieval Queenship*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2003.

Huntington, Joanna. "Edward the Celibate, Edward the Saint: Virginity in the Construction of Edward the Confessor." In *Medieval Virginities*, edited by Anke Bernau, Ruth Evans, and Sarah Salih, 119–139. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.

———. "Saintly power as a model of royal authority: the "royal touch" and other miracles in the early vitae of Edward the Confessor." In *Aspects of Power and Authority in the Middle Ages*, edited by Brenda Bolton and Christine Meek, 14:327–343. International Medieval Research, 2007.

Impey, Edward. "Summary History of the Tower of London." In *The White Tower*, 1–10. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008.

Jackson, Peter. "Osbert of Clare and the Vision of Leofric." In *Latin learning and English lore: studies in Anglo-Saxon literature for Michael Lapidge*, edited by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe and Andy Orchard, 2:275–92. Toronto; London: University of Toronto Press, 1995.

Jackson, Peter, and Tom Licence. "'In translatione sancti Edwardi confessoris': the lost sermon by Ælred of Rievaulx found?" *Cistercian Studies Quarterly: An International Review of the Monastic and Contemplative Spiritual Tradition* 40, no. 1 (2005): 45–83.

Jamroziak, Emilia. "How Rievaulx Abbey Remembered its Benefactors." In *Religious and Laity in Western Europe, 1000-1400: Interaction, Negotiation, and Power*, edited by Emilia Jamroziak and Janet Burton, 63–76. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

———. *Rievaulx Abbey and its Social Context, 1132-1300: Memory, Locality, and Networks*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

———. *Survival and Success on Medieval Borders: Cistercian Houses in Medieval Scotland and Pomerania from the Twelfth to the Late Fourteenth Century*. Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 24. Turnhout: Brepols, 2011.

John, Eric. "Edward the Confessor and the Celibate Life." *Analecta Bollandiana* 97 (1979): 71–78.

———. "The Church of Winchester and the tenth-century Reformation." *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 47, no. 2 (1965): 404–429.

Jones, Glanville R. J. "The portrayal of land settlement in Domesday Book." In *Domesday Studies: Papers read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986*, edited by J. C. Holt, 183–200. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1987.

Jones, Lynne. "From Anglorum basileus to Norman saint: the transformation of Edward the Confessor." *Haskins Society Journal* 12 (2003): 99–120.

Jordan, William Chester. *A Tale of Two Monasteries: Westminster and Saint-Denis in the Thirteenth Century*. Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2009.

Karn, Nicholas. "'Textus Roffensis' and its Uses." In *Textus Roffensis: Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, edited by Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi, 49–67. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

Keats-Rohan, K.S.B. *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166. II. Pipe Rolls to "Cartae Baronum"*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2002.

———. *Domesday People: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166. I. Domesday Book*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1999.

———. "The Prosopography of Post-Conquest England: Four Case Studies." *Medieval Prosopography* 14, no. 1 (1993): 1–53.

Keene, Derek. "London from the post-Roman period to 1300." In *The Cambridge Urban History of Britain*, edited by D. M. Palliser, 187–216. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

Kerr, Julie. *Monastic Hospitality: The Benedictines in England, c. 1070-c. 1250*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007.

Keynes, Simon. *An Atlas of Attestations in Anglo-Saxon Charters, c.670-1066*. Cambridge: Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse & Celtic, University of Cambridge, 2002.

———. "Regenbald the Chancellor (*sic*)." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 10 (1988): 185–222.

King, Edmund. "Blois, Henry de (*c.* 1096–1171)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. *King Stephen*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2010.

King, Edmund J. "Henry of Winchester: the bishop, the city, and the wider world." *Anglo-Norman Studies* XXXVII (2014): 1–23.

King, Vanessa. "Share and Share alike? Bishops and Their Cathedral Chapters: The Domesday Evidence." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 28 (2005): 138–152.

Knowles, David, and R. Neville Hadcock. *Medieval Religious Houses: England and Wales*. London: Longman, 1971.

Knowles, David Brooke, Christopher N. L. London, and Vera C. M. *Heads of Religious Houses: England and Wales 940-1216*. Second edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.

Knowles, Dom David. *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 960-1216*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1950.

