

WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL IN THE TENTH CENTURY

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During the episcopates of Bishop Ethelwold (963-84) and his successor Bishop Alphege, the cathedral church at Winchester, known in Saxon times as the Old Minster, was reconstructed and enlarged, partly no doubt in order to receive the bones of St. Swithun, which were in 971 translated into the Old Minster from his tomb outside.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the evidence bearing on the reconstruction of the Cathedral at this time and on St. Swithun's tomb and shrine. This evidence is almost entirely documentary, for after the Conquest the Normans, following their usual practice with major churches, destroyed the Old Minster very thoroughly and even its site is most uncertain. The main documents are the near-contemporary poem by the Cantor Wulfstan, and the parallel prose account by the monk Lantfred, which are mainly concerned with the miracles of St. Swithun; there is also the prose Life of Ethelwold attributed to Wulfstan.

The little that is recorded about the earlier history of the Old Minster at Winchester was analysed by Professor Willis in 1845¹ and can be summarized chronologically, in the context of wider events, as follows:

A.D. 166	Legendary foundation of the first cathedral by 'King Lucius'.
294	Legendary second foundation.
312	Conversion of the Emperor Constantine.
516	Cathedral turned by the Saxons into a 'Temple of Dagon'.
597	St. Augustine's mission to Canterbury.
635	St. Birinus' mission to Wessex. King Kynegils baptized at Dorchester, Oxon, which becomes the bishop's seat.
643-48	King Kenwalh, Kynegils' son, builds ' <i>ecclesiam pulcherrimam</i> ' at Winchester ² .
673	Hedda ³ becomes bishop. During his episcopate the see, and Birinus' bones, are transferred to Winchester.
800	Charlemagne crowned in Rome and later builds the centrally-planned Minster at Aachen.

¹ Willis, 'Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral', *Proc. Roy. Arch. Inst. Winchester*, 1845 ('Willis' below). For the early history Willis made much use of the text of the medieval monk Rudborne (publ. Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, Vol. I, 1691: referred to below as 'Rudborne'). Willis also used the parallel account of the monk John of Exeter. Any worker on the Saxon cathedral at Winchester must owe a great debt to Willis' scholarly analysis of the sources.

For Rudborne, Wharton may have used the now damaged BM.MS. Cotton, Galba A.15; another, variant, MS. is Nero A.17. For John of Exeter, Willis used All Souls, Oxford, MS. 114. Another copy of John of Exeter's account is Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 110, item 9, in a Renaissance italic hand, which the

author has collated with Willis's extracts from the All Souls MS. In addition to the text of John of Exeter, the Corpus MS. 110 contains, as item 23 (fols. 314-57) '*Chronicon in quo continetur historia Angliae presertim cenobii Winton a Lucio usque ad initium regni Henrici VI*'. This contains some Winchester material not apparently so far quoted (p. 57, n. 1).

² Anglo Saxon Chronicle and *Annales de Wintonia*, *Anglia Sacra*, I, 288.

³ Bishop Hedda is said to have been buried under a 'pyramid' at Glastonbury. '*Haedda Epus in superiore coemeterio monachorum in Pyramide Saxea quondam nobiliter exsculpta adhuc requiescit*'. *Archbishop Ussher's Works*, vol. V, ed. Elrington (1864), 139.

- 852-62 Swithun bishop. Builds city bridge, monastery walls and churches. No record of building at Old Minster.
- 871-99 Reign of King Alfred. He plans New Minster (St. Grimbald's Abbey), adjoining the Old Minster, and the Nuns' Minster, which were completed by his son, Edward the Elder.
- 910 Founding of Cluny }
934 Re-founding of Fleury } Monastic revival on the Continent.

Rudborne and other sources refer to burials of kings and bishops in the Old Minster—Kenwalh below the high altar¹, Birinus to the north of the high altar², others in the north part of the church under the crypt, in the crypt below the altar of St. Mary, in the nave, by the choir doorway and before the high altar³. After St. Swithun's day, three bishops are recorded as having been buried, two in the north aisle (or transept: *ala*), one on the north side of the high altar⁴. Some of these may have been translations, later than the original burials.

The restoration of the Old Minster, in the royal capital of Winchester, and the translation of St. Swithun, must have been among the most important events in the great flowering of architecture and the arts associated with the monastic revival in Britain in the second half of the 10th century. The leaders of the revival movement were Dunstan (Abbot of Glastonbury, 940-56: Archbishop of Canterbury, 960-88), Ethelwold (d. 984), and Oswald of Worcester (d. 992). Ethelwold seems to have had very great ability, energy and versatility. Born at Winchester, we know of him that:

- (1) He worked under Dunstan at Glastonbury and became Abbot of the refounded monastery at Abingdon about 954.
- (2) He rebuilt the church there, as a double rotunda with a round tower. He is said to have wrought with his own hands bells, an organ, an altar retable of gold and silver with the twelve apostles, and a gold-plated revolving wheel with twelve lamps and innumerable bells around it⁵. He sent one of his monks, later Abbot of Abingdon, to study the observance of Fleury and he also brought monks to Abingdon from Corbie to instruct the community in chanting⁶.
- (3) On becoming Bishop of Winchester (in 963), he expelled all the canons, both of the Old and New Minsters, who would not conform with the reformed rule or were married. Ethelwold was probably the author of the new monastic code for England, the *Regularis Concordia*, based on the

¹ Rudborne, 191: Willis (quoting John of Exeter), 5, note j, 'sub summo altare'.

² Rudborne, 223: 'Birinus . . . humatum est illud venerabile corpus in Ecclesia Wyntoniensi ex parte boreali summi altaris, non mox Sanctorum translatum usque ad tempora istius almi pontificis Athelwoldi'. Rudborne and John of Exeter quote here, and frequently elsewhere, from a lost work by Vigilantius about the cathedral, 'de Basilica Petri'. As these quotations terminate immediately before the Conquest, Willis thought that this lost work was of pre-conquest date (Willis, 3, note a).

³ Willis (quoting John of Exeter), 5, note k: 'in boreali parte ecclesie sub cripta . . . in cripta

sub Dei genetricis altari . . . in navi ecclesie . . . prope ostium chori . . . coram summo altari'; the same text appears in CCCC, MS. 110, fol. 271.

⁴ Willis (quoting John of Exeter), 7, note q: 'in aquilonari ala ecclesie . . . ad aquilonarem plagam summi altaris'; this text appears in CCCC, MS. 110, fol. 273.

⁵ *Abingdon Chronicle*: Rolls Series (RS.), 1856, Vol. II (i), 345; II (ii), 278. After the conquest these treasures were broken up by an Abingdon monk, from Jumieges, and taken to Normandy.

⁶ *Abingdon Chronicle*: vol. II (i), 129, (ii), 259. EL. 89, cap. 14.

- reformed practice of the continent, which was adopted at a Synod in Winchester.
- (4) He evidently organized a monastic school at Winchester. Leland says he was devoted to learning in his youth, and skilled in mathematics and wrote a solid work on the Planets and the Regions and Climates of the world¹. The Life of Ethelwold says that he loved teaching the young, translating latin books and teaching them grammar and metre².
 - (5) His influence extended into East Anglia and he rebuilt the fenland abbeys of Ely and Peterborough, which had been largely destroyed by the Danes, and founded the Abbey of Thorney.
 - (6) There is little doubt that the great school of MS. illumination, known as the Winchester School, was inspired by Ethelwold (though it is not certain whether the famous Benedictional, which was evidently prepared for him and bears his name, was a product of Winchester or of Ely).
 - (7) The main dates relevant to his, and his successor's, building activities at Winchester are:

A.D. 971	Translation of St. Swithun's bones from his tomb outside.
980	Dedication of the first part of the work of reconstruction and restoration of the Old Minster—apparently the nave and west end.
984	Death of Ethelwold.
993-4	Second dedication, under Bishop Alphege, of the completed works of restoration—namely an eastern <i>porticus</i> , a crypt and a tower.
996	Translation of Ethelwold's bones from the crypt into the church.
1005	Alphege becomes Archbishop of Canterbury.

THE WULFSTAN AND LANTFRED TEXTS

The account of Ethelwold's work on the Cathedral, and the associated description of St. Swithun's tomb and the translation of his bones, are derived from three closely related texts:

1. An account, in prose, of the miracles of St. Swithun, by Lantfred, a monk of the Old Minster at Winchester (referred to below as 'L').
2. A partly parallel account of the miracles of St. Swithun in a poem attributed to Wulfstan the Cantor ('W').
3. A prose Life of St. Ethelwold, usually attributed to Wulfstan ('EL').

¹ Leland, *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (Oxon), 1709, Vol. I, 164: '*Ipse vero in mathesi non leviter eruditus, opus elimatum & rotundum de Planetis, Regionibus & Climatibus Mundi, tanquam vic-turum ingenii monumentum, posteritati reliquit*'. In the Bodleian, Oxford, there is a mathematical work *de epistola Ethelwodi* on the Quadrature of the Circle, addressed to the famous scholar

Gerbert (later Pope Sylvester II): MS. Digby, No. 83, fol. 24.

² EL. 95, cap. 31: '*Dulce namque erat ei adolescentes et juvenes semper docere, et Latinos libros Anglice eis solvere, et regulas grammaticae artes ac metricae rationis tradere*'. See R. N. Quirk, 'The Cathedral School 1000 Years Ago', in *Winchester Cathedral Record*, 1958.

I. LANTFRED¹

The basic MS. for both Lantfred and Wulfstan is a volume in the British Museum MS. Royal 15.C.VII (referred to below as the Royal MS.). It is a single manuscript of quarto vellum pages in a beautiful hand (see Pl. VIIA), described in the catalogue as 'finely written, no doubt at Winchester. Initials and uncial titles alternately in red and green . . . early XI century (before 1005?)'². The MS. appears to be of early 11th century date, i.e. contemporary, or nearly so³. Its very fine, and consistent, style, its contents (confined to the contemporary works of Lantfred and Wulfstan about St. Swithun), and its probable date have suggested to Professor Wormald that this may be the MS. prepared for use in connection with the Saint's shrine⁴. Names on the early pages show that the MS. was in 1536 in the hands of Dom Thomas Dackomb, Rector of St. Mary Colebrook, Winchester, and later of the 16th century antiquaries Humphrey Lloyd and his brother-in-law, Lord Lumley, from whom it passed to James I⁵.

Other MSS. of Lantfred include BM.MS. Cotton: Nero E.I, part I, fol. 35, an early medieval text of Lantfred only⁶; it appears to follow closely the text of the Royal MS. Dom E. P. Sauvage, in his 1885, Bollandist, edition of Lantfred, says that he used a Jumieges MS. now in the public library at Rouen⁷.

¹ The printed sources for these works are:

1. *Lantfred*. Ed. Dom E. P. Sauvage from a Jumieges MS., *ex Analectis Bollandianis*, Tom. IV (1885); it is this text which is referred to below as 'L'. For the middle portion of Lantfred, Sauvage only gave the variants from a text (apparently transcribed from a MS. which had belonged to Queen Christina of Sweden), publ. by the Bollandists, *Acta Sanctorum* (AASS), *Julii*, Tom. I (1746), 331-7; for extracts, where this is the best available printed text, it is referred to as 'L.Boll'. This text was reprinted in Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, vol. 155 (1854), 66-80. In all quotations from Lantfred, the exact text has been collated with the text of the Roy. MS.

2. *Wulfstan*. The elegiac introduction to the poem (but not the two books of miracles) was printed by Mabillon, AASS: OSB; Saec V (ed. c. 1740), 614-21; reprinted by Bollandists, AASS, *Augusti*, Tom. I, 98-100, and in Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 137 (1853), 107-14. Mr. Alistair Campbell published the full text, from the Royal MS. and the Bodleian MS., in '*Frithegodii Monachi Breviloquium vitae Beati Wilfredi et Wulfstani Cantoris Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno*', in *Thesaurus Mundi*, Zurich, 1950. This convenient edition has been of the greatest value; all page and line refs. are quoted from it, under the ref. 'W'. Some small corrections to the text are given by D. C. C. Young, in *Classical Review*, vol. 69 (1955), 213-4.

3. *Ethelwold Life*. Printed by Mabillon, from an Alençon MS. (see p. 35, n. 7), in AASS: OSB, Saec V, 596-612; reprinted by Bollandists, AASS, *Augusti*, Tom. I, 88-98; reprinted Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol. 137, 79-104. Migne's ed. has been used below as the printed source and is referred to as 'EL'. (The shorter version of this work, by Aelfric, is also discussed below.)

² *Catalogue of the Royal and Kings MSS.*, vol. II (1921), 166, by Sir G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson. 1005 is the year in which Bishop

Alphege, to whom part of Wulfstan's poem is addressed, left Winchester to become Archbishop of Canterbury.

³ Professor Wormald considers that the MS. can be dated c. 1000; Mr. T. A. M. Bishop regards it as early 11th century. Dr. Alistair Campbell's ed. (W. xi) dates it c. 1000.

⁴ Two passages, in Lantfred (Roy. MS., fols. 3-7: L. 9-14) and in Wulfstan (Roy. MS., fols. 81-4: W. 110, note, including the account of the translation), are divided, by apparently contemporary Roman numerals in the margin of the Roy. MS., into eight sections suitable for reading, or singing, on the Saint's day. Professor Wormald has pointed out the parallel to this in the more elaborate MS. Life of St. Edmund, which belonged to the keepers of his shrine (B.M. MS. Cotton, Tiberius, B.11).

⁵ In 1542 Dackomb possessed the Athelstan Psalter (B.M. MS. Cotton: Galba A XVIII).

⁶ Pt. II (fol. 210) of this MS. includes one of the texts of EL.

⁷ Sauvage's MS. is calendared by H. Omont, *Catalogue General des Manuscrits des Bibliothèques Publiques de France*, Tome I, Rouen (1888), 360, no. 1385 (U.107); it is described as a Jumieges MS. of the 11th century, containing hymns in honour of SS. Swithun, Birinus and Ethelwold. N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of MSS. containing Anglo-Saxon* (1957), 448, quoting Delisle in *Journal des Savants* (1903), 433, gives the date as early 11th century. The Jumieges MS., as transcribed by Sauvage, differs in places from the Royal MS. It lacks the ascription to Lantfred: the chapter headings are abbreviated: the order of concluding chapters, printed by Sauvage, is partly misplaced as compared with the Roy. MS. (and this misled Sauvage into thinking that Lantfred had composed his second part in instalments: see L., 6). The story of the felon from overseas (i.e., from France) was, significantly, omitted in Sauvage's

The text of Lantfred, in the Royal MS. (but not in the Bollandists' text) starts with this introductory heading, in silver uncials:

'Here begins the letter by the excellent Doctor Lantfred, priest and monk, of revered sanctity, about the miracles of St. Swithun the Bishop—To the beloved brethren dwelling at Winchester in the monastery of St. Peter which is named the Oldest . . .'

There follows a 'Prologue' and then a long series of accounts of miracles by St. Swithun, before and after his translation.

Although their MS. lacked the opening heading, Mabillon and the Bollandists could have known of Lantfred's name from Leland², Bale³, Pitts⁴, and Wharton⁵. The two latter gave his date as 980—perhaps because Lantfred speaks of one of the miracles as having occurred ten years after Swithun's translation in 971. As noted by Sauvage, there are a number of passages where Lantfred writes as an eye witness⁶. He mentions himself by name in one place in the Royal MS.⁷

A significant point is that the Anglo-Saxon *Lives of the Saints*, written by Aelfric—the Old Minster monk known as the 'Grammarian', later Abbot of Eynsham, of whom more below—includes a section on St. Swithun⁸. This is an account of St. Swithun's miracles, which is an abridgement of the cycle compiled in Lantfred and Wulfstan. It starts with the three 'pre-translation' miracles, described on pp. 38–9 below, and includes accounts, mostly brief, of about a dozen more. The order of the miracles selected is the same as in Lantfred, except for a few passages (particularly the oft-repeated story of the rebuke by Ethelwold to the monks for omitting to sing the *Te Deum* whenever a miracle occurred). Towards the end of this Life, Aelfric says: 'Landferth, the man from overseas set it down in Latin'⁹.

¹ Roy. MS., fol. 2: *INCIPIT EPISTOLA DOCTORIS EXIMII LANTFREDI VENERANDE SCITATIS PRESBITERI ET MONACHI DE MIRACULIS SCI SWITHUNI EPISCOPI. Dilectissimis fratribus Wintoniae commorantibus in Sancti Petri coenobio, quod nuncupatur Vetustissimum. . .*

² Leland. *De Scriptoribus Britannicis* (1709), 173: 'a suis appelletur Doctor Eximius . . . scripsit de [miraculis Swithuni] librum dignum et doctorum et bonorum auribus'.

³ Bale. *Scriptorum Illustrorum Maioris Britanniae Catalogus*, Basle (1557), 139: 'scripsit Lamfridus statim post eius translationem, Vitam Swithuni episcopi, Lib. 1, Miracula eiusdem, Lib. 1'.

⁴ Pitseus (John Pitts). *Relationum Historicarum de Rebus Anglicis*, Paris (1619), 178. He knew of our Roy. MS., as he speaks of Lantfred's work, 'De vita & miraculis sancti Swithuni

Vintoniensis Episcopi, Libros duos, MS. in Bibliotheca illustris Baronis Lunleiani'.

⁵ The introductory 'letter' only was quoted in Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* (1691), vol. I, 322, with the heading 'Lantfredi Epistola praemissa Historiae de Miraculis S. Swithuni Episcopi Wintoniensis', cf. L., 8.

⁶ L., 5, note 1; 31, cap. 24.

⁷ Roy. MS., fol. 42 (cf. L., 37, cap. 47 (1)), where 'nomine Lantfredus' is omitted: 'accidit autem ut sacerdos quidam nomine Lantfredus de Anglorum finibus, dum pergeret ad Galliam'.

⁸ Aelfric's *Lives of the Saints*, ed. W. W. Skeat, Early English Text Society (no. 94, 1881), 441–71. Some pages of another manuscript of this work were reproduced in facsimile by Earle, *Gloucester Fragments* (1861), 10.

⁹ 'landferth, se ofer-saewisca hit gesette on laeden', Skeat, 466.

source and by the Bollandists (Roy. MS., fol. 43; cf. W., 169). The middle section of Lantfred, caps. 25–45, was not reprinted by Sauvage and he merely noted the different readings of his MS. from those transcribed by the Bollandists 'ex antiquissimis membranarum reginae Sueciae in Cod. 769'. The Bollandists' text of caps. 25–45 lacks the chapter headings of the Roy. MS. and there are short omissions from that text. The Bollandists omit the concluding chapters (printed by Sauvage). Their text of the opening chapters is taken from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris (MS. Lat. 5362), which has been examined by the author. Its date appears to be 12th century and it belonged to the Bigot collection of

Northern French MSS. (No. 174; described by the Bollandists as 'ex antiquissimo codice Bigotiano'). The MS. contains a number of lives of English saints. The *Translatio et Miracula Sci Swithuni* occupies fols. 70–74; it comprises the section of the Bollandists' text which appears on L. Boll., 328–330, an abridged version of the miracles described on pp. 38–9, i.e., it provided the Bollandists with a small portion of their text. The MS. lacks the introductory 'Letter' and the second 'Chapter' is a mere summary of the Translation. The St. Swithun text in MS. Lat. 5362 is immediately followed (fols. 74–125) with the important text of the *Shorter Life of Ethelwold*, by Aelfric (see p. 36, n. 1).

This seems evidence that Aelfric's Life of Swithun was based on Lantfred (if not Wulfstan), and it gives an important upper limit to the date of Lantfred. Aelfric's writings can mostly be dated fairly accurately, and his *Lives* are now dated at between 994 (the death of Archbishop Sigeric) and 998 (the death of his patron, the thane Aethelmar)¹. Lantfred should therefore be earlier than 998.

2. WULFSTAN

In the Royal MS., Lantfred's prose account is followed by two pages with an alphabetical hymn in honour of St. Swithun². The rest of the Royal MS. is then taken up by the text of the poem attributed to Wulfstan³. This poem and Lantfred's account appear to be in an identical hand—the alphabetical hymn in a contemporary, but very slightly different, one⁴.

Another MS. of the Wulfstan poem is in the Bodleian Library (Auct.F.2.14). Here the poem is followed by a number of other items, including several classical texts; Lantfred is not included. The date of the Bodleian MS. could be about 1050 but hardly earlier and possibly fifty or sixty years later⁵; Mr. Alistair Campbell, in his recent edition of Wulfstan, gives the date as 1040–1100⁶. Mr. Campbell uses the Royal MS. as the preferred text of the poem but notes the few variations from the Bodleian text.

Mabillon and the Bollandists quote liberally from the elegiac introduction of Wulfstan, and also from other passages, and it is clear that Mabillon had access to a text of the poem which was very close to that of the Royal MS. Mabillon states explicitly that he had the complete works of Lantfred and Wulfstan, but did not propose to publish them in full; he does not give his MS. source for Wulfstan⁷.

