

THE STRUCTURE AND RELIABILITY OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS
(BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MS 15350; THE CARTULARY OF
WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY)

ALEXANDER RICHARD RUMBLE

Thesis presented for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
of the University of London

University College London

October 1979



Alexander Richard Rumble, 'THE STRUCTURE AND RELIABILITY OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MS 15350; THE CARTULARY OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY)'.

The Codex Wintoniensis, a medieval cartulary of Winchester cathedral priory, is a composite manuscript whose text was written by sixteen scribes over a period of three centuries. Its earliest section (Cod.Wint. I; fos. 9-11^v, 13^v -67, 67^v-110^v), written c. 1129 X 1139 by scribes a and b, consists of a transcript of 185 historical records, intended to illustrate the Anglo-Saxon endowment of Winchester Cathedral. This section may be associated with Bishop Henry of Blois's efforts to restore the cathedral endowment; its lavish palaeographical features suggest that it may have been intended as a symbol to be used in a ceremony of royal confirmation.

A collation of the surviving exemplars of Cod.Wint.I to their cartulary-texts shows that scribe a was an English speaker; although unfamiliar with insular script and archaic vocabulary, he was able to modernise the vernacular language of documents. The only discernible attempt at falsification of textual content during transcription occurred in Quire X of Cod.Wint. I (fos. 81-8), where the descriptions of beneficiaries in the rubrics differ from those endorsed on the exemplars. Cod.Wint.II and III represent twelfth-century, and later medieval, additions to the cartulary by scribes b-h, and l-s, respectively.

The sources of the Codex as a whole had been produced in more than one scriptorium and belonged to more than one archive. An appreciation both of this variety of source provenance and of the composite nature of the Codex is vital to the criticism of the cartulary's constituent documents, most of them otherwise unknown. All the individual documents should be judged on their own diplomatic merits and in relation to the editorial practices and skills of a particular cartulary-scribe, rather than being summarily condemned, as hitherto, through their mere coincidental association, in the Codex, with some obvious forgeries.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The present thesis is the result of seven years' part-time and two years' full-time research. As its author, I gratefully acknowledge all those who have helped and encouraged me in my work.

In tackling a subject which has required a variety of academic skills, I have realised my good fortune in having had a succession of inspired teachers. I am grateful to my school Latin teacher, Miss V. Witts, for giving me a thorough grounding in that language; to Mr. J.W. Cox, of the University of Leeds, for first introducing me to the study of medieval history; to Dr. D. Oschinsky, of the University of Liverpool, for her teaching in diplomatic, textual criticism, and palaeography; to Professor T.J. Brown, of King's College London, for his lectures in palaeography, and his advice; and to Mr. J. McN. Dodgson, of University College London, not only for his teaching in Old English and Place-names, but also for first exciting my interest in Anglo-Saxon England. I have also benefited from both the advice and the published work of Professor P.H. Sawyer and Dr. P. Chaplais.

I am most grateful to the owners of all the MSS. listed in the Bibliography (including the Warden and Fellows of Winchester College and the Dean and Chapter of Winchester Cathedral) for permission to consult their MSS. I am particularly beholden to the staff of the Department of MSS. of the British Library (formerly the British Museum Library) for their courteous service over a long period.

I owe a great debt to the Leverhulme Trust Fund for awarding me a Senior Studentship in 1977-8, thus allowing me to work full-time on the thesis for the first time. I am also obliged to the Central Research Fund of the University of London for grants for travel and photographs which enabled me to compare the script of medieval Winchester MSS. surviving in a number of different libraries.

I am grateful to Mrs. D. Lord for the cheerful and conscientious way in which she has typed a very difficult text. My supervisor, Professor C.J. Holdsworth, has unfailingly given me his encouragement, advice, confidence, and support over a long period, for which I am extremely indebted. Finally, but above all, I acknowledge the debt which I owe to my parents - to my late father, Mr. F.A.R. Rumble, for imparting to me his love of books and learning and to my mother, Mrs. K. Rumble, for her constant encouragement and enthusiasm for my studies.

A.R.R.

Winchester, August 1979.

ABBREVIATIONS AND CONVENTIONS

The following list does not include bibliographical abbreviations; these are listed below, in the Bibliography.

<u>a.</u>	<u>ante</u> , before
A.D.	<u>anno domini</u> , in the year of Our Lord
Beds.	Bedfordshire
Berks.	Berkshire
Bucks.	Buckinghamshire
<u>c.</u>	<u>circa</u> , about
Cambs.	Cambridgeshire
cf.	<u>confer</u> , compare
chap(s).	chapter(s)
<u>Cod.Wint. I, II, III</u>	For these terms, see below, Part A, section 4.
col(s).	column(s)
d.	<u>dorso</u> , the back of a single-membrane parchment
Derbs.	Derbyshire
ed(d).	edited by
ed.cit.	<u>editione citata</u> , in the edition cited
e.g.	<u>exempli gratia</u> , for example
etc.	<u>et cetera</u> , and others
<u>ex inf.</u>	<u>ex informatione</u> , from information given by
Fig(s).	Figure(s)
<u>fl.</u>	<u>floruit</u> , flourished
fo(s).	folio(s)
foll.	following
Gloucs.	Gloucestershire
Hants	Hampshire
Herts.	Hertfordshire
Hunts.	Huntingdonshire
ib(id).	<u>ibidem</u> , in the same place
i.e.	<u>id est</u> , that is
l(1).	line(s)
Leics.	Leicestershire
loc.cit.	<u>loco citato</u> , in the place cited

m(m).	[before a number] membrane(s)
Middx.	Middlesex
mm.	[after a number] millimetre(s)
MS(S).	manuscript(s)
n(n).	note(s)
n.d.	no date
no(s).	number(s)
Northants.	Northamptonshire
<u>ob.</u>	<u>obit</u> , died
OE	Old English
ON	Old Norse
op.cit.	<u>opere citato</u> , in the work cited
O.S.	Ordnance Survey
Oxon.	Oxfordshire
p(p).	pages
q.v.	<u>quod vide</u> , which see
r	recto
s.	<u>saeculo</u> , in the century
s.a(a).	<u>sub anno</u> , <u>sub annis</u> , under the year(s)
Salop	Shropshire
s.n.	<u>sub nomine</u> , and <u>sub numero</u> ; under the name, and under the number
St.,SS.	Saint(s)
s.v.	<u>sub voce</u> , under the word
<u>temp.</u>	<u>tempore</u> , in the time of
trans.	translated by
T.R.E.	<u>tempore regis Edwardi</u> , in the time of King Edward (the Confessor), A.D. 1042-66
T.R.W.	<u>tempore regis Willelmi</u> , in the time of King William (I), A.D.1066-86
v	verso
<u>v.</u>	<u>vide</u> , see
vol(s).	volume(s)
Warwicks.	Warwickshire
Wilts.	Wiltshire
'	indicates an abbreviated form in quotation, except where the actual abbreviation-mark is reproduced.
/	indicates word-division
<	indicates the direction taken by a change in spelling

=	equals, the same as
...	indicates omission of text
<u>43</u>	this, and 'similar underlined numbers refer to individual documents copied into the <u>Codex Wintoniensis</u> , as listed in Appendix 1, below
+ <u>43</u>	refers to the surviving exemplar of a document copied into the <u>Codex Wintoniensis</u> , listed in Appendix 2, below
[]	indicates editorial emendation or comment
X	indicates the outside limits in dating or measuring
X2	indicates the frequency of occurrence (here twice)

The dates of manuscripts are given in the conventional manner, e.g. s.x for 'tenth-century'; s.x¹ for 'of the first half of the tenth century'; s.x² for 'of the second half of the tenth century'; s.x in. for 'early tenth-century'; s.x ex. for 'late tenth-century'; s.x med. for 'mid tenth-century'; s.ix/x for 'of c.A.D. 900'; and s.ix-x for 'of the ninth and tenth centuries'. The decoration of manuscripts is, where possible, described in terms contained in L.N. Valentine, Ornament in medieval manuscripts (1965). The noun 'overline' has been coined to indicate an ink line drawn above individual letters to show abbreviation of a word. The letter 'r' (recto) has been omitted with folio references except where needed to avoid ambiguity; all folio numbers which are not given as 'v' (verso) or 'rv' (recto and verso of a particular folio) are thus to be taken as recto. All measurements are given in the order 'height X width'. Line-numbers to quotations of text are to be written, not ruled, lines in the manuscript. County-designations of place-names refer to the historic counties of England, not to the recently-reorganized units of local government. Regnal dates of popes, kings, and bishops are taken from Powicke and Fryde, with amendments to those of Anglo-Saxon bishops as contained in O'Donovan, 'Episcopal dates', parts i and ii.

All quotations from manuscripts follow the spelling and usage of capital-letters of the MSS. concerned, except that initial uncial d has been given as D and the enlarged initial e has been given as E when these letters were being used in the mode of capitals.

Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian personal-names are given in an ideal etymological spelling, except in quotation and except for the name Edward and in references to SS. Æthelwold, Cuthbert, and Swithun.

The present thesis is presented in two volumes, each with its own pagination; volume nos. have not been indicated in cross-references to pages within the same volume.

INTRODUCTION

The finest of the surviving medieval cartularies of Winchester cathedral priory,¹ known since the nineteenth century as the Codex Wintoniensis² and now British Library Add. MS. 15350,³ is a manuscript whose personal history began in the second quarter of the twelfth century and is still developing today.

Although no further documents were copied into it after the fourteenth century it has, since that time to the present, been consulted as a historical source containing records relating to the period from the seventh to the fourteenth centuries of English history.⁴

Because the majority of the documents in the cartulary are transactions made in the Anglo-Saxon period, written in Latin and/or Old English, the whole cartulary has in the past been insufficiently studied as an entity by historians, few of whom have had the necessary knowledge of both languages. There has instead been a tendency to extract the text of individual documents from the cartulary and to use them without any consideration of their cartulary-context. The fact that some of the documents so extracted are forgeries has been used,

1. The two other major surviving cartularies are BL, Add. MS. 29436 and WCL, St. Swithun's Cartulary.
2. So christened by J.M. Kemble, v. below, Part E, section 1.
3. Formerly, and at the time of the registration of the title of the present thesis, British Museum, Add. MS. 15350.
4. See below, Part E.

without further investigation, to impugn the authenticity of the remaining documents in the cartulary.¹

The present thesis aims to assemble all available information on the manuscript and its contents and, taking into consideration the motives and editorial practices of its compilers, to assess its reliability as a source for a large number of (otherwise unknown) historical documents. The research undertaken in pursuit of the above aims may be summarised as follows:

- (i) an investigation of the external features of the manuscript and of the relationship between those features and its textual contents. This entailed distinguishing between the several scribes who wrote the Codex and dating their work by reference to the palaeography of other surviving Winchester manuscripts. The textual contents of the Codex were then grouped and studied according to the individual scribes who had copied them into the cartulary;
- (ii) an investigation of the surviving manuscript sources of the Codex and of their archival and diplomatic provenance. A collation of these surviving exemplars to the respective cartulary-texts in order to study the editorial practices of their particular cartulary-scribes;
- (iii) a consideration of the use and reputation of the Codex up to the present. A re-assessment of

1. See below, Part E, section 2.

its reliability as a historical source in the light of the results of the research described in (i) and (ii), above.

The source-material consulted for the thesis was mostly manuscript, with the Codex itself as the most important item. Printed sources were mainly of use for information on the general historical background against which the cartulary was compiled. The surviving exemplars were examined in manuscript, and other early cartularies were also consulted to compare the way in which their respective compilers had arranged and edited Anglo-Saxon texts. The later history of the Codex depends on scattered references to it in the private papers of antiquaries/^{and} on discussions, in modern historical monographs, of individual documents from the cartulary.

In view of the prominence which it has been given in the present thesis, something ought to be said here of the nature of palaeographical evidence. Although it might at first be thought that such evidence would be highly subjective, this need not be so, given an appreciation of its limitations and the application of strict rules in its use. The amount which can be said about the individual features of a particular manuscript, or a particular scribe or artist, depends both on the survival of a large enough sample of material on which to base a description of their characteristics, and on the survival of enough comparative material elsewhere. This comparative material, external to the main object of study, may be of varying significance at different periods of time, depending as it does on the degree to which differences were maintained between script-

oria and between individuals within scriptoria. At any particular period, one may expect to find national differences of a general type in the way that manuscripts were produced, such as in the method of preparing the leaves or the generic types of script used. Within England, more particularly in the Anglo-Saxon period and up to the end of the twelfth century, there were also differences between the manuscripts produced by individual scriptoria in more specific features such as decoration, and style of script, abbreviation, and punctuation. At this time also it is possible to identify individual scribes or artists at work by their development of idiosyncratic usages within the over-all style acceptable in their particular scriptorium. The work of these individual scribes or artists may be broken down into units of comparison, represented by such features as individual letter-forms; range of abbreviation-marks; and range of colours and type of infill or terminals used in decoration. Individuals will usually be found to have had particular combinations of these units of comparison which can be used to identify their work. After the end of the twelfth century, however, such idiosyncrasies tend to become fewer, particularly in the ^{production of more} formal manuscripts, and individual scribes and artists are harder to identify. At all periods, it may be added, it is usually easier to distinguish between different scribes or artists whose work appears in the same manuscript than to identify without doubt one individual's work in two separate manuscripts. Similarly, while it is possible to date the scribes of a composite

manuscript roughly by comparison to the scripts found in other manuscripts of the same general period and provenance, one may sometimes arrive at a closer date for individual scribes by studying the sequence of scribes within the composite manuscript itself, particularly where, as often in the case of a cartulary, there is internal evidence for the dating of individual pieces of text.

The thesis is arranged in five parts (A-E). Parts A and E discuss the Codex as an entity in relation to its over-all bibliographical features and its use and criticism. Parts B, C and D follow the broad division of the Codex into three periods of compilation - a twelfth-century core of material (Cod.Wint. I), twelfth-century additions of text (Cod.Wint. II), and later medieval additions of text (Cod.Wint. III). The Appendices are collections of documentary and textual material which have been extracted from, and referred to, in the thesis itself.

PART A

THE PHYSICAL COMPOSITION OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS

The Codex Wintoniensis is a composite manuscript whose present physical form is the product of eight centuries of development. An appreciation of the separate stages of its composition and of their various dates and characteristics is essential to a proper criticism of the cartulary's textual contents. Part A examines the more general external features of the manuscript and summarises the main stages of its composition. Subsequent parts (B-D) examine the various divisions of text within the manuscript on their own merits.

Section 1

The Bibliographical Features of the Codex Wintoniensis

a) The Medieval Binding

The fine medieval binding of the Codex Wintoniensis still survives, but since 1961 has been replaced by a modern binding and is itself now kept separately from the manuscript for its better preservation.¹ The medieval binding still retains a fair proportion of twelfth-century decorated leather on its covers, but elsewhere is the product of at least two stages of later repair, one medieval, and the other nineteenth-century.

(i) The twelfth-century covers (see Plates I,II)

The stamped leather of the covers belonging to the earliest known stage of the binding of the Codex Wintoniensis is a rough white skin of whittawed leather (perhaps doeskin), stained pink.² The eleven designs which have been stamped on the covers link them with two other mid twelfth-century bindings, those on the Winton Domesday,³ and on a copy of Hegesippus, De excidio Iudeorum.⁴ The text of

1. The medieval binding is now BL, Binding 1922. It is accompanied by descriptive notes, mainly composed by Mr. Graham Pollard, and also by photographs taken during the removal of the binding from the manuscript.
2. W.H.J. Weale, Early stamped book-bindings in the British Museum (1922) 3. The most recent discussion of this binding is by H.M. Nixon, 'The binding of the Winton Domesday', WEMA, Appendix II, The manuscript of the Winton Domesday, pp. 534-6, 538-40; and ibid., Figure 31, Plates VIII-X.
3. London, Society of Antiquaries, MS.154; v. Nixon, op.cit., pp. 526-40, and ibid., Plates IV,V,X.
4. WCL, MS. 20; v. Nixon, op.cit., pp. 534-6, 538-40; and ibid., Plates VI, VII, X.

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PLATE I : Codex Wintoniensis, twelfth-century
first cover (scale c.1 : 2).

the Winton Domesday was written in Winchester soon after 1148,¹ but the Hegesippus has no definite association with the place before 1947, when it was given to the cathedral library.² Between them, the bindings on these two manuscripts and the original covers of the Codex Wintoniensis bear the impressions of nineteen different engraved metal dies; four of the dies were used on all three bindings, and one other is common to the Hegesippus and the Codex.³ The five dies in the 'Winchester' group which were used on the covers of the Codex contained designs showing two types of dragon, a pair of man-headed birds, a cock, and an acanthus scroll.⁴ The six dies which are unique to the covers of the Codex contained designs which seem to show the following: a cat, two peacocks, a mermaid, a lion, a griffin, and a pair of fleurs-de-lys.⁵ The group of bindings formed by the Codex, the Winton Domesday, and the Hegesippus comprises the three earliest examples of tooled leather binding probably executed in England.⁶ Similarity between the designs stamped on to this 'Winchester' group of bindings and those on a group of bindings executed in Paris, perhaps as early as 1137 but before 1145, for Prince Henry, the son of King Louis VI of France, is however suggestive of a Parisian origin

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1. T.J. Brown, 'The manuscript and the handwriting', WEMA, Appendix II, p.522.
 2. Nixon, op.cit., p.534 and n.
 3. Ibid., pp.533-5. The designs are illustrated, WEMA, Plate X.
 4. Nixon, op.cit., pp. 534-5; v. also WEMA, Figure 31, and Plate X, nos. 1,2,6,11,4 respectively.
 5. WEMA, Figure 31, and Plate X, nos. 14-19.
 6. Nixon, op.cit., pp. 534-40.

for the manufacture of the dies used on the 'Winchester' bindings.¹ It is possible that the binding of the Codex, and of its two surviving contemporaries, was the work of a binder trained in Paris, perhaps one who had been brought to Winchester by Bishop Henry of Blois.² What is clear is that the tooling on the earliest known binding of the Codex was of some luxury, but of a type which was also used on other manuscripts associated in some way with Winchester. The use of stained white leather for the Codex binding, rather than the more usual brown tanned leather used for binding the Winton Domesday and the Hegesippus, may however have marked the Codex as a book of special importance.³

It is not possible to put an exact date on the earliest part of the Codex binding. It has been dated to c.1150 by association with the Winton Domesday, whose text was written soon after 1148.⁴ The fact that the tooling on the Codex binding is less distinct than that on the Winton Domesday need not, however, imply that the Codex binding was not decorated until after that of the Winton Domesday, and at a time by which the dies had become worn through use. The difference in condition may rather be blamed on the harsh treatment which the manuscript of the Codex suffered in the period before it was bought by the British Museum in 1844.⁵ If the tooled Codex binding

1. Ibid.

2. Ibid., p.540. For Henry of Blois's interest in art, v. T.S.R. Boase, English art 1100-1216 (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1968), pp. 169-80.

3. Cf. — below, Part B, section 5.

4. Nixon, op.cit., pp. 534-6.

5. See below, Part E, section 1.



PLATE II : Codex Wintoniensis, twelfth-century
second cover (scale c.1 : 2).

were added as soon as the writing and decoration of Cod.Wint. I, as far as it had reached (fo. 110^v), was stopped, then it could date to 1139 or soon after.¹ If first bound as early as that, then its binding must very soon have had to be modified (perhaps as early as 1147: cf. 12) to accommodate additional leaves (fos. 2-8, 111-17) on to (most of) which further transcripts had been written by scribes b - g (in Cod.Wint. II).² The slightly later twelfth-century additions by scribes g and h were on (by then) existing leaves and could have been written into a bound volume without any need for disturbing the binding.³ There is of course the possibility that the tooled binding was not the first binding, but merely the earliest one which has survived. In this case, the precise date given to the writing of the manuscript which the tooled binding eventually covered is irrelevant to the date of its addition to the Codex, except as a terminus post quem.

(ii) The medieval repairs⁴

Substantial repairs were made to the binding of the Codex, at some time in the medieval period, probably in the first half of the fourteenth century.⁵ The following features

1. See below, Part B, section 5.

2. See below, Part C, sections 1, 2. Cf. the ink catchwords and quire numbers at fos. 96^v, 104^v which seem to be associated with Cod.Wint. II.

3. Respectively, 232 and 19, on fos. 116^v-117 and 7.

4. Most of the information on the medieval and nineteenth-century repairs to the binding is taken from the notes by Mr. Graham Pollard, kept with BL, Binding 1922.

5. Since scribes p (on fos. 118-19) and q (on fo. 119^v) may be dated to s.xiv¹, see below, Part D, sections 1, 2.

seem to have been added at this time: the oak boards; the leather on which the twelfth-century covers were mounted; the head and tail bands; two seventh or eighth-century bifolia used as paste-downs (see (b), below); and the leaves of fos. 118-20. This virtual re-binding of the Codex took place before the medieval foliation (see (e), below).

(iii) Nineteenth-century repairs¹

The following repairs were made to the medieval binding during the nineteenth century, probably after the Codex had been purchased by the British Museum in 1844:² the sewing of the first and final gatherings (1 and 16) was overcast to secure them to the rest of the book; the back of the manuscript was glued and lined with canvas; the slots for the medieval cords, and other cavities inside the wooden boards, were filled with mud-coloured cement, over which reversed marbled paper was stuck; new paste-downs and flyleaves were inserted and the two seventh or eighth-century bifolia were placed on guards; the spine of the medieval re-binding was made up with new leather at head and foot, was stiffened inside with hard millboard, and supplied on the outside with tooled labels.

1. See above, p.23 ,n.4.

2. See below, Part E, section 1.

b) The Seventh or Eighth-century Paste-downs (scribes i, j; see Plate III)

During the course of the medieval (? fourteenth-century) repairs to the binding of the Codex, some leaves from a much earlier manuscript were utilised as paste-downs (see (a), above). In the nineteenth century, these leaves were replaced by new paste-downs and were mounted on guards. They are now foliated as fos. 1, 121 of the Codex. They consist of two bifolia, from one quire, opened out.¹ Their script has been described by E.A. Lowe as 'a natural but not very expert uncial by two distinct hands...the more expert using a finer pen...', and has been dated by him to the seventh or eighth centuries.² In the context of the Codex, these two scribes have been called i and j, being distinguishable in particular by their forms of capitals A, E, F and G. Scribe j used the finer pen and a darker ink. They both used a fair range of abbreviations, but differed in their treatment of omitted M: scribe i used a simple overline, scribe j an overline with a dot below.

The text written on these early leaves was Vitae Patrum V: Verba Seniorum XIII. 9-XIV. 1, 10-17.³

-
1. The leaves are thick parchment and have been cut down to 275 x 230 mm. They were ruled on the hair side, several leaves at a time, with two columns of 31 lines. There are single bounding-lines and prickings between the columns. Colophons are in red capitals and red was also used for the first line of chapters and for an outline initial. See E.A. Lowe, Codices Latini antiquiores ii, Great Britain and Ireland (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1972), p.164 and plate.
 2. Ibid.
 3. Lowe, loc.cit. For the content, v. P.L. Migne, etc. (edd.), Patrologiae cursus completus...series latina... (Paris, 1844-1904), vol. 73, Vitae patrum sive historiae eremiticae libri decem, cols. 945-7.

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PLATE III : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.1^v (detail, scale c.11 : 8), part of a
seventh or eighth-century Vitae Patrum used as a medieval paste-down;
scribe i.

It was described by Thomas Astle (1735-1803) as 'Homelies. De obedientiam (sic)',¹ and in 1844 by Sir Frederick Madden as 'a portion of the Latin translation of Cassian... Cap: "de oboedentia", written in large irregular uncial letters, not later than the seventh century.'² Lowe has given their most likely provenance as Italy.³

It is not known where the person who did the medieval repairs to the binding of the Codex found the leaves of this early manuscript. One possibility however may be that they, with other leaves now lost, had been used as paste-boards in the twelfth-century binding, being replaced by oak boards in the course of the medieval repairs. If they had been paste-boards they would parallel the use of leaves from a tenth-century sacramentary in the binding of the Winton Domesday.⁴

1. BL, Add. MS. 34712, fo. 173.

2. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.157 (12 April).

3. Lowe, loc.cit. on p.25, n.1.

4. These leaves are now London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 154*, v. H.M. Nixon, WEMA, pp. 526-31 and ibid., Plate XI. For a description of their text, v. F. Wormald, 'Fragments of a tenth-century sacramentary from the binding of the Winton Domesday', ibid., pp. 541-9.

c) Ex Libris Marks

The following ex libris marks occur at the front of the Codex, in chronological order of insertion:

fo. 3 (fo. 1 of the medieval foliation): †† (in ink).

A similar mark, in lead, occurs in the outer margins of fos. 24^v, 26, and 27.

fo. 2: (i) Liber domini Thome Dakcomb' 1550

A reference to Thomas Dackomb, canon of Winchester Cathedral 1542-72, who appears to have had the Codex in his possession for a short period.¹

(ii) 'Winchester Cathedral Library'

Probably to be dated to the period 1840-4, after the re-discovery of the Codex and before its purchase by the British Museum. It was perhaps entered in the Codex in connection with J.M. Kemble's loan of it in 1842-4.²

d) The Medieval Table of Contents (scribe k; see Plate IV)

An early thirteenth-century table of contents occurs on fo. 2^v of the Codex. It is arranged in two columns, containing brief Latin descriptions of individual documents. Rustic capitals were used for most of the place and personal-names mentioned. The initial letter of each description is lacking, presumably having been left for an initialler to supply. The table was written by scribe k of the Codex, using a slightly less developed version of the style of script found in the

1. See below, Part E, section 1.


2. Ibid.

episcopal Pipe Roll of 1208-9.¹ It may be formally described as protogothica textualis formata into which the following insular letter-forms have been intruded: æ, Æ, e (high), g, r (long), h, ð, p, and ſ. It has wedged ascenders on d (upright), h, k, l, and p, while the descenders of f, p, r (long), s (long), h, p, ſ, and y taper to the left. Hairlines were added to final æ and e, and sometimes to the tail of g. The following individual letters are characteristic:

a is caroline in form, often with a trailing top to its stem;

d is usually round-backed, but sometimes upright ([C]onsuetudines, fo. 2^v, col.1, l.5 up);

r occurs in four varieties - caroline with or without a descender, insular (long), and 2-shaped after o (Bragenford, ib., l.1);

s is  caroline, round, or long;

Capitals: descenders on rustic I, M, N taper to the left; right-turning feet occur on F, P, R, and T.

A is triangular;

D has a 'paunched' bowl;

E (rustic) has a long central bar, while the enlarged minuscule e, used as an initial capital, has an elongated tongue;

P has a squarish head;

T occurs either with an upright stem (PIPMENSTRA, ib., last line) or with a curved one (twice in TANTONIAE, col. 2, last line);

W consists of two overlapping Vs.

Abbreviations

Suspension was marked by a down-turning overline.

There are signs for con-, -ur, -us. The tironian nota (7) sometimes occurs for et.

¹. HRO, Eccles. 2/159270.

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PLATE IV : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.2^v (scale 1 : 2)
medieval table of contents; scribe k, with notes
and additions by annotators 1, 4, 9, and 13.

Punctuation was by full point. The letter i was sometimes distinguished from other minims by a hairline stroke above.

The table is incomplete, listing only documents on the present fos. 6^v - 7, 9 - 59^v (17-19, 26-7, 30-52, 54-60, 63-4, 71-105, 107-14, 116-17) and folio-numbers being added to neither the descriptions nor to the folios themselves by its compilers.¹ It appears to have been corrected, but not systematically: although the superfluous S in CHILTESCVMBA (Chilcomb, Hants; col. 1, 1.4) has been subpuncted for omission, and the L missing from ARESFORD (Alresford, Hants; ib., 1.12 up) has been added overline, the L missing from the same name (ib., 1.17) was never supplied. It was probably intended to continue the table on fo. 3 (which is still blank) and on fo. 3^v (which was blank until the addition of a document (1) in s.xiv¹). The parchment, and ruling, of fos. 2 and 3 are twelfth-century, being contemporary to fos. 4-6; fo. 2 is conjoint with fo. 6.² The table was thus a thirteenth-century addition to a leaf added to the Codex in the twelfth century, possibly for the same purpose but never utilised.

Several documents present by the thirteenth century between the table (at fo. 2^v) and fo. 59^v were not mentioned in its list of contents. Most of the information in the table was probably taken from the rubrics, rather than from the text of documents, since

1. ~~————~~ The folio references which now appear on the table are later, v. below.

2. See below, Part C, section 1.

it is noticeable that twenty-six out of the thirty-four documents not mentioned in the table lacked any rubric (2-16, 22-3, 28-9, 61, 65-6, 70, 102, 106, 115). Four of the remaining eight, although possessing their own rubrics, could have been intended to be covered by the description, in the table, of a neighbouring document (53 by that of 52, 67-9 by that of 64).¹ The other four (21, 24-5, 62) may have been omitted by pure oversight. There is no evidence that the folios on which these four documents occur were anywhere but in their present position in the early thirteenth century, when the table was written. Fos. 26-7, containing 62, are part of a regular twelfth-century quire of four bifolia.² Fo. 8, containing 21, 24-5, is a twelfth-century leaf which was certainly in its present position in the mid thirteenth century;³ at that time, the impression of the twenty-one extra prickings on its lower half verso, put there for the addition of 23 (on fo. 8) by scribe m, also marked fos. 5-7.⁴ Fos. 8, 26-7 were foliated in their present position in the late fourteenth century (see (e), below).

Folio references were added to the descriptions in the table when the medieval foliation was added to the Codex, in the late fourteenth century (see (e), below). They were also noted for documents concerning Chilcomb, Hants, which were not actually described in the original table (14-15, 190, 228, 236 on medieval fos. 4, 95, 113^v,

-
1. Five of the documents lacking a rubric (28; 65-6, 70; and 102) could also have been covered by the description of other documents, (those to 27, 64 and 93 respectively). 93 and 102 are two texts of the same will.
 2. See below, Part B, section 1, a.
 3. For this leaf, v. below Part C, section 1.
 4. See below, p.307, n. 1.

and 115^v; present fos. 6, 97, 115^v, 117^v).

Similarly, folio references were noted for 224 (on medieval fo. 112^v, present fo. 114^v) and 238 (medieval fo. 116, present fo. 118), relating to Farnham, Surrey, and East Overton, Wilts., respectively. Of these, 236 and 238 were added to the Codex by scribes n and p subsequent to the writing of the table by scribe k.

