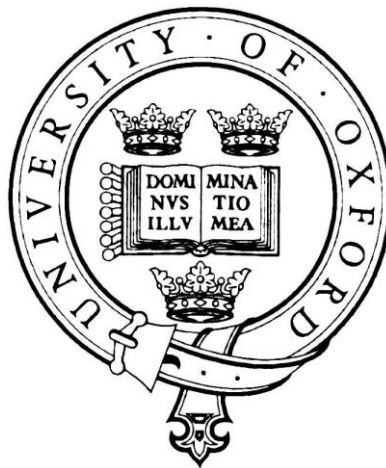


Æthelwold's Circle, Saints' Cults, and Monastic Reform, c. 956-1006

Alison Hudson



Faculty of History

Oriel College, University of Oxford

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

Trinity Term 2014



*Æthelwold's Circle, Saints' Cults, and Monastic Reform, c. 956-1006*

Alison Hudson

Oriel College, University of Oxford

Submitted for the Degree of D.Phil in History

Trinity Term 2014

### Short Abstract

This dissertation examines the veneration of saints at the monasteries which were refounded and funded by the English monastic reformer *Æthelwold* and his students between the mid-950s and 1006. Scholars have noted that monastic reformers in general—and *Æthelwold* in particular—invested considerable energy and resources in the veneration of saints, and this work attempts to provide the first full-scale discussion of venerating practices at the houses connected to *Æthelwold*. *Æthelwold's* circle is worth studying because its members dominate the surviving sources and also seem to have exerted a considerable influence on contemporaries. Moreover, *Æthelwold's* and his disciples' veneration of saints reveals interesting patterns. Although *Æthelwold* and his monks promoted (and often achieved) ecclesiastical uniformity and standardization in many areas, they venerated different saints in various ways at their different monasteries. I argue that these practices emerged because the forms of veneration revealed in the sources were developed by monks in reaction to events and actors outside their monasteries. The timing of certain forms of veneration (as revealed in charters) and the nature of some of the saints (like *Swithun*, an unreformed cleric whose lifestyle contravened some of the monks' ideals) suggest that the monks were motivated by their relationships with groups outside their monasteries. Indeed, most surviving sources pertain to forms of veneration that the monks anticipated would be viewed by groups outside the monastery. Since the social and political contexts at the circle's monasteries varied, so did the monks' veneration. Thus, this study illuminates how the members of *Æthelwold's* circle shaped their relationship with the laity, a relationship which posed key

problems for monasticism (and reformers) throughout the ages. Equally, the variety of saints at Æthelwold's monasteries can highlight and supplement our understanding of different social, political, and geographical contexts in Anglo-Saxon England.

Æthelwold's Circle, Saints' Cults, and Monastic Reform, c. 956-1006

Alison Hudson

Oriel College, University of Oxford

Submitted for the Degree of D.Phil in History

Trinity Term 2014

Long Abstract

This dissertation examines the veneration of saints at a group of monasteries which were refounded and funded by the English monastic reformer Æthelwold and his students between the mid-950s and about 1006. Studies of tenth-century English monastic reformers have often acknowledged that the veneration of saints was one of the reformers' major preoccupations; however, they have not provided extensive discussions of this veneration nor offered convincing explanations for the range of saints venerated by various groups of reformers. This dissertation has therefore tried to provide the first large-scale, systematic examination of how one group of reformers—Æthelwold's circle—venerated saints. While this group's activities and attitudes were not representative of all tenth-century English reformers, they were arguably some of the most influential English churchmen of the period, controlling many of the wealthiest and most prominent ecclesiastical establishments. Their activities are therefore worth examining. Moreover, compared to tenth-century reformers in general, including on the continent, Æthelwold's circle seems to have achieved an unusual degree of uniformity in its practices and was unusually well-documented in the surviving sources: it therefore provides an interesting test case to see how (or if) reformers' ideals and agenda related to their venerating activity.

This study confirms previous scholars' suggestions that the veneration of saints was a major focus of these reformers' activities. Only limited numbers and types of sources survive, pertaining only to a few types of veneration; nevertheless, the sources suggest that members of Æthelwold's circle invested considerable resources in certain

forms of veneration, from deluxe manuscripts of hagiographies, to shrines, to new additions to their churches. The importance which members of Æthelwold's circle placed on saints can also be seen in the way they depicted themselves with saints in some of their most precious records. At Abingdon, the Wintonian houses, Ely, *Burh*, and Thorney, members of the circle went out of their way to emphasize their associations with saints in their records of especially valuable (or particularly controversial) possessions.

The circle's veneration of saints also reveals some perhaps unexpected patterns. While Æthelwold and his monks promoted (and often achieved) ecclesiastical uniformity and standardization in many areas, they venerated different saints in diverse ways at their monasteries. It was not until the second generation of Æthelwold's circle that the monks began to venerate saints that had previously been exclusively associated with other monasteries in the circle. Moreover, some of the saints with which the circle was particularly associated contradicted the lifestyles and ideals that the circle championed. I argue that these practices emerged because monks developed certain forms of veneration in reaction to events and actors outside their monasteries. Since the external groups and contexts varied, so did aspects of the monks' veneration.

The influence of external groups and events is suggested firstly by the chronology of certain forms of veneration. The first chapter of this thesis discusses how, in charters from Abingdon, these monks generally claimed property had been given to the monastery *of* Mary; however, apparently when large or controversial grants were being made or the monastery was undergoing a period of transition, they portrayed property being given directly to Mary herself. The monks seem to have altered the way they portrayed their relationship with saints in response to the state of their relationships with groups outside their monastery.

The second chapter argues that the monks' choice of saints at the next set of monasteries they refounded—those at Winchester— also shows that their venerating practices were influenced by their external relationships. The monks of the Old Minster, Winchester, linked their veneration of Swithun—a ninth-century bishop whose clerical lifestyle contradicted their goals—to increased cooperation from some of their wealthy, clerical rivals. Whether or not their veneration of Swithun did encourage their clerical rivals to cooperate, interaction with outsiders was evidently at the forefront of the monks' minds as they commemorated Swithun. The veneration of Eadburh at the Nunnaminster might also have been motivated by external interests, because the circle generally seems to have avoided venerating members of the West Saxon royal family where possible. This is not to suggest that the circle had no agency in choosing which saints to venerate. At the New Minster, the monks seem to have ignored pre-existing cults of secular figures and possibly even emphasized a different saint as the special patron of the monastery. Nevertheless, even at the New Minster, the choice of some of the saints the circle venerated seems to have been influenced by the interests and expectations of external groups: in particular, the monks venerated the hermit Iudoc, even though they seem to have rejected eremitical lifestyles ideologically.

The evidence from the monks' establishments at Ely, *Burh*, and Thorney— presented in Chapters 3 and 4— further suggests that members of Æthelwold's circle could be flexible in the way they publicly venerated saints, apparently in reaction to their varying relationships with external groups. The monks who went to Ely, *Burh*, and Thorney dealt with many of the same members of the West Saxon elite there as they had in Winchester and even Abingdon; however, they had very different relationships with these groups in these different contexts. While Ealdorman Æthelwine does not seem to have interfered with the monks at Winchester and actively helped those at *Burh*, the

community at Ely claimed he hindered their attempts to reclaim their property. By contrast, the community at Ely claimed that Ælfric Cild had supported them, while their brethren at Abingdon claimed he harassed them. Even the monks at *Burh* and Thorney—although they were a few miles apart and shared many of the same resources—seem to have had different relationships with local secular elites. This seems to have led the monks at these houses to adopt different approaches to veneration. At *Burh*, the monks of the first and second generations seem to have focused on the cult of Peter and do not seem to have venerated more local saints prominently before 1006. Just as the monks of Abingdon seem to have enjoyed a degree of stability, the monks of *Burh* may have been able to do this because they enjoyed the support of Ealdorman Æthelwine. By contrast, the monks at Thorney seem to have focused on a local saint, Botulf: just after the second generation, they even featured Botulf alongside Mary in a charter. It was very unusual for a non-universal saint to be featured in a charter in this way: this perhaps highlights the difference between Thorney and nearby *Burh*, and may result from those two monasteries having different relationships with external groups. Thorney does not seem to have enjoyed such powerful local connections and its monks may have emphasized their relationship to more local saints as a result. Similarly, different contexts and changing relationships may illuminate why Æthelwold's monks venerated the ninth-century Swithun at Winchester more intensively than the relics of seventh-century saints at the Old Minster, but at Ely they prioritized the seventh-century saint Æthelthryth and her sisters. The monks' changing relationships to various external groups perhaps help to explain the variety of saints which the circle venerated; this variety suggests that their interactions with external groups were complicated and worth tracing.

The final chapter examines the veneration of saints at all the houses in the circle after Æthelwold's death. The evidence in this chapter seems to confirm the previous

chapters' analysis that the circle's venerating practices—at least, those evident in the sources—seem to have been influenced by the circle's relationships to groups outside their monasteries. Additionally, the circle seems to have begun venerating saints associated with other houses in the circle in this period, perhaps to foster unity and cooperation in the wake of Æthelwold's death.

This thesis concludes by suggesting that Æthelwold and his monks saw the veneration of saints as a locus of interaction with groups outside the monasteries. Their venerating practices can perhaps be explained with reference to their relationships with these external groups. This assessment differs from previous scholars' analyses, which have not fully explored the diversity of veneration or its potential implications and which have emphasized monks' autonomous agency and agenda in promoting certain saints. For example, Mary Clayton has argued that, initially, Æthelwold's circle uniformly venerated the Virgin Mary, and only venerated more diverse, local saints after Æthelwold's death. This, however, fails to account for Æthelwold's veneration of Swithun, Æthelthryth, Iudoc, and others. Other scholars have suggested that Æthelwold was primarily interested in pre-viking, 'Bedan' saints. However, Æthelwold's interest in saints extended far beyond English saints from the 'Age of Bede' to include much earlier figures and figures from the ninth century. My study of Æthelwold's circle and of the veneration of saints addresses this diversity of practice and considers the wider implications of variations in veneration.

In turn, these conclusions can help illuminate the goals and strategies of Æthelwold's reforms, and perhaps of monastic reformers more generally. Whereas modern (and indeed contemporary) historians have tended to portray Æthelwold's circle as 'unyielding' and 'uncompromising', this thesis suggests that the circle could be profoundly flexible in their dealings with groups outside the monasteries, from embracing

saints which contradicted their lifestyles to altering the way they portrayed their relationship with saints. This thesis therefore suggests that Æthelwold's circle's methods were perhaps more subtle than has been previously been acknowledged. This study of Æthelwold's circle and saints' cults also illuminates how these reformers shaped their relationship with the laity, a relationship which posed key problems for monasticism throughout the ages. While previous scholars have emphasized the circle's reliance on royal support, the circle's interaction with non-royal outsiders was also crucial for its longevity and success. While Æthelwold's writings and actions prioritized the removal of external influences from the monasteries he controlled, he also assumed that the reformed churches would have some influence on members of the rest of society (whom he expected would attend services). Even in his most doctrinaire prescriptive texts, like the *Regularis Concordia*, Æthelwold acknowledged that his monasteries needed the financial donations and protection that secular leaders could afford. This dissertation suggests the circle's venerating practices might explain some of its success in achieving its goals. These conclusions also contribute to wider debates by concurring with continental studies which have emphasized that the process of reform required monks to compromise with society even as they gradually redefined their place therein. Equally, the variety of saints at Æthelwold's monasteries can highlight and supplement our understanding of how particular groups, like secular elites, acted in different social, political, and geographical contexts in Anglo-Saxon England.

## Acknowledgements

This thesis could not have been completed without the generosity of many people and organizations. I would like to thank the AHRC, which funded both my M.St and D.Phil research, thereby enabling me to pursue this project. I am also grateful to the members of Oriel College for all their support and kindness to me over the best part of a decade, and particularly to my tutors Ian Forrest and Julia Mannherz, to the library staff, and to the staff of the Academic Office.

Above all, I would like to thank my supervisors, Lesley Abrams and Conrad Leyser, who have demonstrated the patience of saints in all their help to me. Any remaining errors are entirely the result of my own stubbornness or carelessness. Thanks also to Chris Wickham, Alexis Wilkin, Emily Winkler, and countless others for commenting on my work and offering valuable suggestions.

Finally, I would like to thank Ben, Aileen, and Robert Hudson and Duncan Hardy for putting up with me.

## Table of Contents

Abbreviations.....	3
Figures.....	4
Introduction.....	5
Chapter 1: Abingdon.....	56
Chapter 2: The Wintonian Monasteries.....	87
2.0: Saints at the Old Minster.....	96
2.1: Saints at the New Minster.....	113
2.2: Saints at the Nunnaminster.....	130
Chapter 3: Ely.....	142
Chapter 4: <i>Burh</i> and Thorney.....	174
Chapter 5: The Second Generation.....	214
Conclusion.....	267
Bibliography.....	279



## Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
<i>ASC A</i>	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS A</i> , ed. J.M. Bately (Cambridge, 1986).
<i>ASC C</i>	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS C</i> , ed. K. O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge, 2000).
<i>ASC E</i>	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS E</i> , ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004).
<i>ASC F</i>	<i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS F</i> , ed. P. Baker (Cambridge, 2000).
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>BÆ</i>	Godeman, <i>The Benedictional of St Æthelwold</i> , ed. A. Prescott (London, 2002).
<i>Breuilloquium</i>	Wulfstan of Winchester, 'Le <i>Breuilloquium de Omnibus Sanctis</i> : un poème inconnu de Wulfstan chantre de Winchester', ed. F. Dolbeau, <i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> , 106 (1988), pp. 35-98.
<i>CH</i>	Ælfric, <i>The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric</i> , ed. and trans. B. Thorpe (London, 1846).
<i>DHP</i>	Wulfstan of Winchester, <i>De horis peculiaribus</i> , ed. and trans. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, <i>Wulfstan of Winchester</i> (Oxford, 1991), p. lxxiii-lxix.
<i>DNB</i>	H.C.G. Matthew <i>et al.</i> (eds), <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online</i> (Oxford, 2004).
<i>EEM</i>	[Æthelwold], 'An Account of King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries', ed. and trans. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, <i>Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church</i> (2 vols, Oxford, 1981), i, pp. 144-54.
<i>EHD</i>	<i>English Historical Documents c. 500-1042</i> , ed. D. Whitelock, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1979).
<i>EHR</i>	<i>English Historical Review</i>
Fairweather	<i>Liber Eliensis: a History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century</i> , trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005).
<i>HA</i>	<i>Historia Ecclesie Abendonensis: the History of the Church of Abingdon</i> , ed. and trans. J. Hudson (2 vols, Oxford, 2002).
<i>HBS</i>	Henry Bradshaw Society
<i>HC</i>	Hugh Candidus, <i>The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough</i> , ed. W.T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949).
<i>HE</i>	Bede, <i>Historia Ecclesiastica Gens Anglorum</i> , ed. C. Plummer, <i>Venerabilis Baedae: Opera Historica</i> (Oxford, 1896).
<i>Laws</i>	<i>The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I</i> , ed. and trans. A.J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925).
<i>LDD</i>	Adelard, <i>Lectiones in Depositione S. Dunstani</i> , ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, <i>The Early Lives of St Dunstan</i> (Oxford, 2012), pp. 111-45.
<i>LE</i>	<i>Liber Eliensis</i> , ed. E.O. Blake (Camden Society, 3 <sup>rd</sup> ser., xcii, 1962).
<i>LibÆ</i>	<i>The Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi</i> , trans. S. Keynes and A. Kennedy (forthcoming).
<i>LME</i>	Ælfric, <i>Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham</i> , ed. and trans. C. A. Jones (Cambridge, 1999).

LS	<i>Ælfric, Ælfric's Lives of the Saints: Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church</i> , ed. and trans. W.W. Skeat (Early English Text Society, orig. ser., 76/82, 94/114, 1881-1900).
Narratio	Wulfstan of Winchester, <i>Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno</i> , ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, <i>The Cult of St Swithun</i> (Winchester Studies Series, 4.ii, 2003), pp. 372-551.
NMLV	<i>Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester</i> , ed. W.G. Birch (London, 1892).
NMLVK	<i>The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester</i> , ed. S. Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996).
OVEH	Orderic Vitalis, <i>The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis</i> , ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 vols, Oxford, 1969-80).
PL	<i>Patrologia Latina</i>
RegC	[Æthelwold], <i>The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation</i> , ed. and trans. T. Symons (London, 1953).
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
S	P.H. Sawyer, <i>Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography</i> (London, 1968) = <i>The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters</i> [esawyer.org.uk].
Translatio	Lantfred, <i>Translatio et Miraculi S. Swithuni</i> , ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, <i>The Cult of St Swithun</i> (Winchester Studies Series, 4.ii, 2003), pp. 252-333.
VÆ	Wulfstan of Winchester, <i>Vita S. Æthelwoldi</i> , ed. and trans. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, <i>Wulfstan of Winchester</i> (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-69.
VÆA	Ælfric, <i>Vita S. Æthelwoldi</i> , ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, <i>Wulfstan of Winchester</i> (Oxford, 1991), pp. 71-80.
VIM	'A Metrical <i>Vita S. Iudoci</i> from Tenth-Century Winchester', ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, <i>The Journal of Medieval Latin</i> , 10 (2000), pp. 255-306.
VSΒ	Folcard, <i>Vita S. Botulphi</i> , ed. <i>Acta Sanctorum</i> (68 vols, Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-1940), Iun., III, pp. 402-3.
VSD	B., <i>Vita S. Dunstani</i> , ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, <i>The Early Lives of St Dunstan</i> (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1-109.
VSE	Osbert of Clare, <i>Vita S. Edburgae</i> , ed. S. Ridyard, <i>The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults</i> (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 259-308.
VSO	Byrhtferth of Ramsey, <i>Vita S. Oswaldi</i> , ed. and trans. in M. Lapidge, <i>Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgbwine</i> (Oxford, 2009), pp. 1-203.
Wills	<i>Anglo-Saxon Wills</i> , ed. and trans. D. Whitelock, 2 <sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge, 2011).

## Figures

Figure 1.....	77
Figure 2.....	235-6

## Introduction

It is a truth almost universally acknowledged that a monastic reformer in possession of a major monastery must be in want of a saint's cult.<sup>1</sup> This thesis will examine tenth-century reformers' interest in saints' cults with reference to an influential group of English monasteries—those associated with Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester (c. 904-984)—during a period of fifty years, between 956 and 1006. In particular, this thesis will discuss the veneration of saints by members of the seven monasteries which Æthelwold himself definitely refounded and funded: St Mary's, Abingdon; the New Minster, Winchester; the Old Minster, Winchester; the Nunnaminster, Winchester; St Æthelthryth's, Ely; St Peter's, *Burh*; and St Mary's, Thorney. I shall focus on the veneration of saints because this activity is most prominent in the surviving sources and was, I will argue, a central preoccupation of the monks during these years. In particular, I will argue that the diversity of venerating practices at these monasteries suggests some new perspectives on the goals and methods of Æthelwold's reforms and on wider questions about the nature of monastic reform.

### History of Reform in the Medieval Western Church

The changes advocated by Æthelwold and his circle are usually described as a programme of monastic 'reform'. As such, they fit into a much wider historiographical

---

<sup>1</sup> Scholars who have noted reformers' interest in the veneration of saints include D.J. Sheerin, 'The Dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 980', *RB*, 88 (1978), pp. 261-73 at 266; D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 471; A. Thacker, 'Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by Oswald and his Communities', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (Leicester, 1996), pp. 244-68 at 244; A. Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform Under Dunstan and His Successors', in N. Ramsay *et al.* (eds), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 221-45 at 226-30; A. Rumble, 'The Laity and the Monastic Reform in the Reign of Edgar', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 242-51 at 251; S. Keynes, 'Ely Abbey, 672-1109', in P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 3-58 at 26.

debate. The concept of ‘reform’ dominates the historiography of the early medieval Church: modern scholars have ascribed various forms of ‘reform’ to every century from the Church Fathers to 1200. Gerhart Ladner has discussed the Church Fathers’ concept of reform and its antecedents.<sup>2</sup> For the eighth century, scholars have characterized Chrodegang’s legislation, Bede’s writings, and Boniface’s councils as reforms or attempted reforms.<sup>3</sup> Scholars of the ninth century have used ‘reform’ to describe the legislation on ecclesiastical practice and uniformity issued under the aegis of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious.<sup>4</sup> The promotion of Benedictine monasticism in various parts of modern-day France, the Low Countries, and England in the tenth and eleventh centuries is often termed a reform movement or the Cluniac and Gorze reforms.<sup>5</sup> Meanwhile, eleventh-century popes’ drive to enforce clerical celibacy, discourage simony, and establish the Church’s authority over secular rulers is often termed ‘the Gregorian reform,’ after one of its chief proponents, Gregory VII.<sup>6</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> G. Ladner, *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), pp. 70-93; C. Cubitt, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650-c.850* (London, 1995), p. 245; A. Thacker, ‘Bede’s Ideal of Reform’, in P. Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 130-53 at 150-2; M.A. Claussen, *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canoniorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004).

<sup>4</sup> The literature on this topic is huge. See, for example, R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms (789-895)* (London, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> Again, the literature on this topic is enormous: some examples include D. Iogna-Prat, *Agni Immaculati: Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny (954-994)* (Paris, 1988); B. Rosenwein, *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1982); J. Nightingale, *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2002); S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, 2013). The terms ‘Cluniac’ and ‘Gorze’ are derived from the supposed influence of the major centres at Cluny and Gorze (to which Lin Donnat would add Fleury) on houses in other parts of France, Flanders, and England, although these centres’ influence has been challenged in the past few decades. See K. Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (2 vols, Rome, 1950-51); and L. Donnat, ‘Les coutumes monastiques autour de l’an Mil’, in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds), *Religion et culture autour de l’an mil: Royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), pp. 17-24; as opposed to A. Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse, VIIe-Xie siècles: contribution à l’histoire religieuse des campagnes du haut Moyen Âge* (Sigmarignen, 1985), pp. 332-3; Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 4.

<sup>6</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970); G. Tellenbach, *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1993).

Nevertheless, even though ‘reform’ looms large in early medieval historiography, scholars have yet to establish a consensus about what the nature of these ‘reforms’ were, and whether they should be treated together. A few scholars like Daniel Missoné and Alain Dierkens have tried, painstakingly, to define the differences between ‘reforms’, and between ‘reforms’, ‘renovations’, and ‘recreations’;<sup>7</sup> however, for the most part historians have tended to use the term ‘reform’ in a variety of ways that are not always easily reconcilable. Many have defined reform as, above all, an attempt to recreate a real or imagined past.<sup>8</sup> Others have suggested that the reformers primarily sought to establish boundaries between the laity and ecclesiastics.<sup>9</sup> Still others have portrayed reforms not as ‘a single coherent plan but a series of desperate expedients, intended “to rebuild God’s righteousness with new councils.”’<sup>10</sup> Most recently, Steven Vanderputten has even challenged the idea that reforms were singular events: rather, he has argued that reformers’ rhetoric and commemoration of radical change obscured a complex process of negotiation and compromise with houses’ existing histories and local contexts.<sup>11</sup>

Historians of the church have struggled to pinpoint these men’s (and occasionally women’s) precise goals, achievements, and *modus operandi* due to the discourses developed both by medieval writers and by modern historians themselves. Julia Barrow has noted that the texts produced by and about these ‘reforming’ monasteries do not map easily onto the modern narratives of reform (often inspired by the Protestant Reformation), because early medieval writers themselves hardly ever used the terms

---

<sup>7</sup> D. Missoné, ‘La Restauration Monastique du XIXe siècle: Questions de Méthodologie’, *RB*, 83 (1973), pp. 33-48 at 34, 37; Dierkens, *Abbayes*, pp. 335-6.

<sup>8</sup> Claussen, *Reform of the Frankish Church*, pp. 1-3.

<sup>9</sup> M. de Jong, ‘Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer’, in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II c.770-900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 622-53 at 623, 630.

<sup>10</sup> I.S. Robinson, ‘Reform and the Church, 1073-1122’, in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume IV c. 1024-1198, Part I* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 268-334 at 334.

<sup>11</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 186-7.

*reformatio* and *reformare*.<sup>12</sup> Gregory VII only mentions *reformatio* four times in his letters, and even then he was only discussing changes to individual churches, not change to the Church as a whole.<sup>13</sup> On the relatively rare occasions when early churchmen did discuss *reformatio*, they tended to refer to changes to individuals' lifestyles and attitudes, not to changes to general ecclesiastical structures.<sup>14</sup> Since contemporary churchmen did not use a single concept like 'reform' to encapsulate their goals and attitudes, modern historians, too, have struggled to analyze and summarize the changes these figures sought to make.

Moreover, early medieval narratives about institutional change could deliberately obfuscate those changes or frame them in certain ways. This creates a web of different rhetorical strategies for historians to untangle and consider. As Barrow also noted, early medieval writers may have avoided the language of *reformatio* because they did not want to emphasize the extent of the changes they were imposing.<sup>15</sup> Meanwhile, Vanderputten has recently shown that the monastic writers of eleventh-century Flemish narratives could overemphasize the unity of reformers or the speed and success of institutional change.<sup>16</sup> While eleventh-century Flemish monastic histories portray periods of strict, uniform, energetic reform followed by decline and compromise, Vanderputten argues that changes to monastic life occurred gradually, as monastic leaders compromised with existing institutional frameworks and contemporary society, and that reform was a process more than an 'exogenous shock'.<sup>17</sup>

Nevertheless, even though churchmen did not use clear concepts or consistent rhetoric to cover the institutional changes which they sought to implement, the concept of

---

<sup>12</sup> J. Barrow, 'Ideas and Applications of Reform', in T. Noble and J. Smith (eds), *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 345-62.

<sup>13</sup> Barrow, 'Ideas', p. 361.

<sup>14</sup> Ladner, *Idea of Reform*, p. 2.

<sup>15</sup> Barrow, 'Ideas', p. 347.

<sup>16</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 14-30.

<sup>17</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 187.

monastic reform—or at least of some sort of profound, intentional institutional change—cannot be entirely abandoned for the early medieval period. Some sort of change seems to have taken place in the periods of ‘reform’, as indicated by alterations in ecclesiastical ideals, apparently new economic arrangements of some of these establishments, the sense of instability in some authors’ writing, and other factors. These changes deserve to be examined even if—or perhaps because—they defy easy summation.

This thesis will contribute to this debate about the changes that occurred in ecclesiastical organization in the early Middle Ages by presenting a detailed examination of some of the activities of a relatively small group of ‘reformers’, over a relatively short period. As I will note below, my findings cannot be generalized even within tenth-century England;<sup>18</sup> however, Æthelwold’s circle was extremely influential in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and the houses they refounded remained central for many years and even centuries.<sup>19</sup> Therefore, Æthelwold’s circle deserves to be examined both in its own right and as an example of a group of reformers who had a significant impact on their contemporaries. Moreover, Æthelwold’s circle makes an interesting case to study because they represent a particularly extreme group of reformers, in the sense that they achieved a rare degree of uniformity in their practices and wrote an unusual number of justifications for their practices, even compared to continental reformers.<sup>20</sup> Although Kassius Hallinger notably argued that ‘reforming’ houses on the continent were influenced either by Cluny or Gorze, Dierkens and Vanderputten have argued that there was very little uniformity among Flemish houses, even those associated with the same reforming leaders.<sup>21</sup> By contrast, I will argue below that the monks at Æthelwold’s houses seem to have embraced

---

<sup>18</sup> See below, p. 33.

<sup>19</sup> See the tables based on Domesday Book in D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1940), p. 702.

<sup>20</sup> Barrow, ‘Ideas’, p. 359.

<sup>21</sup> Hallinger, *Gorze-Kluny*; Dierkens, *Abbayes et Chapitres*, pp. 333-2; Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 83.

the same way of life and the same intellectual programmes.<sup>22</sup> The additional information the circle provides (in the form of prescriptive texts and narratives) helps put them into context, and their general commitment to uniformity makes the areas where they do seem to have been flexible all the more significant.

In this study I will continue to use the term ‘reform’ and ‘reformers’ to describe those who intentionally sought to alter monastic life in tenth-century England, while bearing in mind the caveats noted above. In part, this is for clarity: ‘tenth-century English monastic reformers’ is already an established historiographical shorthand for a specific group of churchmen (although some scholars use ‘monastic revolution’).<sup>23</sup> Additionally, Æthelwold’s and his circle’s own writings do not provide a useful, pithy alternative to ‘reform’ to summarize his programme: rather, they simply present their programme as correct and all other approaches to monastic life as wrong. Therefore, I will use the term ‘reform’ in the broadest sense, while remaining aware that this is a later (although still useful) term that does not routinely appear in contemporary sources.

## **The Historiography of Reform in England**

In addition to being situated in the wider historiography of reform, this study is linked to the historiography of tenth-century monastic reformers in England, which has received substantial attention in the past half-century. Volumes released for the millennia of Æthelwold’s, Dunstan’s, and Oswald’s deaths have greatly illuminated the reformers’ activities and contexts, from their participation in politics to the music they sang.<sup>24</sup>

Meanwhile, John Blair’s work on unreformed clerics has greatly expanded our knowledge

---

<sup>22</sup> See below, pp. 33-4.

<sup>23</sup> S. Foot, *Veiled Women* (2 vols, Aldershot, 2000), i, p. 85.

<sup>24</sup> B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988); N. Ramsay *et al.* (eds), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992); N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1996).

of the reformers' impact and context.<sup>25</sup> English scholars have also studied this period intensively, particularly the works of Æthelwold's students Wulfstan and Ælfric.<sup>26</sup>

Many of these analyses correspond to the general patterns in the historiography of reform. Antonia Gransden's work—which suggests that the reformers' break with the past was not as extreme as contemporaries claimed—in some ways anticipates Vanderputten's work on reform as process.<sup>27</sup> Others have emphasized that reformers were trying to recreate a real or imagined Anglo-Saxon past.<sup>28</sup>

Among these works, the seminal analysis of English reformers' goals remains Eric John's 1959 essay on 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth Century Reformation'.<sup>29</sup> John noted that Æthelwold's writings, such as the *Regularis Concordia*, focus above all on how to avoid lay interference in monasteries (*secularium prioratus*), which Æthelwold blamed for the spiritual and intellectual decline in English monastic life.<sup>30</sup> John suggested that the circle succeeded in avoiding this sort of secular interference by promoting and bolstering royal power: they sacralised the king's role, portrayed him as almost Christ-like and he, in return, financed them and gave them significant judicial privileges.<sup>31</sup>

John's analysis, together with later contributions, has allowed scholars to form a picture of the nature of the changes Æthelwold's circle made to the monasteries they controlled and their goals in making those changes. Those changes apparently included

---

<sup>25</sup> J. Blair, 'Local Churches in the Domesday Book and Before', in J.C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies: Papers Read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 265-78.

<sup>26</sup> The historiography on these writers is extensive. A few works that are critical for this study include M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (ed. and trans.), *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991); M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999); M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003); M. Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2005).

<sup>27</sup> A. Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), pp. 159-207 at 159.

<sup>28</sup> See below, p. 18.

<sup>29</sup> E. John, 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 42 (1959), pp. 61-87, repr. in E. John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 154-80.

<sup>30</sup> John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 154-5, 178.

<sup>31</sup> John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 163-76.

imposing the Rule of St Benedict on religious houses, enforcing celibacy, and insisting that members of the community share communal property (rather than having private property). In this, Æthelwold's circle seems to have been inspired by Carolingian precedents (or what they believed were Carolingian precedents): Æthelwold's writings were heavily influenced by the writings from synods held at Aachen by Louis the Pious and Benedict of Aniane.<sup>32</sup> As John has noted, the monks' goal in implementing these standards seems to have been to redefine monasteries' relationships with outside groups, which was a major theme of the *Regularis Concordia*.<sup>33</sup> Similarly, the prescriptive passages in the New Minster Refoundation Charter focus first on defining the monks' relationships with groups outside the monastery (in their dining and socializing habits), before discussing celibacy or communal property.<sup>34</sup> Indeed, the monks' insistence on celibacy and communal property may also have been part of the circle's attempts to extricate monasteries from secular interference. The houses in the circle built up substantial endowments of communal property, which gave them a great deal of power and influence in their local regions, and a degree of autonomy from outside forces. These endowments should not have been liable to be claimed by individual families or inherited, under the rules of the circle, thereby allowing their houses to maintain a wealthy, independent position in society.

Nevertheless, while John's analysis makes sense of many aspects of Æthelwold's writings and activities, his suggestion that Æthelwold and his followers only sought royal support and only served to bolster royal power presents problems. While Æthelwold was

---

<sup>32</sup> *RegC*, p. 11; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. lviii; P. Wormald, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, and Contrast', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 13-42 at 31; A. Rumble (ed. and trans.), *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester* (Winchester Studies Series, 4.ii, 2002), pp. 84-5; D. Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991), p. 288.

<sup>33</sup> John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 154-5, 178.

<sup>34</sup> S745 (A.D. 966); see, for example, the proem of the *Regularis Concordia*, which focuses on free elections and avoiding carousing with lay figures; *RegC*, pp. 1-9.

undoubtedly closely connected to kings and depended on royal support,<sup>35</sup> the works of Hanna Vollrath and Patrick Wormald have undermined John's arguments about the extent to which royal power facilitated the reformers' actions: Vollrath has noted that Edgar does not actually seem to have been present at the synod where the *Regularis Concordia* was promulgated (since the *Regularis Concordia*'s author suggests he sent them greetings, presumably from afar).<sup>36</sup> Meanwhile, Wormald has shown that Edgar did not give the church at Worcester the judicial immunities which formed a key part of John's argument.<sup>37</sup> Moreover, John does not mention any other methods by which the circle negotiated its relationship with local elites and wider society. Alexander Rumble and Janet Pope have shown that while the circle's links to particular kings cannot be denied, secular nobles also supported Æthelwold's monasteries financially and politically.<sup>38</sup> As Catherine Cubitt has noted, John's model does not explain why any of these men and women supported Æthelwold, if he single-mindedly sought to supplant their power with increased royal power.<sup>39</sup> Nor did Æthelwold's own writings suggest that he sought to cut his monasteries off from the laity entirely. On the contrary, he acknowledged that monks still needed the protection and support of powerful lay figures.<sup>40</sup> Indeed, his monks seem to have aspired to interact with the laity in some settings and expected the laity to attend their services.<sup>41</sup> While some scholars, notably Rumble and Pope, have highlighted the circle's relationship with the laity, they have tended to focus on lay initiatives, like laymen who joined monasteries and lay patronage of particular houses as well as on

---

<sup>35</sup> For example, see below, pp. 61-3.

<sup>36</sup> H. Vollrath, *Die Synoden Englands bis 1066* (Paderborn, 1985), p. 275; P. Wormald, 'Oswaldslow: An "Immunity"?', in Brooks and Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald*, pp. 117-128.

<sup>37</sup> Wormald, 'Oswaldslow', pp. 117, 127-8; John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 163-76.

<sup>38</sup> Rumble, 'Laity', pp. 242-51; J.M. Pope, 'Monks and Nobles in the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Reform', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1994), pp. 165-80.

<sup>39</sup> C. Cubitt, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *Early Medieval History*, 6 (1997), pp. 77-94 at 86.

<sup>40</sup> Abbots 'shall not, however, be allowed to meet persons of importance... but only according as the well-being and defence of the monastery demand' ('potentibus uero non... sed pro monasterii utilitate atque defensione quotiens expedierit, obviandi... licentiam habeant'); *RegC*, p. 7.

<sup>41</sup> See below, p. 47.

monks' direct employment of lay artisans.<sup>42</sup> These authors did not have space to engage fully with the changeable relationships between these groups, or investigate how the monks interacted with and reacted to the laity.

Therefore, work remains to be done to explain the circle's 'reforming' goals and how they sought to achieve them, both in the context of the wider historiography of reformers and in that of tenth-century English reformers in particular. This study will suggest another way of understanding the circle's longevity and success: while members of the circle certainly relied on royal support and generosity, their veneration practices suggest that they also interacted with and compromised with groups outside their monasteries to gain lay support (or at least non-interference). In particular, this thesis will focus on the monks' relationships with the secular clerics they supplanted and with socially, economically, and politically powerful lay people. While the laity with whom the circle interacted included a diverse range of individuals—from slaves to small farmers to ealdormen—the sources tend to reveal the circle's interaction with other clerics and with a handful of prominent individuals, like Ealdorman Æthelwine, Ealdorman Ælfhere, Queen Ælfthryth, and Wulfstan of Dalham. These powerful individuals—and their potential to either support or interfere with monastic life—seem to have been a particular concern to Æthelwold and his followers.<sup>43</sup> This analysis thus follows in the tradition of Peter Brown, who has argued in a different context that saints' cults highlight relationships between secular elites and churchmen.<sup>44</sup> This work will also corroborate Sarah Hamilton's recent work on how churchmen compromised with the laity in the central Middle Ages, contrary to the view that lay piety and pastoral care only became concerns in the thirteenth century.<sup>45</sup> In doing so, this work contrasts with contemporary

---

<sup>42</sup> Rumble, 'Laity', pp. 243-9; Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', p. 165.

<sup>43</sup> *RegC*, p. 7.

<sup>44</sup> P. Brown, *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981), pp. 36, 40.

<sup>45</sup> S. Hamilton, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013).

and later accounts that have portrayed reformers in general and Æthelwold's circle in particular as 'unyielding' and 'uncompromising', particularly in regards to the laity.<sup>46</sup> For example, John Blair has emphasized that unreformed clerics were embedded in society but makes no similar suggestions for monks and nuns (either before or after the reform). Instead, he contrasts 'the ideals of reformers' and 'the realities and needs of grassroots religious life'. He portrays the reform as 'court-driven' and suggests that reformed monasteries missed out on 'some of the positive aspects of lay lordship'.<sup>47</sup>

### **The Circle and Saints' Cults**

This thesis will examine Æthelwold's circle and the changes to monastic life which they promoted through the lens of the saints they venerated. I have chosen to use the veneration of saints as a lens for two reasons: one methodological, the other historiographical.

The methodological reason for viewing Æthelwold's circle through their veneration of saints is that most of the sources relating to the circle mention saints in some way. In some respects, it would be impossible to analyze the circle and their activities without considering these monks' veneration of saints. Even the prescriptive sources, like the *Regularis Concordia*, emphasize the correct liturgical commemoration of saints.<sup>48</sup> The major narrative sources for reform include saints' *vitae*, whether the *vitae* of Æthelwold himself or the hagiography of Swithun. Likewise, the preface to the Old English translation of the Rule of St Benedict (known as 'Edgar's Establishment of the

---

<sup>46</sup> Æthelwold was 'the harsh, unyielding, hasty reformer... whose cruelty produced a reaction the moment he was dead'; J. Armitage Robinson, *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923), p. 155, p. 104. See also Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 39; F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England* (3<sup>rd</sup> edition, Oxford, 2001), p. 452. More recently, John Blair has described Æthelwold as the 'sternest and most uncompromising of the reformers'; J. Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005), p. 351.

<sup>47</sup> Blair, *Church*, pp. 344, 350, 352, 357.

<sup>48</sup> See, for example, *RegC*, pp. 7, 14-5.

Monasteries’) emphasized Edgar’s relationship with God and the Virgin Mary.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, the New Minster Refoundation Charter opens with an image of the king flanked by the Virgin Mary and St Peter.<sup>50</sup> Its first line is addressed to Mary and Christ as well as the monastery in question.<sup>51</sup> Similarly, many other charters associated with the circle depict different houses’ relationships to various saints. I will argue that the veneration of saints was a key focus of Æthelwold’s and his monks’ activities, given the substantial economic resources and energy they invested in the veneration of the holy dead. Furthermore, I will argue that the circle emphasized their relationship to saints as part of their strategies for securing their reforms.

Despite the centrality of saints to many of the sources, Æthelwold’s circle’s relationship to saints’ cults has not been systematically examined. Many scholars have acknowledged the importance of saints’ cults to reformers: as early as 1978, D. J. Sheerin argued that ‘[t]he discovery or re-discovery of the neglected relics of local saints seems to have been a specialty of the reformed monasticism,’ and later scholars have concurred.<sup>52</sup> However, scholars have yet to examine fully the roles that saints’ cults played in reformed monasteries. While there have been detailed, monograph-length studies of the veneration of individual saints—like Swithun and Mary—studies of the whole range of saints venerated by a particular group of reformers have been too brief to explore fully the

---

<sup>49</sup> *EEM*, pp. 144-5. The authorship of this text is not explicitly stated, but many scholars argue that the author was Æthelwold or an associate. (The prose style matches that found at Æthelwold’s monasteries, and the sole copy of the text appears in conjunction with Æthelwold’s translation of the Rule of St Benedict); see Dorothy Whitelock’s commentary in D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke (eds), *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church* (2 vols, Oxford, 1981), i, p. 142.

Admittedly, Robinson had challenged Æthelwold’s authorship, arguing that Æthelwold would have acknowledged Eadred’s role in founding Abingdon and been less critical of Eadwig, who gave Abingdon estates: Robinson, *Times*, pp. 159-63. However, this reinterpretation of Abingdon’s history does not rule out Æthelwold’s authorship, since *EEM* is extremely flattering to Edgar, Æthelwold’s major ally.

<sup>50</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. viii, fo. 2v.

<sup>51</sup> S745 (A.D. 966).

<sup>52</sup> Sheerin, ‘Dedication’, p. 266. See also Thacker, ‘Saint-Making’, p. 244; Thacker, ‘Cults at Canterbury’, pp. 226-30; Rumble, ‘Laity’, p. 251; Rollason, *Saints*, p. 471.

circle's range of veneration.<sup>53</sup> This is the second reason it is worth creating a full-scale study of Æthelwold's circle and saints' cults.

There have been some, very brief examinations of Æthelwold's and his circle's venerating practices. In 1988, Alan Thacker created the first systematic account of the saints associated with Æthelwold's houses at the end of his article on 'Æthelwold and Abingdon'.<sup>54</sup> Thacker meticulously listed the saints venerated at each monastery, and much of Thacker's list still stands. However, Thacker's three-page summary of the circle and saints has often been taken as the last word by subsequent scholars, rather than a starting-point, even though Thacker noted a fascinating diversity in the saints venerated by various houses in the circle. Instead, subsequent scholars have seized on Thacker's suggestion that Æthelwold was primarily interested in pre-viking, 'Bedan' saints.<sup>55</sup>

[Æthelwold's] activities were not random... always, however, he was anxious to draw attention to the pre-Viking past, preferably to the time of Bede and the founding fathers of English monasticism.<sup>56</sup>

Thacker made these comments in the context of an article which was not primarily focused on saints: rather, he sought to establish the extent to which the monastery at Abingdon formed the basis for Æthelwold's other monasteries. Therefore, he concluded by emphasizing the similarities in the veneration of saints at Æthelwold's other monasteries. Additionally, Thacker's focus on Bedan influences fits with the themes of the whole volume: in the same collection, Patrick Wormald noted that Æthelwold's interest in establishing monastic cathedrals—in contrast to contemporary continental practice—might have been inspired by Bede's writings.<sup>57</sup> By contrast, in other contexts, Thacker emphasized the continental parallels that might have influenced Æthelwold's

---

<sup>53</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*; M. Clayton, *The Cult of Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990); Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury', pp. 221-45; Thacker, 'Saint-Making', pp. 244-68.

<sup>54</sup> A. Thacker, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 43-64.

<sup>55</sup> Thacker, 'Abingdon', pp. 62-3.

<sup>56</sup> Thacker, 'Abingdon', p. 62.

<sup>57</sup> Wormald, 'Æthelwold and His Continental Counterparts', p. 41.

translation of Swithun and also the links between Æthelwold's veneration of saints and territorial aggrandizement (although he did not have space to elaborate these observations fully).<sup>58</sup> Nevertheless, his comments in his article on Abingdon have been taken out of context to contribute to a whole explanatory framework of monastic reform, which elucidates many of the reformers' actions with reference to Æthelwold's apparent interest in Bede and the eighth-century church.<sup>59</sup> According to this model, as summarized by Julia Crick, Æthelwold's references to past precedents and figures 'went beyond rhetoric: it amounted to a programme for action.'<sup>60</sup> Æthelwold's actions are attributed to his historical interests and his nostalgia rather than to any contemporary political or social considerations.

Certainly, not all historians share this view of Æthelwold's and his circle's interest in the past: Foot has noted that Æthelwold's view of the Anglo-Saxon past was often a 'construction rather than recollection' developed to downplay the novelty of Æthelwold's programme.<sup>61</sup> Similarly, Julia Crick (following Thacker himself) has noted that contemporary continental reformers also used rhetoric and forms from local history: Æthelwold's programme might therefore have been inspired less by Bede than by continental contemporaries.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, even among some of these scholars, Thacker's initial suggestions about Æthelwold's circle and saints have become established. Crick has accepted that reformers had a particular 'fixation' with eighth-

---

<sup>58</sup> Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury', pp. 226-34.

<sup>59</sup> For examples of this, see Blair, *Church*, p. 353; S. Coates, 'Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church Retrospective* (Studies in Church History, xxxiii, Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 61-74; B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8920?docPos=1>].

<sup>60</sup> J. Crick, 'Forgery and the Past in Tenth-Century England', in D. Rollason *et al.* (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levinson (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2011), pp. 515-44, at 520.

<sup>61</sup> S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge, 2006), p. 14.

<sup>62</sup> Crick, 'Forgery and the Past', p. 533.

century saints.<sup>63</sup> Similarly, Barbara Yorke's article on Æthelwold for the Oxford

Dictionary of National Biography emphasizes Æthelwold's attachment to earlier saints:

Æthelwold's ideal was a return to the time of Bede... His interest in and respect for that period can also be seen in his revival of the cults of seventh-century saints in his foundations, including those of St Æthelthryth and her saintly kinswomen at Ely and of St Birinus at Winchester.<sup>64</sup>

Nevertheless, Yorke also mentions Æthelwold's promotion of Swithun, a bishop from the bad old days of the ninth century, suggesting that more work needs to be done to understand the veneration of saints at Æthelwold's houses.<sup>65</sup> Similarly, as Thacker himself demonstrated, Æthelwold's interest in saints extended far beyond English saints from the 'Age of Bede' and merits a far lengthier discussion<sup>66</sup>: in fact, of the dozen or so saints associated with Æthelwold's major monasteries, only a few appear in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (Birinus, whose relics were located at Winchester, and Æthelthryth and her sisters at Ely). Even then, Birinus's cult received less financial and hagiographical attention at Winchester than that of the ninth-century bishop, Swithun.<sup>67</sup>

Thus, the circle's veneration of saints does not seem to be an open-and-shut case. The complexity and diversity of the circle's venerating practices is perhaps indicated by the work of literary scholars, who have examined the same evidence and have come to the opposite conclusions from historians. In particular, Mary Clayton has argued that Æthelwold's circle initially extended their ideal of uniformity to their veneration of saints, focusing on the cult of the Virgin Mary, and only venerated more diverse, local,

---

<sup>63</sup> Crick, 'Forgery and the Past', p. 517.

<sup>64</sup> Yorke, 'Æthelwold', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8920?docPos=1>].

<sup>65</sup> Yorke, 'Æthelwold', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8920?docPos=1>].

<sup>66</sup> Thacker, 'Abingdon', pp. 60-3.

<sup>67</sup> See below, p. 109. Of course, Æthelwold's circle could have produced hagiographies of Birinus that have subsequently been lost; however, in the writings that do survive, Swithun seems to have been regarded as more prominent than Birinus. For instance, in Wulfstan of Winchester's hagiography of Æthelwold, he mentions that Æthelwold translated Swithun and was devoted to Æthelthryth, but he does not mention Birinus at all; *VÆ*, ch. 26 (pp. 42-3).

and ‘Bedan’ saints after Æthelwold’s death.<sup>68</sup> Clayton usefully highlights the non-Anglo-Saxon saints which seem to have been a major focus of the circle’s venerating activities. However, her chronology does not account for the circle’s early veneration of more local saints like Swithun, Æthelthryth, Iudoc, and others, simultaneously with their veneration of Mary. Indeed, Æthelwold’s Benedictional—which Clayton portrays as the high point of unified, Marian-centric devotion within the circle, before they adopted more diverse, local saints—also featured Æthelthryth in a gold-encrusted miniature.<sup>69</sup> Again, further, more detailed analysis of the circle’s diverse approaches to saints seems to be required.

This analysis has been greatly aided by more recent studies of individual cults which were associated with the circle. Clayton’s study of the veneration of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England is useful in this respect, as is Lapidge’s monumental edition of all the texts associated with the cult of Swithun at the Old Minster, Winchester. Lapidge’s study has demonstrated how much energy and expense Æthelwold’s circle invested in commemorating this non-Bedan saint. Like Thacker and Clayton, Lapidge has suggested that the circle had complete autonomy in their venerating decisions. Lapidge described Swithun as ‘an obscure saint about whom nothing was known at the time of his translation’ and whose cult was totally controlled by the circle.<sup>70</sup>

This focus on interests and agency of churchmen even appears in the analyses of scholars who have emphasized the political motivations behind some saints’ cults. Paul Hayward, following Lapidge’s analysis, has incorporated Æthelwold’s circle’s veneration of Swithun into his larger survey of saints in England between 900 and 1200.<sup>71</sup> Hayward argues that between the tenth and thirteenth centuries, saints were most ardently

---

<sup>68</sup> M. Clayton, ‘Centralism and Uniformity versus Localism and Diversity: the Virgin and Native Saints in the English Monastic Reform’, *Peritia*, 8 (1994), pp. 95-106 at 97.

<sup>69</sup> Clayton, ‘Centralism’, p. 96; *BE*, fol. 90v.

<sup>70</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 73.

<sup>71</sup> P.A. Hayward, ‘Saints and Cults’, in J. Crick and E. Van Houts (eds), *A Social History of England, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 309-20 at 313-14.

venerated at times of political crisis.<sup>72</sup> Equally, saints could be ignored when they were no longer useful to powerful churchmen. However, Hayward still examines cults from the perspective of ecclesiastics, whom he suggests had complete control of cults. However, this view seems to argue from silence (that when texts were not being written about saints, those saints were not being remembered). Moreover, if the circle had the ability to concoct saints and completely control their cults, as Hayward suggests, why would they concoct such a diverse and puzzling range of cults when, as Mary Clayton has noted, the circle were devoted to uniformity in other respects?

Some scholars have noted that lay people could take an independent interest in cults, but they portray the monks' promotion of cults and the laity's interest therein as an almost inevitable feature of early medieval life (perhaps due to the lack of space for a fuller discussion).<sup>73</sup> Indeed, in her study of monks and the nobility, Pope draws her analysis of these dynamics from Barbara Rosenwein's study of Cluny, and she did not have the space to examine the motivations of Anglo-Saxon actors in any great detail.<sup>74</sup>

In this thesis, I will argue that there was much more diversity in the venerating practices of Æthelwold's circle than has previously been acknowledged. Not only did the circle venerate very different types of saints at their various monasteries, they also demonstrated remarkable flexibility in how they construed their relationships to saints at various times. I argue that the impetus for this diversity and flexibility often came from the circle's interactions with groups outside the monastery: in the coming chapters I will attempt to demonstrate that both the circle's choice of saints and the chronology of their veneration were closely linked to the circle's relationships to groups outside the monastery. Recognising this diversity and the circle's goals in venerating particular saints should help to explain the reformers and their context in new ways. My study of

---

<sup>72</sup> Hayward, 'Saints and Cults', pp. 309-10.

<sup>73</sup> Rumble, 'Laity', p. 251; Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', p. 171.

<sup>74</sup> Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', pp. 172-3.

Æthelwold's circle and saints' cults suggests that Æthelwold was not driven by an overwhelming nostalgia for the age of Bede nor by a single-minded interest in Mary; rather, his circle often seems to have been motivated by external interactions. These conclusions have the potential to illuminate not just saints' cults, but the goals of the members of Æthelwold's circle, whom historians usually depict avoiding the laity. In contrast, this study suggests that Æthelwold's circle could seek to influence the laity and bring them into their churches while rejecting lay interference in and authority over the Church.

### **The Circle's Understanding of Saints**

At this stage it is profitable to define what is meant by the term 'saint' in relation to Æthelwold and his associates. Like many of their contemporaries, Æthelwold's circle conceived of a saint as a dead person who may have worked miracles during life and by whose virtues and intercessions God continued to grant miracles such as relief from illness, release from physical prisons, and release from sins.<sup>75</sup> They were usually denoted by the adjectives *sanctus/a* or *beatus/a* in Latin texts, and by *sanct* and *hal(i)ga/hal(i)ge* in Old English texts. Occasionally, these terms were also applied to particularly holy objects which were associated with saints: for example, in the 980s Abbot Æthelgar of the New Minster allegedly built a tower dedicated to the Holy Cross as well as Mary, the Evangelists, the archangel Michael, and the Holy Trinity.<sup>76</sup> As this last example suggests, angels and aspects of God (Christ, the Trinity, etc.) could be venerated in similar contexts and ways as purely human saints: for instance, the Holy Trinity and St Michael were listed as the dedicatees of churches in charters. In fact, angels seem to have been included

---

<sup>75</sup> 'It is clear then that this saint, while enjoying his eternal life, is able by virtue of his merits to release us from the chains of our sins and take us to the heavenly kingdom' ('Constat ergo sanctum hunc, aeternae uitae coniunctum, uirtute meritorum suorum posse nos a peccatorum nostrorum uinculis soluere et ad caelestia regna perducere'); *VÆ*, ch. 46 (p. 69).

<sup>76</sup> *NMLV*, p. 10; this text is discussed further below, pp. 115, 222.

in the more elaborate hierarchies of types of saints developed in this period: Wulfstan of Winchester (following a Carolingian sermon) begins his poem on All Saints with a discussion of angels.<sup>77</sup> The other categories he discussed included patriarchs, prophets, apostles, the Virgin Mary, martyrs, doctors of the Church, confessors, and virgins.<sup>78</sup> This schema seems to be particularly elaborate, and all its elements may not have been embraced in Winchester in this period. In particular, although Old Testament figures were included in Wulfstan's *Breiloquium*, the extent to which Biblical events overlapped with hagiography in other works produced by Æthelwold's circle is debatable. On one hand, Mary and Peter were actively revered, as will be discussed below.<sup>79</sup> On the other hand, in Æthelwold's *Benedictional*, Biblical figures are depicted very differently from post-Biblical saints. The Biblical figures are depicted in motion, interacting with a variety of other individuals.<sup>80</sup> By contrast, post-Biblical saints are portrayed alone, in static and largely de-contextualized poses.<sup>81</sup> Possibly, this difference stemmed from the models available to the *Benedictional*'s artist for depicting later saints (although he had no known models for his depiction of the coronation of the Virgin, suggesting that he did not entirely depend on earlier exemplars). Alternatively, this suggests that the artist of the *Benedictional*, at least, viewed Biblical stories and later saints somewhat differently. At any rate, this subject will require further consideration. At the very least, among the dead who were saints, the circle seems to have recognized three major categories: martyrs, virgins, and confessors. (The opening illustrations in the *Benedictional* show choirs of confessors and virgins, and a further choir depicting martyrs may have been lost.)<sup>82</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> *Breiloquium*, p. 67.

<sup>78</sup> *Breiloquium*, pp. 63-98.

<sup>79</sup> See below, p. 50.

<sup>80</sup> See, for example, *BÆ*, fo. 5v, 15v, 17v, and compare with *BÆ*, fo. 90v, 97v.

<sup>81</sup> See, for example, *BÆ*, fo. 97v.

<sup>82</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 1v-2v.

Not all the dead were saints. In fact, the monks may not have believed that all those who went to heaven were saints. Rather, the monks may have believed that it was possible to be in heaven without being able to intercede in the presence of God, as a saint could. Thus, while the circle claimed that King Edgar had gone to heaven, they never seem to have venerated him as a saint.<sup>83</sup> Although the first and second generations of the circle did not make any explicit comments about this, their contemporary Byrhtferth of Ramsey suggested that there was a region of paradise which was separate from the place that saints congregated before God.<sup>84</sup> He claimed that after Edward the Martyr's death, his soul was taken to 'the refreshment of Paradise' for five years, during which time he did not produce any miracles. After that, God 'commanded His humble servants [angels] to bring forth the king's soul into the sight of His immense majesty' and his tomb started to produce miracles.<sup>85</sup> Byrhtferth seems to have imagined that it was possible to be in heaven without being a miracle-producing saint. As will be discussed below, Byrhtferth's views did not always coincide with those of the circle.<sup>86</sup> But similar patterns in some of the circle's own texts indicate that this view may have been held by the circle as well. It was certainly a view known in England at that time.

### **History of Æthelwold's Circle**

This dissertation will focus on the venerating practices of a group of ecclesiastics which I will term 'Æthelwold's circle', who lived and/or were trained at monasteries which had been refounded by Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester. Æthelwold's circle was not the only group of churchmen associated with promoting changes in monastic lifestyles in late tenth-century England: there were also groups of reformers associated

---

<sup>83</sup> *NMLV*, p. 9; see below, p. 119.

<sup>84</sup> *VSO*, iv.21 (pp. 144-5).

<sup>85</sup> '[A]d refrigerium Paradisi; iussit suis summissis ministris ut ipsius beatam animam perducerent ad visionem sue immense maiestas'; *VSO*, iv.21 (pp. 144-5).

<sup>86</sup> See below, p. 42.

with Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury and later archbishop of Canterbury, and with Oswald, founder of Ramsey and archbishop of Worcester-York. Nevertheless, this thesis will focus on Æthelwold and his associates, because they seem to have formed an unusually uniform group and because they dominate the surviving sources.<sup>87</sup>

Æthelwold was born in Winchester during the reign of Edward the Elder, to parents who were probably outside the highest ranks of the nobility.<sup>88</sup> (Although his hagiographer, Wulfstan of Winchester, claimed Æthelwold's parents were noble, he does not name them. Given that most churchmen in this period do not seem to have come from the highest echelons of society, it seems unlikely that Æthelwold's parents were as prominent as Wulfstan claims.)<sup>89</sup> Nevertheless, Æthelwold entered King Athelstan's court, probably during the late 920s and early 930s.<sup>90</sup> According to Wulfstan, Æthelwold learned a great deal from the *witan* at Athelstan's court, and Sarah Foot has suggested that Æthelwold might also have come into contact with West Frankish scholars there.<sup>91</sup> He was ordained along with Dunstan, the future archbishop of Canterbury and fellow reformer, sometime between 934 and 939.<sup>92</sup> When Dunstan became abbot of Glastonbury, Æthelwold accompanied him and became dean (*decanus*).<sup>93</sup>

By 956, Æthelwold had left his post at Glastonbury to become abbot of Abingdon, a monastery in the traditional borderlands between West Saxon and Mercian territories.<sup>94</sup> According to his hagiographer, he was accompanied by three monks from Glastonbury,

---

<sup>87</sup> See below, pp. 39-43.

<sup>88</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 1 (pp. 2-3).

<sup>89</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 1 (pp. 2-3); M. Blanchard, 'Royal Agents in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Earls, Bishops, and Abbots' (Oxford University Ph.D. thesis, forthcoming).

<sup>90</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 7 (pp. 10-1).

<sup>91</sup> '[L]earning much from the king's *witan*' ('plura a sapientibus regis utilia ac proficua sibi didicit'); *VÆ*, ch. 7 (pp. 10-1); S. Foot, *Æthelstan: First King of England* (Yale, 2011), p. 108.

<sup>92</sup> S417 (A.D. 932); S425 (A.D. 934); Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xliii. For a fuller account of Æthelwold's possible experiences at Athelstan's court, see Foot, *Æthelstan*, pp. 107-8. Wulfstan mentioned that Æthelwold and Dunstan were ordained by Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester, during the reign of Athelstan: Ælfheah's episcopate and Athelstan's reign coincided for the aforementioned span of five years; *VÆ*, ch. 7, 9 (pp. 10-11, 14-7).

<sup>93</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 7, 9 (pp. 10-11, 14-7).

<sup>94</sup> S607 (A.D. 956) is the first charter in which Æthelwold definitely appears as an abbot; see below, p. 56.

one from London, and one from Winchester, although there is no way to verify these claims independently.<sup>95</sup> The circumstances surrounding these men's move to Abingdon are unclear. Some scholars have suggested that they moved to Abingdon for a more rigorous observance.<sup>96</sup> Abingdon seems to have been populated exclusively by monks, whereas Dunstan's Glastonbury housed at least one non-monastic cleric.<sup>97</sup> Wulfstan, for his part, emphasized the royal family's initiative in giving Æthelwold Abingdon, in order to persuade him not to go abroad. However, Wulfstan's emphasis on royal involvement may reflect later attitudes to royal power that were developed by Æthelwold's circle.<sup>98</sup> Either way, at Abingdon Æthelwold seems to have controlled a relatively wealthy community where he was able to enforce a stricter form of religious life and develop an idiosyncratic intellectual programme for his circle. For example, the circle's distinctive Anglo-Caroline script and elements of a favoured hermeneutic style first appear in documents associated with Abingdon.<sup>99</sup>

At Abingdon, Æthelwold may also have tutored the future king Edgar, who became king of Mercia in 957 and king of the whole of England in 959. Edgar proved to be a powerful facilitator for Æthelwold's circle, endowing his houses with land and toll revenues. Edgar also assisted the circle by appointing Æthelwold to the bishopric of Winchester in 963. The see of Winchester was regarded as a senior one, at least in witness-lists: like his predecessors, as bishop of Winchester Æthelwold was regularly the

---

<sup>95</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 11 (pp. 20-1).

<sup>96</sup> See, for example, M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012), p. xxv; B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century' in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 74 (although Yorke acknowledges that Dunstan and Æthelwold seem to have continued to cooperate even after Æthelwold's move).

<sup>97</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. lxix.

<sup>98</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 11 (pp. 18-9); for the circle's later attitudes to royal initiatives, see *RegC*, pp. 2-3.

<sup>99</sup> See, for example, S690 (A.D. 961), whose witness is the earliest surviving example of the circle's Anglo-Caroline style (London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii.39); D.N. Dumville, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History* (Woodbridge, 1993), p. 143. See also S594 (A.D. 956) (British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii.41); T.A.M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971), p. xix. On the writing style and the charter writer's possible connections to the circle, see below, p. 64. On the circle's writing style in general, see below, p. 32-3.

first or second bishop listed in charters' witness-lists, which appear to have been ordered by prestige and status in this period.<sup>100</sup> At the Wintonian monasteries, the circle imposed monastic practices and personnel. With the help of Edgar and his allies, Æthelwold physically expelled the previous, clerical inhabitants of the New Minster and the Old Minster and replaced them with monks. Charters suggest he even cleared secular buildings from the sector of Winchester where these houses were located.<sup>101</sup> Around this time Æthelwold also seems to have taken control of the Nunnaminster and imposed a *nutrix*, Æthelthryth, who had advised his mother, as abbess.<sup>102</sup> (Thus, the term Æthelwold's circle encompasses a group of both men and women.) While at Winchester, Æthelwold (or someone close to him) also wrote detailed accounts justifying the reform of the monasteries and specifying uniform standards of life for reformed monks throughout the country.<sup>103</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> While witness-lists are an imperfect way of gauging prestige, most witness-lists from this period seem to conform to an established hierarchy of offices and individuals. Simon Keynes has suggested that this consistency could exist if the scribes who drew up these lists had access to centrally-produced memoranda (perhaps records of attendance at the king's *witan*), and Susan Kelly has largely concurred (making this one of the points on which the major participants in the debate on Anglo-Saxon charters agree); S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' (978-1016): A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 37; S.E. Kelly (ed.), *Charters of Abingdon Abbey* (2 vols, Oxford, 2000), i, p. lxxx. Æthelwold's predecessor, Byrhtferth, was listed second (after archbishops) in S689 (A.D. 961), S690 (A.D. 961, which survives in a contemporary copy), S696 (A.D. 961), S698 (A.D. 961); first (after Archbishop Dunstan) in S691 (A.D. 961), S692 (A.D. 961), S693 (A.D. 961), S697 (A.D. 961, which survives in the original), S699 (A.D. 961). Æthelwold was listed second in S722 (A.D. 963), first (after archbishops) in S724 (A.D. 964), S725 (A.D. 964), S730 (A.D. 964), etc.

<sup>101</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 18 (pp. 32-5); S745 (A.D. 966); S807 (A.D. 984 for 963 x 970); S1376 (A.D. 975 x 978); for the authenticity of S807's subscriptions, see D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and V. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972), p. 231. For a fuller discussion of this document and its implications, see Rumble, 'Laity', pp. 246-7.

<sup>102</sup> Wulfstan claimed that Æthelwold installed an abbess who was called Æthelthryth and whom Wulfstan 'had already mentioned'. In chapter 2 of his *vita*, Wulfstan mentioned a 'nutrix Deo devotarum virginum' who interpreted Æthelwold's mother's dreams. Sarah Foot has interpreted this phrase to mean that Æthelthryth was the abbess of the Nunnaminster; Foot, *Veiled Women*, ii, p. 246. However, it is not clear that the virgins in question were the community of the Nunnaminster. Moreover, as Foot notes, Æthelthryth would have been very old indeed if she had been the abbess of the Nunnaminster in the 900s or 910s and survived until 963, even though Wulfstan does describe her as 'ripe in years and experience' ('moribus et aetate maturam'). It is possible that 'nutrix' was a literal job description and pertained to a relatively young woman. A few chapters later in the *vita*, Wulfstan discusses Æthelwold having a *nutrix* who took him to mass, and Lapidge and Winterbottom have suggested that 'Æthelthryth' was the same *nutrix* 'who attended Æthelwold's early years' or possibly that Wulfstan was confused and had conflated two different women: *VÆ*, ch. 22 (pp. 36-9); Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. xl, 4, n. 3, 38, n. 1.

<sup>103</sup> S745 (A.D. 966); *RegC*; *EEM*.

Æthelwold added his own personal skills and connections to Edgar to his influence as bishop of Winchester. Contemporary accounts claim that Æthelwold spent much of his time at Edgar's court.<sup>104</sup> Æthelwold may even have been influential enough, during the 960s and 970s, to alter the king's monetary policy. George Molyneaux has noted that English coinage became much more uniform in this period and has suggested that Æthelwold was the instigator of this policy, given Æthelwold's interest in standardizing other, monastic, practices.<sup>105</sup> Molyneaux's suggestion might possibly be corroborated by a passage in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* about Æthelwold's time as bishop of Winchester. Wulfstan mentions a famine in Winchester, during which Æthelwold broke up the silver from one of his churches and 'turned it into money'.<sup>106</sup> The evidence is circumstantial and the story is a common one: in fact, Wulfstan uses it to compare Æthelwold to St Laurence.<sup>107</sup> Nevertheless, it raises intriguing possibilities about the amount of influence Æthelwold exercised over larger political and economic structures in this period.

In the early 970s Æthelwold refounded three more monasteries farther to the east, in the Fens: Ely, *Burh* (which had previously been known as *Medeshamstede*), and

---

<sup>104</sup> Wulfstan and Lantfred both mentioned that Æthelwold was frequently away from Winchester at the king's peripatetic court; *Translatio*, pp. 296-7; *Narratio*, pp. 478-9.

<sup>105</sup> G. Molyneaux, 'The Formation of the English Kingdom' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 2010), pp. 19-20, 197.

<sup>106</sup> 'Accidit enim quodam tempore ut acerba fames... Cumque pecunia deficeret, tolli iussit ornamenta quaeque et argentea uasa per plurima de thesauris ecclesiae, praecepitque ea minutatim confringi et in pecunias redigi' ('once it happened that a bitter famine afflicted... When the money ran out, he [Æthelwold] ordered the collection of all ornaments and many silver vessels to be brought from the church treasuries, and had them broken in pieces and turned into money'). *VÆ*, ch. 29 (p. 44-7). The editors of the *vita*, Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, have suggested that this passage (if it is in any way reliable) may refer to Æthelwold creating bullion; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 44, n. 4. However, Jane Kershaw's recent survey of bullion materials found in England suggests that a bullion economy was limited to areas of Scandinavian settlement and primarily flourished in an earlier period; J. Kershaw, personal communication, 25 November 2013. Instead, Wulfstan's account of how Æthelwold first broke down the silver and then turned it into *pecunia* might be some sort of oblique reference to Æthelwold interfering with the coinage. Admittedly, this passage is difficult to verify because Wulfstan uses this anecdote to compare Æthelwold to St Laurence: therefore, he may have exaggerated certain aspects of Æthelwold's activities. Moreover, it is not clear which famine Wulfstan meant. The C, D, and E versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle only mention a famine in 976, after Edgar's death and years after Edgar's first reforms of the coinage, although a law code mentions pestilences (which could have been occasioned by or caused famines) during Edgar's reign; ASC C, 976, ASC E, 975; *Laws*, pp. 28-9.

<sup>107</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 29 (pp. 44-7).

Thorney. Wulfstan of Winchester later claimed that Æthelwold had bought the monastery at Ely from King Edgar, which is a plausible suggestion.<sup>108</sup> The *Libellus Æthelwoldi*—a twelfth-century Latin text which claims to contain translations of tenth-century, Old English records of Æthelwold’s land deals— includes a more elaborate description of several churchmen competing to acquire Ely, but this account cannot be verified.<sup>109</sup> Meanwhile, Æthelwold and Ealdwulf (the monk he made abbot of *Burh*) seem to have bought the land around *Burh* from a local nobleman, with the help of Ealdorman Æthelwine.<sup>110</sup> Thorney’s early history and the history of its acquisition by Æthelwold remain murky, but it seems to have been acquired and endowed at around the same time as *Burh*.<sup>111</sup>

Æthelwold’s motives in refounding any of these houses are unclear. Wulfstan claimed that Æthelwold refounded Ely out of reverence for the relics held there, and Mechthild Gretsch has shown that this explanation is not entirely implausible.<sup>112</sup> However, Wulfstan was writing two decades after the refoundation, and his views may reflect the attitude Æthelwold’s circle’s developed towards Æthelthryth’s relics *after* they refounded Ely, rather than before. As I will argue in Chapter 3, it seems unlikely that Æthelwold and his monks had a pre-existing interest in Æthelthryth, a saint whose *modus operandi*—in double monasteries— contradicted the reforms the monks were promoting.<sup>113</sup> Alternatively, some historians have argued that Æthelwold refounded Ely and *Burh* because he was particularly interested in sites mentioned in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History*.<sup>114</sup> Certainly, Æthelwold could have been interested in acquiring

---

<sup>108</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 23, 24 (pp. 38-41).

<sup>109</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 2 (*LE*, p. 396). I am grateful to Sarah Foot for lending me her copy of Simon Keynes’ and Alan Kennedy’s forthcoming translation. For a further discussion of the *Libellus* and its reliability, see below, pp. 155-6.

<sup>110</sup> See below, pp. 181.

<sup>111</sup> See below, p. 176.

<sup>112</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 23 (pp. 38-9); Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints*, p. 203.

<sup>113</sup> See below, pp. 153.

<sup>114</sup> Wormald, ‘Æthelwold and His Continental Counterparts’, p. 40; *HE*, iv.6 (p. 218); iv.19 (pp. 246).

prestigious and previously wealthy houses, but this does not explain why Æthelwold refounded Thorney, a house so obscure in the surviving sources that some historians have argued that it did not exist prior to Æthelwold's foundation.<sup>115</sup>

A further strand of historiography—influenced by Eric John's work— suggests that Æthelwold refounded monasteries in the Fens to support Edgar's rule in the eastern provinces of England, where the king may have had less control than in some other areas of his realm.<sup>116</sup> Edgar's law code issued at *Wihthordesstan* (IV Edgar) acknowledged that:

secular rights be in force among the Danes according to as good laws as they can best decide on. Among the English, however, that is to be in force which I and my counsellors have added to the decrees of my ancestors, for the benefit of the nation.<sup>117</sup>

Admittedly, this same law also attempted to legislate for *all* of Edgar's subjects on the topic of theft, so Edgar did not give 'the Danes' total autonomy.<sup>118</sup> Moreover, it is unclear whom the writer of the law considered 'Danes' and 'English';<sup>119</sup> however, modern scholars have surmised that the area which the laws call the 'Danelaw' included the north east of Edgar's realm, including the Fens, even if the boundaries of this region

---

<sup>115</sup> T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Monastic Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200* (Woodbridge, 2004), pp. 131, 135-7. See below, p. 176.

<sup>116</sup> J. Campbell, *The Anglo-Saxon State* (New York, 2000), p. 118; Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints*, p. 200.

<sup>117</sup> *Laws*, pp. 32-3.

<sup>118</sup> L. Abrams, 'King Edgar and the Men of the Danelaw', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 171-91 at 172. The extent of Edgar's authority as presented in IV Edgar is also discussed in P. Wormald, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 317-20.

<sup>119</sup> Cyril Hart defined it 'as those parts of England in which the customary law observed in the shire and borough courts and in the courts of smaller units of local administration exhibited a strong individuality, arising from the Danish influences which prevailed there'; C. Hart, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992), p. 3. Stenton described the Danelaw as a geographical and legal unit with distinctive tenurial customs, although he acknowledged diversity within the Danelaw; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 506. Dawn Hadley has cautioned that terms like 'Dane' and 'Danelaw' may have been used as part of tenth-century rhetorical strategies and did not necessarily denote a sharp divide between regions (or homogeneity within areas grouped together by contemporaries); D. Hadley, 'Viking and Native: Rethinking Identity in the Danelaw', *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), pp. 45-70 at 46-7; Lesley Abrams agrees with Hadley, but further nuances this debate by noting that different regions' different histories of conquest, settlement, and governance could create different degrees of identity and rivalry throughout the north and east of England; Abrams, 'King Edgar and the Men', pp. 172-4, 176. For the historiography of the term 'Danelaw', see L. Abrams, 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder: 899-924* (Abingdon, 2001), pp. 128-43 at 128-30.

and its characteristics are not clear-cut.<sup>120</sup> Edgar thereby acknowledged a degree of autonomy for a significant portion of his kingdom. Moreover, the eastern regions were ruled by an unusually powerful noble family. This family was considered so influential by contemporaries that their patriarch, Athelstan, was known as the ‘Half-King’ (*semi-rex*) by the late tenth century.<sup>121</sup> His descendants included Ealdorman Æthelwine (who frequently appeared as the premier ealdorman in charter witness-lists) and his brothers, who also appeared prominently in witness-lists.<sup>122</sup> James Campbell, among others, has therefore suggested that Æthelwold and other reformed monks refounded monasteries in East Anglia at Edgar’s behest, in order to extend Edgar’s influence.<sup>123</sup> Nevertheless, it is not clear that Æthelwold was capable of increasing Edgar’s dominance of East Anglia. As I will discuss further below, Ely’s and *Burh*’s landholdings were seriously challenged, suggesting that they were somewhat vulnerable in the context of regional politics.<sup>124</sup>

Additionally, Æthelwold may have refounded Ely, *Burh*, and Thorney simply because those were the houses he was able to acquire, for whatever reason. Equally, it is possible that Æthelwold chose to reform these particular eastern houses in order to strengthen his own circle’s influence. In particular, Ely was located near a meeting site and therefore could influence local decision-making, while *Burh* (and by extension, nearby Thorney) were also near older meeting sites.<sup>125</sup> Ely’s continued importance is perhaps indicated by the fact that Oda of Canterbury sought to buy land there, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey claimed that Oswald of Worcester had initially sought to refound it.<sup>126</sup> Byrhtferth may have been confusing Oda with Oswald; nevertheless, his claims

---

<sup>120</sup> K. Holman, ‘Defining the Danelaw’, in J. Graham-Campbell *et al.* (eds), *Vikings and the Danelaw: Proceedings from the Thirteenth Viking Congress* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 1-11.

<sup>121</sup> *VSO*, iii.14 (pp. 84-5).

<sup>122</sup> C. Hart, ‘Athelstan “Half-King” and His Family’, *ASE*, 2 (1973), pp. 115-44 at 121, 131-6.

<sup>123</sup> Campbell, *Anglo-Saxon State*, p. 118.

<sup>124</sup> See below, pp. 163, 167, 176.

<sup>125</sup> S34 (A.D. 765); *LibÆ*, ch. 27; *LE* ii.18 (pp. 93-4), Fairweather, p. 117.

<sup>126</sup> *VSO*, iii.12 (pp. 78-9); S646 (9 May A.D. 957).

indicate that he perceived Ely to be such an important monastery that he needed to explain why Oswald founded the nearby Ramsey rather than refounding Ely. Timothy Pestell has shown that Ely was on an ancient border between Mercia and East Anglia, just as Abingdon stood on a long-standing Mercian-West Saxon border.<sup>127</sup> Border sites were frequently used for meetings throughout England. Æthelwold may therefore have been interested in reforming Ely (and later *Burh* and Thorney) to enhance his own circle's prestige and influence (perhaps over that of other reformers, like Oswald), as much as the king's.<sup>128</sup>

Nevertheless, Æthelwold's and his monks' dependence on Edgar is evident from some of the deprivations they experienced after Edgar's death: Ely, *Burh*, and Abingdon seem to have lost land.<sup>129</sup> However, Æthelwold came to prominence once again when Edgar's younger son, Æthelred, succeeded to the throne in 978. Æthelred's mother, Ælfthryth, seems to have been one of Æthelwold's allies and patrons.<sup>130</sup> Æthelwold died, perhaps at the height of his influence, on 1 August 984.

The men and women who studied and lived at the monasteries which Æthelwold refounded or which came to be controlled by Æthelwold's students will be termed Æthelwold's circle in this study. It seems fair to compare and contrast these houses because, as far as can be ascertained from the surviving sources, they shared many of the same practices, from their overall conception of their ecclesiastical role to their scripts. Indeed, their writings explicitly prized the uniformity between these houses.<sup>131</sup>

---

<sup>127</sup> T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200* (Woodbridge, 2004), p. 103.

<sup>128</sup> On potential rivalry between the circle and Oswald's Ramsey, see below, p. 41.

<sup>129</sup> See, for example, *LE* ii.11 (pp. 84-5), Fairweather, p. 108; S937.

<sup>130</sup> See below, p. 142.

<sup>131</sup> '[Edgar] urged all... to avoid all dissension, lest differing ways of observing the customs of the one Rule and one country should bring their holy conversation into disrepute' ('monuit... ne impar ac varius unius regulae ac unius patriae usus probrose uituperium sanctae conversationi irrogaret'); *RegC*, p. 3.