The Wulfstan poem, in the Royal MS., starts with an important passage of 330 lines of elegiacs, which is the source for the main description of the contemporary architectural work on the Old Minster. This elegiac passage is described in the rubric as a 'Special Letter' to Bishop Alphege, who succeeded Ethelwold on his death in 984, and was translated to Canterbury in 1005 (and canonized after his murder in 1012, while a hostage, by the Danes). In the description of the second dedication of the works on the Old Minster completed by Alphege, dated by Willis from the bishops present as between 993 and 995⁸, the author of the poem addresses Archbishop Sigeric (Dunstan's successor at Canterbury), who was present, as if he was still alive; this has been taken as indicating that this part of the poem at any rate was written before Sigeric's death in 994⁹. Being addressed

¹ K. Sisam, 'Aelfric's Catholic Homilies', in *Review of English Studies*, vol. VIII, no. 29 (1932), 67. See also Aelfric's *De Temporibus Anni*, ed. Henel, E.E.T.S., no. 213 (1942), xlix, note 3).

² The alphabetical hymn, as reproduced by Sauvage from the Jumièges MS. (L., 50–2), differs greatly from the Roy. MS. text. But he also prints a text from the MS. referred to below (p. 35, n. 7).

³ Except for the last 4½ fols., which contain, *inter alia*, a 'Carmen Breve' to St. Swithun ('*Inter signa gloriosi Swithuni antistitis*') in what seems an early 12th century hand. The 'Carmen Breve' follows after Wulfstan, in Bodleian Auct. F.2.14, in the same hand as Wulfstan.

⁴ The numbering of the quires in the Roy. MS. is suggestive. The numeration referred to in the Roy. MS. Catalogue (which appears to be of 14th or 15th century date) shows a discontinuity at fol. 50 (the page with the alphabetical hymn, in a different hand, between Lantfred and Wulfstan). Professor Wormald has pointed out that there is another quire numeration (perhaps 12th cent., cf. 'glaucomate', f. 82), scratched as Roman numerals on the first leaf of each gathering, but only in the

Wulfstan portion of the MS. Numerals I and II are missing and it can be inferred from this and other indications that the first nine leaves of this, Wulfstan, portion of the MS. are missing. Professor Wormald suggests that the MS. (which is in one hand throughout, except for the alphabetical hymn and the concluding fols. referred to in n. 3) may have been originally planned in two units; these may only have been joined together in the middle ages. There would have been plenty of room, in the missing pages of the Wulfstan unit, for an introduction, with an attribution to Wulfstan.

⁵ Private communication from Mr. T. A. M. Bishop.

⁶ W., xi.

⁷ Mabillon, AASS:OSB, Saec IV, Pt. II (1738), 73; see also Saec V, 595.

⁸ Willis, 14: cf. W., x, and p. 62 below.

⁹ W., 71–2, ll. 213–18:

'*primus erat quorum Sigericus . . . quem deus e caelis tueatur ubique supernis, Anglorum populis seruet et incolomem*'. Mr. Sisam, in *Review of English Studies*, vol. VII (1931), 16, has shown that Sigeric probably died in October, 994 (not 995).

to Alphege as bishop of Winchester, the poem can in any case hardly be later than 1005.

After the passage in elegiacs, there follows an introductory 'General Letter to the Monks' (ll. 333-92), a Preface (ll. 400-584) and then the two Books of Swithun's miracles, all in hexameters. The first of these is of 1,620 lines, including Swithun's first translation in July 971, and the miracles immediately before and after it; the second is of 1,170 lines, starting with the second translation and followed by accounts of many more miracles. In the order of the miracles in the Royal MS., and in the detailed descriptions and wording, there is very close correspondence between Wulfstan and Lantfred, practically the whole of whose text is paralleled in the poem. But considerable sections of Wulfstan (e.g., the detailed descriptions of the two translations) are not paralleled in Lantfred. In their introductory sections, before the accounts of the miracles, the texts are quite different, and Wulfstan's, all important, elegiac description of the rebuilding of the Old Minster has no parallel in Lantfred.

Neither the Royal, nor the Bodleian, MSS. give Wulfstan's name in the text and a reader of the Royal MS. might well imagine that the poem was also by Lantfred¹. As indicated however on p. 33, n. 4, there appear to be some leaves missing at the beginning of 'Wulfstan', where the author could well have been named. Moreover, the Bodleian MS. has an ascription to Wulfstan, perhaps in Leland's hand, and Wulfstan's name is known from early sources. Bede wrote two lives of St. Cuthbert, one in hexameters, and the other, written later, in prose; there are other precedents for parallel verse and prose lives of saints². In the Ethelwold Life, described below, Ethelwold appears in a vision twelve years after his death (i.e., in 996, the year of his translation) and bids a blind man in Wallingford go to the church of the Old Minster at Winchester and ask 'a certain monk called Wulfstan, known as the Cantor' to show the blind man his tomb, beside which he lies down and recovers his sight; in the next chapter of the Life, Ethelwold, seeking to be translated, appears to Wulfstan in a vision³. Moreover, in a New Minster, Anglo-Saxon, document, probably of 1056-57, a New Minster monk recalls 'as I myself heard of it when I was young' the making of an agreement between Ethelwold and the Abbot of the New Minster governing relations between the Old and New Minsters; the agreement was made in the presence of St. Dunstan and, among others, of Wulfstan the Cantor of the Old Minster and Aelfric the Dean of the New Minster⁴.

As explained (see p. 36, n. 2), William of Malmesbury speaks of Wulfstan having written a Life of Ethelwold and also a work on the 'Harmony of Notes'. Leland states that the poem about St. Swithun was by Wulfstan and the prose account by Lantfred⁵. He says that he found in the Library at Sherborne two books of the translation and miracles of St. Swithun dedicated to Bishop Alphege; he quotes eight lines from the poem⁶. Bale

¹ Rudborne, 193, quotes four lines from the elegiac poem (W., 73, ll. 259-63) as written by Lantfred: '*metricè sic scribit Lantfredus in Libro de Fundatione Wentaniae Ecclesiae, qui intitulatur "Liber Fundamenti"*'. See also Rudborne, 203, quoting other later passages of the poem as written by Lantfred (and John of Exeter quoted by Willis, 10, note b): '*unde de ejus sanctis moribus sic scribit Doctor Lantfredus in libro de vita ipsius gloriosi Antistitis Swythuni metro primo . . . et metro quarto sic scribit idem Doctor venerabilis Lantfredus*'.

² In *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 24, Bede says: '*vitam Sancti . . . Cudberti, et prius heroico metro, et postmodum plano sermone descripsi*': for texts of both lives see J. Stevenson, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica Minora* (1851); Colgrave, *Two Lives of St. Cuthbert* (1940), prose life only. Bede also says that Aldhelm wrote an excellent book on virginity which, after the example of Sedulius, he composed in double form, both in hexameters and prose: *Hist. Eccl.*, V, 18. The

Carmen and Opus Paschale of Sedulius, parallel works in verse and prose, were clearly known to Bede. A Fulda Monk, Brunn Candidus, wrote lives of Abbot Eigel (c. 820) in both prose and verse: Beumano and Groszmann (quoted below, p. 53, n. 1), 23.

³ EL., 102-3, cap. 42: '*monachum quemdam Wlesfanum coqnomento Cantorem*' cap. 43: '*exinde famulus Christi praedicto fratri Wlfstano, et plerisque aliis per nocturnam visionem manifestus apparuit*'.

⁴ W. de Q. Birch: *Liber Vitae of New Minster and Hyde Abbey* (1892), 96-100, '*Aelfric decanus . . . Wlstan cantor*'. For Aelfric the dean, not to be confused with the Grammarian, see also Birch, 269.

⁵ Leland, *de Scriptoris*, 141: '*Swithuni vitam et facta illustria Wolstanus & Lamfridus monachi Ventani, ille carmine heroico, hic soluta oratione, . . . scripserunt*'.

⁶ Leland, 165; W., 65, ll. 9-12; 102, ll. 486-9.

and Pitts cite five books by Wulfstan—St. Swithun's Translation; his Miracles; the Life of King Ethelwulf; a life of Bishop Ethelwold; and *de Tonorum Harmonia*¹. It was therefore natural that Mabillon and the Bollandists should attribute the poem to Wulfstan.

While there can be no certainty without contemporary manuscript evidence, it seems reasonable to accept the consensus of opinion which ascribes the metrical work on St. Swithun to the Cantor Wulfstan. One pointer is perhaps the author's description of himself as 'least of the servants of the English hymn-singers'². Another is the lengthy technical and musical description of the working of the new organ in the Old Minster, which appears in the elegiac description of the restoration of the church at the beginning of Wulfstan's poem³. This seems to be the work of an expert hand and would be entirely consistent with the author of the poem being the Cantor Wulfstan, author of *de Tonorum Harmonia*⁴.

It is impossible to determine whether the poem was written before or after Lantfred's prose work. Large sections of the text, as explained below, correspond very closely, but Wulfstan usually seems to be rather fuller and more detailed. As to the date of Wulfstan, there is some evidence, referred to above, that the elegiac poem, at any rate, was written before 994. Another sign of contemporaneity seems to be Wulfstan's reference, in his account of the translation in 971, to 'we boys who were afrighted by the storm'. This perhaps shows that he was a young singer in that procession—and it may also be the origin of the legend of Rain upon St. Swithun's Day⁵.

3. THE ETHELWOLD LIFE

The third of the relevant contemporary texts is the prose Life of Bishop Ethelwold, first printed by Mabillon⁶. Mabillon's source was a manuscript now at Alençon⁷ (which is also given by the Bollandists as the source for the mass, prayers and hymns to St. Ethelwold transcribed in Mabillon and Migne). Mabillon attributed the Ethelwold Life to the Cantor Wulfstan. In the Alençon MS., cap. 42 of the Life includes a section of the Wulfstan elegiac poem about the first dedication in 980⁸.

Several manuscripts of the Ethelwold Life in the British Museum correspond closely with the text used by Mabillon. Two complete ones are Arundel 169, fol. 88, 12th cent. and Nero E.I., Part II, fol. 209 b, 13th cent.; the main difference from Mabillon is the omission in both of these of the important extract from the Wulfstan poem in cap. 42⁹. Another text, lacking the earlier chapters, Caligula A. VIII, fol. 125, is late 11th or early 12th century; cap. 42⁹, about the 980 dedication, is entirely omitted. There are no contemporary ascriptions in any of these manuscripts, but the Nero text is attributed to Wulfstan, 'Anº 1000', in an italic hand; the marginal notes are in the hand of John Jocelin, the 16th century antiquary.

In addition to this, longer, Ethelwold Life, there is what may be called the Shorter Life, a very much briefer text which, almost throughout, seems to be an abridged version

¹ Bale, vol. I, 150; Pitts, 180.

² W., 65, l. 8: '*ultimus Anglorum servulus ymnycinum*'—the last word being glossed as *cantorium* in both the Royal and Bodleian MSS.

³ W., 69-70, ll. 141-71.

⁴ The vigour of the music in Wulfstan's time is demonstrated by the famous 'Winchester Troper', the earliest MS. of which (Bodleian, 775) is dated during King Ethelred's life, i.e. after 978, but probably before the cathedral dedication in 980. It includes a Service for the Translation of St. Swithun. *The Winchester Troper*, Henry Bradshaw Soc., xxvii-xxix (1898).

⁵ W., 114, l. 889; see p. 40, note 2.

⁶ '*nos quoque nos pueri qua tempestate pusilli*'.

⁷ P. 31, note 1. The EL. references are to Migne's edition.

⁸ Alençon MS. No. 14 (Omont, *Catalogue General* (1880), Tome II, Rouen, 488-91), which

has been examined by the writer. It came from the monastery of St. Evroult d'Ouche, near Alençon (Mabillon's '*Uticensi S. Ebrulfi*'). The Longer Ethelwold Life occupies fols. 23 to 36 and this is followed by a hymn to Birinus and the mass, prayer and hymns for Ethelwold printed by Mabillon. There follows, in the same hand, a copy of a Diploma of Charles the Simple for St. Evroult, which indicates that the MS. was written there.

⁹ W., 66-8, ll. 41-118, EL. 100-1.

¹⁰ and also the sentences which precede and follow it: '*de qua et nos in Domino congratulentes hoc carmen cecimus . . .*' and '*haec de renovatione et dedicatione Veteris ecclesiae edita hic inserere opportunum duximus*'. Prime facie, this extract from the poem would not have been suitable for singing at a dedication ceremony (EL. 100-1).

of the Longer Life. The author of this Shorter Life says that he is '*Aelfricus abbas, Wintoniensis alumnus*', and that he wrote the Life twenty years after Ethelwold's death (in 984); he dedicates it to the Winchester monks and to Bishop Kenulf. Kenulf succeeded Alphege at Winchester in 1005, but died within a year, which dates this Life very precisely¹.

William of Malmesbury records that Aelfric 'wrote the Life of Ethelwold before Wulfstan had composed it more elaborately'. He also says that Ethelwold's Life 'was composed, in a mediocre style, by one Wulfstan, Cantor of Winchester, his disciple and pupil; he also wrote another work on the Harmony of Notes—very useful, an index of a scholarly Englishman, a man of good life and restrained eloquence'².

These statements of William of Malmesbury have caused some confusion. Mabillon makes it clear that they are the source for his view that Wulfstan wrote the Longer Ethelwold Life³. Mr. D. J. V. Fisher has examined carefully Dr. Armitage Robinson's view that the longer Ethelwold Life was later than that of Aelfric and has concluded that the Longer Life must be the earlier⁴.

The main points on this complex matter are:

- (1) William of Malmesbury attributed the Shorter Life to Abbot Aelfric of Malmesbury. But as he died in 985, as Bishop of Crediton, this attribution, for a Life written apparently around 1005, cannot be right. Malmesbury's theory that the 'Aelfric' Life was earlier than that of 'Wulfstan' was, Mr. Fisher thinks, due to Malmesbury's wrong identification of Aelfric⁵.
- (2) It seems certain that the correct attribution of the Shorter Life is to Abbot Aelfric of Eynsham, the Grammarian, author of many works in Anglo-Saxon. Aelfric was evidently at the school in the Old Minster under Ethelwold (and he describes himself as '*alumnus Ethelwoldi*' and '*Wintoniensis alumnus*'). He was the author of many *Homilies*, translation of books of the Bible, etc., in Anglo-Saxon, and also of the *Colloquy* and *Grammar* for schoolboys. He became Abbot of the newly-founded monastery of Eynsham in 1005. His knowledge of Ethelwold and of matters concerning the Old Minster must have been close and intimate⁶.
- (3) Malmesbury's reference to the Life of Ethelwold, which Wulfstan 'composed', seems to be the reason why all writers from Mabillon onwards (including the renaissance annotator of Nero E.I) have attributed the Longer Life to Wulfstan.

¹ Aelfric's Life is included in the Rolls Series ed. of the *Abingdon Chronicle* (RS., vol. II, ii, 255). It is there reproduced from fols. 74-125 of the Paris MS. (Lat. 5362) referred to on p. 32, n., and follows the defective extract from Lantfred, in the same hand. This seems consistent with the suggestion that the Shorter Life of Ethelwold, attributed in the Paris MS. to Aelfric, should be regarded as a later abbreviation of the Longer Life.

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, RS., Vol. 52 (1870), 406: Aelfric '*reliquit aliquantos codices, non exigua ingenii monumenta: Vitam sancti Adelwoldi, antequam eam Wlstanus operosius concinnaret . . .*'

Gesta Regum, RS., vol. 90 (i) (1887), 166: '*Hujus vitam Wulfstanus quidam, cantor Wintoniensis, discipulus ejus scilicet et alumnus, composuit stylo mediocri. Fecit et aliud opus*

De Tonorum Harmonia valde utile, eruditi Angli indicium, homo vitae bonae et eloquentiae castigatae'.

³ EL., 79.

⁴ 'The Early Biographers of St. Ethelwold', in *English Historical Review*, vol. 67 (1952), 381. Mr. Fisher thought 'that the longer Life is almost contemporary with its subject', and concluded 'first, that the longer Life of St. Ethelwold is a genuine production of the late tenth or very early eleventh century, and second, with rather less assurance, that it was the first biography of the saint to be written'.

⁵ Mr. Fisher (EHR., 389) shows why an attribution to Aelfric, Abbot of Abingdon, who, in 995, succeeded Sigeric as Archbishop of Canterbury, is most unlikely.

⁶ R. N. Quirk, 'The Cathedral School 1000 Years Ago', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, 1958.

- (4) As to the internal evidence of date, both Lives are presumably later than the translation of Ethelwold's bones in 996 (described in *EL.*, cap. 42, 102, as twelve years after his death). The Shorter 'Aelfric' Life is, as explained above, dated 1005. Although, of the two Lives, the 'Wulfstan' one probably precedes the 'Aelfric' one, they can hardly be very different in date¹.
- (5) As to Wulfstan's authorship of the Longer Life, this does not seem absolutely certain. Wulfstan the Cantor is mentioned in two places², and this has been thought to be an indication of authorship by Wulfstan. (On the other hand, the quotation from the Wulfstan poem, in cap. 42 of the Mabillon text, seems irrelevant because, as explained above, this does not appear in the B.M. Manuscripts.)

Malmesbury's reference to Wulfstan having composed the Life of Ethelwold, in what for a historian may have seemed a 'mediocre style', may possibly suggest that Wulfstan wrote a metrical Life of Ethelwold. The Longer Life would then be a prose version, corresponding with Lantfred's version of St. Swithun's miracles; the Shorter Life by Aelfric would be merely an abridgement of the latter. One possibility is that Aelfric in fact wrote the Longer Life of Ethelwold, hitherto attributed to Wulfstan. All the personal and local detail—which suggested to Mr. Fisher that the Longer Life was 'much more the product of a Winchester monk writing for his brethren' than the shorter Life—would be just as appropriate to authorship by Aelfric as by Wulfstan. On this hypothesis, the Shorter Life would merely be a later, abbreviated, version—but the only version which has happened to survive in a manuscript with the preamble saying that Aelfric was the author; this seems consistent with the MS. evidence explained on p. 36, n. 1.

From the dates given above, both versions of the Ethelwold Life seem to be by authors who were contemporary with Ethelwold (though there seems to be no manuscript of them as early as the Royal MS. source for Lantfred and the poem). The words '*ea quae praesentes ipsi vidimus*'³ in the preface to the Longer Life, suggest a contemporary writer, as do certain other passages.

It seems clear that the identifiable authors of our texts—firstly Lantfred, the 'learned doctor', the Winchester monk from over the seas; secondly Wulfstan⁴, Wulfstan the Cantor who, as a boy in 971, sang in the rain-drenched procession in St. Swithun's translation and as a man was a prolific versifier and a writer about music; and, thirdly, Aelfric the Grammarian and *alumnus Aedelwoldi*, translator of Latin works into Anglo-Saxon—were pupils of Ethelwold and/or members of the bishop's *familia*. They must all be men who had known, and been inspired by, Ethelwold. In writing of him, and his works, they can certainly be regarded as contemporaries. Lantfred's work and Wulfstan's poem can in any case not be later than the date of the Royal MS., which seems to be early 11th century and may have been prepared for use at the shrine.

¹ The longer Ethelwold Life contains a reference to successful scholars of Ethelwold's school (*EL.*, 95, cap. 31): '*per plures ex discipulis ejus fierent sacerdotes atque abbates, et honorabiles episcopi, quidam etiam archiepiscopi in gente Anglorum*'. In the Shorter 'Aelfric' Life, the corresponding passage (*Abingdon Chronicle*, RS., vol. II, ii, 263) has no reference to archbishops. The first "old boy" to become an archbishop might well have been Alphege, and it could possibly therefore be argued that the Longer Life is the later. But even the shorter

Life, being addressed to Kenulf, must have been written after Alphege's promotion to Canterbury, and there does not seem much in the point, because the inclusion of 'archbishops' could have been made by a scribe at any time, in either version.

² See p. 34, n. 3 above.

³ *EL.*, 82.

⁴ It may be noted that Max Manitius supports Wulfstan's authorship of the poem on St. Swithun; *Geschichte der Lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. II (1923), 442.

THE MIRACLES AT ST. SWITHUN'S TOMB

HIS TRANSLATION: 971 A.D.

Before discussing the description, in elegiacs at the beginning of Wulfstan's poem, of the reconstruction of the Old Minster by Ethelwold and Alphege, it is desirable to set out what is said in the sources about St. Swithun's tomb, before the rebuilding and the translation of his bones into the Old Minster.

Wulfstan and Lantfred both describe three miracles leading up to the translation in 971. In the first miracle, three years before the translation, St. Swithun appears in a vision to a smith. He commands him to go to one Eazinus, or Easige¹, one of the canons who had been expelled by Ethelwold from the Old Minster, and give him the embarrassing message that he is to tell Ethelwold that the Saint wishes his body to be taken from his tomb and translated into the church². As proof that this command is genuine, St. Swithun says that the smith will find that he can easily pull away from his sarcophagus one of the six iron rings which are fixed into its cover and grip it shut³. The texts speak of the ring as coming out from the mass of stone as if out of the sand of the sea; when the ring is replaced in its recess and pressed down by a heel, it becomes immovable⁴. After the miracle, Eazinus is received back by the Old Minster monks into the regular rule⁵.

