GRASPING SCHEMER OR HOSTAGE TO FORTUNE: THE LIFE AND CAREER OF STIGAND, LAST ANGLO-SAXON ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY

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Grasping Schemer or Hostage to Fortune:

The Life and Career of Stigand, last Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury

Submitted by

Nancy Leigh Mitton

In partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

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I, Nancy Leigh Mitton, hereby certify that this thesis, which is approximately 91,873 words in length, has been written by me, that it is the record of work carried out by me and that it has not been submitted in any previous application for a higher degree.

22 April, 2008

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Nancy Leigh Mitton

I was admitted as a research student in September 2002 and as a candidate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in September 2002; the higher study for which this is a record was carried out in the University of St Andrews between 2002 and 2006.

22 April, 2008

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I hereby certify that the candidate has fulfilled the conditions of the Resolution and Regulations appropriate for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of St Andrews and that the candidate is qualified to submit this thesis in application for that degree.

22 April, 2008

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Abstract

Grasping Schemer or Hostage to Fortune:
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Nancy Leigh Mitton

Alex Woolf

Stigand occupied a place in or near power for at least fifty years and yet has only been studied very peripherally and in reference to others. He has been vilified or lauded by historians ever since the Conquest. His wealth and methods of acquisition of wealth as well as his political activity have been used to paint him as an ambitious prelate interested only in power and motivated by greed. His unusual advancement to the see of Canterbury and apparent disregard for papal strictures caused him to be used as representative of all of the faults of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Other commentators took the opposite approach and portrayed him as a hero and patriot who resisted the Conqueror until he could no longer put off defeat. Neither of these interpretations is likely to be accurate and neither is wholly supported by the surviving evidence. Much of Stigand's early life is undocumented and must be inferred within reasonable limits. Most of the sources in which extensive comment about Stigand can be found are post-Conquest and contribute their own particular challenges to discovering the facts about a largely pre-Conquest life. Based on monastic chronicles, Domesday Book, legal documents and the writings of Mediæval historians and commentators, in order to define the context in which he lived and worked including the politics of the English church, the kingdom, the Apostolic See and his lay associates this study is an attempt to clarify the life and career of Stigand, the last and extremely controversial Anglo-Saxon Archbishop of Canterbury.

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Acknowledgements

While a dissertation is the product of one person's labour, that person is the product of all those colleagues and mentors encountered along the way. I have been extraordinarily fortunate to be surrounded by a group of accomplished scholars who are glad to share their knowledge and experience with any student who asks. I am grateful to Christine Rauer for her help in the study of Old English. My supervisor, Alex Woolf, has been unfailingly encouraging and supportive. His encyclopaedic knowledge of…nearly everything, has made for stimulating discussions, sure guidance and an enjoyable several years. The Mediæval history postgraduate community at St. Andrews is vigorous, welcoming and supportive. In particular I am grateful for the support and friendship of April Harper, Sally Crumplin, Sumi David and Lindsay Rudge. There have been many fruitful discussions, delicious meals, tours of historical sites and reminders of life outside of primary sources that have made the years here happy and seemingly fleeting. I also thank my family for their patience with my absence and inattention. I particularly wish to thank my parents, my first and best teachers. All of those I have mentioned and many more have influenced me and, through me, my work. Faults and flaws in either are my own, alone.

N. L. M.
14 December 2006
St. Andrews

Illustrations

Abbreviations

Acta 28	*English Episcopal Acta 28*: *Canterbury 1070-1136*, Martin Brett and Joseph A. Gribben, eds., (Oxford, 2004).
Annales Monastici	*Annales Monastici Vol II. - Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* 519-1277, Henry Richards Luard, ed., (London, 1865).
Anonymous, *Eboracensis*	Anonymous, "Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiæ Eboracensis" in *The Historians of The Church of York and Its Archbishops*, Vol. II, James Raine, ed., (London, 1886).
ASC - Baker	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 8, MS F, Peter S. Baker, ed. (Cambridge, 2000).
ASC – Conner	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 10, MS C* The Abingdon Chronicle, A.D. 956-1066, Patrick W. Conner, ed. (Cambridge, 1996).
ASC – Cubbin	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 6, MS D*, G.P. Cubbin ed. (Cambridge, 1996).
ASC – Irvine	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 7, MS E*, Susan Irvine, ed. (Cambridge, 2004).
ASC – O'Brien O'Keeffe	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 5, MS C,* Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. (Cambridge, 2001).
ASC – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker	*The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation,* Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. (London, 1961).
Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*	Baker, Nigel and Holt, Richard, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester*, (Aldershot, Hants. England and Burlington, Vermont, 2004).
Barlow, 'Two notes'	Barlow, Frank, 'Two notes – Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043' *English Historical Review*, (1958), pp. 649-655.

Abbreviations

Barlow, *Edward*	Barlow, Frank, *Edward the Confessor*, (London, 1970).
Barlow, *English Church*	Barlow, Frank, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979).
Barlow, *Feudal Kingdom*	Barlow, Frank, *The Feudal Kingdom of England: 1042-1216,* 4th ed., (New York, 1988).
Barrow, 'Rules'	Barrow, Julia, 'Review Article: Playing by the rules: conflict management in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany' *Early Medieval Europe* 11, (2002), pp. 389-396.
Baxter, *Earls*	Baxter, Stephen, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 2007).
Baxter, 'MS C'	Baxter, Stephen, 'MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Mid-Eleventh-Century England' *English Historical Review* cxxii, (2007).
Bede, *EH*	Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Judith McClure and Roger Collins, eds. (Oxford, 1994).
Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Eduard'	Bloch, M., 'La Vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, xli, (1923).
Brooks, 'Cathedral Community'	Brooks, N, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Community, 597-1070' *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks, eds. (Oxford, 1995).
Brooks, *Early History*	Brooks, Nicholas, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984).
Brooks, 'St. Dunstan'	Brooks, Nicholas, 'The Career of St. Dunstan' *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown, eds., (Oxford, 1992).
Bryce, 'Freeman'	Bryce, James, 'Edward Augustus Freeman' *English Historical Review*, vii, (1892).

Abbreviations

Byrhtferth	[Byrhtferth of Ramsey] *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, *Historians of the Church of York*, Vol. 1, James Raine, ed., (1879).
Clayton, 'Cult of the Virgin'	Clayton, Mary, 'The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England' *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*, Simon Keynes and Andy Orchard, eds. (Cambridge, 2003).
Cooper, *The Last Four*	Cooper, Janet, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers 38, (York, 1970).
Councils & Synods	*Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to The English Church I A.D. 871-1204*, 2 Parts, D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L Brooke, eds., (Oxford, 1981).
Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*	Cowdrey, H.E.J., *Lanfranc – Scholar, Monk and Archbishop*, (Oxford, 2003).
Cubitt, 'Tenth-Century'	Cubitt, Catherine, 'Tenth Century Benedictine Reform' in *Earl MedievalEurope* 6, (1997).
DB	Domesday Book, John Morris, ed. (Chichester, 1975-1985). Various volumes specified in the text.
Dyer, 'Estates'	Dyer, Christopher, 'Bishop Wulfstan and his Estates' *St. Wulfstan and His World*, Julia s. Barrow and N.P. Brooks, eds. (Aldershot, Hants, 2005).
Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*	Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Martin Rule, ed. (London 1884) reprinted (Wiesbaden 1965).
Eadmer, *Recent History*	Eadmer's *History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Geoffrey Bosanquet, tr. (London, 1964).
Encomium	*Encomium Emmæ Reginæ*, Alistair Campbell, ed. and trans. (London, 1949) reprinted with a supplementary introduction by Simon Keynes, (1998).
EHR	*English Historical Review* 1 – (1886 –).
Farmer, 'Life and Works'	Farmer, Hugh, 'William of Malmesbury, His Life and Works,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. XIII, (Edinburgh, 1962).

Abbreviations

Fleming, *Kings and Lords*	Fleming, Robin, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, (Cambridge, 1991).
Finberg, *Agrarian History*	Finberg, H.P.R., 'Anglo-Saxon England to 1042', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, ii.1: A.D. 43-1042* (Cambridge, 1972).
Freeman, *Norman Conquest*	Freeman, Edward A., *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and its results*, 6 Vols. (Oxford, 1867).
GG	William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Gvillelmi*, R.H.C. Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & tr. (Oxford, 1998).
GP	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, 2 Vols. M. Winterbottom, ed. & tr. with the assistance of R. M. Thomson, (Oxford, 2007).
GP – Hamilton	William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, N.E.S.A Hamilton, ed. (London, 1870).
GP – Preest	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, The Deeds of the Bishops of England*, David Preest, tr. (Woodbridge, 2002).
GR	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, 2 Vols. R.A.B. Mynors†, completed by R.M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, (Oxford, 1998).
GR - Stubbs	William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* Vols. I & II & *Historiæ Novellæ*, William Stubbs, ed. (London, 1887).
Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*	Gibson, Margaret, *Lanfranc of Bec*, (Oxford, 1978).
Giraldus, *Opera*	Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, Vol. vii, J. S. Brewer and J. F. Dimock, eds. (London, 1868).
Godfrey, *The Church*	Godfrey, John, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Cambridge, 1962).

Abbreviations

Gransden, *Historical Writing*	Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c.1307*, Vol. I, (London, 1974).
Harmer, 'Charters and Historian	Harmer, F. E., 'Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Historian', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxii (1938)
Harmer, *Writs*	*Anglo-Saxon Writs*, F. E. Harmer, (Manchester, 1952).
Helmholz, *History of Laws*	Helmholz, Richard H., *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, Volume 1 The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Canon Law from 597 to the 1640's*, (Oxford, 2004).
Holinshed	Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles: England, Scotland and Ireland,* 6 Vols. Henry Ellis, ed. (London, 1807-08).
HRH, Knowles, Brooke and London,	David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and Vera C.M. London eds. *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales I – 940-1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001).
HCY	*The Historians of The Church of York and Its Archbishops*, Vol. II, James Raine, ed. (London, 1886).
Heningham, 'Genuineness'	Heningham, Eleanor K., 'The Genuineness of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis', Speculum* Vol. 21, (1946).
Heningham, 'Literary Unity'	Heningham, Eleanor K., 'The Literary Unity, the Date and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book: *The Life of King Edward Who Rests in Westminster*', *Albion*, Vol. 7, (1975).
Hook, *Lives*	Hook, Walter Farquhar, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. I, (London, 1860).
Hudson, *Abingdon*	*Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, 2 Vols. John Hudson, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 2002 and 2007).
JL	*Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, 2nd ed, Philippus Jaffé, ed. (Graz, 1956).

Abbreviations

JW	*The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Vol. II The Annals from 450 to 1066*, R. R. Darlington and P. McGurk, eds. Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, trans., (Oxford, 1995).
Kelly, *Abingdon*	*The Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Anglo-Saxon Charters*, S. E. Kelly, ed., 2 Vols., (Oxford, 2000).
Ker, *Catalogue*	Ker, N. R., *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, (Oxford, 1957).
Keynes, 'Giso'	Keynes, Simon, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells 1061-1088)', *Anglo-Norman Studies* xix, (1997).
Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls'	'Cnut's Earls', *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble (London, 1994).
Keynes, 'Regenbald'	Keynes, Simon, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)' *Anglo- Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference* X, (1987).
Keynes, *Diplomas*	Keynes, Simon, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence*, (Cambridge, 1980).
Knowles, *Monastic*	Knowles, David, *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge, 1962).
Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes*	Lawson, M. K, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993).
LE - Blake	*Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed., (London, 1962).
LE – Fairweather	*Liber Eliensis*: A History of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth, Janet Fairweather, trans. (Woodbridge, 2005).
Letters – Anselm	*The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, Vol. III, Walter Fröhlich, trans., (Kalamazoo, 1990).
Loyn, *Church, 940-1154*	Loyn, H.R, *The English Church, 940-1154*. (Essex, 2000).

Abbreviations

Mack, 'Stallers'	Mack, Katharin, "The Stallers: administrative innovation in the reign of Edward the Confessor" in *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 12, (Amsterdam, 1986).
Mann, *Deloney*	*The Works of Thomas Deloney*, Francis Oscar Mann, eds., (Oxford, 1912).
Memorials	*Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. William Stubbs, RS, (London, 1874).
Morse, 'History as Literature'	Morse, Ruth, 'Medieval Biography: History as a Branch of Literature' *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 80, No. 2, (1985).
ODNB	*Oxford dictionary of national biography ... from the earliest times to the year 2000,* edited by H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison; created in association with the British Academy, (Oxford and New York, 2004).
Otter, *Inventiones*	Otter, Monika, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing*, (Chapel Hill and London, 1996).
OV	*The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 Vols., Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & tr. (Oxford, 1969-1980).
Pavlac, 'Trier'	Pavlac, Brian A., 'Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier' *Church History*, Vol. 60, (1991).
Ridyard, *Royal Saints*	Ridyard, Susan J., *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, (Cambridge, 1988).
Robertson, *Charters*	Robertson, A. J., *Anglo-Saxon Charters,* 2nd ed (Cambridge, 1956).
Rodes, *Eccles. Admin.*	Rodes, Jr., Robert E., *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation*, (Notre Dame and London, 1977).
Saints' Lives	William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*,

	M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002).
Smith 'Needle'	Mary Frances Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle', *Anglo-Norman Studies* xvi, (London, 1993).
Smith, *Episcopal Landholding*	Smith, Mary Frances, *Episcopal Landholding, Lordship and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, unpublished dissertation, University of Boston, (1997).
Smith, Fleming and Halpin 'Court and Piety'	Smith, Mary Frances, Fleming, Robin and Halpin, Patricia, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England' *The Catholic Historical Review* 87, (2001).
Smith, 'Gavelkind'	Smith, R. J., 'The Swanscombe Legend and the Historiography of Kentish Gavelkind' in *Medievalism in the Modern World: Essays in Honour of Leslie J. Workman*, Richard Utz and Tom Shippey, eds. (Turnhout, 1998).
Southern, *Anselm & Bio*	Southern, R.W., *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A study of monastic life and thought 1059-c.1130*, (Cambridge, 1966).
Southern, 'The Fist Life'	Southern, R. W., 'The First Life of Edward the Confessor', *The English Historical Review*, 58, (October, 1943).
Southern, - 'Sense of the Past'	Southern, R.W., 'Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, Vol. 23, (1973).
Stafford, *QEQE*	Stafford, Pauline, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, (Oxford, 1997).
Stenton, *ASE*	Stenton, F. M, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1971).
Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*	Thomson, Rodney M., *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd ed., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003).

Abbreviations

Thorne's Chronicle	*William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A. H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934).
VÆR	*Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit- S. Bertini monacho ascripta*, Frank Barlow, ed. & tr. (Oxford, 1992).
VD	William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002).
VO	William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002).
VW	William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002).
van Houts, *Gesta Normannorum*	*Gesta Normannorum Ducum of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert Torigni*, Elizabeth M.C. van Houts, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 1992-95).
Whitelock, 'Dealings'	Whitelock, Dorothy, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries' *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some aspects of their history and culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, Peter Clemoes, ed. (London, 1959).
Williams, 'dove'	Williams, Ann, 'The cunning of the dove: Wulfstan and the politics of accommodation' *St. Wulfstan and His World*, Julia S. Barrow and N.P. Brooks, eds. (Aldershot, Hants., 2005).
Wills	*Anglo-Saxon Wills,* D. Whitelock, ed. (Cambridge, 1930).
Yorke, 'Aethelwold'	Yorke, Barbara, 'Aethelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century' *Bishop Æthelwold – His Career and Influence*, Barbara Yorke, ed. (Woodbridge, 1988).

Abbreviations

Yorke, 'Carriers'	Yorke, Barbara, 'Carriers of the Truth': Writing the Biographies of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints' *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250*: *Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton, eds., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2006)

Introduction

Only the bare bones of Stigand's life and career are known or can be inferred with any certainty. He was born no later than 990 and probably nearer 985.[1] As he, his brother Æthelmær and their sister held land in and around Norwich his family was probably based in Norfolk. Due to the amounts of land they held, Stigand's family was likely a prominent though not a titled one. He may have been ordained to the priesthood at some time prior to his entry into King Cnut's household, which could have occurred as early as 1017, though he may still have been only in minor orders. He was appointed to the minster at Ashingdon in 1020.[2] Stigand was appointed to the bishopric of Elmham in 1043 and consecrated on the same day Edward was crowned king.[3] Within the year Stigand was deposed and deprived of all of his possessions in conjunction with Queen Emma's fall from grace but was restored to his office in 1044.[4] His wealth in later life suggests that his possessions were restored to him at the same time as was his office or nearly so. By 1047 Stigand had been translated to the throne of Winchester and appeared to be acting in an advisory capacity to King Edward.[5] During the turmoil surrounding Godwine's conflict with Robert of Jumièges, archbishop of Canterbury and the king,

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[1] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 8, MS F, Peter S. Baker, ed. (Cambridge, 2000), *s.a.* 1020, Stigand's appointment to Ashingdon; 1043, his appointment to Elmham. In MS F of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Stigand is referred to as *preost* both at his appointment to Ashingdon and at his appointment to Elmham. No contemporary or later commentator, even the most critical of Stigand, ever suggested that he was not a priest when he was elevated to the bishopric at Elmham. As the F MS uses the term '*preost*' to describe him on that later occasion it cannot be assumed that he was not in priest's orders when he was appointed to Ashingdon in 1020 because the term '*mæssepreost*' was not used. Use of the term '*preost*' on both occasions is not proof that Stigand was an ordained priest in 1020, though it strongly suggests as much, but it cannot be used, on its own, as evidence that he was not. If the use of the term had a consistent meaning of 'ordained priest' that would mean that Stigand was born in 990 or earlier.

[2] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*, Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. (London, 1961), F *s.a.* 1020, p. 98.

[3] *Ibid.,* C, D, *s.a.* 1043, p. 107.

[4] *Ibid.,* C *s.a.* 1044, pp. 107-108.

[5] *Ibid.,* C *s.a.* 1047 p. 110.

Stigand acted as intermediary.[6] As the result of Robert's flight and deposition, due to Godwine's return and restoration to his lands and titles, Stigand was elevated to the see of Canterbury in 1053 which he held in plurality with that of Winchester.[7] He held both sees until his final deposition. He was censured by the papacy for assuming the archiepiscopal see while Robert of Jumièges was still living. He received the *pallium* in 1058 from Pope Benedict X before that pontiff was removed as intrusive.[8] Stigand consecrated several bishops during and after the period 1058-1059 but for most of his archiepiscopal tenure refrained from such acts forbidden by the lack of a *pallium*. At an unknown date, although almost certainly prior to the Conquest, Stigand went on pilgrimage either to or including the shrine of St. Willibrord at Echternach. He was remembered in a late life of that saint as a generous benefactor. He accumulated immense wealth through various means both reputable and questionable. The only evidence of his wealth, beyond *Domesday Book*, is reports of lavish gifts to churches. Stigand was not reported to live an extravagant lifestyle nor apparently to engage in the usual pursuits of the nobles with whom he associated. He is reputed to have supported Harold's accession to the throne and later Edgar's abortive bid before submission to William. Certain post-Conquest sources such as the Bayeux Tapestry claim that Stigand consecrated Harold. As he had avoided unauthorized consecrations up to that time it seems that this claim was indicative of a hardening of attitudes towards both men. Stigand traveled to Normandy with William and various English nobles in 1067 as an involuntary guest and returned when the king did in December of that same year. His

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[6] *Ibid.,* D, E 1052, p. 125. *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit- S. Bertini monacho ascripta*, Frank Barlow, ed. & trans. (London, 1962), pp. 34-36.
[7] *ASC* – Whitelock, MS C *s.a.* 1053, p. 128. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 5, MS C*, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. (Cambridge, 2001), 116-117.
[8] *Ibid.,* MS C *s.a.* 1058, p. 134.

inclusion was due, according to several sources, to his great power and influence which William feared to leave unattended in his absence. He was apparently surprised when, in 1070, papal legates arrived to effect his deposition. William of Malmesbury suggested that Stigand's imprisonment had been particularly onerous. William claimed that Stigand was kept in chains until his death and that through his own parsimony went hungry and ill dressed. Stigand died, a prisoner at Winchester, in 1072 and was buried in the Old Minster. His remains were translated, along with those of Cnut, Emma and others, to New Minster and eventually to Winchester cathedral where they rest in the mortuary chests above the rood screen.

Stigand's ecclesiastical career spanned five decades. He survived two invasions, outlived eight kings and defied four popes before he was removed from office. Despite all of this upheaval and its attendant controversy, extraordinarily little has been written about him. What has been written was rarely complimentary. The most neutral commentary, expressing either approval or merely reporting events, was that written during his life time. After his deposition and death, commentators, largely Norman in birth or sensibility, began rewriting the history of the late Anglo-Saxon period. Most of the literature about Stigand is post-Conquest and written by authors with a vested interest in expressing support for papal reforms, justifying the invasion and glorifying William the Conqueror. In the thirteenth-century there were those willing to see him as a hero and patriot.[9] Some scholars in the fourteenth, sixteenth and eighteenth-centuries continued

[9] Thomas Sprott in *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A.H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934), chapter9, pp. 47-49. Thorne printed in Roger Twysden, *Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, (London 1652), cols 1757-2207 and A.H. Davis, *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey*

this trend. In the nineteenth-century the pendulum began to swing back towards disapproval though there were still those who insisted that Stigand was nothing short of heroic. These interpretations were usually rooted in the prejudices of the author's day and on misreadings of source material.

This survey begins with an attempt to establish the development of Stigand's reputation from pre-Conquest approval to post-Conquest disapprobation to present day concurrence with the worst of Norman opinion. This approach will focus not merely on the reporting of events detrimental to Stigand's career but on value judgments on the parts of the authors regarding Stigand's fitness for his offices or his moral rightness as a bishop. The sources for the early portion of this survey are unfortunately not as early as one could wish but they were written within a generation or two of Stigand's death. This gap is not as great as it might at first seem. A man twenty years of age in 1070 would have been fully adult and capable of understanding the events taking place around him and would have been only seventy-five years of age in 1125, when William of Malmesbury was writing, and still able to act as a reliable witness. Those sources are the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*, the *Liber Eliensis* and a number of other works of the late eleventh through the mid-twelfth-centuries. The analysis continues up to the present time through the use of secondary sources including Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England*, Frank Barlow's *The English Church 1000-1066*, Henry Loyn's *The English Church, 940-*

Canterbury, (Oxford 1934). Sprott alone in BL, Cotton MSS, Tiberius A IX & Lambeth Palace Library, MS, No. 419.

1154, Robin Fleming's *Kings and Lords in Conquest England* as well as numerous others.

The study continues by placing Stigand in context with other episcopal and archiepiscopal office holders before, during and after his tenure. This portion of the study is based largely on William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* although other sources have also been consulted. William produced a history of as many bishops as he could from Augustine to his own day. While William was a product of his day and thus subject to certain biases, he made a serious attempt to present facts rather than rumor and to draw honest conclusions. His episcopal survey is here used as a base-line for determining the reputations of various ecclesiastical office holders from the point of view of one man. This focused approach renders discrepancies more obvious than they might be when viewed through the lenses of several writers. The works of other writers are then used to reinforce or to reject William of Malmesbury's opinions.

Following on from the placement of Stigand in his episcopal context is a similar contextualization in his political milieu. It was not at all unusual for episcopal office holders to be involved in politics yet Stigand was often singled out for criticism for his own involvement. Stigand will be compared to other bishops to determine if he was significantly different from them to warrant this criticism. He will also be compared to the nobles in whose company he can be found to establish his position relevant to lay lords in order to reflect aspects of his own temporal lordship. Exactly what is known of the political events in which Stigand participated will also be examined in an attempt to

determine just how politically active he actually had been. It was quite possibly the specific events in which Stigand participated that brought him to commentators' attention as particularly politically active rather than a career heavily weighted towards politics.

One aspect of Stigand's history that stands out in comparison either to other bishops or to lay nobles is the extent of his wealth. In a league table of wealthy Anglo-Saxons Stigand would have ranked third below Godwine and his family, taken as a corporate entity, and the king although these numbers have recently been convincingly challenged by Stephen Baxter.[10] Even if only his personal wealth was considered without the addition of his offices, Stigand was still an extremely wealthy man. The fact as well as the methods of Stigand's acquisition of land has been the cause of much criticism but little informed debate. The single published study of Stigand's landholding and wealth while strong on facts and sources is occasionally hasty as to conclusions.[11] Stigand, once again, participated in an activity in which other bishops participated yet he received the bulk of the criticism. *Domesday Book* is the primary source for this portion of the study with charters and monastic chronicles contributing details the land survey lacks.

Stigand's relationship with the Church is the most intriguing aspect of his career. From all appearances he was a priest and bishop of good standing until he was elevated to Canterbury. Despite the fact that his translation from the diocese of Elmham to that of

[10] Robin Fleming, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, (Cambridge, 1991), pp. 66 and 68. and Mary Frances Smith, "Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle" *Anglo-Norman Studies* xvi, (London, 1993), pp. 199-219 at 219. Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 128-138.
[11] Smith, 'Needle', pp. 199-219.

Winchester violated canon law there was no criticism of him in reference to this issue at the time. He remained in the archiepiscopal office despite repeated papal sanctions and yet refrained from violating the limits of his questionable position. He was a generous patron even to foundations that claimed he also misappropriated their land. He is known to have traveled beyond English shores on only two occasions: once on pilgrimage and once against his will. Despite censures and controversy he was said to have been surprised when he was deposed. The final chapter of this study will attempt to explain Stigand's ambiguous behavior in relation to the Church and papal strictures and to offer an explanation of his position.

Sources

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* accounts provide a record of Stigand's ecclesiastical advancement without the value judgments found in other monastic writings. The various manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* are, by some scholars, perceived to be biased for or against various persons, such as the Godwines and those alleged to operate as their agents. This perception is based on whether the events reported or the words in which events are reported can be seen as favorable or unfavorable.[12] The C-Text is thought to be unfavorable, the E-Text, favorable and the D-Text, neutral. This bias is extended to Stigand as his intervention between Edward and Godwine is often characterized as placing the bishop firmly under Godwine's thumb. Stephen Baxter argues, convincingly, for a pro-Mercian and pro-Earl Leofric rather than an anti-Godwine bias in MS C.[13] He

[12] *ASC* - Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, p. 125 n 1. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, M Swanton, ed. (London, 1996), pp. xxiii-xxviii.
[13] Stephen Baxter, 'MS C of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Politics of Mid-Eleventh-Century England' *English Historical Review* cxxii, (2007). pp, 1200-1215.

points out the significantly more frequent pro-Mercian/Leofric entries compared to those critical of or damaging to Earl Godwine or his family. MS C contains nine anti-Godwine entries compared to fifteen pro-Mercian and seven pro-Leofric entries.[14] He compares this incidence of frequency with MS E, generally more favorable to Godwine, and found nine pro-Godwine and eight generally southern entries.[15] This frequency indicates that MS C is pro-Mercian/Leofric rather than particularly anti-Godwine. The annal for 1066 makes this clear with a very complimentary entry for Harold Godwineson after he married into the Leofricson family.[16]

MS C is found in London, British Library, MS cotton Tiverius B,i, fos. 115v – 164r.[17] The text is preceded by two poems, the *Menologium* and *Maxims II* on folios 112r – 115v[18] The text consists of an entry for 60 B.C. and continues for the years 1 – 1066, there is a lacuna covering the years 1057 – 1065. MS C breaks off mid-way through the 1065 entry for the battle of Stamford Bridge. The entry is completed on a supplementary sheet of the twelfth-century.[19] L, BL MS Cot Tib B. i provides no direct information relating to the origin of the text. It has been linked to Abingdon on the basis of the mention of the monastery in entry *s.a.* 977 and the notice of abbatial office holders in later years.[20] The similarity of the entries up to 977 to those of the B text have led to suggestions that the two chronicles shared an exemplar.[21] A number of scholars have

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 1215.
[15] *Ibid.*
[16] *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1066.
[17] *Ibid*, *MS C*, p. xv.
[18] *Ibid*., *ASC* – Whitelock, p. xiii.
[19] *Ibid*.
[20] *Ibid*.
[21] London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius A.vi.

accepted this attribution with caveats about various sections of the text.[22] Plummer suggested a Canterbury provenance for the annals up to 1023.[23] David Dumville and Simon Keynes rejected Canterbury as the place of origin.[24] Keynes considered London the likeliest place to have produced the work, Dumville declined to suggest an origin.[25] Katherine O'Brien O"Keeffe believes that Canterbury should not be dismissed out of hand and points out the 'Jutish' words found in the text. These words suggest a Kentish origin.[26] Stephen Baxter makes a good case for Evesham as place of origin for at least the mid-eleventh-century entries.[27] It contains no information about Stigand beyond his deposition from the see of Elmham in 1043. Neither Stigand's reinstatement to the see of Elmham, his receipt of his *pallium* nor Pope Benedict X's eventual deposition and its consequences for the English metropolitan were chronicled in this text. The lack of positive reports involving Stigand, Baxter asserts, is one more indication that the C Text is less favorable to Godwine and his family and affinity than it is to Earl Leofric and his circle.

Text D has a northern focus in many of the entries as the annals concerning Malcolm and Margaret of Scotland demonstrate.[28] The location of the D text during the Medieval period is not known. In 1565 the manuscript was in Worcester cathedral. The chronicle ends mid-word at the bottom of a page. The Chronicle may have been kept at Worcester from the eleventh-century. Considerable material of

[22] *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. xv.
[23] *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel*, Vol. II, C. Plummer and J. Earle, eds., (1899), II, p. lxxxviii.
[24] Dumville, 'Some Aspects' *Peritia*, p. 27. Simon Keynes, p. 232
[25] *Ibid.*
[26] Seebold, p. lxviii.
[27] Baxter, 'MS C', p.
[28] British Library MS. Cotton Tiberius B. iv.

Worcester interest began to appear, including details of local events.[29] Possibly as many as sixteen different scribes recorded the entries that spanned Stigand's career.[30]

The archetype of Text E is very closely related to D until 1031 when it was apparently removed to St. Augustine's Canterbury near the middle of the eleventh-century.[31] This archetype or a copy of it was sent or taken to Peterborough. Text E is the copy made there. Text F was a Christ Church Canterbury text of the late eleventh or early twelfth-century. The scribe used the E and A texts as well as other sources of information. This is the text in which Stigand was named as the royal priest appointed to the minster at Ashingdon in 1020 thus bringing him to historical notice.

Charter evidence is available and useful in placing Stigand in the company of particular nobles and other ecclesiastics and present at certain events. They are also an indicator of his status, relative to the Church and lay-lordship, and serve to challenge the reports of post-Conquest and subsequent writers who claim that Stigand was never accorded the dignity of archbishop. The very few charters in which Stigand appeared after the Conquest serve to indicate that he was still in office but as he was merely a witness to the transaction they indicate little else. The charters do serve to verify or supplement the details of *Domesday Book* claims in reference to Stigand's landholdings.

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[29] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 6, MS D, G.P. Cubbin ed. (Cambridge, 1996), p. lxviii.
[30] *ASC* – Cubbin, pp. xi-xv.
[31] Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 636.

Introduction

It is in *Domesday Book* that the most comprehensive information about Stigand's landed wealth and lordship can be found. The 1086-7 survey lists more than 300 pieces of land and their attendant persons, produce, livestock and values attributable to Stigand's holding or that of men and women commended to him or under his jurisdiction. *Domesday Book* also, occasionally, provides details, from perhaps a less biased perspective, that other references to Stigand's lands lack.

William of Poitiers was a knight prior to entering the clergy and eventually entering William of Normandy's household as a chaplain. He was born perhaps c. 1020 and died probably later than 1087. Little else is known of him as the first and last folios of the surviving manuscript of *Gesta Guillelmi Ducis Normannorum et Regis Anglorum* were already lost when André Duchesne edited it in 1619 so it is from Orderic Vitalis' *Ecclesiastical History* that information about William can be had. Duchesne's exemplar was lost in its entirety in the Cotton fire of 1731. The work seems to have been written after the Conquest and before the death of Bishop Hugh of Lisieux which would place it c. 1066 x 1077. William's experience as a knight has led his readers to credit his accounts of battles during the invasion with more accuracy than those of other authors but he was not always consistent in his reports. He contradicted his own statements about Harold's burial and did not appear to recognize that the joyous reception accorded King William did not correspond with the rebellions he was forced to put down.

Liber Eliensis survives in a number of manuscripts though not complete in all of them. The primary texts from which the published edition and translation were taken

were those known as British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A. xix, folios 2-27 *verso*, referred to as MS E and Trinity College, Cambridge MS O.2.4.i, pages 1-64 *verso*, referred to as MS. F.[32] MS. E is late twelfth-century while MS. F is early thirteenth-century. The work is divided into three books. Book I was completed after 1131, the earliest that John of Worcester's chronicle would have been available for inclusion.[33] Book II could not have been finished before 1154.[34] Book III must have been completed after Bishop Nigel's death in 1169 but before his successor was appointed in 1174 as no mention was made of him.[35] The author is unknown but a senior monk of Ely by the name of Richard is the most likely candidate for Books I, II and III up to chapter 43.[36] The work re-set the foundation of the abbey to the arrival of St. Æthelthryth though the author was well *aware* of the earlier, actual foundation. An early double house, Ely was reformed by Æthelwold. Ely became an episcopal see in 1109. The *Liber Eliensis*, in addition to a history of the abbey, contains charters and an inventory of treasures. It is from this inventory that detailed information about Stigand's gifts is derived. The *Liber Eliensis* is also valuable as an account of Stigand's activities and perhaps even his state of mind immediately prior to his arrest and deposition. E. O. Blake's 1962 Latin edition of *Liber Eliensis* relied most heavily on the thirteenth-century Trinity College, Cambridge MS O.2.4.i, or MS F while Janet Fairweather's excellent 2005 English translation is more reliant on British Museum MS Cotton Vespasian A. xix, or MS E. Both editions are used throughout this survey. The 'Book of Lands' mentioned in the *Liber Eliensis* in reference

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[32] *Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed., (London, 1962). *Liber Eliensis*: *A History of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth*, Janet Fairweather, trans. (Woodbridge, 2005).
[33] *LE* – Blake, Book II, chapter 103, pp. 176-177.
[34] *LE* – Blake, p. xlviii. The date of the translation of relics by Prior Alexander. Chapter 54 refers to events of 1150.
[35] *Ibid.*
[36] *Ibid.*

to Stigand's possession of Ely manors is the *Libellus quorundam insignium operum beati Æthelwoldi episcopi* which occupies forty-two chapters in Book II. The *Libellus* was translated from a vernacular source at the instigation of Bishop Hervey who occupied the see between 1109 and 1131.[37] The *Libellus Æthelwoldi* is a detailed account of the building up of the landed wealth of the abbey of Ely and of legal challenges to possession of those lands[38]

The *Vita Ædwardi qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit* survives in one incomplete manuscript c. 1100 designated BL MS Harley 526.[39] The author is unknown. He may have been a monk though he referred to himself as a "pelican in the wilderness"[40] which suggests that he was not a member of a monastic community or perhaps that he lived outside of such a community for some unknown reason. He may have been from the continent as he seemed much concerned for the foreigners in Edward's court and kingdom though he was not sympathetic to Normans.[41] He referred to the Count of Flanders as a friend of the English people, was knowledgeable about Flemish history and mentioned the town of Saint-Omer.[42] He may have been a Flemish monk or clerk of St. Bertin possibly connected to Christ Church, Canterbury.[43] There are various theories that make the case for either Goscelin or Folcard as author but neither is conclusive and there is evidence to support as well as refute each. Both men had similar training, had similar misfortunes, found work as itinerant writers and produced similar

[37] *LE* – Blake, p. 115.
[38] *LE* – Blake, Book II, chapters 7-49. *LE* - Fairweather, Book II chapters 7-49 & Appendix A.
[39] *VÆR*, p. xviii-xix.
[40] *Ibid*, "*domate pellicanus*"
[41] *Ibid*, pp. 122-4. Southern, R. W., 'The First Life of Edward the Confessor', *The English Historical Review*, ccxxxii, (October, 1943), pp. 385-400 at 397-8.
[42] *VÆR*, pp. 36, 38-40 & 82.
[43] *Ibid*, p. xlvi. The surviving manuscript appears to have been written at Canterbury.

works. There is, unfortunately, no greater evidence to support either one or the other as the author of the *Vita Ædwardi*.

Richard Southern presented the case for Goscelin. Goscelin was a monk of St. Bertin who came to England c. 1060 with the bishop of Wilton/Ramsbury. He was closely associated with Wilton where Queen Edith had been educated and where she remained an important patron.[44] There are a number of word-use similarities between Goscelin's *Life of St. Edith* and the *Vita Ædwardi* but not so many as to constitute proof.[45] One difficulty is the statement in the *Vita Ædwardi* that Edith was exiled to Wilton[46] in 1051 while the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states Wherwell.[47] Goscelin should not have been misinformed on this point. It is possible that Wilton was substituted for Wherwell to soften the exile into something more like a visit to one's old school in an effort at diplomacy for Edith's sake.

Folcard was also a monk of St. Bertin who had been acting abbot at Thorney from approximately Christmas 1069 until he was deposed by Lanfranc in 1085.[48] He was also, like Goscelin, skilled in music and grammar.[49] Also like Goscelin he appears to have been a wandering author of saint's lives. Ejected from his monastery, he found a patron in either Queen Edith or Queen Matilda who redirected him to Archbishop Ealdred.[50] Barlow argued that given the time constraints between Matilda's coronation by Ealdred

[44] Goscelin, *Life of St. Edith*, Dom A. Wilmart, ed., *Analecta Bollandiana,* Vol. 56 (1938).
[45] Southern, 'The Fist Life', pp. 399. *VÆR*, p. L.
[46] *VÆR*, pp. 36 & 44.
[47] *ASC* - Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1051, p. 120.
[48] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 Vols., Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1969), ii, pp. 344-5 n. 3.
[49] *OV*, ii, pp. 150-1.
[50] *VÆR*, pp. liv-lv. BL Cotton MS Faustine B.iv.

in May of 1068 and Ealdred's death in September of 1069, Folcard's patron was probably Queen Edith. The Anonymous' attitude towards Ealdred's misfortunes in Rome would lead away from Folcard as author given Ealdred's protection him from the slights of the envious.[51]

The text was edited by H.R. Luard and printed in 1858 as part of the Rolls Series. Luard expressed the opinion that the work was written soon after the Conquest. This dating was accepted by a number of scholars.[52] In 1923, in the preface to his edition of Osbert of Clare's *Vita Beati ac Gloriosi Regis Anglorum Eadwardi*, Marc Bloch disputed Luard's dating and declared the work a forgery of the early twelfth-century.[53] Bloch's argument can be summarized thus: the *Vita Ædwardi* was written in the first third of the twelfth-century in order to associate Edward's deathbed prophecy with the birth of William, son of Henry and Edith/Matilda and at the same time to promote Edward's widow Edith in association with the growing cult of Edward. Bloch claimed that the internal evidence for an early date was in fact authorial artifice.[54] This argument was accepted in part if not in whole by a number of scholars in the first half of the twentieth-

[51] *VÆR*, pp. liv-lv.
[52] Southern, 'The First Life', pp. 385-388; E. A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and its results*, Vol. I, revised edition, (Oxford, 1870), p 398; Vol. II same edition, pp.3, 489, 523-4, 600-1, 624; C. Oman, *England before the Norman Conquest*, (New York, 1910), p. 634; J. Armitage Robinson, 'The Church of Edward the Confessor at Westminster', *Archæologia*, lxii, (1910), p. 82, as cited by Eleanor K. Heningham in 'The Genuineness of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*', *Speculum*, Vol. 21, (1946), pp. 419-456 at 419.
[53] M. Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Edouard le Confesseur par Osbert de Clare,' *Analecta Bollandiana*, xli, (1923), pp. 17-44. G. E. Moore, *The Middle English Verse Life of Edward the Confessor*, (Philadelphia, 1942), p. xxxvi. Moore supported Bloch's dating and pointed out that even if written in the twelfth-century, the *Vita Ædwardi* was still the earliest account of Edward's life.
[54] Bloch, '*La Vie de S. Edouard*' pp. 9, 19, 34-44.

century.[55] Frank Stenton accepted that Bloch had "proved that it [the *Vita Ædwardi*] cannot safely be used as an authority for the Confessor's reign."[56] Within a few years, Richard Southern and Eleanor Heningham rejected Bloch's reasoning.[57] Southern believed the work was written immediately after Edward's death in 1066 and prior to Stigand's deposition in 1070. He based his conclusions on the author's dedication and repeated references to Queen Edith and references to Stigand as living and still archbishop.[58] Southern went further and suggested a date between 25 September 1066 and 6 January 1067, that is after Stamford Bridge and before the end of 'a year and a day' from Edward's death, but he did not insist on this dating.[59] Initially, Eleanor Heningham was more conservative than Southern in that she considered Edith's death in 1075 as the safest *terminus ad quem*.[60] She later revised her opinion and suggested a date of 1068-1070.[61]

Eleanor Heningham systematically demonstrated that Bloch's objections to the early date for the *Vita Ædwardi* were unsustainable. In particular, Bloch's claim that since Edward's deathbed prophecy was later interpreted to refer to the birth of Prince William, the son of Henry I and Edith/Matilda, daughter of Queen Margaret, it could not

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[55] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1971), p. 686; F. M. Powicke, Short Notice, *English Historical Review*, xxxix, (1924), 628-9; R. R. Darlington, *The Vita Wulfstani of William of Malmesbury*, (London, 1928), p. 34, n. 3.
[56] Stenton, *ASE*, p. 686.
[57] Southern, 'The First Life', pp. 385-400; Heningham, 'Genuineness', pp. 419-456.
[58] *VÆR*, for references to Edith, pp. 4-6; to Stigand, p. 118 & 122; Southern, 'The First Life…', p. 385.
[59] Southern, 'The First Life', p. 386. Heningham, 'Genuineness', p. 421, n. 15, Heningham translates the line '*post obitus mei diem anno uno et die una omne hoc regnum a se maledictum in manu inimiei'* as 'within a year and a day after my death, cursed by him into the hand of the enemy' rather than 'for a year and a day after my death, etc.' arguing that there would have been less worry, on Edward's and the author's parts, over troubles whose duration was known than over troubles with a beginning but no end in sight.
[60] Heningham, 'Genuineness', p. 419.
[61] Eleanor K. Heningham, 'The Literary Unity, the Date and the Purpose of the Lady Edith's Book: *The Life of King Edward Who Rests in Westminster*', *Albion*, Vol. 7, (1975), pp. 33-4.

have been written earlier than that birth.[62] Bloch claimed that the work was a covert appeal to Queen Matilda and an attempt to associate the revered Edward with her son. William of Malmesbury stated that many had interpreted Edward's prophecy thus but that "God had other plans."[63] Heningham points out that William of Malmesbury referred to the prophecy as Edward's rather than William's and recounted it even after its fulfillment by Prince William was impossible.[64] Heningham argues that William of Malmesbury saw no particular connection between the tree of Edward's vision and the house of Cerdic. The tree was merely a symbol of impossibility and that the crucial part of the vision was the prophecy of impending disaster.[65] There is certainly no reason that something written in the past cannot be later interpreted in any way people might wish and the argument that the *Vita Ædwardi* must be a forgery because a portion of it was later used in a particular way cannot be sustained.

Bloch insisted that a number of historical inaccuracies found in the *Vita Ædwardi* were proof that the author could neither have been a contemporary of Queen Edith nor written under her patronage. The majority of these errors occurred in the portions of the work dealing with the period some fifteen to twenty years before the *Vita* could have been completed and the author never claimed to have witnessed the events in question. Richard Southern answered this objection by pointing out that the early events were

[62] *Ibid*., pp. 420-1. Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Edouard', pp. 20-5.
[63] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1998), Vol. I, chapter 419, p. 759. "*Deus aliter uisum.*"
[64] Heningham, 'Genuineness', pp. 422-3.
[65] *Ibid.*, p. 424.

embroidered with romantic detail but that none of those details significantly alter the reliability of the work.[66]

Bloch also objected to the account of Eustace of Boulogne and the events in Dover. He insisted that as the *Vita* was at variance with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* accounts of the events that precipitated Godwine's exile, "*Il faut rejecter l'un ou l'autre recit.*"[67] As the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* accounts are at variance even with each other, Bloch's claim is rendered moot. Bloch also took the author's image of four rivers of Paradise, as a reference to Harold, Tostig, Gyrth and Edith, to mean that these were Godwine's only children when others are known to have lived. Bloch overlooked statements in the work that clearly indicated that the author knew of other Godwine offspring. The Anonymous referred, obliquely, to daughters other than Edith and referred to Leofwine by name.[68]

The lack of comment in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* about Harold's pilgrimage to Rome caused Bloch to dismiss the claim out of hand as a mirror of Tostig's. His reason for this claim is that Harold was too important a man for his movements to go unreported and that since Tostig's were recorded in "*toutes les chroniques*" the lack of comment on Harold constitutes an argument from silence that Harold stayed at home.[69] The C manuscript of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* contains no entries at all for the period 1056 to

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[66] Southern, 'The First Life', pp. 391-5 & 391 n. 2.
[67] Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Edouard', p. 28.
[68] *VÆR*, for daughters of Godwine p. 10 "*Nati sunt ergo filii et filiæ tanto patri non degeneres…*" & for Leofwine pp. 38-40 & p. 38 n. 93 "*filii eius Haroldus et Leofwinus…*" According to Barlow, Luard misread 'Leofwine' as 'Leofric' thus adding fuel to the accusation that the author was ill informed about Godwine's family. Barlow was satisfied that the manuscript reads 'Leofwine.'
[69] Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Edouard', p. 28.

1065 and as Tostig's journey took place in 1061, it is unreported in that chronicle. The E manuscript reports Giso's appointment to the bishopric of Wells but makes no mention of his consecration in Rome or of Tostig's presence there.[70] The D manuscript reports that Tostig and Ealdred were there together.[71] Heningham cited the drama surrounding Tostig's visit to Rome *i.e.* Ealdred's deposition and eventual restoration, the robbery and the confrontation with the pope, versus Harold's quietly successful journey as the reason for the chronicle's attention to the former but not the latter.[72]

Finally, Bloch disliked the general concept of the work. That the *Vita Ædwardi* did not conform to the usual style of hagiographical writing, which he believed the *Vita* to be, led him to conclude that Edward was already at the time of writing, revered as a saint and the Anonymous wished to associate Edith more closely with him and so wrote the work as if it had been composed much earlier.[73] Surely if the author was concerned with promoting a cult of the widow of a saint he would have emphasized Edward's sanctity either as something people had always known about him or would have stressed miracles that occurred after his death even if authorial artifice prevented him from mentioning later events such as the discovery of Edward's incorruptibility or his translation.

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[70] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* pp. 135-136.
[71] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1061, p. 135.
[72] Heningham, 'Genuineness', p. 433.
[73] Bloch, 'La Vie de S. Edouard' p. 29. Southern, 'The First Life', p. 385. Southern referred to the work as both a saint's life and a biography and noted that greater emphasis was given to Godwine and his family than to Edward. *VÆR*, p. xxxv. Barlow describes the work as 'quasi-hagiographical'; Heningham, 'Genuineness', p. 434-5. Heningham agreed with Barlow in stating that the *Vita Ædwardi* is not a hagiographical work and the assumption that it is, is at the root of much of the disagreement among scholars regarding its purpose.

Introduction

In his edition of the *Vita Ædwardi*, Frank Barlow emphasized the thematic differences between the first and second portions of the work. Barlow divided the work into Books I, which he dated to 1065, and II which he believed was written in 1067 after a short delay.[74] Barlow argued that Book I must have been written before the Conquest, as a work in praise of Godwine and his sons would have been difficult or dangerous to produce after that event.[75]

Barlow titled Book I, 'Queen Edith's Family' and divided that book into chapters:

i. Rise of Godwine
ii. Missing
iii. Events of 1051
iv. Events of 1052
v. Rise of Harold and Tostig
vi. Later court life
vii. Tostig's fall and death of Edward

He titled Book II, 'Edward's Religious Life' which he also divided into chapters:

i. Edward's early life
ii. Healing a young woman of infection
iii. Healing a blind man
iv. Healing blind men [reconstructed from John of Worcester and Osbert of Clare]
v. Healing of a blind man [reconstructed from Osbert of Clare]
vi. King's washing water cures blindness [reconstructed from Osbert of Clare]

[74] Heningham, 'Literary Unity', p. 24. Heningham disagreed with Barlow on his division into two books and considered England rather than either Edward or Edith's family to be the unifying theme of the work. Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, (Oxford, 1997), pp. 40-1. Stafford sees internal parallels and contrasts centering on the works relationship to Queen Edith and makes a comparison with the *Encomium Emmæ Reginæ* and its relationship to another powerful woman.

[75] *VÆR*, p. xxxi, n. 69. Körner, Sten, *The Battle of Hastings, England and Europe 1035-1066*, (Lund, 1964), p. 37, n. 1. Körner agreed with Barlow that the *Vita Ædwardi* is written in two parts but disagreed on the date of composition. He preferred at date of 1067-1072. Körner also viewed the purpose of Book I differently than did Barlow. He described the first book as an account of Edward's reign rather than of the careers of Edith's father and brothers.

vii. The Seven Sleepers [reconstructed from Osbert of Clare]
viii. Refocus on death of Edward [reconstructed from Osbert of Clare]
ix. Dedication of Westminster [reconstructed from Sulcard]
x. Gifts to the church at its consecration
xi. Edward's Prophecy and Death

The Anonymous made no such clear cut divisions and supplied no titles.[76]

While it contains certain *topoi* common to hagiographical writings, such as the mystical event experienced by the subject's mother during pregnancy and a rather vague sense of time, it does not reach the level of hagiography. The work contains no accounts of the discovery of Edward's incorruptibility, his translations nor miracles worked after death though the author stated that there were such miracles.[77] The work is an historical account of the careers of the men closest to the Queen and focused on Edward's piety only once events overtook the original plan. Barlow pointed out that the author did state that his initial plan for the work had changed as the result of the deaths of Harold and Tostig, whom he described as his lords. Barlow used this statement and the verse that precedes his Book II as support for his contention that the work was written in sections with a division in mind. The change in plan that Barlow noted is definitely present and deliberate as the author stated, but it does not appear to constitute an end of one work and the beginning of another as if they were two works presented in one volume. The change

[76] *VÆR*, pp. 2-3 & 84-5. Barlow gave the book number as well as the title on the translation page but merely the book number, in Latin, on the original. Both are editorial additions. On page 2, n. 1, Barlow pointed out that the overall title of the work appears to be an addition, albeit an early one. He did not, on this page, indicate that the book numbers and titles were his own.
[77] *Ibid.*, p. 126.

was a shift in focus from an account of Edith's natal family and Edward to an account of Edward.[78] The author's muse admonished the writer for intemperate grief and urged completion of the work as originally conceived. "All that was promised you remains. The story's end is good."[79]

William of Malmesbury

William of Malmesbury was a Benedictine monk of the abbey of Malmesbury in the early twelfth century. He was a scholar of no small ability and took an interest in a number of subjects to varying degrees. William studied literature selectively; logic barely; physic more deeply; ethics; enthusiastically and history devotedly.[80] According to David Knowles, "William of Malmesbury is unquestionably the greatest figure in the English circle of lettered monks of the time, he may even claim with justice to be the greatest English medieval monastic historian after Bede."[81] William would have agreed wholeheartedly with this assessment, he said much the same in the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*. "I have this private satisfaction, by God's help, that I have set in order the unbroken course of English history, and am since Bede the only man so to do, or at any rate the first. If anyone therefore, as I already hear suggested, has a mind to follow me in writing on this subject, let him give me the credit for the collection of the facts, and make his own selection from the material."[82] William wrote about history, hagiography,

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[78] *Ibid.*, p. 84-90.
[79] *VÆR*, p. 88. "*Nempe manent quecumque tibi promisimus…Queque manent dicenda decent…*"
[80] *GR,* Vol. I, Book II, prol. 1, p. 150. "*Logicam enim…solo libaui auditu; spisicam…aliquanto pressius concepi; iam uero ethicæ partes medullitus rimatus…historiam precipue…*"
[81] David Knowles, T*he Monastic Order in England – A History of its Development from the times of St. Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council 940-1216*, 2nd ed., (Cambridge, 1966), p. 499.
[82] *GR*, Book V, chap. 445.5 "*Privatim ipse michi sub ope Christi gratulor, quod continuam Anglorum historiam ordinaverim post Bedam vel solus vel primus. Si quis ergo, sicut iam susurraui audio, post me*

computistics, military commentary, grammer, the writings of Cicero, an exposition on Islam and biblical exegesis.[83] It is as an historian that he is best known and what little is known about him personally, he as provided himself. His parents encouraged him to study. "Indeed I had been brought up by my father to regard it as damaging to my soul and my good repute if I turned my attention in any other direction."[84] His father must have been reasonably wealthy as William apparently accumulated a number of books to supplement his studies. "So, after I had spent a good deal of my own money on getting together a library of foreign historians…"[85] It has been argued that he was educated at Malmesbury even though he commented on his parents' encouragement of his studies but said nothing of a tutor or school.[86] He was probably born in Wiltshire or Somerset, possibly in or near Bruton.[87]

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scribendi de talibus munus attemptaverit, michi debeat collectionis gratiam, sibi habeat electionis materiam."

[83] Examples of William of Malmesbury's writing include but are not limited to, *Gesta Regum Anglorum, Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and *De Antiquitate Glastonie Ecclesie*, the *Lives of Saints Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick , Indract, Benignus* and the *Miracles of the Blessed Virgin*. His unprinted computistical writings can be found in Oxford, Bodliean Library Auct. F 3.14, his collection of military strategy in Oxford, Lincoln College Lat. 100 and his grammatical works in Oxford, Bodliean Library Harl. 3969. William collected Cicero's works in Cambridge University Library, Dd. 13.2. William commented, on the subject of Islam in the *Gesta Regum* and in the *Commentary on the Book of Jeremiah* but most extensively in the unprinted Oxford, Bodliean Library MS Arch. Seld. B 16.

[84] *GR*, Book V, prol. 1, p. 150. "*ita a patre insitutus eram ut, si ad diversa delinarem studia, esset animae dispendium et famae periculum*."

[85] Ibid. Book V, prol. 2, p. 150"*Itaque, cum domesticis sumptibus nonnullos exterarum gentium histicos conflassem*"

[86] Hugh Farmer, 'William of Malmesbury, His Life and Works,' *The Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. XIII, (Edinburgh 1962), p. 39.

[87] Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, 2nd ed., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003), p. 4; William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002), Book III, 29.1, pp. 153-4 and note 7.

Introduction

The date of William's birth has been much discussed but remains unresolved.[88] The debate arises from statements William made in the prologues of the *Gesta Regum*, *Commentary on the Book of Lamentations of Jeremiah* and Book V of the *Gesta Pontificum.* In the prologue to his *Commentary on Lamentations*, William wrote as if the reign of King Henry I was in the past and made the statement, "*Quadrigenarius sum hodie*" which suggests that he was writing on his fortieth birthday.[89] William's seemingly straightforward statement creates difficulties when compared with other things he told his readers about himself.

William informed his readers that he was witness to an event that may clarify his dates somewhat. William stated that he would recount several miracles. "Two miracles which I shall record happened before my time; the others I saw with my own eyes and am glad to have done so."[90] Assuming that the miracles he goes on to recount are in this order, namely those he did not witness followed by those he did, he witnessed the miraculous cure of Ernulf de Hesdin in thanks for which William claimed, Ernulf promptly went on pilgrimage to Jerusalem never expecting to return. In fact, Ernulf supported Robert Mowbray in his rebellion against William Rufus and *then* went on pilgrimage. He may have gone with the forces of Robert of Normandy, in 1095. Ernulf

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[88] *De Gestis Regum Anglorum* Vols. I & II & *Historiæ Novellæ*, William Stubbs, ed. (London, 1887), Vol. I, pp. xiii-xvii, Bishop Stubbs argued for a birth year of 1090. Stubbs disallowed the possibility of a date earlier than 1090 but did not say why; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, Appendix I, Thomson suggests c. 1085 and a more compressed period between the writing of the *Gesta Regum and Gesta Ponticifum*; Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c. 1307*, (London, 1974), p. 166, Gransden accepts a date nearer. Farmer, 'Life and Works,' p. 39, Farmer uses 10.

[89] *Commentary on the Lamentations of Jeremiah* is found in Oxford Bodlian Library MS Bodlian 868; *GR* - Stubbs, pp. xiv and note 1. "Today I am forty."

[90] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), Book V, chapter 271.1, p. 625. "*Quorum duo, quæ ponam, meam anticipaverunt memoriam; cætera et vidi et videsse juvat.*"

lived up to his expectations and died at Antioch in 1097-1098. William can hardly have witnessed anything as an infant and then recalled it later for inclusion in the *Gesta Pontificum*. Stubbs rationalized this by suggesting that William deluded himself into believing he witnessed an event he heard about but never saw. Alternatively, Stubbs suggested that, William may have connected an event that he actually did witness to Ernulf in much the same way that, in later times, people would attribute events to people they had heard about. William was very conscious of his responsibility to report what he knew or believed to be factually true or to acknowledge information of dubious reliability. If he were recounting something that occurred in his presence when he was too young to make a reliable witness, he would probably have said as much. 'I witnessed X' is an unambiguous statement. It could be a lie, an error or the truth but interpreting it to mean something other than 'I was there and I saw it happen', without further evidence, requires a stretch. Stubbs' interpretation of William's eyewitness account was an attempt to reconcile William's statement '*quadrigenarius sum hodie'*, with the other assumptions about William's age.[91] Stubbs suggested the possibility that William meant 'in my forties' rather than 'on my fortieth birthday' which would allow a margin of one to nine years. Stubbs reckoned The *Commentary on Lamentations* to have been written post 1135. He then suggested forty-five years of age as, presumably, the least error prone possibility for 'in my forties' bringing William's birth year back to 1090, however, the addition of the remaining four years would make 1086 viable.[92] This date would make it reasonable that a boy of nine might remember a miracle that occurred in 1095.

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[91] William of Malmesbury, *Historia Novella* – The Contemporary History, Vols. I & II, Edmund King, ed. & K.R. Potter, trans. Oxford, 1998 & 1999, p. xviii. Farmer, "Life and Works," p. 50. *GR* - Stubbs, pp. xiii-xvii.
[92] *GR* - Stubbs, pp. xiv. & n. 1.

Introduction

In Book V of the *Gesta Pontificum,* William wrote that there were monks still living at Malmesbury in his own day who remembered Abbot Wulfsige, who died c. 1033. "There were still monks alive in our own day who saw him [Wulfsige] in the flesh, and who found it sweet to go through their memories of the man and to pass them on to others."[93] This is often used at help date William's entry into the monastery when, in fact, it is highly unsatisfactory for this purpose. A 5 year old boy in 1033 would be a 90 year old man in 1118, the latest date by which the *Gesta Regum* could have been commisioned by Queen Matilda, or 97 years of age in 1125, the finish date for *Gesta Pontificum.* The memories belonging to such a young boy of a man who died within a year do not seem to fit with the monks' ability to recall and disseminate their fond reminiscences to William. If the age of the witnesses is raised to 10 years, for more reliable memories, the monks would be 97 years of age in 1118 or 102 years of age in 1125. It is not impossible that a monk might live to such an age and provide William with his testimony, even up to the last moment before completion of the work, however, that two or more did so is less likely. Witnesses would have been both very young at the time of the events and very old when relating those events to William of Malmesbury. If the witnesses were older than 10 years of age at the time of the event, William's age becomes even more problematic. William would have had to record their memories sometime before 1125 but not much earlier than 1118, unless he had already done so with

[93] *GP*, Book V, chap. 258.2, p. 614. "*Non defuerunt nostro tempore monachi qui, eum, in carne conspicati; memoriam viri ruminare et aliis proferre dulce habebant*."

a different or with no particular work in mind. A number of other claims made by William do little to reduce the ambiguity surrounding the year of his birth.[94]

Robert of Cricklade, Prior of St. Frideswide's wrote that he had read several of William's works, among them the *Commentary on Lamentations*, and hoped to be spared to read others. "[I have read] the excellent work of William monk and cantor of the church of Malmesbury, which he compiled on the Lamentations of Jeremiah I have not only read, but caused a copy of it to be put in our church. I have also read his little book on the miracles of the Blessed Virgin Mary, which is also in our church. What shall I say of his excerpts from the works of the most blessed pope Gregory?"[95] He also mentioned, in the same letter, the death of Abbot Godfrey of Winchcombe, which occurred in March of 1137.[96] Rodney Thomson argued that *Commentary on the Book of Lamentations of Jeremiah* was written not very much earlier than 1130 rather than after 1135, which would allow time for its dissemination and for Robert of Cricklade to have acquired access to, and to have commissioned, a copy by 1137.[97] This creates a concentration of work between the 1120's and 1130. Stubbs suggested that William's apparent reference

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[94] *GP*, Book V, chapters 271.2, p. 645 and 274-8.2, pp. 654-660. William may have worked with Abbot Godfrey on building up the library of Malmesbury. He may simply have continued the abbot's work. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 200; *GR* - Stubbs, Vol. I, pp. xv-xvi; William spoke with a priest who knew Ælfwold who died in 1058, *GP*, Book II, 82.2, p. 282; William apparently met or saw Anselm, who died in 1109, possibly while traveling for research, Book I, 65.1, p. 194; William was old enough to be entrusted with Matilda's commission by May of 1118, *GR*, ep. 1.3, p. 3.

[95] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 199; R. W. Hunt, 'English Learning in the Late Twelfth Century' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., Vol. 19. (1936), pp. 31-2. Robert of Cricklade's comments on William's writings, "*et uiri summe eruditionis Guillelmi Meldunensis ecclesie monachi et cantoris preclarum opus quod super Lamentationes Ieremie compilauit non tantum legi, uerum ut et in nostra ecclesia scriptum haberetur exegi. Legi et libellum eius de miraculis beatissime dei genitricis et perpetue uirginis Marie, qui et in nostra ecclesia habetur. Quid dicam super deflorationibus eius ex opusculis beatissimi pape Gregorii*?"

[96] *GP,* Book II, chapter 88, p. 30-304; *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales I – 940-1216*, 2nd ed. David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and Vera C.M. London, eds. (Cambridge, 2001), p. 25.

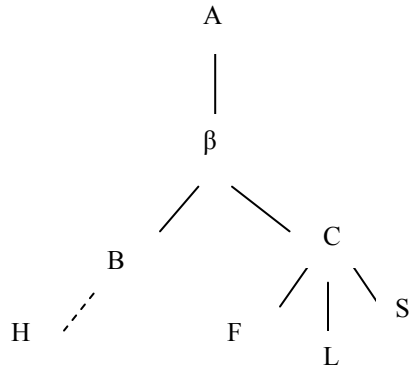
[97] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 201.

to King Henry's reign in the past might have been a literary device for future readers. William did appear to do this in the *Gesta Regum*.[98] If 1135 is not necessary as a *terminus post quem* for the *Commentary on Lamentations* then William need not have been forty years of age after the death of Henry I thus it might be possible to push the year of his birth back to the mid-1080's providing a more likely timeframe for his own studies, his travels for research and the writing of his works.[99]

The *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* is the ecclesiastical volume of William of Malmesbury's historical works. It appears that William originally considered the *Gesta Pontificum* as a continuation of the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, his great secular history, but eventually decided to make them separate works.[100] William's pocket-sized, working, autograph copy of the first state of the *Gesta Pontificum* survives as Oxford Magdalen College MS Lat. 172 and is referred to as A.[101] N.E.*S.A.* Hamilton, editor of the *Gesta Pontificum* for the Roll Series, divided the existing manuscripts into two recensions. The first recension includes A, William's autograph copy prior to his corrections to remove potentially offensive material. Winterbottom proposed a lost copy of A, called β, from which B and C were taken.[102] H is probably descended from B.[103] Manuscripts F, L and S are descended from C.[104] Hamilton determined that the second recension manuscripts

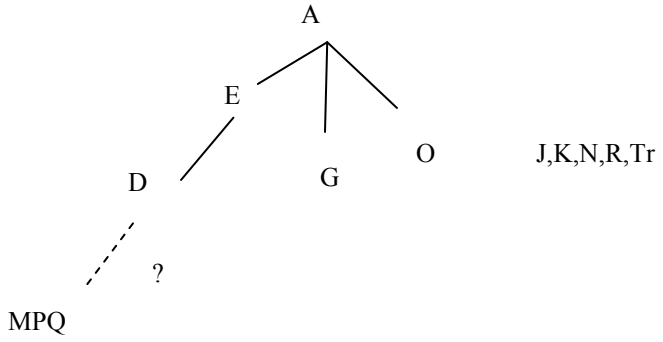
[98] *GR*, Vol. II, p. 354 for discussion of this tendency on William's part.
[99] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 201.
[100] *GP*, pp. xxi and xxiv-xxv.
[101] William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*, N.E.S.A Hamilton, ed. RS (London, 1870), pp. xi-xviii; Neil R. Ker, 'William of Malmesbury's Handwriting' *English Historical Review*, lix (1944), pp. 371-2.
[102] MS B is found in London, British Library Cotton Claudius A.v; MS C is found in London, British Library Harley 3641.
[103] London, British Library Harley 2; *GP,* p. xiii.
[104] MS F is found in Oxford Bodleian Library Bodley 357; MS L is found in Oxford Bodleian Library Rawlinson B 199; MS S is found in Oxford Bodleian Library Laud Misc. 598; *GP*, p.xiv.

First Recension



were descended from A after William began to edit it and that the various copies taken from post-edit A demonstrate the progress of William's corrections.[105] Manuscripts M, P

Second Recension



and Q are related more closely to D than to the others.[106] There are five additional manuscripts, J, K, N, R and Tr that appear to be Kentish in origin.[107]

[105] *Ibid*. MS E is found in Oxford All Souls College 34; G in London British Library Arundel 222; O in Cambridge Trinity College R. 5. 36 and D in London British Library Royal 13 D. v.
[106] MS M is found in Oxford Bodleian Library Bodley 956; P in Cambridge Trinity College R. 5. 40 and Q in Cambridge Christ Church College 43.
[107] *GP*, p.xv; MS J is found in London, British Library Harley 261; K in Oxford, Bodleian Library Hatton 54, N in Cambridge, University Library Ff. 1. 25; R in Oxford, Bodleian library Laud. Misc. 729 and Tr in Dublin, Trinity college 602.

Introduction

The *Gesta Pontificum* has been printed ten times[108] and translated twice.[109] David Preest's translation, which Michael Winterbottom characterizes as elegant, contains the English translation only and while not a critical edition, it made the text accessible to a wider readership than did the Latin editions that preceded it. Michael Winterbottom's critical edition presents both the Latin and the English translation together in a facing page format.

William arranged the *Gesta Pontificum* by geographic area and then chronologically within each region. Book V focused entirely on Malmesbury Abbey and St. Aldhelm. Even in this work devoted to ecclesiastical history and the preservation of accounts of English saints, miracles are not causative events. "Miracles though some of these episodes are, they are not…examples of naïve credulity or the lack of firm standards of evidence. Nor are they signals that these histories are tied at the expense of factual accuracy, into a firm theological system of thought that pulls in and absorbs all history and predetermines its interpretations."[110]

William's saints' lives constitute the majority of his hagiographical writings. The collection consists of the *Vita Wulfstani,* and the *Vita Dunstani,* in their entirety and fragments of the *Vitæ* of Patrick, Benignus and Indract. The *vitæ* survive in a single

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[108] By Sir Henry Savile in 1596, twice the first four books only and once including Book V, J. Mabillon in 1677, including Book V for the first time; *Patrologia Latina, 1441-1680,* though after 1677 as Book V was included; H. Wharton in 1691; Thomas Gale also in 1691; Hamilton in 1870;

[109] William of Malmesbury, *The Deeds of the Bishops of England Gessta Pontificum Anglorum)*, trans. David Preest (Woodbridge, 2002), Preest's edition can be somewhat colloquial at times; and William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), with the assistance of Rodney M. Thomson.

[110] Otter, Monika, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing*, (Chapel Hill and London, 1996), p. 94.

manuscript bound with a Peterborough Chronicle and an early recension of MS B of the *Gesta Pontificum*.[111] The *Vita Wulfstani* is William's translation of Coleman's Old English original. Coleman was a monk of Worcester and Wulfstan's chaplain. William admitted that he removed portions of Coleman's work that he considered either potentially inaccurate, such as direct speech, or irrelevant, such as passages of moral reflection.[112] He also moved Coleman's division between books I and II. William felt that the Norman takeover was a more suitable point at which to make a division than the point at which Wulfstan was made bishop. It would appear that even when writing hagiography, William could not set aside his habit of keeping to provable fact as much as possible.

