

PROCEEDINGS  
OF THE  
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND  
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY,  
1874, PART II.

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PAPERS, ETC.

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King Ine.

PART II.

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WE have this day, as you have already heard, once more crossed our proper borders and ventured to hold a meeting beyond the limits of our own shire. We did so at Bristol some years back; we are now again doing so at Sherborne. I trust that this invasion on our part needs no apology: but, if it be thought that any one is to blame in the matter, I shall venture to lay that blame on shoulders which are surely well able to bear it. I shall lay it on the shoulders of a common sovereign and a common hero, a worthy alike of the shire which we have left behind and of the shire which we have taken upon ourselves to enter. If we have forced our way into the land of the Dorsetas, it is King Ine who has led us thither. The most famous among the early Kings of the West-Saxons cannot be looked on as a stranger in any part of his

kingdom, but he is one in whom the two shires of Somerset and Dorset have at once a special and a common interest. He is equally at home at Sherborne, at Taunton, and at Glastonbury; it is only with fear and trembling that I venture to add, perhaps at Wells also. We cannot trace out his history in its fulness without visiting all the places with which his name is thus specially connected. And in whichever shire we begin our pilgrimage to his many shrines, we must necessarily pass out of one shire into the other. At Taunton we see him as the conqueror, the military founder, the man who enlarged the English land at the expense of the Briton, and who guarded his conquest by the great border-fortress which was the place of our meeting two years back. But, if at Taunton we see the man who made the Briton yield to the West-Saxon, we see at Glastonbury the man who could deal with the conquered as fellow-men and fellow-Christians, who could rear up again the holy places of the fallen nation, and could bid the minster of Glastonbury stand as the common possession and sanctuary of both races. At Wells we can only track him by a feebler light; our evidence is slight and doubtful; yet there still are some signs which make it not unlikely that some humbler forerunner of the bishoprick of Saint Andrew, some lowlier foundation on the same site, may have led Eadward the Unconquered to place his great ecclesiastical creation on the spot which tradition has always connected with Ine's name. But here at Sherborne we stand on firmer ground; our great ecclesiastical attraction here is the church which, though fallen from its ancient rank, still preserves the memory of Ine's greatest ecclesiastical work. In this aspect, we of Wells and of Somerset at large are at Sherborne children visiting their parent, colonists visiting

their metropolis. Our diocese of Wells is a fragment cut off from the older diocese of Sherborne. Our church of Wells is the daughter of the elder church of Sherborne, as the church of Sherborne is the daughter of the yet more venerable church of imperial Winchester. And the church and bishoprick of Sherborne, the church of Ealdhelm and his successors, was the creation of Ine, his greatest ecclesiastical creation. And it is not from Wells and Somerset only that some of us have come to pay our homage to the memory of the common founder, to the memory of the saint to whom he intrusted the care of the flock which he thus parted off from the more ancient folds by the banks of the Thames and the Itchin. Some of us have come to the place where the memory of Ine and Ealdhelm lives among the works of later ages from the place where Ealdhelm's own humbler work still lives on the site of Cenwealh's victory by the Avon. Whencesoever we come, from Wells, from Taunton, from Bradford, from any of the spots which cherish the names of our great King and our great Bishop, we all feel at home in the church where Ine placed Ealdhelm in the pastoral chair which he himself had founded. Without a visit to the place of his greatest ecclesiastical work, our survey of the acts of the founder of Taunton, of the second founder of Glastonbury would be imperfect indeed.

I may add another ground on which I hold that our Society is fully justified in making, a ground on which indeed it would have been much to blame if it had not made, this friendly invasion of the land of another branch of the common West-Saxon stock. We have to deal, not only with the history of the district in past times, but also with the actual memorials in stone and mortar which those past times have left to us. We have, now for many years,

been engaged in a careful, and I hope a not altogether unsystematic, survey of the churches of the county of Somerset, and in a comparison of the special features which distinguish their characteristic local style from the characteristic local styles of other districts. But we could not fully complete this survey without crossing, at two points at least, beyond the borders of our own shire. In an architectural point of view, the county of Somerset is a sort of central ground, where a style which is in some sort common to it with a much wider district reaches, as a rule, its most perfect developement. The peculiar features of the two architectural styles of Somerset, the peculiar form of the earliest Gothic which we see at Glastonbury and Wells, and the peculiar style of late Gothic which we see in the great parish churches of the county, are not absolutely confined to the soil of Somerset. The local style, though it is within the county of Somerset that its peculiar features are most marked, spreads in a more or less perfect form into the neighbouring shires of Dorset, Devon, and Gloucester. It even crosses the Bristol Channel, and shows itself, both in its earlier and in its later form, in the two great churches of South Wales, at Saint David's and at Llandaff, and in not a few smaller buildings of the same district. Indeed it is remarkable that of the later style, the Perpendicular of Somerset, though the great majority of the best examples of a moderate scale are to be found within the county, yet of the three buildings of a higher class which belong to it, two lie beyond the strict limits of the shire. The Perpendicular style of Somerset has produced three churches, two of them minsters in rank, all three minsters in style and scale, of which one only stands within the present bounds of the shire. This one is the abbey church of Bath, the church of Saint Peter, once the

fellow and rival of his elder brother Andrew. Of the other two we visited one when our meeting at Bristol enabled us to examine the church of Saint Mary Redcliff, the one English parish church which may fairly rank with the churches of bishopricks and abbeyes, the one English parish church which can show a stone vaulted roof over every inch of its surface. The third we have come hither to see; it will be to-morrow my privilege to point out the chief features of its style and design. And I think that none who may go thither with me will differ from me in saying that our examination of the churches of Wells and Taunton and Glastonbury and Wrington and Martock and Huish and Lydeard and Bath and Redcliff would have been shorn of one of its most important and attractive features if we had not wound up the series with their sister in architectural style, their parent in old ecclesiastical rank, the church which represents the minster which Ine reared to receive the bishopstool of Sherborne.

Of the subjects suggested by the mention of Ine, those which I did not speak of two years back at Taunton were his laws and his ecclesiastical foundations. These last, or at any rate the greatest among them, will form the proper subject for a discourse on Ine at a Sherborne meeting. But, before I come to my immediate subject, the division of the great West-Saxon diocese and the foundation of the bishoprick of Sherborne, I wish to say a few words to supplement or to correct part of what I said at Taunton. I there pointed out that the common belief that Winfrith or Boniface was born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter, before the end of the seventh century, was quite inconsistent with the views to which I had been led, by following out the indications of the Chronicles in the path

first opened by Dr. Guest. If Winfrith was born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter, it follows that Crediton and Exeter, and, if not the whole of Devonshire, at least its eastern part, were already English at a time when the other line of argument would lead us to think that the West-Saxon arms had not yet passed the borders of Somerset. I remarked that, in the contemporary and nearly contemporary records of Boniface, there is nothing to fix his birth at Crediton or at any particular place. I remarked that in the passage which connects him with Exeter the reading does not seem to be absolutely certain, and that the other places which are mentioned in the early lives of Boniface, though they are all, as we might expect to find them, places in Wessex, are none of them places in Devonshire. I was led into this argument, because it seemed to me that, if we accepted the common view as to the places of the birth and education of Boniface, it would upset my own views, and indeed Dr. Guest's views also, as to the gradual conquest of Somerset, views which certainly seem to me to rest on the only probable interpretation of the Chronicles. Since then I have asked several friends, especially in Devonshire and further to the West, to give me the benefit of anything which they may come across which may throw light upon the matter. As yet, it seems that nothing has been found to throw any light on the early history of Boniface. No one has been able to find any statement as to his birth at Crediton in any writing earlier than some documents of Bishop Grandison in the fourteenth century. Now it is plain what this kind of evidence proves and what it does not prove. A statement of the fourteenth century cannot of itself prove that Boniface was born at Crediton in the seventh century. All that it does prove is that people in the fourteenth century

believed that he was born there. Now this belief is something quite different from what is commonly called "tradition," which mostly means the guesses of some one within the last two or three centuries. The statement that Boniface was born at Crediton is entitled to much more respect than the unlucky guess which says that Ælfred carved the White Horse at Uffington, or than the shameless lie which says that he founded University College. It is a kind of statement which has a strong presumption in its favour. It is a kind of statement which we are ready to believe, if there is no special reason for disbelieving it. But its value goes no further than this. Presumption is not proof; and a statement of this kind must give way, if any, even the slightest, degree of possible evidence, direct or indirect, can be brought against it. I hold then that, if the story of the birth and education of Boniface is inconsistent with Dr. Guest's inferences from the Chronicles, which seem to me to be quite irresistible, I must give up the story of Boniface. But, if any way can be found to reconcile the inferences with the story, clearly so much the better. And I am not sure that such a way has not been found. Perhaps in tracing the westward progress of the West-Saxon arms, my thoughts were too exclusively local. Perhaps I thought too much of the shire in which I live, and not enough of the shire in which we are now met. Perhaps I took too much for granted that the West-Saxon conquerors could only have got into Devonshire by the road by which it is natural for me to get into Devonshire myself. I went to Exeter last year by way of Taunton, Wellington, and Collumpton, in other words by the Bristol and Exeter Railway. But I came away by way of Honiton and Sherborne, that is to say, by London and South-Western. Then it struck me that the way by which

I came out of Devonshire might also be one way to get into it. It struck me, in short, that the English need not have made their way to Exeter by the Bristol and Exeter line, but that they might have gone in by London and South-Western. Now I have never been able to find any direct record of the conquest of Devonshire, or indeed of that of Dorset; for our great Dorset fact is one, not of English victory, but of English defeat, namely the fight of *Mons Badonicus* at Badbury.<sup>1</sup> It may then well be that, while the West-Saxons were fighting their way along the northern coast of the western peninsula, they may have been fighting it with greater speed along the southern coast. In this way we may believe, if we wish, that Exeter was English as early as Taunton, or earlier, without giving up those successive stages in the advance of the West-Saxons from the Avon to Blackdown which we have learned to mark by the successive names of Ceawlin, Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ine.

To what I had to say two years ago, I must now add two arguments, one on each side, which I have come across since I spoke about Ine at Taunton. In favour of the late English occupation of Devonshire there is the fact that, while we have documents belonging to other parts of Wessex of a much earlier date, we have nothing in Devonshire till we come to a grant of Æthelwulf in 854.<sup>2</sup> I do not say that this is proof, because it is so much a matter of accident whether documents belonging to this or that place are preserved. I would not lightly affirm that the documents belonging to Dorset go much further back. I have not gone through the whole Codex Diplomaticus for the purpose; but I do not find any documents belonging to Sherborne till about the same date, though we know that it existed long before.<sup>3</sup> But I do find



a mention of Dorchester of the Dorsætas twenty years earlier in the reign of Ecgberht. And in that document, there is, oddly enough, mention made of three sisters, one of whom went away into Devonshire, where she seems to have had lands.<sup>4</sup> But then the time of Ecgberht is the time when those to whom it seems strange that Crediton and Exeter could have been English in the time of Ine would be inclined to put the conquest of Devonshire. Now arguments of this kind cannot distinctly prove anything either way, because they are purely negative, and may be at any moment set aside by lighting upon an earlier document. Still in many cases they have accumulative force; they form a presumption which is entitled to some respect till positive evidence overthrows it. The other argument which I have come across since we were at Taunton will most likely be thought to have more force the other way. It proves nothing directly as to the date of the English conquest of Devonshire; but it proves something indirectly, by showing that it is almost certain that the city of Exeter was conquered by Englishmen who came from the south or west and not from the north. This of course does not prove that Devonshire, or any part of it, was conquered before Ine's time; but it takes away all *a priori* objection to such a belief, if there is any reason on other grounds to think that it was so. I am speaking of the highly ingenious paper read by Mr. Kerslake at the Exeter meeting of the Archæological Institute.<sup>5</sup> Starting from the well-known statement of William of Malmesbury that, up to the time of Æthelstan, Exeter was inhabited by a twofold population, English and Welsh,<sup>6</sup> Mr. Kerslake shewed that in one part of the city the churches were dedicated to British saints whose names are not often found so far to the east. He thence inferred,

with a probability which almost reaches certainty, that this part of the city, where the holy men of the conquered race are still held in honour, marks the extent of the *Welshry* in the days up to Æthelstan. But these Celtic-sounding parishes all lie on the north side of the city, and one of them, that of Saint David's, stretches a good way to the north into the open country. If therefore the Welsh were allowed to keep part of the city, and that a part lying to the north, it would seem to follow, almost necessarily, that the conquest of Exeter by the English was made from the south. And this would seem to imply that the conquest of at least that part of Devonshire was made by an advance along the southern and not the northern coast, through the land of the Dorsætas and not through the land of the Sumorsætas. The date of such a conquest may be placed in the days of Ine or in the days before Ine. There is nothing to fix it, except the passage in the Life of Boniface which, if the text be correct, speaks of Exeter as his place of education. It would certainly be remarkable if Exeter and this part of Devonshire was conquered so early, and if a distinct Welsh population was nevertheless living in Exeter so long after as the time of Æthelstan. It is remarkable, but it is not impossible. It would be easy to find in Ireland and in Wales instances of places where there was an English and a Welsh or Irish town for a long time together. At Kidwelly, if I rightly remember, there was an Englishry, a Welshry, and a Foreignry. In the first days of the Norman Conquest, there was in some English boroughs, as at Norwich, an English and a French town.<sup>7</sup> And in Germany, where there was both a German and a Wendish or other subject population, the two races often occupied different quarters. Thus, in a town so far west as Lüne-

burg, there is to this day a quarter known as *Wendisches Dorf*. The Welsh quarter at Exeter was doubtless something of the same kind. It was the part of the town which was left to the subject remnant of the old citizens of Isca. They had purchased their lives and their personal freedom by submitting as a community, and they were allowed to keep a distinct existence and some common rights as a subject community. They may not have been quite on the level of Jews in a Jewry;<sup>8</sup> but we may be sure that they were in no sense the equals of the English citizens, and that the municipal government was wholly in the hands of the conquering race. Their legal position would doubtless be the same as that of those other British inhabitants of Wessex of whom we shall have much to say when we come to speak of the laws of Ine. The remarkable thing is the long time during which the distinction must have lasted. A comparison of the laws of Ine with those of Ælfred shows that, in the West-Saxon kingdom at large, the distinction between Englishman and Briton, which was in full force in the days of Ine, had been quite forgotten before the days of Ælfred. Here at Exeter we find it living on in the days of Ælfred's grandson. But we must allow for the working of the corporate spirit, and, above all, for the narrowest of all spirits, the corporate oligarchic spirit. It would be far easier for thegns and churls of British descent, scattered about among English neighbours, to rise one by one to the level of their English neighbours, than it would be for the British community of Exeter to rise, as a body, to the level of the ruling English community.