In the second miracle, two years before the translation, a hunchbacked priest is bidden in a dream, by two angelic youths, to go to the Old Minster, where he will find the tomb of the Saint, above which, according to Wulfstan, there is a tomb-house (*sacellum*), with walls, covered with a roof, like a sarcophagus, and four-sided; according to Lantfred he will find above the tomb a container (*tugurium*) made to the size of the sarcophagus⁶. The priest is to lie down and sleep between the tomb and a stone cross which is beside it, and he will wake up recovered.

The Wulfstan poem, and Lantfred, both have at the end of this story an important passage about the position of St. Swithun's grave. Wulfstan says that a great tower with beaked roofs stood before the beautiful threshold of the church and that the Saint lay buried between this tower and the nave (*aulam*) of the church. The Saint wished to be buried in a humble place, which later became unknown; this must have been outside the west end of the church, because Wulfstan says that the Saint 'would not allow his body to be placed either inside the church nor among the tombs of the elect where the fathers of old lie buried, where the golden sun when rising sets forth its rays and parches

¹ Eazinus is mentioned in Ethelwold's Life EL., 91, cap. 18) as one of the three canons expelled from the Old Minster by Ethelwold, who were later converted to the regular rule. Another was *Wilstanus Presbyter*; it seems rather unlikely that the latter was the same man as Wulfstan the Cantor.

² L., 14: '*Corpus suum de monumento elevet et digne in ecclesia colloct*'.

W., 88, ll. 48-9:

'eius ut e tumulo corpus leuet, inque sacra colloct ecclesia'.

³ L., 15: '*trahat unum manu anulum ex bis ternis qui sunt fixi in mei coperculo sarcophagi*'.

W., 88, ll. 57-8:

'e senis unam trahat orbibus orbem, quos retinet stringendo mei clausura sepulchri'.

⁴ L., 16: '*Qui statim ut traxit orbem calibis, ita subsequutus est illum ex lapidea mole, quasi foret fixus in marino sabulone. Quem in propria reponens rimula, ita fixus permansit, paululum pressus calce, ut posthac inde nequaquam possit avelli a nemine*'.

W., 90-1, ll. 128-33:

'speram facili conamine prensam

extrahit, et dicto citius de rupe tenaci hunc sequitur, quasi tenta foret sabulone marino,

quae rursus propriae repelens confinia rimae, calce repressa parum sic fixa remansit ibidem, ut non possit eam posthac diuellerere quisquam'.

⁵ W., 92: L., 17: EL., 91, cap. 18.

⁶ W., 94, ll. 251-8:

'ad limina sacra uetusti

perge monasterii, studioque require sagaci presulis unius sancti sublime sepulchrum, quod super inuenies positum tumulare sacellum,

parietibus structum, necnon et culmine tectum, sarcophagi inque modum, bis bina fronte locatum.

hoc inter sanctamque crucem, quae sistitur illic saxea, somniferam paulatim carpe quietem'.

L., 19: '*perge ad monasterium quod dicitur Vetustissimum, et unius antistitis tumulum diligenter require sanctissimum, supra quod reperies tugurium ad quantitatem sarcophagi compositum, inter quod et lapideam staurum, quae ibi est posita ob sanctitatis indicium, mox quiesce paululum*'.

the middle day with scorching heat, but he ordered that he should rather be placed on the side where the sun sets of that famous nave of which we have often spoken¹. Lantfred has a closely similar passage, saying that the grave was between a tower, dedicated to St. Martin (which was before the gateway of the monastery), and the great doorway of the church (*templi regiam*). The Saint would not be buried within the church nor in the monks' cemetery to the east or south of the great church, but in a humble place before the doorway of the nave².

In the third version, a man wandering in the fields by the watercourse which flows beside the city walls (i.e., perhaps just south of St. Swithun's bridge, along the present Weirs), encounters two women with the appearance of furies (described as *mulieres Aethiopes* or *Euminides*) with snakes in their hair. He rushes from them and falls into the river from which he is taken up as if dead. His friends advise that, so as to be cured from his subsequent paralysis, he should visit the shrine of St. Judoc at the New Minster. St. Swithun then appears and bids him, rather, lie down beside the stone cross in front of the Old Minster, which is behind (presumably east of) his tomb³. After he has lain in front of the doorway (*limen, januam, hostium*) of the church⁴ for three days, he has a vision of a figure standing on what Lantfred calls the 'pyramid' on the western tower. The figure is carrying a golden cord by which he lowers to the ground a splendid tunic; this, when it reaches the ground, enters the tomb house and the sarcophagus and disappears. The stone cross trembles and nearly crashes to the ground and there seems to be as it were an earthquake—the whole being a sign that the Saint wishes to be translated⁵.

¹ W., 100-1, ll. 447-74:

*'turris erat rostrata totis quia maxima quaedam
illius ante sacri pulcherrima limina templi,
eiusdem sacrata deo sub honore ierarchi,
inter quam templique sacram pernobilis aulam
corpore uir domini sanctus requieuit humatus,
cuius adhuc ipso latuit nos tempore nomen,
nec fuerant nisi perpauca, qui pandere nossent
aut nomen merulumque uiri, iam tempore longo
utpote transacto, postquam sacer ille sacerdos
corpore ibi tumulatus erat, nam uilis apud se
mente humili in tantum presul fuit inclitus
idem,*

*ut perhibent omnes hunc qui nouere fideles,
ut se post obitum sineret nullatenus intra
aecclesiae Christi penetralia corpore poni,
sed nec in electis loca per diuersa supulchris,
in quibus antiqui patres tacuere sepulti,
aurea sol oriens orbi qua spicula mittit,
qua mediumque diem feruente calore perurit,
sed magis occiduo mandat se climate poni
illius illustris quam saepe notauimus aulae,
contestans lacrimando suum non esse locan-
dum
corpore in aede sacra domini, praeclara nec
inter
priscorum monumenta patrum. moderamine
Christi*

*est ita quod factum iusto, uir sanctus ut idem,
qui tactus uirtute humili se spreuit, et extra
est templum quasi uilis homo indignusque
sepultus,
innumeris signis, uirtutibus atque coruscis,
clarus apostolicam post transferretur in
aulam'*

² L., 22-3: *'quedam turris erat ante predicti
januam coenobii dicata Deo in honore eiusdem
venerabilis uiri [Martini], inter quam et templi
regiam sanctus Dei famulus [Swithunus] corpore
humatus fuerat. Nimirum uir Domini beatis-
simus, ut perhibent, tante fuit humilitatis, ut etiam*

*illius sacratissimum corpus post obitum nulla
ratione sineret humari in basilica, sed neque in
cimiterio fratrum pretioso, quod erat optimum
necne sanctissimum, in orientali parte atque
australi climate prepollentis ecclesiae; verum in
uiliore rusticorum se precepit ponere, quod est
solum ante fores herilis aulae sufficienter com-
memoratae, lacrimando contestans dema suum
haud fore dignum sepeliri infra basilicam neque
inter praeclaras patrum sepulturas priscorum . . .
extra templum est sepultus'*

³ W., 107, ll. 643-7:

*'ne te patiaris ad illud
ferre monasterium, uocitant quod quique
nouellum,
sed magis ad staurum te fac deducier illam,
sita monasterio fulget quae nota uetusto,
unius ad tumbam uenerandi presulis'*

L., 27-8: *'non debes ad Novum baiolari coeno-
bium, sed potius ad lapideam staurum quae est
ante Vetustissimum, post unius pontificis mauso-
leum'*

⁴ W., 108, ll. 687:

*'ante sed obdormit uenerandi limina templi'.
L., 28: 'verum ante templi januam obdormiuit'.
L., 30: 'recumbantem ante templi hostium'.*

⁵ L., 28-9: *'Namque uersus contra turrim occi-
dentalis climatis, conspexit uirum mirae celsitudi-
nis, quasi iubar fulgentem solis, in cacumine
stantem prescripte pyramidis, in manibus funem
aureum tenens, per quem pedetemptim prefulgidam
minutatimque complicatam deorsum misit tunicam:
que, mox ut terram attingit, tamdiu ambulauit donec
ad sancti [Swithuni] tugurium peruenit: quo dum
peruenisset sarcophagum sancti intravit, et postea
non comparuit: uerum staurum saxea tola contrem-
uit, et quasi in terram prona cadere uellet, se
deorsum inclinauit'*

W., 108, ll. 690-702:

*'nam uersus contra sublimia culmina turris
climatis occidui, uisum sustollit in altum,*

These three miracles were taken as showing that the Saint's bones should be translated, and Wulfstan's poem (but not Lantfred), then continues with a description of the translation—the rubric saying that this was done at the instigation of Bishop Ethelwold of blessed memory and in the reign of King Edgar on the 15th July, 971. The relics were taken up from the monument and reverently laid within the church of St. Peter and St. Paul¹. First there is a procession. The author of the poem speaks of himself as one of the boys who sang in the procession and who were frightened by a storm; as already explained, this seems good evidence of Wulfstan being a contemporary writer and is also perhaps the origin of 'Rain upon St. Swithun's Day'². They go to the Saint's tomb, remove the tomb-house (*sacellum*) and place screens (*tentoria*) around the tomb to keep away the crowd. The procession returns to the ancient nave of the church and then comes back to the tomb³. Ethelwold leads the diggers; they dig away the earth below the tomb; its heavy cover is lifted off by three wooden posts; the sepulchre is uncovered and the sacred bones with their odour of sanctity are found, wrapped in cloths, placed in a new receptacle (*locellum*) and then in a *feretrum*⁴. The multitude enters the church through all its open doors and the body of the Saint is taken inside⁵.

ST. SWITHUN'S TOMB: CONCLUSIONS

This evidence about St. Swithun's grave, before the translation, points to the following:

- (1) St. Swithun was buried outside the west doorway of the Old Minster. Next door to the tomb, apparently on the east, was a stone cross. Further to the west, before the gateway of the monastery, was a great tower, with a pointed roof (*pyramidis*), dedicated to St. Martin (a common dedication for towers).

¹ W., III: 'Quomodo suggerente beatae memoriae domno Adelwoldo episcopo, et imperante glorioso rege Eadgaro, sanctae ac uenerabiles antistitis Swidhuni reliquiae sublatae sunt de monumento, et in ecclesia beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli decentissime reconditae, Idibus Juliis, anno dominicae incarnationis dccclxxi, indictione xiiii'.

² W., II4, ll. 889-91:

'nos quoque nos pueri qua tempestate pusilli,
diximus ut reliqui pariter ieiunia laeti,
cantantes domino psalmorum dulciter ymnos'.

The storm seems to have been repeated when the Ely saints were translated to the new cathedral in 1106. *Liber Eliensis*, ed. D. J. Stewart (1848), 291: 'Tunc quippe renouantur antiqua miracula, quae contigisse leguntur in inuentione beati corporis Stephani martyris. Facta sunt enim tonitrua tempestates, et fulgura talia, ut omnes paene fenestrae ecclesiae horridis ictibus frangerentur, et crebri ignes in pavementum coram sanctis corporibus laberentur'. A storm is also recorded during St. Cuthbert's translation at Durham in 1104, (*Historia Translationis Sancti Cuthberti*, Auctore Anonymo, Surtees Soc., 41 (1867), 197); and also during that of St. Edmund at Bury.

³ W., II5:

conspexitque uirum super ipsa cacumina
stantem,
undique splendentem, praeclari solis ut orbem;
ex auro funem manibus tenuitque retortum,
per quem perspicuam subtilique arte plicatam
demisit tunicam, quae mox ut tangere terram
uisa fuit, per se graditur (mirabile uisum)

ll. 907-8: 'tolli iubet inde sacellum,
quod tumulo sancto quondam posuere fideles'.
ll. 910-11: 'illincque tulere sacellum,
et circa tumulum celeres tentoria tendunt'.
ll. 921:
'rursus in antiquam cum laude reuertitur
aulam'.

⁴ W., II6-7. ll. 959-65:

'primus adest terrae fossor, uenerandus Adelwold;
tum fodiunt alii, quos iusserat ille, ministri,
perueniuntque locum, tumuli fodiendo sub
inum,
stipitibusque tribus sublata mole copercli;
fit statim clausura sacri patefacta sepulchri,
inueniuntque illum thesaurum protinus illic,
quem fabro sanctus praedixerat inueniendum'.

W., II7, ll. 976-9:

'Adingunt trepidi pretiosum corpus, et illud
membratim lotum mundo uelamine uoluunt,
concluduntque nouo sanctissima membra
locello,
omnibus expletis haec imponuntque feretro'.

⁵ W., II8, ll. 1024:

'iamque omnis portis exercitus intrat apertis'.
W., II9, ll. 1029:
'intranat ecclesiam sancto cum corpore laeti'.

tamque diu pergat, donec peruenit ad alium
lugurium sancti, ueniens quo protinus intrat
sarcophagum sancti, uidet hanc nec postea quisquam,
quin etiam staurus prope stans ibi saxea tota
contremuit, quasi prona solo procumbere uellet'.

- (2) However obscure, and even unknown, the grave may originally have been, it is clear that, in Ethelwold's day, its position was prominent. The grave was marked by a four-sided, walled structure (*sacellum* or *tugurium*) probably with a gabled roof (*culmine tectum*) and like a sarcophagus. This suggests a structure of the type sometimes called a 'pyramid' (cf. p. 28, note 3).
- (3) The tomb-house is described as being above the ground and, to reach the grave, it was necessary to remove the structure and to dig. When reached, the heavy lid of the sarcophagus itself was removed with the aid of three wooden posts.
- (4) It seems reasonable to think that the six iron rings were fixed in the lid of the sarcophagus, and they seem to have gripped the lid to the sides of the tomb (p. 38, note 3). The three posts by which the lid was eventually lifted may have been passed through the rings¹.
- (5) The tomb-house seems to have been built over the grave slab. It must have been possible for pilgrims to reach, and touch, some at least of the rings on the slab—either through holes in the side of the tomb-house or possibly through some kind of an entrance or doorway in it².

THE RELIQUARY AND THE SECOND TRANSLATION

There follows, in both the Wulfstan poem and in Lantfred's account, which is resumed, a long series of parallel passages describing miracles, mostly cures of the blind and the paralysed—such as the 'three blind women and the dumb youth', 'the maid of Theoderic the bell founder' (who had been fettered by her master), 'the paralytic cured on his bed of sickness', 'the paralytic from London', 'the sixteen blind men from London', 'the deaf man from London', 'the twenty-five sick who were cured in one day', 'the deaf nobleman who went to Rome' (and was told there that he would be cured if he came back and visited St. Swithun's shrine)³. One of the blind was cured by placing a garment on the Saint's altar, which was beside his bones⁴.

Then the Wulfstan poem, alone, describes the making of the reliquary and what the rubric calls the Second Translation on the 22nd October⁵; it is possible that this second translation also took place in 971, and marked the transfer of the Saint's bones to a fitting receptacle, following on their removal from the tomb outside the church three months before (but it may have been later—see p. 56 below).

The reliquary described by Wulfstan was made, at King Edgar's command, of silver, gems, and three hundred pounds of gold tested on a balance. On it were depicted the

¹ An iron ring was found with the remains of the wooden coffin of St. Cuthbert (698), when these were disinterred in 1827. Part of the ring is shaped into a curved projection, by which it was no doubt attached to the coffin lid (or the later inner lid); Haverfield and Greenwell, *Cat. of Sculptured and Inscribed Stones in Cathedral Library, Durham* (1899), 135; *Relics of St. Cuthbert*, ed. Battiscombe (1956), 7 and 219.

² A possible parallel might be the wooden tomb of St. Chad (d. c. 670), which Bede says was made after the fashion of a little house and furnished with a roof and had in its side wall an opening through which the devout could put in their hand and take up some of the dust: '*Est autem locus idem sepulchri tumba lignea in modum domunculi facta coopertus, habente foramen in pariete, per quod solent hi, qui causa devotionis illo adveniunt, manum suam immittere, ac partem pulveris inde adsumere*'. Bede, *Hist. Eccl.*, Lib. IV, cap. 3.

Another parallel for Swithun's tomb might be the small external mausoleum outside the east end of the early church at Glastonbury (which Dunstan converted into a crypt, by extending the east end of the church over it in c. 950, and which Clapham compares with the Hypogeum of the Martyrs at Poitiers: Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (1930), 157-8). The single tomb at Winchester seems, however, to have been an even smaller structure than these (see fig. 2).

³ W., 120, l. 1079 to 138, l. 1619.
L. (Boll.), 331, cap. 1 to 334, cap. 22.

⁴ W., 125, ll. 1234-6:

'Wintoniam deducta uenit, patrisque requirit membra salutiferi, uestem quandamque sacrato altari imposuit, statim uisumque recepit'.

⁵ W., 141:

'Incipit de fabrica arcae, et de secunda sancti uiri translatione, quae facta est die viii Idus Octobris, rege Eadgaro imperante'.

Passion of Christ, His Resurrection and Ascension and many other matters¹. In it Ethelwold enclosed a part of the Saint's body². After a barefoot procession of three miles, the bishop placed the reliquary on a holy altar³. The prose life of Ethelwold speaks of St. Swithun's bones being brought inside the great doorway of the church⁴.

The long accounts of further miracles are then resumed by Wulfstan and Lantfred in the Royal MS., in closely parallel passages. Among the titles of a few of them are: 'the woman who was made invisible and carried to the shrine', 'the blind man who got back his sight on the roadway', 'the woman who was cured of her sickness in Gaul', 'the vision of the nobleman in the Isle of Wight', 'the maid-servant who was bound in chains' and 'the man who had suffered mutilation' as punishment for his crimes⁵. All these were cured from their many different ills by the Saint and it was said that 'the old church was hung around with crutches and stools of cripples, from one end to the other on either wall'⁶. The overwhelming proportion of the cures recorded are of paralytics and the blind, deaf or dumb. There is a long tradition in many religions of genuine cures of these kinds of ailments, when they take the form known medically as hysterical. Traditionally, such cures are very often associated with dreams, visions and sleep in holy places. In assessing the credibility of Wulfstan's and Lantfred's narratives, it is therefore not unreasonable to think that many of the so-called miracles are records of real events.

The only miracle which need be referred to in the concluding book is the first, after the second translation. Both Wulfstan and Lantfred describe how a slave woman, whose feet had been fettered by her mistress, and who was sitting in tears in the open, was made invisible by the Saint so that she passed through the crowd, carried on the shoulders of a venerable priest, and found herself inside a locked chamber beside the altar on which the saint's reliquary stood⁷. The custodian of the shrine is the same Eazinus who had appeared in the second miracle. When he finds the woman inside the entrance, he is dumbfounded. The shrine is clearly in a closely locked and guarded enclosure (*claustrum, sacellum, locellum,*

¹ W., 141, ll. 5-18:

'contulit argenti, gemmae rutilantis, et auri, ter centum libras aequa sub lance probatas, et iubet aurifices simul adfore quosque peritos, ut patris dignum fabricent in honore sacellum. conueniunt uillam fabri propteranter ad illam, quam magnam uocitare solent, opus eximum-que

certatim fabricare student, atque ocius explent auxilio comitante dei, qua passio Christi sculpta beata nitet, simul et surrectio, necne eius ad astriferos ueneranda ascensio caelos, plura inibique micant, quae nunc edicere longum est.

hac itaque expleta pulchro satis ordine capsula, inclitus antistes pater et uenerandus Adelwold corpore de sancti partem conclusit in illa'.

W., 142, ll. 42-4:

'ferri conspeximus arcam, Besehelitica subtiliter arte politam, argento albertem, gemmisque auroque rubentem'.

² St. Swithun's head was taken to Canterbury by Bishop Alphege, Ethelwold's successor (Willis, *Architectural History of Canterbury Cathedral* (1845), 10).

³ W., 143, ll. 64-8:

'ducitur in sanctam sanctus cum laude sacerdos ecclesiam, cunctis gaudentibus atque sonora uoce creatorem laudantibus omnipotentem, collocat et sanctam uenerandus episcopus arcam, sicut erat dignum super altare immaculatum'.

⁴ EL., 93, cap. 26:

'Cujus praedicationem maxime iuuit sanctus antistes Suvithunus, eodem tempore coelestibus signis declaratus, et infra templi regiam gloriosissime translatus, ac decentissime collocatus'.

⁵ W., 143, ll. 78 to 177, l. 1174.

L. Boll., 334, cap. 23 to 337, cap. 46, resumed in L., 35-46.

Both printed versions of L. are defective; although most of the text of the Roy. MS. is included, the order is in places inverted; L., 42, cap. 51 is the end of the Roy. MS. text.

⁶ Aelfric's *Lives of the Saints*, Skeat, 468-9.

⁷ W., 144, ll. 115-22:

'eandem arripuit dextraque manu, tenuitque per ulnam, uexit et ad sancti tumulum pungentis in ictu, inter et innumeram quae constitit undique turbam, limina coenobii uallans quasi sacra uetusti, ponit adhuc uinctis gemino cum compede plantis,

infra aditum claustris seris atque obice clausi, iuxta altare sacrum, iacuit quo soma beatum'.