Other brief annotations, drawing attention to particular documents, ^{were} also added to the table in the thirteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries.¹ These additions to the table testify to the use made of it, at various times in the medieval period, as a rough guide to the contents of the Codex. In 1840, a transcript of the table was made by John Nichols, who subsequently lent it to Sir Frederick Madden, arousing the latter's interest in the Codex, an interest which led to the Codex being purchased by the British Museum in 1844.²

e) The Foliation

The modern foliation (121 fos.) includes the early medieval paste-downs (see (b), above) ^{and fo. 2}. A medieval foliation, in arabic numerals, occurs on the present fos. 3-120. This earlier foliation was written, in greenish ink, by annotator 4, whose script may be dated to the late fourteenth century.³ The folio numbers and additional

1. See below, Appendix 1, Table of contents (fo. 2^v).

2. See below, Part E, section 1.

3. See below, Appendix 1, prefatory matter, sub Textual information.

references written in the table of contents (see (d), above) were also his work. The same man also wrote the second part of the index to the fourteenth-century Winchester cathedral cartulary.¹ The medieval foliation in the Codex was executed after the addition of fos. 118-20, since not only were these leaves included in its numeration, but a reference to 238 (on fo. 118; scribe p) was also added to the table of contents by the foliator (see (d), above). It is thus probable that the medieval foliation was added some time after the repairs to the binding in the fourteenth century, at which time fos. 118-20 were probably inserted (see (a), above).²

1. WCL, St. Swithun's Cartulary, index, second hand; cf. Goodman, Chartulary, Plate 2.

2. On these leaves, v.below, Part D, section 1.

Section 2

The Make-up of the Manuscript

a) The Collation of the Present Gatherings

The leaves of the Codex Wintoniensis are arranged in sixteen gatherings as follows:

fos. 1, 121 are seventh or eighth-century leaves used as medieval paste-downs and are now bound in with gatherings 1 and 16; 1⁴ + 1 leaf after 3 + 2 leaves inserted after 5 (fos. 2-8); 2⁸ (fos. 9-16); 3⁸ (fos. 17-24); 4⁸ (fos. 25-32); 5⁸ (fos. 33-40); 6⁸ (fos. 41-8); 7⁸ (fos. 49-56); 8⁸ (fos. 57-64); 9⁸ (fos. 65-72); 10⁸ (fos. 73-80); 11⁸ (fos. 81-8); 12⁸ (fos. 89-96); 13⁸ (fos. 97-104); 14⁶ (fos. 105-110); 15⁶ (fos. 111-16); 16¹ + 3 leaves inserted after 1 (fos. 117-20).

Gatherings 2-14 are regularly composed of twelfth-century bifolia. Gatherings 1 and 15 are irregular in composition but belong to the twelfth century. Gathering 16 is an irregular combination of one twelfth-century leaf and three fourteenth-century ones.

b) The Quire-Numbers

A sequence of roman numerals occurs, written in ink and centrally-placed, at the foot of the last folio verso of certain of the gatherings of the Codex. Some numbers have been lost or damaged when the leaves were cut before binding but the surviving numbers are as follows:

Gathering	Quire-number	fo.
3	II	24 ^v
5	IIII	40 ^v
7	VI	56 ^v
8	VII	64 ^v
9	VIII	72 ^v
10	IX	80 ^v
11	X	88 ^v
12	XI	96 ^v
13	XII	104 ^v

None of the gatherings now lacking numbers are out of order. The sequence apparently began at fo. 16^v with the quire-number I, which is now missing. It is to be associated with the collation of the present gatherings 2-14, which were regularly composed of twelfth-century bifolia (see (a), above); the sequence would therefore have run from I to XIII. The quire-numbers which now appear at fos. 96^v and 104^v (XI, XII) are, however, of a different style to the preceding ones which survive, and are the only ones associated with catchwords. These two quire-numbers may have been added in the twelfth-century, to replace numbers lost during the binding of gatherings 2-14, when gathering 15 and the first leaf of gathering 16 (fos. 111 - 17) were added; the catchwords are similar in appearance to those on fos. 112^v, 113^v, and 114^v.¹

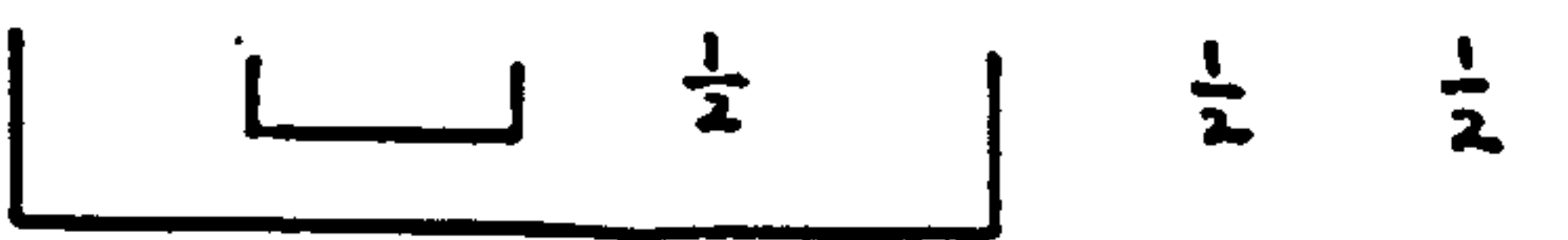


1. See below, Part C, section 1.

Section 3

The External Features of the Leaves

There are significant differences between the methods of preparation of the leaves, the date and style of script, and the arrangement of the text in different parts of the Codex Wintoniensis; these differences are summarised in Table 1. A key to the discussion, in the present thesis, of the external features of particular leaves is shown in Table 2. A list of the nineteen scribes, showing where their work occurs in the Codex, their respective dates, and where they are described and illustrated in the present thesis, is shown in Table 3.

TABLE 1 : EXTERNAL FEATURES OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS

Present gathering	1								2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15						16					
Present folio no.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9/16	17/24	25/32	33/40	41/48	49/56	57/64	65/72	73/80	81/88	89/96	97/104	105/110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	
Surviving quire-number	-	-							-	II	-	III	-	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	-	-						-					
Medieval folio no.	-	-	1	2	3	4	5	6	7/14	15/22	23/30	31/38	39/46	47/54	55/62	63/70	71/78	79/86	87/94	95/102	103/108	109	110	111	112	113	114	115	116	117	118	-	
Folio-catchwords (lead)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	✓	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Folio-catchwords (ink)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Folios in gathering	7								8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	8	6	6						4					
Ruled in hard point	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓
Ruled in lead	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	-*	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	
Horizontal prickings	31	45	45	45	45	45	48	48	45	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	31
Horizontal lines ruled	31	45	45	45	45	45	48	21	42**	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	42	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	48	31
Vertical lines ruled	4	8	8	8	8	8	4	4	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	4	4	4	4	8	8	8	8	4	4	8	8	8	4
Columns ruled	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	2	1	1	2	2	2	2	
Columns written	2	2	1	1	1	2,1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	
Text-scribe	lji	-k	-o	b	b	cgb	bhl	bmb	aca	a	a	a	a	a	a	aba	a	a	a	a	ab	b	defb	b	b	b	bg	gln	p	pqr	rs	lji	
Rubricated	✓	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
Red <u>signa</u> in subscriptions	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Lines 1,2 in capitals	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Colours in initials	-	-	-	-	-	1,2	2	1	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	-	-	-	1
Paste-down									Gatherings 2-13, each of four bifolia Gathering 14, of three bifolia																					Paste-down			

Notes

* Fo. 12 has been over-ruled in lead.

** Three extra lines have been ruled in lead on fos. 9-11.

*** Fo. 89 has only 41 horizontal lines ruled.

**TABLE 2 : KEY TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE LEAVES OF THE
CODEX WINTONIENSIS**

<u>Fos.</u>	<u>Membrane</u> (p.)	<u>Ruling</u> (p.)	<u>Arrangement of</u> <u>Text</u> (p.)	<u>Decorated</u> <u>Initials</u> (p.)	
1	25	25	25	-	
2	305	306	28	-	
3			387	-	
4-5			315	-	
6			315, 329, 344	317, 329	
7			307	315, 352, 376	317, 352
8		315, 380		317	
9-11 ^v		50		52	53, 62
12-13 ^v			329		329
14-66	53, 62		68		
66 ^{rw}	315		317		
67-80			68		
81-8	53, 62		68, 74		
89-110	53		68		
111	305		308		315
112		315, 333, 336, 339		317, 336, 339	
113-15		315		317	
116		307	315, 344		
117			344, 376, 384	-	
118	371	372	390	-	
119			390, 395, 400	-	
120			400, 404	-	
121			25	25	25

The Table indicates, for each folio of the Codex Wintoniensis, the page at which features shown are discussed in the present volume.

TABLE 3 : THE SCRIBES OF THE TEXT OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS

	Scribe	Date	Fos.	Documents	Plates	Description (val. 1, p.)								
II	C O D E X W I N T O N I E N S I S	a	s. xiii ¹	9-11 ^v 13 ^v -67 67 ^v -110 ^v	26-33 40-132 135-208	V-X XIII	55							
			b	s. xiii med.	4-5 ^v 6 ^v -7 8 8 ^v 67 ^{rv} 110 ^v -11 ^v 112 ^v -16 ^v	2-12 17-18 21-2 24-5 133-4 209-12 215-31	IX-XII XVI XIX	309						
					c	s. xiii med.	6 12-13 ^v	13 34-9	XIII XV	325				
							d	s. xiii med.	112	213	XIV	333		
					e	s. xiii med.			112	213	XIV	335		
							f	s. xii med.	112 ^{rv}	214	XI, XIV	337		
					g	s. xiii med. s. xii ²			6 116 ^v -17	14-16 232	XV XVI	342		
							h	s. xii ex.	7	19	XVII	349		
					i, j	s. viii/viii			1 ^{rv} , 121 ^{rv}	Pastedowns	III	25		
							k	s. xiii fin.	2 ^v	Contents	IV	28		
					III	C O D E X W I N T O N I E N S I S			l	s. xiii ¹	7 ^v 117	20 233-5	XVIII	374
							m	s. xiii med.			8	23	XIX	377
											n	s. xiii med.	117 ^v	236-7
							o	s. xiv ¹					3 ^v	1
p	s. xiv ¹	118-19									238-41	XXII	388	
		q	s. xiv ¹	119 ^v			242	XXIII			394			
r	s. xiv med.			119 ^v -20 ^v			243-6	XXIII			398			
		s	s. xiv ²	120 ^v			247	XXIV			401			

Notes

1. For the division into Cod. Wint. I - III, v. Part A, section 4.
2. Text-scribes have been given distinguishing letters (a-s) in alphabetical order according to their date, in two separate series as follows: (a-h), twelfth-century scribes; (i-g), all other scribes.

Section 4

The Stages of Composition of the Codex Wintoniensis

The evidence of the physical features of the Codex Wintoniensis, referred to above in sections 1-3, shows that it was produced by the labour of a succession of craftsmen and scribes over several centuries. At its core is an original cartulary of the second quarter of the twelfth century, called for convenience in the present thesis Cod.Wint. I. This original cartulary comprises most of the present gatherings 2-14; its text was written by scribe a, while most of its rubrics were by scribe b; its leaves were regularly prepared, ruled in hard point with forty-two horizontal lines, and quired in thirteen numbered quires, consisting of bifolia gathered in eights except for the last quire which is a six; its text was artistically-arranged on the page and decorated with rubrics in red ink and initials in up to four colours. Cod.Wint. I may have been bound as soon as its text was decorated, but not necessarily in the twelfth-century covers which survive. Cod.Wint. I was continued and added to, at various times in the twelfth century after scribe a had stopped work, by scribes b - h and extra leaves of irregular preparation (fos. 2-8, 111-117; gatherings 1, 15, 16) were added then, probably necessitating a re-binding; these twelfth-century additions have been called Cod.Wint. II. A table of contents was begun,

but never completed, in the early thirteenth century; this was written by scribe k on a leaf belonging to Cod. Wint. II. Other additions of text and leaves to the cartulary at various times in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have been called Cod. Wint. III: the thirteenth-century additions of text, and one early fourteenth-century one (1), were written by scribes l - o on leaves belonging to Cod. Wint. II; the other fourteenth-century ones were written by scribes p - s on leaves newly-added to gathering 16 (fos. 118-20); the addition of these leaves probably occurred at the same time as extensive repairs to the binding of the manuscript, at which time some leaves of a seventh or eighth-century Vitae Patrum (written by scribes i and j) were used as paste-downs; these earlier leaves may previously have been used as parts of paste-boards in the binding. Later in the fourteenth century, a medieval foliation was added (covering the modern fos. 3-120); this was the work of annotator 4, one of several annotators who wrote in the Codex at various times between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries.¹ In the nineteenth century, further repairs were made to the binding, and the paste-downs were mounted on guards. In the twentieth century, a modern foliation was added (121 fos.), and the medieval binding removed and replaced by a modern one.

The present thesis discusses the text of the Codex Wintoniensis against the background of the physical composition, or structure, of the cartulary. Cod. Wint. I, as both a cohesive unit and the largest section, is

1. See below, Appendix 1, passim, and ibid., prefatory matter, sub Textual information.

afforded the longest and most detailed treatment. Cod.Wint. II and Cod.Wint. III, being less homogeneous sections, are discussed, for the most part, in relation to the individual scribes who wrote them. In each case, the discussion of the cartulary's text is based upon a palaeographical division of the manuscript, a consideration which is of fundamental importance to its criticism.

PART B

THE EARLIEST COMPILATION (COD.WINT.I)

Section 1

The Palaeographical Features of Cod.Wint.I

The palaeographical features of fos.9-110^v of the Codex Wintoniensis show that they were prepared, and most were used,¹ for the writing of a single work (Cod.Wint.I) which is distinct from the rest of the present cartulary. This work was written by scribe a and corrected by scribe b. Its leaves were regularly prepared and consist of bifolia gathered into (thirteen) numbered quires. The text (26-33, 40-132, 135-208) is uniformly arranged upon the page. Fo.9 (see Plate V) is distinguished in two ways as the first folio of Cod.Wint.I: firstly, the rubric intended to stand before 26² is one which had probably been an introductory heading to an exemplar sub-document consisting of 26-39,³ and both the rubric and the

1. Documents 34-9 (on fos. 12-13^v) and 133-4 (fo.67^{rv}), the rubrics to 26-7, 30-3 (fos. 9^{rv}, 10^v-11^v), and the initial to 33 were twelfth-century additions in spaces left blank in Cod.Wint.I. 34-9 and the rubrics to 26-7, 30-3 seem, however, to have been copied (by scribe c) from an exemplar sub-document containing the text of 26-39. See below, Part B, section 4, a(i), and Plates V, XIII.
2. Space was left for it by scribe a and it was supplied later by scribe c, v. preceding note.
3. See below, Part B, section 4, a(i).

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PLATE V : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.9 (scale 1 : 2)
the first folio of Cod.Wint. I; scribes a (text)
b (corrections), and c (rubric); initial in
Style (ii); document 26 .

sub-document were fitting features with which to begin a collection of documents relating to the cathedral endowment;¹ secondly, the decorated initial-letter to 26 is the sole inhabited one in Cod.Wint.I, and thus recalls the usage of contemporary manuscripts in which a particularly fine or elaborate initial was placed at the beginning of a book.² Fo. 110^v (see Plate X) is distinguished in two ways as the final folio of Cod.Wint.I: firstly, it is the last folio of a shorter-than-usual gathering (Quire XIII; see (a), below), a feature usually suggestive of a scribe's intention, when he began the text of a gathering, to finish his writing somewhere within, or at the end of, that gathering;³ secondly, the final clause to 208 is both a fitting one with which to end Cod.Wint.I, being a sanction with parallel blessing and curse, and is given prominence by the decoration (in red) of its initial letter and the capitalisation of its final four letters, practices not usually employed in this part of documents elsewhere in Cod.Wint.I.⁴ The palaeo-

1. See below, Part B, sections 2,5.

2. Cf. the initial at the original first folio of the Canterbury cartulary (BL, Cotton MS. Cleo. E.i, fo.40), and of the Bath one (CCCC, MS.111, p.57); also those at the beginning of the first and second books of the Abingdon cartulary (BL, Cotton MS. Claud. C.ix, fos. 105, 136).

3. G.S. Ivy, 'The bibliography of the manuscript book', The English library before 1700, edd. F.Wormald and C.E. Wright (1958), p.41.

4. Another example of such capitalisation occurs in the final eight letters to 33 (v. Plate XIII). This occurrence was also significant, since this was the point at which scribe a ceased writing within the sub-document 26-39, leaving 34-9 to be copied later by scribe c, v. above, p.44, n.1.

graphical features of Cod.Wint.I support the evidence of its textual contents¹ as to its provenance from a Winchester cathedral scriptorium. These features are compatible with, and most are paralleled in, twelfth-century manuscripts ascribed to the same origin.²

1. See below, Part B, section 2.
2. The following s.xii manuscripts have been consulted for comparison to the palaeographical features of Cod.Wint.I and Cod.Wint.II. Most, but not all, of the books are listed by N.R. Ker, Medieval libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books (2nd ed., 1964) pp. 103-4, 199-202. For fuller details, v. below, Bibliography.
 - a) Originating from Winchester Cathedral:
 - BL, Add. MS. 29436, fos. 44-8; Arundel MS. 169; Cotton MSS. Nero C. iv, Tib. D. iv (parts 1 and 2), Vitell. A. xvii (1); Cotton Chart. x.17; Royal MS. 5.E.viii
 - Bod, MSS. ~~1~~ Auct. D.2.4, Auct. D.2.6, Auct. E. inf. 1,2; Bodley 365, 755, 775
 - CCCC, MSS. 328 (pp. 81-230), 339
 - CUL, MS. Ee 2. 3
 - HRO, B/1/A-1
 - Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Library, MS.7, fos. 44-83
 - London, Society of Antiquaries, MS.154
 - WCL, MSS. 2,3(fos. 2-97^v), 4,5,17,?20 (cf. WEMA, p.534, n.1)
 - WCM, Library, MS. 18
 - b) Originating from St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester:
 - Bod, Bodley MS. 451
 - c) Originating from the college of the B.V.M., Winchester:
 - WCM, Library, MS.4
 - d) Originating from Hyde Abbey:
 - BL, Arundel MS.60; Stowe MS. 944, fo.40^{rv}
 - Bod, Bodley MS. 91
 - e) Of unknown provenance:
 - WCL, MS.3, fos. 98-122^v
 - WCM, Library, MSS. 5,6,14B, 20, 40

(continued)

a) The Collation of the Quires of Cod.Wint.I

Cod.Wint.I was composed of thirteen quires (the present gatherings 2-14). Quires I-XII were made up of eight leaves in paired sheets. Quire XIII was made up of six leaves in paired sheets.

b) The Quire-Numbers

The surviving quire-numbers in the Codex Wintoniensis all appear on leaves associated with Cod.Wint.I.¹

2. (contd. from previous page)

f) Documents associated with Bishop Henry of Blois:

BL, Harl. Chart. 50 A. 8

BN, Collection de Bourgoyne 80, fo.51

Bod, Douce Chart. 40*

Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, Chart. Ant. C.134

London, St Paul's Dean and Chapter Library, A 60/48

London, Middlesex Record Office, Acc. 312/214

Oxford, Christ Church, charter of A.D. 1143

Oxford, Queen's College, MS. DD. 2527; Church Oakley 63; Sherborne Monachorum 4

WAM, 13170, 13247

WCM, Muniments, Hamble, drawer 5a; Huntbourne, 13

g) Facsimiles of documents:

T.A.M. Bishop, Scriptores regis (Oxford, 1961);

H.E. Salter, Facsimiles of early charters in Oxford muniment rooms (Oxford, 1929); Regesta iv;

G.F. Warner, H.E. Ellis, Facsimiles of royal and other charters in the British Museum, i, William I - Richard I (1903).

1. For full details of surviving quire-numbers, v. above, Part A, section 2, b.

They were in the form of roman numerals written in ink in the centre of the foot of the last folio verso of each quire.¹ There were originally thirteen of them in Cod.Wint.I, of which seven survive (II,IIII,VI,VII, VIII,IX,X). This sequence would have begun with the number I at the present fo.16^v, demonstrating that the gathering at present coming second in the manuscript was the original first quire of Cod.Wint.I. The numbers now visible at the end of the present gatherings 12 and 13 (XI,XII; fos. 96^v, 104^v) are of a different style and were probably added when Cod.Wint.II was bound in with Cod.Wint.I.²

c) The Catchwords

Catchwords were written in lead at the foot of the inner margin verso of various leaves within the gatherings belonging to Cod.Wint.I. They are now indistinct, and survive only irregularly. The lead used is similar to that in which preliminary designs for the initials occur on fos. 29 and 31^v.³ These catchwords may thus have been added by the initialler. While adding the initials he would probably have found it more convenient to separate the sheets of a quire, in order to lay them flat, and would sometimes need a reminder of their proper order. The surviving catchwords are as follows:

-
1. A similar usage of quire-numbers occurs in CCC,MS. 328, pp. 81-230 (e.g., pp.104,128) and WCL,MS.4, fos. 4-51 (e.g., fos. 43^v,51^v). Those in CUL, MS. Ee 2.3. are in red ink.
 2. See below, Part C, section 1.
 3. See (1), below.

fo. 34^v inconcusse; fo. 57^v ego Hugon; fo. 58^v ego Alfred; fo. 59^v Eadpades; fo. 61^v and [Æpelstan]; fo. 63^v ego [Ælfgar]; fo. 71^v ego [Tata]; fo. 73^v REGUM; fo. 109^v ego [Ælfgar]¹

All of the catchwords listed above correspond to the text of the following leaf as intended. They seem to have been used to maintain the order of sheets within a quire rather than to maintain the order of quires, for which purpose the quire-numbers (see (b), above) were used.² The rubrics standing at the foot of fos. 22^v, 62^v, 67^v, 91^v, 103^v, and 105^v incidentally act as catchphrases but this seems to have been unintentional; these rubrics were probably placed there because not enough space had been left for them on each of the following folios.³

d) The Leaves

The leaves of Cod.Wint.I have been trimmed to

c. 395 X 275 mm.⁴ The written space measures 295 X 210/215 mm. The leaves were well prepared before

-
1. The catchwords written in ink on fos. 96^v and 104^v are to be associated with quire-numbers belonging to Cod.Wint.II, v. below, Part C, section 1.
 2. They thus differ from the catchwords in Lincoln, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. 7; London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 154 (v. WEMA, p.520); and WCL, MSS. 2,4 (fos. 52-141), 5, 20. These have catchwords at the end of quires, sometimes accompanied by quire-numbers, but sometimes alone.
 3. The rubrics at the foot of fos. 11^v and 12^v were added by scribe c in Cod.Wint.II, v. below, Part C, section 2.
 4. They are thus significantly larger than those of the Winton Domesday (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS.154; v. WEMA, p.520) which measure 251 X 174 mm.

ruling. The membrane is thick and generally of good quality. It is extremely difficult to tell hair side from flesh, but, if it is assumed that the leaves were ruled on the hair side,¹ then hair may be said to face hair, and flesh to face flesh, throughout Cod.Wint.I.

Large holes in the membrane of the following folios were expertly repaired before ruling: 29, 49, 55 (x3), 59, 64 (x2), 65, ~~76~~ 76, 81, 93 (x2), 100. Smaller holes on the following folios were left to be avoided by the scribe: 26, 32, 37 (x3), 41, 43, 47, 63, 96, 105, 110. None of these holes impairs the reading of the text. Most of the smaller ones were eventually repaired at some time after the text was written, some perhaps not until the modern period.

e) The Ruling

The gatherings were pricked, and ruled on the hair side in hard point. Four different arrangements of the ruled lines occur, each peculiar to this section of the Codex Wintoniensis:²

1. This was the normal procedure from the eighth to the twelfth centuries at least, v. N.R. Ker, Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p.xxiii.

2. Except that fo. 111, associated with Cod.Wint.II, was ruled similarly to ruling (iv) of Cod.Wint.I, v. below, Part C, section 1.

(i) fos. 9-16, 25-56, 66-71, 73-88

Ruled for two columns of text. Seven vertical lines (arranged 2-3-2) ruled from head to foot: two on each side of the written space, three between the columns. Seven pricks (2-3-2), at upper and lower margins, guide the vertical ruling. Forty-two horizontal lines ruled, guided by forty-two pricks in the outer margin.¹ Lines 1, 3, 41, 42 extend across the bifolium.² Line 2 extends from the inner line of the pair of vertical bounding-lines on the left of the left-hand leaf of a bifolium to the corresponding line on the right of the right-hand leaf. Other horizontal lines are confined to the written space.

(ii) fos. 17-24

Ruled for two columns of text, with the same number of pricks and lines as (i). Lines 1, 2, 4, 5, 40, 42 extend to the edges of the leaves. Lines 3 and 41 extend as line 2 in (i). Other horizontal lines are confined as above.

(iii) fos. 57-64, 65, 72

Ruled for two columns, with the same number of pricks and lines as (i). Lines 1, 3, 40, 42 extend to the edges of the leaves.³ Lines 2 and 41 extend as line 2 in (i). Other horizontal lines are confined as above.

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1. On fos. 9-16 alone, three extra pricks have been added to the outer margins to make a total of forty-five. On fos. 9, 10, 11 three extra horizontal lines were ruled in lead, guided by these pricks; one of these lines^{was} added at the top of the page, two at the foot. Fo. 12 has also been over-ruled in lead.
 2. An identical ruling occurs in WCL, MS. 4, fos. 4-35^v. It was a usual thing for the first and last horizontal lines in twelfth-century Winchester cathedral MSS. to extend across the bifolium, but individual MSS. vary as to which other horizontal lines also did so.
 3. An identical ruling occurs in WCL, MS. 4, fos. 36-41^v, 43-51.

(iv) fos. 89-110

Ruled for one column of text. Four vertical lines (2-2) bound the written space, guided by four pricks at upper and lower margins. Forty-two horizontal lines, guided by forty-two pricks.¹ Lines 1 and 42 extend to the edges of the leaves. Other horizontal lines are confined as above.

Of the above rulings, (iv) may have been designed specially for Cod.Wint.I, both after it had become plain that the text fitted best in single column and after the parchment already set aside for it with two column-ruling (i-iii) had been used up.²

f) The Arrangement of Material on the Page (see Plates VI, VIII)

Although most of Cod.Wint.I was written on parchment prepared for two columns of text (rulings (i-iii), above), it was written in long lines. Except for the lengthier and more important subscriptions (those of the king, his family, and the archbishops), witness-lists were however mostly arranged in two columns guided by the vertical ruling.


Most documents were introduced by a rubric. Capital script was used for the first two lines of Latin documents and the first word, or first line, of vernacular documents. Most documents were supplied

1. Only forty-one horizontal lines were ruled on fo.89, and rather untidily. There are forty-two pricks.
2. Most of the surviving s.xii Winchester cathedral MSS. were ruled and written in two columns of text. The following were, however, ruled and written in single column: Bol. Bodley MS. 755; CCCC, MS. 328, pp. 81-230; and WCL, MS. 3, fos. 2-97.

with a decorated initial letter. The over-all arrangement of the page is decorative but consistently ordered. See also (j), below.

g) The Rubrics¹

Most of the documents in Cod.Wint.I were introduced by a rubric, in red ink. These were usually in minuscule script, but sometimes in rustic capitals.

Most of the rubrics in Cod.Wint I were written by scribe b in spaces left for the purpose by the writer of the text (scribe a); see Plate VI. In Quire X alone (fos. 81-8;  see Plate VIII), both rubrics and text were written by scribe a; rubricated signa crucis before the subscriptions were also supplied by him in this quire, but do not occur elsewhere.²

On fos. 9^v-11^v (where rubrics were not supplied until later, by scribe c in Cod.Wint.II) one line was left between documents for the insertion of rubrics; elsewhere two or three lines were left. Where inadequate space had been left (fos. 62^v, 103^v, etc.), then the rubric was placed on the previous folio.

No rubricating directions of the sort found in the Winton Domesday survive;³ they may not have been necessary, since both scribe b, who was also the corrector (see (k), below), and scribe a may have added them while

1. For the text of these rubrics, v. below, Part B, section 4,a(ii); and Appendix 1, passim.

2. See (l), below.

3. London, Society of Antiquaries, MS.154; v. WEMA, p.521.

checking the text of Cod.Wint.I for errors, the rubrics being copied from endorsements on the exemplars.¹

That the rubrics were added before the manuscript was bound is shown by the occurrence of a reversed offlay on fo. 58^V(1.6) from three letters of a rubric on a leaf which had been laid face-down on that folio while the ink was still wet. The letters are probably -ien-, from the word Wintoniensj in the rubric to 124 on fo. 62; if so, this offlay could only have occurred before binding, when the sheets were still loose.²

h) The Script (scribes a, b; see Plates V-X)

The most characteristic feature of Cod.Wint.I is that its text was written by scribe a and corrected by scribe

b.³ This combination of scribes appears at fos.

9-11^V, 13^V-67, 67^V-110^V (26-33, 40-132, 135-208);⁴

these folios comprise almost the whole of gatherings 2-14.

1. See below, Part B, section 4, a(ii).

2. A more diffused offlay of red ink on the facing leaf occurs from most rubrics in Cod.Wint.I and II. This is due to the proximity of the facing leaves in the bound volume over a long period of time, rather than to rubrics having been entered after binding.

3. The same partnership occurs in WCL,MS.5, fos. 137-47^V, 159-224^V; v. below.

4. The first five lines of text on fo.9 (26) are in a lighter ink, and are less laterally-compressed, than the following lines (v. Plate V). I do not feel justified, however, in ascribing these lines to a scribe other than scribe a, since they contain most of the features found in his writing. They may have been written by him with a different pen, which was changed after a few lines for another which would allow greater lateral compression of script. For documents 34-9 (by scribe c) and 133-4 (scribe b), in Cod.Wint.II, v. below, Part C.

Scribe a wrote a fine, regular, Latin book-hand which is large, round, and generally upright in character. It may be formally described as proto-gothica textualis formata. It was said by Francis Wormald to be 'a magnificent book hand of the middle of the twelfth century'.¹ It has affinities with the 'Mid-century Hand' used for the great twelfth-century bibles and psalters,² but is in the slightly smaller size usually reserved for contemporary patristic manuscripts.³ In the context of surviving Winchester cathedral manuscripts, it may reasonably be dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century.⁴ The scribe reserved a different, more angular, duct of script, together with some special letter-forms (see below), for vernacular material. In Latin, scribe a's characteristic letter-forms are as follows:

-
1. 'The Sherborne "Chartulary"', Fritz Saxl 1890-1948, ed. D.J. Gordon (1957), pp. 105-6.
 2. See N.R. Ker, English manuscripts in the century after the Norman Conquest (Oxford, 1960), pp. 34-8.
 3. Cf. the use of such a script for many of the Canterbury professions 1068-1164, v. T.J. Brown, 'Handwriting of the professions', Canterbury professions, ed. M. Richter (Canterbury and York Society 140; Torquay, 1973), pp. xxix-xxxii.
 4. Several different scribes wrote the surviving s.xii Winchester cathedral MSS. listed above, p. 47, n. 2. Individual scribes among them may be identified by their personal combination of variant letter-forms and range of abbreviations. The following have proved particularly significant for distinguishing between these scribes: the letters d, e, g, q, E, Q, W; the ligatures of c+t and s+t; and abbreviations for et, -bus, -orum, and -que. Whether the tail of g is open or closed seems a significant s.xii dating feature: in the earlier MSS. it is open.

a is made of two strokes of the pen, its back is thick and upright with serifs at head and foot, and its belly is finely curved with a mixture of thick and thin lines;

d is always upright;

e (spurred e) occurs and its spur is closed, in the shape of a pointed oval;

g has a very upright back to its head, which often has a 'chin', and its tail is scythe-shaped and always open;

r is 2-shaped after o;

s is usually caroline, but occasionally round in initial or final position;

Ligatures of c+t and s+t occur; in c+t, the letters are linked by a curl standing at the joint of the stem and the bar of t; in s+t, the back of s is only very rarely met by a continuation of the bar of t;

E (rustic) has a stem which is not intersected by the letter's middle bar;

Q sits with its tail on the line;

W is formed from two intersecting Vs.