Kusaba, Yoshio Leo. "Henry of Blois, Winchester, and the 12th-century renaissance." In *Winchester Cathedral: Nine Hundred Years, 1093-1993*, edited by John Crook, 69–80. Chichester: Phillimore, 1993.

Lancaster, Joan C. "The Coventry Forged Charters: A Reconsideration." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 27 (1954): 113–40.

Lapidge, Michael. *The Cult of St Swithun*. Winchester Studies, 4.ii. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.

Lawyer, John E. "Aelred of Rievaulx's "Life of St. Edward the Confessor" - A Medieval Ideal of Kingship." *Fides and Historia* XXXI, no. 1 (1999): 45–65.

Leyser, Karl. "The Anglo-Norman Succession, 1120-25." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 13 (1991): 225–241.

Licence, Tom, ed. *Bury St Edmunds and The Norman Conquest*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2014.

Lifshitz, Felice. "Beyond Positivism and Genre: "Hagiographical" Texts as Historical Narrative." *Viator* 25 (1994): 95–113.

Love, Rosalind, ed. *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, Vita S. Rumwoldi*. Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996.

———, ed. *Three Anglo-Latin Saints' Lives: Vita S. Birini, Vita et Miracula S. Kenelmi, Vita S. Rumwoldi*. Oxford: Oxford Medieval Texts, 1996.

Marzella, Francesco. "Introduction." In *Aelred Rievallensis, Opera Omnia: 7 Opera Historica et Hagiographica*, edited by Francesco Marzella, 13–84. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis, IIIA. Turnhout: Brepols, 2017.

Mason, Emma. "Lawrence (*d.* 1173)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. "Pro Statu et Incolumnitate Regni Mei: Royal Monastic Patronage, 1066-1154." *Studies in Church History* 18 (1982): 99–117.

———. "The donors of Westminster abbey charters c.1066-1240." *Medieval Prosopography* 8, no. 2 (1986): 23–39.

———. *Westminster Abbey and its people: c.1050-c.1216*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1996.

Mason, J. F.A. "Pain fitz John." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Moore, John S., ed. *Domesday Book*. Vol. 15: Gloucestershire. Phillimore: Chichester, 1982.

Morey, Adrian, and C. N. L. Brooke. *Gilbert Foliot and His Letters*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965.

Mortimer, Richard. "Clare, Gilbert de [Gilbert fitz Richard, Gilbert of Tonbridge]." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

———. "Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend." In *Edward the Confessor: The Man and the Legend*, edited by Richard Mortimer, 1–40. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2009.

Mostert, Marco. "Forgery and trust." In *Strategies of Writing: Studies on Text and Trust in the Middle Ages. Papers from "Trust in Writing in the Middle Ages" (Utrecht, 28-29 November 2002)*, edited by Petra Schulte, Marco Mostert, and Irene van Renswoude, 37–59. Turnhout: Brepols, 2008.

Nelson, Janet L. "The Rites of the Conqueror." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 4 (1981): 117–132.

Nightingale, Pamela. *A Medieval Mercantile Community: The Grocers' Company and the Politics and Trade of London, 1000-1485*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 1995.

Nixon, H. M. "The Binding of the Winton Domesday." In *Winchester in the early middle ages: an edition and discussion of the Winton Domesday*, edited by Martin Biddle, 526–540. Winchester Studies, 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Norton, Christopher. *St William of York*. York: University of York, York Medieval Press, 2006.

O'Brien, Bruce, and Barbara Bombi, eds. *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

Owen, Dorothy M. "Chesney, Robert de (d. 1166)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Page, Mark. *The Medieval Bishops of Winchester: estate, archive and administration*. Hampshire County Council: Winchester, 2002.

Page, William, ed. "Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of St Peter at Gloucester." In *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2*, 53–61. London, 1907.

———, ed. "Houses of Benedictine monks: The abbey of Tewkesbury." In *A History of the County of Gloucester: Volume 2*. London: Victoria County History, 1907.

Park, David. "Medieval Burials and Monuments." In *The Temple Church in London: History, Architecture, Art*, edited by Robin Griffith-Jones and David Park, 67–92. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2010.

Parsons, John Carmi. "'Never was a body buried in England with such solemnity and honour': The Burials and Posthumous Commemorations of English Queens to 1500." In *Queens and Queenship in Medieval Europe: Proceedings of a Conference held at Kings College London, April 1995*, edited by Anne J. Duggan, 317–337. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 1997.