L. (Boll.), 335, cap. 25 (corrected from Roy. MS., fol. 31.a):

'cujus brachium dextera arripiens manu eam uexit ad sancti tumulum in pungentis ictu, atque inter innumerabilem populi multitudinem quae munitionis similitudini vallabat monasterii limen, infra aditum adhuc illigatam compede exposuit iuxta sacrum altare, super quod uir sanctus requiescebat somate'.

P artibus hoc austru: firmans & paribus arca .
 P orticibus solidis: Arcebus & uanis;
 A ddidit & plures: sacris altaribus edes .
 Quae retinent dubium: liminis introitum;
 Q uisquis ut ignoscat: hęc deambulax acria plantas .
 Nesciat unde meax: Quo ue pedem referat .
 O mni parte fores: quia conspiciuntur apertae .
 Nec patet ulla sibi: Semita certa uiae;
 H uic illuc q: uagor: stans erunt duere ocellos .
 At cae dedalei: Tota stupet que soli .
 C ernor adueniat donec sibi ducor: & ipsum
 Ducat ad extremi: limina uestibuli;
 H ic secum mirans: cruce se consignat: & unde
 Exeat attonito: pectore scire nequit;
 S ic constructa micat: sic & uariata coruscant
 Machinae quae hanc matrem sustinent ecclesiam .
 Q uam pater ille pius: summa pietate refertus .
 Nominis ad laudem: Celsitonantis heri .
 F undauit: struxit: dotauit: & inde sacrauit .
 Et meruit templi: Soluere uota sui .
 R egis & DELREDI: uisu cernente modesti .
 I n regni solio: Qui super est hodie;
 I llum pontifices: sequebantur in ordine plures .
 C omplentes sem: Ritae ministerium;

De dedicatione
magni aedificij

A. Page of Wulfstan's poem, Royal MS. 15 C VII, fol. 52 (W. 66-7, ll. 43-66)

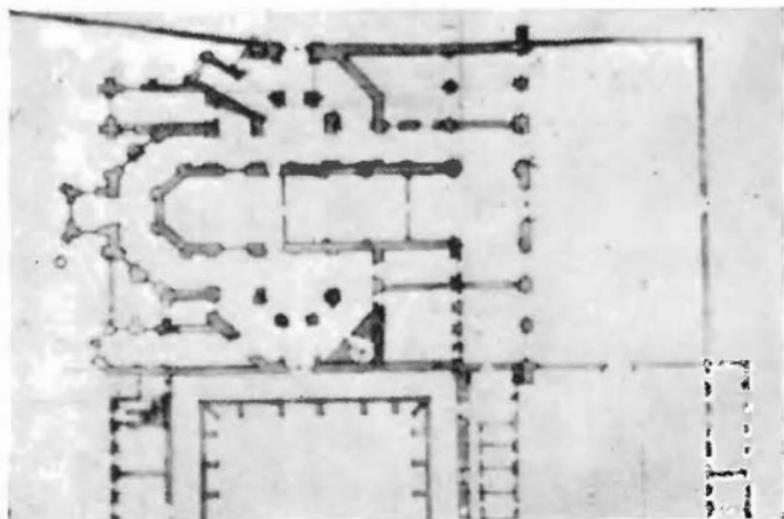


B. Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. Miniature of dedication of a church

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B. Corbie, from a 17th century engraving



C. Corbie, from a 17th century plan

templum), with an entrance door (*sacelli valvulam, aditum claustrum, hostium*), described in Wulfstan as a *vestibulum* and in Lantfred as a *camera*. The woman thought that she had been carried there on the shoulders of a priest, whom she saw standing *extra balconem* as she stood beside the shrine. The shrine seems to have been in a place where it could be seen by the crowd¹. The significance of this account is discussed below (p. 56).

WULFSTAN'S DESCRIPTION OF THE REBUILDING OF THE OLD MINSTER IN c. 965-95

We now turn to the description in the key document—the long passage in Latin elegiacs at the beginning of Wulfstan's poem, called in the rubric a 'letter' to Bishop Alphege, Ethelwold's successor—of the rebuilding of the Old Minster by the two bishops². The reconstruction of building operations a thousand years ago at a now vanished church, entirely from literary sources, and without any evidence from excavation, is, of course, most difficult and uncertain. No serious analysis of the passage seems to have been made since Professor Willis' valuable work in 1845. One must be watchful for possible poetical exaggeration, and should remember that many lines of the poem echo such writers as Ovid, Virgil and Venantius Fortunatus. Moreover, the precise contemporary usage of some of the key Latin words is not always certain.

THE MONASTERY

The passage starts by saying that Ethelwold:

'restored . . . the monastery and . . . built all these dwellings with firm walls and new roofs. With joy he decorated them honourably and brought hither sweet water from fish-bearing streams, to drain from a cistern and penetrate the private regions of the dwellings, cleansing with its murmur the whole monastery'.³

¹ W., 145-6, ll. 154-72:

*'rem miram uideo, quodque est mirabile cerno.
nonne ego per memet clausi paulo ante sacel-
lum?*

*et quis in hoc adito mulierem clauserat istam?
repperit an ualiam manus haec quam clausit
aperitam.'*

*accedensque ad eam populo auscultante pro-
fatur,*

*'o mulier, quis (fare† mihi) te clausit in isto
uestibulo, cuncti in quo te nunc stare uidemus?
quae te intrare suasit praesumptio claustrum,
in quo mirifici requiescunt ossa patroni?
qua poteris clauso ratione latere sacello,
te quia non uidi clauē haec cum limina clausi?
tum mulier iuuenem cernens adsistere quendam
extra balconem, proprio qui nomine Eaduuol-
dus*

*clericus est dictus, monacho respondit, et inquit:
'clericus iste suas, me clericus iste leuauit
in scapulas, currensque locum me uexit ad
istum,
meque modo hic posuit sancti patris ante sepul-
chrum'.*

*clericus e contra iurando negauit, et inquit,
'te numquam ante meis conspexi testor ocellis'.*

L. (Boll.), 335, cap. 26 (corrected from Roy. MS., fol. 32):

*'cum autem hanc uidisset monachus
(nomine Eadzinus cuius superius mentionem
facimus, qui iussu uenerandi pontificis
Adelwoldi*) custodiebat sanctum, & de sacello
habebat clauiculam, quo quiescebat preclue
corpuseculum, admiratus nimium, dixit ad se
ipsum: 'Quis infra sancti cameram quam cerno
istam clausit feminam? Putasne ianuam
repperit aperitam, quam paulo ante opposita*

*clausi ipse serula?' Qui accedens ad sacelli
valvulam, audiente populo inquit ad eam:
'Quis te, fare† mulier, intra uenerandum quo
nunc stare uideris introduxit locellum? qua
confisa temeritate, claustrum presumpsisti
penetrare quo Christi presul requiescit corpore?
Qua ratione potuisti latere, quia te nequaquam
uidi, quando hostium clausi?' Tum illa
conspiciens quemdam clericum iuuenem retro
se stantem extra balconem, (uocabulo Eaduuol-
dum,*) edili quidem respondit inquit: 'Memet
renitente clericus iste, me super scapulas
eleuauit suas, atque ad istum deportauit locum,
modoque me exposuit ante sanctum'. Qui e con-
trario respondit cum iuramento: 'nusquam te
oculis ante hac conspexi meis'.*

* Words included in Roy. MS.

† Professor M. L. Clarke has pointed out that the imperative *fare*, in W., l. 159, was purely poetical in classical Latin, and that the appearance of the word in the parallel passage in Lantfred may possibly suggest that Lantfred was copying Wulfstan, rather than the reverse.

² W., 65-75.

³ W., 66, ll. 29-40:

*'Hocque monasterium . . .
quod quondam renouauit ouans antistes
Adeluuold, . . .
35 qui struxit firmis haec cuncta habitaculo
muris,
ille etiam lectis textit et ipsa nouis,
et cunctis decorauit ouans id honoribus,
hucque
dulcia piscosae flumina traxit aquae,
secessusque lacu penetrant secreta domorum,
mundantes lotum murmure coenobium.'*

Here as elsewhere the translation is, as far as possible, literal, even if this is at times at the expense of style.

This passage probably refers to the rebuilding of the monastery as a whole, particularly the monastic buildings, which might well have been necessary after Ethelwold's expulsion of the canons and introduction of regular monks. The system of water channels under the close, fed from a channel flowing probably down Lower Brook Street and Colebrook Street, and then south past the east end of the present Lady Chapel, is traditionally associated with Ethelwold's name. The channel flows south through the grounds of Winchester College and it, and associated channels, have borne the name Lockburn, Lorteburn (a sewer) and Logie, to Wykehamists¹ (see fig. 1).

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH

The very important passage which follows says that Ethelwold:

'also repaired the courts (*atria*) of this ancient temple with lofty walls and new roofs, strengthening it in its southern and northern parts with solid porticus and divers arches. He also added many chapels with sacred alters which keep the entry of the threshold doubtful (*retinent dubium liminis introitum*), so that whoever walks in these courts (*atria*) with unfamiliar tread, cannot tell whence he comes or whither to return, since open doors are seen on every hand, nor does any certain path of a way appear. Standing, he turns his wandering gaze hither and thither and is amazed at the Attic roofs of the Daedalian floor, until a better informed guide appears and leads him to the threshold of the furthest vestibule (*extremi limina vestibuli*). Here wondering in himself he crosses himself and cannot know in his astonished breast from what place he is to get out (*unde exeat*). Thus the structure shines in its construction and gleams in its variety, sustaining the mother church which that devout father himself founded, built, endowed and dedicated (see Pl. VIIA)².

Various interpretations of this difficult passage are possible. The first, that of Willis, which has been followed by Clapham and others, is that the passage, and particularly *atria templi* (line 41), refers mainly to the building of an external atrium or courtyard. Willis thought that there was 'a court of entrance, or western cloister' with 'chapels disposed even about this court, of which we have an example in the ancient plan of the monastery of St. Gall'; Willis, nevertheless, thought that the church had north and south aisles,

¹ See plan by T. D. Atkinson in *Hants. Field Club Proc.*, XV (1943), 12. Ethelwold also made a water channel from the dormitory to the river at Abingdon (*Abingdon Chronicle*, R.S., II, ii (1858), 278).

² W., 66, ll. 41-61 (see Pl. VII A):

*'istius antiqui reparavit et atria templi,
moenibus excelsis, culminibusque novis,
partibus hoc austri firmans et partibus arcti
porticibus solidis, arcubus et uariis.*
45 *addidit et plures sacris altaribus aedes,
quae retinent dubium liminis introitum,
quisquis ut ignotis haec deambulat atria
plantis,
nesciat unde meat, quove pedem referat,
omni parte fores quia conspiciuntur apertae,
50 nec patet ulla sibi semita certa viae;
huc illucque uagos stans circumducit ocellos,
Attica Dedalei tecta stupetque soli,
certior adueniat donec sibi ductor, et ipsum
ducat ad extremi limina uestibuli.*
55 *hic secum mirans cruce se consignat, et unde
exeat attonito pectore scire nequit.
sic constructa micat, sic et uariata coruscat*

machina, quae hanc matrem sustinet ecclesiam,

*quam pater ille pius, summa pietate refertus,
60 nominis ad laudem celsitonantis heri
fundavit, struxit, dotavit, et inde sacrauit.'*

This passage (and its sequel, corresponding to W., 66-8, ll. 41-110) is included, in practically the same words, in the passage of the longer Ethelwold Life, describing the dedication in 980 of the Church of the old monastery which Ethelwold had renewed and constructed (EL., 100, cap. 40). Willis emphasized that words in this version of the passage (which he thought earlier than the main poem) spoke of Ethelwold having 'strengthened, and roofed, . . . the old church', rather than the Roy. MS. version of 'founded and built the mother church' (W., 67, l. 61). Willis thought that this suggested the repair of an old church rather than the building of a new one. Note 9 on p. 35 explains, however, that the passage in the Ethelwold Life seems to be a later insertion, so that arguments based on it seem of doubtful value (see Willis, 13).

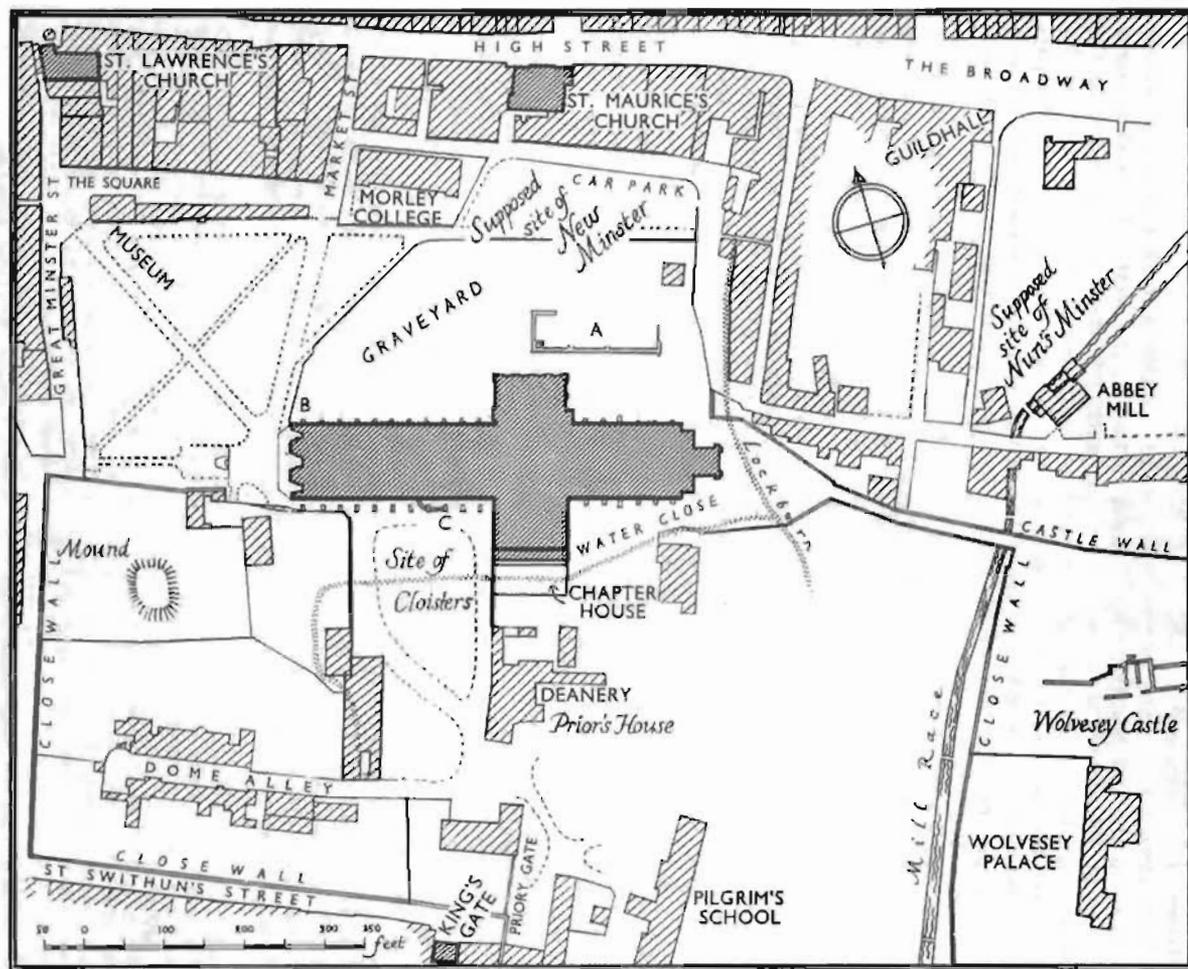


Fig. 1. Plan of Cathedral Close, Winchester

- A. Foundations of early building, excavated by Dean Kitchen *c.* 1885.
 B. Sunken area: supposed site of St. Swithun's Chapel in middle ages.
 C. Foundations of westward-curving wall, excavated *c.* 1910.

presumably the *porticus*¹ and arches to the north and south of which Wulfstan speaks². Clapham said that 'The description of the forecourt at St. Riquier with its three entrance towers well illustrates the scanty reference to the atrium at Winchester with its tower over the western entrance, its colonnaded alleys and adjacent chapels. The burial of St. Swithun, here, reflects almost exactly the corresponding burial of Abbot Angilbert in the atrium of St. Riquier'³.

We have already seen from the description of St. Swithun's tomb that it lay outside the west door of the Old Minster, with a tower further to the west. There thus seems to have been at Winchester an atrium-like space, with a western tower, similar to the supposed plan of Glastonbury (fig. 2)⁴. It has been suggested to the writer that, on the hypothesis that this passage largely concerns an atrium, *tecta* (line 52) would refer particularly to the roofs of the side chapels of the atrium seen from outside; *solis*, on this view, would imply, not the floor of the church, but long one-storied structures on each side of the atrium.

Nevertheless, it seems difficult to accept most of this passage as referring mainly to building around an atrium. Much of the passage would then be concerned with the difficulty of finding one's way into, or out of, the atrium (*luminis introitum: extremi limina vestibuli*). If the intention were to describe, as Willis apparently thought, both the building of porticus to the north and south of the Old Minster and also the adding of chapels (*aedes*) around an atrium, the description seems very confused. The passage seems unlikely to be describing almost exclusively (except perhaps for the reference to porticus) new building work round an atrium, when, in fact, Ethelwold's most important work seems to have been the restoration and renovation of the Old Minster itself—particularly so as to make it a fit place for housing the shrine of St. Swithun after his translation. In the Royal MS., the end of the passage under discussion (line 62), leading to the description of the first dedication of the restored cathedral in 980, is marginally noted as *de dedicatione magnae ecclesiae* (see Pl. VIIA). The Ethelwold Life speaks of him having 'with great energy set about the renewing of the old church' and of the church having been 'renewed and constructed' before the dedication in 980⁵.

An alternative view would be that the words *atria templi* (line 41) should be interpreted quite generally as the 'courts of the Lord', in the biblical sense (as so used in the Vulgate)—and that the subject of the poem is visualised as inside the church. Then the building of porticus to the north and south could mean the adding by Ethelwold of a number of side chapels (*aedes*), entered by arches, and perhaps forming side-aisles to an Old Minster nave, previously aisleless.

The 'high walls and new roofs' (*moenibus excelsis, culminibusque novis*, line 42), could perhaps mean the raising of the walls of the Old Minster to accommodate aisles, of which there may be a parallel in the account of Eadmer of the work carried out by Archbishop Odo at Canterbury Cathedral between 940 and 960⁶. There is also the probable parallel of the porticus-aisles to the Saxon cathedral at Sherborne⁷. A possibly significant reference

¹ The word *porticus*, used very frequently in Latin descriptions of Anglo-Saxon churches, usually means an annexe, entered through an arch, to any part of the church—whether on the N., S., E. or W. Porticus were used both as chapels and for burials. A porticus is not usually an entrance porch, though it can be, (and porticus have often been later converted into porches).

² Willis, 15.

³ A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (1930), 97.

⁴ Until recently, the supposed plan of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (see Clapham, Fig. 41, p. 150), appeared to be a close parallel, with its atrium-like court to the west of the vestibule and narthex, and an isolated tower on the west side of the atrium. The 1957 excavations by

the Ministry of Works have modified this plan considerably; there now appears to have been an isolated Saxon tower south-west of the church, but not on an axial line. There was an isolated chapel with a western apse, west of the vestibule. Mr. Saunders thinks that there is little evidence of an atrium (see forthcoming interim report and plan to be published in *Medieval Archaeology*).

⁵ EL., 96, cap. 34: '*vir Dei magno conamine veterem renovare decrevisset ecclesiam*'.

EL., 100, cap. 40: '*Anno Dominicae incarnationis nonagentissimo octogesimo, renovata et constructa est ecclesia veteris coenobii*'.

⁶ Willis: *Canterbury*, 3.

⁷ *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, West Dorset* (1952), xlvi. See also pp. 55-6.