But I must come back to my proper subject with which this inquiry is only indirectly connected. I have to deal

with Ine, and in this place I have to deal with him mainly in his character of an ecclesiastical founder. I have to deal with him in his character as founder of the see of Sherborne, that is, as divider of the original diocese of Wessex. We must remember what an ancient English bishoprick was. It was, as I have had to explain in more than one shape,<sup>9</sup> not, as in continental lands, the bishoprick of a city but the bishoprick of a tribe or nation. This applies not only to the Teutonic, but also to the Celtic parts of the British Islands. In none of them were the cities predominant in the way in which they were in all the lands which had thoroughly received and kept either Greek or Roman civilization. The Italian, Gaulish, or Spanish Bishop was strictly the Bishop of a city. His home was in the city; his church was in the city; as Christianity prevailed in the towns long before it made much way in the open country, for a long time his flock was mainly in the city. In every case the bounds of his spiritual jurisdiction were marked by the bounds of the temporal jurisdiction of the city in which he dwelled. The titles of Italian, French, and Spanish Bishops are therefore not only now taken from cities, but always have been so. In the British Islands, on the other hand, where in the Celtic parts cities can hardly be said to have existed, and where in the Teutonic parts the storm of the English Conquest had swept most of the cities away, the state of things was quite different. In many parts there were no towns at all; where there were any, they did not hold anything like the position which was held by the continental towns. The whole organization was tribal and not civic. Instead of cities with the districts attached to them, we had, in an ascending scale, the village community, the settlement of the *gens*—the hundred, the settlement of what I am

tempted to call the *curia*—the *gau* or shire, the settlement of the tribe—the kingdom which was formed as tribes under their Ealdormen joined together into a nation under its King. As Christianity was preached, the Apostle who began the conversion of a kingdom became its first Bishop, Bishop of all the people of that kingdom, and, for the most part, taking his title from the people of whom he was Bishop. The bounds of the kingdom were the bounds of the diocese; and thus, both in England and on the continent, the ecclesiastical divisions are our best guide to the ancient temporal divisions. As the diocese of a continental Bishop teaches us the extent of the jurisdiction of a city at the time when its bishoprick was founded, so the bounds of an English diocese, as they stood before modern changes, teach us the extent of an ancient kingdom or principality. I say principality, to meet a case of which there was certainly one instance and most likely more. In Kent, besides the diocese of Canterbury which represents the kingdom of the head Kentish King, there was also the diocese of Rochester which represented the kingdom of the Under-King of the West-Centingas.<sup>10</sup> The English, Scottish, or Irish Bishop then was the Bishop of a people, not of a city. He had his head church, his *bishopstool*, his *bishopsettle*,<sup>11</sup> in some particular place which was his special home; but that place was not always a city; it might be a village, it might be lonely monastery. Down to the Norman Conquest, though the Bishop sometimes took his title from a city, though in some particular cases, as at Rochester, he seems always to have done so, yet the tribal title was decidedly more common. And we have a trace of the custom still, though not in England, yet in some other parts of the British Islands. Since the Norman Conquest the use of the urban title has in England

become universal, but there still are among us Irish, Scottish, and Scandinavian Bishops who bear the titles of districts and islands, as Ossory, Galloway, and Sodor and Man. These are relics of the times when there was also a Bishop of the East-Angles and of the South-Saxons, and when the Bishop of our own land was not called from Wells, or Sherborne, or even Winchester, but from the whole kingdom and people of the West-Saxons.

The conversion of the West-Saxons began in 634. It must be remembered that the West-Saxon Church was not an offshoot from the Kentish Church, but was formed by a distinct mission from the common centre at Rome. The Frank Birinus was sent by Pope Honorius to convert some of the more distant inhabitants of Britain who had not come within reach of the teaching of Augustine and Paulinus. But he found it needless to go to any of the further parts of the island, as he found ample work for his missionary energy in the part of Britain where he first landed. He found the Gewissas or West-Saxons a people so utterly heathen that he thought that there was no need to go further, and he at once began to evangelize those among whom he found himself.<sup>12</sup> Thus began the West-Saxon Church as a separate colony of Rome. Its submission to Canterbury was the natural result of the general working of ecclesiastical affairs in England; but it was perhaps not without some shadowy memory of original independence that Henry of Blois ages afterwards strove to obtain metropolitan rank for the church of Winchester.<sup>13</sup> Be all this as it may, in 635 Birinus baptized the West-Saxon King Cynegils, the next year his son King Cwichelm, and three years later again the Under-king Cuthred the son of Cwichelm. All these were baptized at

Dorchester, and at Dorchester was placed the bishopatool of the new bishoprick, the bishoprick of the West-Saxons.<sup>14</sup> I hope that there is no one here who will stumble at the word Dorchester. Some time ago, when the newspapers contained a sad story that Dorchester dykes were daily perishing, several indignant inhabitants of this shire and of its chief town wrote to say that it must be all a mistake, that none of the antiquities of Dorchester were in any way suffering, or likely to suffer. And what those indignant persons wrote was happily quite true of the only Dorchester which they seemed ever to have heard of, namely Dorchester of the Dorsætas. But unhappily the tale of destruction was quite true of the Dorchester of which it was told, Dorchester by the Thames, Dorchester in Oxfordshire, Dorchester the first seat of the West-Saxon bishoprick. Both Dorchesters, as their name shows, were Roman stations; both have Roman antiquities; but it is only at the Oxfordshire Dorchester, the Dorchester where Cynegils and Cwichelm and Cuthred were baptized, that there is a savage who makes it his chief business to destroy them. And I must warn you again, that, as there are two Dorchesters, so the Oxfordshire Dorchester has been at different times the seat of two distinct bishopricks. The difference has to do with that change in the boundaries of the West-Saxon kingdom of which I spoke at some length in my former paper on Ine. We have now nothing to do with the Mercian bishoprick of Dorchester, with the diocese which stretched from the Thames to the Humber, the diocese whose see was moved by Remigius of Fécamp from Dorchester to Lincoln. We have now to deal with our own spiritual parent, the West-Saxon bishoprick of Dorchester. You must bear in mind that at the time of the West-Saxon conversion Wessex was

still pressing northward rather than westward. It still took in Oxfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire; it did not take in any part of Somerset, except the first conquest of Ceawlin between the Avon and the Axe. For such a kingdom, a kingdom stretching from Southampton to Bedford, you will see that the Oxfordshire Dorchester was a very central point, and therefore a very fit place for the planting of the bishopstool. But there began very early to be a twofold movement, both for dividing this vast diocese, and for setting up the royal city of Winchester as a rival to Dorchester. Even in the time of the second Bishop, the Frankish Agilberht, King Cenwealh for a moment divided the diocese, and placed Wini as a new Bishop at Winchester.<sup>16</sup> I hope there is no one here who needs to be told that Winchester, *Venta Belgarum*, *Caer Gwent*, did not take its name from him.<sup>16</sup> But it was not till the days of Hædde the fifth Bishop that the see was finally moved from Dorchester to Winchester,<sup>17</sup> and it was not till after Hædde's death in 705 that the vast diocese of the West-Saxons was finally divided. Now there is a fragment of a decree, said to have been passed in a synod of Archbishop Theodore about 679, which expressly forbids any change to be made in the boundaries of the diocese during the life-time of Hædde.<sup>18</sup> We understand this feeling at a later time, when a Bishop had become a great temporal lord, when the lessening of the extent of his jurisdiction would have been the lessening of his official income, and when a proposal to dismember his diocese would have had much the same sound in his ears as a proposal to dismember his dominions would have had in the ears of a temporal prince. But here, in the earliest times of Christianity, when a Bishop was still not a baron but a missionary, when one



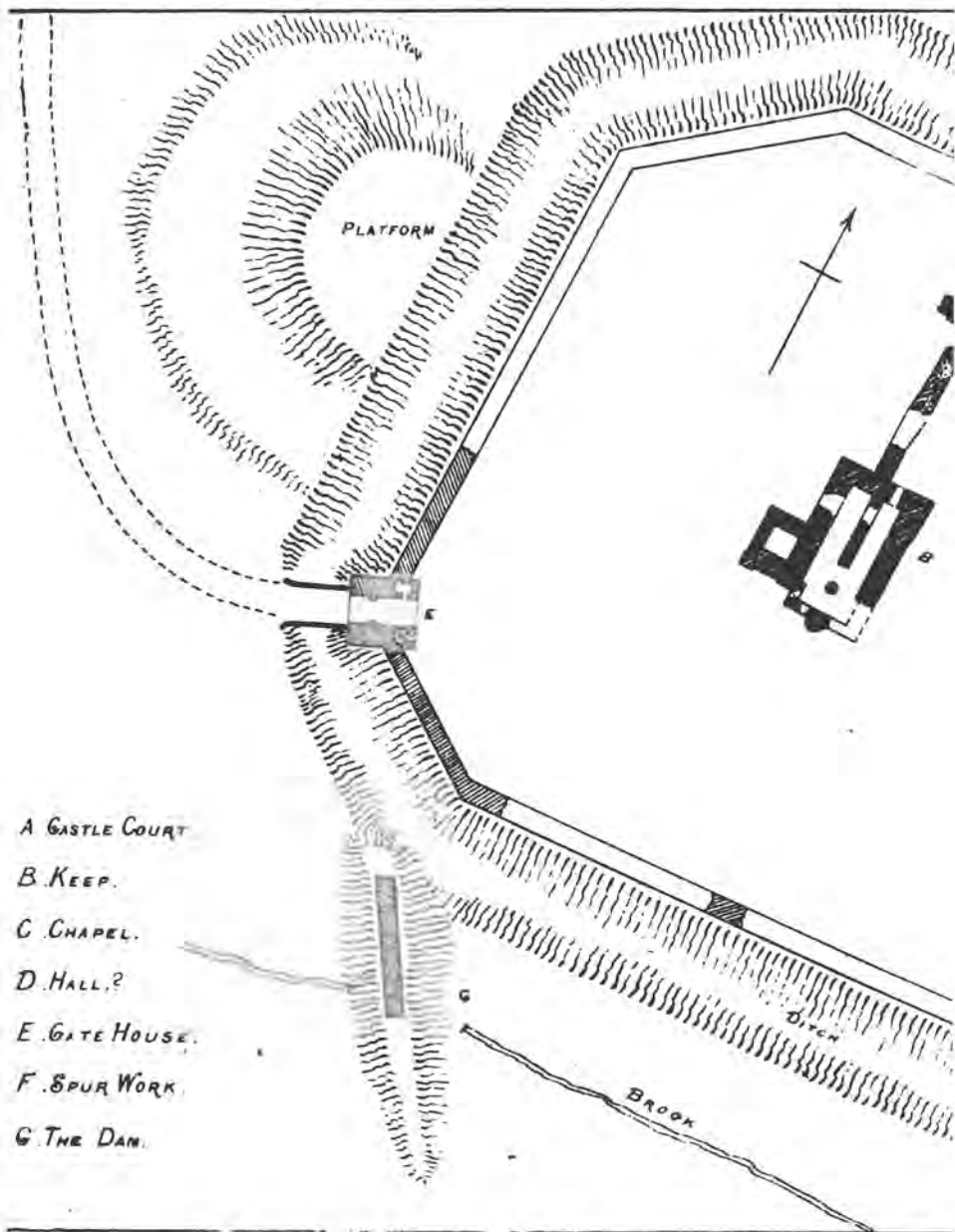
would have thought that he would have been glad to divide his labours with another, we find Agilberht so offended at the proposal to divide his diocese that he throws up his bishoprick altogether in disgust. And, in the fragmentary decree which I have just quoted, the merits of Hædde, his having brought the relics of Saint Birinus to Winchester and so forth, are given as a reason why the diocese should not be divided during his life-time. We have here an early case of the doctrine of vested interests. It was evidently felt that the vast diocese of the West-Saxons ought to be divided; but, out of regard to the rights and the feelings of the actual Bishop, it was decreed that the change should not take place till the next vacancy. This goes on the supposition that the document preserved by Thomas Rudborne and printed by Mr. Haddan is genuine, or at all events that it preserves a record of an actual fact. But it would almost seem from a more trustworthy document, the letter of Waldhere Bishop of London to Archbishop Beorhtwald, also printed by Mr. Haddan, that the question was again raised in the year 704, before Hædde's death. In that letter, written in 705, but before the death of Hædde, Waldhere refers to a decree made the year before for the ordination of West-Saxon Bishops, which cannot mean anything except a division of the West-Saxon diocese.<sup>19</sup> But, as it is clear that this order had not been carried out, it points to exactly the same feeling as the less trustworthy document, to the unwillingness of Hædde to be disturbed in the possession of his diocese in its full extent. When Hædde was dead, the change was at once made; and we have now reached the great ecclesiastical event of the reign of Ine. The diocese whose seat had first been at Dorchester and then at Winchester was

divided into two, and their seats were severally at Winchester and at Sherborne.

