

WINCHESTER STUDIES 4.ii
THE ANGLO-SAXON MINSTERS
OF WINCHESTER

THE CULT OF ST SWITHUN

MICHAEL LAPIDGE

*With contributions by
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*Published for
the Winchester Excavations Committee*



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GENERAL EDITOR'S PREFACE

ROGER QUIRK's landmark paper on 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century' appeared in 1959 in Volume 114 (for 1957) of the *Archaeological Journal*. In the great tradition of Arthur Waley and F. J. E. Raby, Quirk combined a distinguished career in the Civil Service with in his case a devotion to the study of Anglo-Saxon Winchester. In this, the first of two papers dealing with the Old and New Minsters, he set out to explore the written sources for all that might be learnt about the physical reality of the Anglo-Saxon cathedral church, a building totally lost, of which even the site was then uncertain.

Roger Quirk based his study on the two principal accounts of Anglo-Saxon Winchester, Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni* and Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*. Neither text was then in a modern edition with commentary and notes. Lantfred's *Translatio* had not even been printed in its entirety. Comparison between the two was difficult and reference awkward. Anyone reading 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century' will see at once the difficulties facing Quirk in the 1950s.

Supported by his wife Paula, Roger sought to place his view of the Old Minster as revealed by analysis of the written sources in the context of the then current understanding of European architecture in early medieval France and Germany. It was a remarkable achievement, the scale of which will be made clear in Winchester Studies 4.i, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, to which *The Cult of St Swithun* is the companion. In 1961 Roger published a paper on the 'Winchester New Minster and its Tenth-Century Tower' (*Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, 3rd ser., vol. 24), but his early death in 1964 brought an end to these studies.

Following the start of excavations in 1961 and the identification of the sites of the Old and New Minsters in 1962-3, the need for scholarly modern editions of the two basic texts became an obvious and urgent need. By this time the Winchester Excavations Committee had entered through the good agency of Professor Urban Tigner Holmes into a fruitful seven-year collaboration with the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, in association with Duke University and with North Carolina State University at Raleigh. It was the basis of our agreement that the American universities would send students to take part in the excavations each year and that faculty members would share in the academic work. This was the context in which I invited Professor Daniel J. Sheerin to undertake an edition of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica*, since this was of obvious immediate importance for the architectural study of Old Minster. Dan agreed and rapidly produced a text and translation of Wulfstan's *Epistola specialis*, together with an outline commentary which was of crucial value for the on-going archaeological investigations. He also demolished the value of Vigilantius's purported account of the pre-conquest church, now seen as 'a late medieval pseudo-history' (see below, p. 177). It was at about this point that Michael Lapidge contacted Dan Sheerin: Michael Lapidge describes what happened next in his Preface. Working with Dan Sheerin was always a great pleasure for Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle and for me: we remain grateful to him for his generous collaboration and substantial contributions to our understanding of Old Minster in the years when the excavations were still in progress and immediately afterwards.

Our work has been immeasurably enhanced by our long collaboration with Michael Lapidge. He provided us years ago with texts, translations, and burgeoning commentary on both Lantfred and Wulfstan, and both have been invaluable in the course of our own work. The three volumes of *Winchester Studies* 4 will form an entity, but this is not to say that Birthe and I and Michael agree on every point of the architectural interpretation of the text of Wulfstan's *Epistola specialis*. The degree of agreement has been very encouraging and the disagreements always stimulating, but no attempt has been made to smooth over complex passages to produce a seamless garment. The points of agreement and disagreement are signalled here and in our *Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester* to allow readers to make up their own minds on what are complicated and difficult problems of meaning and emphasis.

The Winchester Excavations Committee is most grateful to Professor Lapidge for his devoted pilgrimage over a period of more than thirty years through the texts on St Swithun. Swithun himself is often described as a 'pillar': this study of his cult provides a pillar, a very substantial pillar, in our understanding of Anglo-Saxon and later liturgy and piety and not least in our comprehension of the great church which honoured his grave and preserved his memory.