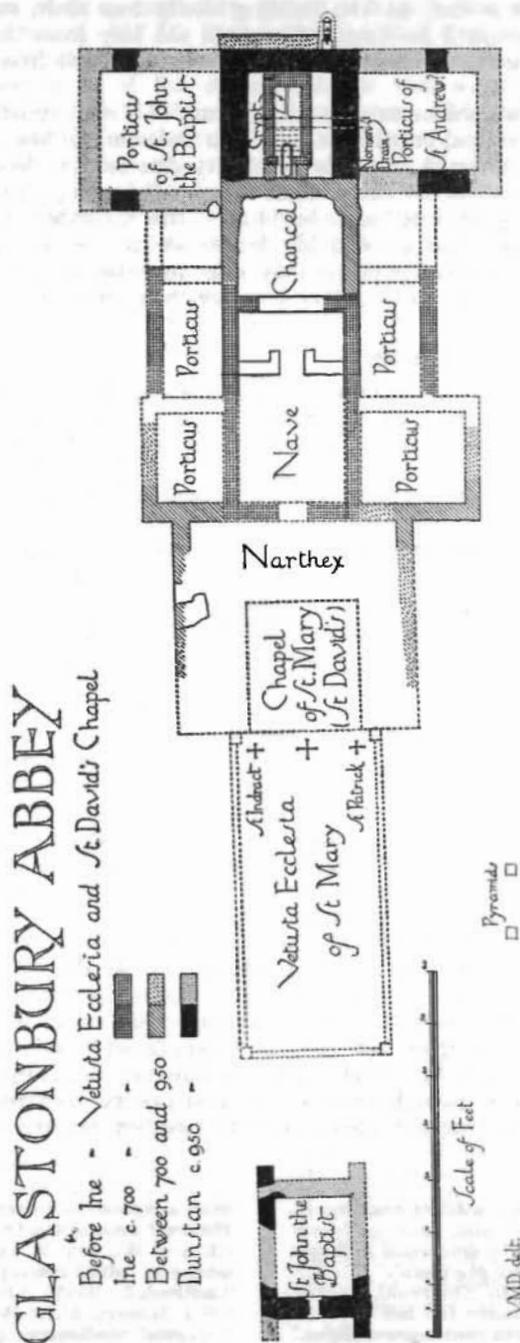


Fig. 2. Glastonbury Abbey
 (Reproduced by kind permission of The Oxford University Press)

in the Ethelwold Life is that, as 'the building slowly rose aloft, sustained on every side by many oratories intended for those who would ask help from the saints'¹, one Godus, standing with the masons at the very top of the temple, fell from the highest point to the ground, unhurt.

Wulfstan, therefore, seems to give us a picture of a man standing inside the church, with a number of arches and porticus to the north and south of him, and unable to find his way. What is to be inferred from his perplexity due to the 'doors on every side', the 'chapels that made doubtful the entry of the threshold' (*aedes quae retinent dubium liminis introitum*, line 46), the guide who has to lead him to the 'threshold of the furthest vestibule' (*extremi limina vestibuli*, line 54) and his doubts about how he should get out?

It is suggested that these passages may refer to either or both (A) the western exit from the church, and/or (B) to the entry into the chamber containing the saint's shrine².

A. The western exit from the church

The exit from the church was presumably at the west, in view of the various references to the doorway into the earlier church, beside St. Swithun's old tomb, which as explained above was outside the west end. The entrance might well be described as 'doubtful' and to be confused with the entrances to the porticus on the north and south, if there were non-axial doorways, and if the doorways led outwards through a series of narthexes or porches.

One must here consider whether it is likely that the passage may refer to the type of western annexe to a church known in France as an *église porche*, and in Germany as *Westwerk*—here referred to as a 'west-work'. There was a very strong tradition of building these complex western entrance structures in Carolingian and Ottonian times, i.e., from the beginning of the 9th century and through most of the 10th. There were many variants of west-work. In the early 'classic' type this was a high western structure, comprising a lantern tower, with two lateral staircase towers—but *not* normally extended very far laterally to form a western transept. Within this early type of west-work, there were normally two storeys—the ground floor (often described as a 'crypt'), pillared and vaulted and providing access to the main church, underneath the first floor, which formed a gallery looking down into the nave. At the back of, or above, the gallery, there was sometimes, in the German area at any rate, a raised seat for a local or visiting ruler (an arrangement which would be appropriate for Winchester, with its royal associations). There would be an important altar or altars on the gallery floor, and perhaps several altars in chapels on the ground or entrance floor, entered through arches.

In considering west-works, it should be emphasized that the classic cases of St. Riquier (c. 800; reconstructed entirely from documents and an old drawing, and still the subject of argument), and Corvey on the Weser (c. 885; almost the only, relatively intact, early example) were themselves only the start of a long evolution in which the form of these western structures—themselves now largely disappeared—went through many stages. The full-scale lower storey or 'crypt', with its obvious disadvantage of darkness³ was gradually reduced in size, though some sort of west gallery, sometimes with side galleries to the north and south, long persisted. A central western lantern-tower, with side access

¹ EL., 96, cap. 34: '*opus aedificii paulatim in sublime excrevit, plurimis hinc inde suffultum oratoriis, in quibus sanctorum venerantur suffragia cunctis fideliter accedentibus profutura*'.

An alphabetical hymn to Ethelwold, quoted by Migne (EL., 104) contains the line:

'Moenia celsa domus tua cura levaveret hujus.'

² As to the use of *limen* in relation to a shrine, it has been suggested to the writer that the entry to the shrine could be described by the word *limen*, as in the expression *ad limina Apostolorum*. On the other hand, *limen* is clearly used by Wulf-

stan as synonymous with *janua* and *hostium* for the west door of the Old Minster (p. 39, note 4). Cf. also W., 123, ll. 1166-7: *transcendere limen aeclesiae*, which corresponds with the passage in Lantfred, L. (Boll.), 331, *extra ecclesiam exiret*.

³ J. Hubert, *L'Art Pre-Roman* (1938), 68, 'des "cryptes" ténébreuses qui finissaient par rendre l'accès des églises aussi incommodes que celui d'une forteresse'. Hubert explains that 'cryptes' in this sense means the lower storey of a west-work.

towers (either round or square), tended to remain a feature (the whole being sometimes referred to as the *tres turres*). It has been suggested that many of the later, e.g., 11th or 12th century, western lantern towers and western transepts, on the continent, may be the evolutionary descendants of the *eglise-porche* or west-work¹.

In France, the oft quoted St. Riquier (Centula) near Abbeville (Pl. VIIIA) appears to have had a massive west gallery under a staged west tower, with an altar of the Saviour, used at times for a choir of singers²; the tomb of Abbot Angilbert seems to have been at the western entrance of the lower storey. At Corbie a 17th century engraving seems to show a large staged western tower, with a wide western transept (Pl. VIII, B and C)³. At Fleury (now called Saint Benoit-sur-Loire) with which, as with Corbie, we have seen that Ethelwold had close associations, the old church was burnt down in 1026; it is at least suggestive that its successor, the present building (Pl. IXB and XI B), has a large and solid two-storied western narthex, with a pillared hall on the ground floor, crowned with a cupola⁴. At St. Germain d'Auxerre the western *avant nef*, consecrated in 865, which was contemporaneously described as a *vestibulum*, had many solid pillars supporting a great gallery above and two lateral towers⁵. At St. Etienne d'Auxerre (the cathedral) there was a western structure forming a tower, completed about 875, with altars in the lower storey (described as a 'crypt'); an upper storey, which formed a gallery opening into the nave, had altars above and below. Apparently because of the difficulties of access, the lower altar in this west-work at St. Etienne was removed about 960, and an axial entrance was broken through into the nave 'to permit an entrance into the church for those that came from the west side'. At the same time a further porch (*porticus*) was apparently erected, further west⁶.

In Germany, in the classical west-work, dated 885, at Corvey on the Weser (founded about 830 by monks from Corbie?) (Pls. IXA and X and fig. 3), the pillared lower hall provides axial access to the nave; in the gallery above it there was an altar, and above the gallery a raised seat for the ruler. There is some evidence that the Corvey type of west-work, with axial access, continued to be built up to the middle of the 10th century (as indicated by recent excavations at St. Pantaleon in Cologne). At Corvey there was probably at first a western lantern tower; this has disappeared and the two side towers have been

¹ H. Reinhardt and E. Fels, 'Eglises-Porches Carolingiennes et leur Survivance dans l'Art Roman', *Bulletin Monumental*, XCII (1933), 331-65, and XCVI (1937), 425-69.

² Mabillon, *AASS. OSB. Iv.*, vol. I, 127. '(Angilbertus) statuit tres semper esse choros, quorum unus ordinate consistebat in turre occidentali coram altare sancti Salvatoris; secundus chorus identidem ordinatus in medio ecclesiae coram memoria sanctae Passionis; tertius autem chorus decantabat in orientali parte basilica, . . .'

³ For Corbie see Hubert, *op. cit.*, 67-8. A full study has recently been published by H. Héliot: *L'Abbaye de Corbie, ses Églises et ses Bâtimens*: *Bibl. de la Revue d'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, Fasc. 29 (1957). The view in Pl. VIIIB is from the *Monasticon Gallicanum* of 1677; Pl. VIIIC is a 17th-century plan, reproduced by Héliot. He shows that the original church of St. Peter at Corbie was burnt several times in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. There was a major reconstruction in 1050-70; extensive rebuilding was started about 1500, but seems soon to have stopped, though transepts may have been started. St. Peter was completely rebuilt in neo-Gothic in 1687-1703 (only the nave survived the French revolution). Héliot holds that the view and plan of St. Peter (Pl. VIIB and C) are 17th-century restoration projects, though he accepts the rest of the view as authentic

(pp. 71-78); he regards the tower as a central tower. On Hubert's interpretation, however, the view indicates an early west-work; in that case perhaps the plan also preserves an early layout, with a western tower, western transepts, and a wide central transept with apsidal ends (which looks like a simpler version of the plan of St. Maria in Capitol, Cologne). There was also an early church of St. Etienne, apparently rebuilt in the 12th century, and this still survives in part; its nave has a western narthex with a gallery above. See also L. Grodecki, *L'Architecture Ottonienne* (1958), 85-6 and 200-14.

⁴ Reinhardt and Fels (1937), 451, give the date of this structure as 1005-30. But J. Hubert, *L'Architecture Religieuse du Haut Moyen Age en France* (1952), 79, supports a date of 1067-1108. See also G. Chenesseau, *L'abbaye de Fleury à Saint Benoit-sur-Loire* (1931).

⁵ Hubert, *L'Art Pre-Roman* (1938), 28, 65, 83. He describes this feature as 'celle d'un grand nombre de nos églises carolingiennes' (p. 65).

⁶ Hubert, *ibid.*, 31, 68.

⁷ The monastery at Corvey was said to have been similar to that at Corbie: '*Hludovicus . . . ambo hac monasteria construi jussit ad normam videlicet precipuorum in Gallia monasteriorum: Novam utique Corbeiam ad similitudinem Antiquae Corbeiae*' (von Schlosser: *Schiftquellen*, 96).

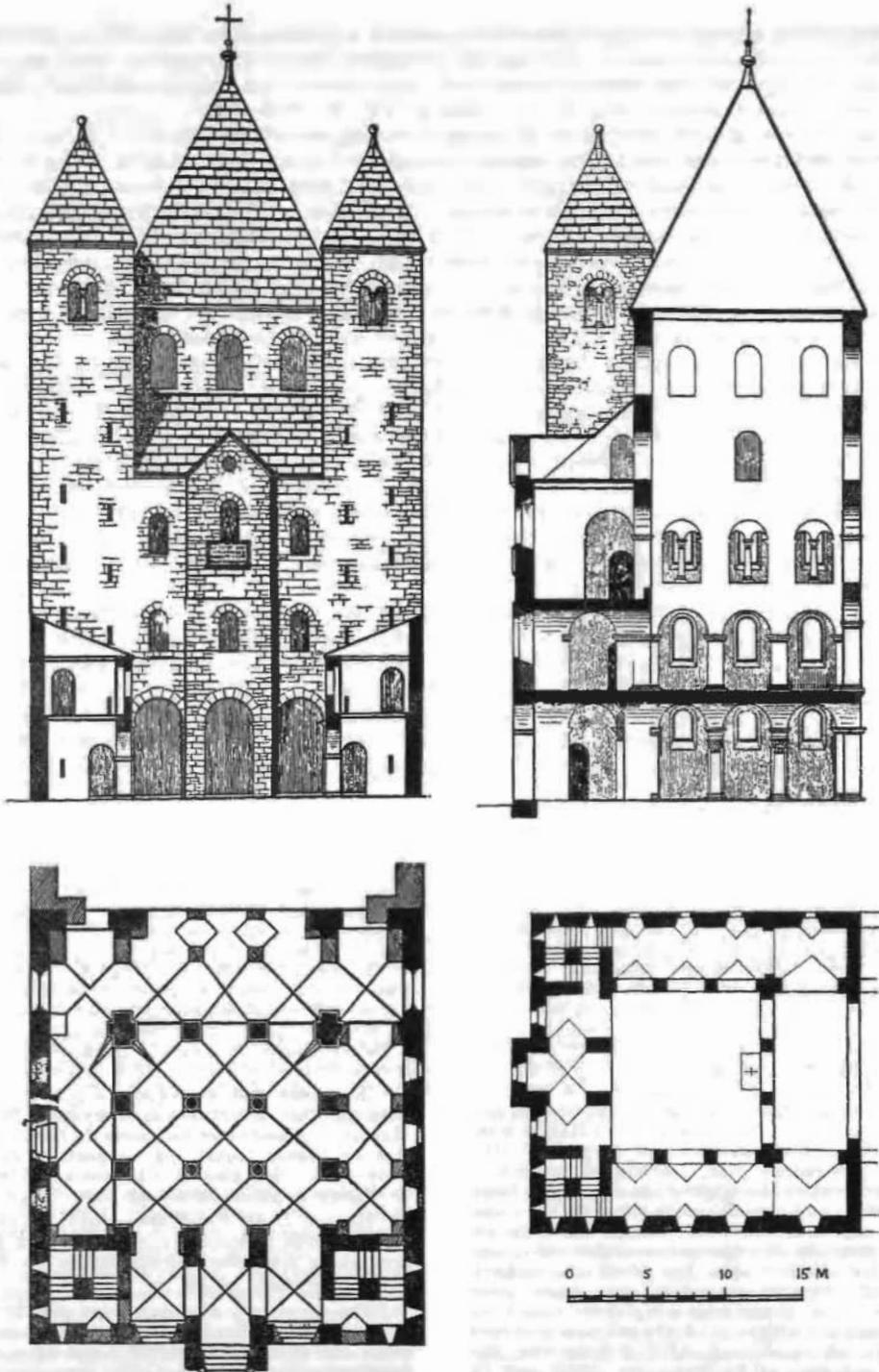


Fig. 3. Corvey on the Weser. West-work: *c.* 885
 I. West front. II. East/West vertical section. III. Ground floor plan.
 IV. First floor plan. (Reconstructions by Effmann)

considerably raised. The west-work at Werden, c. 943 (Pl. XIA and fig. 4), is different from that at Corvey in two respects. Instead of a gallery extending right across the church, with a pillared lower hall below, there were three smaller side galleries to the north and south and to the west, enclosing a central space; the east side of this space was originally separated from the nave of the church by a wall (which has now disappeared) with an altar against it and two side entrances into the nave. The exit from such a nave into the west-work might well have seemed 'doubtful'. In the nearby nunnery at Essen, the minster has an unusual west-work, with a gallery, resembling one-half of the rotunda at Aachen; the access to this is from two side entrances, communicating with an external atrium¹.

The purpose of west-works has been much discussed, particularly by German writers, who give varying emphasis to different aspects: the use of the gallery for a choir of singers, for an important altar or altars, to provide a royal pew or a seat for local notabilities, for use by nuns, as a baptistry, as a church for the laity, or for use by an ecclesiastical court. Some writers emphasize what they think may have been the defensive character of west-works. Much stress is laid on the frequent dedication of one of the upper altars, or the west-work as a whole, to St. Michael and All Angels²; the western parts of a church, connected with the setting sun, were often considered an appropriate place for burial, and associated generally with the powers of darkness, against whom St. Michael and his choirs of angels gave protection. The use of galleries in western structures by so-called 'angel choirs', particularly of boys, was part of this cult³.

The function of west-works is inextricably bound up with the question of west choirs. Such choirs, perhaps used for antiphonal chanting, were a long tradition in the early church, and there seems much to be said for the French suggestion⁴ that west-works originated from the need to provide western access into a church, in combination with a west choir; the solution of the structural problem was to raise the west choir on to a gallery. In this country, a classic example of a west choir, not elevated on to a gallery and without side exits, seems to have been the Saxon Cathedral of Christ Church, Canterbury, described by Eadmer⁵.

In considering whether Wulfstan's poem indicates the possibility of a west-work, or at least some kind of entrance hall or narthex, at Winchester, there are various relevant points. The use of the word *vestibulum* (in the phrase *ad extremi limina vestibuli*) is at least suggestive (especially in combination with the use of this word for the relic chamber, discussed below); Hubert says that this word was commonly used to describe a west-work⁶. Secondly, a west-work, or narthex, particularly of the Werden type with non-axial access into the church, would be consistent with the description of being surrounded 'by doors

¹ Apart from Germany and France, structures of the type of west-works are known as far away as Asturias in N. Spain. At St. Miguel de Lino (c. 900) there survives a small, two-storied, west-work only. Sta. Christina de Lena (c. 870) has a western gallery, partly over a west porch, approached by a flight of steps from the church: see A. G. Hill in *Archaeologia*, LIX (1904), 39.

² The contemporary inscription on the outside of the Corvey west-work is thought significant: '*Civitatem istam tu circumda domine et angeli tui custodiant muros eius*'.

³ The German studies of west-works include—W. Effmann, *Die karolingisch-ottonische Bauten zu Werden* (Strassburg, 1899); *Centula-St. Riquier* (Münster, 1912); *Die Kirche der Abtei Corvey* (1929).

A. Fuchs, *Die karolingischen Westwerke und andere Fragen der karolingischen Baukunst* (Paderborn, 1929).

O. Gruber, 'Das Westwerk: Symbol und Baugestaltung Germanischen Christentums', *Ztschft. d. Dtsch. Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. 3, Hft. 3 (1936).

A. Fuchs, 'Entstehung und Zweckbestimmung der Westwerke', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 100 (1950), 227.

E. Gall, 'Zur Frage der Westwerke', *Jhrbch. d. R. G. Zentralmuseums, Mainz*, Bd. I (1953), 245.

A. Schmidt, 'Westwerke und Doppelchöre', *Westfälische Zeitschrift*, Bd. 106 (1956), 347.

E. Stengel, 'Über Ursprung, Zweck und Bedeutung der Karolingischen Westwerke', *Festschrift für Adolf Hofmeister* (1956), 283. D. Grossmann, 'Zum Stand der Westwerk-Forschung' *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch*, Bd. 19 (1957), 253.

⁴ Reinhardt and Fels, *passim*.

⁵ Willis, *Canterbury*, 27.

⁶ Hubert, (1938), 65-7.

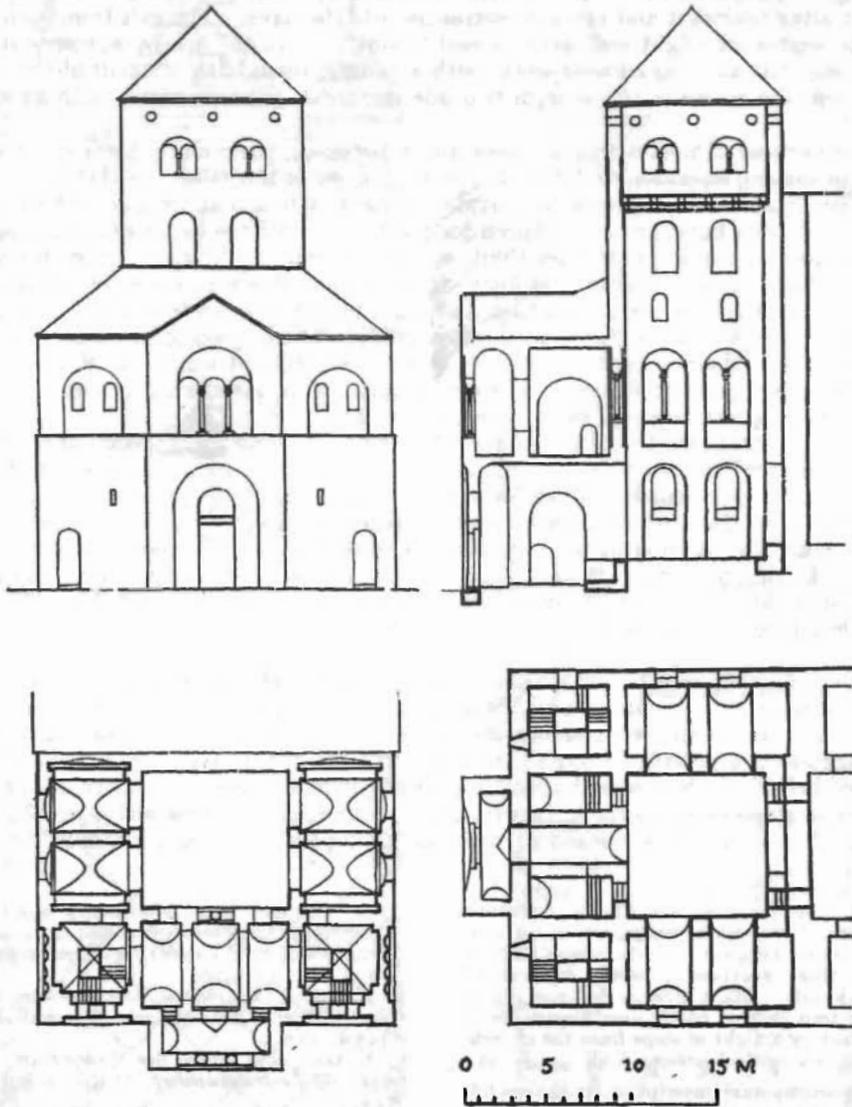


Fig. 4. Werden a.d. Rhur. West-work: before 943

- i. West front. II. East/West vertical section. III. First floor plan.
iv. Ground floor plan. (Reconstructions by Efmann)

on every side' and it being difficult to find one's way out of the church. Thirdly, the reference to 'many altars' could include not only altars in porticus-aisles, but the many altars of a west work, including several in the side porticus of the ground floor and one or more in the upper gallery or galleries which would be visible from the church. There is, however, nothing in Wulfstan's description, except perhaps the word *balconem* (discussed below), to indicate the two-storied character of a west-work, or that a western structure, at Winchester, had a tower.