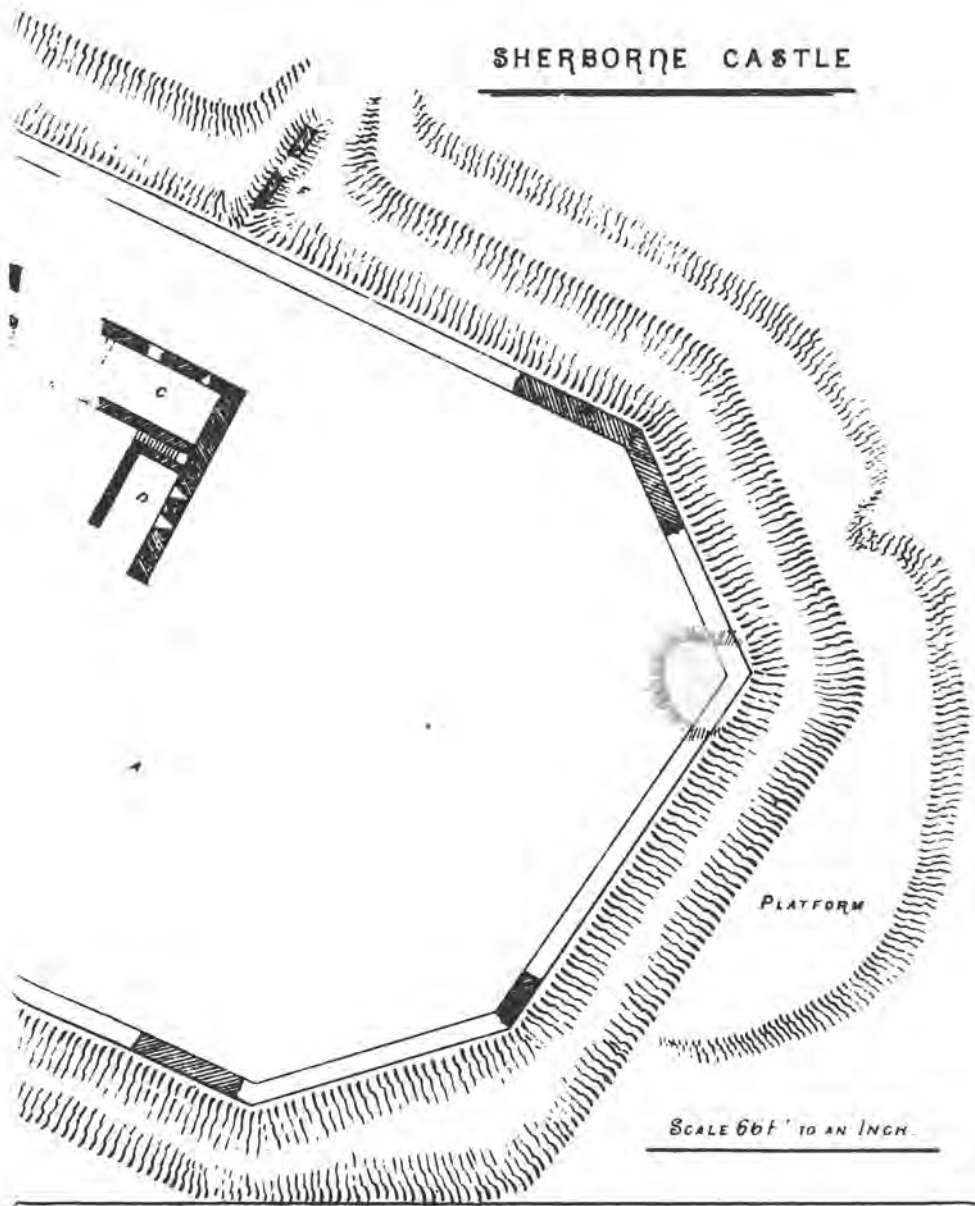
The division was made with the full consent of all powers concerned, ecclesiastical and civil, including that of more than one King.<sup>20</sup> What King or Kings could have been concerned in the matter besides Ine himself? Are we to believe that we have here a reference to the Under-kings of the West-Saxons, the kinsfolk of Ine, acting as the counsellors of their over-lord? His father Cenred we can perhaps hardly fancy as living to so late a stage of his son's reign. Or are we to see in this great ecclesiastical change a combined act of Ine and the Mercian King Æthelred the son of Penda, who, about this time—for the chronology of the Chronicles is here a little confused—gave up his kingdom and became a monk at Bardeney?<sup>21</sup> Æthelred was a friend of Ealdhelm and a benefactor to his monastery of Malmesbury;<sup>22</sup> and, a year or two before the division of the bishoprick, when Ealdhelm had come from Rome with a bull of Pope Sergius granting privileges to Malmesbury and other West-Saxon monasteries, Æthelred is spoken of as joining with Ine in the general joy, and as sharing the presents of relics which Ealdhelm had to distribute on his return from his pilgrimage.<sup>23</sup> The place where the synod was held at which the division was made is not recorded. It was doubtless a synod, not only of Wessex, but of the whole English Church, and in such an assembly there is nothing wonderful if a King beyond the bounds of Wessex, especially a King of such an ecclesiastical turn, should be allowed to take a part. In short, the share of Æthelred in the division of the West-Saxon diocese might answer to the share of Oswald in its foundation. Or again, we must remember that no part of

our early history is more utterly shrouded in darkness than the details of the process by which the West-Saxons lost their ancient dominion north of the Thames. It may well be that some part of the original diocese of Birinus had already passed into Mercian hands. Æthelred may therefore have claimed a right to be consulted as to a diocese part of which lay within his own dominions. And this may have been the time when some of the more distant parts of the diocese were removed from their allegiance to Winchester. Be all this as it may, at once on Hædde's death the division took place; the whole kingdom of the West-Saxons was declared to be too great for the care of a single Bishop. Winchester remained the episcopal see of the eastern, the elder part of the kingdom, while the later conquests, the conquests of Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ine himself, the land of the Sumorsætas and the Dorsætas and that famous strip of the land of the Wilsætas which escaped the hand of Ceawlin, became the new diocese of Sherborne. It has, I believe, been commonly taken for granted that Wiltshire, if not Berkshire, formed part of the Sherborne diocese. Mr. Haddan, commonly so accurate, certainly assigns Wiltshire to Sherborne.<sup>24</sup> I conceive the origin of this notion to be simply the fact that, long after, in the days of Eadward the Confessor, the dioceses of Sherborne and Ramsbury were united under the Lotharingian Hermann.<sup>25</sup> William of Malmesbury must have been led away by the fact that his own monastery stood in his own time in the diocese which had taken the place of Sherborne. He speaks of the diocese of Sherborne as taking in the counties of Wiltshire, Dorsêt, Berkshire, Somerset, Devonshire, and Cornwall;<sup>26</sup> and elsewhere he complains that, while Winchester had two shires only, Hampshire and Surrey,

Sherborne took in all the rest of the West-Saxon dominions.<sup>27</sup> This, he complains, was an unequal division, clearly in the same spirit which we have come across before, which looked on the greatness of a Bishop as measured by the extent of his diocese. But William of Malmesbury is here plainly speaking recklessly. For, whatever we say about Devonshire, it is quite certain that the diocese of Sherborne did not take in Cornwall. Devonshire and part of Cornwall would seem to have been added to the Sherborne diocese by Ælfred, as is implied in his grant to Asser.<sup>28</sup> But in Cornwall at least there was, not very long before Ælfred's time, a British Bishop of Cornwall, Kenstic by name, who makes his submission to Archbishop Ceolnoth.<sup>29</sup> This makes it plain that William of Malmesbury's list of shires is not to be trusted. And there is far better evidence, which, I think, shows that the diocese of Sherborne, as established by Ine, took in only, speaking roughly, the land with which we at this meeting, and especially I in this paper, are more immediately concerned. In the very remarkable entry in the Chronicles which records Ealdhelm's death in 709, Selwood is clearly marked as the boundary of the two dioceses. According to that entry, the West-Saxon land was divided—in the speaking words of our fathers, *todealed*—into two *bishopshires*, those of Daniel and Ealdhelm, and the bishopshire held by Ealdhelm is described as being “be Westanwuda”<sup>30</sup> while one copy says still more distinctly “be westan Selewuda.”<sup>31</sup> The former entry is followed by Henry of Huntingdon, who speaks of the two dioceses as being east and west of the wood<sup>32</sup>, while Ealdorman Æthelweard actually calls the diocese of Ealdhelm “Selwoodshire.”<sup>33</sup> Mr. Jones of Bradford, in his “Early Annals of the Episcopate in Wilts and Dorset,” seems



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to have explained the matter quite satisfactorily.<sup>34</sup> Selwood, and with it the diocese of Ealdhelm, took in part of Wiltshire, the part containing Malmesbury and Bradford, while the rest of Wiltshire, together with Berkshire, remained to Winchester. The Sherborne diocese thus took in our own shire which we have for a moment left behind ; it took in the shire which we have this year come to visit ; and it took in the land which must, after all, be first in our thoughts when we think of the first Bishop of Sherborne, the land of Malmesbury and Bradford. Now it is plain that for the see of such a diocese, Sherborne was geographically a well-chosen spot. For a region which took in Bridport and Bedminster, Poole and Porlock, no more central place could have been found. I hope this is reason enough to defend the choice of Sherborne as an episcopal see, notwithstanding the objections of William of Malmesbury who speaks, I am sorry to say, most irreverently of the place where we are now met. His words—remember that they are his words and not mine—run as follows

“ Sherborne is a little town pleasant neither by multitude of inhabitants nor by beauty of position in which it is wonderful and almost shameful that a Bishop's see should have remained for so many ages. Now it has been turned from a bishoprick into an abbey, by a change, not unusual in our time, in which all things are perverted by faction and fancy, and in which virtue is held in contempt and disgrace.”<sup>35</sup>

It is plain that the dark picture painted in these last words is meant to apply to mankind in general, not to the people of Sherborne in particular. And it is certain that, if Ine and Ealdhelm and all others who were concerned judged wrongly in fixing the Bishop's see in such a place as Sherborne, they were at least no worse than the other Kings and Bishops who planted Bishops' sees at Lindis-

farn, Selsey, and Lichfield; they were no worse than Eadward the Elder when, in dividing the Sherborne diocese, he planted Bishops' sees at Crediton and Wells. All these places, Wells among them, are spoken of somewhere or other quite as scornfully as Sherborne is here spoken of by William of Malmesbury. Sometimes it is William himself and other grave writers, who speak with delight of the removal of bishopricks from their ancient seats to the great cities. Sometimes it is modern political reformers who talk with scorn of "wretched villages in the west of England." Sometimes we have to strive against enemies like the gay young barrister, whoever he may be, who reports the Western Circuit for the *Times*. He complains, with somewhat of surprise, of assizes being held at so out-of-the-way place as Wells. Without pretending to dive into the meaning of earlier and graver enemies, it is plain that our last assailant simply forgot that assizes are held for the benefit of the people of the shires among whom justice is to be done, not for the convenience of learned gentlemen who come to them in search of briefs. William of Malmesbury wrote in the spirit of an age which had adopted the continental notion of a bishoprick, and which therefore despised the lowly seats in which so many of the earlier bishopricks were placed. But perhaps both Wells and Sherborne, as long as they keep their respective minsters and their appendages, may contrive to outlive the contempt, both of older and newer, of graver and lighter scorers.

But I must come back to my ecclesiastical geography. As I read the words of the Chronicler, the description of William of Malmesbury ought to be turned about. It was Sherborne which got two shires only, and Winchester which got all the rest of the West-Saxon kingdom. The



Bishop east of Selwood, the Bishop of Winchester in the new sense, kept under his care Hampshire, the cradle of the kingdom, Surrey, Wiltshire, Berkshire, and the West-Saxon lands beyond the Thames. For such a district there was no common tribal or local name, and the Bishop of Winchester therefore always takes his title from his city. So, for the same reason, the Bishop of the Sumorsætas and Dorsætas is called Bishop of Sherborne, or, if he is not, he has to be described, or rather pointed at, in the odd way which we have seen already, as "the Bishop west of the Wood." But, when the two shires were separated under two Bishops, the tribal style revives, and we hear of the Bishop "on Sumorsætan" and "on Dorsætan," rather than of the Bishop of Wells and the Bishop of Sherborne.