Scribe a was apparently at first unfamiliar with writing in the vernacular and had to learn its special insular letter-forms during his transcription of Quire I of Cod. Wint. I, perhaps referring to a cross-section of the exemplars as a guide. Apart from a few false starts in Quire I, where he had to alter some of his caroline letter-forms to insular ones,¹ he succeeded in developing

1. On fo. 14, he was inconsistent over the use of caroline and insular f and s. On fo. 14^v, he changed the forms of f and p from ones with their stems standing on the line to ones with descenders. He then returned to alter some of the forms of the letters f and p which he had already written up to this point (e.g. fo. 10, p; fos. 13^v, 14, f, g).

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PLATE VI : Codex Wintoniensis, fos. 36^v-37 (scale 3 : 8), a fairly typical opening in Cod. Wint. I (apart from Quire X); scribes a (text) and b (rubrics and corrections); initials in Style (i); documents 81-2.

a regular differentiated script for his transcription of vernacular documents in Cod.Wint.I which was not a facsimile of the varied scripts of his different exemplars, being consistent throughout the cartulary.¹

This script was made up of special letter-forms which may be described as follows:

- æ consists of a combination of e and insular a;
- d is always round-backed;
- f has a left-curving descender, its bar sits on the line and does not intersect the stem;
- g (insular) is made of two strokes of the pen, and has a long bar met towards its left end by a hook-shaped descender;
- h has both feet turned to the right;
- r is insular;
- s is often insular (long), but sometimes caroline or round;
- b has a stem with a high, clubbed ascender and a left-curving descender;
- ð consists of round-backed d with either a right-angled, or a curved, bar meeting the stem;
- þ has a left-curving descender and a bowl which is usually flatter than that of p, but there was much confusion between the two letters on the part of scribe a;
- y is dotted, has a clubbed, left-turning serif on its right minim, and a left-curving descender.

A particular characteristic of scribe a's vernacular script was his use of caroline, not insular, a.²

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1. On scribe a's use and recognition of insular letter-forms, v. below Part B, section 4, b(i).
 2. The scribes of other s.xii cartularies were similarly idiosyncratic about which special letter-forms they adopted for vernacular texts. In the Bath Priory cartulary (CCCC, MS. 111, pp. 57-92), caroline a was retained; in one of the two Evesham Abbey ones (BL, Harl. MS. 3763, fos. 62-67^v), the scribe used caroline forms of f, g, r, and s; and in the Peterborough Abbey cartulary (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 60, fos. 25-73), caroline g was retained.

He also used rustic capitals in it, as well as the capital Ð, and enlarged forms of æ, þ, ð, and ſ.

Abbreviations were used infrequently by scribe a in Latin text. He did, however, use the ampersand for et, and his abbreviations for the final syllable -bus (bꝛ) and the Latin conjunction -que (q;) are characteristic. In vernacular text, as in the surviving exemplars,¹ very few abbreviations were used, but the tironian nota (7) was used for and. Punctuation throughout was mostly by point, but sometimes by the punctus elevatus (∴).²

Two main types of capitals were used in the text written by scribe a. These were rustic capitals, and a range of round and square display capitals.³

He quite often made use of capital ligatures as follows:

A + B, A + D, A + L, A + R, A + U, H + R, I + N, N + E,
N + R, N + S, N + T, T + E, T + H, T + R, U + R.⁴ In

the case of documents whose exemplars survive, these ligatures do not occur in the exemplars.⁵

Scribe b is more fully described below in connection with Cod.Wint.II,⁶ but may be particularly distinguished from scribe a within Cod.Wint.I by his use of the following letter-forms and abbreviations:

1. The surviving exemplars are discussed below, Appendix 2.

2. Cf. below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 16.

3. On the usage of capital letters in Cod.Wint.I, see (j), below.

4. Such ligatures also occur in other s.xii Winchester cathedral manuscripts, for example, T + R and N + T in CUL, MS. Ee 2.3, fos. 56, 64^v, etc.

5. For the surviving exemplars, v. below, Appendix 2.

6. See below, Part C, section 2.

Latin text

- d is round-backed;
e is tall in initial position;
g is round-headed;
E (rustic) has a stem which is intersected by the letter's middle bar;

Vernacular text

- a is normally insular, but sometimes caroline;
e has a long, protruding tongue;
g (insular) has an s-shaped tail;

Abbreviations

both the ampersand and the tironian nota were used for et; -bus was abbreviated as (b:) and -que as (q:).

In his work as corrector, scribe b sometimes used a more informal type of script (litera glossularis)¹ which had affinities with the script (b3) he later used in transcribing twelfth-century documents into Cod.Wint.II.²

Neither scribe a, nor scribe b, are known by name. They both wrote in another surviving Winchester cathedral manuscript however, that containing St. Jerome on the prophet Isaiah.³ There, scribe a wrote a large part of the text,⁴ while scribe b seems to have corrected the whole volume.⁵ Both in Quire X of Cod.Wint.I (fos. 81-8; see Plate VIII), and in different parts of

1. For example, at fos. 47, 71^v, 91^v, 92^v.

2. 2-12 (fos. 4-5^v), see below, Part C, section 2.

3. WCL, MS. 5. 4. Ibid., fos. 137-47^v, 159-224^v.

5. He also wrote eleven lines of text ibid., on fo. 305.

the Jerome, scribe a probably also painted several decorated initials.¹ It would seem that he was a craftsman skilled both in calligraphy and decoration. Scribe b, from his work as corrector² and his fluency in documentary script,³ may have had more administrative experience than scribe a and may therefore have been entrusted with supervising the compilation of Cod.Wint.I.⁴ The fact that both scribes also wrote in the Jerome, a patristic commentary, suggests that both were part of the priory scriptorium rather than being episcopal clerks of the sort to which the writing of the Winton Domesday has been attributed.⁵

j) The Usage of Capital Letters (see Plate VI)

There was a deliberate use of capital letters in the preliminary lines of documents in Cod.Wint.I. The first three lines of Latin documents were characterized by a diminuendo, a progressive reduction in size for artistic effect. The first line (after the decorated initial; see (l), below) was written in large, elaborate, display capitals, with both square and round letter-forms;

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1. For example, those in the Jerome at fos. 1(E), 27(S), 27^v(A), 159(D), 175^v(N). Initials at fos. 129, 244, 281^v, etc. appear to be by a different decorator however.
 2. For his corrections to Cod.Wint I, v. (k), below, and Part B, section 4, b(iv).
 3. See below, Part C, section 2.
 4. Cf. below, Part B, section 4, b(iv).
 5. London, Society of Antiquaries, MS.154; see T.J. Brown, 'The manuscript and the handwriting', WEMA, Appendix II, The manuscript of the Winton Domesday, p.522.

the second line was written in rustic capitals; the third and subsequent lines were written in the regular minuscule of scribe a (see (h), above).¹ In both individual vernacular documents and in vernacular boundary-clauses within Latin diplomas, only the letters of the first word (after the decorated initial) were written in large display capitals; sometimes however, in the individual vernacular documents, the remaining words of the first line were written in rustic capitals.

A smaller, less-elaborate, version of the first-line display capitals was used for the initial letter of individual sentences in the text. This, and the colour of their ink, makes it probable that the first-line display capitals were the work of the writer of the rest of the text, scribe a. The decorated initials in Quire. X (see Plate VIII) were probably his work also, but elsewhere may have been the work of other scribes (see (l), below). The size and elaboration of the first-line capitals was developed during the writing of Quires I-III and then kept at a consistent size to the end of Cod. Wint. I. On fos. 9-11^v, 13-14, these capitals are one line in height; on fos. 14^v-22^v, 23^v-24^v they are two lines high; and on fos. 23, 25-65^v, 68-75, 76-110 three lines high (c. 20mm.) The four-line high capitals which appear on fos. 66^v and 75^v are exceptional. The three-line high capitals on fo. 23,

1. A more elaborate form of chapter-beginnings occurs in the finest Winchester cathedral s.xii MSS., in which lines of alternately-coloured capitals were used. For example, Bod, MS. Auct. E. inf. 2, fos. 2, 90; WCL, MS. 3, fos. 2-97^v, passim; WCL, MS. 17, passim.

which are sandwiched between two blocks of the two-line high ones, may represent an experiment in style which was later adopted as standard.

Another change in the use of capital letters occurred in the early part of Cod.Wint.I. On fos. 9-11^v, 13^v-25^v, display capitals were frequently used for the names of individuals mentioned in the text, and for the names of the subscribing king, archbishops, and bishops, while the names of places were written in rustic capitals. From fo. 25^v, rustic capitals were used for all three types of name.

Other experiments in the usage of capitals in Cod.Wint.I concerned the appearance of the Latin pronoun ego in the subscriptions to documents. Four different styles of the word occur up to fo. 60: with a round (or square) display initial E followed by rustic capital GO; a round (or square) display initial E followed by minuscule go; rustic capital EGO; and rustic capital E followed by minuscule go. These different types were tried in various combinations and alterations up to fo. 60, whence their usage became more consistent. From this point, a diminuendo (see above) was used, reflecting the social status of the witnesses involved (see Plate VIII). The style with round display initial E followed by rustic GO was employed for the subscriptions of the most important witnesses; rustic capital EGO for the next group; and rustic capital E with minuscule go for the ministri.

Scribe a seems thus to have made some effort to enhance the visual appearance of his text by developing

a deliberate usage with regard to capital letters in Cod.Wint.I. Once developed, in the earlier part of the cartulary, this usage remained fairly stable.

It was not, however, copied by scribes b and c in their additions of text on fos. 67^{rv} and 12-13^v respectively.¹

k) The Alterations and Corrections

Some errors of transcription seem to have been noticed and altered almost immediately by scribe a himself. Others were corrected at a later stage by scribe b,² perhaps when a complete quire had been transcribed and before the decorated initial was added to each document, since an error by the initialler, on fo. 45, was not subsequently corrected.³ Various techniques used

in the righting of errors in Cod.Wint.I may be illustrated by the following examples:

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1. These additions belong to Cod.Wint.II, v. below, Part C.
 2. For textual aspects of correction in Cod.Wint.I, see below, Part B, section 4, b(iv). Changes to punctuation made by scribe b do not seem to be corrections made with reference to the exemplars, v. below, Appendix 3, scribe b, section (i), D. Scribe b also corrected the work of scribe a (and of other scribes) in WCL, MS. 5.
 3. The initial X (instead of C) was added to RISTI to make XRISTI (instead of CRISTI); this was in spite of the guide-letter C in the margin (cf. below, p.70, n.3). It may however have been impractical to correct such errors without making too much of a mark on the leaf.

- (i) An incorrect letter or word was erased and the correct reading written over the erasure:
SPRETO (fo. 21, 1.8 up), originally written as SECRETO; -EC- erased, and -P- written. Many examples of this type were alterations made by scribe a himself.¹
- (ii) An abbreviated word whose interpretation had presented difficulty was written in the margin by scribe a, in the form in which it occurred in the exemplar; the correct reading was subsequently added in the space provided in the text by scribe a:
Consideret (fo. 89^v, 1.4 up)²
- (iii) The word-division was corrected by the use of a conventional sign, often a uniting underline, sometimes combined with an oblique stroke above the line:
pontis arci sue restauratione (fo. 73, 1.5 up)
 corrected to pontis arcisue restauratione.
 At other times, wrongly-united words were divided by the addition of oblique lines above and below the place of word-division:
querite (fo. 15^v, 1.18)
siñonante (ib., 1.22)
- (iv) Omitted letters or words were inserted from overline:

1. There were no erasures however of the length of those in the Winton Domesday (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 154), v. M. Biddle, 'The corrections in the Winton Domesday', WEMA, Appendix II, The manuscript of the Winton Domesday, pp. 523-4.
2. Cf. the notes written (in lead) in the margins of WCL, MS.4 (fo. 85, etc.) with queried readings.

'iuxta scealdeburnan' (fo. 26^v, 1.17)¹
'quinque eo loco qui beopyrð' (fo. 62^v, 1.12)
reseru'e'ntur (fo. 32^v, 1.1)
'Wintonie' (fo. 96^v, 1.11)

- (v) A long passage of omitted text was added in the margin, either with a signe-de-renvoi which corresponded to a similar mark in the text: fo. 47 (7); fos. 91^v, 92^v (y) or with an insertion-sign in the margin but not in the text: fo. 71^v (ð)
- (vi) Otiose words or letters were underlined for omission (the word and letters given below in brackets being underlined in Cod.Wint.I):
illa uenerabilis (memoria) familia (fo. 26^v, 1.16)
(iuxta scealdeburnan) (ib., 1.18)²
(re)tractata (fo. 64^v, 1.18)
- (vii) Incorrect letters were underlined, or subpuncted³, and the correct letters written overline:
marcessibili (fo. 49, 1.2), a misreading for marcescibili; the second -s- was subpuncted and a -c- written above.
- (viii) An incorrect phrase was corrected by a combination of erasure, underlining, and insertion:
ordi/num hominibus (fo. 49, ll. 13-14; the oblique stroke here indicating the line-division) was changed to ordini/bus hominum; -ni- inserted after ordi-, -num altered to -bus by erasure and re-writing, -ibus underlined and -num written overline for insertion.

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1. This example represents the re-location of the two words omitted on l. 18 of the same folio, v. below, sub (vi).
 2. See preceding note.
 3. That is, an ink dot was placed beneath the letter concerned.

(ix) The sentence-order or clause-order was corrected by the use of suprascript letters in wrong alphabetical order: fo. 60^v (ll. 6-7 up) b/a/c. On fo. 107^v (ll. 10-11 up) this method was combined with the use of gibbet-like signs.¹

1) The Decoration

The initial letter of each document in Cod.Wint.I was usually depicted in a combination of up to four colours of ink (blue, green, brown, red).² In addition, the initial letter of the vernacular clause introducing estate-boundaries was usually depicted in a combination of up to three of these four colours, but occasionally occurs in monochrome (e.g. red fo. 53^v, blue fo. 78^v, green fo. 79, brown fo. 74). Most documents were introduced by rubrics in red ink (see (g), above), and it was also intended that the rubricator should add signa crucis in red ink before each of the subscriptions, but this was not done except in Quire X (see below). The over-all effect of these coloured inks on the page is highly attractive and usually artistically well-balanced across a page-opening.

The four colours used in the decoration (blue, green, brown, and red) do not all appear at

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1. The combination of such letters and a gibbet-like sign also occurs in WCL, MS. 2, fo. 25 (b/a). Other gibbet-like signs, used as paragraph-marks, occur in texts written by scribe b in Cod.Wint.II, v. below, Part C, section 2.
 2. The same four colours occur in WCL, MSS. 3 and 4.

every opening of the book. Sometimes two colours alternate as the predominant colour on successive folios. On fos. 73-80, the dominant colours of the decorated initials appear in a discernible sequence of green, red, blue, brown. In Cod.Wint.I as a whole, red is the commonest of the four colours, followed by green, brown, and blue. The use of blue decreased towards the end of Cod.Wint.I, none being used on fos. 99-105^v and only faint applications of it on subsequent folios (106, 108^v, 110). This may indicate a temporary shortage of the ingredients of the colour at Winchester at the end of the period in which Cod.Wint.I was written (1129 X 1139)¹, perhaps caused by a disruption of communication at the beginning of the civil war during King Stephen's reign. The colour blue was, however, a luxury even in normal times, owing to the limited sources of its components,² and what was available at Winchester may have become needed for something else.³

Most of the initials in Cod.Wint.I were embellished with flouriations, and are of a recognisably Anglo-Norman type of minor ornamental initial found in religious manuscripts

1. See below, Part B, section 5.

2. The colour ultramarine blue was made from lapis lazuli, a semi-precious stone mined in the medieval period in what is now N.E. Afghanistan, v. J.R. Gettens, G.L. Stout, Painting materials, a short encyclopedia (New York 1947, reprinted 1966), pp. 165-7.

3. Even the blue used in the psalter associated with Bishop Henry of Blois (BL, Cotton MS. Nero C. iv) seems to have been scraped off at some time, presumably for re-use, v. T.S.R. Boase, English art 1100-1216 (2nd ed.; Oxford, 1968), p.172.

at Winchester and elsewhere.¹ The sole inhabited initial appears at fo. 9 (see Plate V), the first initial of Quire I, in which a man's head, dressed in a Phrygian cap, peers from the foliate stem of the letter A.²

Guide-letters for the initialler (in ink) were usually written in the margin adjacent to the space allotted to each initial. Occasionally the guide-letters were ignored by the initialler. Thus, on fo. 17^v, Ð was supplied instead of B; on fo. 30^v, Ð instead of V; on fos. 14, 31, Ð instead of P; and on fos. 29^v, 101^v, P instead of Ð. The first two examples probably reflect errors, due to unfamiliarity with the OE word Ðis, 'these', on the part of the writer of the guide-letters, but the remaining examples perhaps represent substitutions, by the decorator, of letters, having the same linguistic value as each other, on grounds of artistic style.³ No instructions seem to have been given as to choice of colour. Preliminary designs, in lead, probably by the initialler himself, are discernible beside the initials R on fo. 29, and A on fo. 31^v.⁴

1. For similar initials in Winchester cathedral MSS, v. passim Bod., Bodley MS. 365, fos. 93-330; WCM, Library MS.5; WCL, MSS.2,4,5. Cf. the contemporary minor initials from Bury St. Edmunds, v. E. Parker, 'The scriptorium of Bury St. Edmunds in the twelfth century', London Ph.D. 1965, pp.48-53

2. The description by Boase, English Art, p.175, of these initials as 'very strongly characterized initials... whose foliage encloses human heads in its finely drawn coils' is an over-statement of the amount of habitation they contain.
3. The example quoted above, p.65, n.3, seems to have been a simpler error, associated with the Greek-style spelling of Cristi as Xpisti.
4. The lead used for these designs is similar to that used for the catchwords, v.(c), above.

The following three styles of decorated initial occur in Cod.Wint.I, perhaps representing the work of different artists:¹

Style (i) (see Plates VI, VII)

The average size of the major initials in this style is c.60 X 60 mm. (height X width), with individual examples reaching proportions as great as c.160 X 75 mm. (fo. 37^V, F (Plate VII); fo. 65^V, P). The minor initials are on average c.35 X 35 mm. In this style, the most common of the three found in Cod.Wint.I, the body of each initial was supplied predominantly in one matt colour, while acanthus-style foliations and buds, in contrasting colours, were used as both infilling on a void ground and as terminals.² Occasionally, a network infill also occurs (fo. 97, C; fo. 101^V, P). The left side of letters with vertical stems was sometimes outlined in a different colour and given scalloped protrusions (fo. 37^V, F (Plate VII); fo 64^V, I; fo 72^V, L, P). Sometimes the body of an initial was panelled in a contrasting colour (fo. 31^V, A),³ or in two such colours (fo. 24, H). At other times, the panel

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1. The initial to 33 (on fo. 11^V, v. Plate XIII) is to be associated with Cod.Wint.II. It is similar to the initial at fo. 72^v and, like it, was probably added after scribe c had copied 34-9, and the rubrics to 26-7, 30-3, into spaces left by scribe a. See below, Part C, section 2.
 2. These initials are most similar to those in Bod,MS.Auct. E. inf. 2 (on chapter incipit pages) and WCL, MS.4.
 3. This initial also has a descending stem in two colours.

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PLATE VII : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.37^v (detail, scale 6 : 5), initial in Style (i), F in red ink with green and brown foliation; scribes a (text), and b (rubric and corrections), and annotator 3; documents 82-3, in Cod.Wint. I .

might be void (fo. 30, B; fo. 52, X), divided by a dovetail line (fo. 34, F; fo. 35^V, L), divided by a bead-and-spindle moulding (fo. 25, R; fo. 78, A; fo. 102, I; fo. 108^V, Q),¹ or contain a coloured acanthus design (fos. 18, 36^V, 65, A; fo. 89^V, C).

Style (ii) (see Plate V)

Initials of this type were similar to those of Style (i), but are distinguished by the use of a coloured ground and of a more elaborate style of acanthus decoration. Only four initials occur in this style:

fo. 9, A, with blue ground, network panelling, and a human face; 140 X 70 mm. See Plate V.

fo. 27^V, T, with blue ground, and acanthus panelling; 80 X 120 mm.

fo. 75^V, U, with blue ground, beaded panelling, and a network ground to the projecting terminal; 115 X 90 mm.

fo. 110, Q, with red ground; c.45 X 45 mm.

These initials appear to have been used sparingly, perhaps because they were time-consuming to complete. Two of them occur at very significant locations within Cod.Wint.I, introducing the first and the last documents in the book (26, 208 at fos. 9, 110). The other two may have been placed within the main body of the book to maintain an over-all artistic balance.

1. A similar type of beading was used to decorate the pair of ivory book-covers (possibly from Winchester) which are contemporary to Cod.Wint.I, v. J.Beckwith, Ivory carvings in early medieval England (1972), 89.

Style (iii) (see Plate VIII)

Initials of this type occur only in Quire X and were probably the work of scribe a, who wrote the rubrics as well as the text of this quire.¹ He was also responsible for the addition of signa crucis in red ink before the subscriptions to documents in this quire (160-74), a feature which he left to scribe b to add in the other quires of Cod.Wint.I, but which scribe b did not effect.²

Initials of this type were smaller on average than those in Style (i) and smaller than three out of four of those in Style (ii). There was less difference in height between the major and minor initials in this style than in Style (i), both categories being usually c.50 X 50 mm., with a maximum height of 100 mm.

Initials in Style (iii) were plainer than those in Styles (i) and (ii) and were often in paler inks, although with the same range of colours. Foliate terminals and infill were mostly of a finer, willowy, leaf-form than those of the other styles of initial; often this foliage was painted in a different ink to that of the body of the letter, and had seed-heads in yet another colour. The stems of letters were

1. Scribe a probably also painted some, but not all, of the initials in WCL, MS. 5 (e.g., fo. 1, E; fos. 27, 27^v, A; fos. 145^v, 159, D).

2. See (g), above.

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PLATE VIII : Codex Wintoniensis, fos. 86^v-87 (scale 2 : 5), a typical opening in Quire X of Cod. Wint. I; scribes a (text and rubric), and b (corrections); initials in Style (iii); documents 169-72. Cf. Plate XXV.

mostly panelled. Some panels were void (fo. 85, L; fo. 85^V, P), others were beaded (fo. 83, A, with void ground; fo. 84, I, fo. 87 L (Plate VII), both with contrasting coloured beads against a void ground), and others again were bracketed (fo. 86^V, A; see Plate VIII). Many initials in this style have engaged¹ beads on the body of letters; and some have beads and spindles, representing calices², on foliate terminals.³

Two of the features of initials in Style(iii) are also found passim in the first-line display capitals in Cod.Wint.I, supporting the view that these initials were the work of scribe a, who wrote the text in Cod.Wint.I.⁴ Engaged beads occur, for example, on display capitals on fos. 26, 42^V, 64^V, and 98^V, while a floreate suspension-sign, made of similar leaves to those used in Style (iii) initials, occurs in the first-line of documents on fos. 62^V, 70, 77^{rv}, 84, 107^V, etc.⁵

1. That is, attached as ornament. On this term, v.L.N. Valentine, Ornament in medieval manuscripts (1965), p.46, no.9. For examples in Cod.Wint.I, see the initials D (X2) and L shown on Plate VIII.

2. An 'ornamental node...at juncture of stem and leaves', v. Valentine, op.cit., p.41, no. 69.

3. Similar usages of beads occur on initials and display capitals in Bod, MS. 365; Bod, MS. Auct. E.inf. 2; WCM, Library, MS. 5; WCL, MSS. 2,3,5; all from Winchester Cathedral. Also in BL, Arundel MS. 60 (from Hyde Abbey) and Bod, MS. 451 (from St. Mary's Abbey).

4. See (h,j), above.

5. A similar suspension-sign occurs on the word Calamitatib' on p.116 of CCCO, MS.328,II.

The above brief description of the decoration used in Cod.Wint.I does not in any way do justice to the skill of the artists employed in its execution. It does, however, show that the book was endowed with an unusual degree of lavishness for a documentary work. Although the decoration found in Cod.Wint.I cannot compare in beauty to the (slightly later) bibles produced at Winchester Cathedral,¹ it can at least rank with several patristic and liturgical books produced there, with which it is contemporary.² It probably represents the more conventional Anglo-Norman style of the Winchester cathedral scriptorium, as opposed to the exotic Byzantine and classical influences reflected in the figure-drawings in the Winchester Bible³ and the Blois Psalter.⁴

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1. Bod, MS. Auct. E. inf. 1,2; WCL, MS.17. See T.S.R. Boase, English art 1100-1216 (2nd edition; Oxford, 1968), pp. 174-80; *ibid.*, Plates 28c, 29, 61, 63ab, 66a, 76b; and W. Oakeshott, The artists of the Winchester Bible (1945).
 2. Bod, Bodley MS. 365, fos. 93-330; HRO B/1/A-1; WCM, Library, MS.5; WCL, MSS. 2,4,5.
 3. WCL, MS. 17; see Oakeshott, *op.cit.*
 4. BL, Cotton MS. Nero C. iv; v. F. Wormald, The Winchester Psalter (1973); also Boase, *op.cit.*, pp. 172-3, and *ibid.*, Plates 64ab.

The distinctive palaeographical features of Cod.Wint.I may be summarised as follows:

- (i) The leaves are arranged in regular, numbered, quires of four bifolia (apart from the last quire (XIII), which is of three bifolia). They are well-repaired, and ruled in hard point in one of four rulings. The written space measures 295 X 210/215 mm.
- (ii) The text was written by scribe a and corrected by scribe b. Except in Quire X, rubrics were added by scribe b. The text is regularly arranged upon the page in a calligraphic style which may be seen developing in the early part of the book.
- (iii) Initial Letters to individual documents were decorated in three styles and in a combination of up to four colours.

Within the context of the over-all regularity of its palaeographical features, the variations found in Quire X (with rubrics and decoration by scribe a) do not upset the physical unity of the book (Cod.Wint.I) contained on fos. 9-11^v, 13^v- 67, 67^v - 110^v of the Codex Wintoniensis.¹ In contrast, the additions of text on fos. 12-13^v (by scribe c) and on fo. 67^{rv} (by scribe b), on leaves or parts of leaves left blank by scribe a, ignore the conventions as to arrangement of text, usage of capitals, etc., found in Cod.Wint.I; these additions are thus described as part of Cod.Wint.II, below.

1. Ignoring here the rubrics added by scribe c on fos. 9-11^v, which are to be taken as part of Cod.Wint.II (v. below, Part C, section 2), but which were added in spaces left for the purpose by scribe a.

The palaeographical features of Cod.Wint.I support the view that it was produced in the second quarter of the twelfth century in a Winchester cathedral scriptorium, and probably by monastic scribes belonging to the cathedral priory, rather than by episcopal clerks. Its physical size, monumental script, and lavish decoration make it outstanding among surviving medieval cartularies. Their use in Cod.Wint.I may have been with the intention of imbuing the cartulary with an extra authority of a symbolic, rather than a legalistic, kind, perhaps in connection with a ceremony of confirmation of the cathedral endowment.¹ These features certainly contrast to the smaller, more mundane, appearance of the Winton Domesday, probably written by an episcopal clerk in 1148 or soon after,² and whose purpose was to record the fiscal liability of tenements in the city of Winchester.³ In general, the physical appearance of Cod.Wint.I is reminiscent of religious rather than of administrative books and this may be a reflection of its intended function, to act as a solemn record of the ancient endowment of the cathedral church of Winchester.⁴

1. See below, Part B, section 5.

2. London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 154; v. T.J. Brown, 'The manuscript and the handwriting', WEMA, Appendix II, The manuscript of the Winton Domesday, p.522, also ibid., frontispiece and Plates I-III. Although both the Winton Domesday and the Codex have similar blind-tooled bindings, the leather of the Codex binding is of a more unusual and distinctive sort, v. above, Part A, section 1, a(i).

3. See WEMA, pp. 9-28.

4. See below, Part B, section 5.

Section 2

The Contents of Cod. Wint. I

An analysis of the physical features of the Codex Wintoniensis has revealed, at its core, an original cartulary of the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹ This cartulary, which has been called Cod. Wint. I in the present thesis, was probably written between 1129 and 1139² and consists of a transcription of documents (185 distinct records: 26-33, 40-132, 135-208)³ recording transactions and memoranda ranging in apparent date from A.D. 643 x 672 (40) to 1066 x 1086 (63). Most of these documents were royal diplomas, but episcopal leases and agreements, fiscal memoranda, estate boundaries, and the wills of important lay persons also occur. Their texts concerned the title to, and administration of, temporal estates; no documents concerning spiritual affairs, no papal documents, and no documents issued by the Anglo-Norman kings were included. A further six texts (34-9), although not copied into the Codex (by scribe c) until later in the twelfth century and

1. See above, Part A, sections 2-4.

2. See below, Part B, section 5.

3. See below, Appendix 1, for a full description of all these documents. The principles adopted for their numeration are explained in the preface to the said Appendix, sub Textual information.

thus technically part of Cod. Wint. II, represent the completion of work intended to form part of Cod. Wint. I but left unfinished by scribe a; the content of these six texts is thus included in the following discussion of the contents of Cod. Wint I.¹

The predominant language within the royal diplomas is Latin, but the majority of them also contain vernacular boundary-clauses. All the vernacular language used in documents in Cod. Wint. I had been Old English, although it was modernised to some degree during transcription;² Old Norse does not occur. Almost all of the documents which are not royal diplomas had been in Old English. In general, there is a high proportion (over 4:1) of Latin, or Latin with Old English, documents to those wholly in the vernacular.

a) The Grantors

The royal documents copied into Cod. Wint. I were almost entirely those issued either by kings of Wessex or by kings of the whole of England. The two exceptions (163, 206) were both diplomas issued by Eadgar as king of Mercia (A.D. 957-9). The period apparently covered by these documents ranges from the mid seventh century to the mid eleventh (see Table 4).³

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1. See below, Part C, for a discussion of other aspects of 34-9.
 2. See below, Part B, section 4,b(ii)(iv).
 3. The dates given on these documents are here taken at face value, although some are later forgeries.

TABLE 4 : ROYAL GRANTORS OF DOCUMENTS IN COD. WINF. I

KINGS OF WESSEX	
Coenwealh, A.D. 643-72	1
Cadwalla, 685-8	1
Ine, 688-726	1
Æthelheard, 726-7740	1
Cuthred, 740-56	1
Ecgbeorht, 802-39	7
Æthelwulf, 839-55	8
Æthelred, 865 X 866-871	1
Ælfred, 871-99	3
KINGS OF ENGLAND	
Edward the Elder, 899-924	13 + 1
Æthelstan, 924-39	13
Eadmund, 939-46	8
Eadred, 946-55	11 + 2
Eadwig, 955-9	14
{ Eadgar (Mercia, 957-9)	2
{ Eadgar, 959-75	33 + 1
Edward the Martyr, 975-8 X 979	1
Æthelred Unræd, 978 X 979-1016	15
Knut, 1016-35	3
Edward the Confessor, 1042-66	6

Latin diplomas

Vernacular grants

For references to individual documents, v. Appendix 1, index, under the name of each king. Where both Latin and vernacular documents were issued by a particular king, the number of Latin ones is shown first.