The date of the composition of the *vitæ* is not easily determined. The account of Wulfstan in the *Gesta Pontificum* used Coleman but not the *Vita Wulfstani*. William included stories about Wulfstan in the *Gesta Pontificum* which appear neither in Coleman nor in the *Vita Wulfstani* as William amended it.[113] The *Gesta Pontificum* also suggests that the *Vita Dunstani* had not yet been considered at the time of William's writing the history of the bishops.[114]

William's statement, in the *Vita Dunstani*, that he had written the *Gesta Regum* "some years ago" would place the writing of *VD* after 1125 by several years.[115] Winterbottom suggested that the *vitæ* of Patrick, Benignus and Indract may have been

[111] British Library Cotton Claudius A.v. fos. 160v – 99v.
[112] *Saints' Lives*, p. xvi, *VW* ep. 4, p. 10; Book i 16.5, pp. 58-60; iii 18.3, p. 134 for deletions; iii 9.2-3, pp. 118-120; 10.5, p. 122; 13, p. 126; 17, p. 133 for additions.
[113] *Saints' Lives*, p. xvii; *GP*, chapters 144, 146, 149, pp. 285, 286-7, 288-9.
[114] *GP*, Book I chapter 19.13, p. 40.
[115] *Ibid.*, Book II chapter 14.2, p. 26.

written *en bloc* and the *Vita Dunstani* and the *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie* probably simultaneously c. 1129 - 1130.[116]

William stated his purpose in writing his works. He admired Bede's history and wished to continue from where Bede left off up to his own time. "It was therefore my design, in part moved by love of my country and in part encouraged by influential friends, to mend the broken chain of our history."[117] He also meant to "give a Roman polish to the rough annals of our native speech."[118] William's opinion of native English writing was not universally negative. King Alfred received praise for his translations and Coleman's Life of St. Wulfstan was translated, in William's words, "in no way disturbing the order of events or falsifying the facts."[119] He did express critical opinions of other writers. He disliked the style of Æthelweard's chronicle, which he considered unnecessarily intricate but acknowledged the accuracy of his record.[120] Osbern of Canterbury was admired for his style but William criticized his use of late sources.[121]

William was fully aware that sources could be in conflict. "William is especially remarkable among twelfth-century literati for his awareness of the relationship between texts."[122] When he discovered conflicting sources he presented multiple accounts and

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[116] *Saints' Lives*, p. xv.
[117] *GR*, Vol. II, prol. 4, p. 14, "*Unde michi cum propter patriæ caritatem, tum propter adhortantium auctoritatem uoluntati fuit interruptam temporum seriem sarcire.*" Farmer, 'Life and Works,' p. 41, Farmer emphasized William's desire to extol the virtues of Anglo-Saxon saints.
[118] *GR*, Book I, prol. 4, p. 14, "*exarata barbarire Romano sale condire.*"
[119] *GR*, Book I, chapter 123.1-3, pp. 192-194. *VW*, ep. 4, "*nichil turbaui de rerum ordine, nichil corrupi de gestorum ueritate.*" This was precisely true though William did make alterations.
[120] *GR*, Book I, prol. 2-7, pp. 14-16; *GP* and Book I, chapter 15.2, p. 28
[121] *VD,* prol. 2-7, Book I, 15.5; *GP*, Book V, prol. 2, pp. 498-500 and chapters 155.5, p. 448 and 160.1, p. 452.
[122] Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 16.

often left it to his readers to accept or resolve the conflict.[123] William was, however, inconsistent in his response to variation between his sources. He was only occasionally willing to offer his opinion when conflicts arose as he did when he reported two different accounts of Queen Emma.[124] William was careful to discriminate between sources, be they the reliability of persons or the preference for an older source over a newer one.[125] William made use of unusual sources as well as more traditional accounts. He used inscriptions on monuments, architecture, church ornaments and charters as well as eyewitness and reliable second-hand testimony.[126] William's careful discrimination between texts was movement in the direction of the modern techniques of source criticism.[127]

William's literary style varied between and even within individual works. His *Gesta Regum Anglorum* is meant to be a history of secular rulers but includes considerable church-related material, such as the dispute over primacy between Canterbury and York.[128] The *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, a history of English bishops, includes a Life of St. Aldhelm and digressions into the reigns of Edward the Confessor,

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[123] William noted the differences between Bede's and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s dating; *GR*, 0.1; *GP*, for conflicts between Bede and Stephen of Ripon in reference to Wilfrid; Book V chapter 205, p. 530 in reference to the pagan Cadwalla signing a document with a cross; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 20.
[124] *GR*, chapter 196.4, p. 351, William reported that sources claimed Emma to have been greedy and impious in her purchasing of relics. He also stated that he had heard that Emma had been devout and generous to churches. He disbelieved the negative stories about her.
[125] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 167; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 23.
[126] *GR*, Glastonbury pyramids, 21, charters, 143, p. 230; Farmer, 'Life and Works,' p. 44
[127] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, p. 167; Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, p. 23; Otter, *Inventiones*, p. 98, all consider William to have been, within the limitations of his resources, moving along the road toward 'scientific' source criticism; for an alternative view of William's methodology see Farmer, 'Life and Works,' p. 43.
[128] *GR*, Book I, chapter 88.6-8, Book III, chapter, 294-302.

William the Conqueror and other kings.[129] Both works contain accounts of events of a miraculous or fantastic nature.[130]

William's treatment of the distant past was more successful than that of the recent past. He refrained from improbable stories when he recounted the ancient past, doubtless a reflection of his interest in the classics, an interest he felt obliged to defend. The recent past is where or rather when William went astray. William was aware that "in writing of contemporaries it is dangerous to criticize."[131] Interestingly, William held that, as he considered his sources for recent history more reliable than those for the more distant past, his accounts of contemporary events were the more reliable of the two. "Whatever I have added out of recent history, I have either seen myself or heard from men who can be trusted."[132] He disclaimed responsibility for the accuracy of his ancient sources, "I guarantee the truth of nothing in past time except the sequence of events; the credit of my narrative must rest with my authorities."[133] While William relied upon his contemporaries for their testimony he claimed to have little respect for their judgment. "I do not greatly value the judgment of my contemporaries either way, posterity, I trust,

[129] *GP*, Edward the Confessor, accession, Book I, chapter 21.3; Emma his mother chapter 23.8, p. 263.3, p. 626 and Book III, chapter 132.4, p. 414 and others; William the Conqueror, conquest of England, Book I, chapter, 23.4-5, p. 46-48 the wasting of Northumberland, chapters 99.1-3, p. 324 116.1, 132.1 and elsewhere, also Kings William Rufus, Edward King and Martyr, Edward the Elder, St. Edmund, Edgar, Æthelred I and II and others.

[130] *GR*, Book V 216.4-5, p. 546 Aldhem's extends the timbers for the church of St. Mary, 217.3-7, pp. 546-548 Aldhem's church remains dry in the rain and others. *GP*, Book I, chapter 19.3, p. 36 Dunstan's miracles. As the Reverend J. Sharpe pointed out in *Gesta Regum*, Vol. II, p. xliv, William did not use fabulous stories as the cause or the explanation of historical events. They are used to divert and instruct in moral behavior. Otter, *Inventiones*, pp. 94 and 107. Otter points out that even when William of Malmesbury includes magical or fantastic events in his histories, they 'obey the rules' and do not effect lasting change; Farmer, 'Life and Works,' p. 43 note 2, Dom Farmer's suggestion that William could lay claim to the title of historical novelist is unduly harsh.

[131] *GR*, Book IV, prol. 1, p. 540, "*quipped presentium mala periculose.*"

[132] *Ibid*., Book I, prol 8, p. 16, "*Quicquid uero de recentioribus ætatibus apposui, uel ipse uide uel a uiris fide dignis audiui.*"

[133] *Ibid*., Book I, prol. 7, p. 16, "*sciat me nichil de retro actis preter coherentiam annorum pro uero pacisci; fides dictorum penes auctores erit.*"

when love and envy are no more, if it cannot praise my style, at least will pay tribute to my industry."[134] William was willing to accept his contemporaries' ability to recount what they had seen but not their ability to analyze either it or his own work.

William has been criticized for his arrangement of contemporary history in the *Gesta Regum*, William Stubbs wrote, "our author was resolutely determined that his work should be read not as a book of reference but as a literary production that would not allow skipping."[135] For the final three books of the *Gesta Regum*, that is those that recount the reigns of William the Conqueror, William Rufus and Henry I, William departed from history in favor of biography. William adopted Suetonius' style of biography for these final three books of his great historical work.[136] Rather than recount each king's life and reign chronologically from birth or accession through death as he had the earlier history of England from the arrival of the Saxons to the Norman Conquest, William arranged books three, four and five thematically according to stages of life and development. This shift in style from chronological history to thematic biography makes the *Gesta Regum* appear disorganized.

William's works were intended for a monastic audience and they seem to have enjoyed a modest distribution among them. His histories were more widely read than his hagiographical works. This is not surprising considering he deliberately brought the *Gesta Regum* to the attention of powerful secular persons. Given that the *Gesta Regum*

[134] *Ibid.*, Book I, prol 8, p. 16, "*Ceterum in utranuis partem presentium non magnipendo iuditium, habiturus, ut spero, apud posteros post decessumamoris et liuoris, si non eloquentiæ titulum, sætem industriæ testimonium.* "
[135] *GR* – Stubbs, Vol. II, p. cxxxiii.
[136] Gransden, *Historical Writing*, pp. 170-2, Marie Schütt, 'The Literary Form of William of Malmesbury's '*Gesta Regum' English Historical Review*, Vol. XLVI, (1931), pp. 255-6.

and *Gesta Pontificum* were written in quick succession, the *GR* may have served to bring the *GP* to the readers' notice.

There are undoubtedly topics which could have been more thoroughly explored. The Investiture Contest was more complex and far reaching than has been considered here. Papal authority and reforms also merit greater consideration than they have received in this study and others have given them their due. Effort has been expended to avoid pursuing tangents, however tempting, too far from the aim of this study which was to answer the questions: Was Stigand essentially different from his fellow bishops? Were the things he did substantially different from the activities of other bishops? Was the reputation that eventually accrued to Stigand deserved? It was never the aim of this thesis to rescue or rehabilitate Stigand. He was an important actor during much of the eleventh-century and about whom little has been written. That lack of analysis prompted curiosity. The following is the result of that curiosity.

Introduction

circa 985 – 990	Born probably in Norfolk, possibly Norwich
1017?-1020	Royal chaplain in Cnut's household
1020	Appointed to minster at Ashingdon
1043	Appointed to bishopric of Elmham deposed from Elmham-Queen Emma despoiled by King Edward
1044	Restored to Elmham
1047	Translated to see of Winchester
1051	Intermediary in dispute between King Edward and Godwines; Godwines exiled
1052	Intermediary in dispute between King Edward and Godwines; Godwines restored
1053	Appointed to archbishopric of Canterbury in plurality with bishopric of Winchester upon flight and deposition of Robert of Jumièges
1052-1054	Papal interdict for invasion of the see – Leo IX
1055-1057	Renewal of Papal interdict – Victor II
1058	Received *pallium* from Pope Benedict X
1059	*Pallium* invalidated - Pope Benedict X deposed as intrusive
1059-1061	Renewal of Papal interdict – Nicolas II
1066	Supported Harold as king Supported Edgar as king Submitted to William
1067	Involuntary guest of William in Normandy
1068	Consecrated Remigius of Dorchester/Lincoln
1070	Deposed by cardinal legates – Alexander II
1072	Died a prisoner in Winchester, buried in Old Minster

Plate 1.

The Bayeux Tapestry image of King Harold enthroned. Stigand leads the acclamations.

Chapter 1

The Historians' View

There are two modes of establishing our reputation: to be praised by honest men, and to be abused by rogues. It is best, however, to secure the former, because it will invariably be accompanied by the latter.

Charles Caleb Colton

The Historians' View

Historians and chroniclers have, throughout the 986 years since he first appeared in the historical record and the 936 years since his death, formed various opinions and passed various judgments on Stigand, the last Anglo-Saxon archbishop of Canterbury. The opinions have been predominantly, though not universally, negative. The judgments were, at times, tolerant of human error, at others, bitter in their condemnation.[137] Sentiment about Stigand neither proceeded in a steady decline, nor fell sharply and remained at a low point, nor was it unmixed in the writings of individual commentators. In the late eleventh and throughout the twelfth-centuries, Stigand was held up as the symbol of all the faults of the English church. In the thirteenth-century there were those willing to see him as a hero who defied William of Normandy and protected the right of the people of Kent to live under their own laws.[138] This account was copied into a fourteenth-century chronicle at Canterbury. The story was repeated in a sixteenth-century chronicle and an eighteenth-century hand-written transcription and translation of Stigand's address to William on the same occasion testifies to continuing interest in him

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[137] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*: *The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), Book I, chapter 23.1-2, p. 47. William of Malmesbury considered Stigand to have been far too worldly and ambitious a man to occupy the archbishopric and who was wholly unrepentant of that ambition but that he erred through ignorance. *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit- S. Bertini monacho ascripta*, Frank Barlow, ed. & trans. (London, 1962), pp. 22 & 76-78. *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 Vols., Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1969), Book IV, ii, 199. Orderic went as far as accusing Stigand of homicide. *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, Vols. II & III, R.R. Darlington† and P. McGurk eds. Jennifer Bray† and P. McGurk, trans. (Oxford, 1995), *s.a.* 1038, pp. 526-528. John of Worcester was non-judgmental in his reporting of events relating to Stigand. Walter Farquhar Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. I, (London, 1860), pp. 504, 510, 513, 521, 525 & 526-7. Hook considered Stigand a misunderstood patriot. Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, *its causes and its results*, 6 Vols. (Oxford, 1867), pp. 64-5, 329 & 472-3. F.M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1971), pp. 465, 466 & 624. Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. London, 1979), pp. 79, 80 & note 2, 94, 108 & 115 note 3. H.R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940-1154*. (Harlow, 2000), 8 & 52. Mary Frances Smith, 'Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle' *Anglo-Norman Studies* xvi, (London, 1993). Smith states that Stigand is not 'wholly' the 'merciless predator' he is made out to be.

[138] Thomas Sprott in *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A.H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934), chapter9. Thorne printed in Roger Twysden, *Historia Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, (London 1652), cols 1757-2207 and A.H. Davis, *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, (Oxford 1934). Sprott alone in BL, Cotton MSS, Tiberius A IX & Lambeth Palace Library, MS, No. 419.

and a willingness to entertain the possibility of his heroism.[139] The nineteenth century saw some scholars returning to the post-Conquest perspective as well as others who portrayed him as a true and stout-hearted Englishman possessed of all admirable qualities. In the twentieth and twenty first centuries historians became more careful of imposing value judgments on historical figures; still some persist and Stigand's reputation remains at a lower ebb than he perhaps deserved.

The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records Stigand's activities on nine occasions. None of the accounts are in any way critical or negative nor are they overtly approving.[140] The entries simply state the facts as the annalist understood them. In the E MS when discussing Stigand's participation in the arrangements for hostages between King Edward and Earl Godwine the chronicler stated, "Then Bishop Stigand with the help of God went there and the wise men both inside the city and without, and they decided that hostages should be arranged for on both sides."[141] Clearly as God lent His aid, Stigand and the others were carrying out His will. There was no suggestion that Stigand was an unworthy servant either to his king or to God. The entry for 1053 states as facts "In this year there was no archbishop in the land, but Bishop Stigand held the bishopric in Canterbury at Christ Church…," without any implied criticism.[142] William the Conqueror took as

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[139] Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles: England, Scotland and Ireland*, 6 Vols. Henry Ellis, ed. (London, 1807-08), Vol. II, p. 2-3. Papers of the Strachie Family of Sutton Court, Pensford, Somerset, Somerset Records Office http://www.somerset.gov.uk/Archives, reference D/SH/5/309. Application must be made to the Somerset Records Office for copies of documents as they are not available online.

[140] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*, Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. (London, 1961). F *s.a.* 1020; C 1043; E 1044; 1047; E 1052; C 1053; E 1058, 1061; D 1066 .

[141] *Ibid*., E *s.a.* 1052, p. 125. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 7, MS E, Susan Irvine, ed. (Cambridge, 2004), "*Þa ferde Stigand biscop to mid Godes fultume 7 þa wise menn ægðær ge binnan burh ge buton, 7 geræddon þet man tremede gislas on ægðer healfe, 7 man swa dyde.*"

[142] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C *s.a.* 1053, p. 128. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 5, MS C, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. (Cambridge, 2001), *s.a.* 1053, pp. 114-115. "*On ðisson geare næs nan arcebisceop on ðisson lande butan Stigand bisceop heold þæt*

hostages "Archbishop Stigand, and Æthelnoth, abbot of Glastonbury, and Edgar *Cild* and Earl Edwin and Earl Morcar, and Earl Waltheof, and many other good men from England."[143] None of the entries express negative judgment of Stigand, it seems that he was not held in low esteem by the chroniclers and perhaps not by the wider society.

Orderic Vitalis probably finished Book III of his Ecclesiastical History c.1124 and was writing Book IV at approximately the same time that William of Malmesbury finished his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* c.1125. Orderic was not wholly negative in his comments but when he was he was especially so. In Book III he recorded the selection of Edgar Atheling as king, "On the death of Harold, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, the great earls, Edwin and Morcar, and the other lords of England who had not fought at the battle of Senlac elected as their king Edgar Clito…and were preparing to fight valiantly with him against the invaders for their homeland and their own people."[144] This is adapted from William of Poitiers but hardly takes his tone. Orderic seems to have believed that these men were engaged in an admirable and patriotic undertaking. Orderic disregards John of Worcester who claimed that Ealdred, archbishop of York, chose Edgar and later submitted with him to William's rule. "Archbishop Stigand and the other English nobles came to him there [to William at Wallingford]. Renouncing allegiance to Edgar they made peace with William, acknowledged him their lord, and were graciously

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bisceoprice on Cantwarabyrig on Cristes cyrcean…" See page 115 below for discussion of the disposition of Canterbury from Eadsige's illness up to Stigand's appointment.

[143] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1066, p. 145. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 6, MS D, G.P. Cubbin ed. (Cambridge, 1996), "*Stigand arcebiscop, 7 Ægelnað abbod on Glæstingabiri, 7 Eadgar cild, 7 Eadwine eorl, 7 Morkere eorl, 7 Wælþeof eorl, 7 manege oðre gode men of Englalande…*"

[144] *OV*, Book III, chapter 154. "*Interempto Heraldo Stigandus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et præclari comites Eduinus et Morcarus aliique primates Anglorum qui Senlacio bello non interfuerunt, Edgarum Clitonem…regem statuerunt, et cum eo contra externos hostes pro patria et gente se fortiter pugnaturos minati sunt.*"

taken under his protection…"[145] He went on to record Ealdred's crowning of William because "Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, on the other hand, was immersed in worldly affairs and interests, and had been suspended by Pope Alexander for his misdeeds."[146]

At this point Orderic's comments begin to take on a judgmental tone which will in Book IV become more pronounced. He also claimed, in an account derived from William of Poitiers but unsupported by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle or John of Worcester, that Harold was crowned solely by Stigand thus bringing its validity into question.[147] As Stigand appears to have rigorously obeyed the various bans pronounced upon him by several popes it seems unlikely that he disobeyed at this crucial moment or that Harold would have allowed it. Eventually, Orderic makes accusations that no one else ever did and which are entirely unsupported by any evidence or other account. He accused Stigand of perjury and homicide. Orderic also accused him of entering into the archbishopric in an inappropriate fashion. "The king and cardinals presided over the council and Stigand, who had already been excommunicated, was deposed there. He had defiled himself with perjury and homicide; and he had not honestly entered into the archbishopric by the right door, but had climbed in from the two bishoprics of Norfolk and Winchester, up the shameful ladder of ambition and intrusion."[148] The first two

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[145] *Ibid*., Book III, chapter 155. "*Illuc Stigandus archiepiscopus aliique nobiles Angli aduenerunt Edgarum abrogantes pacem cum Guillelmo fecerunt, ipsumque sibi dominum susceperunt...*" *JW*, *s.a.* 1066 John of Worcester places the submission of Edgar atheling at Berkhamstead and omits Stigand.

[146] *Ibid.*, Book III, chapter 156. "*Stigandus autem Cantuariensis sæcularibus curis et actibus nimis intentus erat, et pro quibusdam reatibus ab Alexandro papa interdictus fuerat.*"

[147] *Ibid*., chapter 118. "*Tunc Heraldus ipso tumulationis die dum plebs in exequiis dilecti regis adhuc maderet fletibus, a solo Stigando archiepiscopo quem Romanus papa suspenderat a diuinis officiis pro quibusdam criminibus…*"

[148] *Ibid*., Book IV, chapter 199. "*Rex et cardinales eidem concilio præsiderunt, et illic Stigandum pridem reprobatum anathemate deposuerunt. Periuriis enim et homicidiis coinquinatus erat, nec per hostium in archipræsulatum introierat. Nam a duobus episcopiis Norfulcano et Guentano infanda gradatione ambitionis ac supplantationis ascenderat.*"

charges can be dismissed as a matter of emphasis along the lines of 'if he would do what we know he did, well then, he would do worse and probably did'. The only murder recorded which might lend itself to speculation about guilty parties was that of Gospatric which John of Worcester laid at Queen Edith's feet in collusion with her brother Tostig.[149] There was never any question in the extant sources that Stigand or indeed anyone else was suspected of involvement. The perjury accusation cannot be connected even tenuously with any known event. This is Orderic apparently making up accusations to level at Stigand in an attempt to convey just how terrible he was. The third accusation suggests that Orderic found Stigand's translations from one diocese to another as well as his ambition and intrusion offensive. Pluralism and the acceptance of the pallium from an intrusive pope were not on the list.

William of Malmesbury, in his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, appears to have been an honest man who tried to be fair in his assessment of the bishops he chronicled. He was severe in his criticism as he accused Stigand of greed, ambition, manipulation and simony but he also claimed to believe that these errors resulted from ignorance rather than wickedness. "Then one Stigand, who had earlier given up the bishopric of the East Angles with his eye on a higher rank and had taken over Winchester, seized on the chance he had been looking for to get round the naïve king and add the archbishopric to his tally of great offices. When it came to ambition he was unconcerned with what people thought of him…never putting a limit on his greed. As for the sacred offices of the church, he bought them up for himself, or used his eloquence to sell them to

[149] *JW*, Vol. II, *s.a.* 1065, pp. 596-598.

others"[150] In the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, Williams said, "…the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury was promptly seized by Stigand bishop of Winchester, a prelate with a bad name for ambition and one who sought promotion beyond his due." William went on to say that even death did not end Stigand's avarice, "after it [his death] a small key was found in a secret place which, when inserted in the lock of a cupboard in his chamber, produced the evidence for treasures without number…"[151] This story, even allowing for exaggeration, is most unlikely if, as William claimed in his previous sentence, Stigand had been put in chains for life. As a prisoner Stigand would not likely have been left with the privacy of locked cupboards and ownership of their contents. William went on to use Stigand's reputation as a rationale for electing only monks as archbishop. "…no cleric had ever been archbishop of Canterbury save only Stigand, who had come into the see through impudence and had been properly expelled from it."[152]

William of Malmesbury increasingly attributed independent self-promotional acts to Stigand that he would never have been permitted to carry out such as reappointing himself to Elmham when Bishop Grimketel was deposed. Grimketel was bishop of Selsey at the time Stigand was bishop of the see of Elmham. Grimketel replaced Stigand at Elmham when the latter was deposed in 1043. He was in turn deposed when Stigand

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[150] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.1-2, p. 47. *"Tunc Stigandus quidam, qui quondam dimisso Anglorum Orientalium episcopatu, sullimiorem gradum meditatus, Wintoniensem invaserat, rapuit occasionem desideratam ut innocentis regis simplicitatem circumveniens, archiepiscopatum…tantis honoribus adjungeret. Ceterum adversus ambitum nichil dignitati suæ consulens… Sacros honores æcclesiarum, hos sibi pecunia comparans, istos aliis lingua venditans…*"

[151] *GR*, Book II, chapter 199.10-11, pp. 360-362. "*Siquidem eo mortuo clauicula in secretis reperta quæ, seræ cubicularis scrinii apposita, in numerabilium thesaurorum dedit inditium…*" William of Malmesbury had a fondness for tales of buried treasure; he included two in the *Gesta Pontificum*, Book II, chapter 169.1-3, pp. 284-286, the tale of Gerbert/Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) and his treasure and chapter, 170.1-6, pp. 288-90, Octavian and the treasure under the mountain in Rome.

[152] *GP*, Book II, chapter 67.3, p. 203. "*…nullum umquam clericum archiepiscopum Cantuariæ fuisse preter unum Stigandum, qui et proterue ingressus et digne expulsus fuerit.*"

was restored in 1044. William of Malmesbury claimed that Grimketel achieved the see of Selsey, as well as that of Elmham, through simony.[153]

> "Grimketel, chosen in return for gold, held the two parishes [dioceses] of the East Angles and the South Saxons. But after an interval Stigand so justified himself [innocent of any crime] that he took back the bishopric of the South Saxons for himself and won that of the East Angles for his brother Æthelmær. Thinking this see too little for one of his spirit, he ascended the thrones of Winchester and Canterbury, and was only with much difficulty persuaded to let the South Saxons have a bishop of their own ordained for them."[154]

William's account of Stigand's career is occasionally confused with that of another and later Stigand who was bishop of the South Saxons. Stigand of Elmham/Winchester/Canterbury was never bishop of the South Saxons. Stigand of Selsey was consecrated bishop of that see in order to replace the deposed Æthelric.[155] He

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[153] *GP*, Book II, chapter 96.3, p. 320. "*Grimkitel, qui, eiectus a sede Orientalium Anglorum quam emerat, etiam hanc pecunia emeruit et obsedit.*"

[154] *GP*, Book II, chapter 74.10, p. 238. *"...pro auro Grimketel electus, tenuit duas parrochias Orientalium Anglorum et Australium Saxonum. Intercessu vero temporis sic redditis rationibus Stigandus evaluit, ut sibi Australium Saxonum episcopatum restitueret, et Orientalium Anglorum fratri Ethelmero adquireret. Minimumque id animositati suæ ratus, Wintoniensem et Cantuariensem thronos ascendit, uix egreque exoratus, ut Australibus Saxonibus proprius ordinaretur episcopus*." ASC – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker**,** *s.a.* 1043 C, *ASC* – Conner, "*raðe þæs man sette Stigant of his bisceoprice, 7 nam eal þæt he ahte þam cingeto handa forðam he wæs nehst his modor ræde*"

[155] *Fasti Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1066-1300, Chichester*, Vol. V, Diana E. Greenway, compiler, (London, 1996), p. 1; *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to The English Church I A.D. 871-1204*, 2 Parts, D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L Brooke, eds., (Oxford, 1981), I, part 2, p. 579. Æthelric was deposed on 24 May 1070 for undisclosed reasons, possible because he has been consecrated by Stigand in 1058, however, the pope ordered his reinstatement so it would seem his connection to Stigand was insufficient in the eyes of the papacy to warrant deposition.

participated in the consecration of Lanfranc as archbishop on 29 August 1070.[156] Upon the approval of the council of London of 1074-1075, he later moved the see from Selsey to Chichester.[157] He died on 27 February 1088.[158]

Stigand was reinstated to the bishopric of Elmham in 1044, by King Edward, several months after Queen Emma's return to the king's favor, not by his own power. Stigand's brother Æthelmær did follow him onto the episcopal throne of Elmham in 1047 after Stigand resigned it to take up that of Winchester. Either the king, or the nobles or his fellow bishops would have doubtless protested vehemently any attempt, on Stigand's or anyone else's part, to appoint himself to any office ecclesiastical or lay. This sort of assessment fed the image of an out of control bishop who would stop at nothing to gain whatever he wanted. That such a reputation emerges only post-Conquest and only after Stigand's death rather than at any time during his lifetime when presumably such behavior would have occasioned scandal suggests that this reputation was largely manufactured by those who had an interest in the good opinions of the Norman elite.

The chief difficulty that arises when attempting to sort out the facts behind a post-Conquest image of Stigand or any other pre-Conquest figure is as Mary Frances Giandrea, *neé* Smith, puts it "the crippling lack of evidence, especially for the lives of most of the church's leaders."[159] This lack is not reflected only in an absence of narratives about bishops but about almost everyone else as well. The *Encomium Emmæ*

[156] *Councils & Synods*, p. 588.
[157] *Ibid*. p. 613.
[158] Trinity College Cambridge MS O.2.1 fo. k2v states that Stigand of Chichester died on the fourth kalends of March. 1088 was a leap year. *JW*, Vol. III, *s.a.* 1088, pp. 44-46.
[159] Mary Frances Giandrea, 'Review Article: Recent approaches to late Anglo-Saxon episcopal culture' *Early Medieval Europe*, 16 (2008), pp. 89-106 at 89.

Reginæ and the *Vita Ædwardi* together with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* make up the narrative sources produced in the eleventh-century during the period of Stigand's known career prior to the Norman Conquest.[160] The *Encomium*, written between 1040 and 1042, is an account of the Danish rule of England in reference to Queen Emma; it comprises, roughly, the years of Swein's conquest in 1016 through Edward's return to England to join his mother and brother in 1042.[161] The *Encomium* has been both dismissed and accepted as a reliable source but as it ends prior to the start of Stigand's episcopal career it is not of much help except perhaps by its silence.[162] The work does not mention Emma's association with Stigand. Given that such an association between queen and bishop is recorded only in a single entry in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, this silence may be significant; however, the *Encomium* is noticeably silent about other things as well, such as Emma's association with Æthelred, her first husband. One source that gives the bare facts of his career, one that mentions him as a negotiator and unrepentant sinner and one in which he is significant by his absence is the extent of the pre-Conquest narrative material about Stigand.

Henry of Huntingdon, writing at roughly the same time as Orderic Vitalis, John of Worcester and William of Malmesbury, simply conveyed the facts of Stigand's elevation

[160] The *Vita Ædwardi* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* are discussed in the Introduction above.
[161] *Encomium Emmæ Reginæ*, Alistair Campbell, ed. and trans. (London, 1949) with a new introduction by Simon Keynes, (London, 1998), p. xxi.
[162] Stenton, *ASE*, p. 697. Stenton considered the *Encomium* "almost contemporary, but completely unreliable on points of fact." Alistair Campbell, the *Encomium*'s editor accepted the work as reliable especially for Scandinavian affairs. *Encomium*, pp. lxviii-lxix. Miles M. Campbell, 'The *Encomium Emmae Reginae:* Personal Panegyric or Political Propaganda?*' Annuale Mediaevale*, 19 (1979), pp. 27-45. M. M. Campbell refutes Sten Körner's argument that the *Encomium* was aimed at undermining Edward's claim to the throne. Sten Körner, *The Battle of Hastings, England and Europe 1035-1066*, (Lund, 1964), pp. 47-74. Andy Orchard, 'The literary background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*' *Journal of Medieval Latin* 11, (2001), pp. 156-183. Orchard demonstrates that the *Encomium*'s author was knowledgeable in the classics and aware of Norse and Old English traditions, and may have been a part of Harthacnut's court.

to the archbishopric as he knew them and refrained from any sort of value judgment.[163] "So then through intermediaries, hostages were given on the advice of Bishop Stigand, and the king and his father-in-law were reconciled. Archbishop Robert and all the Frenchmen, on whose advice the king had exiled Godwine, were now sent into exile. Stigand, on the other hand, was made archbishop of Canterbury."[164] Hugh the Chanter focused on the charge of pluralism and did not raise those of invasion of the see and improper receipt and use of Robert's pallium.[165] William of Poitiers who wrote earliest of the authors cited here claimed, "…he [Harold] violated his oath and seized the royal throne with acclamation, with the connivance of a few wicked men. He received an impious consecration from Stigand, who had been deprived of his priestly office by the just zeal and anathema of the pope."[166]

John of Worcester while not nearly as severe in his criticism as Orderic Vitalis or William of Malmesbury did make negative judgments and promulgate negative opinions of Stigand. "…and Stigand held the bishopric of the South Saxons, and acquired the bishopric of the East Angles for his brother Æthelmær. Thinking that very little for one of his ambition, he ascended the thrones of Winchester and Canterbury; it was with much

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[163] Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*: The History of the English People, Diana Greenway, ed. & trans., (Oxford, 1996), Book vi, chapters 22-21, p. 20. The majority of the *Historia Anglorum* was completed c.1130 with continuations until 1154.

[164] *Ibid*. "*Tunc igitur per internuntios, consilio Stigandi episcopi, datis obsidibus, concordati sunt rex et gener suus. Robertus uero archiepiscopus et omnes Franci, quorum consilio rex consulem exulauerat, exulati sunt. Stigandus autem fatus est archiepiscopus Cantuarie.*" The word '*uero*' has been omitted from the translation. Henry of Huntingdon held that Robert of Jumièges was the 'true' archbishop of Canterbury.

[165] Hugh the Chanter, *The History of the Church of York – 1066-1127*, Charles Johnson ed. & trans. revised by M. Brett, CNL Brooke & M. Winterbottom, Oxford, 1990, pp. 2-5.

[166] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Gvillelmi*, R.H.C. Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1998), p. 100. "*cum gens uniuersa plangeret, periurus regium solium cum plausu occupauit, quibusdam iniquis fauentibus. Ordinatus est non sancta consecratione Stigandi, iusto zelo apostolici et anathemate ministerio sacerdotum priuati*."

difficulty and great reluctance that he was persuaded to let the South Saxons have a bishop of their own ordained."[167] Just as in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, King Edward was absolved of all complicity in Stigand's activities by the claim that he was too innocent and simpleminded to comprehend and overcome his bishop's machinations. "Stigand, who had formerly given up the bishopric of the East Angles, purposing a higher elevation, appropriated Winchester and, deceiving the innocent simplicity of King Edward, obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury in Robert's lifetime."[168] John of Worcester wrote of Stigand's presumption in accepting the archbishopric while Robert of Jumièges still lived. "Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was then forbidden to exercise his episcopal office by the apostolic lord as he had presumed to accept the archbishopric while Archbishop Robert was alive."[169] He also claimed that although Wulfstan was consecrated by Ealdred he made his profession of obedience to Stigand at Stigand's instigation and insistence.[170] John of Worcester portrayed a man ambitious for power and office who was not above manipulating the king to achieve it and who was willing to step into another man's place when he had barely left it. Robert had been deposed by the king under a system that the English recognized as authoritative and binding even if the pope did not. From Stigand's perspective he filled an empty archiepiscopal throne having been appointed by his king as such office holders had for generations.

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[167] *JW*, *s.a.* 1038, pp. 526-528. Owing to John of Worcester's omission of Ælfic II from the succession of bishops of Elmham he placed Stigand's appointment too early. It should be *s.a.* 1043. "*…et Stigandus quidem Australium Saxonum episcopatum tenuit, et fratri suo Ægelmaro Orientalium Anglorum presulatum acquisiuit. Minimumque id animositati sue ratus, Wintoniensum et Cantuuariensem thronos ascendit, uix egreque exoratus, ut Australibus Saxonibus proprius ordinaretur episcopus.*"

[168] *Ibid*., *s.a.* 1052, p. 572. "*Stigandus, qui quondam dimisso Anglorum Orientalium episcopatu, sullimiorem gradum meditatus Wintoniensem inuaserat, innocentis regis Eadwardi simplicitatem circumueniens, uiuente Rotberto, Cantuuariensem archiepiscopatum optinuit.*"

[169] *Ibid*. "*Stigando Dorubernie archiepiscopo officium episcopale tunc a domno apostolico interdictum erat, quia, Rodberto archiepiscopo uiuente, archiepiscopatum suscipere presumpsit…*"

[170] *Ibid*.

The Historians' View

The compiler of the *Liber Eliensis*, a late twelfth-century work probably begun after 1131 and completed before 1174,[171] criticized Stigand for assuming the abbatial office of Ely after the death of Abbot Wulfric as well as keeping "a great number of other abbacies and bishoprics too, and by courtesy of both of his masters, namely, King Edward and King Harold, he kept them, bereft of pastors of their own, under his own control as long as he liked, and assigned them to persons of his own choosing.[172] Once again this charge of delaying the appointment of abbots for his own gain is brought forward, yet the dates for Wulfric's abbacy are rather confused and it would seem that any vacancy that occurred after his death must have been of very short duration. There were complaints of damage Stigand did to the community by his possession of certain lands. "…he kept his hold over some of its [Ely's] best properties, as the 'Book of Lands' reports in detail, to the very great cost of the place."[173] The *Inquisitio Eliensis* as contained in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* lists seventeen estates with which Stigand was associated. Only two of them were held by Stigand. In fifteen cases one or more men commended to Stigand held some portion of the estate and nearly without exception had the power to give grant or sell his land.[174] Snailwell was leased to Stigand by Abbot Leofsi and that it ended up in Hugh de Port's hands would suggest that it was confiscated along with the rest of Stigand's property and not returned to its rightful

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[171] See above pages xii-xiv.

[172] *Liber Eliensis*: *A History of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth*, Janet Fairweather, trans. (Woodbridge, 2005), Book II, chapter 98, p. 200. *Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed., (London, 1962), Book II, chapter 98, p. 168, **"***sed et episcopatus atque abbatias sibi assumpsit plurimas et gratia utriusque domini sui, Ædwardi scilicet et Haroldi regum, eas propriis pastoribus viduatas, quamdiu voluit, in sua manu tenuit et quibus voluit personis conferebat.***"**

[173] *Ibid*.

[174] Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 215. Baxter defines the power of alienation as 'the power to give grant or sell their land.'

holder. Ditton or Woodditton was "a manor [that] pertained to the church of St. Etheldreda in almoign (T.)R.E., but Archbishop Stigand took it, as these men bear witness."[175] There is no information available as to why, how, when or if Stigand took this estate from Ely to its detriment. The compiler may have included the complaint about Snailwell with that of Ditton to broaden the impression of Stigand's rapaciousness.

The Ely compiler was careful to note the sumptuous gifts the abbey had received from Stigand and his generosity towards other communities. "…he bestowed gifts in abundance upon religious communities, and particularly upon those which he is known to have kept in his own control. Certainly at Ely he contributed greater and lesser vessels of gold and silver for the liturgy of the holy altar… He had also made there a great cross plated all over with silver with a life-sized image of our Lord Jesus Christ and, next to it images of Mary, the holy Mother of God, and of St. John the Evangelist…made with bronze…In addition, Stigand made an alb and a cantor's cope and a chasuble of priceless workmanship and costliness, than which none in the kingdom is reckoned richer or more valuable."[176] The giving of sumptuous gifts was a common expression of piety among the upper echelon of Anglo-Saxon society.[177] Queen Emma also gave costly gifts to Ely

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[175] *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*. Vol.6 P.M. Wright, ed. (Oxford, 1978), p. 402. *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis: Subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, N.E.*S.A.* Hamilton, ed, (London, 1876), p. 11. "*Hoc man(or)ium iacuit in eccl(es)ia S(ancti) Æðel(dreda) in elemosina r.es; archiep(is)c(opus) Stigandus sumpsit ut ipsi homines testantur.*"

[176] *LE* – Fairweather, Book II, chapter 98, pp. 200-201. *LE* – Blake, Book II, chapter 98, p. 168. **"***In Ely quippe vasa maiora et minora de auro et argento in ministerium sacri altaris contulit. Fecerat quoque illic crucem magnam deargentatam desuper totam cum imagine domini nostri Iesu Christi ad magnitudinem forme illius atque similis operis fabrefactas. Insuper albam fecit et capam cantoris atque inestimabilis facture et pretii casulam, qui nulla in regno ditior aut pretiosior estimatur.***"**

[177] Mary Frances Smith, Robin Fleming and Patricia Halpin, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 87, (October, 2001), pp. 569-602. This article addresses gift giving by bishops, nobles and women.

and other places; Stigand may have developed his practice from observing her.[178] These items were lost in the surrender to William the Conqueror or to the depredations of Bishop Nigel, appointed by King Henry. The Ely compiler recorded that the community had cause both to condemn and to praise Stigand and he did so in moderation and in accordance with the perceived offences. Stigand did hold lands at lease from Ely and the community was damaged when he was deposed and his holdings seized. The author of the *Liber Eliensis* seems neither to have grossly exaggerated nor invented crimes to place at Stigand's door. Certainly he passed judgment where he thought Stigand erred but he also gave praise where he deemed it due.

Thomas Sprott, a thirteenth-century monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury wrote a chronicle that survives in two fourteenth-century manuscripts.[179] Sprott's chronicle contains a story purported to be an account of a confrontation between Stigand at the head of an army of the people of Kent and William the Conqueror. "When he learnt of this, Archbishop Stigand and Abbot Egelsin, and the elders of the whole of Kent, used the dangers of their neighbours to fashion a structure of salvation for themselves and their county. So they got together the whole population of the whole of Kent and …by unanimous vote decided to oppose Duke William and fight with him for their ancestral rights. But the aforesaid archbishop and abbot, became the leaders of the army."[180] William was sufficiently cowed that he agreed to their demands that they be permitted to live under their native laws. "But the duke, seeing himself in a tight place…granted,

[178] *LE* – Blake, Book III, chapter 50, p. 357. Pauline Stafford, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith*, (Oxford, 1997), p. 143.
[179] British Library, Cotton MSS, Tiberius A IX and Lambeth Palace Library, MS. No. 419.
[180] *William Thorne's Chronicle of St. Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A.H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934), chapter 9, pp. 47-49. See pages 135-138 for Sprott's account in its entirety.

though more prudently than willingly, what the people of Kent requested."[181] Stigand was portrayed as a hero and a patriot who had successfully convinced the people to refuse the yoke of slavery and take the battle to the invader. "…the ancient liberty of the English and their ancestral laws and customs which, before the arrival of Duke William, were in force equally throughout the whole of England, have remained inviolable up to the present time in the county of Kent only, and that too through the agency of Archbishop Stigand and Abbot Egelsin."[182] David Knowles accepted this account as a possibility though with caution.[183] This story has usually been taken as an explanation for the Kentish practice of gavelkind.[184] An entry that refers to gavelkind appears in Sprott's chronicle two sections prior to the story about Swanscombe.[185] The reasoning seems to have run thus: gavelkind lasted much longer in Kent than elsewhere and was therefore thought to be a particularly Kentish custom. Since the Swanscombe events purport to defend Kentish custom and law then they must have defended the practice of gavelkind. No mention of gavelkind or any other specific law or custom can be found in the Swanscombe story; only the proximity of one entry to the other in the chronicle suggests that the two were related.

Sprott was a monk of St. Augustine's, Canterbury and as such it is unlikely that he was unaware of the controversy surrounding Stigand's tenure of the archbishopric. He

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[181] *Ibid*.
[182] *Ibid*.
[183] David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge, 1962), p. 103 and n. 6. "Abbot Aethelsig of St. Augustine's joined Stigand and the thanes of Kent in organizing Kentish resistance…" his footnote "So *Chronicon Willelmi Thorne*, ed. Twydsen, 1787, but this chronicle is often demonstrably incorrect, and there is much uncertainty about the later career of abbot Æthelsige."
[184] R. J. Smith, 'The Swanscombe Legend and the Historiography of Kentish Gavelkind' in *Medievalism in the Modern World: Essays in Honour of Leslie J. Workman*, Richard Utz and Tom Shippey, eds. (Turnhout, 1998).
[185] *Thorne's Chronicle*, chapter 6, p. 43.

probably had access to copies of the various histories produced in the twelfth-century and would have known in what esteem post-Conquest writers held Stigand. He was certainly aware of gifts given by Stigand to St. Augustine's, "A.D. 1064 Stigand, among his other gifts to this monastery gave to St. Augustine a large cross, covered all over with silver, erected in the nave of the church over the screen. The ornament is very beautiful and a perpetual reminder of him."[186] As Sprott had this much information about Stigand and was not simply using the name from a vague knowledge that there had been an Archbishop of Canterbury by that name during the Conquest it would seem that St. Augustine's remembered him more favorably than most post-Conquest writers would have had him remembered. If Sprott was "a fabulist," as has been claimed, it is extraordinary that he would have constructed his fable using Stigand, a pluralist, deposed and vilified archbishop, even one who gave beautiful ornaments, as the protagonist.[187] None of the writers who give accounts of Stigand's activities even hint that he had ever taken up arms before or during his career in the church.

The idea of Stigand as a patriot is in sharp contrast with the reputation created for him by post Conquest writers, yet that image arose and remained accessible into the 19th century. Raphael Holinshed accepted it as fact and included it in his 1587 chronicle.[188] Thomas Deloney turned the story into a popular ballad sometime between 1583 and

[186] *Ibid*., chapter 8, pp. 45-46. Stigand's practice of giving gifts to favored churches will be discussed in chapter 5.
[187] Smith, 'Gavelkind', p. 86. Smith pointed out that "His [Sprott's] story is of late date, is corroborated by no writer of the Norman era, and is incompatible with the known events of 1066." Smith was specifically arguing that the Swanscombe Legend was insufficient evidence for the history of the practice of gavelkind.
[188] Raphael Holinshed, *Holinshed's Chronicles: England, Scotland and Ireland,* 6 Vols. Henry Ellis, ed. (London, 1807-08), II, pp. 1-2. Smith, 'Gavelkind', p. 85.

1600. He probably took his material from Holinshed who probably had it from Sprott via Thorne's chronicle.[189]

Deloney was a silk weaver and writer of ballads, poems and novels. He was probably born in Norwich,[190] possibly sometime between 1540 and 1560[191] and likely died in 1600.[192] This qualified statement is as close to the facts as it is possible to come about the basics of Deloney's life. Norwich is proposed based on a sobriquet bestowed upon him by Thomas Nash who called him "the Balletting Silke Weaver of Norwich."[193] Deloney probably received a grammar school education as he produced translations from Latin and possibly from French.[194] By 1586 he was resident in London and had published at least two works, *A Declaration made by the Archbishop of Cullen* [Cologne] *vpon the Deede of his Mariage* was published in 1583 and *The Lamentation of Beckles* in 1586.[195] A collection of Deloney's works, including the ballad about the Swanscombe encounter, *The Kentishmen with long tayles*, was published in 1602 approximately two years after his death.[196] It is interesting that a man of Norwich should choose to promulgate this legend. Whether he did so because there was some local popular account of Stigand's participation in resistance or because it was a story with a local connection

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[189] See above note 37.

[190] *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com *s.v.* Deloney, Thomas; Nash's epithet 'the Balletting Silke Weauer of Norwich' (Haue with You to Saffron Walden (1596), Works (McKierrow), vol. iii, p. 84, seems to point to that town as the place of his birth, and it is significant that one of his earliest ballads -- The Lamentation of Beckles (1586) -- was printed 'for Nicholas Coleman of Norwich'.

[191] *Ibid.*; *The Works of Thomas Deloney*, Francis Oscar Mann, ed., (Oxford, 1912), p. vi, Mann refused to hazard a guess as to Deloney's birth year.

[192] *ODNB,* http://www.oxforddnb.com *s.v.* Deloney, Thomas.

[193] *The Works of Thomas Nashe,* 5 Vols., R.B. McKerrow, ed. (London, 1904-10), Vol. 3, p. 84.

[194] *The Novels of Thomas Deloney*, M.E. Lawlis, ed. (1961), p. xxiv.

[195] Mann, *Deloney*, p. vi.

[196] Thomas Deloney, *Strange Histories of Kings, Princes, Dukes, Earles, Lords, Ladies, Knights, and Gentlemen, with the great troubles and miseries of the Duchess of Suffolke*, (London, 1602). Mann, *Deloney*, p. vi. Kempe in April, 1600, refers to him as having just died.

or neither is unknown. He did not cite Stigand by name but made clear that the Archbishop of Canterbury was the leader of English efforts to retain King Edward's laws. It is specifically the right to live under their own laws that is associated with freedom and avoidance of slavery.[197] The story was sufficiently interesting to merit copying out in Latin and translation into English by an anonymous scribe, possibly as a schoolroom exercise, c. 1730.[198] Even Lewis Carroll perpetuated the idea of Stigand as defender of English rights when he stated, "Stigand, the patriotic archbishop of Canterbury, found it advisable to go with Edgar Atheling to meet William and offer him the crown."[199]

In 1860, Walter Farquar Hook, the Dean of Chichester wrote the *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*.[200] Hook was born in 1798.[201] His early education took place at several schools including Winchester College.[202] In 1817 he entered Christ Church College, Oxford where he was an undistinguished scholar. His interest in study awakened after he was ordained a deacon in the Church of England in 1821. He was ordained priest the following year.[203] Hook was an active parish priest in a number of livings over the following thirty-seven years.[204] In 1859, his energy beginning to decline, Hook accepted an appointment to the deanery of Chichester. Richard Bentley, publisher, proposed the writing of an account of the archbishops of Canterbury to Bishop Wilberforce, who declined and proposed Hook in his place. Thus his extensive work *The*

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[197] Mann, *Deloney*, Cant. I.
[198] Papers of the Strachie Family of Sutton Court, Pensford, Somerset, D/SH/5/309.
[199] Lewis Carroll, *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland*, (London, 1971), pp. 28-9. The Mouse recounts the story much interrupted by the Lory and the Duck.
[200] Walter Farquhar Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*, Vol. I, (London, 1860).
[201] *ODNB*, http://www.oxforddnb.com *s.v.* Walter Farquhar Hook, dean of Chichester.
[202] *Ibid.*
[203] *Ibid.*
[204] *Ibid.*

Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury had its inception. Hook outlined his intended approach to the publisher, "In no case will I slur over a fact or defend a character at the expense of truth."[205] In a letter to William Stubbs, Hook outlined the audience he hoped to interest in writing as he did, "When *you* write, you write for the learned few: *I* am writing for the million. I wish to produce a readable history of the Church of England. I am not going to publish dissertations or enter into discussions with the learned."[206] Hook's assertions about his work were quire similar to William of Malmesbury's, "where facts are disputable I give in the text my own conclusions, and I wish to refer the reader in the notes to the various authorities, that he may be at liberty to draw other conclusions if he will."[207] Hook also stated his biases to his publisher "although I shall be as impartial as I can be, it will be with the candid avowal that I write in the spirit of a Protestant of the church of England."[208] Again to William Stubbs, "I write as a thorough Protestant John Bull, disliking everything foreign, and cordially hating Rome; but, I trust, as an honest Christian man, prepared to tell the truth even when it is against us, and so to shame the devil."[209] Hook completed ten volumes of the Lives before his death in 1871.

Hook, like Professor Freeman, believed that Stigand was a much maligned patriot and defender of English rights. He pointed out that a man who could be deposed from his bishopric only to be restored within months and who remained close to the royal court must have been in possession of considerable diplomatic skills.[210] It was as a diplomat that Hook primarily saw Stigand. Hook drew unwarranted conclusions in his attempt to

[205] W. R. W. Stephens, *The Life and Letters of Walter Farquhar Hook*, (London, 1878), pp. 396.
[206] *Ibid*., p. 403 Hook's italics.
[207] *Ibid*.
[208] *Ibid*. pp. 396-7.
[209] *Ibid*. p. 403.
[210] *Ibid.* p. 505.

portray Stigand as the main prop and stay of the realm. Hook attributed Emma's restoration to Stigand rather than the reverse, as is commonly believed, as she recovered before him.[211] There is no evidence supporting this conclusion as there is no record of negotiations between King Edward and his mother or his former/future bishop of Elmham. Hook also claimed that Emma's reconciliation with Earl Godwine was the result of Stigand's "wise council and stated that the bishop was a leader in the Godwinist faction at court."[212] Godwine was portrayed as an honest and fair-minded Englishman who was unable to see Robert of Jumièges for the deceptive conniver that he was.[213] Edward was dissuaded from leading the country into civil war only by Stigand's wise counsel, which Hook associated with patriotism. "Stigand acted with the firmness of a patriot and moderation of a Christian, the pacification which ensued [in 1052 of the Godwine's followers on their return from exile] being attributable in great part to the wisdom of his counsels."[214] According to Hook, Stigand presided over the *Witanagemot* that reinstated Godwine and his sons and banished the offending Frenchmen and that it was he who berated King Edward into behaving like a king rather than a player of party politics.[215] Hook offered no support for these claims and the available sources do not support them. Stephen Baxter has demonstrated that the king had extraordinary power to appoint, depose and rearrange earldoms without reference to any body of advisors and that this power helped to contribute to the existence and volatility of factions.[216]

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[211] *Ibid.*
[212] *Ibid.* pp. 505-6.
[213] *Ibid.* pp. 509-10. This is Hook's opinion.
[214] *Ibid.*, p. 503.
[215] *Ibid.* 503.
[216] Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 13, 62 and 71.

The Historians' View

Hook suggested that Stigand's initial appointment to Canterbury was in the nature of an interim administration though he went on to admit that Stigand witnessed documents as archbishop.[217] Stigand's supposed dismissal of Edward's deathbed visions was attributed to the idea that Stigand was above the superstitions of the age and that he was a plain spoken Englishman and not a palavering Frenchman.[218] Hook accepted Orderic Vitalis' and William of Poitiers' claims that Stigand crowned Harold. He also believed that the Bayeux Tapestry supported these statements though in fact it avoided depicting Harold's crowning though he was styled '*Rex*' on it.[219] Hook attempted to make out a case for Stigand not crowning William in which he was neither condemned as an uncanonical archbishop nor forsworn in his pledged fealty to the new king. The argument runs along these lines: Stigand was not refused the honor of crowning the king because of his anomalous position as that would have contradicted William's apparent reverence for him, nor did Stigand refuse on the grounds that William was a usurper as that would have violated Stigand's pledge to him. Instead, Stigand apparently found it necessary to renounce his allegiance to the Norman king and therefore was permitted to stand down on the occasion of the coronation.[220] It is a ridiculous idea that William would have accepted such a fine distinction in defining Stigand's loyalty and that he would have allowed such a person to carry on in office as usual. Hook clearly wanted there to have been reasons other than a dubious canonical hold on the archbishopric for Stigand's inability to perform William's consecration. Since Hook accepted that Stigand had crowned Harold, the issue became, for him, one of pre- *versus* post-Conquest

[217] Hook, *Lives*, p. 510.
[218] *Ibid*., p. 513.
[219] Hook, *Lives*, p. 514. See Plate 1 for the relevant panel of the Bayeux Tapestry.
[220] *Ibid.* pp. 516-17.

loyalties. Hook contended that Stigand acted "with discretion and boldness" in submitting with the young King Edgar, whom he had anointed, to William's authority.[221] He claimed that out of fear for the young man's safety Stigand was the author of Edgar's, and his family's, flight to Scotland and actually accompanied them.

Hook lamented that Stigand had not the genius required to become "an ecclesiastical hero" and rally the people to overthrow their oppressors. Rather, Stigand's unwavering principles caused persecution to be turned upon himself and he suffered as a symbol for all. He was clearly convinced that Stigand played an important role in the resistance centered on the Isle of Ely and it was Hook's contention that Stigand brought his treasury to Ely in order to finance the resistance.[222] Hook insisted that the riches Stigand was accused of hoarding were hoarded for use by the hoped for uprising against the Normans. He even suggested that Stigand refused to improve his conditions in prison because doing so would reveal the location of treasure needed by others to finance resistance activities.[223]

Hook thought Stigand had been a great man who could have been greater had he only possessed the necessary spark required to act upon his greatness. He thought Stigand the right man for the age in which he lived until the coming of the Normans. The Normans were the barrier beyond which Stigand could not move; the English needed a genius and Stigand was not he. "Among the archbishops there are a few eminent men

[221] *Ibid*., p. 516.
[222] *Ibid*., pp. 504-30, especially 521. Hook used the *Liber Eliensis* as a source and was perhaps misled by the addition from John of Worcester. Hook also seemed much opposed to the French. Knowles, *Monastic*, p. 105 n. 4. Knowles merely allows that Stigand could have been at the Camp of Refuge as suggested in *LE*. He did not pursue the point beyond the acknowledgment of the possibility.
[223] Hook, *Lives*, p. 529.

distinguished as much for their transcendent abilities as for their exalted station in society; but as a general rule, they have not been men of the highest class of mind. They are practical men rather than philosophers and theorists, and their impulse is not to perfection, but *quieta non movere*." The character of the times which they fairly represent could be read through their actions. "In a missionary age we find them zealous but not enthusiastic; on the revival of learning, whether in Anglo-Saxon times or the fifteenth-century, they were men of learning, although only a few have been distinguished as authors. When the mind of the laity was devoted to the camp or the chase, and prelates were called to the administration of public affairs, they displayed the ordinary tact and diplomatic skill of professional statesmen, and the necessary acumen of judges…"[224]

Professor E.A. Freeman also adopted the theory that Stigand, "the single priest of Assandun lived to show himself one of the stoutest of Englishmen," who "displaced a Norman intruder on the throne of Augustine, and was himself hurled therefrom at the bidding of a Norman King."[225] Edward Augustus Freeman was born in 1823.[226] His early schooling took place in various schools kept by Anglican ministers. He won a scholarship to Trinity College Oxford in 1841 and was an undistinguished scholar, yet he was elected to a fellowship in 1845.[227] Though he enjoyed financial independence, he decided to devote his career to history and resumed his studies.[228] Freeman developed an avid interest in politics, which he saw as synonymous with history. "History is past

[224] *Ibid*., pp. 40-1.
[225] Freeman, Edward A., *The History of the Norman Conquest of England*, *its causes and its results*, 6 Vols. (Oxford, 1867), Vol. I, pp. 472-3.
[226] *ODNB*, http://www/oxforddnb.com, *s.v.* Freeman, Edward Augustus.
[227] *Ibid.*
[228] *Ibid.*

politics, and politics is present history" was a favorite dictum.[229] He developed radical political ideas that may have prevented him from achieving his aim of securing a seat in parliament.[230] Freeman was noted by his fellow historians as possessing a complete disinterest in those aspects of historical research that strayed from politics. He could not, apparently, see the importance of or interest in social, economic or philosophical developments in the societies whose politics he studied.[231] Freeman's own social attitudes could be extreme, in particular his racial prejudices.[232] He despised Celts, the French, Turks, Jews and blacks. He admired the Germans, in particular the German-Swiss, as he believed that they had maintained "primitive Germanic institutions … pure and intact."[233] These attitudes affected his historiographical works. In attempting to remove all traces of 'foreign' words from his vocabulary and to use only those of Germanic origin, Freeman developed an awkward and stilted style that did his writing no service.[234] His attitudes toward source material were also affected. He began to refer to William of Malmesbury as a "lying, affected, French scoundrel."[235] It was a harsh judgment on an honest if occasionally mistaken scholar. Freeman disliked visiting libraries and archives and so has been faulted for neglecting manuscript sources.[236] His greatest work, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: its causes and its results* promulgated his argument that the Conquest had been beneficial for England, a belief he shared with William Stubbs. He believed that England "came forth with her ancient laws

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[229] James Bryce, 'Edward Augustus Freeman' *English Historical Review* vii, (1892), p. 499.
[230] *ODNB s.v.* Freeman.
[231] Bryce, 'Freeman', pp. 498-500.
[232] *ODNB s.v.* Freeman, Frank Barlow pointed out that Freeman's views were not uncommon at the time and mentioned that these views were, for the most part, shared in private.
[233] *Ibid.*
[234] *Ibid*., Bryce, 'Freeman', p. 507.
[235] W.R.W. Stephens, Vol. I, p. 241.
[236] ODNB, Bryce, 'Freeman', pp. 504-5.

formed into shapes better suited to changed times, and with a new body of fellow-workers in those long-estranged kinsmen whom birth on her soil had changed into kinsmen once again"[237]

Professor Freeman was misled by John of Worcester's incorrect dating for Stigand's appointment to Elmham. He, as a result of this confusion, believed that Stigand had been deposed from and reinstated to Elmham twice. "We also find another royal chaplain, Stigand, the priest of Assandun, appointed to a Bishopric, deposed, seemingly before consecration, because another competitor was ready with a larger sum, and finally reinstated, whether by dint of the same prevailing arguments we are not told."[238] The second election and deposition is placed near the beginning of Edward's reign as it should be. "The disgrace of the Lady [Emma] was accompanied by the disgrace of the remarkable – we might almost say the great churchman by whose counsels she was said to be governed. We have already seen Stigand, once the Priest of Assandun, appointed to a Bishoprick and almost immediately deprived of it. The like fate now happened to him a second time. He was, it would seem, still unconsecrated; but, seemingly about the time of Eadward's coronation, he was named and consecrated to the East-Anglian Bishoprick of Elmham. But the spoliation of Emma was accompanied by the deposition of Stigand from the dignity to which he had just been raised. He was

[237] Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-2, Vol. 5, p. 650.
[238] *Ibid*., p. 563. Freeman was misled into believing that John of Worcester stated that Stigand had been Harold Harefoot's chaplain as well as Cnut's and Edward's and raised by Harold Harefoot to the bishopric of Elmham in 1038 rather than by Edward in 1043.

deprived of his Bishoprick, and his goods were seized into the King's hands, evidently by a sentence of the same *Gémot* which decreed the proceedings against the Lady."[239]

Professor Freeman found the possibility that Stigand might aid Swein of Norway in his claim on the English throne credible though by no means certain and wondered that so 'remarkable' a man might have been so foolish. "That Stigand should have supported claims of Swein is in itself not improbable. He had risen wholly by the favour of Cnut, his wife, and his sons. The strange thing is that so wary a statesman should not have seen how irresistibly the tide was setting in favour of Eadward. One thing is certain, that, if Stigand mistook his interest this time, he knew how in the long run to recover his lost place and to rise to places far higher."[240] Professor Freeman placed much emphasis on the fact that Stigand had advanced under kings of Scandinavian origin but was once again misled by John of Worcester's faulty dating. To all appearances Stigand read the situation perfectly as all of his advances beyond his first preferment came during Edward's reign. Stigand's translation to Winchester was couched in patriotic terms, "Ælfwine, Bishop of Winchester, died, and his Bishoprick fell neither to Frenchmen nor to Lotharingian. Stigand rose another step in the ladder of promotion by his translation from the humbler see of Elmham to the Bishoprick of the Imperial city."[241] Professor Freeman did not accord Stigand the place in diplomacy that Professor Stenton did. He merely recounted the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* accounts of negotiations at the time of the Godwines' exile and restoration.[242] Professor Freeman admitted that Stigand's position

[239] *Ibid*., Vol. II, p. 64-5.
[240] *Ibid*.
[241] *Ibid*., p. 94.
[242] *Ibid*., p. 329.

once he had taken up the archbishopric was doubtful but pointed out that there was apparently no opposition to him within England. "He was undoubtedly an able and patriotic statesman, and his merits in this way doubtless prevented any direct move against him."[243]

William Stubbs was born in 1825. His early education took place in Knaresborough and at Ripon grammar school. Bishop Charles Thomas Longley secured a place at Christ Church College Oxford in 1844. At Oxford he pursued an interest in medieval history initially aroused under his father's tutelage among the records at Knaresborough Castle.[244] Stubbs was ordained priest in 1850 and took up a living in Navestock, Essex. It was while vicar at Navestock that Stubbs published his first works of historiography.[245] In 1862, Stubbs was appointed librarian of Lambeth Library.[246] The following year Stubbs began a long and fruitful association with the Roll Series Society. He contributed nineteen works to the series, the last of which was the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and *Historia Novella* written by William of Malmesbury. Stubbs' edition was published in 1887-9.[247] His introductions to his volumes are of remarkable value. He has been criticized for making too little use of unpublished records and those of the Public Record Office but his introductions are essential for later research.[248] In 1866 Stubbs was offered the *Regius* professorship of Modern history at Oxford, a position he held for the next eighteen years. Stubbs' most important works were *Select*

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[243] *Ibid*., Vol. II, p. 343.
[244] *ODNB*, *s.v.* Stubbs, William.
[245] William Stubbs, *Regestrum sacrum Anglicanum* (Oxford, 1858), an account of episcopal succession in all English sees from the earliest times; *De inventione sanctæ Crucis*, (Oxford and London, 1861). Commonly known as *The Waltham Chronicle*.
[246] *ODNB*
[247] *Ibid.*
[248] *Ibid.*

Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the earliest times to the reign of Edward I and *The Constitutional History of England in its Origins and Development.*[249] Stubbs accepted the see of Chester in 1884 and set out on a campaign of church building. He was translated to the see of Oxford in 1888. James Campbell summed up Stubbs' *versus* the modern historian in the comment, "he sought justice in judgment, they freedom from value judgments."[250] Stubbs died in 1901 and in Maitland's words, "no students of English history can have heard with indifference the news that Dr. Stubbs was dead. A bright star had fallen from their sky."[251]

Frank Merry Stenton was born in 1880. A sickly child, he was educated at the Minster Grammar School, Southwall and at home. In 1899 he won a scholarship to read modern history at Keble College, Oxford. After graduation he spent two years working for the Victoria History of the Counties of England. In 1908 he was a research fellow in local history at Reading University where he remained in various posts until his retirement in 1950. Stenton's most important works were *The First Century of English Feudalism* and *Anglo-Saxon England*.[252] The two works remain important and most discussions of the period and place begin with *Anglo-Saxon England*. The work was the first scientific analysis of Anglo-Saxon history and employed a variety of source

[249] *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History from the earliest times to the reign of Edward I* and *The Constitutional History of England in its Origins and Development*, (Oxford, 1905) is a collection of documents from Caesar to Edward I. *The Constitutional History*, (Oxford, 1880) is the history of the development of institutions.
[250] *ODNB*
[251] F. W. Maitland, 'William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford' *English Historical Review* xvi, (1901), pp. 417-426 at 417.
[252] Frank Merry Stenton, *The First Century of English Feudalism,* (Oxford, 1932) and *Anglo-Saxon England,* 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1971).

material, including charters, coins, chronicles, place names, architecture and archaeology. *Anglo-Saxon England* has stood up well under inevitable questioning.[253]

Professor Frank Merry Stenton took a straight-forward approach to the subject of Stigand and his career. He had relatively little to say about Stigand and for the most part repeated and accepted that comment found in various chronicles. He did give rather a lot of credence to the tale of Queen Emma's attempt to entice Magnus of Norway to try for the English throne and that Stigand seemed caught up in that attempt as he was her close counselor. "A hint of some graver charge [than withholding wealth from Edward] in the background is given by the fact that Stigand, the newly appointed bishop of Elmham, her [Emma's] chief confidant, was deprived of his see at this time."[254] Professor Stenton pointed out that Stigand's assumption of the see of Canterbury was offensive to the reforming papacy. "The arbitrary supersession of a lawfully constituted archbishop ignored canonical principles which high churchmen abroad regarded as fundamental, and it was never forgiven by the reforming party in the Roman curia."[255] What Professor Stenton failed to point out was that Stigand was not self-appointed. King Edward placed him in the see of Canterbury because it was vacant due to Robert's deposition by that same king. The papacy did not regard this process as valid but Edward and Stigand did. "On the surface his continuance in office was a direct challenge to the conception of ecclesiastical order reached by the best opinion of his time."[256] Professor Freeman

[253] D. Matthew, *Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England Fifty Years On*, (Reading, 1994). This is a collection of papers analyzing the staying power of Stenton's conclusions.
[254] Stenton, *ASE*, p. 426. Stenton failed to mention the restoration of both Emma and Stigand.
[255] *Ibid*., p. 465.
[256] *Ibid*.

suggested that it was the foreign element at court that troubled to be so canonically persnickety when honest Englishmen merely worked around the situation.

Professor Stenton made clear that Stigand's status meant he could not consecrate bishops and so new appointees either went to fellow English bishops or went abroad. "Stigand's retention of the dignity, the place in council and the emoluments of an archbishop of Canterbury does not mean that the English churchmen accepted his metropolitan authority or were indifferent to the sentences which successive popes had passed upon him. Their respect for the attitude of the Roman curia is strikingly shown by the fact that between 1052 and 1066 no English bishop came to him for consecration, except in the months immediately after his recognition by Benedict X."[257] Professor Stenton stated that the layman's appreciation for the ban under which Stigand operated was yet more surprising than that of ecclesiastics. "It is in some ways more remarkable that the anomaly of his position was felt by laymen belonging to his own party in the state. Earl Harold invited Cynesige, archbishop of York, to consecrate his newly founded church of Waltham Holy Cross; and the authority of the English evidence that Ealdred of York crowned Harold king outweighs the Norman assertion that he was 'ordained by the unholy consecration of Stigand'."[258] Laymen, doubtless advised by their own priests or bishops, looked to more securely situated churchmen when they had churches in need of consecration or heads in need of crowning. Stigand's Power and influence as opposed to his authority, which was compromised by the circumstances under which he was appointed, was useful to Godwine and his adherents, and others with whom Stigand made

[257] Stenton, *ASE*, p. 466.
[258] *Ibid*.

alliance such as the men commended to him, however, they understood that his position was insecure and acted accordingly.