Martin Biddle
17 March 2003

General Editor's Preface to the Reprinted and Open Access Edition

Since 2021, volumes in the *Winchester Studies* series have been made available in facsimile of the original out-of-print editions. Developments in digital technologies now enable academic publishing to reach wider audiences with options to read online or print on demand. From the earliest days of the development of technology to enable online publication, we have been exploring options for digitising our volumes, while maintaining close attention to the quality of reproduction, especially of our large scale and complex illustrations. Those familiar with our volumes will understand and appreciate the care that has been taken with the illustrations. The team at Archaeopress have ensured important facets like scale and pagination are maintained throughout each volume. It is only through the expertise, dedication, and enthusiasm of Archaeopress and their team that this attention to detail and accuracy in digital reproduction has been achieved, and for that we are very grateful.

Martin Biddle
March 2023

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

THE present volume represents the results of some thirty years' work on the hagiography and cult of St Swithun. My interest in Anglo-Latin literature, and particularly in some unusual poems (which I was subsequently able to attribute to the school of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester), led me in July 1971, in the second week of that month—perhaps even on 15 July, though I did not keep a diary of my trips to libraries—to the British Museum, as it then was, and in particular to MS Royal 15. C. VII, and to its text of Lantfred's *Translatio et miracula S. Swithuni*. It was clear that the Royal manuscript offered a better text than any in print, and I set to work transcribing it, with (I suppose) the aim of publishing an edition and commentary. As I set out to work on this important Winchester source, I learned perforce of the Biddles' excavations at Winchester, and at the Old Minster in particular, and of the proposed series of Winchester Studies which was to result from it; and I also learned from Martin Biddle that a classics professor then at the University of Delaware, Daniel J. Sheerin, was at work on a new edition of Wulfstan's *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*, a text which (as could quickly be established) was a verse contrafactum of Lantfred's prose text and inextricably linked with it. I wrote to Dan Sheerin, I think in 1974, marking out what I thought was my territory and making clear, no doubt abrasively, my intention of editing the Lantfred text; he replied courteously, with characteristic generosity, offering to make available to me everything he had done to date on Wulfstan, so that our work could proceed in parallel. Through further correspondence I came to learn of his vast project of assembling all the pre-Reformation source-material bearing on the cult of St Swithun—historical, liturgical, art-historical, etc.—which was to be published in his volume in the Winchester Studies series. In 1976, after consultation with Martin Biddle, Dan Sheerin generously invited me to contribute my Lantfred edition to the Swithun volume; and I readily agreed. In spite of our mutual enthusiasm for St Swithun, however, neither of us made much progress; and Dan subsequently decided, in April 1977, for personal and understandable reasons, to abandon the project altogether. It was shortly thereafter, in March 1978, that Martin Biddle invited me to take over responsibility for the volume as Dan Sheerin had conceived it, now to be entitled *The Cult of St Swithun*. I naively agreed. It was at this point (July 1978) that Dan sent to me, in one great carton, the entire results of his ten years' research on Swithun materials—transcriptions, references, photocopies. (Neither of us was then to know that, late in our academic careers, we would both end up at the University of Notre Dame, with offices a few feet from each other.) My first duty, therefore, is to acknowledge Dan Sheerin's generosity: without his carton of materials, and his preliminary mapping of the terrain, the present volume would have taken even more years than it has.

I have also incurred many other debts during the past thirty years. Among my Cambridge colleagues, Simon Keynes has given help and support in ways too numerous to recall: but I think it would be fair to say that there is not a historical problem arising from the Swithun materials which I have not discussed with him, and had the benefit of his advice, at some point during our long friendship. I have also had excellent guidance on the texts printed here: from Michael Winterbottom on Lantfred, Neil Wright on Wulfstan, Mechthild Gretsch on Ælfric, Richard

Beadle, Jill Mann and Tony Edwards on *The South English Legendary*, and Richard Hamer on *The Gilte Legende*. David Chadd and Susan Rankin helped with liturgy and music, and Máire Ní Mhaonaigh and Pádraig Ó Riain with Irish liturgy and history. Three good friends did not live to see the publication of the volume, but their help was invaluable in many ways: Peter Clemoes, Jimmy Cross and Bob Dushman. I also benefited from advice on individual points from numerous friends and colleagues: James Carley, John Crook, David Dumville, Helmut Gneuss, Michael Gullick, Catherine Hills, Leslie Lockett, Rosalind Love, Nigel Morgan, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, Andy Orchard, Giovanni Orlandi, Katharine Scarfe Beckett, Richard Sharpe, Rebecca Stephenson, Rod Thomson, Gordon Whatley, and Patrick Wormald. Throughout the production of this volume, Anne Joshua and her colleagues at Joshua Associates have been unfailingly attentive to every kind of detail. Finally, Birthe Kjølbje-Biddle and Martin Biddle have been exceedingly generous with help and advice for more than twenty-five years, and that the volume has finally reached completion owes more than I can say to their enduring enthusiasm for the project.