There is some connection between the tombs of saints and west-works and west choirs. Abbot Angilbert was, as explained above, apparently buried at the western entrance of the west-work at St. Riquier. At Fulda the English missionary, Boniface (d. 754), was buried in a grave inside the first church (Abbot Sturm's building, started 774), and this seems to have been placed, at his express wish, at the west end; when the church was rebuilt and extended westwards in 802-17 by Abbot Ratger, Boniface's bones were translated, in 819, to the west choir, forming part of a great western transept¹. At Rheims the cathedral, dedicated in 862, seems to have had a classical west-work of the Corvey type, the foundations of which have been revealed by excavation in the present nave². This was pulled down by Archbishop Adalbert in 976, being then described as 'the arched work by the doorways of the church, above which was the altar of the Saviour, and on which were placed fonts of wonderful workmanship'. Adalbert 'destroyed the vaults which covered about a quarter of the church from the entrance, and which formed a high structure. . . . The body of St. Calixtus, Pope and martyr, was placed honourably at the entrance of the church, but in a high place, where an altar was dedicated, and an oratory contrived'³. This seems to be evidence of a saint's relics having been placed, in Ethelwold's time, in a western 'balcony'.

A somewhat different type of case is that of Werden, where in 830 the east end was extended, with a crypt, to cover the spot where St. Luitger (d. 809) had been buried outside the church⁴ (fig. 7). Glastonbury (fig. 2) provides a possible parallel to Werden. Clapham's excavations⁵ showed that, to the east of the early church of Ine (c. 700) and its later chancel, there was a small, partly-sunken, crypt, probably the site of a mausoleum which was originally outside the church (see p. 41, n. 2). In his restoration of c. 950, Dunstan built a solid eastern structure over this crypt. It probably supported a tower and it was flanked with transept-like wings, described by William of Malmesbury as *alas vel porticus*. This eastern extension, over a venerated tomb, is closely parallel with that at Werden. Is it possible that at Winchester Ethelwold added, at the west end of the Old Minster, a western structure in some ways comparable with Dunstan's eastern one at Glastonbury?

In connection with Ethelwold's work at Winchester, one should consider whether any other monasteries founded by him, or in his time, provide any pointers or parallels. Abingdon seems to have been centrally planned, and there is little evidence about western structures at Peterborough, or Thorney. At Ramsey, near Ely, founded contemporaneously by Oswald of Worcester, we know that there was both a central tower, supported by arches,

¹ H. Beumann u. D. Groszmann, 'Das Bonifaziusgrab und die Klosterkirchen zu Fulda,' *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, Bd. 14 (1949), 17.

² Hubert (1952), 19.

³ *Flodoardi Annalium Additamentum*, in M.G.H., SS., vol. III, 407: 'Anno 976 destruxit Adalbero nomine non merito archiepiscopus, arcuatum opus quod erat secus valvas ecclesiae Sanctae Mariae Remensis, supra quod altare Sancti Salvatoris habebatur, et fontes miro opere erant positi'.

Richeri historiarum, lib. III, cap. xxii, M.G.H., SS., vol. III, 613: 'Hic (Adalbero) in initio post sui promotionem structuris ecclesiae suae pluri-

um studuit. Fornices enim, qui ab aeclesiae introitu per quartem pene totius basilicae partem eminenti structura distendebantur, penitus diruit. Unde et ampliore receptaculo et digniore scemate tota aeclesia decorata est. Corpus quoque sancti Calixti, papae et martiris, debito honore ipso aeclesiae ingressu, loco scilicet editiore, collocavit, ibique altare dedicans, oratorium fundendis Deo precibus commodissimum aptavit'.

Quoted Reinhardt and Fels (1933), 351-2.

⁴ 'Die Aussenkrypta', A. Verbeek, *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. 13, 21 and 36.

⁵ *Ant. J.*, vol. X (1930), 24, and *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest* (1930), 47-9, 91-2, 157-8.

which nearly collapsed, and a smaller tower on the west front¹. The great western lantern tower built at Ely in late Norman times (c. 1180), with its western transept at the surviving end of which are two round staircase towers, is suggestive of some of the continental variants which Reinhardt and Fels thought had evolved from west-works. The Ely structure has been regarded by both Clapham and Webb as a Saxon inheritance². There is also a suggestive reference in the *Liber Eliensis* which may indicate that, when the relics of St. Etheldreda and other Abbesses were translated in 1106 into the Norman church from the position in the Saxon church where they had been placed by Ethelwold, the bones were removed from a 'tower'³. This might possibly mean that the Ely saints were placed by Ethelwold in some kind of a west-work.

If the Norman work at Ely, and elsewhere, represents a grander version of a pre-existing, Ethelwoldian, structure, is it possible that this was also true of Norman Winchester? The old western structure, destroyed by Edington in 1350 when he was building the present west front, is shown on the plans, Pl. XIc and fig. 6⁴. These foundations have often been described as being those of two Norman western towers. But the *Victoria County History* (from which Pl. XIc was taken) preferred to regard the central space only as indicating a tower: to the west of the nave there are 'very heavy foundations of a west front, consisting of a square building flanked by oblong buildings. . . . This has often been explained as a front flanked by two western towers, but it is much more likely that the square is the base of a single tower in the middle of the front, flanked by shallow western transepts; a form of plan akin to those of Ely and Bury St. Edmunds, though less developed, the scheme derived from Saxon prototypes. It is perhaps this single tower which explains the already quoted record of 1200⁵. . . in which case it must be assumed that its upper storey was left unfinished until that time'⁶.

¹ *Historia Ramesiensis*, 41 cap. 22: 'Duas quoque turres ipsis tectorum culminibus eminebant, quarum minor versus occidentem in fronte basilicae pulchrum intrantibus insulam a longe spectaculum parebat, maior vero in quadrifidae structurae medio columnas quatuor, porrectis de alia ad aliam arcibus sibi invicem connexas, ne laxae defluerent, deprimebat'.

Vita Oswaldi, cap. 4, 434: '... aedificia coepit construere in modum crucis; porticum in oriente, in meridie, et in aquilone; turrim in medio, quo sustentaretur a porticibus iuxta se fatantium amplificato; dehinc ecclesiam in occidente turri annexuit, . . .'

² A. W. Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture after the Conquest*, 38, 'the axial western tower found at Ely, Bury and Winchester is a Saxon inheritance . . .'

Geoffrey Webb, *Ely* (Cathedral Books) (1950), 8. 'The adoption of this scheme [i.e., the west-work type of plan] at Ely in the twelfth century seems to have been in the nature of a replacement on a large scale of a feature of the Anglo-Saxon church of which all we know is that it possessed a western transept'.

³ *Liber Eliensis*, 294, cap. 146: 'Quod ante solemnitatem hujus translationis, propter opus dilatandum, sanctorum sepulchra Sexburgae atque Ermenildae, de loco pristino ut eas collocaverat beatus Aedelvoldus removit, similiter almae Withburgae tumbam dimovens, sed casu ministri imprudentes frugerunt.

Annis vero quatuor ante translationem sanctorum virginum, celebrem de loco suo dimoverant beatae Withburgae virginis sepulchrum et alibi

in ecclesia collocaverant. Structura vero templi prodiens ulterius id necessario cogeat, nec citra subsistere aliquatenus poterat, et cum per descensus graduum distraheretur monumentum, imprudentesque ministri minus ad hoc essent idonei, confractus est lapis inferior quo quiescebat virgo egregia, cum maxima apparuit in tumulo fissura. . . . In turri vero regina Etheldreda et celebris virgo ad altare proprium ab australi parte tumulata resplenduit, et gloriosa soror ejus Sexburga ab aquilone ibidem e regione sepulta sollenniter effulsit'.

⁴ The original source for the plan of these western foundations seems to be the plan in Willis (p. 80). Willis says (p. 65): 'It appears from recent investigations that the west front of the Norman cathedral extended about forty feet in advance of the present one. Some raised ground in front of the western doors, and remains of walls in an adjacent garden have long given rise to an opinion that this might be the case, but Mr. Owen Carter has lately excavated the ground and traced the foundations . . . which I have copied from a sketch for which I am indebted to the kindness of that gentleman. . . . These foundations must either have belonged to two western towers, or to a kind of western transept'.

⁵ *Annales de Wintonia, Anglia Sacra*, I, 304: Anno MCC. Inchoata est & perfecta turris Wintoniensis Ecclesiae. Mr. John Harvey, however, in *Winchester Cathedral Record* (1958), 12, suggests, with greater probability, that the 1200 record refers to the building of a spire for the Norman central tower at the crossing.

⁶ V.C.H. Hants (1912), V, 52.

A central western tower at Winchester, placed between two square bays not projecting as transepts, might have been built by Walkelin as a grander version of a western structure in the Ethelwoldian Old Minster. Or is it possible that these mysterious foundations are themselves those of a construction by Ethelwold, to which the *modica capella*—said by Rudborne to have been built over the site by St. Swithun's grave and to have survived into the Middle Ages outside the north door of the nave (see p. 65, n. 6 below)—could have been an adjunct?

Even without postulating that Ethelwold built at Winchester either a two-storied west-work in the full Carolingian sense, or a west choir, the exit at the west end of this Old Minster could have been described as 'doubtful' if Ethelwold had added to it additional entrance porches, narthexes or vestibules—perhaps one of them covering the site of the old tomb—similar to those which excavation has shown were added by Dunstan at St. Augustine's, Canterbury¹. At St. Augustine's there was a first narthex belonging to the old church and a second narthex added by Dunstan: the latter opened, through two non-axial doorways, into a further chamber, described in Clapham's plan as a 'vestibule'. It



Fig. 5. Sherborne Abbey. Seal

(Royal Commission on Historical Monuments. Crown Copyright; reproduced by permission of H.M. Stationery Office)

would be interesting to know for what purposes the outer narthex and vestibule at St. Augustine's were used; the non-axial doorways suggest that the vestibule may have been a chapel, with an altar against the wall between the doorways. The problem of St. Augustine's is now further complicated by the discovery, during the 1957 excavations by the Ministry of Works, of a small, early 11th century, chapel placed axially just to the west of the outer vestibule, and with a western apse (to the west of which a staircase tower appears to have been added, slightly later in the 11th century), see p. 46, n. 4.

There is also the interesting case of the Saxon cathedral at Sherborne (which may have been reconstructed when Wulfsgie introduced the Benedictine rule in 998)². Here is Saxon masonry in the existing west wall, with an archway opening which is thought to have led into a north aisle of the pre-Conquest nave. To the west, outside the church, excavation has revealed traces of a massive square platform, which is thought to have been the base of a western tower, or a west porch. Some parts of the existing central crossing

¹ Clapham, *English Romanesque Architecture before the Conquest*, 150, fig. 49.

² For a full discussion of the problems of Saxon Sherborne, see *Royal Commission on Historical Monuments, West Dorset* (1952), xlvi.

may be Saxon; this has salient angles, wider than the chancel and transepts, a Saxon feature¹. The Saxon seal of Sherborne (fig. 5) suggests some of these features.

It is possibly suggestive that Aelfric's abridgement of Lantfred's miracles (see p. 32 above), speaks of St. Swithun having been brought into the church 'from the stone coffin which stands now within the new edifice'². This suggests that—quite apart from the translation into the church of St. Swithun's bones in their new reliquary—his old tomb, originally outside the west entrance of the Old Minster, later stood 'within the new edifice'. It would correspond with other precedents if this was achieved by extending the church westwards, so as to enclose the tomb in a structure which might have been described as a *vestibulum*. Could this have been Rudborne's *modica capella*?

B. St. Swithun's relics

We will now turn to the question where St. Swithun's relics were placed after the translation, and will bear in mind the possible interpretation of *extremi limina vestibuli*, as referring not to the exit from the church but to the approach to a relic chamber (see p. 48, n. 2). The relevant evidence appears to be:

- (a) Wulfstan's rubric for the first translation, in 971, merely says that Swithun's bones were taken into the church and reverently reburied (*decentissime reconditae*: p. 40, n. 1).
- (b) Wulfstan's rubric for the second translation says, without specifying a year, that this was on the 2nd October, in the reign of King Edgar (who died in 975; p. 41, n. 2). Wulfstan says that at this time Ethelwold put 'part' of the bones of the saint into an *arca* (p. 42, n. 1).
- (c) Wulfstan's description of the miracle of the woman who was transported invisibly by the saint over the heads of the crowd to the shrine, immediately follows his account of the second translation (see pp. 42–3). Some of the relics at that time seem to have been placed on an altar, in a space with a locked door, which could be described as a 'chamber' or 'vestibule' and was guarded by a watcher or sacrist. This place was visible to the crowd, from which it was separated in such a way that a person outside could be described as *extra balconem*³.
- (d) John of Exeter, one of the medieval annalists of Winchester, speaks of the 'elevation' of St. Swithun as having taken place three years after his translation in 974⁴.
- (e) Another medieval history of Winchester, bound up with a copy of John of Exeter's account in the Corpus Christi, Cambridge, MS., says that Ethelwold 'caused to be translated the patron of this church, St. Swithun, and had him placed in a great reliquary which was wonderfully and artfully made from silver and gold and precious stones, and this reliquary was located at and fixed to

¹ Dr. Irmgard Achter argues, from the salient angles between the existing west tower and the nave arcades at St. Riquier, that that tower preserves the dimensions of the tower in the Carolingian west-work. See I. Achter, 'Zur Rekonstruktion der Karolingischen Klosterkirche Centula'. *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, Bd. 19, Hft. 2 (1956), 133.

² Aelfric's *Lives of the Saints*, E.E.T.S. (1881), 443. Earle, *Gloucester Fragments*, 3.

³ Ducange: *balco* is called *exedra proeminens* or *balcon*, i.e., presumably a balcony.

⁴ Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS. 110, item 9, fol. 273–4: 'Athelwoldus reliquias transtulit

venerabilis patroni hujus ecclesiae Swithuni cum Sanctorum reliquiis Brinstani Frithestani et Elphegi anno dni dcccc71^o cum jacuissit venerabile corpus sancti Swithuni centum et 10 annis humatum triennio ante sacri antistitis corporis elevatione continue per eum miraculis divinitus coruscantibus Ventane.

MS. 110, in a renaissance italic hand, appears to be a copy of the text of John of Exeter at All Souls, Oxford, MS. 114 (which M. R. James, in the Corpus MS. Catalogue, thought was the autograph). The John of Exeter text in the Corpus MS. is close to that of Rudborne at the outset (*Anglia Sacra*, I, 179–86), but then diverges greatly (see p. 28, n. 1).

the High Altar; and he made another reliquary in honour of the same saint, out of gold and silver and decorated with precious stones, and this reliquary is now kept in the sacristy, as writes Vigilantius in the book *De Basilica Petri*, chap. 9¹.

The book of Vigilantius *De Basilica Petri* was quoted frequently by the writer of this account and by John of Exeter. Willis says that Vigilantius 'appears to have been the principal local history. The quotations terminate immediately before the Conquest, to which period therefore we may refer the author in question'.²

- (f) The medieval Winchester Annals say that, when the Norman Bishop Walkelin destroyed the Saxon cathedral (after the shrine had been translated) the relics of St. Swithun and of many other saints were found under the altar of the Old Minster. This was presumably the High Altar.

The main conclusions seem to be:

- (1) If (d) and (e) are to be credited, there seem at some stage in Saxon times to have been two shrines, one fixed to the High Altar, and the other portable and kept in a sacristy.
- (2) At the time of the first translation in 971, and also of the second one, the cathedral was in process of rebuilding by Ethelwold. It seems quite possible that the second shrine may not have been finally placed on the High Altar, until either the first dedication of the restored cathedral under Ethelwold in 980, or the completion of the eastern porticus and the second dedication of the cathedral under Alphege in 993-4 (see p. 62 below).
- (3) If the account in paragraph (d) above is correct, the second translation may have been three years from the first. The shrine described at the second translation, perhaps in 974, containing according to Wulfstan only a 'part' of the saint's body, may have been the one referred to in Wulfstan's text, immediately after the description of this translation, in the miracle of the invisible woman. The chamber, guarded by a sacrist, apparently on a 'balcony', may have been the 'sacristy' referred to in (e). If, as seems probable, the shrine in this chamber was a portable one, and was not the shrine eventually placed on the High Altar at the east end, where might this chamber have been?
 - (i) A position in the crypt seems unlikely. When Ethelwold, who had died in 980, was translated in 996, it was from a tomb in the crypt—in *crypta ad australem plagam sancti altaris* (EL. 102, cap. 41). This must have been an older crypt than the elaborate one described below as having been built by Alphege (p. 59-60 below), and which cannot have existed between 971 and 980. On the other hand, from (f) above, some of Swithun's relics seem to have been in a crypt at the Norman conquest.

¹ The following extract is from item 23 of the Corpus MS. 110 (fol. 336): '(Ethelwold) transfere fecit hujus ecclesie patronum sanctum Swithunum et scrinio magno ex argento et auro lapidibusque preciosis mirabiliter ac artificiose fabricato fecerat collocari locatumque est illud scrinium ac coniunctum summo Altari, aliud vero scrinium portabile fecit in honore eiusdem sancti ex auro et argento lapidibusque preciosis decoratum quod modo in sacristaria reservatur ut scribit vigil in lib. de bas. pet. cap. 9^o.

Item 23 in MS. 110 is headed: 'Chronicon in quo continetur historia Angliae presertim cenobii

Winton a Lucio usque ad initium regni Henrici VI'. This is a quite different account from that of Rudborne or John of Exeter—containing more general history. James says 'It may be the hist. minor of Rudborne: query a copy of Nero A.XVII'. Wharton only prints one page of the supposed prologue of Rudborne's *Historia Minor* (p. 287), and this does not seem to correspond with anything in MS. 110, item 23.

Vigilantius *De Basilica Petri* is frequently quoted by Rudborne, by John of Exeter, and in item 23 of MS. 110.

² Willis, 3, n. a: also p. 29, n. 3 above.

- (ii) A position in one of the side porticus, which could possibly have been described as 'vestibules' opening into each other, seems insufficiently important, and not very probable.
- (iii) Other relics seem to have been placed somewhere in the middle of the church. Ethelwold was translated *in choro ecclesiae* (EL 102-3, cap. 42-3). From the passage quoted below, Brynstan (Bp. 931-4) and Alphege the elder (Bp. 934-51) seem to have been placed, by Ethelwold, *in medio templi*. This quotation does, however, suggest that the bones of Birinus and Swithun were in some different place from those of the less important Brynstan and Alphege¹.

If some of the relics were in a chamber in the centre of the church or the western part of the choir, *balconem* might have to mean the grilles separating the shrine from the spectators. A door, or doors, into a central relic chamber might perhaps be consistent with Wulfstan's description of 'doors on every side'².

- (iv) The possibility of the *balconem* being a gallery in a central transept cannot be excluded. There is some evidence that the central tower at St. Riquier was flanked by such galleries and that these may have been used as a library and as a treasury respectively. It has also been argued that the existing transept galleries in Norman churches, such as Bayeux and Winchester, may represent a Carolingian tradition³.

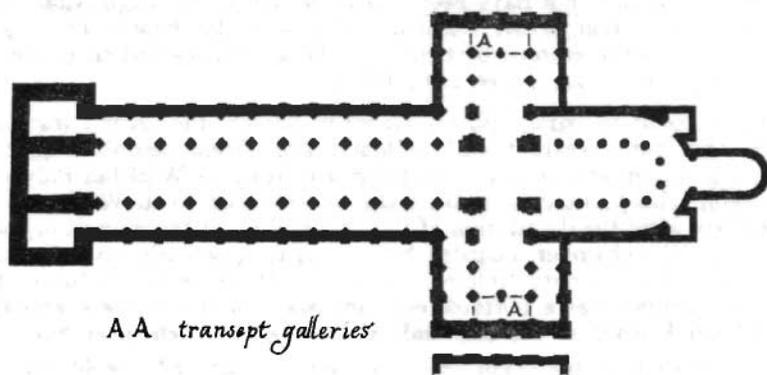


Fig. 6. Winchester. Ground plan of the Norman Cathedral

- (v) Finally, there is the possibility that, at any rate before the completion of the east end of the church, the reliquary described by Wulfstan may have been in some kind of a chamber at the west end. On the theory that *extremi limina vestibuli* refers to a western porch, narthex or west-work, the use of *vestibulum* for the relic chamber, in connection with the miracle of the

¹ A passage towards the end of the elegiac poem reads as follows: W., 73, ll. 259-66:

*'quisquis ut hoc templum beneficia poscere
quaerit,
impetret a domino gaudia plena pio,
qua uir apostolicus iacet almus et ille Birinus,
has lauacro gentes qui lauit occiduas.
signipotens in ea pausat quoque demate
Suuidhun,
qui precibus cunctum subleuat hunc
populum.
in medio templi fulgent Byrnstanus et
Aelfheah,*

iure sacerdotii cultor uterque dei'.