Stephen Baxter has argued that Anglo-Saxon kings were able to change the balance of power in their kingdoms with relative ease by reassigning earldoms or the comital lands that accompanied the office.[259] In an attempt to counter this insecurity the earls forged alliances, with religious houses within their shires or in areas where they had only a tentative hold, they gathered the commendations of men and established relationships with foreign powers.[260] Patrick Wormald expressed this idea in terms of faction. "The crucial fact of late Anglo-Saxon politics is that it was factional. There was intense competition for central power and its local benefits."[261] These alliances could prove extremely inconvenient to the king whose policies precipitated them. Alfgar upon losing his earldom made or called upon an alliance with King Gruffudd *ap* Llywelyn of Wales and forced his way back to his former position.[262] Alfgar's victory would have implied to others at the time that King Edward had made an unjust judgment to start with, was militarily weak or both. Ealdred may have deliberately permitted Harold and Leofwine to escape capture when Godwine and his family were exiled, presumably because he had a close association with the family.[263] Harold and Leofwine proceeded to call upon Diarmaid of Leinster while his father arranged a marriage between Tostig and

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[259] Baxter, *Earls*, p. 13.
[260] *Ibid*., p. 180 Leofric's relationships with Burton; pp. 153-163 Coventry; pp. 163-168; and the Godwines' relationship, through Tostig's marriage, with the ruling family of Flanders and Harold's grand tour of the Continent.
[261] Patrick Wormald, '*Engla Lond:* The Making of an Allegiance' *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7 (1994), pp. 1-24; reprinted in Patrick Wormald, *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience*, (London, 1999), pp. 359-382 at 366.
[262] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, MSS C, D and E *s.a.* 1055. MSS C and D say that Alfgar went to Ireland to acquire a fleet and then joined Gruffudd in Wales. Baxter, *Earls*, pp. 46-47.
[263] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1051, p. 120.

Judith of Flanders. Even deprived of their lands and in exile the Godwine's were seen as a safe investment. Baldwin of Flanders considered a close alliance with the Godwine's family valuable. Support from Diarmaid and Baldwin was crucial to the Godwine family's return. That return to England and power meant other men were deprived of the lands that were redistributed when the Godwine's were exiled. This sort of 'give and take back' would not have set well with the losers and the rivalries thus created could be used by the king, if he were careful, to keep control of his mightiest subjects. Rivalries were not, however, set in stone and former adversaries could come to peaceful agreements if doing so looked to benefit both sides. Harold married Edgytha, sister of Edwin and Morcar, grandsons of Leofric of Mercia, which allied him to the Godwine family's traditional opposition.

Despite Stigand's obedience to the papacy in observing the ban Professor Stenton suggested that he regarded the situation was merely a passing political fancy. "The archbishop himself may well have taken the papal condemnation less seriously. His whole career shows that he was essentially a politician, and he is not unlikely to have regarded the reforming popes who condemned him as the leaders of a party which had come to power only in recent years, and might at any time fall from power again. But there can be no doubt that the representative English churchmen of his age considered him to be archbishop in name only."[264] Again this argument seems to bring in a modern attitude towards the movement of political events. Stigand had seen a number of changes that might have lasted only a short time which proved to be permanent i.e. Swein/Cnut's invasion and the conquest by William of Normandy. In each case he adapted to the

[264] Stenton, *ASE*, p. 466.

changed environment. This seems to be the most likely approach for him to have taken in relation to changing papal authority, yet he did not. He and those around him may have deemed the political needs of the kingdom to take precedence over those of the Church.

Professor Stenton even suggested that Stigand's situation might be considered as sufficient to merit the invasion of a country and destruction of its culture, institutions and persons. "It is a nice question how far the better government of the English church and the removal of Archbishop Stigand, which might be expected to follow from William's victory, could justify a decision which would give the approval of the papal court to an aggressive war."[265] It came down to advocating the destruction and loss of life brought about by a war because one elderly ecclesiastic obeyed his kings and refused to budge or sending a legatine delegation that refused to leave England until the situation was rectified. It would seem that Archdeacon Hildebrand's contemporaries did not share Professor Stenton's view. "Long afterwards Pope Gregory VII, who as Archdeacon Hildebrand had been William's strongest advocate, wrote that many had blamed him as one who laboured for slaughter."[266] Many appeared to believe that while what Stigand had done/was doing was wrong; it did not warrant a war. Professor Stenton seems to have been viewing the situation as if it were a political event whose outcome would effect Stigand's removal without considering the other results. Professor Stenton may have viewed Stigand too much as a politician and imposed the image of a politician onto

[265] *Ibid.*, p. 586.
[266] *Ibid.*, p. 586.

a man who was a product of the Church as much as he was a product of the secular world.

In *The English Church 1000-1066*, Frank Professor Barlow made a good case for using medieval sources cautiously when they have come from a monastic source yet deal with secular topics. He pointed out that biographies were rarely written about non-monastic bishops. Monastic chronicles also tend to idealize abbots and bishops who had been monks and concentrate on negative aspects of the lives or tenures of secular office holders. "Bishops who diverged too far from the ideal found no biographer and those remembered were ideally portrayed."[267] These deficiencies are due to the nature of the literature in question as ecclesiastical biographies detailed the lives of saintly men and women and as such were not intended as a source of historical fact in the way that a modern historian would find most helpful. Such a work was meant to emphasize the 'good' behavior attributed to an individual who was being held up as an example of right living. This does not necessarily illustrate a monastic bias toward the subject but a specific purpose for the work. Chronicles were kept in monastic houses by people whose ideas of correct behavior would be the same as those of the vita's author and so it is not surprising that the subjects would be idealized. Lives were often written in the house where the subject had passed his life or career. He was either well known to the author or the author had access to persons who knew him or records from his lifetime. The secular individual may have spent less time actually living in the community and therefore would

[267] Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 65.

have been less well known by the writers. Professor Barlow pointed out that a modern historian must "revalue persons and movements according to their own aims."[268]

There are few narrative sources available from the pre-Conquest period. The late tenth-century concentrated on works that served liturgical and devotional needs and to augment those, produced the Lives of various saints. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* were continued but by their very nature do not provide detailed information or analysis. The twelfth-century produced a number of capable writers who devoted much time and talent to writing history but who were hampered by a dearth of written source material for the late Anglo-Saxon period. Biographies of Wulfstan and Anselm were perhaps the beginning of a reinvigoration of such writing.

Both medieval hagiographies and biographies are important sources of information to the modern historian so long as the limitations of each are understood. Each genre was produced with different aims in mind and using one to answer questions posed by the other can court confusion if not disaster though it is possible if careful to glean usable information from them both.[269] An example is the markedly different depictions of Edward the Confessor in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, in which Edward is pale, frail and otherworldly and in *Edward the Confessor*, in which he is a hale, vigorous quick-tempered man of action.[270] According to Susan Ridyard, "The historian seeks the objective reconstruction and

[268] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 28.
[269] Thomas J. Heffernan, *Sacred Biography: Saints and Their Biographers in the Middle Ages*, (Oxford and New York, 1988), p. 65. Heffernan points out that 'What people thought of a subject at the time of writing may include what people thought at the time of the source.'
[270] *VÆR*, p. 18. Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, (London, 1970), pp. 42 and 134.

interpretation of the past; the hagiographer writes with a moral and often propagandist purpose."[271] The moral purpose is to provide an exemplar of virtuous Christian life after which others were meant to pattern their own behavior. As the hagiographer's interest lies in recounting only those facts that aide him in teaching his moral lesson, propelling his subject closer to sanctification or associating a particular foundation as closely as possible with the saint, factual accuracy is not the methodological focus of the work. Where facts are lacking or the need to demonstrate the saint's sanctity arose the hagiographer included stock topos chosen to illustrate a particular saint's particular virtues. In this way a saint was easily recognizable as such by those who read or heard the *vita*.[272] Propaganda enters into the equation when a *vita* is produced for the purpose of promoting a particular cult in order to ensure patronage of a shrine, fair, church or other foundation.[273] Uncertainty during the times the *vita* was written may also provide a motive for collecting whatever information was available about a saint and all relics, lands and privileges that could be associated with him or her.[274] Rivalry between monastic houses that each claim to have possession of certain relics may prompt the

[271] Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, (Cambridge, 1988), p. 9; H. Delehaye, *Les Legendes Hagiographique*, 3rd rev. ed., *Subsidia Hagiographica* 18, (Brussels, 1927), p. 2.
[272] Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 10; Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St. Æthelwold*, Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds. (Oxford, 1991), pp. cxii-cxliii, Lapidge has demonstrated that the use of Æthelwold's Life was limited to liturgical commemoration in monasteries that he had reformed. Barbara Yorke, 'Carriers of the Truth': Writing the Biographies of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints' *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250*: *Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton, eds., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2006), pp. 49-60 at 50.
[273] Ridyard, *Royal Saints*, p. 8; Smith, Julia H. M., 'Review article: Early Medieval Hagiography in the Late Twentieth Century' *Early Medieval Europe*, (1992), pp. 69-76 at 72-73. Smith states that Anglo-Saxon churches of the early tenth- and eleventh-centuries were willing to exploit saints' cults for political ends.
[274] Yorke, 'Carriers', pp. 49-60 at 57; David Rollason, 'Hagiography and Politcs in Early Northumbria' *Holy Men and Holy Women*: *Old English Saints' Lives and Their Contents*, P. Szarmach, ed., (Albany, 1996), pp. 95-114.
[274] Barlow, *The English Church,* p. 77.

writing up of a *vita* in order demonstrate a house's argument.[275] Financial gain was also a possible motive though it was likely not the most common. Eadmer wrote a scathing letter to the monks of Glastonbury in reference to their claim of possession of the body of Dunstan in which he asked them why they had not applied to someone on the Continent for "a likely lie which you could have bought."[276]

Biography, while meant to provide objectively accurate information can also be used to establish a preferred perception of persons or events. William of Jumièges wrote his *Gesta Normannorum Ducem* from the perspective of the 1040's and 1050's and described William of Normandy's activities in what appears to be a straightforward and unadorned manner even when so doing was critical of his subject.[277] William of Poitiers composed the *Gesta Guillelmi* from the perspective of the 1060's and 1070's and wrote in such a way that he made William of Normandy the mover of all events of importance and not merely an important player in them.[278] Examples of these two approaches are the account of the battle of Alençon. William of Jumièges reported that William of Normandy burnt Alençon and subjected the inhabitants to mutilation.[279] William of Poitiers claimed merely that the town was taken without fighting.[280] William of Jumièges' was willing to present an interpretation that cast a more brutal light on William of Normandy than was William of Poitiers. The victory of 1066 led to a change in the

[275] Yorke, 'Carriers', pp. 49-60 at 58.
[276] *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. William Stubbs, RS, (London, 1874), p. 415.
[277] *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* of William of Jumièges, Orderic Vitalis and Robert Torigni, Elizabeth M.C. van Houts, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 1992-95), 'Jumièges', i pp. xxvii-xxxv.
[278] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Gvillelmi*, R. H. C. Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1998), pp. xxvii – xxviii; David Bates, 'The Conqueror's Earliest Historians and the Writing of his Biography' *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250*: *Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton, eds., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2006), p. 133.
[279] van Houts, *Gesta Normannorum*, 'Jumièges', ii, pp. 124-5
[280] *GG*, pp. 28-29.

characterization of those events in the 1050's with which William of Normandy was associated. William of Poitiers used William of Jumièges' work in his own but wrote attempting to legitimize William of Normandy's actions in England. Elizabeth van Houts also expresses the view that monks wrote in order to emphasize their title rights to lands and possession and in so doing shame secular lords who had not done their duty in protecting them to begin with.[281] Since this was the monks' opinion of the secular figures around them, they saw no reason to honor those secular figures by writing their biographies.

Barlow did not take into consideration the biases and experiences of the writers and their possible willingness to tailor their writing in order to present an account of events that best served their own needs when he summarized Stigand's circumstances thus, "Stigand spans the whole period. A priest of Cnut, he was deposed by William I. He is a link between one great reformer, Wulfstan I, who in 1020 dedicated the church at Ashingdon which seems to have been Stigand's first benefice (ASC 1020 F, HCY ii 342), and another, Lanfranc, who succeeded him at Canterbury. By 1070 he was a lonely survivor, exemplifying in his ecclesiastical position many of the basic weaknesses of the Old-English church and in his career its slow deterioration while a new and revolutionary reform movement had been gaining ground outside."[282] Barlow essentially dismissed sixty-odd years of development between the death of Wulfstan in 1023 and Lanfranc's appointment to Canterbury in 1070. Twenty years elapsed between the death of Wulfstan

[281] Elizabeth M. C. van Houts, 'The Flemish Contribution to Biographical Writing in England in the Eleventh Century' *Writing Medieval Biography 750-1250*: *Essays in Honour of Professor Frank Barlow*, David Bates, Julia Crick and Sarah Hamilton, eds., (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2006), p. 113.
[282] Barlow, *English Church,* p. 77.

I and Stigand's appointment to Elmham. Until Elmham, a poorly endowed and distant see, Stigand was a priest in possession of a minster who may have had influence with the king. The period after his first episcopal appointment was the point when he gained the authority to have even a minimal effect on the Church in England and that was doubtless diluted by his deposition and restoration. Once he was appointed to Winchester he had the secure authority to act either to influence the Church to continue on the path set by the reformers or to focus on the secular, political events that decided the fate of the Church in England as surely as they did the fate of lay persons. The seventeen years during which Stigand was bishop of Winchester and archbishop of Canterbury was the period during which Stigand could have righted the English Church; it was also a period of social and political upheaval and increasing worry over the succession. Barlow followed the monastic line in his assessment of Stigand without questioning whether or not that line was either accurate or appropriate. Barlow claimed that secular office holders acted more as administrators and governors and as a result were given short shrift by monastic writers. "He [the bishop] should pray and intercede with God, instruct his flock, and protect it from the wolves. The bishop is the upholder of righteousness and justice. He must have wisdom and prudence and promulgate divine law in the moots. He is a judge and, together with temporal judges, must make just judgments. This is the nearest we get to a view of the bishop as an administrator and governor, and it is clear that the monastic convention has falsified the picture transmitted to us…"[283] Even having reached the conclusion that the picture had been falsified and that a more accurate portrait would have included a bishop's duties in the spheres of politics, estate management and defense, Barlow's opinion of Stigand and the late Anglo-Saxon Church

[283] Barlow, *English Church*. p. 65.

mirrors that of the twelfth-century historians.[284] Robert Rodes disagrees with Barlow, "On the whole the Anglo-Saxon bishop was more of a pastor and less of an administrator than his later medieval counterpart."[285] He also believed that "the faint outlines of the late medieval administrative office are discernible in the eleventh-century and perhaps in the eighth-century as well."[286] Rodes did not make the distinction between secular and monastic as did Barlow.

In subsequent comments about Stigand, Barlow was occasionally condemnatory because the prelate spent too much attention on politics and too little on religion though he recognized the usefulness of administerially talented men. "The influence of the chapel which Edward inherited from his predecessors cannot be disregarded. It contained priests of long experience, such as Stigand, Cynsige, and Eadweald, and Edward introduced Herman and Leofric, and later others of the same type – men born or educated in Lotharingia, interested in the canonical but not necessarily monastic life, progressive and able, ready to use their administrative skill and royal favour to restore dilapidated cathedral churches."[287] Professor Barlow criticized the anonymous author of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* as unfairly harsh in his comments on Stigand's ready support for Harold at Edward's death. Given the situation with regard to the succession, extensive debate would have been neither politic nor sensible. "The anonymous author of the *Vita*

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[284] *Ibid.*, p. 288; *GR*, Book III, chapter 245.3, p. 458; Barlow and Malmesbury agree substantially that the state of ecclesiastical culture in the eleventh-century was, as Barlow stated it, 'a swamp' Mary Frances Smith, *Episcopal Landholding, Lordship and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, unpublished dissertation, University of Boston, (1997), p. 9-10. Smith believed Barlow 'demonstrated a mastery of hyperbole' with this claim.
[285] Rodes, Robert E., Jr., *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation*, (Notre Dame and London, 1977), p. 13.
[286] Rodes, *Eccles. Admin.*, p. 13.
[287] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 46.

Aedwardi was connected with the court circle and involved, although only as an historian, in the same conflicting loyalties as Stigand. His references to the archbishop are acute and rather unkind. He makes it clear that in 1051 Stigand did his best for Earl Godwin and was deeply affected by the earl's disgrace, but never considered abandoning his implacable royal master."[288] 'Never considered' was an apt choice of words as there is no indication in the *Vita* that abandoning the king *was* an option. Abandoning one's king was generally thought to be a reprehensible thing to do. It is not certain from the evidence of the text that the Biographer thought Stigand leaving the king to join Godwine in his exile was a possibility.

This opinion was rather cynical despite Professor Barlow's criticism of the *Vita*'s author, "Stigand, probably from East Anglia and of Anglo-Scandinavian descent, was a careerist who, by always supporting the party in power and rarely misreading the situation, rose rapidly under Edward, becoming bishop of Elmham in 1043, bishop of Winchester in 1047, and archbishop of Canterbury in plurality after Robert of Jumièges had been expelled in 1052. Moreover he was outstandingly worldly. By birth and career he represented the Anglo-Scandinavian interest in the kingdom, an interest…more than usually opportunist and historically aimless."[289] This was nearly as harsh as the author of the *Vita* and Professor Barlow considered him excessive. There is no reason to believe that Stigand was not as much a product of his time as the next man. It is true that neither contemporary writers nor those who followed within a few generations ever suggested that he was outstanding in his piety, however, Stigand was a product of a society within

[288] *Ibid*., p. 78. *VÆR*, p. 22.
[289] Barlow, *English Church,* p. 77-78.

which the adherence to Christian doctrine and practices was essential. Even if he entered the priesthood in search of a career rather than at the prompting of a vocation Stigand was still likely to have been a devout Christian. It is not clear how Stigand's career represented the Anglo-Scandinavian interest in the kingdom; nor how "It seems therefore in character that Stigand should have been the intermediary between the royalists and Earl Godwin in 1051-2, one of the half-hearted backers of Edgar Ætheling after the battle of Hastings, and then a firm supporter of the Conqueror."[290] What seems most likely is that Stigand was an effective mediator because both Edward and Godwine trusted and respected him. As for Stigand's support first for Edgar and then William, Professor Barlow's use of 'half-hearted' and 'firm supporter' suggests that he found Stigand's choice to submit to the inevitable in the form of William rather than continue what may have been already seen as useless resistance, objectionable.

Professor Barlow did not make extensive comment about Stigand's great wealth or methods of acquisition. He did say that combining the dioceses of Canterbury and Winchester was 'indefensible' when most bishoprics were poorly endowed. He appeared to have found the economics of Stigand's actions more offensive than a breach of church policy. The abilities of the bishops determined the wealth of their sees including the ability to retain and acquire lands, rents and privileges and to influence kings as well as create a network of people obligated to provide goods or services when needed.

Professor Barlow's opinion seemed to change over time. In his *William I and The Norman Conquest* he appeared to suggest that Stigand's lack of a pallium and

[290] *Ibid*. p. 78.

presumably the reasons for that lack had not had a terribly detrimental effect on the English church and that he remained a valuable asset. "Although in 1066 the English church was not flourishing, it was orthodox, respectable, and artistic, it was, if not on the eve of reform, at least easily reformable, and it contained some outstanding prelates: Stigand of Canterbury, an archbishop without a pallium, reaching the end of an enigmatic career, but talented and influential with the kings since Cnut."[291] In *The English Church* his opinion had apparently changed, "Clearly Stigand was neither a good bishop nor a satisfactory metropolitan" whose "faults were notorious."[292] "In fact Stigand represents the bankruptcy of the tenth-century reformation. His pluralism, concern with royal government, and interest in the arts all had respectable antecedents in that movement. But the moral purpose which had justified them had disappeared."[293] It marked a considerable change in attitude to say that "No doubt Stigand was seduced by wealth and Ealdred, perhaps, by worldly glory," from the earlier statement that Stigand was an outstanding prelate.[294] Professor Barlow's mixed analysis was not unique. William of Malmesbury also thought that Stigand could be prudent and efficient in addition to greedy. Dr. Smith tried to approach Stigand from a more balanced position and managed to avoid outright condemnation based on dubious sources.

That monastic houses should be headed by a monk rather than a secular was a belief with which Professor Barlow agrees. He considers it inappropriate that two of the four monastic sees were held by a secular priest. "To combine the two wealthiest

[291] Frank Barlow, *William I and The Norman Conquest*, (London, 1965), p. 136.
[292] *Ibid*., p. 80.
[293] *Ibid*., p. 79-80. Professor Barlow's use of the term 'reformation' in reference to the 10th century is clearly an allusion to the monastic reforms led by Æthelwold and Dunstan and supported by King Edgar though perhaps 'reforms' might have been a better choice of word.
[294] *Ibid*., p. 94.

dioceses – Winchester and Canterbury – was indefensible when most other English bishoprics were poorly endowed, and for a secular clerk to hold two of the four monastic sees was unseemly. His attitude towards ecclesiastical institutions was that of an administrator rather than a pastor, and he also accumulated a large private estate, so making himself one of the greatest magnates in the kingdom."[295] Professor Barlow did acknowledge that the decision regarding the appointment of bishops was the king's but his overarching opinion seemed to have been that Stigand was responsible for the combining of Winchester and Canterbury and should receive the criticism for it. "Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf had abandoned their sees and were replaced, the one by Stigand, bishop of Winchester, and the other by Wulfwig, a royal clerk. Godwin may have exerted an influence, but it was Edward's doing; and such old-fashioned behaviour was unwise in view of England's close relations with the reformed papacy. Bishoprics would no longer safely be treated simply as earldoms. The irregularities produced by these promotions not only harmed the English church as an institution but also confirmed the suspicion which had been forming in the papal curia that there was something rotten in England."[296] Bishops were chosen for their connections, loyalties and ability to use the resources of their houses to support the monarch as well as the welfare of the church or house in question or because of their personal sanctity. Whether or not a monk was chosen to head a monastic see would depend on the political disposition of the eligible monks and the king. Neither monastic bishops nor monastic cathedrals were the norm on the continent where Edward spent most of his life before ascending the throne and he

[295] *Ibid*., p. 79.
[296] *Ibid*., p. 50-51.

apparently did not think it necessary to insist on such in England.[297] If a house or candidate was known to be lukewarm toward the king, he would certainly put some one in office on whom he could rely, even if a secular. Professor Barlow's notion that it was not quite nice for a secular to head two monastic sees sounds more like he thought it inappropriate that Stigand head those houses.

Stigand was accounted a generous patron to the houses he controlled and his gifts to them are recorded in various chronicles. "At the same time he was a man of cultured tastes, a patron of the arts."[298] His acquisition of wealth was almost excused on those grounds. The control of land and its resources was crucial in his society and Stigand played a large part in that society. He was not the only person to hold two benefices at once; Archbishop Ealdred did so as well and resigned Worcester only when forced to do so by the pope. Professor Barlow stated that while Stigand's predecessors behaved much the same as did he, Stigand lacked their moral justification for his activities. This statement presupposes that Stigand's reasons for acting as he did are known. The only evidence available comes from post Conquest detractors who had no interest in presenting a balanced account.

Professor Barlow was less critical of Stigand in reference to the charges preferred against him at his deposition and that of simony, which was made by others. "William of Malmesbury expressed the Norman view that Archbishop Stigand had made a public market of bishoprics and abbeys, a way of saying that the simple Edward had been the

[297] Wormold, Patrick, "Æthelwold and his Continental Counterparts: Contact, Comparison, Contrast" in *Bishop Æthelwold – His Career and Influence*, Barbara Yorke, ed. (Woodbridge, 1988), pp. 13-42 at 37-8.
[298] Barlow, *English Church*, pp. 77-79.

victim of an unscrupulous man."[299] He allowed that it was not outside the bounds of credibility that simony occurred in Edward's court, but he dismissed the charge of simony since Stigand was not charged with the crime at his deposition and that none of the others who were deposed by the same council were charged with it either. "The charge that Stigand sold abbeys as well as bishoprics cannot be investigated owing to the lack of evidence. But no abbot, so far as is known, was deposed after the Conquest because he had bought his abbey. The formal verdict is clear. Seven English bishops, four promoted in Stigand's time, including one consecrated by him, survived the scrutiny of 1070, and those removed do not seem to have been accused of simony."[300]

Nicholas Brooks' assessment of Stigand agrees with Franks Barlow's on some points and disagrees on others. According to Brooks, "The metropolitan see had become a political football in the wider contest for the English throne."[301] Robert of Jumièges was in conflict with Godwine over Canterbury lands and with Edward over the appointment of Spearhavoc to the see of London.[302] Brooks accepts the claim that Stigand accepted or extorted Cerney from Abingdon in exchange for his influence over Spearhavoc's appointment despite the fact that Stigand was not charged with the offense of simony at his deposition. Robert's refusal to consecrate Spearhavoc was, Brooks writes, "the first occasion when the long arm of the reform papacy's campaign against simony had reached England."[303] Subsequent events proved that the decision makers in

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[299] Barlow, *English Church*, pp, 112-13. Nicholas Brooks accepts the Abingdon claim that Stigand received payment for Spearhavoc's elevation to the see of London. N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984), pp. 304-5
[300] *Ibid*., p. 114.
[301] Brooks, *Early History*, p. 304.
[302] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1051, pp. 116-122.
[303] Brooks, *Early History*, p. 304.

England were not convinced that the papacy's reforms or its authority applied there in all particulars. The appointment of the bishop of Winchester to Canterbury while Robert of Jumièges still lived and without making a case to the pope for Robert's deposition was hardly recognition of a changing world. The English establishment was certainly aware that the papacy was intent on reform. Bishop Dudoc of Wells attended the Council of Rheims in 1049,[304] Bishops Ealdred of Worcester and Herman of Ramsbury were present at the Easter council in Rome the following year.[305] Brooks pointed out that Stigand's rapid response to the accession of Pope Benedict X implied close contacts with Rome.[306] There is, unfortunately, no documentation of such contacts.

H. E. J. Cowdrey in his article in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, pointed out that while Stigand was part of a Godwine-ist party, he did not share Godwine's exile.[307] The fact that the Godwines went into exile and Stigand remained suggests that even though the bishop was aligned with the earl he was not perceived as so partisan as to be untrustworthy. There is no surviving comment, if there ever was any, on the possibility of Stigand being deposed from Winchester as a result of his association with Godwine. Stigand was a representative of and office holder in the Church, an organization theoretically independent of secular institutions. He was dependent on the king for his appointment and, as far as the English were concerned, for retention of his office. However closely associated he was with Godwine and his family, Stigand's and

[304] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E, *s.a.* 1049, pp. 111-112.
[305] *Ibid.* E, *s.a.* 1050; D, *s.a.* 1049 and 1050, p. 112.
[306] Brooks, *Early History*, p. 306.
[307] Cowdrey, H. E. J., *s.v.* 'Robert of Jumièges' and 'Stigand' *Oxford dictionary of national biography ... from the earliest times to the year 2000,* H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., created in association with the British Academy, (Oxford and New York, 2004).

the Church's best interests were served by remaining in place where he could influence the people and events in England.

Professor Cowdrey does contend that Stigand resigned the see of Elmham at the time of his appointment to Winchester, contrary to Frank Barlow who argues for Stigand's retention of Elmham until his appointment to Canterbury.[308] Contemporary and early twelfth-century sources charge Stigand with pluralism only in relation to Winchester and Canterbury so it seems more likely that he resigned Elmham in 1047 when he was appointed to Winchester. Professor Cowdrey also repeated the claim that Stigand appropriated and used Robert's abandoned *pallium*.[309] This charge carries little weight as will be discussed further below.[310] There is no comment either accepting or outraged about Stigand actually attempting to use Robert of Jumièges *pallium*. This was one of the charges leveled against Stigand at his deposition in 1070 but Stigand cannot be seen to use any *pallium* conferred authority until he consecrated Æthelric of Selsey and Siward of Rochester in 1058 and then he used his own.[311] Stigand first deposition was linked, in the entry, with the story of Emma's collusion with Magnus of Norway. It has been demonstrated by Pauline Stafford and Frank Barlow that this story is likely a conflation of Emma and Edith and that Emma would have had no motive for such a

[308] Frank *Edward*, p. 87 and n. 1. Barlow argues that Æthelmær's attestation as bishop of Elmham does not appear on charters until 1052. *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, F. E. Harmer, (Manchester, 1952), nos. 15 & 16 appear to disprove this claim. Nicholas Brooks agrees with Barlow in 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Community, 597-1070' *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks, eds. (Oxford, 1995), p. 32 and *Anglo-Saxon Myths State and Church 400-1066*, (London and Rio Grande, 2000), 146 but disagrees in Brooks, *Early History*, p. 305.
[309] H. E. J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc – Scholar, Monk and Archbishop*, (Oxford, 2003), p. 75.
[310] Chapter 5 below.
[311] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp. 80, 81 note 37, Cowdrey cites a list of *pallium* recipients in the back of MS A of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in which it is stated that Pope Victor II sent Stigand a *pallium* by Godric, dean of Christ Church and states that the report cannot be dismissed out of hand.

plot.[312] Cowdrey pointed out that Stigand, while accused of simony by various writers, cannot and was not actually charged with the offense but that he did have "an air of excessive affluence."[313] Certainly Stigand was not deposed on a charge of simony. It is also true that as wealthy as Stigand was there are no extant accusations of conspicuous consumption or inappropriate dress or lifestyle. The *Dictionary* entry touched on Stigand's wealth from a balanced perspective and pointed out that there are a number of contradictions in claims made against his acquisition of lands. Professor Cowdrey also pointed out that Stigand was barred from crowning William and later Mathilda due to his uncanonical status and that he was among those powerful and mistrusted lords whom William dared not leave in England during his absence.[314] Remigius was informed in Rome that he was to consider that Stigand was neither Lanfanc's predecessor nor was Lanfanc Stigand's successor. This attempt to erase Stigand's pontificate was doomed to failure. It had gone on for too long and encompassed too many significant events to be forgotten. Cowdrey's assessment of Lanfranc's treatment of Stigand's pontificate was not favorable to Lanfranc. "Lanfranc carried his animus against Stigand beyond the bounds of fact and acceptability. He exaggerated Stigand's moral shortcomings; he also exaggerated the frequency and the character of papal sanctions against him."[315]

The more recent historians to comment on Stigand are from two camps just as were those of the past with an important difference. Rather than argue that Stigand was good or bad Professor Pauline Stafford simply conveyed the opinion held of Stigand by

[312] Barlow, Frank, "Two notes – Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043" English Historical Review, (1958), pp. 651-655. Stafford, *QEQE*, pp. 151-154.
[313] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 79; *GP*, Book I, chapter, 23, pp. 46-48.
[314] Barlow, 'Two notes', p. 776.
[315] Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, p. 82.

post-Conquest writers and refrains from value judgments about him instead merely stating that "Stigand became a personification of corruption after 1070."[316] Professor Stafford also pointed out that Stigand was the man in charge of the royal government beyond the very personal authority of the king. "Stigand's later career marks him out as a political court-bishop of the type who came to be especially vilified. The man accused of being too close in the dowager queen's counsels was the man who, it has been suggested, ran the royal administrative machine by 1066."[317] Each of these statements contains value-laden words but the author did not pass her own judgment in using them. James Campbell, wondering who ran Edward the Confessor's administrative machine, nominated Stigand as a reasonable if un-prove-able candidate.[318] Campbell cited this position as head of Edward's chancellery, though he did not use that term, as a possible explanation for Stigand's unusual success in office despite his irregular position. "A plausible explanation (though not the only possible one, of course) for his extraordinary success as a pluralist, his wealth, his control over ecclesiastical patronage and the number of men he had commended to him is that he was Edward the confessor's Roger of Salisbury."[319] Professor Henry Loyn tried to approach Stigand in a more moderate fashion than is the usual but damns him with faint praise before *The English Church, 940-1154* is barely begun. "…even allowing for the partisan nature of the evidence and the filter of survival, English bishops from c. 940-1042, and to a large measure to 1066, present a substantially unblemished front, more conspicuous in its saints than its sinners.

[316] Stafford, *QEQE*, p. 151.
[317] *Ibid*., p. 250.
[318] James Campbell, "Some agents and agencies of the late Anglo-Saxon state" in Domesday Studies, J.C. Holt, ed. (Woodbridge, 1987), p. 218.
[319] *Ibid. ODNB*, *s.v.* Roger of Salisbury.

There is not an obvious bad hat among them until we reach Archbishop Stigand, and even he has things to be said for him."[320]

Of those things to be said for Stigand, Professor Loyn actually said none. He did at several points comment without negative overtones. "Stigand seems seriously to have been considered a candidate for the archiepiscopal throne, backed by a Godwin faction, but at the Easter Council, held in March 1051, Edward and what was now his court party won the day. Robert of Jumièges was appointed archbishop of Canterbury."[321] Professor Loyn acknowledged that "Stigand's reputation therefore has undoubtedly clouded discussion of the state of the English Church. Yet he was not alone in creating what amounted to an ecclesiastical empire and in throwing emphasis on the administrative as opposed to the pastoral," without suggesting that the reputation was deserved.[322] Professor Loyn went on to claim that at the back of many events of 1035-1042 was "A sinister figure at the back of all these political intrigues [attempts to hold England for Harthacnut, defiance of Harold Harefoot and Emma's exile] was the priest Stigand, who had served Cnut in the 1020's, had received preferment from him, and had become a close counsellor to Queen Emma."[323] 'Sinister' is a word not generally used to express neutrality or impartiality. Professor Loyn's reason for this assessment was that "There is a clear thread of a powerful group exerting sometimes decisive influence on events during the seven years following Cnut's death. His sons cannot have been more than late

[320] Loyn, *Church, 940-1154*, p. 8.
[321] *Ibid*. p. 59.
[322] *Ibid*. p. 61.
[323] *Ibid*. p. 52.

teenagers at his death, subject to heavy pressures from older folk, men and women."[324] The implication is that Stigand was one of these 'older folk' exerting 'heavy pressures' on, presumably, Harthacnut who was not in England until 1040 and had for some time before that been ruling Denmark in his father's place. Stigand as a member of Emma's court in Winchester would have had no opportunity to pressure Harold Harefoot.

Professor Loyn continued this line of thinking with an account of Edward's despoliation of Emma, "King Edward, very early in his reign, was forced, probably by discontent over his mother's authority, to assert himself. In November 1043, he descended on Winchester and deprived Emma of control of her vast treasure. Stigand, who had been rewarded with the bishopric of East Anglia at Elmham, was also deprived of his bishopric."[325] The word 'reward' implies compensation for services rendered rather than recognition of personal abilities and piety and Stigand's restoration he attributed to the insistence of nobles. "Stigand, it is true, had been restored to favour, possibly at Earl Godwin's insistence, in 1044,"[326] Professor Loyn went on to note that "Winchester played a vital part in the decade following the death of Cnut, a focal point one suspects also for the involvement of the Church in the high politics of the period."[327] As Winchester was the seat of the royal treasury and was the place from which Queen Emma attempted to hold England for one of her sons it would have been strange had the city not been a focal point 'for the involvement of the Church in the high politics of the

[324] *Ibid.*
[325] *Ibid*.
[326] *Ibid*. p. 58.
[327] *Ibid*. p. 52.

period.' This fact does not necessarily imply sinister workings on Stigand's or anyone else's part.

The emergence of Robert of Jumièges as bishop of London Professor Loyn attributed to a reward from Edward for an unknown reason. "To leave his high office in Normandy and accompany Edward, possibly as head of his household, or even his domestic chaplain, is a step still unexplained. His reward came at some time between 1044 and 1046. In 1044 the see of London fell vacant and by 1046 Robert was subscribing charters as bishop."[328] This statement lends further weight to Professor Loyn's earlier use of the word 'reward' in reference to Stigand's bishopric of Elmham. His presumption is that these two men were appointed bishop as payment rather than in response to piety. Robert did not eclipse Stigand for long if at all, "Stigand still remained a powerful figure, very experienced in the ecclesiastical politics of the day. With strong backing from the Godwin family he was made bishop of Winchester in 1047," however "Rumours of simony, even that he had paid Stigand for his promotion, later circulated to explain Spearhafoc's demotion."[329] As the see of London was not in Stigand's gift since all bishoprics were in the king's gift, it is strange that this accusation should survive so long. Stigand may have been able to lend his weight to an appointment and perhaps it was that, which gave rise to the idea that Spearhafoc's success or failure was in Stigand's hands.

[328] *Ibid*. p. 58.
[329] *Ibid*. pp. 58 & 59.

The Historians' View

Dr. Mary Frances Smith in her article "Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle" tried to take a less negative view of Stigand than "post-Conquest Norman propagandists" but slipped into stereotypical comment.[330] Dr. Smith stated that she wished to "fit him into a more realistic picture of the church in which he served."[331] Stigand's elevation to the bishopric of Elmham was mentioned. Dr. Smith speculated that "one of the reasons" for Stigand's absence from witness lists between 1043 and 1046 and his mere two appearances as bishop of Elmham after 1046 was his deposition for collusion in the 'plot' that brought down Queen Emma.[332] Dr. Smith cited the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in support of this event yet it makes no reference to a plot. The implication is that even though Stigand had been restored to Elmham in 1044, his absence from the witness lists until 1046 was the result of lingering mistrust on Edward's part. Dr. Smith failed to note other possible explanations for this though she stated that the above was 'one of the reasons'. Other reasons might be the loss of documents that Stigand did witness or that he was in his bishopric learning and discharging his episcopal duties.

In response to the anonymous author's statement in the *Vita Ædwardi* that Stigand wept when he delivered King Edward's ultimatum to Godwine, Dr. Smith's remarks echo Professor Barlow's in their cynical tone. "…according to Edward's anonymous encomiast, the failure to mediate this dispute successfully left Stigand weeping

[330] Smith 'Needle', p. 199; Smith, *Episcopal Landholding* also Mary Frances Smith, Robin Fleming and Patricia Halpin, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England' *The Catholic Historical Review*, lxxxvii, (2001), pp. 569-602, at 570-579. Mary Frances (Smith) Giandrea, *Episcopal Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Woodbridge, Rochester, NY, 2007), for comment on Stigand.
[331] *Ibid*. Smith stated that Stigand began his career in the Anglo-Saxon episcopate in 1020 under Cnut. He was appointed bishop of Elmham by Edward in 1043. Cnut merely preferred him to the minster at Ashingdon.
[332] *Ibid*. p. 200.

abundantly. Doubtless his disappointment was very real. As a member of the Anglo-Saxon church on the episcopal fast-track, Stigand cannot have been any happier than Earl Godwine with the forced introduction of the Norman, Robert into Canterbury. Even if he held no hope of higher office, which is unlikely, Stigand would not have welcomed the threat to his favored position at court."[333] Stigand's weeping as negotiations broke down between Kind Edward and Earl Godwine can be seen as an expected step in the process of conflict resolution and understood as such by all parties to a dispute between ruler and rebellious, upper echelon subjects. In her review of Gerd Althoff's *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, Julia Barrow pointed out that the upper echelons of Medieval society, Anglo-Saxon as well the German society of Althoff's focus, functioned on a foundation of friendships between nobles and between nobles and their ruler.[334] These friendships were "contractual arrangements"[335] that created interdependence and provided support. The arrangement served to provide a framework within which both parties to the friendship were equal whether or not they actually were outwith that framework.[336] The relationship began with a ceremony, among the laity it might have been a wedding,[337] among the clergy entering into the lease or exchange of land may have been a way of establishing such a contractual friendship. The steps, forward and back taken by Edward and Godwine from the beginning of their conflict through its ultimate resolution compare closely with Althoff's account of Rudolf of Habsburg and Ottokar of Bohemia in the thirteenth century. "A careful combination

[333] *Ibid*. pp. 201-02.
[334] Julia Barrow, 'Review Article: Playing by the rules: conflict management in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany' *Early Medieval Europe* 11, (2002), pp. 390 and 396. See also T. Reuter, *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, (London, 2006), chapter 10, especially pp. 175 for the bishops' advise to Becket to perform *deditio* and 178-181 for the staging of emotional reactions.
[335] *Ibid.* p. 390.
[336] *Ibid.*
[337] *Ibid.*

of feuds and arbitration with pauses after each show of threat or of violence to give the other side time to make peace signals."[338] A third party would act as mediator and attempt to make peace with the least loss of face to both parties while understanding that the higher ranking participant had to appear to win the encounter. The events of 1051–1052 in England fall into the same pattern. Edward, prompted by Robert of Jumièges, initiated the confrontation with Earl Godwine, Godwine appealed to the king that he be permitted to prove his innocence according to the law, Edward refused him and forced Godwine and his family into exile.[339] Stigand acted as intermediary and delayed the moment of judgment but could not bring about a resolution that would allow both king and earl to save face and position. Stigand's abundant as he informed Earl Godwine of the king's decision is an example of the demonstrative behavior expected during such charged negotiations.[340] Godwine threatened invasion on his return until the king was persuaded, by Stigand once again as mediator, to allow the earl to vindicate himself.[341] The anonymous author of the *Vita Ædwardi* stated that Edward was persuaded to agree to hear Godwine's claims of innocence as a result of the satisfaction offered by the earl, as well as his military superiority. Althoff and Barrow used the term *deditio* to refer to the surrender of a rebellious subject to his lord's mercy. The author of the *Vita Ædwardi* used the word *satisfactione,* which means atonement rather than surrender, of course depending on the situation surrender might have been the only atonement a lord might accept.[342] Essentially, both words refer to the submission of a rebellious subject to his lord's judgment but as part of negotiations and understood as such. The king, though

[338] Barrow, 'Rules', p. 392; Gerd Althoff, *Spielregeln der Politik im Mittelalter: Kommunikation in Frieden und Fehde*, (Darmstadt, 1997), 'Rudolf and Ottokar', pp. 85-98.
[339] *VÆR*, pp. 34-36.
[340] *Ibid*. Barrow, 'Rules', p. 389.
[341] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1052.
[342] *VÆR*, p. 44.

theoretically the more powerful party, was not necessarily in a position to refuse reinstatement to his subject. Edward was in no position to refuse Godwine, given the earl's military resources and the reluctance of the other earls to engage in civil war.[343] The appearance, however, of submission to royal mercy and judgment by Godwine and the extension of that mercy allowed both Edward and Godwine to save face and return to the pre-exile *status quo*. Stigand's weeping and Godwine's *deditio*, whatever form it took, were expected demonstrative behaviors during difficult times.

Dr. Smith pointed out that the Canterbury community elected one of its own number as archbishop and that this monk, Ælric/Æthelric, was a kinsman of Earl Godwine.[344] "The appointment of an obscure and malleable monk would have suited Stigand's purpose, if he himself were not elected."[345] As Dr. Smith pointed out in her article the only source that records Ælric's/Æthelric's election is the *Vita Ædwardi.* It describes him as "a man active in secular business and endowed with much wisdom in the ways of the world."[346] A monk who was 'active in secular business' sounds as if he regularly dealt with people and events outwith the monastery walls. He may be virtually unknown to the modern scholar but he may not have been at all obscure at the time. Additionally a man 'endowed with much wisdom in the ways of the world' sounds like a sophisticated person, not necessarily worldly himself but capable of comprehending the worldliness of others. Dr. Smith did not indicate how she arrived at the conclusion that the man described in the *Vita* was 'obscure and malleable' nor did she enlarge on

[343] *Ibid*. *ASC* – Whitelock, *s.a.* 1052.
[344] *VÆR*, p. 30-31. The Latin *Vita* names him *Ælricus,* in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* he is found *s.v.* Ælric.
[345] Smith, 'Needle', p. 202. Brooks, *Early History*, p. 303.
[346] *VÆR*, p. 30-31, "*vir scilicet secularis industrie et plurima in mundanis rebus preditus sagacitate.*" Smith, 'Needle', p. 202, n. 18.

Stigand's purpose though presumably it was to act as the power behind the episcopal throne. The *Vita Ædwardi* is the only reliable source for Ælric/Æthelric and the only other information it provides about him is that he grew up in the monastery educated in the monastic discipline, was a kinsman of Godwine and was well loved by the other members of the community.[347]

Dr. Smith focused on Stigand's wealth and the methods he may have used to acquire it and said that "Stigand was by no means pristine, his reputation as a merciless predator is not wholly deserved."[348] Dr. Smith described Stigand's landed relationship with Bury St. Edmunds and Ely as 'complex' and intertwined with the bishopric of Elmham. While unable to make clear his connections to Ely due to this complexity, Dr. Smith commented that Stigand "undoubtedly exploited it to the hilt."[349] It can hardly be undoubted if the connections are unclear. On several occasions Dr. Smith pointed out that leases made or confirmed by Stigand caused harm to the community that temporarily lost control of the land. Lands leased to the Godwines are given as an example of such damaging leases, yet Dr. Smith does not mention where these lands were or of what they consisted. There is also no discussion of why the leases might have been made. Securing support from the Godwines was certainly a reason, but had circumstances developed requiring it? Dr. Smith mentions nothing else that might have been going on at the time to prompt a closer alliance with the earl's family. She does not even state when these leases were made. The lease of Mildenhall from Bury St. Edmunds is held up as an

[347] *VÆR*, p. 30-31, "*Adoleuerat autem in eadem Christi ecclesia, a tenero ungue monasticis educatus discplinis, ex…ducis Godwini stirpe…in eadem dilectus congregatione.*"
[348] Smith, 'Needle', p. 206; Brooks, *Early History*, p. 308. Brooks points out that except in rare instances, it is not possible to determine how Stigand acquired his lands and that post deposition and death he was an easy target for claims of theft of land.
[349] Smith, 'Needle', p. 206.

example of rapacious land acquisition because a Bury history which claims that the monks 'dared not refuse' Stigand his wishes.[350] Dr. Smith pointed out that chronicles may reflect the point of view of those who lost out in a perfectly legitimate land deal and blackened Stigand's reputation over it. Part of the reason for Stigand's reputation after the Conquest is the fact that a number of his agreements with other churches fell apart when his lands were seized at his deposition.[351] Nicholas Brooks suggested that the abbeys that leased land to Stigand, in order to retain his services in protecting their interests, may have had difficulty explaining why they had engaged in such agreements with a prelate in disgrace.[352] The harm accrued to the abbeys not because Stigand had leased their land but because King William kept the lands or granted them to others without regard to their rightful owners.[353] In their struggle to reclaim lands only leased to Stigand perhaps it was politic to portray him in the worst possible light. In at least one case, that of Stigand's possession of Wood Ditton, it is not certain how he came into possession of the estate. Domesday Book states, in reference to the manor of Wood Ditton, "this manor lay [in the lands of] the Church of St. Etheldreda of Ely TRE, but Archbishop Stigand took it away; the men of the hundred do not know how"[354] As the men of the hundred were present to testify to the accuracy of claims made to the

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[350] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, 6 Vols., (London, 1817-1830), Vol. iii , 154, no. 21.
[351] Brooks, *Early History*, p. 309; Brooks, 'Cathedral Community', p. 31.
[352] Brooks, *Early History*, p. 309; Brooks, 'Cathedral Community', p.32.
The abbeys were, according to *Liber Eliensis*, New Minster, Glastonbury, St. Alban's, St. Augustine's and Ely. *LE* - Blake, Book II, chapter 98, p. 168.
[353] Patrick Wormald in *The Making of English Law: King Alfred to the Twelfth Century*, *Vol I Legislation and its Limits*, (London, 1999), p. 147, pointed out that Helmstan's lands were forfeit to the king with the exception of those held at lease. Helmstan's case can be found in *English Historical Documents*, *c.500-1042*, 2nd ed., David C. Douglas, gen. ed., Vol. I, Dorothy Whitelock, ed. (London, 1979), no. 102.
[354] *DB – Cambridgeshire*, 1.11.

commissioners the testimony that the 'men of the hundred know not how' the land changed hands is an indication of unusual practice.

The overwhelming majority of opinions expressed by the sources nearest his time were negative. His real offenses were exaggerated and he came to be seen as all that was not merely flawed but evil in the English church. William of Malmesbury likened Stigand's ambition to "a beast's greed."[355] Orderic Vitalis made unsubstantiated charges of "perjury and homicide."[356] William of Poitiers thought him "conniving and wicked"[357] John of Worcester accused him of ambition and greed.[358] Henry of Huntingdon, like the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, merely reported events and left the reader to form his own opinions and make his own judgments. Thomas Sprott, however inauthentic his account, saw Stigand as a patriot and defender of English rights. Dean Hook and Professor Freeman agreed with this view. Nicholas Brooks acknowledged that Stigand was not "lily-white" but also stated that the state of Canterbury's possessions had suffered from neglect at his hands rather than "willful usurpation."[359] David Knowles allowed the possibility though he also thought, "We can well imagine that, whatever may have been the effect of the Danish invasions, the years between Stigand's appointment in 1052 and Lanfranc's arrival in 1070 were most demoralizing, for the income of Christ Church (if, indeed, Stigand did not appropriate it all) was very considerable."[360] Professor Stenton repeated most of the early comment without going into them in any depth.

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[355] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.1, p. 47. *"beluinæ rapacitatus"*
[356] *OV*, Book IV, chapter 199.
[357] *GG*, p. 100.
[358] *JW*, *s.a.* 1038, pp. 526-528.
[359] Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 309
[360] Knowles, *Monastic*, p. 79.

The Historians' View

All of these authors fall into the trap of either repeating criticism of Stigand, statements made in works written by late chroniclers and historians, or leaping to the opposite extreme and declaring him a hero with equal fervor and all based on possibly biased sources. Stigand was the focus of only one of these works but was a crucial figure of the time about whom there had been insufficient research to justify some of the conclusions reached. Professor Barlow made minor attempts to temper the statements in reference to Stigand but generally agreed with the attitudes that shaped them. There is in all of these accounts little or no attempt to indicate to the reader the ambiguous nature of the source material with reference to Stigand; that the writers may have had motive to obscure or twist the facts. The Normans wanted to emphasize the benefits of the Conquest to England and the English. Monastic houses were attempting to recover land seized not by Stigand but by the king. Professor Freeman and Dean Hook wrote within living memory of the Napoleonic Wars which may explain the anti-French bias in their works. The motives of the authors were as important as the motives of the subject. Stigand's detractors have done their jobs far better than they could have realized. Scholars are still repeating statements written 934 year after his death and despite what we know about the unreliability of many sources, repeating them without having given them much thought.

Chapter 2

Stigand in Episcopal Context

One of the things you will do as a bishop is disappoint people.

Rowan Williams

Stigand in Episcopal Context

It is necessary when analyzing Stigand's career to do so in comparison with other bishops and archbishops in the late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman churches. While some early office holders are well known such as Archbishops Augustine,[361] as the first metropolitan of Britain, Theodore, perhaps best known for his disagreements with Wilfrid[362] and Plegmund, tutor to King Alfred,[363] about others little more than a name is recorded. William of Malmesbury, writing in the first quarter of the twelfth-century, assured his readers that Archbishop Berhtwald was known for miracles but recorded none of them.[364] He wrote that Waldherie, Oftfor and Rethhun were known to have been bishops of London, Worcester and Leicester respectively but that he knew nothing else concerning their lives or careers.[365] As Malmesbury's *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* represents the work of one man over a short period, roughly 1118 – 1126, it will be the source most relied upon for the following comparisons in order to establish a baseline of opinions, facts and assumptions held or believed about bishops and archbishops before, during and after Stigand's tenure. As it would be both unwieldy and unhelpful to make comparison between Stigand and *all* other bishops and archbishops limitations must be placed on the field. Dunstan, Æthelwold, Lanfranc, Anselm, Oswald, Ealdred and

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[361] Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Judith McClure and Roger Collins, eds. (Oxford, 1994), Books 1.23-2.3; Richard Gameson, 'Augustine of Canterbury: Context and Achievment,' Clare Stancliffe, 'The British Church and the Mission of Augustine' and R.A. Markus, 'Augustine and Gregory the Great' in *St. Augustine and the Conversion of England*, Richard Gameson, ed. (Stroud, 1999); P. Meyvaert, 'Bede and Gregory the Great,' Jarrow Lecture (1964), pp. 8-13 and 'Bede's text of the *Libellus Responsionum* of Gregory the Great to Augustine of Canterbury' *England Before the Conquest: Studies in Primary Sources Presented to Dorothy Whitelock*, P. Clemoes and K. Hughes, eds. (London, 1971), pp. 15-33;

[362] Bede, *HE*, Book IV; Michael Lapidge, 'The Career of Archbishop Theodore' *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on His Life and Influence,* Michael Lapidge, ed., (Cambridge and New York, 1995), pp. 1-29; Michael Lapidge, 'The School of Theodore and Hadrian' *Anglo-Saxon England* 15, (1986, pp. 45-72.

[363] N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984).

[364] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), Book I, chapter 2.1, p. 9.

[365] *Ibid*, Book II, chapter 73.15, p. 229; Book IV, chapter 136.1, p. 423 & chapter 176.1, p. 472.

Thomas I will provide the main material for comparison. Other archiepiscopal and episcopal office holders will enter the discussion as and when appropriate.

Pluralism

Stigand was Bishop of Winchester (1047-1070) and Archbishop of Canterbury (1053-1070). Among the reasons for Stigand's deposition in 1070 was that he had invaded the see of Canterbury (1053) while Robert of Jumièges was still living, though fled.[366] He then took up the archbishopric while continuing to occupy the see of Winchester.[367] The issue of plurality of office is an ambiguous one in that it was prohibited but practiced when political or pastoral circumstances seemed to justify it. Pluralism had been tolerated in England for many years.[368] Wilfrid was technically a pluralist though he had effective control only over one episcopal office at a time due to his exile. He also maintained control of monasteries that he had founded or restored even while occupying an episcopal throne. Dunstan held Winchester and London in plurality and then accepted Canterbury. He divested himself of Winchester soon after his return

[366] From the English perspective Robert of Jumièges was considered an outlaw and therefore had forfeited his office. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*, Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. (London, 1961), *s.a.* 1052 (E), p. 126. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 7 MS E, Susan Irvine, ed. (Cambridge, 2004), *s.a.* 1052. "*Ða geaxode Rotberd arcebiscop 7 þa frencisce menn þet, genamon heara hors, 7 gewendon sume west to Pentecostes castele, sume norð to Rodbertes castele. 7 Rodberd arcebiscop 7 Ulf biscop gewendon ut æt Æstgeate 7 heora geferan, 7 ofslogon 7 elles amyrdon manige iunge men, 7 gewendon heom on an to Ealdulfesnæese, 7 wearð him þær on an on unwræste scipe, 7 ferde him on an ofer sæ 7 forlet his pallium.*"

[367] *GP*, Book II, chapters 74.10, p. 239 and 96.3-4, p. 321. William added confusion by claiming that after deposition from the see of Elmham Stigand reinstated *himself* as the Bishop of the South Saxons and then went on to Winchester and Canterbury. Stigand was never bishop of the South Saxons but of the East Angles. There was a Bishop Stigand of Selsey/South Saxons, 1070-1088; the see was moved to Chichester in 1075. Trinity College MS O.2.1 fo. k2v contains an obit for Stigand of Chichester of 4 kalends of March so he is presumed to have died 27 February as 1088 was a leap year. When discussing him, William of Malmesbury acknowledged that Bishop Stigand of Selsey and Bishop/Archbishop Stigand of Winchester and Canterbury were not the same man, but he did confuse the two when discussing the Archbishop in Book I, chapter 23.

[368] *GP,* Book III, chapter 115.3 & 6, p. 379, 115.13, p. 381. Worcester/York 972-1023; Janet Cooper, *The Last Four Anglo-Saxon Archbishops of York*, Borthwick Papers 38, (York, 1970), pp. 23-24.

from Rome.[369] Dorothy Whitelock pointed out that Dunstan may have relinquished London as early as 961 but it only certain when his successor Ælfstan attested a charter as bishop of London in 964.[370] Both Janet Cooper and Dorothy Whitelock examined the practice of holding Worcester and York in plurality with reference to the political necessity of maintaining southern influence in the north.[371]

Papal decrees were not always obeyed if they were unpopular. In the *Vita Sancti Wilfrithi* Eddius Stephanus said "Saint Wilfrid was deposed and his claims for restoration depended upon the uncanonical nature of his deposition and were confirmed by a papal synod c. 679. The papal decrees which he obtained in his favour were rejected by his fellow bishops, who preferred the rulings of their own native councils"[372] Decrees against pluralism would have been equally difficult to enforce if the bishops in question resisted. Pluralism was not exclusive to the Anglo-Saxon period, as outraged post conquest writers imply, the practice continued and worsened through the late middle-ages.[373] Popes Clement II (1046-1047), Leo IX (1049-1051) and Victor II (1055-1057)

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[369] *GP,* Book III, chapter 115.3 & 6, p. 379, 115.13, p. 381. Worcester/York 972-1023. Dorothy Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th -11th Century England*, reprint, (London, 1981), p. 233.
[370] *Ibid.*
[371] Cooper, *The Last Four*, pp. 23-24; Dorothy Whitelock, 'The Dealings of the Kings of England with Northumbria in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries' *The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in some aspects of their history and culture presented to Bruce Dickins*, Peter Clemoes, ed. (London, 1959). See pages 73-76 below for a fuller discussion of the Worcester/York situation.
[372] Cubitt, Catherine, *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils c.650-c.850*, (London, 1995), p. 12. Eddius Stephanus, *The life of Bishop Wilfrid*; text, trans. & notes, by Bertram Colgrave. (Cambridge, 1927), chapters, 24, 30, 40.
[373] Barrell, A.D.M., 'Abuse or Expediency? Pluralism and Non-Residence in Northern England in the Late Middle Ages' *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England 1000-1700*, John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton, eds. (London,), pp. 117-130. Barrell deals particularly with papal appointees in England who held more than one office though not at the episcopal level. He focuses largely on the thirteenth-century. Thompson, A.H., 'Pluralism in the Mediaeval Church with Notes on Pluralists in the Diocese of Lincoln, 1366' *Associated Architectural Societies Reports and Papers*, 33 (1915), pp. 50-9; Rodes, Robert E., Jr., *Ecclesiastical Administration in Medieval England: The Anglo-Saxons to the Reformation*, (Notre Dame and London, 1977), pp. 181-182. Rodes discusses papal dispensations to pluralists in the thirteenth- and fourteenth-centuries.

retained bishoprics after they were elected to the papacy.[374] These papal examples may have seemed justification for the practice at the highest levels of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Several questions presented themselves throughout examination of the issue. How common was episcopal pluralism in the late Anglo-Saxon Church? What were the reasons given in individual cases? Did some office holders fare better than others in the retelling? Were writers equally concerned about the practice or did their interest vary, and finally was the holding of offices in plurality as great a scandal at the time as it was later made out to be?

The evidence suggests that pluralism in the late Anglo-Saxon Church was not particularly common but where it did occur it seems to have occasioned little controversy. William of Malmesbury in his *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* discussed seven men who can be clearly said to have held episcopal offices in plurality. Given the extensive nature of Malmesbury's examination of episcopal office holders, seven offenders is a very small number. William may, of course have overlooked others. Of the thirty-four pre-conquest Archbishops of Canterbury and twenty-four of York only six held multiple bishoprics at once. Those six were the most prominent churchmen in England, Dunstan and Stigand Archbishops of Canterbury and Oswald, Ealdwulf, Wulfstan I and Ealdred all Bishops of Worcester and Archbishops of York. The seventh, Lyfing was bishop of Devon and Cornwall and of Worcester but never held an archbishopric. The eminence of these men may have magnified the problem thus suggesting that the practice was more widespread than was truly the case. William of Malmesbury had nothing good to say about Lyfing man, though the Anglo-Saxon

[374] Frank, Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 304 n. 1.

Chronicle refers to him as "a very prudent man, both in matters of Church and State."[375] The phrase '*Gode 7 for worlde*' would be better rendered 'religious and worldly matters' rather than 'church and state' as is found in the quotation from *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*. William condemned Lyfing saying "Ambitious and shameless, he is said to have lorded it like some irresistible tyrant over the laws of the Church, with no scruple in doing all he wished."[376] William did comment upon others who occasionally had charge of more than one see, such as Grimcytel, but his accounts are confused and it is difficult to know if an office was actually conferred or was simply placed in some one's administrative care while a candidate was sought. William merely stated that Dunstan was Abbot of Glastonbury and Bishop of London and Winchester c. 958 before his appointment to the archbishopric.[377] In *Gesta Pontificum*, William made no comment on the pluralistic nature of these offices. In the *Vita Dunstani*, William felt the need to head off criticism by stating that there was no transgression so long as Dunstan had not canvassed for the post.[378] As Oswald was appointed to Worcester in 961 and Ælfstan to London that same year, Dunstan's plurality may have been in the nature of administrative care-taking. It does appear, however, that he retained the abbatial office at Glastonbury while occupying the archiepiscopal see.[379]

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[375] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1019 D, p. 98. As the editors stated, only D lists Lyfing's death in 1019, the others do so in 1020. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 6, MS D, G.P. Cubbin ed. (Cambridge, 1996), *s.a.* 1019, p. 63. "*Se wæs Lifing genemned, 7 he wæs swiðˆe/ rædfæst man, ægðer for Gode 7 for worlde.*"

[376] *GP*, Book II, chapter 94.3, p. 315. *"Ambitiosus et proteruus, aecclesiasticarum legum tirannus, ut fertur inuictus, qui nichil pensi haberet quo minus omni uoluntati suae assisteret."*

[377] Michael Lapidge, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, s.v.* Dunstan.

[378] William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002), *VD,* ii, chapter 5.3, p. 180. "*Nec fuit hoc transgredi conones, quia cedunt leges humanæ ubi promulgantur divinæ. Quocirca nulla sanctum vurum transgressionis pulset invidia, ubi non fuit ambitus honoris, non appetitus potestatis.*"

[379] David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and Vera C.M. London, eds. *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales I – 940-1216*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2001), p. 50; Nicholas Brooks, 'The Career of St. Dunstan' *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown, eds., (Oxford, 1992),

Stigand in Episcopal Context

It could be argued that weighing accounts of Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald against those of Stigand is, quite literally, comparing saints with a sinner. It is primarily against Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald that later office holders were measured. They were largely responsible for the tenth century monastic reform in England and others were expected to live up to the new standard set. Stigand was not a monk and therefore the reforms were not intended to directly affect him but as many previous bishops had been monks and all living the monastic life were deemed to enjoy greater sanctity than priests out in the world, bishops too were expected to live less worldly lives. Given a bishop's place as administrator of his see, land holder and advisor to the king it is perhaps unrealistic to expect an absence of worldliness, as the careers of all of these men will show. The ability to strike a balance between pastoral duties and lay obligations was perceived as the hallmark of a man truly worthy to occupy an episcopal throne.

William of Malmesbury, from whom many scholars got their start on this topic, may have indicated a line of inquiry into the differing reputations of these office holders in the *Gesta Pontificum*. William believed that Stigand lacked sufficient understanding of the differences between ecclesiastical and lay offices and that moral indecisiveness was at the root of his unsuitability. Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald were deemed by William to have had sound motives for their activities, uncanonical and worldly though some of them may have been, and were therefore worthy of praise. Stigand's holding offices in plurality, acquisition of wealth, involvement in lay politics and his apparent

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p. 21. Brooks refers to Dunstan's pluralism as 'a temporary expedient until men of whom he approved could be appointed.'

disregard for papal authority proceeded, in William's opinion, from impious motives and were thus worthy of condemnation. It was not the activities themselves but the perceived motives behind the activities that elevated Æthelwold, Dunstan, Oswald and others to sainthood and reduced Stigand to a rogue.[380] It remains to be seen if Stigand was substantially less worthy or even substantially different in the execution of his offices from others who occupied the same or similar positions. There is no occasion for arguing that Stigand was a saint; he was not. There are no known extant records of ascetic practices or miraculous occurrences. In the unlikely event he ever possessed a register at either Elmham or Winchester; it has been lost or is yet undiscovered, thus records of confirmations or other pastoral works are unavailable. Stigand's experiences of pagans, if such experience he had, would have been of viking raiders during the reign of Aethelred II; it is unlikely there were pauses for conversions. What Stigand did experience were the changes and chaos of the changes occasioned by living during the reigns of nine different kings, viking incursions, invasions by foreign powers, the deaths of kings in battle and due to betrayal as well as peacefully in their beds and the overthrowing, with little hope of recovery, of the only world he knew.[381]

Oswald was Bishop of Worcester from 961 and Archbishop of York in plurality from 971 until his death in 992. According to William of Malmesbury, Oswald was born of "no mean family" and was nephew to Archbishop Oda and a close kinsman to Oscytel,

[380] *GP*, Book II, chapter 67.3, p. 203.
[381] Æthelred II, Edmund Ironsides, Swein, Cnut, Harold Harefoot, Harthacnut, Edward the Confessor, Harold II and William the Conqueror. The extremely brief reign of Edgar Ælthing is omitted as there was insufficient time to have any influence on Stigand or the realm.

Archbishop of York.[382] Odo, archbishop of Canterbury was Oswald's uncle and, according to Byrhtferth's Life, gave him such gifts that he was able to purchase a monastery at Winchester.[383] Oswald became disenchanted with the lax discipline at Winchester and left England for Fleury where he became a monk and excelled in all of his studies.[384] He returned to England only when he believed his uncle was dying and had to be persuaded to remain when he arrived to find Oda already dead.[385] He visited with Oscytel and joined his household. Eventually Oswald came to Dunstan's notice and Edgar appointed him to the see of Worcester on Dunstan's advice.[386] William of Malmesbury is particularly complementary about Oswald's willingness and ability to find value in and work with the secular clergy as well as Oswald's employment of pious duplicity in order to induce the clergy to enter the monastic life.[387] Oswald ultimately received the bishopric of Worcester on the strength of his reputation for holiness. Oswald was appointed Bishop of Worcester in 961 and held that office in plurality with the Archbishopric of York, 971-992. "When York was without a bishop, the king [Edgar], on the advice of Dunstan filled it with a man whose old-fashioned way of life would have just the knowledge necessary for controlling the barbarism of the people.

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[382] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.1, p. 377, *"…non exili progenie oriundus…"* Brooks, Nicholas, 'Oswald' *Oxford dictionary of national biography … from the earliest times to the year 2000,* H.C.G. Matthew and Brian Harrison, eds., created in association with the British Academy, (Oxford and New York, 2004). [Byrhtferth of Ramsey] *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, *Historians of the Church of York*, Vol. 1, James Raine, ed. (1879), pp. 399-475; *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, eds. (London and New York, 1996).

[383] Byrhtferth, pp. 410-411. Michael Lapidge has identified the author of the *Vita Santi Oswaldi* as Byrhtferth. Lapidge, Michael, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald' *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, ed., (London and New York, 1996), 64-83.

[384] Byrhtferth, pp. 417-419.

[385] *Ibid*. pp. 419.

[386] *Ibid*. pp. 420.

[387] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.4, p. 379, "*Ille paulatim considerans in clericorum ibi consistentium animis boni materiam inesse, si quis eam hortando animare nosset, non eos turbulente repulit, sed sanctissima circumvenit arte* "

The nobles obeyed Oswald readily..."[388] However, "he [King Edgar] would not let him [Oswald] give up the see of Worcester…"[389] In this case even a king as reform minded as Edgar saw nothing amiss with, indeed if William is to be believed, insisted on Oswald occupying both sees. Oswald was excused his violation of canon law as "not wanting the new monastic foundation to be deprived of the nourishment its foster-father was providing."[390] The apparent reasons for holding multiple offices varied depending on the individual case. Political or pastoral circumstances were deemed acceptable reasons for this violation of canon law. According to William of Malmesbury, Oswald needed persuading to keep Worcester as well as York. It was necessary for King Edgar to insist, thereby confirming to William that Oswald was not ambitious and grasping.[391] This could have been William's way of absolving Oswald of the responsibility for a violation of canon law by blaming the king rather than the archbishop. This account provides correlations with both reasons for multiple offices: political; Oswald could control the barbarism of the people, the nobles obeyed him and pastoral; support of newly established settlement of monks.