Secular grantors of estates, other than kings, occur in Cod. Wint. I either as testators of wills or as parties to episcopal agreements whose terms included the granting of an estate to Winchester Cathedral. These testators included both men and women and ranged in status from Æthelstan Ætheling, the son of King Æthelred Unræd (93, 102), to a certain Wulfgar (162) who was probably the thegn (minister) of that name who was the beneficiary of 161. Most of the wills and bequests in Cod. Wint. I are of the mid tenth century and none is earlier than c. 900.¹

Documents copied into Cod. Wint. I which had been issued by ecclesiastics all concerned estates belonging to Winchester Cathedral. Bishops of Winchester appearing as grantors of estates always acted in association with the cathedral community, whether secular or regular at the time, but in 126a it was the cathedral community who, together with, and thus probably with the protection of, King Eadgar, leased an estate to the bishop. Nearly all the episcopal documents were either leases or dependent upon leases. Three however (62, 115, 130) were full alienations, although 115 had a provision for re-purchase, and the other two were each part of an exchange. The episcopal grantors of documents in Cod. Wint. I are shown in Table 5. Their date-range is from the early ninth century to the mid eleventh, but there is a long break between the Benedictine Reformation and the reign of Edward the Confessor.

1. See below, Appendix 1; 93, 102, 106, 122, 151, 162, 172, 185, 187.

TABLE 5 : EPISCOPAL GRANTORS OF DOCUMENTS IN COD.WINT. I

BISHOPS OF WINCHESTER	
Ealhmund, A.D. 801 X 803-805 X 814	1
Ealhfrith, 862 X 867-871 X 877	1
Denewulf, 878 X 879-908	4 + 3
Frithustan, 909-932 X 933	1
Beorhthelm, 960-3	1
Ælfwine, 1032-47	1
Stigand, 1047-70	3

 Latin documents

 Vernacular documents

For references to individual documents, v. Appendix 1, index, under the name of each bishop. Where both Latin and vernacular documents were issued by a particular bishop, the number of Latin ones is shown first.

b) The Beneficiaries

The beneficiaries of documents in Cod. Wint. I included not only ecclesiastical communities but also both ecclesiastical and lay individuals.

The most frequently-occurring ecclesiastical beneficiaries are those associated with Winchester Cathedral. Grants or bequests were made to the see of Winchester (42, 56, etc.); to individual bishops in a personal capacity (Æthelwold 187, Ælfwine 95, 157, 160, Beorhthelm 143); to the secular community at the cathedral (130, 151, etc.); and to the monks of the Old Minster (26-8, 191, etc.). The dedication of the cathedral is variously given in these grants (Holy Trinity 183-4; St. Peter 75, 111a, 121; SS. Peter and Paul 40, 97, 180, etc.; SS. Peter, Paul, and the Holy Trinity 26-39, 78, etc.), but its significance must, of course, be examined in the context of the diplomatic of individual documents before it can be used as historical evidence.

Ecclesiastical communities, other than the one associated with Winchester Cathedral, mostly occur as beneficiaries in wills. Christ Church, Canterbury, Ely Abbey, Shaftesbury Abbey, and the New and the Nuns' Minsters, Winchester, benefited under the will of Æthelstan Ætheling (93, 102); the church at Kintbury, Berks, and the New Minster, from that of Wulfgar (162); and the abbeys of Glastonbury and Malmesbury from that of Ealdorman Ælfheah (185). Three of such

ecclesiastical communities occur as beneficiaries to diplomas however (the monastery at Taunton, 62, 118; the church of St. Peter and All Saints, South Stoneham, 166, ?167; and the church of St. Andrew, East Meon, 81); each of these churches was, however, at an estate which belonged to Winchester Cathedral by 1066.¹

Individual ecclesiastics, other than bishops of Winchester, occur as beneficiaries to both wills and diplomas. . Æthelstan Ætheling bequeathed the estate Ætheorulfestune (? Harleston, Suffolk) to Ælfwine his chaplain (93, 102). Two religiosae feminae, Ælfswith and Æthelthryth, were granted estates by King Eadmund on separate occasions (76, 88); an abbot, Ælfric, of unknown provenance, acquired one from King Æthelstan (79); and three men, Cedd, Cis, and Crispa, who were either ecclesiastics or the patrons of such, received the valuable estate of Farnham, Surrey, from King Cædwalla for the foundation of a monastery (114).

Lay beneficiaries of documents in Cod. Wint.I, as of Anglo-Saxon grants in general, were usually people closely associated with the donor, either through faithful service or through the ties of kinship, and sometimes through both.² Privileged estates, of bookland or of loanland, were particularly useful to

1. DB i, fos. 87^v; 41^v; 38, 40^v.

2. Osweard and Ælfheah, the beneficiaries of 137 and 182 respectively, were not only the king's ministri, but also his kinsmen.

the king as rewards to his followers, but seem also to have been valued, by others besides kings, as presents which could be granted to favourite kinsmen, free from the customary rules of inheritance.¹ Thus, King Æthelstan granted 17 hides of land at Droxford, Hants, to his sister Eadburh in 939 (195); Bishop Denewulf (878X879-908) appears to have acquired leases of the cathedral estates at Alresford, Hants, and Bishopstone, Wilts., for two of his kinsmen (Ælfred, 121, cf. 30; Beornwulf, 123a); and a certain Ceolwynn bequeathed 15 hides at Alton Priors, Wilts., in c. 900, to the refectory of Winchester Cathedral, in return for prayers and a life-lease to her nephew Wulfstan of 1 hide of land rent-free (151). Ealdorman Ælfheah bequeathed various estates in 968 x 971 to his wife, his brother, his two sons, his sister's son, and to another kinsman (185).

Royal servants were often rewarded with quite substantial grants of land. Although usually described in royal diplomas simply by the Latin term minister they are very occasionally given more specific titles: Leofwine, the beneficiary of 202 (A.D.987) was described as the king's huntsman (uenator). It is probable that the formalism of Latin diplomas discouraged the use of more particular descriptions of such men. More familiar terms were used, for example, in the vernacular declaration of Æthelstan

1. On these tenures, v. below, c(i).

Aetheling's will (93, 102), which included amongst its beneficiaries the testator's steward (discbegn), his staghuntsman (headeor húnta), and his sword-polisher (spurð pita, for spurd pita).

Some at least of the lay beneficiaries of documents copied into Cod. Wint. I were no doubt known to each other. Several of the individual beneficiaries of the wills were personally related to each other as well as to the testator. The fact that some of the beneficiaries of diplomas kept at Winchester Cathedral by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period were also related to each other is of significance to the archival provenance of documents in the Codex as a whole and is discussed fully below.¹

c) The Estates

(i) Type and location

The Anglo-Saxon estates which were the subject of the documents copied into Cod. Wint. I were of varying sizes and origins but all were possessed under similar privileges of tenure. Their owners, or lessors, were all exempt from payment of the royal feorm or its commutation, and of all other rents and services due to the king apart from the Three Burdens of bridge-building, fortress-building, and army-service. Such privileged tenures were of two types - being either perpetual and freely hereditary (bookland) or held on lease for the duration

1. Part B, section 3, a.

of a specified number of lives (loanland).¹

Bookland, because of its perpetuity, was a peculiarly royal form of donation. An estate of loanland,

in contrast, could be created by any individual, or any community, who already held it as bookland.

With both types of privileged tenure there was a great stress on written record of title. Grants of bookland seem to have been always recorded by royal diploma (OE bōc), at least until the use of the sealed writ as an alternative form of title-deed in the eleventh century.²

Royal grants of loanland were usually recorded in diplomas only slightly modified (in the description of the tenure) from those granting bookland (see, for example, 75, 111a, 192). Grants of loanland other than by the king, however, were usually in the form of vernacular declarations (121, 150, etc.); these were often ^{written in} more than one copy, for the security of all parties.³

Most of the land bequeathed in the wills in Cod. Wint. I was held by the testator as bookland. Those estates held by him as loanland are probably to be identified as those in which reversion to a religious house was specified.

1. See Stenton, LC, pp. 50-65.

2. See P. Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon chancery: from the diploma to the writ', Journal of the Society of Archivists 3(1965-9), pp. 160-76.

3. See 150, for example. Also Robertson, AS Charters 18, 46, 101 (Sawyer 1281, 1326, 1471; from Worcester and Christ Church, Canterbury), etc.

Folkland, the other major type of Anglo-Saxon land tenure, is not mentioned in Cod.Wint.I and probably does not occur therein, being a tenure which was extinguished by the creation of an estate of either bookland or loanland.¹ It was not alienable by will without the king's express permission - that is, unless the king himself was willing to grant it as bookland or loanland to the intended beneficiary - and when so bequeathed was specifically categorised as such.² H.D.Hazeltine's view that the mere asking of royal permission to make a will implies that folkland was to be included therein is not necessarily correct.³ Such a request was more likely a form of insurance that the terms of the will would receive royal protection.⁴ The request made in 187 was probably included not only because the king was the testator's lord and relative, but also because he was particularly asked to protect the testator's own followers after her death; none of the estates bequeathed in 187 were categorised as folkland.

1. See Stenton, ASE, pp. 309-12.

2. See Harmer, EHD 10 (Sawyer 1508).

3. See Whitelock, AS Wills, preface, p:xxxv, n.1.

4. The payment of heriot in wills to the testator's lord appears to have had a similar function by the mid tenth century, v. ibid., p.100.

Most of the estates referred to in documents, other than wills, in Cod. Wint. I were assessed in hides, a unit originally representing the land area necessary to support one ceorl and his family,¹ but later used more notionally as a rateable value for fiscal purposes. The hidage of estates bequeathed in wills is often not stated however, no doubt being detailed in the relevant title-deeds which would eventually be passed to the beneficiaries with the land.² The hidages given in documents in Cod. Wint. I run from 1 hide (159, 186, etc.) to 133 hides (117), the full range being as follows:

1, 1½, 2, 2½, 4, 5, 6, 7, 7½, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 15, 16, 17, 20, 22, 25, 30, 33, 38, 40, 45, 50, 60, 64, 65, 70, 100, 120, 130, 133

Pieces of land smaller than 1 hide also occur - 3 yardlands in 202, for example, and 46 acres in 96 and 109 - but these are always dependent on larger estates. The relative frequency of the occurrence of the various hidages mentioned in Cod. Wint. I is as follows:

Hidage	Number of instances
5	21-5
10	16-20
15, 20	11-15
3, 8, 30	6-10
All others	1-5

1. See T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'Kinship, status, and the origins of the hide', Past and Present 56(1972), pp. 3-33.

2. On the surrender of title-deeds, v. below, Part B, section 3, a(i).

The above figures show that 5 hides and multiples of it were the most frequent units of assessment in these documents. The 3 hide unit may also have been a regular one and, if so, some at least of the 8 hide estates may have been formed by a union of two estates originally of 5 and 3 hides respectively.¹ An example of such a union seems to be the 8 hides at Martyr Worthy, Hants, (176) which was probably formed from the two estates granted to Hunsige in 178 (5 hides) and 179 (3 hides).

The highest hidages in Cod. Wint. I are nearly always those relating to estates granted to Winchester Cathedral (Downton, Beddington, Alresford, Taunton, etc.) but a few are contained in grants to other especially favoured beneficiaries, for example, to Eadgifu, King Eadgar's grandmother (65 hides at East Meon, Hants, 80) or to the three men, Cedd, Cis, and Crispa (60 hides at Farnham, Surrey, 114). On the whole, however, it seems to have been unusual for laymen to receive individual estates of more than 20 hides at a time, although they could, and did, build up a large holding from a series of such acquisitions.² Two of the smallest estates were those leased by Bishop Stigand - of 2 hides and 4 yardlands (150), and 1 hide (186), respectively.

1. Cf. the 3, 10, and 20 hide units in the Laws of Ine, 64-6, v. Whitelock, EHD 32.

2. Cf. the case of Wulftric Cufing who owned a large land-holding in the mid tenth century, made up of a number of quite small estates, v. BCS 1055 (Sawyer 687), and Hart, ECNE, pp. 370-1.

The hidage at which an estate was assessed is only a very broad indicator of its size and should not be interpreted too literally in terms of physical area. The example of Chilcomb, Hants, is a salutary one: it had been given a beneficial hidation by at least 1066, when its huge area was assessed at 1 hide instead of 100 hides.¹ Similarly, the hidage reveals little of the real value of these estates to their individual owners. Besides the status given to a layman by possession of an estate of bookland or loanland, and the future security given to a religious institution by its endowment with landed wealth, there were more mundane profits, in the form of money-rents, food rents, and services, to be enjoyed by their possessors. The rents and services due from the ceorlas of Hurstbourne priors, Hants, in the tenth(?) century were detailed in 142a.² Ownership of other estates gave rights to appurtenant resources, such as salt-pans (56, 119), swine pasture (*ibid.*; 137, etc.), wood-cutting (49), or urban tenements (104b, 127, 203b, etc). Such rights, when specifically recorded in this way, were at a physical distance from the main estate, to which they supplied advantages not naturally present within its boundaries. Those resources which were already present within the estate unit were usually fairly varied. Most estates

1. DB i, fo. 41; cf. 14, 27-8, 190, 228, 236.

2. See translation in Robertson, AS Charters, p.207, and the discussion by H.P.R. Finberg, 'The churls of Hurstbourne', Lucerna, pp. 131-43.

were supplied with arable, meadow, some pasture, woods, and a water-supply within their own boundaries.

The boundaries were usually described in detail in the vernacular, often as an integral part of the diplomas, or as a supplement to the leases, but sometimes as separate records. They are not only important in defining the area of entire individual estates, or of the various parts of those estates with detached resources, but can also be used to identify estates either which have changed their names or which possess names of a very common type.

Because the boundaries of estates were not given in wills, there are several estates mentioned in the wills in Cod.Wint.I which cannot now be identified with certainty. This is particularly true of those estates whose names are of a common type, such as æt norþtune (a 'Norton'; 93, 102), or æt pyrðæ (a 'Worth'; 185). The non-identification of estates like these is not, however, a major barrier to understanding the contents of Cod.Wint.I. All the wills therein included bequests to the bishop and/or the community at Winchester and those were the ones in which the cartulary-maker was interested, details of other bequests being transcribed merely as context. This full transcription of wills (there was little alternative, given the form of such documents) means that the geographical distribution of the (identifiable) bequeathed estates is a wide one. The will of

Ealdorman Ælfheah (185) included estates in Berkshire, Buckinghamshire, Hampshire, Somerset, Surrey, Wiltshire, and perhaps Middlesex. The identifiable estates in the wills were in Wessex, and the eastern part of England. None have been yet identified as being in Northumbria or the west midlands.

The estates in documents other than wills in Cod. Wint. I have almost all now been identified, at least tentatively. The exceptions to date are the estates granted in 144 (Et EaSTVNE; 5 hides) and 208 (pude tune, for pude tune; 4 hides). Both these estates have names of a common Anglo-Saxon type and will only be positively distinguished from other estates of the same name by a full comparison of their respective boundaries to those of identically-named places. In addition, there are some minor appurtenances of other estates still to be located, such as the pastures of Witchurch, Hants (fiscesburnan and felghyrste, 181b), and a meadow Et hengestes ige belonging to Witney, Oxon (94).

Some of the estates have undergone a complete change of name since the Anglo-Saxon period, but luckily these changes are revealed by a study of medieval records. Most of these changes were from estate-names based on an original nature-name to those of an explicitly habitative type. Thus, the estate 'at, or on, the River Ebble', (EBBLESBURNAN, etc.; 26, 40-4, 123ab, 190) and that 'at the slope' (Et Clife, 153-4) are now both called by names meaning 'the bishop's

estate', Bishopstone (in Downton Hundred) and Bushton, respectively, Wilts.¹ Similarly, Stockton, Wilts. (perhaps 'estate belonging to the monastery', rather than 'enclosure made of tree-stumps')² was once the estate 'at, or on, the River Wylve' (Et PiLig, BiPiLig; 172, 174ab).³

The names of other estates have been modified by the addition of affixes to what were nearly all originally simplex names (the exception being Wolverhampton, a compound name, but of a common type, see below). In this way, (Burgh)clere, (High)clere, and (Kings)clere, Hants, were distinguished from each other in the post-conquest period.⁴ Similarly, (Abbots) Worthy, (Headbourne) Worthy, and (Martyr) Worthy, Hants, were particularised.⁵ The modifiers used in this process could be topographical (OE hēah, 'high' in Highclere; Hīdburna, the river, in Headbourne Worthy);

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1. Bishopstone is Bissopeston in 1166, v. PN Wilts, p. 392. Bushton is Bissopeston in 1242, v. ibid., pp. 266-7; the manor was still called Clyve in 1285, v. Cal Chart R 1257-1300, p.288, but this may have been an antiquarian usage at that date.
 2. That is, from OE stōc + tūn (DEPN, p.444) rather than from OE stocc + tūn (PN Wilts, p.230).
 3. STOTTVNE, DB i, fo. 65^v; but still called Wyli in c. 1127 (Goodman, Chartulary 2). Cf. Wyli, id est Stoctone P.
 4. DEPN, p.111. 5. DEPN, p.536 (Headbourne Worthy and Martyr Worthy). Cf. Kings Worthy, ibid., which is not mentioned in the Codex but is analogical.

manorial (OE cyning, 'king', in Kingsclere; OE abbod, 'abbot' (of New Minster), in Abbots Worthy); or relate to some other characteristic of the place (OE burh 'borough', in Burghclere). Sometimes the manorial modifier consisted of the name of the lord of the estate at a date later than its grant in surviving Anglo-Saxon documents. Examples of this sort are Martyr Worthy, Hants (the surname of Henry La Martre, who held it in 1201);¹ Alverstoke, Hants (ÆT STOCE, 138, A.D. 948; given to the Old Minster by Ælfwaru, temp. King Eadgar);² and Wolverhampton, Staffs. (Æt HEANTVNE, 159, A.D. 985; named after Wulfrun, the beneficiary of 159).³ Woolstone, Berks., (formerly Æt Escesbyrig) shows a complete change from one 'manorial' type of place-name to another - from 'Esc's stronghold' to 'Wulfric's estate'; the Wulfric involved probably being he who acquired both halves of it in the mid tenth century (198-9).⁴

1. DEPN, p.536.

2. LC. On Ælfwaru, v. below, Appendix 1, 187, n.12. The etymology of Alverstoke in DEPN (p.8), from a personal-name Ælfweard or Æpelweard + OE stōc, should be altered to Ælfwaru + stōc in the light of her donation.

3. DEPN, p.529. On Wulfrun, v. below. Appendix 1, 159, n. 1.

4. See PN Berks ii, p.383; and below, Appendix 1, 200, n.1.

An investigation of name-changes such as the above is obviously relevant to the correct location of the estates referred to in Cod. Wint. I and to their over-all distribution. It will be shown below that a knowledge of the former names of the estates whose names have changed since the medieval period and an appreciation of the similarity between many of the estate-names used in documents copied into Cod. Wint. I are important to an understanding both of the choice of texts for inclusion in the cartulary and of their arrangement therein.¹

The over-all distribution of the estates in documents other than wills in Cod. Wint. I is predominantly in the central south of England (Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset), a distribution which reflects that ^{of the bulk} of the pre-conquest Winchester cathedral endowment (see (ii), below). A small group of west midland estates (in Shropshire and Staffordshire; 145-7, 159)² also occurs however, the significance of whose inclusion is discussed below in the context of the nature of the archives extant at Winchester Cathedral in the late Anglo-Saxon period.³ Other counties represented by estates in these documents are Berkshire, Dorset, Essex, the Isle of Wight, Oxfordshire, Surrey, and Sussex.

1. See (iii), below ~~—————~~; and Part B, section 4, a(i).

2. Cf. also 209 (in Cod. Wint. II), relating to Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucs.

3. Part B, section 3, a(ii).

(ii) Winchester cathedral estates

By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, the bishop of Winchester and the monks of the Old Minster owned considerable estates. The diocese at that time was second in wealth only to that of Canterbury.¹ While most of the estates held by the bishop and the monks in 1066 were situated in Hampshire, they also held large areas of land in Wiltshire, Somerset, and Surrey, and smaller estates in Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Hertfordshire, the Isle of Wight, and Buckinghamshire.² Such landed wealth had been accumulated since the mid seventh century in the form of donations by kings, laymen, and ecclesiastics for the good of their own souls and those of their relatives; occasionally, the donor received a counter-gift of money or treasure (see 18, 58), or of a fitting burial (122, 187).³ Our knowledge of these benefactions is culled from both documentary and narrative sources. Whatever their accuracy about individual gifts, they seem to give a coherent general picture of the growth of the endowment in the Anglo-Saxon period

1. Barlow, English Church, p.225.

2. DB i, fos. 31(Surrey), 40-41^v, 43, 51(Hants), 52^v (Isle of Wight), 56, 58(Berks), 65^v(Wilts.), 87^v (Somerset), 133 (Herts.), 143^v (Bucks), 154-5 (Oxon.), 190 (Cambs).

3. On gifts and counter-gifts, v. T.M. Charles-Edwards, 'The distinction between land and moveable wealth in Anglo-Saxon England', Medieval Settlement, ed. P.H. Sawyer (1976), pp. 180-7, especially 180-1.

which does not contain too many contradictions. When collated, they represent a body of tradition accepted at Winchester in the middle ages as to the provenance of the cathedral's most important estates. This body of tradition survives not only in the form of documents granting, or claiming to grant, estates to the bishop and/or his community but also in lists of benefactions which seem to have a common source in a lost Libellus Donationum mentioned by John Leland in his Itinerary (1535-43).¹ Several documents in the form of confirmations or restitutions also mention earlier grants of the same estates of which no separate documentary record survives.² Domesday Book gives very little information about when particular Winchester cathedral estates were acquired, usually only stating that they were, or were not, held in 1066 and/or 1086; an exception to this being the claim by the monks in 1086 that Queen Ælfgifu Emma had given them the whole of the manor of Hayling, Hants, part of which had since been alienated.³ The kings of Wessex and of England, and sometimes their queens, seem to have taken a personal

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1. The Itinerary of John Leland in or about the years 1535-1543, ed. L. Toulmin Smith (1964) i, p. 272. Although one of these lists was given by Leland ibid. (LI), the best text (LC) is in his Collectanea, ed. T. Hearne (1770). Other texts are P, H.
 2. For example, some of the grants and confirmations mentioned in 26-39. Cf. also the grant by Eanwulf, comes, mentioned in 130.
 3. DB i, fo. 43^v. See below, Appendix 1, 194, n. 1.

interest in the church and its welfare from its foundation in the mid seventh century up to the Norman Conquest. Although this royal interest seems to have been intermittent up to the end of the ninth century, it became very strong in the tenth and early eleventh centuries, probably reflecting the important economic and political status attained by the city^{of Winchester} within the kingdom of England by 1066, when it ranked in size only after London, York, and probably Norwich.¹ There is no mention in the Winchester endowment traditions of gifts from any of the early Anglo-Saxon kings except those of Wessex. Nearly all of the ecclesiastical benefactors mentioned were bishops of Winchester, the exception being the monk Wulfwig, presumably of the Old Minster.² All the lay benefactors were either members of the West Saxon royal kin or other landowners with estates in Wessex. The general character of the Anglo-Saxon benefactors of Winchester Cathedral was very similar to that of the parties to documents copied into Cod. Wint. I. All of them were part of an aristocratic, and to some extent interrelated, community of individuals which maintained a tradition of service and loyalty both to the West Saxon royal house and to the mother church

1. See WEMA, p. 469, and *ibid.*, Part V, chap. 1.

2. See below, Appendix 1, 242.

of Wessex. It is important to note, however, that Cod. Wint. I was not arranged in any chronological order; its arrangement is by estates and their dependencies rather than by either donors or beneficiaries.¹

Although it cannot be proven by reference to Cod. Wint. I alone, the majority of the estates mentioned in documents other than wills therein were held by the bishop or the monks of the Old Minster in 1066. While it is probable that its compiler(s) hoped in most cases to provide documentary evidence of the pre-conquest tenure by Winchester Cathedral of its estates, it seems that sometimes there was no direct evidence of this sort to hand and they had to make use of documents which merely recorded their tenure by previous owners. Such documents did at least provide evidence of the status as bookland of the estates involved, and could be used as circumstantial evidence of the ownership by the cathedral of these estates, if it were argued that they represented the surrendered title-deeds of previous landowners, transferred with the estates to the cathedral. Winchester cathedral estates mentioned only in documents of this sort in Cod. Wint. I are as follows:

Alverstoke, Hants (Æt STOCE, 138); Ambersham, Hants (81); Bleadon, Somerset (204); Burghclere, Hants (æt CLEARAN, 76); Bushton, Wilts. (Æt Clife, 153-4); Ecchinswell, Hants (æt CLERAN, 79);

1. See below, Part B, section 4, a.

Exton, Hants (203a); Hannington, Hants (205); Harwell, Berks. (99-101); (East and West) Meon, Hants (80, 82-5); Moredon, Wilts. (89-91); Poolhampton, Hants (86-8); West Tisted, Hants (103, 104a); Westwood, Wilts. (201-2); Woolstone, Berks. (Æt AESCESbyrig, (198-200)); and Wootton St Lawrence, Hants (207).

Apart from Ambersham, Burghclere, and Moredon, all the above estates were held by the bishop or the monks in Domesday Book.¹ The inclusion in Cod. Wint. I of documents relating to five of the above estates may, however, have been more by luck than by judgement, the Anglo-Saxon form of their names being indistinguishable from those of other pre-conquest Winchester cathedral estates. Thus, Alverstoke's Anglo-Saxon name-form had been identical to those of Bishopstoke (Hants), and Stoke St. Mary (Somerset); that of Bushton had been identical to that of Cliff, Hants; those of Burghclere and Ecchinswell had been the same as that of Highclere, Hants; and that of Moredon was indistinguishable from that of Steeple Morden (cf. below) Cambs.² Ambersham is not named in Domesday Book but the bishop held land there in 1211 and it was appurtenant to the cathedral estate of East Meon in 1284.³ Burghclere is not named either in Domesday Book, but belonged to the cathedral priory in 1129 and later.⁴ Moredon

1. DB i, fos. 41^v (Hants), 58 (Berks.), 65^{rv} (Wilts.), and 87^v (Somerset).

2. For Cliff, v. DB i, fo. 51. For the others, v. below, Appendix 1, 77 (n.1; Highclere), 93 (n.5; Steeple Morden), 128 (n.2; Stoke St. Mary) 216 (n.1; Bishopstoke; called YTINGSTOCE *ibid.*, but STOCE, STOKE in 38-9).

3. Cur 11-14 John, pp. 171, 298-9; Cal Chart R 1257-1300, p. 273

4. Goodman, Chartulary, 3, 14, 26, 42.

had been acquired by the Old Minster before 975 X 979, when it was alienated in exchange for land within Winchester (21-2; in Cod. Wint. II); documents relating to it (89-91) were very probably included in Cod. Wint. I, however, because they were taken to refer to Steeple Morden, Cambs., an estate bequeathed to the Old Minster by Æthelstan Ætheling in the document (93) copied next-but-one into the cartulary.¹

Besides the documents recording lay tenure of estates later owned by Winchester Cathedral, there were several documents copied into Cod. Wint. I recording lay tenure of estates which seem never to have belonged to the church of Winchester (see (iii), below). The wills all contain much extraneous material, but all include at least one bequest to the bishop of Winchester or his community. The documents, other than wills, which relate to alien estates are discussed fully below in the context of their archival provenance.² The lack of evidence of transfer of certain estates into the possession of the cathedral was evidently regarded more seriously by the main scribe (a) of Cod. Wint. I than by his (?senior) colleague (scribe b), since, when he had the opportunity of working without

1. The intervening document (92) relates to Adderbury, Oxon., also bequeathed to the Old Minster in 93.

2. Part B, section 3, a(ii).

scribe b's supervision, in Quire X, he altered the description of some beneficiaries in the rubrics of documents (161, 163-4, 166-7, 171, 173, 174a) to give the false impression that these grants to laymen were grants either to the bishop or to the Old Minster.¹ Such alterations were made to documents both dealing with alien estates and with estates in fact later owned by Winchester Cathedral.

With regard to several estates held by the bishop and/or the monks T.R.E., it seems that there were either no documents relating to their pre-conquest tenure to hand when Cod. Wint. I was compiled or, where it was available, there was no time to include it.

These estates are as follows:²

Abbotstone, Hants (DB i, fo. 40^v); Abington Pigotts, Cambs. (ib., fo. 190); Avington, Hants (ib., fo. 41); Bassingbourn, Cambs. (ib. fo. 190); Boarhunt, Hants (ib., fo. 41^v); Bransbury, Hants (ib.); Brockhampton, Hants (ib., fo. 43); Burghfield, Berks. (ib., fo. 62^v); Chingescamp, Hants (unidentified; ib., fo. 40^v);

1. See below, Part B, section 4,b(iii). Cf. also the apparent interpolation of Bishop Swithun's name in the rubric to 168. The sole alteration by scribe b of a beneficiary given in the rubric occurs in that to 79, which seems to be a change from abbode to biscope; this could however be either an error or a rationalisation.

2. The 1 hide at Brownwich, Hants, held in fee by the bishop from the king T.R.W. (DB i, fo. 40^v) seems to have been a post-conquest acquisition and is omitted here. It was held by Eadric from the king T.R.E. For the fiefs of the bishop and the prior within Winchester T.R.E., v. WEMA, pp. 353-5. There appears to have been no specific effort to include evidence about these urban fiefs in Cod. Wint. I; although 104b and 203b did relate to urban tenements appurtenant to West Tisted and Exton, Hants, both documents were embodied within diplomas (104a, 203a) which would have been included anyway since they related to rural cathedral estates.

Cliff, Hants (ib., fo. 51); Clopton, Cambs. (ib., fo. 190); Cottered, Herts. (ib., fo. 133); East Overton, Wilts. (ib., fo. 65^v); Fawley, Hants (ib., fos. 41^v, 51); Fyfield, Wilts. (ib., fo. 65^v); Hoddington, Hants (ib., fo. 41^v); Houghton, Hants (ib., fo. 40^v); Ivinghoe, Berks. (ib., fos. 143^v, 146^v); Long Sutton, Hants (ib., fo. 41^v);¹ Meonstoke, Hants (ib., fo. 40^v); Oxford (9 houses in; ib., fo. 154); Througham, Hants (ib., fo. 51); West Wycombe, Bucks. (ib., fos. 143^v, 146);² Wield, Hants (ib., fo. 40^v); Wonston, Hants (ib., fo. 41^v).

Of these, Abbotstone, Avington, Boarhunt, East Overton, Hoddington, Long Sutton, Througham, and possibly Wonston, are mentioned in documents later copied into Cod. Wint. II and III.³ Bransbury occurs in a spurious document, claiming to be a grant by King Edward the Confessor to the Old Minster, whose earliest surviving manuscript is a fourteenth-century transcript, but whose single-sheet was at Winchester Cathedral in 1640.⁴

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1. According to 222 (in Cod. Wint. II), Long Sutton was counted as part of the 45 hides at Crondall until some time in the reign of Eadgar (?973 x 975). It was probably thus included (but not named) in the bequest of Crondall to the Old Minster in 968 x 971 (185), although this fact was probably not appreciated by the compilers of Cod. Wint. I, the relevant documents (222, 230) being in Cod. Wint. II.
 2. Probably not Et picham (187), which was bequeathed to Bath Abbey.
 3. 16 (Abbotstone, Boarhunt); 217 (Througham); 222, 230 (Long Sutton); 223 (Avington); 225 (Hoddington), 238 (East Overton). Wonston may be the 10 hides at Micheldever in 16.
 4. PRO/ C.53/118, no. 85, m. 32; BL, Harl. MS.596, fos. 20^v-21; Sawyer 1016 (1,2). This text as it stands is post-1086, as it includes details from the Domesday account of Bransbury, cf. DB i, fo. 41^v. It may be connected with a

(contd)

Two of the above estates (Cliff and Througham) and parts of another (Fawley) had been lost to the New Forest by 1086.¹ Since, however, a document (217) concerning Througham occurs in Cod.Wint.II, it does not seem that the title-deeds to these estates were surrendered to the king with the land. Part of Fawley was confirmed to the bishop in 1284² but no pre-conquest documents for the estate survive. Such evidence concerning Cliff may have been mislaid by the twelfth century; it is probable anyway that its omission from Cod.Wint.I would not have been realised, since its name was identical to the earlier name of Bushton, Wilts. (Æt Clife, 153-4). Meonstoke was

perhaps similarly assumed to be included, either in the group of documents relating to estates at Meon (80, 82-5) or in those concerning estates called simply (Æt) Stoce.³

4. (from previous page) tithe dispute of 1328, v. Goodman, Chartulary 323. Bransbury had been alienated by 1086, but had been restored by 1205, v. DB i, fo.41^v and Goodman, Chartulary 45.