Paxton, Jennifer. "Forging communities: memory and identity in post-conquest England." *Haskins Society Journal* 10 (2001): 95–109.

———. "Monks and Bishops: The Purpose of the *Liber Eliensis*." *Haskins Society Journal* 11 (1998): 17–30.

Pezzini, Domenico. "Aelred of Rievaulx's 'Vita Sancti Edwardi Regis et Confessoris': its genesis and radiation." *Cîteaux* 60 (2009): 27–77.

Pfaff, Richard W. *Liturgy in Medieval England: A History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009.

Poole, A. L. *Domesday Book to Magna Carta 1087-1216*. 2nd. Cambridge, 1963.

Postles, David. "The Austin Canons in English Towns, c.1100-1350." *Historical Research* LXCI, no. 159 (1993): 1–20.

Power, Daniel. *The Norman Frontier in the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

Prestwich, J. O. "The Treason of Geoffrey de Mandeville." *The English Historical Review* 103, no. 407 (1988): 283–317.

Riall, Nicholas. "Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester: A patron of the Twelfth-Century Renaissance." *Hampshire Papers* 5 (1994): 1–28.

Richards, Mary P. "The 'Textus Roffensis': Keystone of the Medieval Library at Rochester." In *Textus Roffensis: Law, Language, and Libraries in Early Medieval England*, edited by Bruce O'Brien and Barbara Bombi, 19–48. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

Richardson, H. G. "The Coronation in Medieval England: The Evolution of the Office and Oath." *Traditio* 60 (1960): 111–202.

Richardson, Henry G., and George O. Sayles. *The Governance of Mediaeval England from the Conquest to Magna Carta*. Edinburgh: Edinbrugh University Press, 1963.

Rider, Jeff. "Arthur and the Saints." In *King Arthur Through the Ages*, edited by Valerie M. Lagorio and Mildred Leake Day, 1:3–21. Garland Publishing Inc.: New York & London, 1990.

Ridyard, S. J. "Condigna Veneratio: Post-Conquest Attitudes to the Saints of the Anglo-Saxons." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1987): 179–206.

Roach, Levi. *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871–978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013.

Robinson, J. A. "Westminster in the twelfth century: Osbert of Clare." *Church Quarterly Review* 68 (1909): 336–56.

Robinson, J. Armitage. "A Sketch of Osbert's Career." In *The Letters of Osbert of Clare Prior of Westminster*, edited by E. W. Williamson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1929.

———. *Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster: A study of the Abbey under Norman Rule*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.

———. "Introduction." In *The History of Westminster Abbey by John Flete*, edited by J. Armitage Robinson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1909.

Rollason, David, Margaret Harvey, and Michael Prestwich, eds. *Anglo-Norman Durham: 1093-1193*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1995.

Rollason, David W. "Symeon of Durham's *Historia de Regibus Anglorum et Dacorum* as a product of 12th-century historical workshops." In *The long twelfth-century view of the Anglo-Saxon past*, edited by Martin Brett and David A. Woodman, 95–111. Franham: Ashgate, 2015.

Rosser, Gervase. *Medieval Westminster, 1200-1540*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989.

Round, J. H. *Feudal England: Historical Studies on the XIth and XIIth centuries*. Swan Sonnenschein & co: London, 1895.

———. *Geoffrey de Mandeville: A Study of the Anarchy*. London: Longmans, Green, 1892.

Rozier, Charles. "Contextualizing the past at Durham Cathedral Priory, c. 1090-1130: uses of history in the Annals of Durham, Dean and Chapter Library, MS Hunter 100." *Haskins Society Journal* 25 (2014 for 2013): 107–123.

Rubenstein, Jay. "Liturgy Against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury." *Speculum* 74 (1999): 271–301.

Rumble, Alexander R. *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*. Winchester Studies, 4.iii. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2002.

———. "The Purposes of the Codex Wintoniensis." *Anglo-Norman Studies* IV (1981): 153–166; 224–232.

Rushford, Rebecca. *Saints in English Kalendars Before 1100 A.D.* Henry Bradshaw Society 117. Woodbridge, 2008.

Salter, H. E. "The Death of Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester." *The English Historical Review* 37, no. 145 (1922): 79–80.