Ealdred was made from much the same mould as Stigand. They were bishops of an earlier school and behaved as much like politicians as churchmen. Each man brought decades of service to his office. Ealdred and Stigand, who acceded to high office near the

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[388] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.6, p. 379, "*Rex consilio Dunstani uacuatam episcopo Eboracum uiro impleuit, qui barbariem gentis moderari pro antiquo conuictu probe nosset. Optimates summisii uiro esse…*"
[389] *Ibid,* "*Nec tamen Wigornensi sedi renuntiare permissus est…*"
[390] *Ibid.* "*ne monachorum recens habitatio altoris sui destitueretur fomento.*"
[391] Byrhtferth, pp. 435-436. Lapidge, Michael, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald' *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, ed., (London and New York, 1996), 64-83. Lapidge discusses Byrhtferth's use of stock descriptions for events recounted in the *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* and the caution with which the work must be used by researchers; Nicholas Brooks, Oswald, [St. Oswald] (d. 992), archbishop of York, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004), *s.v.* Oswald.

first quarter of the eleventh century, have the longest careers of all of the men under discussion (42 and 50 years, respectively), and show a number of similarities in their activities. These similarities are not reflected in their subsequent reputations. Ealdred's attempts to retain Worcester even in the face of the Pope's disapproval indicated, in William of Malmesbury's estimation, that Ealdred was too interested in the worldly side of his position.[392] Ealdred was appointed Abbot of Tavistock (c.1027), Bishop of Worcester (1046-1062), administered the Abbey of Winchcombe (1053-1054), held the Bishoprics of Ramsbury (1055-1058) and Hereford (1056-1060) in his own right and was Archbishop of York (1061-1069). Ramsbury came under Ealdred's authority when Bishop Herman, after unsuccessfully attempting to move his see to Malmesbury, left England for St. Bertin where he became a monk.[393] The see reverted to Herman when he returned to England in 1058. Ealdred was given the administration of the bishopric of Hereford when Bishop Leofgar was killed fighting the Welsh in 1056.[394] Barlow calls Ealdred 'the nearest to a prince-bishop that the Edwardian church produced. He ruled a sort of ecclesiastical *palatinate* on the Welsh marches and seems to have been responsible for their defence."[395] Ealdred was treated to slightly more charitable appraisal than was Stigand but only slightly; "Imposing on the innocent nature of King Edward, and using money rather than reason as his argument in favour of doing as his

[392] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.14, p. 381, "*Aldredum, suapte responsione culpabilem utrobique repertum, omni honore severus expoliavit.*" *HRH*, pp. 72 & 79. Emma Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095*, (Oxford, 1990), pp. 58-59. Hugh the Chantor, *"History of Four Archbishops of York" The Historians of The Church of York and Its Archbishops*, Vol. II, James Raine, ed. (London, 1886), p. 98 and Anonymous, "*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis pars Prima*", pp. 346-347.
[393] *GP*, Book II, chapter 83.8-9.
[394] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C and D *s.a* 1056, pp. 132-133.
[395] *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit- S. Bertini monacho ascripta*, Frank Barlow, ed. & trans. (London, 1962), pp. 52-53 n. 130.

predecessors had done, he took on York without giving up Worcester."[396] William of Malmesbury's claim that Ealdred bribed his way to both an episcopal and an archiepiscopal office sees would seem to reflect William's preoccupation with simony rather than any evidence that Ealdred purchased his office. While the sees of Worcester and York had not always been held together the custom had been established ninety years previously and continued through the pontificates of several incumbents. Ealdred may have believed that holding the two sees together, despite the interruption of Ælfric and Cynesige at York and Leofsige at Worcester, and which had been inaugurated by a saintly man was, therefore, the appropriate course. The practice had been rationalized before, it could be again.[397] Dorothy Whitelock and Janet Cooper have both pointed out that after the alleged disloyalty of Wulfstan I in favor of Scandinavian interests that thereafter only men from south of the Humber were appointed to the archiepiscopal see of York and that the holding of York in plurality with a southern and wealthier see was a way of ensuring that the archbishop looked south rather than oversea. Ealdred was sent away from Rome without consecration to the Archbishopric of York, stripped of his honors, because he did not wish to relinquish Worcester and because he had transferred from a different bishopric.[398] His party was robbed, by bandits lead by Gerard count of Galeria a Tuscan nobleman, on the way home and they returned to Rome for assistance. Pope Nicholas II, threatened by Tostig Godwineson with the loss of Peter's Pence, mindful of Ealdred's humility in accepting his degradation and advised by the Roman

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[396] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.13, pp. 381-3, "*Qui simplicitati regis Eduardi illudens, moremque antecessorum magis pecunia quam ratione allegans, archiepiscopatum Eboracensem non intermissa priori sede suscepit.*"

[397] Cooper, *The Last Four*, p. 2 and Whitelock, Dorothy, 'Dealings, pp. 73-76; Lawson, M.K. and King, Vanessa, 'Ealdred [Aldred] (d. 1069), archbishop of York' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37382.

[398] *VÆR*, pp, 52-54; Burchard of Worms, *Decretum*, i, cc. lxxii-lxxvii, "*Ut nullo modo de parochia ad aliam episcopus transeat.*"

fathers not to allow such important persons leave in distress, reversed his decision and consecrated Ealdred to York.[399] William of Malmesbury suggested that the pope may have been fearful of Tostig.[400] In addition, Ealdred, Giso of Wells and Walter of Hereford arrived in Rome for consecrations either at the commencement of or during a council the Pope had called to address the issue of simony. Even though William of Malmesbury stated that the reason for Ealdred's deposition was his holding of two sees and the transfer from one bishopric to another; the topic under discussion at the council and Ealdred's condemnation at the same time may have contributed to William's accusation that Ealdred 'put his case…by money."[401]

The combined sees of Worcester and York had gained such acceptance that Ealdred fully expected the Pope to approve it in 1061. Ealdred apparently had no expectation that the canon against pluralism would be enforced. This would suggest that there had not been much emphasis placed on it prior to this time. Ealdred is better remembered as the bishop who was degraded, robbed and redeemed on his visit to Rome than for the multiple episcopal and abbatial offices he held, some of which overlapped considerably.[402] Stigand's situation was further complicated by the fact that Pope Stephen IX refused to grant a pallium, Pope Benedict X did grant one and Pope Nicholas

[399] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1061, pp. 135-136. The difficulties over the dual offices is not mentioned in ASC but is in William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002), Book I chapter 10.2. *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.16-17, p. 383; *VÆR*, pp, 54-56 & 54 n. 135.

[400] *GP,* Book III chapter 115.15, p. 382. William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002), In the *VW* Tostig seems to make his threats about withholding future payments of Peter's Pence to Ealdred in relation to the pope's refusal to consecrate the bishop of Worcester to York and before they are robbed rather than as a consequence of the robbery.

[401] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115, p. 383.

[402] *HRH*, pp. 72 & 79. Emma Mason, *St. Wulfstan of Worcester c. 1008-1095*, (Oxford, 1990), pp. 58-59. HCY, Vol. II, 98 and Anonymous, "*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiae Eboracensis pars Prima*", pp. 346-347. Barlow, *English Church,* p. 76. H. R. Loyn, *The English Church, 940-1154*, p. 61.

II revoked it. The revocation of his pallium was not on account of any fault on Stigand's part. It was not apparently a specific response to his pluralism, but because Benedict was seen as an intrusive pope and deposed. Stigand was characterized, by medieval writers, as greedy because the sees he held were the two wealthiest. He was an extremely wealthy man even excluding those properties and persons he managed on behalf of Winchester and Canterbury. Little definite evidence is extant proving just how Stigand acquired some of his properties and this has led, along with comments, such as this made by William of Malmesbury "…whatever he could lay his hands on he stole from others and hid away for himself, never putting a limit on his greed,"[403] to his worsening reputation. Stigand's obligation as an advisor to king and queen meant he was deeply immersed in lay politics and doubtless led to the charge of being far too worldly; "…when it came to ambition he was unconcerned with what people thought of him."[404]

William's preoccupation with bribery and payments made to ecclesiastics may also be reflected in his comments about Stigand whom he accused of putting "bishoprics and abbacies actually up for sale in the open market"[405] and stated that Stigand would never have received a pallium from the Pope "for all the efficacy of bribery there too."[406] William was not specific about who the recipients of these bribes were and failed to note that those who accepted bribes stood on no higher moral ground than those who offered them. He may have been indirectly claiming that Pope Benedict X was corrupt as well as intrusive. His similar remarks about Ealdred's 'putting his case more by money than

[403] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.1, p. 47, "*quæcumque posset aliis preripere, sibi abscondere, numquam avaritiam suam moderari.*"
[404] *Ibid, "ceterum aduersus ambitum nichil dignitati suæ consulens…"*
[405] *Ibid*. Book I, chapter 23.2, p. 47, *"prorsus publicas nundinas ex episcopatibus et abbatiis fatiens, "*
[406] *Ibid*. *"quanvis et ibi uenalitas multum operetur…"*

argument' to be given both Worcester and York suggests that the recipient of any bribes was directly or indirectly King Edward as it is clear that the papacy had no tolerance for the situation. William of Malmesbury also said of Stigand "It is surely the sign of a beast's greed that he at one and the same time held the bishopric of Winchester, the archbishopric of Canterbury, and many abbeys besides, though any man of principle would have been quite satisfied with any one of these preferments."[407] This claim falters in light of William's remarks about Oswald and Ealdwulf. Clearly 'good men' were not satisfied with one office yet he still considered them 'good'. His remarks suggest that, unlike in Oswald's case, William is unwilling to blame the king to spare the bishops criticism. It must be noted that William's attribution of Oswald's dual offices to King Edgar was meant to show the king's proper concern for the spiritual health of the sees in question. William of Malmesbury was not condemning Edgar for his insistence that Oswald retain Worcester as well as York. In the cases of Stigand and Ealdred, William suggested that the prelate rather than that the king was in control of the appointment by insisting that Stigand and Ealdred had taken advantage of the innocent and simple King Edward.[408] The campaign to canonize Edward was on the rise during William of Malmesbury's time and perhaps he was unwilling to say anything that might jeopardize that process. William of Malmesbury did not specify what the necessity that excused Ealdwulf was, perhaps it was the control of 'that barbarous people'[409]: a political motive

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[407] *Ibid*. Book I, chapter 23.2, p. 46, *"...beluinæ rapacitatis dices, quod Wintoniæ episcopatum et Cantuariæ archiepiscopatum, preterea multas abbatias solus ipse possidebat, quæ singula satis superque sufficerent alicui probo uiro?"*

[408] *Ibid*. Book I, chapter 23.1, p. 47, *"innocentis regis simplicitatem"* and Book III, chapter 115.13, p. 383, "*simplicitati regis…*" David Preest in his edition of William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, *The Deeds of the Bishops of England*, David Preest, trans. (Woodbridge, 2002), Book I, chapter 23 translated *simplicitatem* as 'simpleminded-ness' while Winterbottom translates these descriptions of King Edward's character as "naïve" and "innocent nature" respectively.

[409] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.6, p. 378.

to assist the king in the task of keeping a corner of the kingdom quiet or perhaps it was economic as the see of York was poorly endowed. The Worcester/York situation was likely viewed, in the earlier period, as a special case, held in plurality in order to ensure that Northumbria remained within the fold. The king made use of the Archbishopric for the political purpose of breaking down resistance to rule from the south by binding the incumbent to southern interests.[410] Clearly William did not see a need for Stigand to occupy both Winchester and Canterbury but those in power at the time may have seen such a necessity.

Stigand apparently put up no struggle when it came to holding on to both offices. There is no record of humble protestation or declarations of unworthiness from him. King Edward did not share in the blame because he was '*innocentis*' and had been deceived by a greedy bishop.[411] Oswald needed persuading, according to William, who was following Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi*, to keep Worcester as well as York. This could merely have been William of Malmesbury's way of absolving Oswald of culpability. Wilfrid held both York and Hexham though he was exiled from the York see yet William did not even consider it an offense; it was a 'coolness' in relation to the performance of good works.[412] Ealdred was accused of bribery and deceit. It was the perceived motive behind the acquisition of office that made the difference in the subsequent retelling. Unlike hagiography there were few stock characterizations for secular figures. Writers had greater leeway in characterizing men of the past than they had in describing their contemporaries. William of Malmesbury also harbored an intense

[410] Cooper, *The Last Four*, p. 2 and Whitelock, 'Dealings, pp. 73-76.
[411] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23, p. 46. Winterbottom translates '*innocentis*' as 'naïve.'
[412] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.4, p. 379.

dislike for secular bishops who preyed on monastic houses and Stigand's later reputation characterized him as such a bishop. William was willing to include stories and digressions for the amusement of his reader but he was also a conscientious recorder of what he sincerely believed to be factually accurate. The *Gesta Regum* was dedicated to Queen Matilda and Robert of Gloucester but William wrote the *Gesta Pontificum* primarily for a monastic audience. The exaltation of the saintly Oswald or any other saint would have been well received. He used what he thought were reliable sources for the information he included. Byrhtferth's *Vita Sancti Oswaldi* and Coleman's *Vita Wulfstani* provided him with details about his subjects.[413]

Monika Otter, in her study of fictionality in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniæ,* Gerald of Wales' *Itinerarium Kambriæ*, and Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*, occasionally makes comparisons with William of Malmesbury's works, even though there is a considerable disparity between Geoffrey of Monmouth's willingness to include his own inventions in his work and William of Malmesbury's dedicated intention to relate only facts. William's use of miracle stories or accounts of marvelous events, such as Pope Sylvester's underground treasures, despite his stated intention to tell the truth is questioned as a deliberate injection of fiction into his histories or at least of straying into 'fictionality'.[414] William would have called such fictions, inserted without the reader's knowledge of them as such, lies. This attitude accords with Otter's requirement that "for fiction to be recognized as such, there must be a 'contract' [between

[413] Michael Lapidge, 'Byrhtferth and Oswald' *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt, ed., (London and New York, 1996). For discussion on Byrhferth's unreliability for the modern historian.
[414] Monika Otter, *Inventiones: Fiction and Referentiality in Twelfth-Century English Historical Writing*, (Chapel Hill and London, 1996), pp. 97-98.

writer and reader] that suspends or 'brackets' truth claims."[415] The miracle and marvel stories were things William had heard or read and which he could not disprove but believed possible. They were not simply inexplicable events that were acceptable to the reader within the context of the written work. They were accepted, believable possibilities in the real world in which the reader lived. William of Malmesbury and his readership not only believed that miracles could happen; they expected them to happen, therefore a history of men who included saints must include miracles. Miracle stories often do not contain the referents that Otter and historians would like because they are beside the point of the story. The point of a miracle story is to venerate the saint and through him or her to recognize the power of God on earth. If the holy well or the mountain or any other referent is not exactly where the account places it, it does not matter. The point is the miracle not the mountain.

William was well aware that he was selectively picking and choosing information for his readers. He stated quite clearly that he will leave things out for the sake of brevity or to avoid tedium or that he includes things for the reader's amusement. Otter was not quite accurate in her description of the *Gesta Pontificum.* "The monk William of Malmesbury organized his *Gesta Pontificum*, a survey of English ecclesiastical history, geographically rather than chronologically."[416] William did not, in fact, write an *ecclesiastical* history, he wrote an *episcopal* history, a history of bishops. Bishops govern dioceses; his subject matter was already divided geographically when he began and the arrangement need not have been a stylistic choice on his part. William also

[415] Otter, *Inventiones*, p. 7.
[416] *Ibid.*, p. 3.

traveled extensively to research the *Gesta Pontificum* and he may have arranged his material as he collected it. Janet Coleman claimed that William of Malmesbury was unconcerned about conflicts between his sources, yet this can be easily demonstrated to be untrue.[417] Ernst Breisach stated that "While William's works reached a literary level superior to that of preceding chronicles, he remained a careful, accurate and conscientious writer."[418] There is little doubt that later writers embroidered and exaggerated when discussing important people who lived long before themselves either in order to emphasize a point or to fill in a lack of information. Both Stigand's and Oswald's reputations doubtless underwent revision over the years. There was likely a temptation to improve the saint's reputation and for contrast downgrade the sinner's.

While pluralism was one of the reasons William of Malmesbury gave for condemning five of these seven men his inconsistency gives the lie to his reasoning. If the violation was as offensive as he claims it to be five out of seven times, why not the other two? This suggests that it was not the violation or lack of same that determined whether or not the man was contemptible or admirable but that the character of the man determined whether or not the violation was offensive. How a person's character is determined other than by his actions is not explained. Malmesbury may have allowed prior knowledge to inform or perhaps deform his interpretation of the pluralists and their

[417] Janet Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past*, (Cambridge, 1992), p. 298. William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1998), 196.4, p. 351. William reports conflicting stories about Queen Emma and opts for one over the other. Rodney Thomson and Antonia Gransden also argue that William of Malmesbury was both discriminating about his sources and saw conflicts when he encountered them. Antonia Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c.1307*, Vol. I, (London, 1974), p. 167; Rodney M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*, revised edition, (Woodbridge, 2003), p. 23.
[418] Ernst Breisach, *Historiography, Ancient, Medieval and Modern* 3rd ed. (Chicago and London, 2007), p. 115.

actions. Oswald was a saintly man therefore his actions were justifiable, Stigand had been deposed therefore his actions were unacceptable regardless of what those actions actually were in each case. William of Malmesbury was scathing in his denunciation of Stigand's behavior but not of St. Oswald's or Ealdwulf's, whom he praised in their holding of the bishopric of Worcester and the archbishopric of York but condemned Ealdred who did the same. He is also the only writer to discuss all of these men. Other writers commented only peripherally and none as forcefully as Malmesbury.

William of Poitiers mentioned Ealdred[419] in a positive light, as he had given up his multiple offices and retained only York by the time of the writing of the *Gesta Guillelmi*. Stigand was mentioned six times, five of which were negative and the sixth positive in which Stigand was cited as a supporter of William the Conqueror's claim to the English throne.[420] If Stigand were so dubious a character and his place on the archiepiscopal throne so problematic, it is odd that his support was cited as positive. Poitiers made no comment about St. Oswald, Ealdwulf, Wulfstan, Lyfing or Leofric and he never mentioned pluralism in regard to the men he did discuss.

John of Worcester recounted Stigand's deposition listing pluralism as one cause but does not seem to have been particularly judgmental. In the entry under 1070 he said, "In this council (Winchester) Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was deposed for three reasons: that he unlawfully held the bishopric of Winchester together with the

[419] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Gvillelmi*, R. H. C. Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1998), Book II, chap. 30 & 49. Chapter 49 ends in the middle of the first sentence and suggests a minor panegyric of Ealdred for his support of King William.
[420] *Ibid.*, Book II, chapters 1, 30 & 33 for his uncanonical pontificate, 12 for his support of William the Conqueror's claim to the English throne, 28 & 38 for suspected rebellion or disloyalty.

archbishopric; that, in the lifetime of Archbishop Robert, he not only seized the archbishopric, but had for some time used, during mass, Robert's pallium…"[421] Ealdred's receipt of his pallium is recorded but not the controversy surrounding it.[422] None of the other notable pluralists appear.

Hugh the Chanter is the only writer aside from William of Malmesbury who focused on the issue of pluralism when he said, "Now Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury who was also bishop of Winchester and abbot of more than one abbey, was soon afterwards degraded with the king's consent for that plurality and for other charges against him, by the papal delegates."[423] Hugh commented favorably on Ealdred as did the others with the exception of William of Malmesbury. Hugh was a York historian so it is not surprising that Ealdred was treated kindly. No doubt few wished to suggest that there had ever been anything questionable about the canonical regularity of the man who crowned William the Conqueror.

Summary

The reputations of the bishops prospered or suffered depending upon the writer. Ealdred was useful to William the Conqueror therefore his reputation improved with age. Stigand was removed and his reputation continued to decline. Of all of the authors only one focused on the issue of pluralism as opposed to an individual instance. Only William

[421] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester*, *Vol. III The Annals from 1067 to 1140 with the Gloucester Interpolations and the Continuation to 1141*, P. McGurk, ed. & trans., (Oxford, 1998), *s.a.* 1067, pp. 4-6 and *s.a.* 1070, pp. 10-18.
[422] *Ibid*. *s.a.* 1068, pp. 6-8.
[423] *HYC*, pp.2-5.

of Malmesbury was interested in the offence; the others were more interested in the offender or not concerned with either. This suggests that pluralism was not an overriding concern for the Church before or immediately after the Conquest. The York tradition was allowed to continue for several generations of archbishops and Stigand held his two offices for seventeen years before it became a problem when the death of Ealdred deprived England of its only secure metropolitan. That only one post-Conquest scholars took an interest in the issue would indicate that it neither had been nor was it a general problem. These six bishops did violate canon law when they took on a second office without relinquishing the first. It was a convenient technicality on which to catch someone out and either rearrange his offices as with Ealdred or remove him from them as with Stigand. The reasons for using that technicality had little to do with observing canon law and much to do with the political needs of the time.

The subsequent reputations of the office holders ranged from one extreme to the other. Oswald was venerated as a saint. Ealdwulf faded into obscurity but took with him an untarnished reputation. Clearly Oswald and Ealdwulf were 'justifiable' pluralists because, in William of Malmesbury's judgment, they acted from altruistic motives. The issue was not the violation of canon law but the motives for that violation. Wulfstan became famous for the law codes for kings Aethelred II and Cnut and for his *Sermo Lupi* despite William of Malmesbury's dismissal of him in the *GP*. Leofric fared little better. Ealdred and Lyfing became infamous. Ealdred fared better than Stigand because he was eventually consecrated to York, having resigned Worcester at the Pope's insistence, and thus became the only canonically secure archbishop in the kingdom. Ealdred could play a

crucial role in the coronation and thus was useful to William the Conqueror. Stigand came off the worst of them all. Wulfstan, Ealdred, Stigand, Lyfing and Leofric apparently were 'contemptible' pluralists because their motives were deemed unacceptable. When Remigius, Bishop of Dorchester, went to Rome in 1070 to ask pardon for accepting consecration from Stigand he was informed that Lanfranc was not Stigand's successor nor was Stigand Lanfranc's antecessor.[424] Stigand was spoken of as if he had never been in office, though various works clearly recorded his pontificate and enough people remembered him to provide writers with their material. Stigand has ever since been considered a very black sheep indeed.

Wealth

Making comparisons between Stigand, Ealdred, St. Wulfstan, Giso and Lanfranc continuing the themes of acquisition of wealth and, eventually, the balancing of ecclesiastical and political activities will show that Stigand was more representative of early and mid-eleventh century prelates than post-Conquest critics claimed. William of Malmesbury accused Stigand of grabbing offices wherever he could. He associated those offices with authority to which Stigand was not entitled and of which he was unworthy. He was equally critical of Stigand's acquisition of, and according to his account in *Gesta Pontificum*, hoarding of wealth: "…he [Stigand] swore by everything sacred a false oath that he had not a penny to his name. That this oath had no basis in truth was proved by

[424] *Canterbury Professions*, R. L. Storey, ed., (Canterbury, 1973), p. 27; Cowdrey, H. E. J., *Lanfranc – Scholar, Monk and Archbishop*, (Oxford, 2003), pp. 79-82; George Garnett, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, Vol. 36 (1986), pp. 91-116 at 105-106. At page 108 Garnett suggests that Remigius' profession was drafted by Lanfranc as it "smacks of Lanfranc's legalistic guidance."

the vast riches found after his death in underground caves."[425] This suggestion of vast riches stored in secret cellars is an indication of how legend can grow even within the fifty or so years between Stigand's death and the writing of the *Gesta Pontificum*. It is most unlikely that Stigand was allowed to retain vast riches if indeed he was permitted to retain any. Whether or not he retained any of his wealth after his deposition is open to debate.[426] Stigand was, prior to his deposition in 1070, an extremely wealthy man. In addition to the lands he controlled for Canterbury and Winchester, he had considerable personal riches. The methods he used to acquire some of these lands are not always clear and were considered, by Abingdon at least, dishonest.[427] Stigand held or administered, on behalf of either Canterbury or Winchester or personally, land in eighteen counties.[428] He had followers, certainly numbering in the hundreds if not in excess of a thousand. Some of the land he held was leased, usually from other ecclesiastical houses; some was acquired by what sounds like questionable means or for inexplicable reasons.[429] Houses that lost lands when Stigand was deposed and dispossessed may have represented

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[425] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.8, p. 49, "*per omne sanctum peierabat non se habere nummum nec valens. Huic sacramento soliditatem ueri abfuisse probauit ingens uis opum post mortem eius in subterraneis specubus inuentarum.*" William of Malmesbury had a fascination with buried treasure as the *Gesta Regum* shows, *GR*, Book II, chapter 169.1-3, pp. 284-286, the tale of Gerbert/Pope Sylvester II (999-1003) and his treasure and chapter, 170.1-6, pp. 288-90, Octavian and the treasure under the mountain in Rome.

[426] F. M. Stenton, *Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 1971), p. 461 note 1. Professor Stenton accepted the Domesday Book entry for East Meon as proof that Stigand was not stripped of all of his lands and imprisoned in Winchester after his deposition. DB, Hampshire, 1.16. i, f. 38.

[427] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, Vol. 1, John Hudson, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 2007), pp. 196-197 "*A quo Stigandus Wentane civitatis episcopus, tunc vero archiepiscopatis Cantie curam gerens, (nam inde defuncto gubernatore locus vacuus manebat regimine), uti callidus perorator, extorsit terram Cyrne vocatam, in Gloecestrensi scira…*" "Stigand bishop of the city of Winchester, who then indeed had care of the archbishopric of Canterbury, (for with its ruler dead the place lacked governance), as a crafty pleader extracted the land called Cyrne situated in Gloucestershire…"

[428] Mary Frances Smith, "Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle", *Anglo-Norman Studies* xvi, (London, 1993), p. 219.

[429] *Domesday Book - Gloucestershire,* John S. Moore, ed. and trans., (Chichester, 1982), 2.5 St. Peter's (St. Oswald's); Nigel Baker, and Richard Holt, *Urban Growth and the Medieval Church: Gloucester and Worcester*, (Aldershot, Hants. England and Burlington, Vermont, 2004), p. 22; Michael Hare, 'The Documentary Evidence for the History of St. Oswald's Gloucester 1086 A.D.' *The Golden Minster: The Anglo-Saxon Minster and later Medieval Priory of St. Oswald at Gloucester*, Carolyn Heighway and Richard Bryant eds. (York, 1999), pp. 33-45.

legitimate business dealings as archiepiscopal extortion in order to distance themselves from him and possibly recover their lands.[430] The difference in William's judgment about Stigand and his fellow bishops and archbishops comes down to motive; Ealdred and Stigand acquired land in dubious ways in order to enrich themselves rather than their sees. Giso and Wulfstan sought only to endow their churches, monks and canons and to preserve the relics of their patron saints.

Wealth and its close associate avarice are unavoidable topics when discussing Stigand, but he was not alone in amassing estates and rents. Æthelwold was also an assiduous acquirer of land and estates but while he is seen as somewhat aggressive, he is not tarred with the reputation of greed. William of Malmesbury stated that Æthelwold was born of parents who were citizens of Winchester and "neither short of money nor of contemptible descent."[431] Æthelwold revived the Abbey of Abingdon and the cults of the saints whose relics were housed there while he was its abbot (954-963).[432] He needed income in order to rebuild the church and to maintain it and the shrines. Æthelwold was not above attempting to recover lands that had been out of the Church's hands for generations by using lawsuits and forged charters, though he may have regarded them as legitimate reconstructions of genuine gifts, rather than pursuing other endowments to replace those lost.[433] Æthelwold also provided substantial gifts of land to

[430] Smith, 'Needle', pp. 206-207.
[431] *GP*, Book II, chapter 75.34, p. 261, "*nec egenus fortuna nec abjectus stirpis linea*"
[432] According to Barbara Yorke in "Aethelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century" in *Bishop Aethelwold – His Career and Influence*, Barbara Yorke, ed. (Woodbridge, 1988), p. 62. "Æthelwold further enhanced the relic collections of his new communities by appropriating the remains of early monastic or eremetic saints whose cult sites were not under the supervision of a major ecclesiastical centre."
[433] E. John, 'The Church of Winchester and the Tenth-Century Reformation' in *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 74, 1964-1965, pp. 404-429.

the monks at Ely as is evidenced by the *Libellus Æthelwoldi*.[434] Land could also be acquired through bequests in wills and Æthelwold's foundations received a number of estates in the will of Ælfgifu as did he personally. Ælfgifu was most probably Eadwig's wife who had to be set aside as consanguineous.[435] These circumstances lead one to wonder if Æthelwold, bent on reform of monasticism and requiring the king's aid in that ambition, countenanced a marriage that violated canon law in the hope of benefiting from the king for his sympathies or from Ælfgifu at a later date. Because Æthelwold was providing for his churches and their saints, his land grabbing was not put down to avarice but to devotion.

Æthelwold was generous in the giving of ornaments to his churches. He presented Abingdon with a silver retable worth three hundred pounds.[436] It seems unlikely that the Abingdon chapter would agree to the outlay of so great a sum as three hundred pounds even for the purpose of adorning the church. A community's desire to reclaim or retain property may not reflect its attitude about spending the income derived from it. Christopher Dyer argues that accumulation of wealth was not the focus of Wulfstan's estate management. "The working of the estate can best be understood from Wulfstan's point of view if we abandon our modern presumption that its main purpose

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[434] *Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed., (London, 1962), Book II, chapters 7-49; *Liber Eliensis*: *A History of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth*, Janet Fairweather, trans. (Woodbridge, 2005), Book II, chapters 7-49 & Appendix A; For recent discussion of Ely lands see, Keynes, Simon, 'Ely Abbey 672-1109' *A History of Ely Cathedral*, Peter Meadows, and Nigel Ramsay, eds. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2003), pp. 3-58 at 17-27.

[435] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 958 (D). ASC - Cubbin, *s.a.* 958, "*Her on þissum geare Oda arcebiscop totwæmde Eadwi cyning 7 Ælgyfe, for þæm þe wæron to gesybbe.*" That Ælfgifu of the will and the king's former wife were one and the same is accepted by D. Whitelock, Anglo-Saxon Wills, (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 118-19; Pauline Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers*, p. 108 and Brooks, *Early History*, p. 255.

[436] Hudson, *Abingdon*, p. 338. Yorke, "Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century", p. 69.

was agricultural production, and rather emphasize that for its lord it acted as a means for organizing consumption."[437] Æthelwold also purchased rights for the Old Minster pertaining to an estate at Taunton for two hundred fifty *mancuses* and a silver cup valued at five pounds.[438] As Domesday Book records manors whose assessment of annual value to its lord was not equal to the value of the cup alone, these represent vast amounts and argue a source of personal income in addition to monastic revenues and donations.[439] The purchase of privileges brought with it the benefit of future revenues or savings. It is possible that the money for the silver table and the cup were themselves donations used to purchase rights he valued more highly than the gifts. If the money for the gifts came from sources other than the abbey the chapter may have had no say in its disbursement. Æthelwold may not have consulted or ignored the wishes of the community. Stigand was accounted a munificent patron of churches as he gave sumptuous gifts with no suggestion that he drained resources from any of the foundations within his charge yet he was charged with greed rather than generosity. Once again it is perceived motive that made the difference.

Ealdred's reputation for land grabbing is less admirable than Æthelwold's or that of his own contemporary Giso. According to William of Malmesbury, Archbishop Ealdred kept lands that he had appropriated from the see of Worcester. He required Wulfstan, his successor at Worcester, prior (1057-1062) and then Bishop of Worcester

[437] Christopher Dyer, 'Bishop Wulfstan and his Estates' *St. Wulfstan and His World*, Julia s. Barrow and N.P. Brooks, eds. (Aldershot, Hants, 2005), pp. 137-149 at 142.
[438] P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, (London, 1968) also Sawyer online, www.esawyer.org.uk, S 806, B. Thorpe, *Diplomatarium Anglicum Ævi Saxonici*, (London, 1865), pp. 233-5; Yorke, 'Aethelwold', p. 69.
[439] Barbara Yorke urges this interpretation in 'Aethelwold' p. 69; 2; *DB - Northamptonshire*, John Morris, ed. (Chichester, 1979), 18.32 West Farndon 1.5 hides valued at 5 shillings TRE and 20 shillings TRW.

(1062-1095),[440] to remain in York while he, Ealdred, secured as much Worcester land as possible for his own archdiocese. William of Malmesbury condemned him saying, "Wulfstan was ordained by Ealdred, and left at York on the pretext of doing him an honour. For no short period he saddened Worcester by his absence, while the archbishop diverted the revenues of the church to his own purposes."[441] Eventually, seven vills were returned for the support of Wulfstan's see. However, the lands were returned so late in the year that Ealdred was able to claim the harvests as well as the rents. Again according to William, "When Wulfstan eventually returned he [Ealdred] gave him scarce seven vills, obstinately keeping hold of the rest for himself. …gradually his [Wulfstan's] prayers wore down the arrogant greed of Ealdred, who restored all but twelve vills to the jurisdiction of the church.[442] To William of Malmesbury, Ealdred's retention of Worcester lands, to the detriment of that see, shows a clear interest in profit over pastoral care.[443] Ealdred continued to control both a number of Worcester estates as well as

[440] GP, Book IV, chapter 139.1-2, pp. 423-5. Mason, *St. Wulfstan*, (1990), p. 85. F. E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, (Manchester, 1952), No. 115, pp. 410-411. Anon., "*Chronica Pontificum*" pp. 347-348. *HRH*, (2002), pp. 83 and 259.

[441] *VW*, Book. I chapter. 13, p. 126. "*Ordinatus ergo, ut dicere ceperam, et sub pretextu honoris Eboraci ab Aldredo relictus, non pauco tempore Wignoriam absentia sua contristauit. Eius interim æcclesiæ redditus usibus suis applicabat archiepiscopus."* Mason, *St. Wulfstan*, (1990), pp. 85-86; Dyer, 'Estates', pp. 141-142. Dyer points out that Wulfstan had to fulfill financial and service obligations that were formed prior to his appointment, doubtless the same situation constrained Ealdred.

[442] *VW*, Book. I chapter. 13, p. 126. "*Postmodum reuerso uix septem uillas contulit ceteras omnes pertinaciter ursurpans…ita paulatim precibus arrogantis animi cupiditatem contudit ut cuncta preter duodecim uillas iuri aeccleasiæ reformaret.*" *GP*, Book III, chapter, 139; Ann Williams, 'The cunning of the dove: Wulfstan and the politics of accommodation' *St. Wulfstan and His World*, Julia s. Barrow and N.P. Brooks, eds. (Aldershot, Hants., 2005), pp. 23-38 at 25. William points out that in 1086 Worcester possessed 24 manors in Worcester, Gloucester and Warwick, 12 episcopal and 12 monastic and suggests the former were those kept by Ealdred.

[443] M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson suggested in *VW*, pp. 49-50 n 5 that the depredations laid at Ealdred's feet may in fact rightfully be transferred to Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham on the authority of Hemming's Cartulary. They further suggested that this may have been the deliberate transfer of the crime from a monk (Æthelwig) to a secular cleric (Ealdred). The later argument cannot be upheld as Ealdred had been a monk of Winchester according to John of Worcester, *JW*, *s.a.* 1046 and *GP* Book III chapter 115.13, p. 381.

Wulfstan.[444] Ann Williams suggests that Ealdred's continuing control over Worcester interests was of benefit to the see during the turbulent 1060's thus allowing an "able political strategist" to act on behalf of the see.[445] It is impractical to try to run a metropolitan see with inadequate funds but pillaging another see for financial resources does not give the impression of pious concern for one's saints and subordinates. This is not an attractive picture of ecclesiastical behavior and yet Ealdred's post-Conquest reputation is certainly more positive than Stigand's. His motives do not seem to have been anything but self-serving but because he was secure in his office and consequently useful to King William, his misdemeanors are largely passed over.

Calling Ealdred's ethics into question may have led to similar questions about the security of William's coronation. Such questions may have been circulating in King William's mind if in no one else's. William was, according to Ordericus Vitalis, crowned a second time at Winchester on Easter Day by the cardinals who assisted in Stigand's deposition. This second crowning and consecration was rather unusual but apparently the cardinals and presumably the pope saw potential problems with that performed by Ealdred who had most probably had Stigand's assistance.[446] Ealdred had been left in office. Stigand was vulnerable and therefore a convenient target.

Wulfstan eventually had to sue Thomas of Bayeux, Ealdred's successor at York, for the return of the twelve vills retained by Ealdred which caused him to be caught up in

[444] *VW*, pp. 44-47. Williams, 'dove', pp. 26 n. 11.
[445] Williams, 'dove', pp. 26-27.
[446] Ealdred died on 11 September 1069, several months prior to the cardinals' visit. Ealdred's death made resolving the situation at Canterbury imperative.

the issue of Canterbury's primacy. The case was argued before Pope Alexander II by Thomas of Bayeux, who claimed authority over all of Worcester diocese, and Lanfranc. The pope referred the decision back to England. King William eventually decided primacy in Lanfranc's favor and the land dispute in Wulfstan's though with concessions to Thomas.[447]

Giso was born in Saint-Trond in Liège and was appointed to the Bishopric of Wells (1060) after the death of Duduc and continued in that office until his own death (1088).[448] Giso and Walter were consecrated without difficulty as they were "tolerably learned and unmarked by the disgrace of any simony."[449] This is the extent of William of Malmesbury's comment on Giso other than including him in lists of bishops of Wells and those obedient to Canterbury. His comment about Giso's innocence of simony was both a reflection of the purpose of the papal council at which Giso was consecrated and William's own preoccupation with an issue of increasing importance to the Church in his own day and to him, personally. It seems not to have been a cause of much scandal in England in the first half of the eleventh century.

Giso was not a player in the political arena though he easily made accommodation with William of Normandy. A fragment in *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus*

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[447] *VW*, Book. ii chapter. 1.6-7, pp. 30-32. "*...episcopum Wigornensem Cantuariensi archiepiscopo subiectum esse debere, nichil in illum iuris Eboracensi competere. Quin etiam duodecim uillas, quas Aldredus usque ad diem mortis suis assignaverat commodis, indulsit Wigornensi æcclesiæ, regin sane liberalitate archiepiscopo data predirum compensatione.*"; *GP*, Book I chapter 25.8, p. 54, is the account of the pope referring the case back to England, 27.2, p. 56 refers to the primacy decision in which Canterbury is placed in authority over York; *Councils and Synods*, Vol. I, no. 91; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, chapter 7.

[448] Simon Keynes, 'Giso, Bishop of Wells 1061-1088)', *Anglo-Norman Studies* xix, (1997). pp. 218-219. *Writs*, (1952), Nos. 64-65, pp. 277-279.

[449] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.14, p. 383, "*Gisonem et Walterum uoti compotes reddidit, qui essent non usquequaque contempnendæ scientiæ, et nullius notati ignominia simoniæ.*"

Somersetensis, often described as autobiographical, informs the reader that he expended a great deal of energy attempting to reclaim lands lost to the depredations of King Edward and Queen Edith, who invalidated Duduc's will, which left substantial estates to Wells, and King Harold, who seized a number of estates which he promised to return; he died before so doing.[450] This fragment has been shown by Simon Keynes as unlikely to be from Giso's hand and perhaps not in his lifetime; it was probably written by a canon of Wells for the purposes of setting out the canons' and bishop's position in regard to land they deemed belonging to the see.[451] The *Historiola* fragment lists a number of disputed estates for the return of which Giso contemplated bringing suit against Earl Harold. The lands seized by Harold may not have been Dudoc's to will away. St. Oswald's minster was founded by Æthelflæd and her husband and was probably never meant to leave royal control permanently.[452] The land likely should have reverted to the king on the bishop's death to be re-granted or not as he chose and Harold seized them to prevent them going astray.[453] Giso claimed that Harold despoiled Wells of the estates of Congresbury and Banwell and that Stigand had taken the monastery of St. Peter. "But Harold, at that time Earl of the West Saxons, did not hesitate not only to invade the lands but also to despoil the episcopal see of all these things. Moreover, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury – afterwards, in the time of King William, degraded in councils of bishops by the legates of Pope Alexander, in the city of Winchester – sought with unjust desire to be given the aforesaid monastery [St. Peter's] by the king, and obtained his request."[454] According to

[450] *Ecclesiastical Documents*, J. Hunter , ed. Camden Society 8, (London, 1840), pp. 3-41.
[451] Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 213-223.
[452] Baker and Holt, *Urban Growth*, p. 22.
[453] Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 231.
[454] *DB - Gloucestershire*, 2.5. Judging by the entry in *DB* St. Peter's is an early dedication for St. Oswald's which was a secular minister associated with Wells. Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 220-1. Mary Frances Smith, 'Needle', p. 208-9. *Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis* in *Ecclesiastical Documents*, J.

Asser, Congresbury and Banwell were given to him by Alfred sometime in the late ninth-century.[455] Queen Edith also engaged in land transactions with Giso for the benefit of the see, in particular the purchase of Combe in Somerset. The dating clause mentions that the transaction took place "the same year [when] died the two bishops, Archbishop Stigand and Leofric, bishop of Exeter."[456] The 'autobiography' states that Giso acquired lands for the expansion of the church and the maintenance of the canons who lived under his authority yet the *Terra Gisonis,* as recorded in *Domesday Book*, is mostly in Giso's hands and not differentiated as belonging to the canons.[457] This may have reflected, as Simon Keynes suggested, that such differentiation was not yet a formal division or that the revenues from those estates may have been assigned to the canons' use even if the land remained with the bishop. Julia Barrow points out that Robert, bishop of Hereford from 1079-1095, was unused to the idea that the lands of the canons should be clearly divided from those of the bishop. The canons at Hereford had individual holdings as well as an interest in the communal lands. Domesday Book lists these holdings as fees held

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Hunter, ed. (Oxford, 1840), p. 15, "*Haroldus uero, tunc temporis dux occidentalium Saxonum, non solum terras inuadere, uerum etiam episcopalem sedem omnibus hiis spoliare non timuit; set et Stigandus archiepiscopus Cantuariorum, postea, tempore Willielmi regis, in conciliis episcoporum, a legatis Alexandri pape in ciuitate Wyncestrie degradatus, prefatum monasterium iniusta ambitione a rege sibi dari petiit et impetratum ad horam optinuit*." *DB - Gloucestershire*, 2.5 records Swindon as follows: "Archbishop Stigand held; Ab Thomas holds, St. Peter's of Gloucester had it in lordship until K William came to England"

[455] Asser, *Life of King Alfred*, Simon Keynes and Michael Lapidge, trans., (Harmondsworth, Middlesex, 1983). chapter 81 and p. 264.

[456] *Writs*, (1952), Nos. 70 &72, pp. 283-286. The association with the deaths of Stigand and Leofric place the sale in 1072. Stigand is referred to as 'archbishop' even after his deposition and death. "*þa ylce geare gewiten þa twegen biscopes Stigand arceb' 7 Leofric b. of Exacestre.*"

[457] Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 267. "*Tunc ecclesiam sedis mee perspiciens esse mediocrem, clericos quoque iiii vel v absque claustro et refectorio esse ibidem, voluntaium me ad eorum astruxi adinstaurationem. Igitur,possessionem que Edmor dicitur…in augmentum et sustentationem fratrum ibidem Deo seruientium.*" "Then perceiving the episcopal church to be small, and the four or five clerks there to be without cloister, or refectory, I undertook of my own volition the establishment of these things. Accordingly…I obtained from him the possession which is called Wedmore…for the increase and maintenance of the brethren there serving God." *DB - Somerset*, 6.1-19.

from the bishop.[458] It could indicate that Bishop Giso acquired a great deal of land and held it personally but distributed its produce and revenues to the canons.

Lanfranc focused much attention on reclaiming lands lost to Canterbury. "The properties of all the *vills* that were groaning under the rule of outsiders, because of the neglect of his predecessors or the ravages of oppressors, he brought back under his own control..."[459] He went as far as to sue Odo of Bayeux for the return of lands.

> "…with such support and favour from the king that he even succeeded at law in wringing out of William's brother Odo, bishop of Bayeux and earl of Kent, what he was unlawfully holding on to. This deceitful Proteus had long lusted after the riches of Canterbury, and he would assuredly have brought them to rack and ruin if Lanfranc had not stood in the way."[460]

This is an example of William of Malmesbury's flair for the dramatic overtaking his better sense. If Odo coveted lands it was likely for the income they would generate; destroying them would have been counter-productive. This interpretation does allow

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[458] Julia Barrow, 'A Lotharingian in Hereford: Bishop Robert's Reorganisation of the Church of Hereford 1079-1095' *Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, David Whitehead, ed., BAACT 15, (Leeds, 1995), pp. 29-47 at 30 and 34-35.

[459] *GP*, Book I, chapter 43.6, p. 103, "*Possessiones omnium uillarum quæ, uel antecessorum incuria uel exactorum uiolentia, aliena ingemiscebant imperia, in ius domesticum reuocauit…*" Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, (Oxford, 1978), p. 155. Gibson pointed out that when Lanfranc took over at Canterbury he lacked Stigand's extensive affinity and as a result found that he wielded less influence than had his predecessor; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, pp, 116-117.

[460] *Ibid*., *"fauente rege et manutenente, adeo ut etiam ab eiusdem regis fratre Odone Baiocensi episcopo, et comite Cantiæ, placito extorqueret, quæ ille iniuste detinebat. Animus enim uersipellis et fallax bona Cantuariensis aecclesiæ inhiauerat, et profecto pessumdedisset, nisi Lanfrancus obstaret."* Odo's earldom raises the question of the propriety of a bishop also holding a lay title. This quotation refers to Lanfranc's lawsuit, held on Penenden Heath near Maidstone in Kent c. 1072, in which he recovered certain lands seized from Canterbury. See David Bates, "The Land Pleas of William I's Reign: Penenden Heath Revisited, *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, Vol. LI, no. 123, pp. 2-19.

Lanfranc the heroic role in rescuing church lands from a rapacious noble who was not only a highly placed bishop but who also held an earldom. William did state that Lanfranc expended wealth for the needs of monks living in severely under-endowed monasteries. "On needy clerics and monasteries he lavished large sums of money, frequently encouraging the more bashful to make requests."[461]

Anselm also entered into disputes with William Rufus over the alienation of church lands.

> "William had himself earlier taken over some of the possessions of the church of Christ. Now he worked on Anselm with winning flatteries to try to make him agree to transfer them to the ownership in perpetuity of those clients of his who had taken them over by his gift after the death of Lanfranc. Anselm refused to inflict loss like this on a church to which he had himself brought nothing."[462]

Anselm was not above working through others in order to influence that same king for his own purposes. Hugh of Avranches, earl of Chester, promised Anselm that "he would …try to lighten the burden of taxes on his [Anselm's] estates by interceding with the king

[461] *GP*, Book I, chapter 43.3, p. 103, *"Clericis egentibus et monasteriis immensum quantum nummorum cumulabat, plerumque uerecundiores ad rogandum inuitans"*
[462] *GP*, Book I, chapter 49.2, p. 125, *"Conuenerat eum rex fauorabilibus assentationibus, ut possessiones aecclesiæ Christi, quas ipse abalienauerat, uoluntaria dignatione in clientum suorum ius æternum transcriberet, qui illas post decessum Lanfranci per eius donum inuaserant. Negauit Anselmus infligere dampnum aecclesiæ cui nichil ipse contulisset."*

and mollifying him."[463] According to William of Malmesbury's account of Anselm's journey to visit Hugh of Avranches the Earl of Chester the intention was to receive a bequest from an ailing man, "if he died he would leave him with a pledge of their old friendship."[464] This visit to the sick bed sounds as if it were made purely to acquire Hugh of Chester's token of friendship and to possibly lighten the tax burden on various estates. Though doubtless Anselm would have offered whatever spiritual aide Hugh required, doing so was not the purpose ascribed to the visit by William of Malmesbury.

Summary

St. Wulfstan, Giso, Lanfranc and Anselm were reported as pursuers of landed wealth only in order to restore what had been lost from their sees or to build new buildings in order to better carry out the work of their monasteries. None of them was accused of self-serving acquisitiveness. Ealdred and Stigand were not so fortunate in their reputations. Ealdred's retention of Worcester lands only returned in part and only after the patient prayers of a man later canonized have left a cloud over his career. Stigand 's reputation as a rapacious collector of estates is actually based on late claims by those who lost lands when he was deposed and on a few *Domesday Book* entries that raise questions but give no details about how or why a manor came into Stigand's possession. Stigand left no will and so it is impossible to know how he would have disposed of his wealth had its disposition been left up to him.

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[463] *GP*, Book I, chapter 48.1, p. 117, "*Vt prediorum suorum uectigalia lenito intercessionibus suit rege leuigaret*." *English Episcopal Acta 28*: *Canterbury 1070-1136*, Martin Brett and Joseph A. Gribben, eds., (Oxford, 2004), pp. xxxiv-xxxv for Anselm's troubled relationship with William II; Southern, R.W., *Saint Anselm and his Biographer: A study of monastic life and thought 1059-c.1130*, (Cambridge, 1966), pp, 142-143; *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury*, Vols. II and III, Walter Fröhlich, ed. & trans., (Kalamazoo, 1990), pp. 335-43 for itineraries showing Anselm's travels within England and outwith during his exiles.

[464] *GP*, Book I, chapter 48.1, p. 117, "*ueteris amicitiæ pignus apud eum depositurus si moreretur*."

Politics

Previously, discussion has centered on Stigand relative to his predecessors and contemporaries, with relation to three themes: holding offices in plurality, the acquisition of wealth and involvement in lay politics. In discussing Stigand's successors this approach must be modified somewhat. Neither Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury, nor Thomas of Bayeux, Archbishop of York nor Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury was a pluralist. They expended their energies, primarily on the reacquisition of financial wealth, *i.e.* lands lost to various lay men, and on establishing a form of political wealth, the primacy of Canterbury over all churches in England including that of the archbishopric of York. Thomas spent his efforts resisting Canterbury's primacy. To a greater or lesser degree, they were all involved in lay politics.

Stigand's long and irregular tenure in the archbishopric and his inability to perform metropolitan duties meant prestige slipped away from Canterbury. Ealdred, Archbishop of York, crowned both Harold and William when the honor should have gone to Canterbury. William's cultivation of Stigand right up until the deposition in 1070 suggests that while Canterbury's prestige had waned, Stigand's influence had taken rather longer to decline.[465] Lanfranc and Anselm focused much energy on establishing the primacy of Canterbury over the metropolitan see of York. Lanfranc and Thomas I of Bayeux, Archbishop of York had a long and only partially productive wrangle over the

[465] *GP*, Book I, chap. 23.

issue.[466] Lanfranc wanted a written profession of obedience and an oath from Thomas, who refused on the grounds that York and Canterbury were equal in importance. King William was not pleased with Lanfranc's demand and thought he was just stirring up trouble until Lanfranc explained his reasoning in person and won the king over to his argument.[467] This was not the first occasion upon which Duke William rebuked Lanfranc. While still at Bec Lanfranc apparently caused sufficient offense to require the duke's attention. "So Lanfranc was bidden to relieve Normandy of his tiresome presence, and he came to court. He soon won the heart of the duke..."[468] William of Malmesbury did not claim that Lanfranc was not guilty of being tiresome, only that he was pardoned for his behavior. That Lanfranc was "more concerned with the dignity and privileges of his own position than with his own duties"[469] is an assessment that at least one scholar has reached, but it is too harsh. Matthew construed Lanfranc's duties too narrowly. It was Lanfranc's duty to ensure that none of his church's rights, privileges or possessions was lost. Lanfranc's charisma and dubious legal argument won the day. In the end Thomas promised obedience to Lanfranc but only for himself. Thomas's successors would not be bound by his promise. Thomas was deposed by Pope Alexander II because he was the son of a priest and was reinstated at Lanfranc's request and from his hand, which, conveniently for Lanfranc, placed Thomas under his authority. While

[466] Anonymous, "Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiæ Eboracensis" in *The Historians of The Church of York and Its Archbishops*, Vol. II, James Raine, ed., (London, 1886), p. 356; Cowdrey, *Lanfranc*, chapter 7. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, pp. 118-119. Southern, *Anselm & Bio*, pp. 135-142 for the primacy issue as it pertained to Anselm.
[467] *GP*, Book I, chapter 25.3-4, p. 53. Anonymous, "*Chronica Pontificum Ecclesiæ Eboracensis*", pp. 356-358.
[468] *GP*, Book I, chapter 24.4, p. 51, "*Quapropter Lanfrancus edictum accipiens, ut Normanniam sua importunitate uacuaret, curiam uenit. Moxque indulgentiam comitis meruit…*"
[469] D.J.A. Matthew, *The Norman Conquest*, (London, 1966), p. 173.

this resolved the situation for Lanfranc's lifetime, it left a nervous tension such as there would be in a lay succession crisis.

Thomas found York in poor condition with few of its canons surviving. He rebuilt the church, dormitory and refectory and recalled or replaced the canons.[470] He claimed the Bishoprics of Worcester, Lichfield and Lindsey belonged to York.[471] Thomas had a practice of setting up chapters along non-monastic lines as he, apparently, preferred secular canons. Thomas instituted a system at York which became the norm in medieval monasteries.[472] He appointed a dean, a treasurer, a precentor and a chancellor and divided the administration of the monastery between them. He also established a prebendary system so that the canons could provide for their own needs.[473]

When it came time for Thomas to consecrate Anselm, he flatly refused until all reference to Canterbury's primacy was removed from the ceremony. Anselm acquiesced, weakening his own position and setting the stage for his later disputes over the issue.[474] Anselm's efforts to secure the primacy of Canterbury and obey the strict letter of papal rulings seemed to him to be a defense of God's rights and authority. It does not seem to have occurred to him that these issues were profoundly important in the lay political world around him as well. Professor Southern described Anselm as a man who "saw things clearly or not at all."[475] He clearly did not see himself as the important political

[470] Derek Phillips, *The Cathedral of Archbishop Thomas of Bayeux – Excavations at York Minster*, Vol. II, (London, 1985), p. 3.
[471] Barlow, *English Church*, pp 226 & 238.
[472] Loyn, *Church, 940-1154*, p 84.
[473] *HCY* pp. 356.
[474] Southern, *Anselm & Bio*, p. 136. Anonymous, *Eboracensis,* pp. 359-360.
[475] Southern, *Anselm & Bio,* p. 140.

figure he was. Anselm became so insistent about the primacy that when he asked advice of Bishop Samson of Worcester what he should do about the issue, the reply he received was a bit crisp. "If I truly knew what would be best both for you and us, I should not hesitate to tell you. But this I may say, that it seems to me unworthy that you should be too angry over this affair."[476] Since Thomas died before the dispute could be resolved and his successor Gerard had already professed his obedience when he was installed as Bishop of Hereford the issue was not raised again until Thomas II of Bayeux was appointed to the post in 1108. Anselm died before Thomas could be brought to profess so the dispute was left to his successor.[477]

Anselm suffered an almost morbid fear of compromise in anything that might affect the right and possessions of Canterbury or his own salvation. He objected, more strenuously than was customary, to his appointment and petitioned the pope to release him from his archiepiscopal office.[478] In comparison with Anselm, Stigand was not a notoriously spiritual bishop; he wanted the office and spent no recorded time questioning any danger it might represent to his soul. Anselm, unfortunately for Canterbury, had a tendency to annoy the king and then seek remedy from the pope. While this was acceptable procedure it required him to leave the country, thus exposing Canterbury to the depredations of the king and nobles.[479] It is not always enough for a man to know that he should or should not act in a certain fashion simply because the archbishop tells

[476] *Ibid*. p. 140. *Letters – Anselm,* Nos. 464 and 465.
[477] Southern, *Anselm & Bio*, pp. 136-139.
[478] Eadmer, *The Life of Saint Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury*, R. W. Southern, ed. & trans., (Oxford, 1979), p. 65. "*Audit hæc ille, et fere usque ad exanimationem sui contradicit, reluctatur et obstat.' and 'Rapitur ergo, et violenter in vicinam æcclesiam cum ymnis et laudibus portatur magis quam ducitur*." *Letters-Anselm*, Vol. II, No. 206. Barlow has very little to say about Anselm, merely suggesting that he lacked tact in dealing with other bishops by emphasizing his superior position.
[479] Southern, *Anselm & Bio*, pp. 160-180.

him so. People, and particularly those in power, often need to be persuaded and cajoled into acting as they are desired to act. If Anselm had trodden a little lighter with respect to his dealings with his kings, he might have been able to remain in England and affect some of the changes important to him. Instead, William Rufus collected Canterbury's revenues and Thomas of York crowned Henry I. Anselm's efforts to secure the primacy of Canterbury and obey the strict letter of papal rulings seemed to him to be a defense of God's rights and authority. It does not seem to have occurred to him that these issues were profoundly important in the lay political world around him. He clearly did not see himself as the important political figure he was.

Summary

Wilfrid's, Dunstan's and Anselm's involvement in politics did not run as smoothly as did that of Æthelwold, Oswald, Ealdred, Lanfranc and even Stigand. Wilfrid, Dunstan and Anselm expended much energy advising their kings on the reform of various extra-religious matters including their personal behavior. Wilfrid managed to offend several kings as well as Archbishop Theodore and spent a number of years on several occasions exiled from his see of York or indeed from the kingdom.[480] His interference in the marriage of King Ecgfrith and Queen Æthelthryth certainly did not endear him to that king.[481] Wilfrid's involvement in politics seems to have more in the nature of interference than participation. Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald were deeply involved in the reform of monasticism and this made them important political players. In

[480] *GP*, Book III, chapters, 100.33, p. 341; 101.6, pp. 351-3 & 104.1-8, pp. 357-61. Stephanus, E., *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid*, B. Colgrave, ed. and trans. 1927). *Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon*, s.v. Wilfrid, St. Alan Thacker, Oxford Dictionary of National Biography, (Oxford, 2004), *s.v.* Wilfrid.
[481] Bede, *EH*, 4.19.

fact "the political careers of the three reformers out lasted the reigns of the kings Edmund (940-946), Eadred (946-955), Eadwig (955-959), Edgar (959-975) and Edward the Martyr (975-978)."[482] They had considerable political influence due to their positions in the church and in the secular world as counselors to the king and lay lords. Dunstan, like Wilfrid and later Anselm, had some difficulty in staying in the king's good graces. He was expelled from the court of King Edmund and driven from that of King Eadred. His interference in King Eadwig's marriage to Ælfgifu, a kinswoman within the prohibited degrees, earned Dunstan the king's enduring enmity.[483] Nicholas Brooks cautions against taking the story of Eadwig and the 'licentious women' too literally and points out that B's account may have been influenced by partisanship in sympathy with Dunstan after the bishop's fall into disfavor and not a retelling of an actual event. B wrote the earliest *Life of St. Dunstan*, c. 995 – c. 1004,[484] in the hope of recognition and preferment at Winchester or Canterbury and would have tailored the work with that ambition in mind Emphasis on the king submitting to the Church, in returning to the feast, would have found favor in either place.[485] Little is known of Dunstan's career as archbishop as B knew Dunstan only prior to his elevation to the archbishopric and the *Vita* was written after a gap of approximately forty years.[486] Charter evidence attests to his frequent attendance at court. William of Malmesbury recounted the association between Dunstan

[482] Catherine Cubitt, 'Tenth-Century', p. 83.
[483] *GP*, Book I, chapter 17.1, p. 31. William of Malmesbury described Ælfgifu only as a harlot and stated that Archbishop Oda excommunicated and hamstrung her. B., *Vita Sancti Dunstani* , *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,* W. Stubbs, ed. RS 63, (London, 1874), pp. 3-52 at 31; B was consistently hostile toward Eadwig as was Byrhtferth in his *Vita Sancti Oswaldi, HCY*, pp. 399-475; Brooks, 'St. Dunstan', pp. 14-15.
[484] B., *Vita Sancti Dunstani* , *Memorials of Saint Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury,* W. Stubbs, ed. RS 63, (London, 1874), pp. x-xi; Michael Lapidge, 'B's Life of St. Dunstan' *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult*, N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown, eds., (Oxford, 1992), p. 247.
[485] Brooks, 'St. Dunstan', p. 2.
[486] *Ibid.*

and King Edgar and claimed that Dunstan's influence over the king changed not only the king's behavior but also had an effect on law and military discipline. Dunstan was also credited with the fertility of crops, beneficial weather and the absence of invasion from foreign enemies.

> "The fields rewarded their cultivators' efforts with an abundance of produce, the horn of plenty overflowed with good things, nor did it readily happen in Dunstan's time that a harvest failed and disappointed people's hopes. The elements smiled back joyfully, no clouds massed contagion in the stagnant air. Far removed was any fear of overseas enemies; all was tranquil and at peace. In the cities there was no feeling against the poor; the living did not quarrel, there was no legal dispute about the dead. Thanks to God's grace, the root of all these good things started with Dunstan"[487]

Æthelwold hosted the royal court at the monastery at Abingdon and from all reports provided hospitality on an intoxicating scale.[488] He clearly considered provision of such hospitality incumbent upon even a monastic host as he insisted upon it in the *Regularis Concordia*.[489] Rather than insist that secular guests conform to monastic

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[487] *GP*, Book I, chapter 18.5-6, pp. 35-7, "*Agri prouentu uberi respondebant cultoribus omnium bonorum copia plenis effluebat cornibus, nec facile umquam tempore Dunstani spem prouintialium messis egra decepit. Elementa lætis renidebant uultibus, nullæ nebulæ nubila nulla pigro contrahebant cælo contagia. Transmarinorum hostium metus procul, quieta et tranquilla omnia. In urbibus nec in pauperes preiuditium, nec inter uiuentes discidium, nec propter morientes iustitium. Horum bonorum radix per Dei gratiam spectabat ad Dunstanum…*"

[488] Wulfstan of Winchester, *The Life of St. Æthelwold*, Michael Lapidge and Michael Winterbottom, eds. (Oxford, 1991), chapter 12.

[489] *Regularis Concordia*, T. Symons, ed. NMT, (1953),p. 62. S 745 the refoundation charter of New Minster, Winchester is believed also to be an example of Æthelwold's composition. See *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to The English Church I A.D. 871-1204*, D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke, eds., (Oxford, 198), no. 31, pp. 121-133.

conditions for the length of their visits Æthelwold was content to imitate the secular court's behavior. Æthelwold had been the young Edgar's tutor and thus exercised considerable influence over the formulation of the future king's character. His authorship of the *Regularis Concordia* places him squarely in the midst of the royal court and the work's emphasis on the king focuses the loyalty of monastic communities on the monarch even as it focuses their attention on regular observances.[490] Giving the protection of male houses into the king's custody and of female houses into the queen's reinforced the Church's dependence on and involvement with secular politics. Æthelwold appears to have worked closely with Queen Ælfthryth in matters of land transactions benefiting her relations[491] and in emphasizing the legitimacy of her sons over that of Edward, Edgar's elder son.

Ealdred's career followed an interesting path. On two occasions he went or was sent with a military force for the purpose of effecting ends that were anything but ecclesiastical in nature. In 1049 he and the men of Gloucestershire and Herefordshire rose to oppose the crews of some thirty-six ships from Ireland and the forces of the Welsh King Gruffudd ap Rhydderch.[492] On the second occasion, according to the 1051 entry in the D manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, "the king sent Bishop Aldred from London with a force, and they were to intercept him [Earl Harold] before he got on board

[490] Michael Lapidge, 'Æthelwold as Scholar and Teacher' *St. Æthelwold*, Barbara Yorke, ed. (Oxford, 1999), pp. 89-118 and Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*, (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 309 – 310 on Æthelwold's authorship; Brooks, 'St. Dunstan', p. 1.
[491] A.J. Robertson, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 1956), no. 45.
[492] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1049, p. 114." *ASC* – Cubbin, records this event *s.a.* 1050 "*Man gegaderade þa folc togenes, þær wæs eac Ealdred biscop mid, ac hi hæfdon to lytelne fultum, 7 hi comon unwæer on heom on ealne ærnemergen 7 fela godra manna þær ofslogon, 7 þa oþre ætburston forð \mid/ þa biscope.*" *JW*, Vol. II, *s.a.* 1049, pp. 548-552.

[Swein's waiting ship], but they could not-or would not."[493] That the annalist implied that Ealdred and his force refused to apprehend Harold and Leofwine could suggest that the opinion of Church and/or nobles went against the king or that Ealdred was in close enough association with the Godwine family that he did not wish to participate in their downfall. If so, the bishop was taking direct personal action to effect a political outcome in opposition to the wishes of the king.

Ealdred also had something of a career as a diplomat. He was sent to Rome in 1050 by King Edward "on the king's business."[494] He was sent in 1054 to Saxony [*i.e.* Cologne], according to John of Worcester, to begin negotiations through the emperor for the return of Edward the Exile.[495] Ealdred was the celebrant at Harold's coronation as he certainly was at William's and later Mathilda's.[496] Stigand was doubtless present and possibly assisted. William of Malmesbury claimed that when King William reneged on his coronation vow of moderate treatment for his people, the archbishop sent envoys to remonstrate with him. When "William barely let them in, and sent them packing with a dusty answer; whereupon the archbishop lost no time in launching the weapon of his curse against him and his whole offspring: prefacing it with the remark that he was right

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[493] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1051 D, p. 120. *ASC* – Cubbin, *s.a.* 1052, pp. 69-73 "*7 se cining sende Ealdred biscop of Lundene mid genge, 7 sceoldon hine ofridan ær he to scipe come, ac hi ne mihton – oðde hi noldon.*"According to *VÆR*, Book I, chapter iii, f43v, the force was sent to kill Earl Godwine. The life does not mention Ealdred.

[494] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C *s.a.* 1049, pp. 114-115, D, E *s.a.* 1050, p. 116. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 5, MS C, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. (Cambridge, 2001), *s.a.* 1049, p. 110. "*7 on þam ylcan geare ferde Hereman bisceop 7 Ealdred bisceop to Rome to ðam papan on þæs cinges ærende.*" ASC, Cubbin, *s.a.* 1051, p. 69. "*7 Hereman biscop 7 Ealdred biscop foron to Rome.*" ASC - MS E, Irvine, *s.a.* 1047 rather than 1050, "*Eadward cyng sende þider Hereman biscop 7 Ealdred biscop, 7 hi comon þyder on Easteræfen, 7 eft se papa hæfde sinoð on Uercel.*"

[495] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1054 C, pp. 128-129. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1054, p. 115. "*On ðam ylcan geare ferde Ealdred bisceop suð ofer sæ into Sexlande 7 wearð þær mid mycelre arwurðnesse underfangen.*" *JW*, Vol. II, *s.a.* 1054, pp. 574-576.

[496] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1066, p. 142 (William) and D 1067, p. 148 (Mathilda); *JW*, *s.a.* 1066, pp. 598-606. John of Worcester stated that Ealdred crowned Harold Godwineson.

to curse seeing that he had been wrong to bless."[497] Ealdred died before the king's representatives could arrive to negotiate a reconciliation.

Thomas of Bayeux and Lanfranc were more pragmatic men than Anselm. Thomas saw that York's independence would be eroded by subjugation to Canterbury and went to considerable trouble to try to preserve it. He disputed with Lanfranc in the courts of King William and Pope Alexander II. In every case Thomas was on the losing side of the argument, although his insistence that Pope Gregory the Great had meant the two metropolitans in England to be equal was no less relevant, and more to the point, than Lanfranc's dismissal of it because it referred to a see in London.[498] It seems that Lanfranc's charismatic personality and fancy rhetorical footwork overpowered Thomas's arguments. In reality Thomas gave away nothing but his own agreement to subject himself to Lanfranc and his successors but did not bind Thomas' successors to anyone.[499] Lanfranc's victory was hollow at best and it left the question of primacy to be resolved by others, but it allowed him to get on with other tasks. He, like Thomas, was able to compromise and to be satisfied with half a loaf. Anselm, if he could not have the entire loaf, did not want any.[500]

Lanfranc and Thomas fall midway between Stigand and Anselm. Stigand was too pragmatic in that he treated the office of Archbishop as though it was a lay political office with little regard for the ecclesiastical duties inherent in it. Anselm was not pragmatic

[497] *GP*, Book III, chapter 115.20, p. 385, *"Quos egre admissos cum turbulento responso abegisset, non moratus ille maledictionis telum in illum et omnem eius uibrauit progeniem, prefatus posse se maledictionem dare merito, qui benedictionem dedisset immerito."*
[498] *GP*, Book I, chap. 40.3-41.1, p. 85.
[499] *GP*, Book I chapter 26.1-2, pp. 54-56.
[500] Southern, *Anselm & Bio*, p. 141.

enough. His passionate devotion to Church, pope and the rights and privileges of his see blinded him to the day to day practicalities of his office. Eadmer was more a confidant than a chronicler and his portrayal of his superior was "overwhelmingly monastic" and did not attempt to present a balanced view.[501] Anselm, as he appears in Eadmer's account, was best suited to the governance of a monastery, where he could know everyone and direct their devotions to their best advantage and his disinterest in secular business was only appropriate. He was lost in the sea of conflicting currents that came with high church and political office.[502] He did not seem to understand or perhaps willfully misunderstood the wider world and its actors. He responded to the major problems of his tenure by running away to Rome or Lyons where he would be looked after and he could spend his time in study. Stigand was certainly not a reformer or spiritually inclined bishop but he was an able administrator at a time when that was of, at least equal if not greater, importance.