For the two new dioceses Bishops had to be found. Winchester, in the new sense of the name, was filled by a prelate who held his see for a good many years, but whose career was not very memorable. He survived Ine; he survived Bæda, who speaks of him as the Bishop in possession when he wrote.<sup>36</sup> He went to Rome in the year 721, the year in which Ine slew Cynewulf the Ætheling.<sup>37</sup> Ten years later he consecrated Archbishop Tatwine.<sup>38</sup> At last, in 744, after an episcopate of thirty-nine, or, as some reckon, forty-two years, he resigned his bishoprick amid a storm of shooting stars, and died the year after.<sup>39</sup> He was a West-Saxon by birth, and he is spoken of as a man of learning<sup>40</sup>, but there is not very much to say about him. The first Bishop of Sherborne, on the other hand, is one of the most famous men in our early history. But of him also there is less to say in connexion with his diocese than in some other aspects of him, seeing he held the bishoprick which had been created for him for four years only. The fame of Ealdhelm

as one of the lights of our early literature, alike in our own tongue and in Latin, was won, not as Bishop of Sherborne but in his earlier character of Abbot of Malmesbury. He is brought home to our subject in a special way, because there is no reason to doubt that he was a kinsman of Ine, a member of the royal house of the West-Saxons. I mentioned in my former paper that William of Malmesbury mentions and refutes the belief that Ealdhelm was a nephew of Ine by a brother who is called Kenten. This comes from the earlier life of Ealdhelm by Faricius,<sup>41</sup> the learned physician who was first a monk of Malmesbury, then Abbot of Abingdon, and who was so near succeeding Saint Anselm in the primacy of Canterbury.<sup>42</sup> William, though so much his inferior in ecclesiastical rank, yet thinks he has a right to correct him, seeing that Faricius being a foreigner and not knowing the English tongue, had fallen into some mistakes.<sup>43</sup> One of these was speaking of Kenten the father of Ealdhelm as a brother of Ine, whereas he was not a brother, though a near kinsman. By Kenten as I have before said,<sup>44</sup> I can only conceive that Centwine is meant. If so, we have in Saint Ealdhelm the son of a King, though not a born Ætheling, as his father Centwine did not come to the crown till 676, while Ealdhelm must have been born long before, most likely about 640. It is however rather against this parentage that the only recorded wife of Centwine was a sister of Eormenburh, the wife of Ecgfrith of Northumberland. As Ecgfrith was born in 645, most likely later than Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm could hardly have been a son of his wife's sister. But of course Ealdhelm may have been the son of an earlier wife of Centwine, and, if Ealdhelm was not the son of Centwine, it is not easy to see what his connexion with the royal family was. It is doubtless somewhat strange

that, if Centwine, 'a King, really was the father of Ealdhelm, Ealdhelm should never be distinctly spoken of directly as the son of King Centwine, but only as the nephew or other kinsman of King Ine. But perhaps, after all, this is not very wonderful. As I just before said, even if Ealdhelm was the son of Centwine, he was not in the technical sense a King's son, for he must have been a monk, and perhaps abbot, before his father became King. The only statements as to his parentage are that made by Faricius and the correction of it made by William of Malmesbury. Now in the days of Henry the First, especially with a foreigner like Faricius, Ine was a famous name, while Centwine was nearly forgotten. It therefore would not be wonderful if Ealdhelm was more thought of as the kinsman of Ine than as the son of Centwine. Or we may put it that Centwine was looked on rather as the kinsman of Ine and father of Ealdhelm, than as the King who drove the Britons to the sea. But, if Ealdhelm was the son of Centwine, then he came of the most kingly and most Christian stock of the once most heathen race of the Gewissas. The son of Centwine would be the nephew of Cwichelm and Cenwealh and the grandson of the first Christian King Cynegils. And if, by any stretching of our genealogy, by supposing one of two sisters to have been very much older than another, we could make out Ealdhelm to have been the son of a sister of Eormenburh, we may trace him almost certainly in the female line to the royal family of Kent. For it is in that line only that we find so many of the names beginning with *Eormen*. And among the daughters of Eormenred, the son of Eadbald, the grandson of the first Christian Bretwalda Æthelberht, we actually find two bearing the same name of Eormenburh, which looks as if one had been borne after the death of her

sister. But of the two sisters Eormenburh, daughters of Eormenred, the only one whose history we can trace with certainty was the wife of the West-Mercian Ealdorman Merewald. Merewald was a contemporary of Ine, and he could not well have married the mother of Ealdhelm, even as the possible widow of Centwine.<sup>45</sup> It would be pleasant if we could trace Ealdhelm to the line of Æthelberht as well as to the line of Cynric and Cerdic. But no certain evidence seems to be had in that quarter, and it may be safer to be satisfied with setting down Ealdhelm as a member of the West-Saxon royal house, and as most likely a son of the victorious King Centwine. If so, and if, as it would seem, Ealdhelm was the only son of Centwine, it was doubtless his monastic profession which of course distinguished him for being proposed for the kingdom. And thus it would be Ealdhelm's devotion to a religious life which opened the way for the transfer of the crown from the descendants of Cutha, represented by the sons of Cynegils, to the line of Ceawlin represented by Ceadwalla and Ine.

To the Kings of the house of Cerdic, and of other English royal houses, who laid down their crowns and became saints, we have thus a fair right to add Ealdhelm as one whose saintship hindered him becoming a King. Instead of filling the West-Saxon throne, he rose, as Abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Sherborne, to the highest rank save one in the English Church. In those days, when royal and princely saints were so common, Ealdhelm was the brightest light, but still only one light among several, in the saintly galaxy of the West-Saxon house. Ine's sisters, Ealdhelm's kinswomen, Cwenburh and Cuthburh were placed on the roll of acknowledged saints. Ine and Æthelburh—we might add Ceadwalla himself in

the days of his penitence and baptism—might almost, in the ideas of those days, have claimed the same title. The parents too of Ealdhelm himself, whether we make them Centwine and Eormenburh or any others, are spoken of by his earlier biographer as persons of remarkable piety.<sup>46</sup> When Ine then placed his kinsman in the chair of his newly-founded bishoprick, it was no case of nepotism, no case of thrusting a younger son of a royal house into the chief places of the priesthood simply as a provision. The age for that kind of abuse had not yet come, and I may add that it is an abuse which was not common in England in any age. When the choice of Ine fell upon Ealdhelm, it fell upon a kinsman indeed, but a kinsman who was by common consent the most eminent churchman in his dominions. Ealdhelm's fame, we must remember, had been already won as Abbot of Malmesbury. It was as Abbot that he went to Rome; it was as Abbot that he wrote his famous letter to King Gerent on the abuses of the British Church. It may be worth a moment's thought whether this letter, addressed as it was to a King of West-Wales by one who was afterwards Bishop of Sherborne, may not have helped to foster the notion that West-Wales formed an original part of the Sherborne diocese. As Bishop, the chief work of Ealdhelm was that which we should naturally look for in the first Bishop of a new see, the building of his own church.<sup>47</sup> As Abbot of Malmesbury Ealdhelm had been one of the greatest builders of his time. The realm of Ine was adorned with a number of churches, the work of his saintly kinsman. Of these one happily remains to us, the church reared by Ealdhelm on the scene of his uncle Cenwealh's victory, the lately rescued church of Saint Lawrence at Bradford-on-Avon.<sup>48</sup> There it stands, telling its tale that the

English of the seventh and eighth centuries were not savages unable to put stone and mortar together, and recalling in its peculiar style the work of Honorius—it might be more respectful to say the works of Stilicho—over the remodelled gates of Rome. But, in the days of William of Malmesbury, Ealdhelm's church at Bradford was but one of a whole group of his churches which still survived or had been only lately destroyed. This is a fact to be noticed. Very few buildings of the days of Ine and Bæda could have been standing in the days of Henry the First and William of Malmesbury. The works of Ealdhelm escaped rebuilding, when so many minsters were rebuilt, in the days of Eadgar, in the days of Eadward the Confessor, in the days of William the Conqueror. The oldest parts of the existing minsters of Malmesbury and Sherborne succeeded immediately to the works of Ealdhelm. The saint, as Abbot, had built the great minster of Malmesbury alongside of the lowlier building of the first founder Maidulf, and he also built two smaller churches within the same precinct. Of these the church of Maidulf seems to have vanished shortly before William's time; of one of Ealdhelm's smaller churches traces only were to be seen in his day; but Ealdhelm's head church at Malmesbury William had seen while it was still perfect; it was only in his own days that it began to give way to the church of which a large part still remains. And, both from his words and from the evidence of the existing building, we may be pretty sure that Ealdhelm's nave was still standing when William wrote. Now William of Malmesbury lived at a time when great architectural changes were going on, when Bishop Roger of Salisbury was bringing in the later and more enriched form of the Norman variety of Romanesque. William had a keen eye for all those changes; he marked,

as he has shown in passages which have been quoted over and over again, the difference between Primitive and Norman Romanesque, between earlier and later Norman.<sup>49</sup> Yet he here speaks of the primitive building of Ealdhelm with great respect, and he distinctly marks it as surpassing all ancient buildings—meaning perhaps all buildings before the bringing in of the new style under Eadward—both in size and in beauty.<sup>50</sup> It was a stone building with a wooden roof, a fact which comes out in a curious legend about one of the beams of that roof.<sup>51</sup> In short, the building was doubtless something like Bradford magnified to the scale of a minster, a building which we may be sure would be by no means contemptible. We may perhaps get some kind of notion of its general effect from the famous church of Romainmoutier in the canton of Vaud, the only large church north of the Alps which survives from those early times.<sup>52</sup> We may notice that William speaks of the remarkable size of the building, as compared with most buildings of the same early date. This is a very important point ; for everything that I see convinces me more and more that what the Norman builders despised in the English churches was mainly their inferiority of scale according to their own standard. Ealdhelm's church at Malmesbury was larger than most of the early churches, and therefore it lasted longer. It did not yield to the first impulse of rebuilding in the days of the Conqueror ; it did yield to the second impulse which set in with the architectural improvements of Bishop Roger. And, as for work and ornament, there is no greater mistake than to hold that the plainest work is necessarily the oldest ; the Primitive style is often much more enriched than the early Norman. When the minster of Lauresheim or Lorsch

was burned late in the eleventh century, the monks said sorrowfully that they rebuilt it how they could, but that they could not rival the work of the eighth century.<sup>63</sup> And they spoke truly; the remains of the church of the days of Henry the Fourth are not to be compared for a moment with the gateway of the days of Charles the Great. We thus have distinct evidence both that the ancient minster of Malmesbury stood till the building of the church of which part still remains, and that one who had seen both of them, and was well able to compare them, did not wholly despise the elder building. So it was at Sherborne also. William of Malmesbury records the building of Ealdhelm's minster there after he became Bishop, though he naturally does not dwell upon it at the same length as he dwells on matters which concerned his own house at Malmesbury. But he says that he had himself seen it, and he speaks of it as a wonderful work.<sup>64</sup> Here then at Sherborne, as well as at Malmesbury, the church of Ealdhelm stood till the days of Roger. It was doubtless when Roger, in 1122, turned the priory of Sherborne and the abbey of Horton into the single abbey of Sherborne<sup>65</sup> that the church of Ealdhelm gave way to the earliest parts of the present building.

We must then picture to ourselves the abbey church of Malmesbury and the cathedral church of Sherborne, as they came from the hand of Ealdhelm, as buildings presenting what we may suppose to have been the likeness of a greater Bradford. But, besides the two great churches, Ealdhelm was also the builder of several smaller ones. He founded monasteries at Frome and at Bradford; both of these had ceased to exist as monasteries in William's time, but in his days the church was standing



at Frome as well as at Bradford.<sup>66</sup> He built another church at Wareham, which in William's days was still standing, but in ruins. He adds that the shepherds in the neighbourhood were in the habit of taking shelter in it in bad weather, because within its walls the rain never fell.<sup>67</sup> At Bruton, besides the church of Saint Mary to which King Ine gave the precious altar which Ealdhelm had brought from Rome,<sup>68</sup> Ealdhelm built the greater church of Saint Peter. This also was standing in William of Malmesbury's days, when the choir was, as in so many other cases, rebuilt on a greater scale.<sup>69</sup> I insist upon all this, because it marks the time of Ine as a time of remarkable activity in the way of church-building. This was in fact one of the most flourishing periods of the ancient English Church. The zeal of Kings and Bishops had still somewhat of the fervour of new conversion about it, and the destruction which was afterwards wrought by the Danish invasions was still far off. With Ealdhelm in the South, with Wilfrith and Benedict Bishop in the North, churches were rising fast in many places. And it is remarkable that we have more remains of the buildings of this very early time than we have of any later time till we reach the eleventh century. And our West-Saxon Bradford, the work of the reign of Ine and of the abbacy of Ealdhelm, may fairly be set against the two famous churches of the North, the churches of Benedict at Jarrow and Monkwearmouth. If we have but one to set against two, we may say that Bradford is all but perfect, while Jarrow and Monkwearmouth have been largely altered in later, though still ancient, times. In mere workmanship Bradford altogether surpasses the contemporary parts of the Northumbrian buildings. And as for their personal memories, if we must yield the first place among the native worthies of the early English

Church to Northumbrian Bæda, we may fairly claim a place only second to his for West-Saxon Ealdhelm.