1. DB i, fos. 41^v, 51.

2. Cal Chart R 1257-1300, p.273 (appurtenant to Bitterne).

3. Alverstoke (138), Bishopstoke (38-9), Longstock (135-6), Odstock (139), all Hants; South Stoke, Sussex (137); Stoke St. Mary, Somerset (65, 129; called stoce. Æt orceard in 128). Stoke by Hurstbourne, Hants, and Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts., are consistently given these affixes in Cod.Wint.I (141, 142b; 29, 58, 60, 62, 118, respectively).

Evidence of pre-conquest title to the remaining twelve estates listed above, if then extant, was apparently unavailable not only to the compilers of Cod. Wint. I but also to those of Cod. Wint. II and III.¹ Neither does it occur in the other surviving Winchester cathedral cartularies,² or in any modern collection.³

Some other cathedral estates, said in medieval Winchester tradition to have been acquired before 1066, and which were held by the bishop or the monks in the twelfth century, were neither mentioned in Cod. Wint. I nor as part of either the bishop's or the monks' fiefs in Domesday Book. Documents concerning the pre-conquest tenure of two of these estates - Michelmersh, Hants, (221) and Portland, Dorset (19) - occur in Cod. Wint. II however.⁴ Michelmersh appears, with East Woodhay, Hants, and Wargrave, Berks., in the lists of Anglo-Saxon benefactions from the lost Libellus Donationum.⁵ Wargrave also occurs in a twelfth-century forgery claiming to be a confirmation by King Edward the Confessor of his mother's bequest to the Old Minster.⁶

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1. The twelve are: Bassingbourn, Brockhampton, Burghfield, Chingescamp, Clopton, Cottered, Fyfield, Houghton, Ivinghoe, Oxford (9 houses), West Wycombe, and Wield. Burghfield had been alienated to Ralph of Mortemer by 1086, v. DB i, fo. 62.
 2. BL, Add. MS. 29436; BL, Harl. MS. 315, fos. 46-7; BL, Harl. R. CC.21; WCL, St. Swithun's Cartulary.
 3. See Sawyer, s.nn.
 4. For the tenure of Michelmersh by the cathedral priory in the twelfth century, v. Goodman, Chartulary 3,45. For that of Portland, v. ibid., 19,45.
 5. H,LC,P. For the priory's twelfth-century tenure of East Woodhay, v. Goodman, Chartulary 3,26. For that of Wargrave, v. 2, 4, 13; Goodman, Chartulary 7,449; Cal Chart R 1300-26, p.356, no.12.
 6. BL, Cotton Chart. x.17 (Sawyer 1062).

Another group of cathedral estates omitted from Cod. Wint. I were those which are recorded, either in pre-conquest documents copied into Cod. Wint. II or in the late twelfth-century Winchester Annals, as having been acquired by the bishop or the monks by 1066 but which are not recorded as cathedral estates in Domesday Book or in post-conquest documents until after the twelfth-century.¹ These are: the fishery at Brentford, Middx.; perhaps the fishery at Calshot, Hants (if later included in Ower, Hants); land at Whippingham, Isle of Wight; and land at East Oakley, Hants.²

The final group of estates omitted from Cod. Wint. I consists of those which are stated in Cod. Wint. II, or in pre-conquest documents not included in the Codex, or in medieval Winchester tradition, to have been acquired by the bishop or the monks by 1066 but which are not recorded as cathedral estates in Domesday Book or in post-conquest documents. Most of them were probably in fact owned by the cathedral before 1066; all had apparently been alienated by at least 1086. These estates are as follows: æt Eppelhyrste, Barton Stacey (and Forton in), Ringwood, Whitley, Wolverton, all Hants; Banewadam, Brading, Muleburnam,

1. On the author, and date, of the Annals, v. J.T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', B.I.H.R. 36(1963), pp. 70-5.

2. See below, Appendix 1, 16 (n.9; East Oakley), 17 (n.2; Brentford), 18 (n.1; Calshot). For Whippingham, v. Winchester ann., s.a. 735; Goodman, Chartulary 458(8); Reg Pontissara ii, p.423; Cal Pat R 1281-92, p.122.

Shalfleet, Thucam, Yaverland, in the Isle of Wight; unspecified booklands in Kent; Molesey, Surrey; Calne and Damerham, Wilts.; and Dorkinham (county unknown).¹

The above discussion has shown that there is no absolute correlation between the Winchester cathedral estates mentioned in Cod. Wint. I and those said in the Winchester Annals or the lost Libellus Donationum to have been acquired by the bishop and/or the monks of the Old Minster by 1066. Similarly, there is no absolute correlation between the cathedral estates in Cod. Wint. I and those on the fiefs of the bishop and the monks in Domesday Book. Domesday Book could, however, have been used as a rough guide as to which estates to seek to document, since it was kept in the royal treasury (which was still at Winchester in the twelfth century)² and it was then familiar to Bishop Henry of Blois.³ While there are several estates held by the bishop or the monks in Domesday Book which are not mentioned in Cod. Wint. I, this may only have been because of the unavailability

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1. For details of these estates, v. below, Appendix 4, s.nn.
 2. See Domesday rebound (Public Record Office, London, 1954), p.9, and Sir Henry Ellis, A general introduction to Domesday Book (Record Commission 1833, reprinted 1971) i, pp. 353-4. As noted by Ellis (op.cit., p.353, n.2), BL, Lansdowne MS.213, fo. 369^v, refers to a 'Doomesday-vault' in the N.E. aisle of Winchester Cathedral in 1635 (Ellis, loc.cit., 1634). This was however more likely a name for the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, whose wall-paintings may have been interpreted as depicting the Last Judgement, i.e. Domesday, rather than being a name for the location of Domesday Book, as the Lansdowne MS. infers. On the royal treasury at Winchester in the twelfth century, v. WEMA, pp. 291, 304-5. Cf. also, *ibid.*, p.1, n.2.
 3. De necessariis observantiis Scaccarii dialogus qui vulgo dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario, ed. and translated C. Johnson (1950), pp. 63-4. On Bishop Henry's probable association with Cod. Wint. I, v. below, Part B, section 5.

of relevant pre-conquest documents by the twelfth-century due to loss or misplacing. Alternatively, some such documents may have been still extant and to hand but have been omitted from Cod. Wint. I through lack of time; this may be true of those documents later included in Cod. Wint. II or III.

In summary, and in spite of the omissions noted above, it may be said that Cod. Wint. I contains much information, not now extant elsewhere, about the pre-conquest tenure of many of the estates owned by Winchester Cathedral in 1066 and later.

(iii) Alien estates

Although the majority of the estates mentioned in Cod. Wint. I are recorded elsewhere as Winchester cathedral estates at some time in the medieval period, there remain some which seem never to have belonged to the cathedral. Several of these were included in Cod. Wint. I simply because they occurred in the same documents as Winchester cathedral estates and could not be deleted without wholesale editing and re-writing of the exemplars. Most of this sort occur in the wills, but some (such as Creech St. Michael, Somerset, in 129) are referred to in diplomas relating to estates subsequently associated with the cathedral (here Stoke St. Mary). Besides these 'contextual' inclusions of alien estates, there remains quite a significant number of alien estates which appear independently in diplomas copied into Cod. Wint. I and not in company with cathedral estates; these estates occur in the cartulary as follows:

Group A (45-9; A.D. 947 X 986)

Estates on the River Ebbles, Wilts. (et. EBLESBVRNAN, etc.), tentatively identified as Coombe Bissett, Fifield Bavant (twice), Stratford Tony, and part of Odstock.

Group B (135-7, 139; A.D. 928 X 982)

Estates called Æt STOCE, Æt STÓCE: Longstock, Hants; Odstock, Wilts.; and South Stoke, Sussex.

Group C (144-7; A.D. 957 X 975)

Estates called EASTVN, Æt EASTVN(E): Aston in Wellington, Salop; Church Aston (with Plaish), Salop; Little Aston (and Great Barr), Staffs.; and an unidentified estate of this name.

Group D (159; A.D. 985)

An estate called Æt HEANTVNE: Wolverhampton (with Trescott), Staffs.

Group E (163; A.D. 958)

An estate called HAMME: Ham, Essex.

Group F (164; A.D. 975)¹

An estate called Æt FIF HIDON: Fyfield, Hants.

Group G (171, 173; A.D. 977 X 988)

Estates called Æt PigLI, Æt p̄iLig: Wylve, Wilts.

Group H (175; A.D. 1026)

An estate called p̄orDI: Abbots Worthy, Hants.

Group J (206, 208; A.D. 906(for 956) and 958)

Estates called Æt pudutune, pude tune (MS. pude tune): Wootton, Oxon.; and an unidentified estate.

Each of the alien estates listed above occurs in a diploma, copied into Cod. Wint. I, which recorded a grant of that estate as bookland to a beneficiary other than the bishop of Winchester or his community. There is no evidence for any of them of subsequent transfer of title to Winchester Cathedral. Each of these estates,

1. This document also occurs in Cod. Wint. III (240).

however, possessed a name of a common Anglo-Saxon type, and one which was identical to the name of an estate, or of several separate estates, owned by the bishop or the monks by 1150. The inclusion of the above documents in Cod.Wint. I is almost certainly due to the fact that they were mistaken by the compiler(s) of the cartulary to refer to the previous lay tenure of cathedral estates of the same names. Thus, the documents relating to Group (A) were probably assumed to refer to Bishopstone, Wilts. (EBBLESBURNAN, etc.; 26, 40-4, 190) and those relating to Group (B) were probably thought to concern one or more of the cathedral estates called by the name (Æt) Stoce in the Anglo-Saxon period (Alverstoke, Bishopstoke, both Hants; Stoke St. Mary, Somerset; cf. also East Stoke in Hayling Island, Meonstoke, Stoke by Hurstbourne, all Hants, and Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts). The documents associated with Group (C) were no doubt assumed to concern the episcopal estate of Easton, Hants. Those in Groups (D-J) were probably thought to relate respectively to the synonymous priory estates of Hinton Ampner (Hants); Ham (Wilts.); Fyfield (Wilts.); Stockton (Wilts.; Æt PiLig 172, 174b, BipiLig 174a); Martyr Worthy and Headbourne Worthy (Hants); and Wootton St. Lawrence (Hants).

Differentiation between synonymous Anglo-Saxon estates is still today a difficult task, even with modern resources of reference. Two of the above estates are still not yet even tentatively identified, while a further four await verification of suggested

locations. In the twelfth century it would have been impossible (except by pure chance, such as one of these estates being in close proximity to the birth-place of one of the monks of ^{the} cathedral priory) to identify any of these alien estates except those in the closest proximity to Winchester. Moreover, it is likely that the compiler(s) of Cod. Wint. I had no reason to believe that these documents referred to any estates but the ones of those names owned by their church. The recognition of these estates as alien depends both on a collation of their boundaries to those of synonymous estates owned by Winchester Cathedral, and on an appreciation of the contents of the various archive collections associated with Winchester Cathedral in the twelfth century.¹ Besides, the collation of estate boundaries is not so straightforward as it seems. Even where two documents refer to the same estate the bounds given are not always totally identical (for example, those in 41 are not identical to those in 40, 42-4; all relate to the 45 hide estate of Bishopstone, Wilts). Boundary-descriptions seem often to have been updated by the insertion or substitution of new boundary-points for ones formerly used. Also, in cases where an estate was, at a later date, split into more than one unit of landholding, or, conversely, joined with a neighbouring estate in the same ownership, there may be only one or two points in common between the boundary-descriptions of the

1. See below, Part B, section 3, a(ii).

original estate-units and those of subsequent estate-units made up from them. Even if it were realised that some documents then preserved at Winchester Cathedral related to alien estates, the task of separating those documents from the ones relating to cathedral estates would have been very difficult to achieve with any degree of precision in the early twelfth century. That similar difficulties were experienced in the later twelfth century, and in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, is shown by the inclusion of documents relating to alien estates in Cod. Wint. II 133-4, 209, 214-15) and Cod. Wint. III (239-40).¹

The fact that some alien estates were among those whose tenure was documented in the Codex was first recognized by H.P.R. Finberg and has recently been discussed in some detail by C.R. Hart.² While their action in publicising this discovery is to be welcomed, the conclusions which they went on to draw about the archival provenance of the exemplars of these and other texts in the Codex cannot be accepted, and are challenged below.³ As noted by Hart,⁴ an earlier writer, R.R. Darlington, had put forward the dangerous proposition that:

1. 240 is a record of the same grant as 164, and was probably copied from the same exemplar, v. below, Part D, section 2, scribe p.

2. Finberg, ECWM, pp. 21-2; Hart, Codex, pp. 9-11.

3. Part B, section 3, a(ii).

4. Hart, Codex, p.12.

'The grants of Eadred..., Edwy..., Edgar, and Ethelred II [that is, 46, 48, 45, 49, 47, respectively: Group (A), above] to their thegns probably relate to Bishopstone, since the preservation of the documents in the Codex Wintoniensis raises the presumption that the lands were subsequently given to Winchester.'¹

Hart is correct in that Darlington's proposition is unwarranted, but Hart's own assertion that the estates in these five documents:

'did descend to Winchester Cathedral, all being included within the 45 hides at Ebbesborne restored to the Old Minster in 997 [44]'²

is probably erroneous. If the identifications suggested above for the estates in Group (A) are proved right, all of them were outside the hundred of Downton (consisting of 55 hides at Downton and 45 hides at Bishopstone),³ and none were subsequently held by Winchester Cathedral. Hart also classified some estates as alien which were in fact owned by the cathedral by the twelfth century (Burghclere, Ecchinswell, Highclere, and West Meon).⁴

The erroneous inclusion, in a medieval cartulary, of documents concerning alien estates is not unique to the Codex. Such errors were, however, much more likely in collections of early documents containing the names of synonymous estates which had not yet undergone

1. VCH Wilts ii, p.84, n.36.

2. Hart, Codex, p.12.

3. See PNWilts, map of hundreds and parishes, hundred XXXIX.

4. Hart, Codex, pp. 12-13; for details of their tenure, v. below, Appendix 1, 76 (n.1), 79 (n.1), 77 (n.1), and 83 (n.2).

the (mainly post-conquest) modification represented by the addition of identifying affixes (see (i), above). Documents concerning alien estates also occur in the Burton Abbey cartulary¹ and, as noted by F.M. Stenton as long ago as 1913, in the twelfth-century cartulary of Abingdon Abbey.² With regard to the latter, he commented:

'A great majority of extant land-books are derived from cartulary texts; but it is never safe without external evidence to assume that the estates conveyed by a charter thus preserved ever belonged to the religious house whose inmates have copied the document.'³

This advice is as important to users of the Codex as to those of the Abingdon cartulary. It is probably as well to bear it in mind in relation to all cartularies, even those consisting of documents issued after the Norman Conquest, until their contents have been thoroughly examined. Inclusion of documents relating to alien estates is, however, much less likely in those cartularies whose compilers undertook a policy of excluding all documents with lay beneficiaries unless there existed direct evidence of subsequent transfer of title to the church concerned. As P.H. Sawyer has noted, such documents appear neither in the early cartularies of Worcester cathedral priory nor in the Textus Roffensis

1. NLW, Peniarth MS. 390; v. Sawyer, Burton Charters 2-4, 9-14, 19-22, 24-5, 32-3, 37-8 (listed, Sawyer 395, 397, 392, 548, 557, 554, 569, 623, 707, 720, 739, 749, 853, 863, 922-3, 928, 1017).

2. BL, Cotton MS. Claud. C. ix, fos. 105-203; The early history of the abbey of Abingdon (Reading, 1913), pp. 40, 43-4.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 43.

for this reason.¹

Thus, the physical unit defined by palaeographical analysis as Cod.Wint.I² also possesses a discernible cohesion as a collection of textual matter. Even the documents relating to alien estates (see (iii), above) seem to have been (erroneously) included in Cod.Wint.I as a consequence of its over-all purpose, which was to transcribe in one volume all pre-conquest documents concerning the Anglo-Saxon endowment of Winchester Cathedral.³ The omission of documents relating to some cathedral estates owned in the pre-conquest period was either due to the unavailability of such documents in the early twelfth century or to lack of time to include them (since some of them do occur later in Cod.Wint.II and III).

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1. 'Charters of the Reform movement: the Worcester archive'; Tenth-century studies, ed. D. Parsons (Leicester, 1975), pp. 86-7. The Worcester cartularies are BL, MSS. Cotton Tib. A. xiii, Nero E. i (part 2, fos. 181-4), and Add. 46204. On the first, v. N.R. Ker, 'Hemming's Cartulary: a description of the two Worcester cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A.xiii, Studies in medieval history presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, edd. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern (Oxford, 1948), pp. 49-75. For the Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Dean and Chapter Library, MS.A.3.5), v. facsimile, ed. P.H. Sawyer (Early English manuscripts in facsimile, 7,11; Copenhagen 1957, 1962).
 2. See above, Part A, sections 2-4; and Part B, section 1.
 3. See below, Part B, section 5.

The categories of document included in Cod.Wint.I were those connected specifically with the tenure and administration of estates of bookland and loanland. They cover the period from the mid seventh century to the Norman Conquest and include evidence of earlier lay tenure of estates subsequently owned by Winchester Cathedral. Wholly vernacular documents were included as well as those wholly in Latin or in Latin with Old English clauses. No papal documents nor any texts concerning spiritual rights occur, however.

Cod.Wint.I includes much unique information about the early history of the temporal endowment of Winchester Cathedral. It also provides material, incidental to its main purpose, - such as documents concerning alien estates, references to moveable wealth and to family connections in the wills, and some interesting administrative memoranda - which contribute several important items to our stock of knowledge about material culture and social classes in Anglo-Saxon England, as well, as to our knowledge of the history of individual estates.

Section 3

The Sources of Cod.Wint. I

a) The Archival Provenance of Documents in Cod.Wint.I

(i) The nature of Anglo-Saxon archives

Distinct archives of documents were mentioned in England by the late Anglo-Saxon period and some of these can be reconstructed, at least partially, from a study of extant records. Each archive may be defined as a collection of documents which had been drawn up or used in the course of administrative or executive transactions (whether public or private) of which they themselves formed a part, and which one of the parties to those transactions, or their legitimate successors, had subsequently preserved in their own, or personally-designated, custody for their own information.¹

The contents of archives included records of title to the possession of land and privileges, as well as records which documented the administration of such possessions. Besides records of the actual disposition of land, they could

1. This definition is based, with slight modification, on the definition of archives formulated by Sir Hilary Jenkinson, A manual of archive administration (Revised edition, 1965), p.11.

also include legal and fiscal memoranda, law-books, and inventories.¹ They could include items in book-form as well as on single sheets of parchment but their memorial and administrative function distinguishes such collections from libraries, whose contents were usually less mundane, as well as from scriptoria, whose function was the production of writing rather than its preservation.

While the memoranda preserved in Anglo-Saxon archives, where they survive, are of great interest to legal, social, and economic historians, they did not form the core of such archives, being secondary to the latter's primary function which was the preservation of the legal possession of land and privileges on behalf of the owner of the archive. In particular, it was two fundamental aspects of privileged Anglo-Saxon landholding which had a great effect on the nature and location of Anglo-Saxon archives. These were the reliance on written title-deeds, and the invocation of religious sanctions to protect those title-deeds.

1. For examples of administrative memoranda, v. 63, 142a. An inventory of church goods is associated with a lease of A.D. 1071 x 1080 in a Durham manuscript (CCCC, MS. 183), v. Robertson, ASCharters, Appendix II, 4 and ibid., pp. 480, 497. The collection of Anglo-Saxon laws in the Textus Roffensis (Rochester, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. A.3.5.) was copied by the same scribe who transcribed the documents therein, which suggests that the exemplars of both law-book and cartulary were kept in the same archive by the early twelfth century.

From their inception, privileged land tenures in Anglo-Saxon England—whether completely alienable (bookland) or only partially so (loanland)—relied for their continuance on a public recognition of their status and on a public acceptance of both the owner's perpetual title and the lessee's temporary one.¹ Evidence of title could in theory be either simply oral or both oral and written. A vernacular oral declaration of the terms of an agreement or of a grant at public gathering, such as a shire-moot or a seasonal royal assembly, was probably necessary for all such transactions to become effective.² At first, such declarations relied almost entirely, for the maintenance of their terms, on the memory of those who witnessed them, but wills often included the additional device of a specific request to the testator's lord to protect their terms.³ With bookland however, as its name implies, the terms of the grant were also recorded in writing from a very early period — probably on the insistence of the ecclesiastical beneficiaries who were the first to be favoured by the tenure. The Latin diplomas so

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1. On these tenures, see further, above, Part B, section 2c(i).
 2. Cf. Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 45-57.
 3. This protection was usually in return for the payment of heriot, v. Whitelock, ASWills, p. 100.

issued probably followed a traditional oral public ceremony of livery of seisin but in time-with the death of witnesses - became the sole evidence of the tenurial status of a particular estate. It has been suggested that the piece of parchment upon which the record of a grant of bookland was to be recorded might itself have been used as a symbol of the estate in a ceremony of livery of seisin.¹

Whether or not this was so and the diploma when granted was thus both dispositive and evidentiary, its subsequent evidentiary use cannot be questioned. In time, too, the oral declarations, recording wills or agreements about leasehold land, were also written down for future reference, although here the vernacular, and with it a more oral-formulaic linguistic structure was retained.

Because of the process by which the diploma itself came to be the only lasting muniment of title to an estate of bookland, there is little doubt that only one diploma was granted to record a single grant and that this diploma would be handed from heir to heir with the estate in question.² With wills,

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1. Parsons, 'Some scribal memoranda' p.32; P. Chaplais, 'The authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas of Exeter', B.I.H.R. 39 (1966), pp. 33-4.
 2. Cf. the references to the transfer of title-deeds in 21-2, 61, 106, 122, 174b, 229. Note that although 112 and 113, 127 and 155, and 135 and 136, are three pairs of diplomas recording the same transactions, none of these pairs is made of two identical records.

where there was often more than one beneficiary and where any livery of seisin was in the future after the testator's death, and with grants of loanland, where there was both an immediate and a reversionary beneficiary, the written record was usually made in the form of a chirograph. In these cases, more than one copy of the transaction would be written on the same piece of parchment which would then be divided along a line, sometimes serrated, cut through the middle of a word (often Latin cyrographum, 'writing') written in the space between each of the adjacent texts.¹ The authenticity of any one text could later be ascertained by placing its parchment in original relationship to the other(s). The testimony of any one of such vernacular texts would not be enough on its own but, since such chirographs usually recorded mutually-advantageous agreements, single copies were probably not often destroyed on purpose. To guard against accidental destruction, however, it was often the practice to make a triple chirograph and to deposit one copy with a neutral third party.² There must have been an increasing

1. See Whitelock, ASwills, pp.xxiii-v.
For the upper part of a double chirograph,
v. Plate XXV.

2. For an example of the middle part of a triple chirograph, v. BL, Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 70
(Sawyer 1471; B.M. Facs. iv, 27).

reliance on written evidence of title to land during the Anglo-Saxon period as the incidence of grants of bookland and loanland became more common. This reliance underlined the need for the safe-keeping of such evidence and its protection by the invocation of supernatural powers. A written invocation of Christian forces, in a pictorial as well as a verbal form, was placed at the beginning of individual diplomas, and often of individual vernacular agreements, as a means of protection for the actual document against harm from the illiterate as well as the literate. A further use of religious sanctions for the protection of individual title-deeds, as well as whole archives of documents, was that obtained by placing them in close proximity to sacred places. Such documents were often kept not just within the buildings of a religious house, but in the most holy parts of that house. Single documents were sometimes placed on the altar of a church during ceremonies relating to the transfer or surrender of title of estates to that church. 229 (in Cod.Wint.II) records that, in 979, one Elfnoth placed the diploma which had been made for his brother Wulfric, concerning the estate of Crondall, Hants, on the altar of St. Peter in the Old Minster and declared that it should remain there without controversy, as a symbol of his quitclaim in it to the Old Minster. Presumably Wulfric's diploma and others like it were later transferred from the top of the altar to some protective covering,

perhaps the inside of a liturgical book or of a portable reliquary kept on, or adjacent to, the altar.¹ A number of such deposits would in time come to represent an archive of the title-deeds of the religious house concerned.

N.P. Brooks has observed that:

'at Christ Church [Canterbury] before the great fire of 1067, the ancient privileges and archives of the church were kept in the little separate church of St. John the Baptist where the bodies of the archbishops were buried'.²

It is perhaps worth recalling that the bodies of particularly revered saints were often not buried in the modern sense but rather enclosed in reliquaries which were made to be opened so that

1. For the association of documents with liturgical books and reliquaries, see F. Wormald, 'The Sherborne "Chartulary"', Fritz Saxl 1890 - 1948 ed. D.J. Gordon (1957), pp. 106-7. For the placing of reliquaries on or adjacent to altars in Western Europe from the ninth century onwards, v. C.E. Pocknee, The Christian Altar (Alcuin Club, 1963) pp. 84-5. At St. Augustine's Canterbury in the early fifteenth century both reliquaries and ancient books (libri missi a Gregorio ad Augustinam) were placed on top of the screen behind the high altar, v. W. St. John Hope, English altars from illuminated manuscripts (Alcuin Club Collections i, 1899), Plate 9. Cf. below, Part B, section 5.
2. N.P. Brooks, 'The pre-Conquest charters of Christ Church Canterbury' (Oxford D.Phil., 1969) p.49. Dr. Brooks further suggests that, after the completion of the treasury near the high altar at Christ Church in 1130, the bulk of the pre-conquest documents were kept therein, ibid., p.66.

the remains might be viewed and venerated.¹ Some of such reliquaries, such as that of St. Cuthbert now at Durham,² were fitted with an inner shelf which was used as a repository both of treasures and of documents recording the granting of estates to the saint during his lifetime or to the church in which his body was stored. It may be suggested that the use of long narrow coffin-like boxes at Norwich Cathedral in the fourteenth century for the storage of deeds³ originated in the use of reliquaries for the purpose at an earlier date. The Latin word scrinium itself was used in the Anglo-Saxon period and later with the meaning of a 'box for storing documents' as well as with the narrow modern sense of 'shrine';⁴ often no doubt it meant both at the same time. Anglo-Saxon kings were also sometimes recorded as having placed documents with their relics, in their haligdom, for safe-keeping.⁵

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1. The relics of Saint Cuthbert (Oxford, 1956), ed. C.F. Battiscombe, p.7, n.2.
 2. Ibid. Cf. 232.
 3. The charters of Norwich cathedral priory i (Pipe Roll Society, New Series 40, 1974 for 1965-6) ed. Barbara Dodwell, pp. xvii-xviii.
 4. Barlow English Church p.122. It was still used in this sense in A.D. 1235, v. Cur 17-21 Henry III, 1472.
 5. See further , (ii), below.

All these instances bear witness to the practice of individuals and institutions in the Anglo-Saxon period (and later) of putting important records under the spiritual protection of the most holy articles they possessed. An extension of this practice was the commendation, by individuals, of their personal muniments to the protection of a favourite saint whose remains were kept in a religious house of which the individuals concerned were not themselves members but with which they had a close connection. Each of such alien deposits constituted a private 'archive' in the sense of the word given above.¹

By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, many monasteries were the guardians of several distinct archives within their precincts, those of themselves as institutions as well as those of individuals and families. In the immediate post-Conquest period, those of these once distinct ^{Anglo-Saxon} archives which survived the events of the Norman settlement were sometimes mixed together by monastic administrators into one mass of material which is now often difficult to re-segregate into its original archive groups, particularly where further disruption and loss of

1. For alien deposits at Winchester, v. (ii), below. For a thirteenth-century alien deposit, v. Cur 17-21 Henry III, 1472, where the archive of William Briwerre is shown to have been kept at Mottisfont Priory in 1235.

documents took place at the time of the Tudor Reformation or in the Civil War of the seventeenth century. An appreciation of the possibility that some of the surviving documents associated with a religious house may include those which originally belonged to alien archives preserved within its walls is, however, the first step in the reconstruction, however partial, of the contents of those original archives. As will be shown in the next section, a part of the contents of a few of such alien archives may be recognisable among documents later associated with Winchester cathedral muniments, most of which occur in the Codex, but one or two on single sheets of parchment.

(ii) Winchester archives and the sources of Cod.Wint.I

By the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, there were several distinct archives in existence in Winchester, some of which may have lost their separate identity by the time that work stopped on Cod.Wint. I (?1139).¹ Monastic archives were established at each of the three monasteries (the Old, the New, and the Nuns' Minster) by 975,² each of which might also by then have acted as a repository for private archives. The bishops' archive was distinguished from that of

1. For this date, v. below, Part B, section 5.

2. See 25 (A.D. 974 X 975).

the Old Minster in a document of 1043 x 1044 (92), but may have been separate since the physical segregation of the bishop's residence at Wolvesey from the three monastic precincts at the time of Benedictine Reformation.¹ There may also have been more than one archive associated with the king in Winchester by 1066. In theory, any of these could have been the original archival source of individual documents in Cod.Wint. I but some are more likely than others, as will be shown below. In particular, the view first put forward by H.P.R. Finberg,² and later amplified by C.R. Hart,³ that most of the documents in the Codex with beneficiaries other than Winchester Cathedral were extracted from the 'royal archives', will be challenged.

As may be seen from the collation of texts in Cod.Wint.I to surviving single-sheet documents,⁴ the immediate precursor of the cartulary was a large assembly of documents mostly written on individual

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1. See WEMA, pp. 323-4; cf. 21-2, 24-5. The reference in 92, mid þæs bisceopes [MS. bisceopes] landbocan, probably refers to an episcopal archive rather than to Bishop Elfwine's personal title-deeds alone, though the former may well have included the latter.
 2. Finberg, ECWM, pp. 21-2.
 3. Hart, Codex, pp. 9-20.
 4. See below, Appendices 2,3.