In comparison with his contemporaries Stigand looks more like a gray sheep than a black one. He was certainly not the only ecclesiastic who gave more attention than he should have to the acquisition of offices, wealth and power. There were examples of better ecclesiastical behavior, such as Wulfstan and Giso, which were probably both examples of personal piety and an awareness of the Church undergoing changes. Stigand seems never to have realized that the good old days were over and sacrifices were required; perhaps he simply thought reform did not apply to him. Ealdred learned that he had to conform in order to remain in power. Papal policy was becoming more important

[501] *Acta 28*, p. xxxviii.
[502] *Ibid*, p. xxxvi. Brett and Gribben state that compared to Lanfranc, Anselm showed little interest in the minutiæ of ecclesiastical business even when he could control it.

in England and the old ways could no longer continue. Stigand's long and irregular tenure in the archbishopric and his inability to perform metropolitan duties meant prestige slipped away from Canterbury. Ealdred, Archbishop of York, is reported to have crowned both Harold and William when the honor should have gone to Canterbury. That William seems to have cultivated Stigand right up until the deposition in 1070 suggests that while Canterbury's prestige had waned, Stigand's influence had yet to decline.[503] Had Stigand gone to Rome with a suitable explanation for his career, he may have been able to regularize his position at Canterbury and avoid deposition and opprobrium.

[503] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.6-7, p. 49.

Chapter 3

Politics

Bishops move diagonally. That's why they often turn up where the kings don't expect them to be.

Terry Pratchett, *Small Gods*

Politics

One of the principal criticisms levelled against Stigand was that of ambition. His translations from one important ecclesiastical office to the next were viewed by his detractors as prompted by an unseemly desire for power and status. William of Malmesbury claimed that Stigand was oblivious to the differences between offices political and offices ecclesiastical, conducting the latter as the former. That due to lack of education Stigand was unable to distinguish between the appropriate conduct of ecclesiastical offices versus political offices.[504] Orderic Vitalis claimed Stigand was "immersed in worldly affairs and interests…"[505] William of Poitiers acknowledged William the Conqueror's reluctance to depose Stigand and that circumstances required the king to "hold him in honour, because of the very great authority he exercised over the English."[506] It was this authority that compelled King William, according to William of Poitiers, "to take away with him those whose loyalty and power he particularly suspected: Archbishop Stigand, the Atheling, kinsman of King Edward, the three earls Edwin, Morcar and Waltheof, and many others of high rank; so that during his absence no revolt instigated by them night break out, and the general populace, deprived of their leaders, would be less capable of rebellion."[507] Clearly William the Conqueror believed Stigand to possess power derived not merely from the spiritual nature of his office but also from a secular, political and potentially military source.

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[504] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), Book I, chapter 23.3, p. 46. "…*nesciret quantum delinqueret, rem aecclesiasticorum negotiorum sicut publicorum actitari existimans.*" "…he had no means of knowing how badly he was erring, but thought church business was conducted just like public affairs."

[505] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 Vols., Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1969), Vol. II, Book III, chapter ii,156. *"sæcularibus curis et actibus nimis intentus erat…"*

[506] William of Poitiers, The *Gesta Gvillelmi*, RHC Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1998), Book II, chapter 33. *"honorifice haberet illum, cuius inter Anglos auctoritas erat summa."*

[507] *Ibid*., Book II, chapter 38. *"Ex his abducere secum decreuerat, quorum praecipue fidem suspiciebat ac potentiam, archipraesulem Stigandum, Adelinum propinquum regis Edwardi, tres comites, Edwinum, Morcardum et Gualleuum; simul alios complures altae nobilitatis: ut ipsis auctoribus nihil sub decessum suum nouaretur, gens tota minus ad rebellionem ualerat spoliata principibus."*

Politics

William of Malmesbury's remark separates, rather starkly, political offices from episcopal ones. The separation into political and religious should not be taken at face value. William of Malmesbury's definition of a political or religious office or act doubtless could vary considerably from that of a modern scholar. This separation may have seemed total in William's mind, perhaps influenced by his own life spent largely removed from the secular world and by a change in general attitude which harked back to the image of the saintly bishop rather than the courtier bishop of the eleventh century, but in reality ecclesiastical and lay offices were similar in many respects. Bishops and nobles held large quantities of land, they held lordship over men and women commended to them, they accumulated and dispensed wealth, they sat in judgment, they arbitrated disputes within their dioceses or earldoms and they advised the king and each other.[508] It was only the bishop's religious and pastoral duties and the noble's personal military obligations that were strictly separate.[509] Activities in common and attitudes and training requisite to acting on the national stage would have brought bishops and nobles into frequent contact, allowing those not already known to each other or allied by blood or marriage to form alliances or develop animosities.

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[508] *The Letters of Saint Anselm of Canterbury,* Vol. III, Walter Fröhlich, ed. & trans., (Kalamazoo, 1990), Nos. 464 & 465, in which Anselm asked advice of Bishop Samson and received his reply.

[509] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*, Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. (London, 1961), *s.a.* 1056 C; Leofgar, Bishop of Hereford who in 1056, rather than leave personal military service to his knights, took up spear and sword and went off to campaign against the Welsh; he was promptly killed. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 5, MS C, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. (Cambridge, 2001), *s.a.* 1056, *"7 man sette Leofgar to biscupe, se wæs Haroldes eorles mæssepreost…Se forlet his crisman 7 his hroðe, his gastlican wæpna, 7 feng to his spere 7 to his sweorde æfter his biscuphade, 7 swa for to fyrde ongean Griffin þone Wyliscan cing, 7 hine man ðar ofsloh"*

Politics

The sources for the political events of Stigand's career are not many and, other than the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, were written post-Conquest. Charter evidence due to uncertain dating or unknown location of distribution cannot invariably be associated with involvement in events outwith the charter's immediate remit. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reports four events in which Stigand participated and that could merit a political label: his appointment to the minster at Ashingdon, which could have been made for religious reasons, his deposition from the bishopric of Elmham, for which the only explanation given is his position as Emma's advisor, his mediation between King Edward and Earl Godwine and his acceptance of the archbishopric.

Stigand's contact with politics must be assumed to have begun in the household of King Cnut, established in 1017. There is no way to determine, from current evidence, if Stigand's position as chaplain to Cnut was his first appointment after entering the priesthood or if he was already experienced due to service in another royal, noble or thegnly household. He was apparently either unassociated or insufficiently associated with Æthelred to cause Cnut disquiet or he was talented and clever enough to overcome that disquiet. It is tempting to try to place him in Emma's household prior to her marriage to the Danish invader but there is no evidence to support this; certainly he did not appear as witness to any of Æthelred II's extant charters. The temptation arises from Stigand's and Emma's later, apparently close, association. However, twenty-six years separated the establishment of Cnut's household and the dowager queen's and bishop of Elmham's fall from grace in 1043, ample time to develop a close working relationship.

Politics

Cnut founded the minster at Ashingdon and it was consecrated by Archbishop Wulfstan in 1020.[510] "[Cnut] had a minster built there of stone and mortar, for the souls of the men who had been slain there, and gave it to a priest of his who was called Stigand."[511] As the minster was Cnut's first foundation in England and important as an attempt to reconcile the opposing sides of the war and to moderate lingering hostility it is likely that the first incumbent was carefully chosen. Stigand's appointment to Ashingdon suggests that Cnut knew and trusted him, which further implies that the cleric joined the household early on. The appointment may also imply that Cnut and likely his advisors saw that Stigand possessed talents that would make him the preferred candidate for a sensitive post. The benefice is the first record of Stigand's participation in a politically charged event and his first appearance in the historical record. It would not be until he witnessed a grant to Siward, abbot of Abingdon, in 1033 that he was sighted again.[512] Stigand's attestation of two additional charters from the closing years of Cnut's reign testifies to his continuing or re-established association with the royal court.[513] These additional two documents record gifts by King Cnut to Bovi, his faithful minister, of 7 hides at Horton, Dorset, and to Sherborne Abbey of 16 hides at Corscombe, Dorset. Stigand's attestation does not occupy a significant place in the witness list. He may have

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[510] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, D, E (F) *s.a.* 1020. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1020, *"7 on ðisum geare, se cyng for to Assandune, 7 Wulfstan arcebisceop 7 Þurkil eorl 7 manega bisceopas mid heom, 7 gehalgodan þæt mynster æt Assandune." ASC* – Cubbin, D is much the same. E merely states that the king went to Assandun.

[511] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, F, *s.a.* 1020.

[512] **S 967**, *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales 940-1216*, ed. D. Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke and V. London (Cambridge, 1972), p. 233, subscriptions are consistent; Keynes, S., "Cnut's Earls", *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 51 n. 48, 52 n. 41, probably spurious but witness-list from genuine text; S. E. Kelly, ed, *The Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Anglo-Saxon Charters*, (Oxford, 2000), no. 139, authenticity uncertain.

[513] **S 969**, *HRH,* Knowles, Brooke and London, p. 235, probably genuine, subscriptions nearly consistent; Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', pp. 51, 52 n. 50, perhaps a regional production. **S 975**, G.B. Grundy, 'Dorset Charters', Proc. Dorset N.H.A.S., (1935), pp. 114-39, bounds describe Corscombe parish, excluding Benville but including Tollor Whelme.

been consulted about the grants or he may simply have been at court and therefore available to add his name to confirmation of the grants.

Nothing is known of him during the years of Harald Harefoot's reign. He may have remained with Emma's faction at Winchester or at Ashingdon out of direct involvement in the struggle for the throne. There is neither evidence that he went into exile with Emma when she fled to Flanders nor that he did not. As a recipient of preferment from Cnut, Harald may have simply ignored Ashingdon's incumbent priest as long as that priest kept out of the contentious events surrounding the throne. Stigand resurfaced during the reign of Harthacnut in his attestation of a charter granting land to Abingdon Abbey.[514] From this point onward Stigand steadily rose, with the exception of a single setback, until he reached the pinnacle of ecclesiastical office in England. His appointments to the bishoprics of Elmham in 1043, Winchester in 1047 and the archbishopric of Canterbury in 1052 with the minor obstacle of his deposition from and restoration to Elmham in 1043 and 1044 respectively charts the trajectory of a meteoric rise.

It was the obstacle of his temporary deposition from the bishopric of Elmham that made up the second political event of Stigand's career as stated in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.* This was less an event in which Stigand participated than one that was precipitated upon him. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry *sub anno* 1043 suggests that

[514] **S 993**, grant of 10 hides at Farnborough. The charter is variously deemed: "dubious or spurious"; *HRH* Knowles, Brooke and London, p. 233 and S. Keynes, *The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'the Unready' 978-1016: a Study in their Use as Historical Evidence* (Cambridge, 1980), p. 11 n. 16, p. 27 n. 40. [Possessing] "anachronistic features, but witness-list is sound"; and "authentic" S.E. Kelly, ed. *'The Charters of Abingdon Abbey'*, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, (Oxford, 2000), no. 141.

Stigand had advised Queen Emma to withhold the royal treasury and/or other financial resources from Edward. In 1043 Edward, accompanied by Earls Godwine, Leofric and Siward, raided Emma's treasury in Winchester and seized all she had.[515] Various motivations have been ascribed to Edward for his actions. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* C text states he acted because "because she had withheld it [the treasury] too firmly from him."[516] The D text of the *Chronicle* gives the reason "because she had formerly been very hard to the king, her son, in that she did less for him than he wished both before he became king and afterwards as well."[517] At later removes other explanations were advanced to explain the attack, an attack that appears disproportionately aggressive. A king, three earls and their retinues employed to despoil one elderly queen has led to the suggestion that the reason for Emma's disgrace was more serious than those mentioned above.[518] After her death there was an accusation that queen plotted with Magnus of Norway to deprive Edward of the throne.[519] A century after the events in question an account was written of a sexual liaison with Ælfwine, bishop of Winchester for which affair the source, the Annals of Winchester, claims Emma was banished to the convent of Wherwell.[520] This is clearly a confusion with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* account of Edith's exile in 1051.[521] A bishop of Winchester was involved in Emma's disgrace but that bishop was Stigand and the accusation was not one of sexual misconduct. This

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[515] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C and D *s.a.* 1043, p. 107.
[516] *Ibid. ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1043, p. 108. *"forðam heo hit heold ær to fæste wið hine."*
[517] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1043, p. 107 pp. 66-67. ASC – Cubbin, *s.a.* 1043, *"for þan þe heo wæs æror þam cynge hire suna swiðe heard, þæt heo him læsse dyde þonne he wolde, ær þam þe he cyng wære 7 eac syððan."*
[518] Stafford, *QEQE*, p. 250.
[519] Barlow, Frank, 'Two notes – Cnut's Second Pilgrimage and Queen Emma's Disgrace in 1043' *English Historical Review*, (1958), Barlow counters the accusation that Emma conspired with Magnus of Norway.
[520] *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia 519-1277* in *Annales Monastici Vol II*, Henry Richards Luard, ed., (London, 1865), p. 16.
[521] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, *s.a.* 1051, pp. 116-122. *VÆR*, p. 36, the *Vita Ædwardi* says that Edith was sent to Wilton and p. 44 returned from there with a royal escort.

reluctance to part with wealth not, strictly speaking, her own is the only accusation the *Chronicle* makes against Emma. Stigand is drawn into the event because it is alleged that the queen acted on his guidance. "…Stigand was deprived of his bishopric, and all that he owned was placed in the king's control because he was closest in his [the king's] mother's counsel, and because it was suspected that she did as he [Stigand] advised."[522] Neither in the *Chronicle* nor in any other source are there details recorded of, precisely, what Stigand advised Emma to do in reference to the treasury, the king or any other circumstance. It must be considered that the motif of the 'evil counselor' was invoked as a strategy for mitigating Emma's culpability and that Stigand, because of a close association with the queen, was the logical candidate to play the part of scapegoat.[523] Edward may have used the incident to remind his mother and a rising talent in the episcopacy that all favor rested in the king's hand. Both Emma and Stigand were restored to their rightful places.[524] Emma was restored to her dower lands and she apparently retired to a mode of living appropriate to her status as a royal widow. Emma's restoration to lands and revenues appropriate to her position, no more or less, lends credence to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* account that Edward's resentment stemmed from his mother withholding resources from him.[525] The events reported, *i.e.* seizure of assets, return of entitlement and no apparent further hostility, support the complaint that Emma withheld monies to which the king was entitled and once the treasure was divided as it should have been the problem was resolved. Emma's attestation on a number of

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[522] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C *s.a.* 1043, p. 107. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1043, *"7 raðe þæs man sette Stigant of his bisceoprice, 7 nam eal þæt he ahte þam cinge to handa forðam he wæs nehst his modor ræde, 7 heo for swa swa se hire rædde, þæs ðe men wendon."*
[523] Norman E. Eliason, "The Þyle and Scop in Beowulf", *Speculum*, 1963, p; Anatoly Liberman, "Some Controversial Aspects of the Myth of Baldr" http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~alvismal/11baldr.pdf, pp. 25, 47.
[524] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E, *s.a.* 1044, p. 108.
[525] *JW*, *s.a.* 1043, pp. 534-538.

charters after her restoration indicates her reconciliation with Edward.[526] Stigand's restoration to his bishopric, and presumably his property, within a year of his deposition and his continuing prosperity under Edward is a strong indication that there was little or nothing to hold against him.[527]

The third event recorded credited Stigand with a part in the negotiations with Earl Godwine during the crises of 1051-2. Stigand's intervention was certainly in keeping with his responsibilities as a churchman and man of peace but there is no question that his actions helped arrange the political landscape in the kingdom for the foreseeable future. The anonymous author of King Edward's *Life* positioned Stigand in the midst of events preceding the Godwines' exile. "But when the earl saw that by his enemies' action his case was driven to the impossible, he pushed away the table in front of him (while Bishop Stigand, who had been the sorrowful bearer of the message, wept abundantly) and mounting his horse rode hard for Bosham on Sea."[528] The *Vita* makes no reference to negotiations for hostages on Godwine's return and thus no mention of Stigand's involvement in such negotiations. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* gives Stigand a significant part on the Godwines' return. "Then Bishop Stigand with the help of God

[526] **S 1002, 1471, 1006, 1001, 1530, 1011** (questionable use of Imma after Ælfgyfu in the witness list), all dated to 1044 and Robertson, *Charters*, no. 101 dated 26 December 1045 x 1047.
[527] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1044, "And Stigand obtained his bishopric." *ASC* – Irvine, *s.a.* 1043, *"7 Stigand feng to his biscopric."*
[528] *VÆR*, pp. 21-22. "*At ubi dux ad impossibilitate[m] causam suam agentibus aduersariis uidet urgueri, flente nimium episcopo Stigando qui huius legationis merens baiulus erat, reppulit a se mensam que astabat, equis ascensis uiam ad Bosanham maritimam celerius tetendit*." Barrow, Julia, [Review article] 'Playing by the Rules: Conflict management in tenth- and eleventh-century Germany' *Early Medieval Europe*, (2002), pp. 389- 396 at 392; T. Reuter, *Medieval Polities and Modern Mentalities*, (London, 2006), chapter 10.

went there [to Godwine outside London] and the wise men both inside the city and without, and they decided that hostages should be arranged for on both sides."[529]

The statement in the Abingdon history that "Stigand bishop of the city of Winchester, who then indeed had care of the archbishopric of Canterbury, (for with its ruler dead the place lacked governance)"[530] poses the question of whether or not Stigand ever had custody of Canterbury prior to his appointment as archbishop. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,* Archbishop Eadsige, due to an unspecified infirmity, consecrated Siward, abbot of Abingdon, bishop in 1044.[531] Bishop Siward predeceased Eadsige in 1048.[532] Eadsige consecrated Godwine to St. Martin's, Canterbury as a replacement for Siward. Eadsige died in 1050 at which time the monks of Christ Church attempted to elect Ælric, Earl Godwine's kinsman, but were forestalled when the king appointed Robert of Jumièges. Robert collected his *pallium*, returned from Rome and shortly began is contest with Earl Godwine resulting, ultimately in his own ouster. Stigand was then appointed to Canterbury. The only opportunities this time line presents for Stigand to have had charge of Canterbury was during Eadsige's illness but before Siward was consecrated suffragan, after Siward's death but before Godwine was consecrated to St. Martin's, during the period after Eadsige's death while the Christ Church monk's were busy electing Ælric or while Robert was traveling to and from

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[529] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1052 E, p. 125. *ASC* – Irvine, *s.a.* 1052, *"Þa ferde Stigand biscop to mid Godes fultume 7 þa wise menn ægðær ge binnan burh ge buton, 7 geræddon þet man tremede gislas on ægðer healfe."*

[530] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, Vol. 1, John Hudson, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 2007), pp, 196-197. "*A quo Stigandus Wentane civitatis episcopus, tunc vero archiepiscopatus Cantie curam gerens, (nam inde defuncto gubernatore locus vacuus manebat regimine)."*

[531] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, E *s.a.*1044, p. 108. The entry claims that Eadsige resigned the archbishopric and consecrated Siward in his place but, in fact, Siward was created a suffragan to Eadsige.

[532] *Ibid.,* D, E *s.a.* 1048, pp. 110 and 115.

Rome. The entry for 1044 in the C and E manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that Eadsige consecrated Siward as chorepiscopus with King Edward's and Godwine's consent and cooperation and that "otherwise it was known to few people before it was done."[533] It is possible that Stigand was one of these few people but given that, at this time, Stigand had either not yet or only just regained Elmham after falling into disgrace, it seems unlikely that he would be given charge of the chief see in the kingdom. Siward was soon appointed and there would have been no need for Stigand's assistance. By the time Siward died, Stigand had been translated to Winchester and Godwine was consecrated to St. Martin's and he held that office until his death in 1061.[534] Archbishop Eadsige died on 29 October 1050 and the aborted election of Ælric and the appointment of Robert of Jumièges followed shortly. The entry for 1051 in the E manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says that "the archbishop came from Rome one day before the eve of the Feast of St. Peter, and occupied his archiepiscopal throne at Christ Church on St. Peter's Day"[535] This leaves eight months to the day between Eadsige's death and Robert's enthronement. As there does not seem to have been a custom of appointing a care-taker for a bishopric while its newly elected incumbent is retrieving his *pallium*, the months after Robert's appointment are eliminated from consideration. Remaining is the time between Eadsige's death and Robert's appointment. The Christ Church monks clearly expected that the procedure of electing an archbishop from among themselves had a potential for success, perhaps they bargained overmuch on Godwine's influence, and would probably have acted with dispatch. Edward clearly had

[533] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, E *s.a.*1044, p. 108.
[534] Brooks, N., *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984), pp. 34 and 300. *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1061, p. 135.
[535] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1051, pp. 116-117. St. Peter's day is 29 June.

his own candidate for the position and appointed him quickly enough that the election of Ælric had so little impact that it was reported only in the *Vita Ædwardi*. There does not seem, from the sources, to have been any expectation of a protracted vacancy at Canterbury, which, in turn, is supported by the absence of comment to the effect that Stigand returned to Canterbury when he was appointed in 1052. Abingdon's statement that Stigand had the care of the archbishopric because its ruler was dead may reflect a desire to ignore Robert's tenure, it could have been referring to a time after Robert's death rather than Eadsige's or it could simply be an error on the part of the scribe. If the Abingdon statement is in reference to Spearhafoc's attempt to gain the see of London, then the error on the part of the Abingdon scribe when he described Stigand as archbishop at the time of the transaction must be taken into consideration when judging the accuracy of his words.

Stigand's acceptance of the archbishopric certainly had political implications and authors such as John of Worcester recorded his assumption of the archbishopric in damaging terms: "Stigand, who had formerly given up the bishopric of the East Angles, purposing a higher elevation, appropriated Winchester and, deceiving the innocent simplicity of King Edward, obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury in Robert's lifetime."[536] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* reported but made no overtly critical remark on the issue, though perhaps a left-handed comment. "In this year [1053] there was no archbishop in the land, but Bishop Stigand held the bishopric in Canterbury at Christ

[536] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Vol. II The Annals from 450 to 1066*, R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, eds. Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, trs., (Oxford, 1995), *s.a.* 1052, pp. 566-572. *"Stigandus, qui quondam dimisso Anglorum Orientalium episcopatu, sullimiorem gradum meditatus Wintoniensem inuaserat, innocentis regis Eadwardi simplicitatem circumueniens, uiuente Rotberto, Cantuuariensem archiepiscopatum optinuit." GP* Book I, chapter 23 is the same.

Church and Kynsige at York."[537] In the meantime the kingdom was without a secure metropolitan. Bishops could not be consecrated unless they went to the continent, disputes between dioceses could not be resolved and there was no securely appointed archbishop of Canterbury to lead the church through the upheaval caused by the events of 1051-1052. Kynsige delayed seeking his pallium from Pope Leo IX because the pontiff was engaged in traveling between Rome and the German court in an attempt to raise troops and subsequently on campaign to counter the Norman threat in Italy. He was taken captive in 1053 and died on 19 April 1054. It was not until 1055 and the election of Pope Victor II that "Archbishop Kynsige fetched his *pallium* from Pope Victor."[538]

The entry does not claim that Stigand had seized, taken, invaded, assumed or in any other fashion been installed as archbishop of Canterbury. This report opens the question of whether Stigand was meant to keep control of Canterbury or if his was meant to be a temporary custody either of the archbishopric or of the plurality of both Winchester and Canterbury. The same entry goes on to relate that Leofwine and Wulfwig went abroad for consecration and that "Wulfwig succeeded to the bishopric that Ulf had had while Ulf was still alive and expelled."[539] This circumstance begs the question of why Wulfwig was confirmed in the bishopric of Dorchester-on-Thames while its previous incumbent was still living when Stigand would be repeatedly condemned for invasion of the see of Canterbury. It is possible that Wulfwig was able, by presenting

[537] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1053, pp. 127-128. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1053, pp. 114-115. *"On ðisson geare næs nan arcebisceop on ðissan lande butan Stigand bisceop heold þæt bisceoprice on Cantwarabyrig on Cristes cyrcean, 7 Kynsige on Eoforwic."*
[538] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1055, pp. 129-130. *ASC* – Cubbin, *s.a.* 1055, p. 74. *"7 Kynsie arcebiscop fette his pallium æt Victore papan."*
[539] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1055, pp. 129-130. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1055, pp. 115-116. *"se Wulfwi feng to ðam biscoprice þe Ulf hæfde be him libbendeum 7 of adræfdum."*

himself in person, to justify his assumption of a see already filled by another and that had Stigand followed Robert of Jumièges to Rome in order to argue his case, his position might have been regularized provided he relinquished Winchester. It is also possible that he did not because his possession of the archiepiscopal see was meant to be temporary, as merely an administrative custodian until the situation within the kingdom had calmed, and the difficulties with the papacy arose because the situation was prolonged and never regularized. King Edward, for all of the reports that Stigand had deceived him, was the source of episcopal appointments and only he could have placed Canterbury in Stigand's hands and permitted the situation with regard to Winchester to continue.

The years of the sixth decade of the eleventh-century were tumultuous ones in England. In the early years King Edward attempted a radical reorganization of the balance of power among his nobles but was only temporarily successful.[540] If he had any intention of divorcing his wife as the *Vita Ædwardi* claims, that opportunity was lost by 1052.[541] Edward engaged in military action both against members of the Godwine family[542] and with Harold and Tostig against the Welsh.[543] Earl Siward was doubtless carrying out Edward's wishes when he assisted Malcolm Canmore to defeat MacBeth in 1054.[544] By 1057 the old queen and all of the old earls, who had been in power since Cnut's reign, were dead. Edward filled the comital offices with men younger than

[540] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1051 – 1052, pp. 116-127.
[541] *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit- S. Bertini monacho ascripta*, Frank Barlow, ed. & trans. (London, 1962).
[542] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1051, pp. 116-122. Edward called his earls to assemble their forces against Godwine and his men; 1052, he also organized a naval defense to meet Godwine on his return. *JW*, *s.a.* 1052 John of Worcester stated that Edward and his council organized the naval force whereas the *ASC* mentioned only Edward.
[543] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1054, pp. 128-129 and 1057, pp. 133-134.
[544] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1054, pp. 128-129.

himself and who had never held power under any other king. Despite his difficulties with Godwine, Edward's relationships with Harold and Tostig do not appear to have been adversarial. Ælfric, archbishop of York and Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury died and Edward replaced them with his own men. Ælfric was replaced by Cynesige, a royal chaplain and Eadsige by Robert of Jumièges. The first appointment would stand but at Canterbury the king could not keep his man in office. Stigand replaced Robert and it is difficult to know how much Edward may or may not have resented that development. Edward kept Stigand in office, precariously so, long after Godwine's death. If Godwine was the lever that put Stigand into the archiepiscopal throne, he did not live long enough to provide his candidate with his protection, yet there appear to have been no attempts to remove Stigand before 1070. Late in the decade, Edward's archbishop of Canterbury finally had his *pallium* securely in hand only to lose that security in less than a year. During increasing concern over the succession, an heir, Edward the Exile, was found and soon lost. His son Edgar was the next obvious choice, though the possibility that Edward promised the succession to William of Normandy may have caused disquiet among his magnates both ecclesiastical and lay. For Edward the decade was a series of successes and setbacks; successes in Wales and Scotland, in freedom from the inherited earls, in finding an heir in Edgar and in appointing some of his own choices to office; setbacks in Godwine's triumph, Robert of Jumièges' expulsion and Stigand's insecurity.

In the *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, William of Malmesbury wrote a text focused more obviously on politics than the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* was intended to be and in it he assigned the disposition of the crown to Stigand on two occasions. On the first, he stated

that "William laid claim to the kingdom on the grounds that King Edward had conveyed it to him on the advice of Archbishop Stigand and Earls Godwine and Siward."[545] This could have occurred, if it occurred at all, no later than the twelfth of April 1052 when Earl Godwine became incapacitated by his final illness. Edward was not reported to be unwell and in 1052 would not yet have been fifty years of age. Earl Harold's intention to host the king at a newly built hunting lodge "in this year before Lammas [1 August 1065] Earl Harold ordered some building to be done in Wales…at Portskewet…and thought of having King Edward there for hunting" suggests that the king was in good health and capable of vigorous activity more than a dozen years after Edward supposedly named William his heir.[546] Yet, it had become clear that Edward would father no children with Edith. The Godwines' return put paid to any opportunity to set Edith aside if Edward had so intended. There were three males, one grandson and two great-grandsons of Æthelred II in England and possibly others on the continent. Gospatrick son of Maldred was descended through his mother and grandmother from King Æthelred and while the female descent may have ordinarily barred him, if it came to a choice between him and an outsider without royal blood, Gospatrick would probably have seemed the more attractive candidate. Ralph may have been considered a Norman by his fellow nobles but he was descended from Alfred and he was present, accessible and known to them. He would have been a much safer proposition than a man unknown to most if not all of them who would have his own agenda, his own followers to reward and who was less likely to keep

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[545] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1998), Book III, chapter 240, p. 452. *"Calumniabatur enim Willelmus regnum, quod rex illi Eduardus concesserat consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi et Goduini et Sewardi comitum…"*

[546] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, D *s.a.* 1065, pp. 143-145. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1065, pp. 117-119. *"AN.M.lxv. Her on þissum geare foran to hlafmæssan het Harold earl bytlian on Brytland æt Portascihð…7 þohte þone kingc Eadward þar to habbenne for huntnoþes þingon." ASC* – Cubbin, D *s.a.* 1065, p. 77 reports the same.

members of the old regime in positions of power and influence. William of Normandy's only connection to Alfred's line was through Emma's marriage to Æthelred II. William was also not king-worthy according to the same Wessex tradition that barred Ralph, his son Harold and Gospatrick: his father had not been a king and his only connection to England was through the female line and via marriage at that. Harold Godwinson was also not king-worthy, he had no connection to English royal status other than through his sister's marriage to Edward, which did nothing to make him eligible, yet he was appointed, elected and crowned king. He was eventually accepted by the Northumbrians who initially resisted. Clearly the English were willing to part with tradition when they deemed such a departure warranted. In the absence of knowledge of Edmund Ironside's descendents Ralph and his son were Edward's logical heirs regardless of descent.[547] John of Worcester claimed that Bishop Ealdred's mission to Saxony was in the interests of persuading Edmund's heirs to return to England. "…he [Ealdred] performed the office ambassador to the emperor…and proposed to the emperor, on the king's behalf, that, an embassy should be sent to Hungary in order to escort back from there the king's nephew Edward, that is the son of King Edmund Ironside, and bring him to England."[548] In early April 1052, the latest that Earl Godwine could have participated in designating William of Normandy as Edward's successor, there were two known descendents of Alfred living in England and at least one potential descendent living on the continent.

[547] *JW*, *s.a.* 1051, pp. 556-566. *"…Rodulfus comes, Gode sororis Eadwardi regis filius…"*
[548] *Ibid*., *s.a.* 1054, pp. 574-576. *"…fungitur legatione ad imperatorem,…et regis ex parte imperatori suggessit ut legatis Vngariam missis, inde fratruelem suum Eaduuardum, regis uidelicet Eadmundi Gerrei Lateris filium, reduceret Angliamque uenire faceret."*

Politics

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The second event: the bishops' decision to submit to William and thus end all hope for the native English dynasty is reported rather differently by various writers. William of Malmesbury stated that William of Normandy arrived and the archbishops and citizenry of London welcomed him readily and with support for his rule. William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis, the latter often closely follows the former, stated that Stigand and various nobles had chosen Edgar as king and were preparing armed resistance to the invader. They placed Stigand in a much more active and significant role than did William of Malmesbury. For the leading Englishmen presenting themselves as welcoming of the new king was expedient and the best hope for maintaining their positions.

Politics

The second occasion on which William of Malmesbury attributed Stigand with the disposition of the crown was on William of Normandy's arrival in London. Malmesbury stated that "they [the citizens] burst out in waves from every gate to welcome him, encouraged by the magnates, especially Archbishops Stigand of Canterbury and Ealdred of York… The other nobles would have chosen Edgar if they had had the bishops on their side."[549] It is likely that Edgar was chosen as king until events proved that the war was lost. Representing Edgar as no immediate threat was the best way to keep him alive, possibly with future rebellion in mind. Sending Edgar abroad may have ensured his personal safety but would have put him beyond the reach of conspirators. William the Conqueror appears to have preferred keeping Edgar where he could see him. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* does not mention Stigand in connection with the submission of London to William however; it does indicate that Archbishop Ealdred and the citizens of London desired Edgar Cild as king, "as was his proper due."[550] The same entry places Edgar in Stigand's company as an involuntary guest of the Conqueror in Normandy. This is not proof that Stigand was among those who submitted to William with Edgar but it is possible that the young man was left in or came to be in the Archbishop's charge. It is not at all certain where Stigand submitted. According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* the major magnates submitted at Berkhamstead but the entry does not name Stigand though it names others.[551] John of Worcester echoes the *Chronicle* entry but adds the names of Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and Walter, bishop of

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[549] *GR*, Book III, chapter 247.2-3, pp. 460-462.

[550] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1066, p. 143. *ASC* – Cubbin, *s.a.* 1066, pp. 78-80. *"eallswa him wel gecunde wæs."*

[551] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1066, p. 143; Garnett, George, 'Coronation and Propaganda: Some Implications of the Norman Claim to the Throne of England in 1066' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th series, Vol. 36 (1986), 91-116. Garnett discusses the differing perceptions of Normans and English on the subject of submission. The English expected submission to end hostilities while the Normans thought coronation necessary to legitimize rule.

Hereford.[552] William of Malmesbury cites London as the place of Stigand's submission as mentioned above. William of Poitiers had Stigand submit at Wallingford.[553] William of Poitiers also stated that Stigand had a hand in choosing Edgar as king prior to his decision to submit, "…Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, who, outstanding for his wealth and dignity, was equally powerful in the counsels of the English, was threatening battle together with the sons of Ælfgar and other nobles. As king they had chosen Edgar Ætheling, of the noble stock of King Edward, but a boy in years."[554] Orderic Vitalis also credited Stigand, along with others, with elevating Edgar to the throne, "On the death of Harold, Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, the great earls, Edwin and Morcar, and the other lords of England who had not fought at the battle of Senlac elected as their king Edgar Clito, son of Edward king of the Hungarians [*Sic*], son of Edmund called Ironside; and were preparing to fight valiantly with him against the invaders for their homeland and their own people."[555]

The *Anglo-Saxon* Chronicle states that "when word came to the king that Abbot Wulfric was dead, he chose the monk Æthelsige of the Old Minster for the office; he then followed Archbishop Stigand and was consecrated abbot at Windsor on St. Augustine's

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[552] *JW*, *s.a.* 1066, p. 607.
[553] William of Poitiers, The *Gesta Gvillelmi*, RHC Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1998), p. F. Baring, 'The Conqueror's Footprints in Domesday' *The English Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, S.R. Gardiner and Reginald L. Poole, ed. (1898), p. 23.
[554] William of Poitiers, *The Gesta Gvillelmi*, R. H. C Davis † & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1998), Part II, chapter 28. *"Stigandus Cantuariensis archipræsul, qui sicut excellebat opibus atque dignitate, ita consultis plurimum apud Anglos poterat, cum filiis Algardi aliisque præpotentibus prælium minatur. Regem statuerant Edgarum Athelinum, ex Edwardi regis nobilitate annis puerum."*
[555] *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis*, 6 Vols., Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 1969), Vol. II, chapter ii. 154. *"Interempto Heraldo Stigandus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et præclari comites Eduinus et Morcarus aliique primates Anglorum qui Senlacio bello non interfuerunt; Edgarum Clitonem filium Eduardi regis Hunorum filii Edmundi Irneside id est Ferrei Laterus regem statuerunt, et cum eo contra externos hostes pro patria et gente se fortiter pugnaturos minati sunt."*

Day."[556] Stigand was assiduous in his obedience to the ban placed upon him by various popes in that he consecrated no one until he received the *pallium* from Pope Benedict X in 1058 and appeared to cease consecrations after 1059 when that *pallium* was revoked by Benedict's deposition.[557] As abbots were not consecrated but were rather blessed, the 1061 installation of Æthelsige was not a departure from Stigand's careful pattern. Saint Augustine's day could either be 26 May, that of St. Augustine of Canterbury or 28 August, that of Hippo; the entry is not specific as to which day was meant but as Æthelsige was appointed abbot of St. Augustine's 26 May would have been appropriate.[558]

William of Malmesbury, who most overtly accused Stigand of engaging in political activity, claimed that Stigand carried out his ecclesiastical offices like public ones. This claim implies more frequent political activity than that reported in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In the *Gesta Pontificum*, where Malmesbury recorded this accusation, he mentions little to support his contention. He said that "He [William of Normandy] spread the terror of his name far and wide by winning the battle of Hastings and receiving the surrender of Dover Castle, and then came to London. There, Stigand and the most

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[556] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1061, pp. 135-136. *ASC* – Irvine, *s.a.* 1061 *"Ða com þam cynge word þet se abbot Wulfric forðgefarem wæs, þa geceas he Æðelsige munuc þærto of Waldon Mynstre – folgode þa Stigande arcebiscop – 7 wearð gehalgod to abbot æt Windlesoran on Sanctus Augustinus mæssedæg."* *Gehalgod* is 'hallowed' rather than 'consecrated."

[557] Until his inexplicable consecration of Remigius in 1067. Pope Nicholas II died on either 19 or 27 July 1061, Alexander II was enthroned on 30 September 1061. Pope Alexander II did not renew the interdiction pronounced by his predecessors against Stigand. This fact may have contributed to Remigius' eventual consecration at Stigand's hands. There may have been or Stigand may have thought there had been a resolution of his status.

[558] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, in a footnote to *s.a.* 1061, pp. 135-136. Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker noted the dates of the feasts and wrote "probably the former" meaning 26 May but did not say why this date was more likely than the other.

powerful of the English came out to show their support..."[559] Given the victory, the capture and the terror, the subsequent cheering and support could be interpreted as political choices made in the spirit of immediate self preservation rather than an unorthodox exercise of episcopal office. William of Malmesbury went on to relate that "He [King William] sailed over to Normandy, and took with him the reluctant Stigand under a show of honouring him, for he wanted to make sure the archbishop's influence did not cause any emergence of treason in his absence."[560] Malmesbury did not cite the others the new king took with him to Normandy, implying that Stigand was the only Englishman suspected of being a potential leader of rebellion when the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, William of Poitiers and Orderic Vitalis cite others.[561] The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* does not give a reason for the king's actions but there is no doubt that William of Malmesbury and other post-Conquest writers interpreted them correctly.

In his article tracing the Conqueror's route from Hastings to London F. Baring claimed to have determined that Stigand submitted to William weeks before the city's capitulation, based on *Domesday* evidence of decreased land values.[562] Baring argued that as the archiepiscopal estates along the route: Adisham, Wingham, Bishopsbourne, Ickham, Westgate, Chartham and Petham appear to have been left unwasted or even

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[559] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.5, pp. 47-9, *"Qui cum et belli Hastingensis victoria, et castelli Dofrensis deditione terrorem sui nominis sparsisset, Lundoniam uenit. Venienti Stigandus cum potentissimis Anglis, processu et fauore suo applausit."*

[560] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.6, p. 49, *"...in Normanniam nauigans, sub uelamine honoris renitentem secum traxit, ne quid perfidiæ, se absente, per eius auctoritatem in Anglia pullularet."*

[561] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1066 D, p. 145. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 6, MS D, G.P. Cubbin ed. (Cambridge, 1996), "*Stigand arcebiscop, 7 Ægelnað abbod on Glæstingabiri, 7 Eadgar cild, 7 Eadwine eorl, 7 Morkere eorl, 7 Wælþeof eorl, 7 manege oðre gode men of Englalande…*" *GG*, part II, section 39, see note 3 above. *OV*, Vol. II, Book III, chapter ii, 167. Orderic often borrowed from William of Poitiers.

[562] F. Baring "The Conqueror's Footprints in Domesday" *The English Historical Review*, Vol. XIII, S.R. Gardiner & Reginald L Poole, eds., (London, 1898), p. 23.

unpillaged by the invading army, William was attempting to appease the Church rather than refraining from doing damage to estates belonging to a prelate who had already submitted. Perhaps it was also a recognition that William's invasion was sanctioned by the pope and would otherwise have been condemned. Avoiding destruction of one's patron's property was a judicious precaution. Stigand's personal estate of Barham was also along this route and also suffered no diminution in value. From this retention of value Baring deduced that the lack of damage to Canterbury's estates was specifically meant to "tempt the archbishop at a critical moment" though he went on to point out that Saltwood and Orpington, both Canterbury estates, were later damaged by the foraging army.[563] Baring attributed very specific knowledge to the Norman army. He assumed that either William or his forces would know who held the manors by which they passed and had very specific information about the circumstances of that landholding. The army may have had instructions to do as little damage to Church lands as possible since William invaded under a papal banner but they would not have known and would not have troubled to know which lands were held by the archbishop in conjunction with his office and which he held personally. G. J. Turner disputed Baring's assessment of William's route but did accept his argument that Stigand submitted earlier than usually thought "in the general devastation of the manors in the south of Kent Stigand's remained conspicuously intact."[564] Turner errs in the statement that 'Stigand's' lands were conspicuously intact. Stigand's manor of Barham was one estate among many others that were undamaged. It was the 'archbishop's' lands that remained conspicuous by their lack of damage and Stigand was the archbishop. Turner suggested that Stigand had submitted

[563] *Ibid*., p. 18.
[564] G. J. Turner, "William the Conqueror's March to London in 1066" *The English Historical Review*, Vol. CVI, (London, 1912), p. 214.

by letter or messenger and thus Barham was spared but he later became involved in Edwin's and Morcar's plans for rebellion. William came to know of this *volte face* and wasted Stigand's manor of Mortlake in retribution. Turner's version attempts to explain the absence of Stigand's name from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry describing the submission of Ealdred and Edgar. The argument however, is circular: Stigand was not in the *Chronicle* entry because he submitted early; he submitted early and thus was not present for the submission recorded in the *Chronicle.*

The Battle of Hastings was the beginning but not the end of the Norman Conquest of England. Resistance to the new regime continued for years and erupted in all parts of the kingdom.[565] Uprisings and rebellions occupied William and his nobles and in response the Norman regime became increasingly repressive. Little factual information is available about these uprisings or about the men who participated in them. The names of the most prominent have been recorded but even so, caution must be exercised. A considerable quantity of legend has accumulated around the events and in particular, the leaders of each rebellion. In some cases prominent figures who were not, indeed, could not have been present are included either for the cachet of their names and fame or because storytellers and audiences believed they had been or, more importantly, should have been there. In some of those cases it is not difficult to see why the storyteller included certain persons; they were nobles, famous fighters or people with well known grievances, but in others it is more difficult, based on what was written by contemporaries, to discern the reasons for inclusion. Stigand is one such case.

[565] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D *s.a.* 1067, Eadric the Wild and the siege of Exeter; E 1070 & 1071 Hereward and the rebellion at Ely. *JW*, *s.a.* 1067 & 1070, 1071 & 1072.

Politics

Stigand appears in relation to two stories about resistance to the Norman regime. In one he is portrayed as the financier of Hereward the Wake's armed resistance at Ely.[566] In the other he is portrayed as a leader of armed rebellion, though unarmed himself and this despite his lack of association with military activity throughout his career. The Ely reference in particular appears to arise from a misreading of the twelfth century *Liber Eliensis*.[567] In the thirteenth century Swanscombe Legend Stigand is presented as a defender and upholder of English rights and customs, at least in Kent, and willing to take to the field with the "entire population" of Kent armed to ensure those rights.[568] These references to Stigand are quite late and likely have no factual basis, yet the stories arose.

The *Liber Eliensis* contains an account of Stigand fleeing to the abbey of Ely with "the whole contents of his treasury" in order to escape William of Normandy.[569] As this account follows that of Hereward's rebellion, it has been interpreted to mean that Stigand was among those besieged at the Camp of Refuge on Ely in 1070-71.[570] Very little of a factual nature is known about Hereward the Wake.[571] "Hereward…has a brief life in

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[566] *Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed. London, 1962, II, chapter, 98, p. 168.
[567] *Ibid*.
[568] William Thorne, *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A. H. Davis, ed & tr, (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1934), chapter 9 and 10. This group consisted of "nobles and plebeians" and were armed with "bows, swords, spears and other kinds of weapons," a rather mixed social group.
[569] *Liber Eliensis*: *A History of the Isle of Ely from the seventh century to the twelfth*, Janet Fairweather, trans. (Woodbridge, 2005), Book II, chapter 103, pp. 207-208. *LE* – Blake, Book II, chapter 103, pp. 176-177 "*summa thesaurorum eius.*"
[570] See page 130.
[571] *Hereward the Wake*, D. C. Stedman and C. J. A. Oppermann, trans., (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, n.d.), editor's note. The editor points out that "Wake" was a 15th century appellation and that Hereward should properly be known as Leofricsson. Hereward's paternity is far from settled. Stedman is also the author of the novel, *The Story of Hereward, the Champion of England* in which he invented a confrontation between Hereward and Harold Hardrada, chapter 10. *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1070, pp. 153-154.

history, and a long one in romance."[572] According to Domesday Book, he held approximately eight *carucates* of land in Lincolnshire centering on Bourne.[573] He held some of these lands from the Abbey of Crowland and others from the Abbey of Peterborough.[574] "Hereward and his following" participated in the sacking of Peterborough Abbey in 1070 ostensibly to prevent the abbey's treasures from falling into the hands of its newly appointed Norman abbot.[575] Shortly thereafter, Hereward became embroiled in the revolt on the Isle of Ely and it is then that Stigand's shadow enters the picture. Stigand's shadow rather than Stigand himself because there is reason to believe that while he was at Ely Abbey in 1070, by the time the revolt occurred in 1071 he was under some sort of arrest in Winchester. The *Liber Eliensis'* rather confused chronology may be responsible for the belief that Stigand took part in the Ely revolt.

Chapter 103 makes clear that Stigand knew that his future was problematic and also that he knew the nature of the obstacle he faced; "realizing that serious trouble was threatening him, he secretly instructed Ecgfrith, whom he had previously appointed Abbot of St. Albans, to come quickly to the Isle of Ely with the treasures of his church and with the relics of that saint, and to wait there until the outcome of his trial was

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[572] C. Plummer and J. Earle, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles parallel*, Vol. II, (1899), p. 265.
[573] *Domesday Book - Lincolnshire*, Caroline Thorne and Frank Thorne, eds. (Chichester: Phillimore), 1986, 8, 6; 8, 34; 42, 10,11,12,13 and CK 48.
[574] *Ibid.The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, A monk of Peterborough,*W.T. Mellows, ed. (London, 1949), p. 79. "Siquidem et *ipse Herewardus homo monachorum erat et ideo aliquanti credebant ei*." Candidus, Hugh. *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*. W. T. Mellows, ed. Charles Mellows and William Thomas Mellows, trans., (Peterborough, 1941), p. 40. "And indeed Hereward was a man of the monks, and for that reason many believed in him."
[575] *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, A monk of Peterborough,*W.T. Mellows, ed. (London, 1949), p. 79. "*Set et ipse postea iurauit se bona intencione hoc fecisse quia putabat illos uincere Willelmum regem, et ipsos possessuros terram.*"*The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus*. W. T. Mellows, ed. Charles Mellows and William Thomas Mellows, trans., (Peterborough, 1941), p. 40. "But he oft times swore in after times that he had done this of good intention, because he supposed they were conquering king William, and would themselves possess the land." *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1070 E, pp. 153-154.

known, when he should either stay there henceforth or return home, according to the way things turned out."[576] Abbot Ecgfrith is reported to have faithfully executed these instructions but decided, after "half a year"[577] to make permanent the presence of St. Alban at Ely "in view of the fact that Stigand had been deposed from the archbishopric and Lanfranc appointed in his place…"[578] The account does not claim that Stigand was present during Hereward's resistance nor that he fled or escaped at any point during the siege nor that he was among those who finally surrendered to William. The only representation the *Liber Eliensis* makes on Stigand's activities at this time are that he used the abbey as a repository for his movable wealth prior to his trial in the full knowledge of that trial. His instruction to Ecgfrith to "remain there henceforth or return home" depending on outcome suggests that he foresaw a possibility that things could go his way but thought to prepare in the event they did not.

The final lines of chapter 103 add to the confusion, "After these matters had been transacted in this way, the king went in haste to Normandy, taking with him the archbishop and many others of the foremost men of the kingdom, whom he kept in custody to the end of their life."[579] The lines are derived from John of Worcester: *the king* through *kingdom*, from the entry *sub anno* 1067 and *he* through *life*, from Book II, 5 in which he records the fates of those, including Stigand, deposed in 1070. These lines,

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[576] *LE* – Fairweather, Book II, chapter 103, pp. 207-208. *LE* – Blake, Book II, chapter 103, pp. 176-177. *"Et ut cognovit grave sibi negotium imminere, occulte mandavit Egfridum, quem abbatem sancti Albani antea constituerat, ut cum thesauris ecclesie illius et cum reliquiis eiusdem sancti in Elyensem insulam velociter properaret, ibidem expectaturus donec, audito cause ipsios exitu, pro qualitate eventuum vel prorsus ibi remaneret vel domum rediret."*
[577] *Ibid*. *LE* – Blake, *"fere dimidio anno…"*
[578] *Ibid*., *"Denique deposito ab archiepiscopatu Stigando et substituto ei Lanfranco…"*
[579] *Ibid*., *"His ita gestis, [rex in Normanniam festinavit, ducens secum archiepiscopum et multos alios de primatibus] regni, quos [usque ad finem vite illorum in custodia tenuit]."*

out of place as they are, erroneously suggest either that the events at Ely took place before William left for Normandy with his hostages in 1067, which further suggests that the events on Ely were a direct result of the invasion rather than perceived injustices that occurred later, or that Stigand was engaged in active resistance as late as 1070 when the rebellion at Ely began. Stigand had a long association with the Abbey of Ely and his using the island monastery as a secure location for wealth is no surprise. Once Stigand had been deposed in April 1070 the abbot or others may have assumed that as he apparently had no further use for the treasure that it could be used as needed. This could have given rise to the idea that Stigand was a financier of the Camp of Refuge and the rebellion it protected.[580] There is, however, no evidence that Stigand intended his treasure to be used in such a way or, indeed, that it was used at all. Treasures removed from Ely by William's agents included a chasuble, of extraordinary value and workmanship, given by Stigand. It was afterwards associated with his name and this may also have contributed to the idea that he and not just his belongings or gifts were at Ely during the rebellion.

The association of Stigand with resistance to William's rule is also be found in the chronicle of Thomas Sprott briefly mentioned above.[581] The earliest record of the story that became known as the Swanscombe Legend appears only in the chronicle of Thomas Sprott.[582] Sprott's chronicle is now found, nearly without emendation, in that of William

[580] Walter Farquhar Hook, *Lives of the Archbishops of Canterbury*. Vol. I. (London, 1860), p. 521.
[581] See above page 130.
[582] c. 1270. MSS BL Cotton Tiberius A IX ff 120r-120v, Lambeth Palace Library No. 419 ff 123v-124r. Printed 17th century by Roger Twysden, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores X*, (London, 1652), cols. 1757-2207. A. H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934).

Thorne, a late fourteenth-century monk of that same abbey.[583] Thorne stated in his preface that Sprott compiled a chronicle up to 1272 but the date given in both Thorne manuscripts for the end of the chronicle is 1228. Sprott wrote two chronicles, the shorter of which does not mention the Norman Conquest but does place Lanfranc's accession to the see of Canterbury in 1070. It also does not contain any reference to the Swanscombe Legend, Archbishop Stigand or Abbot Egelsin. Thorne's chronicle was printed in the seventeenth century and again in the twentieth thus extending the life of the legend even if Stigand's association with it was forgotten or disregarded.[584]

> "In A.D. as above Duke William on the 14th of October landed at Pevensey, and having fought with Harold – who himself was killed – and accepted the surrender of the city of London into his power, the said William directed his way to the castle of Dover that he might bring it with the rest of the county under his power. When he learnt of this, Archbishop Stigand and Abbot Egelsin, and the elders of the whole of Kent, seeing the whole kingdom in evil state, and whereas, before the coming of the said William there were no slaves amongst the English, now all, indiscriminately, both nobles and plebeians, were brought down into everlasting slavery to the Normans, used the dangers of their neighbours to fashion a structure of salvation for themselves and their county. So they got together

[583] *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A. H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934), p. xxi.
[584] Roger Twysden, *HistoriæAnglicanæ Scriptores X* (London, 1652) and *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A.H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934), respectively.

the whole population of the whole of Kent and explained to them the dangers threatening them, the misery of their neighbours, the arrogance of the Normans, and the hardships of a condition of slavery; and the whole population choosing rather to end their unhappy lives than submit to the unwonted yoke of slavery, by unanimous vote decided to oppose Duke William and fight with him for their ancestral rights, But the aforesaid archbishop and abbot, preferring to die in battle rather than see these evils come upon their nation, and animated by the example of the holy Maccabees, became the leaders of the army. And on the appointed day the whole population met at Swanscombe[585] and hiding in ambushes in the woods awaited the arrival of the said duke: and because abundance of caution is useful they arranged among themselves that, as the duke approached, all fords were to be closed so that he should have no means of escape on any side, and each and all, both horse and foot were to carry a bough as a protection. The duke, therefore, when he arrived on the following day, found with astonishment that in the fields close to the above-mentioned place the whole country was ranged around him in a circle, like a moveable wood, and approaching him at a slow pace. He saw this not without consternation, but when the leaders of the Kentish people perceived William in their midst completely hemmed in, the signal was given with the trumpet, their standards were raised aloft, they threw down

[585] Swanscombe near Gravesend

their boughs, and drawing their bows and unsheathing their swords, with spears and other kinds of weapons at the charge, they show themselves ready for battle. The duke, however, and those who were with him – and no wonder – stood astounded, and he who thought he held the whole of England in the hollow of his hand was now anxious about his own life. Then on the part of the Kentish folk, the archbishop and abbot aforesaid were sent to King William, bringing him a message as follows: 'Lord duke, here are the people of Kent coming out to meet you, prepared to receive you as their liege lord, asking for peace on this condition that the whole people of Kent shall enjoy the liberty they have always had and use their ancestral laws and customs: otherwise they, being ready, declare war upon you and yours, here and now, being willing to die here rather than give up their ancestral laws and customs in any way, or submit to unwonted slavery.' But the duke, seeing himself in a tight place, having held a council with his men, wisely understanding that if he should suffer a repulse or any loss from this people which was the key of England, the whole undertaking which he had so far carried out would be nugatory and all his hope and security be turned to danger, granted, though more prudently than willingly, what the people of Kent requested. When the treaty had been duly sealed and hostages given on both sides, the people of Kent, in joy, convey the Normans, also joyful, to Rochester. They also give up to the dike the county of

> Kent with the famous castle of Dover into his power, and thus the ancient liberty of the English and their ancestral laws and customs which, before the arrival of Duke William, were in force equally throughout the whole of England, have remained inviolable up to the present time in the county of Kent only, and that too through the agency of Archbishop Stigand and Abbot Egelsin."[586]

According to Davis, "There is no authority [says the editor of Kent Doomesday, (sic)] for this legend until Sprott [thirteenth century]. No contemporary chronicler mentions it, Holinshed and Lambard endorse it as history. The only argument in favour of it is that Stigand and Egelsin both fled or were banished shortly afterwards."[587] There is little in this story which can be directly correlated with contemporary or near contemporary sources narrating the English submission to William. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, manuscript D, confirms the date of the battle of Hastings as 14th October and lists those who submitted afterwards, though not necessarily immediately, including Archbishop Ealdred and Edgar Ætheling, but not Stigand, and placed the submission at Berkhamsted.[588] William of Poitiers stated that Stigand was "threatening battle together with the sons of Ælfgar and other nobles,"[589] He did not, however, suggest that Stigand actually engaged in any sort of militant action, unlike the author of the Swanscombe Legend. Poitiers had William camp at Wallingford and Stigand submit to him there. Stigand is the only person mentioned

[586] *Thorne's Chronicle*, chapter 9, pp. 47-49.
[587] *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A. H. Davis, trans. (Oxford, 1934), p. 47 note 2.
[588] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1066; *GP*, Book I, Chapter 23, mentions the taking of Dover and that Stigand was among the dignitaries who welcomed William to London.
[589] *GG*, ii, 28. "*cum filiis Algardi aliisque præpotentibus prælium minatur*."

in this account of submission at Wallingford. John of Worcester placed the submission at Berkhamsted as in the *ASC*. William of Malmesbury seems to place the submission at London in company with Archbishop Ealdred and Edgar Ætheling.[590] It is, ultimately, unknowable with current evidence just where or when Stigand submitted to William.[591] Perhaps this confusion is not merely the result of the lapse in time between events and the various accounts. The time and place of Stigand's submission may not have been well known in 1066 thus allowing for different interpretations of his political position and intensions. The more anomalous that position seemed the more suitable he may have appeared for inclusion in resistance legends.

Neither Sprott's account nor any other detailing the same or a similar event involving Stigand can be found in any source. It may be a conflation of Stigand with an event that occurred without his involvement or it could be entirely concocted. Sprott was a monk of St. Augustine's and as such it is unlikely that he was unaware of the controversy surrounding Stigand's tenure of the archbishopric. He probably had access to copies of the various histories produced in the twelfth-century and would have known in what esteem post-Conquest writers held Stigand. He was certainly aware of gifts given by Stigand to St. Augustine's, claiming that, "Stigand, among his other gifts to this monastery gave to St. Augustine a large cross, covered all over with silver, erected in the nave of the church over the screen. The ornament is very beautiful and a perpetual

[590] *GR*, Book III, chapter 247.1, p. 460.
[591] Freeman suggested that Berkhamsted was the correct place of submission for Ealdred and Edgar but that Stigand may have hurried ahead and submitted at Wallingford. He argued that William had to cross the river at some point and Wallingford was as good a place as any. Edward A. Freeman, *The History of the Norman Conquest of England: Its Causes and Its Results*, Vol. III, (Oxford, 1867-79), pp. 767-8.

reminder of him."[592] It is sufficiently unlikely that the events of the "Swanscombe Legend" occurred as the chronicle set out, to dismiss the *story* though not necessarily the *idea* that Stigand had a positive reputation before the Conquest and had done something that caused him to be remembered as a defender of English rights. It is possible that Sprott was compelled to use Stigand as his hero if he was attempting to establish an historical origin for certain rights of the diocese of Canterbury but if that was so, is odd that the story is so little known. One would expect to find references to the account if it had been used as a basis for establishing the rights and privileges of Canterbury specifically or Kent in general.

Whether or not Stigand played any part, active or otherwise, in the various rebellions that erupted after Hastings is virtually unknowable. The people who composed songs and stories placed him at Swanscombe in defiance of William the Conqueror because they believed either that he had been there or that given the chance he would have been. *Liber Eliensis* has, it would seem, been misread to include Stigand with the rebels at Ely. Unless the accepted chronology is completely incorrect, Stigand could not have been a part of the rebellion in the fens. Even E.A. Freeman argued that Stigand was not at Ely because he was provably elsewhere rather than that he could not reasonably be accorded patriotic impulses.

What is known is that Stigand was a man shrewd and influential enough to warrant William holding him hostage in 1067 rather than leave him behind in England, though it is possible that any Archbishop of Canterbury would have had to endure the

[592] *Thorne's Chronicle*, chapter 8, pp. 45-47.

same fate. Stigand was one of the wealthiest men in the kingdom and had a following of more than a thousand men. He held two of the wealthiest and most influential sees in the kingdom and had worked for decades with the English nobles without noticeable difficulty. It may never have occurred to Stigand that he use his wealth and influence to mount a rebellion against William's rule. He had, after all, managed to negotiate a place for himself in the reigns of four or perhaps five previous kings. Outright opposition did not seem to be his style.

Stigand's offices as bishop of Elmham, of Winchester and eventually as archbishop of Canterbury would have placed upon him the additional duty of advising the king should he be consulted. Theoretically all bishops were so obligated but the extent to which any individual bishop would be asked to give such advice would have depended on his relationship with the king. A man the king knew and trusted would be called upon more frequently and would be more likely to advance than someone with a more tenuous connection. Geographical distance from or nearness to the court would have prevented some while enabling others to be available for consultation. Frequent requests to attend the king would also have provided opportunities for contact with the nobility outwith the shire in which a given diocese lay and with other bishops acting in this same advisory capacity. Godwine, Leofric and Siward and their families were the leading nobles of Stigand's day. Attendance at court would have made it unavoidable that Stigand knew these men and their heirs.[593] Their positions as advisors and lords of lands and men meant it was imperative that Stigand work with them. This did not mean necessarily that

[593] Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 76. Baxter points out the difficulty of determining how much time earls actually spent at court.

Stigand ceased to be an independent agent or that he ceased to represent the Church, rather that he had to function within the secular world. It would have been crucial for any bishop or archbishop to establish a working relationship with these three noble families in order to successfully carry out his own office. Robert of Jumièges' inability or unwillingness to tolerate Godwine and the resulting upheaval caused by that attitude was doubtless a well studied lesson in how important it was to foster an amicable relationship with men who can call up armies.

Using the nearly perfect witness lists of two Westminster forgeries it is possible to glean an idea of the composition of Edward's Christmas court in 1065.[594] The planned consecration of the king's new church doubtless attracted a larger attendance than might otherwise have been usual and reports of Edward's ill health could have caused the number to swell. The court was well attended by most of the more important men of the kingdom. Both archbishops, eight of twelve bishops, a number of abbots, clerks and thegns were in attendance as well as five earls in addition to the king and queen according to the witness list.[595] The *Vita Ædwardi* states that "in the church and in the palace [the king] was rejoicing with his nobles."[596] The court was a place where both social activities and governance took place. The Christmas court of that year was unusual in that the king was ill and it is likely that little of the usual work of the court, such as the granting of land and other minor decision making, was undertaken. At courts not burdened by the imminent death of the king, the work of governing the realm would

[594] Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, (London, 1970), p. 244. These charters are identified by the Sawyer numbers S 1043 and S 1041. In S 1041 two bishops of Rochester are listed among the witnesses.
[595] The four missing bishops were those later deposed under William the Conqueror; Æthelric, bishop of Selsey Æthelmær, bishop of Elmham, Leofwine, bishop of Lichfield and Æthelwine, bishop of Durham
[596] *VÆR*, Book II, chapter 9, p. 110. "*in ecclesia quam in palacio ducit exulta.nter cum suis principibus*."

occupy him and those nobles, bishops and any other persons closely concerned in the issues of the day.

Courts were also the locations of more dubious political activity. During Edward's reign, murder at the royal court was not a common occurrence but it did happen and implicated Queen Edith and her brother Tostig. According to John of Worcester, in 1064 during the Christmas court, Gospatric, a member of a noble Northumbrian family was murdered either by Edith or her agents on behalf of Tostig.[597] Edith also fostered 'royal' children at court; whether this was a substitute for children of her own or a form of hostage keeping can be debated.[598] Edgar ætheling and Harold, the son of Earl Ralph, seem to have been among her charges.[599]

The Godwines' place, so near the center of power and so close to events on which hinged the safety of the kingdom, despite their recent pedigree in comparison with other noble families, is enough to ensure lasting interest in their lives and fortunes.[600] That their immense wealth, command of enormous resources in men and materiel, occasionally though not always, allowed them to influence those events in their own favor ensures that attention does not wander far from them or for long.[601] Add to their position and wealth; loyal service, courage in battle, good counsel, religious devotion, sacrilegious intrigues, dubious land acquisitions, rebellion, possible abduction and rape,

[597] *JW*, *s.a.* 1065, pp. 596-598.
[598] *VÆR*, p. 24. Stafford, *QEQE*, pp. 42 and 269. Stafford points out that Edith was rearing potential heirs to the throne.
[599] *Ibid.*, p. 269.
[600] Keynes, Simon, 'Cnut's Earls', *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 74-76 for Godwine's attestations.
[601] *Ibid.*, pp. 84-87 for Godwine's ascendance and primacy over other earls.

banishment, reinstatement, murder and suspicion of murder, betrayal, diplomacy, pilgrimage, possible mysterious oath taking, alleged usurpation, destruction and death and the Godwines' lasting fame is guaranteed.[602]

Leofric, earl of Mercia had a longer pedigree than did Godwine and seemed to have been involved in far less controversy. "Leofric's father Leofwine had risen under Æthelred to become Ealdorman of the Hwicce but his connections to the king and to other ealdormen cannot be traced."[603] Leofric rose higher during the reign of Cnut. Earl Leofric and his wife Godgifu were patrons of a number of churches and this likely also reinforced his contact with Stigand. Leofric caused his nephew to be appointed abbot of the monasteries of Burton, Coventry, Crowland, Thorney and Peterborough.[604] His nephew's pluralism indicates that Leofric would have found no difficulty with the fact of Stigand's multiple offices, presumably, so long as the practice ran smoothly. Leofric's choice to support Harold Harefoot rather than Harthacnut may have caused a rift in

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[602] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1035 E, 1036 C,D, 1046 C, 1049 C,D,E, 1051 C,D,E, 1052 C, D,E, 1056 C,1061 D, 1063 D,E, 1065 C,D,E, 1066, 1075. *GP*, Book I, chaps. 21-22, II, 83, V, 264. *GR*, Vol. I, 196.3, 199.1, 6-7, 200.2-3, 228.3-5, 7-11, 236.2, 238.1-4, 239.1-2, 240.1-2, 242.3-243, 252.2, 260.1, 267.3. *JW*, Vol. II, *s.a.* 1036, 1049, 1056, 1063, 1065, 1066 & Appendix B 1066n, Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium – Courtiers' Trifles*, M.R. James, ed. & trans., revised C.N.L. Brooke and R.A.B Mynors, Oxford, 1983, pp. 416-19. *The Chronicle of Battle Abbey*, Eleanor Searle, ed. & trans., Oxford, 1980, pp. 32, 35, 39, 67. *The Waltham Chronicle*, Leslie Watkiss & Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans., Oxford, 1994, pp. 26-57 & Appendix II. *VÆR*, pp. 6-11, 14-15, 24-27, and 30-47. *GG*, pp. 4-7, 120-121, 70-71, 76-77, 100-101, 112-141. On the issue of rape: *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1046 C, p. 109 reads, "…he [Swein] ordered the abbess of Leominster to be brought to him and kept her as long as it suited him, and then he let her go home." *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, p. 109. "*Þa he hamwerdes wæs, þa het 'h'e feccan him to þa abbedessan on Leomynstre, 7 hæfde hi þa while þe him gelifte 7 let hi syþþan faran ham.*" The abbess sounds like an unwilling participant rather than a straying nun; *ODNB* http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/10887; Baxter, Stephen, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 109 and 119 addressing Godwine's reputation; Brooks, N., *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984), pp. 299-306 for Godwine's depredations of church lands and his interactions with various ecclesiastical office holders.

[603] Fleming, Robin, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, Cambridge, 1991, p. 48-9; Baxter, Stephen, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 18; http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/16470; Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', pp. 74-75 for Leofwine's attestations and 77-78 for Leofric's.

[604] *ASC* – Plummer and Earle, p. 241 and F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, (1952), p. 565; Baxter *Earls*, p. 14.

relations with Emma's adherents Godwine and Stigand. "Earl Leofric and almost all the thegns north of the Thames and the *liðsmen* in London chose Harold to hold all of England for himself and his brother Harthacnut who was in Denmark. And Earl Godwine and all the chief men in Wessex opposed it as long as they could, but they could not contrive anything against it."[605] Once unity was restored under Edward, the earl of Wessex and new bishop of Elmham would have found it necessary to redefine their political relationships in order to work to the best advantage of both kingdom and themselves.[606]

The Danish Earl Siward also played a significant part in the events of the time. He was given Northumbria and York as his province and married into a powerful northern family.[607] Siward was among those, as were Godwine and Leofric, who counseled in favor of and then accompanied King Edward when he despoiled Queen Emma in 1043.[608] He supported Edward during the crisis of 1051 and was placed at the head of a large naval and land force sent to Scotland in aid of Malcolm against MacBeth.[609] Siward was a trusted advisor, a loyal supporter and an able general.[610] All three of these great earls came to power during the reign of Cnut and it was likely in that king's court that Stigand began his association with them.