Birinus seems to be referred to here, as the apostle of Wessex, 'who cleansed the western peoples with baptism'; this reference presumably could not refer to a western font.

² As a parallel for relics in the centre of the church, St. Trond, Belgium, is a case where the relics were in a closed chamber in this position (as recorded in a source of about 1100, probably describing what had been an earlier arrangement).

³ See I. Achter, *op. cit.*, 133.

invisible woman, is suggestive—especially as *vestibulum* also sometimes means a west-work. If *balconem* means a gallery, the relics might possibly have been on a west, or side, gallery of a west-work, which could also, in continental usage, have served as a kind of 'royal box'. There are precedents for western galleries, probably used by noble personages, in English Saxon churches, and as we have seen, a saint's relics were apparently placed in a western gallery at Rheims around 975.

If the second translation of the relics into this chamber did not take place until 974, there would have been time, in the three years since the first translation in 971, for a western structure, perhaps with a 'balcony' carrying the reliquary, to have been built over the site of St. Swithun's original grave outside the earlier church.

THE EAST PORTICUS

After the description just analysed, Wulfstan's poem continues with some fifty lines about the celebration and feasting at the dedication by St. Dunstan in 980, in the presence of King Ethelred the Unready, of this first work of restoration 'of the great church'¹. The next section of the poem is marginally noted in the Royal MS. *de orientali porticu*. Ethelwold, it is said, 'joyfully laid on the east side a foundation (*fundamen ovans a cardine iecit Eoi*) so that a porticus should stand constructed for God'². After Ethelwold's death in 984, the building was completed by his successor, to whom the poem is addressed—Bishop Alphege. This porticus was presumably an eastern extension of the church³.

THE CRYPT

The description of the crypt, built by Alphege, follows that of the east porticus, and it is suggested that the 'foundation' of the latter and the crypt may well have been one and the same structure.

'Thou didst take pains also to add the hidden crypts which Daedalian genius so erected that whatever unknown person shall come and enter them cannot tell whence he comes or whither to return. There are in them secret hiding places which lurk on either hand, whose roofs are seen but within are hidden recesses (*latebrae quarum tecta patent, intus et antra latent*). Their entrance stands closed and their exit, and a man who does not know thinks they are without light, as they appear to stand under dark night and shadow; but yet they have the light of the sun though hidden, at whose rising when the first rays leap back the morning star enters and scatters a beam on every side and penetrates all the caverns with the splendour of light until the sun sinks into the western ocean. Their structure (*machina*) stands and supports the holy altar and the pious relics of the saints in order, and the roof remains useful in manifold ways, supporting the things without, covering those within'⁴.

¹ W., 67, l. 62: '*de dedicatione magnae ecclesiae*'.

² W., 68, ll. 111-18: *De orientali porticu*:

*'his super antistes, sacro spiramine plenus,
adhibuit domino plurima uota suo,
nam fundamen ovans a cardine iecit Eoi,
porticus ut staret aedificata deo,*

115 *erexitque nouum, iacto fundamine, templum;
ne tamen expleret, raptus ab orbe fuit,
pro meritis superam digne translatus in
aulam,*

quorum multiplices non numerantur opes'.

³ In connection with the east porticus project, Wulfstan's prose life of Ethelwold says that, before his death in 940, King Athelstan had intended to adorn the east porticus of the cathedral with gilded tiles. EL., 88, cap. 10: '*si vita comes feret, orientalem porticum ejusdem*

Wintoniensis ecclesiae deauratis imbricibus adornare disposuit'. He had presented the church with many ornaments, particularly a gold cross and a golden altar (which contrasts with the medieval account that, before Ethelwold's restoration, the church was 'bare within and without' and there was scarce a canon who would present a poor altar cloth or a chalice worth five marks. Rudborne, 289.

⁴ W., 68-9, ll. 121-40:

De criptis:

121 *'uestra cui statim successit in arce potestas,
et coeptum uigili pectore struxit opus.
insuper occullas studuistis et addere criptas,
quas sic Dedaleum struxerat ingenium,*

125 *quisquis ut ignotus ueniens intrauerit illas,
nesciat unde meat, quoque pedem referat*

A number of features can be inferred from this passage. There are an entrance and an exit to the crypt, presumably from the church, which can be closed with doors. It seems reasonable to think that the entrances would have been connected with a passage, probably either square-ended or round-ended (a 'Ringkrypta'); the roof of this passage must have been visible from outside (*lecta patent*, l. 128). Some daylight would have come in, either by side openings in the ring-passage, or possibly into a further extension of it to the east—of the type known on the continent as an 'Aussenkrypta' (though the passage, if partly above-ground, would itself have had the character of an Aussenkrypta,

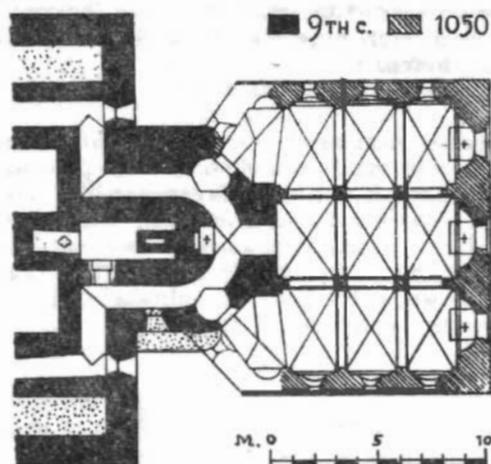


Fig. 7. Werden. The Crypt and Aussenkrypta
(From A. Verbeek)

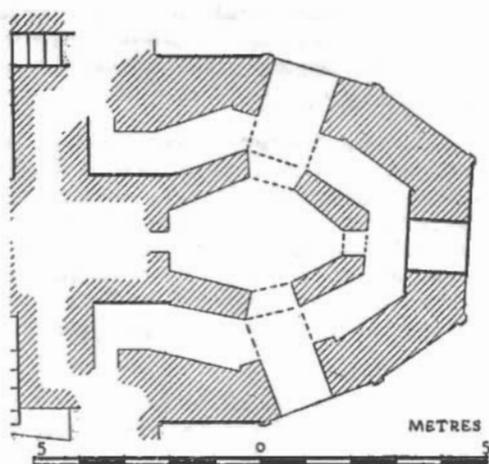


Fig. 8. Wing, Bucks. The Crypt
(Reproduced by permission of the Oxford University Press)

being outside the main exterior walls of the building). The passage probably opened inwards into a central section or *confessio*, supporting the chancel and the altar. This type of crypt was very common on the continent, a good example (with a later addition of a hall-like Aussenkrypta), being at Werden¹ and it seems closely paralleled at Wing, Buckingham (fig. 8), and also, as regards the semi-subterranean passage, at Brixworth².

In the important description, in the Monastic Annals, of the destruction of the Saxon cathedral by the first Norman Bishop, Walkelyn, it is stated that in 1093, after the

¹ For Werden crypt, see p. 53, n. 4.

² There has been some confusion as to whether the crypts were built by Ethelwold or Alphege; the matter is discussed by Willis (p. 15, n. n, and p. 33), also by Mr. D. J. V. Fisher, p. 383 of the article quoted on p. 36, n. 4. The extract from John of Exeter quoted (p. 10, n. b) by Willis, which also appears in CCC, MS. 110, fol. 275,

says that Ethelwold *ecclesiam Wintanam de novo renovavit criptas in ipsa ordinans*. This seems to refer to the crypts described by Wulfstan as completed by Alphege at the second dedication in 994 (which is not referred to by John of Exeter). But, as Fisher points out, there were no doubt crypts in the pre-Ethelwoldian church.

130 *sunt quibus occultae, latitant quae hinc inde,
latebrae,
quarum tecta patent, intus et antra latent,
introitus quarum stat clausus, et exitus
harum,
quas homo, qui ignorat, luce carere putat,
nocte sub obscura quae stare videntur et umbra,
sed tamen occulti lumina solis habent,
cuius in exortu cum spicula prima resultant,*

135 *lucifer ingrediens spargit ubique iubar,
et penetrat cunctas lucis splendore cauernas,
donec in hesperium sol ruat oceanum.
machina stat quarum, sacram subportat et
aram,
sanctorumque pias ordine relliquias,
multiplicique modo manet utile culmen
earum,
140 exteriora gerens, interiora tegens'.*

translation on St. Swithun's day, of the saint's reliquary (*feretrum*) from the old to the new church, 'on the next day, at Bishop Walkelyn's command, the workmen started to break down the old church: and it was all broken down in that year except for one porticus and the great altar'; in the next year 'relics of St. Swithun and of many other saints were found under the altar of the old church'¹. This suggests that the east porticus, with its crypt, was a solid structure. Perhaps the relics of St. Swithun which were found in the crypt were that part of his bones which were placed in a portable reliquary, not on the high altar.

THE ORGAN

The next section of the poem is the description of the great new organ. It had four hundred pipes and twenty-six bellows, on which seventy men as blowers worked like galley slaves—with two brothers at two keyboards 'in unity of spirit . . . ruling each his own alphabet . . . like thunder the iron voice assaults the ear, driving out every other sound'. Detailed features of the description, e.g., the letters marking every key, the reference to the 'lyric semi-tone', and the 'slides', are taken seriously by writers on the organ. This suggests that (even if seventy blowers is an exaggeration) the descriptive passages in the rest of the elegiac poem should be taken seriously². Incidentally, it seems that at Ramsey the contemporary organ may have been placed in a gallery³.

THE TOWER

The next section of the poem is 'On the Building of the Tower', by Bishop Alphege.

Furthermore you did make to be added a temple in which continuous day remains without night. A tower shines from the vault of heaven (*ab axe micat*) where the sun gleams at its rising and scatters the first rays of its light. It comprises five sections, pierced with broad windows as with eyes (*quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris*) and opens everywhere ways towards the four regions of the earth (*per quadras plagas*). The lofty tops of the tower stand beaked with domes (*stant excelsa tolis rostrata cacumina turris*) and gleam sinuous with divers arcadings (or vaults: *fornicibus variis et sinuata micant*). They were thus taught to curve by the skilled ability which is wont to add beautiful things in beautiful places. Above there stands the wrought work of a staff with gilded balls, and golden splendour adorns the whole work. As often as the moon shall have shone forth at its crowned rising, another beam leaps from the holy house to the stars. If a traveller passing by night looks on this, he thinks the earth also has its stars. To add to its beauty there is a cock on the summit, golden in ornament and great to behold. . . . It bears the rod of empire in its proud claws and stands above the whole people of Winchester. . . . It rotates to face the wind. . . What more shall I add to this? You strive with all your might to adorn the whole monastery on every side⁴.

¹ *Annales de Wintonia, Anglia Sacra*, I, 295: 'Anno MXCIII. In praesentia omnium fere Episcoporum atque Abbatum Angliae cum maxima exultatione & gloria de veteri Monasterio Wintoniensi ad novum venerunt Monachi vi Idus Aprilis. Ad Festum vero S. Swithuni facta processione de novo Monasterium ad vetus, tulerunt inde feretrum S. Swithuni, & in novo honorifice collocaverunt. Sequenti vero die Domini Walkelini Episcopi coeperunt homines primum vetus frangere Monasterium; & fractum est totum in illo anno, excepto portico uno & magno altari. . . . Anno MXCIV. Inventae sunt Reliquiae S. Swithuni aliorumque plurimorum Sanctorum sub altari Veteris Monasterii'. Vetus monasterium means the Old Minster; novum here means Walkelyn's new cathedral.

² W., 69, ll. 141-172.

³ Vita Oswaldi, 464: 'Namque magister organorum cum agmine ascendit populorum in altis sedibus, quo tonitruali sonitu excitavit mentes fidelium laudare nomen Domini.' See also Willis, *Canterbury*, 39.

⁴ W., p. 70-1, ll. 173-207:

De turris aedificio:

- 'insuper excelsum fecistis et addere templum, quo sine nocte manet continuata dies.
- 175 *turris ab axe micat qua sol oriendo coruscat, et spargit lucis spicula prima suae, quinque tenet patulis segmenta oculata fenestris,*
- per quadrasque plagas pandit ubique vias. stant excelsa tolis rostrata cacumina turris,*
- 180 *fornicibus variis et sinuata micant, quae sic ingenium docuit curvare peritum, quod solet in pulchris addere pulchra locis. stat super auratis uirgae fabricatio bullis,*

As to the position of the tower, the phrase *turris ab axe micat, qua sol oriendo coruscat* (l. 175) may suggest that the tower was towards the east. The remark that the 'tower opens everywhere ways towards the four regions of the earth' seems to suggest that it was on four arches, facing to the four cardinal points. It has been suggested that the description may refer to a detached tower, for one reason because it is described separately, after the organ; a parallel would be the tower, which the 1957 excavations at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, have apparently revealed, to the south-west of that church. But it seems unlikely that a detached tower would be poised, insecurely, on four open arches, and Wulfstan's description seems to fit much better with the central tower described at Ramsey (p. 54, n. 1 above).

The reference to *quinque segmenta* (l. 177) suggests that the tower had five storeys. This may mean a five-storeyed stone tower of the Earls Barton type, or, perhaps less probably, may refer to a five-staged recessed wooden spire, of the type shown in the St. Riquier miniature (Pl. VIII A). The storeys with 'windows on them like eyes' (or 'spotted with windows') suggests round openings, again like those shown in the St. Riquier drawing or in the St. Ethelwold Benedictional miniature (Pl. VII B). It seems clear that the tower had a superstructure, almost certainly of timber (the *cacumina*, line 179). The *cacumina* are described as *tolis rostrata*, and there follows the description of the ingenuity by which curved work was wrought. The description seems to be consistent with either or both

(a) A series of recessed stages like St. Riquier and the Benedictional. These curved stages, could, aptly, be described as *tolis*, a tholos being a round temple with a circular colonnade,

or (b) alternatively, particularly in the light of *fornicibus variis*, the description could perhaps refer to round staircase towers (*cochleae*) with pointed roofs.

The top of the tower had a staff with golden balls crowned with a gold cock. Cocks of this kind were not known before the 10th century, where they are referred to at St. Gallen and also Chalons sur Saone¹.

THE SECOND DEDICATION: 993-4

After the description of the tower, the elegiac poem ends with an account of the second dedication, under Alphege, of the completed church². As mentioned above, Willis dated this event from the bishops present as between 993 and 995; Archbishop Sigeric, who died in October, 994, is addressed as if he were still alive, indicating that the poem was written before his death. At the very end of the elegiac section, two miracles wrought by Ethelwold (which appear also in EL. 102-3, cap. 42 and 44) are referred to. The references to Ethelwold's tomb (*sepulchrum* and *tumulum*) on p. 74 of Wulfstan's poem seem likely to refer to the situation between his death in 984 and the translation of his bones in 996—another possible pointer to the date of the poem³.

¹ O. Lehmann Brockhaus, *Die Kunst des 10. Jhs. im Lichte der Schriftquellen*. Strassburg, 1935 (= Slg. Heitz, III, Reihe, Bd. 6), 35 f. *St. Gallische Geschichtsquellen*, ed. Meyer v. Knonau (1877), 200, Migne, *Pat. Lat.*, vol 134, 1017 f. A cock of gilded copper is said to have

been put on the tower at St. Etienne at Corbie by Abbot Maingaud, in the year 999 (Héliot, p. 41).

² W., 71, l. 207-73, l. 248.

³ W., 73, l. 267-75, l. 328.

185 *aureus et totum splendor adornat opus.*
luna coronato quotiens radiauerit ortu,
alterum ab ede sacra surgit ad astra iubar.
si nocte inspiciat hac pretereundo uiator,
et terram stellas credit habere suas.
additur ad specimen, stat ei quod uertice
gallus,
190 *aureus ornatu, grandis et intuitu.*
despicit omne solum, cunctis supereminet
aruis,
signiferi et boreae sidera pulchra uidens.

imperii sceptrum pedibus tenet ille superbis,
stat super et cunctum Vuintoniae populum,
195 *imperat cunctis euectus in aera gallis,*
et regit occiduum nobilis imperium,
impiger imbriferos qui suscipit undique
uentos,
seque rotando suam prebet eis faciem,
turbinis horrisonos suffertque uiriliter ictus,
200 *intrepidus perstans, flabra, niues tolerans...*
plura quid his addam? tota virtute laboras
ut decores totum undique coenobium.'

THE BENEDICTIONAL OF ST. ETHELWOLD

Reference should be made here to the well known miniature at the end of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, which appears opposite the text of the 'Benediction for the Dedication of a Church', and which many writers have assumed was to some extent a representation of Ethelwold's cathedral (Pl. VII B).

The miniature shows a bishop, probably Ethelwold, delivering a blessing to a congregation of monks, and, apparently behind a screen, of lay-folk. The latter seem to be framed between horizontal and vertical lines, and some scholars at any rate have thought that the lay-folk are portrayed on a raised pew or gallery. They seem to be richly dressed; could this possibly be a royal gallery or balcony? The bishop stands under an arch, probably a baldachino, with what resemble two turned Saxon capitals on slender, perhaps monolithic, pillars. Above him is a turret, recessed in three stages, with round windows and containing bells. The tower, crowned with a cock, rises from a framework which may suggest the cross-section of a roof. On each side of the roof are further clusters of towers, one bearing another, once-golden, weather cock, on the top of a pyramidal spire.

It would be tempting to identify the latter tower with 'St. Martin's tower' to the west of the cathedral¹, and the other tower with the main tower built by Alphege described in the poem. But the poem shows that that tower, with its notable weathercock, was not finished until after Ethelwold's death. There is also the well-known uncertainty as to whether the Benedictional was actually made at Winchester or at Ely. Such miniatures are not normally regarded as representational².

However, it is fair to comment that the miniature is in a very different style from the rest of the Benedictional. It is not surrounded by a frame of conventionalised foliage, and it has in the past been regarded as partly representational (e.g., by Warner in the Roxburghe Club facsimile of the Benedictional); he went so far as to argue, from the possibly representational character of the miniature, about the date of the manuscript. The prominence of the two cocks on the towers and the possibility that the miniature shows a raised gallery or pew for eminent persons, are certainly suggestive.

THE OLD MINSTER: CONCLUSIONS

The analysis of the description in Wulfstan's poem of the work carried out on the Old Minster by Bishops Ethelwold and Alphege, in the period c. 965-95, may be very briefly summarised as follows:

- (1) Ethelwold seems to have rebuilt the monastic buildings. He brought a water supply to the monastery through a new channel—the successor to which still exists.
- (2) The next passage is more likely to refer to the restoration and enlargement of the pre-existing Old Minster than, as previous writers have suggested, mainly to the building of an atrium. Ethelwold's work probably included the building of porticus-aisles to the north and south of the earlier nave.
- (3) This passage may also imply that there was a complicated western exit, either through a structure of a continental west-work type at any rate as complex as the successive narthexes at St. Augustine's, Canterbury.
- (4) The passage about the miracle of the invisible woman suggests that some of Swithun's relics were in a locked enclosure, visible to the crowd, apparently on a *balconem*, but the poem gives no clear indication of where this was. A location in a western structure, possibly in a gallery, would probably be consistent with this passage and with (3).

¹ p. 39, n. 2.

² Mr. John Harvey has recently drawn attention, in 'Did Winchester Cathedral Have a Spire?', *Winchester Cathedral Record*, 1958, to an early 14th century drawing, showing a

view of Winchester, in the margin of a manuscript of Geoffrey of Monmouth (BM. MS. Roy. 13 A. iii, fol. 17 v.). The interpretation is not clear, but Mr. Harvey has suggested that one of the towers, which seems to have a staged spire, may be a Saxon one, perhaps free-standing.

- (5) Ethelwold started to build, and Alphege completed, an eastern porticus-extension to the church.
- (6) Alphege constructed a crypt, possibly as part of the east porticus. This comprised a central *confessio*, supporting an altar above, and surrounded by a passage approached by doorways from the church. This crypt may have been, in part at least, of the continental Aussenkrypta type.
- (7) Alphege built a tower, supported on four arches, perhaps a central tower. It had five storeys and was crowned by a superstructure surmounted by a weathercock.

THE SITE

Unless, and until, there is serious excavation on this important site, the position of both the Old Minster and the New Minster must remain uncertain. It seems clear that the New Minster was to the south of the High Street, not far from St. Maurice's Church, and that the Old Minster lay south of it (see fig. 1). To the east of them was Ethelwold's Lockburn, and east of that the Nuns' Minster, on the site of the public garden now known as the Abbey Garden. The following are among the relevant documents.