All the members of Æthelwold's houses seem to have been obliged to conform to certain central tenets of uniformity and above all to follow the Rule of St Benedict (as supplemented by Smaragdus's commentary, legislation overseen by Benedict of Aniane, and the prescriptive texts produced by the circle, above all the *Regularis Concordia*). Unlike many of their contemporaries, members of Æthelwold's circle claimed they were all rule-following monks or nuns, not clerics.<sup>132</sup> Members of the circle described themselves only as *monachi* or *sacerdotes* or *levitae* or *sanctimoniales*: they never described themselves as *clerici* or *presbyteri*, which in their vocabulary seems to have referred to non-monastic clergy who lived irregular lifestyles.<sup>133</sup> As John Blair and Patrick Wormald have noted, monasteries run by members of Æthelwold's circle were unique in totally excluding secular clerics, even among other reformers' establishments.<sup>134</sup> By contrast, Glastonbury probably had monks as well as clerics under Dunstan.<sup>135</sup> Similarly, Christ Church, Canterbury, probably continued to house some clerics until members of the circle became archbishops of Canterbury.<sup>136</sup> Oswald's foundations seem to have had a slightly different approach than Æthelwold's circle: at the very least, they seem to have been less worried about distinguishing their members as monks (rather than clerics).<sup>137</sup>

The circle's uniformity and distinctiveness extends to the sources, which make texts copied or composed by members of the circle fairly easy to identify: the circle

---

<sup>132</sup> On distinctions between different types of women religious in this period, see Foot, *Veiled Women*, i, pp. 96-104.

<sup>133</sup> See, for example, *NMLV*, pp. 24-35.

<sup>134</sup> Blair, *Church*, p. 351; Wormald, 'Æthelwold and His Continental Counterparts', p. 38.

<sup>135</sup> Blair, *Church*, p. 351.

<sup>136</sup> N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597-1066* (Leicester, 1984), pp. 257-9; see below, pp. 228-9, 257.

<sup>137</sup> J. Barrow, 'The Community of Worcester, 961-c.1100', in Brooks and Cubitt (eds), *Saint Oswald*, pp. 84-99 at 99; F. Tinti, *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Farnham, 2010), p. 28. John was more skeptical of the significance of this terminology: E. John, 'The Church of Worcester and St Oswald', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages* (Oxford, 2001), p. 50. By contrast, the New Minster Refoundation charter emphasized the contrast between evil *clerici* and rule-following monks: S745 (A.D. 966).

favoured Graecizing, recherché vocabulary and a distinctive script for copying Latin texts (classified as a form of ‘Anglo-Caroline Style I’ by David Dumville).<sup>138</sup> In particular, the monks’ distinctive and somewhat standardized vocabularies in both Latin and English do not seem to have been found at monasteries outside the circle, at least initially.<sup>139</sup> Their bombastic Latin style, which emphasized recherché words (particularly words with the suffix *-amine* and unusual Graecisms), was so distinctive that Lapidge has been able to identify their works beyond reasonable doubt, even when they were copied into later, continental manuscripts.<sup>140</sup> The similarities between Æthelwold’s houses have been so evident that scholars have for a long time referred to a ‘Winchester School’ or an ‘Æthelwold connection’.<sup>141</sup> Indeed, the scripts and writing styles used at the houses in the circle were so similar that some manuscripts cannot be localized to one house in the circle because they could have been created at any of them. For example, a benedictional (now Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Y.007) can only be localized to the circle, and not to a specific house. These ‘floating’ sources will be considered in this study, although they present difficulties when trying to analyze the context of their creation.

Admittedly, not all members of the circle were necessarily capable of embracing all aspects of its intellectual programme. For example, not all members of the circle may have been able to write Latin texts in Anglo-Caroline Style I.<sup>142</sup> (Texts in English

---

<sup>138</sup> D.N. Dumville, ‘English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases’, *ASE*, 23 (1994), pp. 147-79 at 150-1; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, pp. 145-6. Some of the houses Dumville describes in this summary (including Worcester and Canterbury) were taken over by members of the circle during what I will call the second generation, which may have been when they began using the circle’s distinctive script. See below, pp. 227-9. See also Bishop, *English Caroline*, pp. xxi-xxii; Peter Stokes groups texts produced at both Æthelwold’s and Oswald’s houses as Style I; within that, however, he argues that Æthelwold’s and Oswald’s houses produced distinctive ‘subsets’ of that script that could be readily distinguished from one another: P.A. Stokes, *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut, Circa 990- Circa 1035* (Cambridge, 2014), pp. 10, 69.

<sup>139</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cix; H. Gneuss, ‘The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold’s School at Winchester’, *ASE*, 1 (1972), pp. 63-83.

<sup>140</sup> M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London, 1993), pp. 218, 223.

<sup>141</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, p. 261; Blair, *Church*, p. 351

<sup>142</sup> For example, the charter-writer Edgar A may have been a member of the community at Abingdon, and original copies of his charters use Square minuscule; see, for example, the body of the text of S690 (A.D. 961); on Edgar A’s identity, see below, p. 64, and Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. cxix. Since Style I seems to have

continued to be written in Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule by the circle.) Nevertheless, the surviving manuscripts and texts suggest that in most cases, the abbots, bishops, and scribes who controlled the production of texts chose to use their shared script to present an image of uniformity. Meanwhile, the presence of monks who could compose and copy texts in these scripts and hermeneutic styles at almost every house in the circle suggests that the circle managed to achieve a high degree of uniformity in practice.

These unified vocabularies and attitudes are perhaps not surprising, given that the personnel of Æthelwold's different monasteries often overlapped over time. Æthelwold brought monks from his first monastery at Abingdon to repopulate the monasteries he took over at Winchester and monks from Winchester to repopulate his fenland monasteries. These probably included Godeman, who went on to become abbot of Æthelwold's foundation at Thorney, and Byrhtnoth of Ely.<sup>143</sup> Æthelwold's hagiographers also claimed that he sent 'his monk' Ealdwulf and 'a troop of monks' (*caterva monachorum*) to Peterborough.<sup>144</sup> This overlap of personnel makes it difficult to treat these monasteries and their venerating practices completely separately: instead, it makes sense to analyze all of Æthelwold's monasteries over the course of a single study.

---

been a completely new style introduced by Æthelwold's circle, monks who were trained to write before they joined Æthelwold's monastery at Abingdon may have had difficulty switching to Style I from the dominant Square minuscule script used in the mid-tenth century; Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 17. Additionally, members of the circle may have conformed to the style of pre-existing documents which they continued: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57 (associated with Abingdon around the year 1000) was written in Square minuscule by a scribe who seems to have been primarily trained in Anglo-Caroline minuscule. Since the texts contained in MS 57 were all the texts on which the *Regularis Concordia* was based, it is possible that the scribe was trying to copy an older manuscript that the circle possessed before they developed their Anglo-Caroline script. See M. Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early Stages of Monastic Reform in England?', *ASE*, 32 (2003), pp. 111-46 at 135-6. For the date of Corpus Christi, MS 57 and the debate over whether it was created at Christ Church or Abingdon, see T. Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57 and its Anglo-Saxon Users', in P. Pulsiano and E.M. Treharne (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 21-69 at 31, 33.

<sup>143</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-1); *VÆA*, ch. 17 (p. 76); *NMLV*, p. 24; 'Quibus ordinavit abbatem Byrhtnodum praepositum suum'; *VÆ*, ch. 23 (pp. 38-9); *VÆA*, ch. 17 (p. 76).

<sup>144</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-1); *VÆA*, ch. 17 (p. 76). Hugh Candidus recorded a later Peterborough tradition that Ealdwulf was a layman who had accidentally killed his son and became abbot of Peterborough as penance: however, in addition to contradicting Æthelwold's tenth-century hagiographer, Hugh's account seems dubious because of the emphasis it puts on *Burh* as another Rome, which was a theme which seems to have been developed in the mid-twelfth century; HC, pp. 30-1; W. Hunt and M. Frances Smith, 'Ealdwulf', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/317?docPos=2>].

This thesis will focus on seven houses which contemporary sources credit Æthelwold with refounding: St Mary's, Abingdon; the New Minster, Winchester; the Old Minster, Winchester; the Nunnaminster, Winchester; St Æthelthryth's, Ely; the monastery at *Medeshamstede/Burh*; and St Mary's, Thorney. All these houses are mentioned in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Æthelwoldi* as Æthelwold's foundations. Additionally, several of them produced texts whose styles and/or content link them to the circle.

Wulfstan also mentioned that Æthelwold founded 'many other houses'; however, he did not specify which houses those were.<sup>145</sup> Post-Conquest chronicles and later historians have associated a variety of other houses with Æthelwold, including Chertsey, Romsey, Milton Abbas, St Neots, Pershore, and Crowland.<sup>146</sup> Some of these houses may well have been refounded by Æthelwold; however, there is no contemporary evidence which links any of them to Æthelwold's circle. Chertsey and Milton Abbas were reformed around the same time as the Old Minster and the New Minster, according to a section of the A version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which was perhaps written in the tenth century; however, the Chronicle does not specify who was involved, apart from King Edgar.<sup>147</sup> Since there is no definitive, contemporary evidence that these houses were refounded by Æthelwold, they will be left out of this study.

Moreover, these houses would be difficult to include in this study—even if they could be proved to have been refounded by Æthelwold or other members of the circle—

---

<sup>145</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 27 (pp. 42-5).

<sup>146</sup> Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 51. Crowland probably was not a foundation of Æthelwold; *OVEH*, ii, 340-3; C. P. Lewis, 'Thurcytel', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/27400>]. Byrhtferth of Ramsey claimed that Oswald refounded Pershore. Barbara Yorke has argued that Æthelwold refounded St Neots because it is mentioned in the *Liber Eliensis*, which seems to contain some genuine records from Æthelwold's episcopate; B. Yorke, 'Introduction', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 3-4; *LE* ii.29 (pp. 102-4); Fairweather, p. 125. This chapter is not included in the extant manuscripts of the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, however, and may have been written later, in the twelfth century. Admittedly, Janet Fairweather has noted that this chapter was written in the same Latin style as the texts in the *Libellus*: Fairweather, *Liber Eliensis*, p. 125, n. 144. However, the texts in the *Libellus* seem to have been translated from Old English in the twelfth century, so the congruence in styles may not be significant. Therefore, this chapter may not reflect Æthelwold's tenth-century activities.

<sup>147</sup> ASC A, 964. For its date, see J. Bately, *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS A* (Cambridge, 1986), p. xxxvi.

because they generally did not produce contemporary evidence about the saints they venerated in the tenth century.<sup>148</sup> For example, no known manuscripts survive from pre-Conquest Chertsey, and the two charters in its thirteenth-century cartulary which claim to pertain to the period in this study (956-1006) are spurious, although Chertsey is also mentioned in the *Secgan*, a list of saints' relics copied in 1031 and possibly composed around 1013.<sup>149</sup> Meanwhile, the only surviving pre-Conquest texts which pertain to the abbey at Romsey are two charters, S812 and S765. S765 (A.D. 968) does not mention any saints.<sup>150</sup> S812 (A.D. 967 x 975) mentions saints, but it belongs to the controversial, 'Orthodoxorum' style of charters, and may be a later forgery.<sup>151</sup>

---

<sup>148</sup> No pre-Conquest sources seem to survive from Milton Abbas. Milton's charters were destroyed in a fire in 1309, and no cartularies from the house survive: *Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, Diocesis Saresbiriensis, A.D. 1297-1315*, ed. C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes (2 vols, Canterbury and York Soc., 40, 1934), i, pp. 272-3, 343-4. Most of Crowland's records seem to have been destroyed in a fire in the late eleventh century: *OVEH*, ii, 346. Already in the nineteenth century, William Searle showed that the *Historia Croylandensis*—which purports to be a history of the abbey by the late eleventh-century abbot, Ingulf, and which claims to include pre-Conquest charters—is a forgery, and his view has been confirmed by Antonia Gransden: W.G. Searle, *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis* (Cambridge, 1984), pp. 154-5; A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England* (2 vols, London, 1974-1982), ii, pp. 490-1; see also S1189-92; David Roffe has argued that the *Historia* drew on a Domesday survey, but he does not suggest that any of the charters were reliable; D. Roffe, 'The *Historia Croylandensis*: A Plea for Reassessment', *EHR*, 110 (1995), pp. 93-108 at 104. Only one, somewhat dubious document claiming to pertain to St Neots survives, and it is included in the *Liber Eliensis*; *LE* ii.29 (pp. 103-4), Fairweather, 126. The so-called *Annals of St Neots* actually seem to have been written at Bury St Edmunds in the early twelfth century: D. Dumville and M. Lapidge (eds), *The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti* (Cambridge, 1984), p. xiv. Only two charters survive from Romsey (see below). The nuns of Romsey are remembered alongside members of other houses in the circle in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (copied in 1031, but containing earlier material); however, the list of their members only seems to start in the early eleventh century, during the second generation of the circle at the earliest, and does not necessarily indicate a connection between Æthelwold and Romsey; *NMLVK*, fo. 27v-28r; S. Keynes (ed.), *The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester* (Copenhagen, 1996), p. 96. A tenth-century copy of an *Orthodoxorum* charter from Pershore does survive: S786 (A.D. 972); British Library, Cotton Augustus ii.6; however, other pre-Conquest evidence from that house is slim. Byrhtferth of Ramsey mentioned an Abbot Foldbriht of Pershore in his *Vita S. Oswaldi*, whom Lapidge has associated with Foldbriht of Abingdon on the basis of their shared name; *VSO*, iv.8 (pp. 113-17).

<sup>149</sup> S752 (A.D. 967), discussed in D.N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays in Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 52; S940 (A.D. 1006 x 1011), 'spurious in... received form' according to Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 97, n. 43. On the *Secgan*, see below, p. 185.

<sup>150</sup> S765 (A.D. 968).

<sup>151</sup> Admittedly, this style was also used at Æthelwold's house at Abingdon (where it survives in a contemporary copy), and if S812 can be proved to be authentic, as Susan Kelly argues, it might provide grounds for linking Romsey to the circle, both in terms of the charter's style (which echoed the circle's hermeneutic Latin) and its content (which mandated the free election of abbesses at Romsey). Moreover, it might offer an insight into the veneration of saints at Romsey. Nevertheless, given the controversial nature of S812 and the lack of other evidence for saints' cults at Romsey or for Romsey's connections to the circle, Romsey will be excluded from the present discussion; for a favourable view of this charter, see Kelly,

This study will only expand beyond the initial seven houses in Chapter 5, where I will argue that *alumni* of the circle who went on to become archbishops, bishops, abbots of other houses often obliged their houses to conform to the standards of Æthelwold's circle during what I term the 'second generation' (984-c.1006).<sup>152</sup> This is not to say that all houses run by members of the circle conformed to the same standards, an issue which will be discussed further below.<sup>153</sup>

### **Rationale for Focusing on Æthelwold's Circle**

I have chosen to focus on Bishop Æthelwold and his circle not just because these men (and women) formed a visible and somewhat unified group, but also because they seem to have dominated the most prominent processes of monastic reform in England by the early eleventh century. By 1006, Æthelwold's students dominated most of the major churches in southern and eastern England, including the sees of Canterbury, Worcester, Winchester, and Rochester, and many more monasteries.<sup>154</sup> By 1086, monasteries which the circle had refounded or otherwise controlled were some of the wealthiest houses in England.<sup>155</sup> This trend towards the dominance of Æthelwold's circle is perhaps symbolized by the influence of the style of script his circle favoured, labelled by

---

*Abingdon*, i, pp. ci-cxi; for a negative view of most *Orthodoxorum* charters, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 98-100.

<sup>152</sup> Additionally, some of these refoundations may have taken place during Æthelwold's lifetime: for instance, Ælfric of Abingdon may have refounded St Albans during Æthelwold's lifetime, before becoming archbishop of Canterbury in 995; E. Mason, 'Ælfric', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/185?docPos=1>].

<sup>153</sup> See pp. 225-35.

<sup>154</sup> The most prominent ecclesiastical office in England, the archbishopric of Canterbury, had been held in succession by two men from Æthelwold's houses, Ælfric and Ælfheah (see below, p. 228). The archbishopric of Worcester-York, meanwhile, had been held by Ealdwulf, another member of Æthelwold's circle, between 995 and 1002; *VÆ*, ch. 24 (p. 41).

<sup>155</sup> Seven of the top twelve wealthiest monasteries in Domesday Book were houses that had been governed by either first- or second-generation members of the circle, and several other houses in the list (like Glastonbury) may well have come into the ambit of the circle in that period, although the evidence for them is less clear: Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 702. The only houses from the first generation of the circle that did not make the top twelve were the Nunnaminster and Thorney, although both these houses still had substantial holdings (of 65 pounds and 53 pounds 15 shillings, respectively).

Dumville ‘Anglo-Caroline Style I.’<sup>156</sup> Variations (termed ‘Anglo-Caroline Style IV’) which directly descended from ‘Anglo-Caroline Style I’ were embraced by most houses in southern England by the 1010s and 1020s. The standardized English vocabulary which the circle developed may also have continued to influence the standardization of English into the eleventh century.<sup>157</sup> Certainly, not all of the practices promoted by Æthelwold’s circle continued into the eleventh century: for example, a non-monk, Stigand, became bishop of Winchester in 1047, presumably giving him control of the Old Minster (although the extent to which he affected life there is debateable).<sup>158</sup> Nevertheless, the cultural and political influence of Æthelwold’s circle was such that it deserves to be examined in its own right.

Crucially, Æthelwold’s circle also dominated the evidentiary record of tenth-century English reform, because its members also wrote the most detailed surviving narratives and explanations of any reformer’s activities.<sup>159</sup> These texts include the *Regularis Concordia*, the New Minster Refoundation Charter, the Old English translation of the Rule of St Benedict, the Old English account of ‘Edgar’s Establishment of the Monasteries’, and the writings of Wulfstan of Winchester. No texts which establish monastic ideals or narrate reforming events are known to have been written by Dunstan, Oswald, or any of their disciples before the last years of the tenth century. There is a brief passage in the *Regularis Concordia*, on the conduct of nunneries, which the text claims was added by Dunstan;<sup>160</sup> however, not enough is known about the context in

---

<sup>156</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline Script*, p. 156.

<sup>157</sup> Gneuss, ‘Origin’, pp. 63-83 at 70.

<sup>158</sup> H.E.J. Cowdrey, ‘Stigand’, *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26523?docPos=1>].

<sup>159</sup> Blair, *Church*, p. 353.

<sup>160</sup> *RegC*, pp. 4-5.

which that passage was written to confirm that it reflects Dunstan's views, and not those of Æthelwold, who otherwise wrote the *Regularis Concordia*.<sup>161</sup>

Our information on aspects of Dunstan's monasteries tends to be inferred from charters and liturgical texts they produced, or from texts written by Æthelwold's circle.<sup>162</sup> Although one of Dunstan's disciples from Glastonbury (known only as B.) wrote an account of Dunstan's life and reforms in the late tenth or early eleventh century, his attitudes cannot be entirely separated from those of Æthelwold's circle because his writing was addressed to Archbishop Ælfric, a member of that circle.<sup>163</sup> Indeed, Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge have suggested that B. might even have been expelled from Canterbury by Ælfric and might have been trying to curry favour with him and even join one of the houses in the circle at the time he was writing.<sup>164</sup> Similarly, a series of *lectiones* on Dunstan was written by Adelard, a monk from Ghent, for Ælfric's

---

<sup>161</sup> D.J. Dales and Armitage Robinson both argued that Dunstan heavily influenced—or at least authorized—the *Regularis*. D.J. Dales, 'The Spirit of the *Regularis Concordia* and the Hand of St Dunstan', in Ramsay *et al.* (eds), *St Dunstan*, pp. 45-56; Robinson, *Times*, p. 155. The passage attributed to Dunstan *could* reflect sentiments which Dunstan had sent to Æthelwold; equally, it could reflect Dunstan's sentiments which were later inserted into a copy of the *Regularis* at Canterbury (the provenance of both surviving manuscript copies, British Library, Cotton MS Faustina Biii and British Library, Cotton MS Tiberius A3). On the other hand, it could have been attributed to Dunstan by the members of Æthelwold's circle who composed the *Regularis* and not accurately reflect the attitudes in Dunstan's own thought and writing. At any rate, the passage attributed to Dunstan is too brief and too singularly focused to enable historians to appreciate Dunstan's perspectives on other aspects of reform beyond the governance of nunneries.

<sup>162</sup> See, for example, L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996), pp. 10-40. One text which may possibly have been written by Dunstan is a letter to a count (probably Arnulf of Flanders) about the theft of a book. Lapidge has argued that the author of this letter was Æthelwold, on the grounds that the author claimed he was 'sancti .N. confessoris atque pontificis coenobii archimandrita et grati Dei antistes': *Memorials*, pp. 361-2. Lapidge has suggested that the confessor-bishop in question was Swithun; M. Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 89-117 at 97. However Æthelwold's circle (and other contemporaries) never seem to have described the Old Minster as the 'Church of Swithun': they always refer to it as the church of Peter, the church of Peter and Paul, and on one occasion, the Church of the Holy Trinity (see below, p. 105). By contrast, one of the monasteries at Canterbury was becoming known as 'St Augustine's' in this period, and St Augustine fits the description of a saint who was both a confessor and a bishop; see, for example, S1198 (c. A.D. 850, but copied in the mid-tenth century). If this letter was written by Dunstan, it might suggest some interesting parallels between Æthelwold's interest in Aldhelm and hermeneutic Latin and his old associate's Latin, which Lapidge has shown includes graecisms, Aldhelmian phrasing, and even a verbal link with the *Regularis Concordia*; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar', p. 98. However, it is not clear why Dunstan would identify himself with St Augustine's in this instance, as opposed to his seat at Christ Church. Therefore, this text cannot definitely be associated with Dunstan.

<sup>163</sup> *VSD*, p. 2.

<sup>164</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, pp. lxxiv, lxxix.

successor Ælfheah, another member of the circle.<sup>165</sup> It is unfortunate that so little evidence of Dunstan's own thinking survives, since some circumstantial evidence suggests that he endorsed some practices which were not endorsed by Æthelwold. For example, Dunstan's Glastonbury may have housed some clerics (whereas Æthelwold apparently drove all non-monks out of the Old and New Minsters, Winchester). Indeed, Dunstan's hagiographer, B., may have been a cleric and not a monk. Thus, when historians have analyzed the attitudes and ideals of tenth-century English monastic reformers, they have primarily analysed the attitudes and ideals of Æthelwold's circle, as opposed to those of Dunstan and his disciples. The composition and practices of Æthelwold's circle should therefore be analysed in order to understand these surviving reforming texts, while bearing in mind that these texts do not reflect the attitudes or actions of all English reformers.<sup>166</sup>

There were a few substantial reforming texts which were written by men who were members of Oswald's circle; however, as in the case of Dunstan, these texts were all written after Oswald's death, apart from some records of leases and property acquisition.<sup>167</sup> A few substantial narratives survive which were written by Byrhtferth, a monk at Oswald's foundation of Ramsey: some of these, especially his *Vita S. Oswaldi* and *Enchiridion*, describe the ideal qualities reformed monks should have.<sup>168</sup>

Byrhtferth's testimony is invaluable, and his work again suggests that Æthelwold's circle did not necessarily speak for all reformers. For instance, while Æthelwold's circle rejected secular interference (in their writings, at least), Byrhtferth celebrated Ramsey's

---

<sup>165</sup> *LDD*, pp. 111-12.

<sup>166</sup> The differences between these reformers has long been acknowledged: see Robinson, *Times*, p. 104. Some more recent discussions of these divergences include Blair, *Church*, p. 351; Yorke, 'Politics', p. 80; Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury', p. 243; A. Wareham, 'Saint Oswald's Family and Kin', in Brooks and Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald*, pp. 49-63 at 62; and Cubitt, 'Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform', pp. 83-4.

<sup>167</sup> See the series of documents between S1328 and S1366 in Sawyer's catalogue, granted between the 960s and early 990s.

<sup>168</sup> For a fuller discussion of Byrhtferth's conception of monks' roles (as opposed to clerics), see R. Stephenson, 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: The Hermeneutic Style as a Form of Monastic Self-Definition', *ASE*, 38 (2009), pp. 101-35.

links to Ealdorman Æthelwine, who endowed and guided that monastery.<sup>169</sup> Byrhtferth even displays an antagonistic attitude to members of Æthelwold's circle: while he was generally complimentary about Æthelwold himself, he also suggested that one of Æthelwold's monks from Ely died and went to hell and was only rescued by *Oswald's* prayers.<sup>170</sup> Byrhtferth's writings cannot be compared to the early, prescriptive texts written by Æthelwold's circle, because he was writing about thirty years after the composition of the *Regularis Concordia* and the New Minster Refoundation Charter. Byrhtferth therefore cannot be guaranteed to reflect the earlier attitudes of Oswald and his allies. Byrhtferth's accounts of events during Oswald's life may be muddled on some occasions: for example, he claimed that Oswald elevated the relics of Wilfrid and five others to a new shrine in Ripon, where he established a new, presumably reformed, community.<sup>171</sup> However, as Thacker and Lapidge have noted, Byrhtferth's account cannot be immediately accepted, because there is a substantial body of evidence that suggests it was Archbishop Oda of Canterbury who translated Wilfrid's relics to Canterbury around 950 and commissioned the continental scholar Frithegod to write an elaborate, metrical *Breviloquium vitae Wilfridi*.<sup>172</sup> Lapidge has therefore suggested that Byrhtferth's account was a garbled version of Oda's own exploits when Oswald was attending him, and that Oswald did not translate the relics of Wilfrid under his own aegis.<sup>173</sup> Alternatively, Thacker has suggested that Oswald translated secondary relics of Wilfrid.<sup>174</sup> Either way, the confusion created by these apparently contradictory accounts emphasizes that Byrhtferth did not provide a straightforward witness to Oswald's activities. Thus, as

---

<sup>169</sup> *VSO*, iii.13-4 (pp. 82-7); *RegC*, p. 7.

<sup>170</sup> *VSO*, iii.9, v.2 (pp. 72-3, 148-9).

<sup>171</sup> *VSO*, v.9 (pp. 170-3); on Oswald's alleged gift of Wilfrid's relics to *Burh*, see below, p. 192.

<sup>172</sup> Oda of Canterbury, 'Epistola', ed. A. Campbell, *Frithegodi Monachi Breviloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi: et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (Zurich, 1950), p. 2; Brooks *Early History*, pp. 287-96; D.C.C. Young, 'Review: Alistair Campbell: Frithegodi Monachi Breuiloquium Uitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno', *The Classical Review*, 5 (1955), p. 214; Lapidge, *Byrhtferth*, p. 171, n. 97; Thacker, 'Saint-Making', p. 254.

<sup>173</sup> Lapidge, *Byrhtferth*, p. 171, n. 97.

<sup>174</sup> Thacker, 'Saint-Making', p. 254.

Thacker has noted, Oswald (and his early followers) ‘more than either Dunstan or Æthelwold... remains an elusive personality.’<sup>175</sup> Some of Oswald’s policies can be inferred from charters (as with Dunstan’s activities) or Byrhtferth’s accounts, or even some of the writings of Abbo of Fleury, who stayed at Ramsey between 985 and 987 (and wrote a *passio* of Edmund, which he claimed was based on a story told by Dunstan).<sup>176</sup> However, Oswald did not produce any detailed, prescriptive texts or narratives to challenge the accounts created by Æthelwold’s circle in the mid-tenth century. This is not to suggest that the various groups of reformers were totally different from each other, in policy or even in personnel: Æthelwold himself had held an important role at Dunstan’s Glastonbury, while in the 990s, monks at Winchester remembered Germanus— who served at Oswald’s houses of Ramsey and Winchcombe— as one of the brothers of the Old Minster.<sup>177</sup> Nevertheless, these groups cannot be easily assimilated or treated together.

Additionally, there were also a substantial number of smaller, apparently unreformed churches in this period. Using the evidence of Domesday Book, church architecture, and wills, John Blair has highlighted how prevalent these establishments were, and how they seem to have grown in number from the late tenth century.<sup>178</sup> Although the author of the *Regularis Concordia* portrayed all the churches in England as abiding by the same rules,<sup>179</sup> many churches seem to have existed outside the influence of any reformers. Nevertheless, Blair’s detailed analysis from scant documents also highlights how these churches do not seem to have made a large impact on the surviving sources. Again, Æthelwold’s circle and their agenda dominate the written evidence.

---

<sup>175</sup> Thacker, ‘Saint-Making’, p. 244.

<sup>176</sup> Abbo, *Passio S. Eadmundi*, ed. M. Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 67-87 at 67.

<sup>177</sup> *NMLV*, p. 24.

<sup>178</sup> Blair, ‘Local Churches’, pp. 270-3.

<sup>179</sup> *RegC*, p. 2.

Since sources produced by Æthelwold's circle dominate historians' perceptions of attempts to reform churches during the 950s, 960s, 970s, and early 980s, and since members of the circle came to dominate many of the major churches in England, the circle deserves careful examination. In fact, it is possible that the circle dominates the surviving sources because they came to dominate most major churches, which preserved these texts. For example, the *Regularis Concordia* was copied and preserved at Canterbury, which seems to have come under the control of members of the circle during the second generation.<sup>180</sup> Alternatively, it is possible that the members of Dunstan's and Oswald's foundations did not write any prescriptive or narrative texts: Barrow has noted that even in comparison to contemporary continental monasteries, Æthelwold's circle were unusual in producing so many detailed *apologiae*, and while this might be an accident of survival, one cannot rule out the possibility that other monastic leaders were not producing these sorts of text.<sup>181</sup> If this were the case, however, it is again significant that Æthelwold's circle, with their ambitious agenda for purely monastic houses and their episcopal and abbatial *alumni*, were particularly interested in (or may have particularly needed) these *apologiae*. Again, the extent of the circle's success in establishing purely monastic communities and expanding their vision to other houses may have contributed to the production and/or dissemination of these texts. Either way, Æthelwold's circle seems like an influential, if not entirely representative, group to examine: at the very least, they have had a huge impact on later historians' sources for the tenth century.

### **Saints and Their Sources**

This thesis will examine this group of influential men and women through the lens of the sources they produced about their veneration of saints. There are, of course,

---

<sup>180</sup> Symons, *Monastic Agreement*, p. liv.

<sup>181</sup> Barrow, 'Ideas', p. 359.

limitations to what this study of Æthelwold's circle and the veneration of saints can reveal about change and monastic reform, even though—compared to other tenth-century houses—the circle produced a relative abundance of surviving material. While the monks seem to have considered saints to be very significant and included them in their most important documentation and services, not all their daily activities involved saints. Moreover, there is little surviving, independent evidence about what groups outside the monastery thought about these saints and how (or if) they were influenced by the monks' veneration of them. Nevertheless, while we cannot ascertain how groups outside the monastery reacted to the monks' veneration, the sources suggest that the monks, at least, took the veneration of saints very seriously. The monks seem to have devoted a great deal of their money and energy to the veneration of saints. They commemorated saints in lavish, expensive documents such as Æthelwold's Benedictional, 'perhaps the most lavishly produced manuscript to survive from Anglo-Saxon England.'<sup>182</sup> In the case of the Old Minster, Winchester, the monks may have even rebuilt part of their church to cover the original tomb of Swithun, a saint they energetically promoted.<sup>183</sup> Saints also appear prominently in charters associated with some of the monks' most prized privileges and land. I will argue that the monks themselves influenced many of these charters, and the portrayal of saints in these texts. Regardless of external groups' attitude to these saints, they seem to be significant simply for the value the monks evidently placed in them.

The different histories of the various monasteries' archives also make comparison of aspects of the monasteries' histories difficult. For example, an unusually large number of apparently authentic charters survives from Abingdon.<sup>184</sup> Meanwhile, liturgy, musical texts, and lengthy hagiographical narratives survive from the Old Minster, Winchester, and the New Minster, Winchester. Such texts do not survive in quantity from any of the

---

<sup>182</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. lxxx.

<sup>183</sup> See below, p. 103.

<sup>184</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. v.

other monasteries in the circle. Therefore, there is a danger that in comparing and contrasting venerating practices between different monasteries, one is actually comparing apples and oranges. I will argue that enough sources survive from each house to create constructive comparisons, even if different sources approach venerating activities from different angles. However, in order to minimize confusion and in order to deal with each monastic archive's history separately, I will divide the chapters in this thesis roughly by monastery. The only chapter which will compare all the monasteries in the circle together is the final chapter, on the second generation of the circle, where links between the monasteries will be examined.

Most of the surviving sources from all these monasteries pertain to what I will term 'public' veneration: that is, these sources describe or point to practices which could have been (or were even intended to be) observed by non-monastic groups. This partial perspective is still useful, if Æthelwold's goal was to redefine monks' relationships with the outside world, as John suggested.<sup>185</sup> If most of the sources which feature saints in some way reflected or formed part of the circle's attempts to interact with groups outside the monastery, then sources pertaining to saints also pertain to a key part of Æthelwold's reforming programme: redefining the relationships between churchmen and individuals outside their monasteries.

The first type of source that may record 'public' veneration is liturgy. Recently, Helen Gittos has convincingly argued that 'certain parts of the liturgy were widely experienced by the laity from at least the early ninth century. It was not the preserve of small, isolated enclaves of monks and clerks.'<sup>186</sup> Even if the liturgy recorded in books was never actually performed or was sparsely attended/viewed, she maintains that its production still took place on the assumption that churchmen would be interacting with a

---

<sup>185</sup> John, *Orbis Britanniae*, p. 178.

<sup>186</sup> H. Gittos, *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 9.

lay audience during at least some of these rituals, and therefore shows their attitudes and aspirations towards the laity.<sup>187</sup> Of course, not all elements of the liturgy would have been viewed by the laity: the monks conducted many services (for example, services during the night) apparently without any expectation of lay attendance: for the scant evidence of this intra-monastic veneration, see below.<sup>188</sup> Nevertheless, many of the benedictions and tropes which survive seem to pertain to services on saints' days, which the laity might have been expected to attend. The *Regularis Concordia* explicitly anticipated lay attendance at mass in the monastic church on feast days: it instructs monks that 'on feast days... Tierce being said, the bells shall ring to call the faithful together and the Mass shall be begun.'<sup>189</sup> Symons has interpreted the 'faithful' (*fidelis plebs*) in this phrase to pertain to groups from outside the monastery.<sup>190</sup> Indeed, the last illumination in Æthelwold's Benedictional seems to show Æthelwold using the Benedictional at a service attended by both monks and a group of people in secular clothing.<sup>191</sup>

This category of 'public' veneration seems to extend to hagiography as well, since much of the hagiography that survives (that of Swithun and Æthelwold, for instance) was intended for the liturgy, as well as for private or communal reading. Indeed, contemporary copies of Swithun's hagiography show that it was marked for use in the liturgy.<sup>192</sup> Meanwhile, the first *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* was written by the precentor of Winchester, Wulfstan, who would have been in charge of conducting the liturgy.<sup>193</sup> The relatively brief chapters in his *vita* may have been designed to slot into the liturgy. Admittedly, it is not clear how much of these Latin hagiographies the writers expected the

---

<sup>187</sup> Gittos, *Liturgy*, pp. 9-11.

<sup>188</sup> See below, p. 49.

<sup>189</sup> 'In diebus autem festis... Tertia peracta, mox signorum motu fidelem aduocantes plebem missam incohent'; *RegC*, p. 19.

<sup>190</sup> Symons, *Monastic Agreement*, p. 19, n. 5.

<sup>191</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 118v.

<sup>192</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 21.

<sup>193</sup> *NMLV*, p. 25; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xiii.

laity to understand (although Wulfstan portrayed members of the laity understanding Æthelwold's sermons, without confirming that those sermons were in English).<sup>194</sup> Additionally, the evidence that these hagiographies were prepared to be incorporated into the liturgy might be contradicted by Ælfric of Eynsham. Ælfric was trained at the Æthelwold's Wintonian monasteries during Æthelwold's episcopate and he later claimed that the saints in his *Lives of the Saints* (including Æthelthryth and Swithun) were commemorated primarily by monks, and not by the laity. This would seem to include several saints prominently associated with Æthelwold's circle, like Æthelthryth and Swithun.<sup>195</sup> However, this conflicts with other evidence that both these saints were to some extent recognized outside Æthelwoldian monasteries.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, Ælfric did not claim that these saints should not be venerated by the laity: on the contrary, unlike the *Vitae Patrum*, which he did not translate or encourage the laity to learn about, his translations of the *Lives of the Saints* seem to be aimed at fostering lay enthusiasm for these saints. Therefore, he did not deny that these saints could or should have a wider appeal beyond the monastery (and he may have exaggerated their exclusivity to justify some of his own writings).

The third type of source this thesis will use are charters. Charter-drafters (whom I will argue below included members of the circle) featured saints in documents as beneficiaries of grants, as identifying features of monasteries, and in anathema clauses.<sup>197</sup> Like the liturgy, charters may, on some occasions, have been viewed by groups outside the monastery. Who influenced the production of these documents is still debated and will

---

<sup>194</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 452-3. Lapidge argues that Æthelwold would have delivered this sermon in English; however, Wulfstan does not actually specify which language Æthelwold used: Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 453, n. 852-8.

<sup>195</sup> '[P]assionēs vel vitas sanctorum illorum quos non [vulgus sed coenobite officiis venerantur'; *LS*, 76/82, pp. 2-3.

<sup>196</sup> See below, pp. 102, 104, 143.

<sup>197</sup> See below, p. 63.

be discussed further in Chapter One.<sup>198</sup> Moreover, the nature of land transaction ceremonies is unclear. Nevertheless, charters may have been used at these ceremonies: in several charters which pertain to Æthelwold's houses, the witness-lists were written later than the main body of the text.<sup>199</sup> These witness-lists might have been written at transaction ceremonies to reflect who was there and perhaps also as part of a process of displaying the charter.<sup>200</sup> Moreover, several of the charters which survive in contemporary copies have striking appearances, with decorative chi-rhos and names of saints and kings written in a different, slightly larger script: again, this suggests that they had a persuasive, as well as a legal, function.

This 'public' function may also apply to brief records of property that were preserved only in Anglo-Norman narratives, such as those in the *Liber Eliensis* and Peterborough's *Liber Niger*. These records include references to the possession of hagiographical books or of property being given to a saint.<sup>201</sup> Because these records survive only in later, Anglo-Norman copies or translations, we have no notion of their original format (or even language), which could suggest how these documents might have been used. (The reliability of each set of records will be discussed in more detail in the relevant chapters). Nevertheless, the content of the records—which often included accounts of the lawsuits required to secure various properties— suggests that their

---

<sup>198</sup> See below, p. 64. For the view that a royal chancery controlled the production of documents, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 75; R. Drögereit, 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung*, 13 (1935), pp. 335-436. For the view that local houses continued to produce charters into the late tenth century, see Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. lxxvi; P. Chaplais, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981), p. 89.

<sup>199</sup> S690 (A.D. 961); Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 71; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, pp. 357.

<sup>200</sup> See, for example, S690 (A.D. 961); S745 (A.D. 966); S876 (A.D. 991). Most recently, Keynes has argued that many 'diplomas represent the output of an agency which operated at royal assemblies'; S. Keynes, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Diplomas', in G.R. Owen-Crocker and B.V. Schneider (eds), *Kingship, Legislation, and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2013), pp. 17-182 at 68. Kelly is more cautious about what role the text of charters could play in a largely illiterate society, but she, too, acknowledges that they had power as symbols; Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. cxxvi. For a discussion of what constitutes an 'original' charter (and how not all charters in a contemporary hand might have been 'original' in the sense of being a document which was presented at the transfer of a grant), see Chaplais, *Essays*, p. 3.

<sup>201</sup> S1448 (A.D. 963 x 984); *LibÆ*, ch. 51; *LE* ii.39 (p. 112); Fairweather, p. 135.

creators may have anticipated that this sort of evidence may have needed to be produced in public settings (like a local court).<sup>202</sup> Therefore, these sources' creators, too, seem to have anticipated the possibility that these records could be accessed by groups outside the monastery, and may have moulded their portrayal of their monastery's relationship to saints accordingly.

The physical structures created by the monks at their monasteries are also relevant to this study, although these can often be accessed only indirectly, through contemporary descriptions or through archaeological excavations. Nevertheless, the little that is known about these physical structures seems to suggest that they, too, were designed by the monks to be seen by groups outside the monastery. The layout of some of the excavated churches even suggests that the monks made room for extra-monastic groups to visit the relics housed in their churches. The Old Minster's rebuilding in the 970s included the creation of an ambulatory around Swithun's tomb, apparently to facilitate pilgrimage traffic.<sup>203</sup>

Even given this range of sources, however, there are some aspects of the monks' veneration of saints that remain difficult to assess. Very few sources survive which describe the veneration of saints in contexts where the monks did not anticipate an extra-monastic audience. Although several scholars have attempted to find texts that describe such veneration, only one such text relating to Æthelwold's circle has been found.<sup>204</sup> This text—known as *De horis peculiaribus*—survives only in a twelfth-century copy made by Orderic Vitalis, but it claims to contain Æthelwold's instructions to his monks about which offices to saints they were to say individually (*singulare*), in private/secret (*hoc secreto famulatu*). Lapidge and Winterbottom argue on textual grounds that this text was

---

<sup>202</sup> See, for example, *LE* ii.10 (p. 83); Fairweather, p. 107.

<sup>203</sup> F. Barlow *et al.*, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: An Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday* (Winchester Studies Series, 1, 1976), p. 307.

<sup>204</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. lxix.

written in the late tenth century by Wulfstan of Winchester.<sup>205</sup> In this text, Wulfstan claimed that Æthelwold had instructed each of his monks to say the offices of the Virgin Mary, Peter and Paul, and All Saints.<sup>206</sup> The focus on these saints seems congruent with the circle's ideological preferences: they seem to have been devoted to Mary, as seen in Æthelwold's Benedictional and at Abingdon, while the focus on Peter and Paul may reflect the dedication of the Old Minster. Peter was also portrayed in this period with the same sort of tonsure as the monks wore.<sup>207</sup> Meanwhile, their interest in the cult of All Saints may have been inspired by Carolingian texts, which also influenced the monks' script and daily routines. In the second generation, Wulfstan wrote a versification of a Carolingian sermon on All Saints, and this sermon may have been known at Winchester earlier.<sup>208</sup>

The monks undoubtedly commemorated saints in other contexts where they did not expect a non-monastic, human audience. (The monks always anticipated the saints themselves and God as part of their audience.) For example, the monks would have conducted services (such as nocturnal services) that they probably did not expect large numbers of laity to attend.<sup>209</sup> Additionally, individual monks could individually venerate specific saints, independently of the rest of their communities: for example, members of the circle portrayed Prior Byrhtferth of Abingdon being devoted to Swithun independently of the rest of the community at Abingdon.<sup>210</sup> Nevertheless, apart from a few vague references, these practices have not been described in detail. Nor can one generalize from the saints 'publicly' venerated to the saints which the monks might have commemorated privately. The saints featured in *De horis peculiaribus* contrast with the

---

<sup>205</sup> It has been edited by Lapidge and Winterbottom as *DHP*; Alençon, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 14.

<sup>206</sup> *DHP*, pp. lxviii-lxix.

<sup>207</sup> See, for example, *BE*, fo. 4r.

<sup>208</sup> See below, p. 111.

<sup>209</sup> *RegC*, pp. 111-13.

<sup>210</sup> See below, p. 73.

monks' 'public' veneration at Winchester, which included other, more local, saints.<sup>211</sup> If the saints in *De horis peculiaribus* really did reflect the monks' own ideals, the difference between these saints and the saints they venerated 'publicly' (as opposed to *secreto famulatu*) perhaps shows the extent to which the choice of 'publicly' venerated saints was not determined by the monks' own ideology.<sup>212</sup> Rather, this dissertation argues that the monks' 'public' veneration was influenced by their relationships with groups outside the monastery and shows the monks' flexibility and willingness to compromise with the interests of important figures outside their monasteries.

Admittedly, the extent to which the monks could ever exclude the laity was debatable, since members of the laity seem to have stayed inside the Old Minster, at least. Wulfstan of Winchester claimed that when he was an oblate, 'great crowds' of pilgrims and invalids 'cover[ed] the pavements of the church', hoping to be cured at Swithun's shrine.<sup>213</sup> Certainly, Wulfstan could have overstated how many laity were in the church and for how long.<sup>214</sup> However, his account raises the possibility that a number of non-monastic invalids and pilgrims could have been present at any time in these monasteries and that the monks would have been aware of their presence and modified their activities accordingly. Nevertheless, the *Regularis Concordia* did not explicitly anticipate an extra-monastic audience for some daily events, like chapter meetings, where excerpts from a martyrology would be read daily.<sup>215</sup> Additionally, a few texts associated with

---

<sup>211</sup> For example, see below, p. 102.

<sup>212</sup> *DHP*, pp. lxviii-lxix.

<sup>213</sup> '[A]ecclesiae et tantas pauimenta operire cateruas'; *Narratio*, pp. 504-5.

<sup>214</sup> He was known to exaggerate the numbers involved in various activities in Winchester or possibly use symbolic numbers from the Old Testament: for example, he suggested that 70 men were required to operate the bellows of the Old Minster's organ, which seems implausible (especially since Wulfstan only describes 26 bellows): *Narratio*, p. 383; Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 383, n. 150-3; P. Williams, *The Organ in Western Culture* (Cambridge, 1993), p. 192.

<sup>215</sup> 'When the brethren are seated, the Martyrology shall be read'; *RegC*, p. 17. Æthelwold's circle may have used Usuard's Martyrology: a manuscript from around 1000 which has been linked to Abingdon includes a copy of Usuard's *Martyrology*; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57, fo. 41r-94v; *Le martyrologe d'Usuard: texte et commentaire* (Brussels, 1965), ed. J. Dubois, pp. 32-5, 146-63. However, this manuscript's connections to the circle are debatable: although some have argued that it was made at

Æthelwold's circle seem to have been used in the context of a monastic school, where the monks probably would not have interacted with groups outside the monastery. For example, Kelly has argued that the books recorded on a list from *Burh*—including several hagiographical texts—were intended for a monastic school.<sup>216</sup> While these books could also have been used in the liturgy or on other occasions of 'public' veneration, it is worth bearing in mind they could also have been primarily used in this more private context, too. Thus, even at the time Æthelwold was writing the *Regularis*,<sup>217</sup> the monks still seem to have anticipated some services which would not necessarily be witnessed by groups outside the monastery. However, our knowledge of those practices remains partial.

Therefore, almost all the facets of the circle's veneration which we can access today—from architecture to liturgy to documents—could have been viewed by groups outside the monastery, and their creators seem to have been aware of the possibility of extra-monastic audiences. This presents limitations but it also suggests that these sources can provide insights into some of the monks' crucial relationships and conflicts with groups outside their monasteries.

One type of source which this thesis will use sparingly is liturgical calendars. According to Rebecca Rushforth's analysis, none of the surviving tenth-century calendars were produced at Æthelwold's houses before the second generation.<sup>218</sup> Calendars known or used at Æthelwold's houses can perhaps be deduced from the Benedictional of

---

Abingdon, based on an early manuscript, possibly from Glastonbury, others have associated it with Dunstan's Canterbury; Gretsch, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57', pp. 135-6; T. Graham, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57 and its Anglo-Saxon Users', in P. Pulsiano and E.M. Trehanne (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 21-69 at 31, 33.

<sup>216</sup> S.E. Kelly, *Charters of Peterborough Abbey* (Oxford, 2009), p. 328; this list is also discussed in K. Friis-Jensen and J.M.W. Willoughby, *Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues: Peterborough Abbey* (London, 2001), pp. xxvi, 12, 14; M. Lapidge, 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-90 at 52-4, 76; see below, pp. 204-6.

<sup>217</sup> On the dating of the *Regularis*, see Symons, *Monastic Agreement*, p. xxiv. Julia Barrow has argued for an earlier date; J. Barrow, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine "Reform"', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 211-23 at 222.

<sup>218</sup> The sole calendar associated with the circle, copied just after the second generation into the Arundel Psalter, will be discussed in Chapter 5: see below, p. 229.

Æthelwold, the benedictional in Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Y.007, the so-called Missal of Robert of Jumièges, and the Winchester Tropers. However, these texts have limitations. The tropers presumably only mention saints with particularly elaborate commemorations. As I will argue, Æthelwold's Benedictional, at least, seems to have been created with a particular occasion and a particular political context in mind.<sup>219</sup> The extent to which its range of saints reflected day-to-day practices in Æthelwold's monasteries is debatable. Moreover, the Benedictional seems to have been written in haste and leaves out at least two saints Godeman had planned to include: William Schipper's analysis of the dry-point markings in the Benedictional shows that the scribe intended to include Philip and James at one point.<sup>220</sup> Certainly, the monks possessed calendars made at other centres; however, extensive veneration seems to have been limited to only a handful of saints recorded in these calendars, according to marks on a calendar in Bodleian Digby 63. This calendar was annotated by a Wintonian monk around the year 1000 to show which feasts in this calendar (originally made in Northumbria in the ninth century) were still commemorated at Winchester.<sup>221</sup> However, the scribe did not specify how or by whom these saints were commemorated. Moreover, his list cannot be seen as the definitive list of saints commemorated at Winchester in this period, because he does not include Æthelwold (although Swithun and Æthelwold's successor Ælfheah

---

<sup>219</sup> See below, pp. 92-3.

<sup>220</sup> W. Schipper, 'Dry-Point Compilation Notes in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', *The British Library Journal*, 20 (1994), pp. 17-34 at 22.

<sup>221</sup> These include the feasts of Christ's Circumcision; Epiphany; Candlemas (*Ypapanti Domini*); Mattias; Gregory the Great; Benedict of Nursia; Cuthbert; the Annunciation; either George or Wilfrid; Philip and James; the *inventio* of the Cross; John of Beverly; Augustine of Canterbury; James, Albinus, and Vigilia; Peter and Paul; Paul; James; Oswald, king and martyr; Laurence; the Assumption of Mary; St Bartholomew; the beheading of John the Baptist; the Nativities of Mary and Adrian; Matthew the Evangelist; the *dedicatio* of the archangel Michael; Simon and Jude; All Saints; Martin; Clement; Andrew; Thomas; Christmas Eve; Christmas; Stephen; John the Evangelist, and the Innocents; 'Oxford, Bodl. Digby MS 63 f. 40 vo', *English Kalendars Before A. D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (HBS, lxxii, 1934), pp. 2-13. This calendar is discussed by Dumville, *Liturgy and Ecclesiastical History*, pp. 37, 105-6; R.W. Pfaff, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009), pp. 71-2.

were added).<sup>222</sup> The divergence between the annotations and the calendars created by the circle nevertheless calls into question the extent to which these calendars can be used to reflect practices at the monastery. Therefore this study shall not rely on calendars as evidence of the complete set of saints the circle especially commemorated, as opposed to evidence of the circle's general knowledge and textual influences.

Using the other sources discussed above, this thesis will argue that Æthelwold's circle venerated saints in part to interact with groups outside the monastery, and that their choice of saints and the way they portrayed their relationship with saints were influenced by their relationship with groups outside their monasteries. In order to alleviate confusion and in order to deal with the different patterns of source survival from each monastery, I will divide the chapters in this thesis roughly by monastery. The first chapter will focus on Abingdon and the charter evidence, which shows variations over time in the way monks portrayed their relationships to saints; the second chapter will examine each Wintonian monastery in turn; the third chapter will discuss Ely; and the fourth chapter will discuss the monasteries of *Burh* and Thorney, whose archives had particularly troubled histories (in part due to local disruptions during Cnut's conquest and the Norman conquest). The last chapter will discuss developments in venerating practices during the second generation of Æthelwold's circle and compare all the monasteries in the circle together. Together, these chapters suggest that Æthelwold's circle venerated a diverse range of saints during the first generation, apparently in reaction to extra-monastic events and rivals in some cases. These conclusions suggest that Æthelwold's circle was more flexible than has been acknowledged and prioritized interactions with certain extra-monastic groups. This in turn provides insights into the goals and methods of their reform.

---

<sup>222</sup> Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 163-4.

## Chapter 1: Abingdon

The first monastery which Æthelwold refounded, sometime in the mid-950s, and the first which he controlled as abbot, was St Mary's Abingdon, located on the River Thames, in traditional West Saxon and Mercian border lands. It was at Abingdon that Æthelwold and his associates developed practices and philosophies that they would later take to the other monasteries he refounded and funded. In particular, the monks at Abingdon seem to have adjusted the way they portrayed their relationship to saints in response to extra-monastic events and actors. As will be discussed below, charters benefitting Abingdon seem to have given property directly to the monastery's patron saint, Mary (rather than to the monastery itself) whenever a controversial grant was made or when the monastery was undergoing a transition.<sup>1</sup> Admittedly, these observations can only be provisional, since not all charters benefitting Abingdon have survived. However, a number of charters benefitting Abingdon do survive, and the precise dates associated with them allow their portrayals of the monks' relationship to saints to be closely correlated to particular events.

I will argue that this sort of strategizing continued throughout Æthelwold's establishments, as the monks used their veneration of certain saints as a locus of interaction with the world outside the monastery. However, because Æthelwold's various monasteries existed in such different contexts and had such different relationships to various external groups, the specific venerating practices developed at Abingdon differed from those at Æthelwold's other monasteries. In this chapter I will first establish Abingdon's social, political, and historical contexts. I will then proceed to examine the saints venerated at Abingdon, the varying ways in which they were venerated, and those variations' implications.

---

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 76-7.

## Abingdon's Social, Political, and Historical Contexts

According to his student-cum-hagiographer, Wulfstan of Winchester (writing around 996), Æthelwold took over Abingdon in the reign of Eadred, who died in November 955. The earliest generally accepted charter which Æthelwold witnessed as an abbot dates from February 956.<sup>2</sup> Wulfstan claimed that Æthelwold was accompanied to Abingdon by three monks from Glastonbury, one from London, and one from Winchester, although no other sources independently verify these claims.<sup>3</sup> There are no direct, contemporary statements about why Æthelwold and these other men moved to Abingdon, but circumstantial evidence suggests that Æthelwold intended Abingdon to be a more exclusive and more strictly Benedictine establishment than anything that existed in England at that time.<sup>4</sup> While all other houses, including Glastonbury, seem to have housed clerks as well as monks, charters pertaining to Abingdon emphasize that all its inhabitants lived by the Benedictine rule.<sup>5</sup>

It is unknown if any of the previous inhabitants of Abingdon remained to join Æthelwold's establishment or even if the church at Abingdon was staffed when Æthelwold arrived. There is no direct evidence for the condition—or even existence—of a religious house at Abingdon before Æthelwold's abbacy. Although two post-Conquest cartulary-chronicles from Abingdon claim that a series of charters recorded grants made

---

<sup>2</sup> S607 (13 Feb. A.D. 956). Edward Bates questioned its authenticity: E.H. Bates (ed.), *Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney in the County of Somerset* (Somerset Record Society, 14, 1899), p. 42. However, Kelly has treated S607 as authentic: Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 244. Although Keynes does not unreservedly categorize this charter as authentic, he does argue that the witness list and other features were contemporary: Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 56.

<sup>3</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 11 (pp. 20-1).

<sup>4</sup> Æthelwold's hagiographers suggested that there were other, political motivations for the refoundation of Abingdon, but these claims cannot be verified. They might have been inspired by ideals of royal governance which Æthelwold's circle developed later. Wulfstan claimed that King Eadred and his mother Eadgifu gave Abingdon to Æthelwold to dissuade him from going abroad: *VÆ*, ch. 11 (pp. 20-1). This story may indeed reflect political manoeuvring in the mid-tenth century. Equally, however, Wulfstan might have exaggerated Eadred's involvement in the light of the circle's later writings, which emphasized that monasteries should rely on royal patronage: see *RegC*, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> S673 (A.D. 958 for 959); see p. 62, n. 28 for discussion of authenticity. Admittedly, Æthelwold claimed that Glastonbury had been the first house in England to house monks, before Abingdon. However, he was striving to create a political narrative with that text and other aspects of his account are exaggerated: *EEM*, pp. 148-9. See below, p. 61.

to the monastery before the 950s, Susan Kelly has shown that these charters were either forgeries or actually pertained to other monasteries.<sup>6</sup> Nor is there reliable archaeological evidence for the earlier church at Abingdon. Although Abingdon was surveyed in the 1920s and the notes from that excavation were revisited by Martin Biddle and his team in the 1960s, the descriptions of ‘Saxon’ material were too vague for Biddle to determine if any of these discoveries predated Æthelwold’s abbacy. Nevertheless, the earlier excavators appear to have found pre-tenth-century cemeteries on the site, possibly indicating the presence of an early church there.<sup>7</sup>

However, later and more indirect evidence suggests that Æthelwold had been granted a small but well-endowed establishment that had previously pertained to the royal fisc and which was uncontroversially handed over to Æthelwold by the king. In the absence of other sources, most evidence about Abingdon before Æthelwold comes from a contradictory account in Wulfstan’s *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, written almost half a century after the refoundation of Abingdon. Wulfstan claimed that the monastery at Abingdon had pertained to the royal fisc and was totally dilapidated and impoverished when Æthelwold arrived, with only forty hides (*quadraginta mansas*) to its name.<sup>8</sup> However, as Alan Thacker has noted, any establishment in possession of forty hides was, by definition, not impoverished.<sup>9</sup> This account could perhaps be reconciled if Abingdon had been a well-endowed monastery that was also part of a royal estate. A functioning religious community could exist on a royal estate: in the late tenth century, the monk Lantfred mentioned that Æthelsige, a disabled priest, came from a community at

---

<sup>6</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. xxxv; see also F.M. Stenton, *The Early History of Abingdon Abbey* (Stamford, 1913; repr. 1989), pp. 10-2.

<sup>7</sup> M. Biddle, M.T. Lambrick, and J.N.L. Myres, ‘The Early History of Abingdon, Berkshire, and Its Abbey’, *Medieval Archaeology*, 12 (1968), pp. 26-69 at 63-4.

<sup>8</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 11 (pp. 18-21).

<sup>9</sup> Thacker, ‘Æthelwold and Abingdon’, p. 51.

Aldbury, which Lapidge has identified as a royal estate.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the claim about the royal fisc is echoed in a later, Anglo-Norman chronicle from Abingdon, which lambasts King Alfred for stealing the monastery's land.<sup>11</sup> Attacking Alfred was quite unusual for a post-Conquest chronicle, and thus this claim may have been based on a local tradition.<sup>12</sup> As a church on a royal estate, Abingdon might have included a few clerks. However, if any stayed on after Æthelwold's takeover, they would probably have had to become Benedictine monks or accept a less prominent role in the monastery: no clerks are mentioned in charters benefitting Abingdon, which instead insist that all members of Abingdon followed the Rule of St Benedict.<sup>13</sup>

There are many more sources for the state of Abingdon after Æthelwold became its abbot. Although no non-documentary texts survive which were composed at Abingdon in the first generation of Æthelwold's circle (c.956-984), a number of charters pertaining to Abingdon have been preserved in two Anglo-Norman cartulary-chronicles compiled in the late twelfth and early thirteenth centuries (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius C.ix and MS Cotton Claudius B.vi), in early modern copies (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS, 111, pp. 139-78), and in one contemporary single sheet (London, British Library, MS Cotton Augustus ii.39). Susan Kelly has noted that in many cases, the formulae and witness-lists contained in the charters are plausible for the periods in which they purport to have been drafted.<sup>14</sup> Of course, copies with the correct formulae might not be entirely faithful, unabridged representations of the original grant. Comparison with surviving single-sheet charters has shown that the chronicler of Cotton Claudius B.vi, in particular, heavily abridged the charters he included. Moreover, the

---

<sup>10</sup> *Translatio*, p. 267, n. 71.

<sup>11</sup> *HA*, i, 42. This is discussed in R. Fleming, 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *EHR*, 395 (1985), pp. 247-65 at 248.

<sup>12</sup> D. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 39.

<sup>13</sup> Such as S673 (A.D. 958 for 959).

<sup>14</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, pp. lxxix-lxxxv.

chroniclers did not include all known charters in their chronicles. For example, Kelly has noted that the compiler of Cotton Claudius B.vi suppressed some early charters (present in the earlier cartulary-chronicle) about Culham, an important and controversial estate held by Abingdon in the late twelfth century.<sup>15</sup> Thus, the overall selection of charters reflects twelfth- and thirteenth-century disputes rather than the whole range of Anglo-Saxon charters extant at Abingdon at that time.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, other charters could have been lost or given away when the estates to which they referred were transferred.

Conclusions drawn from the surviving charters at Abingdon are consequently subject to limitations and qualifications, given that the full set of data is not available (although the number of Abingdon's surviving charters is relatively substantial, compared to the number of surviving charters benefitting other institutions in this period). In particular, scholars should be cautious when detecting patterns in this incomplete corpus.

Nevertheless, even with these limitations, the information preserved in these charters still reveals an impressive level of patronage and stability which Abingdon enjoyed in the first three decades after its refoundation.

Indeed, the surviving charters suggest that Abingdon initially benefitted from more stability than Æthelwold's other monasteries. A primary difference between St Mary's, Abingdon, and these other houses was perhaps the apparent ease with which Æthelwold took it over. There are no records of disputes over property or with the previous inhabitants of the church, as at Winchester, Ely, or *Burh*. While Abingdon's early history cannot be inferred from silence, it is nevertheless notable that Abingdon's troubles in the second generation of the circle were thoroughly recorded and preserved, so the later keepers of Abingdon's documentary archive were not necessarily averse to

---

<sup>15</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. 1.

<sup>16</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, pp. 1-11.

including records of disputes when it suited their purposes.<sup>17</sup> By contrast, the evidence that does exist in charters suggests that during the first generation, Abingdon was tolerated, at least, by the local ealdorman Ælfhere and the important local thegnly family of Wulfric Cufing.<sup>18</sup> While Ealdorman Ælfhere allegedly attacked some of Oswald's monasteries in Mercia, he and his family may even have exchanged lands and done business with the monks of Abingdon.<sup>19</sup>

According to the surviving charters, the monastery at Abingdon also consistently enjoyed extremely generous royal patronage from Eadred's successors, Eadwig and Edgar. Eadwig gave Abingdon a substantial amount of land and rights: between 956 and 959 he gave Abingdon as much as fifty hides of land and a wood.<sup>20</sup> Admittedly, writings produced by the circle after Eadwig's death tried to distance Abingdon from Eadwig's regime, claiming that Abingdon was impoverished and building there ceased during Eadwig's reign.<sup>21</sup> However, Æthelwold and his students made these claims in texts composed during or after the reign of Eadwig's brother and rival Edgar, after Edgar had reinstated many of the notables banished by Eadwig, such as Dunstan (whom Edgar made archbishop of Canterbury), Wulfric Cufing, and Edgar's grandmother, Eadgifu.<sup>22</sup> By

---

<sup>17</sup> See below, pp. 220-1.

<sup>18</sup> S1216 (A.D. 971 x 980); on Wulfric Cufing, see Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. clxxiii.

<sup>19</sup> *VSO*, iv.12 (pp. 122-7); S1216 (A.D. 971 x 980).

<sup>20</sup> S583 (A.D. 956); S605 (A.D. 955 or 956); S607 (A.D. 956); S658 (17 May A.D. 959) (see the discussion on page 66); S663 (A.D. 956). Kelly has argued that S584 (A.D. 956), another charter which purports to record a grant Eadwig made to Abingdon, is a later forgery; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 288.

<sup>21</sup> See *EEM*, pp. 146-7; *VÆ*, ch. 13 (pp. 24-5). For discussions of Æthelwold's position during Eadwig's reign, see Yorke, 'Æthelwold and Politics', p. 79.

<sup>22</sup> In 957 or 958, Edgar became king of Mercia while Eadwig still claimed to be king of England: S667 (A.D. 958) is the first surviving charter where Edgar is described as king of the Mercians. Admittedly, this action may not have been as radical as later writers (including Æthelwold himself) claimed. Frederick Biggs has argued that Eadwig and Edgar held joint kingship which had been planned and which did not impact Eadwig's exercise of power over features like mints; F. M. Biggs, 'Edgar's Path to the Throne', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 124-39 at 138-9. Until Edgar's reign, Mercia had its own coinage and possibly its own administrative infrastructure; H. Pagan, 'The Pre-Reform Coinage of Edgar', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 192-205 at 205; Molyneaux, 'Formation', p. 197. Nevertheless, Edgar's association with individuals whom Eadwig had exiled suggests tension existed between the parties most closely associated with Eadwig and those most closely associated with Edgar. On the factions surround Eadwig and Edgar, see S. Jayakumar, 'Eadwig and Edgar: Politics, Propaganda, Faction', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 83-103.

contrast, contemporary charters suggest that Abingdon's prosperity increased during Eadwig's reign.<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, Yorke has noted that Eadwig's controversial queen left donations to Æthelwold, Abingdon, the Old Minster, Winchester, and the New Minster, Winchester, in her will (drafted c. 970).<sup>24</sup> Indeed, Lapidge and Winterbottom have recently suggested that Æthelwold even betrayed his former abbot, Dunstan, in order to support Eadwig and his queen.<sup>25</sup> Dunstan's hagiographer, 'B.', mentions that Dunstan had a treacherous disciple who supported Eadwig, which Lapidge has speculated might be a covert reference to Æthelwold.<sup>26</sup> However, it is doubtful if Ælfric of Canterbury, an *alumnus* of Abingdon and the recipient of B.'s *Vita*, would have recognized or permitted any portrayal of his teacher Æthelwold as a treacherous disciple.<sup>27</sup>

In the midst of these various factions, however, Abingdon's economic base and general stability seem to have been maintained. After Eadwig's death, Edgar gave substantial properties and rights to Abingdon, including unusual gifts like rights to a toll and a gift of land usually intended to support Æthelings.<sup>28</sup> The authenticity of some of these grants has been challenged, simply because they were so unusual and munificent.<sup>29</sup> However, as will be seen below, Edgar was also extremely generous to Æthelwold's other houses. Moreover, Edgar may have had a special connection to Abingdon: Æthelwold (and later Byrhtferth of Ramsey) implied that Edgar had been educated there as a young

---

<sup>23</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. xciv, ii, p. 244

<sup>24</sup> Yorke, 'Politics', pp. 79-80; *Wills*, pp. 20-1.

<sup>25</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. xxxiii.

<sup>26</sup> *VSD*, ch. 22 (pp. 70-1).

<sup>27</sup> For further discussion of Ælfric and B., see below, pp. 256-8.

<sup>28</sup> See S673 (A.D. 959), S682 (A.D. 960), S688 (A.D. 961), S689 (allegedly A.D. 961), S690 (A.D. 961), S700 (A.D. 962), S701 (A.D. 962), S708 (A.D. 963), S724 (A.D. 964), S732 (A.D. 965), S733 (A.D. 965), S734 (A.D. 965), S757 (A.D. 968), S758 (A.D. 968), S759 (A.D. 968), S760 (A.D. 968). The authenticity of all these charters is debatable (bar S690, which survives apparently in the tenth-century original).

However, Kelly makes a strong case that the first seven grants, at least, were produced in the tenth century; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, pp. 334-394. For details of the grant of a vineyard and tolls, see below. For details about the land usually reserved for Æthelings, see S937 (A.D. 990 x 1006), a charter of Æthelred, which claims Edgar granted some hereditary lands to Abingdon (which Edward the Martyr confiscated).

<sup>29</sup> For an example of such a controversial grant, see S701 (A.D. 962), a grant of a vineyard to Abingdon. It is discussed in Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 379.

man.<sup>30</sup> At any rate, Æthelwold had a great deal of influence over Edgar to secure such grants. Æthelwold rose to the top of Edgar's administration by 960: as will be discussed below, Æthelwold or someone he had trained was probably responsible for writing most of Edgar's early charters (known as the Edgar A charters) between 960 and 963.<sup>31</sup> In late 963, Edgar made Æthelwold bishop of the important see of Winchester.

After Æthelwold became bishop of Winchester, he left his Fleury-trained protégé Osgar as abbot of Abingdon. Osgar maintained Abingdon's economic and political stability and its connections to the rest of Æthelwold's expanding circle. Osgar was so well-known to the monks of Winchester that they included him among their own brethren in a prayer-list composed between 994 and 1006.<sup>32</sup> Admittedly, Abingdon's era of financial enrichment was somewhat curtailed during the brief reign of Edgar's elder son, Edward the Martyr. Later documents from Abingdon allege that Edward reclaimed land at Hurstbourne, which had traditionally been used to finance æthelings.<sup>33</sup> Nevertheless, Abingdon continued to receive royal benefactions during Edward's reign and even during the first part of his brother Æthelred's reign.<sup>34</sup> It was not until 984 (and the deaths of Æthelwold and the local ealdorman Ælfhere) that Abingdon's unusual stability was threatened.

### **Abingdon and Saints' Cults**

In this context of lavish benefaction, political change, and overall stability, the monks at Abingdon primarily celebrated their connection to their patron, the Virgin Mary

---

<sup>30</sup> *EEM*, pp. 147-8; *RegC*, p. 1. The evidence that Æthelwold educated Edgar at Abingdon is discussed in John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 159-60.

<sup>31</sup> Edgar A will be discussed more extensively below, p. 64.

<sup>32</sup> NMLVK, fo.18r. For more details, see below, p. 246.

<sup>33</sup> S937 (A.D. 990 x 1006).

<sup>34</sup> S829 (A.D. 965 for 975 x 978). Although S829 was modelled on earlier documents from Abingdon, Kelly has convincingly argued that it was genuine and drawn up at Abingdon and that its recycled formulae reflected the uncertainty and diversity of charter production in Edward's brief reign; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 456. For an early grant from Æthelred's reign, see S843 (A.D. 983).

(at least in their documents). Documents which they produced or influenced also mention St Peter and St Benedict. Nevertheless, charters reveal that the monks at Abingdon modified the way they presented their relationships with saints in reaction to external factors.<sup>35</sup> In particular, whenever a grant might be seen as controversial or overly generous, monks tended to emphasize their connection to their patron Mary.

Like much of Abingdon's early history, the veneration of saints at Abingdon is primarily revealed through charters. Saints tend to appear in five ways in tenth-century charters. Most commonly, when property was given to a church, the charter's scribe might mention that the church was 'dedicated to' a saint, claim that the grant was 'in honour of' a saint, or describe a church 'of a saint' in the genitive. For example, in S690 (which survives in a contemporary copy), Edgar is portrayed giving property to 'Abbandunensi æcclesie beatae Dei genitrici semperque uirgini Mariae honorificae dicare.'<sup>36</sup> More unusually, saints were occasionally listed as the recipients of the property or rights in question, which they were then said to hold on behalf of a particular church of which they were the patron. For example, in S724, Edgar is described giving the grant directly to Christ and Mary: 'Domino nostro Iesu Christo eiusque genitrici semperque uirgini Marie deuotus concessi.'<sup>37</sup> Additionally, saints might appear in the anathema clause, which described the punishment awaiting those who disregarded the charter and the rewards for those who upheld the charter: for example, the writer of S689 (A.D. 961) threatened that Peter would separate from the Church anyone who did not comply with the terms of the grant.<sup>38</sup>

---

<sup>35</sup> This is not to say that Æthelwold's houses were unique in this respect: see below, pp. 80-1 for a discussion of the saints in charters for other houses. However, due to the limitations of this particular study, I will focus on conditions at Æthelwold's other monasteries.

<sup>36</sup> 'I give to the church of Abingdon, dedicated with honour to the blessed mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary'; S690 (A.D. 961).

<sup>37</sup> 'I granted [land at Hendred] to our Lord Jesus Christ and his mother the ever-virgin Mary'; S724 (A.D. 724).

<sup>38</sup> 'Si quis autem prescriptis statutis noluerit consentire aut obedire, sciat se alienum esse a consortio sancte Dei ecclesie et a corpore et sanguine Domini nostri Iesu Christi per auctoritatem beati Petri apostoli

The extent to which any of these charters can illuminate the monks of Abingdon's relationship to saints, of course, depends on whose perceptions and attitudes are represented in the drafting of these charters. As mentioned above, there is an ongoing debate about the authorship of and agency behind Anglo-Saxon charters. On one hand, Simon Keynes argues that most tenth-century charters were drafted in a central royal chancery, because charters benefitting different houses all employ very similar formulae, especially charters from Edgar's reign.<sup>39</sup> Keynes argues that this uniform style was developed by a scribe known as Edgar A, whom Keynes claims was a royal official 'in permanent attendance on the king' between 960 and 963 and who then trained his successors to write in the same style.<sup>40</sup> Keynes therefore claims that charters reflected an impartial royal functionary's attitudes, although he has noted that beneficiaries could have supplied some of the information that was recorded in charters, such as estate surveys.<sup>41</sup> However, Pierre Chaplais and more recently Kelly have suggested that Edgar A was not an impartial functionary but Æthelwold himself.<sup>42</sup> Kelly notes that all of Edgar A's charters were witnessed by Abbot Æthelwold, even though Æthelwold's name does not routinely appear in charters from this period which were not drafted by Edgar A.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, Edgar A's vocabulary and style (and those of his successors throughout the reign of Edgar) closely resemble the bombastic Latin style and *recherché* vocabulary found in other writings which are attributed to Æthelwold and his circle. For instance, S690 uses the rare adjective *spiramen*: Lapidge has identified '-amen' adjectives (including *spiramen*) as one of the hallmarks of pupils of Æthelwold's later school at

---

sociorumque eius'; S689 (A.D. 961). This charter is controversial but seems to have been produced in the tenth century, if not in 961: see below, p. 78.

<sup>39</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 75, 79, 229.

<sup>40</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 70-79.

<sup>41</sup> Keynes, 'Church Councils', pp. 61, 66-7.

<sup>42</sup> Chaplais refers to Edgar A as 'Scribe (6)'; P. Chaplais, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965), pp. 48-61 at 60.

<sup>43</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. cxix.

Winchester.<sup>44</sup> Later scribes from Edgar's reign also use some of the Latin styles associated with Æthelwold's circle and may have been educated at Abingdon or elsewhere in the circle. Kelly's arguments convincingly link Edgar A and his successors to Abingdon, while still accounting for the centralization observed by Keynes.<sup>45</sup> The attitudes and interests of the monks at Abingdon may therefore have continued to influence charter production, directly or indirectly. As a result, it seems legitimate to use these charters as a window into the interests and aspirations of the monks of Abingdon, since these men seem to have influenced or even controlled the composition of most of the *surviving* charters.

Additionally, there are several charters pertaining to Abingdon between 956 and 959 that deviate from more centralized diplomatic styles: S605 (A.D. 956), S658 (A.D. 959), S673 (A.D. 958 for 959).<sup>46</sup> These still seem to have been drafted by monks of Abingdon, because they feature the styles associated with Æthelwold's circle: S605 even includes some early versions of Edgar A features.<sup>47</sup> Because these charters do not conform to the most common diplomatic styles, their authenticity is often questioned.<sup>48</sup> However, Kelly has argued that these charters have some genuine basis due to their plausible witness-lists and language (which often reflects the hermeneutic style of Æthelwold's houses).<sup>49</sup>

There are only three other surviving charters pertaining to Abingdon whose wording was less likely to have been influenced by the monks of Abingdon, because they

---

<sup>44</sup> M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London, 1993), p. 227

<sup>45</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. lxxvi.

<sup>46</sup> This list does not include idiosyncratic charters from the second generation, like S876. See below, pp. 220-1.

<sup>47</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 219. Admittedly, Keynes has doubted the authenticity of this charter, arguing that it was a forgery based on a Dunstan B type charter; S. Keynes, 'The "Dunstan B" Charters', *ASE*, 23 (1994), pp. 165-93 at 176, n. 44. Nevertheless, the charter's Dunstan B features do not necessarily show that it was a later forgery; rather, these idiosyncrasies might strengthen the case for local production at Abingdon.

<sup>48</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 98-100.

<sup>49</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, pp. lxxxv-vi.

appear to have been drafted at a royal meeting.<sup>50</sup> These three—S583, S607, S663—seem to have been drafted on the same occasion in 956, along with several other charters.<sup>51</sup> There was probably less scope for any one party to influence the scribes who wrote these charters, apparently in haste, as compared to later charters which seem to have been written by members of the Abingdon community themselves.<sup>52</sup> Nevertheless, these are exceptions, and most of the surviving charters' production can be linked to the monks of Abingdon or other associates of the circle.

If the monks of Abingdon did indeed write or influence most of the charters pertaining to Abingdon during Æthelwold's lifetime, the question remains: for whom were they writing? As discussed in the introduction to this dissertation, charters had the potential to be seen or presented to groups outside the monastery. Charters could, in theory, be produced to prove claims to estates.<sup>53</sup> Moreover, some charters may have been presented to an audience of lay and ecclesiastical figures outside the monastery as soon as they were produced: witness-list for S690 was inscribed in a different script, after a fold in the parchment, leading Kelly to suggest it was used in some sort of conveyance ceremony and that the witness-list was drawn up on the spot.<sup>54</sup> Therefore, these charters have the potential to reveal how the monks of Abingdon wished to present themselves and their relationships to parties outside their monastery.

These charters (and, by extension, the monks of Abingdon who influenced them) link at least three saints to Abingdon: the Virgin Mary, Peter, and Benedict of Nursia.

---

<sup>50</sup> On this meeting, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 62.

<sup>51</sup> These charters are known as 'Group Two' charters; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 244.

<sup>52</sup> Interestingly, these charters contain some elements which would later be incorporated into Edgar A's style; however, Æthelwold may have borrowed these elements (like the wording of the anathema and the royal style) without having influenced the production of these charters in the first place; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 245.

<sup>53</sup> For example, a writ from between 984 and 1001 describes a bishop sending a charter to King Æthelred to prove a claim to property. 'Bishop Ælfheah sent to me the charter of the land Chilcomb, and I had it read before me' ('Ælfheah biscop sende to me þaes landes boc aet Ciltancumbe 7 ic hi let redan aet foran me'); F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Manchester, 1952), pp. 395-6.

<sup>54</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. lxxix.

Mary appears regularly in charters as the dedicatee of Abingdon, along with Christ. Mary was also connected with Abingdon in a fragment of an introduction to Æthelwold's Old English translation of the Rule of St Benedict, commonly known as 'Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries.'<sup>55</sup> The author (probably Æthelwold) claimed that Edgar made a promise to God and Mary to endow Abingdon, where he was staying at the abbot's invitation. Benedict and Peter each appear in one charter: the writer of S605 (A.D. 955 for 956) listed Benedict as the patron or ruler of Abingdon and made him the explicit beneficiary of the charter, along with Christ, Mary, and the then-abbot, Æthelwold.<sup>56</sup> Additionally, S673 (A.D. 958 for 959) notes that Æthelwold and his monks followed the Rule of St Benedict at Abingdon. Peter appears in another charter's anathema (S689, allegedly A.D. 961): miscreants are warned that if they steal from Abingdon, Peter will bar them from heaven.<sup>57</sup>

Additionally, three other subjects of veneration have been linked to Æthelwold's Abingdon; however, they all appear in later sources of questionable relevance to the first generation of monks at Abingdon. The cult of the Holy Cross is mentioned in the Cotton Claudius B.vi version of the Abingdon Chronicle.<sup>58</sup> According to the chronicler, a fragment of a nail from the Cross was kept in the tomb of the original, seventh-century founder's sister. The B.vi manuscript also includes an illustration of the 'Black Cross of Abingdon' and its setting and, as Biddle notes, it looks very much like a seventh-century disc brooch.<sup>59</sup> This resemblance lends credence to the suggestion that the 'Black Cross' was found in a seventh-century tomb, as the story suggests; however, there is no reliable evidence that this discovery was made at the time of Æthelwold. It is not mentioned in

---

<sup>55</sup> *EEM*, pp. 147-8.