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[605] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1035, pp. 102-103. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 5, MS C, *ASC* - O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1035, p. 105. "*Leofric eorl 7 mæst ealle þa þegenas be norðan Temese 7 ða liðsmen on Lunden gecuron Harold to healdes ealles Englelandes him 7 broðer Hardacnute þe wæs on Denemearcon. 7 Godwine eorl 7 ealle þa yldestan menn on Westseaxon lagon ongean swa hi lengost mihton, ac he ne mihton nan þing ongean wealcan.*"
[606] Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 35.
[607] Lawson, M.K, *Cnut: the Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century* (London, 1993).
[608] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1043, p. 107.
[609] *Ibid*. *s.a.* 1051 D and E, pp. 116-122 and 1054 C and D, pp. 128-129.
[610] Baxter, Stephen, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 85; Keynes, Simon, 'Cnut's Earls', *The Reign of Cnut, King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. A.R. Rumble (London, 1994), pp. 65-66 for Siward's charter attestations.

Politics

Godwine, his wife Gytha and their children, Swein, Harold, Edith, Tostig, Leofwine, Gyrth, Wulfnoth, Gunnild and Ælfgyfu were the wealthiest and most influential family in England during the first half of the eleventh century. According to Robin Fleming, their combined income, including Domesday Book values and night's farms totaled roughly £7,700 compared to King Edward's income of £5,940, the Leofricsons' at £3,280 and the Siwardsons' of £370.[611] Stephen Baxter disputes these numbers and claims that methodological errors led Fleming astray thus there is no basis for the supposition that the Godwine family's corporate assets exceeded the king's.[612] In 1066 the Godwines held 43% of the combined total of *terra regis* and comital demesne lands, the king 34%, the Leofricsons' 20.5% and the Siwardsons' 2.5%.[613] The lands controlled by Stigand whether personal, episcopal or archiepiscopal totaled roughly £2,940 placing him firmly among the wealthiest in the kingdom.[614] Lands and the wealth derived from it translated into power and influence. Ecclesiastical office holders had a part in that power.

Demesne was, of course, not the only source of wealth or power. Domesday Book records hundreds of thegns, freemen and sokemen as holding land from or commended to the Godwines'. Robin Fleming estimates "that something over 15,000 hides of land were held by men and women who described themselves as Godwineson

[611] Fleming, Kings and Lords, pp. 59, table 3.1, 66, table 3.2 & 68, table 3.3. These figures exclude Edith as it is difficult to know if she used her resources to her family's benefit or her own. All would also have received revenue from wills, heriots, fines, services and other incidental sources.
[612] Stephen Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, (Oxford, 2007), pp. 128-138.
[613] *Ibid*. pp. 227-228.
[614] Mary Frances Smith, "Archbishop Stigand and the Eye of the Needle" in *Anglo-Norman Studies* xvi, (London, 1993), p. 219.

men."[615] If one postulates one man for every five hides, though many would have held less and many held more, the result is a following of 3,000 men.[616] These followers could be relied upon for support in times of trouble, although they clearly had a strong sense of self preservation. They stood with Godwine in 1051 in his disagreement with the king but faded away when it became obvious that the earl's position was weak.[617] When the strength of the Godwines' position and that of the king were reversed, the men stood with the earl and his family, even becoming so enraged over a perceived insult to their lord that they could barely be calmed.[618]

The followings of Earls Leofric and Siward were not nearly was well documented as that of the Godwine family due to the peculiarities of the Domesday survey but their smaller landholding suggests a proportionately smaller following. According to Fleming, Domesday Book's record reports that men considered to be Leofric's men held lands valued to approximately £130. Even allowing for the fact that the survey does not record lordship information in the shires where the family was strongest and that many men were not accounted for, this figure still falls well below the number of men that 15,000

[615] Fleming, Robin, *Kings and Lords in Conquest England*, (Cambridge, 1991), p. 78. Fleming admits that this is a problematic estimate given *Domesday Book*'s inconsistent reporting, however, it is as close as one can come to an accurate tally.
[616] R. Abels, *Lordship and Military Obligation in Anglo-Saxon England*, (1988), pp. 99-100 and 108-109. *DB – Berkshire*, 1.56b "…if the king sent an army anywhere, only one soldier [miles] went from five hides, and shour shillings were given for his subsistence or wages from each hide for two months. The money, indeed, was not sent to the king, but was given to the soldiers [militibus]." Warren C. Hollister, *Anglo-Saxon Military Institutions*, (Oxford, 1962), pp. 49-50. Hollister considered this 'Berkshire Rule' to apply universally to hidated shires. Abel also points out that the ship-soke required one ship crewed by sixty men from each three hundred hide district which would work out to one man per five hides. He also hastened to point out that districts may not have been precisely three hundred hides and ship sizes were not certain. The figure of 3,000 followers is merely a crude attempt to postulate a number of men who could have been called upon should the Godwine family require them. It is in no way certain.
[617] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1051 D, 116-122. These thegns were also king's men and owed first allegiance to him but if Godwine had been in the stronger position it is possible that they would not have heeded the king's summons. The author of the *VÆR*, of course, makes no such qualification, pp. 38-41.
[618] *Ibid*., *s.a.* 1052 C, D & E, pp. 122-127.

hides could produce. If Godwine had anything close to this number of men available to him it is no wonder that Earls Leofric and Siward declined to contend with him in 1052.

Stigand could not raise so extensive an army from his lordship but by the time Domesday Book was compiled roughly 846 persons, were recorded to have held land from Stigand, been under his patronage or jurisdiction. This number does not include persons who merely lived and worked on his land only those who held it or were named as commended to him. On the manor of Otfor in Codsheath hundred in Kent alone, there were nearly 150 villagers and small holders. A number of estates where listed as held by the bishop or archbishop and no other persons named though certainly he did not work the lands himself. Most of the persons listed in *Domesday Book* in reference to holding lands of the archbishop in Kent or the bishop in Hampshire have French names and therefore the majority are likely post-Conquest tenants, there is no way to know who held them when Stigand was in office. Given Domesday Book's uneven reporting and the number of years between Stigand's death and the collection of the data it is likely that many who had once been his men had died, become associated with other lords or been forgotten. That he acted as and was served as a secular lord is proven by the will of Ketel in which, in addition to a bequest of land, Stigand is acknowledged as Ketel's lord and arrangements are made for the payment of heriot. "I grant to him as my heriot a helmet and a coat of mail and a horse with harness and a sword and a spear."[619] No distinction was made in the form of the heriot in recognition that the lord was also an ecclesiastic.[620]

[619] **S 1519**. *"ic him to min heregete an helm and a brenie. and hors. and gereade. and sverd and spere."*
[620] Brooks, N., 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late Anglo-Saxon England' *Ethelred the Unready*, D. Hill, ed., (London, 1978), pp. 81-103.

Approximate Number of Men Who Held Land from Stigand, by County

Bedfordshire	9
Berkshire	0
Buckinghamshire	11
Cambridgeshire	26
Dorset	0
Essex	0
Gloucestershire	0
Hampshire	96
Hertfordshire	58
Kent	115
Middlesex	1
Norfolk	446
Northamptonshire	1
Oxfordshire	1
Somerset	0
Suffolk	74
Surrey	6
Sussex	1
Wiltshire	1
Total	**846**[621]

These men were influential individually as well as *en masse* and a number who were part of the households of or in close association with the leading nobles in the kingdom also had some contact with Stigand. Asgar the Staller, later accused of causing the Londoners to submit to William, and Eadnoth the Staller[622] occupied prestigious positions and held lands valued at more than £50.[623] Asgar also held a manor in Monk's

[621] *Domesday Book*, Vols. 1-8, 11-15, 18, 20-1, 32-4, John Morris, ed. (Chichester, 1975-1985). All of these numbers are derived from entries in *Domesday Book* that either state that a person held from Stigand or from the 'bishop' or 'archbishop' when this can be reasonably inferred to refer to Stigand.
[622] *DB* I, 60r.
[623] *DB* ii, 59a. *The Carmen de Hastingæ Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens*, Catherine Morton & Hope Muntz, ed., Oxford, 1972, pp. 44-47. *The Carmen de Hastingæ Proelio of Guy Bishop of Amiens,* Frank Barlow, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 1999), p. xxxvi. Fleming, *Kings and Lords*, p. 73-4. For Staller as a mark of prestige and special favor see Katharin Mack, "The Stallers: administrative innovation in the reign of Edward the Confessor" in *Journal of Medieval History*, Vol. 12, Amsterdam, 1986, pp. 123-125.

Risborough and held it of Christ Church Canterbury.[624] He may have owed service of some kind to Stigand or to the abbey. Wulfweard the White met the criteria set out in the *Liber Eliensis* to be counted among the most important men below the rank of earl. "[a brother of Abbot Wulfric] although noble, certainly did not hold the lordship of forty hides of land, he could not be counted, at that time, among the foremost nobles…"[625] Wulfweard held lands, in thirteen shires, with a value near £350. According to Fleming the value of Wulfweard's lands at £350 as well as Ansgar's at £480, placed them among the wealthiest thegnly families.

This prominence meant influence since these men also had others who held land from them, owed services to them or were in some way dependent upon them. It meant that they associated with men with influence equivalent to or greater than their own. In the case of Wulfweard the White, Stigand is one of the parties, along with the community of Old Minster, Winchester, to an agreement with Wulfweard, who had been the recipient of a post *obit* gift from Queen Emma.[626] The queen left 5 hides to Old Minster and 5 hides to Wulfweard for his life. The monks agreed to allow Wulfweard to hold their 5 hides for his life and receive all 10 hides, per Emma's gift, at his death.[627] Stigand's apparent close association with Emma may have been a factor in the gift and the agreement. The agreement was witnessed by Earl Harold, Lyfing the Staller, Ralf the Staller and Esgar the Staller and other thegns. This occasion placed both Wulfweard and Stigand in the company of a number of the elite and most influential men in England.

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[624] *DB* i, 143v. *"Hoc manerium tenuit Asgarus Stalre de ecclesia Cristi Cantuarie ita quod non poterat separari ab ecclesia TRE."*
[625] *LE* - Fairweather, Book II, chapter 97, p. 199. *LE* – Blake, p. 424 n. 9.
[626] Emma was the wife, successively, of Æthelred II and Cnut and the mother of Edward and Harthacnut.
[627] Robertson, *Charters*, no. 114.

Politics

Some confusion has surrounded the epithet 'Staller' and there has been and is much disagreement as to its precise meaning. The generally accepted meaning is that 'Staller' was a title of particular prestige conferred by the king on men who were favored above other thegns.[628] These men occupied positions important enough to influence others.

Stigand has been cited as a product of the Godwines.[629] His rise to a succession of high church offices is credited to a close association with the powerful comital family rather than his own family's connections, those of other noble or wealthy patrons, royal recognition of his own abilities or a combination of these factors.[630] His appointment to the bishopric of Winchester is deemed impossible without Earl Godwine's approval and consent. His rise to the Archbishopric of Canterbury is cited as a reward for his diplomatic efforts on the Godwines' behalf upon their return from exile in 1053.[631] This argument ignores the account of the election of a kinsman of Godwine prior to the king's appointment of Robert of Jumièges to the see.[632] Had Godwine been able to put a family member onto the throne at Canterbury he would doubtless have done so regardless of however close his association with Stigand had been. His return from exile put him in a better position than he was when Robert was stirring up the ugly past but the entire experience was a salutary lesson and he appears to have trodden carefully after his return.

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[628] For opinions in agreement with this definition of 'Staller' see J. M. Kemble, *The Saxons in England,* 2Vols., (London, 1876), p. 165 note 2; L. M. Larson, *The king's household in England before the Norman Conquest*, (Madison, 1904), pp. 146-52; T. J. Oleson, "*The Witenagemot in the reign of Edward the Confessor*, (Toronto, 1955), pp. 56-9; Mack, 'Stallers', p. 123. For opinions against see J. H. Round, *Feudal England*, (London, 1895), p. 331 and 'The Officers of Edward the Confessor', *Historical Review*, Vol. 19, pp. 90-2; W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff to 1300*, (Manchester, 1927), pp. 37-8; E. A. Freeman, *The Norman Conquest of* England, 3rd ed., 6 Vols., (London, 1977), Vol. 3, p. 51 note 3; Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor*, (Berkley, 1971), pp. 75, 164-5.
[629] Loyn, H.R., *The English Church, 940-1154*. (Harlow, 2000), p. 58.
[630] *Ibid.*
[631] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1053, p. 128.
[632] *VÆR,* p. 18.

Politics

Although Stigand's family, other than his brother Æthelmær and a sister whose name is not given, is unknown it is likely that the family was prominent in East Anglia. Stigand had considerable resources outwith those attached to his offices and while some were acquired after his appointment to Cnut's chapel, *i.e.*, by his own efforts during his ecclesiastical career, he likely inherited a considerable portion.[633] Stigand was frequently at court, advised the king and no doubt knew and worked with the other counselors. It is unlikely that Stigand would have prospered in East Anglia without Godwine's support and probably did receive the earl's help during his career; however, there seems no call to suggest that Stigand did not operate independently. If Edward saw Stigand as a Godwine partisan he would have been unlikely to employ the bishop as negotiator either prior to the exile or prior to reinstatement. Stigand mediated between the king and the earl on both occasions.

Stigand's greatest setback may have been, in part, due to Godwine's advice to King Edward. According to the D text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "…this year [1043], a fortnight before St. Andrew's Day, the king was advised to ride from Gloucester, together with Earl Leofric and Earl Godwine and Earl Siward and their retinue, to Winchester. And they came unexpectedly upon the lady; and deprived her of all the treasures which she owned…"[634] The D Text does not say who advised the king to move against Queen Emma but given that Godwine accompanied him on the

[633] Æthelmær inherited lands in Norfolk and the sister held lands in Norwich that may have been dowry or inheritance. *DB – Norfolk*, 10.30, 33 & 1.61 respectively.
[634] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.* 1043, p. 107. A fortnight before St. Andrew's Day was November 16.

expedition and a year later Edward married the earl's daughter Edith, it seems likely that at least some of that advice came from Godwine. The C Text states that "and soon after this Stigand was deprived of his bishopric, and all that he owned was placed in the king's control because he was closest in his mother's counsel and because it was suspected that she did as he advised."[635]

Stigand seems to have been an eminently practical man. He did not openly challenge the king to behave in a particular way nor did he stir up nobles against each other. He acted as mediator between the king and Godwine prior to the family's exile and also before their reinstatement.[636] His appointment to the archbishopric could have easily been a reward for service to the king as much as for service to the Godwines. If Godwine had been the main force behind Stigand's appointment surely the king would have taken steps to rid himself of an unwanted and uncanonical archbishop after Godwine's death. Harold had already shown, by his refusal to support his brother Swein's attempts to return from exile that he was no blind follower of his father's plans.[637] It is unlikely that Harold would have made trouble if the king wanted to oust Stigand and appoint a candidate acceptable to the papacy. Edward could have, had he wished, made Stigand more palatable to the Pope by appointing a bishop to Winchester thereby removing the stigma of pluralism from Stigand though this was of lesser importance than the fact that Stigand had been appointed while Robert of Jumièges was still alive. The issue of invasion could, no doubt, have been resolved by arguing that Robert of Jumièges had nearly stirred up a civil war while Stigand did all in his power to

[635] *Ibid*.
[636] *VÆR*., p. 36. *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker 1052, p. 125.
[637] *ASC* - O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1049, pp. 109-111.

avert one. These actions would presuppose that there was no additional reason for creating and allowing Stigand's situation to continue. If, as Ian Walker suggests, Robert of Jumièges kidnapped Godwine's son and grandson to ensure his safe retreat, the Pope would probably have made little further objection to Stigand's occupancy of the see.[638]

Stigand is portrayed in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* as a worldly and cynical prelate.[639] He discounted the king's vision and whispered to Harold to ignore an old man's ramblings. It quite possible that Stigand's description of the king as a sick man wandering in his mind was entirely accurate. At Edward's death there was only one genuine heir who was likely to receive support from the earls, thegns and the church. Ralph of Hereford had died in 1057 and his son appears not to have been considered. Gospatrick son of Maldred was descended through the female line from his mother and grandmother and may have been thought ineligible due this circumstance, inexperience or inability. Edgar Ætheling, a grandson of Edmund Ironside, was at roughly fifteen years of age verging on manhood when Edward died. There is no discussion of a regency in the surviving sources and nothing is known of Edgar's training for kingship. As Edward's fatal illness appears to have come on suddenly, the court had every reason to hope that the king would live long enough for Edgar to reach maturity.

The only logical explanation, given the evidence of the *witan*'s willingness to accept a man without royal blood, for the choice of Harold Godwineson over Edgar was

[638] Walker, Ian W., *Harold, The Last Anglo-Saxon King*, (Thrupp, 1997), p. 47. Walker suggests attempts to prevent this abduction caused the events as Robert fled; *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a* 1052. "Archbishop Robert and Bishop Ulf and their companions went out at east gate and killed or otherwise injured many young men."
[639] *VÆR*, pp. 118 and 122.

knowledge or suspicion of William's ambitions if not of Tostig's rashness and the possibility of a Scandinavian threat; that the witan knew or believed that only a mature man capable of all aspects of kingship could diffuse the political tensions or triumph militarily. Of the options available only Harold was mature enough and capable enough, both politically and militarily, to take on the task. He was apparently popular with most of the thegns and earls. He had vast wealth and an enormous following. He had proven his skill in battle both on land during the Welsh campaigns and at sea. He had a family network upon which he could call and had family and diplomatic connections on the continent and in Ireland. Given the situation as it is known through hindsight it is difficult to see who else could have taken on the job. Stigand appears to have had the pragmatism to know this, encourage Harold to take the throne left to him by the king and to ignore the doom laden prophecy the 'monk of St. Bertin' recorded with that inheritance. It is also possible that the story of the irregular Stigand urging the non-royal 'usurper' Harold to ignore Edward's prophecy was simply the author's way of linking two disreputable characters in their attempt to prevent William's accent to the throne. If the events occurred as the Biographer reported then it is necessary to credit Stigand with yet a third opportunity to determine the disposition of the crown.

Charters and Writs

Thirty-four writs, charters and wills bear witness to Stigand's activities from c. 1033 through 1065 and chart his rise in importance both within and outwith the Church. They show the circle within which he moved and perhaps his influence on the distribution of lands. Stigand is known to have been a trusted advisor to King Edward

and it is probable that the king turned to him for advice about these or other gifts.[640] In these documents Stigand appears either as an addressee, a grantor, a beneficiary or a witness.[641] Of those thirty-four, eighteen are deemed authentic,[642] eight, spurious,[643] two, uncertain,[644] three, perhaps genuine but altered[645] and three, spurious but probably with a genuine basis.[646] The charters are only slightly more numerous than the writs at 16 to 13 and there are also 4 wills. The charters span the years 1033 to 1065. They are issued by Kings Cnut, Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor, Archbishop Eadsige as well as the abbot and community of Bury St. Edmund, Stigand and the community of Old Minster, Winchester, Abbot Ælfwig and the community at Bath, Brihtmær of Gracechurch in London and an apparently personal grant by Stigand to his priest Ælfgar. They were issued to both monastic foundations and individuals.[647] The individuals were Æthelstan and Bovi, both ministers, a man named Tofig and referred to as '*comes*', Wulfgeat, Æthelric, Ælfgar the priest mentioned above, Wulfweard the White and Stigand himself.[648]

The Abingdon charter, one of the earliest in which Stigand appears, is deemed doubtful because there is an abbreviated second charter apparently issued c1034,

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[640] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1052, p. 125.
[641] http://www.esawyer.org.uk, Sawyer Nos. **Addressee**: 1073, 1074, 1093, 1094, 1095, 1109, 1129, 1137, 1153, 1403, 1477; **Grantor**: 1224, 1402, 1426, 1476; **Beneficiary**: 1088, 1089, 1234, 1519, 1521, 1531; **Witness**: 967, 969, 975, 1014, 1017, 1038, 1052, 1054, 1057, 1470, 1471, 1530;
[642] Authentic: **S 969, S 975, S 1017, S 1073, S 1224, 1402, 1403, 1426**, **S 1470, S 1471**, **S 1476,**
[643] Spurious: **S 1057**, **S 1093, S 1094, S 1095**, **S 1109**, **S 1137**, **S 1154**.
[644] Uncertain: **S 967, S 1089**.
[645] Altered: **S 1088, S 1129**, **S 1153**.
[646] Spurious but with genuine basis: **S 993**, **S 1038**, **S 1477**.
[647] Eadsige, Archbishop of Canterbury 1038-1051. **S 967, 975, 1038** and the spurious **1062** were issued to foundations and **S 969, 1014, 1017, 1470, 1471, 1476** to individuals. **S 1057** is a declaration of a land purchase lands and conforms to neither the diplomatic of the charter nor of the writ.
[648] Frank Barlow, *Edward the Confessor,* (London, 1970), p. 332. Barlow believed Tofig was probably a thegn though thought he might have held a Scandinavian earldom.

approximately one year after the first, both in Latin with English bounds.[649] It is the difficulty in reconciling these two documents that leads to questions about the authenticity of **S 967**. Simon Keynes considers this document as well as S 964, with which Stigand had no involvement, as examples of Abingdon forgeries though both contain witness lists derived from genuine texts. Susan Kelly also considers the authenticity of **S 967** to be uncertain but with an authentic witness list.[650] The document has been dated to 1033 and Stigand appears thirteenth of thirty, approximately half way down the list of witnesses. He is titled *presbyter* and is the first of two so styled. His position on the list places him two and three positions above those of Earls Godwine and Leofric, respectively, who are styled *dux*. Stigand's appearance on this charter places him still in the sphere of King Cnut and his court roughly half way between his initial appointment to the minster at Ashingdon and his promotion to the bishopric of Elmham.

S 969, dated to 1033, grants land in Dorset to Bovi, one of Cnut's thegns. Simon Keynes believes the charter to have been a Dorset production, which would explain any variations from typical royal charter diplomatic, and finds its formulation similar to a charter in which Cnut granted Abbotsbury to Orc.[651]

S 975 is a Sherborne Abbey charter recording the grant of 16 hides in Dorset at Corscombe and is considered to be authentic. M. K. Lawson draws attention to similar phrasing in **S975** and **S 1004** a grant to Orc by Edward the Confessor and suggests that

[649] **S 967**, Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 11, n 16 and 'Cnut's Earls', pp. 51 n. 48, 52 n. 51.
[650] Kelly, *Abingdon*, Vol. 1 no. 139, pp. 542-545.
[651] Keynes, 'Cnut's Earls', p. 51 n. 45.

Sherborne drew up the documents for the kings' approval.[652] This is another of Cnut's charters, again in Latin with English bounds and is dated to 1035.[653] Stigand holds his position approximately half way down the list although in this instance nine positions below Earl Godwine whose attestation reads, *dux confirmavi*. In the Abingdon charter the lay witnesses fell below the monastic and secular whereas in the Sherborne document, the *duces* appear after the bishops but before the abbots, priests and ministers.[654]

S 1062, a charter purporting to confirm a grant by Emma to Old Minster is deemed spurious and it is difficult to see how it could be otherwise. The Old English text is written in a form that does not conform to the diplomatic used during Edward's reign for either charters or writs. The witness list is in Latin and the dates of the witnesses cannot be made to work.

> + *Ego Stigandus archiepiscopus consensi.*
> *Ego Ealdred archiepiscopus consensi.*
> *Ego Hæreman episcopus consensi.*
> *Ego Rœimballd cancellarius consensi.*
> *Ego Godwine dux consensi*.[655]

Ealdred was consecrated archbishop of York in 1061 by which time Earl Godwine had been dead seven years.

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[652] **S 975**. Keynes, *Diplomas*, p. 126, n 136. Lawson, *Cnut: the Danes*, pp. 239. Keynes, S., 'Cnut's Earls', pp. 51-2 n. 50.
[653] ASC- Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, D *s.a.* 1061, pp. 135-136 *s.a.* 1035, pp. 102-103. Cnut died on 12 November.
[654] DB ff 77r, 80r and 84v account for 12 of the 16 hides, 10 of which were held by the Bishop of Salisbury and 1 each by lay men. In 1078 the diocese of Sherborne was transferred to Salisbury.
[655] F. E. Harmer, 'Anglo-Saxon Charters and the Historian', *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, xxii (1938), pp. 342, 349-51, dubious. Robertson, *Charters*, pp. 470-1, spurious.

Politics

The charter numbered **S 1470** is an agreement between the abbey and community of Bury St Edmunds, and Wulfgeat and his wife, in reference to the estates of Gislingham in Suffolk and Fakenham in Norfolk which cannot be dated any more precisely than 1043 x 1047 while Stigand was bishop of Elmham. The charter was written in triplicate and Stigand was custodian of one copy. By 1086 the majority of Gislingham was no longer in the abbey's possession while over Fakenham, Bury had jurisdiction and commendation.

The writs confirming rights and granting lands to Bury St. Edmunds appear to be clear and straightforward documents with nothing questionable about them.[656] In **S 1073** Stigand is addressed in his capacity as an officer of the shire court in East Anglia:

> King Edward sends friendly greetings to Bishop Stigand and Earl Harold and all my thegns in East Anglia. And I inform you that my will is that all things lawfully pertaining to the property of my kinsman St. Edmund, and granted by good men to that house, shall belong to it without dispute. And I will not permit anyone to alienate anything that lawfully pertains to them, either in land or in other things.[657]

The writ was composed in English and F. E. Harmer considered it authentic. **S1073** can be dated to Stigand's tenure of Elmham as can **S 1074,** another writ of King Edward in favor of Bury St. Edmunds granting Pakenham, Suffolk "as fully as Osgot had held it."

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[656] **S 1073** and **S 1074**.

[657] Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 139-40, 438. "*Eadward kyng gret Stigand bisscop 7 Harald erl and alle mine þeynes on Estangle frendlike. And ic kithe ihu þat ic wille þat alle þinge þe mid rithte bireð into Seynt Eadmundes are mine meyes 7 gode men þider inne uthen lige þider in unbesaken. And ic nelle/ þafien þat ani man uttige ani þing þat hem mid rithte to bireð neither ne on londe ne oþere þingan*." In the English version that survives the words, *kyng* [*cyng*], *frendlike* [*freodlice*], *kithe* [*cyþþ*] and *unbesaken* [*unbesacen*] betray the influence of a Norman scribe in the use of the letter 'k'.

Harmer suggests that if this Osgot was Osgot Clapa then Pakenham may come into Edward's hands because of Osgot Clapa's outlawry.[658]

S 1057 is a spurious charter that has been dated between 1044 and 1059 and purports to be an announcement by King Edward that Abbot Mannig and the monk Æthelwig have bought land the estate Evenlode, Gloucs., from Eammer. No foundation is mentioned and David Knowles, Brooke and London considered the subscriptions inconsistent.[659] Earls Godwine, Swein, Leofric and Siward had all died by 1057.

Stigand is merely a witness to **S 1471**, the 1045 lease of land at Chart to Æthelric by Archbishop Eadsige and while he was fourth of seventeen witnesses, he does not seem to have been integral to the agreement.[660] Stigand's attestation of this lease between the Church and a lay landholder shows him learning by example that such leases were and should be made.

S 1014 is a 1046 charter of King Edward to his minister Athelstan, granting land at Ayston, Rutland. The charter was written in Latin with English bounds. Knowles, Brooke and London judged that the charter was probably authentic based on the

[658] Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 148, 438-9.
[659] *HRH*, p. 234.
[660] **S 1471** Harmer, *Writs*, p. 51, not earlier than 26 Dec. 1045; *HRH*, p. 236, probably original, dates it 1045 x 1047.

consistency of the witnesses.[661] There where thirteen episcopal witnesses of which Stigand was the seventh, immediately below Grymketel who had been given or had purchased Elmham during Stigand's temporary deposition. There were only five lay witnesses to this grant to a lay man and they were all high ranking nobles; Godwine, Leofric, Siward, Swein and Beorn.

S 1403 and **S 1402** are leases issued by Stigand and the community as Old Minster each for two lives. S 1403, dated 1047 x 1053, leased lands at Alton Priors and Patney, Wiltshire to Wulfric. Earl Godwine was a witness to the transaction along with the abbot and community of New Minster.[662] S 1402 is a lease of land at Sparshold, Hampshire for "as much money as he could furnish at the time."[663] The recipient of the land was Æthelmær and his son Sæmon. There is nothing to suggest that the Æthelmær of the lease was Stigand's brother.

In **S 1017,** dated to 1052 x 1053, Stigand appears to have been merely a witness rather than integral to the charter of King Edward granting land to Tofig, his *comes*; at *Berghe.*[664] Frank Barlow argues that Tofig was actually a thegn rather than a *comes* or an earl. Stigand falls about a third of the way down the witness list of this charter.[665] Cyril

[661] *HRH*, p. 233.
[662] Robertson, *Charters,* p. 450 on dating
[663] *Ibid*, no. 106, p. 202, with translation, p. 203.
[664] Barlow, *Edward*, p. 332, Barlow thinks that the 'beneficiary is probably a thegn'.
[665] 20 of 42, 10 of 21 and 6 of 21 respectively.

Hart suggested that *Berghe* referred to Bergh Apton in Norfolk whereas Peter Sawyer suggested Burton.

S 1153 is a largely authentic writ of King Edward confirming Queen Emma's gift of a messuage in Winchester to the monks of Old Minster. The gift is after Emma's death but before Godwine's so the writ can be dated to the few months of 1052 and 1053 between those two events. One sentence at the end includes 10 hides at Hayling in the bequest. This final phrase appears to have been added to the original.[666] Land at Hayling was claimed by the monks and by others and the claims and counter-claims went on for a number of years. Stigand was informed of the events in this document as a presiding officer of the shire court who had a need to be aware of the disposition of lands and privileges within his diocese. Stigand may have been aware of Emma's intentions if he continued to act in an advisory capacity.

Charters **S 1088** and **1089** are both dated 1052 x 1066 and are both grants to Archbishop Stigand and the community at Christ Church, Canterbury of judicial and financial rights over their own men and all of the lands they had in the times of his predecessors. Preserving those rights in documentary form was crucial to preserving the power that accompanied those rights. It is reasonable to assume that such rights were granted to the archbishops of Canterbury and York. Unfortunately, neither is indisputably authentic. **S 1088** is authentic to the extent that the greeting and beginning

[666] Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 382-5. 526. Patrick Wormald, 'Lordship and justice in the Early English Kingdom: Oswaldslow revisited' *Property and Power in the Early Middle Ages*, Wendy Davies and Foul Fouracre eds., (Cambridge, 1995), p. 129 n and Patrick Wormald, 'Oswaldslow: an 'immunity'? *St. Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, (London and New York, 1996), p. 123.

of the declaration are believed to have been written at the time thereafter the original was erased and over-written. Nicholas Brooks considers it a forgery of the 1070's. Harmer compared **S1089** to those attributed to Henry I and Henry II and suggested that these inauthentic documents may have been needed to replace originals lost in the 1067 fire at Christ Church.[667]

S 1477 is writ by King Edward, dated 1052 x 1066, indicating that he has restored land in Berkshire to Chertsey Abbey. The document is believed not to be authentic in its current form but that it may be based on a genuine text.[668] Other documents purporting to guarantee Chertsey's interests have been judged spurious.

A grant of land, including a Church, by Brihtmær of Gracechurch in London to Christ Church, Canterbury after his own death and those of his wife, Eadgifu, and his sons, Eadmær and Æthelwine is numbered **S 1234** in Peter Sawyer's annotated list.[669] The grant was witnessed by Leofstan the port-reeve and William, bishop of London as well as a number of London thegns. The document has been dated only within Stigand's archiepiscopate, 1052 x 1070, possibly 1054, but as Bishop William also witnessed it must have been after he returned having fled with Robert of Jumièges in 1052.

According to **S 1476**, within a short time after the gift documented in S 1153, King Edward's confirmation of Queen Emma's post *obit* grant of land to the monks at

[667] **S 1088,** Harmer, 'Charters and Historian', p. 347 and Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 173-5, 451-2. Brooks, *Early History*, p. 388 n. 140. **S 1089** Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 175-8, 452-3.
[668] Harmer, *Writs*, p. 205 n. 1.
[669] Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 307-308. Brooks commented that there was no evidence that Stigand had done anything to acquire this gift

Old Minster with its suspicious final phrase about Hayling, Hampshire, Stigand and the community at Old Minster made an agreement with Wulfweard the White. Wulfweard was to hold those five hides in addition to five hides Emma had bequeathed him and all ten were to revert to Old Minster at his death. This agreement appears to have been made after mid-April 1053 as Earl Harold witnessed whereas Godwine did so on S 1153.[670]

Four spurious writs in favor of Chertsey Abbey, three of which included sweeping confirmations of all lands, rights and privileges of the abbey; those writs are **S 1093, S 1094, S 1095** and **S 1477** discussed above.[671] In each case Stigand was an addressee along with Earl Harold thus placing the date of the forgeries after mid-April 1053 when Harold assumed his father's earldom and began to appear with Stigand as an addressee in royal writs. Harmer was of the opinion that **S 1093, S 1094, S 1095** had been "retouched and improved by a later hand."[672]

S 1154 or the Portland Writ, 1053 x 1066, as it is known is also considered spurious. Harmer acknowledged that a bequest in the form of a writ might well contain features, such as the unusual address, not normally found in a writ of the Confessor's reign. The appropriateness of the term '*cancheler* appended to Regenbald's name has

[670] Plummer, Robertson, Finberg, and Hart all accept the document as authentic, C, Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892; 1899), p. 239. Robertson, *Charters*, pp. 462-4. H.P.R. Finberg, *The Early Charters of Wessex* (Leicester, 1964), no. 171. C.R. Hart, 'The Codex *Wintoniensis* and the King's *Haligdom*', *Land, Church and People: Essays presented to Prof. H.P.R. Finberg*, ed. J. Thirsk (Reading, 1970 = *Agricultural History Review*, xviii, Supplement), p. 35 no. 175. Knowles, Brooke and London believe the document is likely a forgery but possibly genuine

[671] **S 1093, S 1094** and **S 1095**. Harmer, Writs, pp. 205-8. **S 1477** claimed lands restored to Chertsey and it too is considered spurious in its present form.

[672] *Ibid*.

long been the subject of debate.[673] Simon Keynes listed S 1154 as one of two suspect documents from Old Minster that contains the attestation of Reganbald 'chancellor', the other is S 1062 with which Stigand is not associated.[674]

The writ of King Edward, dated 1053 x 1066 based on the limits of Stigand's archbishopric and Edward's death, granting his estate of Eversley to the monks of Westminster, **S 1129**, probably represents an authentic but altered writ. Four free sokemen who held the estate were transferred with the land and became subject to Westminster as they had been subject to the king. Among the extensive list of privileges the writ outlined was that of *miskenning* which in this context means the "right to take the fines incurred when mistakes in pleading were made in legal procedure."[675] Harmer pointed out that the term *miskenning* is a common variant of *miscenning*, found in later manuscripts. **S 1109** is a similar summary of financial and judicial rights, to which is added the rights of shipwreck and "*þa sæupwarp*" or "what is thrown up on land by the sea" for Ramsey Abbey.[676] It is considered spurious as the dates of the address and the witness list are incompatible.

S 1137 purports to be a writ confirming a gift of land in Surrey to Westminster Abbey from "Earl Tosti and Leofrun his wife my [King Edward's] foster mother,"

[673] Harmer, 'Charters and Historian', *passim*. The most recent examination of this topic is Simon Keynes, 'Regenbald the Chancellor (sic)' *Anglo-Norman Studies* X Proceedings of the Battle Conference, (London, 1987), pp. 185-222.
[674] Keynes, "Regenbald', p. 208 and n. 129.
[675] Harmer, *Writs*, p. 82.
[676] *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary,* Joseph Bosworth, and T. Northcote Toller, eds. , (Oxford, 1898), p. 812.

written in a late eleventh-century hand.[677] The writ is addressed to "Stigand, bishop of Winchester, and Wulfwold, abbot of Chertsey, and Earl Leofwine, and Robert Fitz Wimarc the Staller, and Tostig the Housecarl."[678] The earl in this writ was certainly not Tostig Godwineson whose wife was Judith of Flanders. Nothing is known of Edward's foster mother if he had one. However, Harmer argued that the Tostig and Leofrun named in the writ are unlikely details to fabricate and asked "Is it conceivable that there was actually some historical basis for the existence of the semi-legendary Tostig, earl of Huntingdon, who is said to have been slain by Earl Siward of Northumbria?" Harmer thought it more likely that the copyist was attempting to distinguish between the donor and the housecarl in the address and inserted the title 'earl' based on knowledge that there was or had been an Earl Tostig.[679] Stigand, as bishop of Winchester, was notified in this writ in his capacity as a presiding officer in the shire court.[680]

The charter granting Stigand a life lease of 30 hides at Tidenham, Gloucestershire, **S1426**, and issued by Abbot Ælfwig and the community of Bath Abbey appears to have been a personal transaction.[681] The estate included a number of dependent estates including Stroat, Milton, Kingston, Bishton and Lancaut and possessed ninety-five fisheries on the rivers Wye and Severn.[682] The document is dated 1061 x 1065. The lease

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[677] P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters: An Annotated List and Bibliography*, (London, 1968), **S 1137**, *"Tosti eorll 7 Leofrun his wif min fostermoder."* F.E. Harmer, *Anglo-Saxon Writs,* (Manchester, 1952; repr. 1989), pp. 303-6, 512-14, M. Gelling, *The Early Charters of the Thames Valley*, (Leicester, 1979), no. 349, spurious, but place-name spellings suggest that the forger used Old English sources.
[678] S 1137, *"Stigand biscop on Wintanceastre/ 7 Wulfwold abbot on Cyrteseiæ 7 Leofwine eorll 7 Rodberd Wimarke sune stallere/ 7 Tosti huskarll."*
[679] Harmer, *Writs*, pp. 303-6, 512-14.
[680] **S 1162**, **S 2261** and **S 1157**.
[681] **S 1426**, Robertson, *Charters*, pp. 469-70. Finberg, H.P.R., 'Anglo-Saxon England to 1042', *The Agrarian History of England and Wales, ii.1: A.D. 43-1042* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 511-12.
[682] *Ibid.*

was witnessed by King Edward and Queen Edith, Archbishop Ealdred, Bishops Hereman and Giso, Earls Harold and Tostig, Abbots Æthelnoth, Æthelwig, Æthelsige and Ordric, Esgar, Raulf and Bondig; all Stallers "and many other worthy men whose names are not recorded here"[683] This is a very high profile lease judging by the quality of the witnesses.

The Malmesbury *privilegium* and confirmation of lands issued in the name of King Edward and dated to 1065 is generally believed to be a forgery[684] or at the very least inauthentic in its present form but based on genuine grants.[685] The objection to ruling this charter authentic is that most such summaries of lands and privileges are continental in origin. A possible exception to this 'rule' is the *privilegium* for the abbey of Wells drawn up by Bishop Giso.[686] Continental clerics could certainly introduce this form of diploma and Edward may have been familiar with it and allowed its usage. It is possible that Malmesbury created this document, perhaps to replace lost documents or to record rights and lands, known to have belonged to the abbey but undocumented as such, as the king's health became precarious in an attempt to sum up its holdings under the name of a well regarded king. Simon Keynes referred to **S 1038** as "a seemingly disreputable confirmation of lands to Malmesbury abbey, said to have been written by Abbot Brihtric."[687]

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[683] **S 1426**, "*7 manega oþer gode menn þe heora naman her awritene ne syndon.*"
[684] D. N. Dumville, *Wessex and England from Alfred to Edgar: Six Essays in Political, Cultural and Ecclesiastical Revival* (Woodbridge, 1992), p. 41 n. 47, 43. H.P.R Finberg, *The Early Charters of the West Midlands*, 2nd ed (Leicester, 1972), no. 180.
[685] Keynes, 'Giso', pp. 234-5.
[686] *Ibid.*
[687] Keynes, 'Reganbald', p. 214.

Politics

During his tenure in office Stigand was both powerful and influential. He occupied, however uncanonically, important positions within the church and within lay society. As demonstrated in Ketel's will, men were commended to Stigand and owed to him the same renders at death or inheritance that they would a lay lord. As an initiator of leases Stigand and the communities under his authority extended the network of persons connected with them. Stigand created alliances, rooted in land tenure, with monastic communities by leasing land to and from them. He functioned as priest, advisor and diplomat to kings and as a lay lord in relation to his tenants and those commended to him. He presided at shire courts with the most powerful nobles in the kingdom. He witnessed the transfer of lands and the conferring of privileges and attested documents to that effect, at first as priest rather far down the list until he eventually outranked all but the king and queen in the hierarchy. For more than fifty years Stigand moved within the orbits of powerful people and rose, more or less steadily, until he could go no higher. He exercised the same powers as did Earls Godwine, Leofric, Harold and others if on a smaller scale. Stigand had additional powers and obligations attendant on his episcopal offices but he worked with these men as an equal and outlasted them all.

Chapter 4

Wealth

Prefer loss to the wealth of dishonest gain; the former vexes you for a time; the latter will bring you lasting remorse.

Chilo

Wealth

"He snatched all that he could from others, stored it away for himself and never put any check on his greed."[688] Thus William of Malmesbury helped to cement Stigand's reputation for the next 870 years. Malmesbury also said, "You will surely say that animal greed is the right description for the man who was in sole personal possession of the bishopric of Winchester, the archbishopric of Canterbury and many abbacies besides, when a good man would have been more than satisfied with one of these."[689] Malmesbury was concerned for Stigand's accumulation of wealth as well as ecclesiastical offices. John of Worcester stated that, "thinking that, the bishopric of the South Saxons [Sic], very little for one of his ambition, he ascended the thrones of Winchester and Canterbury…"[690] John of Worcester condemned Stigand for ambition. However, considering the lands, resources and personnel associated with the offices, greed could easily be construed as a motive for pluralism. As Stigand has never before been the focus of an extended work of historiography it is not readily clear whether or not this reputation was deserved.

Whereas, in the previous chapter, Stigand's wealth was discussed in so far as it pertained to the power such wealth could and did provide, in the present chapter it will be examined in more detail in its own right. An examination of what is known of Stigand's

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[688] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), Book I chapter 23.1, p. 47, "*sibi abscondere, numquam avaritiam suam moderari.*"

[689] *GP*, Book I chapter 23.2, p. 47, "*Nonne illud beluinæ rapacitatis dices, quod Wintoniæ episcopatum et Cantuariæ archiepiscopatum, præterea multas abbatias solus ipse possidebat, quæ singula satis superque sufficerent alicui probo viro*?"

[690] John of Worcester, *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Vol. II The Annals from 450 to 1066*, R. R. Darlington & P. McGurk, ed., Jennifer Bray & P. McGurk, trans., (Oxford, 1995), *s.a.* 1038. JW was confused by or unaware that there were two bishops of Elmham named Ælfric and so placed Stigand's accession early by five years. He also errs in naming this Stigand as a bishop of the South Saxons. There *was* a bishop of Selsey named Stigand; he took office in 1070 and was *not* the same man as the archbishop.

land holdings and his methods of acquisition will mitigate though it will not entirely counteract the commentators' harsh judgments. Sources of information about what Stigand actually held and how, as opposed to what people thought of him holding it, are confined mainly to *Domesday Book* and charter evidence. *Domesday Book* is inconsistent and often terse and imprecise in its reporting. The differing actual area of the administrative hide and the various terms of measurement in different parts of the country make computing an accurate quantity of land and thus value in coin extremely difficult. Some entries are quite detailed as to the resources present on a particular manor, as is the case with the entry for Mileham in Norfolk which details the manor, the holdings of four groups of freemen and a further three outliers of that manor with all of the villagers, smallholders, slaves, ploughs, mills, woodlands and livestock they possessed.

> Stigand held MILEHAM before 1066, 10 c. of land. Always 20 villagers; 44 smallholders. Then 6 slaves, later and now 1. Meadow, 10 acres. Always 2 ploughs in lordship, and 1 plough could be restored. Then 24 men's ploughs, later and now 19, and 5 could be restored. Woodland, 1,000 pigs; Always 1 mill; 1 salt-house.
>
> Also 3 Freemen, 1 c. and 1 acre of land. Then and later 12 villagers, now 4; always 10 smallholders. Meadow, 4 acres. Then 1 plough in lordship, later and now ½, and ½ could be restored. Then 4 men's ploughs, later and now 2, and the others could be restored. Then woodland, 100 pigs, now 50. Also 4 Freemen, 30 acres of land. 1 smallholder. Always 1 plough; meadow, 4 acres.
>
> Also 1 Freeman, 1 c. of land; 1 Freeman, 8 acres. In all, 10 smallholders. Meadow, 5 acres. Then 2 ploughs in lordship, later and now 3. 1 men's plough; woodland, 10 pigs.
>
> Also 7 Freemen, 40 acres of land. 1 smallholder. Meadow, 4 acres; always 2 ploughs in lordship. Always 1 cob; 13 head of cattle; 24 pigs; 30 sheep; 50 goats.
>
> 1 outlier, LITCHAM, has always appertained to this manor, 4 c. of land. Always 9 villagers; 11 smallholders; 5 slaves. Meadow, 4 acres; always 2 ploughs in lordship. Then and later 9 men's ploughs, now 5, and the others could be restored. Also 2 Freemen, 4 ½ acres of land. Always 1 cob; 1 head of cattle; 16 pigs; 104 sheep; 20 goats.

> Another outlier, DUNHAM, also pertains there, 4 c. of land. Then 19 villagers, later and now 10; always 8 smallholders. Then and later 2 slaves, now none. Woodland, 20 pigs; meadow, 1 acre. Also 8 Freemen, 34 acres of land. 1 smallholder. Meadow, 1 acre. Then 1 ½ ploughs, later and now 1. In lordship always 1 plough, and ½ could be restored. Then 1 ½ men's ploughs, later 1, now ½ and 1 could be restored. Always 2 head of cattle; 8 pigs; 6 sheep. In this outlier always ½ market.
>
> Also in THETFORD ½ acres of land. 2 Freemen, 40 acres of land. 2 smallholders. Always 1 plough.
>
> Value of all this before 1066 £30; later and now £60 blanched.
>
> It has 3 leagues in length and 1 in width; [it pays] 27d of a 20s tax, whoever has the land there.[691]

Other entries are concise to the point of unhelpfulness as is the case with Throcking, in Hertfordshire, which states that "Rumold holds 18 acres from the Count. Land for 2 oxen. The value is and always was 2s. Alric, Archbishop Stigand's man, held this land."[692] Correct in essentials perhaps but not exhaustively informative. These differences are typical of the terse nature of Great Domesday Book and the rather more verbose nature of Little Domesday Book. Various reports in *Domesday Book* state that Stigand 'took' land from one holder or another. There is no evidence to refute the testimony in two cases while a third is simply insufficiently detailed to make a determination.[693]

Monastic accounts largely record complaints about confiscated lands and rarely focus on the details of landholding. These chronicles were invariably written during a period when the monastery was attempting to bring about the return of lands that were alienated from the foundation when leases with Stigand were invalidated at his deposition. The *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis,* one of the principle Domesday

[691] *Domesday Book*, *Norfolk*, Philippa Brown, ed. (Chichester, 1984), 1.212.
[692] *Domesday Explorer*, Version 1.0, John Palmer, Matthew Palmer and George Slater, eds. Phillimore & Co., Ltd. 2000, Hertfordshire, 17.5.
[693] *DB –Cambridgeshire*, Phillipa Brown, ed. Chichester, 1984, 1.11, *DB – Norfolk*, 10.30.

texts, makes up for that lack of detail. The entry for the manor of Duxford runs for half a page.[694] As discussed in the previous chapter, there are thirty-four extant charters, writs and wills in which Stigand appeared either as an addressee, a grantor, a beneficiary or a witness. In four of these Stigand was a grantor and in six he was a beneficiary.[695] It is these ten documents that will be examined in reference to Stigand's lands, practices of land acquisition and landholding.

Stigand held land, either personally or in his capacity as bishop of Winchester or archbishop of Canterbury, in nineteen counties.[696] He was either named in connection with or such a connection can reasonably be inferred in reference to 387 pieces of land listed in *Domesday Book*. As he was referred to as Stigand, Bishop Stigand, Archbishop Stigand and merely by his titles it is often unclear whether a given manor was held personally or in association with one of his ecclesiastical offices. Occasionally, the witnesses pointed out that a manor was or was not Stigand's in conjunction with his office, such as six unnamed sulungs in Kent. The vast majority of his holdings were in Norfolk where his family appears to have been based. He as well as his brother and sister held land in Norwich and his brother elsewhere in Norfolk.[697] Of the 175 manors in Norfolk with which his name is associated in *Domesday Book* only seven were claimed to be connected with the archbishopric.[698]

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[694] *A History of the County of Cambridge and the Isle of Ely*. Vol.6 P.M. Wright, ed. (Oxford, 1978), p. 411.
[695] Anglo-Saxons.net, Sawyer Nos.: **Grantor**: **S 1224**, **S 1402**, **S 1426**, **S 1476; Beneficiary: S 1088, S 1089**, **S1234**, **S 1519**, **S 1521**, **S 1531**
[696] Bedfordshire, Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Dorset, Essex Gloucestershire, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Middlesex, Norfolk, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset Suffolk, Surry, Sussex and Wiltshire.
[697] *DB - Norfolk*, 1.61
[698] Dodgson, J. McN. and J.J.N. Palmer, *Domesday Book: Index of Persons*, (Chichester, 1992), p. 253.

Wealth

The abbeys of Bury St. Edmunds, Ely, Abingdon and Bath as well as the churches of St. Michael and St. Martin in Norwich and St. Oswald and St. Martin in Dover, were all linked with Stigand through land. In some of these cases the relationship may have been problematic. The churches in Norwich are listed in the same *Domesday Book* entry as are the holdings of his sister and brother in that city, "a woman, Stigand's sister, [held] 32 acres of land."[699] This unnamed sister may have acquired her lands through inheritance as no reference is made to a husband or widowhood. Æthelmar, Stigand's brother, inherited his holdings in Norwich. "Bishop Ælmer held the church of St. Simon and St. Jude before 1066, later Erfast, now William [holds]; ¾ of 1 mill, ½ acre of meadow and 1 dwelling are attached to this and it is not of the Bishopric but of Bishop Ælmer's [Æthelmar's] patrimony."[700] It is likely that Stigand inherited his interests in the churches of St. Michael and St. Martin and possibly some if not all of his interests in the burgesses. "Stigand had jurisdiction over 50 [burgesses]. A certain church of St. Martin is also in the Borough which Stigand held before 1066; then 12 acres of land… Stigand also held the church of St. Michael to which are attached 112 acres of land, 6 of meadow and 1 plough"[701]

An explanation for his transactions with the abbeys cannot be arrived at so easily and it is the claims in the chronicles of these abbeys which are responsible for some of

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[699] *DB – Norfolk,* Vol. I, Phillipa Brown, ed. (Chichester 1984), 1.61.
[700] *Ibid.*
[701] *Ibid.*, St Martin's and its 12 acres were given to William of Noyers as part of Stigand's holding. St. Michael's and its 112 acres of land, 6 acres of meadow and 1 plough were given to Bishop William but not as part of his bishopric. Stigand had jurisdiction over 50 burgesses in Norwich. I have used the Phillimore edition throughout.

Stigand's subsequent bad reputation. The abbey of Abingdon complained of extortion.[702] The Ely chronicle claims, "And indeed, even though an abbot had been appointed to Ely, Stigand was taking charge of the litigation of the church. Moreover, he kept his hold over some of its best properties, as the *Book of Lands* reports in detail, to the very great cost of the place."[703] Bury St. Edmund claimed to be intimidated into leasing land to the archbishop although there was no account of just what Stigand had done to intimidate them. Indeed, Bury claimed that Stigand 'begged' them for the lease. Perhaps Stigand was intimidating simply by virtue of his office and perhaps his personality. It is possible that had the monks not given to his pleas Stigand would have used more forceful tactics. Several monastic chronicles have labeled Stigand a rapacious land grabber.[704] In the case of one such report it is reasonable to place the account in the 'ambiguous' category as will be discussed below.[705] Little attention has been given to the fact that the monasteries were attempting to reclaim leased land lost when Stigand was deposed from his ecclesiastical offices. This presents the monastic houses in question with a motive to misrepresent the facts or to attempt to explain away their contractual relationships with Stigand.

The Abbey of Ely

The *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis,* the original *Domesday* return for Cambridge, lists seventeen manors associated with Stigand in Cambridgeshire. All

[702] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, Vol. I, John Hudson, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 2007), pp. 196-197.
[703] *Liber Eliensis*: *A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth*, Janet Fairweather, trans., Woodbridge, 2005, Book II, chapter 98, pp. 200-201. *Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed., (London, 1962), Book II, chapter 98, p. 168. *"Etenim Stigandus, quamvis substituto illic abbate, causas ecclesie agebat, sed quasdam illius optimas possessiones, sicut liber terrarum insinuat, ad maximum loci despendium retinuit."*
[704] *LE* – Fairweather, chapter 98, pp. 200-201. Hudson, *Abingdon*, pp. 196-197.
[705] *Ibid., DB – Gloucestershire,* 56.2.

record that a man or men of Archbishop Stigand held some portion of the land. The men of other important English landholders also held land on fifteen of these manors. In addition to those of Archbishop Stigand, men and women commended to King Edward, Earl Harold, Earl Gurth [*Sic*], Earl Algar, Earl Waltheof, Robert Fitzwimarc, Edeva the Fair, Esgar the Staller and the Abbot of Ely, held small amounts of land on these fifteen manors. The remaining two manors were held by Stigand himself and his men alone and were claimed by Ely Abbey in the relevant entries in *Domesday Book* and the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.[706] Snailwell was in Stigand's hands through a lease arranged with Abbot Leofsi [Leofsige]. "This manor pertained to the church of St. Etheldreda of Ely in the demesne farm of the monks T.R.E., but Abbot Leofsi [Leofsige] lent [it] to Archbishop Stigand and now Abbot Symeon claimed to have it himself, as the men of the hundred bear witness, in right of [per] his predecessors."[707] As the land was leased rather than seized the monks received a rent for their land and may have benefited in other ways by their association with the archbishop. M. M. Postan's comparison of Benedictine and episcopal holdings indicated that while Benedictine houses kept much of their land in demesne, they also had a need for hard cash. He demonstrated that monastic communities tended to increase in size and thus the need for food for the monks and fodder for their animals also increased. The monasteries tended to maintain "functioning demesne on as many estates as necessary *ad victum monachorum*."[708] The monks consumed items that they did not produce, such as textiles, books and other goods and

[706] *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*: *The Victoria County History of the Counties of England: Cambridgeshire and The Isle of Ely*, (London, 1978), pp. 400 and 402. Printed from Cotton Tiberius A vi. Hereafter *ICC*. DB –Cambridgeshire, 1.11 and 28.2.
[707] *ICC,* p., 400. *DB –Cambridgeshire*, 28.2. The wording in *DB* is slightly different but the meaning is unchanged.
[708] M. M. Postan, *The Medieval Economy and Society: An Economic History of Britain in the Middle Ages*, (London, 1972), pp. 91-2.

services, and had to pay for them in coin. They resolved this dilemma by selling surpluses from their own produce and by leasing lands in return for rents in the form of cash or the goods and services they required or some combination of the above.[709] There are no accounts that Stigand was hostile toward monastic houses or that he was known to have behaved uncharitably toward them in the matter of land agreements in any record written prior to his deposition when a desire to recover lands may have informed the commentary. At the time of the *Domesday* survey Snailwell was in the holding of the Bishop of Bayeux and Hugh de Port held it from him. This appears to be a manor confiscated when Stigand was deposed and redistributed by the king. Alfric of Sneillewelle was one of the witnesses for the Hundred of Staplor.[710] No objections to or contradictions of the claim that Stigand had been leased the manor by the Abbot were included in the entry. This was his opportunity to testify to the truth of the holding and it appears there was nothing irregular. Lay men were not the only ones who received lands once held by Stigand and not returned to their rightful holders. Archbishop Lanfranc received Shepall which a man of Stigand's held from St. Alban's.[711]

Possession of Woodditton is, however, not so easily explained. It is possible that Stigand intruded onto land held by Ely Abbey without the abbey's consent. "This manor pertained to the church of St. Etheldreda in almoign [T.]R.E., but Archbishop Stigand took it, as these men bear witness" claims the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*.[712] The entry for Woodditton in *Domesday Book* states: "*Hoc m[anorum] jacuit in æcclesia*

[709] *Ibid*.
[710] *Inquisitio Eliensis*, p. 97.
[711] *DB – Hertfordshire*, 2.3.
[712] *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis: Subjicitur Inquisitio Eliensis*, N. E. S. A. Hamilton, ed, (London, 1876), p. 402.

S[ancti] Etheldridæ de Ely T.R.E. sed Stigand[us] archiep[iscopu]s e inde su[m]psit. ho[min]es de Hundreda nescientia"; "This manor lay in the Church of St. Etheldreda of Ely before 1066 but Archbishop Stigand took it away; the men of the Hundred do not know how."[713] The *Victoria County History of Cambridgeshire* translates the entry "but Archbishop Stigand took it." The *Alecto* edition of *Domesday Book* uses the *Victoria County History* translation. There is no emphasis placed on Stigand's taking the estate, no claim that it was taken by force or contrary to St. Etheldreda's interests. The only comment is the statement that the men of the hundred, who should have been in a position to know the details of the transaction, did not know how Stigand's possession of the lands came about.

Methwold and Croxton, according to *Domesday Book*, were meant to provide food for the monks.[714] In leasing these two estates, Stigand did not take food out of the mouths of monks. He paid rents which would have been used for the provision of the brothers. The *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum* number 117 states that "These were vills of the abbey of Ely which archbishop Stigand used to hold, and from which as much food was supplied to the monks as belonged to it: after his death, king William held Methwold, Croxton, Snailwell and Woodditton."[715] It does not seem as if the community of Ely suffered any lack while Stigand held these manors if the *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normanorum*, an edition of royal charters issued by Norman kings of England collected

[713] *DB - Cambridge*, 1.11.
[714] *DB - Norfolk*, 1.210 & 1.211, valued at £20 & £10 respectively.
[715] *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum*, David Bates, ed. (Oxford, 1998), no. 117. "*Hec sunt proprie ville monasterii insule Ely quas Stigandus archipresul tenebat, unde per annum victum fratribus reddidit tantum quantum pertinet ad hoc. Has vero tenet rex noster W[illelmus] post obitum illius, Metheluuald, et Crokestune, et Snegeluuelle, et Dictun."* Of Thorpe St. Andrews, also Ely land, DB says only that Stigand held it before 1066.

and arranged by David Bates, is accepted as a reliable collection of source material. It may have been to the abbey's advantage to receive a cash rent in addition to the produce of the lands. The difficulty arose when King William confiscated and kept the manors rather than returning them to the abbey. There is no documentary evidence to account for why Stigand took this land from Ely abbey if indeed he did. It is possible that the monks or some other lessee than Stigand may have been able to exploit the lands more profitably, but it seems plain that the community did profit through its agreement with the archbishop. Since it is known that Stigand entered into a lease with Ely's abbot it is not inconceivable that his possession of Woodditton was the result of another, unknown to the witnesses.

The Abbot of Ely also entered into an agreement whereby he leased *Chingescamp* from Stigand.[716] There is no way to know if this was a literally reciprocal lease. Other lands held by Stigand in Hampshire were for the provisioning of the monks of Winchester. If *Chingescamp* was Winchester land then it would seem that the Abbot of Ely held Winchester lands from the bishop while the bishop held Ely lands from the abbot. This may have been the deliberate establishment of a relationship between Stigand, Bishop of Winchester and Leofsige, abbot of Ely, for the provisioning of two monastic communities, an agreement rooted in and secured by land. It may also have allowed Stigand to support his retinue whenever he had occasion to stay in the area.

[716] *DB - Hampshire*, 2.16. *Chingescamp* was in Broughton hundred in Hampshire but otherwise its location is unknown.

Wealth

The Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds

Stigand and Æthelmær, his brother, were linked with Bury St. Edmund through land transactions.[717] Each held lands leased from Bury which were supposed to return to the abbey at the lessee's death. Æthelmar's will specified this in the case of four estates.[718] That Æthelmar included the disposition of these estates in his will does not necessarily mean he thought of them or intended to hold them as his personal property. The will was doubtless meant to be a guarantee that lands not his own reverted to their rightful owners at his death. There are other examples of wills which specify the disposition of lands which have already been promised and the heir that enjoyed them for his life simply reiterated that the lands should return to the original holder. That Æthelmar's will was not upheld is surely the fault of the executors rather than the decedent.

The following entry from the Hampshire Domesday Book has raised the possibility that Stigand did not lose all of his property at his deposition:

> In [EAST] MEON Hundred The King holds [East] MEON himself. Archbishop Stigand held it before 1066 for the use of the monks; later he had it for his lifetime. Then there were 72 hides; it paid tax for 35 hides and 1 virgate. Land for 64 ploughs. In lordship 8 ploughs; 70 villagers and 32 smallholders with 56 ploughs. 15 slaves; 6 mills at 40s; meadow, 8

[717] Ælmer is, in some sources, called Æthelmær, the form used throughout this paper when not part of a quotation from a specific source.

[718] *Anglo-Saxon Wills*, Dorothy Whitelock, ed. (Cambridge, 1930), no. 35. *"[O]n vre drichtines name ic Ailmer biscop kithe alle manne ihwat ic habbe vnnen into sce Eadmunde þat is þat lond at Hindringham, and þat lond at Langham. and þat lond at Hildoluestone 7 þat lond at Suanetone med alle þe þinge þat ic þerto bigete n habbe. and þertoeken half Hundred marc silueres and ihu so ic Wende mine cuide; ic Wille þat þis stonde euere vnawent mine soule to lisidnesse. And se þe þise quide wenden wille; Wende god his ansene him from on domisday."* "In our Lord's name I, Bishop Æthelmær, declare to all men what I have granted to St. Edmund's. That is, the estate at Hindringham and the estate at Langham and the estate at Hindolveston and the estate at Swanton, with all the things which I have acquired there, and in addition half a hundred marks of silver. And however I may change my will, it is my wish that this shall ever remain unchanged for the redemption of my soul."

> acres; woodland at 200 pigs from pasturage; from grazing 7s 6d. Value before 1066 £60; later £40; now £60; however, it pays £100 by weight in revenue but it cannot bear it. Bishop Walkelin holds 6 hides and 1 virgate of this manor's land with a church. These hides of the Bishop paid tax; now [for] 3 hides and 1 virgate; the others did not pay tax.[719]

The phrase 'for his lifetime' must surely represent the terms of a lease which was, like others in which he engaged, overturned when Stigand was deposed and imprisoned. It is possible that he was left some way of supporting himself in his captivity as Queen Edith seemed to think he should be able to do.[720] The provisions of the leases should also have been a guarantee of reversion but instead others received those lands as William kept or redistributed them.

The Abbey of Bury St. Edmund claimed the Norfolk manors of Grimston, Hunstanton and Mildenhall as well as Hintlesham in Suffolk.[721] Grimston and Hunstanton were willed to the abbey c. 1038 by Ælfric, bishop of Elmham, Hintlesham by Leofgifu.[722] *Domesday Book* states merely that Stigand held them before 1066.[723] Mildenhall had belonged to Queen Emma and was confiscated when King Edward relieved her of her possessions in 1043. The king gave the estate to Bury and sometime later Stigand leased it from the abbey.[724] The argument that Stigand forced the lease of this land is based on a Bury claim that he begged the lease from them and they dared not

[719] *DB - Hampshire*, 1.16; Freeman, Edward A., *The History of the Norman Conquest of England, its causes and its results*, 6 Vols. (Oxford, 1867), Vol. IV, p. 333. In which Freeman suggests that the entry supports Thomas Rudborne's claim in Thomas Rudborne, '*Historia Major de Fundatione & Successione Ecclesiæ Wintoniensis' Anglia Sacra Pars Prima*, (London, 1691), Vol. I, p. 250 that Stigand had wealth remaining but Rudborne is merely repeating William of Malmesbury's buried treasure story.
[720] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.8, p. 49.
[721] *DB - Norfolk*, Vol. I, 2.2, 1.209 & 1.115. These estates were valued at £5, £4 and £40, respectively. DB, Suffolk, I 1.118 & 15.1, valued at £10 & £15 respectively. Harmer, F.E., *Anglo-Saxon Writs*, (Manchester, 1952), no. 9.
[722] *Wills* - Whitelock, nos. 88 & 29.
[723] *DB - Norfolk*, Vol. I, 2.2 & 1.209.
[724] *Writs*, no. 9.

refuse him. This claim is found in William Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, a collection of records, compiled in the seventeenth century, pertaining to medieval religious houses. [725] The fact that this claim was made after Stigand's deposition and the confiscation of his lands, including those leased from other landholders, opens the possibility that there was a motive for insisting that Bury was unwilling to do business with him; they were trying to convince the king to return their lands. It may have been politic to distance oneself from the disgraced prelate and in the process imply that the king had rescued the land from an impious man encroaching on church lands.

The Abbey of Abingdon

The Abbey of Abingdon claimed (South) Cerney "for St. Mary's at Abingdon but the County testifies Archbishop Stigand held for 10 years during King Edward's lifetime. King William gave to Roger the Sheriff."[726] This seems like a personal transaction between Stigand and Abingdon Abbey rather than one between the foundation and the see. Abingdon claimed that Stigand extorted this estate from the abbey as a consideration to aid Abbot Spearhavoc to the bishopric of London.

> Stigand bishop of the city of Winchester, who then indeed had care of the archbishopric of Canterbury, (for with its ruler dead the place lacked

[725] William Dugdale, *Monasticon Anglicanum: A History of the Abbies and other Monasteries, Hospitals, Frieries, and Cathedral and Collegiate Churches, with their Dependencies, in England and Wales*, 6 Vols., (London, 1817-1830), Vol. iii , 154, no. 21, cited in Smith "Needle" p. 207, "*qui frequenter ad nos divertens, et graviter expensis et aliis exactionibus onerans, petiit a nobis ut villam de Mildenhall ei ad tempus accommodaremus: cui propter potentiam quam tunc habuit in tota Anglia, et maxime in nobis nondum per curiam Romanam plene exemptis, contradicere non audebamus*." Smith, "Needle", pp. 206-7 suggests that Bury was waging a battle to make its independence clear and cites 6 writs emphasizing the same. Writs, 8-13. These writs do proclaim the abbey's independence of episcopal jurisdiction but other than the fact of their repetition they do not seem particularly forceful. Miss Harmer stated that writ no. 10 was spurious, p. 147.

[726] *DB - Gloucestershire*, 56.2. "*Hoc manerium calumniatum est ad æccleaiam S. Mariae de Abendone; sed omnis comitatus testificatus est Stigandus archiepiscopus x annis tenuisse vivente E. rege."*

> governance), as a crafty pleader, extracted from Spearhafoc the land called Cerny situated in Gloucestershire to be entrusted to him for a set time. As repayment, at the time of the restitution he would add in perpetual gift to the church of Abingdon his own property of Aston, a village neighbouring Lewknor. But when he acquired what he sought, he neither restored what had been entrusted to him, nor discharged the payment for what had been entrusted.[727]

The Abingdon chronicler was in error when he claimed that Stigand "had care of the archbishopric of Canterbury" at the time of Spearhavoc's lease to him. The rejection of Spearhavoc by Robert of Jumièges occurred before the events of 1051 that precipitated the Godwines' exile and return and Robert's own flight from England. Spearhavoc also fled England, according to the Abingdon chronicler, with the materials for the imperial crown he was making for Edward.[728] The bishopric of London was not in Stigand's gift but rather it was at the king's disposal. Stigand would have undoubtedly been consulted when the London see fell vacant and he may have been able to influence the king's decision. Spearhavoc was not consecrated bishop of London because Robert of Jumièges, the archbishop of Canterbury, refused on the grounds of simony. Stigand was not accused of simony at his deposition despite William of Malmesbury's claim that he bought and sold eccesiastical offices.[729]

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[727] Hudson, *Abingdon*, pp. 196-197. "*A quo Stigandus Wentane civitatis episcopus, tunc vero archiepiscopatus Cantie curam gerens, (nam inde defuncto gubernatore locus vacuus manebat regimine), uti callidus perorator, extorsit terram Cyrne vocatam in Glœcestrensi scira sitam, sibi, ad tempus determinatum commendari, ea retributiones mercede, ut restutitionis tempore sin proprii iuris Eastun quandam villam contiguam Leuechenore ecclesie Abbendonensi perpetua coniusgeret donatione. Sed eo quesito iam potito, nec commendatione reddidit, nec commendate remunerationem exsoluit.*"

[728] *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, Vol. 1, John Hudson, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 2007), p.

[729] See above note 405. N. Brooks, 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Community, 597-1070' *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks, eds. (Oxford, 1995), p, 32, Brooks claims Stigand was 'involved in simony.'