Thus the greatest ecclesiastical work of Ine was the division of the unwieldy West-Saxon diocese, and the creation of the episcopal see of Sherborne. How far the work was strictly the personal work of Ine, how far of the other Bishops and Kings and Under-kings who are said to have agreed to the change, we cannot exactly say. But Ine must have been the chief worker of all in such a matter within his own kingdom, and we may be sure that Ine and Ealdhelm worked together. What Ealdhelm suggested Ine did,<sup>60</sup> save only in one case where Ealdhelm unwillingly did what Ine suggested. That was when Ealdhelm was constrained against his will to take the charge of the new diocese upon himself.<sup>61</sup> I may add a word or two as to the later history of this their work. The history of the diocese of Sherborne has been minutely treated by Mr. Jones. The general results seem to be that, after the complete conquest of West-Wales, Devonshire at least, if not Cornwall, was added to the Sherborne diocese—that in 909 the dioceses of the Sumorsætas and Defnsætas, with their sees at Wells and Crediton, were taken out of the diocese of Sherborne—that, at the same time, the diocese of Wiltshire and Berkshire, with its see at Ramsbury, was taken out of the diocese of Winchester. And I would guess that it was at this time that that part of Wiltshire which had belonged to Sherborne was added to Ramsbury, as it certainly formed part of that diocese in the time of Eadward the Confessor.<sup>61</sup> The diocese of Sherborne now contained the shire of the Dorsætas only, and its bishop-stool, which had been very central when Sumorsætas and Dorsætas had one Bishop between them, became by no

means central when the Dorsætas had a Bishop of their own. The see of Sherborne went on till 1058, when the two bishopricks of Dorset and of Wiltshire and Berkshire, were joined together by Hermann. But he, in 1075, forsook both Sherborne and Ramsbury, to place his throne on the waterless hill of the elder Salisbury, just as, five and twenty years before, the bishopricks of Devonshire and Cornwall were finally united under Leofric of Exeter.<sup>63</sup> From this time Sherborne ceased to be an episcopal see. But Ealdhelm's minster went on as the church of a priory which was still specially connected with the bishoprick. The church of Sherborne was in the time of Æthelred served by secular canons. Whether they had always been there from the time of Ealdhelm or not, I have no evidence to show; in his day indeed the distinction between monks and canons was not so sharply drawn as it was afterwards. But, in the year 999 or 1000, it would seem that Bishop Wulfsige was allowed to change his canons for monks;<sup>64</sup> and these monks and their prior doubtless went on when the bishopstool was moved to the church of secular canons, first at Old and then at New Salisbury. The Bishop, as appears by Domesday, remained temporal lord of Sherborne, but nine of the manors which he held were set apart for the maintenance of the monks.<sup>64</sup> The monks had therefore no freehold of their own, much as the canons of Wells at the same time held their property of the Bishop.<sup>65</sup> The Bishop and monks are mentioned as a body which was in the habit of acting together, in that curious entry, the only mention of any of the Conqueror's sons in the great Survey, which says how William the Red took away a possession of the church of Sherborne without the consent of the Bishop and the monks.<sup>66</sup> This sounds as if Sherborne, even after the bishopstool

had been moved to Salisbury, was still a kind of secondary episcopal church, somewhat as Ripon, Southwell, and Beverley were to York. Lastly, as I have already said, in 1122 Bishop Roger made Sherborne an abbey. The Abbot and Convent then became an independent corporation; and the Abbot, like the Abbots of Muchelney and Athelney in the church of Wells, held the parish church of Sherborne as a prebend in the church of Salisbury.<sup>67</sup> On the history of the Bishop's lordship and castle of Sherborne I will not intrude.

But the creation of the bishoprick of Sherborne was not the only ecclesiastical work of Ine, or even the only ecclesiastical work in which the names of Ine and Ealdhelm are joined together. That Ine was a benefactor to his friend and kinsman's monastery at Malmesbury we might almost have taken for granted, even if it had not been so recorded.<sup>68</sup> And we may guess that, in his great works of building there and elsewhere, the Abbot was largely helped by the bounty of the King. But it is hard to trace out anything in detail as to the other ecclesiastical works of Ine, because nearly all the charters which profess to contain the records of those works are held by the best scholars to be spurious. Some of them are so manifestly spurious as to leave no room for any discussion on the point. The forgeries are old; most of them are older than William of Malmesbury, and they were, doubtless in good faith, accepted by him as genuine. But here again we must remember what the spuriousness of a charter implies and what it does not. It implies that it must be used with great caution; it implies that we cannot accept any of the details of the document, unless they are confirmed by some other evidence direct or in-

direct. But it by no means follows that the general fact which the spurious charter professes to record is, because of the spuriousness of the charter, to be cast away as a mere fiction. By spurious charters we understand all charters which are not genuine contemporary documents, or exact copies of contemporary documents, issued by the persons whose names they bear. Now all these are certainly not to be set down as forgeries in the modern sense. Some undoubtedly are so ; some charters are sheer inventions, designed to claim for a particular monastery an antiquity to which it had no right, to claim for it some privilege to which it had no right or a doubtful right, or to trace back some real privilege to a time earlier than that when it really began. Charters of this kind are forgeries in the strictest sense, and they are of course utterly untrustworthy with regard to the particular points which they wish to establish. But, just as a romance or a play may, for many points, for manners, for local colouring and so forth, be as good evidence as a true history, so even a spurious charter of this worst kind may be evidence for incidental points, points which the forger had no motive to falsify. In this way, while the document proves nothing as to the times in which it professes to have been written, it may very easily prove something as to the time when it actually was written. But, besides these, there is another class of spurious charters which cannot be called forgeries in the same sense. We have some recorded cases in which a man whose charters, that is his title-deeds, had been burned or otherwise lost, asked for and obtained a legal permission to have new charters made.<sup>69</sup> He or his scribe would write down the old charters from memory, as nearly as they could remember them. We will suppose that they set to work with the most honest purpose, not meaning

to claim anything to which they had not a lawful right. Still it is quite certain that they would make some mistakes, and they would most likely fall into some contradictions as to dates and witnesses, which a modern scholar would at once find out, and would set down the document as spurious. Spurious in a certain sense such a document is ; a charter of Ine written afresh in this way a hundred years after Ine's time is not a genuine document of the time of Ine. But it is a document written without any intent to deceive, and the mistakes in it are mere mistakes and not frauds. Such a document may be nearly as useful for historical purposes as one that is actually genuine. It is at least as good as the witness of a secondary writer, who follows a contemporary authority but makes some mistakes in so doing. Or again, we may believe that it often happened that, when charters were burned or lost, those who were interested produced copies which were written in the same way from memory, but which they meant untruly to pass off as the originals. Here we have a fraud, a fraud carrying with it a certain degree of guilt, but certainly not the same degree of guilt as when the matter of the document is actually invented for a fraudulent purpose. It is hardly my business now to attempt to decide to which of these classes all the charters belong which profess to be grants of Ine or Hædde or Ealdhelm, but which Mr. Kemble, always with great probability, sometimes with absolute certainty, marked as spurious. In fact, out of the great number which were believed in by William of Malmesbury, Mr. Kemble believed in only three or four. It is therefore only to these three or four that we can appeal with perfect certainty. But the others are not to be wholly cast aside. While we cannot trust their details, we may accept them as witnessing to a general

belief in certain main facts, and thereby as affording a presumption in favour of those facts. Such a presumption, when it is supported by any high degree of external probability, rises to the level of a respectable form of secondary evidence, and it may be accepted as long as it is not set aside by direct proof.

I have made all this long preface to a very short story; but I have made it in order to show why I have only a short story to tell, where some may have expected a long one. What I have had in my eye is the mass of charters professing to be grants of Ine and of contemporaries of Ine, in favour of various West-Saxon churches, and above all in favour of the Abbey of Glas-tonbury. Everything relating to the early history of that renowned church is so enveloped in legend that one has to tread one's way with the greatest caution at every step. We have to tread much as the mythical Glæsting, be he Welshman or Englishman, trod, when he set out from Ashby Thorn somewhere in the middle of England. He had a sow which, while other sows have but four legs, was blessed with eight, and he followed her from his midland home as far as Wells. Thence, the tale goes on, he followed her by a crooked and swampy road, known to after ages as the Sow-way, till he found her suckling her pigs under an apple tree in an island. He found that island, rich as it was in apples, to be a pleasant place to dwell in; he brought thither all his household and dwelled there all the days of his life. Glæsting, thus settled in his island, became the patriarch of the inhabitants of the island, the *gens* of the Glæstingas. Moreover the old church, the wooden church, the *lignea basilica* where Cnut worshipped, arose on the spot where the sow was found under the apple tree, and the apples of that tree were called in the Eng-



lish tongue "old-church apples," and the sow herself was honoured with the name of "old-church sow."<sup>70</sup> Now this story is at any rate as good as the other early Glastonbury stories about Joseph of Arimathæa, about Saint Patrick and Saint David, Saint Fagan and others, some of whom are certainly not mythical persons in themselves, but all of whom are mythical as regards Glastonbury.<sup>71</sup> The story of the sow has at least the advantage over the others that it looks two ways, and gives materials, if for no body else, yet at least for the comparative mythologer. The gentleman whom some of us met a year ago at Totness, who believed in Brute the Trojan, would doubtless be delighted with a story in which one of the adventures of the pious Æneas is repeated in the life of a man who was, for aught I know, one of his descendants settled in our part of the world. For me the attraction lies on the other side. If there is a sow and pigs in the legend of Æneas, if there is a sow and pigs in the legend of Glæsting, there is also a sow and pigs, if not in the history, at least in the legend, of Ine.<sup>72</sup> Wherever, in short, we go in this part of Britain, we light on some thing or other which brings back our hero to our remembrance.

I shall not now attempt to unravel the early Glastonbury legends. But I may remind you that Dr. Guest holds that Glastonbury, even as Ynysvitrin, was not a foundation of that amazing antiquity which the local legends attribute to it. He holds that it was founded, or at least grew into importance, only after the Britons had lost their earlier holy place at Amesbury.<sup>73</sup> But his view, no less than the legendary story, gives me all that I need. Whether we give an earlier or a later date to the origin of the great British monastery, no one denies that Glastonbury was a British monastery; no one asserts



or hints that it began its monastic being after the English Conquest. Whether the monastery of Avalon was an old or a new house at the time when Cenwealh drove the Britons to the Parret, it is agreed on all hands that it was then already in being. Glastonbury is then, on any showing, a tie between the Briton and the Englishman, between the older Christianity of our island and the newer, between the race which we overthrew and the race to which we ourselves belong. It is a tie between all these things such as is not to be found on any other spot in Britain. The talk about the ancient British Church of which some people are so fond, which is mere rubbish when it is talked at Canterbury or York or Winchester, is rubbish no longer when it is talked at Glastonbury. Glastonbury is the great memorial of the second stage of English conquest, of the stage when the conquerors, having exchanged the creed of Woden and Thunder for the creed of Christ, deemed it enough to conquer and no longer sought to destroy. Glastonbury is among churches what Exeter is among cities.<sup>74</sup> As Exeter is the one city of the first rank, so Glastonbury is the one church of the first rank, which lived through the storm of English conquest, which passed into the hands of our victorious fathers as a trophy of victory undestroyed and un plundered. There the continuity between the old and the new state of things was never broken. There was a time when Bath and Chester lay in ruins, as Anderida and Silchester lie still ; there was a time when the voice of Christian worship was silenced in York and London, as it has since been silenced at Athelney and Cerne. But the house of Ynysvitrin never lay in ruins ; the voice of Christian worship was never silenced there till the sixteenth century overthrew what the seventh had spared. The house changed its name ; it changed its

language; British Ynysvitrin changed into English Glastonbury; but there was no such gap as that which parts the British and the English history of either the northern or the southern metropolis. The Christian West-Saxon spared and honoured and enriched the holy place of the Christian Briton. Thus much we may safely say; but, if we seek for details, we have to struggle through a mist of legend, through a yet denser mist of spurious documents. We hardly dare to assert that Cenwealh and Centwine were among the benefactors of Glastonbury, because the charters which claim to be their grants are spurious beyond doubt.<sup>76</sup> Still, at least as regards Cenwealh, we may feel all but certain that the spurious document records a real fact. The house of Ynysvitrin did live through the English Conquest, through the conquests of Cenwealh himself. It was therefore Cenwealh who spared it, and it must have been Cenwealh to whom it owed a second life as an English foundation. We may therefore, almost from the necessity of the case, set Cenwealh down as a benefactor of the house, though the extent and nature of his grants are recorded only in a document which we cannot trust for details. When we come to Ine, we have a clearer light. Among the very few trustworthy documents of this age we have one of Ine himself,<sup>76</sup> and another of Bishop Hædde,<sup>77</sup> in favour of the abbey of Glastonbury, which Mr. Kemble does not reject as spurious. We can therefore set Ine down with certainty as a benefactor of the church which lived on to share the reverence alike of the conquered and of the conqueror. And, having thus fixed Ine as an undoubted benefactor of Glastonbury, we may have less scruple in accepting the statement, which represents Ine as being the founder of that special aspect of the church of Glastonbury which was its distinguishing