<sup>56</sup> Although Susan Kelly has argued that the boundary clause in this charter was altered later, she argues that the body of the text may well have been drafted in the 950s with its unique blend of Dunstan B and proto-Edgar A charter-writing styles; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, pp. 219-20.

<sup>57</sup> For further discussion of S689 (A.D. 961), see below, p. 78.

<sup>58</sup> *HA*, i, 242-3.

<sup>59</sup> Biddle *et al.*, 'Abingdon', p. 27.

any contemporary sources. Abingdon is not described as having a relic of the True Cross in an eleventh-century list of saints' relics in England (although, admittedly, this list—known as the *Secgan* and copied in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*—tends to record human remains, not objects).<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the chronicles' accounts do not routinely match contemporary documents' claims: thus, the later chronicler's account of a cult of the Holy Cross at Abingdon cannot be accepted without further corroboration. For instance, Kelly has noted that the chroniclers even contradict statements within sections of the charters which they have copied out.<sup>61</sup> In some cases, certainly, the chronicles' accounts echo more contemporary sources. For instance, the chroniclers claimed that Æthelwold gave large measures of beer (termed 'Æthelwold's bowl').<sup>62</sup> A similar measurement was described in a riddle in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, a manuscript which seems to have been written c. 1000 at one of Æthelwold's monasteries and was definitely at Abingdon by the reign of Cnut.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, the chronicles' account of the Black Cross might be viewed with suspicion, particularly since it seems unlikely that Æthelwold would have mistaken a disc-brooch for a piece of or nail from the cross.

Additionally, there is evidence for the veneration of Vincent and Eustace at Abingdon in documents earlier than the Abingdon Chronicles,<sup>64</sup> however, this evidence only appears during the second generation of Æthelwold's circle, when the monks of Abingdon might have altered some of their venerating habits.<sup>65</sup> Vincent is the only saint whose relics were attributed to Abingdon in the later part of the *Secgan* (which can be dated after 1006 and even after 1013).<sup>66</sup> Ælfric wrote a *Life of Vincent*, possibly for

---

<sup>60</sup> *NMLV*, p. 91; see below, p. 186.

<sup>61</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. cliii.

<sup>62</sup> *HA*, i, p. 43.

<sup>63</sup> Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, fo. 1; D.W. Porter (ed.), *Excerptiones de Prisciano: the Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 3.

<sup>64</sup> *NMLV*, p. 91; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, fo. 1.

<sup>65</sup> See below, p. 236, 262.

<sup>66</sup> See below, p. 186.

Abingdon, in the late tenth or early eleventh century.<sup>67</sup> However, there is no evidence that the monks of Abingdon venerated Vincent before the second generation. On the contrary, Abingdon's turbulent history between 984 and 993 might have provided an occasion for the promotion of a new saint.

The veneration of Eustace at Abingdon may also have begun during the second generation. According to a series of poems written on the fly-leaf of Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS16.2 in the early eleventh century, Abingdon had an altar dedicated to Eustace, along with Kenelm and Edward the Martyr, and another altar dedicated to Æthelthryth of Ely and other virgins.<sup>68</sup> On the basis of these poems, Lapidge has argued that the monks of Abingdon venerated Eustace during the first generation, and he even attributes to them a mass set and a verse hagiography about Eustace which he has shown were composed in the circle's distinctive, hermeneutic style.<sup>69</sup> Certainly, Eustace was venerated somewhere in Æthelwold's circle. However, the poem about the altar dedicated to martyrs does not seem to be sufficient grounds for assigning the *Passio* to Abingdon, because the other saints in the poem (and the poem about virgins which precede it) were primarily associated with other monasteries: of the other two martyrs, Kenelm's relics were at Winchcombe, and Edward the Martyr's body was held first by Wareham and then by Shaftesbury.<sup>70</sup> The poem about virgins mentions Ely's Æthelthryth. Meanwhile, only Vincent's relics were attributed to Abingdon in the second *Secgan*.<sup>71</sup> Therefore, the poems from Abingdon— which seem to feature saints associated with other monasteries— might actually be evidence that Eustace was *not* initially venerated at

---

<sup>67</sup> *LS*, 94/114, 426-43; S.E. Irvine, 'Bones of Contention: the Context of Ælfric's Homily on Vincent', *ASE*, 19 (1990), pp. 117-32 at 130-1.

<sup>68</sup> Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, fo.1; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 140, fo. 1v-18r; Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 218-19.

<sup>69</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, pp. 218, 223.

<sup>70</sup> *VSO*, iv.18-22 (pp. 140-5); for Edward's cult, see below, p. 119; for Kenelm's cult, see Dumville, *Liturgy*, pp. 53-4; Cubitt, 'Sites', pp. 67-72.

<sup>71</sup> *NMLV*, p. 92.

Abingdon. Therefore, it seems possible that Eustace, too, was initially venerated somewhere in the circle outside of Abingdon and introduced to Abingdon during the second generation, and his cult will not be discussed here.<sup>72</sup>

Therefore, the only saints whose veneration can securely be associated with Abingdon between 956 and 984 were Mary, Peter, and Benedict. These saints seem to have corresponded with the circle's ideological interests (unlike saints at some later houses in Æthelwold's circle, whose *modus vivendi* directly contradicted the monastic, celibate, gender-segregated lifestyle which the circle promoted). The affinity between Benedict and monks who sought to follow his rule of life is clear. Moreover, in England, at least, Benedict tended to be associated with reforming houses (even those outside the circle): the only known dedication to Benedict in Anglo-Saxon England was Oswald's reformed monastery at Ramsey, which he dedicated to Mary and Benedict. Reforming monks also seem to have been devoted to Mary and Peter (whose tonsure they adopted). Mary Clayton argues that English monastic reformers particularly venerated Mary, noting the number of monasteries they dedicated or rededicated to her.<sup>73</sup> Æthelwold was personally associated with Marian devotion: the Benedictional which was made for him by his student Godeman contained more depictions of Mary than any other saint, including the first Western depiction of the coronation of Mary.<sup>74</sup> Mary and Peter feature in one of the few texts which purport to describe individual practice within monasteries: *De horis peculiaribus*, which was probably composed by Wulfstan of Winchester and portrays Æthelwold commanding all his monks to say personal devotions to Mary, Peter, Paul, and all those who had helped Jesus' 'humanity', and to All Saints.<sup>75</sup> Admittedly,

---

<sup>72</sup> See below, pp. 204-6.

<sup>73</sup> Clayton, *Mary*, p. 271.

<sup>74</sup> *BAE*, fo. 102v; S. MacLean, 'Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century', in Rollason *et al.* (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, pp. 255-75 at 258; see pp. 92-3.

<sup>75</sup> 'Preterea beatus pater Adeluoldus horas regulares et peculiare... instituit... ad laudem beatae Dei genitricis semperque virginis Mariae... ad honorem beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli omniumque nostri

the pairing of Peter and Paul in *De horis peculiaribus* might reflect a different conception of Peter and his role, as opposed to the image of Peter, the lone gatekeeper of Heaven, which is presented in the charter connected with Abingdon. Nevertheless, it was Peter's tonsure, not Paul's, that Æthelwold's monks adopted, according to the artwork in his Benedictional.<sup>76</sup>

Admittedly, it is unclear whether Æthelwold's monks introduced the veneration of these saints to Abingdon or whether, by coincidence, they were already especially venerated in those regions. In particular, it is unknown if locals recognized Mary as the patron of the pre-existing church at Abingdon or if Æthelwold introduced her veneration. Either option is possible. As a prominent Biblical figure, Mary was a plausible dedicatee for a pre-tenth-century church. John Blair has argued that dedications of paired churches to an apostle and to Mary 'became standard' in the period between c.650-850.<sup>77</sup>

Admittedly, Blair has argued that the lesser church was usually the one dedicated to Mary; however, it is possible that an earlier church at Abingdon dedicated to an apostle had, for whatever reason, disappeared from the records by the tenth century.<sup>78</sup>

Alternatively, the focus on Mary could have been introduced by Æthelwold when he rebuilt the church at Abingdon. Nevertheless, the veneration of Benedict—a saint who tended to be associated in England with reformers—suggests that to some extent, the monks of Abingdon were able to introduce saints in whom they were particularly interested. Perhaps Abingdon's relative stability and wealth allowed the monks to focus on saints who fit their ideals and reforming agenda. Equally, the political upheavals in the region around the monastery might have encouraged the monks to focus on their

---

saluatoris humanitati presentialiter famulantium' ('Moreover, our blessed father Æthelwold instituted regular offices, unique to himself... to the praise of the blessed mother of God ever-virgin Mary; to the glory of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul and all those who assisted the humanity of our Saviour by their presence'); *DHP*, p. lxxviii; see above, pp. 50-1.

<sup>76</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 3v, 4r.

<sup>77</sup> Blair, *Church*, p. 200.

<sup>78</sup> Blair, *Church*, p. 200.

relationships with universal saints, not associated with any one royal or aristocratic faction.

Of course, it must be noted that Anglo-Saxon charters did not necessarily reflect the full range of saints venerated at any one institution: for instance, Peter and not Swithun appears in charters associated with the Old Minster, Winchester, in this period. All sorts of saints could have been venerated at Abingdon without this veneration being reflected in the primarily documentary evidence which survives. In this regard, however, it is notable that no later accounts claim that Æthelwold and his monks venerated geographically local saints at Abingdon. Although the Abingdon Chronicle's story about the Black Cross involved the sister of Abingdon's alleged seventh-century founder, the chronicler did not try to claim that Æthelwold venerated her. This may suggest that there was no tradition of venerating local figures at Abingdon. Similarly, S876 (A.D. 993)—which survives in a contemporary copy—mentioned an early abbot of Abingdon, Hrethun, but the charter-writer (probably Abbot Wulfgar of Abingdon) did not describe Hrethun as *sanctus* or *beatus*. (By contrast, Pope Leo is described as *sanctus* in the same charter).<sup>79</sup> Although the surviving evidence for Abingdon is incomplete, it is nevertheless noteworthy that the surviving sources which mention geographically local figures do not treat these local figures as saints.<sup>80</sup> This is not to suggest that Mary did not have the same personal resonances for people near Abingdon as an Anglo-Saxon saint might have had. As Catherine Cubitt has noted, Anglo-Saxons may not have drawn the same clear distinctions between universal and local saints that later historians do: widely-venerated saints like John the Baptist could have as personal and specific significance for the

---

<sup>79</sup> S876; for further discussion of this charter, see below, pp. 220-1.

<sup>80</sup> There is one possible exception to this lack of local saints at Abingdon: Archbishop Ælfric of Canterbury (d. 1006), an alumnus of Abingdon, was commemorated as a saint in a poem found in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, fo. 1. However, he shall not be discussed here, since the date of his death means his sainthood postdates the first generation of Æthelwold's circle. Moreover, the poem in Plantin-Moretus 16.2 celebrated Ælfric's role as a *presul* (bishop): therefore, the poem seems to frame him as a saint from Canterbury as much as a *confilius* of Abingdon.

members of particular communities as a little-known saint who had lived and died just down the road.<sup>81</sup> It is possible that the church at Abingdon, too, had a long-standing association to the Virgin Mary. Nevertheless, as noted above, Mary also fit the monks' ideals, whereas other saints with local resonances like Hrethun, abbot of an unreformed monastery, might not have.

On occasion, monks from Abingdon do seem to have venerated more local saints from other monasteries; however, in the circle's writings these were characterized as lone individuals. For example, in his *Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni*, Lantfred—a monk associated with the Old Minster—mentioned a prior of Abingdon (*praepositus Abbundunensis monasterii*), Byrhtferth, who had walked barefoot to Winchester to receive a cure from Swithun's shrine.<sup>82</sup> This could have been part of Lantfred's attempt to show Swithun as more powerful than other houses' saints, even other houses in the circle. (He also included a story about a man who wanted to go to Iudoc's tomb in the New Minster for a cure, but was warned by a spectral bishop to go to Swithun's tomb instead.)<sup>83</sup> However, this account raises the possibility that Swithun was venerated by some monks at Abingdon as well as Winchester during the first generation of Æthelwold's circle. Given the close links between Abingdon's abbot, Osgar, and Winchester in this period, the monks of Abingdon would certainly have known of Swithun's translation at Winchester.<sup>84</sup> Unfortunately, no liturgical manuscripts or calendars survive from first-generation Abingdon, so we cannot verify whether or not the monks of Abingdon corporately commemorated Swithun, along with Mary, Peter, and

---

<sup>81</sup> C. Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in A. Thacker and R. Sharp (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 423-54 at 423-4.

<sup>82</sup> *Translatio*, p. 317; *Narratio*, p. 527. For further discussion of Lantfred, see below, pp. 94-5.

<sup>83</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 278-81.

<sup>84</sup> *NMLVK*, fo. 18r; Lantfred may even have met Osgar while at Winchester in the 970s. Lapidge argues on stylistic grounds that Lantfred is 'L', the author of a 974 x 984 letter to Dunstan who mentions borrowing books from a monk at the Old Minster. Lapidge claims the decoded name of the monk spells 'Osgar'; M. Lapidge, 'Lantfred (fl. 974-984)', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16058>]; *Translatio*, p. 265.

Benedict. However, Lantfred's account of Byrhtferth's cure (as it was later adapted by Wulfstan of Winchester) portrays Byrhtferth as a lone figure, who heard about Swithun's powers through 'hearsay' ('[c]omperit auditu') and not through any programme of veneration at Abingdon.<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Swithun and other Anglo-Saxon saints do not seem to have been especially venerated at Abingdon by the community as a whole, although they could have been celebrated by individuals.

Thus, the charters of Abingdon might suggest how the monks of Abingdon collectively sought to characterize themselves to the outside world from their position of stability: as rule-following Benedictines who had special access to the intercessions of Mary and to the protection of Peter, guardian of the gates of heaven. However, while the monks at Abingdon enjoyed more political and economic stability than contemporaries at other monasteries in the circle (at least until 984), they did not enjoy such stability that they never altered the way in which they presented their relationship to those saints. Some patterns emerge within charters which suggest that Æthelwold's circle portrayed their relationship with Mary differently on different occasions. Most of Abingdon's charters give property to the church *of* Christ and Mary (with the church in the dative and Christ and Mary in the genitive), or to the church (in the dative or in the form of *ad* plus accusative) *dedicated to* Christ and Mary (in the dative). In five charters made during Æthelwold's lifetime, however, the king was described giving property *to* Christ and Mary (whose names appear in the dative), for the use of the monks of Abingdon. The distinction between giving property to a saint's church and to a saint for a church is significant because this distinction was recognized by contemporaries, including Æthelwold. The author (possibly Æthelwold himself) of the New Minster Refoundation Charter (S745, A.D. 966) explained that land given to Christ (and Christ's mother, Mary,

---

<sup>85</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 526-7.

as was the case with that charter) could never be forfeited, even if the abbot of a monastery committed a crime, because the land technically belonged to God (and saints) who had committed no crime and who could not die (again).<sup>86</sup> Thus, giving property to saints ruled out two chief ways of involuntarily surrendering ownership of the land, by forfeiture or death of the holder.

Perhaps not coincidentally, given this contemporary reasoning, the monks of Abingdon seem to have given property directly to Mary on occasions when an unusual grant was being made, whether a restoration of privileges and property or an unusually large grant. For example, in S673, Edgar confirmed Abingdon's privileges and restored some of its lands to Mary and Christ. The language of restoration and confirmation implies that these rights and lands had been contested or the authority by which they were held had changed (which again suggests insecurity).<sup>87</sup> Similarly, Edgar's unusual grant of tolls and a vineyard in 962 was made directly to Christ and Mary on behalf of Abingdon.<sup>88</sup> As Kelly has noted, these sorts of grant seem to have been highly unusual. While the grant of the vineyard might be explained by the monastery's need for wine for communion, the grant of taxes seems to have been a very prestigious privilege indeed.<sup>89</sup> Again, the use of the saint as the explicit beneficiary seems to be connected to an unusual and potentially controversial grant. By contrast, Mary is not the explicit beneficiary of the uncomplicated land grants Edgar made to Abingdon in preceding or following years (see Figure 1). I would tentatively suggest that this pattern emerged because the monks at Abingdon emphasized their relationship to Mary when presented with vulnerable or potentially vulnerable grants. In turn, this implies that the members of Æthelwold's circle

---

<sup>86</sup> S745 (A.D. 966). For further discussion of this charter, see below, p. 89.

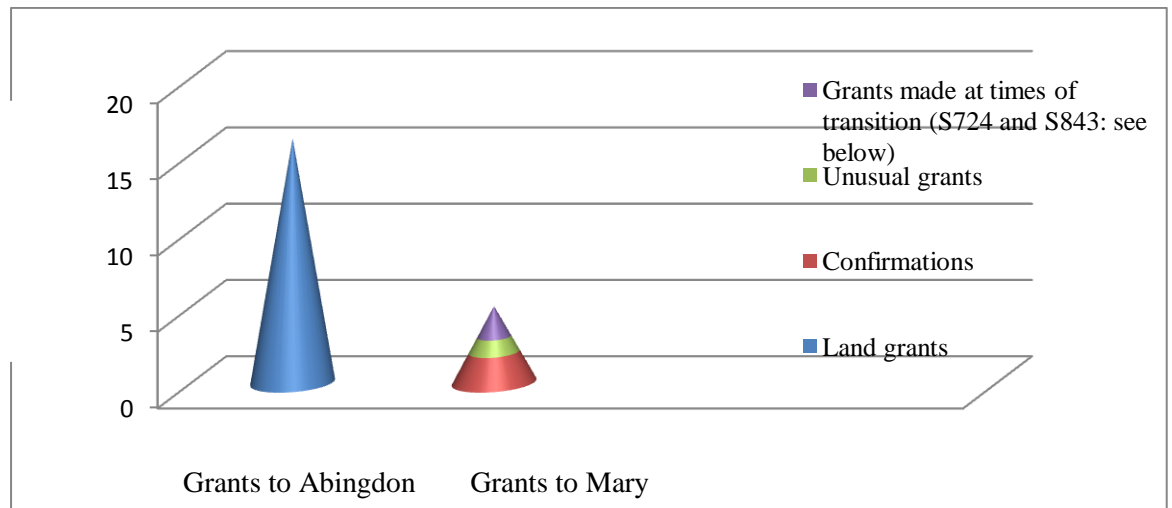
<sup>87</sup> All apparently authentic tenth-century confirmations to Abingdon are given directly to saints: S658 (A.D. 959), S673 (A.D. 959?), S876 (A.D. 983).

<sup>88</sup> S701 (A.D. 962).

<sup>89</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 379.

consciously chose particular modes of veneration with reference to contemporary political wrangling and were not purely influenced by their own ideals.

Figure 1:  
Abingdon's  
Grants by  
Type and by  
Stated  
Recipient



There are two apparent exceptions to this pattern: S724 (A.D. 964) and S843 (A.D. 983), two apparently ordinary land grants that are given directly to saints. One factor to consider, however, is that S724 is the earliest surviving charter for Abingdon made after Æthelwold became bishop of Winchester and was succeeded as abbot of Abingdon by Osgar. There may have been a degree of local tension about the way in which Osgar was appointed: Osgar was apparently chosen from within the community of Abingdon itself. It is notable that after Ealdorman Ælfhere's and Osgar's deaths, Ælfhere's family quickly installed one of their own relatives, who was not a member of the Abingdon community, as abbot.<sup>90</sup> Among some local figures, therefore, the abbatial succession practices at Abingdon might have caused some controversy, which, although not enough to stop Osgar becoming abbot, might have inspired the monks of Abingdon to invoke extra saintly precautions in charters at that time. The second grant, S843, records King Æthelred making a relatively small land grant to Christ and Mary, for Abingdon in 983. However, while this charter is witnessed by several abbots, Osgar's name was not

<sup>90</sup> S876 (A.D. 993); see below, pp. 220-1.

among them. Perhaps this was also a period of vulnerability for Abingdon, when Osgar was in some way indisposed. Additionally, the local ealdorman, Ælfhere, died in 983 and his successor, Ælfric (who apparently witnessed this charter) soon proved to be less sympathetic to the monks' claims to property.<sup>91</sup> The monks at Abingdon may have felt the need to use saints in this way as an extra safeguard that could strengthen both their relationship with the saint and emphasize that special relationship to would-be usurpers.

There is one further charter whose grant was later revealed to be controversial but which does not donate property to the saints: S689 (A.D. 961), which records the donation of land at Hurstbourne to Abingdon. A charter of Æthelred drafted in 999 (S937) later claimed that this land was supposed to fund æthelings, and that Edward the Martyr had promptly retrieved this estate on his father's death. It may be surprising that this grant (which was evidently viewed as controversial by near-contemporaries) was not given directly to Mary, as with other unusual grants. However, there is reason to suspect that this charter was forged later in the tenth century. Although Kelly has shown that its formulations are plausible for the date the charter claims (961), this charter bears a suspicious resemblance to S690 (which survives in the original), particularly in its witness-list.<sup>92</sup> Since S690 was already held in the archives at Abingdon, a would-be forger could have used it as a template for S689. There would have been a motive for the monks of Abingdon to forge such a charter, given that they campaigned for (and received) compensation from Æthelred in the late 990s (recorded in S937). However, the original estates in Hampshire were never returned to Abingdon: instead, Æthelred gave Abingdon land in Warwickshire and Gloucestershire.<sup>93</sup> Perhaps the monks did not wish to state their claim to the æthelings' land too strongly, since they were resigned to or perhaps even hoping for alternative compensation, not restoration. (Interestingly,

---

<sup>91</sup> S876 (A.D. 993).

<sup>92</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, pp. 56-7, 365-7.

<sup>93</sup> S937 (A.D. 990 x 1006).

however, S689's author emphasizes Peter's enmity for those who opposed the grant in the anathema clause. Additionally, the compensation was explicitly given to God and Mary, and their role in protecting the new acquisitions was made clear in S937.)

Admittedly, as noted above, it might be risky to seek patterns in an incomplete sample containing only twenty-one documents in total, only five of which gave property directly to Mary in this way. Moreover, it is impossible to prove that the apparently straightforward grants which were not given to saints were uncontested (although there is no evidence that they were). However, given that Æthelwold explicitly acknowledged the benefits of giving land directly to saints, this pattern of donation seems worth noting, even in the context of limited sources.

There remains one other charter for Abingdon which may include a donation to a saint: S583 (A.D. 956).<sup>94</sup> However, the wording of this grant is unclear, because both the monastery and the saints appear in the dative. Therefore, it is uncertain if the property was given to the saints for the monks, to the monks for the saints, or to the monks and to the saints. Additionally, the monks of Abingdon may have had less control over this charter's production, as discussed above. It is notable, however, that this charter might be directed at saints, unlike the other surviving 'Group Two' charters which benefitted Abingdon (S607 and S663): perhaps it was written by a different scribe who viewed Abingdon's connection with Mary as a defining, identifying feature that was worth recording. It is also possible that the wording of this charter was slightly different because it involved a controversial estate at Ginge: Kelly notes that Ginge was one of the estates later confirmed by Edgar (which suggests the abbey's possession of it was in

---

<sup>94</sup> Kelly treats this as authentic; Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 249.

dispute).<sup>95</sup> Beyond that, however, it is unclear what this charter might indicate about saints at Abingdon.

Apart from S583 (which may have been centrally produced), Abingdon's surviving charters suggest that donations to saints could be used for contested grants or restorations or during periods of transition for a monastery. The way the monks portrayed their relationship to saints thus seems to reflect contexts and controversies involving groups outside the monastery. This strategy may have been designed to impress external groups if they ever had access to charters at transaction ceremonies. The implications of giving property to saints may have been understood beyond Æthelwold's own monasteries: these patterns— between clusters of charters giving land to saints, and crises in or around the institutions to which they pertain— may appear in charters produced earlier, although the evidence is limited. For example, in S394 (A.D. 925), Athelstan restored land directly to St Augustine, for the benefit of his church at Canterbury. Notably, this grant is a restoration, which might suggest that the community felt insecure about land which had been challenged before. By contrast, an apparently routine grant of land in S438 (A.D. 937) by Athelstan to Wilton is simply addressed to 'the church of St Mary', not to Mary directly.<sup>96</sup> Later charters, too, that grant property and rights to saints are mostly charters of restoration. Fourteen out of 20 charters (from houses other than Abingdon) with saintly beneficiaries from between 960 and 1000 relate to restorations, confirmations, or other unusual circumstances.<sup>97</sup> In only three known

---

<sup>95</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 249.

<sup>96</sup> Although S394 and S438 pertain to different monasteries and were drafted over a decade apart, they are being compared in this instance due to the lack of other charters to monasteries which can be argued to be authentic which survive from Athelstan's reign.

<sup>97</sup> In addition to the charters for Abingdon which have already been discussed, see S814 (A.D. 963 x 975), S837 (A.D. 980), S889 (A.D. 996), S891 (A.D. 997), S745 (A.D. 966), S785 (A.D. 972), S810 (A.D. 961 x 963), S841 (A.D. 982), S884 (A.D. 995), S866 (A.D. 987), S671 (A.D. 955 for 973, although this may be a later tenth-century forgery), S885 (A.D. 995), S893 (A.D. 998), S813 (c.A.D. 973 x 975), S888 (A.D. 996), S838 (A.D. 981), S894 (A.D. 998), S767 (A.D. 968), S881 (A.D. 994), S751 (A.D. 967). The charters in italics give land grants which are not explicitly confirmations, although S866 (for Glastonbury) may have been drawn up in the context of restoration of land. The estate in question had belonged to the *matrona*

instances from this period were confirmations not given directly to saints: a charter from Shaftesbury, one from Sherborne, and a very controversial and dubious series from Winchester.<sup>98</sup> Indeed, the practice of giving land to saints may have been longstanding in parts of England: S21, a charter of 700 or 715 that survives in a near contemporary copy, gives land in perpetuity to Mary on behalf of the community at Lyminge.<sup>99</sup> Admittedly, there are fewer extant charters for earlier periods and for other monasteries, making it even harder to compare and contrast instances when saints were given property and when they were not. Moreover, other monasteries cannot be proven to have had such close connections to charters' drafters: therefore, the wording of these charters might reflect the coincidence of trends in charter writing, rather than a conscious strategy by their recipients. To address these issues, further research needs to be undertaken on the use of saints in the whole corpus of surviving Anglo-Saxon charters; however, if there was a pre-existing tendency in Anglo-Saxon charters to give controversial grants directly to patron saints, then Æthelwold's monasteries might have expected that contemporaries would recognize (and respect) the strategies they were using. This might support the argument that the approaches to saints which were recorded in Abingdon's charters reflected the monks' interactions with groups outside the monastery. For the purposes of this study, it is simply worth noting that the monks of Abingdon were by no means unique in using direct grants to saints or by generally using those grants at times of crisis. Therefore, the monks might have expected that contemporaries would understand the significance of their use of saints.

---

Ælfswith, whose will had been challenged. S889, pertaining to the Old Minster, Winchester, mentions that some bequests from her will to Winchester had been blocked. Thus, perhaps S866 was made in the context of a restoration or a controversy. Of course, there remain six comparatively small grants that give property to saints without any known context of tension; however, in the absence of further evidence the context of the creation remains unclear.

<sup>98</sup> S850 (A.D. 984); S895 (A.D. 998); for discussion of the Wintonian charters, see below, pp. 107-8.

<sup>99</sup> 'Terrulae quoque partem eiusdem Dei genetrici beatae Mariae similiter inperpetuum possidendam per dono'; S21 (A.D. 700 or 715). This charter is discussed at length in P. Chaplais, 'Who Introduced Charters Into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965), pp. 526-42 at 536-41.

## Conclusions

Saints may have provided a strategy at Abingdon to facilitate the monastery's relationship with others. The use of saints in charters at Abingdon might have provided one way in which the monks sought to resolve the fundamental tension inherent in a monastic project that sought to avoid secular interference while still heavily depending on secular help and seeking to influence secular figures. By emphasizing in charters that property belonged to Mary, the monks of Abingdon could have put that property out of the reach of secular lords who might have sought to take it back or who could have challenged Abingdon's continued use of certain properties. Moreover, the monks of Abingdon could use saints to highlight their distinctiveness by mentioning the Rule of St Benedict in some charters and their special relationship with Mary in many others. Equally, by advertising their connections to powerful saints like Mary and Peter, monks could have made their project appealing to local families who might have wished to fall on the right side of that power. Of course, this strategy only worked as long as contemporaries were willing to respect these claims about saints: once Abingdon's powerful supporters, from Æthelwold to Ealdorman Ælfhere, died in the early 980s, the monastery quickly found that its rhetoric about saints did not stop King Æthelred and the new ealdorman, Ælfric, from seizing their land and interfering with abbatial elections. However, when Æthelred eventually compensated Abingdon as recorded in S876 (as will be discussed at greater length in Chapter 5), the scribe—Abbot Wulfgar of Abingdon—still used the language of property being given to Mary and emphasized Abingdon's relationship to her. Evidently, the monks of Abingdon continued to see saints as a central, if fallible, medium for encouraging the cooperation of extra-monastic groups. As Paul Fouracre has shown in a Carolingian context, sanctity was 'an issue around which

social support could be mobilized', and this also seems to have been the case for the monks of Abingdon.<sup>100</sup>

This study of saints at Abingdon has three important implications for the scholarship on Æthelwold, saints, and monastic reform. First, the case of saints at Abingdon shows that Æthelwold and his monks were not necessarily attached to Anglo-Saxon saints. The monks of Abingdon were able to introduce saints to their charters which were of great interest to their own project (like Mary and Benedict).<sup>101</sup> The focus on saints with a transregional standing, like Mary, Peter, and Benedict, might corroborate the sense in many contemporary sources and later historiography that reformers drew their standards from continental models. In particular, their focus on Mary and Benedict might suggest that the monks drew on specifically Carolingian models (as their interest in Caroline script and Carolingian texts also suggests).<sup>102</sup>

Secondly, the way saints were venerated at Abingdon shows how Æthelwold's monks used saints in response to groups and events outside their monastery. I have argued that the monks used saints to safeguard their property in reaction to political or social controversy (which is suggested by confirmations of property and rights). They also seem to have used saints in anticipation of controversy, when they received unusual grants. The monks at Abingdon were probably not the first to invent this technique, although it can perhaps be seen most clearly in their relatively plentiful charters. Rather, the monks of Abingdon might have used strategies that others outside their monastery could understand to emphasize their connections to celestial powers in the context of

---

<sup>100</sup> P. Fouracre, 'The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints,' in J. Howard-Johnson and P. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 143-65 at 165.

<sup>101</sup> S673 (A.D. 958 for 959).

<sup>102</sup> For Carolingian theologians' approaches to Mary, see D. Iogna-Prat, 'La Vierge et les *ordines* de couronnement des reines au IXe siècle', in D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, and D. Russo (eds), *Marie: Le Culte de la Vierge dans la Société Médiévale* (Paris, 1996), pp. 101-7; J. Pelikan, *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1996), p. 192. Donald Bullough has suggested that the concept of Mary as queen, which ninth-century continental writers emphasized, may have influenced the *Regularis Concordia* and Æthelwold's *Benedictional*; Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal*, p. 288.

local controversies. This relationship between saints and land tenure has been discussed before, in the scholarship of both Anglo-Saxon England and reformed houses on the continent: saints' landholding functions in Anglo-Saxon England have been discussed by David Rollason, who coined the term 'undying landlords' to describe saints' unique uses for maintaining claims to land.<sup>103</sup> His view has been widely accepted and expanded to other regions, most recently by Robert Bartlett in his survey of Western medieval sanctity.<sup>104</sup> However, Rollason's analysis draws on hagiographies, not charters: in particular, he focuses on hagiographical depictions of Cuthbert, Mildreth, Æthelthryth, and Egwine protecting their lands with a vengeance. He briefly discusses the relationship between hagiography and forged charters, but not between saints and authentic charters.<sup>105</sup> Thus, while Rollason provides a very nuanced and interesting model of why saints *could* be useful landlords, he does not explore why saints are explicitly given land in some charters, but not others. Instead, he presents a somewhat static picture of saints as consistently useful in the same set of ways, whereas the charters from Abingdon suggest that churchmen could vary the way they portrayed saints' relationship to monasteries' property. The way the charters of Abingdon seem to give land to Mary in controversial cases suggests that churches could take a dynamic approach to the roles they assigned their saints in reaction to external events. This flexibility would seem to make saints even more important and useful as celestial allies to monasteries.

In studies of reformed houses on the continent, the opposite trends have emerged. Historians like Barbara Rosenwein have acknowledged land transactions' multiple, changing roles in the formation of social relationships.<sup>106</sup> However, Rosenwein

---

<sup>103</sup> Rollason, *Saints*, p. 196.

<sup>104</sup> R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013), p. 222.

<sup>105</sup> Rollason, *Saints*, p. 213.

<sup>106</sup> B.H. Rosenwein, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999).

occasionally downplays the special safeguards that saintly beneficiaries could provide for these transactions, even in her work entitled *To Be a Neighbor of Saint Peter*. Rosenwein presents Peter as no different from any other landlord: ‘Saint Peter figured so prominently in most of the transactions with Cluny, as if a nearby landholder.’<sup>107</sup> She stresses that she would discuss the ‘social meaning of Cluny’s property’ rather than its religious meaning, because she wanted to emphasize ‘the normalness of that association.’<sup>108</sup> St Peter may have had the qualities of a normal, human landlord in the eyes of the tenth- and eleventh-century residents of the Mâconnais and beyond (though Rosenwein does observe that the saints who were the beneficiaries of charters varied—sometimes Peter and Paul were listed together and sometimes just Peter— which suggests that patterns in Cluny’s beneficiaries can be investigated further).<sup>109</sup> However, the evidence of Abingdon’s charters suggests that in an English context, at least, Mary was not just another landholder: on the contrary, in the New Minster Refoundation Charter, Æthelwold explicitly acknowledged that giving land to God or a saint was not like giving it to a human landowner.<sup>110</sup> Saints’ cults thus added an important dimension to the relationships between reformed monks and secular actors, relationships that Rosenwein highlights so powerfully.

Thirdly, the case of Abingdon shows how patterns in veneration could help illuminate extra-monastic attitudes and contexts. Charters in general seem to have been drawn up in part with reference to monks’ fears about external interference, and some of Abingdon’s charters can perhaps be linked to specific occasions of instability. Of course, monks’ perceptions about how forces outside the monastery might react to particular grants were not necessarily always correct. Nevertheless, Abingdon’s charters show that

---

<sup>107</sup> B.H. Rosenwein, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny’s Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989), p. 4.

<sup>108</sup> Rosenwein, *Neighbor*, p. 4.

<sup>109</sup> Rosenwein, *Neighbor*, p. 4.

<sup>110</sup> S745 (A.D. 966).

despite the lavish patronage and general stability the monks of Abingdon enjoyed, they still felt vulnerable in some respects. Ironically, the very generosity of some gifts seems to have been a problem for Abingdon when those gifts were reclaimed by the next king. Equally, charters suggest that Abingdon's practice of abbatial election might have been more controversial than earlier sources suggest. This might indicate that powerful lay groups sought a degree of control over the governance of monasteries.<sup>111</sup> This potential for illuminating extra-monastic contexts becomes particularly apparent when the veneration of saints at Abingdon is contrasted with practices at Æthelwold's other houses.

---

<sup>111</sup> For challenges to Abingdon's abbatial elections from powerful laymen during the second generation, see below, p. 217.

## Chapter 2: The Wintonian Monasteries

The evidence from Æthelwold's Wintonian monasteries strengthens the suggestions made in the previous chapter: that the monks' 'public' veneration of saints continued to be linked to their interactions with groups outside their monasteries. In particular, Æthelwold and his monks at the Old Minster, Winchester seem to have expended huge amounts of resources and energy promoting the veneration of Swithun, a ninth-century bishop. The causes of the monks' interest in Swithun are not immediately apparent, since the unreformed Swithun would seem to represent lifestyles that were inimical to Æthelwold's reforming programme. One explanation is that the monks promoted Swithun to improve their relationship with Eadsige, one of the clerics whom they had forcibly expelled from the Old Minster. At the Old Minster, the monks' choice of saints, as well as the way they portrayed their relationships with those saints, seems to have been linked to their relationship with groups who were (initially) outside their monastery.

This is not to say that the monks' own interests and ideals had no impact on their public veneration: the case of the New Minster shows that the monks there were able to ignore some of the New Minster's pre-existing cults of secular, royal figures (like Alfred and Ealhswith). The monks at the New Minster may even have been able to impose a new patron, changing from Peter to the Virgin Mary (perhaps inspired by the circle's ideological interest in Mary).<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, the New Minster's monks also promoted other cults, like those of the hermit-prince Iudoc and Grimbald, which did not necessarily fit their own ideals. Moreover, the veneration of Eadburh at the Nunnaminster shows that Æthelwold's associates could not always avoid commemorating members of the West

---

<sup>1</sup> See below, pp. 113-4.

Saxon dynasty as saints. Thus, the veneration of saints at Æthelwold's Wintonian foundations complicates the ruthless, inflexible, isolationist picture of Æthelwold's reforms found in both near-contemporary and modern historiography.<sup>2</sup> Rather, the evidence of the Wintonian monasteries suggests that Æthelwold's circle were obliged to interact with groups outside their monastery and that they placed such importance on establishing some of these relationships that they could be very flexible in their choice of saints in an attempt to secure these links.

### **History of Æthelwold's Circle in Winchester**

The Wintonian monasteries—especially the Old Minster—provide an interesting case study for examining the relationships members of the circle had to external groups, because they apparently had some contentious interactions with other groups in Winchester. As soon as the monks arrived, they seem to have clashed with the previous inhabitants of the Old Minster and the New Minster. According to the New Minster's Refoundation Charter (S745, written around 966), Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, a history of the New Minster copied in the eleventh-century New Minster *Liber Vitae*, and the A version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the resident clerics in the Old Minster and the New Minster refused to accept Æthelwold's rule of life; the circle then physically expelled them in early 964 with the help of Wulfstan of Dalham, one of Edgar's strong men.<sup>3</sup> Æthelwold repopulated the Old Minster and the New Minster with monks from Abingdon. Some of the expelled clerics returned to the Old Minster after

---

<sup>2</sup> Æthelwold has been characterized as 'the harsh, unyielding, hasty reformer... whose cruelty produced a reaction the moment he was dead'; Robinson, *Times*, p. 104. See also Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 39; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 452. More recently, Blair has described Æthelwold as the 'sternest and most uncompromising of the reformers'; Blair, *Church*, p. 351.

<sup>3</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 17-20 (pp. 31-7); *NMLV*, p. 7; ASC A, 963 and 964. For the calculation of dates, see Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 25.

971, but not before some of the expelled clerics' allies had tried to poison Æthelwold, according to Wulfstan of Winchester.<sup>4</sup>

While details of Wulfstan's narrative can be questioned—his story about Æthelwold being poisoned may have been embellished to create parallels between Æthelwold and Benedict of Nursia or Martin of Tours—his description of insecurity and upheaval is corroborated by surviving documents from the early 960s.<sup>5</sup> Around this time, Æthelwold took the unusual step of acquiring a papal letter giving him permission to expel the clerics from the Wintonian monasteries.<sup>6</sup> Æthelwold seems to have been nervous enough about the expulsion to seek an impressive level of justification for it. At the New Minster, the monks also produced an ornate, lengthy, and unusual refoundation charter to further justify their position and protect their holdings.<sup>7</sup> This document still survives in a contemporary copy.<sup>8</sup> Dorothy Whitelock and Mechthild Gretsch have shown that its language closely resembles that of texts attributed to Æthelwold, while the script and the opening illustration use the styles characteristic of Æthelwold's circle.<sup>9</sup>

Rumble has noted that the charter goes to great lengths to justify the eviction of the clerics, claiming that the clerics' prayers were ineffectual compared to the monks', and comparing their expulsion to the expulsion of Satan from Heaven and of Adam from Paradise.<sup>10</sup> Moreover, the document emphasizes the penalties that will befall anyone who

---

<sup>4</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 19 (pp. 34-5).

<sup>5</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 35, n. 3; Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 66, ii.8 (col. 148).

<sup>6</sup> 'Letter from Pope John XII', ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church* (2 vols, Oxford, 1981), i, pp. 109-111. It is unclear exactly which Pope John from the 960s issued the letter and whether this letter was sought before or after 963.

<sup>7</sup> S745 (A.D. 966). Some alleged refoundation and confirmation charters also exist for the Old Minster; however, they only survive in twelfth-century copies and seem to have been interpolated, if not completely forged (see below).

<sup>8</sup> British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.viii. For its date, see Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 28.

<sup>9</sup> D. Whitelock, 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in J. Rosier (ed), *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt* (Paris, 1970), pp. 125-36. Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 3. See also Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xc; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar', pp. 95-6.

<sup>10</sup> Rumble, *Property*, p. 65.

tries to help the former clerics evict the monks, suggesting that this threat had at least occurred to the monks of the New Minster who created the charter. Additionally, as at Abingdon, the New Minster Refoundation charter also pointedly gave the privilege to God and Mary, to ensure that others could not claim it: ‘Eadgar rex hoc priuilegium nouo edidit monasterio ac omnipotenti Domino eiusque genitrici Marie eius laudans magnalia concessit.’<sup>11</sup> We know this was the author’s purpose because he spelled it out:

May the liberty of the aforesaid munificence remain inviolable, freely bestowed on the One Enthroned on High, for the use of the monks serving Him with pleasing, eternal liberty, because God—who possesses this generous donation of privilege and the place with the whole household of monks and all the estates subject to the holy monastery—never committed a crime nor will he ever commit one at any time. Therefore, may the aforesaid liberty be eternal, because God is the eternal possessor of liberty.<sup>12</sup>

All these justifications and threats might suggest that monks of the New Minster felt their situation was precarious. Furthermore, the monks may have intended these justifications to be presented at a meeting of powerful elites. The witness-list was copied in a slightly smaller hand than the rest of the document and may have been composed at a different time from the main text. Rumble has suggested that the witness-list was copied during a meeting where all the dignitaries in the witness-list were present (and could presumably have been shown the charter and made aware of the warnings contained in it).<sup>13</sup> These features all suggest that even by 966, two years after the original expulsion, the community of the New Minster still felt insecure in their position and took extraordinary precautionary steps to bolster their position, possibly to an audience of major nobles.

---

<sup>11</sup> ‘King Edgar promulgated this privilege for the New Minster and granted it to the almighty Lord and his mother Mary, praising his great works.’ Translated by Rumble, *Property*, p. 74.

<sup>12</sup> ‘[M]aneatque prefate munificentie libertas altithrono per nostram humilitatem oblata ad monachorum usus gratuite sibi famulantium inuiolabilis eterna libertate iocunda . quia Deus qui hanc priuilegii largifluam donationem locumque cum uniuersa monachorum familia ruraque omnia sacro subiecta coenobio possidet . numquam reatum commisit . nec ullo unquam tempore committet . Sit igitur prefata libertas eterna . quia Deus libertatis possessor eternus est’ (my translation); S745 (A.D. 966).

<sup>13</sup> Rumble, *Property*, p. 66.

This is not to say that the circle's move to Winchester created only tensions and instability. The circle had allies in Winchester, like Wulfstan of Dalham and the royal family, who had supported the eviction of the clerics. Æthelwold's appointment to Winchester also increased the prominence and wealth of his circle, since it gave them a base in a significant economic, social, and political centre. The see of Winchester was regarded as a senior one, at least in witness-lists: Æthelwold's predecessor, Byrhtferth, was regularly the first or second bishop listed, as was Æthelwold.<sup>14</sup> Moreover, Æthelwold's circle was now in an authoritative position in a site of trade and wealth. Following the building and urbanizing efforts begun in the reign of Alfred in the late ninth century, Winchester had become one of the largest towns in England, with a productive mint, trade, industry, a royal palace, and two major churches.<sup>15</sup>

Winchester was also the venue Æthelwold chose when his circle tried to impose monastic uniformity through the *Regularis Concordia*. The *Regularis Concordia* purports to be a unified rule of life developed at a synod in Winchester of all the abbots and abbesses from Edgar's realm, apparently at some point between 964 and Edgar's death in 975.<sup>16</sup> The full extent and influence of the *Regularis* at this time is unclear: it continued to be copied into the eleventh century, but within a few decades its specifications were openly disregarded even by some of Æthelwold's own students.<sup>17</sup> Nevertheless, the ability of the author (probably Æthelwold) to create a document that even claimed to have

---

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 27, n. 100.

<sup>15</sup> M. Biddle, 'Felix Urbs Winthonia', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies* (London, 1975), p. 127; M. Biddle et al., *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester* (2 vols, Winchester Studies Series, 7.ii, 1990), i, pp. 71-2.

<sup>16</sup> '[S]ynodale concilium Wintoniae fieri decreuit.' The text's description of clerics being expelled suggests it was composed after Æthelwold's takeover of the Wintonian monasteries in 964 and before Edgar's death in 975: *RegC*, p. 2.

<sup>17</sup> In his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Ælfric claims that the *Regularis Concordia* 'has been unknown to your brotherhood', suggesting that its author's ambition that it would become the unified rule of life for monks and nuns throughout the island of Britain had not been fulfilled. Nor did Ælfric enlighten his monks about the *Regularis*: Ælfric did not 'dare to convey to you all those things I learned about customs and usages while abiding for many years in [Æthelwold's] school,' and his own instructions significantly differ from aspects of the *Regularis*; *LME*, pp. 110-111.

authority over all other monasteries suggests some confidence. Moreover, the text's references to a council in Winchester suggest Winchester seemed central, as a place of royal and episcopal power where abbots and abbesses could be called together and whence diktats could plausibly be sent to other monasteries.

Meanwhile, the initial insecurity the Wintonian monasteries experienced did not remain constant. Around 971, Æthelwold evidently felt comfortable leaving Winchester for extended periods of time while he refounded monasteries in East Anglia and travelled with and advised King Edgar.<sup>18</sup> Winchester thus formed the base for the expansion of Æthelwold's reform programme. By 980, Winchester may have been such a secure site for Æthelwold that he chose to demonstrate his dominance over his rivals there. At least, that was the claim made in the late tenth century by Æthelwold's hagiographer Wulfstan:

In the year of the Lord's incarnation 980 the church of the Old Minster was renewed and rebuilt... there were present King Æthelred and virtually all the ealdormen, abbots, thegns and leading noblemen of the whole race of the English... [A]ll who had previously seemed his enemies, standing in God's path, were suddenly made, as it were, sheep instead of wolves<sup>19</sup>

Admittedly, this description may have been influenced by Wulfstan's desire to create a triumphant end to his narrative. However, contemporary evidence suggests that the rededication of the Old Minster was an occasion for significant displays of power by Æthelwold.<sup>20</sup> Æthelwold's Benedictional—a lavish manuscript with miniatures illuminated in gold, red, purple, and blue—might have been made for the rededication of the Old Minster by Godeman, a brother of the Old Minster who became abbot of Thorney.<sup>21</sup> The benediction for the dedication of a church is the only prayer in the

---

<sup>18</sup> For the dates of these monasteries' refoundations, see below, p. 142.

<sup>19</sup> 'Anno dominicae incarnationis nongentesimo octogesimo renouata et constructa est ecclesia Veteris Coenobii... in praesentia regis Æthelredi et in conuentu omnium paene ducum, abbatum, comitum primorumque optimatum... omnes qui ei hactenus contrarii et in via Dei resistere uidebantur subito velut oues ex lupis'; *VÆ*, ch. 40 (pp. 60-1).

<sup>20</sup> On the political context of the rededication, see Sheerin, 'Dedication', pp. 261-73.

<sup>21</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 4v-5r. Modern historians usually identify Godeman as the first abbot of the refounded Thorney, following Warner's analysis of individuals named Godeman remembered in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*:

Benedictional for a one-off event (as opposed to an annual *temporale* or *sanctorale* commemoration). Moreover, the benediction for the dedication of a church is accompanied by an image which appears to depict Æthelwold himself dedicating a church.<sup>22</sup> Admittedly, Robert Deshman has dated its creation much earlier, arguing that Godeman made the Benedictional while he was still a monk at Winchester, for the occasion of Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973.<sup>23</sup> Deshman's analysis emphasized the imperial and royal imagery in some of the Benedictional's illuminations: Benedict is crowned and appears to be presenting a crown to the righteous. Unusually, all three magi are wearing crowns, and the Virgin is depicted being crowned upon her death.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, the royal themes noted by Deshman could have made sense in 980 as well as in 973. D.J. Sheerin has suggested the rededication of the Old Minster coincided with one of the first occasions when the young King Æthelred and the lay and ecclesiastical magnates of the kingdom met after the violent succession dispute which had followed Edgar's death in 975.<sup>25</sup> The royal images which Deshman noted perhaps make equal sense as products of the early part of Æthelred's reign. Indeed, images featuring themes of motherhood and queenship— Christ, his mother, and the magi and Mary's heavenly coronation— might have been pertinent in 980, when Æthelred's mother, Ælfhryth, was regent.<sup>26</sup> Thus, it seems possible that Godeman created the Benedictional around 980, perhaps especially for the rededication. The conspicuous consumption demonstrated by the Benedictional might have been intended as part of a display of power over Æthelwold's rivals. Thus, the circle's history in Winchester—from its earliest, tense years

---

G.F. Warner and H.A. Wilson (eds), *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1910), p. xiv, and below, p. 149, n. 28.

<sup>22</sup> *BÆ*, fo.118v.

<sup>23</sup> R. Deshman, *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995), pp. 140, 214.

<sup>24</sup> Deshman acknowledged that the rededication prayer could have been made for the rededication of the Old Minster; however, he felt that the royal themes trumped the dedication in dating the manuscript; Deshman, *Benedictional*, pp. 140, 214.

<sup>25</sup> Sheerin, 'Dedication', p. 273. See also Wulfstan's description of the rededication; *VÆ*, ch. 40 (pp. 60-1).

<sup>26</sup> For the circle's links to Ælfhryth, see S745 (A.D. 966); *LibÆ*, ch. 58; *LE* ii.47 (p. 116); Fairweather, p. 138; Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', pp. 65-88.

to more secure, later years—seems replete with instances when the circle sought to interact with and impress groups outside the monastery. I will argue that saints’ cults were part of that interaction.

The Wintonian monasteries provide a useful case study because more detailed sources about the monks’ activities—including their interactions with external groups—survive. The school at the Old Minster produced some of the greatest scholars of the Anglo-Saxon period, including the poet Wulfstan of Winchester and the homilist Ælfric. The wealth of the Wintonian monasteries enabled Æthelwold’s circle to create a series of deluxe manuscripts showcasing their work, particularly hagiographies and liturgy. During Æthelwold’s episcopate, expensive re-building projects were undertaken at the Old Minster, the New Minster, and the Nunnaminster.<sup>27</sup> Substantial parts of these monasteries have been excavated by the Biddles and Kenneth Qualmann.<sup>28</sup> However, no original charters survive from the Old Minster, Winchester, only copies preserved in an early twelfth-century cartulary. Their editor Alexander Rumble has argued that many of these charters seem to have been interpolated with later claims.<sup>29</sup> Nevertheless, the sources which do survive suggest wealthy and productive communities.

Additionally, even though these sources were created by monks who had spent time at the Old Minster, some of these texts cannot be taken as straightforwardly representing common attitudes among the members of the Old Minster. In particular, the attitudes of Lantfred—who wrote the earliest account of Swithun’s miracles and provided the basis of most of Wulfstan’s and Ælfric’s accounts—cannot be generalized to other members of the Old Minster. Lantfred was a monk, probably from Fleury, who had lived

---

<sup>27</sup> *NMLV*, p. 7.

<sup>28</sup> Biddle *et al.*, *Object and Economy*; K. Qualmann, ‘Winchester-Nunnaminster’, *Current Archaeology*, 102 (1986), pp. 204-7 at 205-6.

<sup>29</sup> Rumble, *Property*, pp. 99-100.

in Winchester and who claimed to have witnessed some of Swithun's miracles there.<sup>30</sup> The leaders of the Old Minster seem to have used his account, since they permitted it to be copied at Winchester in the late tenth century into a still-extant manuscript.<sup>31</sup> Nevertheless, even though Lantfred had apparently stayed at the Old Minster for a few years before returning to Fleury, and even though his work was approved for copying by the Wintonian monks, his perceptions were not always entirely congruent with those of longer-term members of Æthelwold's circle. For example, while Æthelwold's circle avoided referring to their members as *clerici* and *presbyteri* (as opposed to *monachi*, *fratres*, or *sacerdotes*), Lantfred described Eadwold, a member of the Old Minster, as a *clericus*.<sup>32</sup> By contrast, an Eadwold is listed as *sacerdos* in a list of brothers of the Old Minster which was possibly compiled during this period.<sup>33</sup> Nor does Wulfstan of Winchester's repetition of Lantfred's terms in his versification of Lantfred's *Translatio* indicate that this represented the way the monks of the Old Minster wished to present themselves.<sup>34</sup> While Wulfstan avoided describing any members of the Old Minster as *clerici* or *presbyteri* in his original works, like his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, he closely repeated Lantfred's descriptions, in keeping with the traditions of Anglo-Latin versification in England.<sup>35</sup> As Lapidge has noted, tenth-century Anglo-Latin versifiers rarely altered their source material apart from adding new information.<sup>36</sup> Certainly, Lantfred's work did not always contradict the views of the circle: there were several other occasions when

---

<sup>30</sup> Lapidge has argued on stylistic grounds that Lantfred is 'L', the author of a letter written between 974 and 984 who had recently returned to Fleury from England. Lapidge, 'Lantfred (*fl.* 974–984)', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16058>]; *Translatio*, p. 265.

<sup>31</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 238.

<sup>32</sup> *Translatio*, p. 304.

<sup>33</sup> *NMLV*, p. 25. For these lists' dates, see below, p. 246.

<sup>34</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 500–3.

<sup>35</sup> The exception to this rule is Wulfstan's description of the men who accompanied Æthelwold to Abingdon (the original members of the circle, so to say): they are all pointedly described as having been *clerici*, who became *monachi* when they joined Æthelwold's own establishment; *VÆ*, ch. 11 (p. 20); Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. xxv. Wulfstan's usage of *clerici* here, however, only emphasizes his image of an exclusively monastic circle, by suggesting that clerics had to become monks to join the circle.

<sup>36</sup> M. Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24/25 (1989/1990), pp. 249–60 at 255–6.

Lantfred's views clearly matched or perhaps had been influenced by the circle's, like his characterization of the Anglo-Saxon past.<sup>37</sup> However, whether or not the monks of the Old Minster wholeheartedly endorsed the specifics of all of Lantfred's phrasing, Lantfred's account still formed the basis for their later veneration of Swithun. Therefore, Lantfred's work must be studied as part of their veneration.<sup>38</sup>

### **Saints at the Old Minster**

The liturgical manuscripts and documents which survive from the Old Minster, Winchester, in the first generation suggest that over half a dozen saints were especially venerated by Æthelwold's circle there: Peter, Paul, Mary, Swithun, Birinus, Ælfheah, Martin, and Hædde. Of these, the dedicatory saints Peter and Paul and the ninth-century bishop, Swithun, are most prominent in the surviving sources. In these cases, the circle's veneration seems to have been linked with their attempts to interact with groups outside the monastery, particularly in the case of Swithun.

Whereas Æthelwold's monks do not seem to have extensively commemorated Anglo-Saxon saints at Abingdon during the first generation of the circle, at Old Minster, Winchester, they energetically venerated and promoted Swithun, a local bishop of Winchester who had died in 863. Æthelwold oversaw the translation of Swithun's remains into the Old Minster from a tomb outside it in 971, and his relics were subsequently translated again into an ornate reliquary provided by King Edgar in the following years.<sup>39</sup> Meanwhile, the monks had an elaborate westwork built which covered the site of Swithun's original tomb. By the year 1000, monks associated with the Old Minster had produced two accounts of Swithun's miracles: the *Translatio et Miracula S.*

---

<sup>37</sup> See below, p. 97.

<sup>38</sup> Mark Atherton even argues that Lantfred's focus on miracles involving lay people (as opposed to monks) might even suggest that he did not entirely approve of or wish to endorse practices at the Old Minster; M. Atherton, *The Making of England: a New History of the Anglo-Saxon World* (forthcoming).

<sup>39</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 492-503.

*Swithuni*, the earliest known account of Swithun's translation, written by Lantfred probably around 981, and Wulfstan of Winchester's versification of Lantfred's work, the *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, probably written in the 990s.<sup>40</sup> The earliest surviving manuscript of Lantfred's and Wulfstan's works, written in Winchester around the year 1000, also includes marks which suggest that the monks used demarcated excerpts from these texts in the liturgy for the feast and vigil of Swithun by the late tenth century, at least.<sup>41</sup> Additional information about Swithun's translation comes from Ælfric of Eynsham's *Life of Swithun*, part of his *Lives of the Saints* (written for Ealdorman Æthelweard and his son, again in the 990s).<sup>42</sup> Late tenth-century and early eleventh-century manuscripts also include several hymns and tropes to Swithun.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, by the 980s and 990s, the veneration of Swithun was so developed that two texts created for the Old Minster single Swithun out above all other Wintonian saints. In Æthelwold's Benedictional, Swithun was the only saint represented whose relics were held in Winchester (although Peter and Paul were also depicted), and Swithun was one of only two English saints to receive both a miniature and a benediction.<sup>44</sup> Moreover, in Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (written 996), Wulfstan spent a chapter discussing Æthelwold's translation of Swithun, claiming that Æthelwold's 'preaching was greatly

---

<sup>40</sup> The *Translatio* seems to have been written around 981, since the text claims that it was written in the tenth year since Swithun's translation: *Translatio*, p. 287. This date is not universally accepted: Lapidge has argued that Lantfred wrote the *Translatio* in Winchester between 972 and 975, given the details in the miracle stories, and that the phrase mentioning the 'tenth year' was updated whenever the text was copied: Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 287, n. 161. However, if updating these phrases was the accepted practice at Winchester, it is curious that the scribe of the surviving c. 1000 manuscript did not update the phrase again to say twenty or twenty-five years had passed since Swithun's translation. Moreover, while Lapidge suggests that Lantfred wrote the *Translatio* in Winchester, in the text Lantfred claimed that he told a Continental noblewoman about Swithun: *Translatio*, p. 321. Therefore, the text seems to have been finalized after he had returned to France.

<sup>41</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, pp. 23-4, 283; London, British Library, Royal MS 15 C VII.

<sup>42</sup> While some of these later texts fall under the purview of Chapter 5 (on the second generation of Æthelwold's circle), I will be citing them here from time to time to show how they augmented Lantfred's account.

<sup>43</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 775; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473.

<sup>44</sup> The other was Æthelthryth, while Cuthbert is depicted in the choir of confessors, but not in the text of the Benedictional; *BÆ*, fo. 1r, 90v, 97v.

aided' by Swithun's miracles.<sup>45</sup> Wulfstan even describes Swithun as a figure on a par with Æthelwold, like 'two lamps [which] blazed in the house of God, placed on golden candlesticks.'<sup>46</sup> He did not devote a whole chapter to any other saint associated with Æthelwold. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, Wulfstan's work is highly stylized and may have been motivated by changes in the circle that occurred during the second generation.<sup>47</sup> However, given that his general goal was to glorify Æthelwold and perhaps the Old Minster's place in the circle, his emphasis on Swithun suggests that the monks of Winchester saw Swithun as one of their major claims to authority.

This energetic promotion of Swithun does not seem to have been motivated by any of the circle's ideological goals or interests. On the contrary, Swithun seems an unlikely choice for Æthelwold's monks, since he had been a bishop in the ninth century, a period which the circle described as a time of decline. For example, the author of 'Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries' (probably Æthelwold)<sup>48</sup> states that after an initial flourishing of Christianity around the time of the conversion, religiosity and monasticism declined (although, unfortunately, most of his remarks on the following period have been lost).<sup>49</sup> This theme was taken up even within the first account of Swithun's miracles: Lantfred described how the Anglo-Saxons converted to Christianity so readily that 'even kings, queens, and nobles... were more devout in the faith... than a good many present-day monks', but he implied that there had been a decline in the eighth and ninth centuries.<sup>50</sup> The monks' discomfort with aspects of Swithun's career is evident from the way they ignored or subtly reframed Swithun's activities. Primarily, the monks at Winchester seem to have circumvented the difficulties created by Swithun's history by

---

<sup>45</sup> 'Cuius praedicationem maxime iuuit sanctus antistes Suuithunus'; *VÆ*, ch. 26 (pp. 42-3).

<sup>46</sup> '[I]n domo Dei fulsere luminaria, candelabris aureis superposita'; *VÆ*, pp. 42-3.

<sup>47</sup> See below, pp. 243-4.

<sup>48</sup> See above, p. 16, n. 49.

<sup>49</sup> *EEM*, pp. 144-5.

<sup>50</sup> '[U]erum reges, reginae ac satrapes... extiterint religiosiores monachis complurimis'; *Translatio*, pp. 256-7.

claiming that they knew absolutely nothing about his life.<sup>51</sup> They also occasionally reframed Swithun's history and tried to portray him as a monk like them: in the Æthelwold's Benedictional, Swithun is portrayed wearing the Petrine tonsure sported by monks in the miniature depicting the dedication of a church.<sup>52</sup> Moreover, the colour and style of Swithun's episcopal robes exactly match those worn by the bishop (often identified as Æthelwold) in the miniature of the dedication of the church.<sup>53</sup> Given these apparent efforts to suppress or change Swithun's past, it remains unclear why the monks of Winchester spent so much effort on Swithun when there were a range of other saints available at the Old Minster, several of whom had lived during the period of conversion and thus fitted the monks' agenda and interests better than a ninth-century bishop.<sup>54</sup> Yet despite this rhetoric of decline, the monks from the Old Minster still venerated a bishop from that period and spent lavishly on a shrine and hagiography for him.

Therefore, the monks' veneration of Swithun seems to have been motivated by something other than their internal, ideological programme, although the surviving sources credit the monks of Winchester with the initiative in promoting his cult. Lantfred and Wulfstan claimed that Swithun had been entirely forgotten and was not regarded as a saint until the episcopacy of Æthelwold, when, three years before his translation (in 968), he appeared in a vision to a smith and told him to contact Eadsige, one of the clerics whom Æthelwold had expelled from the Old Minster.<sup>55</sup> Lantfred claimed that the first person to be cured (*primus curatus*) at Swithun's tomb was the hump-backed cleric Æthelsige in 969.<sup>56</sup> Similarly, Wulfstan claimed in the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (where he was

---

<sup>51</sup> *Translatio*, p. 253; *Narratio*, p. 409; *LS*, 76/82, pp. 442-3. An eleventh-century addition to British Library, Royal MS 15.C.VII claims that Swithun built a bridge by the East Gate of Winchester, so memories of his activities might have been better preserved than the monks claim. Alternatively, the story about Swithun and the bridge might have been a later development.

<sup>52</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 97v, 118v.

<sup>53</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 97v, 118v.

<sup>54</sup> See below, p. 109.

<sup>55</sup> *Translatio*, p. 261.

<sup>56</sup> *Translatio*, p. 267.

not obliged to rely on Lantfred's wording) that Swithun was only 'marked out by signs from heaven' after Æthelwold began preaching in Winchester.<sup>57</sup> Thus, both Lantfred and Wulfstan portrayed Swithun's miracles as a sort of divine justification of Æthelwold's programme, and both credited Æthelwold with translating Swithun (with the encouragement of King Edgar).<sup>58</sup>

The claim that Swithun was first promoted as a saint during Æthelwold's episcopate by the monks of Winchester has been widely accepted by historians and literary scholars.<sup>59</sup> Certainly, no evidence for the veneration of Swithun exists from the period before Æthelwold's episcopate (although very little evidence for any veneration at the Old Minster exists before the arrival of Æthelwold's circle).<sup>60</sup> Nevertheless, contradictory anecdotes in texts produced by Æthelwold's circle suggest that there were other, competing narratives about the genesis and appeal of Swithun's cult. While at the start of their texts, Lantfred and Wulfstan claim that nothing was known of Swithun's life in the mid-tenth century, they later give an account of Swithun's motivations and his personality: they claim that Swithun was buried outside the church because he was too humble, and deemed himself unworthy to be buried among such great bishops.<sup>61</sup> This humble tomb, however, is later described as being a stone structure with a large cross at one end, which would have been fairly conspicuous and high-status in the graveyard of tenth-century Winchester. The Biddles' excavations of the Old Minster suggest that Swithun's grave (at least, as it is described by Lantfred) would have been located prominently before the entrance of the Old Minster (before Æthelwold's rebuilding

---

<sup>57</sup> 'Suuithunus eodem tempore caelestibus signis declaratus et infra templi regiam gloriosissime translatus ac decentissime collocatus'; *VÆ*, ch. 26 (pp. 42-3).

<sup>58</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 284-5; *Narratio*, pp. 448-9.

<sup>59</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 73; Hayward, 'Saints and Cults', pp. 313, 319.

<sup>60</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 26.

<sup>61</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 274-5.

project), among high-status graves.<sup>62</sup> Even if Lantfred (or the Biddles) were incorrect about the precise position of Swithun's original grave, in the context of his narrative Lantfred still created contradictory images. This inconsistency suggests that Lantfred had several different sources or that he was, for some reason, being encouraged to deploy contradictory anecdotes. Where those anecdotes originated is unclear: they could have been created by competing factions outside the monastery, or the monks of the Old Minster could have produced various stories about Swithun. Either way, this might temper the sources' image of a cult created solely under Æthelwold's centralized auspices. Moreover, there is no reason to prioritize Lantfred's main narrative—that Swithun's cult was unknown before Æthelwold—over others. Lantfred's claims seem to have been designed to enhance the standing of the new, Æthelwoldian, regime at Winchester. Divine favour in the form of miracles was, according to this narrative, reserved for Æthelwold and his monks alone. This matches the claims that Æthelwold made in the New Minster Refoundation Charter about the monks' prayers and activities being uniquely effective. However, the competing narratives that appear in Lantfred's account raise the possibility, at least, that more than one group was involved in creating stories about Swithun, possibly including groups from outside the monastery.

The monks seem to have promoted Swithun because they believed, at least, that his cult could have influenced some of their main rivals: the clerics they had expelled from the Old Minster. Both Lantfred's and Wulfstan's narratives associate the veneration of Swithun with the return of three expelled clerics to the Old Minster. Lantfred began his *Translatio* with a story about Swithun appearing to a blacksmith: Swithun tells the blacksmith to contact Eadsige, a cleric who had been expelled from the Old Minster and had subsequently moved to Winchcombe. Swithun wanted Eadsige to return to the Old

---

<sup>62</sup> Barlow *et al.*, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 307.

Minster and tell Æthelwold to translate Swithun's remains, although, according to Lantfred, Eadsige wickedly ignored Swithun's request.<sup>63</sup> Thus, Lantfred was able to give Æthelwold credit for translating Swithun on his own initiative, before briefly mentioning that Eadsige became a monk shortly after Swithun's translation in 971.<sup>64</sup> Nevertheless, Lantfred sought to connect Eadsige's reintroduction to the Old Minster to Æthelwold's promotion of Swithun's cult: later in the *Translatio*, Lantfred revealed that Æthelwold made Eadsige sacristan of Swithun's shrine, the only person with keys to the area where Swithun's relics were kept.<sup>65</sup> On one level, then, hagiographers associated with the Old Minster portrayed Swithun as a saint who could reconcile the monks with their rivals, as well as a saint whose power was exclusively associated with Æthelwold's episcopate. Together, these images present the monks reaching out to their rivals by venerating particular saints, while at the same time seeking to establish their dominance over their rivals by claiming they had special links to the very same saints. The extent to which this strategy worked in practice is, of course, debatable. While members of the Old Minster linked their veneration of Swithun to Eadsige's return, Lapidge has noted that Eadsige's return to Winchester from Winchcombe not only coincided with Æthelwold's translation of Swithun, but also with Oswald's reform of Winchcombe.<sup>66</sup> Eadsige may have been pushed out of Winchcombe by another reformer and it is possible that this, more than Swithun, may have influenced his decision to return to the Old Minster. Nevertheless, Lantfred's and Wulfstan's accounts suggest that some monks wished to portray Swithun as a saint with influence over the monks' former rivals.

Indeed, certain aspects of Swithun's profile make him a plausible choice if the monks of the Old Minster had wanted to appeal to their former rivals, including the very

---

<sup>63</sup> *Translatio*, p. 261; *LS*, 76/82, pp. 442-3.

<sup>64</sup> *Translatio*, p. 265.

<sup>65</sup> *Translatio*, p. 305.

<sup>66</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, pp. 14-18.

aspects of his career that contradicted the monks' ideological programme. Even if Æthelwold and his monks were the first individuals to venerate Swithun and their rivals had no prior devotion to him, Swithun's history as a pre-reform bishop could have appealed to secular clerics, as Rollason and others have noted.<sup>67</sup> Moreover, Ælfric, writing in the 990s, suggested that Swithun had an even more direct, familial link to Eadsige. According to his *Life of Swithun*, 'the saint was of worldly kindred' to Eadsige ('sanct waere gesib him for worulde').<sup>68</sup> Admittedly, as the text stands, *sanct* could refer to either Æthelwold (who was translated in the mid-990s, around the time this work was written) or Swithun.<sup>69</sup> However, the more obvious antecedent for *sanct* is Swithun, since the preceding phrase refers to him. Moreover, Ælfric does not seem to have referred to Æthelwold as a 'saint' in the original version of his *Life of Swithun*.<sup>70</sup> His phrase might originally have more clearly indicated that he believed Eadsige was related to Swithun. Of course, Ælfric's claims about Eadsige's saintly ancestry might have been incorrect, or they might not have been shared or known by other members of the Old Minster community in the early 970s. Nevertheless, the suggestion that Swithun was related to Eadsige (if Ælfric's text can indeed be interpreted this way) raises the

---

<sup>67</sup> Rollason, *Saints*, p. 182; Gransden, 'Traditionalism and Continuity', p. 179; Sheerin, 'Dedication', pp. 269-70; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. 1.

<sup>68</sup> *LS*, 76/82, pp. 446-7, 442, n. 3.

<sup>69</sup> 'þa onscunode se eadsige adelwold þone bisceop and ealle ða munecas þe on ðam mynstre waeron for þære ut-draefe þe he gedyde wið hi and nolde gehyran þaes halgan bebod þeah ðe se sanct waere him gesib for worulde'; *LS*, 76/82, pp. 446-7. Michael Lapidge has interpreted the saint in the passage as Æthelwold, since the phrase occurs within a paragraph about Æthelwold's troubled relationship with Eadsige; Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar', p. 104.

<sup>70</sup> In an early manuscript of Ælfric's *Life of Swithun* (London, British Library, Cotton MS Julius E.vii), Ælfric once refers to Æthelwold as a *sanct*; however, the term *sanct* was added later above Æthelwold's name; W. Skeat (ed. and trans.), *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints* (Oxford, 1966), p. 443, n. 3; H. Magennis, 'Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* and Cotton Julius E.vii: Adaptation, Appropriation, and the Disappearing Book', in S. Kelly and J. Thompson (eds), *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 99-109 at 99. This correction could simply result from an omission on the part of the copyist. However, in the rest of the text, Æthelwold is always described as the venerable or blessed bishop, but never as '*sanct*' or '*halgan*' (unlike Swithun): see 'arwurðan bisceope' and 'arwurða and se eadiga bisceop' and 'bisceop' in *LS*, 76/82, pp. 442, 446, 450, 454, 456, 466, 470. Æthelwold may not have been fully acknowledged as a saint in the original text of Ælfric's *Life of Swithun*. It is debatable when Ælfric learned of Æthelwold's translation and other attempts to promote him as saint and whether this coincided with his writing his *Life of Swithun*, in the early to mid-990s. The copyist may therefore have been updating the text with new information when he added *sanct*.

possibility that Æthelwold and his circle venerated Swithun specifically to appeal to Swithun's wealthy and prominent descendant. In addition to being an opponent to the monks as an expelled cleric, Eadsige may also have been quite wealthy and have possessed many interests in Winchester: Lantfred claims Eadsige had an estate agent who came to Winchester to do business on his behalf.<sup>71</sup> The monks may have sought to (re)claim his assets for the Old Minster by obliging Eadsige to cooperate with them, if he wished to care for his ancestor's tomb, held within Æthelwold's own church. This message also makes sense in the context of Lantfred's overall theme: that Swithun's miracles were contingent on Æthelwold. Lantfred and the monks of the Old Minster might have expected that other groups in Winchester— particularly clerics who opposed Æthelwold's circle and had links to Swithun— would have been impressed by their claims that Swithun favoured Æthelwold. This suggests that at the Old Minster, the monks chose to venerate specific saints lavishly in order to interact with Eadsige and perhaps the other clerics who returned to the monastery from outside.

The physical structures associated with Swithun's cult seem to have been designed to promote cooperation between groups outside the circle and the monks within the monastery. These were described by Lantfred and Wulfstan, and excavations of the Old Minster by Martin Biddle have shown that these descriptions were at least plausible (even if there is a danger of creating a circular argument by relying on archaeological analysis which in turn relied on the texts in question).<sup>72</sup> According to Wulfstan, Swithun's remains were translated into the church and held in an area cordoned off with screens.<sup>73</sup> They were then translated into an ornate silver shrine and kept in a locked part of the church.<sup>74</sup> To gain physical access to Swithun, one had to be admitted by monks. The

---

<sup>71</sup> *Translatio*, p. 265.

<sup>72</sup> Barlow *et al.*, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 307.

<sup>73</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 460-1.

<sup>74</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 492-503.

monks' control of the veneration of Swithun was further emphasized when Æthelwold extended the Old Minster over the site of Swithun's original tomb. Thus, he took control of all the primary physical objects and areas associated with Swithun. Admittedly, even according to the circle's own texts, pilgrims did not need to be physically proximate to Swithun's remains to benefit from his miracles. Lantfred claimed that Swithun was able to perform 'long-distance' miracles as far away as France.<sup>75</sup> Even within Winchester, slaves chained inside houses could still benefit from Swithun's mercy (although Lantfred's account mentions how one turned towards Swithun's tomb as she prayed).<sup>76</sup> However, these authors also portrayed pilgrims sleeping by Swithun's tomb even before his translation by Æthelwold.<sup>77</sup> If these accounts can be trusted, they might suggest that spending time in proximity to a saints' tomb was already a significant practice in Winchester in this period, and by controlling the physical remains of Swithun, Æthelwold and his monks were also able to influence the venerating practices of extra-monastic groups.

The idea that the monks of the Old Minster used their veneration of saints to interact with others is also suggested by the nature of the sources. The late tenth-century manuscript which includes Lantfred's *Translatio* seems to include contemporary marks noting how it was to be used in the liturgy.<sup>78</sup> As discussed above, the monks seem to have aspired to widespread lay attendance at services held on feast days, at least.<sup>79</sup> The *Regularis Concordia* states the ideal, at least, that 'on feast days... Tierce being said, the

---

<sup>75</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 320-3.

<sup>76</sup> *Translatio*, p. 303.

<sup>77</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 280-3.

<sup>78</sup> British Library Royal MS 15.C.vii; Lapidge has suggested that the readings were intended for the Night Office, because there were at least eight readings marked in the text; however, the manuscript does not specify when these readings would have been used, and they could potentially have been used at a number of services, including services attended by the laity; Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 23.

<sup>79</sup> See above, pp. 46-7.

bells shall ring to call the faithful together and the Mass shall be begun.<sup>80</sup> Admittedly, even if the laity did attend services, they were not guaranteed to comprehend the monks' liturgy. Nevertheless, Wulfstan of Winchester claimed that Æthelwold announced his detailed plans to translate Swithun to the laity in the middle of a mass, and Wulfstan portrayed the laity as cooperating.<sup>81</sup> It seems that, at least by the late 990s, the monks of the Old Minster believed, or wanted to believe, that they could communicate specific instructions to the laity during mass, especially masses which commemorated saints.

Therefore, at the Old Minster, the monks appear to have embraced similar strategies to the monks of Abingdon, in using saints as occasions to interact with external groups of clerics and laity. However, due to their different context at Winchester, the monks seem to have associated themselves with a different type of saint from the sorts of saints they had associated themselves with at Abingdon. They even embraced different forms of veneration, like translation. This change in venerating practice seems to have been linked to the monks' interactions with groups outside the Old Minster. Indeed, it is tempting to wonder whether Æthelwold translated Swithun (and reconciled with Eadsige) in 971, at about the same time as he began to refound monasteries in East Anglia, because he knew he would be leaving Winchester for considerable periods of time and wished to secure the Old Minster's position. This is pure speculation, but it might help explain the extent to which the circle's texts explicitly linked Swithun's cult to their relationships with groups who were (initially) outside their monastery.

The monks of Winchester's portrayals of their relationships with their dedicatory saints, Peter and Paul, likewise seem to have been influenced by the monks' relationships to groups outside their monasteries. Peter and Paul were the primary saints with whom

---

<sup>80</sup> 'In diebus autem festis... Tertia peracta, mox signorum motu fidelem aduocantes plebem missam incohent'; *RegC*, p. 19.