Wealth

Domesday Book states that Stigand held Cerney for ten years during King Edward's lifetime. If one assumes that the ten years is accurate, though Domesday Book's calculation of time was often approximate, and was counted back from 1066, rather than referring to just any ten years, one arrives at 1056 or, if one discounts the 13 days Edward lived into 1066, 1055. This date is too late for Spearhavoc's attempt at London. Robert of Jumièges refused Spearhavoc in 1051. Edward allowed Spearhavoc to remain in London but he fled when the Godwines were expelled. On the Godwines return in 1052 Robert of Jumièges fled the archbishopric and the country and died on the continent either in that year or early in the following.[730] Stigand assumed the archiepiscopal see in 1053. Unless one adds five years to Stigand's holding of Cerney, or believes it to have been returned when Spearhavoc was unsuccessful and then ended up in Stigand's hands again, or was handed over five or at the least four years after the fruitless advocacy, it could not have been involved in Spearhavoc's attempt to become bishop of London. Combined with the fact that Stigand was never charged with simony, it seems that Abingdon entered into an agreement with Stigand that it later regretted either because their genuine claim to Cerney was ignored and the land was lost to them at his deposition or for other reasons and they presented the situation in a light they though would effect the estates return.

[730] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*, Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. London, 1961, E *s.a.* (1048) corrected to 1051, 1052, C & D, p. 124 & E, p. 125-6.

Wealth

Domesday Book

The majority of the information available about Stigand's landholding is to be found in *Domesday Book*. He or persons associated with him held 372 parcels of land in nineteen counties. The total *Domesday* T. R. E. value of those lands was £5,280.[731] Many of these lands were held not 'from' Stigand but 'under' him. As the compilers of *Domesday Book* appeared to use 'under' to mean 'commended to' rather than to mean that the land in question was held 'from' a particular person, such lands associated with Stigand's men are not included in the following totals.[732] Fines and other payments or renders would only increase Stigand's income. Land attributed to Stigand's direct holding, either personally or in conjunction with his offices, is found in eighteen counties. [Table 1.1] The total estimated value of these lands, based on *Domesday Book* figures was £3,367. After subtraction of £1,147, the value of lands held for feeding and clothing the monks, £2,220 remained at Stigand's disposal.

Stigand's personal holdings have been determined by totaling all lands in each county associated with him in *Domesday Book* and then subtracting those known to have

[731] John McDonald and G. D. Snooks, *Domesday Economy: A New Approach to Anglo-Norman History*, (Oxford, 1986), Chapter 5 for an analysis of Domesday values and a refutation of J. H. Round, *Feudal England : historical studies on the XIth and XIIth Centuries,* (London, 1895), p. 48. McDonald and Snooks argued that *DB* values represent actual rents and revenues. Round believed Domesday values to be artificial, theoretical values and thus useless for determining income. F. W. Maitland, *Domesday Book and Beyond: Three Essays in the Early History of England,* (Cambridge, 1897), p. 464-6. Maitland accepted Round's conclusion that DB annual values were artificial and therefore useless in assessing the economy though Maitland's sampling methods were less prone to error and presaged modern random sampling; Baxter, Stephen, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 130. Baxter leans toward the view expressed by R. Lennard, *Rural England 1086-1135: A Study of Social and Agrarian Conditions*, (Oxford, 1959), pp. 105-212. Lennard defined Domesday values as "an estimate of the amount of cash which an estate could be expected to yield through rent and other forms of income during the course of a year." David Roffe, *Domesday: the Inquest and the Book*, (London, 1999), p. 42. Roffe defines Domesday values as "…a sum that went out of the estate to an overlord in recognition of a soke relationship." In this thesis, Lennard's definition pertains.

[732] Baxter, Stephen, *The Earls of Mercia*, (Oxford, 2007), p. 215. Baxter accepts the 'X held *de* or *sub* Y' to mean that X was commended to Y.

Table 1.1

Stigand's Landholdings and those of the Monks of Canterbury and Winchester: T.R.E.

County	**Stigand**	**Canterbury**		**Winchester**	
		Bishop	**Monks**	**Bishop**	**Monks**
Bedfordshire	25	--	--	--	--
Berkshire	--	--	--	32	16
Buckinghamshire	--	--	27	15	12
Cambridgeshire	34	--	--	31	--
Dorset	66	--	--	--	--
Essex	--	--	63	--	--
Gloucestershire	79	--	--	--	--
Hampshire	60	--	--	388	502
Hertfordshire	86	--	--	6	--
Kent	40	577	279	--	--
Middlesex	--	40	--	--	--
Norfolk	212	--	--	--	--
Oxfordshire	16	--	--	34	--
Somerset	--	--	--	70	15
Suffolk	94	--	27	--	--
Surrey	--	44	22	55	--
Sussex	--	117	45	--	--
Wiltshire	--	--		101	139 [733]
Total		**778**	**463**	**732**	**684**
Total Bishop	**£1,510**				
Total Monks	**£1,147**				
Total Stigand	**£ 710**				
Total Sees	**£2,657**	**£1,241**		**£1,416**	
Total Stigand's disposal	**£2,220**				
Grand Total	**£3,367**				

been associated with his offices.[734] There is no certainty that this system is wholly accurate as Stigand was usually referred to by his titles in *Domesday Book*, it is as close

[733] The initial form of this table came from Smith, "Needle" appendix. Dr. Smith consistently used TRE values in determining her totals but in the case of South Malling, I believe inadvertently used TRW values thus causing a £40 discrepancy. Dr. Smith did not separate the bishop's land values from the monk's. Only land held 'by' or 'from' Stigand is included. Land held 'under' Stigand is most often held by those free to sell or grant it therefore are assumed to be under Stigand's patronage or commended to him but not holding Stigand's land from him.

[734] For corroboration of Canterbury's and Winchester's holdings and their division I cross referenced my own findings from *Domesday Book* with Mary Frances Smith, *Episcopal Landholding, Lordship and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation Boston University, 1997), Appendix

as possible to a rough estimate. The combined value of Stigand's offices T.R.E. of £1,510 was a huge increase from the £188 value placed on the bishopric of Elmham's lands, Stigand's first episcopal office.[735] In an economy in which fifty acres of land could be valued at ten shillings, an income in excess of £2,000 was an enormous sum.[736]

The bishoprics of Sherborne at £552 and London at £430 were valued at only a fraction of Stigand's over-all resources: 16% and 12% respectively. Bishop Leofric of Exeter held lands valued at only £198, £15 of which were specifically set aside for the canons. He personally held an additional three manors valued at a total of £11 which he donated to the see in 1072.[737] The bishop of Hereford held lands valued at £251 with an additional £25 in waste and £30 alienated to Earl Harold. Stigand's personal holdings, worth £798, were more than twice the value of those of the see of York at £367: £279 for the bishop's lands and £88 for those of the minster.[738] It was only when Worcester and York were combined that their value, £832, exceeded Stigand's personal worth.[739] Ealdred, archbishop of York, in contrast with Stigand, held lands in only three counties: Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire and York. Ealdred also held separate lands, neither the archbishopric's nor the minster's, to the value of £59 in Gloucestershire, Worcestershire, Hampshire, and Devon. Of those in which Ealdred held, only Hampshire and

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4; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984), p. 312 also provided a list of Canterbury's holdings as off 1066.

[735] Mary Frances Smith, Episcopal Landholding, Lordship and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England (unpublished dissertation Boston University, 1997), Appendix 2, p. 302. During Stigand's pontificate Elmham was probably worth less as Æthelmær is known to have added a number of estates to the see's endowment.

[736] *DB – Norfolk*, 5.5 Nayland in Humbleyard hundred.

[737] Smith, 'Episcopal Landholding', Appendix 2, pp. 311-12; Dawlish and Holcombe in Devon and Bampton in Oxfordshire.

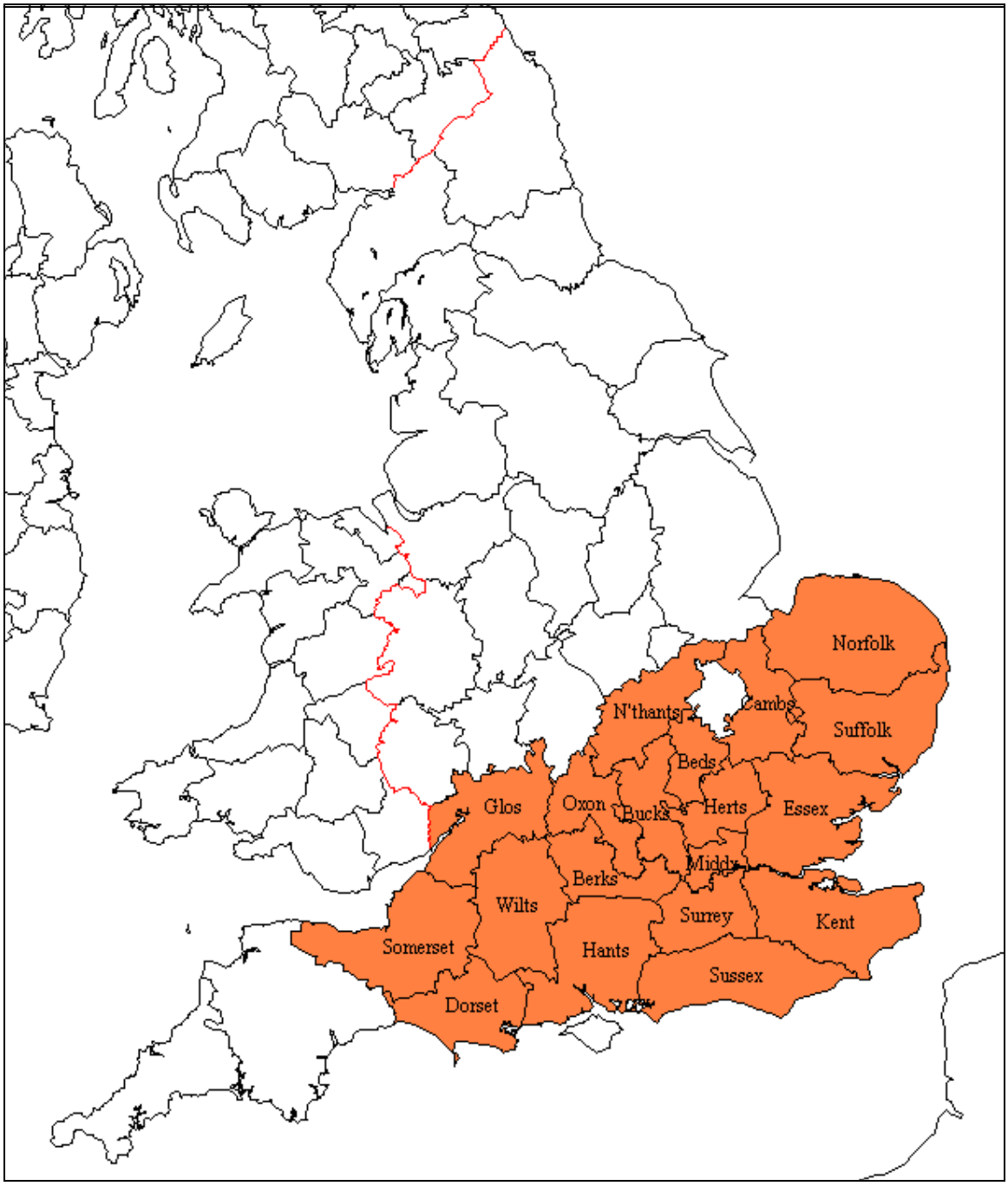
[738] *Ibid*., Appendix 4.14, p.330. This figure includes the value of the archbishop's and the minster's lands.

[739] *Ibid*., Appendix 2, pp. 301-2.

Gloucestershire valued at £4 and £174 respectively overlapped with Stigand's. Ealdred also held in Devon and Yorkshire. This disparity in wealth and consequently power, in comparison with the archbishopric of Canterbury rather than merely a desire for additional riches, may have contributed to Ealdred's attempt to continue holding Worcester and York in plurality and why he withheld certain manors when forced to appoint Wulfstan to Worcester. Stigand's personal holdings even exceed the value of the episcopal lands of the see of Winchester. [Table 1.2] It is noteworthy that a number of estates listed in the Norfolk returns as 'Lands of Bishop Stigand held by William de Noyers in the King's hand' as well as a number of others, more than 1,200 acres, were un-assessed, thus the value of Stigand's Norfolk lands could only have been greater than the £248 that can be determined from the entries. The heading of this section of *Domesday Book* might be taken to imply that the compilers were attempting to gloss over Stigand's archiepiscopate as they did with Harold's rule; however, the survey more often than not referred to him by his metropolitan title.

Geographically, Stigand's combined holdings were represented in all of the counties south of the northern borders of Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, Northamptonshire, Oxfordshire and Gloucestershire excepting only Devon, Cornwall and Huntingdonshire.[740] [Map 1.1] Tidenham, the estate he leased from the Abbey of Bath, sat near the border with Gwent and therefore the bishopric of Llandaff. There is no record of Stigand having any contact with his Welsh neighbor.

[740] See map 1.1.



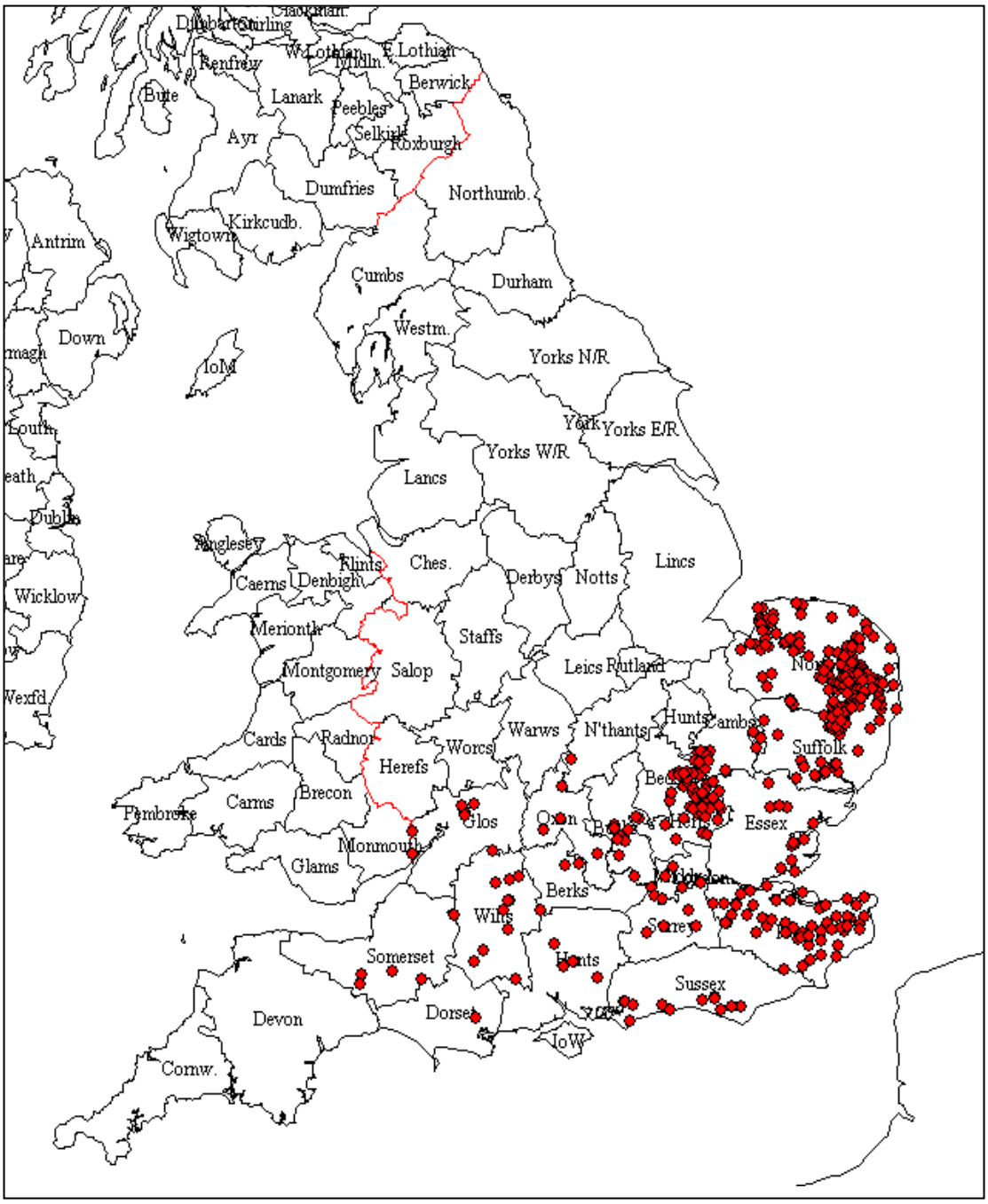
Map 1.1 Counties in which Stigand held land personally and in connection with his offices.

Wealth

David Parsons' study of *Domesday Book* personal names shows a coincidence of Old Norse personal names within the area of the greatest concentration of Stigand's lands in Norfolk and Suffolk. Parsons demonstrated that the northeastern-most hundreds, Lothingland, Lothing, Wangford and Blything, in Suffolk had the highest incidence of Old Norse personal names in that county.[741] Norfolk contained a higher incidence of Old Norse personal names than did Suffolk. Most of Stigand's Norfolk and Suffolk lands were concentrated in a group that ran northwest to southeast across the county border in this heavily Norse-named area. This concentration, as well as the possibility that Stigand inherited some if not most of his personal holdings, suggests that Stigand's family may have been prominent members of an Anglo-Scandinavian hegemony in the region. He had a similar, though smaller, concentration of lands at the conjunction of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, and Hertfordshire yet the percentage of Old Norse personal names there is much lower than in Norfolk and Suffolk. David Parsons suggested that, "Whatever may have been the extent of ninth-century Viking activity here, the name-evidence taken as a whole suggests that Scandinavian influence was not strong enough, or durable enough, to make much of an impact on later centuries."[742] Perhaps the lasting influence was not cultural but economic.

Stigand's lands ran along the southern and eastern coasts, as far as the southern border of Lincolnshire. A number of his manors were directly on or very near the sea.

[741] David Parsons, "Anna, Dot, Thorir…Counting Domesday Person Names" *Nomina*, Vol. 25, (2002), pp. 42, 47 and 49, maps 4, 5 and 6.
[742] *Ibid*., p. 45.



Map 1.2 Stigand's personal and episcopal holdings

Coastal defense may have been one of the obligations he owed given the sensitive positions of some of his lands. [Map 1.2] Bishops, as well as other landholders, were

Table 2.1

[743]**Value of Canterbury Holdings Relative to County and See**

County	Value by County (£)	Total Value of County	% of County	Total Value of See	% of See
Buckinghamshire	27	1,947	1.4	1,267	2.1
Essex	63	5,047	1.2		4.9
Kent	856	4,770	17.9		67.7
Middlesex	40	740	5.4		3.2
Suffolk	27	3,828	.7		2.1
Surrey	66	1,533	4.3		5.2
Sussex	188	3,116	6.0		14.8

Table 2.2 [744]**Value of Winchester Holdings Relative to County and See**

County	Value by County (£)	Total Value of County	% of County	Total Value of See	% of See
Berkshire	48	2,524	1.9	1,394	3.4
Buckinghamshire	27	1,947	1.4		1.9
Cambridgeshire	31	1,847	1.7		2.2
Hampshire	890	3,415	26.1		62.3
Hertfordshire	6	1,458	.4		1.0
Oxfordshire	12	2,878	.4		2.4
Somerset	85	4,361	1.9		6.1
Surrey	55	1,533	3.6		3.9
Wiltshire	240	4,770	5.0		16.8

required to contribute to the building of ships and to providing crew. Stigand would certainly have had the resources to do so. At 310 hides per ship and eight hides to a helmet and corselet, several ships and their crews would have been provided by Stigand

[743] Smith, 'Episcopal Landholding', Appendix 3 with adjusted figures.
[744] *Ibid.*

and his sees.[745] Canterbury and Winchester lands were also widely dispersed with greater

concentrations in the see's home counties and one additional county nearby, as might be expected. [Tables 2.1 and 2.2]

In addition to holding widely dispersed lands, Stigand held in the most productive counties. 32 shillings per square mile was the average yield for all counties kingdom-wide with only four exceeding that amount. Stigand held in all counties that out performed this average. [Table 3.1] The most productive counties in relation to rate of return for labor were also counties in which Stigand held land, so that even in counties that produced the average yield of 32 shillings per square mile such as Gloucestershire or Cambridgeshire, his laborers were producing some of the highest returns per man.[Table 3.2] As an example: Snailwell in Cambridgeshire was assessed at 5 hides valued at £15. Six of his freemen, and those who worked below them, maintained a manor on which each hide had a value of £3. This means that even in counties where he held comparatively little land, such as Dorset or Oxfordshire or in which the yield per square mile was only the average he still likely reaped a very good rate of return.

The greater part of Stigand's lands lay in Norfolk in which he held interests in churches, residences and burgesses in Norwich as well as lands in the wider county. Most of his Norfolk manors were concentrated around Norwich though there was an additional,

[745] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, *s.a.*1008, p. 88. "Her bebead se cyng *þæt man sceolde ofer eall Angelcyn scypu fæstlice wyrcan, þæt is þonne of þrym hund scipum, 7 x be tynum, anne scægð, 7 of viii hydum, helm 7 byrnan.*" David Hill, An Atlas of Englo-Saxon England, (Oxford, 1981), pp. 92-3.

Table 3.1

[746]Average Yield per Square Mile by County in which Stigand Held (In shillings)

Bedfordshire	50	Middlesex	53
Berkshire	70	Norfolk	40
Buckinghamshire	52	Northamptonshire	32
Cambridgeshire	43	Oxfordshire	78
Dorset	68	Somerset	54
Essex	67	Suffolk	53
Gloucestershire	50	Surrey	39
Hampshire	42	Sussex	44
Hertfordshire	46	Wiltshire	69
Kent	62		
Overall average	**53**		

Table 3.2

[747]Counties with the Highest Average Level of Labor Productivity (In shillings)

Buckinghamshire	9	Kent	9
Cambridgeshire	8	Oxfordshire	10
Dorset	10	Somerset	8
Essex	8	Surrey	8
Gloucestershire	10	Wiltshire	11
Hampshire	8		

smaller concentration near King's Lynn. It was also in Norfolk that Stigand's brother Æthelmær held land, including inherited estates. Their sister, who is noted but not named in *Domesday Book*, held lands in and around Norwich. It is this information that leads to the conclusion that Norfolk and perhaps specifically Norwich was the center of Stigand's family interests. There was also a grouping of manors around the conjunction of Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire. The lands seem to have clustered around the Bedfordshire manor of Biggleswade. The remainder of his lands were well

[746] Darby, H. C., *Domesday England*, (Cambridge, 1977), p. 228.
[747] *Ibid.*

scattered throughout southern England. The counties in which Stigand held the greater percentages of his total estate did not overlap with those in which the sees of Canterbury and Winchester held their largest percentages. [Map 1.2 and Table 4]

Table 4

[748]Value of Stigand's Personal Holdings Relative to County and Total Values in Pounds

Stigand's County	Value of Land by County	Total Value of County	% of County	Total Value Stigand's Holding	% of Holding
Bedfordshire	25	1,164	2.1	798	3.1
Cambridgeshire	49	1,847	2.7		6.1
Dorset	66	3,110	2.1		8.3
Gloucestershire	79	3,204	2.3		9.9
Hampshire	62	3,415	1.8		7.8
Hertfordshire	84	1,115	7.3		10.5
Kent	63	4,770	1.3		7.9
Norfolk	248	4,094	6.1		31.1
Oxfordshire	38	2,878	.6		4.8
Suffolk	84	3,828	2.3		10.5

The *Domesday Book* entry for Hemsby, Norfolk pointed out that Earl Alfar had held this manor, that Ailwy had purchased the land, that Stigand had taken it from him and given it to his brother. No explanation was given for Stigand's action. They could have been prompted by ruthlessness or the land may not have been eligible for purchase. The land may have been owed for some reason or have belonged to the church and thus not available for Earl Algar to sell or Ailwy to purchase. Stigand also gave land as well as took it. The *Domesday Book* entry for Occold in Suffolk states of twenty acres worth forty shillings that, "Stigand gave it to Robert Malet's mother. Later she had it from the

[748] This table is patterned after appendix 3 in Smith, *Episcopal Landholding.*

Queen, now the bishop [of Bayeux] holds it."[749] This one entry demonstrates that landholding was not static. Land could and did move between holders. In some cases, such as that of Occold, it is difficult to know how and why a manor traveled a particular path. The landholding had to have traveled from Stigand, the original tenant-in-chief, to Robert's mother, who held it possibly from Stigand, from her to the queen either Edith or Matilda, back to Robert's mother and yet somehow ended up in the hands of the bishop of Bayeux, the tenant-in-chief at the time of the Domesday survey. The often succinct statements given in *Domesday Book* rarely give enough information to form a definite explanation of the history of holding a particular estate but they do make clear the fact that lands ended up in a holders hands through various paths other than grant, lease or purchase.

Domesday Book testifies to the redistribution of Stigand's wealth after his deposition. There were, conservatively estimated, approximately 1,634 hides and carucates of land once in Stigand's possession that were re-allotted to others after April 1070.[750] Very few of the major tenants-in-chief were recipients of this redistribution of wealth. The bishop of Winchester benefited most; he received 448 hides which included lands in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Hampshire, Oxfordshire, Somerset and the entirety of Stigand's lands, 260 hides, in Wiltshire resulting in the receipt of 26% of Stigand's confiscated lands. The bishop received only two hides in Hampshire of the seventy-nine available. The king kept, among others, seventy-two of Stigand's Hampshire hides, all of his lands in Dorset, amounting to thirty hides, and the

[749] *DB – Suffolk*, 77.1.
[750] Lands listed in *Domesday Book* in acres in Norfolk and Suffolk have been totaled in each county and divided by 120 to approximate hides in order to limit the types of units of measure in this section.

largest portions in Norfolk and Suffolk, ninety-six hides, nine carucates in Norfolk and forty-seven hides, six carucates in Suffolk. The total of the king's acquisitions amounted to 330 hides and carucates or 20% of the whole. The archbishop of Canterbury's portion also amounted to approximately 20%. He received the entirety of Stigand's lands in Surrey and Sussex, approximately 255 hides as well as a considerable portion of those in Middlesex and minor amounts in Hertfordshire and Suffolk. The bishop of Bayeux received sixty-one hides, the majority in Norfolk. The Church, over all, benefited more than any other recipient receiving 55% of Stigand's lands compared with 26%, granted in significant quantity, to important lay landholders and 19% distributed in small amounts, each equaling less than 1% of the overall total, to various others some of which were churches or monasteries. None of the monastic foundations from which Stigand had leased lands received any portion of the redistribution. They may have eventually retrieved their lands but often only after prolonged legal disputes. Lands leased from and later withheld from the abbey of Ely may have been withheld in conjunction with the abbey's involvement in Hereward's rebellion rather than because of Stigand or mere venality.

King William's redistribution of Stigand's land did more than simply hand possession to new holders; it also broke up the large blocks that had existed prior to the archbishop's deposition. Only when the recipient was the Church did William allow large amounts of land in a single county to go undivided to its new holder. The bishop of Winchester received the entirety of Stigand's lands in Berkshire, Somerset and Wiltshire; the archbishop of Canterbury those in Surrey and Sussex. The monks of Holy Trinity,

Canterbury received all of the redistributed lands in Essex.[751] Stigand's holdings in Cambridgeshire were primarily divided between the king and four other major holders, the bishops of Winchester and Bayeux, Hardwin de Scales and Picot of Cambridge. Norfolk was likewise divided between the king, the bishop of Bayeux, Roger Bigot, William de Warenne and Ralph de Beaufour. Hertfordshire was divided between the bishops of Bayeux and London, Hardwin de Scales and the archbishop of Canterbury. Suffolk was distributed between the king, the archbishop of Canterbury, Roger Bigot and Robert Malet. In the cases of each of the last four counties, that is Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Hertfordshire and Suffolk, small amounts of land were divided among various minor holders. In Bedfordshire the king kept all but one hide which was granted to Walter Giffard. In Dorset the king retained all of the lands confiscated from Stigand.

Charters and **Writs**

The documents in which Stigand either received or distributed wealth span the years 1035 to 1066. They are issued by Edward the Confessor, the abbot and community of Bury St. Edmund, Stigand and the community of Old Minster, Winchester, Abbot Ælfwig and the community at Bath, Brihtmær of Gracechurch in London, and an apparently personal grant by a man named Stigand to his priest Ælfgar which may or may not be archbishop Stigand. The wills were drawn up on behalf of Ketel, Leofgifu and Thurstan, son of Wine.

[751] Brooks, *Early History*, pp. 55 and 340 n. 63. Brooks points out that "Holy Trinity was the dedication of Lanfranc's Norman cathedral built in the decade after the fire of 1067, and is found in charters and official documents after that time alongside the older 'Christ Church.' But dedication to the Trinity is not found in any pre-Conquest record; in the eleventh century the Saxon cathedral is always (as it had been since Augustine's day) *ecclesia sancti Salvatoris* or *ecclesia Christi*."

Wealth

In a lease between Stigand, in conjunction with the community of Old Minster, Winchester, and Wulfweard the White, who had been the recipient of a post *obit* gift from Queen Emma, establish or re-establish a relationship between Emma's advisor, her servant and Old Minster.[752] The queen left 10 hides on Hayling Island to be divided equally between Old Minster and Wulfweard for his lifetime. After Wulfweard's death the land was to revert to the minster along with the produce and men belonging to the land. The monks agreed to allow Wulfweard to hold their 5 hides for his lifetime for the payment of an agreed upon sum and to receive all 10 hides, per Emma's gift, at his death.[753] His close association with Emma may have been a factor in the gift and the agreement.

Brihtmær of Gracechurch [London] granted his land in that place, the church of All Hallows and all endowments which had been bestowed upon the community of Christ Church, Canterbury.[754] The charter states that the lease was an agreement between Brihtmær, Archbishop Stigand, Godric the dean of Christ Church and the community of Christ Church. Bishop William of London, after his return from his flight with Robert of Jumièges, represented the Church among the witnesses; the others were Leofstan the portreeve and thegns within and outwith the city. There is no way to know if this gift was

[752] http://www.esawyer.org.uk, **S 1476**, 1047 x 1053, Emma was the wife, successively, of Æthelred II and Cnut and the mother of Edward and Harthacnut. C. Plummer, *Two of the Saxon Chronicles Parallel*, 2 vols (Oxford, 1892; 1899), p. 239. Plummer considered the document to be genuine. D. Knowles, C. N. L. Brooke, and V. London, eds., *The Heads of Religious Houses England and Wales 940-1216*, p. 236. Knowles, Brooke and London believed the document to be very likely an early forgery, but possibly genuine

[753] Robertson, *Charters*, no. 114.

[754] http://www.esawyer.org.uk, **S 1234**, 1052 x 1070 (possibly 1054) Knowles, Brooke, and London, *The Heads of Religious Houses*, p. 236. Knowles *et al* consider the document to be probably genuine. M. Gelling, The Early Charters of the Thames Valley (Leicester, 1979), no. 357. Gelling believes it to be genuine.

actively sought or if Brihtmær had a particular reason for making this gift to Canterbury rather than to the see of London and his own bishop.

The two charters issued by Stigand and the community of Old Minster, Winchester are leases for two lives for small amounts of land. In the case of S 1402 the recipient is one Æthelmær and his son Sæman. There is no suggestion in the charter itself that this Æthelmær was Stigand's brother who followed him as bishop of Elmham. While Stigand's brother had been married there is no record of a son and this is the only instance in which the names Stigand and Sæman occur together.[755] The lease to Wulfric, S1403, allowed him to grant the land to whomever he wished. In both cases the rent for the land was "*swylcan sceatte swylce he hit þa findæ mihte*," which could suggest either a compassionate landlord or rack-renting though the latter would make little sense as the practice would impoverish a tenant with whom one intended a relationship of some years duration.[756]

In the two leases discussed above, *i.e.* Wulfweard the White's bequest to Old Minster and Brihtmaer of Gracechurch's to Christ Church, Stigand can be seen actively increasing the revenue and value of Winchester's and Canterbury's endowments. Alienated lands were expected to return rewards either in rents, services, alliances or a combination of benefits. Most of the lands alienated from Canterbury's endowment were let by previous incumbents and merely confirmed by Stigand. This confirmation of existing leases would suggest that the relationship was satisfactory and beneficial to all

[755] *DB – Norfolk*, 10.28.
[756] "for as much money as he could furnish at the time". There was no mention of other or later rent.

parties. While periodically lands may have been alienated through lease or outright encroachment from either or both of his sees Stigand is shown in these two documents to have been actively seeking to increase the holdings and wealth of his bishopric and archbishopric.[757]

The charter, S 1224 dated c AD 1040, in which Stigand grants to his priest Ælfgar lands at Playford in Suffolk that will, after the deaths of both, pass to Bury St. Edmunds seems to be a personal arrangement rather than one made in conjunction with any church or foundation.[758] If the dating is correct, Stigand would have been a priest and presumably still the incumbent of the minster at Ashingdon indicating that he had land resources separate from the church and of which he was free to dispose as he wished. Archbishop Stigand had what appears to have been a long and close association with Bury St. Edmunds.[759] One of the witnesses to this transaction was Ælfwine, Wulfweard's son. If this Wulfweard is the same as that in S 1476 in which Stigand and the community at Old Minster lease land to Wulfweard the White, one more connection to the archbishop can be traced. The estate of Playford is not listed in Domesday Book among those properties formerly in Stigand's hands nor is a priest or any other person named Ælfgar associated with it.[760]

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[757] *DB - Surrey*, 2.3. In Brixton Hundred Stigand held Mortlake which the jurors say Harold took by force. Mortlake is held by the Archbishop of Canterbury *TRW*.
[758] S 1224, Robertson, *Charters*, pp. 424-6. C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England* (Leicester, 1966), no. 91. Pelteret, *Slavery*, p. 167.
[759] Smith, "Needle", pp. 206-7. Smith claims that the relationship was purely exploitative on Stigand's part after stating that the relationship was complex and difficult to untangle.
[760] *DB – Suffolk*, Vol. 1, 3.112.

Wealth

The document granting Stigand a life lease of 30 hides at Tidenham, Gloucestershire and issued by Abbot Ælfwig and the community of Bath appears to have been a personal transaction, *i.e.* not between one community and another but between Bath Abbey and Stigand.[761] The document is dated 1061 – 1065. The fee for this lease, which was distinct from the annual rent, was 10 marks of gold and 20 pounds of silver. The annual render was 1 mark of gold, 6 porpoises and thirty thousand herring.[762] This would average out to more than £1 per hide. Stigand may have had a purely entrepreneurial interest in Tidenham. The Tidenham estate included sixty-three fisheries. The market for fish was on the increase in the eleventh-century and he may have seen the estate as a good investment.[763] Fisheries came largely into the control of the elite according to James Barrett.[764] Stigand's lease of an important fishing manor may have been part of this trend. Profits from the transportation of goods may also have been behind a wish to hold this estate. The Bristol Channel is provided with a number of small harbors which could be used for this purpose.

All of the wills, with the exception of the will of Ketel, are known to have existed in multiple copies.[765] Thurstan's bequest to Christ Church, Canterbury was revised at some point and a second *chirograph* made. The will thus existed, in one form or another,

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[761] **S 1426**

[762] *DB – Gloucestershire,* 1.56; Christopher Dyer, *Everyday Life in Medieval England*, (London, 2000), p. 106. According to Dyer in 1461 one herring cost one farthing which is equivalent to 4 herrings to the penny. This would have made the annual rent approximately £32 plus 1 mark of gold and 6 porpoises assuming that the cost of herring had remained relatively stable over the intervening years.

[763] James Barrett, "Dark Arge Economics revisited: the English fish bone evidence AD 600-1600" *Antiquity*, Vol. 78, No. 301, (2004), p. 624.

[764] *Ibid*., p. 629.

[765] **S 1521**, **S 1530** and **S 1531**, Ketel's will, **S 1519** may have been drawn up in multiple copies, however, there is no reference to that fact, as there is within the body of the other wills; one additional copy survives. The will of Ketel's mother Wulfgyth **S 1535** survives in three MSS with at least one a later copy. The will of Edwin, Ketel's uncle was originally made in triplicate.

in at least six copies entrusted to three different parties.[766] The other two wills were made in triplicate but they appear to have been three separate single sheets.[767] The number of copies of each will, all apparently contemporary with each other, lays to rest concerns about authenticity.

The wills that have survived were those of wealthy thegns or their wives. Thurstan's bequest to Christ Church, Canterbury was revised at some point and a second *chirograph* made. Ketel's will, S 1519, made prior to a pilgrimage to Rome bequeaths land both to Christ Church and to Archbishop Stigand. The land to Christ Church was meant for his soul and Sæflæd's.

A man named Stigand is a beneficiary in the will of Leofgifu, S 1521, (1030 x 1044) but it is unlikely that this Stigand was the later bishop and archbishop. Leofgifu gives nearly all of the beneficiaries in her will a title or reference to herself, e.g. 'priest' or 'kinsman' If the will was written near the later part of the date range, Stigand would have been bishop of Elmham, if nearer the early part of the date range, he would still have been the incumbent of the minster at Ashingdon and a priest of Cnut's household. The 'important' beneficiaries as opposed to the 'personal' appear at the beginning of the bequests but the name Stigand is found amongst the members of the household. It seems unlikely that Leofgifu would go to the trouble of identifying her reeves, steward and servants but would slight so important a man as her priest or bishop. In addition the estate bestowed on 'Stigand', Willesham, is not associated with Stigand, priest, bishop or

[766] **S 1530** There are three Old English and four Latin manuscripts of this will. Both upper portions of MS1 and MS2 survive. S 1531 Stigand is the recipient of half a mark of gold.
[767] **S 1521** and **S 1531**.

archbishop, in *Domesday Book*. The survey says only that "A free woman commended to Harold held Willisham." It is not known for certain that the woman in question was Leofgifu or that the Will*is*ham she held was the Will*es*ham in the will.

Ketel's will, S 1519, made prior to a pilgrimage to Rome, bequeathed land both to Christ Church and to Archbishop Stigand. The land to Christ Church was meant for his soul and Sæflæd's. The land at Harling he granted to Stigand as his lord. He also granted an estate called Frating "According to the agreement which you yourself and Archbishop Stigand my lord made."[768] There is no explanation as to what the agreement entailed and therefore no way to know in what capacity Stigand was made the beneficiary of this bequest. It is known that he was Ketel's lord as arrangements for the payment of heriot, discussed in the previous chapter, indicate, but Stigand could have been a kinsman or former confessor or have had some other relationship with his benefactor.

Two documents, S 1530 and 1531 are bequests from a man Thurstan, son of Wine. While the first of the two does not identify Thurstan as the son of Wine, he does bequeath property at Wimbish in both. In S 1530, the earlier will, Stigand is titled *preost* in the witness list and received nothing. In S 1531, Stigand has been appointed Bishop of Elmham, is a beneficiary in receipt of half a mark of gold and is also a witness in

[768] http://www.esawyer.org.uk, **S 1519**, "*after þat ilke forward þat þu þe self and Stigand Archebiscop mine louerd wrouhten*." There are no details about the agreement and no indication who 'you yourself' might have been. Possibly Earl Harold. Neither Harling f. 223r nor Frating f. 75v are associated with Stigand in Domesday Book. Brooks, N., 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late Anglo-Saxon England' *Ethelred the Unready*, D. Hill, ed., (London, 1978), pp. 87-91. Brooks discusses the payment of heriot. C. Hart, *The Early Charters of Eastern England,* (Leicester, 1966), pp. 77, 95 no, 118. Hart finds the will authentic.

Norfolk. The will was apparently witnessed in each of the shires where there were beneficiaries. Both of the wills are believed to be authentic.[769]

While *Domesday Book,* monastic chronicles, charters and wills address some of the ways Stigand gained wealth, only the chronicles among them made any comment on what he did with it. He was never accused of too great a love for food as William of Malmesbury did Bishop Samson of Worcester though Samson's hospitality was praised.[770] He was never charged with a lack of generosity as was Bishop Theulf of Worcester, Samson's successor.[771] Stigand was not accused of rapacious acquisition of wealth until after his deposition, in fact after his death. He was not charged with absconding with lands or offices immediately after his deposition and during his incarceration when he was most vulnerable but only after his death when such accusations could no longer do him harm. He was not known to indulge in hunting or other occupations particular to the elite. He was known neither as a collector of relics nor as a founder of religious establishments. What is known is that he gave generous gifts to churches. The Ely inventory lists a number of sumptuous and valuable gifts from Stigand to the abbey one of which was described as "than which none in the kingdom is reckoned richer or more valuable."[772] He used gifts of Queen Emma to provide a large cross of gold and silver to Winchester.[773]

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[769] **S 1530**, E. A. Bond, *Facsimiles*, p. 7. D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), pp. 189-92. Brooks, N., 'Arms, Status and Warfare in Late-Saxon England', in D. Hill (ed.), *Ethelred the Unready: Papers from the Millenary Conference*, B.A.R. (British ser.), lix (1978), pp. 87-91 on the payment of heriot. **S 1531,** *Wills*, pp. 192-7. HRH, p. 236. A. Kennedy, "Law and Litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcop"*, *Anglo-Saxon England*, xxiv (1995), p. 167 n. 143.
[770] *GP*, Book IV, chapter 150.1 & β.
[771] *Ibid*., 151.2 β.
[772] *LE* - Blake, Book II, chapter 98, p. 168.
[773] *Annales de Wintonia in Annales Monastici*, Vol. II, H. R. Luard, ed., (London, 1864-69).

Wealth

Stigand was not merely a wealthy man from Norfolk who visited the rest of the country. He was wealthy, *i.e.* he was economically significant, in nearly every shire in the south of England. If the revenues of the bishop's lands are added to his own he and his households would have been leading economic factors on which the counties where he held land were dependent. He acquired those lands through inheritance, lease, purchase, exchange, office, seizure and royal gift. He was an extremely wealthy man but there is no evidence that he was a rapacious land grabber out for all he could get. He appears to have used land transactions as a way of cementing ties with various important religious houses. These transactions went both ways. The Abbot of Ely leased land from Stigand as did the Abbot of Bath just as did he from each of them and others.[774] There is no way to know if the transactions were literally reciprocal, if they occurred at the same time or in direct response to each other but they may have been viewed by the participants as an alliance rooted in the land. In addition to supporting his households, which can be taken as read, Stigand appears to have used his wealth for very little. Given the sparse nature of the record, it must be acknowledged that Stigand spent money on many things of which there are no extant accounts. All that can be said from the record is that when Stigand used his wealth, he used it to adorn houses of God.

[774] *DB- Norfolk*, Vol. II, 66.55, *Hampshire*, 2.16, and *Gloucestershire*, 1.56.

Chapter 5

Stigand and the Church

The Church has ever proved indestructible. Her persecutors have failed to destroy her; in fact, it was during times of persecution that the Church grew more and more; while the persecutors themselves, and those whom the Church would destroy, are the very ones who came to nothing.

Saint Thomas Aquinas

Stigand and the Church

It is in searching for Stigand's activities within the church that one finds the least information. Discussion of his political activities is available in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and in the works of William of Malmesbury and William of Poitiers among others. His landholdings and his methods of acquisition are addressed in *Domesday Book*, in charters and in land claims and complaints in the chronicles of Abingdon and Ely abbeys. There is very little comment about Stigand as a priest. William of Malmesbury said, "He persisted [after the revocation of the *pallium*] with no thought for the salvation of souls so long as he went on enjoying his lay honours."[775] All other remarks are in a similar vein; they comment on Stigand's overly political attitude towards his high offices but only this remark brought his approach to the pastoral aspects of his position into question. It is a modern interpretation that Stigand was an inadequate pastor.

> "The number of clerks from Edward's *scriptorium* who gained promotion was rather larger, and in this class there was marked foreign element. Three were Lotharingians, two were Normans, and of the five Englishmen, one, Leofric, had been educated in Lorraine. Among the royal clerks was Stigand, the unsatisfactory archbishop of Canterbury. But he should not be regarded as typical. Curial bishops were as a rule excellent administrators, respectable in character, and devoted to the king."[776]

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[775] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, Vol. I, M. Winterbottom, ed. & trans. (Oxford, 2007), Book I, chapter 23.4, p. 47, *"...perstitit, parum cogitans de animarum salute tantum forensi frueretur honore."*

[776] Frank Barlow, *The Feudal Kingdom of England: 1042-1216*, 4th ed., (New York, 1988), p. 34.

Stigand and the Church

Stigand was placed, and kept, in both Winchester and Canterbury by the king. He held positions or offices serving the king for fifty years. He was apparently quite satisfactory despite disagreements with the papacy. There is no suggestion prior to the Conquest that Stigand was not respectable in character or devoted to the king. Barlow stated that Stigand while grieved for the Godwines' plight in 1051 refused to leave his 'implacable' master.[777] He was therefore loyal to the king. The situation begs the question of what is actually known about Stigand the priest *as* a priest. There are frequent references to Stigand's invasion of the see of Canterbury, "Stigand, who had formerly given up the bishopric of the East Angles, purposing a higher elevation, appropriated Winchester and, deceiving the innocent simplicity of King Edward, obtained the archbishopric of Canterbury in Robert's lifetime,"[778] on his lack of a *pallium,*[779] on his bishops requiring consecration at someone else's hand[780] and his numerous 'excommunications'.[781] No sources from the pre-Conquest period comment on Stigand personally or on his performance or failure to perform his pastoral duties other than his ineligibility to consecrate bishops. Aside from his mediation between King Edward and Earl Godwine, nothing is known, barring attestations of documents, of Stigand's activities prior to his

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[777] Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, 2nd ed. (London, 1979), p. 78 citing *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit- S. Bertini monacho ascripta*, Frank Barlow, ed. & trans. (London, 1962), pp. 34-36. The *VÆR* does not actually make such an observation. It merely has Stigand report Edward's refusal to acquiesce to Godwine's request for safe conduct and Godwine's reaction.

[778] *The Chronicle of John of Worcester, Vol. II The Annals from 450 to 1066*, R.R. Darlington and P. McGurk, eds. Jennifer Bray and P. McGurk, trs., (Oxford, 1995), *s.a.*1052, "*Stigandus, qui quondam dimisso Anglorum Orientalium episcopatu, sullimiorem gradum meditatus Wintoniensem inuaserat, innocentis regis Eadwardi simplicitatem circumueniens, uiuente Rotberto, Cantuuariensem archiepiscopatum optinuit.*"

[779] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23, p. 47.

[780] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle – A Revised Translation*, Dorothy Whitelock, David C. Douglas and Susie I. Tucker, eds. (London, 1961), C *s.a.* 1053, p. 128.

[781] Orderic Vitalis, *The Ecclesiastical History*, 6 Vols., Marjorie Chibnall, ed. & trans., (Oxford, 1969), Vol. II, Books iii, pp. 136-138 and iv, pp. 236.

appointment to Canterbury. An attempt to clarify these issues will be the focus of this chapter.

Stigand began his career in the church before 1020, perhaps as early as 1017. He was appointed to the minister at Ashingdon by King Cnut in whose household he was chaplain.[782] The places of his early education and training for the priesthood are not known. As a native of Norfolk he may have been educated at the episcopal see at Elmham though there was no comment to this effect when he was appointed to that see as its bishop. There were few monastic houses in Norfolk thus few schools and he may have been educated at home or by a local priest or cleric. An informal education may support William of Malmesbury's charge of little learning. While his family appeared to have had an association with Bury St. Edmunds and Stigand later had a connection to Ely, no record of a childhood connection has been found.

Ashingdon was a politically significant church. Stigand would have broadened his network of contacts among those he would later see at court. There are no records of the conduct of the cure of souls at Ashingdon during the eleventh-century but Stigand could have performed all those duties incumbent upon any parish priest whenever he was present. In the charters of Cnut near the end of his reign, he was described as *presbyter*.[783] This does not answer the question of whether or not Stigand remained Ashingdon's priest and simply happened to be available to confirm the charters if he returned to service at court or was an absentee incumbent who remained at court while

[782] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 8, MS F, Peter S. Baker, ed. (Cambridge, 2000), *s.a.* 1020.
[783] **S 967** and **S 969** both dated 1033 and **S 975** dated 1035.

someone else actively undertook the pastoral duties of the minister.[784] As Ashingdon was founded for the "souls of the men who were slain there" its main function was not likely to be pastoral care.[785] If Stigand was often at court it would provide the opportunity to establish the close working relationship he apparently had with Queen Emma. Spirities was a royal priest of Harold Harefoot, Harthacnut and Edward until he was exiled in 1065. He was, judging by his attestations, often at court. Simon Keynes argues that Reganbald was regarded by his contemporaries as Edward's chancellor and for this to have been the case he must have presided over a writing office of some sort and therefore spent most or all of his time with the court. Stigand witnessed a charter issued by King Harthacnut in 1042 but otherwise there is silence between the end of King Cnut's reign and Stigand's elevation to the bishopric of Elmham in 1043. Thus Stigand appeared in the record most often once he had embarked on the episcopal phase of his career, having been appointed to Elmham in 1043 and then translated to Winchester in 1047, and it is from this record that his interactions with the Church in England and abroad must be gleaned.

According to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in the year 1051 Robert of Jumièges returned from Rome with his *pallium* and promptly overruled the king's appointment of

[784] Barlow, *English Church*, pp. 131 and 135. Simon Keynes, 'Reganbald the Chancellor (sic)' *Anglo-Norman Studies: Proceedings of the Battle Conference* X, (1987), pp. 185-222 at 186, 196-197 and 202-213; Julia Barrow, 'The Clergy in English Dioceses c.900 – c.1066' *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Francesca Tinti, ed. (Woodbridge, Suffolk, 2005), pp. 17-26.

[785] *ASC* - Baker, *s.a.* 1020, p. 111. "*manna sawle ðe ðar ofslagene wæran..*" John Blair, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon Society*, (Oxford, 2005), p 356. Blair suggests that to English kings ministers were unimportant compared to monastic foundations but were a convenient way of supporting clerical dependents.

Spearhavoc to the see of London.[786] He went on to stir up anger and resentment between King Edward and Earl Godwine to the point that the kingdom teetered on the brink of civil war. The following year when the Godwines made good their return and reinstatement, Robert and a number of others "took horses and departed, some west to Pentecost's castle, and some north to Robert's castle," according to MS E and "Archbishop Robert and Bishop William and Bishop Ulf escaped with difficulty with the Frenchmen who were with them" according to MSS C and D of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle.*[787] If things had gone no further than this perhaps Robert might have returned bearing the pope's decision and neither Stigand nor anyone else would have been put in Robert's place. The *Chronicle* C, D and E texts report that things did go further. Robert and those who escaped with him were outlawed in England. In E "And Archbishop Robert was declared utterly an outlaw, and all the Frenchmen too, because they were most responsible for the disagreement between Earl Godwine and the king."[788] E goes on to say that "he [Robert]…left behind him his *pallium* and all the Church in this country."[789] The C and D texts report the outlawing of "all the Frenchmen who had promoted injustices and passed unjust judgments and given bad counsel in this country"[790] Robert was not specifically named.

As far as the English were concerned Robert of Jumièges had abandoned his office and the Church in England and was subsequently legally and thoroughly removed

[786] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1051, p. 117. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 7, MS E, Susan Irvine, ed. (Cambridge, 2004), *s.a.* 1048.
[787] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, D, E *s.a.* 1052, pp. 124-125.
[788] *Ibid.* E *s.a.* 1052, p. 126. *ASC* – Irvine, *s.a.* 1052,*"7 cweð man utlaga Rotberd arcebiscop fullice 7 ealle þa frencisce menn, forðan þe hi macodon mæst þet unseht betweonan Godwine eorle 7 þam cynge."*
[789] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1052, p. 126. *ASC* – Irvine, *s.a.*1052, *"forlet his pallium 7 Cristendom ealne her on lande."*
[790] *Ibid.* C, D *s.a.* 1052, p. 124.

from his office. The king had appointed him and having been proven unsatisfactory, the king and his council removed him. Such action had been taken before when king and bishop found they were unalterably opposed over an issue. Wilfrid had been ejected from several posts and even when he was upheld by the papacy he was not reinstated.[791] Wulfwig, a royal clerk, replaced Ulf as bishop of Dorchester and Lincoln while the latter was still living and this act occasioned no remark about invasion. Dunstan was put in Byrhthelm's place in Canterbury after the latter was removed by King Edgar and received his *pallium* from the pope without difficulty.[792] The fact that Byrhthelm returned to his previous see does not change the fact that Dunstan was given Canterbury while his predecessor was still living.[793] Even William of Malmesbury, who made a point of commenting on Stigand's introduction to Canterbury, merely listed Wulfwig as a bishop of the see of Dorchester and Lincoln before going into detail about the fortunes of Bishop Remigius.[794] It was Edward's decision to place Stigand in the see at Canterbury and to allow him to or to insist that he retain Winchester. There appear to have been no attempts to remedy this situation with the papacy. Robert of Jumièges took his case to the pope but apparently neither Edward nor Stigand made any attempt to offer an opposing argument. Had someone, either Stigand or his representative, gone to the pope and presented a case in which Robert had nearly precipitated a war and thus lost the support of the king and the chief nobles and presented also Stigand's part in defusing that situation it is possible that his position might have been regularized, albeit without

[791] *GP*, Book I, chapter 1.6, p. 7 & Book III chapter 101.2, pp. 349-51. Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, Judith McClure and Roger Collins, trans. (Oxford, 1994), pp. 268-74.
[792] B, *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. William Stubbs, RS, (London, 1874), chapter 26.
[793] Dorothy Whitelock, *History, Law and Literature in 10th-11th Century England*, (London, 1981), pp. 235-236. Whitelock states the cases for several different men named Byrhthelm as Dunstan's predecessor either at London or Canterbury. In either instance Dunstan would have moved into the see while his predecessor was still living.
[794] *GP*, Book IV, chapter 177.1-2, p. 473.

Winchester. King Edward and his council may have believed that, as in the past, there would be little or even no opposition to their actions. Given the movement for reform within the papacy this attitude would have been naïve. Robert of Jumièges' return from Rome and his refusal to consecrate Spearhavoc may have been Edward's first intimation that reform would reach as far as England. Robert's antagonism of Godwine suggests either a zealot who took reform to extremes and intended to crack down on anyone who offended against the Church as he claimed the earl had in the matter of Church lands or a motive other than reforming zeal. Although the first significant step in the papacy's attempts to reform the appointment of popes and other ecclesiastics did not occur until 1056 when the papacy took advantage of Emperor Henry IV's minority, the papal wish to be free of its dependency on the emperor for election was not new. Edward may have been aware of discussion involving changes to the custom of investiture but there is no indication that he knew that incoming reforms were going to be powerful enough to require the implementation of those changes in England. His actions in appointing and maintaining Stigand at Winchester and Canterbury may have appeared to the papacy as if Edward was making a statement to the effect that practices that were well established in England would continue as they always had; that the king would appoint his bishops as he saw fit regardless of Rome's wishes.

The *Pallium*

John of Worcester claimed that Wulfstan was consecrated by Ealdred of York but, at Stigand's insistence, made his profession of obedience to the Canterbury archbishop, in addition Ealdred renounced all claim to Wulfstan's obedience. This insistence that

Wulfstan made his profession to Stigand may be a later attempt to head off any assertion by Thomas of Bayeux that he had authority over Worcester. "Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, was then forbidden to exercise his episcopal office by the apostolic lord as he had presumed to accept the archbishopric while Archbishop Robert was alive."[795] Frank Barlow stated "…no archbishop could function without the *pallium*. The case of Stigand proves this undisputedly… But as soon as the English church learned that Benedict was no true pope, it refused to recognize Stigand as archbishop; and the only periods during which Stigand consecrated bishops were during the pontificate of Benedict X and after the Norman Conquest."[796] Stigand did not consecrate bishops until he had the *pallium* but he held the rank and position of archbishop in all documents witnessed by him or addressed to him. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* refers to him as archbishop as does *Domesday Book*. The inability to consecrate bishops was a serious setback for Stigand and for the archbishopric. The need for bishops to make professions of obedience at consecration precluded going to York and the necessity of sending bishops-elect out of the kingdom was a loss of prestige for Canterbury, the potential for loss of authority over bishops, an indication to Rome that the English church was not in order and doubtless a source of instability in individual sees while the new bishop was away.

The *pallium* was and is a stole of white lambs' wool embroidered with six crosses and worn at the neck with one end hanging down over the breast and the other over the

[795] *JW*, *s.a.* 1062, p. 588. "*Stigando Dorubernie archiepiscopo officium episcopale tunc a domno apostolico interdictum erat, quia, Rodberto archiepiscopo uiuente, archiepiscopatum suscipere presumpsit…[]…ipso Stigando factitante…*"
[796] Barlow, Frank, *The Feudal Kingdom of England: 1042-1216*, 4th ed., (New York, 1988), p. 32.

back granted upon application to and approval by the pope and worn on specific occasions such as the consecration of a new bishop.[797] Archbishops-elect were required to travel to Rome to receive the *pallium* and were also expected to pay certain fees upon its receipt. When an archbishop died, his successor was required to receive his own *pallium* rather than use his predecessor's. Use of Robert of Jumièges' abandoned *pallium* was one of the charges leveled against Stigand.

The *pallium* and its necessity or the lack of necessity was originally neither a simple nor a clear cut matter. Originally reserved for the pope's sole use, the *pallium* was first conferred on another in the first half of the fourth-century when Pope Marcus, January 336 to October 336, conferred the right of wearing the *pallium* on the Bishop of Ostia, because the consecration of the pope appertained to him.[798] It would appear that the pope was conferring a mark of distinction on a bishop who already possessed an authority distinct from others'. The correspondence between Pope Gregory the Great, 590 – 604, and John of Ravenna proved that the *pallium* was to be used only during Mass in the recipient's church and only on certain holy festivals. According to Robert L Benson "the garment was originally a mere decoration and distinction, Gregory the Great connected it firmly with the metropolitan's special powers."[799] Those special powers were "the right to confirm the elections of the suffragan bishops in his province and to consecrate them, the right to call provincial synods and to preside over them and general

[797] *Dictionaire de Droit Canonique,* Vol VI, R. Naz, ed. (Paris, 1957), col. 1192; *Lexikon des Mittelalters*, Vol. VI, (Munich and Zurich, 1993), p. 1643.
[798] *Liber Pontificalis*, (Liverpool, 2000).
[799] Robert L. Benson, *The Bishop-Elect – A Study in Medieval Ecclesiastical Office*, (Princeton, 1968), p. 169.

supervision and discipline within the province."[800] Pope Paschal II, 1099 - 1118, borrowing from Pope Urban II, 1088 - 1099, confirmed this when he defined the purpose of the *pallium*: "With the *pallium*, the fullness of the episcopal office is granted, since according to the custom of the Apostolic See and all of Europe, before he has received the *pallium* a metropolitan is not allowed to consecrate bishops or to hold a synod."[801] The original regulations for the use of the *pallium* are not known but the quotation from Pope John XII's, 955 – 964, letter to Dunstan implies a restriction to liturgical uses. William of Malmesbury quoted the same letter from Pope John XII to Archbishop Dunstan written in 960 in which the pope stated:

> "And so your primacy, in which it is for you, like your predecessors, to act for the apostolic see, we fully confirm to you, as fully as it is recognized that St. Augustine and his successors as bishops of the same church held it. As to the pallium, we commend it to you in the traditional manner, brother, for the solemn celebration of Mass, and we allow it for your use, so long as the privileges of your church remain in their present form, in no other way than that which our predecessors set forth."[802]

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[800] *Ibid*. p. 168.

[801] *Ibid*. pp. 169-70 *Liber Extra* or *Liber Decretalium Gregorii IX* compiled by Raymond Penafort and promulgated in 1234, 1.64. The *Liber Extra* is a collection of canons not in Gratian. While both Urban II and Paschal II post date Stigand it is likely that they merely repeated customary usage.

[802] *GP*, Book I, chapter 39.2-3, p. 83, "*Primatum itaque tuum in quo tibi ex more antecessorum tuorum uices apostolicæ sedis exercere conuenit, ita tibi ad plenum confirmamus, sicut beatum Augustinum eiusque successores præfatæ aeclesiæ pontifices habuisse dinoscitur. Pallium uero fraternitati tue ex more ad missarum solemnia celebranda commendamus, quo tibi non aliter uti concedimus quam eo usu quem antecessores nostri prodiderunt, aecclesiae tuae priuiligiis in suo statu manentibus*." *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to The English Church I A.D. 871-1204*, D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L. Brooke, eds., (Oxford, 198), pp. 88-92. The letter is found in Paris, BN MS Lat. 943 and printed in Mabillon, Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti, v. 658 and in BL MS Cotton Cleo, E. i, fo. 44v printed in H. Böhmer, *Die Fälschungen Erzbischof Lanfranks von Canterbury*, pp. 159-161. *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum*, Philippus Jaffé, ed. (Lipsiæ, 1885), JL 3687. The Paris manuscript records the authentic

This letter would seem to confirm that there was an established custom of appealing to the pope for a *pallium* and with it the authority to carry out "the functions of the apostolic see." In this letter the *pallium* appears to have been seen as more than merely a decoration. The pope specified that the *pallium* was for the "celebration of the rites of the Mass." As Dunstan was a priest he would not have needed the *pallium* in order to perform the sacraments or any other activity reserved to a consecrated bishop.[803] Dunstan could not perform consecrations himself until the *pallium* was bestowed but he was not restricted otherwise. By the time Stigand was appointed to Canterbury and for some time before that, the *pallium* was considered necessary for an archbishop to perform those functions of his office not already permitted a consecrated bishop. William of Malmesbury stated that, "He [Stigand] would never have earned a *pallium* from Rome, despite his bribery being busily at work there as well…"[804] Clearly William disagreed with the payment of tribute at the reception of the *pallium*.

The main difficulty with determining what Stigand would have considered to be acceptable practice is that canon law was not organized into a single coherent collection and "prior to the twelfth-century was no official collection."[805] it is difficult to know just which collections penetrated into England and came into general use.[806] Differences from one region to the next and changes over time merely added and adds to the

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letter, other versions were tampered with at Canterbury during the primacy debate between Canterbury and York.

[803] David Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England*, (Cambridge, 1962), p. 38.

[804] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.3, p. 47. *"Quare numquam pallium a Roma meruit, quanvis et ibi venalitas multum operetur…"*

[805] John Godfrey, *The Church in Anglo-Saxon England*, (Cambridge, 1962), p. 428.

[806] *Councils & Synods*, p. 575; Richard H. Helmholz, *The Oxford History of the Laws of England, Volume 1 The Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Canon Law from 597 to the 1640's*, (Oxford, 2004), pp. 11-12.

confusion of determining which canons were known and used in England. There were a number of collections available on the Continent that do not appear to have had a wide circulation in England. Charlemagne commissioned an enlarged version of the *Dionysio Hadriana* in the late eighth-century and it had a wide circulation in his domain.[807] It is likely that it made its way to England but there is no evidence that it was particularly influential. Burchard of Worms' canon collection was systematic and widely used on the Continent but not in England.[808] The Pseudo-Isidorian collection was also widely available on the Continent and Lanfranc's *Constitutions* are an abbreviated form but Pseudo-Isidore did not seem to have an impact on pre-Conquest England.[809] A collection of canons at one time thought to have been compiled by Archbishop Egbert of York but now attributed to Archbishop Wulfstan made use of a number of collections probably including the *Dionysio Hadriana*, the *Hispana*, a Spanish collection compiled over the course of the seventh-century and the *Hibernensis* collected c. 700.[810] England does not seem to have given much attention to ecclesiastical law in any organized way. Richard Helmholz has suggested that the popularity of penitential texts may indicate a reason for the absence of canon collections. He suggests that penitentials took the place of canons.[811] Helmholz also points out the lack of argument about canon law in reference to ecclesiastical discipline. There was no reference to Nicaea on the subject of the dating of Easter during the debates at Whitby.[812] English churchmen tended to rely on the Bible rather than the canons as Archbishop Ælfric did in commenting on the issue of priest

[807] Helmholz, *History of Laws*, p. 26.
[808] Godfrey, *The Church*, p. 429.
[809] Helmholz, *History of Laws*, p. 26.
[810] *Ibid.*, p. 26, 29.
[811] *Ibid.*, p. 29.
[812] Bede, *EH*, Book III, chapter 25; Richard Abels, 'The Council of Whitby: A Study in Early Anglo-Saxon Politcs' *Journal of British Studies*, (1983), pp. 1-25 at 23.

bearing arms.[813] If, in England, canon law was not precisely dispensed with but if it operated at a significant distance it is not surprising that Ealdred was brought up sharply in Rome and that Stigand ultimately fell foul of the papacy. This was more than just reform of the Church prompted by particular popes, this was a completely different understanding of how the Church and its members were governed.

If Stigand was confirmed as archbishop by his suffragans, simply by appointment or not at all is not recorded, although the bishops of the English Church appear not to have objected to his elevation or did not object stridently enough for those objections to have survived. As far as the English were concerned Robert of Jumièges abandoned his see and was legally removed from his office; there was no invasion. Pluralism was a long established practice even if not in Canterbury and Winchester and could be overlooked. Other bishops and nobles may have preferred to separate the two sees rather than have them remain in the hands of one man but the practice was acceptable. Given these conditions, King Edward and others may have concluded that they were not in violation and had merely behaved according to their laws and common practices.

Consecration

On the basis that the *pallium* conferred the authority to consecrate bishops and convene synods it must be said that Stigand never violated the authority of his office prior to the Conquest. Stigand consecrated no bishops until 1058 when he received a *pallium* from Pope Benedict X. In that year he consecrated Æthelric, a monk of Christ

[813] *Councils & Synods*, pp. 297-298.

Church, bishop of Sussex and Siward, abbot of Chertsey to the bishopric of Rochester.[814] He ceased to consecrate bishops when that pope was deposed as intrusive and the *pallium* revoked. There is no evidence of conflict over this issue. There are no accounts of Stigand attempting to convince bishops-elect to apply to him for consecration in defiance of papal authority. Stigand did consecrate Remigius bishop of Dorchester and Lincoln in 1067 and this is an anomaly. There is no record of what must have changed in order for Stigand to alter a habit he had practiced for close to fifteen years. A possibility is that after Pope Alexander II was elected, it was nine years before he issued the suspension from office and instructions to depose the English prelate. He is not known to have renewed the prohibition against Stigand and this may have been assumed to mean that approval had been granted for consecrations or that disapproval would go unexpressed.

The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* states that in 1061 the king "chose the monk Æthelsige of the Old Minster for the office [of abbot of St. Augustine's]; he then followed Archbishop Stigand and was consecrated abbot at Windsor on St. Augustine's Day."[815] He blessed abbots Baldwin of St. Edmunds in 1065 and Wulfric of Ely in 1066.[816] The *Chronicle* uses the word '*gehalgod*' which is translated by Dorothy Whitelock *et al* as 'consecrated' although an abbot usually received a benediction.[817] If

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[814] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, D, E *s.a.* 1058, p. 134. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 6, MS D*, G.P. Cubbin ed. (Cambridge, 1996), *"Ægelric wæs to biscope gehadod to Suðsexum, 7 Sihward abbod to biscope to Hrofecestre."* E adds only that Æthelric was a monk of Christ Church.

[815] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1061, p. 136. *ASC* – Irvine, *"Æðelsige munuc þærto of Ealdon Mynstre – folgode þa Stigande arcebiscop – 7 wearð gehalgod to abbot æt Windlesoran on Sanctus Augustinus mæssedæg."*

[816] *Heremanni archidiaconi miracula S. Eadmundi*, F Liebermann, ed., (Halle, 1903), p. 245. *Liber Eliensis*, E.O. Blake, ed., (London, 1962), Book II, chapters 98, p. 168 and 118, p. 200-202 at 201.

[817] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E, *s.a.* 1061, p. 136.

the lack of the *pallium* did only restrict the metropolitan's authority to consecrate bishops and convene synods then Stigand was fully authorized to install an abbot.