Saltman, Avrom. *Theobald Archbishop of Canterbury*. London: University of London, The Athlone Press, 1956.

Saunders, G. "The Extent of Westminster at Various Periods." *Archaeologia* 26 (1836): 223–41.

Scholz, B. W. "Two forged charters from the abbey of Westminster and their relationship with St. Denis." *English Historical Review* 76, no. 300 (1961): 466–78.

Scholz, Berhard W. "The Canonization of Edward the Confessor." *Speculum* 36, no. 1 (1961): 38–60.

Scholz, Bernhard W. "Sulcard of Westminster: "Prologus de Construccione Westmonsaterii"." *Traditio* 20 (1964): 59–91.

Sharpe, Richard. *English Benedictine libraries: the shorter catalogues*. London: British Library, 1996.

Short, Ian. "Gaimar's epilogue and Geoffrey of Monmouth's Liber vetustissimus." *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies* 69, no. 2 (1994): 323–43.

Smith, Joshua Byron. "Benedict of Gloucester's Vita Sancti Dubricii: an edition and translation." In *Arthurian Literature*, edited by Elizabeth Archibald, XXIX:53–100. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2012.

Southern, R.W. "Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4, The Sense of the Past." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, Fifth Series* 23 (1973): 243–263.

Spiegel, Gabrielle M. "The Cult of Saint Denis and Capetian Kingship." *Journal of Medieval History* 1 (1975): 43–69.

Stafford, Pauline. *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in eleventh-century England.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2001.

Stenton, F. M. *The First Century of English Feudalism, 1066-1166, Second Edition.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1961.

Strickland, Matthew. *Henry the Young King: 1155-1183.* New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2016.

Stringer, Keith J. *The Reign of Stephen: Kingship, warfare and government in twlefth-century England.* Routledge: London & New York, 1993.

Sullivan, David. *The Westminster Circle: The people who lived and worked in the early town of Westminster, 1066-1307.* London: Historical Publications, 2006.

Summerson, Henry. "Gloucester, Benedict of (fl. c.1150)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Taylor, Pamela. "Ingelric, Count Eustace and the Foundation of St Martin-le-Grand." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 24 (2001): 215–237.

Thomas, Hugh M. "Violent Disorder in King Stephen's England: A Maximum Argument." In *King Stephen's Reign, 1135-1154*, edited by Paul Dalton and Graeme J. White, 139–70. Boydell Brewer, 2008.

Thompson, Sally. *Women Religious: The Founding of English Nunneries after the Norman Conquest.* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991.

Thomson, Rodney. "Books and Learning at Gloucester Abbey in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries." In *Books and Collectors 1200-1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, edited by James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite. British Library, 1997.

———. "The Library of Bury St. Edmunds Abbey in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." *Speculum* 47, no. 4 (1972): 617–645.

Tinti, Francesca. "From episcopal conception to monastic compilation: Hemming's Cartulary in context." *Early Medieval Europe* 11, no. 3 (2002): 233–261.

Tinti, Francesca. "Si litterali memorie commendaretur: Memory and Cartularies in Eleventh-century Worcester." In *Early Medieval Studies in Memory of Patrick Wormald. Studies in Early Medieval Britain*, edited by Stephen Baxter, Catherine Karkov, Janet L. Nelson, and David Pelteret, 475–497. Farnham: Ashgate, 2009.

———. *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100*. Ashgate, 2010.

Truax, Jean A. "All roads lead to Chartres: the house of Blois, the papacy, and the Anglo-Norman succession of 1135." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2009): 118–134.

Truax, Jean. A. "Winning over the Londoners: King Stephen, the Empress Matilda, and the Politics of Personality." *Haskins Society Journal* 8 (1996): 43–61.

Tudor-Craig, Pamela. "Henry of Blois, the Cluny connection, and two ivories in the Victoria and Albert Museum." In *Intersections: the archaeology and history of Christianity in England, 400-1200: papers in honour of Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle*, edited by Martin Henig and Nigel Ramsay, 243–52. Oxford: Archaeopress, 2010.

Tyler, Elizabeth M. "The Vita Ædwardi: the politics of poetry at Wilton Abbey." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (2008): 135–56.

Tyler, Elizabeth M., and Ross Balzaretti, eds. *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West*. Turnhout: Brepols, 2006.