THE DOCUMENTS

- (1) A Charter of Edward the Elder, of about 904, in which he 'obtained from Bishop Denewulf and from the Convent at Winchester the wicker-work church and the stone dormitory' and land south of it. A plot of land for the New Minster was measured 'south from the refectory to St. Gregory's church'¹.
- (2) A deed of Edgar, when Ethelwold was bishop, in which the 'king commanded that the monasteries in Winchester should be separated by a space . . . none of the monasteries therewithin should have strife with the others on account of that space'. There are references to watercourses and to exchanges of plots of ground 'without the South Gate' for a mill².
- (3) A Nuns' Minster deed, to which Edgar and Ethelwold were parties, from which the boundaries of the Nuns' Minster enclosure have been deduced, lying to the east of Colebrook Street (but this interpretation may not be entirely correct)³.
- (4) An interesting manuscript of c. 1000 in Worcester Cathedral Library, which is a mutilated fragment from a Winchester Sacramentary. This describes the route of a procession whereby the body of a dead monk of St. Swithun's was taken from one local church to another with special intercessory prayers at each. This starts with prayers, presumably at the Old Minster, invoking the Virgin Mary, St. Benedict (*patrono nostro*), St. Michael the Archangel (a saint associated with the west end of churches and west-works), and then Ss. Birinus, Swithun and Ethelwold 'and all the saints whose relics are contained within this monastery'.

The procession then apparently moved outside, and prayers were said at St. George the Martyr, and St. Gregory (presumably the church referred to in (1)). Then, after prayers invoking the Virgin and all other Holy Virgins (presumably at another church), there are prayers in the church of the New Minster (*Oratio in Novi Monasterii ecclesia*) invoking St. Peter and St. Paul, St. Judoc and St. Grimbald, who were specially associated with the New Minster. The procession then passed to other surrounding churches, including those of St. Thomas, St. Maurice (with his companions and the blessed St. Pantaleon) and then possibly back to the Old Minster, with more invocations of St. Michael and St. Ethelwold⁴.

¹ Birch, *Liber Vitae of New Minster and Hyde Abbey*, Hants. Record Soc. (1892), 157.

² Birch, *An Ancient Manuscript*, Hants. Record Society, 1899, 131.

³ *Ibid.*, 32.

⁴ Worcester Chapter Library, F.173, publ. Cuthbertson H. Turner: *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. XVII (1916): see Mrs. B. Carpenter Turner, *Churches of Mediaeval Winchester* (1957), 42.



A. Corvey, from the west

Façade *c.* 885; upper arcades and upper parts of towers added in 12th century



B. Fleury (St. Benoit)
11th century western structure



A. Upper floor, looking west
Probable ruler's seat, in central arch above



B. Ground floor
CORVEY, WEST-WORK: c. 885

- (5) William the Conqueror, who had good reason to penalize the New Minster, further constricted the monastery site by depriving it of land to build his new palace, apparently immediately to the west, on the site of the present Square¹.
- (6) The next relevant reference is that quoted on p. 61, n. 1 above, about the building of Walkelyn's Cathedral in 1093. It seems from this that the Saxon Old Minster was not destroyed until the Norman Cathedral was at any rate far advanced—the east porticus being destroyed last. The Norman Cathedral and the Old Minster must therefore have been, broadly speaking, on different sites.
- (7) As to the contiguity of the Old Minster (or rather the Norman Cathedral) and the New Minster, there are well-known references to causes of dissension between them. William of Malmesbury says that the churches were so close that 'the voices of the two choirs confounded one another'². Dugdale's *Monasticon*, quoting a lost Cotton manuscript, said that 'the walls of the two churches were so close that a man could scarcely pass between them. In one choir the echo rebounded of what the brothers were chanting in the other, so that the voices of the singers were confused with the others . . . so that one could scarcely tell when the singing was in one place and when in the other'³. It was as a result of this and other troubles that the New Minster was moved to Hyde outside the North Gate of the city in 1110⁴.
- (8) An important deed in the cathedral library, dated 1340, gives the boundaries of the *coemiterium* of the cathedral⁵. Without going into detail, the cemetery appears to have comprised the whole of the present town burial ground north and west of the cathedral, and the land to the north of it, south of the High Street, between St. Lawrence's and St. Maurice's churches, bounded on the west by Great Minster Street, and probably on the east by Ethelwold's Lockburn on the line along Colebrook Street. As the site of the Square was approximately occupied by the Conqueror's Palace, it seems reasonable to think of the New Minster as to the east of it, east of Market Street (the old Thomasgate) and south of St. Maurice's church, i.e., due north of the present cathedral (fig. 1).
- (9) Rudborne and John of Exeter make the important statement that St. Swithun's original burial place was marked by a chapel which was still to be seen in the Middle Ages outside the north door of the nave of the church⁶.
- (11) Finally, an 18th century map, and Buck's view of the cathedral, show a wall running east-west, just north of the present north transept. It has been suggested that this may have marked the southern boundary of the New Minster precinct⁷.

¹ *Liber Monasterii de Hyda*, Rolls Series, vol. 45 (1866), xli.

² William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum*, R.S., vol. 52 (1870), 174: 'Et erant ambae ecclesiae sic vicinae parietibus contiguus ut voces canentium aliae obstreperent aliis'.

³ Dugdale, *Mon.* (1819), vol. II, 436: 'erant autem ambo ecclesiae parietibus contiguus innexae . . . ita siquidem unum monasterium alteri memoratur esse contiguum, quod vix unius hominis transitus inter ipsorum fundamenta haberetur. In uno enim choro clare resultabat quod fratres psallebant in alio. Ita quod una voces canentium vocibus constreperint aliorum, classico nihilominus campanarum maximam generante confusionem. Ita quod vix discerni poterat quando in uno loco, et quando in alio psallebatur'.

⁴ *Annales de Wintonia, Anglia Sacra*, I, 297: 'Anno MCX. Fecit Rex transponere Monasterium S. Grimbaldi de atrio Episcopalis Ecclesiae in

suburbium civitatis ad aquilonem cum Monachis & Reliquis'.

⁵ Woodward, *History of Winchester* (c.1860), 143.

⁶ Rudborne, 203: 'Jam vero valefacturus cadaver suum extra ecclesiam praecepit tumulari ubi postea constructa est modica capella, quae adhuc cernitur ad boreale ostium navis ecclesiae'.

John of Exeter, f. 4 (quoted Willis, 6, note n: also C.C.C.C. MS. 110, f. 273): 'S. Swithunus . . . sepultus est extra portam borealem navis ecclesie qui locus tunc indecens erat, modo vero ibidem quam pulchra capella in ejus honore constructa est'.

Both passages appear to refer to a chapel which in the Middle Ages was outside the north door of the nave (though some writers have, erroneously, read the second as indicating that St. Swithun was buried to the north, rather than to the west, of the Saxon Old Minster).

⁷ T. D. Atkinson, *Proc. Hants. Field Club*, vol. XV (1943).

ALTERNATIVE SITES

In the light of the above, and of such scanty remains as may possibly exist, the following have been suggested as possible sites for the Old Minster.

(a) *North of the present nave.* Rudborne's reference to the medieval chapel of St. Swithun, north of the medieval cathedral nave, marking Swithun's original burial, have led a number of writers, starting with the late 18th century authority Milner¹, to identify as the site of that chapel the sunken space which is still to be seen just north of the blocked door of the last bay of the north nave aisle (see Pl. XIc and fig. 1). If the site of the grave was covered by Ethelwold by a *vestibulum*, the medieval *modica capella* could conceivably have been part of that structure. It was probably this identification which led Dean Kitchin to mark an 'Anglo-Saxon Tower' at this point in the map in his book on Winchester². There might have been room for the whole of the Old Minster alongside the north of the present nave, so that the latter could have been built before the Old Minster was pulled down. Perhaps the Norman north transept straddled the eastern portion of the Old Minster, as Willis seems to have thought³.

(b) *North of the choir.* In the last century, Dean Kitchin cleared the modern tombstones from the graveyard on the north side of the cathedral. At this time, he carried out excavations which revealed the remains of a considerable building north of the choir and the north transept (fig. 1). This was a rectangular structure, the south-west corner being some 25 ft. north of the centre of the north wall of the north transept. From that point the building ran 157 ft. eastwards and 55 ft. northwards. The walls were about 2 ft. thick, and in the south-west angle was a small enclosure about 5½ ft. square. There were traces of internal buttresses. The masonry was described as 'very early work, very different from the earliest Norman work in the cathedral'⁴.

It is unfortunate that the records of this important excavation are so scanty. If the building as recorded was a church, it seems to have been without porticus—but it may, of course, have been a secular monastic building.

(c) *South of the cathedral.* During the building of the new buttresses on the south side of the cathedral nave and the great work of underpinning, around 1910, a wall was discovered running parallel to the nave and curving sharply inwards at its western extremity. The wall is described in the notebooks of the architect Jackson as being built of flint and mortar, the latter being of good lime and sand and in good condition. The top of the wall was 6 ft. 4 ins. below ground level; in view of this depth, the present Cathedral architect, Mr. Carpenter Turner, thinks that the wall is more likely to have been Roman than Saxon⁵.

Another possible argument in favour of a southerly position for the Old Minster is that the trouble due to the closeness of the New Minster and the Cathedral may have been contemporary with William of Malmesbury, rather than earlier, i.e., that the Norman Cathedral was nearer the New Minster than the Old Minster had been.

(d) *On the axis of the present cathedral.* The remaining possibility is that the Old Minster was on the axis of the present cathedral. Dean Kitchen seems to have thought that a well in the crypt was pre-Norman. Also, it would be tempting to identify with the Old Minster crypt some very ancient-looking walling in the passage which now connects the eastern chapel of Walkelyn's crypt with the Early English crypt under the Lady Chapel built by de Lucy; *prima facie*, this rough flinty rubble looks as if it may have been constructed before Walkelyn's work.

Mr. John Harvey has drawn the writer's attention to the very interesting point that, in the western bay of the Early English Lady Chapel Crypt, there are what could possibly

¹ Milner, *History of Winchester* (1798), Vol. II, 85.

² *Winchester* (1890), 72. Followed in *Winchester* by Win. Coll. Arch. Soc. (1921), Map.

³ Willis, 35.

⁴ Dean Kitchin's excavations are recorded in the *Builder*, 24th April, 1886 (also *Hampshire Chronicle*, 17th April, 1886).

⁵ Sir T. G. Jackson's notebooks in Winchester Cathedral Library, cupboard 9: Jan., 1908, sheet 18, dated 6th March, 1911.

be the lowest courses of lateral apses curving outwards. Mr. Harvey has suggested that this might be an indication of the East End of a triapsidal Saxon church (fig. 9)¹.

But the record of Walkelyn's building of the cathedral and the demolition of the Old Minster implies that the destruction of the Old Minster was not started until after Walkelyn's cathedral was at least well on its way to completion. If the two buildings were on the same axis, there would have been little room both for the Saxon Minster and for Walkelyn's partly completed work, unless either

- (i) the east end of the latter was very incomplete when the demolition of the Old Minster² was started, *or*
- (ii) the Old Minster was well to the east of the present crypt (beyond Ethelwold's Lockburn, which at present runs east of the Lady Chapel). This seems unlikely for, as the Saxon cemetery lay east and south of the Old Minster³, the east end of the latter was probably some distance west of the Lockburn, *or*
- (iii) the Old Minster lay to the west of the present crypt, perhaps partly on the site of the present nave.

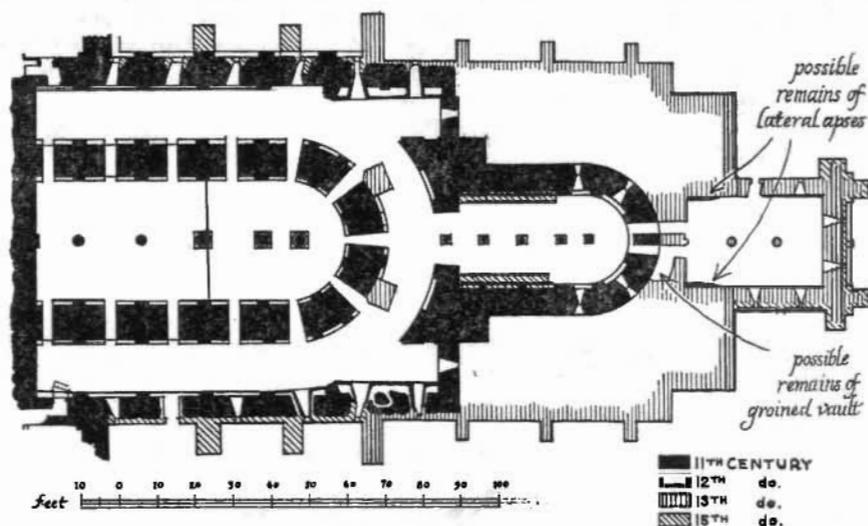


Fig. 9. Winchester Cathedral. The Crypt

THE NEED FOR EXCAVATION

These speculations, and indeed the whole interpretation of the literary sources for the Old Minster lead inexorably to one conclusion—that the carrying out of serious excavations at Winchester ought to be a very high priority for this country. Much significant excavation on early Romanesque sites and buildings on the continent has been carried out since the war, partly as a by-product of bomb-damage; much has been discovered about the development of ground plans. The Winchester site, particularly that

¹ Apart from these possible vestiges in the crypt, there appear to be no remains of the Old Minster extant above ground. A possible exception to this may be the monolithic columns of the chapter-house arches and perhaps some of those in the Norman transept clerestories. It may well be that the chapter-house columns, which are of considerable size, are Saxon rather

than Norman; except for one of 'featherbed' they are of a coarse-grained shelly limestone. The small columns in the Norman clerestory, some monolithic and some not, are mostly of 'featherbed' (which is used in the Saxon pilasters at Headborne Worthy).

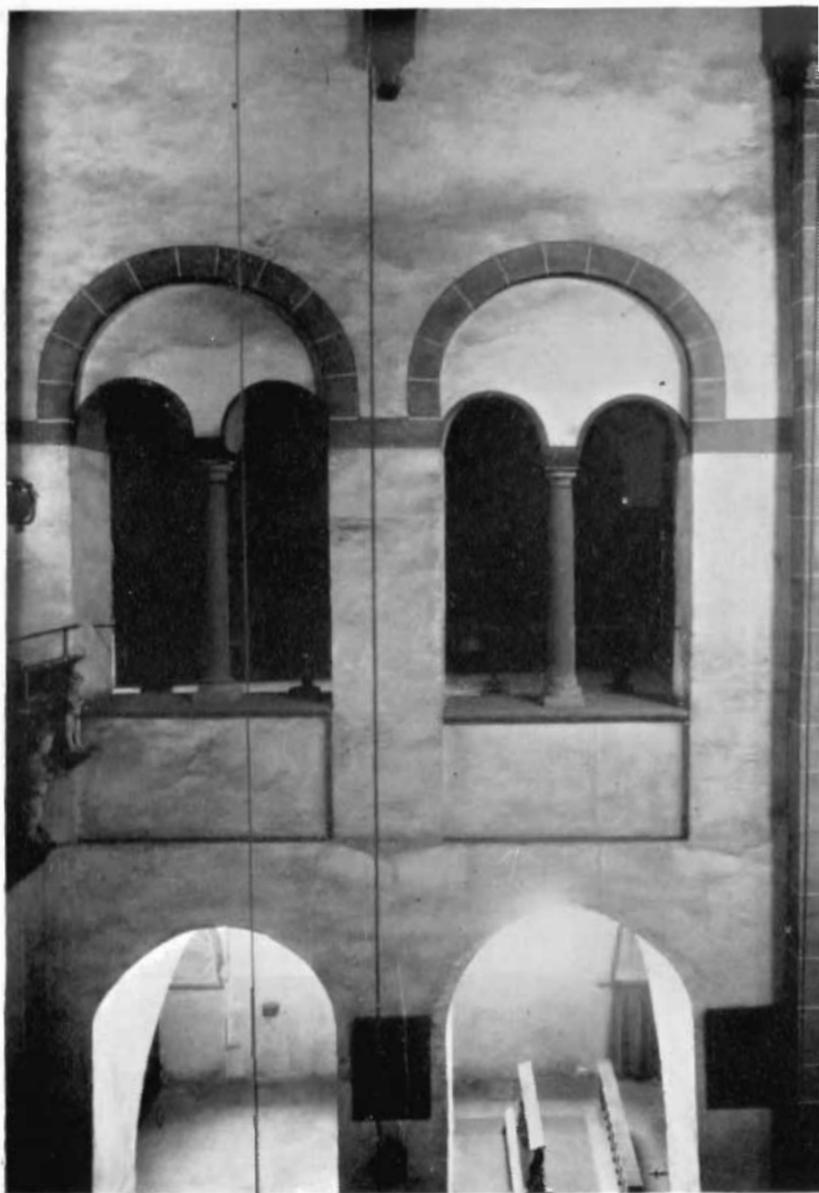
² p. 61, n. 1.

³ p. 39, n. 1 and 2.

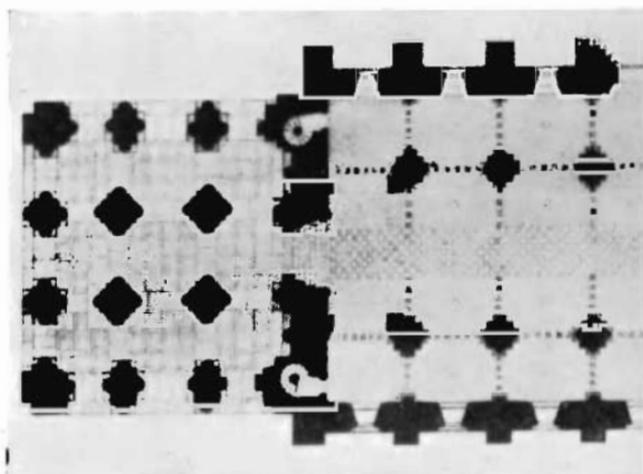
north of the present cathedral extending up to the municipal car park south of St. Maurice's church, could well be claimed to be the most important unexcavated monastic site of Saxon England—containing as it may well do the foundations of both the Old Minster and the New Minster. It also happens, fortunately, that the graveyard north of the cathedral, having been cleared of graves by Dean Kitchin, is not part of the Close proper—with its beautiful, well-mown lawns—but is a fenced-in area of long grass, in which some trial trenches could hardly cause disturbance or concern. It is to be hoped that the means, as well as the will, to carry out this important project will be found.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

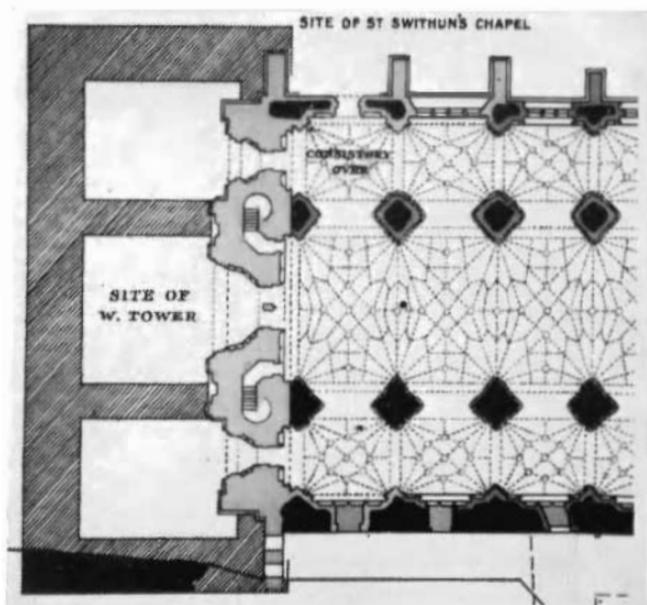
This article could not have been written without much kind help ungrudgingly given by scholars in a number of fields both in this country and in Germany. Among others, I have to thank Mr. T. A. M. Bishop, M. Jean Bony, Professor M. L. Clarke, Mr. John Harvey, Mr. Christopher Hohler, Mr. R. W. Hunt, Mr. Harold Johnson, Mr. A. R. Saunders, Professor Francis Wormald and Dr. George Zarnecki; I am particularly grateful for the help and encouragement which I have received from Mr. Raleigh Radford. In Germany, I should like to thank Dr. Günther Bandmann, Dr. Adolf Schmidt, Dr. Hans Thummler, Dr. Albert Verbeek, and also Dr. Alste Horn and Professor Rosemann, whose help enabled this question to be discussed at the sixth German *Kunsthistorikertag* in Essen in August, 1956 (*Kunstchronik*, 9. Jahr, Heft 10, Oct. 1956, 282-3).



A. Werden. Interior of westwork looking north
(By kind permission of Bildarchiv Foto Marburg)



B. Fleury (St. Benoit). Ground plan of 11th century Western structure



C. Winchester. Ground plan of west end showing foundations of Norman Western structure

(from *V. C. H. Hants, V*)



A. The site from the east, across the River Derwent



B. The Hall, Phase II. North side of entry
HUTTONS AMBO, YORKSHIRE