Michael Lapidge
15 August 2001

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- II Lantfred, *Translatio*, the beginning of the Prefatory Letter: London, BL, Royal MS 15. C. VII, fo. 2r
- III Lantfred, *Translatio*, the end of the Preface and the beginning of c. 1: London, BL, Royal MS 15. C. VII, fo. 6r
- IV Wulfstan, *Narratio, Epistola specialis*, lines 47-70; London, BL, Royal MS 15. C. VII, fo. 52r
- V Wulfstan, *Narratio, Epistola specialis*, lines 37-72; Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley Auct. F. 2. 14, fo. 1v
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AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
'Abingdon Glossary'	a Latin—Old English glossary preserved in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, M. 16. 2 + London, BL, Add. 32246; partly ptd (from a transcript by Junius) in WW i, cols. 104–91
<i>Acta SS.</i>	<i>Acta Sanctorum</i> , ed. J. Bolland <i>et al.</i> (Antwerp, 1643–)
<i>Ælfric, Glossary</i>	<i>Ælfrics Grammatik und Glossar</i> , ed. J. Zupitza, 3rd edn. rev. H. Gneuss (Hildesheim, 2001), pp. 297–322
—, <i>CH</i> i	—, the First Series of <i>Catholic Homilies</i> , ed. P. Clemoes, <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The First Series. Text</i> , EETS s.s. xvii (London, 1997)
—, <i>CH</i> ii	—, the Second Series of <i>Catholic Homilies</i> , ed. M. Godden, <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies. The Second Series. Text</i> , EETS s.s. v (London, 1979)
—, <i>CH</i> iii	M. Godden, <i>Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: Introduction, Commentary and Glossary</i> , EETS s.s. xviii (Oxford, 2000)
—, <i>Hom. Supp.</i>	<i>Homilies of Ælfric. A Supplementary Collection</i> , ed. J. C. Pope, 2 vols., EETS o.s. cclix–cclx (London, 1967–8)
—, <i>LS</i>	<i>Ælfric's Lives of Saints</i> , ed. W. W. Skeat, 4 vols., EETS o.s. lxxvi, lxxxii, xciv, cxiv (London, 1881–1900; repr. as two vols., 1966)
—, <i>LME</i>	<i>Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham</i> , ed. C. A. Jones, CSASE xxiv (Cambridge, 1998)
AH	<i>Analecta Hymnica Medii Aevi</i> , ed. G. M. Dreves and C. Blume, 55 vols. (Leipzig, 1886–1922)
<i>Aldhelm, CdV</i>	<i>Aldhelm, Carmen de uirginitate</i> , ed. R. Ehwald, MGH, AA xv (Berlin, 1919), 350–471
—, <i>prDV</i>	—, prose <i>De uirginitate</i> , ed. Ehwald, <i>ibid.</i> pp. 228–323
—, <i>Enigm.</i>	—, <i>Enigmata</i> , ed. Ehwald, <i>ibid.</i> pp. 97–149
<i>Ann. Wint.</i>	'Annales Monasterii de Wintonia', in <i>Annales Monastici</i> II, ed. H. R. Luard, RS (London, 1865), pp. 3–79
<i>Antj</i>	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
<i>Arator, HA</i>	<i>Arator, Historia apostolica</i> , ed. A. P. McKinlay, CSEL lxxii (Vienna, 1951)
<i>Arch</i>	<i>Archaeologia</i>
<i>ArchJ</i>	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
<i>ASC</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon Chronicle</i> : ed. C. Plummer and J. Earle, <i>Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford, 1892–9); trans. D. Whitelock <i>et al.</i> , <i>The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. A Revised Translation</i> (London, 1961)
<i>ASE</i>	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
<i>ASNSL</i>	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</i>