Vincent, N., J. C. Holt, and J. Everard, eds. *Acta Henry II: The Letters and Charters of Henry II (1154-1189)*. Oxford, forthcoming.

Vincent, Nicholas. "Les Normands de l'entourage d'Henri II Plantagenêt." In *La Normandie et l'Angleterre au Moyen Age: Colloque de Cerisy-la-Salle (4-7 Octobre 2001)*, edited by Pierre Bouet and Véronique Gazeau, 75–88. Caen, 2003.

———. "Review: The original acta of St Peter's Abbey, Gloucester, c.1122–1263. Edited by Robert B. Patterson. (Gloucestershire Record Series, 11)." *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 55 (January 2004): 157 –159.

———. "The Court of Henry II." In *Henry II: New Interpretations*, edited by Christopher Harper-Bill and Nicholas Vincent, 278–334. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 2007.

———. "The Origins of the Winchester Pipe Rolls." *Archives* 21 (1994): 25–42.

———. "Warin and Henry fitz Gerald, the King's chamberlains: the origins of the Fitz Geralds revisited." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 21 (1999): 233–260.

Voss, Lena. *Heinrich von Blois, Bischof von Winchester, 1129-71*. Historische Studien, Berlin, 1932.

Walker, David. "A register of the churches of the monastery of St Peter's, Gloucester." In *An ecclesiastical miscellany*, edited by John Henry Somerset Kent, William J. Sheils, and David Walker. Bristol, 1976.

———. "Gloucestershire castles." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 109 (1991): 5–23.

———. "Miles of Gloucester, Earl of Hereford." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 77 (1959 for 1958): 66–84.

———. "The 'honours' of the earls of Hereford in the twelfth century." *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 79, no. 2 (1960): 174–211.

———. "The Norman Settlement in Wales." *Anglo-Norman Studies* I (1978): 131–143; 222–224.

Wareham, A. F. "Serlo (*c.* 1104)." In *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

Warren, W. L. *Henry II*. New Edition. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2000.

Watson, Sethina. "The Origins of the English Hospital." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 16 (2006): 75–94.

Waugh, Scott. "The Lives of Edward the Confessor and the Meaning of History in the Middle Ages." In *The Medieval Chronicle III: Proceedings of the 3rd International Conference on the Medieval Chronicle, Doorn/Utrecht 12-17 July 2002*, edited by Erik Kopper, 200–18. New York, 2004.

Webber, Teresa. "Symeon of Durham as cantor and historian at Durham Cathedral priory, c. 1090-1129." In *Medieval cantors and their craft: music, liturgy and the shaping of history, 800-1500*, edited by Katie Ann-Marie Bugyis, A.B. Kraebel, and Margot E. Fassler, 190–206. York: York Medieval Press, 2017.

Webster, Paul. *King John and Religion*. Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2015.

Welander, David. *The History, Art and Architecture of Gloucester Cathedral*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing, 1991.

Wessel, P., and W. H. F. Smith. "Generic Mapping Tools: Improved version released." *EOS Transactions Amererican Geophysical Union* 94 (2013): 409–410.

White, Graeme J. *Restoration and Reform, 1153-1165: Recovery from Civil War in England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.

———. "The myth of the anarchy." *Anglo-Norman Studies* 22 (2000 for 1999): 323–37.

Wightman, W. E. *The Lacy Family in England and Normandy 1066-1194*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966.

William of Malmesbury. *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation, and Study of William of Malmesbury's De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*. Edited by John Scott. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press, 1981.

Wormald, Patrick. "How do we know so much about Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?" In *The Times of Bede: Studied in Early English Christian Society and its Historian*, edited by Stephen Baxter. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, 2006.

Wright, N. "The place of Henry of Huntingdon's "Epistola ad Warinum" in the text-history of Geoffrey's of Monmouth's "Historia regum Britannie": a preliminary investigation." In *France and the British Isles in the Middle Ages and Renaissance: Essays by Members of Girton College, Cambridge in Memory of Ruth Morgan*, edited by G. Jondorf and D. N. Dumville, 71–113. Woodbridge, 1991.

Yarrow, Simon. *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2006.

Yohe, Katherine. "Ælred's Recrafting of the Life of Edward and Confessor." *Cistercian Studies Quarterly* 38, no. 2 (2003): 177–190.