<sup>81</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 452-3. Lapidge has argued that Æthelwold would have delivered his sermon in English; however, Wulfstan does not explicitly specify which language Æthelwold used; Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 453, n. 852-8.

the Old Minster was identified in charters. (Occasionally, the Holy Trinity was listed as an additional dedicatee).<sup>82</sup> As at Abingdon, the monks of the Old Minster may also have influenced charter-writers to give grants specifically to their dedicatory saints on occasions when the monastery was seeking to secure property that had been challenged (in the case of restorations) or could easily be challenged in the future (like reversions). Although fewer authentic charters survive from the Old Minster than survive for Abingdon in this period, several apparently genuine examples of donations to saints survive, including S814 (A.D. 963 x 975), a restoration by Edgar ('trinitati referendae eiusque apostolis Petro et Paulo humillima reddens restituo'); S837, a grant of reversion in 980 by Æthelred ('beato Petro apostolorum principi et co-apostolo eius Paulo ad usus monachorum in uetusto Wentanae ciuitatis monasterio'); and S889 (A.D. 996) and S891 (A.D. 997), two restorations by Æthelred in the second generation. This suggests that the monks of the Old Minster used their 'public' veneration of their dedicatory saints, as well as their 'public' veneration of Swithun, to try to influence groups outside their monastery. There are, admittedly, a group of possible exceptions to this pattern of giving restorations or other controversial grants directly to a saint: SS822, S823, S824, S825, S826, S827 (all created sometime between 963 and 975), where Edgar is portrayed giving these

---

<sup>82</sup> S806 (A.D. 978 for 968), S807 (A.D. 984 for 963 x 970), S815 (A.D. 963 x 975), S817 (A.D. 963 x 975), etc. S699 (A.D. 961) seems to provide an example of a charter created before Æthelwold's takeover that also mentions Peter and Paul. For charters that also mention the Holy Trinity, see S806, 814 (A.D. 963 x 975), 815, 817 (the privilege is given to the Holy Trinity and the church of Peter and Paul, for the use of the monks; later in the text, the privilege is given to God, Peter, and Paul). There is only one document which does not identify the Old Minster as the church of Peter and Paul: S836, a charter of Æthelred dated 980, claims Æthelred gave land to 'uetusto coenobio Wentana ciuitate magnifice constructo almae trinitatis et indiuiduae unitatis honori dedicato' ('to the old monastery magnificently constructed in the city of Winchester, dedicated in honor of the nourishing trinity, indivisibly united'). Simon Keynes accepts this charter as authentic, despite the fact that it only exists in a later copy (in a twelfth-century cartulary from Winchester) and elements of the witness-list seem to have been miscopied; Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 238. It is unclear why this charter mentions the Holy Trinity, and not Peter and Paul: possibly the copyist forgot to add a few lines, possibly the charter-writer was misinformed, or possibly there was a brief attempt by the court or Æthelwold's circle to rebrand the Old Minster as a church primarily associated with the Trinity. Æthelred's charter does claim to have been written in the year the Old Minster was rededicated: it is possible this activity may have provided room for experimentation and/or confusion. However, it is unclear what motives Æthelwold's circle could have had for rededicating the Old Minster to the Trinity: I have discovered no other such rededications in Anglo-Saxon houses in this period. Rather, scribal confusion/ignorance might be likely.

restorations to the Old Minster ‘ob sanctæ trinitatis apostolorumque Petri et Pauli reverentiam’, not to Peter and Paul directly. However, the authenticity of these is questionable. These charters seem to have been heavily abridged and they lack witness-lists, so the surviving text may not represent all the original phrases in the charter. Moreover, Keynes argues at least one of these charters—S825— was a forgery.<sup>83</sup> Other scholars have been more positive: Rumble has argued that some came from a lost cartulary created by Æthelwold’s circle.<sup>84</sup> Either way, however, these documents require much additional explanation and are open to suspicion. If they are tenth-century products, one possible explanation of why they did not give restorations to saints directly (when the rationale behind such action was clearly articulated at the same time by Æthelwold in S745) is that they were fabricated in order to fit in a cartulary written in Æthelred’s reign, after the estates in question had already been lost.<sup>85</sup> They may simply be twelfth-century forgeries. Nevertheless, the pattern evident in the more secure charters for the Old Minster reinforces the sense that the monks of the Old Minster were willing to vary the emphasis they put on their relationship with their dedicatory saints, in response to events and interactions outside the monastery. Although the monks of the Old Minster are usually portrayed in the literature as the most ‘harsh and unyielding’ reformers due to their expulsion of the clerics, their approach to saints’ cults shows that even these men were obliged to compromise with groups outside the monastery.<sup>86</sup> Although their initial approach to the Old Minster was somewhat inflexible, these men could vary the way they presented their relationship to saints in order to redefine but also sustain cooperative relationships with existing or potential opponents.

---

<sup>83</sup> S. Keynes, ‘The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and His Sons’, *EHR*, 109 (1994), pp. 1109–49 at 1122, n. 1; see also Rumble, *Property*, pp. 102, 103.

<sup>84</sup> Rumble, *Property*, pp. 99–101.

<sup>85</sup> Rumble, *Property*, p. 103. For a similar case from Abingdon, see above, p. 78. For the Old Minster’s losses during the reign of Æthelred, see below, p. 218.

<sup>86</sup> See above, p. 15, n. 46.

The influence of the external relationships on the monks' 'public' veneration is underlined by considering the saints whom the surviving sources from the Old Minster do not emphasize. There were several other local saints associated with the Old Minster in this period, but none of them seems to have enjoyed the same scale of veneration as Swithun (possibly because none of them had the same possibilities for facilitating reconciliation with the monks' rivals). By the late tenth century, Wulfstan of Winchester acknowledged (and celebrated) the presence in the Old Minster of the bodies of other bishops: from the first bishops of the West Saxons in the seventh century, Birinus and Hædde, to tenth-century bishops like Ælfheah the Bald.<sup>87</sup> These saints were probably known during the first generation: Lantfred describes one man visiting the saints inside the Old Minster while his hump-backed friend stayed outside to pray at Swithun's tomb, in one of the earliest miracle stories in the *Translatio*.<sup>88</sup> A charter for the Old Minster also mentions Birinus, although its authenticity has been questioned.<sup>89</sup> However, these bishops do not seem to have received the concerted attention or massive investment that Swithun's cult received from the monks at the Old Minster. Admittedly, a late eleventh-century *vita* of Birinus (probably written by Goscelin) claimed that Æthelwold translated Birinus during the rebuilding of the Old Minster: Rosalind Love has suggested that this occasion is commemorated on the feast day of Birinus on September 4 (as opposed to his deposition on December 3).<sup>90</sup> It is possible that Birinus's remains were moved during Æthelwold's episcopate, but this is not mentioned in any contemporary sources, and Birinus does not seem to have received the same degree of commemoration in surviving

---

<sup>87</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 393-5

<sup>88</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 272-3.

<sup>89</sup> S821 (A.D. 963 x 975); Rumble, *Property*, p. 102.

<sup>90</sup> R. Love (ed. and trans.), *Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives* (Oxford, 1996) p. lxi. For a summary of liturgical manuscripts that mention Birinus (most of which were created in the eleventh century), see A. Corrêa, 'A Mass for St Birinus in an Anglo-Saxon Missal from the Scandinavian Mission Field', in J. Barrow and A. Wareham (eds), *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 167-83 at 179-82.

texts as Swithun.<sup>91</sup> Swithun is the only Wintonian saint to appear in Æthelwold's Benedictional, for example. Tropes for Birinus appear only in the mid-eleventh century copy of the tropers (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 755, fo. 58v) and not in the early eleventh-century manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473). Jacques Handschin has suggested that the mid-eleventh-century manuscript was based on a late tenth-century version, because it uses the old (pre-994) dedication date of the Old Minster and does not, in its surviving form, contain any tropes for Æthelwold: but even if that were the case, it would suggest, if anything, that Birinus's prominence decreased during the first and second generations of the circle.<sup>92</sup> Similarly, other bishops buried at Winchester were only mentioned in passing in descriptions of the monastery in the *Secgan* and in Wulfstan's introductory letter to his *Narratio* of Swithun's miracles.<sup>93</sup> No tenth-century hagiographies survive for any of these other saints. Admittedly, the evidence for other saints may have been lost in the intervening years. However, it is significant that these saints were also not depicted in the surviving folios of Æthelwold's Benedictional, which could have featured many saints but whose creator seems to have used Swithun as the sole saint from the Old Minster.

Thus, while the monks of the Old Minster venerated other relics besides Swithun's, none of these saints seems to have enjoyed the same level of veneration. This is quite striking, particularly given that Birinus and Hædde—who had lived during the golden age of conversion—fit the monks' rhetoric about the glorious state of the early English church (found in Wintonian writings like the New Minster Refoundation Charter

---

<sup>91</sup> It could be speculated that the monks of the Old Minster initially attempted to promote the veneration of Birinus, who seems to have become less prominent following the veneration of Swithun. An (admittedly dubious) charter from the Old Minster—S817—does feature Birinus in the earlier period. However, Birinus does not appear in the (apparently genuine) English version of the same document, which was also included in the twelfth-century cartulary, suggesting that he was not a focal point in texts that, presumably, had greater potential to be read by the laity, perhaps suggesting that he was not a point of interaction: Rumble, *Property*, pp. 110, 112-3.

<sup>92</sup> J. Handschin, 'The Two Winchester Tropers', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), pp. 34-49 at 42.

<sup>93</sup> *NMLV*, p. 92; *Narratio*, pp. 392-5.

and the *Regularis Concordia*). The treatment of these other saints further underlines how surprising the monks' veneration of Swithun was, if there were not also extra-monastic reasons for focusing on Swithun above any of the other saints in the Old Minster.

This is not to say that all the saints which the monks of the Old Minster promoted in their 'public' veneration did not fit with their ideological programme.<sup>94</sup> Peter seems to have been given prominence in sources written by the circle, even over the Old Minster's other dedicatory saints, Paul and the Holy Trinity. Lantfred addressed the monks of the Old Minster as 'the beloved monks of Winchester dwelling in the monastery of St Peter which called the Old Minster.'<sup>95</sup> Similarly, Ælfric, referred to the Old Minster as the 'House of St Peter' in his *Life of Swithun*.<sup>96</sup> Although both Lantfred and Ælfric later referred to the Old Minster as the church of Peter *and* Paul, their references to Peter alone suggest that the monks of the Old Minster were especially interested in Peter.<sup>97</sup> This could possibly have been the result of an older tradition which prioritized Peter: Lapidge has noted that an entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle which records the Old Minster's foundation only mentions Peter (although this entry only survives in the F variant of the chronicle, which is preserved in a relatively late manuscript).<sup>98</sup> Alternatively, the monks of the Old Minster might have felt a special connection to the man whose tonsure they bore (as illustrated in Æthelwold's Benedictional), or they may have been seeking to emphasize the Old Minster's role as episcopal see.<sup>99</sup>

The monks of Winchester also exhibited special devotion towards Mary, the dedicatee of Abingdon. Mary features prominently in the Winchester Tropers, which may

---

<sup>94</sup> For evidence of the monks' non-'public' veneration of saints, see above, pp. 50-1.

<sup>95</sup> 'Dilectissimis fratribus Wintonie commorantibus in sancti Petri coenobio quod nuncupatur Vetustissimum'; *Translatio*, pp. 252-3.

<sup>96</sup> *LS*, 76/82, pp. 450-1.

<sup>97</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 258-9.

<sup>98</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 252, n. 2; ASC F, 648. Additionally, a charter dated 960, S683, is addressed 'ad vetustum monasterium sancti Petri.'

<sup>99</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 4r.

include content that was performed at Winchester during the first generation. Additionally (although this text cannot be dated), the precentor of the Old Minster, Wulfstan of Winchester, gave Mary an especially prominent place in his versification of a Carolingian sermon on ‘All Saints.’<sup>100</sup> The only change Wulfstan made to his source material was to bring the Virgin Mary forward, listing her before various orders of angels, rather than including her at the end with the other virgins (as the original Carolingian sermonizer had done).<sup>101</sup> Mary also features prominently in Æthelwold’s Benedictional, which was possibly made for the rededication of the Old Minster. Thus, the Old Minster’s monks were able to ‘publicly’ venerate some saints who fit their ideological priorities, as well as saints like Swithun, whose veneration seems to have been influenced by the interests of the monks’ rivals.

This is not to say that the monks did not also venerate saints in an individual capacity, as well as in a collective, institutional setting, or settings where they anticipated an external, non-monastic audience. As discussed above, a text associated with the Old Minster—*De horis peculiaribus*—provides most of the extant evidence for individual veneration within Æthelwold’s circle.<sup>102</sup> However, that text’s emphasis on universal saints that corresponded to the circle’s ideological priorities—like Mary, Peter, and Paul—underlines the flexibility that the monks showed in their ‘public’ veneration, where they commemorated a saint who contradicted many of their ideals.

---

<sup>100</sup> Although it is contained in an eleventh-century manuscript—Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, MS Albert Ier ii.984 (VDG 3290) — François Dolbeau has attributed the poem to Wulfstan on the basis of its style. Additionally, the first few lines of the poem seem to spell ‘Uulfstanus’ in the acrostic, and acrostic was a style which was known in tenth-century England; Dolbeau, ‘*Breuilquium*’, pp. 37-41.

<sup>101</sup> *Breuilquium*, p. 66. For the Carolingian sermon, see J. E. Cross, ‘“Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis”: A Sermon for All Saints, and Its Use in Old English Prose’, *Traditio*, 33 (1977), pp. 101-35. Some prose copies of the sermon also give Mary an earlier position in the text; but since these manuscripts all date from the eleventh-century onwards, it cannot be proven that Wulfstan could have been inspired by their contents; Cross, ‘Legimus’, p. 121.

<sup>102</sup> See above, pp. 50-1.

## Saints at the New Minster

The monks of the circle did not totally accommodate all local circumstances, of course. In contrast to the monks at the Old Minster, Æthelwold's monks at the New Minster instituted major changes to the veneration of saints there. In the first place, as Clayton has noted, they appear to have changed the New Minster's patrons from Peter or the Holy Saviour to Christ and Mary soon after their arrival.<sup>103</sup> Several early tenth-century charters in favour of the New Minster survive in contemporary or near-contemporary copies, and these do not mention Mary. For example, a mid-tenth century single sheet (S1417, A.D. 924 x 933) records an exchange between the Church of 'Holy Saviour' and one of Athelstan's nobles. (This Church of the Holy Saviour can be identified as the New Minster because the document also notes that Alfred and Edward the Elder were buried there.) A diploma of Edmund for the New Minster also survives in a contemporary copy, and this charter names God and Peter as the dedicatees of the New Minster.<sup>104</sup> Several other documents which survive in later copies also associate Peter with the New Minster.<sup>105</sup> However, according to the New Minster Refoundation Charter (S745, A.D. 966), the New Minster was 'dedicated to our Saviour and his mother and the apostles and other saints.'<sup>106</sup> No known rededication ceremony occurred before 966, so it is unclear exactly how the dedication was changed; nevertheless, S745 clearly lists Mary as the dedicatee, whereas previous charters had only mentioned Peter and/or God. The opening title of the document proclaims, 'King Edgar distributed his privilege to the New Minster and granted it to the Lord and his mother Mary.'<sup>107</sup> Peter was still included in the

---

<sup>103</sup> Clayton, *Mary*, p. 132. Clayton argues that all reformed houses were dedicated to Mary, apart from *Burh* and *Muchelney*; however, among Æthelwold's houses, the Old Minster does not seem to have been dedicated to Mary, while Ely seems to have been identified with Æthelthryth. See below, p. 150.

<sup>104</sup> S470 (A.D. 940).

<sup>105</sup> Such as S660 (A.D. 959).

<sup>106</sup> '[N]ostro saluatori eiusque genitrici semper uirgini Mariae et omnibus apostolis cum caeteris sanctis dicatum'; S745 (A.D. 966).

<sup>107</sup> 'Eadgar rex hoc priuilegium nouo edidit monasterio ac omnipotenti Domino eiusque genitrici Marie eius laudans magnalia concessit'; S745 (A.D. 966).

document: he was mentioned among the ‘apostles’ in the clause describing the New Minster’s dedication and he was portrayed standing next to Mary and Edgar in the opening miniature. (He is identifiable by his tonsure and his keys.) Charter writers continued to take different approaches to the patron of the New Minster in the following decades: Lantfred described the New Minster as ‘the monastery of the Holy Trinity’, while a charter of Æthelred refers to ‘the monastery of the Holy Saviour and the saints’ (‘monasterium sancti salvatoris sanctorumque’).<sup>108</sup> Nevertheless, Peter’s role in the New Minster seems to have diminished from the 960s onwards. Mary had apparently been introduced by Æthelwold’s circle as the main dedicatee of the New Minster in the space of two years.

It is unclear why the monks of the New Minster shifted the dedication of the church from Peter to Mary. The circle had previously mentioned Peter and his powers in a charter for Abingdon, so they do not seem to have objected to Peter on principle.<sup>109</sup> On the contrary, they bore Peter’s tonsure, and by the second generation a group of the *alumni* of the circle from Winchester especially identified themselves by their devotion to Peter.<sup>110</sup> Changing the dedication of the New Minster might also have potentially jeopardized grants which had been made to Peter. (Such fears might have motivated the section of the New Minster Refoundation charter wherein Æthelwold emphasized that property given to God could not be removed: all the properties given to Peter had also been given to God.)<sup>111</sup> Possibly the monks of the New Minster switched their dedication

---

<sup>108</sup> *Translatio*, pp. 278-9. In Wulfstan’s versification, the monastery in question is only called the New Minster: *Narratio*, pp. 440-3. See also S842 (A.D. 982), which is addressed to the monastery of the Holy Saviour (‘ad monasterium sancti salvatoris’). Although S746 (A.D. 966) claims to be a charter of Edgar to ‘novo Pintoniensi ecclesie beato Petro...dicare’, it only exists in a post-Conquest copy and Miller has argued that it is spurious: S. Miller, *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 114-6.

<sup>109</sup> S689 (A.D. 961).

<sup>110</sup> See below, p. 250.

<sup>111</sup> ‘Maneatque prefate munificentie libertas altithrono per nostram humilitatem oblata ad monachorum usus gratuite sibi famulantium inuiolabilis eterna libertate iocunda . quia Deus qui hanc priuilegii largifluam donationem locumque cum uniuersa monachorum familia ruraque omnia sacro subiecta coenobio possidet .

to avoid confusion with the Old Minster (which, as discussed above, was primarily associated with Peter). Although the Nunnaminster was also dedicated to Mary, the monks of the New Minster might have found it easier to distinguish themselves from the nuns, despite sharing a dedicatory saint. Alternatively, the new emphasis on Mary may have been an expression of the personal devotions of some of the monks at the New Minster. As discussed in the previous chapter, Æthelwold's circle seems to have been especially interested in Mary.<sup>112</sup> The circle might have chosen Mary to underline how different they were from the previous inhabitants of the New Minster. As noted above, the New Minster Refoundation Charter's author emphasized that the monks were very different from their predecessors and therefore more effective. (The document also contained a prominent display of devotion to Mary.) While the Old Minster might have felt obliged to compromise with powerful rivals, the monks of the New Minster may have been inclined to underline their differences from the New Minster's previous inhabitants. This may be related to the groups from which they were seeking support: while the monks of the Old Minster sought to appeal to expelled clerics, the New Minster Refoundation Charter seems to have been intended for a group of notables at a royal meeting. This meeting may have included individuals—like Edgar and Wulfstan of Dalham—who may have appreciated the monks' way of life and their differences from the previous inhabitants of the Old Minster. The monks may have imposed Mary as a new dedicatory saint on the New Minster in part because she matched their ideology, but perhaps in part because she allowed the monks to emphasize their different approach to external groups.

The monks' veneration of Mary at the New Minster is also demonstrated by the tower built by Abbot Æthelgar, who seems to have been one of the monks who had

---

numquam reatum commisit . nec ullo unquam tempore committet . Sit igitur prefata libertas eterna . quia Deus libertatis possessor eternus est'; S745 (A.D. 966).

<sup>112</sup> See above, p. 71; see also Clayton, *Mary*, p. 271.

accompanied Æthelwold from Abingdon.<sup>113</sup> This tower was described as commemorating Mary, before all others, in the ‘New Minster History’, an account of the New Minster preserved in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*:

Æthelgar... wished to adorn... a more noble work to the praise and glory of the name of Christ and his holy mother and all the saints... [H]e built an edifice in the form of a tower of wonderful height... And he dedicated most devotedly to his special mistress, queen of heaven and earth, the mother of God MARY and to her virgins the carving on the first embellished *porticum*... And then, sanctifying the second engraving of purple and gold to the HOLY TRINITY of indivisible unity, and adorning the third with the banner of the Holy Cross, the fourth to All Saints...and appointing the fifth under the name of the archangel Michael and all the heavenly virtues, he consecrated the highest rightly to the four evangelists as to the authors of all perfection.<sup>114</sup>

The ‘New Minster History’ may reflect understandings from the late tenth century.

Although the New Minster *Liber Vitae* was produced in 1031, Keynes has persuasively argued that this history section was composed much earlier, between 988 and 990: its author acknowledged Dunstan’s death but claimed that Æthelgar was still alive.<sup>115</sup> Thus, this text suggests that Mary continued to be a major focus of veneration for monks at the New Minster into the second generation, while Peter was not mentioned at all.

The ‘New Minster History’s’ account of Æthelgar’s tower also suggests that the monks were interested in four other groups of saints: those of the Holy Trinity, the Holy Cross, the four evangelists and Michael. However, in absence of any further evidence

---

<sup>113</sup> W. Hunt, ‘Æthelgar’, *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8909>].

<sup>114</sup> Æthelgar ‘loci insigniter exornare voluit... nobilioris operis ad laudem et gloriam nominis Christi sanctaeque eius genetricis omniumque sanctorum... in modum turris mirae altitudinis eximieque venustatis fabricam... atque suae specialis domine celi terraeque reginae dei genetricis MARIAE suiusque virginibus primae caelature porticum honorifice exornatum... Secundam denique segmentorum caelaturam SANCTE TRINITATIS individue unitatis honore sanctificans. Tertiamque vexillo sanctae crucis exornans necne quartam omnium sanctorum patrociniis replens. Quintamque sub nomine archangeli MICHAELIS omniumque caelestium virtutum constituens. Extremam quatuor evangelistis iure consecravit veluti auctoribus totius perfectionis qui verbis virtutibusque ariditatem inrigantes cordium’; *NMLV*, pp. 9-10; my translation.

<sup>115</sup> Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 31; Lapidge, ‘Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography’, pp. 255-6.

about the extent of their veneration at the New Minster, no further speculations can be made about their role in the New Minster monks' liturgy or relationships.<sup>116</sup>

In addition to imposing a new dedicatory saint, the monks of the New Minster also seem to have been able to ignore some pre-existing cults which might have contradicted aspects of their ideology. In particular, they seem to have ignored the cults of secular royals at the New Minster, although early tenth-century texts suggest that there had been attempts to develop a cult around tombs of Alfred the Great, his consort Ealhswith, and their son Edward the Elder, which were located in the New Minster. For example, in the early tenth century, Alfred and Ealhswith had been commemorated in two of the three extant versions of the Metrical Calendar of Hampson, which Patrick McGurk has argued date from around 902.<sup>117</sup> The Fonthill Letter, which was apparently written in the reign of Edward the Elder, also mentions a fugitive acquiring a seal 'near [Edward's] father's body.'<sup>118</sup> The exact meaning of this phrase is unclear: Keynes has suggested it was an example of vouching a dead man to warranty, but this line could conceivably refer to Alfred's remains being treated as relics on which oaths were taken.<sup>119</sup> Additionally, as

---

<sup>116</sup> Dumville, following Francis Gasquet and Edmund Bishop, has also associated St Malo (Machutus) with the New Minster on the basis of calendars; D.N. Dumville, *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 58; F.A. Gasquet and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter: An Account of the Manuscript Formerly Belonging to O.Turville-Petre of Bosworth Hall, Now Addit. MS. 37517 at the British Museum* (London, 1908), pp. 53-4. Gasquet and Bishop have argued that the veneration of the Breton saints in Wintonian calendars might have been inspired by gifts from Athelstan; Gasquet and Bishop, *Bosworth*, p. 54. However, as I have argued above, the presence of the Breton saints like Malo in Wintonian calendars might reflect their textual models more than actual venerating practices at Winchester; see above, p. 53. I have not found any evidence that the New Minster's monks venerated Malo during the first generation. For veneration of Malo during the second generation, see below, p. 241.

<sup>117</sup> P. McGurk (ed.), 'The Metrical Calendar of Hampson: a New Edition', *AB*, 104 (1986), pp. 79-125 at 83, 108, 110. For a comprehensive discussion of Alfred's legacy—though not necessarily his veneration as a saint—see S. Keynes, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *ASE*, 28 (1999), pp. 225-356.

<sup>118</sup> 'Ða gesahte \he/ ðines fæder lic 7 brohte insigle to me'; S1445 (A.D 899 x 924). It is unclear where Alfred's remains were at this point: Keynes suggests, Alfred might still have been buried in the Old Minster at this time, before being transferred to the New Minster which was founded early in the reign of Edward the Elder; S. Keynes, 'The Fonthill Letter', in M. Korhammer (ed.), *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 53-98 at 88.

<sup>119</sup> The Fonthill Letter has been discussed extensively by scholars, notably in John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 148-50; Keynes 'Fonthill Letter', p. 88; M. Gretsch, 'The Language of the Fonthill Letter', *ASE*, 23 (1994),

noted above, S1417 (which still survives in a contemporary copy from the reign of Athelstan) identified the New Minster closely with its royal tombs, describing it as ‘monastery of the Holy Saviour in the city of Winchester where the bodies of the glorious kings Alfred and Edward lie buried.’<sup>120</sup> However, the ‘New Minster History’ did not emphasize the royal tombs, nor were any of these secular figures venerated as saints. Although the ‘New Minster History’ acknowledged the presence of royal tombs, it did not describe them in the same terms of holiness (or at the same length) as Iudoc’s and Grimbald’s miracle-working tombs. While the ‘New Minster History’ claimed that Alfred’s consort, Ealhswith, would be ‘resurrected with the saints’ at the end of time, its author did not suggest that Ealhswith herself was capable of miracles and did not use the terms *beata* or *sancta* to describe her.<sup>121</sup> By contrast, Iudoc and Grimbald were described as ‘most sacred’ and of ‘indescribable holiness’, and both had miracles attributed to them.<sup>122</sup> Similarly, when the author of the ‘New Minster History’ later described the *pignora* of two princes, he did not suggest that these remains performed miracles.<sup>123</sup>

Admittedly, the extent to which tenth-century Wintonians recognized Alfred and Ealhswith as saints is debatable: Alan Thacker has argued that the West Saxon royal family did not promote Alfred or Ealhswith to the same extent that kings like Athelstan promoted members of the royal family who had become nuns.<sup>124</sup> However, the circle’s reluctance in venerating secular members of the royal family (who may have been venerated by other groups) can also be seen elsewhere in the circle. At the Old Minster, Lantfred and later Wulfstan claimed that when a man with bad eyes went to the tomb of

---

pp. 57-102; Wormald, *Making of English Law*, pp. 144-8; D. Pratt, *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007), pp. 101-2, 240.

<sup>120</sup> ‘[M]onasterii sancti saluatoris in Wintania ciuitate ubi corpora gloriosorum regum Alfredi et Eadwardi sepulta quiescunt’; S1417 (A.D. 924 x 933).

<sup>121</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 5-6

<sup>122</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>123</sup> *NMLV*, p. 6.

<sup>124</sup> A. Thacker, ‘Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder’s Sainted Kindred’, in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder: 899-924* (Abingdon, 2001), pp. 248-63 at 253, 256.

Edgar's mother Ælfgifu at Shaftesbury, he became even more ill. Although they acknowledged that Ælfgifu had been 'most holy' (*sanctissima*) and had been alleged to have cured some people, they nevertheless presented a stark warning about seeking a cure from her or venerating her as a saint.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, Æthelwold's circle also rarely promoted any later royalty as saints after their deaths, judging from calendars, hymns and hagiographies produced by Æthelwold's circle. As far as we know, Edgar was never venerated as a saint. Although the author of the 'New Minster History' enthusiastically praised Edgar, he did not suggest that Edgar's tomb produced any miracles, even though he claimed Edgar 'was unloaded of his bodily obligations on the 8 Ides of July...supported on all sides, it is believed, by crowds of angels.'<sup>126</sup> The Wintonian monasteries also do not seem to have venerated Edgar's children Edward the Martyr and Edith, at least initially.<sup>127</sup> Wulfstan of Winchester omitted to mention Edward's cult or his translation in any of his narrative works (even though Æthelwold seems to have been closely involved with the fall-out from Edward's death). Admittedly, Edward was venerated elsewhere in Æthelwold's circle during the second generation: a poem in Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2 suggests that the monks of Abingdon dedicated an

---

<sup>125</sup> While Lantfred and Wulfstan recorded other cases of the venerated dead failing to provide cures or only offering partial cures, as far as I am aware there are no other examples of a deceased figure making a supplicant's disease worse without then making it better in the hagiography of Æthelwold's circle: *Translatio*, pp. 278-9, 292-3.

<sup>126</sup> 'Corporeis exhoneratus nexibus viii Idus Iulii... circumfultus undique ut creditur agminibus angelorum'; *NMLV*, p. 8. It seems to have been possible in this period to believe that an individual could be in heaven without being a saint, able to intercede in the presence of God: see above, p. 24.

<sup>127</sup> For example, they were not added to Oxford, Bodleian MS Digby 63, a calendar known to be held (and amended) at Winchester in about 1000 thanks to a scribal colophon; R. Rushforth, *Saints in English Calendars Before A.D. 1000* (HBS, cxvii, 2008), Table 3, Table 9. For further discussion of Edith's cult, see S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 140-75; S. Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of St Edith and Liber confortatorius* (Turnhout, 2004); on possible late tenth-century political implications of Edith's cult, see B. Yorke, 'The Women in Edgar's Life', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 143-57 at 150-3. On the veneration of Edward the Martyr, see C. Fell, 'Edward King and Martyr and the Anglo-Saxon Hagiographic Tradition', in D. Hill (ed.), *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 1-14; Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 169-71; Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 154-75; P. Hayward, 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology', in D. Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Studies in Church History, xxx, 1993), pp. 81-92; Thacker, 'Saint-Making', p. 253; C. Cubitt, 'Sites and Sanctity: Revisiting the Cult of Murdered and Martyred Anglo-Saxon Royal Saints', *ASE*, 9 (2000), pp. 53-83.

altar to Edward during the second generation.<sup>128</sup> Moreover, Edward was featured in a calendar copied between 1014 and 1023 into a manuscript associated with the circle.<sup>129</sup> Significantly, however, these activities took place during or after the second generation, when Æthelwold's circle seems to have reacted to changed political circumstances.<sup>130</sup> There were exceptions to this avoidance of West Saxon royal saints: see below, on the veneration of Eadburh at the Nunnaminster. However, at the Old Minster or the New Minster, although there were several pre-existing cults of royal saints and several more royal saints were created during the late tenth century, secular royal saints do not seem to have been commemorated.

It is not immediately clear why these monks drew the line at venerating secular, royal saints when they praised Edgar so highly in their texts, while they were willing to venerate a secular cleric like Swithun, even though their writings usually excoriated clerics. Members of Æthelwold's circle praised Edgar's virtues, even describing him as a *pastor* of the monks.<sup>131</sup> In the New Minster Refoundation Charter's opening illumination, Edgar was portrayed almost on the same level with Mary and Peter (although Edgar is slightly lower and faces in a different direction from the saints).<sup>132</sup> By contrast, in the portrait of Cnut and Emma in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*—which seems, to some extent, to have been modelled on the New Minster Refoundation Charter image—Mary and Peter stand next to Christ, high above the king and queen.<sup>133</sup> Other works produced by Æthelwold's circle also acknowledged Edgar's virtues without describing him as a saint: the author of 'Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries' claimed that God

---

<sup>128</sup> This poem is edited in Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, p. 218.

<sup>129</sup> The 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges', Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Y.6; *The Missal of Robert of Jumièges* ed. H.A. Wilson (London, 1896), pp. 9-20.

<sup>130</sup> See below, p. 238.

<sup>131</sup> *RegC*, p. 2.

<sup>132</sup> British Library MS Cotton Vespasian A.viii, fo. 2v.

<sup>133</sup> London, British Library, MS Stowe 944, fo. 7r.

rewarded Edgar with a peaceful reign for serving Him.<sup>134</sup> The *Regularis Concordia*'s author [probably Æthelwold] also praised Edgar's virtues: he even made Edgar the head of all the monks and his queen head of all the nuns.<sup>135</sup> However, Æthelwold's circle never promoted Edgar as a saint, even after his death (nine years before Æthelwold's, in 975). On the contrary, rather than asking a saintly Edgar to pray for him, in the *Regularis Concordia* Æthelwold insisted monks pray for the royal family each day.<sup>136</sup> Thus, despite their polemics praising/encouraging virtue in secular leaders, Æthelwold's circle never treated secular leaders as saints, even figures like Alfred and Ealhswith who seem to have had earlier cults.

The monks may well have had political reasons for not celebrating Edgar's memory too energetically during the succession dispute in the years after his death.<sup>137</sup> Additionally, the territorial disputes that seem to have erupted after his death may not have allowed churchmen (or anyone else) enough resources or time to promote him as a saint.<sup>138</sup> Alternatively, this avoidance of lay saints may have been rooted in Æthelwold's ideals about ecclesiastics' place in society. In his writings, Æthelwold seems to have been eager to distinguish monks from lay people, in their lifestyle, clothing, and eating habits.<sup>139</sup> He argued in the New Minster Refoundation Charter that these differences made ecclesiastics' prayers more effective.<sup>140</sup> Similarly it seems that only ecclesiastical figures could be saints, in the view of the Wintonian monks. This apparently included saints who had had secular roles but renounced them: Iudoc, Æthelthryth, and Eadburh

---

<sup>134</sup> *EEM*, p. 147.

<sup>135</sup> *RegC*, pp. 2, 6.

<sup>136</sup> *RegC*, pp. 6-7; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. lx.

<sup>137</sup> On this period, see S. Keynes, 'Edgar, *rex admirabilis*', in Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English*, pp. 3-59 at 51-6.

<sup>138</sup> On these events—sometimes called 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction'—see below, p. 171. See also D.J.V. Fisher, 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1952), pp. 254-70; A. Williams, 'Princeps Merciorum gentis: The Family, Career, and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83', *ASE*, 10 (1981), pp. 143-72 at 160-70.

<sup>139</sup> *RegC*, pp. 7-8.

<sup>140</sup> S745 (A.D. 966).

had all been secular leaders, or at least members of royal families, but they renounced these roles and the circle acknowledged them as saints (see below).<sup>141</sup> Thus, while saints support the king (and vice versa) in the opening miniature of the New Minster Refoundation Charter, they support each other in different ways, according to the text. To venerate a secular leader as a saint would have suggested that certain secular leaders had special links to God, and in death they had priority in communicating with God. The monks' unique role in society (as advertised by Æthelwold) may have been compromised. Perhaps this factor motivated Æthelwold's circle to avoid acknowledging secular figures as saints.

The ideals which Æthelwold set out in the New Minster Refoundation Charter might also illuminate the circle's tendency to give saints royal attributes (even though they rejected secular royal saints). In Æthelwold's Benedictional, as Robert Deshman has noted, Christ is portrayed with unusually royal and imperial symbols: the magi present him with little crowns.<sup>142</sup> The Benedictional also contains the earliest known Western depiction of the coronation of the Virgin Mary.<sup>143</sup> Meanwhile, Benedict of Nursia is portrayed holding a crown.<sup>144</sup> These images seem to fit the New Minster Refoundation Charter's attempts to compare what monks did to what kings did, and to suggest that their roles were equally important. The author of the New Minster Refoundation Charter described how monks protected the kingdom against invisible enemies with spiritual arms (*arma spiritalia*) in the same way that the king was exhorted in the very next section of the charter to protect the monks with worldly arms (*arma secularia*) against visible

---

<sup>141</sup> *Vita Prima S Iudoci*, ed. and trans. H. Le Bourdellès, *Vie de St Josse Avec Commentaire Historique et Spirituel* (Spoleto, 1996), p. 917; *VIM*, pp. 276-7.

<sup>142</sup> Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 214; *BÆ*, fo. 24v.

<sup>143</sup> MacLean, 'Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology', p. 258.

<sup>144</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 99v.

enemies.<sup>145</sup> As discussed above, Æthelwold seems to have sought to emphasize the monks' importance, and possibly portraying saints and other religious figures with royal symbols may have underlined that point. Alternatively, Deshman has argued that the royal symbols around Christ may have been intended to continue the *Regularis Concordia*'s image of Edgar as a Christ-like ruler of the abbots.<sup>146</sup> Additionally, the timing of the creation of the Benedictional may have occasioned some of the royal themes found therein, suggesting that the portrayal of saints could be harnessed to secular political goals, even if kings themselves were not routinely venerated by the circle. (If this interpretation is correct, it might also suggest that the monks of the circle could mould their portrayal of saints to fit contemporary political necessities.) Nevertheless, members of the circle seem to have been able to portray saints with royal attributes without portraying any secular royal figures as saints.

The reasons for the circle's avoidance of royal saints remain unclear. Nevertheless, the monks of the New Minster do not seem to have emphasized some pre-existing cults. This suggests that while the monks of the circle could be flexible about which saints they venerated, they were not so flexible that they venerated every pre-existing cult at every monastery they refounded. This in turn suggests that the monks of Winchester enjoyed a degree of agency to choose which cults they promoted.

Nevertheless, the monks of the New Minster do not seem to have overturned or replaced all the cults they found there. For example, they do not seem to have emphasized their connections to Benedict of Nursia to the same extent that the monks of Abingdon did. While the New Minster Refoundation Charter mentions Benedict as the monks' *beatus patronus*, he appears towards the end of the document. Initially, the author only obliquely refers to a rule of life and 'the Holy Fathers' whose instructions the

---

<sup>145</sup> 'Qualiter abbas et monachi regem a demonum temptatione eripiant' and 'Qualiter rex abbatem et monachos ab hominum persecutione defendat'; S745; ed. and trans. Rumble, *Property*, pp. 81-2, 88-9.

<sup>146</sup> Deshman, *Benedictional*, p. 214.

monks followed.<sup>147</sup> The author only mentioned Benedict in the section of the charter on electing an abbot, presumably to avoid confusion about exactly which rules on abbatial elections the monks should follow. The author of a charter of confirmation for Abingdon (probably Æthelwold) also explicitly mentioned Benedict in connection with the election of abbots.<sup>148</sup> However, the author of the New Minster Refoundation Charter did not portray Benedict as crucial to the monks' identity, in the same way that the authors of certain charters for Abingdon emphasized its links to Benedict: the draftsman of S605 (A.D. 955 for 956) listed Benedict after Christ and Mary and before Æthelwold as one of the beneficiaries of the grant.<sup>149</sup> Such prominence was not accorded to Benedict at the New Minster. Perhaps the monks at the New Minster did not feel the need to further emphasize their distinctiveness. Alternatively, they may have not felt secure enough to emphasize their difference to quite that extent. Yet again, by 966 the monks might have felt that their connection to Benedict was established and did not need to be emphasized; nevertheless, the prominence of Benedict in Æthelwold's Benedictional might suggest that the monks still emphasized their connection to him on other, later occasions. Thus, Benedict's comparatively low profile at the New Minster might suggest that there were limits to the novelty which the monks could introduce into their 'public' veneration.

Meanwhile, the monks of the New Minster continued to venerate two saints whom some inhabitants of Winchester seem to have venerated before the monks' arrival: Grimbald—who had been one of Alfred's continental advisors in the late ninth century—and Iudoc, a seventh-century Breton saint who had been brought to Winchester by clerics

---

<sup>147</sup> 'Regulares igitur monachi non seculares in prefato Christo comite degentes monasterio regule moribus obtemperent . Patres uenerates spiritales sanctorum patrum imitentur exempla'; S745 (A.D. 966).

<sup>148</sup> '[Q]uem sibi universa prefati cenobii congregatio apto elegerit consilio secundum regularia beati Benedicti instituta, abbatem iuste ex eodem fratrum cuneo eligens constituat'; S673 (A.D. 958 for 959).

<sup>149</sup> The idiosyncratic nature of this grant suggests it might have been written by a member of the community at Abingdon, perhaps Æthelwold himself: see above, p. 66.

fleeing viking attacks in the early tenth century.<sup>150</sup> Grimbald seems to have been venerated in Winchester from the early tenth century. His death and death-day are mentioned in the A version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (whose tenth-century entries are usually attributed to a house in Winchester).<sup>151</sup> His veneration was continued by Æthelwold's circle, who remembered him in the 'New Minster History' as

a certain golden star struggling more brightly than the others... most precious and worthy to be loved by God, a man of exceptional strength, a man of incomprehensible holiness... innumerable miracles were testified at his holy mausoleum.<sup>152</sup>

Similarly, in venerating Iudoc, the monks of the New Minster may have been continuing an earlier practice, although the evidence for Iudoc's earlier veneration is problematic. According to an early twelfth-century recension of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (the F version) and the 'New Minster History,' Iudoc's relics arrived in Winchester around 903.<sup>153</sup> Admittedly, the F version of the Chronicle only exists in a manuscript written in the late eleventh or early twelfth century and therefore cannot be assumed to accurately reflect early tenth-century events.<sup>154</sup> No other surviving sources are able to corroborate this account, since all but one of the extant saints' calendars from England which were made before 963 were also made before Iudoc was translated to Winchester, allegedly in 903.<sup>155</sup> The sole calendar from the 920s, found in the Junius Psalter, does not mention either Iudoc or Grimbald, but Rebecca Rushforth has argued that it was made at either Glastonbury or Canterbury and it would therefore not

---

<sup>150</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 5-6.

<sup>151</sup> ASC A, 902; Bately, *MS A*, pp. xxxiii, xxxvi.

<sup>152</sup> 'Quoddam sidus aureum clarius renitentem ceteris pretiosissimum Deoque amabilem GRIMBALDUM egregie uirtutis incomprehensibilisque sanctitatis uirum... innumerabilium parata celitus testantur beneficia uirtutum'; *NMLV*, p. 5.

<sup>153</sup> ASC F, 903; *NMLV*, p. 6.

<sup>154</sup> P.S. Baker (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS F* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. ix, lxxvi-lxxix; British Library, MS Cotton Domitian viii.

<sup>155</sup> ASC F, 903; R. Rushforth, *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars* (Cambridge, 2002), Table 1 and Table 12.

necessarily have reflected the interests of people living in Winchester.<sup>156</sup> Alternatively, Mechthild Gretsch suggests that the Junius Calendar was based on a calendar kept by Grimbald himself (and therefore would not include him or Iudoc, whose relics apparently arrived in Winchester after his death).<sup>157</sup> However, the account in the ‘New Minster History’ suggests that the monks of the New Minster at least wished to portray themselves venerating a longstanding saint when they venerated Iudoc.

Moreover, like Swithun, Iudoc seems to be an odd choice for the monks of the New Minster to venerate solely on their own initiative, because Iudoc had been a hermit. As Mary Clayton and Thomas License have noted, Æthelwold’s circle tended to avoid celebrating the eremitic lifestyle.<sup>158</sup> Very few eremitical saints are mentioned in Æthelwold’s Benedictional. Similarly, Clayton has noted that Æthelwold’s student Ælfric generally avoided writing about the eremitic parts of saints’ careers.<sup>159</sup> Admittedly, Ælfric’s views cannot necessarily be applied to the rest of Æthelwold’s circle: nevertheless Æthelwold’s own writings and the writings of other members of the circle never promote an eremitic, as opposed to strictly communal, lifestyle. The monks of the New Minster attempted to subtly recharacterize Iudoc to fit their ideals. Just as the artist of Æthelwold’s Benedictional gave Swithun a tonsure, Iudoc was only described as a ‘confessor’, not a hermit, by the author of the ‘New Minster History’.<sup>160</sup> Nevertheless, the monks of the New Minster seem to have celebrated their possession of Iudoc’s relics and were not able to suppress fully references to Iudoc’s eremitical past. The ‘New Minster History’ claimed that Iudoc ‘is venerated [at the New Minster] with suitable

---

<sup>156</sup> Rushforth, *Atlas*, Table 1.

<sup>157</sup> M. Gretsch, ‘The Junius Psalter Gloss: Tradition and Innovation’, in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder: 899-924* (Abingdon, 2001), pp. 280-91 at 289.

<sup>158</sup> T. License, *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford, 2011), pp. 48-50; M. Clayton, ‘Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England’, in P. Szarmach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints’ Lives and Their Context* (New York, 1996), pp. 147-175 at 162.

<sup>159</sup> Clayton, ‘Hermits’, p. 162.

<sup>160</sup> *NMLV*, p. 6.

honours', where he produced 'the signs of many miracles' ('*insignia multiplicium miraculorum*').<sup>161</sup> Additionally, a metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* may have been composed at the New Minster in the late tenth century, providing further evidence of his veneration there (even though it mentions his eremitical activities). Although this metrical life only survives in a late eleventh-century copy in a continental 'dossier' about Iudoc, Lapidge has argued that it was composed at Winchester in the tenth century, based on the author's use of Graecisms and archaisms (like the enclitic *-ce* and *-ve*) and his fondness for nouns ending in *-amen*, some of the characteristic flourishes deployed by members of Æthelwold's circle.<sup>162</sup> The poem might not fully reflect the circle's understanding of Iudoc, because it closely follows the first known *Vita S. Iudoci*, which was apparently written in West Frankia in the 930s and which discusses Iudoc's hermitage.<sup>163</sup> Tenth-century English versifiers who adapted hagiographical prose works into long poems tended to remain quite faithful to the original text.<sup>164</sup> Nevertheless, the metrical life of Iudoc shows that the monks of the New Minster were aware of Iudoc's career as a hermit (even if they did not choose to promote him as such in their original writings.)

The Iudoc poet only added to his source material a brief note about Iudoc's remains being brought to Winchester:

This England now possesses him: through God's protection he lies in Winchester, having been translated circumspectly by someone who lived at that time [the early tenth century].<sup>165</sup>

---

<sup>161</sup> *NMLV*, p. 6

<sup>162</sup> M. Lapidge (ed. and trans.), 'A Metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from Tenth-Century Winchester', *Journal of Medieval Latin*, 10 (2000), pp. 255, 267.

<sup>163</sup> *Vita Prima S. Iudoci*, p. 922. Although the earliest surviving copy appears in an English manuscript (now Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 1384 U.26), scholars have claimed based on its language and focus that it was probably written somewhere in what is now northern France in the 930s (although the exact location is debated due to a lack of internal evidence within the narrative); Lapidge, 'Metrical *Vita*', pp. 259-60.

<sup>164</sup> Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography', pp. 251-2.

<sup>165</sup> 'Ista tamen nunc Anglia condit eundem/ (auspice quippe Deo Wentana pausat in urbe),/ translatum caute per quondam qui fuit inde'; *VIM*, pp. 292-3.

The monks seem to have been eager to emphasize Iudoc's pre-existing connections to the New Minster. In turn, those pre-existing connections, if they did exist, may explain why Æthelwold's circle chose to venerate a hermit like Iudoc in the first place. Although no contemporary narratives mention a specific figure or group who were purportedly influenced by the monks' commemoration of Iudoc or Grimbald, the New Minster's monks may have had to compromise with external groups who supported the veneration of saints who otherwise contradicted key aspects of their programme. The degree to which the monks' veneration of Iudoc was affected by the interests of influential extra-monastic groups might be suggested by Iudoc's association with the late ninth and early tenth centuries. At both the Old Minster and the New Minster, the monks singled out saints—Iudoc and Grimbald at the New Minster and Swithun at the Old Minster—whose relics seem to have been deposited in Winchester in the late ninth and early tenth centuries. While this period was lambasted by Æthelwold's circle, the Biddles' excavations suggested that the late ninth century was a period of major transformation in Winchester's development. While it had been a relatively large and busy town in Roman Britain, from the seventh century until the late ninth century, most of the area within the Roman walls was abandoned.<sup>166</sup> The Biddles could find 'no trace of the intensive occupation, market economy, or industrial production, which are necessary for urban status' before the late ninth century.<sup>167</sup> There probably was not a mint in the city before the reign of Alfred.<sup>168</sup> Thus, the Biddles have suggested that in the period before the late ninth century, Winchester was a purely ceremonial site, perhaps to complement the major

---

<sup>166</sup> Biddle, 'Felix Urbs', p. 126.

<sup>167</sup> The only evidence of industry was the remains of a gold-working shop in the Lower Brook Street site. However, since gifts of gold could be a crucial means of showing royal favour, it is possible that the output of the Lower Brook Street site reflects the needs of the palace rather than any trading activity; Biddle, 'Felix Urbs', p. 126; Biddle *et al.*, *Object and Economy*, i, p. 71, 84.

<sup>168</sup> Biddle, 'Felix Urbs', p. 131; D. Keene, 'Metal-Founding in Winchester', in Biddle *et al.*, *Object and Economy*, i, p. 165.

trading centre at *Hamwic* (Southampton).<sup>169</sup> However, this seems to have changed in the late ninth century, when Winchester was fortified and given a grid-pattern of streets. Definite evidence for a Wintonian mint also dates from this period, as does evidence of expanding trade, industry, and population.<sup>170</sup> Therefore, the saints the Wintonian monks chose to venerate seem to coincide with a major redefining moment in the history of Winchester, which might have had some impact on the memories and interests of its late tenth century inhabitants.

This might suggest that the monks' venerating activities were limited by the histories and pre-existing resources of their monasteries (which seem to have been shaped during the viking incursions and the ascendancy of a West Saxon elite during the late ninth century).<sup>171</sup> In part, the ninth-century developments directly affected the institutions themselves: the foundation of the New Minster occurred during that period of expansion. Additionally, the monks' focus on saints who lived or were brought to Winchester in the ninth century or early tenth century (even at the Old Minster, which had a seventh-century history) might suggest that the ninth century was considered significant by members of the groups outside the monastery to which these men might have been appealing in venerating certain figures. For example, Eadsige seems to have been related to Swithun. It is perhaps not a coincidence that a man who still seems to have been wealthy and connected to the Old Minster traced his heritage back to the ninth-century growth of Winchester. Maybe there were other groups whose familial and social memory extended back to the ninth-century period of growth. Unfortunately, the survival of other elite Wintonian/ West Saxon families from the mid-ninth century until the 960s and 970s is difficult to discern, especially since West Saxon nobles seem to have shared a fairly

---

<sup>169</sup> Biddle, *'Felix Urbs'*, p. 126.

<sup>170</sup> K. Barclay, M. Biddle, and C. Orton, 'The Chronological and Spatial Distribution of the Objects', in Biddle *et al.*, *Object and Economy*, i, pp. 42-73.

<sup>171</sup> Winchester's history in the early tenth century has been discussed extensively; see, for example, B. Yorke, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995), p. 309; Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, pp. 16-22.

limited pool of names: therefore, even when family relationships are known, it is difficult to figure out which of the several charter-witnesses with the same name was the relative in question, or if it was someone else who never appeared in any other charters. At least one family remained dominant throughout this period: the Cerdic kings, who controlled West Saxon lands from the ninth century onwards. Other elite families (often related to the royal family) seem to have risen to prominence and the economic base for central Wessex expanded in the ninth century.<sup>172</sup> This might help explain why the monks at the Wintonian monasteries emphasized their links to late ninth-century or very early tenth-century saints (as opposed to the monks at monasteries in East Anglia, for whom the ninth century had been a period of disruption).<sup>173</sup> It is possible that the ninth century was remembered as a time of change and ascendancy for some of the groups with whom the monks hoped to interact. This may elucidate why the monks of the New Minster venerated saints associated with their monastery's ninth-century roots.

Therefore, at the New Minster, Æthelwold's monks seem to have been able to impose a new dedicatory saint, Mary, who suited their programme and to avoid Alfred's and Ealhswith's possibly pre-existing cults. However, they continued to venerate saints whose relics had already been placed in the New Minster, including the hermit Iudoc, despite their circle's suspicion of hermits. As at the Old Minster, the monks at the New Minster seem to have had to compromise to some extent with local trends, even if they were able to impose some saints of their own as well.

### **Saints at The Nunnaminster**

The final monastery which Æthelwold is known to have refounded at Winchester was the Nunnaminster, a nunnery founded by Alfred's consort Ealhswith in the late ninth

---

<sup>172</sup> See, for example, Hart, 'Athelstan', p. 115.

<sup>173</sup> See below, p. 145.

or early tenth centuries, according to the ‘New Minster History.’<sup>174</sup> The nuns of the Nunnaminster, like other members of the circle, seem to have compromised with their institution’s history when choosing which saints to venerate ‘publicly’. Indeed, while the New Minster and the Old Minster seem to have avoided venerating members of the West Saxon royal family, the Nunnaminster seems to have been particularly associated with the cult of Eadburh, Edward the Elder’s daughter, who had been a nun there. Even though there is less evidence for the Nunnaminster than for the Old and New Minsters in this period, the few sources that do survive suggest that the circle’s ‘public’ veneration was again flexible and contingent on houses’ histories and circumstances.

Before proceeding, it is worth noting how the Nunnaminster fit into Æthelwold’s circle, as defined above.<sup>175</sup> In his writings, Æthelwold treated the Nunnaminster as a part of his reforming project: for example, Æthelwold generally discussed abbesses as well as abbots in his *Regularis Concordia*.<sup>176</sup> There are two passages in the *Regularis Concordia* where nunneries were mentioned separately: one which states that Queen Ælfthryth would have authority over the nuns just as Edgar had authority over the monks, and another which discouraged any men or ‘tyrants’ from entering or interfering with nunneries.<sup>177</sup> However, the latter passage was attributed to Dunstan, and even then, its emphasis on avoiding secular interference (apart from royal influence) echoed Æthelwold’s instructions to male communities, even if those houses were not under the same pressure to avoid perceptions of scandal. During the second generation, Wulfstan noted Æthelwold’s refoundation of the Nunnaminster in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* along

---

<sup>174</sup> *NMLV*, p. 5.

<sup>175</sup> See above, pp. 32-6.

<sup>176</sup> Edgar ‘drove out the negligent clerks... placing in their stead for the service of God... not only monks but also nuns’ (‘eictisque neglegentium clericorum spurcitiis non solum monachos verum etiam sanctimoniales... constitutes’); *RegC*, p. 2. The election of abbots and abbesses is explicitly treated together; *RegC*, p. 6.

<sup>177</sup> *RegC*, pp. 4-5. See P. Stafford, ‘Queens, Nunneries, and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status, and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England’, *Past and Present*, 163 (1999), pp. 3-35 at 10-11.

with the refoundations of Abingdon, the New Minster, the Old Minster, Ely, *Burh*, and Thorney.<sup>178</sup> According to the ideals presented in Æthelwold's and Wulfstan's texts, therefore, nothing would appear to prevent the Nunnaminster being included as a member of Æthelwold's circle, as defined in this dissertation. Admittedly, Foot has noted that in some respects, Æthelwold handled the Nunnaminster slightly differently from the other Wintonian houses: he does not seem to have expelled the pre-existing inhabitants of the Nunnaminster, and his choice of abbess, Æthelthryth, may even have already been connected to the community.<sup>179</sup> Moreover, the lack of surviving sources from the Nunnaminster prevents us from verifying whether it actually participated in the intellectual and liturgical activities that characterized the circle.<sup>180</sup> No textual sources are known to survive from the Nunnaminster from the first or second generations of the circle.<sup>181</sup> There have been archaeological surveys of some parts of the Nunnaminster, which have suggested that it was rebuilt during the first generation of Æthelwold's circle using some of the same architectural styles found at other houses in the circle. For example, Kenneth Qualmann has suggested that the unusually thick west wall could have supported a westwork, as at the Old Minster.<sup>182</sup> However, most of the Nunnaminster site lies under extant buildings in Winchester, and therefore could not be fully excavated to

---

<sup>178</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 22 (pp. 36-9).

<sup>179</sup> Foot, *Veiled Women*, ii, p. 246.

<sup>180</sup> The nuns could plausibly have participated in the circle's particular Latin and Old English vocabularies to the same extent as monks. Contrary to assumptions that nuns would have been less well-educated and not Latinate and needed Old English translations of basic texts, Gretsche and Rohini Jayatilaka have argued that the Old English translation of the Rule of St Benedict was probably originally intended for monks, as well as nuns (and was later adapted with female pronouns). M. Gretsche, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', in M. Korhammer (ed.), *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 131-58 at 142; R. Jayatilaka, 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men', *ASE*, 32 (2003), pp. 147-87 at 185.

<sup>181</sup> At various times, different manuscripts have been associated with the Nunnaminster; however, due to the similarity of the texts produced by any given house in the circle, scholars have failed to definitively assign any manuscript to the Nunnaminster after its refoundation by Æthelwold. At other times, scholars have suggested that more 'old fashioned' scripts might have been used at the Nunnaminster, although, as Peter Stokes notes, there are no definite examples to support this. See the discussion in Stokes, *Vernacular*, pp. 87-9. On a curse in an early eleventh-century hand which has been attributed to various houses, including the Nunnaminster, see below, p. 241.

<sup>182</sup> K. Qualmann, 'Winchester-Nunnaminster', *Current Archaeology*, 102 (1986), pp. 204-7 at 205-6.

test these theories. Certainly, by the mid-eleventh century, the Nunnaminster seems to have had fewer resources and autonomy than other houses in the circle. Domesday Book attributes lands worth £80 to the Nunnaminster, putting it firmly in the middle of the eight nunneries recorded in Domesday Book in terms of property, although it was still much less wealthy than the major male monasteries.<sup>183</sup> It is unknown when or how the Nunnaminster acquired these estates, or whether their possession of these lands dated to the bishopric of Æthelwold.

Moreover, despite Æthelwold's attempts to treat nunneries and all-male monasteries together, there were some respects in which practices at the Nunnaminster were inevitably different. Nuns could not be priests, and would therefore have relied on individuals outside their community to conduct their services. The nuns might have had limited contact with the male members of the circle. Æthelwold's Benedictional suggests that monks rejected any contact with nuns, at least in their studied depictions of themselves. In the apparent depiction of a service at the Old Minster in Æthelwold's Benedictional, no nuns appear to be present: the sole female figure in that scene is seated away from the monks, with secular male figures (with beards and cloaks fastened with brooches), and may have been a depiction of the queen, Ælfthryth.<sup>184</sup> Helen Foxhall Forbes has even suggested that monks avoided contact with nuns to the extent that that they left secular clerics to conduct services for the Nunnaminster, although such an analysis assumes the conditions in Domesday Book pertained to late tenth-century Winchester, which may not necessarily have been the case.<sup>185</sup>

---

<sup>183</sup> J. Crick, 'The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections of Women's Houses in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *RB*, 109 (1999), pp. 154-185 at 161.

<sup>184</sup> *BAE*, fo. 118v.

<sup>185</sup> H. Foxhall Forbes, 'Squabbling Siblings: Gender and Monastic Life in Late Anglo-Saxon Winchester', in L. Foxhall and G. Neher (eds), *Gender and the City Before Modernity* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 163-94 at 183-5.

Additionally, there may have been some social differences in the nunneries' recruits and patronage. Julia Crick has argued that families (whether the royal family or others) tended exclusively to patronize the nunneries they founded. Admittedly, as Crick herself notes, not enough charters and other sources from nunneries survive to fully test this hypothesis;<sup>186</sup> however, such a context might present an explanation for Æthelwold's appointment of Æthelthryth, possibly his former *nutrix*, as the first abbess of the refounded Nunnaminster.<sup>187</sup> Rather than being an act which brought the Nunnaminster into the circle by putting it under the authority of someone with close links to Æthelwold's family—she allegedly interpreted his mother's dreams—his appointment of Æthelthryth might have been in keeping with a tradition of families controlling the nunneries they patronized. This seems to be at odds with the practice at the male monasteries in the circle, where Æthelwold is not known to have installed abbots with family ties to him (although Wulfstan may simply have suppressed this information). Alternatively, Wulfstan may have been mistaken about Æthelthryth's identity: nevertheless, it might be significant that he felt that it was possible to describe Æthelwold placing an old associate of his family in charge of the Nunnaminster. Additionally, the social background of the inhabitants of the Nunnaminster may have contrasted with the inhabitants of Æthelwold's male refoundations. Whereas Mary Blanchard has shown that monks, where their identities can be traced, frequently came from families whose members appeared at the lower end of charter witness-lists (like Dunstan and Oswald), nunneries were known to house royal ladies throughout this period.<sup>188</sup> At about the same

---

<sup>186</sup> Crick, 'Wealth, Patronage', p. 180.

<sup>187</sup> See above, p. 27, n. 102, for a discussion of Æthelthryth's possible identity. *VE*, ch. 2, 22 (pp. 4-5, 36-9); Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xl.

<sup>188</sup> Blanchard, 'Royal Agents'. The only known exception to this pattern is Bishop Brihtelm of Winchester, termed a 'kinsman' (*propinquus, consanguinitatis nexu*) of kings Eadwig and Edgar in the charters S615 (A.D. 956), S683 (A.D. 960), S695 (A.D. 961). For a possible appearance of Dunstan's father in a charter, see S1417 (A.D. 925 x 933), discussed in N. Brooks, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church, 400-1066* (London, 2000), pp. 161-2.

time as Æthelwold was refounding the Nunnaminster, Edgar's daughter, Edith, was a member of a nunnery at Wilton.<sup>189</sup> (These high status ladies might perhaps explain why Æthelwold does not appear to have expelled the inhabitants of the Nunnaminster.)<sup>190</sup> By contrast, while Æthelwold may have trained both Edgar and Æthelred at his monasteries, there are no references to members of the royal family becoming monks in the late tenth century. This is not to say that women from lesser families did not also become nuns in this period; but there do seem to have been different possibilities for nunneries in some respects. All these factors distinguished female communities from male communities in this period, despite the circle's attempts (in theory, at least) to treat them together.

Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that these differences affected the nuns' ability to participate in the circle's intellectual endeavours or to create and manage saints' cults. Some aspects of their veneration might have been circumscribed (in ways which did not affect richer, male houses): for example, they may have had less money to create deluxe manuscripts, they may have had less control of aspects of the liturgy (masses on major feast days would have been conducted by a man, not one of the nuns themselves), and they may have had fewer opportunities to interact with groups outside their monastery (particularly if those groups included males). Nevertheless, the nuns still seem to have been able to host, at least, the relics of a saint. The Nunnaminster will therefore be considered a part of the circle in this study.

---

<sup>189</sup> An Anglo-Norman *Life* of Edith suggested that she had been a member of the Nunnaminster and that she knew Æthelwold; Goscelin, *Vita S. Edithae*, ed. A. Wilmart, 'La légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin', *AB*, 56 (1938), pp. 5-101, 265-307 at 59, 76; trans. M. Wright and K. Loncar in S. Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton Women* (Turnhout, 2004), ch. 9, 16 (pp. 35, 47). However, as will be discussed below, Anglo-Norman accounts of the Nunnaminster and other Anglo-Saxon nunneries cannot necessarily be accepted without contemporary corroboration. Additionally, a document concerning the boundaries of the three monasteries even suggests that one of the abbesses in the Nunnaminster following its refoundation was Eadgifu, 'the King's daughter': 'Eadgyfe abbedesse ˆæs cinges dohter'; S1449 (A.D. 964 x 975). A.J. Robertson has argued that this phrase is an interpolation, since Edgar is not known to have any daughters called Eadgifu (although he did have a daughter called Eadgyth). Moreover, she doubts that Edgar could have had a daughter old enough to be an abbess by 975, the *terminus ante quem* of the document if it was indeed signed by Bishop Osulf of Ramsbury: A.J. Robertson (ed.), *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Cambridge, 1956), pp. 348-9. Rumble, *Property*, p. 142.

<sup>190</sup> Foot, *Veiled Women*, ii, p. 246.

With the exception of archaeological evidence, the sources for the veneration of saints at the Nunnaminster were all probably created after the period covered by this thesis (1006). No Pre-Conquest sources from the Nunnaminster survive (or at least, no surviving sources have been attributed to the inhabitants of the Nunnaminster). Among documents which were definitely linked to the Nunnaminster, only two survive from the pre-Conquest period, and neither claims to date from the first generation of the circle.<sup>191</sup> However, later sources discuss the veneration of saints at the Nunnaminster during the Anglo-Saxon period, and some even claim to describe events that took place there during the first generation of the circle. The second list in the *Secgan*— which was probably written in the early eleventh century and copied into the New Minster *Liber Vitae* by 1031— associates the Nunnaminster with the cult of Eadburh only.<sup>192</sup> Several Anglo-Norman hagiographies of Eadburh also survive, which purport to describe Æthelwold's veneration and her translation. Admittedly, these accounts contradict each other, and their details can not necessarily be accepted as reflecting tenth-century events. Nevertheless, it appears that the community of the Nunnaminster venerated Eadburh—or was at least associated with her— at some point during the first or second generations of the circle.

The lengthiest account which purports to describe Æthelwold's and the circle's venerating activities in the Nunnaminster is Osbert of Clare's twelfth-century *Vita S. Eadburgae*.<sup>193</sup> Osbert claimed that Æthelwold translated Eadburh's remains into a silver shrine and that she produced many miracles during Æthelwold's episcopate.<sup>194</sup> His

---

<sup>191</sup> S1516 (c. A.D. 900); S526 (A.D. 947). S807 (A.D. 984 for 963 x 970) purports to be a grant from Edgar to the Old Minster, New Minster, and Nunnaminster together; however, it is unclear how much of that grant was eventually held by the Nunnaminster. The Nunnaminster is also briefly mentioned in various wills; *Wills*, pp. 20-1, 24-5, 58-9.

<sup>192</sup> For the date of this list, see below, p. 186.

<sup>193</sup> S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2008), p. 255; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud MS Misc 114.

<sup>194</sup> *VSE*, pp. 258-308.

account of Æthelwold's involvement was reiterated in a Middle English *Life* and a late medieval Latin *vita*.<sup>195</sup> Unfortunately, Osbert's account cannot be easily accepted by modern historians: Pierre Chaplais revealed Osbert was one of the most successful forgers of the twelfth century.<sup>196</sup> Moreover, Osbert's account contradicts surviving contemporary evidence about some of Æthelwold's activities. In particular, Osbert's chronology of the abbesses of the Nunnaminster seems to contradict Wulfstan's account (although how well informed Wulfstan was is another question): Osbert suggests that Æthelthryth was the first abbess of the Nunnaminster, and that by the time Æthelwold translated Eadburh the abbess was 'Alfgheva.'<sup>197</sup> Susan Ridyard has suggested that Osbert confused the Æthelthryth appointed by Æthelwold in the 960s with the first abbess of the Nunnaminster, and the mid-tenth century abbess with Alfgheva, a religious lady associated with the bishop of Winchester in the 1030s.<sup>198</sup> Ridyard notes that this chronology also appears in other hagiographies which seem to have been written independently of Osbert's account, so it may have been part of a wider tradition about the Nunnaminster by the post-Conquest period.<sup>199</sup> Nevertheless, this chronology cannot be accepted and casts doubt on the rest of Osbert's information.

Moreover, Osbert's account of Æthelwold's translation of Eadburh into a silver shrine is open to suspicion because it seems to be based on Wulfstan's description of Swithun's translation, and not on any independent traditions from the Nunnaminster. Just as Wulfstan described Swithun's reliquary as 'luminous with silver, glowing with jewels and gold' ('arcam... argento albentem, gemmisque auroque rubentem'), Osbert claimed

---

<sup>195</sup> *De sancta Edburga virgine (Middle English)*, ed. L. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: A Study of Her Cult, A.D. 950-1500, with an Edition of the Fourteenth-Century Middle English and Latin Lives', *Mediaeval Studies*, 33(1971), pp. 292-333 at 325-9; *De sancta Edburge virgine (Latin)*, ed. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga', pp. 332-3.

<sup>196</sup> P. Chaplais, 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase, Abbots of Westminster', in P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (eds), *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton* (London, 1962), pp. 89-110 at 91-5.

<sup>197</sup> *VSE*, pp. 264, 292.

<sup>198</sup> *VÆ*, p. 39. Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 34.

<sup>199</sup> Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 34-5.

that Æthelwold ‘arranged for [Eadburh] to be transferred from [her] tomb into a silver chest’ (‘eam de tumulo transferri ad thecam argenteam disposuit’).<sup>200</sup> Like Wulfstan, Osbert gave Æthelwold the central role in these proceedings. This similarity has led some scholars, like Ridyard, to accept Osbert’s account; however, this close similarity might suggest that Osbert was borrowing from narratives about Swithun and not using any evidence specific to the Nunnaminster. Osbert might have been motivated to imitate accounts of Swithun’s miracles as part of his attempt to present Eadburh as a rival to the famous bishop (whose cult was thriving in the early twelfth century). Osbert explicitly portrayed Swithun and Eadburh ‘disputing’ miracles between themselves and taking turns to perform wonders. Thus, he may have exaggerated or misrepresented aspects of Æthelwold’s involvement with Eadburh’s cult to put her on a par with Swithun.

Additionally, archaeological evidence of a large tomb built in the Nunnaminster in the late tenth century might contradict Osbert’s claim that Æthelwold translated Eadburh into a silver shrine (just like Swithun).<sup>201</sup> However, the existence of this tomb might suggest that, despite the problems with Osbert’s account, energetic commemoration of the dead, at least, was taking place at the Nunnaminster in the late tenth century. It is unclear who was the original inhabitant of the large stone tomb which was uncovered by Qualmann’s excavations. However, given the prominence of the tomb, it is possible it held Eadburh’s remains. Thus, rather than the silver reliquary described by Osbert, her relics may have been translated into a grander stone tomb. Admittedly, there is no way of proving that the tomb Qualmann excavated belonged to Eadburh. Alternatively, that tomb might have belonged to any grand lady or abbess. Very little of the Nunnaminster was excavated, and similar tombs may have existed within parts of the abbey which remain unexcavated. Nevertheless, the grand stone tomb suggests that silver shrines were

---

<sup>200</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 494-5; *VSE*, p. 292 (my translation).

<sup>201</sup> Qualmann, ‘Winchester-Nunnaminster’, pp. 205-6.

only one way of commemorating the dead in Winchester in this period, and in the context of Osbert's narrative metal reliquaries seem suspiciously Swithun-like. However, the tomb does seem to confirm that the community at the Nunnaminster commemorated certain remains, even if they did not do so in the way that later hagiographers suggested.

Therefore, we do not have enough information to determine how Eadburh was venerated at the Nunnaminster during the first generation of the circle or how Æthelwold was involved in this veneration, if at all. However, a few conclusions can be drawn. The elaborate tomb Qualmann discovered suggests that at least one dead individual was lavishly commemorated (and possibly venerated) there during the first generation of the circle. Moreover, the *Secgan*'s entry on the Nunnaminster suggests that Eadburh was remembered there at least by the second generation of Æthelwold's circle. If the entry in the *Secgan* reflects the situation at the Nunnaminster during the first generation, as well, it might suggest that at the Nunnaminster, too, Æthelwold's circle compromised with the history of their institution when choosing which saints to commemorate 'publicly'. Like Swithun and Iudoc, Eadburh may have been a surprising choice for the circle, given that she was a member of the West Saxon royal house. As noted above, the other Wintonian houses seem, in the first generation at least, to have avoided commemorating members of the West Saxon royal house. Admittedly, Eadburh's cult does not stand in total contradiction to the venerating practices found at monasteries in Æthelwold's circle. Eadburh had given up her royal status to become a nun (like Iudoc and Æthelthryth, two other ex-royals venerated by Æthelwold's circle). Therefore, she does not necessarily contradict Æthelwold's circle's reticence to venerate *secular* royal figures. Nevertheless, the Wintonian monks seem to have ignored other members of the West Saxon royal family who took religious vows, including Edgar's daughter Eadgyth (Edith).<sup>202</sup>

---

<sup>202</sup> On Edith's cult, see above, p. 119, n. 129.

Therefore, Eadburh's veneration at the Nunnaminster might provide another example of the circle's flexibility and willingness to cooperate with cults which did not match their ideology but which might have existed already or might have fit the local context—in this case, of a house associated with royal interests and which may have continued to house royal or noble inhabitants.<sup>203</sup>

## Conclusion

Winchester remained a focus of Æthelwold's activities throughout the first generation, and it was there that he was buried in 983 and translated in 996.<sup>204</sup> The monasteries at Winchester had presented significant challenges and opportunities to Æthelwold's circle. At Winchester, Æthelwold's circle initially created upheaval and instability as they expelled clerks from the male monasteries and imposed new standards on some of the most prominent and wealthy ecclesiastical establishments in England. However, this instability seems to have decreased over time, as Æthelwold's circle seems to have compromised with some local interest groups to venerate a somewhat surprising range of saints. At least, the writers at the Old Minster claimed that their veneration of Swithun would appeal to some of the clerics they had expelled from the Old Minster (a group they feared might be plotting against them). Similarly, monks' veneration of saints associated with the late ninth century at the New Minster may have been linked to institutional history but also to some notable West Saxon and Wintonian families, who might have begun their ascendance during that period and might have had a pre-existing devotion to those saints. Moreover, the role of saints' cults in diminishing insecurity and in promoting the interests of the monks is suggested by their timing: many cults seem to have come to prominence in the crucial years between 966 (the time of insecurity

---

<sup>203</sup> On Edith's possible connections to the Nunnaminster, see above, p. 135, n. 189.

<sup>204</sup> For dates, see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xlii.

represented by the New Minster Refoundation Charter) and 971 (the refoundation of Ely and the inception of a period of expansion for the circle).

This is not to suggest that any of these features are unique to Æthelwold's circle. On the contrary, this flexibility may be a point of comparison between monastic reformers in England and their continental counterparts: Vanderputten's study of Flemish monastery has suggested that Flemish reformers also compromised with groups outside their monastery and were limited by the resources and histories of the monastery they took over.<sup>205</sup> However, evidence of flexibility and an interest in interacting with rival clerics and powerful laity is significant in the case of Æthelwold's Wintonian monasteries because it can perhaps be used to moderate the circle's uncompromising reputation.

This is not to say that Æthelwold's monks had no agency in choosing which saints they venerated: they seem to have avoided venerating lay saints, including royal saints (although the Nunnaminster still seems to have been associated with the cult of a member of the West Saxon royal family), perhaps in order to give monks a unique and crucial role in society, as people with privileged access to God and his power and protection. This role was also underlined by the way monks took physical control of Swithun's relics and sites associated with Swithun. Here too, the monks seem to have used 'public' veneration to negotiate with and establish the monks' power over external groups.

---

<sup>205</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 10.

## Chapter 3: Ely

By 972—a year after the translation of Swithun—Æthelwold had acquired another monastery, this time at Ely. He moved a group of his monks there and established his follower Byrhtnoth as abbot.<sup>1</sup> It is not entirely clear which of Æthelwold's main fenland monasteries—Ely, *Burh*, or Thorney—was founded first, or whether they were all founded simultaneously. Twelfth-century traditions from the three houses suggested that Ely had been refounded in 970, *Burh* in 971, and Thorney in 972.<sup>2</sup> This order echoes the order in which they are discussed in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* (although it is unclear if Wulfstan was employing a strictly chronological order at that point in his narrative).<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, Ely is discussed before *Burh* and Thorney in this dissertation not because it predated the other two, but simply for convenience.

Ely had originally been founded as a double monastery in the seventh century by Æthelthryth, a former queen. In the late ninth and early tenth centuries, the house may have lost some land or influence, but under Æthelwold, it again became a prominent and wealthy, if controversial, establishment.<sup>4</sup> Ely's monks seem to have venerated a group of seventh-century female saints associated with the locality at Ely: Æthelthryth and her sisters. The monks of Ely also do not seem to have prioritized universal saintly patrons like Mary who were so prominent at Æthelwold's previous refoundations. This approach to saints is perhaps worth investigating, because in many ways the contexts of Abingdon and the Wintonian monasteries and Ely were similar. In particular, some of the same lay magnates—like Wulfstan of Dalham, Ealdorman Æthelwine, and Queen Ælfthryth—

---

<sup>1</sup> Byrhtnoth first appears as an abbot in S786 (A.D. 972); see Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> S787 (A.D. 972); S792 (A.D. 973).

<sup>3</sup> *VE*, ch. 23, 24 (pp. 38-43).

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 163.

were influential in Winchester and for the community at Ely. As I have argued above, the monks seem to have aspired to interact with others, including lay people outside the monastery, through their veneration of saints. This chapter sets out to explore why, if the monks were interacting with some of the same people, they were using different saints.

### **History and Context of Ely**

The monastery at Ely shared some crucial aspects of its context with the monasteries previously re-established by Æthelwold's circle. As noted above, those similarities include some of the same members of the lay elite. For instance, Wulfstan of Dalham was remembered at Winchester in the 990s as the strong man who helped Æthelwold drive the clerks out of the Old Minster, and he was also celebrated in twelfth-century copies of allegedly tenth-century texts from Ely as a major patron of Ely.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, Ælfthryth (who appears as Edgar's '*legitima coniunx*' in the New Minster Foundation Charter) was also credited with donating land to Ely, along with her husband Edgar.<sup>6</sup> Ealdorman Æthelwine and his brothers—who were among the highest ranked nobles in charter witness lists from western houses in this period—led local meetings and politics in East Anglia and the Fens. Indeed, in his examination of Æthelwine's family, Andrew Wareham has compared the connections of East Anglian notables in this period to the *Königsnähe* of Carolingian nobles, whom scholars have conceived as a transregional and interconnected elite.<sup>7</sup>

The geopolitical location of Ely can also be compared to some of Æthelwold's previous foundations. Pestell has shown that Ely was on an ancient border between

---

<sup>5</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 5; *LE* ii.7 (p. 80); Fairweather, p. 104. *VÆ*, ch. 18 (pp. 32-3).

<sup>6</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 49; *LE* ii.37, 47 (pp. 111, 116); Fairweather, pp. 134, 138.

<sup>7</sup> A. Wareham, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005), p. 28. This concept has been used again in L. Roach, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013), p. 94. Further discussion of this family and its extensive connections across England, see Hart, 'Athelstan "Half-King"', pp. 115-44; Hart, *Danelaw*, pp. 589-97.

Mercia and East Anglia, just as Abingdon stood on a long-standing Mercian-West Saxon border.<sup>8</sup> However, Ely's liminal role may have been slightly different from Abingdon's, because there is a suggestion that Ely had an administrative role, if only on an extremely local level: Ely may have been the site of meetings and assemblies (even before Æthelwold's arrival). The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* (which shall be discussed further below) alleges that Wulfstan of Dalham gathered 'the people of two hundreds' at a meeting there '[l]ong before Bishop Æthelwold collected the monks at Ely'.<sup>9</sup> However, the administrative nature of Ely did not make it distinctive within the circle either, because Winchester also was the site of meetings and administration.

However, there were also some significant differences between Ely and other monasteries in the circle. Most notably, Ely had initially been established as a double-house by the East Anglian princess Æthelthryth around 673 (whereas there are no records of women ever being members of the male communities at the Old Minster or the New Minster, Winchester).<sup>10</sup> Ely probably ceased to house nuns in the early ninth century, before the general area suffered incursions from vikings in the mid-ninth century, although the memory of Ely's early history as a double house was preserved in works of Bede that continued to be known in the tenth century.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 103.