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 sheets of parchment. Only with regard to isolated groups of documents did the cartulary-maker(s) follow a pre-existing order of texts which presupposes any common exemplar.² Cod.Wint. I itself was an original compilation, and not, in contrast to two of the surviving cartularies of Christ Church, Canterbury and another associated with the see of Canterbury, a copy of an earlier cartulary now lost.³ The palaeographical features of Cod.Wint.I,⁴ the character of the majority of its contents,⁵ as well as its later history,⁶ suggest that it was written by scribes associated with Winchester cathedral priory. Whether the place in which they assembled its exemplars was at Wolvesey Palace or in the cathedral priory, it is impossible to say. The fact that some of its exemplars were among

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1. This conclusion is contrary to the stemma of two precursor MSS. between the single-sheets and the Codex postulated by R.A. Williams, 'Die vokale der tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis', Anglia 25 (1902), pp. 396-7. Williams's theory was, however, based on neither a collation of the MSS. of surviving exemplars to the MS. of the Codex nor on a thorough palaeographical investigation of the Codex.
 2. 26-39, 64-70 probably represent two such exemplar sub-documents, v. below, Part B, section 4a(i).
 3. CCCC, MS.189; Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, Reg.P; London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 1212. All three are copies of lost cartularies which derived from a common source, v. N.P. Brooks, 'The pre-conquest charters of Christ Church, Canterbury', (Oxford D.Phil., 1969), pp. 102 foll., 127.
 4. See above, Part B, section 1. 5. Ibid., section 2.
 6. See below, Parts -C,D; and Part E, section 1.

the cathedral muniments in 1640 and 1643, rather than at Wolvesey, should be noted, but only as circumstantial evidence.¹ It is also impossible to say whether the pile of exemplars assembled immediately prior to the writing of Cod.Wint. I in 1129 X 1139 was ^{made up of documents} taken from one contemporary muniment store or several. It is probable, however, that groups among them had belonged to separate archives at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, some of which may have been merged by the early twelfth century (see below).

The surviving exemplars do not carry any archival press-marks of the twelfth century or earlier, and no press-marks are given against the texts in the cartulary. However, most of the rubrics in Cod.Wint. I were probably copied from endorsements on the exemplars, some of which endorsements may reflect an association with one archive or collection of documents rather than with another. In particular, most of those documents in Cod.Wint. I with either a Latin or a hybrid (Old English and Latin) endorsement-rubric may have been associated with an early twelfth-century 'collection' of documents which either related to Winchester cathedral estates or had as beneficiary the bishop of Winchester and/or the cathedral community.²

1. See below, Appendix 2, +59, +127, +157, +161, +162, ?+169, +190. Cf. Appendix 1, 74-5, ?97, 124, 168, ?179, ?192.

2. See below, pp. 217-22.

Documents whose endorsement-rubrics suggest that their exemplars belonged to such a 'collection' are as follows: 40-1, 50-1, 53-4, 60, 62, 77-8, 107, 110, 112, 114, 116-17, 119, 122, 124, 126b, 130-1, 140a, 148b, 152, 177, 181a, 183, and 190.¹ The 'collection' may also have included the exemplars of 126a, 140b, 148a, and 181bc, which are associated in the cartulary with 126b, 140a, 148b, and 181a respectively. The exemplars of 58, 113, and 184, alternative versions of 60, 112, and 183, may also have been kept in close relation to those documents, if they were not actually written on the same parchment. The above list includes documents in Latin, in Old English, and in both. Diplomas, leases, boundaries, exchanges, and confirmations are included. Their date-range is (apparently) from the mid seventh century (40) to the late tenth (58, 60), but there is a high proportion from the reign of Edward the Elder (thirteen out of thirty-one documents).²

It would be hazardous to draw any conclusions about the 'collection', postulated above, based on the above documents alone, since other documents with similar

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1. This list excludes 26, 63, 92-3, and 142ab which have some Latin in their rubrics. In these cases, the Latin does not appear to have been copied from endorsements but rather from the face of the respective exemplars. The same goes for the rubricated clause introducing the bounds in 59 (fo. 25).
 2. 50, 62, 78, 110, 112, 113, 116, 126, 130-1, 140, 181, 190; counting here as single-documents 126ab, 140ab, 181abc.

endorsement-rubrics occur in Cod.Wint. II¹ and another document on a single-sheet, but not copied into the Codex, is extant with a Latin endorsement of the 'above type'.² When these too are taken into consideration, the date-range is extended to one covering the period from the mid seventh century (40) to 1053 X 1066 (19) in a not too uneven distribution. Apart from 213 (in Cod.Wint. II, a record of the Council of Hatfield, in 679, relating to the authority of the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York), and the single-sheet document referred to above (a grant of personal book-land to Bishop Ethelwold in 975), all the documents in the 'collection' concern estates held by ~~the~~ Winchester Cathedral by 1066. Most of them have as beneficiary the bishop and/or the cathedral community. Bishops usually occur in these documents as the representatives of the see, but in the above single-sheet document and in 126a, 210, 215-16, and 225 (the last four in Cod.Wint.II) they appear in a personal capacity.³ Grants of land and privileges to the cathedral church of Winchester are included, dating both from before and after its

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1. 18, 21, 24-5, 211-12, 215, 217-20, 222-8, 230-1 (scribe b), cf. also 22, the vernacular version of 21; 213 (scribes d, e); 19 (scribe h). The rubrics to 238-9, 241 in Cod.Wint III (scribe p) appear to represent cartulary-headings, v. below, Part D, section 2, scribe p.
 2. BL, Harl. Chart 43 C. 6 (Sawyer 801(1)), which uses a similar formula of endorsement to 18, 24, 227 (in Cod.Wint.II).
 3. Probably also in 107, although the rubric describes it as a grant to the church of Winchester.

reform in 964.¹ The few grants in which Winchester Cathedral does not appear as either an immediate or a reversionary beneficiary (107², 114 in Cod.Wint. I, and 211-12, 226 in Cod.Wint. II; excluding the personal grants to individual bishops mentioned above) all relate to estates owned by the cathedral by at least the mid twelfth century and probably represent surrendered title-deeds (cf. below).

While the 'collection' discussed above does not include all surviving Anglo-Saxon grants of land and privileges to Winchester Cathedral, it does represent a considerable proportion of such documents. It is not impossible that documents recording grants to Winchester Cathedral or relating to Winchester cathedral estates which do not have either a Latin or ^{endorsement-} a hybrid/rubric in the Codex but which were copied into the latter in the twelfth century were also part of this 'collection'.³ Even on the evidence of only ^{endorsement-} the documents listed above as having Latin or hybrid/rubrics, however, it seems that this 'collection'

1. On the Benedictine Reform at Winchester, v. ASC (A) (E) (F), s.a. 964.

2. Cf. above, p. 134, n. 3.

3. That is, any of: 26-34, 42-4, 52, 55-7, 59, 61, 63-76, 79-106, 108-9, 111ab, 115, 118, 120-1, 123ab, 125, 127-9, 132, 138, 141-3, 149-51, 153-8, 160-2, 165-70, 172, 174ab, 176, 178-80, 182, 185-9, 191-205, 207 in Cod.Wint. I; and any of 14-17, 34-9, 207, 210, 216, 221, 229 in Cod.Wint. II. Perhaps also the lost documents mentioned in WCL, Book of John Chase, fos. 18^v, 56, 55, 73 (Sawyer 1812, 1815-16, 1818) and in 229 (Sawyer 1817).

included documents which one might reasonably expect to have been kept in the bishops' archive as well as some which belonged to that of the cathedral priory (the Old Minster). The date at which the 'collection' was assembled from these two archives depends on the dating of both the text and the endorsements of two surviving single-sheet documents which appear, from the form of their endorsements, to have been part of the 'collection' (+190¹ and BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.6). The text-script of the former has been dated as probably eleventh-century and that of the latter as of the first half of the eleventh century.² The relevant endorsements, or additions to endorsements, on both documents may be dated to the early twelfth century; that on +190 is either earlier than Cod.Wint.I or at latest contemporary to it, since it appears as part of the rubric to 190 in the cartulary. On this evidence, the 'collection' seems to have been assembled between the early eleventh century and 1129 X 1139, the date of the writing of Cod.Wint. I. Further, if the Latin and hybrid endorsement-rubrics were composed as an immediate result of the assembly of the 'collection', rather than as part of a later sorting of it, its assembly may be dated to the early twelfth century rather than before. Even if the 'collection' were assembled earlier, the composition

1. BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.1 (Sawyer 376(1));
v. below, Appendix 2.

2. Sawyer 376(1), 801(1), quoting Mr. N.R. Ker and Mr. T.A.M. Bishop, v. ibid., p.ix.

of the additional endorsement-rubrics appears to have been carried out in the early twelfth century.¹ That composition, at least, may perhaps have been associated with an investigation into the cathedral endowment due to the claim by the monks of the priory that Bishop William Giffard (1107-29) unjustly held estates which had been originally assigned to them.² Alternatively, it may either have been associated with a similar claim during the early part of the episcopate of Henry of Blois (1129-71),³ or even have been an early stage in the sorting of the exemplars for Cod. Wint. I. If the latter, it would mean that several documents in the 'collection' were excluded from the cartulary written 1129 X 1139, either from oversight or lack of time. Later in the twelfth century, one of the documents in the 'collection', but not in the Codex (BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.6.) was probably used as ^{the} source for a statement in the Winchester Annals.⁴ It seems then, from the above

1. Assuming, as seems likely from their similarity of phrasing, that they were all composed at the same date.
2. Winchester ann., s.aa. 1122, 1124. Cf. Goodman, Chartulary 1,2.
3. Cf. ibid., 7,10,14,26,42.
4. Winchester ann., s.a. 959: ...rex Edgarus... Wintoniensi ecclesiæ dedit... apud Madanlegam iii. hidas...
The reference to the grant of Breedon, Leics. (apud Breodunam), ibid., may have had as source either Sawyer, Burton Charters 22 (Sawyer 749), whose only surviving text is in the Burton Abbey cartulary (NLW, Peniarth MS. 390), or a different (now lost) diploma extant at Winchester Cathedral in the twelfth century. On the authorship of the Winchester Annals, v. J.T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', B.I.H.R. 36 (1963), pp. 70-5.

discussion, that the compiler(s) of Cod.Wint. I were able to draw upon a large 'collection' of Anglo-Saxon documents relating to the Winchester cathedral endowment, assembled either at Winchester Cathedral or at Wolvesey Palace in the early twelfth century. Whether or not this 'collection' was an ad hoc one for the very purpose of writing such a cartulary, or it related to an earlier investigation into the cathedral endowment, we do not know. What is probable is that Cod.Wint. I includes documents which at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period were not yet arranged in such a 'collection', being either in the bishops' archive, in the Old Minster's archive, or in other archives then at Winchester (see below).

It is difficult to distinguish with certainty between cathedral endowment documents in Cod.Wint. I which in the late Anglo-Saxon period were in the bishops' archive rather than in that of the Old Minster. With few exceptions, any clear distinctions as to estates or beneficiaries associated with one archive rather than another, if they existed before, have been blurred by the assembly of the 'collection' discussed above.¹ Many of the documents relating to the cathedral endowment, in any case, had as beneficiary both the bishop and the cathedral community. Such documents dating from before the Benedictine Reformation, and thus from before the bishop's removal to Wolvesey, may however

1. There was perhaps also some dislocation of archives during the rebuilding of the cathedral in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, and of Wolvesey Palace in the early twelfth century, v. WEMA, pp. 308-9, 324-8, and below.

have remained at the Old Minster and have been there still in the eleventh century. Whether Bishop Æthelwold took with him to Wolvesey any documents which he considered related specifically to episcopal privilege is not known. He, and later bishops, almost certainly collected subsequent documents of this sort there, however, and probably kept their own personal title-deeds there also,¹ perhaps in the same location and without distinction between episcopal documents of a public and a private nature.

92 (a lease), whose exemplar was one part of a triple chirograph, may have come from either the Old Minster's archive or that of the bishops, as a copy was to be deposited in each.² The exemplars of 61, 63-70 (memoranda and boundaries relating to the episcopal estate of Taunton, Somerset, and its dependencies) may more probably have come from the bishops' archive, while that of the memoranda concerning Hurstbourne Priors, Hants, (142ab) probably came from the ^{archive} of the Old Minster. The exemplar

1. For Bishop Æthelwold's private muniments, v. further, below. 95, 157, 160, 210, 225 were all documents recording grants of personal bookland to Bishop Ælfwine (1032-47) and were probably subsequently surrendered by him, with the estates, to the Old Minster. 216 was a life-lease, dated 960, in favour of Bishop Beorhthelm, with reversion to the Old Minster. 213-14 could also possibly have belonged to an episcopal collection; but, for 214, cf. further, below.
2. A more remote possibility is that the exemplar of 92 was the lessee's part, subsequently surrendered. The same applies to 150, 186, 194, v. below.

of 170, the boundary of what is stated to be 'Bishop Stigand's estate Æt Þenbeorgan', may have come from either of the two archives, since part of the said estate (Little Hinton, Wilts.) rightfully belonged to the monks rather than to the bishop.¹

Besides 92, mentioned above, other leases (150, 186, 194) in Cod.Wint. I whose exemplars were each one part of a chirograph of which one copy was given to the lessor and one copy was to be deposited in the Old Minster probably came from the latter's archive.² With 150, this is more likely than that its exemplar was the third copy deposited at Wilton, Wilts.³ With 194, a third copy of which was to be deposited in the New Minster, as well as the one at the Old Minster, it is still likely that it was the Old Minster's copy that was used for Cod.Wint. I, unless we can assume, firstly, that the Old Minster's text was unavailable by the early twelfth century and, secondly, that the scribes of Cod.Wint. I had access to the New Minster-Hyde Abbey text.⁴ The exemplar of 186 was merely a double chirograph, with one copy deposited at the Old Minster.

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1. DB i, fo. 65^v (WEMBERGE). See below, Appendix 1, 170, n.1.
 2. 22, 25, 220a, in Cod.Wint. II, also had chirographed exemplars.
 3. It is unclear whether the abbey or the royal palace was meant as the place of deposit.
 4. On the latter possibility, v. below.

In all these cases, the possibility that the text used was one which the lessee had been given and which he had subsequently surrendered to the Old Minster should be considered, but is perhaps less likely.

Anglo-Saxon wills were also often written in several copies, one being kept by each of the principal beneficiaries and one by the testator.¹ The inclusion of two texts of the will of Æthelstan Ætheling (93,102) in Cod.Wint. I should probably be explained as reflecting the presence of two separate chirograph copies of it among the sources of the cartulary.² One was probably from the Old Minster's archive, that institution being the first beneficiary named in the said record. The other copy may have come from the bishops' archive and have been deposited there by Bishop Ælfsige II (1012 X 1014 - 1032), another beneficiary (in a personal capacity). It may, however, have come instead from the archive of either the New Minster or the Nuns' Minster, two other beneficiaries (cf. below). Two further possibilities, however, are either that it was the testator's own copy, or that it was that of his father, King Æthelred Unræd, another beneficiary.³

1. Whitelock, ASWills, pp. xxiii-vi. Cf. also the several copies of King Ælfred's first will which he had entrusted to many of its witnesses, but which he later annulled, v. Harmer, EHD 11, particularly p.18, ll. 30-5.

2. For other extant copies of this will, v. below, Appendix 1, 93.

3. On the sending of copies of wills to the king when he was a beneficiary, v. P. Chaplais 'The authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas of Exeter', B.I.H.R. 39 (1966), p.17.

In these latter cases, the copy concerned might have been deposited in a personal collection of title-deeds, either in the Old Minster or in the royal palace opposite, whence it was subsequently removed into the cathedral's possession at some time before the writing of Cod.Wint. I (see further, below).

The Old Minster was also a beneficiary of all the other wills in the cartulary (106, 122, 151, 162, 172, 185, 187). In the first three of these, not only was it the foremost beneficiary and the only ecclesiastical one named, but no royal beneficiaries were included. In these cases, it is highly likely that the exemplar of the cartulary text came from the Old Minster's archive. With 162, although the New Minster as well as the Old Minster was a beneficiary, it was the bequest to the latter which was specifically mentioned in the contemporary endorsement on its (still-extant) exemplar,¹ which suggests that this was the Old Minster's copy. Similar mention of the Old Minster was made in the rubric to 172,² whose exemplar does not survive, and although the actual bequest therein was given for the provision of clothing for the bishop and his (unreformed) community, its exemplar too probably once belonged to the Old Minster's archive, since its date (946 X 947)

1. See below, Appendix 2 , + 162.

2. Although 172 is in Quire X, in which some interpolation of rubrics was undertaken by scribe a (y. below, Part B, section 4b(iii)), there is no reason to question this particular phrase.

was before the bishop's move to Wolvesey.

In 185, the Old Minster was the only ecclesiastical beneficiary associated with Winchester. Other beneficiaries, however, included King Eadgar, his wife Ælfthryth, and their two sons, so there is the possibility that the exemplar was from the king's, or one of his family's, personal archive rather than from the Old Minster's archive. (see further, below).

With 187, there is an even wider choice of provenance for the exemplar. All three of the Winchester monasteries, as well as King Eadgar, his queen, one of the Æthelings (probably the later King Edward the Martyr),¹ and Bishop Æthelwold (in a personal capacity) were beneficiaries. The testator, Ælfgifu, also had a close relationship with the Old Minster, bequeathing her private shrine, with her relics, to it and wishing to be buried there, so she herself may have deposited her own copy there. In theory then, the exemplar of 187 could have come from the archive of any of the above beneficiaries or that of the testator (see further, below).

Although it is not impossible that the exemplars of 185 and 187 were copies of the respective wills belonging to beneficiaries other than the Old Minster, or even that the exemplar of 187 was the

¹. Whitelock, ASWills, p.120. Cf. the discussion of Ælfgifu's diploma concerning Newnham Murren (BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.5), pp. 159-60, below.

testator's own copy, it is perhaps more likely that they, and the exemplars of the other wills in the cartulary, were in fact the copies belonging to the Old Minster's archive from the time immediately after each of the wills had been declared. Except in the case of Æthelstan Ætheling's will, of which two texts (93, 102) were copied into the cartulary, there is no reason to assign the exemplars to the archive of any of the beneficiaries named other than to that of the Old Minster, in which they presumably remained until removed either to form part of the 'collection' postulated above or to be copied direct into Cod.Wint. I.

It is almost certain that documents in Cod.Wint. I whose exemplars recorded grants to beneficiaries other than the see or the Old Minster of estates later owned by Winchester Cathedral represent surrendered title-deeds kept, by 1066, in either the Old Minster's or (after the move to Wolvesey) the bishops' archive, according to whether the estates concerned belonged to either the cathedral community or the bishop.¹ Such surrender of title

1. These documents are: 52, 55, 59, 72-4, 76, 79-91, 94-6, 98-101, 103-5, ?107, 108-9, 111ab, 114, 127, 129, 138, 143, 153-7, 160-1, 165-7, 174, 176, 178-9, 182, 192-3, 195-6, 198-205, 207. Cf. also 210-12, 216, 221, 225-6 in Cod.Wint. II; 238, 241 in Cod.Wint. III, and possibly those noted in WCL, Book of John Chase, fos. 101^v, 56, 55, 73 (Sawyer 1814-16, 1818; on 1815, v. below). Some of these may have been included in the 'collection' of documents relating to the cathedral endowment, postulated above.

to an estate's new owner was specifically mentioned in 61, 106, 122, 174b in Cod.Wint. I, and in 21-2, 229 in Cod. Wint. II.¹ In 61, 106, and 122, the title-deeds were given up in return for a life-tenure of the respective estates with reversion to the see (61) or the Old Minster (106, 122). It is probable that the diploma surrendered by Beorhtric Grim in 106 was the one later copied into Cod.Wint. I as 105; it was to be placed in the Old Minster, where the earlier diploma which King Æthelstan had granted (cf. 108) was already kept.² The diplomas mentioned in 61 and 122 do not survive. That in 122 was surrendered to the Old Minster for a life-lease on condition that it was to be available for loan should the lessees' title need clarification (to ænre rihtinge).³ 174b is a copy of a vernacular memorandum, within the text of 174a, recording the transfer of an estate, with its title-deeds, by Æthelwulf, the beneficiary of 174a, to one Deorswith, in 901. Sometimes, the beneficiary named in the surrendered document was a distant ancestor of the person who actually gave it up; thus, the diploma mentioned in 21-2 (A.D. 975 X 979) as being surrendered at that time was one granted by King Ælfred (A.D.871-9) to the ancestor of one of the parties to 21-2. This

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1. For 229, v. (i), above.
 2. Presumably Beorhtric had himself deposited in the Old Minster the diploma granted by King Æthelstan, but had retained the one granted by King Eadred to himself.
 3. OE rihting is translated as 'correction', Whitelock, ASWills, p.17, and BT, s.v., but the meaning 'direction, guidance', BT,ib., seems more appropriate; that is, that the diploma should be available for consultation in case of a lawsuit.

particular example underlines the importance of the diploma as a symbol of the privileged tenure of an estate, handed down with the latter to the beneficiary's heirs.

Some of such surrendered documents were subsequently copied into the Codex as part of the cathedral's title to the estates concerned. In the case of Bushton, Wilts. (153-4), East Overton, Wilts. (238; in Cod.Wint. III), Ecchinswell, Hants (79), Hannington, Hants (205), Harwell, Berks. (99-101), West Tisted, Hants (103-4), and Woolstone, Berks. (198-200), ^{such} documents represent the sole surviving hint of a pre-conquest association between these estates and Winchester Cathedral, their owner in Domesday Book.¹ In the case of Burghclere, Hants, not named in Domesday Book, 76 is the only association between the cathedral and the estate before the twelfth century.² It may be that these estates, with their title-deeds, were the subject of pre-conquest bequests to the cathedral (like those recorded in 106 and 122) the written record of which had been lost by the twelfth century,³ although the surrendered title-deeds were still extant.

Before their final and absolute surrender to the Old Minster or the bishop, it is not impossible that

1. DB i, fos. 40^v (West Tisted), 41^v (Ecchinswell, Hannington), 58 (Harwell, Woolstone), 65^v (CLIVE, i.e. Bushton ; ~~East Overton~~).

2. Goodman, Chartulary 3, 14, 26, 42.

3. By the early fourteenth century with regard to 238.

some of the above title-deeds had formed a part of different alien archives deposited in the safe custody of a religious institution, either in Winchester or elsewhere, and protected from misuse or theft by their close proximity to sacred objects associated with a chosen saint.¹ Besides the evidence for such alien deposits at Winchester, discussed below, it is probable that there were such alien archives preserved at the abbeys of Burton and Abingdon in the Anglo-Saxon period.² Some of the documents later surrendered, with their respective estates, to the ownership of the Old Minster or the bishop of Winchester may even have already been kept at the Old Minster before that time as part of an alien archive.³ Such deposits say a great deal for the trust of the owners of documents in the integrity of the members of the religious institution chosen as a repository and/or in the power of sacred anathema to prevent their misuse.

It is particularly within the context of the deposit, at religious houses, of alien archives belonging to individuals, or to whole families, that the problem of the provenance of those documents relating to alien estates, both in Cod. Wint. I and in Cod. Wint. II-III,

1. See (i), above.

2. See Sawyer, Burton Charters pp. xiii, xv, xli; and F.M. Stenton, The early history of the abbey of Abingdon (Reading, 1913), pp. 40, 43-4.

3. Cf. the reference in 106 to the diploma relating to Rimpton, Somerset, granted by King Ethelstan(?108).

must be approached.¹ These documents are as follows:

Cod.Wint. I

- 45, A.D. 956, King Eadwig to Wulfric, procer;
5 hides et EBLESBVRNAN (? part Odstock, Wilts.)
- 46, A.D. 947, King Eadred to Ælfsige, homo;
5 hides et EBLESBVRNAN (? Fifield Bavant, Wilts.)
- 47, A.D. 986, King Æthelred Unræd to Ælfgar, minister;
5 hides at EBBLESBVRNE (?Stratford Tony, Wilts.)
- 48, A.D. 957, King Eadwig to Ælfric, minister;
5 hides et EBLESBVRNAN (? Fifield Bavant, Wilts.)
- 49, A.D. 961, King Eadgar to Beornsige, minister;
5 hides ÆT EBLESBVRNAN (?Coombe Bissett, Wilts.)
- 135, A.D. 982, King Æthelred Unræd to Leofric;
3 hides, 30 acres at Longstock, Hants
- 136, A.D. 972 for 982, as preceding²
- 137, A.D. 975, King Eadgar to Osweard, his kinsman and minister; 4 hides at South Stoke, Sussex
- 139, A.D. 928, King Æthelstan to Burgfrith, minister;
12 hides at Odstock, Wilts.
- 144, A.D. 967, King Eadgar to Ælfsige, minister;
5 hides ÆT EaSTVNE (unidentified)
- 145, A.D. 963, King Eadgar to Wulfric, minister;
6 hides at Plaish and Church Aston, Salop
- 146, A.D. 975, King Eadgar to Ealhhelm, minister;
3 hides at Aston in Wellington, Salop
- 147, A.D. 957, King Eadred to Wulfhelm, minister;
5 hides at Little Aston and Great Barr, Staffs.
- 159, A.D. 985, King Æthelred Unræd to Wulfrun;
10 hides at Wolverhampton and Trescott, Staffs.
- 163, A.D. 958, King Eadgar of Mercia to Æthelstan, comes; 5 hides at Ham, Essex
- 164, A.D. 975, King Eadgar to Ælfweard, minister;
5 hides at Fyfield, Hants³

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1. For a discussion of such estates mentioned in Cod.Wint. I, v. above, Part B, section 2c(iii).
 2. Although 135-6 apparently record the same grant, they are not identical documents.
 3. 240, in Cod.Wint. III, seems to have been copied from the same exemplar as 164.

- 171, A.D. 988, King Æthelred Unræd to Ælfgar, minister; 5 hides at Wylve, Wilts.
- 173, A.D. 977, King Edward the Martyr to Ælfric, minister; 10 hides at Wylve, Wilts.
- 175, A.D. 1026, King Knut to Bishop Lyfing (of Crediton); 5 hides at Abbots Worthy, Hants
- 206, A.D. 958, King Eadgar of Mercia to Æthelric, minister; 20 hides at Wootton, Oxon.
- 208, A.D. 906 for 956, King Eadwig to Æthelweald, fidelis; 4 hides at pude tune (for pude tune; 'Wootton' or 'Wotton', unidentified)

Cod. Wint. II (scribes b, f: transcribed in the mid twelfth century)

- 133, A.D. 956, King Eadwig to Æthelgeard, princeps; 10 hides at Chidden, Hants¹
- 134, A.D. 958, King Eadwig to Eadheah, homo; 2½ hides, 25 acres at Ayshford and Boehill, Devon
- 209, A.D. 940, King Eadmund to Eadric, minister; 4 hides at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucs.
- 214, A.D. 905 (? for 910), record including grant by King Edward the Elder to the see of Crediton; of Pawton, Callington, and Lawhitton, Cornwall
- 215, A.D. 883 for 983, King Æthelred Unræd to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester; a fish-weir on the River Darent, Kent

Cod. Wint. III (scribe p: transcribed in the early fourteenth century)

- 239, A.D. 948, King Eadred to Frithuric, minister; 4 hides æt ofær TVNE (?Orton Waterville, Hunts.)
- 240, as 164 in Cod. Wint. I

Five non-Codex documents, present at Winchester Cathedral in the mid seventeenth century and relating to alien estates, should be considered with the above cartulary documents. These are -

1. On the status of Chidden in the Anglo-Saxon period, v. below, Appendix 1, 133, n.2.

- BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 36 (Sawyer 298):
A.D. 847, King Æthelwulf of Wessex to himself;
20 hides at the South Hams, Devon
- BL, Harl. MS. 596, fos. 16^v - 17^v (Sawyer 668):
A.D. 922 for 972, King Eadgar to Eadric;
minister; 10 hides æt pinterburnan
(?Winterbourne Bassett, Wilts.)¹
- BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 5 (Sawyer 738(1)):
A.D. 966, King Eadgar to Ælfgifu, his kinswoman;
10 hides at Newnham Murren, Oxon.
- BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 6 (Sawyer 801(1)):
A.D. 975, King Eadgar to Bishop Æthelwold of
Winchester; 3 hides at Madeley, Staffs.
- WCL, Library Showcase (Sawyer 649): A.D. 957,
King Eadwig to Wulfstan, minister; 9 hides
at Conington, Hunts.

The second, third, and fourth of this last group of documents were used at Winchester Cathedral by Sir Simonds d'Ewes in 1640.² The last four of them, and perhaps the first, were listed there by John Chase in 1643.³

As may be seen from the above list, the documents relating to alien estates which were included in Cod. Wint. I (because of an identity of form between the names at the said estates and those of cathedral estates)⁴ represent only a selection of such documents

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1. For this suggested identification, v. Hart, ECEE, pp. 253-4.
 2. They were transcribed by him in BL, Harl. MS. 596, fos. 16^v - 19^v.
 3. WCL, Book of John Chase, fos. 8 (Sawyer 649, 668), 66^v (Sawyer 801), 75^v (Sawyer 738), 91 (Ham. A Saxon bundarie and an other; ?Sawyer 298). BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 36 (Sawyer 298) was itself endorsed by John Chase with the word 'Saxon'.
 4. See above, Part B, section 2c (iii).

which had an archival association with Winchester Cathedral by the mid seventeenth century. Those of them which were copied into Cod.Wint. I must have been accessible to scribes working at the cathedral priory in 1129 X 1139, while those copied into Cod.Wint.II were so accessible by 1150. The single-sheet, BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 6, seems to have been part of the early twelfth-century 'collection' of cathedral documents, discussed above. Those copied into Cod.Wint. III must have been accessible to scribe p, probably at the cathedral priory, in the early fourteenth century.¹

It is not possible to say for sure that any of the above documents were at the Old Minster or at Wolvesey in 1066. It is very probable, however, that three or four of them (215; BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 6; WCL, Library Showcase (Sawyer 649); and perhaps 239), which can be associated with Bishop Æthelwold's personal activities outside Winchester, had been deposited by him at Wolvesey before his death in 984 and presumably remained there afterwards. The first two of these were personal grants to him, of a fishery in Kent and of land at Madeley, Staffs. The latter may have been associated with his refoundation of monasteries in the midlands and East Anglia.² Another grant to him, of three hides at Breedon, Leics., connected

1. See below. Part D, section 2, scribe p.

2. Stenton, ASE, pp. 451-6. Madeley was associated with the abbey of Much Wenlock, Salop, in the early eighth century, v. Finberg, ECWM 429 (Sawyer 1802).

with the refoundation of the monastery there, was known of at Winchester in the late twelfth century and was mentioned in the Winchester Annals written at that time.¹ The presence at Winchester of Sawyer 649, and perhaps of the exemplar of 239, may also be due to Bishop Æthelwold. Wulfstan, the beneficiary of Conington, Hunts., in Sawyer 649, was probably he who had exchanged Yaxley and Ailsworth, Hunts., with Æthelwold for Washington, Sussex, in 963 X 975.² Æthelwold gave Yaxley to Thorney Abbey, and Ailsworth to Peterborough^{Abbey}, as part of his refoundation of them.³ He may also have given Conington to Thorney, which held it in the early eleventh century but not in 1066.⁴ If Wulfstan was the son of Ælfsige Hunlafing, who was granted the estate of Alwalton, Hunts., by King Eadred in 955,⁵ and if 239 relates to Orton Waterville, Hunts., which is conterminous with Alwalton, and 5 hides

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1. Winchester ann., s.a. 959. Cf. Sawyer, Burton Charters 22 (Sawyer 749), a diploma granting Breedon, etc. to Bishop Æthelwold, which was later kept at Burton Abbey.
 2. Robertson, ASCharters 37 (Sawyer 1377). Cf. Whitelock, ASWills, pp. 129-30; and below, n.5.
 3. Whitelock, *ibid.* Ailsworth was not, however, mentioned in the list of Æthelwold's gifts to Peterborough, Robertson, ASCharters 39 (Sawyer 1448).
 4. See Whitelock, ASWills 23 (Sawyer 1523), and p.178; DB i, fo. 206.
 5. Robertson, ASCharters 30 (Sawyer 566), and p.312. Ælfsige Hunlafing does not, however, appear to be the same as the Ælfsige who received a grant of Ailsworth from King Eadred in 948. (BCS 871, Sawyer 533), v. Hart, ECEE, p.162.

of which were held by Peterborough Abbey in 1066 as a berewick of its estate at Alwalton,¹ then the presence of 239's exemplar at Winchester by the early fourteenth century may be explained by the same personal connection between Wulfstan and Ethelwold. It may be that others of the documents listed above were also connected with Bishop Ethelwold's far-ranging business transactions, but it is not at present possible to make any connections between him and the estates in question.