The ban on consecrations extended to the coronations of kings. Both Harold and William were crowned by Archbishop Ealdred. John of Worcester wrote:

> "Because Stigand, the primate of all England, was accused by the apostolic pope of not having received the pallium canonically, William was consecrated with due ceremony by Ealdred, archbishop of York, on Christmas Day itself, which in that year fell on a Monday, at Westminster, first swearing, as the same archbishop required of him, on oath before the altar of St. Peter the Apostle, in the presence of clergy ad people, that he would defend the holy churches of God and their rulers too, and would govern the whole people subject to him justly, and by royal provision would establish and maintain right law, and totally forbid rapine and unjust judgments."[818]

and Eadmer:

> "From the time that he gained this victory, which was on the 14th October [1066], William remained unconsecrated until Christmas Day when he

[818] *JW*, *s.a.*1066, p. 606. "*quia Stigandus primas totius Anglie ab apostolico papa calumniatus est pallium non suscepisse canonice, ipsa Natiuitatis die, que illo anno feria ii euenit, ab Aldredo Eboracensium archiepiscopo in Westmonasterio consecratus est honorifice, prius, ut idem archipresul ab eo exigebat, ante altare sancti Petri apostoli coram clero et populo iureiurando promittens se uelle sanctas Dei ecclesias ac rectores illarum defendere necnon et cunctum populum sibi subiectum iuste et regali prouidentia regere, rectam legem statuere et tenere, repinas iniustaque iudicia penitus interdicere.*"

> was consecrated King by Eldred of blessed memory, Archbishop of York, and a number of English bishops. Although the King himself and everyone else knew well enough that such consecration ought to be performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury as being his special and peculiar privilege, yet seeing that many wicked and horrible crimes were ascribed to Stigand, who was at that time Archbishop of Canterbury, William was unwilling to receive consecration at his hands, lest he should seem to be taking upon himself a curse instead of a blessing."[819]

There are conflicts in the testimony about Stigand's participation in the coronation of Harold Godwineson. John of Worcester claimed that Ealdred had performed the rite. William of Poitiers claims Stigand consecrated Harold. The Bayeux Tapestry does not depict the moment of Harold's anointing but Archbishop Ealdred is also not depicted. Stigand is shown leading the acclamations with no suggestion that anyone else had a hand in the consecration. Frank Barlow dismissed John of Worcester's claims on the basis that he was a late source and possibly biased by the primacy debate. The lateness may be an issue yet given that Harold did not go to Stigand to consecrate his foundation at Waltham it is not at all incredible that he went elsewhere to have himself consecrated. Frank Barlow claimed the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s silence on the identity of Harold's consecrator "seems definitely to tip the balance in favour of Stigand."[820] From the accession of Æthelstan through that of Henry II only five consecrators were named in the

[819] Eadmer's *History of Recent Events in England: Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Geoffrey Bosanquet, trans. (London, 1964), p. 9. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Martin Rule, ed. (London 1884) reprinted (Wiesbaden 1965), p. 9.
[820] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 60 n. 4.

Chronicle. Edward the Confessor was consecrated by Eadsige, archbishop of Canterbury, William the Conqueror by Ealdred, archbishop of York, William Rufus by Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, Henry I by Maurice, bishop of London and Stephen by William of Corbeil, archbishop of Canterbury.[821] The Mercian text entry for 924 stated that Æthelstan was consecrated but the celebrant was not named, Edgar was consecrated thirty years after his accession, according to the entry for 973, but the names of the celebrants were not recorded. In the C Text entry for 979, Æthelred II's consecration was attended by "two archbishops and ten diocesan bishops;" none of these men were named and there was no comment on which archbishop actually performed the rite.[822] Henry II's consecrator was also not named. The entries for the intervening kings neither name a consecrator nor even use the word in reference to accession. As silence was the norm in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in reference to consecrations it does not tip the balance of evidence; it is merely an absence of information.

"A bishop is instructed to make sure that the basilica that he is asked to consecrate is within his diocese; as if it would not be allowed to him to consecrate outside his own jurisdiction." This rule is insisted on by the First Council of Orange Canon 10 held in 441 A.D., where it forbids a bishop, who builds a Church himself, at his own expense in another diocese, to consecrate it, the bishop in whose diocese the Church was erected, performs the ceremony."[823] Stigand did consecrate at least one church and a number of

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[821] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C and D *s.a.* 1043, p. 107, D 1066, p. 145, 1087, p. 165, 1100, pp. 176-177 and 1035, pp. 102-103, respectively.
[822] *Ibid.* C, *s.a.* 979, p. 84. *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition, Vol. 5, MS C*, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, ed. (Cambridge, 2001), "*7 þær wæron æt his halgunge twegen ercebisceopas 7 tyn leodbisceopas.*"
[823] R. W. Muncey, A *History of the Consecration of Churches and Churchyards*, (Cambridge, 1930), p. 22. Muncey quotes a Letter of Gelasius I c 495-496.

altars outside his dioceses as Bishop Wulfstan's response to Archbishop Anselm's enquiry about the extent of the archbishop of Canterbury's jurisdiction in relation to church consecrations proves,

> "Of those matters whereof your dignity has deigned to write to us and to ask the counsel of our littleness, we will tell you all that we can recall. This question, on which advice is sought, we have never heard actually debated because there has never at any time been any who would wish to deprive the Archbishop of Canterbury of this right or to prevent his openly dedicating all such churches as are admittedly his.
>
> Indeed there are to be found in our own diocese altars, and even one church which I could name, which were dedicated by Stigand, a predecessor of your Excellence, in our own time and in the time of our predecessor without our being consulted and without our making any protest whether before or after, knowing as we did that this was the peculiar right of that metropolitan bishop; and these were in manors which he had acquired not by right of ecclesiastical succession but by gift of the secular power.
>
> Although then we have certainly never heard of this matter having been submitted to judicial decision or of the right having ever been judicially decided in the Archbishop's favour, yet what we know to have

been done freely by the Archbishop in our own diocese, we believe he can do in the dioceses of other Bishops also. And now having given you all the information which our memory or our knowledge can furnish we must leave it to your Fatherhood farewell and ask your prayers on our behalf."[824]

There are several provocative statements in Bishop Wulfstan's reply. "This question, on which advice is sought, we have never heard actually debated because there has never at any time been any who would wish to deprive the Archbishop of Canterbury of this right or to prevent his openly dedicating all such churches as are admittedly his." It might be argued that Wulfstan was merely stating a loyal and pious position in declaring that no one would wish to deprive the archbishop of Canterbury of his rights if not for the phrase "never at any time." This emphasis implied that there were no objections to Stigand's consecration of churches and altars.

Wulfstan went on to place, very generally, the time during which Stigand performed these consecrations, "Indeed there are to be found in our own diocese altars, and even one church which I could name, which were dedicated by Stigand, a predecessor of your Excellency, in our own time and in the time of our predecessor…" Stigand's archiepiscopate overlapped Ealdred's tenure at Worcester from 1052 to 1061 and Wulfstan's from 1062 to Stigand's deposition in 1070. That Wulfstan claimed Stigand consecrated either a church or altars in his [Wulfstan's] own time would imply

[824] Eadmer, *Recent History*, p. 47. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 46. The paragraph breaks are my own.

that his activities in Ealdred's time would not necessarily be limited to the period during which Stigand possessed a *pallium*.

Wulfstan stated that Stigand undertook these activities "without our being consulted and without our making any protest whether before or after, knowing as we did that this was the peculiar right of that metropolitan bishop."[825] Wulfstan was not at all put out by these actions. He accepted them without question. Wulfstan also took pains to point out that the question of jurisdiction over these altars and church could not merely be attributed to possessions gained through Stigand's offices. "…and these were in manors which he had acquired not by right of ecclesiastical succession but by gift of the secular power."[826] There was no question in Wulfstan's mind that the archbishop of Canterbury had the right to consecrate churches and altars outwith his own diocese and that Stigand's lack of *pallium,* pluralistic position or unusual assumption of the see did not bar him from exercising that right. This was an authority granted the archbishop and Stigand was believed by Wulfstan to be entitled to that authority. "…what we know to have been done freely by the Archbishop in our own diocese, we believe he can do in the dioceses of other Bishops also."[827] It must be kept in mind, however, that Harold Godwineson had Cynsige, archbishop of York, consecrate his foundation of Waltham Abbey in 1060.

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[825] See above note 49.
[826] *Ibid.*
[827] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, D, *s.a.* 1020, p. 98. Archbishop Wulfstan of York consecrated Cnut's minster at Ashingdon in 1020, "And in this year the king went to Ashingdon, and Archbishop Wulfstan and Earl Thorkel, and with them many bishops; and they consecrated the minster at Ashingdon." The bishop of London, in whose diocese Ashingdon is found, was not mentioned, unless he was one of the many bishops.; *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, *s.a.* 1020; "*On ðisum geare se cyng for to Assandune 7 Wulfstan archbisceop 7 Þurkil eorl 7 manega bisceopas mid heom, 7 gehalgodan þæt mynster æt Assandune.*"; William of Malmesbury, *Saints' Lives–Lives of SS. Wulfstan, Dunstan, Patrick, Benignus and Indract*, M. Winterbottom and R.M. Thomson, eds. (Oxford, 2002), *VW*, ii, 22.1 for Wulfstan consecrating a church in Ratcliffe, Nottinghamshire. *DB – Nottinghamshire*, 30.20.

Synods were rare in England in the early and mid eleventh-century. Ecclesiastical regulation and secular law appeared to be dealt with together. An English king's advisors did not make up a formal body to which there was exclusive membership and whose areas of responsibility were strictly defined. Both lay and ecclesiastical magnates advised the king when he needed advise and doubtless offered their opinions on any question before the group. England's lack of application of a clearly defined canon law probably contributed to this inclusive system. Early in the eleventh century there were perhaps two synods convened. A record of a synod survives in a pontifical at Sherborne. Dorothy Whitelock found the hand in which the account of the synod was written contemporary with Æthelric, bishop of Sherborne c. 1011 – c. 1009 or 1012.[828] Some 'Injunctions on the Behaviour of Bishops' found inserted into Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* but not part of that work, were "probably issued by a synod."[829] It is likely that Stigand simply took his place in those councils presided over by the king and during which most ecclesiastical laws were promulgated. Indeed there was just such a meeting when the papal legates returned to England with Ealdred to ensure the separation of Worcester from York. The legates sat in that council with Stigand and voiced no objections to his presence or his lack of *pallium*. Stigand participated fully in the process of electing Wulfstan to the bishopric of Worcester. "The cardinals' prayers were backed by the archbishops of Canterbury and York, the one with support, the other with evidence, both with considered judgment."[830] William of Malmesbury could easily have

[828] *Councils & Synods*, pp. 402 – 406 at 402.
[829] *Ibid.* pp. xix, 406 – 413.
[830] *VW*, pp. 44-45. "*Astipulabantur uotis cardinalium archiepiscopi Cantuariensis et Eboracensis, ille fauore, iste testimonio, ambo iuditio.*"

left Stigand out of the account completely but apparently believed his support and considered judgment to have been of value. He went on to say that Wulfstan required the usual persuasion before agreeing to the appointment and an appeal to the pope's right to obedience was necessary. William made no remark on the irony of Stigand's use of such an appeal when he, himself, was not the most obedient subordinate the pope could wish for. "…the cardinals and archbishops would have wasted their time if they had not thought to point out to the reluctant Wulfstan his duty of obedience to the pope."[831]

Relationship with the Monks of His Sees

Canterbury

Professor Frank Barlow stated that "He [Stigand] cannot have been worthless."[832] He went on to say that Stigand "was strongly disliked at Canterbury and Winchester." He based this conclusion, with regard to Canterbury, on descriptions of visions and miracles attributed to Dunstan.[833] In fact Stigand is not mentioned by name in any of the works comprising the collection *The Miracles of Saint Dunstan,* neither in Osbern's nor in Eadmer's account of his school days at Canterbury. Both Osbern and Eadmer were children in the monastery. Eadmer was old enough to remember the fire that destroyed Christ Church in 1067. He would have had little if any direct interaction with Stigand. Osbern was perhaps somewhat older though the date of his birth is not known. They each claimed that the regime at the Christ Church school was too severe and that Saint Dunstan regularly stepped in to protect the pupils from overly strict and even abusive

[831] *Ibid*. pp. 46-47, *"…frustra cardinales cum archiepiscopis triuissent operam nisi refugienti pretendissent papæ obedientiam*."
[832] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 80 citing *Memorials of St. Dunstan*, ed. William Stubbs, Roll Series, (London, 1874), pp. 141-2, 229, 237-8 and 245.
[833] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 80, n. 3.

schoolmasters. When the boys' tale of the saint's instruction to remove the body of Earl Harold's un-baptized child from its grave near the altar was not believed by the prior, Dunstan left the church disgusted by the breach in procedure and the lack of willingness to believe the vision and the church subsequently burned down.[834] Eadmer recounted a similar story in which Harold's child is the focus of the saint's concern.[835] This account was an attempt to explain the Christ Church fire of 1067 rather than actual commentary on Stigand's archiepiscopate, his relationship with the monks of Christ Church or the extent of discipline at the monastery.

Eadmer claimed that the monks lived more like noblemen than servants of God. He accused them of holding feasts resembling those once hosted for the pagan gods "*lectisterniis"* accompanied by the music of diverse kinds of musical instruments, "*diversa musici generis instrumenta,"* presumably either associating with entertainers or diverting the training of brethren towards non-liturgical music. Their garments were of colored fabric and decorated with costly ornamentation. They kept "*equos, canes et accipitres*," horses, dogs and hawks for hunting and hawking. The hunting may have taken place in company with nobles thereby allowing association between the monks and worldly persons. Eadmer considered the monks of Christ Church to have been involved in inappropriate activities which caused them to expend too much time away from their rightful pursuits.[836] Eadmer was objecting to monks living in an inappropriate fashion. He may have expected secular clergy, and particularly bishops, to live similarly to secular nobles. No such accusations were ever leveled against Stigand. He may have engaged in

[834] *Memorials*, B's *Life*, pp. 137-8 and 141-2.
[835] *Ibid.* p. 229.
[836] *Ibid.* pp. 237-8.

the same social and sporting pursuits as the nobles with whom he attended court but there is no comment to that effect. He has come to be considered a cultured man on the basis of the descriptions of his gifts to churches but he was never criticized for leading an inappropriate life style.

The sweeping changes in land holding and in lay and ecclesiastical office hold brought about by the conquest and its aftermath can be traced using *Domesday Book* and other sources. The feelings of dislocation and trauma suffered by the English people were not so obviously recorded. The lack of narrative sources detailing the English experience from the English perspective necessitates reliance on Anglo-Norman sources whose authors did not experience that trauma and who may not have been entirely sympathetic to those who did.

William of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, Henry of Huntingdon and Eadmer all took the view that the Conquest was just punishment for the sins of the English people and the excessively worldly state of the English Church. The *Vita Ædwardi* also claimed that God's judgment would be visited upon the kingdom.[837] In this interpretation of events they had an example to follow in Bede's explanation of the fall of the Britons to the Anglo-Saxons. "…the fire kindled by the hands of the heathen executed the just vengeance of God on the nation for its crimes."[838] For Henry of Huntingdon "it is clear

[837] *VÆR*, Book II, chapter 11, pp. 116-118. The setting of the prophecy is Edward's death-bed but this portion of the *Vita* was written post-Conquest.
[838] Bede, *EH*, Book I chapter xvi. "*…accensus manibus paganorum ignis iustas de sceleribus populi Dei ultiones expetiit…*"

that this happened at God's command, so that evil would befall the ungodly"[839] The English people accepted Harold II as king and thus were complicity in his perjury and deserving of punishment. William of Malmesbury dismissed the effect of the violence of the invasion for its success, "the effect of war in this affair was trifling; it was brought about by the secret and wonderful counsel of God."[840] Eadmer recalled Dunstan's prophecy that the kingdom would fail and considered the Danish and Norman invasions proof that this calamity had come to pass. "…the Kingdom itself was to be worn again and again by bloody devastations."[841] Since God directed all, it was natural to seek an explanation in terms of God's will. Since a just God would not visit such suffering on the innocent, the English people must have sinned grievously. The monks and clerics who recorded the results of the Conquest were continuously reminded of lost lands, treasures, rituals, prestige and familiar ways of life. The exclusion of Englishmen from positions of authority reinforced feelings of helplessness.[842] On one occasion, Richard Southern explained the revival of historical writing in the twelfth century England as a form of reassurance that the past was not irretrievably lost that "all hope of revival, all hope of resistance to further depreciation, depended on reanimating the pre-Conquest past and showing that the Conquest was no more than a tremor in a long development."[843] What better reassurance could there be than the belief that if people repented and changed their ways, God would forgive.

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[839] Henry, Archdeacon of Huntingdon, *Historia Anglorum*: *The History of the English People*, Diana Greenway, ed. & trans., (Oxford, 1996), p. 6.
[840] William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, R. A. B. Mynors, R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom, 2 Vols. (Oxford, 1998), Book III, chapter 228.
[841] Eadmer, *Recent History*, p. 4. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum*, p. 3. "*quod ipsum quoque regnum innumeris atque cruentis vastationibus conterendum…*"
[842] Southern, R. W., 'Presidential Address: Aspects of the European Tradition of Historical Writing: 4. The Sense of the Past' *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th series, Vol. 23, (1973), p. 247.
[843] Southern, - 'Sense of the Past', p. 249.

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Eadmer also stated that he believed this decline in discipline began with the martyrdom of Saint Ælfheah in 1011.[844] If this was the case Christ Church had been in decline for forty years by the time Stigand arrived though he may have done little to reverse the trend. There are considerable differences in Eadmer's characterizations of the discipline kept in the school and that kept in the monastery. It is quite possible that schoolboys were in need of greater disciplinary rigor than grown men admitted to holy orders; however, the gap seems excessive. It is also possible that the masters were unnecessarily rigorous. The claim that masters in charge of schoolboys meted out severe punishments in order to deter their charges from sinning only to admit them to a monastic house devoid of practically all monastic discipline stretches credulity somewhat. Eadmer's statements must be considered possible exaggerations of pre reform chaos either in the belief that the pre-Conquest English church truly had been in such a state of decay or in order to emphasize the efficacy of those reforms.

Stigand was remembered at St. Augustine's for the gift of a large silver plated cross which was described as "very beautiful and a perpetual reminder of him."[845] Given the generosity Stigand showed Ely, a house unaffiliated with either Winchester or Canterbury it is likely that he made other, equally lavish gifts as well. He gave yet another large Crucifix and figures of the Virgin and the Evangelist to Bury St. Edmunds. "*...crux que erat super magnum altare, et Mariola et Iohannes, quas ymagines Stigandus*

[844] *ASC* – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C, D, E *s.a.* 1011, p. 91. Eadmer, *Historia Novorum in Anglia*, Martin Rule, ed. (London 1884) reprinted (Wiesbaden 1965), pp. 4-5.
[845] *William Thorne's Chronicle of Saint Augustine's Abbey Canterbury*, A.H. Davis, trans., (Oxford, 1934), chapter 8.

archiepiscopus magno pondere auri et argenti ornaverat et sancto Ædmundo dederat."[846] This grouping would seem to have been a motif in his choice of gifts. Research would seem to indicate that when a chronicle said '*magnum*', it meant 'life-sized'.[847] If this is correct, these were very generous gifts indeed.

Winchester

Stigand's relationship with the monks of Winchester is equally mixed. The original manuscript of the *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* was fairly sympathetic to Stigand. The Winchester monks did not fail to mention Stigand's gift to the church of a large cross with figures made of gold and silver.[848] The *Annales* go on to describe Stigand's imprisonment, though without the chains with which William of Malmesbury weighted him, and his death. They also reported that due to the fact the Stigand had for a time been their head, they respectfully buried him in the church at Winchester [Old Minster].[849] His remains were later disinterred along with those of Kings Cynegils, Cenwalh, Egbert, Ethelwulf, Cnut, Queen Emma and Bishop Alwyn and placed in chests near the shrine of St. Swithin in the New Minster. The chests were eventually moved

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[846] Jocelin of Brakelond , *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds*, Diana Greenway and Jane Sayers, trans., (Oxford, 1989), p. 6.

[847] C. R. Dodwell. *Anglo-Saxon Art: A New Perspective*, (Manchester, 1982), pp. 211-12.

[848] *Annales Monastici Vol II. - Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* 519-1277, Henry Richards Luard, ed., (London, 1865), p. 30. "*Dederat autem idem Stigandus ecclesiæ Wintoniæ maximan crucem cum duabus imaginibus auro et argento optime compositis*." The *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* were partly written, up to 1202, in the late twelfth-century. They have been attributed to Richard of Devizes. *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* 519-1277 in *Annales Monastici Vol II*, Henry Richards Luard, ed., (London, 1865), pp. xi-xii; Gransden, Antonia, *Historical Writing in England c. 550 – c.1307*, Vol. I, (London, 1974), p, 252; Appleby, J.T., 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester' *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research*, xxxvi, (1963), pp. 70-75. Appleby argued that Richard of Devizes wrote the sections comprising the beginning to 1066 and 1196-1210.

[849] *Annales Monastici*, p. 29. "Ibi demum mortuus, et in ecclesia Wintoniæ, cui aliquantulo præfuerat tempore, honorifice sepultus est."

again to the present cathedral.[850] That he was buried in the church argues against his having been excommunicated. Even if he was absolved on his deathbed, burial in the church and his subsequent translations suggest more than just consideration of his previous status as bishop of Winchester. It suggests approval and respect.

A later hand inserted two paragraphs in the margin of the original manuscript taken from William of Malmsbury's *De Gestis Pontificum Anglorum*. They are copies of William's account of Stigand's possession of multiple abbeys, his sale of offices, that he would never merit a *pallium* and his eventual deposition. The second of the two names Erminfrid, the cardinal-legate sent to pronounce Stigand's deposition.

Excommunication

Stigand did not behave as if he had been excluded from the community of the faithful. He appears to have carried on performing those duties not denied him by his lack of a *pallium*. While bishops-elect were forced to seek consecration elsewhere they seemed to associate with him in the processes of government and ecclesiastical activities just as they had previous archbishops. The question then becomes; if he was not excommunicated then what was he?

Frank Barlow postulated two possibilities: either Stigand was excommunicated and the devout English and Norman kings, nobles, bishops and laymen utterly ignored

[850] Plates 2 and 3.

that fact or he was informally censured but no drastic official action was taken.[851] He explained the claim of multiple excommunications made by Remigius in his profession as the result of the papal-legates stating the requirements of canon law as if they had been enacted. They stated what should have been done rather than what was done. Barlow did not consider that Remigius could also have said whatever he had been told to say or he could have chosen to say whatever he thought necessary in the face of papal disapproval of his own actions. Any attempt to define Stigand's position must begin with the options available for ecclesiastical censure. In the medieval period the term 'excommunication' could refer to a number of censures of varying degrees of severity.

Little is known about how excommunication actually operated in the eleventh century. Brian Pavlac in his examination of 'Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier' cited agreement between Rosalind Hill and Donald Logan show that by the thirteenth-century the church was so determined to keep order that "bishops used the sentence of excommunication so freely that at last it degenerated from a tremendous spiritual sanction into a minor inconvenience."[852] Pavlac noted, however, that "England's advanced royal, secular legal system, is hardly comparable with German…"[853] The thirteenth century is also far too late to be informative about Stigand's situation. The historical records nearest Stigand's archiepiscopate do not suggest that the sentence of excommunication had been used so frequently or irresponsibly as to have

[851] Barlow, *English Church*, pp. 302,307; N. Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury: Christ Church from 597 to 1066*, (Leicester, 1984), p. 309. Both Barlow and Brooks believe that Stigand was censured but not excommunicated.
[852] Rosalind Hill, 'The Theory and Practice of Excommunication in Medieval England' *History,* New Series 42 (1957), pp, 1-11 at 11. Donald F. Logan, *Excommunication and the Secular Arm in Medieval England: A Study in Legal Procedure from the Thirteenth to the Sixteenth Century*, (Toronto, 1968).
[853] Brian A. Pavlac, 'Excommunication and Territorial Politics in High Medieval Trier' *Church History*, Vol. 60, (1991), pp. 20-60 at 21 n. 3.

become merely a minor inconvenience. Elizabeth Vodola, author of the most recent major study of excommunication in the medieval period and who cites examples almost exclusively from England does not discuss the eleventh century prior to the pontificate of Pope Gregory VII, 1073-1085. In the chapter on the historical development of excommunication the discussion touches on the late tenth century Truce of God and continues with Pope Gregory VII's attitude to the excommunication of secular rulers and his deposition of King Henry IV.

From early in the history of the Church excommunication has been recognized as exclusion from the community of the faithful.[854] An excommunicated person may not participate in public worship nor receive the Eucharist or any of the sacraments. An excommunicated cleric is forbidden to administer a sacred rite or to exercise an act of spiritual authority. There existed a form of censure which deprived a bishop of communion with his fellow bishops.[855] This censure was occasionally known as excommunication but did not remove the recipient from the Christian community as a whole. Conversation, exchange of letters, tokens of benevolence and marks of respect were among the civil relations prohibited the excommunicate. There were conditions under which these deprivations were eased, such as in the event that the excommunicate would benefit spiritually or requirement by law and necessity. If the excommunicate was in danger of death he could be absolved by any priest, including one who was himself

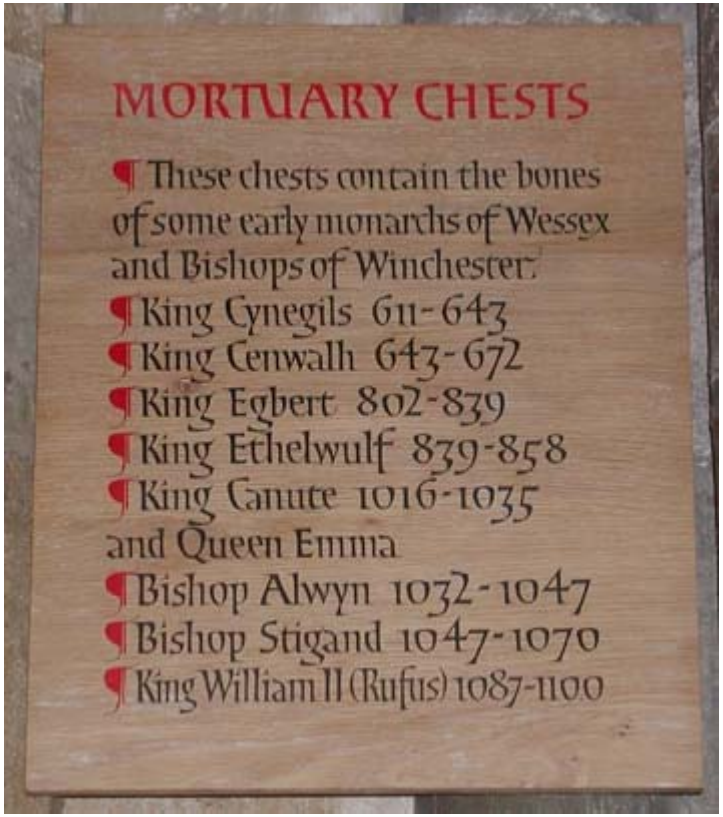
[854] Elizabeth Vodola, *Excommunication in the Middle Ages*, (Berkeley, 1986), pp. 7-8, 36 and 41-2. Near the turn of the twelfth-century excommunication was officially divided into major and minor excommunication. Pavlac, 'Trier', pp. 20-36 at 21-22.
[855] Eusebius, *The Church History*, Kirsopp Lake, ed. (London, 1926-32), Book V, xxiv. Pope Victor threatened the bishops of Asia with this withdrawal of episcopal community.

Plate 2.

One of the mortuary chests in Winchester cathedral

http://home.clara.net/reedhome/winchester/interior.htm

Plate 3.



Placard listing those whose remains are housed in the mortuary chests. Note that Stigand is listed as bishop rather than archbishop.

www.astoft.co.uk/Dscn0764-405.jpg

excommunicated even if a fully authorized priest was available. Since Stigand continued to enjoy his benefices, his jurisdiction over them, social intercourse and, benefit from if not precisely enjoy, ecclesiastical burial it would seem that he had not been excommunicated.

Suspension

Suspension is a censure depriving a cleric of the use of his sacred orders, office or benefices in whole or in part. This censure, like excommunication, is meant to encourage the offender to amend his ways and return to the fold. A total suspension would deprive a cleric of all functions of his office and possibly of the office itself. The suspension may be for a set period of time and may, therefore, resolve itself. A partial suspension only deprives a cleric of the use of that power specified in the sentence. He may be deprived of his authority to use sacred orders or of his office which would include jurisdiction or he might lose his benefice which would include jurisdiction and income but would allow him to retain the use of sacred orders.[856] Suspension did not invalidate acts of sacred orders, as the cleric cannot be deprived of the power to perform them; it only forbids the use of them. Jurisdictional acts do become invalid as the Church has complete power to deprive a cleric of his office and thus his jurisdiction.[857]

The *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum* lists Stigand's name on five occasions. The *Regesta*, a modern catalogue rather than primary source material, lists Stigand only in reference to Remigius' profession to Lanfranc. The first, second and fourth entries in the

[856] Ethelred L. Taunton, *The Law of the Church*, (London, 1906), *s. v.* Suspension.
[857] *Ibid.*

Regesta reflect those occasions when there should, if Remigius was accurate, be a record of a papal sentence of excommunication against Stigand.[858] No such documents, neither originals nor copies, have ever come to light. The third occasion records his receipt of the *pallium* from Pope Benedict X. The document that should record Stigand's *pallium* also does not survive though there is witness to his receipt of the vestment in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*.[859] The fifth entry is a pronouncement by Pope Alexander II, to depose Stigand.[860] It can be inferred that such a pronouncement existed because Stigand was in fact deposed but the document is not extant.

Clearly the papacy may have taken some sort of action in reference to Stigand's uncanonical situation but it appears that full excommunication had not been pronounced. Judging from Stigand's recorded activity it would seem that the restrictions created by the absence of the *pallium* are all that ever existed. Given that the pope had the authority and the mechanism of excommunication, or to interdict all of England as Pope Innocent III would later do during the reign of King John, in order to ensure Stigand's removal but did not do so suggests the entire issue was of much less concern than the post-Conquest writers would have their readers believe. It is even possible that the popes understood that interference with the events in England might have caused more trouble than good, but had to make a show of authority and so issued censures that amounted to little more than a slap on the wrist.

[858] *JL*, no. 4331, 4357, 4451
[859] *JL*, no. 4398, 1058; ASC – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, E *s.a.* 1058, p. 134.
[860] *JL*, no. 4669.

Deposition

In 1070, Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester received a summons to a council convened by King William, Bishop Ermenfrid of Sion and two cardinal-priests named only as Peter and John. The council was to be held at Winchester for the purpose of deposing Stigand, his brother Æthelmær, bishop of Elmham and a number of unnamed abbots from their offices. According to John of Worcester, the charges were:

1. The holding of Winchester and Canterbury in plurality
2. That he presumed to take the throne of Canterbury while Robert still lived and used Robert's *pallium* to celebrate the Mass
3. That he received his own *pallium* from Benedict X, an intrusive pope[861]

The charges brought against Æthelmær and the abbots were not specified. It may reasonably be assumed that Æthelmær was removed merely because he was Stigand's brother and King William did not wish to leave a possibly resentful relative of a deposed and imprisoned metropolitan in office. William may have decided that the time had arrived to remove a number of English ecclesiastics and the unarguable case with Stigand allowed such a design to go forward.

The professions to Lanfranc made by Remigius, Wulfstan and Herfast ignore the issue of pluralism but charged Stigand with expelling Robert of Jumièges from Canterbury. Remigius' profession added that Stigand had moved from one diocese [Elmham] to another [Winchester].[862] Remigius and Wulfstan stated, in their

[861] *JW*, *s.a.* 1070, 10-18.
[862] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 303 n 1, "*Non post multos dies Lanfrancus ab universis regni Anglici episcopis, qui diversis temporibus, diversis in locis, ab aliis archiepiscopis vel a papa tempore Stigand sacrati sunt, professionem petiit et accept"*; Giraldus Cambrensis, *Opera*, Vol. vii, J. S. Brewer and J. F.

professions, that Stigand had been excommunicated by Popes Leo IX, Victor II, Stephen IX and Nicholas II.[863] Herfast made no such claim, but he was appointed in the period between Stigand's removal and Lanfranc's arrival. He was not affected by Stigand's position and there was no need to bring him into Herfast's profession at all.[864] It is this claim of excommunication that raises one of the most perplexing questions about Edward the Confessor and the late Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman churches. It is inconceivable that the primate of England would have been permitted to occupy his see for seventeen years while excommunicated. Neither the king, nor the nobles, nor the other bishops nor the population at large would have tolerated the potential threat to their own salvation that the excommunication of the head of their church would have represented. The English were apparently comfortable with their particular practices, even when they differed from those used in Rome, but that they would have ignored the fact that their primate had been ejected from the community of the faithful and remained so for nearly twenty years cannot be accepted.

Remigius claimed that he had not been aware of the prohibition against Stigand and therefore went to him for consecration and made a profession of obedience to him. "*Ego uero, huius negotii nec ex toto gnarus nec usquequaque ignarus...*"[865] It is difficult to accept that a bishop-elect could have been unaware that his metropolitan had been in Remigius' words '*damnatus et excommunicatus*', given the number of bishops, five of

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Dimock, eds. (London, 1861-91), pp. 151-2. *Councils & Synods with Other Documents Relating to The English Church I A.D. 871-1204*, D. Whitelock, M. Brett & C. N. L Brooke, eds., (Oxford, 1981), p. 574. In his profession Remigius stated that he was told that Stigand had not been Lanfranc's antecessor nor was Lanfranc Stigand's successor. "*Cognoscens igitur ex auctoritate predicti pape nec eum antecessorem tuum fuisse nec te successorem eius…*"

[863] Barlow, *English Church*, p. 303.

[864] Henry Wharton, *Anglia Sacra*, (London, 1691), chapter i, p. 80.

[865] Giraldus, *Opera*, pp. 151-2.

seven, who went abroad or sought consecration from someone other than the archbishop of Canterbury. In 1053 Leofwine, bishop of Lichfield and Wulfwig, bishop of Dorchester, "went overseas" for consecration.[866] Walter, bishop of Hereford and Giso, bishop of Wells went to Rome for their consecrations.[867] Giso returned with a papal privilege for Wells which suggests that he sought consecration in Rome for reasons additional to Stigand's situation. In 1062, Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester was consecrated by Archbishop Ealdred.[868] William of Malmesbury claimed delaying tactics and bribes were all that kept Stigand in power.[869] William had a bit of a fixation with bribery and so that accusation should perhaps be taken with a grain of salt. He also seemed not to realize that in accusing Stigand of paying bribes he accused someone in Rome of receiving them. John of Worcester did not mention excommunication at all in reference to Stigand.

The charge of holding the sees of Winchester and Canterbury in plurality does not appear in the professions to Lanfranc perhaps because the issue was not as cut and dried as a writer such as William of Malmesbury would like to have believed. Saint Oswald held the sees of Worcester and York in plurality and there was not a word of condemnation on the subject; in fact he was praised for his ability to control the restless nobles. Bishop Leofric held the sees of Devon and Cornwall and Bishop Herman held Wiltshire and Sherborne. Pluralism was, officially, contrary to canon law, however, unofficially, was commonly practiced and not just in England. Pope Clement II [1046-

[866] ASC – Whitelock, Douglas and Tucker, C *s.a.* 1053, pp. 127-128. *ASC* – O'Brien O'Keeffe, "*foran ofer sæ*."
[867] *JW* – *s.a.* 1061, pp. 586-588.
[868] *Ibid*., *s.a.* 1062, p. 590.
[869] *GP*, Book I chapter 23, pp. 47-49.

47] kept the bishopric of Bamberg, Pope Leo IX retained Toul for several years [1049-51] after election to the papacy and Pope Victor II kept Eichstädt [1055-57]. Two of the four popes who it was claimed excommunicated Stigand were themselves pluralists. This charge would appear to have been an insertion by John of Worcester. Perhaps it was the issue that was most exercising the church at the time of his writing his chronicle but it does not appear to have been terribly important either to Lanfranc or to the papacy. The charge of using Robert's *pallium* was for emphasis, to show Stigand was not merely administering Canterbury until the situation could be regularized. As Stigand performed no metropolitan functions specific to the need for a *pallium*, namely the consecration of bishops or the convocation of synods it seems unlikely that he used Robert's *pallium* for any other purpose. That he received his own *pallium* from a pope later deemed intrusive and deposed was another such specious charge. The accusation of substance was that of the invasion of the see while Robert still lived. As has already been discussed, the English perspective on this event was quite different from either Robert's or Rome's.

After the Conquest Stigand did exercise his metropolitan status to the extent that he consecrated a bishop, Remigius as discussed above.[870] This is the strangest event in Stigand's career. He spent fifteen years not performing just this particular rite with the exception of the period of 1058-1059 and nothing that is known about his post-Conquest position explains why he suddenly changed that habit. Barlow's additional claim that William of Malmesbury stated that Stigand recognized William the Conqueror as son and king on condition that the new king recognized Stigand as archbishop and father and that

[870] David Bates, *Bishop Remigius of Lincoln 1067-1092*, (Lincoln, 1992), pp. 4-5 and 7. Bates argues that Remigius may not have been aware of Stigand's uncanonical status, perhaps confused by William the Conqueror's respectful treatment of the archbishop after the Conquest.

Stigand appealed to this agreement when he was deposed is not stated by the *Gesta Pontificum* but it is likely the cause. *Gesta Pontificum* states "After talks together William received Stigand as father and archbishop and Stigand received William as king and son."[871] There is no indication whatever of the substance of those talks. It is possible that William promised or implied a promise to help regularize Stigand's position.

Anglo-Saxon Marian Feasts

Two Winchester calendars include feasts dedicated to the Blessed Virgin.[872] The Winchester calendar was eventually transferred to Canterbury and the two sees were closely associated with each other during Stigand's tenure. Unfortunately no example of a Canterbury calendar survives with clear indications that these two feasts, the Presentation [of Mary] in the Temple and the Conception, were celebrated there. There is no mention of two feasts in Lanfranc's *Constitutions* and the question has arisen as to whether or not Lanfranc removed them because they were English traditions he did not wish to support, were not generally accepted liturgical practice or because they were in some way associated with Stigand.

Marian feasts were a relatively late development in the Christian Church as initial attention was paid to those feasts which commemorated the passion of Christ and the

[871] *GP*, Book I, chapter 23.5, p. 49, "*consertisque loquelis, Willelmus eum in patrem et archiepiscopum, ipse Willelmum in regem recepit et filium.*"
[872] London British Library Cotton Vitellius E xviii, probably started out at New Minster and was moved to Old Minster, and London British Library Cotton Titus D xxvii.

deaths of the martyrs.[873] Three manuscripts preserve in its entirety a metrical calendar thought to have been composed in the early tenth-century. London British Library, Cotton Galba A. xviii, London British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v, vol. I, and London British Library, Cotton Junius A. vi include a calendar in which four Marion feasts are noted. A fourth manuscript preserves the calendar only in part, London British Library, Cotton Junius 27. The feasts and their dates are as follows:

Purification	2	February
Annunciation	25	March
Assumption	15	August
Nativity	8	September[874]

The *Menologium*, composed c. 965 – 1000 in Old English, also contains these four feasts in commemoration of Mary.[875]

Circa. 1030, two additional feasts commemorating the Conception of Mary on 8 December and the Presentation in the Temple on 21 November can be found in two New Minster calendars and one Worcester calendar: London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391, respectively.[876] London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii belonged to

[873] Mary Clayton, 'The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England' *Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*, Simon Keynes and Andy Orchard, eds. (Cambridge, 2003), p. 28.
[874] Clayton, 'Cult of the Virgin', p. 40; P. McGurk, 'The Metrical Calendar' *An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Miscellany*, P. McGurk, D.N. Dumville, M.R. Godden and A. Knock, eds. EEMF 20, (Copenhagen, 1983), pp. 44-50.
[875] 'Menologium' *Anglo-Saxon Minor Poems,* E.V.K. Dobbie, ed. The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records 6, (New York, 1942), pp. 49-55.
[876] E. Bishop, *Liturgica Historia*, (Oxford, 1918), p. 239, dates London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, c. 1030 probably based on its Easter tables for the years 1031 - 1145; Francis Wormald, 'English Calendars before A.D. 1100, *Henry Bradshaw Society* 72, (London, 1934), no. 1, *Contra* Bishop, Wormald dated Vitellius E c. 1060 doubtless based on the handwriting but did not give details. T.A. Heslop, 'The Canterbury Calendars and the Norman Conquest' *Canterbury and the Norman Conquest*: *Churches, Saints and Scholars 1066-1109*, Richard Eales and Richard Sharpe, eds. (London and Rio Grande, 1995), p. 57. Heslop also made the point that London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius E. xviii contains Easter tables

Ælfwine, abbot of New Minster. Edmund Bishop dated the writing of London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii to Ælfwine's years as dean, 1023-1032, and the additions of the feasts of the Conception and the Presentation in the Temple to his years as abbot, 1032-1057.[877] The dates for the Presentation and the Conception were later additions in Vitellius E xviii in a hand similar to that of portions of London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvi, once part of London, British Library, Cotton Titus D. xxvii.[878] CCCC 391 contains a date for the Conception but not for the Presentation suggesting that the feasts were introduced into England at Winchester. The textual evidence therefore suggests that the feasts of the Purification, the Annunciation, the Assumption and the Nativity of Mary were introduced at Winchester c.1030.

The entry of a feast in a calendar does not necessarily mean that it was celebrated in the liturgy. Four manuscripts preserve masses and episcopal benedictions for these addition feasts. The London, British Library, Harley 2892, a *Canterbury Benedictional*, Le Havre, Bibliothèque Municipale, 330, a New Minster missal, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 579, the Leofric Missal, and London British Library, Add. 28188, an Exeter benedictional.[879] Masses and benedictions for these two feasts would have been unnecessary if the feasts were only known but not celebrated. Given the very close association between Winchester and Canterbury during Stigand's archiepiscopate and the

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beginning in the year 1030. N. R. Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, (Oxford, 1957), p. 298. Ker dates the manuscript to xi$^{med.}$ Clayton, 'Cult of the Virgin', p. 42-43.

[877] Bishop, *Liturgica Historia*, (Oxford, 1918), p. 239 n. 1.

[878] T. A. M. Bishop, *English Caroline Minuscule*, (Oxford, 1971), p. 23. T. A. M. Bishop discusses the similarity of the hands.

[879] Clayton, 'Cult of the Virgin', p. 44; Editions of the four manuscripts can be found in the following publications: Harley 2892, R. M. Wooley, 'The Canterbury Benedictional', *Henry Bradshaw Society* 51, (London 1917), pp. 116, 118-119. Le Havre 330, D. H. Turner, 'The Missal of the New Minster, Winchester', *Henry Bradshaw Society* 93, (London 1962), p. 190. Bodley 579, F.E. Warren, *The Leofric Missal*, (Oxford, 1883), p. 268. Add. 28188, Ker, *Catalogue*, p. lvii.

evidence of the London, British Library, Harley 2892, which may have been written after 1052, this suggests Christ Church as the reception point. It is not a very large stretch to suggest that the feasts of the Presentation and the Conception were spread from Winchester to Canterbury in his train.[880] Frank Barlow suggested that Stigand may have been responsible for moving the Winchester calendar to Canterbury but that cannot be supported. The Winchester calendar has been shown, by P. M. Korhammer, to have gone to Canterbury in the early decades of the eleventh century.[881] The feasts of the Presentation in the Temple and the Conception arrived in Canterbury separately and later than the Winchester calendar as a whole. Stigand could have taken the celebration of the feasts with him when he was appointed to the archbishopric. Winchester and Stigand had a long association with Queen Emma and he may have favored feasts that venerated the Queen of Heaven. By 1066 six Marian feasts were celebrated in England:

Purification	2	February
Annunciation	25	March
Assumption	15	August
Nativity	8	September
Presentation in the Temple	21	November
Conception	8	December

In 1070 Stigand was deposed in April and Lanfranc appointed in August. Lanfranc instituted a reform of the Canterbury Calendar, wherein he also did away with a number of feasts related to English saints, and the two feasts under discussion, the Presentation and the Conception, appear to have been abolished as his *Constitutions* do

[880] See also, Clayton, "Feasts of the Virgin," p. 46.
[881] Barlow, *English Church*, pp. 209-210; P. M. Korhammer, 'The Origin of the Bosworth Psalter' *Anglo-Saxon England* 2, (1973), pp. 173-187.

not include them.[882] They were also removed from the Winchester Calendar by Stigand's replacement there, Bishop Walchelin. The New Minster Calendar records neither feast.[883] Edmund Bishop stated that the feast adoption of the Conception in Anglo-Saxon England was "pure piety without doctrinal afterthought."[884] If this was true then Lanfranc may have been attempting to realign England with mainstream practices. Anselm recounted a story, seemingly from a written Ramsey source, about Ælfsige, a monk of Old Minster, Winchester and later abbot of St. Augustine's before appointment as acting abbot of Ramsey.[885] The story can be summarized: Ælfsige was sent to Denmark by William the Conqueror to determine if reports that the Danes were preparing to invade were true. On his return, his ship was caught in a violent storm and petitions to God for safe arrival were answered by a figure in episcopal garb who instructed Ælfsige to celebrate the feast of the Conception on the eighth day of December using the Mass said on the feast of the Nativity of Mary.[886] This looks like a preemption or early argument against objections to the inclusion in the liturgy of the feast of the Conception

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[882] *Decreta Lanfranci – The Monastic Constitutions of Lanfranc*, rev. ed. David Knowles, ed. (Oxford, 2002), pp. 6-15. Susan J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*, (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 121-129, 171-175 and 251-2. Ridyard argues that the Normans, including Lanfranc, went out of their way to assimilate English traditions and practices into the new regime and that there was no 'purge' of saints. Others have accepted this argument and recanted earlier positions. Margaret Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec*, (Oxford, 1978), pp. 70-73. in which she presented arguments for Lanfranc's skepticism about English saints and her essay in 'The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral Community, 597-1070' *A History of Canterbury Cathedral*, Patrick Collinson, Nigel Ramsay and Margaret Sparks, eds. (Oxford, 1995), pp. 38-68 at 42-44 in which she argues for Lanfranc's acceptance of English saints. See also David Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England,* (Oxford, 1989), pp. 220-233 in which he retracts arguments presented in his *Mildreth Legend: A Study in Early Medieval Hagiography in England* (Leicester, 1982), pp. 59-68. Rubinstein, Jay, 'Liturgy against History: The Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum*, Vol. 74, (1994), pp. 279-309 at 306-309. Rubinstein suggests a more moderate line and that there was a purge of saints though not perhaps as severe as that claimed by Eadmer.

[883] London, British Library, Arundel 60 as cited in Clayton, 'Feasts of the Virgin,' p. 232.

[884] *The Bosworth Psalter*, E. Bishop and F. Gasquet, eds., (London, 1908), p. 64 n. 3.

[885] R. W. Southern, 'The English Origins of the "Miracles of the Virgin"' *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1958), pp. 176-216. Southern accepted the story as genuine as it contained more knowledge of English history than Anselm would have possessed.

[886] *Miracula Santæ Virginis Mariæ*, E. F. Dexter, ed., University of Wisconsin Study in the Social Studies and History 12 (Madison, 1927), pp. 37-38.

and an attempt to render the celebration liturgically unexceptional. The removals must also be considered in conjunction with Bishop Remigius' claim that he was told that Stigand was not Lanfranc's antecessor nor was Lanfranc Stigand's successor. This suggests an attempt to erase Stigand's pontificates. The evidence is all circumstantial but it may be the only evidence extant of Stigand exerting influence over the Church he governed.

Personal Piety

It remains to consider what is known of Stigand's own pious practices. Very little is known about Stigand's expressions of piety. The Marion feasts discussed above may have been associated with Stigand but the connection is far from certain. He was frequently discussed in relation to political activity or acquisition of wealth and those discussions usually painted him a cynical character with little respect for the Church that was his route to power, and by extension for the spiritual in general. With respect to King Edward's deathbed vision of God's design for the people of England in the form of a hewn tree, "The archbishop himself, who ought either to have been the first to fear or give a word of advice, with folly at heart whispered in the ear of the earl that the king was broken with age and disease and knew not what he said."[887] Because the Biographer accepted the vision as heaven sent any disbelief or criticism was insupportable. It does not follow that Stigand's recorded refusal to accept the king's doom laden prophesy denoted a lack of piety or an irreligious outlook. Stigand may have seen that the king

[887] *VÆR*, pp. 76-77. "*ipse archiepiscopus qui debuerat vel primus pauere, vel verbum consilii dare, infatuato corde submurmurat in aurem ducis senio confectum et morbo, quid diceret nescire.*"

was speaking from delirium or dementia and sensibly downplayed his words, if indeed; any of it was said at all.

The death-bed is a *topos* repeatedly found in medieval writing. The description of Bede's death in Cuthbert's *Letter on the Death of Bede*, shows Bede diligently teaching, writing and working even as he knows that the end of his life approaches.[888] Ailred's death scene was patterned after Bede's.[889] The motif is a demonstration of the dying man making a good end to his life, of doing those things appropriate to a man preparing to face God.[890] Confession, display of humility and provision for heirs or succession are typical of such accounts. Edward the Confessor's concern for the foreigners that served him and whom he commended to Harold demonstrates the settling of debts that is also common to death-bed scenes. The revival of the sufferer, no matter how close to death, in order to deliver words of wisdom or warning is also common. Ruth Morse considers the topos "an invitation, to use the set scene in order to say something about the dying man."[891] In the *Vita Ædwardi Regis qui apud Westmonasterium requiescit*, the opportunity is taken to comment, not on Edward, but on Stigand.[892] The drastic change in circumstances that occurred in England during the writing of the *Vita Ædwardi* was also an invitation to comment on the destruction of Anglo-Saxon rule.

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[888] Bede, *EH*, p. 301.
[889] Walter Daniel, *The Life of Ailred [Abbot] of Rievaulx*, F.M. Powicke, ed. and trans., (London, 1950), pp. 55-62.
[890] Ruth Morse, 'Medieval Biography: History as a Branch of Literature' *The Modern Language Review*, Vol. 80, No. 2, (1985), pp. 257-268 at 262.
[891] Morse, 'History as Literature', p. 262.
[892] *VÆR*, p. 118.

Stigand and the Church

Stigand's acts of piety did not extend to the foundation of churches or monasteries. There are no extant illuminated benedictionals or psalters produced at his command or specifically for his use. If there ever were any, they have been lost, are un-recovered or are known but are unidentified with Stigand. It is known that he gave lavish and beautiful gifts to churches with which he had an association.[893] It should be noted that these gifts were given to monasteries rather than to secular churches. Winchester remembered Stigand having given "a large cross with two figures made of gold and silver.[894] If this gift mirrored that given at Ely, the cross and figures were life sized. His tendency to give large crosses and figures associated with them may indicate that Stigand felt a particular affinity for the cult of the Holy Cross. At Ely he was also credited with the gifts of "greater and lesser vessels of gold and silver for the liturgy of the holy altar."[895] Textiles were also among those things Stigand gave to Ely, "Stigand made an alb and a cantor's cope and a chasuble of priceless workmanship and costliness, than which none in the kingdom is reckoned richer or more valuable."[896] If he gave such sumptuous gifts to Ely it is not unreasonable to assume a similar level of generosity at his own sees of Winchester and Canterbury even though their records are silent on the matter. Stigand was equally generous when he traveled. The *Vita Willibrordi*, a late twelfth-century life written at Echternach, recorded Stigand's visit, "to this same place also came Stigand, the eminent archbishop of the English, "in holy patronage he

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[893] *LE* - Blake, Book II, chapter 98, p. 168. *Liber Eliensis* records that Stigand was associated with Winchester, Glastonbury, St. Albans, St. Augustine's and Ely. Neither Glastonbury's nor St. Albans' chronicles record gifts from Stigand.

[894] *Annales Monastici* Vol II, pp. 29-30. "*Dederat autem idem Stigandus ecclesiæ Wintoniæ maximam crucem cum duabus imaginibus auro et argento optime compositus.*"

[895] *LE* - Blake, Book II, chapter 98, p. 168. "*In Ely quippe vasa maiora et minora de auro et argento in ministerium sacri altaris contulit…*" *LE* – Fairweather, Book II, chapter 98, pp. 200-201.

[896] *LE* - Blake, Book II, chapter 98, p. 168. "*Insuper albam fecit et cappam contoris atque inestimabilis facture et pretii casulam, qua nulla in reno ditoir aut pretiosior estimature…*" *LE* – Fairweather, Book II, chapter 98, pp. 200-201.

furnished and endowed the church of Echternach to the highest degree, [with] gold and silver metals and precious stones by far surpassing all things."[897] It is likely that each place he stopped on his journey received valuable gifts.

This late life of St. Willibrord is the only evidence that Stigand traveled outwith England other than his time as King William's involuntary guest in 1067.[898] The Abbey of Echternach was founded by St. Willibrord in 698. He died and was buried there sometime after 719. The abbey, on the border of present day Luxemburg and Germany, was an important place of pilgrimage in the medieval period. Unfortunately the *Vita* does not date Stigand's visit, but with certain *caveats* in mind it may be possible to narrow the field somewhat. Stigand was referred to in the account of his visit as "*Anglorum archipresul eximius*," *i.e.* "Illustrious [or eminent] archbishop of the English."[899] The *Life* is a twelfth-century account and it is possible that Stigand was known to have occupied the archiepiscopal see and is therefore titled as such. It need not indicate that he was archbishop at the time of his visit.

The *Vita* refers to *Beornradus,* archbishop of Sens in the late eight-century, and Stigand collectively as *archipresules* in the same passage as it does Stigand's visit. No prominent lay-persons, in fact no others at all, are mentioned. If Stigand traveled with a

[897] *Vita Willibrordi*, Albert Poncelet, ed. *Acta Sanctorum*, November 4, (1916), chapter 29.
[898] Mary Frances Smith, Robin Fleming, and Patricia Halpin, 'Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England' *The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. 87, (October, 2001), pp. 569-602 at 574-5.
[899] *Ibid*.

retinue, as he likely did, no comment was made to that effect. The lack of prominent personages suggests that the visit did not occur while Stigand traveled with King William as his hostage. William would not have allowed Stigand to travel on his own or outside territory controlled by him. Therefore it is safe to say that Stigand visited Echternach before the Conquest. Linking Stigand with *Beornradus* was a linking up of archbishops, which suggests that Stigand's visit took place after Robert of Jumièges fled England. If the description of Stigand as archbishop was not a later addition, then the visit must have occurred in 1052-1066, and possibly during that time that Stigand had a valid *pallium*, 1058-1059, but that is speculative and the event cannot be dated more precisely than pre 1066.

The *Incipiunt Capitula* of this *Vita Willibrordi* says "Wherefore Saint Willehad practiced eremitical life in seclusion for two years at Echternach, and the archbishops Beornrad and Stigand dwelt in the same place with great devotion."[900] The reason for Stigand's journey is unknown; the shrine of St. Willibrord may have been an additional stop rather than the object of the journey. Echternach is also too near England to make even a reasonably accurate guess as to Stigand's itinerary although it could easily have been enroute to either Rome or Hungary, although there is no record of Stigand having gone to either place.

[900] *Vita Willibrordi*, chapter 29. Beornrad gave the abbey the revenues from estates whereas Stigand provided relics. "*Quod sanctus Willehadus efternaco duobus annis heremiticam vitam exercuit in reclusione, et Beornradus et Stigandus archipresules ibidem conversati sunt ingenti devotione.*"

Stigand and the Church

Stigand's fondness for giving extraordinary gifts is evident again in the account of his visit to Echternach:

> They came with love and an innermost zeal kindled toward the resting place of the father such a distinguished prelate Beornrad, he related by blood and hereditary possession, and Stigand, illustrious archbishop of the English, of whom, one [Beornrad], made ruler of the same monastery, [furnished and enriched the oratory of Echternach] with beaten gold and silver and jeweled ornaments and revenues of estates described by him written in his will, and the other [Stigand] furnished and enriched the oratory of Echternach with the most mighty relics of saints, far superior to all metals of gold and silver and every precious stone.[901]

It might be possible to determine Stigand's route and stopping places if he was as generous to other shrines and churches as he was at Echternach and records remain. It is not likely that objects given have survived. The monastery at Echternach was suppressed during the French Revolution and its belongings scattered. Gifts of the sort Stigand habitually gave were rich enough to be used to alleviate debts or purchase favors as did Bishop Nigel with Stigand's gifts to Ely.[902]

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[901] *Vita Willibrordi,* chapter 29. "*Amoris item intimi igne erga tanti patris quietis locum accensi advenerunt Beornradus [h]ierarcha magnificus, eius consanguineus et rerum possessor hereditarius, et Stigandus, Anglorum archipresul eximius, quorum alter eiusdem cęnobii rector effectus, incusis auro et argento et gemmatis ornatibus et descriptis ab eo in testamenti pagina prediorum reditibus, alter Efternacense oratorium exornavit et ditavit maximis sanctorum patrociniis, omnia auri et argenti metalla et omnem lapidem preciosum longe prestantibus.*" See also Smith, Fleming and Halpin, 'Court and Piety', pp. 574-5.

[902] *LE* - Blake Book II, chapter 98, p. 168 and Book III, chapter 89 and *LE* - Fairweather Book II, chapter 98, pp. 200-201 and Book III, chapter 89. Among the amounts made up from a list of things Bishop Nigel

Stigand and the Church

Lacking extensive records of the conduct of his sees, it is difficult to determine just how assiduous Stigand was in carrying out his ecclesiastical duties. There appear to have been no complaints of him during his tenure of those offices, barring individual disputes that any temporal lord might incur in the course of meting out judgments, although silence is inadequate evidence. There was no doubt grumbling among less richly endowed bishops or those who adhered strictly to canon law about his status at Canterbury but they are not recorded. He behaved liturgically and jurisdictionally like a bishop once he was consecrated to Elmham and throughout his tenure at Winchester. Once he assumed the archiepiscopate he behaved jurisdictionally as if the office was his without question and liturgically only when so authorized.

The excommunication with which so many writers, medieval and modern, condemned him was not excommunication at all but rather a partial form of a lesser punishment and his situation was tolerated by the papacy for many years. He consecrated several altars, at least one church and three bishops, two of whom while bearing his own *pallium* and one anomalous occasion after the Conquest. When he had to devote himself to affairs of state or his temporal duties, his suffragan, the Bishop of St. Martin's would have stepped in so that the necessary rites could be performed. His relationship with the monks in the sees he administered had both positive and negative aspects. He was remembered in a St. Augustine's Canterbury martyology of the twelfh century even as

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took from the church were "…from the two images of the blessed Mary and St. John, towards the altar, sixty-four marks of silver and two marks and three and a half ounces of gold." These images sound like those given, together with a large crucifix, to Ely by Stigand.

other houses faulted him.[903] Stigand could have made a more overt attempt to reconcile with the papacy but for most of his life it was not the pope who reined in chaos and promoted peace and prosperity at home. He was a man who worked within the system as he saw it and the most powerful system in his world was royal and secular.

[903] MS London, British Library, Cotton, Vitellius C xii fo. 120, *LE* – Book II, chapter 98, *Liber Eliensis* claimed that Stigand withheld lands to the abbey's detriment; *Historia Ecclesie Abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon*, 2 Vols. John Hudson, ed. and trans., (Oxford, 2007), Vol. I, pp. 196-197. Abingdon claimed that Stigand had reneged on his part of a lease agreement.

Conclusion

This survey began with several questions: Was Stigand essentially different from other bishops of his time? Were his controversial activities specific to him or did others engage in the same activities? Was the reputation that accrued to Stigand deserved? While a definitive answer still eludes capture it has been possible to make a reasonable determination as to how likely the commentary about Stigand is to be true. Stigand has been presented by scholars, from the late eleventh century into the twenty-first-century, in various lights. Some opinions have been unremittingly negative. Other commentators of Stigand's actions and career took the opposite view, insisting that he was a hero and a patriot. Still other scholars attempted to moderate their comments but without much success. All of these accounts, however, began with the same premise, that Stigand was, as William of Malmesbury wrote in the twelfth-century, a rogue, and Henry Loyn in the twentieth, a bad hat. With the exception of one article, none of these assessments enjoyed the benefit of a focus solely on Stigand and thus a thorough analysis of his life and career.

Stigand's reputation has carried with it the stigma of a bishop who violated Church practice and canon law for his own selfish ends. He has been criticized as a pluralist, rapacious land grabber, usurper and excommunicate for most of the last millennium. Pluralist he certainly deserved. The Church allowed pluralism in order to compensate for a poorly endowed benefice or when pastoral needs required it. The English, not solely Stigand, extended the practice to cover political needs as well as spiritual. Stigand's simultaneous tenure of two wealthy and powerful sees occasioned no

recorded complaint during his lifetime. In any case it was common and appears to have offended few. Even popes who condemned him for other acts were themselves confirmed pluralists. Stigand's pluralism was neither peculiar to him nor to England.

His wealth was enormous, his personal worth was nearly double that of the archiepiscopal see of York and nearly exceeded that of the see of Winchester, but there are few records detailing how he acquired it. It is known that he inherited, exchanged, seized and leased lands as well as received them with his offices and by royal gift. Despite this lack of documentation and the methods he was known to have employed the contention that he seized lands at every opportunity to the detriment of all but himself persists. Claims by monastic foundations about land lost due to Stigand's involvement resulted from the seizure and redistribution of lands due to his deposition. Stigand's rapacity was a post-Conquest invention by monastic foundations attempting to regain lands lost to the depredations of lay nobles.

England had its own customary practices relating to the appointment and deposition of ecclesiastics. Robert of Jumièges was legally deposed according to English law and Stigand chosen to replace him. The English establishment, lay and ecclesiastical, gave scant indication that they perceived Stigand's status as questionable. They went elsewhere for consecrations and that was all the recognition given to Stigand's lack of a *pallium*. The greatest detriment to Canterbury was its loss of prestige and influence relative to the consecrations of bishops and kings. That Stigand's occupation of the archiepiscopal see was permitted to continue for nearly twenty years indicates that the

papacy was not as concerned about Stigand's invasion of Canterbury as the commentary would suggest or that it knew there was little that could be done to change matters. The end of Stigand's archiepiscopate came when an increasingly powerful papacy began to take such matters into its own hands. The issue of monks versus priests as bishops was peculiarly English arising as it did from Æthelwald's insistence that all old foundations must have been monastic. On the continent, neither bishops nor the members of their households were monks. Stigand may have been unique among the archbishops of Canterbury in his secular state but he was the norm among bishops in Europe.

Stigand's 'excommunication' as reported in a number of sources actually amounted to the restrictions under which he already labored due to his lack of a *pallium*. The value of excommunication as a censure was debatable as indicated by the increasingly severe forms developed and in any event it seems never to have been employed against Stigand. Stigand's unorthodox arrival on the archiepiscopal throne was a pretext, valid but a pretext, for his removal. He had outlived his usefulness to King William. At the time of Stigand's deposition, William was still attempting to subdue his newly acquired kingdom. Perhaps the powerful archbishop had proven less helpful than had been expected. The fact that William imprisoned Stigand in Winchester castle, a man at least eight-two years of age and possibly older, rather than send him to a monastery suggests Stigand's influence, even without the authority of his offices, was

still formidable.[904] It was only after Archbishop Ealdred of York died and years after the papacy began to assert itself that steps were taken to remove Stigand from his offices.

In answer to the questions reiterated at the start of these concluding remarks: Was Stigand essentially different from other bishops of his time? Were his controversial activities specific to him or did others engage in the same activities? Was the reputation that accrued to Stigand deserved? The answer is both yes, to a degree and no, to an extent. Stigand was born of a wealthy though not a noble family based in Norfolk. In this he mirrors other bishops who came from not insignificant families. He was born at roughly the same time that the great reformers, Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald died.[905] Certainly by the time he was ten years of age, and likely earlier, they were all gone. Where Stigand received his education and training for the priesthood is unknown and therefore it is impossible to determine the influences that acted upon him. By 1020 he had received what training was deemed necessary for ordination and sufficient to make him useful and even to stand out in Cnut's household. Stigand either maintained his position throughout the reigns of Harold Harefoot and Harthacnut or recovered it after the accession of Edward the Confessor. This pattern of survival and prosperity when confronted by drastic change would be repeated several times throughout his long career until he was finally overwhelmed by events.

[904] *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, Vol. 8, MS F, Peter S. Baker, ed. (Cambridge, 2000), *s.a.* 1020, p. 111, Stigand's appointment to Ashingdon; 1043, his appointment to Elmham. See Introduction note 1 for discussion of Stigand's possible age.
[905] Dunstan 988, Oswald 992 and Æthelwold 984.

Conclusion

Stigand was used as the symbol of the decline in the English Church because he set a bad example with his defiance of papal disapproval and he did not carry on the work of the reformers. This criticism usually ignores the fact that for most of Stigand's early life he more often saw the results of viking raids on churches than the results of reform. Even Eadmer believed the decline had begun in 1011 with the death of Ælfheah rather than with any of Stigand's actions. The reformers had the benefit of completing most of their work under the auspices of a strong king. Stigand lived his first thirty years under an increasingly weakening Æthelred II, whose reign ended in disaster. Had he chosen the monastic life perhaps his abilities would have brought him high office and he might have continued the efforts of his predecessors. He chose the secular path and it led him more often among the powerful than the blessed. It is not strange that Stigand appeared to disadvantage in comparison with Æthelwold, Dunstan, Oswald and later Anselm. Most men are not saints. It was they who stood outside the norm by virtue of their sanctity.

Æthelwold, Dunstan and Oswald were not merely saintly. Oswald was a pluralist as were Dunstan, Wilfrid and Leofric, bishop of Crediton. Dunstan was intrusive as was Wulfwig, bishop of Dorchester. Æthelwold was an extremely successful and occasionally aggressive acquirer of land as was the less belligerent Giso, bishop of Wells. The criticism against Stigand's acquisition of wealth is that he appeared to gather it for his own benefit rather than the Church's. As he seems not to have lived an inappropriate life-style, not to have indulged himself as he could afford to have done, it is difficult to see what this benefit was. The only extravagance with which Stigand can be charged is

that of giving sumptuous gifts to churches. Such conspicuous generosity was typical of the time and indicated that Stigand was at least as pious as the next wealthy Christian.

Stigand was probably no more politically active than was Æthelwold or Lanfranc. The author of the *Vita Æthelwoldi* chose to ignore the saint's involvement in politics but it was he who linked the governance of monasteries and nunneries to the king and queen in the *Regularis Concordia*. It was inevitable that Stigand, as bishop of Winchester, would be politically active, more so for example than Walter of Hereford, situated as he was at the court. Stigand would have been able to administer both his diocese and attend the king at court easily. The distance between Winchester and Canterbury made attendance at court an implied neglect of the archiepiscopal see. As Stigand had both sees, and Canterbury had a suffragan in the bishop of St. Martin's, operating both from Winchester probably increased efficiency if not piety.

All sources are biased and it has been Stigand's misfortune that most surviving sources about his life and career are post-Conquest and biased against him. His situation was not ideal. His pluralism, occupation of Canterbury without papal approval and lack of a *pallium* made him vulnerable to Rome and Rome's adherents. Within England his hold on the office was never insecure. There was never a point at which Stigand was in danger of deposition from Winchester and Canterbury prior to 1070 and had Ealdred not died in 1069, William may have been content to allow Stigand to remain. Perhaps Stigand's experience of deposition at the king's hands, in 1043, had taught him to negotiate the labyrinth of politics and piety that kept bishops in power. He saw and

experienced the genuine power the English king could wield and perhaps viewed the secular ruler present as a more formidable authority than was the pope so far away. The English appear to have placed greater importance on preserving their traditional authority over church appointments than they did on conforming to papal strictures which, in the past, had never had enough power behind them to require obedience.

To return to that important question: Was Stigand essentially different from his predecessors, contemporaries and successors? No, to the extent that, he was a pluralist as were others. He accepted the office of a deposed bishop as had others. He engaged in political activity as had many. He accumulated wealth for himself and his church as had others. Yes, to the degree that, his pluralism encompassed the two wealthiest and most important sees in England. The deposition of his predecessor was unapproved by the pope and thus contrary to canon if not to English law. His political activity was of a purely secular nature rather than of a kind to advance or safeguard the Church's interests. He was wealthier in his own person than most sees combined.

It is true that Stigand did many, though not all, of the things of which he was accused. Others did those things as well. The fact that Stigand was not alone in his transgressions does not render those actions morally right but it does mean that the others who also committed these actions were equally wrong. Stigand, however, bears the brunt of the blame. Dunstan, Oswald, Æthelwold and Wilfrid committed these same sins and went on to sainthood, Stigand to opprobrium. Perhaps Stigand could have been a better priest and a better bishop. He could have demonstrated more of the piety for which his

sainted predecessors were known. He appears to have focused on this world rather than the next but to have done so in a sincere attempt to foster the interests of the kingdom. The evidence suggests that he was not nearly as bad as he was reputed to have been.

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