<sup>9</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 27; *LE* ii.18 (p. 94); Fairweather, p. 117. See below, pp. 155-6.

<sup>10</sup> Abingdon and the Old Minster, Winchester, may have had vowesses attached to their establishments at some point, but the evidence for this is limited; Foot, *Veiled Women*, ii, pp. 17-20, 253. Abingdon may have been attached to a nunnery in the distant past, if the Abingdon Chronicles' account of the founder of Abingdon's sister can be trusted; however, the chroniclers were not necessarily reliable about the house's early history, as noted above; *HA*, i, pp. 2-5, 244-5; Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. cc. Marc Meyer has suggested that Abingdon continued to be associated with female religious and may even have briefly been a double house in the tenth century; M.A. Meyer, 'Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *RB*, 91 (1981), pp. 332-58 at 346. However, Foot has shown that his analysis is based on the assumption that charters which were originally given to women and which came into the possession of Abingdon indicate that the women had been attached to the Abingdon community, which need not be the case; Foot, *Veiled Women*, ii, pp. 17-20. Indeed, the presence of a secular charter in the Abingdon archive need not even demonstrate that the original lay beneficiary gave it directly to Abingdon; Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, pp. cxlvi, clii.

<sup>11</sup> On the demise of double houses in England, see C. Peyroux, 'Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West' (Princeton Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1991), pp. 267-71; Yorke, *Nunneries*, p. 60.

The various invasions and conquests of the region around Ely also set it apart from the contexts of some of the circle's previous (re)foundations. Admittedly, the degree to which viking invasion and Scandinavian settlement impacted the area around Ely is unclear. Post-Conquest chroniclers had a tendency to emphasize or exaggerate the extent to which viking invaders destroyed churches and their livelihoods, including Ely.<sup>12</sup> Certainly, the monastery at Ely may have been diminished in some way by the mid-tenth century (although there is no way of knowing if this was the result of viking incursions).<sup>13</sup> S646 (A.D. 957)— which survives in a mid-tenth century copy— records Archbishop Oda buying land at Ely from the king, which suggests its economic resources and autonomy on the Isle of Ely, at any rate, were compromised sometime between the ninth and mid-tenth centuries. Nevertheless, this need not suggest a catastrophic discontinuity. It is unclear whether Oda was buying the site of the monastery or other land on the island of Ely. And even if he was buying the site of the original monastery at Ely, religious life may still have continued there: royal and noble estates could house groups of clerics in this period, although the groups in the known examples seem to have been less wealthy and prominent than counterparts elsewhere.<sup>14</sup> By contrast, much of the archaeological evidence does not suggest a big Scandinavian impact in the region around Ely. The recent work of Jane Kershaw on Scandinavian small-finds has emphasized the importance of Scandinavian influence in Norfolk and the north of Suffolk only: her evidence tends to diminish towards the south and west (i.e., towards the area around Ely). (Admittedly, this may be a bias in the metal-detecting evidence; however, south Suffolk, which provides an

---

Foot has addressed suggestions that female religious attached themselves to the later male community; Foot, *Veiled Women*, ii, pp. 79-81. For some of the circle's knowledge of Bede, see below, p. 154.

<sup>12</sup> *LE* i.40-1 (pp. 54-5); Fairweather, p. 73.

<sup>13</sup> On the possible extent of Ely's early holdings, see E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951), pp. 9-17.

<sup>14</sup> For a contemporary description of such a community, see *Translatio*, p. 267. See also Blair, *Church*, pp. 272-80, 325-9.

ideal area for metal-detecting, has yielded far fewer finds than other regions.)<sup>15</sup> Similarly, excavations on the former island of Ely itself have not attested to a big Scandinavian impact in the region. The West Fen Road excavations near Ely revealed no evidence of burning or discontinuity on that settlement site<sup>16</sup> (although that need not preclude disruption of the monastery itself.) Moreover, in the case of Ely, the survival of relics and the possible presence of a community have been used as evidence for continuity.<sup>17</sup> Since neither the written evidence nor the archaeological evidence conclusively pertains to the monastic site at Ely, it is impossible to say what impact the events of the ninth century had on the monastic site, apart from the fact that it provided a new political elite, at least. Ely was in the area controlled by Guthrum according to a surviving treaty between Alfred and Guthrum, and was considered part of the Danelaw later on.<sup>18</sup>

By the time the monks from Winchester arrived at Ely in 972, the Anglo-Scandinavian elite had been partially replaced by West Saxon newcomers after the West Saxon conquest of Cambridgeshire and surrounding regions. Their impact is corroborated by material evidence: Jane Kershaw has noted that acanthus motifs (primarily associated with Winchester and other West Saxon centres) can be found on jewellery in Cambridgeshire from the mid-tenth century, suggesting that West Saxon cultural influences, at least, were prominent in the area around Ely before Æthelwold's monks

---

<sup>15</sup> 'Cambridgeshire and central counties such as Nottinghamshire, Leicestershire, and Northamptonshire have produced only a scattering of Scandinavian and Anglo-Scandinavian brooches, despite producing a healthy corpus of other types of early medieval metalwork'; J. Kershaw, *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England* (Oxford, 2013), p. 185.

<sup>16</sup> R. Mortimer *et al.*, *The Saxon and Medieval Settlement at West Fen Road, Ely: The Ashwell Site* (Cambridge, 2005), p. 148.

<sup>17</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 32; Blair, *Church*, p. 318.

<sup>18</sup> *EHD*, p. 416; for a discussion of the definition of the Danelaw, see above, pp. 30-1.

arrived.<sup>19</sup> No other region in which the circle was active had experienced the large-scale turnover in elite culture or elite individuals that the East Midlands had.<sup>20</sup>

Additionally, Ely's geographical setting contrasted with that of the circle's previous establishments. Although Ely was located in an economically and culturally rich region, it was somewhat isolated on an island that sometimes could not be reached directly by boat in this period without some portage.<sup>21</sup> The monastic settlement was created in a sparsely occupied area, and the nearby settlement at West Fen Road—apparently a service settlement for the monastery—was kept at arm's length, one kilometre away.<sup>22</sup> This contrasted with Winchester, with its tightly-packed grid format centring on the monastic complexes. In this new context, men who had been at Winchester only a few years or months before demonstrated a new approach to the veneration of saints.

### **Saints at Ely**

Sources which date (or claim to date) from the late Anglo-Saxon period describe the veneration of five saints at Ely in the late tenth century: Æthelthryth and her relatives Wihtburh, Eormenhild, Seaxburh, and Æthelburh. These saints appear in six sources of varying dates and degrees of reliability: the *Benedictional of Æthelwold*; a life of Æthelthryth, written by Æthelwold's student Ælfric around 996 and 997; Wulfstan's *Vita*

---

<sup>19</sup> J. Kershaw, 'The Distribution of the "Winchester" Style in Late Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), pp. 254-69.

<sup>20</sup> This is not to suggest that there was no fluctuation in elite families or structures in these regions: exiles and falls from grace were by no means uncommon. Nevertheless, as we have seen in previous chapters, at Winchester, the descendants of mid-ninth century elites were still socially and economically prominent in the mid-tenth-century. At Abingdon, too, the overall political situation may have been slightly more stable. Although it has been argued that the unification of Mercia and Wessex under a single king was initially intended as a tenuous and possibly temporary arrangement, that situation was maintained from Edward the Elder's usurpation of Ælfwynn of Mercia in 919 until Edgar began to style himself ruler of the Mercians around 958; ASC C, 919; S667 (A.D. 958). (And even under Edgar, the situation was quickly resolved when Eadwig died in 959 and Edgar took over Wessex, too.)

<sup>21</sup> D. Owen, 'Ely 1109-1539: Priory, Community and Town', in P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 59-75 at 59.

<sup>22</sup> Mortimer *et al.*, *West Fen*, pp. 1, 148. Mortimer also notes that Ely itself appears to be quite rural in Domesday Book, with no burgage plots emerging there until the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

*S. Æthelwoldi*; an early list of saints' relics located in England, copied in the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester in 1031; and the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* and *Liber Eliensis*, two twelfth-century texts that claim to contain translations of Old English documents.<sup>23</sup>

Of these six, only the *Benedictional* of Æthelwold was definitely contemporary with (and indeed, produced by) the first generation of Æthelwold's circle. The *Benedictional* includes a benediction and an illumination relating to Æthelthryth for her June feast day, and a further illustration of Æthelthryth in the choir of virgins.<sup>24</sup> The *Benedictional* proves that at least some members of Æthelwold's wider circle venerated Æthelthryth, whose saintly profile— as a female saint who had ties to one of the circle's localities during her lifetime— to some extent differentiated her from the universal saints, like Mary, and the local male saints, like Swithun and Iudoc, who had previously been feted by Æthelwold's circle. The *Benedictional*'s connection to the circle (and therefore Æthelthryth's connection to the circle) is unquestionable: it was written in a superlative version of the circle's characteristic Anglo-Caroline minuscule and illustrated with fully-painted miniatures in the style of the illumination in the New Minster Foundation Charter. Its preface claims that it was written by Godeman (often identified as the man Æthelwold appointed as abbot of Thorney) for Æthelwold himself.<sup>25</sup> This manuscript suggests that someone in Æthelwold's circle was interested in Æthelthryth, even above other saints in the liturgical year. The miniature of Æthelthryth alone—which shows her standing, holding a palm or a lily— is one of only 28 miniatures in the whole book (as compared to 176 benedictions, most of which were not illustrated). Moreover, Godeman and his associates may have tried to underline her importance further by using a considerable

---

<sup>23</sup> *BÆ*; *LS*; *VÆ*, ch. 23 (pp. 38-9); *NMLV*, pp. 85-6; *LibÆ*; *LE*. Keynes argues that records written in the back of an eighth-century Northumbrian Gospel book (now British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius B B.v, vol i fo. 74-6) were also written at Ely, possibly in the late tenth century; Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 5. However, this assignation is disputed: Ker had earlier assigned the records to Ramsey; N.R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1957), no. 22.

<sup>24</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 90v-91v.

<sup>25</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 4v-5r; Warner and Wilson, *Benedictional*, p. xiv.

amount of gold in their depiction of Æthelthryth and by giving her benediction an illuminated initial: hers is the only miniature to receive such attention.<sup>26</sup>

Admittedly, neither Æthelwold nor Godeman were permanent members of the community Ely (although they may have spent time there).<sup>27</sup> Nor was the Benedictional necessarily intended to be used at Ely.<sup>28</sup> While monks from Ely could theoretically have offered input on the creation of the Benedictional, there is no evidence to suggest that monks from Ely were involved. Nevertheless, the Benedictional suggests that at least some members of Æthelwold's circle—albeit not necessarily the monks at Ely—prioritized Æthelthryth during the first generation of the circle. Moreover, the Benedictional provides perhaps the best source for comparing and contrasting some of the saints commemorated by the circle: whereas there is a danger of inadvertently comparing apples and oranges by comparing the charters of Abingdon with the poetry from Winchester, both Æthelthryth of Ely and Swithun of the Old Minster, Winchester, appear in the Benedictional, a unified and apparently carefully planned volume, with similar forms of illustrations and texts attached to them.<sup>29</sup> It is therefore striking that a ninth-century saint from Winchester—whom Æthelwold's monks had portrayed as unknown before their promotion of him—was selected for inclusion in this volume, while, by contrast, the representative chosen from Ely was a seventh-century female saint with a well-established hagiographical tradition.<sup>30</sup> While the monks remembered seventh-century saints (Birinus and Hædde) at Winchester, they seem to have prioritized Swithun,

---

<sup>26</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 90v-91r.

<sup>27</sup> For example, the *Liber Eliensis* claims that Æthelwold stayed at Ely with the future king Æthelred. *LibÆ*, ch. 12; *LE* ii.11 (p. 86); Fairweather, p. 110. Moreover, the *Liber Vitae* of the New Minster, Winchester, lists one 'Godeman' amongst the brothers of Ely. However, in this brief list, it is unclear if this Godeman is the same Godeman who wrote the Benedictional, or even if this Godeman was contemporaneous with the first or second generations of Æthelwold's circle; *NMLVK*, fo. 27r. George Warner, for one, has argued that the only Godeman contemporaneous with Æthelwold who is mentioned in the *Liber Vitae* was the abbot of Thorney; Warner and Wilson, *Benedictional*, p. xiv.

<sup>28</sup> See above, pp. 92-3.

<sup>29</sup> On the planning of the Benedictional, see Schipper, 'Dry-Point Compilation', pp. 17-34.

<sup>30</sup> *Translatio*, p. 267; *VÆ*, p. 43. For knowledge of Bede's hagiography of Æthelthryth just after the first generation of Æthelwold's circle, see *LS*, 76/82, pp. 432-3.

both in terms of the poetry and resources devoted to his cult and in terms of his inclusion in the Benedictional, an object designed to commemorate Æthelwold as a powerful individual. By contrast, Godeman's inclusion of the seventh-century, female Æthelthryth from Ely suggests that some members of Æthelwold's circle prioritized different types of saints—seventh-century virgins as opposed to ninth-century confessors— from Ely as opposed to Winchester.

Scholars have taken two contrasting approaches to the circle's evident veneration of Æthelthryth, based on the disciplines with which they are affiliated. On one hand, scholars with a background in English literature have suggested that Æthelthryth was an unnatural choice for Æthelwold and his circle. Thus, Clayton has argued that Æthelwold and the monks at Winchester initially tried to unify venerating practices by promoting Mary, a universal saint: Clayton argues that their devotion to different local figures like Æthelthryth came at a later period.<sup>31</sup> This chronology is problematic, because the work Clayton cites as a highpoint of Marian devotion at Winchester—the Benedictional of Æthelwold—also emphasizes Æthelthryth. Nevertheless, Clayton does make the interesting point that, given the fetishization of uniformity in texts associated with Æthelwold's monasteries, Æthelthryth might have been a surprising choice for veneration when figures like Mary were also available. Virginia Blanton also emphasized that Æthelthryth was an unusual choice for reformers to venerate.<sup>32</sup> Although her work created some controversy upon its publication, Blanton's interdisciplinary techniques—particularly her use of literary criticism— led her to some crucial observations about the way Æthelwold and his followers avoided certain aspects of Bede's account of Æthelthryth, such as her role in founding a double monastery, which will be discussed

---

<sup>31</sup> Clayton, 'Centralism', p. 97.

<sup>32</sup> V. Blanton, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615* (University Park, 2007), pp. 69-128.

further below.<sup>33</sup> Unfortunately, she also makes a few arguments from silence which undermine some of her conclusions. For example, she argued that since Æthelwold did not translate Æthelthryth's relics, he must have had no interest whatsoever in her physical remains.<sup>34</sup> However, translation was not the only way tenth-century people interacted with or venerated relics. Rather, I would argue that we cannot state that he was not interested in her physical remains because we have no evidence one way or another about how he treated them. Moreover, Blanton noted that the surviving tenth-century sources related to Æthelthryth are associated with Winchester: therefore, she argued that Æthelthryth was only venerated at Winchester, not at Ely, ignoring the bias in the survival of sources which means that no Anglo-Saxon sources from Ely have survived in tenth-century form.<sup>35</sup> Similarly, although Blanton argues that Æthelthryth was only venerated by churchmen in this period, I would be inclined to think that the fact that the surviving sources were not created by laymen does not indicate that churchmen alone were interested in saints.<sup>36</sup> I intend to expand Blanton's range to include sources which do not survive in tenth-century form but which still might contain information from tenth-century writers connected to Æthelwold's refoundation.

By contrast, scholars associated with history, particularly political history, have focused on the way that Æthelthryth apparently fits the picture of Æthelwold venerating 'Bedan saints', and have treated her promotion by Æthelwold as somewhat predictable.

Thus Yorke notes:

Æthelwold's ideal was a return to the time of Bede... His interest in and respect for that period can also be seen in his revival of the cults of seventh-century saints in his foundations, including those of St Æthelthryth and her saintly kinswomen at Ely and of St Birinus at Winchester.<sup>37</sup>

---

<sup>33</sup> For the controversy, see M. Gretsch, 'Review', *EHR*, 124 (2009), pp. 917-20. For Blanton's insights on how Ælfric and Godeman altered Bede's image of Æthelthryth, see Blanton, *Signs*, p. 115.

<sup>34</sup> Blanton, *Signs*, p. 124.

<sup>35</sup> Blanton, *Signs*, p. 127.

<sup>36</sup> Blanton, *Signs*, p. 125.

<sup>37</sup> Yorke, 'Æthelwold' [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8920?docPos=1>].

Similarly, Keynes claims that '[t]he intensity of Bishop Æthelwold's devotion to St Æthelthryth was doubtless fuelled by his knowledge of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*'.<sup>38</sup> Ridyard also discusses Æthelwold's promotion of Æthelthryth without suggesting that Æthelthryth was an unusual choice for the monks.<sup>39</sup> Ridyard makes many valuable hypotheses about how Æthelthryth's cult may have helped the reforming newcomers assimilate to East Anglian society: in particular, she uses some of the twelfth-century manuscripts neglected by Blanton to suggest that monks at the refounded Ely portrayed themselves as the protectors of Æthelthryth in order to denigrate the clerks they had replaced (see below).<sup>40</sup> However, Ridyard does not discuss why Æthelthryth, as opposed to other saints, fulfilled this role. She merely attributes Æthelthryth's prestige to her seventh-century origins.<sup>41</sup> Admittedly, this matches the picture presented by Wulfstan in the 990s, when he claimed that Æthelwold was interested in Æthelthryth's cult before he refounded Ely:

The servant of Christ [Æthelwold] began to reverence the place [Ely] greatly, out of his love for the distinguished virgins [Æthelthryth and her sisters], and he paid a large sum of money to buy it from King Edgar.<sup>42</sup>

However, Wulfstan was writing in the mid-990s, two decades after the refoundation of Ely, so his knowledge of events may have been affected by hindsight, particularly since Æthelthryth was eventually so enthusiastically venerated by Æthelwold's circle.<sup>43</sup> The caveats raised by literary scholars are worth taking into account on this point: a locally

---

<sup>38</sup> Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', p. 20.

<sup>39</sup> Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 181-96.

<sup>40</sup> See below, p. 161.

<sup>41</sup> Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 191.

<sup>42</sup> 'Hunc ergo locum famulus Christi pro dilectione tantarum virginum magnopere venerari coepit, datoque precio non modicae pecuniae emit eum a rege Eadgaro'; *VÆ*, pp. 38-9.

<sup>43</sup> Additionally, as Yorke has noted, Wulfstan avoided mentioning Æthelwold's political entanglements. If Æthelwold had refounded Ely from political motivations, or if it could have been suspected that Æthelwold's motivations were political (as discussed in the introduction), Wulfstan might have sought to offer an alternative version of events that emphasized Æthelwold's piety. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and Politics', p. 88.

important, female founder of a double house was not an entirely obvious choice for Æthelwold's monks, who otherwise seem to have prized uniformity between their houses.

As Wulfstan's account suggests, Æthelthryth was probably not the only saint associated with Ely or with Æthelwold's circle's actions there. The *Liber Eliensis* claims that Abbot Byrhtnoth gave jewelled statues of several female saints to Ely.<sup>44</sup> By the early eleventh century, a more extensive list of the saints whose relics were present at Ely had been copied into the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (1031), in a passage now known as 'The Kentish Royal Legend'.<sup>45</sup> This list includes Eormenhild, Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, Wihtburh, and Æthelburh. It is unclear when this list was originally composed, whether before the arrival of Æthelwold's circle or in the early eleventh century; it may also have been altered at several different points in time.<sup>46</sup> It is also unclear what the compilers' sources and motives were: did some monasteries provide information for their entries? Were the lists based on pilgrims' experiences? Were they based on hearsay? Were they intended to facilitate pilgrimage, monastic boasting, something else? Since these texts' purpose and the circumstances of their production is unknown, their evidence is difficult to evaluate. Nevertheless, the 'Kentish Royal Legend's' account of Ely's saints might corroborate later evidence that Æthelthryth's and her sisters' relics and memories were a prime focus of veneration at Ely, at least by the second generation of the circle: in particular, its orthography might illuminate an account in the *Liber Eliensis* which claims that the monks may have been involved with promoting Wihtburh at Ely.<sup>47</sup>

The monks' veneration of Æthelthryth, and possibly also of her relatives, is interesting given attitudes to female religious houses in Æthelwold's circle. While

---

<sup>44</sup> *LE* ii.6 (p. 79); Fairweather, p. 103. These are discussed in C. Karkov, *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011), pp. 225-8.

<sup>45</sup> This list has been discussed extensively, in a variety of contexts. In this context, it is worth noting the discussions in Blanton, *Signs*, pp. 126-7; Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints*, p. 208; D. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *ASE*, 7 (1978), pp. 61-93.

<sup>46</sup> Rollason, 'Lists', p. 70.

<sup>47</sup> *LE* ii.53 (p. 120); Fairweather, pp. 145-8. See below, pp. 164-5.

Æthelwold apparently refounded nunneries, like the Nunnaminster in Winchester, those nunneries operated in a very different way from Æthelthryth's Ely. For a start, they had a male (re)founder. They were also not double houses.<sup>48</sup> Double houses and interactions between monks and nuns were prohibited in the *Regularis Concordia* (in a passage attributed to Dunstan).<sup>49</sup> Thus, while Æthelwold hailed the seventh and eighth centuries as a golden age of Anglo-Saxon Christianity, he and his associates vigorously rejected some early features, like double houses. In a way, therefore, Æthelthryth might seem, like Swithun, to be a surprising choice to be prominently venerated by monastic reformers who disagreed with her establishment's *modus operandi*. Indeed, there are some indications that later members of the circle tried to suppress some of Æthelthryth's past. As Blanton has noted, in his *Life of Æthelthryth*, Ælfric ignored her role as foundress: rather, he described her as an abbess who took over an apparently pre-existing monastery. Ælfric was definitely aware that Æthelthryth was credited with founding Ely by Bede: he used Bede's account of Æthelthryth elsewhere.<sup>50</sup> Certainly, Ælfric's views were not always identical with those of Æthelwold or Byrhtnoth, and Ælfric did not uncritically parrot Æthelwold's views.<sup>51</sup> However, his refusal to acknowledge Æthelthryth's role in founding Ely raises the possibility that Æthelwold's circle did not depict Æthelthryth in exactly the same way that Bede did.

The monks' interest in Æthelthryth was significant, moreover, because there were other, universal saints whose veneration they could have promoted, in theory. As Clayton notes, they could have emphasized a universal saint: Æthelthryth presumably dedicated

---

<sup>48</sup> See above, p. 133, on the monks' rhetoric of separation from nuns.

<sup>49</sup> *RegC*, p. 4.

<sup>50</sup> She 'was instituted as abbess of Ely' ('and heo syððan wearð gehaded oft to abodissan on elig mynstre'); *LS*, 76/82, pp. 434-5. Blanton, *Signs*, p. 115.

<sup>51</sup> For example, in his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Ælfric can be seen deviating from the *Regularis Concordia*: C. Jones (ed. and trans.), *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge, 1999), p. 44.

her monastery to a figure other than herself.<sup>52</sup> Later, Ely was associated with Peter as a dedicatory saint, although not in any documents which can safely be attributed to the tenth century.<sup>53</sup> (A dedication to Peter is mentioned in an alleged charter of Edgar for Ely, but E.O. Blake has judged it to be a later forgery.)<sup>54</sup> A possibly genuine record from Ely mentions both Mary and Æthelthryth: it is possible that, as at the New Minster, the monks of Ely may have tried to promote Mary as a dedicatee.<sup>55</sup> However, Mary appears in no other apparently tenth-century records relating to Ely.

By contrast, the monks of *Burh* were most closely associated with the cult of Peter, although they could have emphasized the veneration of more local figures like the founder of *Medeshamstede* [*Burh*'s original name], Seaxwulf.<sup>56</sup> Bede mentioned Seaxwulf, and he may therefore have been known to Æthelwold's monks; however, the monks do not seem to have mentioned Seaxwulf in their surviving records.<sup>57</sup> This contrast shows that the monks' veneration of Æthelthryth, the foundress, at Ely was not necessarily inevitable.

The situation is clarified by a consideration of the activities that Ely's monks performed to venerate saints. While no tenth-century manuscripts survive from Ely, Latin translations of allegedly tenth-century documents are presented in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* and the *Liber Eliensis*, two texts which survive only in twelfth-century and later manuscripts. The *Liber Eliensis*, a history of Ely from its foundation, was largely created by a single, unknown compiler at Ely between the second and third quarters of the

---

<sup>52</sup> Bede does not mention who that saint was; however, given the dedicatory practices in Eastern England in the seventh century, it would be very surprising if Æthelthryth had not dedicated her monastery to a saint: see Blair, *Church*, p. 201 for dedicatory practices in seventh-century England. At the very least, Æthelthryth would have required relics to consecrate the altar of her church.

<sup>53</sup> *LE* ii.5 (p. 77); Fairweather, p. 100. However, there is no way of proving if that dedication predated the conversion of the monastery at Ely into an episcopal see in 1108/9, and, as Fairweather notes, the compiler is inconsistent about Ely's early dedication; Fairweather, *Liber*, p. 100, n. 41.

<sup>54</sup> S776 (A.D. 970); Blake, *LE*, pp. 414-5; Fairweather, *Liber*, pp. 99, n. 35, 105, n. 70.

<sup>55</sup> S780 (A.D. 970); Blake, *LE*, p. 415; Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 77-8.

<sup>56</sup> See below, pp. 195-7.

<sup>57</sup> *HE*, iv.6 (p. 218).

twelfth century: Book I was probably completed between 1131 and 1154, Book II was completed around 1154, and Book III by 1177, if not by 1173.<sup>58</sup> The whole text is preserved in a late twelfth-century manuscript in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.1 and an early thirteenth-century manuscript in Ely Cathedral.<sup>59</sup> The *Liber Eliensis*'s compiler(s) claimed it featured Latin translations of tenth-century Old English records, including a group of records copied separately in two other manuscripts, known as the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* (preserved in Cambridge, Trinity College, MS O.2.41 and London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A.xix, both written in the first third of the twelfth century, probably at Ely).<sup>60</sup> The *Libellus* appears to contain records of the land deals (and the ensuing lawsuits) pursued by Æthelwold and Byrhtnoth, Ely's first abbot after the refoundation. The *Libellus* can be treated separately from the rest of the *Liber Eliensis* because it exists in slightly earlier manuscripts independently of the *Liber Eliensis*, whose compiler abbreviated some of its entries.<sup>61</sup> The *Libellus*'s author or authors claim these records were translations of Old English documents.<sup>62</sup> Although the opening four chapters and several transitional lines between chapters are generally considered to be the work of the Anglo-Norman 'compiler,' scholars have accepted the contents of the *Libellus* as reflecting tenth-century records (although, Wareham and others have acknowledge that 'translation' may have involved much abbreviation as well as some additions).<sup>63</sup> Thus, Keynes and Alan Kennedy, in their unpublished translation of the *Libellus*, largely accept most of it (apart from the florid opening chapters) as a translation of documents 'apparently written between c.970 and c.990.'<sup>64</sup> They accept these records on diplomatic

---

<sup>58</sup> Blake, *LE*, p. xlix; Wareham, *Lords*, p. 9; Fairweather, *Liber*, p. xvii.

<sup>59</sup> Blake, *LE*, pp. xxiii-xiv; Fairweather, *Liber*, p. xxvi

<sup>60</sup> Blake, *LE*, p. xxxiv; Wareham, *Lords*, p. 10.

<sup>61</sup> A. Kennedy, 'Law and Litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*', *ASE*, 24 (1995), pp. 131-83 at 132.

<sup>62</sup> *LibÆ*, 'Prologue'; *LE*, p. 396.

<sup>63</sup> Wareham, *Lords*, p. 9.

<sup>64</sup> Keynes and Kennedy, *LibÆ*, p. 1.

grounds, noting that ‘records of a similar kind survive from Bishop Æthelwold’s foundation at Peterborough’ (citing S1337, S1448, and a list of sureties, all of which shall be discussed further below).<sup>65</sup> On the other hand, these records also match forgeries from Thorney (which suggests that while these features were present in Anglo-Saxon charters, later writers could also replicate them, or at least embed them in forgeries).<sup>66</sup> Therefore, the presence of these features does not prove that the material included in the *Libellus* dates from the Anglo-Saxon period (although, equally, it does not rule out that possibility). Nevertheless, the detail presented in the *Libellus* is striking where documents describe a complicated cast of characters and their various interactions, sometimes over a series of different meetings. This perhaps suggests that there is at least some tenth-century basis to these accounts.

Moreover, these records may actually have been composed or influenced by the monks at Ely; therefore, these documents’ references to saints might reflect the monks’ attitudes and strategies. As noted above, there is a debate about who wrote charters and other documents in the tenth century.<sup>67</sup> The documents in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* are slightly different from the documents at the centre of the debate, because the records from Ely do not seem to have been royal diplomas. (On the contrary, they included records of Ely’s monks trying to secure the royal diplomas for certain estates.)<sup>68</sup> However, some of the arguments from the charter debate are relevant here: for even Keynes, the chief proponent of the ‘chancery’ view, suggests that in the case of charters which listed extensive estate histories, the charter scribes must have been influenced by the beneficiaries, who would have been in a position to know those details.<sup>69</sup> The level of detail used in the *Libellus*’s records would therefore seem to suggest that Ely’s monks

---

<sup>65</sup> Keynes, and Kennedy, *LibÆ*, p. 1; see below, p. 187.

<sup>66</sup> Keynes and Kennedy, *LibÆ*, p. 1.

<sup>67</sup> See above, p. 64.

<sup>68</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 38; *LE* ii.27 (p. 101); Fairweather, p. 124.

<sup>69</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 82, 98.

influenced their composition, if they did not actually compose it themselves.<sup>70</sup>

Additionally, in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, Byrhtnoth is described ‘arranging’ for a benefactor’s will to be drawn up.<sup>71</sup> Exactly what this ‘arranging’ entailed is not specified, and the focus on Byrhtnoth’s initiative may merely have been in keeping with the *Libellus*’s overall focus on Ely and its agents. Nevertheless, it was apparently at least plausible to suggest Byrhtnoth could either provide a will-making service (from amongst his monks) or had some sort of special or habitual access to document writing services. It is conceivable that Æthelwold’s monks would have composed English documents: at the Old Minster, Winchester, there is an Old English document which Rumble has argued is authentic and was written by Æthelwold himself (or a close associate writing in Æthelwold’s style).<sup>72</sup> While it cannot be conclusively proven who wrote the documents in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, if they were genuinely tenth-century there is some reason to think that the monks of Ely at least influenced the creation of the documents, and possibly even wrote them themselves.

Some of these possibly genuine records mention Æthelthryth and God as the official recipients of some of the lands in Ely’s possession.<sup>73</sup> Admittedly, there is a danger that the lines suggesting a donation was made to Æthelthryth were added by a later translator/compiler. For instance, in chapter 19, the dealings of several previous chapters are neatly summed up with the phrase, ‘St Æthelthryth has three whole hides in Witchford, Wold, and Witcham’.<sup>74</sup> However, there was no mention of Æthelthryth’s involvement in the earlier discussion of Witchford. A twelfth-century ‘translator’ could have inserted such a phrase to appeal to contemporary tastes and trends: in the late

---

<sup>70</sup> For examples of details, see *LibÆ*, ch. 38; *LE* ii.27 (p. 100-1); Fairweather, pp. 123-4.

<sup>71</sup> ‘Brihtnotus abbas testamentum... fecit scribi’; *LibÆ*, ch. 12; *LE* ii.11 (p. 87), Fairweather, p. 110.

<sup>72</sup> S817 (A.D. 963 x 975); Rumble, *Property*, p. 102.

<sup>73</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 5, 12, 18, 19, 27, 34, etc; *LE* ii.7, 11, 13, 14, 18, 24 (pp. 79, 86, 91, 92, 94, 97); Fairweather, pp. 103, 110, 115, 117, 120.

<sup>74</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 29. ‘His acris simul collectis, sancta Ædledride habet iiii hydas.’ *LE* ii.14 (p. 92); Fairweather, p. 115.

eleventh and early twelfth centuries, abbots (and then bishops) of Ely invoked Æthelthryth's protection to strengthen their claims and status (particularly following Ely's ignominious role in rebellions against William the Conqueror), culminating in the 1102 translation of Æthelthryth's remains with great fanfare.<sup>75</sup> Moreover, although giving land to saints was a tactic embraced by Æthelwold,<sup>76</sup> it was extremely rare for Anglo-Saxon charters to give land to a saint who was not a major universal saint like the Virgin Mary or an apostle. Nevertheless, there are examples of this practice in apparently tenth-century documents, for example in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, produced by the community of St Cuthbert,<sup>77</sup> in charters benefitting St Augustine's, Canterbury,<sup>78</sup> and in documents pertaining to churches in the extreme south-west of present-day England.<sup>79</sup> There is even one other case that is connected to Æthelwold's circle: as will be discussed below, an apparently authentic diploma from about 1015 benefitting Thorney mentioned the non-universal Botulf.<sup>80</sup>

It is thus not implausible that Ely's monks really did mention Æthelthryth in documents about land disputes. If so, such a practice *might* provide an interesting contrast with the charters produced for (and possibly by) monks at Abingdon, the Old Minster, Winchester, and the New Minster, Winchester, which emphasized that land was

---

<sup>75</sup> Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 52-4.

<sup>76</sup> See above, pp. 76-7.

<sup>77</sup> The *Historia* purports to be based on tenth-century charters, but its dating is controversial. Edmund Craster argued that sections 1-28 (except for 13 and 19b) were written in the tenth century, and the rest of the *Historia* was written in the eleventh century. (E. Craster, 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *EHR*, 69 (1954), pp. 177-99 at 178). However, Ted Johnson South has argued that the whole text was written in the eleventh century, judging from the thematic unity of the text, and the fact that one of Alfred's battles was called 'Assandun'. (T. Johnson South (ed), *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 35.) Most recently, Sally Crumplin has noted that while the text has thematic unity, it does not have stylistic unity: rather, accounts of early property acquisitions are long and narrative, while eleventh-century acquisitions are recorded in a brief, cartulary-like form. Meanwhile, Edward the Elder receives far more elaborate treatment than does Æthelstan, even though Æthelstan, and not Edward, was commemorated in the *Durham Liber Vitae* (in a tenth-century hand). Therefore, she suggests that the *Historia* was written by several authors over the course of the tenth century, and that some eleventh-century property deals were tacked at on the end: S. Crumplin, *Rewriting the History of the Cult of St Cuthbert from the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries* (St Andrews University Ph.D. thesis, 2005), pp. 31-67.

<sup>78</sup> S809 (St Augustine's, AD 961 x 971),

<sup>79</sup> See S810 (St Daw and Kew, A.D. 961 x 963), S880 (St Petroc, AD 994).

<sup>80</sup> S948 (A.D. 1015 x 1016). See below, p. 197.

given to Mary or Peter and Paul for the use of the monks, especially at times of stress or transition for the monasteries. The monks' unusual references to Æthelthryth at Ely might suggest they viewed Æthelthryth differently or expected her to be viewed differently by others, which meant that Æthelwold's circle felt that invoking her in that context would be as effective as invoking Mary or Peter. The monks at Ely were probably not ideologically motivated to emphasize Æthelthryth over Mary: as Clayton has noted, the Virgin Mary's qualities can be seen to conform to the monks' interest in uniformity, whereas, as discussed above, aspects of Æthelthryth's career may have been suppressed by Æthelwold's circle.

Rather, Æthelwold's circle may have copied (and possibly created) documents that gave land to Æthelthryth because they believed invoking Æthelthryth could sway third parties beyond the monastery. These sorts of documents may have been recorded at least in part with an external audience in mind. The benefits of concrete, documentary proof of ownership had been noted since the inception of charter-writing in Anglo-Saxon England.<sup>81</sup> Indeed, the records in *Libellus Æthelwoldi* explicitly mentioned human witnesses who had failed them in the past and noted the monks' desire to obtain written proof of their possessions.<sup>82</sup> This internal context might suggest that the composers of the *Libellus* may have been motivated by potential external challenges, and may thus, in part, have been writing for an external audience. Indeed, if these records were originally written in Old English, as the twelfth-century compilers claimed, then perhaps these

---

<sup>81</sup> For example, see S88 (A.D. 733). Of course, the wording was not always eternally applicable: charters simply needed to be possessed to claim land. Thus, Abingdon's archive (and other archives) included grants given to secular figures who then may have given the land and unaltered charter to the monastery; Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, pp. cxxxvi, cliii. However, as discussed in the chapter on Abingdon, during the reigns of Edgar and Æthelred, variations in the dispositive clauses of charters seem to coincide with the nature of particular grants (such as reconfirmations). This might suggest that a charter's wording can still give insight into the original, political context of the grant, even if it does not necessarily reflect all the subsequent politics and land deals surrounding a particular territory.

<sup>82</sup> *LibÆ*, ch 12, 15, etc; *LE* ii.11, 12, etc (pp. 84-88, 91); Fairweather, pp. 114, 115.

documents were designed to be understood by a particularly wide, non-Latinate audience.<sup>83</sup>

The narrative sections of the *Liber Eliensis* might also suggest that Æthelwold's circle emphasized their relationship to Æthelthryth to legitimize themselves to groups outside the monastery. The first book of the *Liber Eliensis* contains a text entitled 'A Priest's Exhortation to His Archpriest', another allegedly tenth-century piece.<sup>84</sup>

According to the narrative, during King Eadred's reign, an archpriest who was new to the area doubted Æthelthryth's incorruptibility. A priest who had been at Ely longer warned him not to question Æthelthryth's power, listing miracles which she had recently performed (especially for people who came to the church). Nevertheless, the archpriest poked around Æthelthryth's coffin to see if her body remained intact, and he, his family, and three of his accomplices were killed. His fourth associate, Ælfhelm (whom the compiler claimed was the author of the text) was cured when his parents took him to Æthelthryth's shrine.<sup>85</sup>

As the copy in the *Liber Eliensis* is the sole recension of the text, a tenth-century date cannot be confirmed. However, Ridyard has noted that the focus on the evils of non-reformed clerics suggests that Ælfhelm was writing at the behest of reformed monks in the late tenth century (and may even have been a monk himself by that stage).<sup>86</sup> Possibly apart from the old priest who warned about Æthelthryth's power, unreformed clerics are portrayed as the main villains throughout the piece. The archpriest (who doubted

---

<sup>83</sup> This is not to say that Latin was the sole preserve of monasteries in this period: on the contrary, Ealdorman Æthelweard may have written a Latin chronicle in this period. Equally, Æthelwold's monks wrote in English regularly, including in an apparently authentic charter for the Old Minster, Winchester: S817. However, it is also worth noting that Æthelwold's translation of the *Rule of St Benedict* into English was explicitly intended to assist those who could not read Latin (both inside and outside of monasteries). *EEM*, pp. 151-2. Nor is this to say that other charters which mentioned more universal saints in Latin were not intended for a wider audience. However, the monks at Ely seem to have felt that Æthelthryth would be a more effective guardian of their property in the eyes of their audience.

<sup>84</sup> Keynes, 'Ely', p. 8; *LE* i.43 (p. 57); Fairweather, p. 77.

<sup>85</sup> *LE* i.42, 49 (pp. 57, 61).

<sup>86</sup> Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 196.

Æthelthryth) was married with children.<sup>87</sup> One miracle story features a servant girl who was injured when her clerical master ordered her to garden on a Sunday.<sup>88</sup> Indeed, the whole piece appears to be a persuasive polemic against clerics: it culminates with the doubting clerics' downfall, while Ælfhelm, who changed his wicked ways, was spared.<sup>89</sup> Thus, Æthelthryth's miracles are not the main thrust of Ælfhelm's narrative: rather, Ælfhelm apparently attempts to persuade his audience of the evils of unreformed clerics in part by portraying these clerics doubting Æthelthryth's sanctity. Therefore, this text possibly reflects how some of Æthelwold's circle thought Æthelthryth's memory could be used: perhaps members of the reformed monastery expected that whoever might be tempted to sympathize with the previous, clerical occupants of Ely would be moved by devotion to Æthelthryth or shamed by the invocation of her memory. (This perhaps ties into the possible use of Æthelthryth in records of land deals: again, monks may have expected Æthelthryth's memory to shield them against their opponents). As at the Wintonian monasteries, the monks at Ely seem to have established their association with a saint who they seem to have believed could have appealed to the world outside the monastery. They also seem to have controlled physical access to the saint and her miracles: 'The Priest's Exhortation' emphasizes the need to come into the monastery to receive miracles. (Interestingly, this also parallels Æthelwold's tactic in court cases where he offered to reimburse opponents—if they came to Ely to pick up the money.)<sup>90</sup>

Admittedly, the monks do not seem to have associated Æthelthryth's miracles exclusively with their arrival (in contrast to Lantfred's and Wulfstan's claims about Swithun). Just as Wulfstan claimed in the *Vita Æthelwoldi* that Ely had been abandoned and its relics neglected before the refoundation, so too could Ælfhelm have claimed that

---

<sup>87</sup> *LE* i.49 (pp. 60-1); Fairweather, p. 82.

<sup>88</sup> *LE* i.48 (pp. 59-60); Fairweather, p. 79.

<sup>89</sup> *LE* i.49 (pp. 60-1); Fairweather, p. 82.

<sup>90</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 11; *LE* ii.11 (p. 86); Fairweather, p. 109.

Æthelthryth was ignored and forgotten after the time of Bede, and only began producing miracles again as a compliment to Æthelwold.<sup>91</sup> However, Ælfhelm chose to emphasize continuity. Perhaps Ælfhelm's story about outsiders misunderstanding local custom had more traction in a society like that of the East Midlands, given its recent turbulent history. Alternatively, this lack of elite continuity might have meant that Æthelwold's monks could not appeal to local elites by making their ancestors or relatives saints, as at Winchester. Few if any of the East Midlands' late tenth-century elites would have had a family history that stretched back that far. However, if the *Libellus*'s story about Wulfstan of Dalham giving land to Æthelthryth reflected the situation at Ely before Æthelwold, those new elites might have tried to connect themselves to an even older saint, Æthelthryth.<sup>92</sup> It is tempting to speculate that it might have behoved monastic writers to emphasize continuity, rather than portraying themselves as yet another disruptive force. At any rate, Ælfhelm's story seems to corroborate the sense that Æthelthryth's and her relatives' cults were not promoted because the monks were intrinsically interested in them; rather, as Ridyard has suggested, these saints might have related to monks' perceptions of their opponents' interests or vulnerabilities.

It is unclear precisely which of their opponents the monks of Ely might have believed to be interested in Æthelthryth. It could have been unreformed clerics who may still have been present in the region. Alternatively, it could have been lay people who opposed the arrival of monks. Such opposition might have emerged from the monks' economically and agriculturally exploitative practices. Excavations at the West Fen Road site on the former Isle of Ely seem to show a dramatic rise in agricultural activity and productivity in the late tenth century, the highest at any point in the site's history.<sup>93</sup> It is unclear exactly when this intensification occurred, or whether it was provoked by wider

---

<sup>91</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 23 (pp. 38-9).

<sup>92</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 27; *LE* ii.18 (p. 94); Fairweather, pp. 117-18.

<sup>93</sup> Mortimer *et al.*, *West Fen*, p. 148.

changes in production and markets or specifically by the monks at Ely. However, the monks of Ely make sense as the catalyst for this change. West Fen Road may have existed as a service site for the monastery, and its inhabitants' services may have been more extensively required by reformed monks who focused on prayer, writing, and reading, as opposed to clerics with servant girls and their own vegetable patches.<sup>94</sup>

Another potential group of opponents were the elites of the region. Even if the more prominent inhabitants of the region were not necessarily ill-disposed towards monks from the start (Wulfstan of Dalham was, after all, remembered as helping the monks clear the clerics out of the Old Minster), they may still have been alarmed by the monks' efforts in amassing land in a region where they had particular interests.<sup>95</sup> The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* suggests the monks of Ely experienced some local opposition to their acquisition of property. If that was the case, Æthelthryth, who may already have been venerated in the area, may indeed have offered a point of continuity. (This prior veneration could well have been the case if the miracles collected really do reflect the continued use of Æthelthryth's tomb as a healing site.)

The final form of veneration allegedly used by the monks at Ely was the use of long-distance translation of complete sets of corporal relics. Again, this seems to contrast with practices elsewhere in the circle. The only such translation conducted by Æthelwold's circle before the refoundation of Ely was the translation of Swithun from a tomb just outside the Old Minster into a shrine within the Old Minster. By contrast, Book II of the *Liber Eliensis* contains an account of how Abbot Byrhtnoth translated the relics of Æthelthryth's sister Wihtburh from Dereham, an estate miles away from Ely, to his monastery.<sup>96</sup> The story involves Byrhtnoth going to a feast, stealing the relics, and being pursued by enraged Dereham men. However, Byrhtnoth managed to escape, while his

---

<sup>94</sup> *LE* i.48 (pp. 59-60); Fairweather, p. 79.

<sup>95</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 18 (pp. 32-3).

<sup>96</sup> *LE* ii.53 (p. 120); Fairweather, pp. 145-8

pursuers got lost around Ely. There is absolutely no way of establishing if Wihtburh's relics were moved to Ely in this period. It could be counter-argued that stories about *furta sacra* were common in later chronicles from this region. For example, the post-Conquest chronicle from Ramsey also attributed a *furta sacra* to Ramsey in the late tenth century, and the *Liber Eliensis*'s story may therefore simply reflect a regional, post-Conquest literary trend.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, Wihtburh's relics were claimed to be at Ely in the 'Kentish Royal Legend' (copied by 1031); however, this list has no clear *terminus post quem*, and it could date much earlier than Æthelwold's episcopacy. Alternatively, it could have been altered later as it was added to the *Liber Vitae* in 1031. It is worth noting that Wihtburh's name is sometimes spelled differently than the names of Ely's other saints: her name ends in *-burh*, while the other names, like Seaxburge, end in *-burge* in some parts of the text. Perhaps this suggests that the section which mentions Wihtburh was added at a different time, by a different person, or from a different source.<sup>98</sup>

If the account dates from the late tenth century, it would suggest that the monks of Ely adopted a remarkably different tactic from those used at Winchester and Abingdon. At Abingdon, while saints from other monasteries were commemorated, their relics were not claimed or stolen, as far as we know. The (admittedly possibly incomplete) *Secgan* only lists Vincent at Abingdon, and Ælfric's *Life of Vincent*—which may have been written for the community at Abingdon—does not mention anyone stealing his relics.<sup>99</sup> Meanwhile, the main corporal relics of many of the saints mentioned in the Abingdon poems and altars—Æthelthryth, Kenelm, and Edward the Martyr—were definitely

---

<sup>97</sup> *Chronicon Abbatiae Ramesiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Rolls Series, 83, 1886), ch. 35, 45 (pp. 63, 114); see P. Hayward, 'Translation Narratives and Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 21 (1999), p. 84. On the other hand, at least one translation narrative from Ramsey seems to have been written by Byrhtferth in the late tenth or early eleventh century; see Lapidge, *Byrhtferth*, pp. xxxix-xli.

<sup>98</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 85-6.

<sup>99</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 91-2; *LS*, 94/114, pp. 442-3; see below, p. 262.

claimed elsewhere and do not seem to have been taken to Abingdon at any point.<sup>100</sup> Similarly, there are no records of the monks at Winchester engaging in *furta sacra*, although several narrative sources which might have mentioned such events survive from Winchester. The monks did translate Swithun into the main body of the Old Minster; however, this was a comparatively short- distance translation. One possible explanation for Ely's monks' theft of relics from outlying areas may be topography and accessibility: apart from occasional meetings, the island of Ely may not have regularly drawn a diverse or distant population in the same way the economic forces at Winchester could. Unlike Winchester and Abingdon, Ely was an island in a relatively sparsely populated area of the peat Fens.<sup>101</sup> Ely was by no means totally isolated: *hythes* or landing stations connected Ely to the heart of the Fens (and by 1066, William the Conqueror was able to attack Ely by boat); however, no direct waterways and causeways between Ely and major economic centres or the Great Ouse had been cut in the late tenth century.<sup>102</sup> (It was not until c.1180 that Littleport was created, linking Ely to Lynn).<sup>103</sup> This features in the account of the theft of Wihtburh's relics, when the men of Dereham cannot reach Ely because they are unfamiliar with the waterways.<sup>104</sup> This accessibility might explain why the monks of Ely emphasized that their rivals and subjects should come to Ely itself in the Dereham story, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, and Ælfhelm's account of Æthelthryth's miracles. The monks at Ely may have needed to provide extra incentives (in the form of locally recognized relics) to persuade some of their tenants to come near Ely at all.

---

<sup>100</sup> Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, fo. 1.

<sup>101</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 16.

<sup>102</sup> On *hythes*, see A. Cole, 'The Place Name Evidence for Water Transport in Early Medieval England', in J. Blair (ed.), *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 55-84 at 69. See also J. Bond, 'Canal Construction in the Early Middle Ages: an Introductory Review', in Blair (ed.), *Waterways*, pp. 153-206 at 182, 185; A. Thomas, 'Rivers of Gold? The Coastal Zone Between the Humber and the Wash in the Mid-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 18 (2013), pp. 97-118 at 112.

<sup>103</sup> Owen, 'Ely', p. 59.

<sup>104</sup> All the *hythes* noted by Cole on the Isle of Ely were on the west side, while Dereham lay to the north east. Cole, 'Place Name Evidence', p. 67.

## **Ely, Saints, and Groups Outside the Monastery**

Thus, Æthelwold's circle's approach to saints at Ely seems surprising for two main reasons. Firstly, they prioritized a saint who seemed to have contradicted their programme. Secondly, their venerating practices at Ely were sometimes different from those favoured at other monasteries in the circle, despite the apparent similarities between these houses. In particular, the same lay people influenced the development of all these monasteries. As discussed in the introduction of this thesis, monks aspired to interact with others, including lay people outside the monastery, through their veneration of saints; however, if they were interacting with some of the same laity, why were they using different cults to appeal to those laity in different places?

One possible explanation is that the monks at Ely were not necessarily appealing to the same members of the laity with their cults as the Wintonian monks were (even if particular members of the laity appeared in both places). In Winchester, the monks may have used Swithun's cult, in particular, to appeal to some of their clerical rivals: they portrayed Swithun's cult being particularly pertinent to Eadsige, a wealthy cleric whom they had expelled from the Old Minster. However, the monks at Winchester probably did not need to persuade Wulfstan of Dalham to help them, because he seems to have been willing to help them from the beginning of their time in Winchester. By contrast, if a religious establishment had existed at Ely before Æthelwold's refoundation, it may not have been staffed by figures as wealthy and influential as Eadsige, leaving the monks free to appeal to a different (and more influential) part of the laity with their actions. As noted above, a charter and Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* suggest that land at Ely pertained to the royal fisc in the decades before Æthelwold's arrival.<sup>105</sup> Royal estates could house clerics in this period, but houses under the control of a powerful landlord may have had

---

<sup>105</sup> S646 (A.D. 957); *VÆ*, ch. 23 (pp. 38-9).

less autonomy and fewer chances to amass a substantial economic base.<sup>106</sup> Rather, at Ely the main opposition to the monks seems to have come not from clerics but from disgruntled local landowners. Perhaps these were the individuals to whom the monks at Ely were aiming to appeal with their veneration of Æthelthryth. Æthelthryth was cited in documents with which these local landowners might have come into contact, like the documents in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, which could be used as proof at meetings of local elites if anyone challenged the monks' claims to particular properties.

Moreover, lay people themselves may have had different relationships with the monks in different regions. It might have been one thing for Wulfstan of Dalham or Ealdorman Æthelwine to tolerate or even help Æthelwold establish himself next door to the royal palace in Winchester. It might have been another matter altogether when Æthelwold and Byrhtnoth appeared close to Wulfstan's own lands, altering local economy and society by buying substantial tracts of land and possibly by instituting a new means of exploiting that land. Moreover, Ely was farther from the centre of power of Æthelwold's most powerful patron, Edgar, than Winchester and Abingdon were. It is perhaps notable that while Edgar did set some laws over eastern England, he also accepted (at least in rhetoric) that in some respects those regions would follow their own traditions.<sup>107</sup> Thus, Wulfstan's allegedly pre-existing devotion to Æthelthryth may have become relevant, since he was under different constraints at Ely.<sup>108</sup> Meanwhile, although Ealdorman Æthelwine seems to have been neutral to Æthelwold's Wintonian monasteries, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* accused him of stealing some of the monks' land, failing to help them regain property, and rigging local assemblies against the monks.<sup>109</sup> Ælfthryth also seems to have had different interests and statuses in different regions. She

---

<sup>106</sup> *Translatio*, p. 267.

<sup>107</sup> For discussion of the Danelaw, see above, pp. 30-1.

<sup>108</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 27; *LE* ii.18 (p. 94); Fairweather, p. 117.

<sup>109</sup> See, for example, *LibÆ*, ch. 5, 46, 60; *LE* ii.7, 35, 49 (pp. 79-80, 110, 116); Fairweather, pp. 103, 134, 139.

seems to have been a divisive figure in the south and west of England, at least during the succession struggle after Edgar's death and perhaps even earlier. At Winchester she may have needed Æthelwold's support in documents like the New Minster Foundation Charter, which pointedly lists her and her children as the 'legitimate' members of the royal family. By contrast, the balance of power in the monks' relationship with her was reversed in the east, where she had her own lands and connections.<sup>110</sup> Ælfthryth may also have had a more personal interest in the promotion of Æthelthryth: like Æthelthryth, Ælfthryth was a queen who had been married twice.

These elites' relatively recent arrival in the East Midlands may also have encouraged them (and, subsequently, the monks at Ely) to venerate Æthelthryth in particular. As noted above, the East Midlands had experienced a succession of different leaders, all of whose descendants were still in evidence: while West Saxon families might have held the highest offices, the prominence of Oswald and Oda—allegedly related to members of the Great Army that had martyred Edmund—and the presence of Scandinavian names amongst local landowners suggests that Scandinavian descendants were still prominent in the region.<sup>111</sup> The rise of new elites could have impacted particular churches and saints' cults as places where elite status could be signified and negotiated. Dawn Hadley, in particular, has discussed the surprising scarcity of pagan furnished burials, among other things, as evidence that elites were adopting Christian media and locations to enhance their power.<sup>112</sup> The West Saxon conquerors could equally have used churches and saints to bolster their own power. For example, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* claimed Wulfstan of Dalham had called a meeting at Ely, just outside the church, long

---

<sup>110</sup> Wareham, *Lords*, p. 19.

<sup>111</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 24.

<sup>112</sup> D.M. Hadley, *The Vikings in England* (Manchester, 2006), p. 227; D.M. Hadley, 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark: Lordship in the Danelaw', in D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 107-127 at 116-17.

before the monks took over Ely. At this meeting, he allegedly gave land to the saint and persuaded others to do the same.<sup>113</sup> Wareham argues these sorts of interactions were primarily intended to establish one party's power to 'persuade' others to give up land.<sup>114</sup> Nevertheless, if this was what was going on at Wulfstan's meeting, his choices of saints and churches as the locations for these power plays is significant. At the very least, the creators of the *Libellus* could imagine or expect that West Saxon leaders might need Æthelthryth to help secure their power. If most of the previous Scandinavian and West Saxon leaders had attempted to associate themselves with pre-existing churches and/or cults to shore up their own power, Ely's monks might well have expected that a pre-viking age cult could give them links to all parties, especially if Æthelthryth had been promoted by the first generation of West Saxon conquerors, too. Perhaps for this reason, Æthelthryth was promoted by the reformers, since existing power relations (between each new generation of conquerors) in the region were already embedded in her cult.

Additionally, seventh-century saints may have been significant if the seventh century was remembered as a formative time for the region of the East Midlands. John Blair has recently argued that the density of *sceatta* finds and the quasi-urban settlements in the Wash catchment area (including Ely) from the seventh century onwards were based on increasing prosperity.<sup>115</sup> Therefore, it is possible that among certain groups in the East Midlands, the seventh century seemed like a significant starting point and was a focus of memory (despite other major events like Scandinavian settlement). By contrast, the emergence of Winchester as a whole as an economic centre seems to date from the ninth century, as the Biddles have argued. Moreover, monasteries might have avoided venerating ninth- or tenth-century saints, even if the events of those centuries had

---

<sup>113</sup> *Libellus*, ch. 27; *LE* ii.18 (p. 94); Fairweather, p. 117.

<sup>114</sup> Wareham, *Lords*, p. 40.

<sup>115</sup> J. Blair, *Ford Lectures* (forthcoming). On this region's wealth and international trade, see Thomas, 'Rivers of Gold?', p. 114.

provided a plentiful flow of martyrs, perhaps to avoid offending the descendants of the people who had killed the martyrs. Notably, according to the *Secgan*, Edmund was the only East Anglian saint who had been ‘martyred’ by the vikings who was still commemorated in East Anglia in this period.<sup>116</sup> Moreover, his cult had initially been co-opted by Scandinavian leaders with the Edmund coinage, so perhaps it resonated particularly well with various groups. By contrast, one of the few other Anglo-Saxon ‘martyrs’ from the viking age—Beocca—was commemorated at Chertsey, many miles away from the main centres of Scandinavian settlement and influence.<sup>117</sup>

## Conclusions

Thus, at Ely, Æthelwold’s monks again venerated saints whose *modus operandi* contradicted the reformers’ lifestyle. Again, the monks seem to have been motivated by the belief that these saints appealed to significant figures outside the monastery. However, a combination of topographical features, elite displacements, power structures, and history seem to have encouraged Ely’s monks to promote different kinds of saints from those they had venerated at Abingdon and Winchester. The veneration of Æthelthryth at Ely again shows how flexible Æthelwold’s circle could be in their attempts to establish and dominate in their relationships with groups outside the monastery. Moreover, the case of Ely shows why Æthelwold’s circle had to be flexible by showing how the monks’ relationships to the same groups of laymen could be altered by different political, social, and economic contexts.

This interpretation corroborates the analysis put forward by various scholars of the so-called ‘Anti-Monastic Reaction’ after Edgar’s death.<sup>118</sup> These scholars have long noted

---

<sup>116</sup> *NMLV*, p. 90.

<sup>117</sup> *NMLV*, p. 94.

<sup>118</sup> See, for example, Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, pp. 372-3; Fisher, ‘Anti-Monastic’, pp. 255, 269; Williams, *Princes*, p. 160.

that ealdormen and lesser nobility did not divide neatly into ‘pro-monastic’ and ‘anti-monastic’ parties; rather, figures like Æthelwine and Ælfhere seem to have supported monasteries in some regions but not in others, perhaps based on longstanding political rivalries or concerns over monastic landowners. My interpretation of the evidence from Ely would take these conclusions further, by suggesting that on occasion, noblemen’s reaction to the same reformer’s houses varied with region. In this respect, the case of Ely underlines the arguments made by Vanderputten that reform was an ongoing, adaptive, and local process, contrary to the narratives about uncompromising tactics and the implementation of unified, timeless principles, which were written by the reformers’ successors.<sup>119</sup>

The case of Ely also points to several wider conclusions. If the monks had different relationships with the same nobles in different places, this could nuance both the historians’ notion of a network of West Saxon nobles defined by *Königsnähe* and sociologists’ theories about the stability of face to face societies. On one hand, historians have suggested that West Saxon nobles, with land across the king’s realm, contributed to the coherence of late Anglo-Saxon government.<sup>120</sup> Sociologists have also presented ‘communities’ of acquaintances as more stable and coherent than more atomized, modern societies.<sup>121</sup> By contrast, however, even though the monks of Æthelwold’s circle had a face-to-face relationship with Æthelwine (literally, at royal and local meetings), they did not have a stable relationship with him across different contexts. Thus, even though there was a transregional elite in late Anglo-Saxon England in that the same people held

---

<sup>119</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 187.

<sup>120</sup> S. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 123-4.

<sup>121</sup> Such theories, rooted in anxieties about modernization, urbanization, and globalization in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, were first presented by Emile Durkheim and Ferdinand Tönnies and continue to be voiced in various guises in the twenty-first century. F. Tönnies, *Community and Society*, trans. and ed. C.P. Loomis (East Lansing, 1957); R.D. Putnam, ‘*E Pluribus Unum*’, *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30 (2007), pp. 137-74; R.D. Putnam, ‘Bowling Alone’, *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1995), pp. 65-78. Equally, Putnam’s critics have also relied explicitly on Tönnies and Durkheim; A. Portes and E. Vickstrom, ‘Diversity, Social Capital, and Cohesion’, *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37 (2011), pp. 461-79.

prominent positions in several different regions, their relationships could still vary and be unstable depending on context. This could have implications for scholarship on late Anglo-Saxon government, which has emphasized the elite's spread of interest across different regions without necessarily engaging with the different relationships the elite had to those different regions. This is not to say that these contexts existed entirely separately from each other: Æthelwold's Benedictional was apparently made for a Wintonian context, yet it included lavish illustrations of Æthelthryth, perhaps to influence East Anglian elites when they came to Winchester. If the Benedictional was indeed created for the rededication of the Old Minster, then it is possible that its creators might have anticipated that it would be used at an event attended by Æthelwine and other noblemen who antagonized Ely (according to the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*). D.J. Sheerin and others have noted that the rededication of the Old Minster provided an occasion for Æthelwold's circle to reassert their dominance after suffering substantial losses after Edgar's death.<sup>122</sup> (The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* claims Edgar's death was a major turning-point after which much of Ely's property was challenged.)<sup>123</sup> It is possible that Æthelwold used the rededication of the Old Minster to meet with some people, like Æthelwine, who were antagonizing Ely, while Æthelwold's Benedictional reminded the assembled company of Æthelwold's connection to Æthelthryth.<sup>124</sup> Thus, relationships forged in one region could in some circumstances affect how parties interacted when they met in another region. Nevertheless, those relationships seem to have been more flexible and dynamic than previous models might suggest.

---

<sup>122</sup> Sheerin, 'Dedication', pp. 261-73.

<sup>123</sup> See, for example, *LibÆ*, ch. 5, 6, 8, etc; *LE* ii.7, 8, 10 (pp. 79, 81, 83); Fairweather, pp. 103-5, 106-7.

<sup>124</sup> Admittedly, it is unclear who would have had access to the Benedictional to see the illuminations of Æthelthryth. However, it is at least possible that certain elite figures could have seen or been shown illustrations from the Benedictional.

## Chapter 4: *Burh* and Thorney

The previous chapters have tried to demonstrate that Æthelwold's circle venerated saints in part to interact with groups outside their monasteries. The first two chapters argued that the evidence from Abingdon and Winchester showed monks altering their approach to saints as their relationships with groups outside the monastery changed. The third chapter emphasized how complicated and contingent these relationships with outside groups could be: evidence from Ely suggests that monks interacted with some of the same people at Winchester and Ely but used different sorts of saints to interact with them at Ely. The different use of saints at Winchester and Ely suggests that the monks' relationships to leading West Saxon nobles were different in different social and political contexts. The final set of monasteries which were definitely refounded by Æthelwold—*Burh* (later Peterborough)<sup>1</sup> and Thorney—again show the challenges and complexities the monks faced while interacting with some of the same groups. Even though these two

---

<sup>1</sup> By the time Æthelwold refounded *Medeshamstede*, it was probably already known as *Burh*. Admittedly, the E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle claimed that *Medeshamstede* only became known as '*Burh*' after Abbot Coenwulf (992-1006) built a wall around the monastery. However, Kelly argues for the authenticity of an Old English document (S1377, dating perhaps to 971 x 975) which recorded Æthelwold buying land at Ailsworth for '*Buruh*': Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 36. The name '*Burh*' also appears in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, which possibly reflects some genuine documents from the 970s, 980s, and early 990s. The name *Medeshamstede* may have continued to be used in the late tenth century: it appears in tenth-century memoranda in S1448, as does the name '*Burch*'. It is unclear when and why the site's name was changed and why the first name continued to be used as well. Kelly suggests that the monastery may have been known as *Burh* even before Æthelwold arrived, and that Æthelwold revived the use of '*Medeshamstede*' because the 'historically-minded' Æthelwold would have preferred an older name: Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 37. However, Æthelwold himself is not known to have promoted antiquated terminology at any of his other monasteries. More convincingly, Kelly has also suggested that Æthelwold might have emphasized both names to underline *Medeshamstede/Burh*'s connections to estates with similar names. Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 36-7. (The list of sureties records Ealdorman Æthelwine and Abbot Ealdulf paying the last penny for the 'lande æt Burh'; S1448a.) It seems plausible that both names were being used to refer to the monastery at *Medeshamstede/Burh* when Æthelwold refounded it, and his monks continued to use both names for strategic, economic reasons. On the other end of the spectrum, it is uncertain exactly when *Burh* began to be known as Peterborough. However, by the twelfth century, the monastery had begun to emphasize its links with the Apostle Peter in an attempt to make itself a pilgrimage destination (and a local alternative to Rome as a site where Peter could be venerated); Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 80. The latter name change therefore seems to have occurred sometime after the Conquest.

monasteries were situated six miles apart in what is now northern Cambridgeshire<sup>2</sup> and interacted with many of the same groups and individuals, their monks seem to have had different relationships to them and may as a result have focused on venerating different types of saint, from Botulf to Peter. Thus, the case of *Burh* and Thorney reinforces this thesis' overall argument that interaction with groups outside the monastery was a key goal for Æthelwold's circle and a key goal for their 'public veneration of saints', one that could even trump their interest in uniformity. Nevertheless, the case of *Burh* and Thorney also emphasizes how complicated and contingent those relationships could be.

*Burh* and Thorney are being treated in the same chapter because contemporaries themselves acknowledged the links between them. In Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Æthelwoldi*, Wulfstan puts both monasteries in the same chapter, on the grounds that they were both part of the 'province of the Gyrwe'. Wulfstan claimed:

[Æthelwold] purchased another place too from the king and noblemen of the land. It was in the district of the Gyrwe on the banks of the River Nene, once called in English *Medeshamstede* but now ordinarily known as *Burh*. He extended the church here by constructing appropriate residential buildings, enriched it lavishly with estates nearby, and consecrated it in honour of the blessed Peter, chief of the apostles. Here, as at Ely, he brought together a troop of monks, appointing as their abbot his monk Ealdwulf, who took over the archbishopric of York after the death of the Lord Bishop Oswald. He purchased yet a third place on the banks of the same river, normally called Thorney in English from the thorn-bushes growing freely all round it, and made it entirely suitable for the monks to whom he handed it on the same terms. He placed over it as ruler and abbot Godemann, dedicated the completed monastery to the virgin Mary, mother of God, and was glad to make it rich in all sorts of property.<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 105.

<sup>3</sup> 'Alterum quoque locum in regione Giruorum precio optinuit a rege et nobilibus terrae, positum in ripa fluminis Nen, cui lingua Anglorum quondam Medeshamstede nomen imposuit, nunc autem consuete Burh appellatur. Cuius loci basilicam congruis domorum structuris ornatam et terris adiacentibus copiose ditatam in honore beati Petri principis apostolorum consecrauit, ibique simili modo cateruam monachorum coadunauit, Ealdulfum eis praeficiens abbatem monachum suum, qui post excessum domini Osuualdi pontificis ecclesiae Eboracensis archiepiscopatum suscepit. Tercium nichilominus adquisiuit precio locum iuxta crepidinem praedicti fluminis situm, qui propter spinet circumquaque succrescentia Thornig solito nuncupatur Anglice vocabulo, quem pari conditione monachis aptissimum delegauit, rectorem illis et abbatem Godemannum praeponens, constructumque monasterium in honore Dei genitricis et virginis Mariae dedicauit et bonorum omnium possession gratulanter ditauit'; *VÆ*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-3).

Wulfstan did not group any other monasteries together in a single chapter. This suggests that at least the second generation of Æthelwold's circle in Winchester considered *Burh* and Thorney to be in close proximity, both geographically and in terms of the chronology of their refoundations, and perhaps in other respects as well.

Wulfstan's portrayal of the connection between *Burh* and Thorney is corroborated, to some extent, by the few surviving sources for these monasteries. These sources suggest that *Burh* and Thorney indeed shared economic structures and a common social and economic context, beyond their similarities as part of Æthelwold's circle. *Burh* and Thorney may have been founded together or in very quick succession and endowed together. (As discussed above, the precise dates of these refoundations are unknown in the absence of authentic charters, but they seem to have occurred in the early 970s.)<sup>4</sup> Kelly has noted that *Burh* and Thorney often claimed the same properties in the Anglo-Saxon period or held property from each other: she cites S1377 (A.D. 963 x 975, ?971 x 975), which seems to record Æthelwold buying property for Thorney and *Burh* at the same time.<sup>5</sup> After their foundations, too, *Burh* and Thorney shared somewhat similar contexts, since they both existed in a region which was subject to the same elites and had the same history of elite turnover. (In this respect, they also resembled Ely.) There seems to have been considerable disruption and cultural change in the area around *Medeshamstede/Burh* and Thorney in the ninth and early tenth centuries. Kelly has noted that a list of sureties from *Burh* includes many Danish place-names, Danish personal names (including Sumerlyda, Steigncytel, Ogga, Þurfeorð, and Cnut), and Scandinavian

---

<sup>4</sup> See above, p. 142. Later Peterborough tradition claimed *Burh* was refounded in 972 and Thorney in 973; see S787 (allegedly A.D. 972), which was apparently forged in the twelfth century; Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 45. The first surviving attestation by an abbot Ealdwulf—the first abbot of the refounded *Burh*—occurs in S840 (A.D. 982). Given that it was rare for abbots outside the southeast to attest charters at the end of Edgar's reign, this need not suggest that *Burh* was refounded as late as 982 or that Ealdwulf only became its abbot in 982. Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 42.

<sup>5</sup> See also Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 47.

measurements (such as *wapentake*, *oxgang*, *yre*, *sticca*).<sup>6</sup> This suggests that a significant cultural shift had taken place after the first Viking Age, and the demographics of local landowners had probably changed as well. The area was conquered by West Saxon elites during the early tenth century (as evidenced by the presence of Æthelwine and Leofsig in *Burh*'s records).<sup>7</sup> As such, *Burh* and Thorney were part of a highly interconnected world.

### **Early Histories of Thorney**

However, despite these similarities, *Burh* and Thorney had very different histories, both before and after Æthelwold's refoundation. Whereas *Burh* was founded in the seventh century and seems to have had a long and prominent history, there is some debate about whether Thorney even existed before Æthelwold's arrival. Pestell argues that Æthelwold founded Thorney.<sup>8</sup> Pestell acknowledges that later, twelfth-century narratives from *Burh* claimed that Thorney had originally been called *Ancarig* and had been established by the founder of *Burh* in the seventh century; however, these can be dismissed, as will be discussed below.<sup>9</sup> There are no other authentic references to Thorney being known as *Ancarig*.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, Kelly has suggested that stories about *Burh* founding and controlling *Ancarig*/Thorney, as at many other monasteries, may have resulted from the ambitions and misunderstandings of twelfth-century scholars rather than any longer standing traditions.<sup>11</sup> Pestell therefore argues that no monastery existed at Thorney before Æthelwold's arrival and that the monks invented a history for their new

---

<sup>6</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 24, 27, 331, 336.

<sup>7</sup> Hart, *Danelaw*, pp. 19-20, 93; Abrams, 'King Edgar and the Men', pp. 176-8; Abrams, 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', p. 138.

<sup>8</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, pp. 135-6.

<sup>9</sup> ASC E, 656; HC, p. 15. See below, p. 192.

<sup>10</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 136.

<sup>11</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 68-78. See below, p. 192.

foundation to try to enhance its authority.<sup>12</sup> Pestell's argument is intriguing, and he makes the important point that Thorney seems to have been a relatively isolated and obscure centre. Nevertheless, his argument cannot be proved one way or another. Thorney still might have existed before Æthelwold's arrival: this would have been in keeping with all of Æthelwold's other monastic institutions, which, as far as we know, were refoundations. Other contemporary evidence about Thorney is unclear about its origins, but does not necessarily suggest that Æthelwold built Thorney from scratch. In his *Vita Æthelwoldi*, Wulfstan described Æthelwold dedicating 'the completed monastery' (*constructum monasterium*) at Thorney; however, it is unclear if the term '*constructum*' implies that Æthelwold built the church at Thorney *de novo*, or if he merely expanded an existing church (as at Winchester and, evidently, at *Burh*).<sup>13</sup> Equally, while no evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon church has been found during the few excavations of Thorney,<sup>14</sup> a lack of archaeological finds does not necessarily disprove the existence of an early monastic community, particularly an ascetic one. At Lindisfarne—where scholars agree there was an early monastic community—excavations failed to uncover much. However, the lack of elaborate remains might also be consistent with an ascetic community, as described in Deirdre O'Sullivan's evocatively entitled report, 'Space, Silence, and Shortage'.<sup>15</sup> Nevertheless, even if Thorney did exist, it seems to have been a very small establishment which left few traces in either the documentary record or the archaeological record.

---

<sup>12</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 135.

<sup>13</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 24 (p. 42-3).

<sup>14</sup> A. Howe and R. Mortimer, *Abbey Fields, Thorney, Cambridgeshire: Trench Evaluation and Community Archaeology Project* (Cambridge, 2007), p. 7.

<sup>15</sup> D. O'Sullivan, 'Space, Silence and Shortage on Lindisfarne: The Archaeology of Asceticism', in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds), *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 33-52 at 33.

## Early History of *Burh*

By contrast, *Burh* was definitely both an early and prominent monastic site. It was mentioned in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, which described how the monastery at *Medeshamstede* was founded before or around 674 by Seaxwulf, later a bishop of Mercia.<sup>16</sup> *Medeshamstede* was also a prominent institution during the reign of Offa, when its abbot frequently attested charters.<sup>17</sup> One charter which was confirmed by Offa—S34 (A.D. 765)—even mentions a royal meeting held at *Medeshamstede*. There is also some visual evidence that *Medeshamstede* was connected to Offa's court in this period: the ornate Hedda Stone, which was found at the site of the monastery, was carved in the style favoured by artists in the ambit of Mercian power around this period.<sup>18</sup>

After Offa's reign, the monastery may have lost some of its power and economic standing. The monastery next appears in S1440, a charter dated 852, which mentions a 'lord' (*lafard*) of *Medeshamstede* who received food rents. It is not clear exactly what this relationship entailed. However, Kelly has suggested that *Medeshamstede* might have been under some form of episcopal or secular control.<sup>19</sup> The monastery at *Medeshamstede* may also have been adversely affected by viking raids and conquest in the ninth and early tenth centuries, although scholars still debate the extent to which churches were disrupted in eastern England during the ninth century.<sup>20</sup> Despite changes in local society and in the

---

<sup>16</sup> *HE*, iv.6 (p. 218).

<sup>17</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 17.

<sup>18</sup> R. Cramp, 'Schools of Mercian Sculpture', in A. Dornier (ed.), *Mercian Studies* (Leicester, 1977), pp. 191-223 at 210.

<sup>19</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 21. Kelly also mentions that Colin Peterson claimed—in his 1995 dissertation from the University of Birmingham entitled 'Studies in the Early History of Peterborough Abbey, 650-1066'—that the 'lord' in this instance might refer to Abbot Ceolred of *Medeshamstede*, since a contemporary bishop had the same name. I have not been able to locate Peterson's dissertation myself (it does not appear in the British Library's records of British theses or on WorldCAT), but Kelly has also noted that Bishop Ceolred and Abbot Ceolred attest this charter separately, perhaps suggesting that they were two different people; Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 221-2.

<sup>20</sup> D. Whitelock, 'The pre-Viking age church in East Anglia', *ASE*, 1 (1972), pp. 1-22 at 1, presents a traditional view that the vikings devastated monasteries and the episcopal structure of a once-thriving church. This view was challenged by P. H. Sawyer, 'The Causes of the Viking Age', and by C.P. Wormald, 'Viking Studies: Whence and Whither?', in R. T. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), pp. 1-7, 128-53. Sawyer, in particular, is a noted apologist for the vikings. More recently, Sarah Foot has highlighted an

monastery's status, however, the monastery at *Medeshamstede* itself seems to have recovered and remained important, to some extent, at least compared to neighbouring houses. Kelly has noted that later cartularies from Peterborough include documents from other houses. She has therefore proposed that the monks at *Medeshamstede* sheltered documents and treasures for more disrupted communities.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the *Secgan* suggests that *Medeshamstede* acquired (albeit briefly) relics from another coastal monastery (Botulf of *Icanho*).<sup>22</sup> In turn, this may suggest that despite the local disruptions, *Medeshamstede* might have enjoyed a degree of institutional continuity, or at least a revival in its fortunes. Continuity or quick institutional revival is also perhaps the most plausible explanation for why Peterborough's later archive contained such early (and apparently genuine) charters. Certainly, later accounts that the abbey was deserted or a stable when Æthelwold arrived contrast with Wulfstan's description of Æthelwold extending existing buildings at *Burh*.<sup>23</sup> Wulfstan's description of pre-existing buildings might have been a significant concession given that Wulfstan seems to have been happy to exaggerate the degree of desertion and disrepair that the monks found at Abingdon and Ely.<sup>24</sup> Such institutional survival does not necessarily contradict the larger disruptions in the area evident in other sources. Rather, Dawn Hadley has suggested that newly established elites might have used particular local churches to bolster their status, even if

---

example mentioned in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* of a church in Horningsea which apparently continued to function despite the presence of a 'pagan army'; however, she also notes that the fact that churchmen reacted differently to viking invasions, as opposed to other challenges to their wealth and autonomy, suggests that 'there was a notably religious element to the defence of England against the vikings', on the English side, at least; S. Foot, 'Violence Against Christians? The Vikings and the Church in Ninth-Century England', *Medieval History*, 1 (1991), pp. 3-16 at 15. Meanwhile, Guy Halsall has argued that vikings probably did not intend to wipe out Christianity, but that their *modus operandi* necessarily devastated churches: G. Halsall, 'Playing by Whose Rules?: A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century', *Medieval History*, 2 (1992), pp. 3-12. Meanwhile, Hart has suggested that churches in the Fens might have had a better chance of surviving invasions because they were more remote; see Hart, *Danelaw*, p. 32. For more recent contributions, see Hadley, *Vikings*, pp. 227, 263 and Blair, *Church*, pp. 295-323.

<sup>21</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 27.

<sup>22</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 89, 91. On the possible circumstances of Botulf's transfer to *Burh/Medeshamstede*, see Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 35-6 and below, p. 199.

<sup>23</sup> HC, pp. 27-8.