Before considering the question of possible alien archives deposited at the Old Minster, the presence in Cod.Wint. I of documents which have a specific association with the respective endowments of the Nuns' Minster and the New Minster must be discussed.

135-6 are variant records of the same grant, to one Leofric in 982, of Longstock, Hants, an estate owned by the Nuns' Minster in 1066.² There is no surviving record of the estate between these two dates, or of any other connection between Leofric and the Nuns' Minster. The exemplars of 135-6 may have formed part of Leofric's

1. DB i, fo. 205. The 5 hide Domesday estate at Orton Waterville probably included the 4 hides in 239, whose boundary describes an area smaller than the modern parish. Hart, ECEE, pp. 22-3, identifies the estate in 239 with the 3¼ hides at Orton Waterville given to Peterborough Abbey T.R.W. (DB, ibid.), but this is less likely, given the 5 hide estate's T.R.E. association with Alwalton. The 5 hide estate was acquired in 958 by Ælfheah, whose title-deed (BCS 1043; Sawyer 674) was at Peterborough in the mid twelfth century (it is preserved in the Peterborough cartulary; London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 60, fos. 31-2). The grant of Alwalton to Ælfsige Hunlafing (see above, p.152) is preserved in the same cartulary (fos. 51-2).

2. DB i, fo. 43^v.

archive and have been deposited with it at the Old Minster where they remained when superseded by a later grant to his heirs. It is possible, however, that they had been part of the Nuns' Minster's archive in 1066, as surrendered title-deeds. If so, their presence in Cod.Wint. I may be due to deliberate poaching, by the bishop or agents of the cathedral priory (the Old Minster), from the Nuns' Minster's archive at some time before 1129 X 1139 (cf. below). If the exemplars of the wills 187 and 93 or 102 also came from the Nuns' Minster's archive (see above), they were presumably poached at the same time. It may be that the nuns voluntarily deposited their archive with the bishop or the prior during the rebuilding of their house in the early twelfth century,¹ and that one or two of their pre-conquest title-deeds, particularly those previously surrendered by laymen, were never reclaimed by them, remaining at Wolvesey or the cathedral until re-discovered, and taken to be part of either the bishops' or the Old Minster's archive, during preparations for the writing of Cod.Wint. I.

The document (175) which relates to Abbots Worthy, Hants, an estate owned by the New Minster in 1066,² may owe its presence in Cod.Wint. I either to the

1. See WEMA, pp. 322-3.

2. DB i, fo 42^v.

relationship between its beneficiary, Bishop Lyfing of Crediton, and the Old Minster (see below) or, if its exemplar had previously been surrendered to the New Minster, to a deliberate act of poaching from the New Minster archives. If the latter explanation is preferred, 175 should perhaps be considered in association with 133 (in Cod.Wint. II) whose beneficiary, Æthelgeard, seems to have had a close connection with the New Minster. He bequeathed Sotwell, Berks., to it in 957 X c. 958,¹ and was remembered as a benefactor in the New Minster Liber Vitae.² In contrast, although all the documents in Cod.Wint. I which have Æthelgeard as beneficiary all relate to estates later owned by the cathedral (83, 96, 98, 103, 104ab, 109, 203ab), he does not appear in the lists of cathedral benefactors derived from the lost Libellus Donationum,³ and these documents probably represent title-deeds surrendered by a later owner.⁴ 133, which relates to the estate of Chidden, Hants, later part of the cathedral estate of Hambledon, may possibly reflect a similar surrender, although Chidden seems to have had an independent existence in the Anglo-Saxon period.⁵ Alternatively, it may be an unsurrendered remnant of Æthelgeard's own archive, to

1. Whitelock, ASWills 6 (Sawyer 1496).

2. LVH, p.22 (Æthelgeard preng). 3. P, LC.

4. 203ab may perhaps have been surrendered by Ælfwaru when she granted Exton to the Old Minster, temp. King Eadgar, v. WCL, Book of John Chase, fo.56 (Sawyer 1815).

5. See below, Appendix 1, 133, n2.

which the other documents to Æthelgeard had also presumably belonged during his lifetime, and which would more likely have been deposited by him, because of his closer relationship with it, at the New Minster rather than at the Old Minster. If so, then its presence in Cod.Wint. II implies that its exemplar was removed from New Minster-Hyde Abbey at some time before c. 1150.¹ If its exemplar were removed together with those of 175 (see above, but cf. also below) and 194 (a chirographed lease, of which one part was to be deposited in the New Minster, as well as one in the Old Minster and one to the lessee), and possibly with copies of the wills 162, 187, all in Cod. Wint.I, then the date of their removal would have to be by 1129 X 1139.² Such an act of poaching would not have been impossible for an agent of the bishop to commit during the (first four years of) the period 1135-42, when the abbacy of Hyde was vacant and in the hands of Bishop Henry of Blois, but was perhaps unlikely at an earlier period.³

Apart from the documents associated with Bishop Æthelwold,^{and} those discussed above which may have been at the New or Nuns' Minsters in 1066, and those discussed below which may possibly have been part of a royal archive, there is no reason to suppose that

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- For this date, cf.
1. below, Part C, sections 2 (scribe b), 4.
 2. 23, in Cod.Wint. III, may also have been removed from Hyde Abbey at this time, although not copied into the Codex until the mid thirteenth century (by scribe m). Alternatively, however, it may have been surrendered in 1110 with the site of the New Minster, on the latter's move to Hyde.
 3. HRH, p.82; WEMA, pp. 319-20.

the single-sheet parchments of any of the other diplomas relating to alien estates were anywhere in 1066 other than within the confines of the Old Minster. If we ignore the unproveable, and unlikely, possibility that any of the estates concerned may have been owned by the cathedral after the date of the documents listed above but have been alienated by 1066, their presence there in the late Anglo-Saxon period may be explained by the assumption that they belonged to several different alien archives deposited there for safety by their owners, each of whom had a special relationship with the Old Minster. Some of these parchments may have belonged to the same alien archive, particularly those which could have been to the same beneficiary: Ælfgar (47, 171); Ælfric (48, 173); Ælfsige (46, 144). Similarly, those which recorded successive tenures of the same, or parts of the same, estate: ?Fifield Bavant, Wilts., 46 (Ælfsige), 48 (Ælfric); Wylve, Wilts., 171 (Ælfgar), 173 (Ælfric); and ?Odstock, Wilts., 45 (Wulfric), 139 (Burgfrith). Also those which apparently belonged to members of the same family: examples of this type may be 145 (Wulfric, minister), 147 (Wulfhelm) and 159 (Wulfrun), whose beneficiaries may all have been kin of Wulfric Spot.¹ The latter is said to have founded Burton Abbey with an abbot and monks from the Old Minster, a connection which continued into

1. See Hart, ECNE, pp. 368-9, 373.
 On Wulfrun, v. also Whitelock, ASWills, pp. 152-3.
 Cf. also, Sawyer, Burton Charters, pp. xxxviii-xliii.

the thirteenth century, seven out of fifteen of its abbots between 1004 and 1214 having previously been monks at Winchester.¹ It is possible that the exemplars of 145, 147, and 159 all at one time belonged to Wulfric Spot's archive, or to that of his mother Wulfrun, although none of the estates involved were included in Wulfric's will.² Wulfric or his mother may well have used the Old Minster as a repository for a family archive, part of which seems later to have been transferred to Burton Abbey after the latter's foundation in 1002 X 1004.³

Certain of the beneficiaries of the diplomas listed above as relating to alien estates were themselves also beneficiaries of diplomas in Cod.Wint. I concerning estates which were later in the possession of the cathedral. Ethelgeard has already been mentioned as such a one. Ælfric (48, 173) may have been the beneficiary of 52 (A.D. 956; Alresford, Hants), 99 (A.D. 973, Harwell, Berks; cf. Ethelric, below), and 138 (A.D. 948; Alverstoke, Hants).⁴ Ælfsige (46, 144) may have been the beneficiary of 91 (A.D. 943; Moreton, Wilts). Ethelric (206) was probably also the beneficiary of 100 (A.D. 985; Harwell, Berks.) and may have been the successor of Ælfric; above.

1. HRH, pp. 30-1; Whitelock, ASWills, p.160.

2. Sawyer, Burton Charters 29 (Sawyer 1536).

3. Sawyer, Burton Charters, pp. xiii, xv, xli.

4. He of 52 probably also leased Bighton, Hants, from the New Minster in 959, v. BCS 1045 (Sawyer 660).

Æthelweald, fidelis, (208) was perhaps the beneficiary of 204 (A.D. 956; Bleadon, Somerset). It is possible that the alien documents associated with these beneficiaries could have come into the possession of the Old Minster with the title-deeds of the cathedral estates concerned. This is perhaps unlikely however, as it would assume that the respective owners of the alien estates had in all cases acquired new title-deeds rather than relying on their predecessor's title, which they had in effect discarded. It is more likely that the new owners had deposited the title-deeds of their predecessors in their own private archives at the Old Minster, whence those relating to estates subsequently acquired by the cathedral were surrendered into the Old Minster's archive, while those relating to estates not so acquired remained as alien deposits until rediscovered in the post-conquest period.¹

Elfgifu, the beneficiary of BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 5, a grant by King Eadgar, of Newnham Murren, Oxon., was the testator of 187 (A.D. 966 X 975). In 187, she bequeathed Newnham Murren to the Ætheling, probably to be identified with King Edward the Martyr (died 978 or 979).² It seems that this bequest was not implemented, unless we are to assume either that the Ætheling did not remove Elfgifu's diploma from what had been her archive at the Old Minster, where it remained until the seventeenth century, relying for his title on the will itself, or that this diploma once formed part of his personal

1. Presumably these alien deposits would need to be renewed with each successive owner of the estate, unless the estate remained in the same family and the deposit became part of a family archive, see below.

2. Whitelock, ASwills, p.120.

archive deposited at the Old Minster or in the royal palace nearby.¹ There is no recorded connection between the Old Minster and Newnham Murren, so the diploma in question cannot be claimed to have subsequently been surrendered, with the estate, to the Old Minster.²

A further possibility, if Ælfgifu's bequest were in fact implemented, may be that her family managed to regain the estate on the untimely death of the Ætheling, if indeed the latter was the man who subsequently became the martyred King Edward. In this case, they may then have deposited the title-deed in the shrine bequeathed, in 187, by Ælfgifu to the Old Minster. Particularly where estates of bookland or loanland descended within the same family, it is possible that the relevant title-deeds of their ancestor were kept together in the place where they had been deposited during that ancestor's lifetime. Title-deeds of estates subsequently acquired by members of the same family may later have been added to the original deposit, forming a family archive.

Whether or not Ælfgifu actually deposited her archive at the Old Minster during her lifetime, she may not have been atypical of the class of person who did so.

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1. Cf. the possibility that the exemplar of 187 may have been the Ætheling's own copy of Ælfgifu's will, above; and the discussion of royal title-deeds, below.
 2. Newnham Murren was held in 1066 by one Ingelri, and in 1086 by Milo Crispin, v. DB i, fo. 159.

She was both a member of the West Saxon royal kin,¹ and someone who had a special regard for the Old Minster as the mother church of Wessex, intending to be buried there,² in company with many others of her rank.³ It is certainly not improbable that some, at least, of the individuals buried in the Anglo-Saxon cemetery outside the church of the Old Minster belonged to families whose archives were deposited within that church's walls.

Oswearð, the beneficiary of 137, was a relative of King Eadgar, and several of the other beneficiaries of the documents listed above may have belonged to leading Anglo-Saxon families which counted among their members royal officials and ealdormen. All, of course, were of the landowning class. Any of them or their heirs may have deposited their own, or their immediate family's, archive of title-deeds in the Old Minster for safe-keeping. The latter church, the more ancient foundation of the three Winchester monasteries and the one more associated with royal ceremonial,⁴ might, unless

1. She was called kinswoman (que mihi affinitate mundialis cruoris coniuncta est) by King Eadgar in BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.5. She was probably the sister of the chronicler Æthelweard (v. Whitelock, ASWills, pp. 118-19) and of Ælfwaru who gave Alverstoke, Exton, and East Woodhay, Hants, to the Old Minster (v. P, LC). She may also have been the divorced wife of King Eadwig, v. Whitelock, ibid.

2. See 187.

3. See M. Biddle, 'Excavations at Winchester, 1968: seventh interim report', Antiquaries' Journal 49 (1969), pp. 321-2.

4. See WEMA, p.308.

there were strong personal reasons involved (cf. Ethelgard, above) have been the more natural repository for the archives of figures important in the royal administration. The king himself may have kept his own title-deeds there by 1066, but more probably kept them in the chapel of his palace opposite (see below).

In the case of Bishop Lyfing of Crediton and Worcester,¹ if indeed he had, as stated by William of Malmesbury,² previously been a monk of the Old Minster, he may well have resided there anew during his deposition from the see of Worcester in 1040-1, and have deposited there the exemplar of 175 (but cf. discussion, above) and the exemplar (or the exemplar's exemplar) of 214 at that time.³ 214 recorded, amongst other things, the grant of three Cornish estates to the see of Crediton in 905 (? for 910).

If the diplomas relating to alien estates so far discussed were either (? 135-6, 175, 194) poached from the archives of the New and Nuns' Minsters, or were

1. Lyfing was Abbot of Tavistock c. 1009-1027, bishop of Crediton 1027-46, bishop of Worcester 1038-40, 1041-6, v. HRH, p. 72; Powicke and Fryde, pp. 218-19, 260; Barlow, English Church, pp. 73-4.
2. WMGP, p. 200.
3. The exemplar of 214 may have been only a copy of the extant single-sheet (BL, Add. MS. 7138), v. below, Part C, section 2, scribe f, (iii); it may have been copied in 1040-1 and the single-sheet taken again by Lyfing to Crediton. The see of Crediton was transferred in 1046 to Exeter, at which place the single-sheet was copied into Bod, Bodley MS. 579, fos. 2-3. See below, Appendix 1, 214.

at one time a part of alien archives deposited at the Old Minster, but possibly some either at Wolvesey, the New Minster, or the Nuns' Minster, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, their presence at Winchester in 1066 and later is explicable. Most of them, as title-deeds, had probably ceased to be current by that date, having been replaced in that function, but not destroyed, by later confirmations to the heirs or successive owners of the estates concerned. It is even possible that the presence of some of them at Winchester was re-discovered in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries during the rebuilding programmes at the Old Minster, Nuns' Minster, and Wolvesey Palace, or even in the destruction of the New Minster buildings after the latter community's move to Hyde in 1110.¹ What is certain is that all of them were associated with Winchester cathedral muniments at some time after the early twelfth century, our knowledge of most of them being due to their being copied into the Codex.

An alternative theory to the one advanced above, as to the archival provenance of diplomas in the Codex which relate to alien estates, was first put forward by H.P.R. Finberg,² and has since been considerably expanded by C.R. Hart.³ Both have seen
 the royal archives

1. See WEMA, pp. 308-9, 318-19, 324-8.

2. Finberg, ECWM, p. 22.

3. Hart, Codex, pp. 9-20.

as the source of all such documents in the cartulary.

Finberg postulated that the ^{alien documents} /were copied into the cartulary in the twelfth century from exemplars poached at that date from the royal treasury at Winchester.¹

Hart has suggested that they were poached over a longer period, from the mid tenth century to the Norman Conquest, by the monks of the Old Minster, from the royal haligdom or relic-collection (see below) in which they had previously been deposited, as in a registry of title, as copies of grants issued by the later Anglo-Saxon kings.²

Both Hart and Finberg have made assumptions about the number of title-deeds kept by pre-conquest kings in England which are supported neither by surviving references to such records nor by what is known about the workings of privileged land tenure in Anglo-Saxon

England. Hart, in his idea of a registry of documents issued, has gone on, in the words of N. Brooks, 'to credit the Anglo-Saxon monarchy with bureaucratic procedures that would put them more than two centuries in advance of all other secular governments in western Europe'.³

1. Finberg, ECWM, p.22 .

2. Hart, Codex, pp. 17-19. Cf. also Hart, ECNE, pp. 32-6, where voluntary deposit of diplomas in the registry is suggested by the same author in order to get over the difficulty of more than one text of a diploma being made. This would hardly safeguard the beneficiary's title however, particularly against the donor.

3. N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon charters: the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3(1974), p.228.

Three different types of records can be shown to have been kept by the Anglo-Saxon kings - those relating to the title to their own personal bookland; those relating to some aspect of the king's dignity; and those concerned with financial administration.

Documents recording the settlement, in 825, of a dispute between Archbishop Wulfred and Abbess Cwenthryth, the daughter of King Coenwulf of Mercia, included the condition, stipulated by the archbishop, that the names of estates making up the 100 hides given him by Cwenthryth be deleted from the ancient diplomas at Winchcombe.¹ This was presumably a reference to the personal title-deeds of Cwenthryth and Coenwulf deposited at the abbey of Winchcombe, Gloucs. (which is said to have been founded by Coenwulf),² rather than to a collection of duplicates of diplomas issued by Mercian kings, as assumed by Hart.³ A similar collection of royal family title-deeds seems to have existed somewhere in Wessex in the ninth century: two separate records of agreements reached at Kingston, Surrey, in 838, refer to 'writings of the inheritance' of Kings Ecgbeorht and Ethelwulf (hereditatis eorum scripturae).⁴ In the

1. BCS 384-5 (Sawyer 1436).

2. Knowles and Hadcock, p.80. Cf. BCS 338 (Sawyer 167).

3. Hart, Codex, p.18.

4. 220a (Sawyer 281) and BCS 421 (Sawyer 1438).

next century, King Eadred is said to have deposited his own land-charters and the best of his jewels and the treasures of his predecessors in the monastery of Dunstan, abbot of Glastonbury.¹

80 (? A.D. 959) records the fact that King Eadgar, while still Ætheling, had been entrusted with the care of his grandmother Eadgifu's diploma concerning East Meon, Hants, but it had been mislaid either through his own carelessness or through the fault of the person into whose custody he had given it.²

Obviously, kings and queens had as great a need for places of safe deposit of their title-deeds as did their subjects. Sometimes, they made use of the security offered by deposition in a favourite monastery, at other times, however, they may have preferred to make use of the supernatural protection offered by personal collections of relics, kept either in a palace chapel or in a portable reliquary. Such a collection of relics was probably what was meant by the phrase 'the king's haligdom' which is only recorded in connection with the second of the three types of royal record listed above - those relating to the king's dignity - but which may also have been

1. Whitelock, EHD, p.829.

2. Veterem etenim huius telluris cartam tempore quo clitonis fungebar officio mea michi ad custodiendum commisit aua sed per tumultuantis uite incuriam eam perdidit. uel infideli qui eam celat ignoranter ad custodiendum commendauit. A similar story is told in BCS 1186 (Sawyer 744; A.D. 966) where Eadgar's grandmother is called Wynflæd; the latter may be the beneficiary of 82.

the place of deposit of his personal title-deeds.¹

All six surviving references to the deposition of documents in the king's haligdom (latinised in the twelfth century as both thesaurus and gazophilacium)² occur in relation to one part of records which had been written in the form of a chirograph. Four of the six references relate to documents which apparently record matters of state: that the will of the traitor Æthelric of Bocking should stand (A.D. 995 X 999); that an estate be restored to Christ Church, Canterbury (? A.D. 1032); that the endowment of the monastery of Stow St. Mary, within the see of Dorchester, be increased (A.D. 1053 X 1055); and the report on the Council of Rheims (A.D. 1049).³ The remaining two references both concern wills. In the first, the king was specifically asked to protect the conditions of the will of Leofflæd (A.D. 1017 X 1035), and in the second (A.D. 1035 X 1044), the king himself was a beneficiary of two marks of gold to be paid by the testator's heirs and may also (although the phrasing is obscure) have been asked to protect a particular religious foundation.⁴

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1. For King Æthelstan's relic-collection, v. J. Armitage Robinson, The times of St. Dunstan (Oxford, 1923), pp. 72-80.
 2. Liber Eliensis, ed. E.O. Blake (Camden Society, 3rd series 92; 1962), p. 158. Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis a sac. x. usque ad an. circiter 1200: in quatuor partibus, ed. W.D. Macray (Rolls Series 83; 1886), p. 171.
 3. Whitelock, ASwills 16(2) (Sawyer 939); Robertson, ASCharters 85, 115 (Sawyer 981, 1478); Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis (v. preceding note), pp. 171-2.
 4. Liber Eliensis (v. above, n.2), pp. 158-9 (Sawyer 1520); Whitelock, ASwills 29 (Sawyer 1521), ll. 11-13.

Leaving aside the Canterbury document, which is spurious¹ but of which the clause relating to the king's haligdom was at least not implausible to its drafters, all the other references share the characteristic that they related to matters touching the king, and either his dignity as head of state or his personal wealth. In no case were documents said to have been placed in the haligdom which merely recorded the granting of land by the king.

The third type of record known to have been kept by Anglo-Saxon kings related to the collection of taxes. Our knowledge of them is derived mostly from references contained in post-conquest records, such as Domesday Book, although one or two fragments survive.² It is probable that the centralised system of coinage of the later Anglo-Saxon kings³ also required some written records, but none have survived. Groups of these records may have been kept both in several manorial or shire-centres and in the care of the person within his immediate household to whom the king entrusted his ready cash.⁴

1. See references quoted sub Sawyer 981.

2. See S. Harvey, 'Domesday Book and its predecessors', E.H.R. 86 (1971), pp. 753-73; cf. WEMA, pp. 9-10, 449. See also the Tribal Hidage, for texts and discussion of which, v. W. Davies and H. Vierck, 'The contexts of Tribal Hidage: social aggregates and settlement patterns', Frühmittelalterliche Studien 8 (1974), pp. 223-93.

3. See R.H.M. Dolley, D.M. Metcalf, 'The reform of the English coinage under Eadgar', Anglo-Saxon coins, ed. R.H.M. Dolley (1961), pp. 130-68.

4. Cf. Barlow, English Church, pp. 123-4; Stenton, ASE, pp. 643-5.

There is no reason why examples of some, or all, of the three types of royal record discussed above should not have been kept at the royal palace in Winchester in 1066 and still have been there, or in the newly-built castle, in the early twelfth century.¹ Documents of the first type may even have been deposited at the Old Minster itself by 1066 (see below). There is, however, no evidence to support Hart's idea of a general registry of title among royal records at Winchester or anywhere else at either period.

Except in cases of forfeiture for felony, it is improbable, given the importance of the diploma as a symbol of the beneficiary's title, that the king had in his possession at any time in the Anglo-Saxon period any title-deeds but those relating to his own personal estates of bookland.² These estates had come to him by inheritance, bequests, or sometimes by means of a grant to himself (see below). Finberg's suggestion that all the diplomas in the Codex which relate to alien estates were taken in the twelfth century from the 'royal archives', then in the royal treasury, is based on an over-estimation of the number of diplomas likely to be in the possession of the king in the Anglo-Saxon period.³

1. Cf. WEMA, pp. 291-2, 302-5.

2. For references to King Alfred's bookland, v. Harmer, EHD 11 (Sawyer 1507).

3. Finberg, ECWM, p.22. The reference quoted ibid., n.3, to the priuilegiorum numerosa multitudo, said to be in the royal treasury in the late twelfth century (De necessariis observantiis Scaccarii dialogus qui vulgo dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario, ed. and trans. C. Johnson (1950), p.62), need not refer to pre-conquest documents and does not tell us anything about their nature.

Most of such alien documents in the Codex were probably from several private archives of individuals or families, amongst them more distant members of the royal kin, which had been deposited at the Old Minster in the late Anglo-Saxon period (see above). However, besides copies of the wills (172, 185, 187, and 93 or 102) referred to above, the (now lost) exemplars of two documents in the cartulary, and also two single-sheet documents which were later in Winchester cathedral muniments, could at some time have belonged to an archive of documents concerning the personal bookland of Anglo-Saxon kings. The exemplar of one of the two in the cartulary, 220a, however, more probably pertained to the Old Minster's archive; it was one part of an agreement, dated 838, between Kings Ecgbeorht and Æthelwulf on the one hand and the bishop of Winchester on the other, of which one copy was to be put with the 'writings of their [Ecgbeorht and Æthelwulf's] inheritance' and the other with the muniments of the bishop's church. In the early twelfth century, it seems to have been included in the 'collection' of cathedral documents discussed above.

Apart from 220a, two of the other three documents, other than wills, which could have once belonged to a royal archive. each recorded grants of bookland made by Anglo-Saxon kings to themselves.¹ 165 was a grant

1. On such grants, v. Stenton, LC, pp. 20-2, where it is suggested that their ultimate purpose was to create an estate of bookland for the church. This could, however, have been accomplished by a direct grant by diploma. The estates are perhaps more likely to have been intended for the king's personal benefit, and that of his designated heirs.

by King Eadgar, in 963, of 5 hides at Patney, Wilts., while BL, Cotton Chart, viii. 36 (Sawyer 298) recorded a grant by King Æthelwulf, in 847, of 20 hides at the South Hams, Devon. The estate at Patney was later acquired by the Old Minster and seems to have been included in the estate of Alton Priors in 1066;¹ 165 thus appears to represent a surrendered title-deed, but had, presumably, earlier belonged to King Eadgar's own archive. There is no recorded connection between the estate at the South Hams and Winchester Cathedral however, and no reference to the Cotton charter in Winchester cathedral muniments before the mid seventeenth century.² The fact that the Cotton charter was not copied into the Codex, even though it related to an estate whose name was formally identical to that of the cathedral estate of Ham, Wilts.,³ suggests that it was not available to the scribes of Cod.Wint. I and II in the twelfth century or to their successors writing in Cod.Wint. III up to the late fourteenth century (but cf. below).

The fourth of the documents under discussion, the single-sheet BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 5 (Sawyer 738(1)), mentioned above, by which Ælfgifu acquired Newnham Murren, Oxon., may at one stage have been surrendered into the archive of the Ætheling who may have later been King Edward the Martyr.⁴ This single-sheet was at Winchester

1. DB i, fo.65^v. See below, Appendix 1, 165, n.1.

2. It was endorsed by John Chase with the word Saxon, and is probably referred to in WCL, Book of John Chase, fo. 91.

3. Cf. above, Part B, section 2,c(iii).

4. See above, pp. 159-60.

Cathedral in 1640,¹ but its whereabouts before that date are not known. It is possible that it and the Cotton charter (and the copies of the wills referred to above) belonged in 1066 to the king's private collection of title-deeds deposited either in the Old Minster or, perhaps more likely, in the chapel of the royal palace opposite (which may at that time have also contained the king's relic-collection or haligdom). If the former, they probably entered the cathedral muniments in the same way as other documents formerly belonging to private archival deposits, by a process of assimilation after 1066, perhaps during an investigation into the cathedral endowment or during reconstruction programmes affecting the buildings in which they were housed. If they had, on the other hand, been in the royal palace, they may have been poached therefrom following the acquisition of its site by Bishop Henry of Blois, apparently by 1138². Finberg's suggestion then may, in regard to these few documents alone, be credible, always providing that the term 'royal archives' used by him be limited to mean the king's personal collection of title-deeds. There is, however, no reason to suppose that any other documents, either in the Codex or with a later association with the cathedral muniments, were ever part of the king's personal collection of title-deeds.

1. BL, Harl. MS. 596, fos. 17^v-18^v (Sawyer 738(2)).

2. WEMA, pp. 296-302.

As may be seen from the above discussion, the problem of the archival provenance of the documents copied into Cod.Wint.I cannot be considered in isolation from related questions as to the nature of Anglo-Saxon archives as a whole, what archives were at Winchester in the late Anglo-Saxon period and the twelfth century, and what other documents had an archival association with Winchester Cathedral but were not included in Cod.Wint.I. What is underlined by such a consideration is that Cod.Wint.I was an original compilation drawing on a large assembly of exemplars. Although some of these exemplars may have already been in the form of files of material (26-33, 64-70, 140-2),¹ and several probably came from the same early twelfth-century 'collection' of cathedral endowment documents, each individual record had its own origin as a written witness to a particular historical transaction or situation. Each of these records had by 1066 become an integral part of a particular archive at Winchester, in which it had been deposited for the advantage of its beneficiary and his, or its, heirs. Such archives included those of the Old Minster and of the bishops of Winchester, the latter in both a private and a public capacity, as well as those which laymen had deposited for safety at the Old Minster. A small number of Cod.Wint. I's exemplars may have only come into the possession of the cathedral in the early twelfth century

1. See below, Part B, section 4, a(i).

by poaching from the archives of the New Minster, the Nuns' Minster, and the king, during periods of rebuilding and demolition adjacent to the cathedral. Cod.Wint. I thus represents an amalgamation of some, but by no means all, of the contents of many Anglo-Saxon archives, other ingredients of which were excluded from it but are recorded at Winchester in later periods.

The apparent multiplicity of archives at Winchester in 1066, described above, may be an extreme case in England at that time, due to the importance of the city in both the religious and the royal business of the nation.¹ It may, however, be a salutary one for editors of Anglo-Saxon material surviving from other pre-conquest centres, and a warning against the assumption that all the pre-conquest documents in a medieval muniment-room were part of the same archive in 1066.

1. WEMA, pp. 449-69.

b) The Diplomatic Provenance of Documents in Cod.Wint.I
 Although a full diplomatic analysis of the documents in Cod.Wint. I is outside the scope of the present thesis, it seems relevant to examine the general viability of these documents as diplomatic products of the Anglo-Saxon period, and the variety of their diplomatic provenance. While the preceding chapter shows that documents in Cod.Wint. I had not all belonged to the same Anglo-Saxon archive, the present chapter will attempt to show that the same documents had not all been written in the same scriptorium or drafted in the same drafting-office.

It seems probable, from the work of modern scholars,¹ that there was no permanent central writing-office for royal diplomas or writs in the Anglo-Saxon period, but rather a devolved system of document production in which the onus for getting a transaction recorded in writing lay on the beneficiary, who would

1. See Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', passim; P. Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon chancery: from the diploma to the writ', Journal of the Society of Archivists 3 (1965-9), pp. 160-76; Parsons, 'Some scribal memoranda', passim; N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon charters; the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3 (1974), pp. 217-20.

arrange for a record to be produced by the most convenient, or most personally-familiar, monastic or diocesan scriptorium. Royal grants to a particular ecclesiastical institution would often be written by the institution's own agents, the scribes who wrote its own administrative memoranda and library books.¹ Before the devastation of religious houses by the Vikings in the ninth century, and after the Benedictine Reformation of the mid tenth century, there were thus probably as many potential writing-offices for royal diplomas (and, in the eleventh-century, for royal writs) as there were monastic or diocesan scriptoria. The large measure of formulaic consistency in surviving royal diplomas of the first part of the tenth century, which used to be explained as the product of a centralised royal 'proto-chancery',² is now more satisfactorily regarded as reflecting a greater concentration of document-production in a few centres because of the drastic reduction in the number of functioning ecclesiastical scriptoria at that time.³

1. This was not an absolute rule however. The grant by King Æthelred Unræd to Muchelney Abbey of lands in Somerset, in 995 (Taunton, Somerset County Museum, Taunton Castle; Sawyer 884(1)) was written at St Augustine's, Canterbury, v. T.A.M. Bishop, English caroline minuscule (Oxford, 1971), p.7.