feature among the greater English churches, and of which we see the imperishable traces even in its ruins. That statement rests on no such distinct evidence as that which shows Ine to have been a benefactor of the abbey in other ways, but it is uncontradicted and it is in every way likely in itself. Now the distinguishing characteristic of Glastonbury is that there the British and the English church, the church of the conquered and the church of the conquerors, stood for some ages side by side, and that, in a figure, they stand side by side still. The British church, the *lignea basilica*, lived on till, in the twelfth century, it gave way to the great western Lady chapel, latterly called the chapel of Saint Joseph. To the east of this primitive building, several successive churches arose, near to it, but in no way interfering with it or touching it. It was not till the thirteenth century that the walls of the two buildings were made to join, and even that change cannot be said to have wholly thrown them into one.<sup>78</sup> Of these successive churches, it was the belief of William of Malmesbury's age that the earliest was the work of Ine.<sup>79</sup> William had not indeed seen it himself, as he had seen the churches of Ealdhelm at Malmesbury and at Sherborne, for the eastern church at Glastonbury had been more than once rebuilt between Ine's days and his. But the statement has great likelihood on its side. We have the facts that the eastern and western churches were kept distinct till the thirteenth century, and that the primitive British building lived on till the twelfth century. This shows a special respect for the ancient foundation and its remains, which is much more in character with the age of Ine than with the age of Dunstan or any later time. It is plain that the man who first built a church at Glastonbury after the English Conquest deliberately chose to preserve the

primitive building, to keep his own new work altogether distinct from it. Such a determination quite falls in with the various facts and traditions about Ine, all of which place him in a special relation towards the British part of his subjects. But it is in no way in character with Dunstan or with his age, an age when Glastonbury had long been thoroughly English. Had Dunstan found only the wooden church, he would most likely have pulled it down and built his own on the site. Ine, building when Glastonbury was still a recent conquest and when there was still a distinct British element in the country, would be far more likely to respect the primitive building. It is to Ine then, in all likelihood, that we owe the special peculiarities of Glastonbury. He built a church, distinct from the wooden church, and the wooden church survived his building. Not a twig of the one, not a stone of the other, is there now; but they are both there in a figure. The wooden church, the British church, is still represented by its immediate successor, the so-called Saint Joseph's chapel. The church of Ine is still represented by the remains of the great eastern church, the last of several which have risen and fallen on its site. In this way, though nothing of Ine's work has been there for eight or nine hundred years, yet the influence of his hand may be seen still. It is to the fact that Ine built his church distinct from the British church, setting in this an example which later rebuilders followed, that we owe that special character of Glastonbury which in England proper is very rare, most likely unique. In other parts of these islands there are more examples of an earlier church being left standing alongside of a later one. Such examples may be seen at Saint Andrew's and at Killaloe; and all those groups of seven churches of which so many are to be found in Ireland may in truth pass as instances of the same rule. The

one most akin to Glastonbury is at Cashel. There the later church, built between the original church called Cormac's chapel and its round tower, has grown up so as to join the elder church, in the same way as at Glastonbury, though not so as to join the same part of the building. If the example of Ine had been more commonly followed in this matter, our store of antiquities would have been much greater than it is. The building of a later church would not have so constantly involved the destruction of an elder one. Saint Wulfstan might have built his own minster, without having to mourn the hard necessity of sweeping away the minster of Saint Oswald.<sup>80</sup>

The one other church of our own district with which the name of Ine is connected with any shadow of probability is that of Wells. I suppose that I need hardly go about to refute the fable which tells of a series of Bishops of Congresbury; I am sure at least that the Vicar of Congresbury is the last man who will ask me to take upon myself that needless labour. Daniel, Bishop of Congresbury, who in the legend marries Ine and Æthelburh, and who moves his episcopal chair from Congresbury to Wells, is as mythical as the rest of the legend of Ine and Æthelburh in which he finds his place.<sup>81</sup> As far as his name goes, he is clearly no other than Daniel, the first separate Bishop of Winchester, moved to the wrong side of the wood. It is not a bad suggestion of Mr. Hunter's that the name of Congresbury in this legend is likely to be due to a confusion with Kingsbury Episcopi, which was an old possession of the see of Wells, while Congresbury, one of the lordships in dispute between Harold and Gisa,<sup>82</sup> was a comparatively late one. Mr. Hunter, though he knew better than to believe in a series

of Bishops of Congresbury, was still half inclined to believe in a series of Bishops of Kingsbury, for whom there is no better authority.<sup>83</sup> But it is quite possible that the Bishops of Wells, or even those of Sherborne while Somerset formed part of their diocese, may have been locally spoken of as Bishops of Kingsbury. In the same way we have lists of Bishops of Sunning, who are no other than the Bishops of Wiltshire or Ramsbury.<sup>84</sup> Unless the tale about the Bishops of Congresbury is a mere invention, which I am always unwilling to believe of any tale if I can help it, this is the only way in which I can understand how it may have grown up. There were Bishops who, in a certain sense, were Bishops of Kingsbury, and the likeness of the names Kingsbury and Congresbury led the two places to be confounded.

But, however this may be, it is certain that no bishopstool was translated from Congresbury or elsewhere to Wells in the time of Ine. The separate bishoprick of the Sumorsætas, with its bishopstool at Wells, does not begin till Eadward the Elder.<sup>85</sup> Yet I am loath altogether to give up the long standing tradition which connects the name of Ine with the church of Wells. This is a tradition which has no certain evidence whatever in its favour; but, on the other hand, there is no certain evidence against it, and it has some degree of likelihood in itself. As I argued earlier in this paper, a really old tradition, as distinguished from a modern guess, does, when uncontradicted by positive evidence, count for something. We have nearly as good reason for connecting Ine with Wells as we have for connecting Winfrith with Crediton. As I have argued elsewhere,<sup>86</sup> though there certainly was no bishoprick at Wells before the time of Eadward the Elder, yet, if we conceive that Ine founded there a church of some kind

with a body of priests, we can better understand why Eadward the Elder should have chosen Wells as the seat of his new bishoprick. The only document belonging to Wells, earlier than the time of Eadward the Elder, is the undoubtedly spurious charter of Cynewulf. But, as I have already said, a spurious charter may often describe a real state of things, and it is so far in favour of this charter that it does not speak of a Bishop. A forgery which was a mere forgery, which was seeking to establish some imaginary fact or claim, would have been almost certain to carry back the bishoprick of Wells to a time earlier than its real beginning. But this charter does not speak of a Bishop, or indeed of any officer with any definite title; it speaks merely of the church or minster of Saint Andrew and of those who served God therein.<sup>86</sup> I cannot therefore affirm that Ine was a founder or benefactor at Wells, as I can affirm that he was a founder or benefactor at Sherborne, Malmesbury, and Glastonbury. All that I can say is that there is a certain likelihood that he was a founder at Wells, and that there is no distinct evidence that he was not.

I have lastly to speak of one other place, a place within the bounds of the West-Saxon kingdom, but far away from our own part of it, where Ine appears in the local history in a two-fold character, first as a spoiler and then as a benefactor. This is at Abingdon. Some extracts from the local History of that monastery I made in an appendix to my former paper.<sup>87</sup> The same story is told in more than one place of that History. But, at all events, whatever amount of faith we may be inclined to give to the story, Ine was in the end so fully reconciled with the monks of Abingdon by his later benefactions towards building their church that they counted him among their founders.<sup>88</sup>



I have now done with Ine in his second character. We have seen him at Taunton as the conqueror and military founder; we have seen him at Sherborne, and not at Sherborne only, as the ecclesiastical founder. We have spoken of him in these two characters in the two places where those two characters are those which most naturally attach themselves to his name. But there is a third character of Ine which we may look on as higher than either of the others, a character, at all events, in which we learn more from his career than from either of the others. This third character I have as yet left untouched. I have spoken of Ine the conqueror and of Ine the founder; I have still to speak of Ine the lawgiver. To extend the boundaries of the West-Saxon kingdom, to put its ecclesiastical divisions on a more reasonable footing, to call fortresses and minsters into being, may in his own day have well seemed greater deeds than the less brilliant work of putting the usages of his people into the form of a regular code. They were deeds which gave more scope for the panegyrics of the chronicler and the minstrel than the task of fixing the penalty for crimes, of determining the rights of the various classes of his subjects, of decreeing how much greater should be the value of the descendant of the conquerors than the value of the descendant of the conquered. The Laws of Ine, the earliest monument of West-Saxon jurisprudence, are the laws which, as Wessex grew into England, we may look on as the beginning of the Laws of England, as the ground-work of the last law which has received the assent of the sovereign who wears the crown of Ine. As such, they are among the most precious monuments of our early history. They are a full and living picture of one stage in the progress of our nation; they are our great monument of



that stage of our history when Britons and Englishmen were still marked off from each other by a broad line, but when they could already dwell together as members of the same kingdom and governed by the same law. As such they teach us more than the victory over Gerent, more than the pilgrimage to Rome, more than the rearing of the fortress of Taunton or of the minster of Sherborne. Ine the conqueror is specially at home at Taunton ; Ine the ecclesiastical founder is specially at home at Sherborne ; but Ine the law-giver does not belong to this or that town or church or castle ; he is the common possession of the whole West-Saxon realm. Yet, as the special character of his laws is that they were put forth for a people among whom the distinction between Englishman and Briton was still in full life, they are in some sort a peculiar possession of one part of the West-Saxon realm beyond all others. They belong specially to that part of his kingdom whose needs Ine must have had chiefly in his eye, when he secured the conquered no less than the conqueror, in the possession of his lands and in the protection of the law. Those provisions of the laws of Ine which give his code its greatest historical value must have been far oftener enforced by the Toue than by the Thames, by the Avon that flows by Bath than by the Avon that flows by Salisbury. And, if there be any spot in which the common law-giver of Celt and Teuton is specially at home, it is in that common sanctuary of both races where the bones of Eadgar and the Eadmunda were laid, as men deemed, beside the bones of Arthur. If then there is one spot more than another where we can fittingly discuss the Laws of Ine, that spot is to be found in the holy Isle of Avalon. Whenever then we meet a second time, as we did fifteen years ago, beneath the shadow of the sacred mount and the fallen minster of

Glastonbury, I will again gladly take up my pen to speak of Ine as the first recorded law-giver of the West-Saxon people, as I have already spoken of him as the conqueror of Gerent and the friend of Ealdhelm.

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## NOTES.

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(1). See Dr. Guest in the Salisbury volume of the Archaeological Institute, p. 63.

(2). This remark is made by Mr. Haddan, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents i. 674. The document will be found in Cod. Dipl. ii. 54.

(3). Mr. Kemble in his Index refers to the earliest document about Sherborne as being no. 252 of his collection. But no. 252 (vol. ii. p. 33) is a Worcestershire document. There is most likely some mistake in the Index, and a Sherborne document will be found not far off. This, it will be seen, is a hundred and fifty years after Ealdred's death.

(4). This document is one of Ecgberht, dated September 26. 833. in Cod. Dipl. i. 300. It relates to three sisters, Beornwyn, Alfred, Uualenburch, in the name of which last there seems to be a savour of the Briton. Of these we read, "Contigit post annorum curriculum ut easdem prænominatæ sorores plus de paterna hæreditate suscipientes, Bearnuine recessit in Domnoniam, et ibi partem suam sumpsit in loco qui vocatur Derentune homm."

(5). "The Celt and the Teuton in Exeter," printed in the Archaeological Journal. no. 119. p. 211.

(6). See History of the Norman Conquest, i. 308.

(7). Ib. iv. 582.

(8). This is Mr. Kerslake's comparison, p. 224.

(9). See History of the Norman Conquest, vol. ii. Appendix M. and Comparative Politics, p. 114.

(10). See the note just quoted. p. 589.

(11). We get both these expressive words in the Chronicles. In 1070, in the Winchester Chronicle, we read how Lanfranc was consecrated "on his agenum biscopestle," and of Odo in Peterborough, 1087, "on Baius was his biscopstol."

(12). Bæda iii. 7. "Sed Britanniam perveniens ac primum Gevisorum gentem ingrediens, cum omnes ibidem paganissimos inveniret, utilius esse ratus est ibi potius verbum prædicare, quam ultra progrediens eos, quibus prædicare deberet inquirere." So in the Chronicles 634, "Her Birinus bodade ærest Weast Seaxum fulluht;" to which Peterborough adds, "Se Birinus com þider be Honorius wordum þæs papan, and he 3ær was biscop of his lyfes ende."