<sup>24</sup> See above, p. 58.

they did so in different ways.<sup>25</sup> Thus, within a context of immense change and disruption and warfare, certain ecclesiastical elements may have continued to function or been revived— not in spite of the changes, but possibly as a result of the disruption and new elites' need for legitimacy. For example, Hadley notes the relatively quick disappearance of Scandinavian burial practices and the use of churchyards for burial in Danelaw.<sup>26</sup> Thus, local sacred sites were sometimes used under the new regime, even if it was perhaps in slightly new ways. This is not to deny that the overall ecclesiastical structure suffered major disruption: some bishoprics seem to have ceased to function. Nevertheless, a degree of continuity or revival seems to have been possible for some churches. For those institutions, political disruption might have motivated new leaders to adopt and continue these religious sites' symbolic meaning.

Admittedly, while a religious community at *Medeshamstede/Burh* may have continued to operate as a place of worship and as a repository of relics and documents— judging from the preservation of some early charters— *Burh*'s economic and territorial integrity does not seem to have remained intact. Wulfstan of Winchester later claimed Æthelwold had 'purchased [the land for *Burh*] from the king and noblemen of the land'.<sup>27</sup> Equally, Kelly has noted that the list of sureties recorded Ealdwulf, the first abbot of the refounded *Burh*, and Æthelwine buying the core estate at *Burh* from two (presumably lay) people.<sup>28</sup> Quite what this meant for the survival of any religious community on that site is unclear, but it need not have precluded the existence of a community at all.<sup>29</sup> This might reflect a continuation of the pre-viking situation, wherein, it seems, someone acted as a

---

<sup>25</sup> Hadley, *Vikings*, p. 263.

<sup>26</sup> Hadley, *Vikings*, p. 263.

<sup>27</sup> *VE*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-3).

<sup>28</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 32, 332.

<sup>29</sup> See Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 266, n. 71. Lapidge notes that a cleric came from *Apeluuarabyrig* (modern Alderbury), which was granted by Edgar to a certain Wynstan in S789 (A.D. 972). Given that Alderbury was Edgar's to grant, it may have held a similar status to the status *Burh* held when Æthelwold bought it from 'the king and nobles; *VE*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-3).

lord/owner of *Medeshamstede* and received food rents from them. Alternatively, it might suggest that *Medeshamstede*'s estates had been claimed by various conquering elites.<sup>30</sup> Nevertheless, *Burh* seems to have been a relatively prominent and venerable site, at least compared to Thorney.

Even after the refoundation, while the monks of *Burh* shared some aspects of their context with Thorney and even Ely, there were still profound differences between their establishments' relationships to outsiders. *Burh* seems to have continued to attract more powerful supporters. In particular, the monastery at *Burh* seems to have enjoyed the financial and political support of Ealdorman Æthelwine, the sometime nemesis of the community at Ely. While the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* claims that Æthelwine hampered Ely's attempts to regain its property,<sup>31</sup> at *Burh* a surviving list of sureties implies that Æthelwine may even have helped pay for the monastery's core estate. With Abbot Ealdwulf, he is recorded 'paying the last penny for the lands at *Burh*.'<sup>32</sup> The *Liber Eliensis* (which normally portrayed Æthelwine in an unflattering light) corroborates this suggestion: it claims that Æthelwine and his brother Ælfwold helped the monks of *Burh/Medeshamstede* regain estates at *Burh*, Oundle, and Kettering which had been seized by one Leofsige.<sup>33</sup> According to Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi*, Ælfwold actually killed Leofsige as part of the dispute.<sup>34</sup>

It is unclear why Æthelwine and his brother supported *Burh*, but did not always support Ely. Perhaps Æthelwine's support for *Burh* was really a manifestation of his opposition to Leofsige: according to the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, Æthelwine also helped the monks of Ely prove they were not in debt to Leofsige, although elsewhere, the author(s)

---

<sup>30</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 33.

<sup>31</sup> See, for example, *LibÆ*, ch. 5, 38, 39; *LE* ii.7, 27, 30 (pp. 101, 104); Fairweather, pp. 103, 123-4, 127.

<sup>32</sup> S1448a (A.D. 983 x 985).

<sup>33</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 10; *LE* ii.11 (pp. 84-5); Fairweather, pp. 108-9.

<sup>34</sup> *VSO*, iv.14 (pp. 128-31).

of the *Libellus* lambasted Æthelwine for undermining Ely.<sup>35</sup> Thus, Æthelwine may have supported particular monasteries when they helped him target a political rival, even if he were indifferent or hostile to them at other times. There are, of course, other possibilities. Æthelwine may have been trying to control *Burh* to some extent: Kelly has suggested that Æthelwold founded *Burh* and Thorney to block the route between Oswald's monastery at Ramsey (which was sponsored by Æthelwine) and his see at York, and Æthelwine may have sought to regain control of this important route.<sup>36</sup> However, there is not enough evidence to suggest that the monks of *Burh* sought to obstruct Ramsey. There does not appear to have been such open hostility between the reformers. Although Byrhtferth of Ramsey made some snide comments about the fate of a monk from Ely's soul, he also claimed monks from Ramsey and Ely communicated with each other, and prayed for each other after their deaths, suggesting a modicum of cooperation between at least some of Æthelwold's houses and some of Oswald's houses.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* records a property deal between the monks of Ely and the monks of Ramsey.<sup>38</sup> Therefore, there is no reason to think that Æthelwine's interest in *Burh* was motivated by a desire to influence a house that could interfere with Ramsey's links.

Æthelwine's involvement with *Burh* highlights the vagaries of *Burh*'s fortunes within the first decade of its refoundation. However, in the aftermath of the dispute with Leofsig, *Burh* seems to have regained its wealth and status. Ealdwulf appeared in charters from 982, suggesting a degree of national prominence.

---

<sup>35</sup> *Libellus*, ch. 10; *LE* ii.11 (pp. 84-5); Fairweather, pp. 108-9.

<sup>36</sup> *Peterborough*, p. 43.

<sup>37</sup> *VSO*, v.2 (pp. 148-9). Byrhtferth claimed that a monk from Ely died and went to 'his torment' until he was rescued by Oswald's prayers. This might be interpreted as a jibe at the community at Ely; equally, however, Byrhtferth may simply have been trying to extend his comparison of Oswald with St Cuthbert. Byrhtferth compares Oswald to Cuthbert explicitly elsewhere in his *vita*, and there are parallels between his story of Oswald and the monk from Ely and Bede's story about Cuthbert having a mystical vision involving a man from a different monastery who died in a fall; Bede, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed. and trans. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge, 1940), ch. 34 (pp. 260-65); *VSO*, iv.16 (pp. 134-7).

<sup>38</sup> *Libellus*, ch. 33; *LE* ii.22-23 (pp. 96-7).

This chapter will argue that these different histories—and *Burh*'s and Thorney's differing positions in their region— gave these two otherwise similar monasteries different relationships to groups outside their monasteries. They therefore adopted different approaches to the veneration of saints.

### Sources for *Burh* and Thorney

Admittedly, attempts to analyze any of these issues are hindered by the paucity of sources for these two monasteries. Only one surviving tenth-century manuscript—*Æthelwold's Benedictional*—may have been created at either monastery, and even it does not reveal much about practices at the monastery where it may have been made. Most historians usually identify Godeman, the *Benedictional's* creator,<sup>39</sup> as the first abbot of Thorney, following Warner's analysis of individuals named Godeman remembered in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*.<sup>40</sup> The *Benedictional* may therefore provide a unique insight into the work and style of Thorney's abbot. Moreover, the *Benedictional* might have been made *at* Thorney after Godeman moved there in the mid-970s, and might therefore illuminate the kind of scriptorium Thorney could support. As argued above, there are grounds for thinking that Godeman made it for the rededication of the Old Minster, Winchester in 980, after he was made abbot of Thorney.<sup>41</sup> Ironically, however, if the *Benedictional* was created at Thorney shortly before 980, it would have been made for a specific, Wintonian context and occasion. Therefore, we have little contemporary evidence about the veneration of saints at Thorney. The internal evidence of the *Benedictional*, as discussed above, suggests that Godeman made it for *Æthelwold* in his

---

<sup>39</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 4v-5r.

<sup>40</sup> Warner and Wilson, *Benedictional*, p. xiv. As discussed above (p. 149, note 28), it is possible that there was a member of the first generation called Godeman at Ely, depending on how the list of brothers from Ely in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* was constructed. However, the list from Ely seems to be very brief and arranged by rank, not date, so it is not clear if that Godeman was contemporaneous with the first generation of *Æthelwold's* circle; *NMLV*, p. 61.

<sup>41</sup> See above, pp. 92-3.

capacity as bishop of Winchester and specifically for the rededication of the Old Minster, Winchester. The Benedictional therefore cannot be expected to reflect venerating activities at Thorney. Certainly, the Benedictional shows that the abbot of Thorney, at least, was well versed in the styles and priorities of the circle and that Thorney had the resources to facilitate the production of such a manuscript. However, the choice of saints and texts in the Benedictional only reveals Æthelwold's personal associations, or how Godeman wished to portray Æthelwold, perhaps around 980. Indeed, the Benedictional does not mention any saints that were associated with Thorney in the second *Secgan* (although, as will be discussed below, the *Secgan* which mentions Thorney was probably composed after the second generation of the circle).<sup>42</sup>

Texts which pertain more directly to practices and events at the monasteries *in regione Giruorum* all survive in later, post-Conquest copies, and even then, only a fraction of the original documents probably survive. The earliest surviving Thorney cartulary is to be found in a fourteenth-century manuscript known as the 'Red Book of Thorney.'<sup>43</sup> It includes only two charters pertaining to Thorney prior to Cnut's reign, one of which—S792 (dated A.D. 973)—is patently spurious. S792 purports to record the refoundation of Thorney, but Kelly (who edited S792 as an appendix to her edition of the charters of Peterborough) notes that its text is largely copied from the equally dubious S787, the alleged refoundation charter of *Burh*.<sup>44</sup> By contrast, S948 (A.D. 1015 x 1016)—a charter which recorded Edmund Ironside granting 5 hides to Thorney—seems to be authentic, if perhaps slightly abbreviated.<sup>45</sup> Its composition may even have been influenced by the monks of Thorney: S948 uses a slightly eccentric style which even Keynes—the chief proponent of the view that charters were produced centrally in this

---

<sup>42</sup> See below, p. 186.

<sup>43</sup> Cambridge, University Library, MS 3020.

<sup>44</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 375; see also C.R. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), p. 175.

<sup>45</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 285.

period— terms ‘regional.’<sup>46</sup> However, it postdates even the second generation of Æthelwold’s circle.

Likewise, archaeological excavations at Thorney have failed to produce much evidence relevant to the tenth-century foundation there. J. Thomas’s unpublished 2001 excavations at Church Street found boundary ditches and some pottery and lead, which was consistent with the area being used as a religious house and some farmland in the Anglo-Saxon and Norman periods.<sup>47</sup> However, the excavations failed to reveal any further information about the settlement at Thorney.

Therefore, most contemporary or near-contemporary information about Thorney comes from two texts written outside of Thorney: Wulfstan’s *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and the second list of saints’ resting places which was copied into the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, known as part of the *Secgan*. The *Secgan* lists, however, are difficult. It is unclear who originally wrote either list, where they were written, or why they were written.<sup>48</sup> The date of each list is disputed, and in this case their dating is complicated because the entries on *Burh* are usually used to date both lists. Rollason has dated the second list in the *Secgan* to 1013, on the grounds that the *Burh* entry includes a continental martyr called Florentius, and Hugh Candidus and the E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle claimed that Abbot Ælfsige moved the relics of Florentius to *Burh* in 1013.<sup>49</sup> The first list seems to be earlier, in part because Botulf (who was housed at Thorney by the early eleventh century, according to S948, a charter from around 1015) is listed at *Medeshamstede*, and not Thorney; but the first list is impossible to date absolutely. This study will accept these dates, albeit cautiously and tentatively, given the lack of other information.

---

<sup>46</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 126, n. 136

<sup>47</sup> As cited by Alexandra Howe and Richard Mortimer in their later excavation: Howe and Mortimer, *Abbey Fields*, p. 5.

<sup>48</sup> Rollason, ‘Lists’, pp. 62, 83.

<sup>49</sup> ASC E, 1013; HC, pp. 49-51; Rollason, ‘Lists’, p. 66. For a further discussion of these twelfth-century texts as sources for the tenth and early eleventh centuries, see below, p. 190.

Similarly, few pre-Conquest sources survive from *Burh* in later copies, and no known tenth-century manuscripts survive from that house. This is perhaps unsurprising, since the archive from *Burh* was badly damaged within a century and a half after its refoundation. *Burh*'s holdings were probably disrupted during the warfare of the 1010s and again during the rebellion of Hereward the Wake in 1070. Then, a fire in the monastery and town in 1116 decimated the Peterborough archive and may have destroyed most of the remaining Anglo-Saxon materials.<sup>50</sup> Although a few apparently genuine documents survived and were copied in the earliest surviving Peterborough cartulary, the so-called *Liber Niger*, Kelly has argued that these few, eclectic texts probably represent only a fraction of the documents that were produced by or for the monastery.<sup>51</sup>

The *Liber Niger* seems to have been compiled around 1130, perhaps in conjunction with a visit from the king's agents to inspect Peterborough's holdings in 1125.<sup>52</sup> Kelly argues that it contains at least three authentic charters pertaining directly to *Burh/Medeshamstede* (only one of which pertains to Æthelwold's acquisitions): S1412 (A.D. 786 x 796), S1440 (A.D. 852), and S1377 (A.D. 963 x 975). Additionally, Kelly argues that the list of sureties for late tenth-century estates included in the *Liber Niger* is genuine.<sup>53</sup> Admittedly, the list of sureties uses a format which does not appear in other Anglo-Saxon documents (although one could argue that the records in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* effectively served the same purpose). However, Kelly notes that the legal forms used in the list—which refers to *festermen* (witnesses/vouchers), *festarpennigr* (pledge, bail), and *borhhanda* (pledge-holders) seem to fit with contemporary, regional practices in the Fens in the tenth century.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, the history of *Burh* provided a

---

<sup>50</sup> ASC E, 1116; Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 16.

<sup>51</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 10.

<sup>52</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 11.

<sup>53</sup> S1448a (A.D. 983 x 985). This list was edited in W. de Gray Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History* (3 vols, London, 1885-93) as number 1130.

<sup>54</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 355.

plausible context for the creation of such a list: the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* claimed that the monks at *Burh* lost several major estates—including *Burh* itself—in the years following Edgar’s death.<sup>55</sup> In the face of such challenges, it might have made sense for the monks to record a list of sureties for all their estates.

Kelly also largely accepts a collection of memoranda about gifts Æthelwold allegedly gave to *Burh* included in the *Liber Niger* (S1448). Such gift-lists were not unknown in Anglo-Saxon England: see, for example, the record of Bishop Leofric’s gifts to the church at Exeter in the *Leofric Missal*.<sup>56</sup> Moreover, Kelly notes that the phrasing of the first list—which describes liturgical objects and vestments—is ‘generally convincing’ for a tenth-century document.<sup>57</sup> She also accepts the third list, detailing various estates, as ‘potentially an early list’, as well as the list of tithes and the inventory of stock at Yaxley.<sup>58</sup>

The second list in S1448—of twenty books which Æthelwold allegedly gave to *Burh*—also uses language (in Old English and Latin) which plausibly dates from the tenth century. This list has been much discussed by Lapidge and by scholars involved in cataloguing and analyzing Peterborough’s later medieval library.<sup>59</sup> Ironically, the absence of most of the titles on this list (possibly apart from the *Passio Eustachii*) from library lists made after the fire perhaps bolsters the case that this list may reflect the earliest Peterborough libraries, and was not an attempt by later Peterborough monks to give an illustrious backstory to volumes in their current collection.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, Lapidge has drawn attention to a poem about Eustace’s passion that Æthelwold’s circle probably

---

<sup>55</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 10; *LE* ii.11 (pp. 84-5); Fairweather, p. 108.

<sup>56</sup> Bodleian Library, MS Auct.D.2.16 (2719); *The Leofric Missal*, ed. N. Orchard (HBS, cxiii-cxiv, 2002), cxiv, p. 1.

<sup>57</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 326.

<sup>58</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 328.

<sup>59</sup> Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, *Peterborough*, pp. xxvi, 12, 14; Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, p. 213.

<sup>60</sup> Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, *Peterborough*, pp. xxvi, 12, 14; Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature*, p. 213; Leland claimed that he saw a copy of a ‘*Vita S. Eustachii carmine heroico*’ at Peterborough; J. Leland, *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (6 vols, London, 1724-74), iv, p. 31.

produced.<sup>61</sup> Thus, it is plausible that at least one of the volumes on the list was associated with Æthelwold's circle. Karsten Friis-Jensen and James Willoughby have suggested that the books on this list might represent the foundation of a monastic school, perhaps the earliest iteration of the famous school at Peterborough.<sup>62</sup>

Only one part of S1488 seems to be dubious: the final part, which claims to record sureties for the contested estates at Yaxley and Farcet. It describes Ealdwulf as a 'bishop', while apparently referring to a land deal that occurred before he was raised to the episcopate.<sup>63</sup> Apart from that, however, the other memoranda and lists in S1488 seem to be plausible, at least.

Nevertheless, in addition to these mostly authentic documents, the *Liber Niger* also contains several forgeries. At least one of the charters that purport to come from the period of *Burh*'s refoundation is demonstrably false, and a further one seems to have been interpolated: Kelly notes that S787—which claims to be Edgar's refoundation charter for *Burh*—gives Edgar an 'impossible' royal style for the tenth century, and the forger refers to a spurious papal liberty which also appears to have been forged in the early twelfth century.<sup>64</sup> By contrast, Kelly largely accepts S782, a charter which purports to record Edgar granting land at Barrow-upon-Humber to Æthelwold in 971: its terminology and witness-list are largely consistent with the early 970s. Indeed, she even argues that the copy in the *Liber Niger* might have been based upon a single-sheet original: she notes that 'Edgar' is misspelled 'Edcar', which is consistent with a later scribe misreading a display capital 'G.'<sup>65</sup> However, she argues parts of the charter were interpolated, particularly the claim that Æthelwold immediately gave the land to *Burh*. Such phrases, she notes, are unusual. Moreover, S1448 did not list Barrow among Æthelwold's earliest gifts to *Burh*.

---

<sup>61</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, p. 213.

<sup>62</sup> Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, *Peterborough*, p. 3.

<sup>63</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 330-1.

<sup>64</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 265-6.

<sup>65</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 249.

Kelly also suspects the charter's claim that St Chad had once possessed the land at Barrow was interpolated later: such details were not usual in Edgar's charters.<sup>66</sup>

Admittedly, as already noted, different houses could take very different approaches to saints if they were able to influence charters. Nevertheless, given the other evidence of interpolation in this charter, the reference to Chad cannot be accepted as it stands.

Additionally, the *Liber Niger* includes the *Relatio Hedde Abbatis*—a piece purporting to be an account of *Medeshamstede*'s early history written by an early abbot.<sup>67</sup> However, the narrative portions of the *Relatio* seem to have been written in the twelfth century: its style matches that of twelfth-century *Burh* writers. Moreover, the *Relatio* includes a suspicious amount of information about Cyneburh, whose relics (as will be discussed below) only seem to have come to *Burh* sometime after 1006.<sup>68</sup> Its narrative can therefore be discounted as a much later forgery.

The collection of surviving documents in the *Liber Niger* and the creation of these forgeries seems to have been influenced by more general historical projects that were underway at Peterborough in the early twelfth century. The fire at Peterborough seems to have inspired (or at least immediately preceded) a surge in historical writing. Two scribes augmented a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (possibly based on a version from Canterbury) with details and claims about *Burh*: this edition is now commonly known as the E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>69</sup> The second scribe of this Chronicle also copied the *Liber Niger*. Meanwhile, the subprior of Peterborough in the mid-twelfth century, Hugh Candidus (d. 1155 x 1157), wrote a history of Peterborough

---

<sup>66</sup> '[R]uris portionem Æt Bearuwe quam olim sanctus Ceadda ante paganorum vastationem possederat'; S782 (A.D. 971). Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 250-1.

<sup>67</sup> This text is edited in Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 359-60. It is discussed further in J. Paxton, 'Forging Communities: Memory and Identity in Post-Conquest England', *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001), pp. 95-109 at 98-109; S.E. Irvine (ed.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS E* (Cambridge, 2004), p. xciv.

<sup>68</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 7, 359.

<sup>69</sup> Irvine, *MS E*, p. xiii, xxxix. T.A.M. Bishop, 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part I', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949-53), pp. 432-40 at 440.

Abbey and may have contributed to Peterborough's version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Hugh's *Chronicle* and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describe *Burh*'s refoundation by Æthelwold; however, they do not provide any new, reliable details about these events. Rather, these authors' (sometimes contradictory) claims about *Burh*'s refoundation seem to have been designed to claim power and prestige for twelfth-century Peterborough, as much as to preserve traditions about Peterborough's past. Thus, Hugh Candidus begins his chronicle with a flattering description of the Fens ('*Burh* was built in the best place'), and he continues to suggest that Peterborough had enjoyed an unusual legal and administrative status throughout its history which gave it authority over other monasteries.<sup>70</sup> However, Kelly has shown that these claims are dubious, and that twelfth-century authors do not appear to have had any additional charters or information apart from the scarce records of the cartularies that we also have.<sup>71</sup> Thus, the surviving collection of sources from *Burh* seem to present a very fragmented and limited view, mediated through later authors whose priorities did not necessarily match Anglo-Saxon attitudes.

Hugh Candidus's *Chronicle* also included a list of relics which he claimed *Burh* possessed<sup>72</sup> and a list of relics held elsewhere in England.<sup>73</sup> The second list's phrasing is reminiscent of the *Secgan*, and thus Rollason has suggested that the latter list, at least may have been based on earlier sources.<sup>74</sup> However, it is impossible to tell if Hugh used earlier sources and, if so, how he may have modified them to reflect twelfth-century circumstances. Admittedly, Alan Thacker has suggested that the relics of Wilfrid, Botwine, Albert, Sicgfrid, Tatberht and Wildegel—mentioned in Hugh's list—might have

---

<sup>70</sup> 'Burch in optimo loco est constructus', etc; HC, pp. 4-5, 15.

<sup>71</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 16.

<sup>72</sup> HC, pp. 53-6.

<sup>73</sup> HC, pp. 56-64.

<sup>74</sup> Rollason, 'Lists', p. 69-72. Kelly claims the relics listed were claimed by *Burh* in Hugh's time; Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 81.

been present at *Burh* since the late tenth century.<sup>75</sup> He notes that Byrhtferth of Ramsey claimed that Oswald had translated those saints at Ripon, and he suggests that Oswald might have brought them to *Burh* if, as Hugh Candidus suggested, he had visited *Burh*. However, as noted above, Byrhtferth may have confused Oswald's activities with those of his uncle, Oda.<sup>76</sup> And even if Oswald did exhume those relics at Ripon, he was not the only individual who could have translated them to *Burh*. Ealdwulf—the first abbot of *Burh* after the refoundation—succeeded Oswald as archbishop of Worcester-York and presumably also had links to Ripon. Alternatively, the relics could have been translated (or claimed) after the Conquest. Hugh's lists offer tantalizing possibilities about late Anglo-Saxon saints' cults: he also provides a reminder that many more saints were venerated at *Burh* than were recorded in the surviving sources. However, since there is no way of dating the various entries in the list, this study shall not rely on the evidence he presents therein to illuminate the situation at *Burh* in the tenth century.

*Burh*'s twelfth-century historians also claimed to describe the early history of Thorney, as noted above; again, however, their claims are extremely dubious and were based on their community's twelfth-century ambitions. Hugh Candidus and the E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle both suggest that Thorney (or *Ancarig*) had been founded by Seaxwulf (*Medeshamstede*'s founder and first abbot) as an eremitical retreat for the monks of *Medeshamstede* and in some way remained subject to *Burh*.<sup>77</sup> While Stenton largely accepted the idea that *Medeshamstede* controlled a series of subjugate monastic cells,<sup>78</sup> Kelly has argued that such an arrangement seems to have been highly unusual in southern and eastern England in the seventh and eighth centuries.<sup>79</sup> Moreover, she notes that the presence of charters from other monasteries like Breedon in *Burh*'s archive need

---

<sup>75</sup> HC, p. 55. Thacker, 'Saint-Making', pp. 254-5.

<sup>76</sup> See above, p. 42.

<sup>77</sup> ASC E, 656; HC, p. 15.

<sup>78</sup> F.M. Stenton, *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970), pp. 179-92.

<sup>79</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 69.

not indicate that they had ever been subject to *Medeshamstede*.<sup>80</sup> Furthermore, the E version of the Chronicle's account of Thorney's initial foundation is included in a dubious section which includes a spurious charter and references to Cyneswith and Cyneburh, whose relics do not seem to have come into *Burh*'s possession until the late tenth century.<sup>81</sup> Therefore, the twelfth-century accounts of Thorney's early history which appear in these sources seem designed to aid twelfth-century goals and politics, without necessarily reflecting any pre-Conquest arrangements.

Unfortunately, not much material evidence from Anglo-Saxon *Burh* has been found to supplement the surviving written documents. While some excavations have been done on the site of Peterborough in the nineteenth century, their findings have been contested and may not necessarily apply to the tenth century. In 1883, J.T. Irvine claimed to have found the ruins of an Anglo-Saxon church (built out of the remains of even older Anglo-Saxon buildings).<sup>82</sup> However, when the site was reopened in the early 1980s, the excavators concluded that Irvine had uncovered layers of twelfth-century buildings. They make no mention of any possibly pre-Conquest features.<sup>83</sup>

There are also references to *Burh* in sources created at or pertaining to other institutions. A property dispute involving *Burh* is described in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*.<sup>84</sup> *Burh* is also mentioned in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Æthelwoldi* and the *Secgan*, two lists of saints' resting places copied in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*.<sup>85</sup>

Nevertheless, despite this paucity of evidence, the nature of the sources that do survive can provide some information about these houses and some opportunities for

---

<sup>80</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 68-78.

<sup>81</sup> ASC E, 656. See p. 203.

<sup>82</sup> J.T. Irvine, 'Account of the Pre-Norman Remains Discovered at Peterborough Cathedral', *Associated Societies' Reports and Papers*, xvii (1883), p. 280.

<sup>83</sup> S.M. Youngs, J. Clark, and T.B. Barry, 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1982', *Medieval Archaeology*, 27 (1983), pp. 161-229 at 168-9.

<sup>84</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 10; *LE* ii.11 (pp. 84-5); Fairweather, pp. 108-9.

<sup>85</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-3); *NMLV*, pp. 89, 91.

comparison. For example, if the memoranda recording Æthelwold's gifts in S1448 are reliable, they suggest that the early monastery had perhaps at most 19 monks (since 19 albs are listed, although some albs might not have been used or more albs could have been acquired from other sources if needed).<sup>86</sup> They also show that the new monastery had a variety of expensive books, metal objects, and textiles. The way these objects are described in these lists suggests that the monks at *Burh* sought to emphasize their links to other houses in the circle, particularly to the Wintonian houses. The list of gifts includes two *cæsternice* robes. Kelly suggests *cæsternice* means 'Winchester-style', citing S896 (A.D. 999), where the abbot of the New Minster is styled 'Ceas' abbas'.<sup>87</sup> If the robes were indeed described as 'Winchester-style', they might have provided a visual connection between the monks in the circle, if they sought to dress in similar ways on certain occasions. (Two Winchester-style robes would not have been sufficient for all the monks, but it may have been sufficient for an abbot or maybe for messenger monks, who were touring their monastery's property.) Moreover, the monks of *Burh* may have been trained in the rhetorical styles associated with Æthelwold's school at Winchester. If the book-list in S1448 was indeed intended for a school, then some of the texts listed could have been used to train students in the Anglo-Latin style and poetry evident at other monasteries in the circle.<sup>88</sup> Willoughby and Friis-Jensen have noted that some of the books on the list—especially the volumes by Jerome, Abbo, and above all Isidore's *Synonyma*—seem like ideal source books for cultivating the *recherché* vocabulary that Æthelwold and his students favoured in hermeneutic writings.<sup>89</sup> Thus, the monks at *Burh* seem to have had the capability of participating in some of the characteristic practices with Æthelwold's circle. In this way, the sources that survive—if they were indeed

---

<sup>86</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 324.

<sup>87</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 326.

<sup>88</sup> See below, pp. 31-5.

<sup>89</sup> Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, *Peterborough*, p. 3.

originally created in the tenth century—might be able to furnish insights into the day-to-day working of Æthelwold’s refoundation at *Burh*.

Moreover, even though relatively little evidence survives for either of these monasteries, the sources which do survive present opportunities for comparison between *Burh* and Thorney (and even between other monasteries like Ely and Abingdon). Most of the texts which have been attributed to *Burh* or Thorney in the Anglo-Saxon period are documents, such as list of sureties and records of property. Because these documents belong to the same general genre of text, they are perhaps easier to compare to each other than other evidence of veneration, like artworks and hagiographies. Moreover, many of these documents seem idiosyncratic (if genuine) and may therefore have been written by members of those monasteries, making their comparison even more profitable.

### **Major Saints at *Burh* and Thorney**

The documentary sources, at least, suggest that the monks at *Burh* and Thorney associated themselves with different sorts of saints. During the first generation, *Burh* seems to have been primarily associated with Peter the apostle: Peter was mentioned by the author(s) of S1448, the various memoranda about the gifts Æthelwold gave to *Burh*. The first list claims that Æthelwold gave a series of items to the monastery at *Medeshamstede* ‘to the praise of God and St Peter.’<sup>90</sup> Similarly, the ‘List of Sureties’ (S1448a) records that Ælfweard of Denton ‘on his surety granted the estate at Warmington... to St Peter after his death on behalf of his soul’.<sup>91</sup> Interestingly, the rest of the surety notes that Ælfweard had ‘wrongfully taken’ (‘on poh genumen hæfden’) this

---

<sup>90</sup> ‘[P]is synd þa madmas þe Adeluold biscope sealed into þam mynstre þe is Medeshamstede gehaten, Gode to loue 7 sancte Petre’; S1448; Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 324, 326.

<sup>91</sup> ‘Gesealde þet land æt Þermingtune æfter his dæg into sancte Petre for his saule on hyra gepyttnesse’; S1448a (A.D. 963 x 984); Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 334, 346; my translation. Kelly translates ‘into sancte Petre’ as ‘to St Peter’s’; however, I have not found any reason to translate this phrase in the genitive.

estate in the past and was restoring it to the church.<sup>92</sup> As at Abingdon, at *Burh* the monks (or whoever influenced the production of the sureties) may have used saints to emphasize their permanent possession of contested properties.

The monks of *Burh* may have been continuing pre-existing practices by venerating Peter, since *Medeshamstede* may have already been dedicated to Peter by the reign of Offa. Kelly has noted that Offa especially patronized monasteries dedicated to Peter (like St Peter's, Bath), and according to a possibly genuine privilege from Pope Hadrian, Offa dedicated many churches to Peter.<sup>93</sup> Offa's interest in *Medeshamstede* might fit this pattern. At the very least, the Hedda stone shows that the apostles in general were a major theme in monumental art at *Medeshamstede*: the stone appears to depict Christ, Mary, and ten apostles.<sup>94</sup>

Additionally, the monks at *Burh* may have promoted Peter because Æthelwold's circle may have already especially venerated Peter. As discussed above, Æthelwold's monks mentioned Peter in anathema clauses at Abingdon and modelled their tonsures on what they believed he wore.<sup>95</sup> *De horis peculiaribus*—apparently written by Wulfstan of Winchester—claimed that Æthelwold encouraged his monks to pray to Mary, Peter and Paul, and All Saints.<sup>96</sup>

By contrast, while the monks of *Burh* referred only to their universal, dedicatory saint in surviving documents, the monks at nearby Thorney highlighted Botulf in their documents. Unlike *Burh*'s Peter—a saint whose relics were housed outside England and who seems to have been associated with *Burh* for a long time—Botulf seems to have been an Anglo-Saxon saint whose relics had been transferred to Thorney relatively

---

<sup>92</sup> S1448a (A.D. 963 x 984); Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 334, 346.

<sup>93</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 17; *Liber Diurnus romanorum pontificum*, ed. H. Foerster (Bern, 1958), pp. 172-3.

<sup>94</sup> Cramp, 'Schools', p. 210.

<sup>95</sup> See above, p. 99.

<sup>96</sup> This text is edited in Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. lxviii-lxix.

recently. Botulf was a rare name, so Thorney's Botulf can perhaps be identified as a monastic founder of the seventh century who was mentioned in the anonymous *Vita Ceolfrithi* and the A and E versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>97</sup> (According to the *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* database, those are the only other times the name Botulf/Botulph/Botwulf appears in Anglo-Saxon sources.)<sup>98</sup> The earliest manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle credited this Botulf with founding the monastery at *Icanho* (possibly Iken, on the coast of Suffolk).<sup>99</sup>

Botulf's cult at Thorney can be contrasted with that of Peter at *Burh* because they both appeared in records of land transactions. In a charter to Thorney (S948, A.D. 1015 x 1016), Edmund Ironside gave 5 hides to Thorney 'in honour of our Lord Jesus Christ and holy Mary, perpetual virgin, and holy Botulf, abbot and confessor, for the redemption of my soul and my wife's [soul] and for present safety/ health of life.'<sup>100</sup> S948 suggests that by the early eleventh century, the monks of Thorney may have associated themselves with Botulf as much as they associated themselves with the circle's beloved Mary. To highlight a non-universal saint in this way was extremely unusual in the context of Anglo-Saxon diplomatic, as noted above.<sup>101</sup>

In addition to Botulf, the circle also seems to have particularly emphasized Thorney's relationship to Mary. In the second generation, Wulfstan of Winchester claimed that Æthelwold dedicated the refounded Thorney to Mary, and she also appears in S948.<sup>102</sup> Nevertheless, the monks at Thorney appear to be breaking with tradition in

---

<sup>97</sup> ASC A, 654; ASC E, 653; *Vita S Ceolfridi*, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 388-404 at 389.

<sup>98</sup> 'Botwulf', *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* [[http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW\\_RECORDS&st=PERSON\\_NAME&value=2365&level=1&lbl=Botwulf](http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=2365&level=1&lbl=Botwulf)] (accessed 26 August 2013).

<sup>99</sup> ASC A, 654; Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 35.

<sup>100</sup> On the authenticity of S948, see Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 126.

<sup>101</sup> See above, p. 158.

<sup>102</sup> *VÆ*, pp. 42-3.

also associating themselves with Botulf, a different sort of saint from that with which the monks of *Burh* primarily associated themselves, in their records.

Admittedly, the extent to which Botulf was venerated at Thorney in the first or even second generations of Æthelwold's circle is debatable. S948 was granted around 1015, after the second generation (as defined by this dissertation: see below). Similarly, the second list of the *Secgan*—which attributes Botulf's relics to Thorney—seems possibly to have been written after 1013.<sup>103</sup> Later narratives from Thorney claimed that Æthelwold himself had translated Botulf's relics to Thorney, thereby linking Botulf's cult to the first generation. Folcard, abbot of Thorney, wrote a *vita* of Botulf around 1070 in which he claimed that Æthelwold himself had translated Botulf directly from *Icanho* to Thorney.<sup>104</sup> However, this account contradicts the earlier list in the *Secgan*, which suggests that Botulf's relics were held at *Medeshamstede* at some point, as well.<sup>105</sup> By contrast, Wulfstan's *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, which was definitely written during the second generation, only associated Mary with Thorney.<sup>106</sup> Therefore, it is possible that the monks of Thorney only began to associate Botulf with their dedicatory saint in documents after the 990s. However, this analysis assumes that Wulfstan was fully aware of practices at Thorney. This also assumes that Wulfstan exhaustively recorded the saints associated with each monastery, which he did not. Rather, he primarily mentioned the dedicatory saints of monasteries (except at Ely, where he mentioned Æthelthryth's sisters). The possibility that the early monks of Thorney emphasized their connection to a saint other than their dedicatory saint, in contrast to *Burh*, therefore remains.

---

<sup>103</sup> *NMLV*, p. 91; see above, p. 186.

<sup>104</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 161, fo. 63v; *VSB*, pp. 402-3.

<sup>105</sup> *NMLV*, p. 89.

<sup>106</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 24 (pp. 40-3).

The circumstances under which Botulf's relics were brought to Thorney are unclear.<sup>107</sup> The second *Secgan* suggests that Thorney had Botulf's relics by 1013, but it also suggests that Thorney had only acquired Botulf's relics after the composition of the first *Secgan*.<sup>108</sup> In the first *Secgan*, Botulf is listed at neither *Icanho* nor Thorney: rather, his relics were attributed to *Medeshamstede*. It is unclear just when the first *Secgan* was written and even whether it was correct that Botulf's relics were held for a time at *Medeshamstede*. However, the idea that Botulf's relics might have been translated more than once during the turbulent ninth and tenth centuries is not implausible. Kelly has suggested that Botulf may have had a peripatetic cult, like Cuthbert's, as monks from the coastal monastery at *Icanho* fled inland.<sup>109</sup> In that case, Botulf's relics would seem to have come to Thorney at some point between the late ninth and early eleventh centuries.

It is possible that Æthelwold or the first generation were responsible for Botulf's translation to Thorney, as Folcard suggests.<sup>110</sup> They could have translated Botulf from *Burh* or *Icanho*. Equally, it is possible that Botulf's relics were already present at Thorney at the time of its refoundation (if Thorney did indeed exist before Æthelwold's arrival). Either way, the monks of Thorney seem to have attached themselves to a figure whose sanctity was already acknowledged in the general region. If Botulf's cult was still remembered in the area around *Burh*, the monks of Thorney may have venerated Botulf to try to control the area at *Burh* by physically controlling the remains of a saint who was already recognized by some people in the locality. This might echo the translation of Wihtburh from Dereham to Ely, possibly an attempt to control an estate.<sup>111</sup> Moreover, the cult of a seventh-century saint might conveniently avoid taking sides in more recent

---

<sup>107</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 35-6. Rollason accepts Folcard's account but, as argued above, it may not necessarily be reliable; Rollason, 'Lists', pp. 64, 66.

<sup>108</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 89, 91.

<sup>109</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 36.

<sup>110</sup> *VSB*, pp. 402-3.

<sup>111</sup> See above, pp. 164-5.

disruptions, as may also have been the case at Ely. Alternatively, if Botulf was translated from *Burh* before the refoundation of Thorney—assuming Thorney’s prior existence—the veneration of Botulf might reflect an attempt by the monks to embrace a cult that already existed on the site of their monastery. Again, this practice of embracing a local saint—as has already been seen elsewhere in the circle— seems to emphasize the circle’s interest in appealing to groups outside the monastery with a figure who was already venerated.

Admittedly, the use of Peter in *Burh*’s documents might not have been seen by contemporaries as qualitatively different from the use of Botulf in Thorney’s documents (or even Æthelthryth in Ely’s documents), because Peter might have been perceived as having similar, pre-existing local connections. As Cubitt has noted, Anglo-Saxons may not have drawn the same distinctions between universal and local saints that later historians do.<sup>112</sup> Nevertheless, in the context of charters, late tenth-century Anglo-Saxons in southern England do seem to have made a distinction between Biblical or universal figures to whom monasteries were dedicated and who frequently appear in charters, and other, often non-universal saints venerated at a given monastery, who generally did not appear in charters. It therefore seems significant that the charter from Thorney mentions Botulf, an unusual type of saint to appear in that context. It also seems to provide a significant contrast with the rhetoric used in the charters of *Burh*.

Admittedly, that charter’s draftsman may not have been a member of the Thorney community, but rather some external scribe whose views do not reflect practices or attitudes at Thorney.<sup>113</sup> However, even Keynes has argued that such specific local

---

<sup>112</sup> Cubitt, ‘Universal and Local’, pp. 423-54.

<sup>113</sup> Edmund Ironside’s only other extant charter—S947 (A.D. 1016) referred to universal saints: S947 only gives property to God for New Minster of the Trinity, God’s mother, and all saints. If the two charters of Edmund Ironside were written by central scribes, then those scribes do not seem to have insisted on focusing on more local saints in every case. Moreover, Hart compared the formula in this charter to

details often indicate that charter scribes were being guided by members of the benefitting institution who knew such details.<sup>114</sup> Perhaps Botulf's appearance in the charter might indeed reflect the interests and activities of the monks of Thorney. Alternatively, it could, theoretically, reflect a specific interest of the ætheling's. But even if that were the case, it is still significant that Botulf was prominent enough to elicit such a notable devotee, and that Botulf's cult was associated with Thorney. Again, this might suggest a degree of veneration or promotion on the part of the monks of Thorney.

Thus, the monks of Thorney seem to have prompted documents which treated saints in a different way from practices at the monastery at *Burh*, with which they shared so much. This is not to say that the monks' activities at Thorney were completely contrary to the interests they displayed elsewhere in the circle. They seem to have promoted Botulf in tandem with Mary, who was particularly revered by Æthelwold's circle. The circle's interest in Mary was probably known at Thorney: indeed, Clayton has singled out Godeman's Benedictional as a high point of Marian devotion among the circle, with its extensive and unique portrayals of Mary.<sup>115</sup> However, the monks' veneration of Botulf still seems to require explanation, and may possibly have been linked to Thorney's relationship with figures outside the monastery.

The monks at Thorney may have needed to use Botulf's reputation to gain the support of prominent local figures. Due to the lack of documentation, the nature of their relationships with elites are difficult to ascertain. However, the *Liber Eliensis* does not mention Ealdorman Æthelwine supporting Thorney the same way he supported *Burh*. The *Liber Eliensis* is by no means a comprehensive source for events at Thorney, but it does raise intriguing possibilities.

---

'Orthodoxorum' charters, which also may have been written at Æthelwold's monasteries; Hart, *Early Charters*, p. 203.

<sup>114</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 75.

<sup>115</sup> Clayton, 'Centralism', p. 96.

By contrast, *Burh* does not seem to have supplemented Peter with any other saints during the first or second generations (although the monastery acquired more relics during the third generation: see below).<sup>116</sup> On the contrary, it is possible that the monks of *Burh* may even have transferred some of their relics—those of Botulf—to Thorney, thereby linking the two houses further but also giving Thorney the relics of an important figure who may have had resonance across the region. Even if the relics were transferred before the monasteries' refoundations, it is significant that the monks of *Burh* do not seem to have tried to reclaim Botulf's relics (although again, this cannot be definitively proved due to the lack of evidence).

It may seem curious that the monks of *Burh* did not try to establish their connection to more saints, given the records of property loss preserved in their lists of sureties and charters. However, the monks at *Burh* might have been able to gain the support of key noblemen outside the monastery without necessarily appealing to them through saints. The *Liber Eliensis* and Byrhtferth's *Vita S. Oswaldi* mention that the monks of *Burh* were supported by Ealdorman Æthelwine, the leading man of the region, and his brother, who helped them recover land.<sup>117</sup> As noted above, Æthelwine's support for *Burh* may have been related to opposition to Leofsige, more than anything else. In this way, the monastery at *Burh* creates an interesting point of comparison with the monastery at Abingdon which, as noted above, also enjoyed the tolerance, at least, of important local figures like Ealdorman Ælfhere. At Abingdon, too, the monks seem to have focused on venerating their dedicatory saint, Mary, and occasionally mentioned saints like Peter and Benedict who fit in with their ideology, rather than choosing saints who appealed to groups outside the monastery. As at Abingdon, the monks at *Burh* seem to have adjusted the way they portrayed their relationships with saints in reaction to external challenges,

---

<sup>116</sup> See below, p. 203.

<sup>117</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 10; *LE* ii.11 (pp. 84-5); Fairweather, pp. 108-9; *VSO*, iv.14 (pp. 130-1).

emphasizing their relationship to their dedicatory saint in documents recording land whose ownership had been challenged or was otherwise controversial.

### **Other Saints at *Burh* and Thorney**

In addition to Peter, there are tantalizing references to other saints' cults at *Medeshamstede/Burh* in late Anglo-Saxon sources, just as there are references to the veneration of saints other than Botulf and Mary at Thorney. No doubt the monks at *Burh* and Thorney venerated other saints in different contexts: documentary sources cannot reveal the full extent of veneration of saints at any house. However, the sources which mention the veneration of other saints at these houses are often later and problematic. Thus, these sources cannot prove that these saints were focuses of veneration at these monasteries during the first or even second generations of the circle. For example, *Medeshamstede/Burh* is mentioned in both the later and earlier *Secgan*: the second *Secgan* claims that *Burh* possessed the relics of Cyneswith, Cyneburh, Florentius, and 'monige oðre.'<sup>118</sup> Cyneswith's and Cyneburh's relics were originally held at Castor, a few miles from *Burh*, which, since the end of the Roman period, had been the major transport node in the region (and for *Burh*).<sup>119</sup> It is tempting to see their translation as part of the same strategy that encouraged Byrhtnoth to translate relics from one of Ely's estates. However, Hugh Candidus and the E version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle claim the saints mentioned in that entry—Cyneswith and Cyneburh, two daughters of Penda, and the continental martyr Florentius—were brought to *Burh* by Abbot Ælfsige, who became abbot in 1006.<sup>120</sup> Certainly, Hugh's account should not be accepted without further corroboration, especially since Hugh is known to have been mistaken about other aspects

---

<sup>118</sup> *NMLV*, p. 91; Rollason, 'Lists', pp. 64, 66.

<sup>119</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 5.

<sup>120</sup> HC, pp. 49-51; ASC E, 1013.

of Ælfsige's tenure: notably, he claimed that Ælfsige ruled for an improbable 50 years.<sup>121</sup> However, circumstantial evidence might support Hugh's claims. For example, Ælfsige's exile to the continent during the early turbulent 1010s might provide a context for his acquisition of Florentius' remains.<sup>122</sup> Moreover, it is striking that Hugh credited the translations to Ælfsige, and not Æthelwold, since by the twelfth century it had become conventional to name Æthelwold in association with any translations: at about the same time, Osbert of Clare claimed that Æthelwold was a serial translator who had moved 13 different saints.<sup>123</sup> Since Hugh cited someone other than Æthelwold as the translator, in contrast to the prevailing historiographical fashion, this might possibly suggest that there was some longer-standing tradition on which Hugh was drawing.

Therefore, it is possible that the *Secgan*'s entry on *Burh* does not apply to the first or even second generation of Æthelwold's circle. If this is indeed the case, then the later translation of Cyneswith and Cyneburh rules out the possibility that Æthelwold could have used those cults to control local economic or political centres. If these translations were conducted by Ælfsige, they may represent the continuation of such strategies into the third generation of the circle. As it is, however, they cannot be assumed to reflect any developments during the scope of this thesis.

There are two other references in late Anglo-Saxon sources to saints who were known at *Burh*. These references all come from the list of books allegedly given by Æthelwold to his establishment at *Burh*, in S1448. These references probably pertain to books that were primarily used for the edification and education of the monks in classroom texts.<sup>124</sup> They therefore perhaps give us a unique insight into the house's 'internal' veneration. This list claims Æthelwold gave *Burh* a Book of Miracles (or *Liber*

---

<sup>121</sup> 'Hic per quinquaginta annos eandem ecclesiam rexit'; HC, p. 48.

<sup>122</sup> ASC C, 1013; ASC F, 1013.

<sup>123</sup> VSE, p. 291.

<sup>124</sup> S1448.

*miraculorum*, which has yet to be identified), a verse *Life of Felix* (*Vita sancti Felicis metrice*, which was probably the work of Paulinus of Nola), and a verse *passio* of Eustace (*Passio Eustachii versifice*).<sup>125</sup>

Lapidge has identified the poem about Eustace with a work which survives in a German manuscript written c. 1000.<sup>126</sup> Lapidge argues that despite surviving in a continental context, the poem about Eustace was composed by a member of Æthelwold's circle. Lapidge's analysis of the similarities in language between the poem and other 'Æthelwoldian' products is compelling: for example, Lapidge notes that the poem favours nouns ending in *-amen*, and terms like *Christacolarum* that also appear in texts connected with Abingdon.<sup>127</sup> Moreover, the practice of versifying prose *Lives* was a longstanding Anglo-Saxon tradition which was continued by Æthelwold's monasteries: Wulfstan of Winchester produced a *narratio metrica* of Lantfred's account of Swithun's miracles as well as a metrical version of a Carolingian sermon on All Saints, while his associates at the New Minster apparently produced a verse *vita* of Iudoc.<sup>128</sup> There is also other evidence which corroborates the booklist's suggestion that Æthelwold's circle was interested in Eustace. Mass sets for Eustace were included in the tenth-century manuscripts known as the Missal of Robert of Jumièges and the 'New Minster' Missal (but not in the Winchester Tropers).<sup>129</sup> Lapidge connected these, too, to Æthelwold's circle through their artistic and literary style.<sup>130</sup> Therefore, there were at least two saints in addition to Peter who may have been known at *Burh* from early on in its refoundation: Felix, a Roman priest who had been tortured for his faith, and Eustace, a martyr whose

---

<sup>125</sup> S1448; *Peterborough*, p. 324. Another work which might possibly have informed saints' veneration was the volume listed as 'Alchimus Avitus'. This potentially refers to his *De spiritalis historiae gestis*, a Biblical epic from the Fall to the Crossing of the Red Sea. However, as noted in the introduction, members of the circle may have perceived Biblical figures having a slightly different status from other saints: see above, p. 22.

<sup>126</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Laud Misc. MS 410; Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, p. 216.

<sup>127</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, pp. 221-2.

<sup>128</sup> Lapidge, 'Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Verse Hagiography', pp. 255-6.

<sup>129</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, p. 217, n. 29.

<sup>130</sup> Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin*, p. 217, n. 29.

legend in late Anglo-Saxon England had grown to include magical animals and cases of mistaken identity.

While these sorts of poems might have been part of liturgical projects which had the potential to present saints to a wider audience beyond the monastery, in the case of *Burh*, these texts may have been used primarily at a monastic school, as mentioned above, to train the monks of *Burh* to write in a particular style. They may not indicate that the monks at *Burh* sought to create an elaborate liturgical celebration of either Felix or Eustace (although the monks themselves undoubtedly revered and respected these figures). Certainly, some of the monks from *Burh* might have had a special interest in these saints. If Abbot Ealdwulf had been a secular nobleman before becoming a monk (although this is dubious: see above), he might have been interested in a hagiography by the married Paulinus (who became a bishop) and a hagiography about a military man with a family who became continent.<sup>131</sup> Equally, however, these texts could have been intended primarily for pedagogical use at an early monastic school at *Burh*, thereby providing a rare insight into the circle's 'internal' practices. This latter explanation fits better with the overall nature of the booklist: Kelly (following Peterson) has argued that the book list represents a collection intended to supply a school rather than a general monastic library because it is rather eclectic and lacks many of the patristic and liturgical works one might have expected in a general monastic library.<sup>132</sup>

The possibility remains that Eustace was especially commemorated and even publicly celebrated at a monastery in the circle outside *Burh*, which produced the metric hagiography of Eustace given to *Burh*. (If Æthelwold brought the *Passio* to *Burh*, the poem would seem, by necessity, to have been made outside of that house.<sup>133</sup>) However, it

---

<sup>131</sup> See above, p. 35, n. 144.

<sup>132</sup> *Peterborough*, p. 328.

<sup>133</sup> The rubric on the list says that 'Adeluuold biscop gesealde into Burch' ('gave to Burh') the books in the list. S1448, ed. Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 324.

is impossible to ascertain which monastery in the circle produced it, since they all used the same style.<sup>134</sup>

However, even without knowing which other monastery in the circle created the *Passio* of Eustace, his *Passio* still reveals some features of the monks' activities at *Burh*. It shows that the monks could share information about saints from other monasteries in their internal operations, for example in their classrooms. Indeed, the language of the *Passio* may have been part of a project to teach monks at *Burh* the styles used by the circle, thereby preserving the circle's uniform rhetorical standards.<sup>135</sup> This evidence of internal unity and shared interests when it came to the *internal* veneration of saints makes the diversity of the monks' 'public veneration' all the more striking at their different monasteries. This might again reinforce the extent to which 'public veneration' was driven by the monks' perception of the external contexts, not by any internally developed ideology.

Similarly, the second *Secgan* suggests that there were many other relics at Thorney; however, these saints' identities and the timeline of their veneration at Thorney is unclear. The *Secgan* claims that in addition to Botulf, eight other saints' relics were located at Thorney: Athulf, Herefrith, Benedictus, Cissa, Thancred, Torhtred, Huna, and Tova.<sup>136</sup> On the basis of this list, which includes some names which *could* refer to early Anglo-Saxon figures, Rollason has suggested that the monks of Thorney had a policy of translating early monastic founders: Botulf seems to have been the founder of *Icanho*, Benedict might have been Benedict Biscop, Herefrith was the name of an early abbot of Lindisfarne, Huna was possibly Æthelthryth's advisor, Cissa's name appears in the *Vita Guthlaci*, and Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova were eventually considered early members

---

<sup>134</sup> See above, p. 70, for Lapidge's suggestion that the monks of Abingdon particularly venerated Eustace.

<sup>135</sup> Friis-Jensen and Willoughby, *Peterborough*, pp. xxvi, 12, 14.

<sup>136</sup> *NMLV*, p. 91.

of Thorney.<sup>137</sup> However, many of these figures are impossible to identify, and the circumstances of their translations to Thorney are completely unknown. For instance, the identity of the ‘Athulf’ mentioned in the *Secgan* is a mystery. Folcard of Thorney suggested in the late eleventh century that ‘Adulf’ was Botulf’s brother and was later made a bishop;<sup>138</sup> however, Folcard’s account does not seem to be based on any early traditions. There are no records of a bishop called ‘Athulf’ in the late seventh century (although few records survive from that period). There were one or perhaps two early tenth-century bishops called Athulf who witnessed charters in the reign of Athelstan and Eadwig; however, neither bishop can be proven to have been the Athulf in question at Thorney.<sup>139</sup> Neither is it known when Athulf’s relics were introduced to Thorney. Therefore, it is difficult to assess what impact his veneration had on the monks of Thorney or even whether veneration of him occurred at all during the first or second generations of the circle. Similarly, the ‘Herefrith’ mentioned in the *Secgan* cannot be identified, either. His name is associated with several known historical figures, including a seventh-century abbot of Lindisfarne, a correspondent of Pope Boniface, and a ninth-century bishop.<sup>140</sup> There is not enough information to positively identify him or analyze when and why he was especially remembered at Thorney.

Similarly, there is also not enough information to identify which ‘Benedictus’ was claimed by Thorney. Rollason suggests that the relics listed in the *Secgan* were those of Benedict Biscop, the founder of the early Northumbrian monastery at Wearmouth.<sup>141</sup> However, there does not appear to be any reason, apart from the name, to link these two

---

<sup>137</sup> Rollason, *Saints*, p. 179.

<sup>138</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 161, fol. 62r; *VSB*, pp. 402-3. Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 35.

<sup>139</sup> S453 (A.D. 924 x 939), S607 (A.D. 956), S621 (A.D. 956), 629 (A.D. 956). ‘Athulf 4 and 7’, *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* [[http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW\\_RECORDS&st=PERSON\\_NAME&value=8471&level=1&lbl=Athulf](http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=8471&level=1&lbl=Athulf)] (accessed 26 August 2013).

<sup>140</sup> ‘Herefrith 1, 2, 6’, *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* [[http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW\\_RECORDS&st=PERSON\\_NAME&value=427&level=1&lbl=Herefrith](http://www.pase.ac.uk/pdb?dosp=VIEW_RECORDS&st=PERSON_NAME&value=427&level=1&lbl=Herefrith)] (accessed 26 August 2013).

<sup>141</sup> Rollason, ‘Lists’, p. 66.

figures. There may well have been other Anglo-Saxon religious figures who took the name Benedict, or the entry in the *Secgan* may even refer to one of the famous continental churchmen called Benedict. Similarly, the Cissa in the *Secgan* may be the figure mentioned in the Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci*; however, apart from the name, there is no way of knowing which 'Cissa' the compiler of the *Secgan* had in mind.

Equally, it is impossible to establish the precise identity of Huna, although two intriguing possibilities present themselves. The name Huna appears in contexts associated with eastern regions and, in particular, with Ely. On one hand, St Æthelthryth had an advisor called Huna.<sup>142</sup> On the other, there was a monk at Ely called Huna in the tenth century whose death formed the basis for a miracle story in Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita S. Oswaldi*.<sup>143</sup> We cannot be sure the Huna in question was either of those men, although if he were, it might raise the intriguing possibility that Thorney held relics which may in some ways have reflected or strengthened its monks' links to Ely. There is no way to ascertain which Huna was the one mentioned in the *Secgan*: however, even if Huna was simply some figure associated with eastern regions, Æthelwold's monks may have again been venerating saints with links to the localities in which they found themselves.

The final set of saints associated with Thorney in the *Secgan* were Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova. The spurious refoundation charter S792 (A.D. 973) claimed that they were siblings who became hermits and lived at Thorney in the eighth century. They were allegedly martyred at the hands of *pagani* (presumably a reference to Scandinavian invaders) before Æthelwold rediscovered their relics when he refounded the monastery.<sup>144</sup> However, S792 reflects twelfth-century authors' interests and understandings, and it is unclear which aspects of these later legends—if any—were known to the first generation

---

<sup>142</sup> *LE* i.22 (pp. 40-1); Fairweather, p. 53.

<sup>143</sup> *VSO*, v.2 (pp. 148-9).

<sup>144</sup> S792; Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 370.

of monks at Thorney. Pestell has suggested that this legend was invented by the first generation themselves to give Thorney a history and possibly some rivals to the hermit-saint Guthlac, who was associated with nearby Crowland.<sup>145</sup> He also suggests that because these ‘new’ cults were so uncertain, Botulf’s relics were brought in to boost Thorney’s relic collection.<sup>146</sup> However, there is no firm evidence to support any of these claims. Although Pestell argues that the alliteration in the names Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova was probably the product of later inventions and oral histories,<sup>147</sup> alliteration alone does not reveal where or when such oral history was constructed, whether within or without the monastery. Moreover, alliteration does not rule out the historical existence of Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova: some Anglo-Saxon families did favour alliterating names, like the ‘B’ and ‘W’ rulers of early Mercia.<sup>148</sup> Just as the evidence about the date of Thorney itself is inconclusive, so the date and origin of Thancred’s, Torhtred’s, and Tova’s cults remain unknown.

Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that Æthelwold’s circle would invent eremitical saints, given their efforts to avoid venerating hermits elsewhere. Æthelwold’s prescriptive writings make no provision for hermits and, as Clayton has noted, Ælfric avoided writing about the eremitical parts of saints’ careers.<sup>149</sup> On the other hand, it is not inconceivable that tenth- and eleventh-century monks did believe they held the relics of martyred hermits, or compromised their views in favour of a figure with local resonance (as they

---

<sup>145</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, pp. 135-7.

<sup>146</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 137.

<sup>147</sup> Pestell, *Landscapes*, p. 137.

<sup>148</sup> For a parallel case, Lapidge has suggested that the shepherd brothers with rhyming names in Byrhtferth’s *Vita S. Ecgwini* were part of an oral tradition and also historical; Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecwine* (Oxford, 2009), ii.8-11 (pp. 244-251). Lapidge found versions of the swineherds’ names in early charters (although with vowels and consonants flipped, suggesting their names were not just plucked from charters but had been part of an oral culture that had undergone pronunciation shifts); Lapidge, *Byrhtferth*, p. 244, n. 29. Alternatively, Cubitt has suggested that the names could have been derived from local place names: C. Cubitt, ‘Folklore and Historiography: Oral Stories and the Writing of Anglo-Saxon History’, in E.M. Tyler and R. Balzaretto (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 189-223 at 199.

<sup>149</sup> Clayton, ‘Hermits’, p. 162.

had with Iudoc). Thorney sat in the middle of a region with a local tradition of great hermit saints, including Guthlac. It is also possible that early monks remembered Thancred, Torhtred, and Tova as being martyred by *pagani*, like Edmund, although other such cults seem to have been rare in this period in eastern regions.<sup>150</sup> Without further information, it is impossible to assess Torhtred, Thancred, and Tova's status at Thorney, other than to say they were associated with Thorney in the early eleventh century.

Such vague conclusions apply to all the saints associated with Thorney in the *Secgan*. The evidence from Thorney leaves us with a great many possibilities, but with very little certainty about the practices of the first and second generation of Æthelwold's circle there. On one hand, if the names mentioned in the *Secgan* were connected to early figures, the monks at Thorney might have been collecting monastic founders or people associated with prominent early monasteries. Thus, the monks of Thorney may have asserted their control over early monastic figures and founders who may have had long standing cults. Alternatively, these figures could have included a tenth-century monk of Ely (possibly Huna), a tenth-century bishop (Athulf), and other figures associated more with a specific locality than a particular time period, perhaps in an attempt to create links with local powers. Yet again, all of these names could refer to none of the figures above and have had a totally different significance.

## Conclusions

Despite the limitations of the evidence, some conclusions can still be drawn about the veneration of saints at *Burh* and Thorney. The similar types of source that survive from these monasteries show that even in the same sorts of documents, the monks of *Burh* and Thorney took different approaches to the way they portrayed their interaction with

---

<sup>150</sup> In the *Secgan*, the relics at Chertsey (another possibly Æthelwoldian foundation) are said to include monks who had been killed in a viking raid; *NMLV*, p. 94.

saints. The monks at *Burh* seemed to stress *Burh*'s allegiance to their dedicatory saint Peter above all in documents during the first and second generations of Æthelwold's circle. This would appear to make *Burh*'s practices more similar to those at Abingdon, which also seemed to focus on their dedicatory saint (Mary) during the first generation. By contrast, by the 1010s, Botulf appeared next to the universal saint Mary in charters pertaining to Thorney. This extremely unusual practice of mentioning a non-universal, non-dedicatory saint in a charter might suggest Thorney had more in common with Ely, where Æthelthryth was cited in documents (if the *Libellus Æthelwoldi* can be trusted). It is possibly significant then that, unlike *Burh*, Ely and Thorney do not appear to have enjoyed the support of Ealdorman Æthelwine, the most powerful noble in the region. Again, monks' relationships with groups outside their monasteries may have affected the way they portrayed their relationships with saints and which saints they emphasized. In turn, these differences suggest that monks had complex relationships with groups outside their monasteries depending on their specific contexts and their institutions' histories. Although *Burh* and Thorney were physically close together in the same geographical region, shared resources, and dealt with the same political actors, these institutions had different histories and different positions in contemporary society. In particular, *Burh*'s enmity with Leofsigæ gained the monks the support of Æthelwine, one of Leofsigæ's secular opponents. By contrast, Ely and Thorney seem to have held slightly different positions that did not give them the same enemies and did not guarantee them Æthelwine's continued support.

This is not to say that all aspects of veneration at these monasteries were totally separate from the veneration of saints elsewhere in the circle: the hagiography of Eustace which Æthelwold gave *Burh* might indicate that the monks of *Burh* were aware of saints commemorated elsewhere in the circle, at least in their internal veneration and their

scholarly endeavours. However, the unity between the internal practices and interests of the different houses in the circle only serves to emphasize the differences in their public veneration, which seems to have been heavily influenced by their relationships with groups outside the monastery. The veneration of saints at *Burh* and Thorney shows that the monks could—indeed, had to— approach these highly contingent and complex relationships flexibly and creatively. Again, this challenges the notion that the reformers in general—and Æthelwold in particular—were completely inflexible.<sup>151</sup> This analysis of *Burh* and Thorney also corroborates previous scholars' suggestion that lay reactions to reformers varied with different contexts, as noted in the previous chapter.<sup>152</sup> Again, this analysis perhaps goes even further, showing that houses associated with the same reformer, in the same region, could have very different relationships and approaches to at least one form of interaction with groups outside the monastery.

---

<sup>151</sup> See above, p. 15, n. 46.

<sup>152</sup> See above, p. 171.

## Chapter 5: The Second Generation

In the preceding chapters I have argued that Æthelwold's circle portrayed their relationship with saints in reaction to and in order to interact with groups outside their monasteries, from exiled secular clerics to landowners in the Fens. These monks do not seem to have venerated the same set of saints at their different monasteries during Æthelwold's lifetime: rather, they focused on different saints at different monasteries, perhaps reflecting the different contexts in which different houses emerged. However, in the years after Æthelwold's death—during what this study terms 'the second generation' (c. 984- c. 1006) of Æthelwold's circle—monks at various monasteries within Æthelwold's circle began to venerate (or at least, prominently venerated) saints who had been established at other monasteries in the circle. I suggest this shared veneration was a manifestation of cooperation between the various houses as they supported each other through the turbulent early years of Æthelred's reign. Additionally, the second generation seems to have continued to promote saints from the first generation—as well as new saints—in order to establish relationships with outside groups. Through these practices, in part, the monasteries in Æthelwold's circle established the basis for their economic, social, and cultural dominance in the eleventh century and beyond. This is not to suggest that the circle was unique among late tenth-century monasteries in using saints in this way: such hagiographical projects and strategies seem also to have been used at Oswald's monastery at Ramsey, for example, judging from the writings of Byrhtferth of Ramsey.<sup>1</sup> The circle's venerating practices are notable, however, because they can be compared to earlier evidence from these houses to suggest change over time and further flexibility

---

<sup>1</sup> For example the translations of the Kentish princes and of Ivo to Ramsey in the late tenth century might reflect attempts by the monks of Ramsey to interact with the outside world and even recover from their loss of particular patrons. For a more detailed discussion of these activities, see Thacker, 'Saint-Making', pp. 248-51, 259.

among the circle. This flexibility reinforces the arguments in earlier chapters that the circle adapted to local contexts, contrary to its inflexible image. These conclusions also concur with recent works which have characterized monastic reform as a ‘process’, rather than as a static agenda to be implemented.<sup>2</sup>

### **Æthelwold’s Circle after 984 as a Social Generation**

In this dissertation, the term ‘second generation’ refers to the social generation of monks who lived (and created sources) between Æthelwold’s death in 983 and the composition of Ælfric’s *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* in 1006. I will be following Jane Pilcher’s definition of social generations or cohorts as ‘people within a delineated population who experience the same significant events within a given period of time.’<sup>3</sup> Other scholars have discussed ‘second generations’ of various monastic reform groups before, but they have generally focused on chronological generations, emphasized stylistic ruptures, or addressed attempts to put a Weberian gloss on the change between generations. For example, Mechthild Gretsch appears to use a chronological distinction when she talks about a ‘second generation’ of reformers (which included Ælfric of Eynsham, Wulfstan of Winchester, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey, but excluded Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald).<sup>4</sup> Alternatively, David Dumville has argued the second generation of English monastic reform ended around 1010-1020 based on changes in script and book production.<sup>5</sup> By contrast, in a different historical context, Gert Melville used the term ‘second generation’ to discuss the shift from a charismatic first generation of founders of the Franciscan order to their successors, who created a more durable settlement with

---

<sup>2</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> J. Pilcher, ‘Mannheim’s Sociology of the Generations: An Undervalued Legacy’, *British Journal of Sociology*, 45 (1994), pp. 481-95 at 483.

<sup>4</sup> M. Gretsch, ‘Benedictine reformers (act. c.960–c.1000)’, *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/98101>].

<sup>5</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline*, p. 113.

outside society.<sup>6</sup> His model has been adopted by Vanderputten with reference to tenth- and eleventh-century Flemish reformers.<sup>7</sup> Neither of these models works for Æthelwold's circle, however. On one hand, the extent to which Æthelwold was ever a charismatic leader during his lifetime is debatable.<sup>8</sup> On the other, it is difficult to use dates and ages to judge generations within Æthelwold's circle since monasteries were necessarily multi-generational in terms of chronology, with child oblates and older monks. Additionally, the ages of almost all members of the circle are unknown.

Pilcher's definition of social generations works better for Æthelwold's circle, since the term can, in some circumstances, describe groups with common experiences and common values, regardless of age. Pilcher proposes that '[c]ontemporaneity [in the sense of belonging to the same generation] is... not the co-existence of persons between two sets of dates, but... a subjective condition of having experienced the same dominant influences.'<sup>9</sup> The members of Æthelwold's circle seem to have shared certain formative experiences between 984 and 1006 (as well as having experienced the ideological influence of the circle itself). The monks and nuns who were active in this period lived through Æthelwold's own death, which may have precipitated the downfall of some of these monasteries' key patrons and compromised their abbots' own influence. In particular, Yorke has argued that it was no coincidence that Æthelwold's old ally Queen Ælfthryth left (or was dismissed from) Æthelred's court shortly after Æthelwold's death.<sup>10</sup> Similarly, the abbots of Æthelwold's main refoundations, who had previously

---

<sup>6</sup> G. Melville, 'Brückenschlag zur zweiten Generation', in J. Rogge, *Religiöse Ordnungsvorstellungen und Frömmigkeitspraxis im Hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Korb, 2008), pp. 77-98.

<sup>7</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 9.

<sup>8</sup> Wulfstan's remark that Æthelwold preached and Swithun performed miracles is perhaps interesting in this respect: even though Wulfstan was representing Æthelwold several years after his death, his writing might suggest that Æthelwold's students saw a dichotomy between his preaching and more supernatural powers; *VÆ*, ch. 26 (pp. 42-3); M. Weber, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology*, ed. and trans. H.H. Gerth and C.W. Mills (Abingdon, 2009), pp. 245-52.

<sup>9</sup> Pilcher acknowledges the problems inherent in delineating different generations, especially around their 'fuzzy' edges, but offers only chronological solutions; Pilcher, 'Mannheim's Sociology', pp. 486, 487.

<sup>10</sup> Yorke, 'Æthelwold and Politics', p. 85.

appeared in some charters' witness-lists in 982 and possibly 983, did not appear in witness-lists in the latter part of the 980s until Ælfsige of the New Minster appeared at the end of a witness-list in S872 (A.D. 988).<sup>11</sup> This might have been a purely stylistic change by the charters' writers; however, abbots from monasteries outside the circle continued to appear in charters.<sup>12</sup> Perhaps abbots with links to the circle, like Ealdwulf of *Burh* and Byrhtnoth of Ely, were not welcome or important at royal gatherings during that period.

Moreover, in addition to Æthelwold, a number of secular supporters of his monasteries appear to have died in the mid-980s. According to the C version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Ealdormen Æthelmaer of Hampshire and Eadwine of Sussex died in 982: they both seem to have had some sort of links to some institutions in Æthelwold's circle because Æthelmaer was buried at the New Minster and Eadwine at Abingdon.<sup>13</sup> Meanwhile, Ealdorman Ælfhere, whose family seem to have exchanged land with Abingdon, died in 983.<sup>14</sup> These men's successors do not seem to have possessed the same links to Æthelwold's monasteries: rather, the monks later accused them of despoiling the monasteries in the circle. For example, control of Ælfhere's ealdorship passed to his brother-in-law, Ælfric *Cild*.<sup>15</sup> Whereas Ælfhere had done business with the monastery at Abingdon, Ælfric *Cild* foisted his relative, Eadwine, on the community as abbot after the death of Abbot Osgar in 984, according to a S876 (A.D. 993, which survives in the original copy). This charter also accused Ælfric and Æthelred of depriving Abingdon of some of its properties.<sup>16</sup> Admittedly, given that Ælfric may

---

<sup>11</sup> S839 (A.D. 982), S840 (A.D. 982), S841 (A.D. 982), S846 (A.D. 983, although Keynes has questioned its authenticity), S872 (A.D. 988); Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 241.

<sup>12</sup> S856 (A.D. 985), S858 (A.D. 985), etc. Although Kelly has argued that abbots from the east as a whole were excluded, it is notable that the abbots of Abingdon and the New Minster, Winchester were also not included. Kelly, *Peterborough*, p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> ASC C, 982.

<sup>14</sup> See above, p. 61; S1216 (A.D. 971 x 980); A. Williams, 'Ælfhere', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/182>].

<sup>15</sup> ASC C, 983. On Ælfric *Cild*'s relationship to Ælfhere, see A. Williams, 'Ælfric *Cild*', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/182/52810>].

<sup>16</sup> S937 (probably A.D. 999).

have been exiled in 985, he may have made an easy scapegoat, and the redistribution of his estates might have encouraged Abingdon to try and make a claim; however, the account of Abingdon's deprivations in S876 matches the fortunes of other monasteries and individuals in the circle.<sup>17</sup> For example, S891, a charter of 997, claims that Æthelred issued a charter compensating the Old Minster, Winchester, for properties allegedly lost during the 980s.<sup>18</sup> Equally, the see of Rochester—controlled by Ælfstan, a former brother of the Old Minster—appears to have lost lands and even been attacked in the 980s.<sup>19</sup> According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Æthelred ravaged the area around Rochester in 986.<sup>20</sup> (Perhaps not coincidentally, Ælfstan also disappeared from witness-lists in the period after Æthelwold's death in 984, until 988.)<sup>21</sup> Æthelred's motives for ravaging Rochester are unclear: Keynes has accepted the statements in S893 (A.D. 998) that Æthelred had some personal disagreement with Bishop Ælfstan and was influenced by one of his thegns to steal land from Rochester and give it to the thegn instead.<sup>22</sup> However, together with the difficulties faced by Abingdon and the Old Minster, the ravaging of Rochester might be linked to the loss of influence members of the circle seem to have experienced after the deaths of Æthelwold and other advocates in high places.

Æthelwold's monasteries seem to have experienced a change of fortune (to a greater or lesser degree) again in the mid-990s, by which time Æthelred appears to have acquired a new set of allies and restored land to monasteries which had been dispossessed.<sup>23</sup> Witness-lists from the early 990s suggest that these prominent nobles included the ealdormen Æthelweard, Æthelmaer, and Æthelred's uncle, Ordulf, who may

---

<sup>17</sup> ASC C, 985; ASC E, 985.

<sup>18</sup> S891 (A.D. 997).

<sup>19</sup> S885 (A.D. 995); S893 (A.D. 998).

<sup>20</sup> ASC C, 986; ASC D, 986; ASC E, 986.

<sup>21</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 179.

<sup>22</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 179.

<sup>23</sup> A. Williams, *Æthelred the Unready: The Ill Counsellor King* (London, 2003), p. 29; P.A. Stafford, 'The Reign of Æthelred II, a Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', in D. Hill (ed.), *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 15-36 at 27-9.

have supported houses in the circle more than their predecessors: for example, the author of S876 (A.D. 993) credited Æthelmaer and Ordulf and Abbot Ælfsige of the New Minster with persuading Æthelred to compensate Abingdon.<sup>24</sup> The abbots of houses within the circle also reappeared in witness-lists in this period, suggesting that they had been restored to favour or prominence among the highest echelons of Anglo-Saxon society. The circle's members gained prominent positions: Ælfric, a former brother of Abingdon, became archbishop of Canterbury in 995.<sup>25</sup> Ælfric might have brought Christ Church, Canterbury to the intellectual standards and orbit of Æthelwold's circle (see below) and he may have financially supported other monasteries in the circle.<sup>26</sup> In his will, Ælfric left money to Abingdon and may also have supported the monks there during his lifetime.<sup>27</sup>

Artistic, intellectual, and financial endeavours were also completed at monasteries in the circle in the 990s, which again suggests that they may have experienced increased stability and wealth during this decade. For example, the Old Minster was extended by Ælfheah by 993 or 994 and deluxe manuscripts (including new works by Wulfstan of Winchester) were copied there and at Abingdon.<sup>28</sup> Although the monks from Abingdon were not so wealthy that they refrained from using this manuscript's margins to copy other works, like Ælfric's *Colloquium*, or for drafting poems about altars, nevertheless,

---

<sup>24</sup> Most scholars accept that Abbot Ælfsige of New Minster is the abbot referenced in the body of the charter, even though his name appears to be rendered in a different way in the witness list; C. Cubitt, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', in H. Magennis and M. Swan (eds), *A Companion to Ælfric* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 165-92 at 174. The abbot is called 'Ælfsinus' in the body of the charter and 'Ælfsige' in the witness list. However, the witness list also seems to include the Old English names of abbots and monasteries (New Minster is listed as 'Niw'), while the body of text used Latinized forms: this perhaps accounts for the different orthographies within the charter; S876.

<sup>25</sup> On Ælfric's links to Abingdon, Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, fo. 1.

<sup>26</sup> See pp. 256-8.

<sup>27</sup> *Wills*, pp. 52-3.

<sup>28</sup> *Narratio*, p. 381; Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS U.107 (1385); London, British Library, MS Royal 15.C VII. For the dates and provenances of these manuscripts, see Lapidge, *Cult of Swithun*, pp. 238-40. For the manuscript from Abingdon, see Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2.

these productions suggest that some houses in the circle were experiencing a degree of financial stability by the 990s.

These changes are particularly highlighted by a series of ‘penitential’ charters, issued during the 990s. These charters show Æthelred renouncing his ‘youthful indiscretions’ and restoring property to monasteries or sees that had suffered deprivations during the 980s.<sup>29</sup> The first of the penitential charters, S876 (A.D. 993), survives in a contemporary copy and details Abingdon’s losses in the 980s at the hands of Ælfric Cild and Æthelred himself, and records how the abbot of the New Minster and several prominent ealdormen persuaded Æthelred to repent and restore Abingdon’s wealth. The charter explicitly portrays Æthelwold’s death as a turning-point in Æthelred’s reign: Æthelred is depicted ‘not forgetting the difficulties for me and my nation... after the death of Bishop Æthelwold of blessed memory, most dear to me.’<sup>30</sup> The penitential language of the charter—which Cubitt and Roach have discussed—is striking, and suggests that the author of the charter, at least, felt that extreme measures were necessary to rectify issues from the early part of Æthelred’s reign.<sup>31</sup> Admittedly, the authorship of this charter is controversial: on one hand, Kelly has argued that Abbot Wulfgar of Abingdon wrote it.<sup>32</sup> S876 was at least copied by someone within Æthelwold’s circle: it uses the characteristic Anglo-Caroline script (with some rustic capitals for emphasis, as in Æthelwold’s Benedictional).<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Kelly has noted that the charter uses some of the stylistic devices favoured by Æthelwold’s circle (for instance, *-amen* words appear in the first sentence). At the end of the main body of the charter, Abbot Wulfgar of Abingdon is

---

<sup>29</sup> S876 (A.D. 993), S885 (A.D. 995), S891 (A.D. 997), and S893 (A.D. 998).

<sup>30</sup> ‘[N]on immemor angustiarum michi meaeque nationi septimo regn[i mei ann]o et deinceps frequenter ac multipliciter accidentium . post decessum uidelicet beatae memorie . michique interno amore dilectissimi ADELUUOLDI episcopi’; S876.

<sup>31</sup> C. Cubitt, ‘The Politics of Remorse: Penance and Royal Piety in the Age of Æthelred the Unready’, *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), pp. 179-92; L. Roach, ‘Penitential Discourse in the Charters of Æthelred the Unready’, *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (2013), pp. 258-76 at 264.