- ASPR The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records, ed. G. P. Krapp and E. V. K. Dobbie, 6 vols. (New York, 1931-42)
- ASSAH *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*
- BAR British Archaeological Reports (Oxford)
- BCS W. de G. Birch, *Cartularium Saxonicum*, 3 vols. and index (London, 1885-93)
- Bede, *HE* Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*: ed. C. Plummer, *Venerabilis Bedae Opera Historica*, 2 vols. (Oxford, 1896); ed. B. Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors (OMT, 1969)
- , *VCM* Bede, *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*: ed. W. Jaeger, *Bedas metrische Vita sancti Cuthberti*, Palaestra cxcviii (Leipzig, 1935)
- Berschin, *Biographie* W. Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil in lateinischen Mittelalter*, 4 vols. in 5 (Stuttgart, 1986-2001)
- BHL [Bollandists], *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 2 vols. (1899-1901), with supplements (1911, 1986)
- Biddle, 'Felix urbs Winthonia' M. Biddle, 'Felix urbs Winthonia: Winchester in the Age of Monastic Reform', in *Tenth-Century Studies*, pp. 123-40
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- BL British Library (London)
- BM Bibliothèque municipale
- BNF Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris)
- Brooks, *Canterbury* N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (Leicester, 1984)
- BTL CETEDOC Bibliotheca Teubneriana Latina [electronic database] (Turnhout, 1998)
- Caelius Sedulius, *CP* Caelius Sedulius, *Carmen paschale*, ed. J. Huemer, CSEL x (Vienna, 1885), 1-146
- Campbell, *OEG* A. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* (Oxford, 1959)
- CCCC Cambridge, Corpus Christi College
- CCM Corpus consuetudinum monasticarum (Siegburg)
- CCSL Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina (Turnhout)
- CGL *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*, ed. G. Goetz, 7 vols. (Leipzig, 1888-1923)
- Chron. Abingdon* *Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon*, ed. J. Stevenson, 2 vols., RS (London, 1858)
- CLCLT4 CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts [electronic database] (Turnhout, 2000)
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- CSASE Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England (Cambridge)
- CSEL Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum (Vienna)
- DACL *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*, ed. F. Cabrol and H. Leclercq, 15 vols. in 30 (Paris, 1907-53)
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- DNB *The Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. Leslie Stephen, 63 vols. (London, 1885-1900)
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- EEMF Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile (Copenhagen)
- EETS Early English Text Society
- os — original series
- ss — supplementary series
- EHD i, ii *English Historical Documents. I. c.500-1042*, ed. D. Whitelock, 2nd edn. (London, 1979)[i]; *English Historical Documents. II. 1042-1189*, ed. D. C. Douglas (London, 1953)[ii]
- EHR *English Historical Review*
- Ekwall, *DEPN* E. Ekwall, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*, 4th edn. (Oxford, 1960)
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- GiL *The Gilte Legende*
- Gneuss, *Handlist* H. Gneuss, *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Revised Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to A.D. 1100* (Tempe, AZ, 2001)
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- HBS* Henry Bradshaw Society Publications
- HCY* *Historians of the Church of York*, ed. J. Raine, 3 vols., RS (London, 1879–94)
- Heads* *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, 940–1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke and V. C. M. London, 2nd edn. (Cambridge, 2001)
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- JEH* *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
- JW* *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, ed. R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, 2 vols. (OMT, 1995–8)
- KCD* J. M. Kemble, *Codex Diplomaticus Aevi Saxonici*, 6 vols. (London, 1839–48)
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ME	Middle English
MED	<i>Middle English Dictionary</i> , ed. H. Kurath, S. M. Kuhn <i>et al.</i> (Ann Arbor, MI, 1956-)
MGH	Monumenta Germaniae Historica
—, AA	—, Auctores Antiquissimi
—, Epist.	—, Epistolae
—, PLAC	—, Poetae Latini Aevi Carolini
—, SS	—, Scriptores (in folio)
—, SS rer. Germ.	—, Scriptores rerum Germanicarum
MLatWb	<i>Mittellateinisches Wörterbuch</i>
MS	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i>
New Grove	<i>The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians</i> , ed. S. Sadie, 20 vols. (London, 1980)
NLA	C. Horstman, <i>Nova Legenda Anglie</i> , 2 vols. (Oxford, 1901)
O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates, ii'	M. A. O'Donovan, 'An interim revision of episcopal dates for the province of Canterbury, 850-950: part ii', <i>ASE</i> ii (1973), 91-113
OE	Old English
OED	<i>The Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OLD	<i>Oxford Latin Dictionary</i> , ed. P. W. G. Glare <i>et al.</i> (Oxford, 1968-82)
OMT	Oxford Medieval Texts
Palazzo, <i>Liturgical Books</i>	E. Palazzo, <i>A History of Liturgical Books from the Beginning to the Thirteenth Century</i> , trans. M. Beaumont (Collegeville, MN, 1998)
PBA	<i>Proceedings of the British Academy</i>
Pevsner	N. Pevsner, <i>The Buildings of England</i> , 30 vols. (Harmondsworth, 1951-76)
PL	Patrologia Latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. (Paris, 1844-64)
Planchart, <i>Repertory</i>	A. E. Planchart, <i>The Repertory of Tropes at Winchester</i> , 2 vols. (Princeton, NJ, 1977)
PLD	Patrologia Latina Database
Quirk, OM	R. N. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral in the tenth century', <i>ArchJ</i> cxiv (1957), 28-68
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
Reg. conc.	<i>Regularis concordia</i> : ed. T. Symons (London, 1953); ed. T. Symons and S. Spath, CCM vii/3, 61-147; ed. L. Kornexl, <i>Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion</i> (Munich, 1993)
Regesta i, ii	<i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154</i> . I. <i>Regesta Willelmi Conquestoris et Willelmi Rufi 1066-1100</i> , ed. H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1913) [i]; <i>Regesta Regum Anglo-Anglo-Normannorum</i> . II. <i>Regesta Henrici Primi</i> , ed. C. Johnson, H. A. Crone, and H. W. C. Davis (Oxford, 1956) [ii]