(13). See the *Historia Pontificalis* (Pertz xx, 542) a work which Professor Stubbs attributes to John of Salisbury. Here Henry of Blois asks of Pope Innocent, "ut ei pallium daretur et fieret archiepiscopus occidentalis Angliæ, vel ut ei legatio regni concederetur, vel saltem ut ecclesia sua eximeretur a jurisdictione Cantuariensis." All the answer he gets is a parable about "diabolus et mater sua." The Winchester Annals (1143) tell the story in a somewhat different shape. "Ipsæ exegit apud papam quod de episcopatu Wintoniensi archiepiscopatum faceret, et de abbatis de Hida episcopatum, et quod episcopatum Cicertriæ sibi subiceret; et hoc fecit propter crebram decertationem quæ fuit inter episcopum et archiepiscopum Cantuarie. Iste enim major videri voluit quam archiepiscopus, ille quam legatus."

(14). See *Bæda*, u. a. and the *Chronicles*, 635, 636, 639. The Northumbrian Bretwalda Oswald was present as Cynegils' godfather, and Bæda says of the placing of the bishopstool at Dorchester, "Donaverunt autem ambo reges eidem episcopo civitatem quæ vocatur Dorcic [in Ælfred's English version, "Ða sealdon hi and geafon ðam biscope begen ða cyningas eardung stowe and biscop setl on Dorceceastro." ] ad faciendum inibi sedem episcopalem." If the joint action of Oswald was anything more than a piece of complimentary deference on the part of Cynegils, it must have been in his character of Bretwalda that he acted. Dorchester was not at this time Mercian, nor was Oswald local King of the Mercians.

(15). This story is told by Bæda in the same chapter, "Dividens in duas parochias provinciam, huic [Vini] in civitate Venta, quæ a gente Saxonum Vintancestir appellatur, sedem episcopalem tribuit [he ða todselde on twa biscope scire West Seaxona maegþe and ðam Wine gesælde biscope setl on Wintanceastre]. According to Bæda's account, the quarrel of Cenwealh with Agilberht was a protest of Low-Dutch against High. "Rex, qui Saxonum tantum linguam noverat, pertæsus barbaris loquens." The building of the church of Winchester by Cenwealh is assigned in different copies of the Chronicle to 641, 642, 643, 648 and his baptism to 644, 645, 646.

(16). So says Bishop Godwin in his catalogue; "So Wini, or Wins, was the first Bishop of Winchester, of whom some vainly suppose, the City to have taken his name."

(17). On Hædde see *Bæda* iv. 12; v. 18; and on the unity of the West-Saxon diocese at this time see Haddan, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, iii. 127.

(18). This document, which must be taken for what it is worth, but which falls in with and explains much that we read elsewhere, will be found in *Anglia Sacra* i. 193; *Haddan* iii. 126. Theodore is there made to say, "nobis non congruit, ipso fratre nostro sanctissimo Hædda superstate, qui ecclesiam Wentanam tam insigniter nobilitavit, autoritate summi pontificis Agathonis transferendo corpus beatissimi Birini Occidentalium Saxonum apostoli a villa Dorkecestrensi, ubi reconditum erat, una cum sede in Wentanam civitatem, cujus etiam labore ac studio

apostolicoque mandato ex tunc primo confirmata est in ipsa civitate sedes episcopalis dignitatis, parochiam suam in aliquo lædere diminuendo." This comes from a Winchester writer, Thomas Rudborne, and it must be borne in mind that his tendency would naturally be to make out Winchester to have been the head of the West-Saxon diocese from the beginning. His testimony in favour of the see having been first at Dorchester and then at Winchester has therefore a certain value. But of course the value of this statement as direct evidence depends on the question whether the document from which Rudborne quoted is a real act of Theodore or not. William of Malmesbury too (*Gest. Pont.* 158.) distinctly asserts a translation of the see to Winchester; "Posterioribus annis confirmato episcopatu West-Saxonum in Wintonia, illic a pontifice Hedda translatus patronus civitatis post Deum habetur."

(19). This well be found in Haddan iii. 267, 274. The words which concern us are "In præteriti anni synodo statutum est illis [West-Saxonibus] non communicandum, si non tuum iudicium in ordinatione episcoporum implere festinarent, quod adhuc neglectum habentes non perficiebant."

(20). So at least says Faricius in his life of Ealdhelm, 368. Ed. Giles. Haddan iii. 275. "Cujus [Hedde] parochia præ circuitus sui magnitudine, quia ab uno gubernari non poterat, ecclesiasticorum patrum regumque consilio divisa est in duas."

(21). Chronn. 704, "Her Æþalred Pending Myrcna cyning, onfeng munuchade." He appears in Beda v. 19. as "Ædilred quondam rex, tunc autem abbas;" and his death at Bardeney is recorded in the Chronicles in the year 716.

(22). When Ealdhelm went to Rome, he consulted Æthelred as well as Ine. *Gest. Pont.* 363, "Communicato propterea cum rege West-Saxonum Ina et Æthelredo Merciorum consilio, quorum et gaudebat amicitia et eminebat munificentia; illisque a sententia non discedentibus, Romanum callem ingressus est." We hear more of his favour towards Malmesbury in pp. 374, 388.

(23). *Gest. Pont.* 374, "Nec fastus regius Inam et Ethelredum, illum West-Saxonum, hunc Merciorum principem, ab hac excepit lætitia: quippe ubi antiquo viri amori recens acceverat apostolicarum salutatorum reverentia."

(24). Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, iii. 276.

(25). See Norman Conquest, vol. iv. p. 418.

(26). *Gest. Pont.* 175, "In divisione Westsaxonici episcopatus hoc observatum palam est, ut, qui Wintoniæ sederet haberet duos pagos, Hamptunensem et Sudreiensem, alter, qui Scireburniæ, haberet Wiltunensem, Dorsetensem, Berruchensem, Sumersetensem, Domnoniensem, Cornubiensem."

(27). *Gest. Pont.* 375. Iniqua et impar fuit ea divisio, ut unus duos tantum pagos, alter totum regeret, quicquid West-Saxonici tractus immensitas continet."

(28). So Mr. Haddan (Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents i. 675).

understands the well known words of Asser, "Dedit mihi Exancestre cum omni parochia que ad se pertinebat in Saxonia et in Cornubia."

(29). The profession is given in Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, I. 674.

(30). The entry, as given in the Abingdon Chronicle, 709—it is much the same in the others—runs thus; "Her Ealdhelm forðferde, se was be Westanwuda bisceop . . . and was todeald on foreweardum Danieles dagum on twa bisceopscira Westsaxnaland, and ær hit was I. oðer heold Daniel, oper heold Ealdhelm."

(31). "Se was be westan Selwuda bisceop." This is in a Canterbury Chronicle. In Kent Selwood would doubtless not be *the* wood.

(32). Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 724. B. "Ine vicesimo anno regni sui divisit episcopatum Westsexie in duo, qui unus esse solebat; partem orientalem a silvis tenuit Daniel, occidentalem Aldelmus." We may however be allowed to doubt whether the Archdeacon of Huntingdon attached any very clear notion to the words "a silvia." Florence (705) merely mentions the division, without giving the boundaries of the dioceses. Geoffrey Gaimar, as might be expected, does not trouble himself with the geography, but he pledges himself to the patriotic motives of Ine and also to the personal beauty of Ealdhelm, who, according to William of Malmesbury also, was a man of great stature;

"Un an apres cil de Westsexe  
Del bon Ealdelm unt fait evesque ;  
Dous eveskez firent donc de une,  
Tut par l'esgard de la commune.  
L'un eveake tint Daniel ;  
L' altre out Ealdelf, ki mult fu bel."

1573—1578. M. H. B. 783.

In the charter in William of Malmesbury Gest. Pont. 379, 380, Ealdhelm calls Daniel "reverentissimus frater et coepiscopus meus."

(33). Ethelwerdi Chron. II. 11. (M. H. B. 507 a.); "Obiit Aldelmus beatus episcopus, cujus miro artificio edita opuscula leguntur, eratque ejus episcopatus provincia que vulgo Sealundscire dicitur." It is curious that Æthelweard puts this under the head "de actibus Æthelredi Regis Merciorum," not under the next head "de regimine Ine, et de actibus ejus."

(34). See pp. 19. 20. of Mr. Jones' Tract.

(35). Gest. Pont. 175, "Scireburnia est viculus, nec habitantium frequentia nec positionis gratia suavis, in quo mirandum et pene pudendum sedem episcopalem per tot durasse seecula. Nunc de præsulatu in abbatiam mutatus, commercio nostra etate non insueto, qua omnia factione atque libidine depravata, virtus ludibrio et probro habetur."

(36). Hist. Eccl. v. 18, 23.

(37). See the Chronicles under 721.

(38). See the Worcester Chronicle under 731.

(39). All the Chronicles notice the resignation of Daniel, and those of Worcester and Peterborough add, "And steorran foran swyðe scotienda."

(40). *Beda* v. 18. puts Daniel and Ealdhelm together as "ambo et in rebus ecclesiasticis, et in scientia scripturarum, sufficienter instructi." And in his Prologue he mentions further that he learned much about the history of his diocese from Daniel himself. "Dauhel, reverentissimus Occidentalium Saxonum episcopus, qui nunc usque superest, nonnulla mihi de historia ecclesiastica provincie ipsius, simul et proxima illi Australium Saxonum, nec non et Vecte insule, literis mandata declaravit."

(41). The life of Ealdhelm by Faricius is printed at the end of Dr. Giles' edition of the works of Ealdhelm.

(42.) See the story in Eadmer, *Hist. Nov.* p. 109 ed. Selden, and in the *History of Abingdon*, ii. 287.

(43). *Gest. Pont.* 331. "Fuit sicut non usquequaque despicibilis eloquentia, ita in his duntaxat, propter ignorantiam lingue, incuriosae scientia, utpote sub Tusco natus aere." Of the "ignorantia lingue" William gives a specimen. Faricius (pp. 356, 357.) had made a wonderful interpretation of the name Ealdhelm. "Ald enim, ut aiunt barbarica, Latine senex interpretatur; inde Aldelmus quasi senex almus. Vere enim, etai juvenis corpore, animo senili vivebat et laudabili opere." On this William (332) comments "Faricius alludit ad nomen, ut diceretur Aldelmus, quasi senex almus. Sed ego, si ludis insertis occupationes legentis furari liceret, dicerem, longe aliter interpretatione detorta, quod Aldhelmus interpretatur galea vetus. Sic enim debere scribi nomen suum, H littera interposita, ipse sanctus in prologo ænigmatum suorum perspicue innuit; et in epistola ad Withfridum aperte se priscam protectionis galeam dicit."

(44). See my former paper on *Ine*, page 14.

(45). The genealogy of the Kings of Kent will be found drawn up at the end of the first volume of the English translation of Lappenberg. The chief authority is the *Genealogia Regum Cantuariorum* of Florence, i. 248 of Mr. Thorpe's edition. Florence distinctly makes two Eormenburhs, and bears witness to the sanctity of the whole house. Thus in the *Kentish Genealogy* (i. 259) we read "Eormenredo regina sua Oalava quatuor filias et duos peperit filios, sanctam videlicet Eormenbeorgam, quae fuit regina Merewaldi regis West-Anglorum; sanctam Eormenborgam, sanctam Ætheldrytham, sanctam Eormengitham, et sanctos martyres Æthelredum ac Æthelberhtum." One sister of Eormenburh was married to Egberht King of the Northumbrians, according to the Northumbrian writer followed by Simeon of Durham (i. 6 of the *Surtess Society's* edition). "Fuerat eis ex paterno maternoque soror procreata semine, Eormenburga vel Domneva nomine." And we hear again of Merewald and Eormenburh in William of Malmesbury, *Gest. Reg.* i. 74, 76. ii. 215.

(46). The portrait of Kenten and his nameless wife, are drawn by Faricius. p. 356.

(47). *Gest. Pont.* 378. "Novi ergo compos honoris provinciam regressus, cum in omnibus nomen æquaret officio, tum vel maxime

libertati monasteriorum studere, habuitque sedem Scireburnis, ubi et ecclesiam, quam ego, quoque vidi, mirifice construxit."

(48). *Gest. Pont.* 346. "Necnon et apud Bradeford tertium ab eo monasterium instructum crebra serit opinio; quam confirmare videtur nomen villæ in serie privilegii, quod jam episcopus monasteriis suis dedit appositum, et antiquis scripturæ liniamentis effigiatum. Et est ad hunc diem eo loci ecclesiola, quam ad nomen beatissimi Laurentii fecisse predicatur." The charter to which he refers here is given in pp. 379, 380.

(49). On the well known passage of William of Malmesbury about the change of time under Eadward the Confessor, see *Norman Conquest*, ii. 504. This is the change from primitive Romanesque to Norman. The change brought in by Roger Bishop of Salisbury, the change from the earlier Norman to the later, is marked by him in the *Gesta Regum*, v. 406. He speaks of Roger's great undertakings, especially his buildings, and adds "Quod cum alias, tum maxime in Salesbria et Malmesbria est videre. Fecit enim ibi ædificia spatio diffusa, numero pecuniarum sumptuosa, specie formosissima; ita jute composito ordine lapidum, ut junctura perstringat intuitum, et totam maceriam unum mentiatum esse saxum." This has been taken to refer to the fine-jointed masonry brought in by Roger. William goes on to record the building of the church of (Old) Salisbury by Roger. He does not distinctly say that Roger built the church of Malmesbury; but I rather think that he wished to imply it without saying it. Roger was unpopular at Malmesbury, and with good reason, for building his castle within the monastic precinct. William was therefore not specially inclined to dwell even on his good works there. Yet his works must refer to a church, and not to the castle; for he couples the building at Malmesbury with the church at Salisbury, whereas, if he were speaking of castles, he could hardly have failed to couple the castle at Malmesbury with the more famous castles at Sherborne and the Devizes.