<sup>32</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 83.

<sup>33</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 83.

described as having written the charter ('deuoti abbatis UULFGARI scriptum est'). Scholars usually treat these statements as metaphorical flourishes; however, Kelly has suggested that in this case, such a statement may have been meant more literally.<sup>34</sup> On the other hand, Keynes argues that the penitential charters must have been written by a central chancery, because they deal with similar themes and give similar sorts of details.<sup>35</sup> Roach also maintains that they were authorized and overseen by a central authority, although he has convincingly demonstrated that these documents were written by different draftsmen (since there is little overlap in their wording).<sup>36</sup> Roach argues that these charters contain Æthelred's own 'voice', because they mention Æthelred's feelings and quote some of the same sources, like the *Regularis Concordia* (although draftsmen could have made these claims independently of each other and of Æthelred).<sup>37</sup> In particular, if the different draftsmen were each attached to the Æthelwoldian monasteries who were the beneficiaries of these charters (like Abingdon in S876), it seems even more plausible that these different draftsmen would all have been familiar with the *Regularis Concordia*. Moreover, Cubitt has argued that the penitential declarations were made in the context of collective consultation and in a wider discourse about royal penance (although she accepts Keynes' argument that the charter was produced by a centralized chancery).<sup>38</sup>

If Wulfgar did draft S876, this might suggest that some members of Æthelwold's circle had gained enough influence or status to reacquire some possessions, write a striking charter which emphasized the king's fault and present it at synod. At least some of those leaders saw this charter, because some of them seem to have marked it: S876 is the sole surviving Anglo-Saxon charter with autograph subscriptions, suggesting that it

---

<sup>34</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, i, p. lxxv.

<sup>35</sup> Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 102.

<sup>36</sup> Roach, 'Penitential Discourse', pp. 267-8.

<sup>37</sup> Roach, 'Penitential Discourse', pp. 266-7.

<sup>38</sup> Cubitt, 'Politics of Remorse', pp. 185-6.

was publicly presented at a synod in 993.<sup>39</sup> Exactly what this presentation entailed is not recorded: it is not clear if the charter was read out, or if it was handed to certain dignitaries to mark. Either way, the very restitutions presented in the penitential charters suggest that the monks of Abingdon and later Rochester and the Old Minster (who might also have been involved in drafting their charters) experienced some sort of deprivation in the 980s, but recovered some wealth and prominence in the 990s. If Wulfgar was the author of the charter, then he also wished to portray Æthelwold's death as a watershed in their fortunes. This charter's drafter may also have expected this view of the importance of Æthelwold's death, among other claims, to resonate with the charter's witnesses.

Of course, not all houses in the circle were affected equally by these events following Æthelwold's death.<sup>40</sup> In the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, the monks at Ely remembered Edgar's death, not Æthelwold's, as the main turning-point in their fortunes.<sup>41</sup> Ælfric *Cild*—who may have been the same noble who harassed Abingdon—seems to have assisted Ely to reclaim land at local meetings.<sup>42</sup> According to the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*, the monks at Ely also enjoyed the support of a local ealdorman, Byrhtnoth, until his death at the Battle of Maldon in 991.<sup>43</sup> Additionally, sources from Ely claim that Æthelred had a special relationship with their monastery. The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* states Æthelwold had brought a young Æthelred to visit Ely, while sections in the *Liber Eliensis* maintain that Æthelred and his second wife dedicated their son Edward (the future

---

<sup>39</sup> Kelly, *Abingdon*, ii, p. 483; *Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E.A. Bond *et al.* (4 vols, London, 1873–1878), iii, p. 36.

<sup>40</sup> For a survey of Æthelred's treatment of religious houses in general in the 980s, see Stafford, 'Reign', p. 27.

<sup>41</sup> For example, *LibÆ*, ch. 5, 6, 8, etc; *LE* ii.7, 8, 10 (pp. 79, 81, 83); Fairweather, pp. 103-5, 106-7. Nevertheless, Alan Kennedy has argued that the *Libellus*'s source was written around 990, and may therefore reflect disruption after Æthelwold's death as well as after Edgar's; Kennedy, 'Law and litigation', p. 133. However, there is no way to confirm the date for sure.

<sup>42</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 5; *LE* ii.7 (p. 80); Fairweather, pp. 104.

<sup>43</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 35, 44; *LE* ii.25, 33 (p. 99, 108); Fairweather, pp. 122, 132.

Edward the Confessor) to God at Ely's main altar.<sup>44</sup> These claims cannot be independently corroborated, and other indications suggest that Ely's prominence might have diminished in the early years of Æthelred's reign. For example, Abbot Byrhtnoth disappeared from charters' witness-lists in the mid-980s. Nevertheless, in other respects, the documents which survive from Ely suggest that writers at Ely at least remembered Edgar's death as more traumatic for the community than the events of the early part of Æthelred's reign. Similarly, there are no records of the monks of the New Minster losing land or wealth during Æthelred's reign. The 'New Minster History' (which was probably composed between 988 and 990) in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* praises Æthelred and does not mention any deprivations (although a triumphant institutional history might not necessarily mention such events in the way a penitential charter of restoration might).<sup>45</sup> Nevertheless, at the very least, the monks at the New Minster had enough funds to complete an elaborate tower for the New Minster in the 980s, according to the 'New Minster History'.<sup>46</sup> Even accounting for the exaggeration and metaphors inherent in such accounts, the mere completion of any building works suggests that the New Minster's financial and institutional stability contrasted with the financial instability of Abingdon at this time. Moreover, S876 credited the abbot of the New Minster with persuading Æthelred to offer restitutions to Abingdon. This suggests that the monks of Abingdon believed (or sought to suggest that) the abbot of the New Minster was in a position to influence the king, even when they were not.<sup>47</sup>

Nevertheless, even if the monks of Ely and the New Minster enjoyed (and did not just remember) slightly more stability than other monasteries, they too were affected to

---

<sup>44</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 12; *LE* ii.11, 91 (pp. 86, 160); Fairweather, pp. 110, 191. These passages are discussed in Keynes, 'Ely Abbey', pp. 29-30.

<sup>45</sup> *NMLV*, p. 9.

<sup>46</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 9-10. The tower was probably completed after Æthelwold's death in 984 and before Dunstan's in 988, because the text mentions Dunstan's presence but not Æthelwold's. On this text, see above, p. 116.

<sup>47</sup> S876 (A.D. 993).

some extent by the turbulence of Æthelred's early reign. As noted above, their abbots were excluded from witness-lists and might have lost influence. The more stable houses in the circle may have had to become advocates for disrupted monasteries like Abingdon. Therefore, even though these events did not impact all the houses in the circle equally, and were not remembered in the same way throughout the circle, the concept of a 'social generation' still applies to the circle, because to some extent (if not to the same extent), the death of Æthelwold and Æthelred's changing alliances affected them all.

The circle was also defined as a social generation in this period by other common experiences which they shared with groups beyond the circle, such as the renewed viking attacks in the 980s and 990s. According to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, in 980 or 981 'for the first time seven ships [from the North] came and ravaged Southampton'.<sup>48</sup> The various versions of the Chronicle record attacks again in 982, 987, 988, and intensifying after 991, when Ealdorman Byrhtnoth (patron of Ely) was killed at the Battle of Maldon. There was a brief respite in attacks in 994/5, when Æthelred concluded a peace agreement with Olaf Tryggvason and stood sponsor at his baptism, but the attacks began again in the late 990s or early 1000s. Like many other members of the population, members of the circle were directly affected by these attacks. Some of their institutions were attacked: Rochester was attacked in 999.<sup>49</sup> Members of the circle were also involved in the financial expenses associated with defence: Archbishop Ælfric's will makes provisions for ships and armour to be given to his lord and the people of Kent and Wiltshire.<sup>50</sup> Equally, the circle may have been impacted by secular leaders' reaction to these attacks. Some secular leaders may have believed that the attacks were a punishment from God and patronized monasteries to try to regain divine favour. Thus, Cubitt has suggested that Æthelred compensated monasteries in the circle in the 990s because he feared that he had

---

<sup>48</sup> ASC E, 981; ASC A, 980.

<sup>49</sup> ASC E, 999.

<sup>50</sup> *Wills*, pp. 52-3.

brought about the viking attacks by attacking churches himself.<sup>51</sup> While we cannot definitely know what Æthelred himself thought, it is striking to note the extent to which the figures who drafted charters and law codes, like Wulfgar and later Wulfstan of Worcester, took advantage of the rhetoric of repentance and promoted the narrative that sins and disrespect for the Church could lead to ‘accidents’ in the kingdom.<sup>52</sup> Æthelwold’s circle was arguably ideally placed to implement this sort of rhetoric, because, as David Pratt has shown, they had used a similar discourse during the first generation, when Æthelwold claimed that Edgar’s attention to the Church had brought peace, whereas Eadwig’s misbehaviour had hurt the whole kingdom.<sup>53</sup> Æthelred at least existed in a milieu where churchmen could avail themselves of that sort of rhetoric in the wake of viking attacks, and these claims might have influenced him to help particular churches. Equally, the viking attacks may have influenced churchmen themselves to seek God’s favour by creating more religious art and writing. Keynes has noted that it is a striking coincidence that the two greatest periods for writing in Old English—the late ninth century at the court of Alfred the Great, and the late tenth century with writers like Wulfstan and Ælfric—coincided with heavy viking attacks.<sup>54</sup> Keynes suggests these churchmen may have created new writing in an attempt to win God’s favour, and thereby convince God to protect them from viking attacks.<sup>55</sup>

This study ends in 1006, the year in which Ælfric of Eynsham wrote the second, abridged *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* for Bishop Coenwulf of Winchester (the last securely dateable work which will be used in this study).<sup>56</sup> Certainly, members of Æthelwold’s

---

<sup>51</sup> Cubitt, ‘Politics of Remorse’, p. 186.

<sup>52</sup> S876, for example. Patrick Wormald gave a thorough summary of Wulfstan’s political thought in P. Wormald, ‘Wulfstan’, *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30098?docPos=3>].

<sup>53</sup> D. Pratt, ‘The Voice of the King in “King Edgar’s Establishment of the Monasteries”’, *ASE*, 41 (2013), pp. 145-204 at 152-9.

<sup>54</sup> S. Keynes, ‘Æthelred II (the Unready)’, *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8915?docPos=7>].

<sup>55</sup> Keynes, ‘Æthelred’, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8915?docPos=7>].

<sup>56</sup> *VÆA*, p. 71.

circle continued to conduct prominent venerating activities, including the alleged activities of Abbot Ælfsige of *Burh*.<sup>57</sup> However, 1006 marked a breaking-point in terms of social generations. In around 1005, Æthelred seems to have changed his inner circle again, judging from witness-lists.<sup>58</sup> More serious viking attacks also began again after 1006, culminating in Cnut's conquest of England. Whereas the first two decades of Æthelred's reign could not be examined without reference to each other—since the penitential charters of the 990s provide our most detailed narratives about the events of the 980s—historians of Æthelred's reign have suggested that the period after 1006 was marked by more profound crisis and rupture, with the rise of Eadric Streona.<sup>59</sup> This rupture seems like a convenient ending point for this dissertation, though developments after 1006 will hopefully one day receive fuller treatment in another study.

### **Redefining the Circle**

While the chronological limit of the 'second generation' can be posited relatively precisely, the precise membership of that generation is debatable, since during this period men from Æthelwold's refoundations took over other monasteries and episcopal sees which could, arguably, be considered part of the circle. Equally, men who had not been trained by Æthelwold occasionally joined his foundations in this period. Certainly, a core group, including Wulfstan of Winchester, can confidently be identified as members of the circle because they were trained and worked at one of Æthelwold's refoundations and subscribed to the circle's intellectual programme. However, in the period after Æthelwold's death, elements of the circle's intellectual programme appeared at an increasing number of establishments with different degrees of connection to the original

---

<sup>57</sup> See above, p. 203.

<sup>58</sup> See, for example, S911 (A.D. 1005); B. Yorke, 'Æthelmaer: the Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in K. Barker (ed.), *The Cerne Abbey Millenium Lectures* (Cerne, 1988), pp. 15-26 at 19; see also Williams, *Æthelred*, pp. 69-89; Stafford, 'Reign', p. 31.

<sup>59</sup> Williams, *Æthelred*, pp. 69-89; Stafford, 'Reign', p. 31.

circle. The extent to which any of these men or their institutions belonged to the circle shall, for the purposes of this study, be determined roughly by an assessment of the degree to which they conformed to the defining practices of the circle and identified as part of the circle themselves (or were thus identified by contemporaries, for example in the lists of the Old Minster's *alumni* in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*).<sup>60</sup>

For example, the first abbot of the monastery at Eynsham (founded 1005) was Ælfric the Grammarian, an *alumnus* of the Old Minster, Winchester: should either Ælfric or the other members of the community be considered members of the circle? Ælfric emphasized his connections to Æthelwold while simultaneously distancing the monks at Eynsham from practices within the circle. In his rule of life for the monks of Eynsham, Ælfric stated that he would not 'convey to you all those things which I learned about customs and usages while abiding for many years in [Æthelwold's] school, lest you draw back at the strictness of so great an observance'.<sup>61</sup> Ironically, many of Ælfric's requirements were more labour-intensive, at least, than Æthelwold's stipulations in the *Regularis Concordia*, the text which formed the basis for Ælfric's letter: for instance, Ælfric increased the number of readings at certain times of day.<sup>62</sup> Nevertheless, he sought to portray and/or encourage monastic practice at Eynsham to be different from that which he associated with the circle. This is not to say that the circle's own way of life had not changed or, in practice, contrasted with that of Eynsham. Nevertheless, for reasons of self-definition, the monks at Eynsham should perhaps be excluded from Æthelwold's circle. On the other hand, Ælfric himself might still be usefully analyzed as a part of Æthelwold's circle. He identified himself as a member of the circle and maintained links to the rest of the circle: he wrote an abbreviated *Vita S Æthelwoldi* for Coenwulf, abbot of

---

<sup>60</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 22-24. These lists seem to have been written between 994 and 1006: see below, p. 246.

<sup>61</sup> 'Sed nec audeo omnia vobis intimare, quae in scola eius degens multis annis de moribus seu consuetudinibus didici, ne forte fastidientes distractionem tante observantiae nec saltem velitis auditum prebere narranti'; *LME*, pp. 110-111.

<sup>62</sup> Jones, *Ælfric's Letter*, p. 44.

Peterborough and briefly bishop of Winchester, and Susan Irvine has suggested that he may also have written a *vita* of Vincent for Abingdon (which held Vincent's relics, according to the *Secgan*).<sup>63</sup> Moreover, Ælfric seems to have continued certain aspects of the intellectual programme at Æthelwold's foundations: his *oeuvre* provides the prime example of the standardized Old English vocabulary which was apparently developed by the circle.<sup>64</sup> Indeed, some aspects of Ælfric's approach to saints may have been influenced by his time at Winchester: Mechthild Gretsch has noted that most of the saints about whom Ælfric wrote were featured in Æthelwold's Benedictional (although he also developed his own, idiosyncratic interests, for example in virgin couples).<sup>65</sup> For the purposes of this chapter, therefore, I will regard Ælfric as a member of the circle, while remaining aware that members of the community at Eynsham might not have been exposed to the same influences or claimed the same identities. The example of Eynsham suggests that institutions could subscribe to the Rule of St Benedict and be governed by members of the circle without featuring most aspects of the circle's intellectual programme.

Similar standards will be applied to other *alumni* of the circle who moved on to different institutions: those institutions shall not be considered part of the circle unless there is evidence that their members participated in the circle's intellectual programme. Thus, in the absence of other evidence, the see at Sherborne might possibly not have been

---

<sup>63</sup> Irvine, 'Bones', p. 126-7.

<sup>64</sup> Gneuss, 'Origin', p. 77.

<sup>65</sup> Gretsch, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints*, pp. 7-9. Admittedly, the extent to which the choice of saints in the Benedictional was unique—and not just a collection of well-known saints plus Swithun and Æthelthryth—is debatable. Of the 38 saints mentioned in the Benedictional, 29 appear in all 22 surviving ninth-, tenth- and eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon calendars, which possibly range from Northumbria to Winchester to East Anglia, including calendars which were not influenced by Æthelwold's circle, like the calendar in the Bosworth Psalter. Five of those saints who do not appear in all calendars are only absent from the calendar in the Junius Psalter or the so-called 'Missal of Robert of Jumièges', works which mention far fewer saints than the other calendars; Rushforth, *Atlas*, Tables 1-12; A. Prescott (ed.), *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold* (London, 2002), pp. 10-17. As noted above, however, calendars suggest textual influences perhaps more than actual practices at houses, and Ælfric still might have been influenced to follow this pattern by Æthelwold's circle, as Gretsch suggests.

part of the circle, even though it was under the control of Wulfsige, an *alumnus* of the circle, and S895 (A.D. 998) records him making Sherborne conform to the Benedictine Rule.<sup>66</sup> The monastery at Worcester—which was governed between 992 and 1002 by Ealdwulf of *Burh*—certainly did not conform to some of the circle’s key standards: in a charter from Ealdwulf’s episcopate, some of the members of the community there were described as *clerici*, *presbyteri*, and *diaconi* (not *monachi*, *sacerdotes*, or *levitae*, the terms pointedly favoured by Æthelwold’s circle to distinguish themselves from unreformed clerics).<sup>67</sup> Whether these terms sometimes indicated the presence of unreformed clerics at Worcester—as Julia Barrow and Francesca Tinti have argued—or whether these terms simply indicate more linguistic flexibility among the authors of the documents—as Eric John maintained—arrangements at Ealdwulf’s Worcester seem to have contrasted with the strict arrangements within Æthelwold’s circle.<sup>68</sup> Worcester cannot therefore be considered part of Æthelwold’s circle in this period, even though its members shared some other features with the circle.<sup>69</sup> The circle’s members’ desire to differentiate themselves from clerical groups was one of their major intellectual goals, which was evidently not felt as strongly at Worcester.

By contrast, Christ Church Canterbury will be considered part of the circle, because its members seem to have conformed to the standards of the circle after members of the circle became archbishops of Canterbury. While clerics might have lived alongside monks in Christ Church under Dunstan and his two immediate successors, under Ælfric of Abingdon and Ælfheah of Winchester, Christ Church seems to have housed only

---

<sup>66</sup> S895 (A.D. 988); for Wulfsige’s connections to the circle, see *NMLV*, p. 23. On the charter’s authenticity, see S. Keynes, ‘Wulfsige, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (c. 990-3), and Bishop of Sherborne (c. 993-1002)’, in K. Barker *et al.* (eds), *St Wulfsige and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey, 998-1998* (Oxford, 2005), pp. 53-94.

<sup>67</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 25-36; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxxi; S1381 (A.D. 966), ed. T. Hearne, *Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis* (2 vols, Oxford, 1723), i.190-1.

<sup>68</sup> Barrow, ‘Community of Worcester’, p. 99; Tinti, *Sustaining Belief*, p. 28; John, ‘Church of Worcester’, pp. 142-57.

<sup>69</sup> For example, Worcester’s monks copied the liturgy which apparently originated at Winchester the circle in the early eleventh century; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxx.

monks (in keeping with the circle's practices).<sup>70</sup> Moreover, sometime after Ælfric of Abingdon's elevation to the archbishopric, scribes at Christ Church began to produce works in the circle's Style I Anglo-Caroline, as opposed to Style II which was used at Canterbury under Dunstan.<sup>71</sup> Someone trained by the circle (possibly Wulfstan himself) wrote three hymns to St Augustine of Canterbury in the early eleventh century, which seem to have been used there.<sup>72</sup> The monks at Christ Church also seem to have adopted textual models favoured by the circle. Nicholas Brooks argued that during Ælfheah's archiepiscopate, the monks at Christ Church, Canterbury seem to have adopted the ecclesiastical calendar associated with Winchester, judging from a calendar copied into the Arundel Psalter in the middle of the first decade of the eleventh century.<sup>73</sup> While no earlier calendars survive from Æthelwold's circle, the Arundel Psalter's Calendar represents a deviation from a tenth-century calendar from Canterbury, inscribed in the Bosworth Psalter, apparently during Dunstan's archiepiscopate.<sup>74</sup> (In particular, the Arundel Psalter did not include many of the local Kentish saints and saints from Glastonbury, in contrast to the Bosworth Psalter). As argued in the introduction, the degree to which calendars reflected contemporary venerating practice, rather than textual models, is debatable, so this change may not necessarily reflect a change in venerating practices at Christ Church.<sup>75</sup> Rather, the changes in the calendar may suggest a change in textual models. Whether this change was implemented by Ælfheah or his predecessor Ælfric is unclear (no calendar from Christ Church survives from the 990s). Nevertheless, it is clear that Ælfheah at the very least encouraged the use of these styles at Canterbury. Admittedly, not all of the distinctive 'Winchester' styles were implemented at Christ

---

<sup>70</sup> See below, pp. 256-8.

<sup>71</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline*, pp. 3, 104.

<sup>72</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xxxvii.

<sup>73</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, p. 265.

<sup>74</sup> Rushforth, *Saints in English Kalendars*, Table 1.

<sup>75</sup> See above, p. 53.

Church, Canterbury. The sort of painting found in the New Minster Refoundation Charter and Æthelwold's Benedictional (as opposed to simple figure drawing) does not seem to have been widely practiced there, and Canterbury's churches continued to produce and use Roman psalters, as opposed to the Gallic psalters favoured elsewhere (including in Æthelwold's circle).<sup>76</sup> However, unlike the *clerici* of Worcester or Ælfric's explicit claims that Eynsham was different from the circle, these different practices at Canterbury do not seem to be fundamental enough to exclude Christ Church from membership of the circle.

Some of these issues were not unique to the second generation: Ælfric, the future archbishop of Canterbury, may have reformed St Albans during the first generation, although the evidence for this is unclear. (Scholars have deduced Ælfric's connection to St Albans from later sources and from the gifts Ælfric left to St Albans in his will.)<sup>77</sup> Nevertheless, members of the circle seem to have spread to more houses during the second generation, making the problem of how to delineate the circle more acute during that period.

The problem of delineation also affects houses which were definitely part of the first generation of the circle, since some men joined Æthelwold's refoundations who had been trained outside the circle. For example, there is no evidence that Ælfheah, Æthelwold's successor as bishop of Winchester (and later archbishop of Canterbury), had any connections to Æthelwold's circle prior to his arrival at the Old Minster. According to Adelard's *lectiones* on Dunstan (written 1006 x 1012, apparently for Ælfheah), Ælfheah was an abbot when he was transferred to Winchester;<sup>78</sup> however, there are no records of an Abbot Ælfheah at any of Æthelwold's houses. Admittedly, Ælfheah was

---

<sup>76</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 262, 274.

<sup>77</sup> *Wills*, pp. 52-3; E. Mason, 'Ælfric (*d.* 1005), Archbishop of Canterbury', *DNB*, [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/185?docPos=1>].

<sup>78</sup> 'Abbatem nomine Ælfegum Wentoniae consecrabis episcopum'; *LDD*, VIII (pp. 130-1).

listed as a ‘brother’ (*frater*) of the Old Minster in a list copied in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* around 1031; however, his connection to the Old Minster seems to have come from his time as bishop there.<sup>79</sup> Where Ælfheah may have come from is more of a mystery: charters and hagiographies mention three Ælfheahs who were abbots in the late tenth century, but do not list their monasteries.<sup>80</sup> Osbern’s *Vita S. Elphegi* (written c.1080) claims that Ælfheah trained at Deerhurst before becoming a hermit and later abbot outside Bath.<sup>81</sup> However, Henrietta Leyser and Thomas License have emphasized that Osbern’s stories— especially the claim that Ælfheah was a hermit—may owe much more to Anglo-Norman ideals of sanctity than to any lingering memory of Ælfheah’s career.<sup>82</sup> Nevertheless, while Ælfheah’s origins cannot definitively be known, he probably came from outside the circle. He may even have been imposed from outside: Adelard claimed Dunstan was responsible for Ælfheah’s promotion and did not suggest that the community at the Old Minster had any input in this decision.<sup>83</sup> The extent to which this passage reflects the events leading up to Ælfheah’s arrival in Winchester is debatable: Lapidge and Winterbottom have noted that Adelard may have been attempting to flatter Ælfheah, who commissioned the *lectiones*, by associating him personally with the saint.<sup>84</sup>

---

<sup>79</sup> *NMLV*, p. 23.

<sup>80</sup> *VSO*, iv.8; S777 (A.D. 970), S780 (A.D. 970), S839 (A.D. 982). Finding references to Ælfheah’s early career is further complicated by the claim in the A version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle that ‘Ælfheah... was also known as Godwine’: ASC A, 984. Godwine may have been an unofficial nickname; but the entry still raises the possibility that Ælfheah may appear under a different name in some of the sources. (The PASE database lists 157 Godwines, at least 5 of whom were churchmen from the late tenth century: *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* [pase.ac.uk].)

<sup>81</sup> Osbern, ‘Vita S. Elphegi’, ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (2 vols, London, 1664-95), ii, p. 123.

<sup>82</sup> H. Leyser, ‘Ælfheah’, *DNB*, [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/181?docPos=2]; License, *Hermits*, p. 64. Hermits might have existed in England in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, so Osbern’s claim that Ælfheah was a hermit is not entirely implausible: see S1523 (1017 x 1035), which claims to be the will of an anchorite. However, given Osbern’s track record of embellishing other lives with eremitical detail, he shall not be given the benefit of the doubt; see License, *Hermits*, p. 64.

<sup>83</sup> *LDD*, VIII (pp. 130-1). Ælfheah’s appointment to Winchester thus seems to have contradicted Æthelwold’s stipulation that monastic communities (including episcopal sees under monastic rules) should choose abbots/bishops from within their own community if possible, with the consent of the king; *RegC*, p. 6. Admittedly, even within the circle, houses did not always acquire bishops from within their own communities: Coenwulf of *Burh* was made bishop of Winchester in 1006. Therefore, it is not clear if Ælfheah’s appointment should be seen as an affront to the intellectual traditions of the circle, or something in keeping with the circle’s general practice, if not its ideal.

<sup>84</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. 131, n. 69.

Nevertheless, some details about Ælfheah in the *lectiones* can be corroborated: for example, Adelard gives the correct year of Ælfheah's succession to the archiepiscopate of Canterbury (1006 AD).<sup>85</sup> Therefore, Ælfheah might have been imposed on the circle from outside, and his inclusion therein is open to debate.

Nevertheless, unlike the monks of Worcester, Ælfheah seems to have promoted—or at least overseen the production of works which conformed to—the key standards of the circle once he became bishop of Winchester, and he can therefore be included in the circle for the purposes of this analysis. Works produced at the Old Minster during Ælfheah's episcopate show that the circle's characteristic vocabulary and scripts continued to flourish: these included Wulfstan's *Narratio* and *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, which may have been composed around 996. At the very least, the continued presence of Wulfstan and other students of Æthelwold at the Old Minster seems to allow that the Old Minster continued to be viewed as part of Æthelwold's circle, even if it was under the management of a man who had not been trained by Æthelwold. Their continued presence and work might also suggest that Ælfheah sought to accredit himself as part of Æthelwold's circle. Indeed, some of these texts and manuscripts strove explicitly to link Ælfheah to Æthelwold's legacy. Since these texts were presumably subject to Ælfheah's patronage and approval, they might suggest that Ælfheah was interested in portraying himself as part of Æthelwold's circle. For example, Wulfstan's *Narratio* includes a long dedicatory letter to Ælfheah, noting how he continued Æthelwold's rebuilding works and urging him to emulate Æthelwold in all respects.<sup>86</sup> Similarly, the final miracle in the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* shows Ælfheah acquiescing to Æthelwold's posthumous judgement and may have been designed to emphasize that Ælfheah was going to follow Æthelwold's

---

<sup>85</sup> 'Cantiam translatus... anno incarnati Verbi millesimo sexto.' *LDD*, VIII (pp. 132-3).

<sup>86</sup> *Narratio*, p. 381.

lead.<sup>87</sup> In this miracle story, Wulfstan portrayed the dead Æthelwold miraculously freeing a chained thief whom Ælfheah had handed over to be tortured (although Wulfstan carefully portrayed Ælfheah's original judgement as a *iustum iudicium*). On one hand, this story might be read as an attempt to criticize Ælfheah's policies, although presumably Ælfheah himself ultimately financed the production and copying of the *vita* and could have decided to stop subversive stories being copied and distributed. On the other hand, Wulfstan might have intended to portray Ælfheah as someone who admired Æthelwold and his legacy: he portrays Ælfheah letting the thief go in the end, 'out of respect for the great father'.<sup>88</sup> Thus, this miracle might have acknowledged both Ælfheah's origins outside the circle and his willingness to conform to Æthelwold's programme once in office. At the very least, then, Ælfheah sponsored works which associated him with Æthelwold's circle both explicitly (by portraying him as Æthelwold's continuator) and implicitly (by using the same vocabulary and ideas that had marked the work of the first generation of the circle). Moreover, when Ælfheah became archbishop of Canterbury, he seems to have supported the new implementation of new textual models at Christ Church, as noted above. This suggests that he subscribed to the circle's intellectual programme to the extent that he was perhaps willing to help impose it on other houses.

With these issues in mind, I have constructed a list of all known men who will be considered to have formed part of the second generation of Æthelwold's circle for the purposes of this discussion: see Figure 2. (The names of none of the nuns from the Nunnaminster in this period survive, although theoretically they could have continued the standards of the circle as well.)

---

<sup>87</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 46 (pp. 68-9).

<sup>88</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 46 (pp. 68-9). Equally, Wulfstan may have chosen a story about a chained thief being freed not because he sought to undermine Ælfheah's judgements per se, but because it provided a neat metaphor: 'It is clear then that this saint... is able by virtue of his merits to release us from the chains of our sins...'

**Figure 2: All Members of Æthelwold's Circle in the Second Generation Known By Name**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Known Ranks/Offices</b>	<b>Sources Claiming Relationship to the Circle</b>
<b>Ælfheah</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; bishop of Lichfield	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Ælfheah</b>	Bishop of Winchester; Archbishop of Canterbury	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Ælfnoth</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Bishop of Dorchester	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Ælfric</b>	Monk of Abingdon; Abbot of St Albans?; Bishop of Wilton; Archbishop of Canterbury	<i>Wills</i> , pp. 52-3; Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus MS 16.2, fo. 1
<b>Ælfric</b>	Oblate at the Old Minster, Winchester; Abbot (?) of Cerne; Abbot of Eynsham	<i>LME</i> , p. 111
<b>Ælfstan</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Bishop of Rochester	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Ælfwold</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Abbot	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18v
<b>Æscwig</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Bishop of Dorchester	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Æthelbold</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Abbot	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18v
<b>Æthelgar</b>	Brother at Glastonbury and Abingdon; Abbot of the New Minster (964); Bishop of Selsey (ASC C, 980); Archbishop of Canterbury 988-990 ( <i>NMLV</i> fo. 20v)	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 15r
<b>Æthelsige</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Bishop of Sherborne	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Athulf</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Bishop	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Byrhteah</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Abbot	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Byrhtnoth of Ely</b>	Abbot of Ely	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18v
<b>Coenwulf</b>	Abbot of <i>Burh</i> ; Bishop of Winchester	<i>VÆA</i> , p. 71.
<b>Eadwine???</b>	Abbot of Abingdon	According to S876, he was imposed on Abingdon by his brother, Ælfric; however, he was commemorated in <i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 26v
<b>Ealdwulf of <i>Burh</i></b>	Abbot of <i>Burh</i>	<i>VÆ</i> , ch. 24 (pp. 40-3).
<b>Frithegar</b>	Monk of Abingdon; Abbot of Evesham	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 26v

<b>Germanus</b>	Brother of the Old Minster according to the New Minster <i>Liber Vitae</i> ; Abbot of Ramsey	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18v
<b>Godeman of Thorney</b>	Monk of Winchester?; Abbot of Thorney	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18v; <i>VÆ</i> , ch. 24 (pp. 40-3).
<b>Sigar</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; (abbot of Glastonbury?); Bishop of Wells	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Wulfgar</b>	Brother of the Old Minster; Bishop of Wilton	<i>NMLVK</i> , fo. 18r
<b>Wulfgar</b>	Abbot of Abingdon	S876 (A.D. 993)
<b>Wulfstan</b>	Precentor of the Old Minster, Winchester	<i>VÆ</i> , 'Preface'

### Sharing Saints Between Monasteries in the Second Generation

I will argue that Æthelwold's circle, thus defined, continued to use 'public' veneration to interact with groups outside their monasteries, especially during the second generation's struggles with secular elites for restitution; however, a major change seems to have occurred in the veneration of saints between the first and second generation, because in the second generation monks at various houses in the circle seem to have begun 'publicly' venerating saints that were associated with other houses in the circle.<sup>89</sup> In the following paragraphs I will argue that this change occurred because in the absence of unifying figures like Æthelwold, houses within the circle needed to cement their links with each other.

For example, by the early eleventh century, the monks at Abingdon seem to have commemorated Æthelthryth of Ely, Eustace (associated with *Burh* and another, unidentified house in the circle), and Kenelm of Winchcombe, among others, with altars and poems in their church. The flyleaf of Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2, probably written at Abingdon in the early eleventh century, contains poems about an altar dedicated to a group of virgins, including Æthelthryth and two others whose names are

<sup>89</sup> For a definition of 'public' veneration, see above, p. 46.

now illegible, and another altar commemorating the martyrs Eustace, Edward the Martyr, and Kenelm of Winchcombe.<sup>90</sup> The date of the manuscript, as well as the presence of Edward among the martyrs, suggests that these altars were established no earlier than 978, when Edward died, and probably after 984, the date when miracles began to be attributed to him and his sanctity was widely recognized, according to Byrhtferth of Ramsey.<sup>91</sup> Therefore, the monks of Abingdon may have started to commemorate saints from other monasteries during the second generation. It is not clear why they emphasized these particular virgins and martyrs, but one possible solution may be that they sought to represent interactions with Ely, Winchcombe, and other groups associated with the saints in question who had the potential to help them in the insecure years of the second generation. As mentioned above, the monks of Abingdon claimed that they had lost land and even their right to free elections during the early years of Æthelred's reign. By contrast, the monks of Ely (who were particularly associated with Æthelthryth) may have been a useful ally to the beleaguered Abingdon, especially if they had special links to Æthelred, as claimed in the *Liber Eliensis*. Moreover, in S876 (the charter in which Æthelred confirmed Abingdon's privileges), Abbot Byrhtnoth of Ely appeared unusually prominently in the list of abbots (even before Leofric and Ælfhere, who precede him in other charters from the period).<sup>92</sup> The witness-list of S876 may have been affected by factors other than perceived prominence, of course: with its highly unusual autograph crosses, it may have been determined by the seating arrangements at the synod, rather than the conventional orders of precedence. (Even if the list was determined by seating arrangements, it might nevertheless be significant that the abbot of Ely was seated so close to Wulfgar of Abingdon.) The monks of Abingdon may have begun to

---

<sup>90</sup> On the date and provenance of this manuscript, see Porter, *Excerptiones*, pp. 3, 7.

<sup>91</sup> *VSO*, iv.22 (pp. 144-5).

<sup>92</sup> Compare S876 (A.D. 993) to S877 (A.D. 966) and S878 (A.D. 966), where Byrhtnoth routinely witnesses towards the end of the list of abbots.

commemorate Æthelthryth around this time to emphasize their links to Ely. Admittedly, it could be argued that the monks of Abingdon chose to commemorate Æthelthryth because she was simply a popular saint and an obvious candidate for an altar dedicated to virgins; however, she was so closely associated with Ely in this period, it seems unlikely that she could have been invoked without creating some association to Ely.<sup>93</sup> The commemoration of Eustace might also have been intended to emphasize links to another house within the circle: as discussed in Chapter 4, a verse *passio* of Eustace and a mass set for him were created at a house in the circle, although it is impossible to tell which house.<sup>94</sup> Nevertheless, the monks of Abingdon's commemoration of Eustace suggests that they felt a need to emphasize their connections with other members of the circle.

The monks of Abingdon also commemorated saints associated with houses and individuals outside the circle; thus, they also seem to have continued to use saints to interact with important potential allies outside the circle. For example, the monks' commemoration of Edward the Martyr might have been inspired by their ties to the former ealdorman in the area, Ælfhere, who is credited in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in Byrhtferth's *Life of Oswald* with translating Edward's body from Wareham to Shaftesbury.<sup>95</sup> Veneration of Edward the Martyr also seems to have been adopted by Æthelred himself: Æthelred at least issued charters which acknowledged the cult of Edward the Martyr around 1001 (if a charter in favour of Shaftesbury is authentic) and a law which mandated the celebration of Edward's feast.<sup>96</sup> Abingdon's monks may have celebrated Edward in an attempt to appease a king who had until recently opposed them. Equally, the inclusion of Kenelm may have been a reference to the monastery at

---

<sup>93</sup> See above, p. 150; *VSO*, v.2 (pp. 148-9).

<sup>94</sup> See above, pp. 204-5.

<sup>95</sup> ASC E, 980; *VSO*, iv.19 (pp. 140-3);

<sup>96</sup> Æthelred is portrayed addressing 'quoddam Christo [et] sancto suo, germano scilicet meo Edwardo, quem proprio cruore perfusum per multiplicia uirtutum signa ipse Dominus nostris mirificare dignatus est temporibus'; S899; see Keynes, *Diplomas*, pp. 104-7 on authenticity. *Laws*, pp. 84-5. For Æthelred's involvement in Edward's cult, see Williams, *Æthelred*, pp. 15-17.

Winchcombe, with which he was particularly associated.<sup>97</sup> Winchcombe's saints may have interested the monks of Abingdon because Winchcombe was relatively close to Abingdon. Like Ely, all these institutions and individuals outside the circle also seem to have been relevant for Abingdon's welfare in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries. It may not have been a coincidence that the monks of Abingdon venerated their saints.

Admittedly, it is unclear whether the commemoration of these shared saints reflected pre-existing alliances, or whether these commemorations were intended to *initiate* a rapprochement with the institutions and individuals in question (and if so, how the other institutions and individuals would have found out about and appreciated such a gesture). The former option seems like the simpler solution: perhaps Abingdon's allies could have provided them with contact relics for their altars, or perhaps the monks of Abingdon felt they were honouring particular houses (or individuals) by honouring saints with whom these groups were closely identified. (As has been argued above, Ely was identified very closely with Æthelthryth in this period.)<sup>98</sup> Nevertheless, if the monks of Abingdon chose to venerate saints to commemorate their pre-existing alliances, it might be surprising that sources from Abingdon do not mention saints exclusively connected to the New Minster, Winchester, an institution which seems to have assisted Abingdon in the early 990s: the author of S876 credited the New Minster's abbot with persuading Æthelred to compensate Abingdon. Possibly, monks at Abingdon did venerate saints which were associated with the New Minster, but the sources for that veneration do not survive, or are not immediately apparent. It should be noted that the flyleaf in Plantin-Moretus 16.2 only includes altars for virgins and martyrs. Two saints particularly associated with the New Minster, Iudoc and Grimbald, were both confessors. There may have been a third altar to confessors, which commemorated Iudoc and Grimbald but

---

<sup>97</sup> See, for example, *NMLV*, p. 93.

<sup>98</sup> See above, p. 150.

which was never recorded (although Abingdon did not need to have a third altar). Additionally, the monks from the New Minster and Abingdon both commemorated the Virgin Mary as their patron: this shared devotion to Mary could have formed a link that is not immediately evident, because devotion to Mary was not exclusively associated with the New Minster in the same way that devotion to Æthelthryth was particularly associated with Ely. Alternatively, the monks at Abingdon may not have venerated saints associated with the New Minster at all. If the monks at Abingdon did not venerate saints associated with their known allies, this might suggest that they emphasized saints associated with institutions and individuals whose support they hoped to acquire or maintain (although, as noted above, it is unclear how such groups would have become aware of the monks' veneration).

Similarly, members of the circle at Christ Church, Canterbury seem to have venerated saints from other houses in the circle, perhaps in order to forge connections with those houses. In particular, Swithun seems to have been venerated at Canterbury around 1006. The sources for this are, admittedly, late: Eadmer, writing in the late eleventh century, claimed that Ælfheah took part of Swithun's head from the Old Minster, Winchester, to Canterbury when he was made archbishop.<sup>99</sup> There are no contemporary sources which mention this move, but equally, contemporary sources do not offer any alternative explanations for when Swithun's head was moved to Canterbury.<sup>100</sup> If Ælfheah did translate Swithun's head, he might have been trying to create a new link

---

<sup>99</sup> Eadmer of Canterbury, *De reliquiis S. Audoeni*, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371, fo. 220v-225; 'Edmeri Cantuariensis Cantoris Nova Opuscula De Sanctorum Veneratione Et Obsecratione', ed. A. Wilmart, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses*, 15 (1935), pp. 184-219, 354-79 at 365. The head may survive in Normandy at Evreux: see J. Crook, 'The Rediscovery of St Swithun's Head at Evreux' in Lapidge, *Cult of Swithun*, p. 61.

<sup>100</sup> Some manuscripts associated with Canterbury might be considered to show an unusual interest in Swithun and his hagiographers, but the connections have to be inferred. A letter that was possibly written by Lantfred as an introduction to his *Translatio* appears in a collection of letters associated with Canterbury which was compiled in the early eleventh century (in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.xv, fo. 144v-145r). This might tangentially suggest that there was some interest in Swithun and/or Lantfred at Canterbury by that period. On the manuscript and the letter's relationship to Lantfred, see Lapidge, *Cult of Swithun*, p. 241.

between the Old Minster, Winchester and Canterbury. Ælfheah might have been motivated to promote the veneration of Swithun at Canterbury as part of his apparent involvement in bringing the Wintonian textual models calendar to Christ Church and assimilating many of Christ Church's practices with the standards of the circle. Of course, Ælfheah might simply (or might also) have had a personal devotion to Swithun. Ælfheah's interest in Swithun was not limited to Swithun's usefulness in forging links between Winchester and Canterbury, given that before Ælfheah became archbishop of Canterbury, he had overseen the production of Wulfstan of Winchester's *Narratio de Sancto Swithuno* (which Wulfstan prefaced with a letter to Ælfheah) and of deluxe manuscripts of material about Swithun.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, the transfer of such a large relic—which was not held by Ælfheah personally but was, according to Eadmer, kept in an altar within the church at Canterbury—suggests that the veneration of Swithun's head was intended to involve the whole community at Christ Church.<sup>102</sup> Again, specific cults could have been shared between monasteries in this period, possibly for the purpose of solidifying alliances between those houses.

A curse copied, perhaps early in the eleventh century, into a Roman psalter with an Old English gloss originally written in the first half of the tenth century might provide one further example of shared saints.<sup>103</sup> This curse invokes Mary, Eadburh (associated with the Nunnaminster), and Machutus (also known as Malo, a sixth- and seventh-century Breton saint). The precise provenance of this curse and of the manuscript as a whole is heavily debated; however, Gretsch has argued that the Royal Psalter's gloss, at least, was composed at Winchester, possibly in the late tenth century, possibly by Æthelwold

---

<sup>101</sup> *Narratio*, pp. 372-3.

<sup>102</sup> Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371, fo. 222v. 'Edmeri', p. 365.

<sup>103</sup> London, British Library, MS Royal 2.B.v. This curse is discussed and reproduced in E.S. Dewick (ed.), *Facsimiles of Horae de beata Maria virgine* (HBS, xxiii, 1902), pp. xi-xii, cols 1-2; Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 265; C. Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan: A Prophet in Politics?', in J. Barrow and A. Wareham (eds.), *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 145-66 at 158-60; Stokes, *Vernacular*, p. 67.

himself.<sup>104</sup> The addition of the curse has been associated with both the New Minster and the Nunnaminster in the early eleventh century, and the manuscript seems to have been moved to Christ Church, Canterbury, by the late eleventh century.<sup>105</sup> Wherever the curse was written, however, it seems to involve more than one house's associations, because while Mary and Eadburh were associated with the Nunnaminster, the curse seems to refer to a male house.<sup>106</sup> Moreover, Malo, does not seem to have been associated with the Nunnaminster. Dumville, following Gasquet and Bishop, has argued that Malo was associated with the New Minster; however, as I note above, they rely on the evidence of calendars which, as discussed above, may reflect textual models rather than contemporary practices.<sup>107</sup> Certainly, by 1031, the author of the New Minster *Liber Vitae* claimed that the New Minster had some relics of Malo, as well as hundreds of other saints;<sup>108</sup> however, it is not clear when those relics were acquired by the New Minster. Malo was not associated with the New Minster in the *Secgan*.<sup>109</sup> Malo may, instead, have been associated with a Mercian house or St Augustine's, Canterbury, or possibly another house in the circle in the early eleventh century: a fragment of an Old English life of Malo/Machutus survives in London, British Library, MS Cotton Otho A.viii and MS Cotton Otho B.x<sup>110</sup> This fragment was badly damaged in the Ashburnham House fire, but its editor, David Yerkes, has suggested that the script resembles that used at St Augustine's, an assessment which has been confirmed by Peter Stokes.<sup>111</sup> The orthography, however, seems to be Mercian, judging from the use of 'y's for 'i's. Additionally, the author of Old English life might have had some connections to

---

<sup>104</sup> Gretsche, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 288.

<sup>105</sup> Dumville, 'English Square', pp. 149-50; Stokes, *Vernacular*, p. 67.

<sup>106</sup> Cubitt, 'Archbishop Dunstan', p. 60.

<sup>107</sup> See above, p. 117.

<sup>108</sup> *NMLV*, p. 149.

<sup>109</sup> *NMLV*, p. 92.

<sup>110</sup> *The Old English Life of Machutus*, ed. D. Yerkes (Toronto, 1984).

<sup>111</sup> Yerkes, *Machutus*, p. xlii; Stokes, *Vernacular*, p. 87.

Æthelwold's circle: he (or possibly she) uses the standardized Old English vocabulary Gneuss associated with Æthelwold's circle. At any rate, the curse in the psalter might again suggest that it was written at a house which venerated saints known elsewhere in the circle (including the Nunnaminster). Just as houses in Æthelwold's circle relied on each other for political and possibly material support during the second generation, so too they may have relied on each other's saints for extra heavenly support. They may also have sought to impress their potential enemies with the number of saints on whose support they could draw in the case of an attack on one of their houses.

The second generation also saw the emergence of a cult which seems to have been 'publicly' venerated by all the monasteries in the circle: that of Æthelwold himself. Æthelwold was elevated to a more prominent grave in the Old Minster in 996.<sup>112</sup> It was probably shortly thereafter that Wulfstan of Winchester composed a *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* and a series of hymns to Æthelwold.<sup>113</sup> The venerating materials produced at Winchester seem to have emphasized Æthelwold's connections to the rest of the circle and were perhaps intended to remind other members of the circle of their shared connections to Æthelwold and their shared commitment to uniformity, as required by Æthelwold. Thus, Wulfstan highlighted Æthelwold's activities refounding and running monasteries, going into some detail about Æthelwold's refoundations at Abingdon, the New Minster, the Old Minster, the Nunnaminster, Ely, *Burh*, and Thorney in his *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*. He carefully described the careers of various members of these houses to such an extent that Cubitt has described his work as 'something of an advertisement for the efficacy of the Benedictine old boy network.'<sup>114</sup> In the general themes Wulfstan developed, as well as in

---

<sup>112</sup> 'Anno duodecimo post obitum gloriosi pontificis Æthelwoldi...ossa de sepulchri munimine leuari' ; *VÆ*, ch. 42 (pp. 64-5).

<sup>113</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. xvi.

<sup>114</sup> Cubitt, 'Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform', p. 90.

the details he adds, Wulfstan emphasized Æthelwold's role as monastic founder and teacher above all else. In his preface, he states:

Of the company of these teachers was the blessed father and elect of God, Bishop Æthelwold. He burst on his time brilliant as the morning star among other stars; the founder of many monasteries and teacher of the Church's doctrines, he shone alone and unique among all the English bishops.<sup>115</sup>

Similarly, the climax of the *vita* emphasizes Æthelwold as protector and unifier of the circle, more than anything else. This climax—significantly placed in the narrative just before Æthelwold's death, as a sort of summary of his career—recalls a prophetic dream attributed to Dunstan which emphasized Æthelwold's significance as the creator of a circle of monks.

Dunstan saw, while asleep... what looked like a tree of wonderful height... extending far and wide over all Britain. The branches of the tree were loaded with countless cowls... at its topmost point, a very large cowl, which protected the others... [A] priest with white hair like an angel's... replied... "The big cowl standing at the top of the tree is that of your monk, Æthelwold... The other cowls... denote the many monks who are to be instructed by his scholarship... for the service of almighty God in this district."<sup>116</sup>

Æthelwold's role as monastic refounder was not the only theme in Wulfstan's *vita*: nevertheless, the shared history of the houses in the circle, through their connection to Æthelwold, seems to have been a prominent theme.<sup>117</sup> Wulfstan also emphasized Æthelwold's insistence on monastic uniformity and was careful to portray Æthelwold always conforming to the stipulations of the *Regularis Concordia*: just as the *Regularis*

---

<sup>115</sup> 'Ex quorum collegio beatus pater et electus Dei pontifex Æthelwoldus, uelut lucifer inter astra coruscans, suis temporibus apparuit, multorumque coenobiorum fundator et ecclesiarum dogmatum institutor'; *VÆ*, Preface (pp. 2-3).

<sup>116</sup> 'Dunstanus... vidit in somnis... quasi quandam mirae celsitudinis arborem... Cuius arboris rami innumeris erant... cucullis onusti... ipsa vero arbor in summo cacumine gestabat unam pergrandem cucullam... quae... protegebat ceteras... canis angeliciis decoratum presbiterum... respondit... [M]agna autem cucullam... ipsa est monachi tui Æthelwold... reliquae cucullae... designant monachorum qui eius eruditione sunt instruendi et undique in hac regione ad omnipotentis Dei servitium congregandi'; *VÆ*, ch. 38 (p. 57).

<sup>117</sup> For other themes, see Wulfstan's accounts of Æthelwold interacting with lay people. These incidents are discussed fully in C. Reidel, 'A Renaissance of Saints: The Development of English Lay Christianity in the Long Tenth Century' (Boston College Ph.D thesis, forthcoming).

*Concordia*'s author [probably Æthelwold] emphasized that abbots should seek royal assistance, and not the assistance of other secular lords, similarly Wulfstan depicted Æthelwold relying on the help of Kings Eadred and Edgar, and no one else.<sup>118</sup> Thus, Wulfstan described Æthelwold's silence and use of sign language in his monasteries, Æthelwold's interest in reading, and his humble diet: not coincidentally, all these traits are encouraged by the *Regularis Concordia*.<sup>119</sup> Indeed, the overall model on whom Wulfstan seems to have based his image of Æthelwold was Benedict of Nursia, the originator of the monastic rule to which Æthelwold subscribed: Wulfstan seems to have portrayed Æthelwold in a way that emphasized and legitimized Æthelwold's role in creating monastic uniformity. Wulfstan's allusions to Benedict seem clear because they include some of the more unusual aspects of Æthelwold's hagiography. In particular, Benedict's own hagiography, as found in the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great, emphasizes corrective violence of the sort found in the *Vitae Æthelwoldi*. (Apart from the Desert Fathers—who do not seem to have been extensively commemorated by the circle—Lapidge and Winterbottom have argued that there were few hagiographic models of saints being violent to other humans during their lifetimes.)<sup>120</sup> In the *Dialogues*, Benedict hits a wandering monk to rid him of a demon and also strikes another possessed brother.<sup>121</sup> Similarly, Wulfstan depicted Æthelwold beating disobedient brethren.<sup>122</sup> These anecdotes were known to at least one member of Æthelwold's circle, because Ælfric included them in his own sermon on the life of Benedict.<sup>123</sup> Several manuscripts of Gregory's *Dialogues* survive from the eleventh century (although none can be linked with Wulfstan

---

<sup>118</sup> *RegC*, pp. 5-6; *VÆ*, ch. 11, 25 (pp. 19-21, 40-3).

<sup>119</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 30-1, 35, 37 (pp. 46-9, 52-5); *RegC*, pp. 8-14.

<sup>120</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, cviii.

<sup>121</sup> Gregory the Great, *Dialogi*, *PL*, 66, col. 142, 188.

<sup>122</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 27-8 (pp. 44-5).

<sup>123</sup> *CH*, pp. 161, 181.

of Winchester personally or the second generation).<sup>124</sup> These anecdotes and this comparison reinforced the importance of monastic conformity and uniformity among the houses which Æthelwold had refounded. This emphasis on uniformity, taken together with the prominence of Æthelwold's refounding activities in Wulfstan's *vita*, suggest that Wulfstan was using his *vita* in part to create an image of the circle. He emphasized who the circle were—monasteries and monks connected to Æthelwold—and what the circle should be: monks who, like Æthelwold, conformed to a certain uniform way of life.

In emphasizing Æthelwold as a link between monasteries, the cult of Æthelwold, at least as conceived by Wulfstan, may have tied into a bigger programme at the Old Minster to record (and possibly maintain links with) its *alumni* and associates. Significantly, Wulfstan's work on the *vita* may have coincided with the creation of lists of *alumni* from the Old Minster. Although these lists only survive in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* (copied in 1031), they were probably written at the Old Minster in the late tenth century or very early eleventh century.<sup>125</sup> These lists appear to have been composed after the dedication of Ælfheah's building works in about 993 x 994, because the text mentions the day on which that dedication occurred ('xiiii kalendarum novembrium die').<sup>126</sup> The lists also appear to have been composed earlier than 1006, because they do not mention Ælfheah's elevation to Canterbury, nor his successor, Coenwulf. Therefore, in the same period that Wulfstan was composing his *vita* of Æthelwold, with its prominent theme of monastic unity, the monks at the Old Minster were recording their associates elsewhere. These lists may simply have been a record of former brothers who needed the monks' prayers; however, these efforts may also have been relevant in the early 990s, as the Old

---

<sup>124</sup> See, for example, Lambeth Palace Library MS 204 (created xi<sup>med</sup>); Bodleian Library, MS Tanner 3 (created xi<sup>2</sup>); fragments of a translation of the *Dialogues* copied in the early eleventh century survive in Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 76.

<sup>125</sup> These lists were apparently composed at the Old Minster, because they refer to Ælfheah's and Æthelwold's building projects at 'haec ecclesia' which was both a *monasterium* and an episcopal *cathedra*: 'Sancti templi simul ac monasterii... renovator.' *NMLV*, pp. 22-3.

<sup>126</sup> *NMLV*, p. 23.

Minster's monks sought compensation from Æthelred for losses they had sustained in the 980s. Their former members (and their associated institutions) might have been called upon to assist them.<sup>127</sup> The lists' focus on brothers who attained prominent offices might suggest its author was motivated to advertise or assert the Old Minster's influence and power.

Other houses (which, like the Old Minster, had lost property) also seem to have emphasized their connections to powerful *alumni*. From Abingdon, the flyleaf of Plantin-Moretus 16.2 also includes a poem on the death of Ælfric of Canterbury in 1006. Ælfric might have once been a monk at Abingdon—the author of the poem describes him as a *confilius*. This suggests that the monks at Abingdon were also interested in their notable *alumni*, at a time when they were also concerned with appealing to other monasteries for aid and when, perhaps not coincidentally, they were venerating saints which were also venerated at other monasteries in the circle. Wulfstan's *vita* may therefore have been part of a wider project at the Old Minster and at other houses in the circle to try to record and maintain ties with their former members and with other houses connected to the circle, as he noted how monks from previous houses staffed the new houses and celebrated the uniform standards which Æthelwold had promoted for all these houses.

Æthelwold's cult does seem to have appealed to houses within the circle, even before Wulfstan's efforts, and it may, in some ways, have served to unite them. Even before his translation, documents from both *Burh* and Ely (apparently composed between 971 and about 990) celebrated Æthelwold's personal generosity to those establishments.<sup>128</sup> Equally, S876—perhaps written by Wulfgar of Abingdon in 993—

---

<sup>127</sup> Certainly, the list also includes former brothers who died before the *terminus ante quem* of the list (993 x 994), including Æthelwold himself. However, those figures might also have been expected to render aid if they were believed to be in heaven, with special access to God's attention.

<sup>128</sup> Documents in the *Libellus* refer to 'the blessed Æthelwold' (*beatus Æthelwoldus*, although it is unclear how the original Old English phrased it): see *LibÆ*, ch. 11; *LE* ii.11 (p. 86); Fairweather, p. 109. While some of the more florid passages about Æthelwold's holiness in the *Libellus* seem to have been added later,

claims Æthelwold was inspired by God.<sup>129</sup> Likewise, the *Liber Niger* from Peterborough, although copied in the early twelfth century, contains passages which seem to come from the late tenth century and which show extreme respect for Æthelwold.<sup>130</sup> Devotion to Æthelwold at these houses seems to have continued, perhaps with brief lulls. By the twelfth century, Æthelwold's relics were recorded at houses he had founded: Abingdon's monks claimed to have one of his arms and one of his legs, while Peterborough and Thorney also claimed to have some of his relics in the twelfth century (along with Glastonbury, Bath, Shrewsbury and Salisbury).<sup>131</sup> Liturgy pertaining to Æthelwold has been associated with Winchester, Ely, and Worcester.<sup>132</sup> This is not to say that Æthelwold's cult was limited only to houses within the circle: the liturgy associated with Æthelwold's cult was included in liturgical books copied at Worcester in the eleventh century, like the *Portiforium of St Wulfstan*.<sup>133</sup> Nevertheless, most attempts to venerate Æthelwold seem to have occurred within the circle. For this reason, Lapidge and Winterbottom have portrayed Æthelwold's cult as a failure from Wulfstan's point of view, because it is only known to have spread to other institutions with 'some personal link with the saint' or to those which copied the circle's liturgy, 'in spite of the energetic efforts by Æthelwold's own followers.'<sup>134</sup> However, Wulfstan and Æthelwold's other promoters might actually have been aiming for Æthelwold's cult to spread to other houses

---

in the twelfth century, the internal passages in the chapter listed above seem to be based on a tenth century document; see above, p. 156.

<sup>129</sup> 'ADELUUOLDI episcopi, cuius industria ac pastoralis cura non solum [mee] uerum etiam uniuersorum huius patrie tam pr[elatorum] quam subditorum utilitati superno plasmatore inspirante consuluit'; S876 (A.D. 993).

<sup>130</sup> Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 330-6.

<sup>131</sup> See Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxlii.

<sup>132</sup> For the manuscripts and their provenance, see Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, cxii-cxlii.

<sup>133</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom have suggested that the monks of Worcester's interest in Æthelwold came from copying liturgical books from Winchester and not necessarily from any particular devotion to Æthelwold; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxxi.

<sup>134</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxliii.

in the circle first and foremost.<sup>135</sup> The themes in Wulfstan's *vita* and the efforts at the Old Minster to record *alumni* of the circle in this period suggest that the veneration of Æthelwold was intended by the monks of the Old Minster to remind the circle of their connections and to urge members of the circle to conform to the standards set out by Æthelwold.

The second *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* may have sought to serve a similar purpose, underlining unity and trying to create links between different parts of the circle. This second *vita* was written by Ælfric of Eynsham in 1006 for Coenwulf, bishop of Winchester, who had previously been abbot of *Burh*. Ælfric's work is essentially a less verbose version of Wulfstan's *vita*: he may have been planning to translate it into a briefer, English version.<sup>136</sup> In other respects, Ælfric seems to have sought to underline the same themes of unity and Æthelwold's activities as a monastic founder.<sup>137</sup> These themes may have been important to an abbot of *Burh* who was arriving to take over Winchester. The second *vita* of Æthelwold also suggests that shared saints could be deployed to reinforce connections between different members of the circle.

Æthelwold was not the only saint, however, who was deployed to link whole groups within the circle (as opposed to linking just two houses). Connections within the circle (as defined earlier in this chapter) included connections between individual bishops, as the Old Minster's lists of *alumni* suggest. These connections, too, seem to have been

---

<sup>135</sup> Moreover, it is perhaps not surprising that Æthelwold's cult seems to have been prominent at a limited number of houses: the veneration of Oswald also seems to have centred on monasteries he founded; Thacker, 'Saint-Making', p. 264. Dunstan, however, seems to have been venerated more widely, suggesting that such widespread acknowledgement was possible, but perhaps not sought by Æthelwold's promoters. Dunstan's feast day first appears in calendars and poems associated with Christ Church, Canterbury, but his cult seems to have spread quickly. The first set of laws of Cnut (I Cnut) mentions Dunstan's feast day; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Early Lives*, pp. cxxxviii, cxli. This suggests that Wulfstan of Worcester, the author of the laws, at least hoped that the general population would commemorate Dunstan; *Laws*, pp. 168-9.

<sup>136</sup> Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cxlviii.

<sup>137</sup> Ælfric's *vita* includes only a few new pieces of information not found in Wulfstan's *vita* (such as names of certain brothers and details of Æthelwold's illnesses): Lapidge and Winterbottom have argued that 'most of this information is relatively insignificant, and... could be supplied almost unthinkingly by someone who had known Æthelwold while he was alive'; Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, p. cliv.

conceived and/or depicted with reference to saints. The list of bishops who were *alumni* of the Old Minster describes them as being under ‘Peter’s protection.’<sup>138</sup> The notion that they all owed allegiance or gratitude to the same saint may have been part of a strategy to use saints to underline a group’s unity and connections. Peter may have been chosen because the Old Minster was dedicated to Peter and Paul (although if that were the case, it is unclear why the list would mention Peter and not Paul).<sup>139</sup> Alternatively, Peter’s tonsure seems to have been one of the visual symbols that united the circle (and, more generally, those who followed the Benedictine rule).<sup>140</sup> Yet again, Peter—as the ‘rock’ on which the Church was to be built and one of the first leaders of Christians—may have had a special resonance with bishops. (His name is associated with the first list in the *Liber Vitae*, which refers exclusively to bishops.) Whether it was Peter’s association with the Old Minster, the Petrine tonsure, or the episcopate that made him relevant to that list (or a combination of the above), it is nevertheless intriguing that the Old Minster’s list expressed the link between these bishops in terms of their relationship to a saint. This might suggest that the compiler of the list at the Old Minster saw or portrayed links between groups in terms of saints. Again, this suggests that shared saints were a medium through which writers expressed or even tried to achieve unity among the members of the circle in the years after Æthelwold’s death.

---

<sup>138</sup> ‘Sub protectione domni sancti Petri’; *NMLV*, p. 22.

<sup>139</sup> In charters, the dedication of the Old Minster was always given as both Peter and Paul (except in one strange instance when it was given as the Trinity, S836, A.D. 980); see above, pp. 106-8.

<sup>140</sup> The reformers did not introduce the Petrine tonsure to Britain: Bede claimed that the Petrine tonsure was adopted as the correct hairstyle for churchmen at the Synod of Whitby; Bede, *HE*, iii.25 (p. 183). The tonsure may also have been used at Winchester in the early tenth century, judging from illustrations of tonsured saints in the Galba Psalter, which Robert Deshman argued were made around that time; R. Deshman, ‘The Galba Psalter’, *ASE*, 26 (1997), 109-38. However, in the *Benedictional* of Æthelwold, Peter and all Æthelwold’s monks (apparently at the Old Minster) were depicted with the Petrine tonsure, while non-monks were depicted with beards and full heads of hair. Admittedly, the *Benedictional* also depicts Swithun with a tonsure, even though he had probably been a cleric; *BÆ*, fo. 4r, 97v. However, the circle portrayed Swithun as a supporter of the reform of the Old Minster, who only started to produce miracles during Æthelwold’s episcopate to show that he approved of what Æthelwold was doing. Thus, while the tonsure may not have been unique to the circle, the *Benedictional* suggests that it was an important symbol for the circle.

## Precedents for Shared Veneration

This veneration of saints who were associated with other houses in the circle—in potentially ‘public’ forms like altars and liturgy— seems to be more widely practised during the second generation of the circle than the first. Certainly, members of the circle did venerate some of the same saints during the first generation as part of the liturgical year or as part of their ‘private’ veneration (if *De horis* was widely known).<sup>141</sup> This mandate could, in theory, have fostered a sense of unity among the monks, as well as promoting individual relationships between monks and these saints. Individual monks could also develop special attachments to saints from other monasteries: Lantfred claimed that a monk from Abingdon had been cured at Swithun’s shrine, after an elaborate pilgrimage there in bare feet. However, there is no evidence of the whole Abingdon community venerating Swithun, as opposed to just this individual. Similarly, Æthelwold’s Benedictional provides evidence that Godeman of Thorney was aware of the saints primarily venerated elsewhere in the circle; however, it does not prove that his institution, or indeed any institution, was also invested in those saints. The Benedictional’s proem claims the book was intended for Æthelwold personally, in his capacity as bishop of Winchester; therefore, it cannot easily be used as evidence of practice at any one institution.<sup>142</sup> It may reflect Æthelwold’s varied interests, or the interests he wished to be seen to have, rather than any conscious attempt to spread these cults among all his followers. By contrast, the second generation’s shared veneration seems to have been different in that it implicated whole communities’ ‘public’ commemorations, not just individual or ‘private’ observation. The whole community at Abingdon was probably aware of their altars to Æthelthryth, Eustace, Edward, and Kenelm, and lay people from outside the community might possibly have had access to

---

<sup>141</sup> See above, pp. 50-1.

<sup>142</sup> *BÆ*, fo. 4v

them as well. The curse involving Mary, Eadburh, and Machutus seems to have been aimed at least in part to intimidate thieves of monastic property (presumably from outside the monastery). Thus, in the second generation, houses within the circle seem to have begun to identify their whole communities (perhaps to the outside world as well as to themselves) with devotion to saints from other houses in the circle.

There are two cases from the first generation in which whole communities might have commemorated a saint associated with another establishment(s). First, Æthelwold's circle tried to change the patron of the New Minster to Mary, who was the dedicatory saint of their monasteries at Abingdon and Thorney. However, it is unclear if those monasteries venerated Mary to create a unity of practice among their monasteries, as Clayton suggests, or because they each had specific attachments to her.<sup>143</sup> By contrast, I suggested above that the monks may have emphasized Mary as the New Minster's patron to differentiate it from the Old Minster, which was also associated with the apostle Peter.<sup>144</sup> Meanwhile, Abingdon and Thorney may have had pre-existing dedications to Mary (if Thorney existed before Æthelwold's monks arrived).<sup>145</sup>

Secondly, the monks of *Burh* seem to have known a hagiographical work about St Eustace, who was venerated elsewhere in the circle.<sup>146</sup> However, as argued above, it seems likely that the monks primarily used the text relating to Eustace in a monastic school, rather than for liturgy celebrated by the whole community together (potentially in the presence of outsiders).<sup>147</sup> If this were the case, while the monks of *Burh* would have revered Eustace a saint, they seem to have used the hermeneutic style in his *Passio* to connect themselves to the rest of the circle, not the veneration of Eustace himself. In their liturgy they may not have singled Eustace out over any other saint in the liturgical year.

---

<sup>143</sup> Clayton, *Mary*, p. 133.

<sup>144</sup> See above, p. 115.

<sup>145</sup> For discussion about whether or not Thorney existed before Æthelwold, see above, p. 177.

<sup>146</sup> S1448.

<sup>147</sup> See above, pp. 204-6.

This seems to be slightly different from the way Abingdon began to single out Æthelthryth and Eustace with altars, or the way Ælfheah may have developed a centre for the veneration of Swithun at Canterbury.

Not only do these examples of shared veneration from the first generation seem to be of a different nature from the shared veneration of the second generation, but there are also fewer recorded examples of shared veneration from the first generation of any sort. Admittedly, there is a danger of arguing from silence here: the second generation left more documentation (both in terms of surviving manuscripts and in terms of hagiographical and liturgical texts.) However, at the very least, this evidence suggests that shared veneration was an important feature of the circle by the second generation.

This conclusion contrasts with Clayton's suggestion that Æthelwold's circle moved from relatively homogeneous venerating practices (the veneration of Mary), to more localized and diverse practices between the death of the initial refounders and the first quarter of the eleventh century.<sup>148</sup> In particular, she singled out Æthelwold's Benedictional as the high water mark of uniform devotion to Mary within the circle, since Mary features prominently in the Benedictional. However, the first generation of the circle undoubtedly promoted local saints, such as Swithun, Iudoc, Grimbald, and Æthelthryth, as discussed in previous chapters. In fact, Æthelthryth and Swithun were celebrated in the Benedictional along with Mary. Instead, I would argue that these monasteries' focus became slightly more unified, in a way, after Æthelwold's death: although they continued to celebrate saints with ties to their localities, they also began to share cults associated with different localities and institutions, and particularly saints associated with other monasteries within and without the circle. It seems possible that the veneration of saints from other monasteries became important during the troubled 980s

---

<sup>148</sup> Clayton, 'Centralism', pp. 97, 102.

and the recovery in the 990s, when houses within the circle may have become useful allies to each other. Perhaps in the absence of a central coordinator like Æthelwold, members of the circle might have used saints' cults (including the cult of Æthelwold himself) to try to reinforce or generate those links. Celebrating Swithun at Canterbury, for example, might have been a way for the monks there to note their connections with the Old Minster. Commemorating Æthelwold might have allowed houses to stake their claim to a shared identity and history.

### **Continued Cults**

As well as venerating saints which were primarily associated with other monasteries, monks in the second generation continued to use cults to interact with non-monastic groups. Thus, monasteries often seem to have continued to celebrate some of the saints they had venerated in the first generation. Veneration of Swithun evidently continued at the Old Minster, Winchester: Wulfstan composed a verse version of Lantfred's *Translatio* sometime in the 990s, and deluxe manuscripts containing works used in the liturgical celebration of Swithun were created in c.1000. Tropes about Swithun also appeared in an early eleventh-century manuscript of the Winchester Troper.<sup>149</sup> All these texts seem to have been designed to be communicated beyond the population of monks, as they all formed part of the liturgy. Indeed, the deluxe Swithun manuscript (now London, British Library, MS Royal 15 C .vii) was marked shortly after its creation to denote lections for various offices on Swithun's feast day.<sup>150</sup> Similarly, monks at the New Minster seem to have continued to celebrate Iudoc and Grimbald, both of whose relics are mentioned in the 'New Minster History' (which was probably

---

<sup>149</sup> See above, p. 110.

<sup>150</sup> Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 23.

composed between 988 and 990).<sup>151</sup> Moreover, the monks at the New Minster seem to have continued to use veneration in their interactions with the outside world: the ‘New Minster History’ portrayed the tower finished in 988 as covered in depictions of saints. It is unclear how this artwork was assembled, but it is possible that parts of monastic buildings that were literally facing outwards depicted saints (although whether the general population got the message is another matter entirely). Mary continued to be venerated at Abingdon (where she continued to feature prominently in charters as the dedicatee, owner, and protectress), and at the New Minster, Winchester, where the first set of friezes on the new tower was dedicated to her.<sup>152</sup> Equally, veneration of Æthelthryth seems to have continued at Ely. Although no sources survive directly from Ely in the second generation, she was associated with Ely in Byrhtferth of Ramsey’s *Vita S. Oswaldi* (written sometime in the late 990s).<sup>153</sup>

### **New Cults**

The monks in Æthelwold’s circle also began to participate in cults that were new to the circle, to continue to interact with their clerical and lay rivals. As noted above, Æthelwold’s own cult was developed in this period, perhaps as an attempt to link other members of the circle to the Old Minster, Winchester, where Æthelwold’s relics were kept (although it is not clear that Æthelwold’s cult was highly regarded outside the circle).

Æthelwold’s students and associates were also responsible for overseeing the creation of hagiography and liturgy about his colleague Dunstan, perhaps as a consequence of their innovations at Christ Church, Canterbury. The earliest surviving evidence for Dunstan’s feast day appears in calendars made or altered at Christ Church,

---

<sup>151</sup> *NMLV*, pp. 5-6. On the date of the ‘New Minster History’, see Keynes, *Liber Vitae*, p. 31.

<sup>152</sup> See above, p. 116.

<sup>153</sup> *VSO*, v.2 (pp. 148-9).

Canterbury, during the archiepiscopate of Æthelwold's former student, Ælfric of Abingdon (994-1006). Dunstan's name was added to several older calendars around the year 1000.<sup>154</sup> Dunstan was also included in several calendars which were entirely produced at Canterbury around the year 1000, and his death-day appears in all surviving Anglo-Saxon calendars after that.<sup>155</sup> A poet from Christ Church also composed a hexametrical prayer for Dunstan's intercession in the early eleventh century.<sup>156</sup> This is not to say that veneration of Dunstan only began at Canterbury during the archiepiscopate of Ælfric. Winterbottom, Lapidge, and Dumville have argued that the mass for Dunstan in the Missal of Robert of Jumièges was written at Christ Church, Canterbury, in the late tenth century.<sup>157</sup> This mass uses a very late version of Anglo-Saxon Square minuscule, so it was probably written before Ælfric's archiepiscopate (when, as we have seen, Anglo-Caroline minuscule became more prominent in Canterbury archives). Alternatively, it could have been written during Ælfric's tenure by a scribe who had previously trained at Christ Church. At any rate, manuscripts produced under Ælfric continued to celebrate Dunstan and may even have enhanced and expanded the veneration of Dunstan.

Further evidence for Ælfric's involvement with the veneration of Dunstan *might* come from the earliest known *vita* of Dunstan, which was addressed to him; however, Ælfric's relationship to the production and distribution of this work is not entirely clear. The preface of the first known *Vita S. Dunstani*, written by a figure known only as B., claims that the *vita* was created for Ælfric: 'To the most wise lord archbishop Ælfric, B., remotest of all priests and worthless native of the Saxon race, [wishes] the joys of high

---

<sup>154</sup> Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 579; London, British Library MS Add. 37517; Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. cxxxviii.

<sup>155</sup> Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS. lat. 10062; London, British Library, MS Arundel 155.

<sup>156</sup> London, British Library, MS Cotton Nero A.ii, fo.13r; Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. cxxxviii.

<sup>157</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. cxxxix; Dumville, *English Caroline*, p. 116.

heaven.’<sup>158</sup> It is unknown whether Ælfric requested that B. compose this hagiography or whether B. presented this hagiography to Ælfric. It is possible that Ælfric commissioned this work from B. Winterbottom and Lapidge have suggested that B. presented the *vita* to Ælfric to try to win Ælfric’s favour. They suggest B. may have been living in Canterbury at this time, judging from the way he phrased passages about Canterbury in the *vita*, and might have been trying to ingratiate himself with the monastically-minded Ælfric.<sup>159</sup> If this were the case, Ælfric would not have been heavily involved with the production of the manuscript and its contents cannot necessarily be used as evidence of how Dunstan was remembered at Christ Church under Ælfric.<sup>160</sup> As Lapidge and Winterbottom have shown, B. was probably an unreformed English cleric who had lived at Glastonbury and had moved to the continent in the early 960s: he therefore wrote from the point of view of someone who was a cleric and definitely not a member of Æthelwold’s circle.<sup>161</sup> Equally unclear is whether Ælfric was involved at all with the distribution and copying of these manuscripts. The two earliest surviving manuscripts of B.’s *Vita S. Dunstani* were written c. 1000 in the Style II Anglo-Caroline script which was associated with St Augustine’s, Canterbury, in this period, not with Christ Church.<sup>162</sup> The St Gall manuscript, at least, seems to have been made at the behest of Wulfric, abbot of St Augustine’s, because it includes an inscription made by Abbo of Fleury, whom Wulfric had asked to versify B.’s *vita*.<sup>163</sup> Certainly, manuscripts of B.’s *Vita S. Dunstani* may have been written at Christ Church and then failed to survive to the modern period;

---

<sup>158</sup> VSD, ‘Prologue’ (pp. 2-3); Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. 3, n. 2.

<sup>159</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. lxxii.

<sup>160</sup> In particular, Lapidge and Winterbottom have suggested that B.’s reference to Dunstan’s treacherous friends who supported King Eadwig might be a thinly-veiled reference to Æthelwold. It is admittedly unclear if this really was a reference to Æthelwold; however, if it was, one might imagine that Ælfric (who might have been at Abingdon with Æthelwold at this time) would have wished to portray the situation that way; Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, xxxiii.

<sup>161</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. lxix.

<sup>162</sup> Arras, Bibliothèque municipale (Médiathèque) 1029; Sankt Gallen, Kantonsbibliothek, Vadianische Sammlung, 337.

<sup>163</sup> Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, pp. lxxviii-lxxxii; ‘Letter of Abbot Wulfric’, ed. and trans. Winterbottom and Lapidge, *Early Lives*, p. 162.

however, in the absence of other evidence, it cannot be proven that B.'s *Vita S. Dunstani* was copied and promoted outside of St Augustine's in this period (a monastery whose output suggests its members remained independent of the intellectual priorities and practices of Æthelwold's circle). Therefore, while B.'s *Vita S. Dunstani* offers a tantalizing hint about Ælfric's efforts to venerate Dunstan, this work cannot be proven to have been produced at Ælfric's behest or even distributed by Ælfric and his monks.

Nevertheless, Ælfric's promotion of the liturgical setting for Dunstan's cult might be significant, especially since Ælfric may have reformed Christ Church, Canterbury, when he was made archbishop. Christ Church seems to have switched to a very developed style of Caroline minuscule in the early 990s, probably during Ælfric's tenure: the first known Christ Church scribe who used Carolingian minuscule can be identified in a document of 995 (S939), the first year of Ælfric's archiepiscopate. Admittedly, as Brooks noted, the change in script could also have occurred earlier, during the reign of Ælfric's predecessor, Archbishop Sigeric, if the documents in which it was used have been lost.<sup>164</sup> Brooks argued that Christ Church's Caroline script could have been based on the Caroline and insular hybrid script which was used at St Augustine's, Canterbury, where Sigeric had been abbot.<sup>165</sup> However, if St Augustine's books were the models, it is not clear why Christ Church did not just adopt St Augustine's hybrid script, instead of producing something more continental, like the circle. Dumville has therefore argued that someone with a connection to Æthelwold's circle—Æthelgar, Ælfheah, or Ælfric—may have instigated a switch in script at Christ Church, even though there were other models of script in Christ Church's library.<sup>166</sup> Given the baggage associated with Anglo-Caroline minuscule elsewhere, it seems unlikely that this change in script was merely a cosmetic adjustment. Rather, it seems to suggest that Ælfric, if he did institute the change, was

---

<sup>164</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 277-8.

<sup>165</sup> Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 277-8.