- Royal Catalogue* G. F. Warner and J. P. Gilson, *British Museum Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Old Royal and King's Collections*, 4 vols. (London, 1921)
- RS Rolls Series (London)
- S P. H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: an Annotated List and Bibliography* (London, 1968) [cited by item no.]
- S.C. *A Summary Catalogue of Western Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library at Oxford*, ed. R. W. Hunt, F. Madan, H. H. E. Craster et al., 7 vols. (Oxford, 1953)
- SCBI Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles
- Searle, *Onomasticon* W. G. Searle, *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum* (Cambridge, 1897)
- SEL *The South English Legendary*
- Settimane* *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* (Spoleto)
- Sharpe, *Handlist* R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997)
- STC *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland and Ireland, and of English Books Printed Abroad, 1475-1600*, ed. A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave, rev. K. Pantzer et al. (London, 1976-)
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- Taylor and Taylor, *AS Architecture* H. M. and J. Taylor, *Anglo-Saxon Architecture*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, 1965-78)
- Tenth-Century Studies* *Tenth-Century Studies*, ed. D. Parsons (Chichester, 1975)
- Thiel, *Hebräischkenntnisse* M. Thiel, *Grundlagen und Gestalt der Hebräischkenntnisse des frühen Mittelalters* (Spoleto, 1973)
- TLL *Thesaurus Linguae Latinae* (Munich, 1896-)
- VCH *Victoria County History* (London, 1900-75; Oxford, 1976-)
- VIII Interim* [see above, *I Interim*]: *AntJ* 1 (1970), 277-326
- Wharton, *Anglia Sacra* *Anglia Sacra*, ed. H. Wharton, 2 vols. (London, 1691)
- WIC H. Walther, *Initia Carminum ac Versuum Medii Aevi Posterioris Latinorum*, 2nd edn. (Göttingen, 1969)
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- WMalm, GP William of Malmesbury, *Gesta pontificum*, ed. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, RS (London, 1870)
- , GR William of Malmesbury, *Gesta regum Anglorum*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson, and M. Winterbottom, 2 vols. (OMT, 1998-9)
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- , Ep. gen. —, 'Epistola generalis (ad monachos Veteris Coenobii)': below, pp. 398-400
- , Praef. Praefatio to the *Narratio*: below, pp. 400-10
- , *Narratio* —, *Narratio metrica de S. Swithuno*: below, pp. 410-551
- , *Breuiiloquium*SS —, *Breuiiloquium de omnibus sanctis*: ed. Dolbeau, 'Le *Breuiiloquium*'
- , *Vita S. Æthelwoldi* —, *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, ed. Lapidge and Winterbottom, *Wulfstan*, pp. 1-69
- WS Winchester Studies, ed. M. Biddle (Oxford)
- WS 4.i Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjølbye-Biddle, *The Anglo-Saxon Minsters of Winchester*, Winchester Studies 4.i (Oxford, forthcoming). References below are to Parts, Chapters, Sections, and Sub-sections (e.g. Part II, Chapter VIII.1.iii)
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