(50). William of Malmesbury, in his *Life of Saint Ealdhelm*, traces out the history of several churches belonging to the abbey of Malmesbury from its first foundation to his own time. A church had been standing within his own memory, or shortly before, which professed to be the first church of Meildulf, but about this he seems in doubt. (*Gest. Pont.* 345.) "Parva ibi admodum basilica paucis ante hoc tempus annis visebatur, quam Meildulfum ædificasse antiquitas incertum si fabulabatur." Ealdhelm built a larger church in honour of Saint Peter and Saint Paul. "Fertur fecisse et augustiorem ecclesiam in honorum Domini Salvatoris, et primorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli." In strictness "fertur" ought to refer to Meildulf; but the context shows that Ealdhelm is meant, and the reading of another manuscript distinctly refers it to Ealdhelm. This church of Saint Peter was, down to Eadgar's time (*Gest. Pont.* 386. 407), held to be the head church of the monastery, but at that time that honour was transferred to the church of Saint Mary. This church, as well as one in honour of Saint Michael, were both built by Ealdhelm. Of Saint Michael's, when he wrote, it would seem that no traces were left, but that such traces had been seen during his own time (*Gest.*



Pont. 361.) "Fecit ergo ecclesiam eidemque alteram contiguam in honore Sancti Michaelis, cujus nos vestigia vidimus." But of Saint Mary's, which from the days of Eadgar onward was the head church, he speaks in quite another way. He had himself seen it in perfection: "Nam tota majoris ecclesie fabrica celebris et illibata nostro quoque perstitit ævo, vincens decore et magnitudine quicquid usquam ecclesiarum antiquitus factum visebatur in Anglia." But it was no longer standing, at all events it was no longer perfect, when he wrote. That is to say, it was, when he wrote, in the process of giving way to the church of which a part is still standing. The nave, in which, though the detail is purely Romanesque, the pier arches are slightly pointed, must, I think, be somewhat later than William's time. The eastern part is no longer standing, except what is left of the arches of the tower. We may therefore safely infer that, when William wrote, the eastern part of the new church was already built, but that part of Eadhelm's church was still standing on the site of the present nave. In this last we may doubtless see a carrying out of Roger's design for the eastern part, modified by the use of the pointed arch.

(51). Gest. Pont. 362. "Ad hoc ergo templum exquisitius edificandum post lapideum tabulatum sine ulla parsimonia sumptuum aggregabatur copia lignorum." He goes on to tell the story of the miraculous beam.

(52). I do not mean that there is any special or immediate likeness between Bradford and Romainmoutier. Romainmoutier has more likeness to other examples of Primitive Romanesque in England, those namely where the vertical and horizontal strips are a prominent feature. These last are among those features of the Primitive Romanesque style which were continued in the German Romanesque to the end of the twelfth century. I quote Romainmoutier simply as the great example of a church of this date still surviving.

(53). Chronicon Laureshamense, Pertz xxi. 423 "In brevi tum ex oblati impendiis, tum ex incendii reliquiis eadem restaurata est ecclesia, et si non ea qua olim miræ venustatis elegantia, tamen prout facultas subpetebat et temporis induluit festinantia."

(54). Gest. Pont. 378. "Habuit sedem Scireburniæ, ubi et ecclesiam, quam ego quoque vidi, mirifice construxit."

(55). Will. Malms. Hist. Nov. ii. 32. "Scireburnensem prioratum, qui proprius est episcopi Salesbiriensis, in abbatiam mutavit; abbatia de Hortuna proinde destructa et adjecta." He gives no date; that of 1122 comes from a MS. quoted in the Monasticon i. 333.

(56). Gest. Pont. 346. "Fecit et aliud cenobium juxta fluvium qui vocatur From, sicut in privilegio quod Sergius papa utrisque monasteriis contulit, legitur. Stat ibi adhuc, et vicit diuturnitate sua tot sæcula ecclesia ab eo in honorem Sancti Johannis Baptiste constructa."

(57). Gest. Pont. 363. "Ejus domus maceris adhuc superstitis, celo patuli tecto vacant; nisi quod quiddam super altare prominat, quod a fœditate volucrum sacratum lapidem tueatur." He goes on to tell the legend of the rain never falling, and how all attempts to roof in the ruins had failed.



(58). *Gest. Pont.* 373, 374. The altar, about which several marvels are told, is described as "ex splendenti marmore candido colore, sesquipdali grossitudine, quadrupedali longitudine, latitudine trium palmarum, labo ex eodem lapide prominenti, in circuitu pulcre decussatum."

(59). *Gest. Pont.* 374. "Est ibidem et alia major ecclesia in Sancti Petri nomine, quam a beato viro factam et consecratam non negligenter asseverat opinio. Hujus orientalem frontem nuper in majus porrexit recentis edificationis ambitio."

(60). *Gest. Pont.* 354. "Animi regalis dotes animabat stimulis monitionum pater Aldelmus, cujus ille praecepta audiebat humiliter, suspiciebat granditer, adimplebat efficaciter."

(61). This appears from the story of Hermann Bishop of Ramsbury trying to annex the abbey of Malmesbury to his bishoprick. See *Norman Conquest*, ii. 402.

(62). See *Norman Conquest*, ii. 81—84.

(63). See *Norman Conquest*, i. 294.

(64). In *Domesday* 77, under the estates of the Bishop of Salisbury belonging to Sherborne, nine lordships are marked off "Haec novem descripta maneria sunt de victu monachorum Scireburnensium." The monks have also lands in Sherborne itself, where they are described as "monachi episcopi." Compare the words of William of Malmesbury in note 55.

(65). In *Domesday* 89. *b.* the estates of the canons of Wells came under the head of the lands of the bishoprick, with the introduction, "Canonici S. Andreae tenent de episcopo."

(66). In *Domesday* 77, it is said of land at Staplebridge "de eadem etiam terra tenet Manasses iii virgatas quas W. filius regis tulit ab ecclesia sine consensu episcopi et monachorum."

(67). See *Monasticon* i. 334.

(68). *Gest. Pont.* 354. Ejus [Aldhelmi] monitu . . . . nee parvi pretii rura Melduno intulit [Ina]." Then follows the charter which is given in *Cod. Dipl.* i. 55, and which Mr. Kemble does not mark as spurious.

(69). This very remarkable story, bearing date in 903, is told in a *Charter* in *Cod. Dipl.* v. 154. A certain Ealderman Æthelfrith loses his title-deeds by fire ("contigit quod Æthelfrido duci omnes hereditarii libri ignis vastatione combusti perierant.") He then asks King Eadward, the Ealdorman Æthelred, the Lady Æthelfæd and all the Witan of Mercia, that he may have new writings made, a request which is granted without dispute

"Tali igitur necessitate cogente, praedictus dux rogavit Eadwardum regem, Æthelredum quoque et Æthelfædam, qui tunc principatum et potestatem gentis Mercie sub praedicto rege tenerunt, omnes etiam senatores Merciorum, ut ei consentirent et licentiam darent alios libros rescribendi. Tunc illi unanimiter omnes devota mente consenserunt ut alii ei libri rescriberentur, eodem modo quo et priores scripti erant, in quantum eos memoriter recordari potuissent."

The decree then goes on to provide for the chance of the new copies not being accurate, and for the chance of the old ones turning up again in the hands of any fraudulent possessor. Nothing of this kind is to

affect the *bona fide* right of Æthelrith. In short, even if the new writings were in themselves spurious, they were made genuine by Act of Parliament.

"Si vero quolibet recordari minime potuisset, tunc ei ista kartula in auxilio et adfirmatione fieret, ut nullus eum contentiose cum aliis libris affligere valuisset, nec propinquus nec alienus, quamvis aliquis homo aliquem de vetustis libris protulerit quem prius fraudulenter, in hora ipsius incendii vel alio quolibet tempore, per furtum abstraxisset."

(70). This amazing story will be found in William of Malmesbury de Antiquitate Glastoniensis Ecclesiae (p. 295. Gale). The English words take these forms "Escebtiorne," "Sugewege," "Ealdcyrcenes epple" and "Ealdecyrc[e] suge," though one cannot exactly follow the logic of the statement that, "sus ealdecyre suge idcirco nominabatur, quae cum cæteris suis quatuor pedes habeant, mirum dictu, illa habuit octo."

(71). All these tales will be found in William of Malmesbury's Glastonbury work. Whether any kernel of truth is to be found in any of the legends, hardly concerns us here.

(72). The pig-story is told in some manuscripts of William of Malmesbury, Gest. Reg. I. 35. I have told the story in Old-English History p. 71.

(73). See the Salisbury Volume of the Institute 58, 59. Dr. Guest also, in the Archæological Journal, xvi. 129, refers to Gwrgan Varvtrwch as "the king of Domnonia, who is represented by Malmesbury as the founder of Glastonbury Abbey" in 601. The words of William of Malmesbury (Gale 308) are "Rex Domnonie terram, quæ appellatur Yneswitrin, ad ecclesiam vetustam concessit, quæ ibi sita est, ob petitionem Worgret abbatis." This hardly amounts to a foundation, but it certainly looks like a great advance in the temporal position of the "old church."

(74). I made this comparison from the other side when at Exeter in 1873.

(75). The alleged charter of Cenwealh which is referred to by William of Malmesbury (Gale 308) is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 10. There is also the Charter of Baldred, referred to in the same page and, printed in Cod. Dipl. i. 25, which Mr. Kemble also rejects.

(76). This genuine charter of Ine is given in Cod. Dipl. i. 83. Mr. Kemble there accounts for the manifest mistake in the date.

(77). See Cod. Dipl. i. 24.

(78). The architectural history of the present buildings of Glastonbury should of course be studied in the work of Professor Willis. The point to which I now specially refer is that, after all, the two churches were only connected outside; the approach from one to the other was not by an arch, but by the ordinary west-door of the minster. The arrangement became practically the same as that at Sherborne, after the parish church of All-Hallows was built up against the west-front of the minster. The Gallilee at Durham is another case; only in these two latter cases it was a later building which was built up against the principal church, while at Glastonbury it was an older church which was connected with the newer by an intermediate building later than either.

(79). Ant. Glasc. Eccl. 310. "Fundavit Ina majorem ecclesiam de Apostolis Petro et Paulo." He then counts up the earlier churches real or legendary, and adds "Quartam et majorem construxit Ina rex, in honore Domini Salvatoris, et Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, in orientali parte aliarum, pro anima fratris sui Mules, quem Cantuarii infra Cantuariam incenderant." Then follows a string of hexameters, which he says were written by Ine's order. He also, in Gest. Pont. 354, makes Ine renew the monastery of Glastonbury by the suggestion of Ealdhelm, "ejus monitu Glastoniense monasterium, ut dixi in Gestis Regum, a novo fecit." The reference to Gesta Regum is to i, 35; where we read—"indicio sunt monasteria regis sumptibus nobiliter excitata, praecepit Glastingense, in quo beati martyris Indracti et sociorum ejus corpora, de loco martyrii translata, jussit inferri." And presently "hic etiam beatorum apostolorum ecclesiam, huic vetustae, de qua loquimur, appendicem, a fundamentis edificavit, et magnis possessionibus ditavit." Then follows the "magnum privilegium" which is rejected as spurious by Mr. Kemble Cod. Dipl. i. 85.

(80). See Norman Conquest, iv. 384.

(81). I spoke of this legend in my former paper p. 17.

(82). See Norman Conquest, ii. p. 674.

(83). Ecclesiastical Documents, p. 30.

(84). See the list in Florence i. 236. ed. Thorpe.

(85). Cathedral Church of Wells, p. 16.

(86). This charter is in Cod. Dipl. i. 141. He simply says "Dei apostolo atque ministro, sancto Andreae, humiliter ascribendo donabo." And presently his gifts are said to be made "ad augmentum monasterii quod situm est juxta fontem magnum quem vocitant Uvielea, ut eo diligentius in ecclesia sancti Andreae apostoli Deo soli deserviant." Let no one misapply the word "monasterium," to support the strange belief that there once were monks at Wells. The word "monasterium" or minster is constantly applied to a secular church. See Norman Conquest, i. 424., ii. 671.

(87). See page, 57.

(88). The other reference to Ine in the Abingdon History are at i. 9, where we are told that Ine "primo donationes et beneficia predecessorum suorum Cissae et Cedunallae necnon maximam portionem hereditatis Heani abbatis praecipue erga monasterium Abbendoniae, primo irrita fieri decrevit; sed postmodum . . . . de suis maneriis et licitis donationibus ipsius domus beneficiis auxit uberius." Then comes that strange and incoherent charter which is rejected by Mr. Kemble Cod. Dipl. i. 53. The other reference to Ine is in i. 120, where we read of the times "Cissae et Cedunallae, insuper et Hinæ, regum West-Saxonum, per quorum patrocinia ipsum cœnobium primo fuit erectum et constructum."

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