<sup>166</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline*, p. 104.

realigning Christ Church away from the influence and standards of Dunstan and his students like Sigeric. Moreover, in the twelfth century, monks at Canterbury claimed Ælfric drove clerks out of Christ Church (just as Æthelwold drove the clerks out of the Old Minster) in the F manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.<sup>167</sup> Admittedly, this account seems to reflect later expectations, rather than any of Ælfric's known actions. The chronicler claimed that Ælfric then expelled the clerics from Canterbury with the support of the pope; however, as far as I know, there is no evidence from the papal archives that any disputes from Canterbury were settled in the 990s. Moreover, the line of reasoning that Ælfric is depicted presenting—that Christ Church had originally been set up for monks—has no parallel in late tenth-century arguments in support of reform. (While Æthelwold did make vague, general references to 'the ways of our fathers' and the days when even kings were like monks, to the best of my knowledge he never claimed that any of his monasteries were founded by followers of the Rule of St Benedict.)<sup>168</sup> Nevertheless, Christ Church may have had a tradition of remembering Ælfric as a reformer, if he did indeed bring practice at Christ Church in line with the standards of Æthelwold's circle in some way. Therefore, Ælfric may have promoted and expanded the veneration of Dunstan either to claim Dunstan's legacy for himself (and away from previous inhabitants of Christ Church) or to assuage members of the community who had been affected by the changes he seems to have implemented in their intellectual programme. In promoting Dunstan, he might have tried to take control of a cult that was already recognized by groups outside the circle (as seen in the Missal, for instance, which Dumville argues was not written in a script associated with the circle).<sup>169</sup>

In this respect, it is perhaps significant that the earliest hagiography of Dunstan was written by B., a cleric, for Ælfric, a member of Æthelwold's circle. If Ælfric did

---

<sup>167</sup> ASC F, 995.

<sup>168</sup> S745 (A.D. 966); *RegC*, p. 5.

<sup>169</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline*, p. 116.

commission B.'s *vita*, he might have been attempting to integrate a rival into a key part of the veneration of a saint he controlled, just as Æthelwold made the former cleric Eadsige the sacristan of Swithun's shrine. Alternatively, if B. produced the *vita* on his own initiative, as Winterbottom and Lapidge suggest, it is nevertheless intriguing that he may have tried to influence Ælfric by producing something for the veneration of Dunstan. Again, saints seem to have provided an interface through which monks could interact with groups outside their monastery—in this case, clerics who were not part of their communities— and vice versa.

Ælfric's successor as archbishop of Canterbury, Ælfheah of Winchester, also facilitated the liturgical veneration of Dunstan: he commissioned Adelard of Ghent to write a series of *lectiones* for the deposition of Dunstan.<sup>170</sup> Ælfheah's veneration may have been influenced by his possible links to Dunstan in life (see above); equally, however, he may have promoted further changes to the intellectual programme at Canterbury, and like Ælfric, he may have sought to associate himself with Dunstan's cult as a way to make some concessions to groups who had been disenfranchised by these alterations. As noted above, Ælfheah at least maintained Ælfric's intellectual programme, and may have supplemented it with new textual models and a major new relic, Swithun's head. His cultivation of the veneration of Dunstan might have been an attempt to offer a local cult—perhaps to clerics who were no longer part of the local community, or perhaps to lay elements within Canterbury— to balance out the new cults he was importing to create links with different groups. Again, no record of Ælfheah's motivations exists, so this can only be speculation. However, the correlation between innovating ecclesiastical leaders and the veneration of their predecessors—whose disciples still seem to have been living in the area—seems significant.

---

<sup>170</sup> *LDD*, 'Letter' (pp. 112-3).

Admittedly, scholars have challenged the extent to which either Ælfric or Ælfheah promoted the veneration of Dunstan. Thacker has argued that in some respects, Dunstan's cult was slow to develop during this period: he notes that Adelard's account includes no posthumous miracles and that Ælfric and Ælfheah do not seem to have attempted to translate Dunstan from his somewhat inaccessible tomb behind a 'strong wall' (*maceria fortis*) in Canterbury's crypt.<sup>171</sup> Nevertheless, these features may bolster the suggestion that Ælfheah and possibly even Ælfric sought to control the veneration of Dunstan, perhaps to force external groups to cooperate with them. It is unclear to what extent Ælfheah and his agents influenced Adelard's work; however, its focus on events during Dunstan's life may have been intended to interest groups of clerics (or possibly lay people) who had known Dunstan in life and already supported his veneration (as opposed to groups who needed to be convinced of Dunstan's sanctity through posthumous miracle stories). Moreover, if these followers wished to visit his tomb, they would presumably have been obliged to cooperate with the monks who controlled the crypt.

Houses that had belonged to the circle for a longer time also appear to have promoted new saints—or at least, promoted certain saints more intensively—during the second generation. For example, the monks at Abingdon may also have begun to promote the veneration of Vincent in new ways in this period. Admittedly, the records from the first generation at Abingdon are few; however, there is no indication that the monks emphasized their links to Vincent in documents or liturgy. However, by around 1013, Abingdon was associated with the relics of one Vincent in the *Secgan*.<sup>172</sup> Meanwhile, during the second generation, Ælfric wrote a *vita* of Vincent outside his two main sermon series, presumably for a specific house. On the grounds of the *Secgan*'s evidence, Susan Irvine has suggested that Ælfric's hagiography of Vincent may have been commissioned

---

<sup>171</sup> Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury', pp. 222-26; for position of the tomb, see 'Edmeri', p. 365.

<sup>172</sup> *NMLV*, p. 91. For the date of the *Secgan*, see above, p. 186.

by or for Abingdon.<sup>173</sup> It would be arguing from silence to say that the monks of Abingdon had shown no interest in the cult of Vincent before the second generation; nor is it known when his relics arrived at Abingdon.<sup>174</sup> However, there are indications that the veneration of Vincent was boosted during the second generation, judging from Ælfric's hagiography, and this may have been encouraged by the monks at Abingdon. The monks' possible motives for especially promoting Vincent during this period can only be speculated; however, given Abingdon's difficulties during the 980s, it is tempting to suggest that its monks might have emphasized their possession of miracle-working relics to re-establish their authority in the region. By contrast, during the relative stability the monks enjoyed during Æthelwold's lifetime, they may not have advertised their relics to the same extent: as argued above, they seem to have associated themselves with Mary, Peter, Benedict, and other saints which fit their ideology and perhaps helped express their distinctive, rule-following identity. Perhaps in the second generation, the monks might have compromised and begun to emphasize relics which potentially had a wider appeal and could have persuaded local laity to come to the monastery and cooperate with the monks. However, this is pure speculation.

### **Private Veneration During the Second Generation**

Again, this is not to say that monks only had an interest in saints as far as they impacted their dealings with others. On the contrary, one of the few sources which described 'internal' veneration—Wulfstan of Winchester's *De horis peculiaribus*—seems

---

<sup>173</sup> Irvine, 'Bones', 126-7.

<sup>174</sup> The twelfth-century histories of Abingdon mention a woman who was active in the time of King Edmund being buried at a chapel dedicated to Vincent; however, John Hudson has noted that the text does not clarify if the chapel was in Abingdon or Culham, her estate, or whether any relics were involved; *HA*, i, pp. 286-7. However, if this incident genuinely occurred in the tenth century, it might suggest that some lay people (or at least, people who were not attached to the community) near Abingdon were interested in Vincent, and these might have been related to some of the despoilers of Abingdon during the second generation.

to have been composed during the second generation, even though Wulfstan claimed it described arrangements made during Æthelwold's lifetime.<sup>175</sup> Thus, these 'internal' practices may have continued, or at least been remembered, during the second generation. Moreover, monks also continued to conduct individual devotions and services within the monastery only (like nocturnal masses); however, there are few surviving sources for these practices.<sup>176</sup> Additionally, Wulfstan of Winchester's versification of a Carolingian sermon on All Saints, edited by François Dolbeau as *Breuilquium de omnibus sanctis*, might have been written for an 'internal' audience of monks in this period. Not only does it treat a topic which *De horis peculiaribus* urged monks to ponder privately—All Saints, with particular emphasis on Mary—the poem also includes an acrostic that plays on the visual aspect of the text.<sup>177</sup> This might suggest that on some level, Wulfstan may have anticipated an audience of readers as well as (or perhaps even instead of) an oral/liturgical audience for his poem. These sources provide tantalizing glimpses of some monks' activities, and perhaps provide a fuller sense of the monks' venerating practices at the Old Minster, at least. However, due to the nature of the sources, these remain only glimpses.

## Conclusions

This study ends in 1006, when Ælfheah became archbishop of Canterbury and Ælfric composed the second *vita* of Æthelwold. In a way, Ælfheah's introduction of new relics to Canterbury neatly encapsulates some general patterns in the second generation of the circle. On one hand, the expansion of the circle's members to new institutions, like Canterbury, seems to have required them to continue to promote new cults, like

---

<sup>175</sup> *DHP*, p. xxiii.

<sup>176</sup> For example, some of the readings marked out in British Library, Royal MS 15. C.vii (copied at Winchester c. 1000) might have been for night offices; Lapidge, *Swithun*, p. 23.

<sup>177</sup> The acrostic (contained in the first letter of every other line) reads 'Vvlfstanus...' For an analysis of the acrostic, see Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuilquium*', p. 38. For Wulfstan's prioritization of Mary, see *Breuilquium*, p. 66 (line 99 and following).

Dunstan's, with local resonance: this echoes patterns seen elsewhere during the first generation of the circle. On the other hand, Ælfheah also seems to have venerated saints, like Swithun, which continued to connect him to other institutions within the circle. Indeed, during the second generation, the institutions within the circle seem to have venerated each others' saints on a new scale. This veneration seems to have coincided with monasteries needing each other's political and financial support in the wake of the deprivations some institutions suffered in the 980s and the opportunities for restitution presented by the changed politics of the 990s. The interplay of these two factors is impossible to disentangle: did a given monastery venerate other monasteries' cults to get the other monasteries' support, or did it have other monasteries' support, and therefore venerated the other monasteries' saints? Nevertheless, the practice of allied monasteries venerating each others' cults is noteworthy for two reasons.

Firstly, it can illuminate how much agency monasteries' leaders and writers had when they chose which saints to venerate 'publicly' (as opposed to 'privately' or internally). This thesis has dealt with saints which Æthelwold's circle possibly shared with lay people or clerics outside their houses who did not leave their own sources about which saints they venerated or how they venerated them. Historians have therefore been obliged to rely on brief references to activity at Swithun's tomb in accounts of Swithun's miracles or accounts of meetings at Ely, and recent scholarly debates about Swithun and Æthelthryth show that the conclusions drawn from such sources are always open to question.<sup>178</sup> Some scholars like Hayward and Blanton have emphasized monks' agency over their venerating practices, almost to the exclusion of other actors and influences: while Hayward acknowledged the link between political crises and intensive veneration,

---

<sup>178</sup> See, for instance, Hayward, 'Saints and Cults', p. 320; Lapidge, *Cult of Swithun*, p. 73. Blanton, *Signs of Devotion*, p. 125; Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 181-96. Cubitt, 'Sites', p. 83.

he suggested that monks had to ‘remind’ the laity about their saints.<sup>179</sup> By contrast, Ridyard (and, in a different context, Cubitt) have emphasized that ecclesiastics’ venerating practices could be influenced by the interests of lay groups and groups outside their monastery, who did not create sources but who were influential at the time.<sup>180</sup> The veneration of saints from other monasteries perhaps clarifies some of these dynamics, because unlike the laity or clerics, monks at Winchester, Ely, and Canterbury left sources about which saints they venerated even before other houses adopted them during the second generation. Therefore, when monks at Abingdon venerated Æthelthryth in the early eleventh century, they seem to have been singling out a figure who was already very closely associated with Ely. Thus, evidence from the second generation shows that monks could choose which saints they venerated from a pool of already-recognized figures, because they often used their venerating practices to reflect alliances (or aspirations towards alliances) with other institutions. How venerating these shared saints helped alliances in practice is unclear: possibly other monasteries were aware of other centres which venerated their saints, or possibly monasteries venerated saints of monasteries with which they had already formed alliances to advertise those connections to other groups in their immediate vicinity. Either way, there seems to be an intriguing pattern of monasteries in the second generation adopting saints that were already associated with other, allied monasteries. Even the relatively new cults that they promoted—like those of Dunstan and Æthelwold—seem to have been anticipated before formal hagiographies were written. Thus, Æthelwold’s piety featured in several texts from his refoundations (see S876, for example), while Dunstan seems to have been included in calendars before B. wrote his *vita* for Archbishop Ælfric. Thus, the circle seems to have focused on saints who were already recognized (particularly by groups

---

<sup>179</sup> Hayward, ‘Saints and Cults’, p. 320; Blanton, *Signs of Devotion*, p. 125.

<sup>180</sup> Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, pp. 181-96. Cubitt, ‘Sites’, p. 83.

outside a given monastery). This suggests that monks did not have totally free rein to determine which saints they wished to venerate. Of course, these patterns cannot be imposed wholesale on the first generation. However, they might lend some credence to suggestions in the sources from the first generation that suggest that Æthelwold's circle did not routinely invent saints entirely *de novo* to serve their own, internal intellectual agenda.<sup>181</sup>

Secondly, this study of the second generation suggests that the monasteries in the circle, despite their deprivations, were beginning to form important political interests in their own right. Indeed, by the time of Domesday Book, monasteries associated with Æthelwold were generally among the wealthiest monasteries in England, a position many of them maintained until the Dissolution. Thus, the connections formed by these monasteries in their early days which gave them some stability are significant, because they formed the basis for institutions which would impact the religious, economic, and social structures of England for at least five hundred years. This thesis contends that this strength seemed to derive partly from these monasteries' use of saints to secure their position and help them ally or represent their alliances with other powerful groups (as suggested by the degree of agency they demonstrated in choosing which saints to venerate, among other things).

---

<sup>181</sup> *Translatio*, p. 253; *Narratio*, p. 409

## Conclusion

Studies of tenth-century English monastic reformers have often acknowledged that the veneration of saints was one of their major preoccupations.<sup>1</sup> This dissertation has tried to provide the first large-scale, systematic examination of how one group of reformers interacted with saints. It confirms previous scholars' suggestions that the veneration of saints was a major focus of these reformers' activities. Although only limited numbers and types of sources survive, they nevertheless suggest that the members of the circle invested considerable resources in certain forms of veneration, from deluxe manuscripts of hagiographies, to shrines, to new additions to their churches. The importance which Æthelwold's circle placed on saints can also be seen in the way they depicted themselves with saints in some of their most precious records. At Abingdon, Winchester, Ely, the New Minster, *Burh*, and Thorney, the circle went out of their way to emphasize their associations with saints in their records of especially valuable (or particularly controversial) possessions.

While my study confirms that saints' cults were important to Æthelwold's circle, it also suggests that they were important in different ways from those which historians have usually suggested. Some previous studies have attributed the circle's interest in saints to ideological priorities. Thus, Clayton claimed that the circle was particularly interested in Mary because she embodied their ideals of chastity and uniformity.<sup>2</sup> Meanwhile, other scholars have linked the circle's rhetoric about the glorious state of the English Church during the age of conversion to their interest in Æthelthryth and Birinus.<sup>3</sup> However, as this variety of views suggests, no consistent ideological motive explains all

---

<sup>1</sup> Sheerin, 'Dedication', p. 266; Thacker, 'Saint-Making', p. 244; Thacker, 'Cults at Canterbury', pp. 226-30; Rumble, 'Laity', p. 251; Rollason, *Saints*, p. 471.

<sup>2</sup> Clayton, 'Centralism', p. 97.

<sup>3</sup> Yorke, 'Æthelwold', [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8920?docPos=1>].

of the saints venerated by the circle. On the contrary, saints like Æthelthryth (the head of a double monastery) and Swithun (a secular bishop) practised lifestyles that contradicted some of the reformers' principles.

Instead, the evidence presented in this dissertation suggests that the circle invested in certain forms of veneration because the monks and nuns aspired to interact with groups outside their monasteries. Admittedly, the evidence is often difficult and incomplete; nevertheless, some suggestive patterns emerge. In the first chapter, I argued that the monks at Abingdon emphasized Mary in their charters whenever they received a controversial donation or at times when they were threatened by groups outside their monasteries. In the second chapter, I have tried to show that the monks' choice of saints also suggests that there was a correlation between the monks' venerating practices and their interactions with groups outside the monastery. While the monks at Abingdon seem to have acquired their monastery more easily and enjoyed the support—or at least, non-interference—of some important local families (and were perhaps thus able to promote their links to Mary, Peter, Benedict, and saints who fit the ideals of their Carolingian-inspired programme of reform), the monks at the Old Minster and the New Minster violently expelled the previous inhabitants of their houses.<sup>4</sup> Documents like the New Minster Refoundation Charter suggest that the monks continued to feel insecure and threatened for several more years. At these Wintonian houses, therefore, some of these same monks prominently venerated saints who did not fit their ideals, like Swithun the secular cleric and Iudoc the hermit. Swithun might have had some connection to the expelled clerics (I argue above that he may have been the ancestor of one of them), while Iudoc's cult probably existed already and might have appealed to disgruntled townspeople who remembered the early tenth century—the period when Iudoc's relics

---

<sup>4</sup> Although the surviving evidence for Abingdon is incomplete, it is nevertheless noteworthy that sources mentioning geographically local figures do survive from Abingdon, but these local figures were not treated as saints: see above, p. 73.

arrived in Winchester—as a period of prosperity and growth. The nuns’ veneration of Eadburh at the Nunnaminster may also have been motivated by external interests, because the circle generally seems to have avoided venerating members of the West Saxon royal family.<sup>5</sup> This is not to suggest that the circle had absolutely no agency in choosing which saints to venerate. The case of the New Minster suggests that in certain circumstances, the monks could ignore pre-existing cults (of secular figures) and possibly even change the monastery’s patron from Peter to Mary.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, even there, the monks’ venerating practices seem to have been influenced by the interests and expectations of external groups, as their veneration of the hermit Iudoc suggests. These conclusions are contrary to recent historiography, which has emphasized monks’ autonomous agency and agenda in promoting certain saints.<sup>7</sup> However, the monks’ choice of saints at Winchester and the variations of their uses of saints in documents suggest that they could be flexible and responsive to the interests of groups outside the circle.

The evidence presented in Chapters 3 and 4 also suggests that Æthelwold’s circle could be flexible in the way they publicly venerated saints, contrary to modern (and indeed contemporary) portrayals of Æthelwold’s circle as ‘unyielding’ and ‘uncompromising’.<sup>8</sup> The monks seem to have had different relationships, even with the same groups, in different regions, and they seem to have adapted their venerating priorities to fit their new circumstances. The monks who went to Ely dealt with many of the same members of the West Saxon *Königsnähe* as they had in Winchester (and indeed would in *Burh* and Thorney); however, they had very different relationships with these groups in these different contexts. While Ealdorman Æthelwine does not seem to have interfered with the monks at Winchester and actively helped those at *Burh*, the Ely

---

<sup>5</sup> See above, p. 119.

<sup>6</sup> See above, pp. 113-14.

<sup>7</sup> See, for example, Hayward, ‘Saints and Cults’, p. 319.

<sup>8</sup> Robinson, *Times*, p. 104; Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 39; Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, p. 452; Blair, *Church*, p. 351.

community claimed he had not kept his promises to them.<sup>9</sup> By contrast, the community at Ely claimed that Ælfric Cild had supported them, while monks at Abingdon claimed he harassed them.<sup>10</sup> Even the monks at *Burh* and Thorney—although they were a few miles apart and shared many of the same resources—seem to have had different relationships with external groups. This perhaps helps explain their different approaches to veneration. At *Burh*, the monks of the first and second generations seem to have emphasized their connection to Peter. Just as the monks of Abingdon seem to have enjoyed a degree of stability, the monks of *Burh* may have been able to focus on a saint who fit their ideals because they already enjoyed the support of important external figures, notably Ealdorman Æthelwine. By contrast, the monks at Thorney seem to have emphasized their possession of the relics of a local saint, Botulf: just after the second generation, they even featured Botulf alongside Mary in a charter.<sup>11</sup> It was unusual for a non-universal saint to feature in a charter in this way: this perhaps highlights the difference between Thorney and nearby *Burh*, and may result from those two monasteries having different relationships with external groups.

While the first generation seems to have been marked by diversity (reflecting their diverse situations), during the second generation the monks prominently venerated saints from other houses in the circle. I argue that this shared veneration emerged from pressures put on all the houses during the early years of Æthelred's reign. The monks of the circle seem to have continued to use saints to appeal to (or possibly commemorate existing links with) groups outside their monasteries whose support they sought, and by the second generation, these useful external groups included other houses in the circle. In particular, I argue that the New Minster, Winchester, and Ely might have assisted houses like Abingdon and the Old Minster which lost land and/or autonomy in the early part of

---

<sup>9</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 60; *LE* ii.49; Fairweather, p. 139; Kelly, *Peterborough*, pp. 32, 332.

<sup>10</sup> *LibÆ*, ch. 5; *LE* ii.7; Fairweather, p. 104; S876 (A.D. 993).

<sup>11</sup> S948 (A.D. 1015 x 1016).

Æthelred's reign. Additionally, the monks of the circle continued to adopt saints who may have appealed to rival groups: for instance, Ælfheah's veneration of Dunstan at Canterbury may have been designed to reconcile his regime there with clerics who had been forced out.

This is not to suggest that the monks did not venerate saints as part of their own spiritual practice or in venues where they did not anticipate interacting with groups outside their monasteries. However, as discussed in the introduction, very little evidence exists for that sort of 'in-house' or individual veneration (as compared to 'public' veneration). Therefore, this discussion about the importance of saints to the circle is limited to forms of 'public' veneration, while acknowledging that the circle also participated in other, less well-documented forms of veneration. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that the few texts which do seem to show internal venerating practices tend to emphasize saints like Mary, Peter, and Paul, in contrast to the diversity of saints which the monks commemorated in 'public' forms of veneration. Although *De horis peculiaribus* was recorded by Wulfstan, the cantor at the Old Minster, he only mentioned prayers to Mary, Peter, Paul, and All Saints, whereas in texts intended for 'public' veneration he prioritized Swithun. This again suggests that the monks' choice of saints to venerate 'publicly' was influenced by more than their own interests. (By contrast, the monks' own ideals and experiences presumably guided their choices about 'in-house' and individual veneration.)

Nor was the veneration of saints the only way Æthelwold's circle interacted with groups outside the monastery. Indeed, the lists of monks in the New Minster *Liber Vitae* describe the majority of the monks as *sacerdotes*, priests with a pastoral role. The next most common role is that of *levita*, or deacon, which may also have had a pastoral

element. Very few members of these communities are listed as monks (*monachi*) only.<sup>12</sup> This thesis argues that saints were an important part of these efforts to interact with external groups.

While elucidating reformers' interest in particular saints this study has also illuminated the nature of the reforms they were interested in achieving and how they achieved them. Contrary to the view that Æthelwold's circle were idealists who imposed their agenda from above and refused to compromise with the needs of the laity (unlike pastorally-minded, unreformed clerics), the evidence presented in this dissertation suggests that interacting with external groups—particularly powerful laity and rival clerics—was a key concern of these reformers, one for which they were willing to compromise their commitment to uniformity.<sup>13</sup> In contrast, this study suggests that the circle seem to have actively sought to interact with groups outside their monasteries, thereby securing their cooperation and providing stability for the monks. This study has also sought to contribute to the study of monks' relationships with the laity. Some scholars, notably Rumble and Pope, have highlighted the circle's relationship with the laity before; however, they have tended to focus on lay initiatives, like laymen who joined monasteries and lay patronage of particular houses. Apart from monks' direct employment of lay artisans, monks' interests and initiatives were largely left out of their account.<sup>14</sup> Although both briefly touch on saints' cults, neither author had space to explore the specific dynamics of cults and lay interactions with these monasteries.<sup>15</sup> Hopefully, this dissertation has expanded our understanding of the dynamics between monks, laity, and saints further. Moreover, this study corroborates Hamilton's more general study of ecclesiastical and lay relationships in the central Middle Ages, which

---

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, the list in *NMLV*, pp. 24-36.

<sup>13</sup> Blair, *Church*, pp. 344, 350, 352, 357.

<sup>14</sup> Rumble, 'Laity', pp. 243-9; Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', p. 165.

<sup>15</sup> Rumble, 'Laity', p. 251; Pope, 'Monks and Nobles', p. 171.

argues that churchmen were very interested in the laity and willing to ‘collaborate’ with important nobles.<sup>16</sup> However, while Hamilton argues that saints’ cults allowed the laity to avoid ecclesiastical mediation, this thesis suggests that a determined figure like Æthelwold could aspire to use saints as a locus of interaction.<sup>17</sup>

Additionally, this study of saints complements but also nuances Eric John’s seminal work on the goals of monastic reform in England. John noted that Æthelwold’s writings focus above all on *secularium prioratus* and how to avoid it.<sup>18</sup> However, John suggested that the circle only succeeded in avoiding secular interference by promoting and bolstering royal power. He does not mention any other methods by which the circle negotiated its relationship with local elites. As Cubitt has noted, this creates a problem: while the circle’s links to particular kings cannot be denied, John’s model does not explain why any secular nobles supported reformers, if those reformers were single-mindedly seeking to supplant their power with increased royal power.<sup>19</sup> The study of the circle and saints’ cults perhaps suggests another way of understanding the circle’s longevity and success. While members of the circle certainly benefitted greatly from royal support and generosity and produced rhetoric which supported royal power, they also seem to have interacted and engaged with groups outside their monasteries, and thereby sought to gain others’ support (or at least non-interference). The circle was not wholly dependent on strong royal support, as their ability to survive the vagaries of Æthelred’s reign during the second generation shows. The veneration of saints which local elites respected seems to have been a strategy the circle used to interact with these important, extra-monastic, non-royal groups.

---

<sup>16</sup> Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 151.

<sup>17</sup> Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 278.

<sup>18</sup> John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 154-5, 178.

<sup>19</sup> Cubitt, ‘Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform’, p. 86.

The possibility that Æthelwold's circle actively interacted and negotiated with important groups outside the monastery might also help explain their houses' continued prominence in the longer term. From the perspective of modern scholars, Æthelwold's circle became something of a victim of its own success after the second generation: its members are much harder to trace in the surviving sources after about 1010 because most of the houses in southern and eastern England that produced manuscripts and texts seem to have adopted the circle's standards, from aspects of their script to their Old English vocabulary.<sup>20</sup> This phenomenon is nevertheless indicative of the circle's fundamental place in the history of the later Anglo-Saxon Church. The circle's influence has been undeniable and substantial. Seven of the top twelve wealthiest monasteries in Domesday Book were houses that had been governed by either first- or second-generation members of the circle, and several other houses in the list may also have come into the ambit of the circle during the second generation.<sup>21</sup> The basis for these houses' continued success seems to have been the wealth and endowments created by Æthelwold's circle: Blair notes that these houses do not seem to have expanded significantly between the reform and the Conquest.<sup>22</sup> While the circle cannot take the credit for all of this later success, their flexibility, compromises, and ambition may have been an important factor. William of Malmesbury may not have been entirely misguided when he marvelled at Æthelwold's (and the circle's) continued contribution to monastic life, a century after the second generation:

Æthelwold... founded monasteries so many and of such importance that it seems hard to believe.... Think of monasteries such as Ely, Peterborough, Thorney, which he raised from their foundations and completed by his own efforts, and

---

<sup>20</sup> Dumville, *English Caroline*, p. 113; Gneuss, 'Origin', pp. 71-82.

<sup>21</sup> Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 702. The only houses from the first generation of the circle that did not make the top twelve were the Nunnaminster and Thorney, although both houses still had substantial holdings (of £65 and £53 15s, respectively).

<sup>22</sup> Blair, *Church*, p. 354.

which, though always troubled by the tax-gatherer, are none the less adequate to support their inhabitants.<sup>23</sup>

Just as Æthelwold's circle seems to be crucial for understanding ecclesiastical history in this period, so saints' cults seem to provide an important insight into the circle's activities and success.

The analysis of Æthelwold's circle and saints' cults presented in this thesis also has implications for the wider history of 'reform' in the early medieval Church. Certainly, as noted above, the circle's attitudes cannot be generalized even within England. In comparison to tenth-century continental reformers, too, Æthelwold's circle seems to have produced an unusual number of narrative and prescriptive *apologiae*, and they seem to have achieved an unusual degree of uniformity in certain practices.<sup>24</sup> However, this uniformity—saints' cults notwithstanding—makes their flexibility and willingness to compromise over saints' cults especially noteworthy. Other practices (like script, vocabulary, and exclusively monastic populations) show that the circle could insist on uniformity, yet permitted themselves to embrace a more diverse range of saints. Meanwhile, the texts the circle produced allow us to compare their rhetoric and their practices more directly than those of other reformers. So while Æthelwold's circle was extreme in some respects, this might make it an interesting test case.

Given this uniformity, it is perhaps significant that the circle demonstrated flexibility and compromise to an extent that echoes Vanderputten's recent findings about the much more decentralized Flemish reforming monasteries.<sup>25</sup> Vanderputten has emphasized that reform was a gradual process that required reformers to compromise and

---

<sup>23</sup> 'Adelwoldus... tot et tanta monasteria fecit, quod vix modo videatur credibile... Quantula sunt coenobia Heliense, Burchense, Thorniense, quae ille a fundamentis suscitavit et sua industria perfecit; quae cum semper exactorum vellicet nequitis, sunt nihilominus habitibus suis sufficientia.' William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. Mynors *et al.* (Oxford, 1998), ii.149.4 (p. 243).

<sup>24</sup> See above, pp. 31-5.

<sup>25</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 186-9.

work within local society. He even notes instances where reformers at former double houses could not dispense with the local female saints, much as Æthelwold's circle continued to venerate Æthelthryth at Ely.<sup>26</sup> This study of Æthelwold's circle therefore complements his findings, suggesting that even reformers with uncompromising rhetoric or some uniform practices were nevertheless obliged to compromise with the interests of external groups (or what they perceived as the interests of external groups).<sup>27</sup> This suggests that the history of monastic reforms should in future be written with more reference to monks' contemporary contexts. Important strides in that direction have already been made by scholars such as Barbara Rosenwein, in the case of Cluny, and Barbara Yorke, in the case of England, who has discussed Æthelwold's role in politics.<sup>28</sup> However, these historians do not discuss these temporal negotiations together with more apparently spiritual or intellectual activities (like the veneration of saints). The case of Æthelwold's circle suggests that their work could profitably be expanded to include the ways in which reformers interacted with external groups through liturgy, lifestyle, and intellectual programmes. In particular, ongoing debates about the so-called 'Anglo-Saxon state'—the rise of which seems to have coincided with the first and second generations of the circle—might benefit from integrating religious and intellectual developments. George Molyneux has already noted that Æthelwold's views on uniformity may have influenced Edgar's attempts to centralize and unify aspects of government,<sup>29</sup> but more work remains to be done.

Of course, Vanderputten's study also raises the question of whether it is worth studying reform at all: if monastic reform was a long, on-going process, is to study it merely to study monastic history? And if each monastery's history was heavily dependent

---

<sup>26</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, pp. 135-41.

<sup>27</sup> Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform*, p. 83.

<sup>28</sup> Rosenwein, *Neighbor*, p. 4; Yorke, 'Politics', pp. 69-88.

<sup>29</sup> Molyneux, 'Formation', pp. 19-20, 197.

on its context, is it worth looking for patterns in religious life across different regions? Despite the flexible and contextual nature of these reforms, the writings of Æthelwold's circle identified a major theme found in other 'reforming' houses—interaction with the laity—which might help illuminate the essence of many reforms. This study has also emphasized that the circle's reforming goals do not simply seem to have involved changing conduct within monasteries: rather, Æthelwold and his students seem to have been concerned with altering monasteries' place in society and making them influential and wealthy entities, able to influence secular figures (rather than being controlled by secular elites).<sup>30</sup> Similarly, Dominique Iogna-Prat has emphasized the extent to which the monks of Cluny used hagiography to portray themselves as distinctive from the rest of society (through their virginity), while at the same time trying to extend their influence over contemporary society.<sup>31</sup> This echoes rhetoric found explicitly in the New Minster Refoundation Charter and implicitly in other acts of veneration, wherein Æthelwold's circle emphasized that they had a special relationship with God and certain well-known saints that the rest of society could profit by, if they cooperated with the monks.<sup>32</sup> While monks' interaction and cooperation with the laity make their reforms' impact and chronology less clear cut, their diverse efforts still seem to have been part of the reformers' wider aims which can be considered at a transregional level.

Additionally, this study corroborates suggestions for a new chronology of various reforming efforts. I would argue that Æthelwold's circle—like Melville's Franciscans and Vanderputten's Flemish monks—continued to expand, develop, and secure its programme during the second generation (in contrast to Clayton and, on a larger scale, Hamilton, who have suggested that reformers' initial uniformity gave way to diversity in

---

<sup>30</sup> John, *Orbis Britanniae*, pp. 154-5.

<sup>31</sup> Iogna-Prat, *Agni Immaculati*, pp. 344, 358.

<sup>32</sup> S745.

the immediately following generations.)<sup>33</sup> This suggests that while reforms are worth studying, studies should not focus solely on the first generation (thanks in part to the narratives created by the active second generation) at the expense of the second generation.

In around 996, Wulfstan of Winchester described three factors which apparently contributed to Æthelwold's success. First, he noted that he had the support of the king; he also had his own preaching, and he had Swithun's miracles, which like Æthelwold's preaching seems to have impressed the general populace.<sup>34</sup> 'So it was,' Wulfstan wrote, 'that two lamps blazed in the house of God; for what Æthelwold preached by the saving encouragement of his words, Swithun wonderfully ornamented by display of miracles.'<sup>35</sup> Like Wulfstan, this thesis argues that the veneration of Swithun and other saints were crucial to the circle's success. This thesis contends that saints gave the monks links to groups outside the monastery. Moreover, the circle's interaction with saints seems to illuminate their flexible practices and goals for influence over society, which can contribute to much wider debates about power in late Anglo-Saxon England, about monastic and lay relationships with saints, and about the nature of reform itself.

---

<sup>33</sup> Clayton, 'Centralism', p. 97; Hamilton, *Church and People*, p. 105.

<sup>34</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 25, 26 (pp. 42-3).

<sup>35</sup> *VÆ*, ch. 26 (pp. 42-3).

## Bibliography

### Manuscript and Archival Sources

Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2.

London, British Library, MS Cotton Vespasian A. viii.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 57.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 161.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 371.

Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 473.

(all accessed via <http://parkerweb.stanford.edu/parker/actions/page.do?forward=home>)

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 577.

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 140.

Rouen, Bibliothèque municipale, MS Y.007.

### Printed Primary Sources

Abbo, *Passio S. Eadmundi*, ed. M. Winterbottom, *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972), pp. 67-87.

Adelard, *Lectiones in Depositione S. Dunstani*, ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 111-45.

Ælfric, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, ed. and trans. C. A. Jones (Cambridge, 1999).

Ælfric, *Ælfric's Lives of the Saints: Being a Set of Sermons on Saints' Days Formerly Observed by the English Church*, ed. and trans. W.W. Skeat (Early English Text Society, orig. ser., 76/82, 94/114, 1881-1900).

Ælfric, *The Homilies of the Anglo-Saxon Church: The First Part, Containing the Sermones Catholici, or Homilies of Ælfric*, ed. and trans. B. Thorpe (London, 1846).

Ælfric, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ed. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 71-80.

[Æthelwold], 'An Account of King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries', ed. and trans. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church* (2 vols, Oxford, 1981), i, pp. 144-5.

[Æthelwold], *The Monastic Agreement of the Monks and Nuns of the English Nation*, ed. and trans. T. Symons (London, 1953).

*Altercatio magistri et discipuli*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London, 1993), pp. 249-67.

*Anglo-Saxon Charters*, ed. A. J. Robertson, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Cambridge, 2009).

*Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, ed. P.H. Sawyer (London, 1968) = *The Electronic Sawyer: Online Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Charters* [esawyer.org.uk].

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS A*, ed. J.M. Bately (Cambridge, 1986).

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS B*, ed. S.Taylor (Cambridge, 1983).

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS C*, ed. K. O'Brien O'Keefe (Cambridge, 2000).

*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS E*, ed. S. Irvine (Cambridge, 2004).

- The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: MS F*, ed. P. Baker (Cambridge, 2000).
- Anglo-Saxon Litanies of the Saints*, ed. M. Lapidge (Henry Bradshaw Society, cvi, 1991).
- The Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems*, ed. E.V.K. Dobbie (New York, 1942).
- Anglo-Saxon Wills*, ed. and trans. D. Whitelock, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (Cambridge, 2011).
- The Annals of St Neots with Vita Prima Sancti Neoti*, ed. D. Dumville and M. Lapidge (Cambridge, 1984).
- B., *Vita S. Dunstani* ed. and trans. M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge, *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 1-109.
- Bede, *Historia Ecclesiastica Gens Anglorum*, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae: Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*, ed. B. Colgrave, *Two Lives of St Cuthbert: a Life by an Anonymous Monk of Lindisfarne and Bede's Prose Life* (Cambridge, 1940), pp. 141-307.
- Byrhtferth of Ramsey, *Vita S. Ecgwini*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: The Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 205-304.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Vita S. Oswaldi*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *Byrhtferth of Ramsey: the Lives of St Oswald and St Ecgwine* (Oxford, 2009), pp. 1-203.
- Carmen de libero arbitrio*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London, 1993), pp. 267-77.
- Cartularium Saxonicum: A Collection of Charters Relating to Anglo-Saxon History*, ed. W. de Gray Birch (3 vols, London, 1885-93).
- Charters of Abingdon Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly (2 vols, Oxford, 2000).
- Charters of the New Minster, Winchester*, ed. S. Miller (Oxford, 2000).
- Charters of Peterborough Abbey*, ed. S.E. Kelly (Oxford, 2009).
- Charters of Rochester*, ed. A. Campbell (London, 1973).
- Chronicon Abbatiae Rameseiensis*, ed. W. Dunn Macray (Rolls Society, 83, 1886).
- Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson (2 vols, Rolls Society, 2, 1858).
- De sancta Edburge virgine (Latin)*, ed. L. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: A Study of Her Cult, A.D. 950-1500, with an Edition of the Fourteenth-Century Middle English and Latin Lives', *Medieval Studies*, 33 (1971), pp. 329-332.
- De sancta Edburga virgine (Middle English)*, ed. L. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: A Study of Her Cult, A.D. 950-1500, with an Edition of the Fourteenth-Century Middle English and Latin Lives', *Medieval Studies*, 33 (1971), pp. 325-9.
- The Durham Collectar*, ed. A. Corrêa (Henry Bradshaw Society, cvii, 1992).
- English Historical Documents c. 500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2<sup>nd</sup> edn (London, 1979).
- English Kalendars Before A. D. 1100*, ed. F. Wormald (Henry Bradshaw Society, lxxii, 1934).
- Eadmer of Canterbury, 'Edmeri Cantuariensis Cantoris Nova Opuscula De Sanctorum Veneratione Et Obsecratione', ed. A. Wilmart, *Revue des Sciences Religieuses* 15 (1935), pp. 184-219, 354-79.
- Excerptiones de Prisciano: The Source for Ælfric's Latin-Old English Grammar*, ed. D.W. Porter (Cambridge, 2002).
- Facsimiles of Ancient Charters in the British Museum*, ed. E.A. Bond *et al.* (4 vols, London, 1873-1878).
- Facsimiles of Horae de beata Maria virgine*, ed. E.S. Dewick (Henry Bradshaw Society, xxiii, 1902).
- Folcard, *Vita S. Botulphi*, ed. *Acta Sanctorum* (68 vols, Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-1940), Iun., III, 402-3.
- Frithegod, *Frithegodi Monachi Breuiloquium Vitae Beati Wilfredi: et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* ed. A. Campbell (Zurich, 1950).

- Gregory the Great, *Saint Gregory the Great: Dialogues*, trans. O.J. Zimmerman (New York, 1959).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Dialogi*, ed. J.-P. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, 66, col. 125-204; 75, col. 149-430.
- Godeman, *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold*, ed. A. Prescott (London, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Benedictional of St Ethelwold*, ed. F. Wormald (London, 1959).
- Goscelin, *Vita S. Edithae*, ed. A. Wilmart, ‘La légende de Ste Édith en prose et vers par le moine Goscelin’, *AB*, 56 (1938), pp. 5-101 265-307; trans. M. Wright and K. Loncar in S. Hollis (ed.), *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin’s Legend of Edith and Liber confortatorius* (Turnhout, 2004).
- Hemingi Chartularium Ecclesiae Wigorniensis*, ed. T. Hearne (2 vols, Oxford, 1723).
- Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, ed. T. Johnson South (Cambridge, 2002).
- Historia Ecclesie Abendonensis: the History of the Church of Abingdon*, ed. and trans. J. Hudson (2 vols, Oxford, 2002).
- Hugh Candidus, *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough*, ed. W.T. Mellows (Oxford, 1949).
- Lantfred, *Translatio et Miraculi S. Swithuni*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 252-333.
- The Laws of the Kings of England from Edmund to Henry I*, ed. and trans. A.J. Robertson (Cambridge, 1925).
- Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*, ed. J.E. Cross, ‘“*Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*”: A Sermon for All Saints, and Its Use in Old English Prose’, *Traditio*, 33 (1977), pp. 101-35.
- ‘Letter from Pope John XII’, ed. D. Whitelock, M. Brett, and C.N.L. Brooke, *Councils and Synods, with Other Documents Relating to the English Church* (2 vols, Oxford, 1981), i, pp. 109-111.
- The Libellus Æthelwoldi Episcopi*, trans. S. Keynes and A. Kennedy (forthcoming).
- Liber Diurnus romanorum pontificum*, ed. H. Foerster (Bern, 1958).
- Liber Eliensis: a History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh to the Twelfth Century*, trans. J. Fairweather (Woodbridge, 2005).
- Liber Eliensis*, ed. E.O. Blake (Camden Society, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser., xcii, 1962).
- The Liber Vitae of the New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. S. Keynes (Copenhagen, 1996).
- Liber Vitae: Register and Martyrology of New Minster and Hyde Abbey, Winchester*, ed. W.G. Birch (London, 1892).
- ‘The Metrical Calendar of Hampson: a New Edition’, ed. P. McGurk, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 104 (1986), pp. 79-125.
- ‘A Metrical *Vita S. Iudoci* from Tenth-Century Winchester’, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge, *The Journal of Medieval Latin*, 10 (2000), pp. 255-306.
- ‘The Memoriale Qualiter: An Eighth Century Monastic Customary’, trans. M. Mattingly, *American Benedictine Review*, 60 (2009), pp. 62-77.
- ‘Memoriale Qualiter’, ed. D.C. Morgand and S. Wandrille in K. Hallinger (ed.), *Corpus Consuetudinum Monasticorum I* (Siegburg, 1963), pp. 177-282.
- Memorials of St Dunstan*, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series, 63, 1874).
- The Missal of Robert of Jumièges*, ed. H.A. Wilson (Henry Bradshaw Society, xi, 1896).
- The Old English Life of Machutus*, ed. D. Yerkes (Toronto, 1984).
- Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (6 vols, Oxford, 1969-80).
- Osbern, *Vita S. Elphegi*, ed. H. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (2 vols, London, 1664-95), ii, pp. 122-42.

- Osbert of Clare, *Vita S. Edburgae*, ed. S. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: a Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 259-308.
- Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters*, ed. A. Rumble (Winchester Studies Series, 4.iii, 2002).
- Registrum Simonis de Gandavo, Diocesis Saresbiriensis, A.D. 1297-1315*, ed. C. T. Flower and M. C. B. Dawes (2 vols, Canterbury and York Soc., 40, 1934).
- Three Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives*, ed. and trans. R. Love (Oxford, 1996).
- Two Anglo-Saxon Pontificals: The Egbert and Sidney Sussex Pontificals*, ed. H.M.J. Banting (Henry Bradshaw Society, civ, 1989).
- Two Cartularies of the Benedictine Abbeys of Muchelney and Athelney in the County of Somerset*, ed. E.H. Bates (Somerset Record Society, 14, 1899).
- Usuard, *Le Martyrologe d'Usuard : texte et commentaire*, ed. J. Dubois (Brussels, 1965).
- Vita S Ceolfredi*, ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Baedae Opera Historica* (Oxford, 1896), pp. 388-404
- Vita Prima S. Iudoci*, ed. and trans. H. Le Bourdellès, *Vie de St Josse Avec Commentaire Historique et Spirituel* (Spoleto, 1996).
- William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings*, ed. and trans. R. Mynors *et al.* (Oxford, 1998).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, ed. R. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (2 vols, Oxford, 2007).
- [Wulfstan of Winchester], 'Le Breuiloquium de Omnibus Sanctis: un poème inconnu de Wulfstan chanter de Winchester', ed. F. Dolbeau, *Analecta Bollandiana*, 106 (1988), pp. 35-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *De horis peculiaribus*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester* (Oxford, 1991), p. lxxviii-lxxix.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Narratio metrica de Sancto Swithuno*, trans. and ed. in M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 372-551.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ed. and trans. M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom, *Wulfstan of Winchester: The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991), pp. 1-69.

## Published Secondary Sources

- Abrams, L., 'Saint Patrick at Glastonbury Abbey: Nihil ex Nihilo Fit?', in D. Dumville *et al.* (eds), *Saint Patrick, A.D. 493-1993* (Woodbridge, 1993), pp. 233-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Edward the Elder's Danelaw', in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder: 899-924* (Abingdon, 2001), pp. 128-43.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'King Edgar and the Men of the Danelaw', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 171-191.
- Alexander, J.J.G., 'The Benedictional of St Æthelwold and Anglo-Saxon Illumination of the Reform Period', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 169-83.
- Atherton, M., *The Making of England: a New History of the Anglo-Saxon World* (forthcoming).
- Barlow, F., *et al.*, *Winchester in the Early Middle Ages: an Edition and Discussion of the Winton Domesday* (Oxford, 1976).
- Barrow, J., 'The Community of Worcester, 961-c.1100', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *Saint Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996), pp. 84-99.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Chronology of the Benedictine "Reform"', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 211-223.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ideas and Applications of Reform', in T. Noble and J. Smith (eds), *Early Medieval Christianities, c.600-c.1100* (Cambridge, 2008), pp. 345-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Survival and Mutation: Ecclesiastical Institutions in the Danelaw in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries', in D. Hadley and J.D. Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 155-76.
- Bartlett, R., *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Princeton, 2013).
- Brown, P., *The Cult of Saints: Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity* (Chicago, 1981).
- Baxter, S., *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2007).
- Baxter, S. and J. Blair. 'Land Tenure and Royal Patronage in the Early English Kingdom: a Model and a Case Study', *Anglo-Norman Studies XXVIII* (2006), pp. 19-46.
- Berry, M., 'What the Saxon Monks Sang: Music in Winchester in the Late Tenth Century', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 149-60.
- Biddle, M., 'Felix Urbs Winthonia: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 123-40, 233-7.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Archaeology, Architecture, and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church* (Dorchester, 1986), pp. 1-31.
- Biddle, M., M.T. Lambrick, and J.N.L. Myres, 'The Early History of Abingdon, Berkshire, and Its Abbey', *Medieval Archaeology*, 12 (1968), pp. 26-69.
- Biddle, M. *et al.*, *Object and Economy in Medieval Winchester* (Winchester Studies Series, 7.ii, 1990).
- Biggs, F.M., 'Edgar's Path to the Throne', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 124-39.
- Bishop, T.A.M., 'Notes on Cambridge Manuscripts, Part I', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society*, 1 (1949-53), pp. 432-440.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *English Caroline Minuscule* (Oxford, 1971).
- Blair, J., 'Local Churches in the Domesday Book and Before', in J.C. Holt (ed.), *Domesday Studies: Papers Read at the Novocentenary Conference of the Royal Historical Society and the Institute of British Geographers, Winchester, 1986* (Woodbridge, 1987), pp. 265-78.
- Blair, J., *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (Stroud, 1994).
- Blair, J., *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society* (Oxford, 2005).
- Blanton, V., *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615* (University Park, 2007).
- Bond, J., 'Canal Construction in the Early Middle Ages: an Introductory Review', in J. Blair (ed.), *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 153-206.
- Braswell, L., 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: A Study of Her Cult, A.D. 950-1500, with an Edition of the Fourteenth-Century Middle English and Latin Lives', *Medieval Studies*, 33 (1971), pp. 292-333.
- Brooks, N., *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597-1066* (Leicester, 1984).

- \_\_\_\_\_, *Anglo-Saxon Myths: State and Church, 400-1066* (London, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Why Is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* About Kings?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 39 (2010), pp. 43-70.
- Brückmann, J., 'Latin Manuscript Pontificals and Benedictionals in England and Wales', *Traditio*, 29 (1973), pp. 391-458.
- Bullough, D., *Carolingian Renewal: Sources and Heritage* (Manchester, 1991).
- Campbell, J., *The Anglo-Saxon State* (New York, 2000).
- Chaplais, P., 'The Original Charters of Herbert and Gervase, Abbots of Westminster' in P.M. Barnes and C.F. Slade (eds), *A Medieval Miscellany for Doris Mary Stenton* (London, 1962), pp. 89-110.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Origin and Authenticity of the Royal Anglo-Saxon Diploma', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965), pp. 48-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Who Introduced Charters Into England? The Case for Augustine', *Journal of the Society of Archivists*, 3 (1965), pp. 526-542.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Essays in Medieval Diplomacy and Administration* (London, 1981).
- Claussen, M. A., *The Reform of the Frankish Church: Chrodegang of Metz and the Regula Canonicorum in the Eighth Century* (Cambridge, 2004).
- Clayton, M., *The Cult of Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1990).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Centralism and Uniformity versus Localism and Diversity: the Virgin and Native Saints in the English Monastic Reform', *Peritia*, 8 (1994), pp. 95-106.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Hermits and the Contemplative Life in Anglo-Saxon England', in P. Szaramach (ed.), *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Context* (Albany, 1996), pp. 147-75.
- Coates, S., 'Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement', in R.N. Swanson (ed.), *The Church Retrospective* (Studies in Church History, xxxiii, Woodbridge, 1997), pp. 61-74.
- Cole, A., 'The Place Name Evidence for Water Transport in Early Medieval England', in J. Blair (ed.), *Waterways and Canal-Building in Medieval England* (Oxford, 2007), pp. 55-84.
- Corrêa, A., 'A Mass for St Birinus in an Anglo-Saxon Missal from the Scandinavian Mission Field', in J. Barrow and A. Wareham (eds), *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 167-83.
- Cowdrey, H.E.J.**, *The Cluniacs and the Gregorian Reform* (Oxford, 1970).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Stigand', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004),  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26523?docPos=1>].
- Cramp, R., 'Schools of Mercian Sculpture', in A. Dornier (ed.), *Mercian Studies* (Leicester, 1977), pp. 191-223.
- Craster, E., 'The Patrimony of St Cuthbert', *English Historical Review*, 69 (1954), pp. 177-99.
- Crick, J., 'The Wealth, Patronage, and Connections of Women's Houses in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Revue Bénédictine*, 109 (1999), pp. 154-185.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Script and the Sense of the Past in Anglo-Saxon England', in J. Roberts and L. Webster, *Anglo-Saxon Traces* (Tempe, 2011), pp. 1-29.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Forgery and the Past in Tenth-Century England', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 515-44.
- Crook, J., *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011).
- Cross, J., '“*Legimus in ecclesiasticis historiis*”: A Sermon for All Saints, and Its Use in Old English Prose', *Traditio*, 33 (1977), pp. 101-135.

- Cubitt, C., *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650-c.850* (London, 1995).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England', *Early Medieval History*, 6 (1997), pp. 77-94.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Virginité and Misogyny in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Gender and History*, 12 (2000), pp. 1-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 423-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Folklore and Historiography: Oral Stories and the Writing of Anglo-Saxon History', in E.M. Tyler and R. Balzaretto (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 189-223.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Archbishop Dunstan: A Prophet in Politics?', in J. Barrow and A. Wareham (eds.), *Myth, Rulership, Church and Charters: Essays in Honour of Nicholas Brooks* (Aldershot, 2008), pp. 145-66.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ælfric's Lay Patrons', in H. Magennis and M. Swan (eds), *Companion to Ælfric* (Leiden, 2009), pp. 165-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Bishops and Succession Crises in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', in L. Körntgen and D. Wassenhoven (eds), *Religion und Politik in Mittelalter: Deutschland und England im Vergleich* (Berlin, 2011), pp. 111-26.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Politics of Remorse: Penance and Royal Piety in the Age of Æthelred the Unready', *Historical Research*, 85 (2012), pp. 179-92.
- Dales, D.J., 'The Spirit of the *Regularis Concordia* and the Hand of St Dunstan', in N. Ramsay et al. (eds), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 45-56.
- de Jong, M., 'Carolingian Monasticism: the Power of Prayer', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume II c.770-900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 622-653.
- Deshman, R. *The Benedictional of Æthelwold* (Princeton, 1995).
- Deshman, R., 'The Galba Psalter: Pictures, Texts, and Context in an Early Medieval Prayerbook', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 26 (1997), pp. 109-38.
- Dierkens, A., *Abbayes et Chapitres entre Sambre et Meuse, VIIe-Xie siècles: contribution à l'histoire religieuse des campagnes du haut Moyen Âge* (Sigmarignen, 1985).
- Donnat, L., 'Les coutumes monastiques autour de l'an Mil', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), pp. 17-24.
- Drögereit, R., 'Gab es eine angelsächsische Königskanzlei?', *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 13 (1935), pp. 335-436.
- Dumville, D.N., *Liturgy and the Ecclesiastical History of Late Anglo-Saxon England: Four Studies* (Woodbridge, 1992).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays on Political, Cultural, and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *English Caroline Script and Monastic History: Studies in Benedictinism, A.D. 950-1030* (Woodbridge, 1993).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), pp. 147-79.
- Fell, C., *Edward, King and Martyr* (Leeds, 1971).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Edward King and Martyr and the Anglo-Saxon Hagiographic Tradition', in D. Hill (ed.), *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford, 1978), pp. 1-14.
- Fentress, J. and C. Wickham, *Social Memory* (Oxford, 1992).

- Fisher, D.J.V., 'The Anti-Monastic Reaction in the Reign of Edward the Martyr', *Cambridge Historical Journal*, 10 (1952), pp. 254-270.
- Fisher, D.J.V., 'The Early Biographers of St Ethelwold', *English Historical Review*, 67 (1952), pp. 381-91.
- Fleming, R., 'Monastic Lands and England's Defence in the Viking Age', *English Historical Review*, 395 (1985), pp. 247-65.
- Foot, S., 'Violence Against Christians? The Vikings and the Church in Ninth-Century England', *Medieval History*, 1 (1991), pp. 3-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Veiled Women* (2 vols, Aldershot, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge, 2006).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Reading Anglo-Saxon Charters: Memory, Record, or Story?', in E.M. Tyler and R. Balzaretta (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 39-65.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Æthelstan: First King of England* (Yale, 2011).
- Fouracre, P., 'The Origins of the Carolingian Attempt to Regulate the Cult of Saints', in J. Howard-Johnson and P.A. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 143-65.
- Foxhall Forbes, H., 'Squabbling Siblings: Gender and Monastic Life in Late Anglo-Saxon Winchester', in L. Foxhall and G. Neher (eds), *Gender and the City Before Modernity* (Oxford, 2012), pp. 163-94.
- Frantzen, A.J., *The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Brunswick, NJ, 1983).
- Friis-Jensen, K. and J.M.W. Willoughby, *Peterborough Abbey: Corpus of British Medieval Library Catalogues* (London, 2001).
- Gage, J., *The Benedictional of St Æthelwold, Bishop of Winchester, with a Prefatory Dissertation, and a Description of the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert at Rouen* (London, 1832).
- Garnett, G., *Conquered England: Kingship, Succession, and Tenure, 1066-1166* (Oxford, 2007).
- Garnett, G., *The Norman Conquest: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2009).
- Gasquet, F.A. and E. Bishop, *The Bosworth Psalter: An Account of the Manuscript Formerly Belonging to O.Turville-Petre of Bosworth Hall, Now Addit. MS. 37517 at the British Museum* (London, 1908).
- Gautier, A. *Le Festin dans l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne* (Rennes, 2006).
- Gittos, H. *Liturgy, Architecture, and Sacred Places in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 2013).
- Gjerløw, L., *Adoratio Crucis: The Regularis Concordia, and the Decreta Lanfranci* (Oslo, 1961).
- Gneuss, H., 'The Origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's School at Winchester', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 1 (1972), pp. 63-83.
- Graham, T., 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57 and its Anglo-Saxon Users', in P. Pulsiano and E.M. Treharne (eds), *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and their Heritage* (Aldershot, 1998), pp. 21-69.
- Gransden, A., *Historical Writing in England* (2 vols, London, 1974-1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Traditionalism and Continuity during the Last Century of Anglo-Saxon Monasticism', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 40 (1989), pp. 159-207.
- Gretsch, M., *Die Regula Sancti Benedicti in England und ihre altenglische Übersetzung* (Munich, 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Benedictine Rule in Old English: a Document of Bishop Æthelwold's Reform Politics', in M. Korhammer (ed.), *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in*

- Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 131-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Language of the Fonthill Letter', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), pp. 57-102.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Junius Psalter Gloss: Tradition and Innovation', in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder: 899-924* (Abingdon, 2001), pp. 280-91.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early Stages of Benedictine Reform in England?', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), pp. 111-146.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Benedictine reformers (act. c.960–c.1000)', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/theme/98101].
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Ælfric and the Cult of Saints in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 2005).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Roman Psalter, its Old English Glosses and the English Benedictine Reform', in H. Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (eds), *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 2005), pp. 13-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Review', *English Historical Review*, 124 (2009), 917-20.
- Hadley, D.M., 'Hamlet and the Princes of Denmark: Lordship in the Danelaw', in D.M. Hadley and J.D. Richards (eds), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2000), pp. 107-127.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Northern Danelaw: Its Social Structure, c.800-1100* (Leicester, 2000).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Viking and Native: Rethinking Identity in the Danelaw', *Early Medieval Europe*, 11 (2002), pp. 45-70.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society, and Culture* (Manchester, 2005).
- Hallinger, K., *Gorze-Kluny: Studien zu den monastischen Lebensformen und Gegensätzen im Hochmittelalter* (2 vols, Rome, 1950-51).
- Halsall, G., 'Playing by Whose Rules? A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century', *Medieval History*, ii (1992), pp. 3-12.
- Hamilton, S., 'Remedies for "Great Transgressions": Penance and Excommunication in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005), pp. 83-105.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Church and People in the Medieval West, 900-1200* (Harlow, 2013).
- Handschin, J., 'The Two Winchester Tropers', *Journal of Theological Studies*, 37 (1936), pp. 34-49.
- Hart, C., *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Athelstan "Half-King" and His Family', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 2 (1973), pp. 115-144.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Danelaw* (London, 1992).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Edward [St Edward; called Edward the Martyr]', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8515].
- Hayward, P.A., 'The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth- and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology', in D. Wood (ed.), *Martyrs and Martyrologies* (Studies in Church History, xxx, 1993), pp. 81-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom', in J. Howard-Johnson and P.A. Hayward (eds), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 115-142.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Translation Narratives and Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 21 (1999), pp. 67-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Saints and Cults', in J. Crick and E. Van Houts (eds), *A Social History of England, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 309-320.
- Hines, J., 'The Anglo-Saxon Archaeology of the Cambridgeshire Region and the Middle Anglian Kingdom', in T. Dickinson and D. Griffiths (eds), *The Making of Kingdoms: Papers from the 47<sup>th</sup> Sachensymposium York, September 1996* (Oxford, 1999), pp. 135-50.
- Hohler, C.E., 'Some Service Books of the Later Saxon Church', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 60-83, 217-27.
- Hollis, S. (ed. and trans.), *Writing the Wilton Women: Goscelin's Legend of St Edith and Liber confortatorius* (Turnhout, 2004).
- Holman, K., 'Defining the Danelaw' in J. Graham-Campbell *et al.* (eds), *Vikings and the Danelaw: Proceedings from the Thirteenth Viking Congress* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 1-11.
- Howe, A. and R. Mortimer, *Abbey Fields, Thorney, Cambridgeshire : Trench Evaluation and Community Archaeology Project* (Cambridge, 2007).
- Hunt, W. and M.F. Smith, 'Ealdwulf', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004),  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/317?docPos=2>].
- Iogna-Prat, D., *Agni Immaculati: Recherches sur les sources hagiographiques relatives à Saint Maieul de Cluny (954-994)* (Paris, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Le Monachisme Autour de l'An Mil', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), pp. 13-5.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'La Vierge et les ordines de couronnement des reines au IX<sup>e</sup> siècle', in D. Iogna-Prat, E. Palazzo, and D. Russo (eds), *Marie: Le Culte de la Vierge dans la Société Médiévale* (Paris, 1996), pp. 101-7.
- Irvine, J.T., 'Account of the Pre-Norman Remains Discovered at Peterborough Cathedral', *Associated Societies' Reports and Papers*, 17 (1884), pp. 277-85.
- Irvine, S., 'Bones of Contention', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 19 (1990), pp. 117-32.
- Jayakumar, S., 'Eadwig and Edgar: Politics, Propaganda, Faction', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 83-103.
- Jayatilaka, R., 'The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), pp. 147-87.
- John, E., 'The King and the Monks in the Tenth-Century Reformation', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, 42 (1959), pp. 61-87, repr. in E. John, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 154-180.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Orbis Britanniae and Other Studies* (Leicester, 1966).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Church of Worcester and St Oswald', in R. Gameson and H. Leyser (eds), *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 142-57.
- Jones, C., 'The Chrism Mass in Late Anglo-Saxon England', in H. Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (eds), *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 2005), pp. 105-42.
- Karkov, C., *The Art of Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2011).
- Kennedy, A., 'Law and Litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 24 (1995), pp. 131-83.
- Ker, N.R., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon* (Oxford, 1975).

- Kershaw, J., 'The Distribution of the 'Winchester' Style in Late Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 15 (2008), pp. 254-69.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Viking Identities: Scandinavian Jewellery in England* (Oxford., 2013).
- Keynes, S., *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' (978-1016): A Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Fonthill Letter', in M. Korhammer (ed.), *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts: Studies in Anglo-Saxon Culture Presented to Helmut Gneuss on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1992), pp. 53-98.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The "Dunstan B" Charters', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 23 (1994), pp. 165-93.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and His Sons', *EHR*, 109 (1994), pp. 1109-49.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Cult of King Alfred the Great', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 28 (1999), pp. 225-356.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ely Abbey, 672-1109', in P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003), pp. 3-58.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Æthelred II (the Unready)', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004),  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8915?docPos=7>]
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Wulfsgige, Monk of Glastonbury, Abbot of Westminster (c. 990-3), and Bishop of Sherborne (c. 993-1002)', in K. Barker *et al.* (eds), *St Wulfsgige and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Millennium of the Benedictine Abbey, 998-1998* (Oxford, 2005).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Edgar, *rex admirabilis*', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 3-59.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Church Councils, Royal Assemblies, and Anglo-Saxon Diplomas', in G.R. Owen-Crocker and B.V. Schneider (eds), *Kingship, Legislation, and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge 2013), pp. 17-182.
- Knowles, D., *The Monastic Order in England: A History of Its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1940)
- Knowles, D., C.N.L. Brooke, and V. London, *The Heads of Religious Houses in England and Wales 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1972).
- Ladner, G., *The Idea of Reform: Its Impact on Christian Thought and Action in the Age of the Fathers* (Cambridge, MA, 1959).
- Lapidge, M., 'Surviving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Lapidge and H. Gneuss (eds), *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 33-90.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 89-117.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Tenth-century Anglo-Latin verse hagiography', *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch*, 24/25 (1989/1990), 249-60.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Anglo-Latin Literature, 900-1066* (London, 1993).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Cult of Swithun* (Winchester Studies Series, 4.ii, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Lantfred (fl. 974-984)', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004),  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16058>].
- Lee, C., *Feasting the Dead: Food and Drink in Anglo-Saxon Burial Rituals* (Woodbridge, 2007).
- Leland, J., *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, ed. T. Hearne (6 vols, London, 1724-74).
- Levison, W., *England the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946).

- Leyser, C., 'Episcopal Office in the Italy of Liudprand of Cremona, c. 890-c. 970', *English Historical Review*, 125 (2010), 795-817.
- Leyser, C., 'Introduction: England and Continent', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 1-13.
- Leyser, H., 'Ælfheah', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004),  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/181?docPos=2>].
- License, T., *Hermits and Recluses in English Society, 950-1200* (Oxford, 2011).
- MacLean, S., 'Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century: Ælfthryth and Edgar in Continental Perspective', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 255-74.
- Magennis, H., *Anglo-Saxon Appetites* (Dublin, 1999).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints* and Cotton Julius E.vii: Adaptation, Appropriation, and the Disappearing Book', in S. Kelly and J. Thompson (eds), *Imagining the Book* (Turnhout, 2005), pp. 99-109.
- Mason, E., 'Ælfric', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004),  
[<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/185?docPos=1>].
- McKitterick, R., *The Frankish Church and the Carolingian Reforms (789-895)* (London, 1977).
- Melville, G., 'Brückenschlag zur zweiten Generation: die kritische Phase der Institutionalisierung mittelalterlicher Orden', in J. Rogge (ed.), *Religiöse Ordnungsvorstellungen und Frömmigkeitspraxis im hoch- und Spätmittelalter* (Korb, 2008), pp. 77-98.
- Meyer, M.A., 'Women and the Tenth Century English Monastic Reform', *Revue Bénédictine*, 87 (1977), pp. 34-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Patronage of the West Saxon Royal Nunneries in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *Revue Bénédictine*, 91 (1981), pp. 332-358.
- Miller, E., *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely* (Cambridge, 1951).
- Missone, D., 'La Restauration Monastique du XIXe siècle: Questions de Méthodologie', *Revue Bénédictine*, 83 (1973), pp. 33-48.
- Mortimer, R. *et al.*, *The Saxon and Medieval Settlement at West Fen Road, Ely* (Cambridge, 2005).
- Mostert, M., 'Relations between Fleury and England', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 185-208.
- Nightingale, J., *Monasteries and Patrons in the Gorze Reform: Lotharingia c.850-1000* (Oxford, 2002).
- Nelson, J.L. *et al.*, *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* [[www.pase.ac.uk](http://www.pase.ac.uk)] (2010-).
- O'Sullivan, D., 'Space, Silence and Shortage on Lindisfarne: The Archaeology of Asceticism', in H. Hamerow and A. MacGregor (eds), *Image and Power* (Oxford, 2001).
- Owen, D., 'Ely 1109-1539', in P. Meadows and N. Ramsay (eds), *A History of Ely Cathedral* (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Pagan, H., 'The Pre-Reform Coinage of Edgar', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 192-205.
- Paxton, J., 'Forging Communities: Memory and Identity in Post-Conquest England', *Haskins Society Journal*, 10 (2001) pp. 95-109.

- Pelikan, J., *Mary Through the Centuries: Her Place in the History of Culture* (New Haven, 1996).
- Pestell, T., *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Monastic Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200* (Woodbridge, 2004).
- Pfaff, R.W., *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot, 1998).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Liturgy in Medieval England: A History* (Cambridge, 2009).
- Pilcher, J., "[Mannheim's Sociology of Generations](#)", *British Journal of Sociology*, 45 (1994), pp. 481-95.
- Pope, J.M., 'Monks and Nobles in the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Reform', *Anglo-Norman Studies*, 17 (1994), pp. 165-80.
- Porter, D.W., 'On the Antwerp-London Glossaries', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, 98 (1999), pp. 170-92.
- Portes, A. and E. Vickstrom, 'Diversity, Social Capital, and Cohesion', *Annual Review of Sociology*, 37 (2011), 461-79.
- Potts, C., 'When the Saints Go Marching: Religious Connections and the Political Culture of Early Normandy', in C.W. Hollister (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance* (Woodbridge, 1997).
- Pratt, D., *The Political Thought of King Alfred the Great* (Cambridge, 2007).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Voice of the King in "King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries"', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 41 (2013), pp. 145-204.
- Prescott, A., 'The Text of the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 119-47.
- Putnam, R.D., 'E Pluribus Unum', *Scandinavian Political Studies*, 30 (2007), pp. 137-74.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Bowling Alone', *Journal of Democracy*, 6 (1995), 65-78.
- Qualmann, K., 'Winchester-Nunaminster', *Current Archaeology*, 102 (1986), pp. 204-7.
- Raban, S., *Estates of Thorney and Crowland: A Study in Medieval Monastic Land Tenure* (Cambridge, 1977).
- Rankin, S., 'Making the Liturgy: Winchester Scribes and Their Books', in H. Gittos and M. Bradford Bedingfield (eds), *The Liturgy of the Late Anglo-Saxon Church* (Henry Bradshaw Society, Subsidia V, 2005), pp. 29-53.
- Rauer, C., 'The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 32 (2003), pp. 89-109.
- Ridyard, S., *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988).
- Roach, L., 'Penitential Discourse in the Charters of Æthelred the Unready', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 64 (2013), pp. 258-276.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Kingship and Consent in Anglo-Saxon England, 871-978: Assemblies and the State in the Early Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2013).
- Robinson, I.S., 'Reform and the Church, 1073-1122', in D. Luscombe and J. Riley-Smith (eds), *The New Cambridge Medieval History: Volume IV c. 1024-1198, Part I* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 268-334.
- Robinson, J.A., *The Times of Saint Dunstan* (Oxford, 1923).
- Roffe, D., 'The *Historia Croylandensis*: A Plea for Reassessment', *EHR*, 110 (1995), pp. 93-108.
- Rollason, D.W., 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), pp. 61-95.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Mildrith Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982).

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Shrines of the Saints in Later Anglo-Saxon England: Distribution and Significance', in L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris (eds), *The Anglo-Saxon Church* (Dorchester, 1986), pp. 32-50.
- Rollason, D., *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989).
- Rollason, D., 'Cynehelm', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004), [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39213].
- Rollason, D., 'Lists of Saints' Resting Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 7 (1978), pp. 61-93.
- Rosenwein, B.H., *Rhinoceros Bound: Cluny in the Tenth Century* (Philadelphia, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *To Be the Neighbor of Saint Peter: the Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Negotiating Space: Power, Restraint and Privileges of Immunity in Early Medieval Europe* (Ithaca, 1999).
- Rumble, A., 'The Laity and Monastic Reform in the Reign of Edgar', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 242-51.
- Rushforth, R., *An Atlas of Saints in Anglo-Saxon Calendars* (Cambridge, 2002).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Saints in English Kalendars Before A.D. 1000* (Henry Bradshaw Society, cxvii, 2008).
- Sawyer, P. H., 'The causes of the Viking age', in R. T. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), pp. 1-7.
- Scheck, H., *Reform and Resistance: Formations of Female Subjectivity in Early Medieval Ecclesiastical Culture* (Albany, 2008).
- Schipper, W., 'Dry-Point Compilation Notes in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold', *The British Library Journal*, 20 (1994), pp. 17-34.
- Searle, W.G., *Ingulf and the Historia Croylandensis* (Cambridge, 1984).
- Sheerin, D.J., 'The Dedication of the Old Minster, Winchester, in 980', *Revue Bénédictine*, 88 (1978), pp. 261-73.
- Sisam, K., *Studies in the History of Old English Literature* (Oxford, 1953).
- Stafford, P.A., 'The Reign of Æthelred II, a Study in the Limitations on Royal Policy and Action', in D. Hill (ed.), *Æthelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference* (Oxford, 1979), pp. 15-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Queens, Nunneries, and Reforming Churchmen: Gender, Religious Status, and Reform in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England', *Past and Present*, 163, pp. 3-35.
- Stephenson, R., 'Scapegoating the Secular Clergy: The Hermeneutic Style as a Form of Monastic Self-Definition', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 38 (2009), 101-35.
- Stenton, F.M., *Preparatory to Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. D.M. Stenton (Oxford, 1970).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Early History of Abingdon Abbey* (Stamford, 1989).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Anglo-Saxon England*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edn (Oxford, 2001).
- Stokes, P.A., *English Vernacular Minuscule from Æthelred to Cnut, circa 990- circa 1035* (Cambridge, 2014).
- Taylor, H.M., 'Tenth-Century Church Building in England and on the Continent', in D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth-Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and Regularis Concordia* (Chichester, 1975), pp. 141-68.
- Tellenbach, G., *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century*, trans. T. Reuter (Cambridge, 1993).
- Thacker, A., 'Bede's Ideal of Reform', in P. Wormald (ed.), *Ideal and Reality in Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Society: Studies Presented to J. M. Wallace-Hadrill* (Oxford, 1983), pp. 130-53.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Æthelwold and Abingdon', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 43-64.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform Under Dunstan and His Successors', in N. Ramsay *et al.* (eds), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 221-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by Oswald and his Communities', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (Leicester, 1996), pp. 244-68.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Cults at Canterbury: Relics and Reform Under Dunstan and His Successors', in N. Ramsay *et al.* (eds), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992), pp. 221-45.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder's Sainted Kindred', in N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds), *Edward the Elder: 899-924* (Abingdon, 2001), pp. 248-63.
- Thomas, A., 'Rivers of Gold? The Coastal Zone Between the Humber and the Wash in the Mid-Saxon Period', *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*, 18 (2013), pp. 97-118
- Thomson, R.M., *William of Malmesbury*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed (Woodbridge, 2003).
- Tinti, F., 'England the Papacy in the Tenth Century', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 163-84.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Sustaining Belief: the Church of Worcester from c.870 to c.1100* (Farnham, 2010).
- Tönnies, F., *Community and Society*, trans. and ed. C.P. Loomis (East Lansing, 1957).
- Treharne, E., 'Ælfric's Account of St Swithun: Literature of Reform and Reward', in E.M. Tyler and R. Balzaretta (eds), *Narrative and History in the Early Medieval West* (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 167-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Gluttons for Punishment: The Drunk and Disorderly in Early English Homilies* (Brixworth, 2006).
- Tweddle, D., M. Biddle, and B. Kjølbye-Biddle, *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture: South-East England* (Oxford, 1995).
- Vanderputten, S., 'Flemish Monasticism, Comital Power, and the Archbishops of Canterbury: A Written Legacy from the Late Tenth Century', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of William Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010), pp. 67-86.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, 2013).
- Vollrath, H., *Die Synoden Englands bis 1066* (Paderborn, 1985).
- Wareham, A., 'Saint Oswald's Family and Kin', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996), pp. 49-63.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Lords and Communities in Early Medieval East Anglia* (Woodbridge, 2005).
- Warner, G.F., and H.A. Wilson (eds), *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1910).
- Weber, M., *Economy and Society*, ed. G. Roth and C. Wittich, trans. E. Fischhoff *et al.* (Berkeley, 1978).
- Whitelock, D., 'The Authorship of the Account of King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries', in J. Rosier (ed), *Philological Essays: Studies in Old and Middle English Language and Literature in Honour of Herbert Dean Meritt* (Paris, 1970), pp. 125-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The pre-Viking age church in East Anglia', *Anglo-Saxon England*, i (1972).
- Williams, A., 'Princeps Merciorum gentis: The Family, Career, and Connections of Ælfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia, 956-83', *Anglo-Saxon England*, 10 (1981), pp. 143-72.

- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Thegnly Piety and Ecclesiastical Patronage in the Late Old English Kingdom', in J. Gillingham (ed.), *Anglo-Norman Studies XXIV* (Woodbridge, 2002), pp. 1-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Æthelred the Unready: The Ill Counselling King* (London, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Ælfhere', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/182>].
- Williams, P., *The Organ in Western Culture, 750-1250* (Cambridge, 1993).
- Winterbottom, M. and M. Lapidge (ed. and trans.), *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012).
- Wollasch, J., 'Les moines et la mémoire des morts', in D. Iogna-Prat and J.-C. Picard (eds), *Religion et culture autour de l'an mil: royaume capétien et Lotharingie* (Paris, 1990), pp. 47-54.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Monasticism: The First Wave of Reform', in T. Reuter (ed.), *New Cambridge Medieval History Volume 3: c. 900- c. 1024* (Cambridge, 2000), pp. 163-85.
- Wood, S., *The Proprietary Church in the Medieval West* (Oxford, 2006).
- Wormald, C.P., 'Viking Studies: Whence and Whither?', in R. T. Farrell (ed.), *The Vikings* (London, 1982), pp. 128-53.
- Wormald, P., *Bede and the Conversion of England: The Charter Evidence* (Jarrow, 1984).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, and Contrast', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 13-42.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Oswaldslow: An "Immunity"?', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996), pp. 117-28.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Wulfstan', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/30098?docPos=3>].
- \_\_\_\_\_, *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century* (Oxford, 1999).
- Yarrow, S., *Saints and Their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006).
- Yorke, B., 'Æthelmær: the Foundation of the Abbey at Cerne and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in K. Barker (ed.), *The Cerne Abbey Millennium Lectures* (Cerne, 1988).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 65-88.
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Introduction', in B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 1-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Wessex in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1995).
- \_\_\_\_\_, *Nunneries and Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (New York, 2003).
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'Æthelwold (904x9-984)', in H.C.G. Matthew *et al.* (eds), *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography Online* (Oxford, 2004), [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/8920>].
- \_\_\_\_\_, 'The Women in Edgar's Life', in D. Scragg (ed.), *Edgar, King of the English, 959-975: New Interpretations* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 143-57.
- Young, D.C.C., 'Review: Alistair Campbell: Frithegodī Monachi Breuiloquium Uitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno', *The Classical Review*, 5 (1955), p. 214.
- Youngs, S.M., J. Clark, and T.B. Barry, 'Medieval Britain and Ireland in 1982', *Medieval Archaeology*, 27 (1983), pp. 161-229.

## Unpublished Theses

- Blanchard, M., 'Royal Agents in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Earls, Bishops, and Abbots' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil thesis, forthcoming).
- Crumplin, S., 'Rewriting the History of the Cult of St Cuthbert from the Ninth to the Twelfth Centuries' (St Andrews Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 2005).
- Molyneaux, G., 'The Formation of the English Kingdom, c. 871-1016' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil. thesis, 2010).
- Peyroux, C., 'Abbess and Cloister: Double Monasteries in the Early Medieval West' (Princeton Univ. Ph.D. thesis, 1991).
- Reidel, C., 'A Renaissance of Saints: The Development of English Lay Christianity in the Long Tenth Century' (Boston College Ph.D thesis, forthcoming).
- Zettel, P.H., 'Ælfric's Hagiographic Sources and the Latin Legendary Preserved in B. L. Cotton Nero E.i + CCCC MS 9 and Other Manuscripts' (Oxford Univ. D.Phil Thesis, 1979).