2. R. Drögereit, 'Gab es eine Angelsächsische königskanzlei?', Archiv für Urkundenforschung 13 (1935), pp. 335-436; Stenton, LC, pp. 53-5; Whitelock, EHD, p.345.

3. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', pp. 59-61.

The number, date-range, and variety of the beneficiaries of documents copied into Cod.Wint. I¹ makes it likely that the products of more than one diplomatic writing-office are present in the cartulary. Because of the close connection which several of these beneficiaries seem to have had with the Old Minster² it is, however, probable that a fair proportion of the documents in Cod.Wint. I had originally been drafted and written there. Apart from such arguments based on historical probability, there are two lines of study which may be expected to give firmer grounds for the attribution of at least some of the documents in Cod.Wint. I to particular writing-offices. The first involves a palaeographical comparison of the surviving exemplars to each other and to contemporary manuscripts whose provenance is known. The second involves a diplomatic comparison of the texts in Cod.Wint. I whose exemplars have not survived to that of documents of the same period which are extant on original single-sheets of parchment and whose palaeographical features give grounds for their attribution to a particular writing-office; a very high incidence of identical diplomatic formulae between such cartulary-texts and the said single-sheets allows at least the presumption of a common diplomatic provenance, and the possibility of a common scribe.

1. See above, Part B, section 2,b.

2. Ibid.

With both lines of study, the number of cartulary-documents involved is limited by the total number of comparable surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts whose palaeographical provenance is discernible. Comparisons of diplomatic content are of course also possible between documents in Cod.Wint. I and those which survive elsewhere as copies, but such documents cannot be attributed to a particular writing-office in more than a circumstantial way without the palaeographical controls that are provided by surviving original single-sheet documents.

(i) Documents concerning Winchester Cathedral and see

In the light of current diplomatic theory (outlined above), it is probable that most of the following documents in Cod.Wint. I were drafted and written at, or by the agents of, Winchester Cathedral -

Royal diplomas to Winchester Cathedral and see (dating, or claiming to date, from the seventh to the eleventh centuries):

26-33, 40-4, 50-1, 54, 56-8, 60, 71, 77-8, 97, 110, 112-13, 116-19, 124-5, 128, 131-2, 140ab, 141, 149, 168-9, 177, 180, 181a, 183-4, 190-1, 197.¹ In the case of diplomas containing estate-boundaries, it is probable that the boundaries would have been recorded in the area of the estate and forwarded as a memorandum to the place where the relevant diploma was written. The names of witnesses to a particular

1. 17, 18, 34-9, 217-18, 220ab, 222-3, 227-8, 230-1 (and perhaps 24) in Cod.Wint. II, and 236 in Cod.Wint. III, also belong to this category of documents. Cf. also 14, in Cod.Wint. II, which is a royal Anglo-Saxon writ.

grant may also have been recorded in a memorandum made at the place of the oral grant and later been forwarded to the writing-office for inclusion in the relevant diploma.¹ The main part of the text of these documents was, however, probably both drafted and written at the same place.

Royal diplomas granting personal estates to bishops of Winchester (A.D. 879-1045):

75, 95, 107, 143, 157, 160.² The same comments regarding boundary-clauses and witness-lists apply to these as to the previous group of documents.

Episcopal and cathedral grants and leases (A.D. 801 x 805-c. 1053):

62, 92, 111b, 115, 121, 123a, 126ab, 130, 148a, 150, 181c, 186, 194.³

Memoranda and boundaries relating to cathedral estates (undated, and c. A.D. 900-1066 X 1086):

53, 61, 63-70, 120, 123b, 142ab, 148b, 152, 158, 170, 181b, 188-9.⁴ Most were perhaps drafted in the immediate vicinity of the estate and later converted from rough memoranda into more formal records at a local administrative centre (such as Taunton, Somerset) if not at Winchester itself. 61, the record (in

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1. See Parsons, 'Some scribal memoranda', passim.
 2. 210, 215-16, 225, in Cod. Wint II, also belong to this category.
 3. 21-2, 219, 224, in Cod. Wint. II, are also of this sort.
 4. 15, 16, 229, in Cod. Wint. II, are also of this sort. Cf. also 23 (in Cod. Wint. III), v. below, Part D, section 3b(i).

the form of a letter) of a declaration associated with a lawsuit, may however have been written at Canterbury following its oral delivery to Archbishop Elfric, one of its addressees.¹

Wills bequeathing estates to Winchester Cathedral

(c. A.D. 900-1015):

93, 102, 106, 122, 151, 162, 172, 185, 187.²

The exemplars of six of the documents listed above survive as single-sheets of parchment (+43, +56, +157, +162, +169, +190).³ The four of them (+43, +56, +169, +190) which are not original documents, having probably been written (by different scribes) in the eleventh century,⁴ and containing questionable diplomatic features,⁵ were probably produced by the cathedral community, whom they were intended to benefit. +162, which includes the vernacular bequest of Ham, Wilts.,

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1. See P. Chaplais, 'The Anglo-Saxon chancery: from the diploma to the writ', Journal of the Society of Archivists 3 (1965-9), p.173.
 2. Cf. also 19, in Cod.Wint. II, a royal bequest in the form of a writ.
 3. Respectively: BL, Cotton Chart, viii. 11, 17, 9, 16B; Edinburgh University Library, Laing Chart. 18; BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 1. See below, Appendix 2.
 4. See Sawyer, s.nn. 540, 443, 313, 376.
 5. See references quoted, Sawyer, loc.cit. Cf. Finberg, ECW, chap. 7 (for +43, +56, +190; referred to as 'CS 862, 727, 620') and ibid., p. 203 (for +169; referred to as 'CS 478').

to the Old Minster, A.D. 931 X 939,¹ was probably written in the Old Minster scriptorium² which, before the Benedictine Reformation there in 964,³ would have consisted of members of the bishop's clerical familia; its script is similar to that of part of the annal for 922 in the Parker Chronicle,⁴ which in the tenth century was somewhere in Winchester.⁵ +157 records a grant, in 1045, of personal bookland to Bishop Ælfwine of Winchester and was written by the same scribe as +210⁶ (later copied into Cod.Wint.II), recording a similar grant, of a different estate, in 1042. Although this scribal identity has been taken

1. The testator, Wulfric, was probably the beneficiary of +161, for which see (ii), below.
2. The rubric-endorsement refers only to the Old Minster, although the document included also the New Minster and the church at Kintbury, Berks., among its beneficiaries.
3. ASC (A)(E)(F), s.a.
4. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60, quoting Mr. N.R. Ker. The passage referred to is CCCC, MS.173, fo. 25, ll. 1-7; v. facsimile, edd. R. Flower and A.H. Smith, The Parker Chronicle and Laws (Early English Text Society, 1941, reprinted 1973). M.B. Parkes, 'The palaeography of the Parker manuscript of the Chronicle, laws and Sedulius, and historiography at Winchester in the late ninth and tenth centuries', Anglo-Saxon England 5 (1976), p.154, n.2, explains the variation in script at this point and at fo.23^v, ll. 12-15, as 'lapses from standard' on the part of the scribe who wrote most of fos. 21-25^v.
5. Parkes, op.cit., pp. 162-71.
6. BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 8, v. below, Appendix 2.

by Dr. Chaplais as evidence of the probable production of these two documents in the (by then monastic) scriptorium of the Old Minster,¹ there is no reason why they could not have been written in a separate episcopal writing-office, established by the bishops of Winchester for their personal use after the removal of their residence to Wolvesey after 964.² If two separate writing-offices did exist, one serving the monks and the other serving the bishop,³ their respective diplomatic and palaeographical practices may have been virtually indistinguishable from each other. Unfortunately, no original single-sheet diplomas having the Old Minster as beneficiary survive from the period after 964 to allow a palaeographical comparison to be made between them and the mid eleventh-century episcopal ones (+157, +210), mentioned above. A diplomatic comparison of the text of these two single-sheets to that of two small groups of copies of contemporary documents, which have either the Old Minster as beneficiary (71, 132) or the bishop (95, 160, 225⁴), shows no greater similarity of formulae to those of the two single-sheets by one group than by the other. All

1. 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

2. See WEMA, pp. 323-4.

3. Cf. the apparent distinction between the episcopal and monastic archives from this time, v. above, Part B, section 3a(ii).

4. 225 is in Cod.Wint.II; another text of this document survives as a single-sheet written in the fifteenth century (BL, Cotton Chart. xii. 76; Sawyer 1013(1)), by the same scribe as WCL, Library Showcase (Sawyer 312(1)) and BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 18 (Sawyer 804(1)). See below, Appendix 1, 225.

these documents have similar features in their dating and subscription-clauses but preserve a more individual character elsewhere, with the two single-sheets themselves being most alike.¹ Diplomatic evidence for the ascription of these seven documents to one or other of an episcopal or a monastic writing-office, ^{and indeed for the existence of two such writing-offices} in the late Anglo-Saxon period, thus appears inconclusive.

No original Latin diplomas on single-sheets having the Old Minster or the bishop as beneficiary survive from the period (A.D. 931-63) for which Dr. Chaplais has been able to identify eight different scribes who wrote royal diplomas, six, perhaps seven, of whom seem to have been Winchester scribes, and another of whom was perhaps associated with Abingdon Abbey.² Latin diplomas claiming to be of this period copied into Cod.Wint.I which have either the Old Minster or the bishop as beneficiaries (42-3, 56-7, 125, 183)³ are all of doubtful authenticity, probably having been written in the eleventh century.⁴ Diplomatic comparison of their texts to that of the surviving single-sheet diplomas written by Chaplais's eight scribes,⁵

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1. +157 and +210 have the same proem, royal style, and royal subscription. The former is a grant of King Edward the Confessor, the latter one of King Harthaknut.
 2. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', pp. 59-60. See (ii) below.
 3. For the exemplars of 43, 56, v. discussion of +43, +56, above.
 4. Cf. Finberg, ECW, chap. 7.
 5. BL, Cotton MSS. Aug. ii. 23, 39, 40, 44, 45, 62, 65, 73, 83 (Sawyer 447(1), 690(1), 687(1), 552(1), 624(1), 464(1), 425(1), 510(1), 528(1)); BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 12, 16A, 28 (Sawyer 636(1), 416(1), 706(1)); BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 3 (Sawyer 703(1)); BL, Stowe Chart. 24, 25, 26, 29 (Sawyer 512(1), 497(1), 535(1), 717); Bod., Eng. hist. a. 2, no. v (Sawyer 646(1)); WCL, Library Showcase (Sawyer 649(1)); WCM, Muniments, Cabinet 7, drawer 2, no. 2 (Sawyer 470(1)).

not surprisingly, shows no significant identity of formulae.

As already mentioned, some of the diplomas under discussion are of doubtful authenticity. Several of these (26-31, 33, 41-4, 50-1, 54, 56-8, 60, 117, 128, 140a, 141, 177, 190) contain almost identical passages recounting the antiquity of the Old Minster's tenure of the estates concerned. Although these passages may in some cases have been historically factual - those concerning the acquisition of Chilcomb and Alresford, Hants, in the mid seventh century, for example¹ - their presence, in very similar wording, in documents of apparently widely-differing dates (A.D. 701-997) is one cause, among others, for suspicion of the diplomatic integrity of these documents.² The degree of that authenticity is not, however, at issue here. In fact, the presence of such passages in these documents supports the opinion that they, at least in the final state in which they were copied into Cod.Wint. I, were products of a Winchester cathedral scriptorium, probably that of the Old Minster.

Some of the diplomas referred to here, and also some of those in (ii), below, have dating-clauses containing the statement that they were written

1. 27-8, 190 (Chilcomb); 30, 50-1, 54 (Alresford). Cf. WEMA, pp. 256-8, and ibid., Fig. 6.

2. Cf. Finberg, ECW, chap.7.

(scripta est, 41, 62, 97, etc.; caraxatum est, 149, 180; perscripta est, 79, 83, 161; depicta est, 139) at a particular place.¹ When such clauses are contained in spurious documents they cannot be taken at their face-value, often having been included to give added weight^{to a document} by reference to a historical occasion, such as the holding of a particular royal assembly, known from other sources. Even on the rare occasions where they occur in original diplomas, such locative clauses may perhaps not refer to the place at which the formal record of the grant concerned was produced. Rather, they may refer to the place at which the oral grant was declared by, or in the presence of, the king, and witnessed by his advisers, and where the names of the witnesses were noted in a scribal memorandum.² Scripta est, caraxatum est, etc., may even in this context be no more than alternatives, favoured by individual draftsmen, to the verb acta est.³ The verb perscripta est in the original diplomas, referred to above,⁴ which were written by recognizable tenth-century scribes

1. A full list of documents in the cartulary containing such statements is as follows: 41, 62, 79, 83, 85, 97, 118, 129-31, 139, 140b, 141, 149, 161, 178-80, 197 in Cod. Wint. I; 211-12, 224 in Cod. Wint. II.

2. See Parsons, 'Some scribal memoranda'.

3. Cf. the alternation between scripta est (97, 179) and acta est (117, 128, 177) in documents claiming to have been granted on the same occasion (Wilton, Easter 854).

4. See above, p. 183, n. 5.

is, for example, limited to the two documents written by Chaplais's scribe 1.¹ Thus, though such phrases probably cannot be taken literally, the usage of particular types of them may be a clue to the work of individual drafters of documents.

A more significant indicator of the diplomatic provenance of some royal diplomas, both authentic and spurious ones, may be a reference to an act of intercession by an influential individual in order to obtain a grant from the king to a particular beneficiary.²

Whether such acts had actually occurred or not, references to them presumably reflected the high esteem in which the individual intercessor was held by the drafter of the document concerned. Where the intercessor was an ecclesiastic, the document in question may have been drafted in the writing-office with which he was most involved in his lifetime, and most renowned after his death. As might be expected, Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester (963-84) is named most frequently as an intercessor in documents in Cod.Wint. I which record grants or confirmations of estates to the Old Minster,³

1. BL, Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 65, and Cotton Chart. viii. 16A (Sawyer 425(1), 416(1)).

2. Such references occur in 26-33, 43-4, 50, 56-8, 60, 78, 107, 110, 112-13, 116-17, 119, 125, 128, 146, 149, 190 in Cod.Wint. I, and 17, 34-8, 228 in Cod.Wint. II.

3. 26-33, 58, 60. Also 34-8 in Cod.Wint. II.

but lesser-known bishops of Winchester, such as Wigthegn (805 X 814-833)¹ and Ælfheah I (934-51),² also occur. Ealhstan, bishop of Sherborne, occurs in 117 and 128, but both times in association with Bishop Swithun of Winchester. The only secular person named as an intercessor in these documents was Frithugyth, the queen of King Æthelheard of Wessex (726-40), who is recorded in 119 as prevailing upon her husband to augment her previous grant of Taunton, Somerset, to the cathedral, by the addition of appurtenant swine-pastures and saltings.³ She was remembered, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as a benefactress of the cathedral.⁴

None of the documents in Cod.Wint. I whose beneficiary was Winchester Cathedral or see can at present be shown to have been produced in any drafting-office not associated with the cathedral. The royal diplomas among them were probably produced by scribes working for the cathedral community and/or the bishop, and with or without royal permission, depending

1. 149.

2. 43, 57, 125.

3. She is also referred to, in retrospect, in 56.

4. Winchester ann., s.a. 721; BL, Add. MS. 29436, fo. 73, two corrodies to be enjoyed in the refectory of the cathedral priory on her anniversary.

on whether the records concerned were genuine or spurious. The episcopal and cathedral grants, leases, and estate memoranda, listed above, were more certainly produced by such scribes, as were bequests of whom the Old Minster was the sole ecclesiastical beneficiary (106, 122, 151, 172). Only with wills which contained bequests to other principal ecclesiastical beneficiaries is there the real possibility of another drafting-office being involved. Thus in 93, 102, Christ Church, Canterbury, and the Nuns' Minster, Winchester, need to be considered as well as the Old Minster; in +162, perhaps the New Minster, Winchester, but probably not the church of Kintbury, Berks.;¹ in 185, Malmesbury, Bath, and Glastonbury Abbeys; and in 187, the New Minster, Winchester, and the abbeys of Romsey, Abingdon, and Bath.

(ii) Royal grants to alien beneficiaries, and associated documents

45-9, 52, 55, 59, 72-4, 76, 79-91, 94, 96, 98-101,
103, 104ab, 105, 108-9, 111a, 114, 127, 129, 135-9,
144-7, 153-6, 159, 161, 163-7, 171, 173, 174ab,
175-6, 178-9, 182, 192-3, 195-6, 198-202, 203ab, 204-8.²

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1. On the evidence of the rubric-endorsement, the Old Minster scriptorium is more likely as the provenance for this document however.
 2. Pre-conquest documents of this type in Cod. Wint. II are 133-4, 209, 211-12, 221, 226; in God. Wint. III, 238-41.

The documents in this section range in apparent date from the late seventh to the mid eleventh century. Since nearly all their beneficiaries were secular and none were ecclesiastical institutions, it is probable that these documents were written for, rather than by, the individual beneficiaries. Since, in addition, they concern estates in various parts of England, their diplomatic provenance is likely to be more varied than that assumed for the documents in the previous section. They were included in Cod.Wint. I as apparent back-title to Winchester cathedral estates, as some of them indeed were, others having been deposited for safe-keeping in various Winchester archives in the late Anglo-Saxon period and later having been subsumed into the cathedral archive.¹

The exemplars of only three of the documents listed above survive as single sheets of parchment, all originals (+59, +127, +161).² The earliest of these, +161, recording the grant in 931, by King Æthelstan to the thegn Wulfgar,³ of the estate of Ham, Wilts., was written by the man whom Dr. Chaplais has designated as 'scribe 1'.⁴ This man also wrote the single-sheet

1. See above, Part B, section 3a(ii).
2. Respectively: BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.2; BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 12, 16A. See below, Appendix 2.
3. Wulfgar was probably the testator of +162, on which v. (i), above.
4. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

which contains the text of Sawyer 425,¹ and his handwriting has been compared to that in a tenth-century copy of Bede's lives of St. Cuthbert.² Although +161 was later attached to +162, which was probably written at the Old Minster,³ it itself may not have been written there.⁴ The second single-sheet, +127, recording the grant in 956, by King Eadwig to his princeps Wulfric, of the estate of Millbrook, Hants, was written by Chaplais's scribe 4, who probably also wrote the annal for 951 in the Parker Chronicle.⁵ Since the Parker Chronicle was somewhere in Winchester in the tenth century,⁶ Chaplais's scribe 4 has been classified as a Winchester scribe.⁷ +127 is

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1. BL. Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 65; v. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.
 2. CCC, MS. 183 (N.R. Ker, Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon, Oxford 1957, 42); v. Chaplais, loc.cit.
 3. See (i), above.
 4. Cf. N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon charters: the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3 (1974), p.218. Although it is stated in +161 that it was written (perscripta est) at Lifton, Devon, this may only have been the place at which a scribal memorandum of the oral grant was made, v. discussion in (i), above.
 5. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60, quoting N.R. Ker, Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p.lix.; CCC, MS. 173, fo.28.
 6. M.B. Parkes, 'The palaeography of the Parker manuscript of the Chronicle, laws and Sedulius, and historiography at Winchester in the late ninth and tenth centuries', Anglo-Saxon England 5 (1976); pp. 162-71.
 7. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

assumed therefore to have^{been} written (and presumably drafted) in a Winchester scriptorium. +59, the third of these documents, a record of the grant in 961 by King Eadgar to Coenwulf, of the estate of Withiel Florey, Somerset, has not yet been identified as the product of any particular scriptorium. Both its script and its formulae differ from those of contemporary documents written by the scribes identified by Chaplais.¹

None of the exemplars of the eight documents (85, 114, 129, 174a, 176, 178-9, 200)² in Cod. Wint. I recording royal grants to alien beneficiaries from before the reign of King Æthelstan (924-39) have survived. 114, the record of a grant by King Cædwalla of Wessex, in A.D. 685 X 687, may however be assigned to the same draftsman as two other documents, that recording the grant to Chertsey Abbey by Frithuweald, sub-king of Surrey, in 672 X 674, and that of Æthelred to Barking Abbey in c. 686 X 688, with which documents it shares several formulae.³ Professor Whitelock has suggested that their common draftsman may have been Eorcenweald (bishop of London, 675-93) who occurs in all three documents.⁴

1. See above, p. 183, n.5.
2. On 174b, v. below. 212, in Cod. Wint. II, also belongs to this category.
3. BCS 34,81 (Sawyer 1165, 1171). For a translation of all three documents, v. Whitelock, EHD 54, 58, 60. On the date of Sawyer 1171, v. D. Whitelock, 'Some Anglo-Saxon bishops of London' (1974 Chambers Memorial Lecture; University College London, 1975), p.7.
4. Ibid., pp. 5-8. Eorcenweald signs BCS 34 (Sawyer 1165) as abbot.

It is also possible that Cedd, one of the beneficiaries of 114, was the same person as Ceadda, a witness to the said Chertsey charter. At the present time, little definite can be said of the diplomatic provenance of the remaining seven documents, but some features may be noted for future reference. 176, 178-9 refer to parts of the same estate, Martyr Worthy, Hants, and 178-9, moreover, have the same beneficiary. 176 is a forgery of not earlier than the tenth century.¹ 179 is a text associated with King Æthelwulf's Decimation of A.D. 854 and must therefore be considered within the context of other documents similarly associated.² 178 has several clauses in common with 212 (in Cod.Wint.II), both being grants by King Æthelred of Wessex.³ 85 and 178 share the same dispositive verb in the perfect tense (largitus sum), which is of a type which may generally be characterized as West Saxon,⁴ while 174a

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1. Its formulae are those of the first part of the tenth century. Cf. Finberg, ECW 56n; Sawyer 351n.
 2. Cf. Finberg, ECW, chap. 6, but also the review by D. Whitelock, E.H.R. 81 (1966), pp. 101-2. Cf. 97, 117, 128, 168-9. The diplomatic of 179 is especially close to that of 97 (to Winchester Cathedral) and BCS 469 (Sawyer 308; to the thegn Wigfrith).
 3. See below, Part C, section 3,b (iii).
 4. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.58.

and 200 share one in the present tense (concedo). 129 contains an oblique reference, in Latin, as part of the appurtenance-clause, to (?pasture) rights over woodland apparently reserved to another estate.¹ Such reservations of rights, where they occurred, may well have been dealt with separately from similar appurtenances belonging to the estate granted. The latter are usually written in the vernacular and placed adjacent to the estate-boundaries.² Another example of the specification of reserved rights in the Latin part of a document occurs in 111a, (A.D. 961), in which a note of rents payable to the lessors was placed before the clause describing the length of the lease.

The exemplar of 174a (A.D. 901) contained a vernacular memorandum (174b) which would almost certainly have been written by the same scribe as 174a: in the position in which it occurs, after the sanction but before the dating-clause of 174a, it is unlikely to have been a later addition. It has been suggested by Professor Whitelock that the said memorandum was associated with a marriage-settlement of which the transfer of the estate granted in 174a, with its title-deeds, from the beneficiary of 174a to one Deormod, formed a part.³

1. ET cyricespudu sex æb'd'e [?for hebdomadae, 'periods of a week's duration'] .quia pertinet ad PELLETVN (fo.64^v).

2. For example, those in 45, 49, 94, 132, 135, 138, 207.

3. Whitelock, EHD, p.340. On the transfer of title-deeds, v. above, Part B, section 3a(i).

The transfer of estate and title-deeds is said in 174b to have taken place on the same day as the grant recorded in 174a, and was obviously dependent upon it. It is thus possible that the formal records of both transactions were composed by the same draftsman, as well as being written by the same scribe. This draftsman may also have composed another document, later at Wilton Abbey, which contains several of the same formulae and the same rare item of Greek-based Latin vocabulary.¹

Of the documents in Cod.Wint.I coming from the period from the reign of King Æthelstan to that of King Eadgar (A.D. 924-75), 59, 161 and 127 have been mentioned above in relation to their exemplars. Other documents of the period are 45-6, 48-9, 52, 55, 72-4, 76, 79-84, 86, 88-91, 94, 96, 98-9, 101, 103, 104ab, 105, 108-9, 111a, 137-9, 144-7, 155, 163-5, 182, 192-3, 195-6, 198-9, 203ab, 204, 206, 208.²

There seems at this period to have been quite a large common pool of variable formulae used in royal diplomas written by different scribes,³ and even documents written by the same scribe did not always have absolutely

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1. Whitelock, *ibid.* The Wilton document is BCS 588 (Sawyer 364). The word involved is epicarmái (174a), epicarmoci (BCS 588).
 2. 133-4, 209 (in Cod.Wint.II) and 238-40 (in Cod.Wint.III) are also of this category.
 3. See the documents listed above, p. 183, n.5.

identical wording.¹ Since the writer and the draftsman of a document were not necessarily the same person, considerable caution should be exercised in using purely diplomatic evidence to attribute to particular scribes the writing of documents which survive only as copies.² Where, however, two single-sheet diplomas can be shown to have been written by the same scribe and have a very high identity of wording, there is a good possibility that the two diplomas also had the same draftsman. Pairs of such single-sheets occur among those written at this period by Chaplais's scribes 1, 2, 3, and 6 (the first three scribes being associated with Winchester, and the fourth one with Abingdon Abbey).³ A diplomatic comparison of the text of each of these four pairs of single-sheets to that of documents listed above whose exemplars have not survived reveals a very close identity of formulae on the part of respective groups of the cartulary documents to that of each of the pairs. It may thus be

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1. Contrast, for example, the formulae of BL, Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 45 (Sawyer 624(1)) to those of Bod, MS. Eng. hist. a.2, no.v (Sawyer 646(1)), both written by Chaplais's scribe 5, v. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.
 2. This consideration undermines the evidence for a centralised tenth-century royal chancery put forward by R. Drögereit, 'Gab es eine Angelsächsische königskanzlei?', Archiv für Urkundenforschung 13 (1935), pp. 335-436.
 3. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

suggested that 79 and 83 were drafted at Winchester by the same man who drafted the documents Sawyer 416 and 425, whose texts survive on single-sheets written by Chaplais's scribe 1.¹

Similarly, 203a may have had the same Winchester draftsman as Sawyer 447 and 464, whose single-sheet texts were written by Chaplais's scribe 2.²

138 may have been drafted by the same Winchester draftsman as Sawyer 497 and 528, whose single-sheet texts were written by Chaplais's scribe 3.³

Five documents (49, 81-2, 94, 164)⁴ may have been drafted by the same Abingdon draftsman as Sawyer 706 and 717, whose single-sheet texts were written by Chaplais's scribe 6.⁵

104a and 203a contain similar (but not identical) vernacular memoranda (104b and 203b) recording subsequent grants of urban tenements, to the same beneficiary, to be held as appurtenances of the two estates granted in 104a and 203a. The position of 104b, after the boundary but before the date in 104a, implies that the latter was not written until after the date of 104b, at least three years later (A.D. 946 X 955) than the date of the grant recorded

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1. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 16A, and Cotton MS. Aug.ii.65.
 2. BL, Cotton MSS. Aug. ii 23, 62. 238 (in Cod.Wint. III) also has several formulae in common: Cf. 173 (A.D.977), 201 (A.D. 983), discussed below.
 3. BL, Stowe Chart. 25, and Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 83.
 4. 240 (in Cod.Wint.III) is the same document as 164.
 5. BL, Cotton Chart, viii. 28, and Stowe Chart. 29. Cf. 47 (A.D. 986), discussed below.

in 104a (A.D. 943, ?for 941). The position of 203b (A.D. 946 X 955), after the subscriptions in 203a, is more obviously that of a later addition to the record of the grant in 203a (A.D. 940). Both these vernacular memoranda may have been drafted by the same man, although ^{they were} subsequently added to, or included in, diplomas recording grants of different dates.

111a, a Latin lease by King Eadgar to his thegn Æthelwulf, of the Winchester cathedral estate of Kilmeston, Hants, was probably drafted and written at Winchester with 111b, the cathedral record of the same lease in the vernacular.

147, a Latin diploma of King Eadred, dated 957, contains an identical vernacular sanction-clause to that in the Old English grant of Alwalton, Hunts., by the same king to Ælfsige Hunlafing.¹ The Alwalton document is one of a group of alliterative documents produced by a Mercian drafting-office, perhaps at Worcester.²

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1. Robertson, ASCharters 30 (Sawyer 566); See Sawyer 574n. For Ælfsige Hunlafing, v. also above, p.152.
 2. The documents are BCS 667, 746, 750-1, 771-3, 815, 876, 882-4, 890, 893, 909, 911, 937, 1346, (respectively, Sawyer 404, 392, 472-3, 479, 484, 1606, 520, 549-50, 544, 548, 557, 556, 566, 569, 633, 572), also Hart, ECEE, pp. 193-4 (Sawyer 931). See Whitelock, EHD, p.340; N.Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon charters: the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3 (1974), p.218, n.4; Sawyer, Burton Charters, pp.xlvii-xlix. In connection with a possible Worcester provenance for these documents, note that the bishop of Worcester subscribes 147 with the verb dictauī.

147 may perhaps have had the same diplomatic provenance; so may 163, which is similar in form to 147 (except for the vernacular sanction) and which relates to an estate in Essex granted by Eadgar as king of Mercia (957-9). 146, which recorded the grant of a Shropshire estate, made at Glastonbury Abbey in 985 with the intercession of the monk Ælfwine, may perhaps have been written at Glastonbury¹ but followed the same diplomatic model as documents like 147 and 163, to which it is very similar. On the other hand, 206, another document granted by Eadgar as king of Mercia, followed a different model to that used in 163.

The remaining eighteen documents in this section (47, 87, 100, 135-6, 153-4, 156, 159, 166-7, 171, 173, 175, 201-2, 205, 207) relate to the period A.D. 977-1045.²

The larger number of potential scriptoria, due to the revival of monastic life in England in the mid tenth century, makes the question of diplomatic provenance of these documents even more difficult than those of the preceding period. The problem is complicated by the

frequent use of documents of the preceding period as models.³ 173 (A.D. 977) and 201 (A.D. 983) both used several formulae previously employed in documents

1. On intercessors, and place-dates, v. (i), above.
2. See also 211 (A.D. 1049), 221, 226 in Cod.Wint. II; and 241 in Cod.Wint. III.
3. Cf. Stenton. LC, p.84, with reference to eleventh-century documents.

written by Chaplais's scribe 2,¹ while 47 (A.D. 986) used several formulae used by Chaplais's scribe 6.² At the same time some new, and some new-style, clauses were introduced which re-appear verbatim in individual documents. Thus 47, 100, and 159 (A.D. 985-6) have the same clause annulling previous documents relating to the estates involved, while 100 and 159 (both A.D. 985) contain the same very long proem (as well as many other features in common). It is thus difficult, without palaeographical evidence, to tell with certainty which documents were written in the same scriptorium, and when documents of one drafting-office were used as models in another.

Although it is often not at present clear where individual documents were actually written or drafted, some of them are, however, able to be linked tentatively to each other, or to documents from other archives, on the basis of their possession of many identical formulae. 135 and 136 (A.D. 982 and 972) in fact relate to the same grant and have many identical clauses but differ in their A.D. dates,³ their rubric-endorsements, the exclusion of bounds from 136, and the spelling of personal-names. 153 and 154 (A.D. 983) are diplomatically identical, differing only in their beneficiaries; since, however, the beneficiary of 153 may have been the son of

1. BL, Cotton MSS. Aug. ii. 23,62.

2. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 28, and Stowe Chart. 29.

3. A difference which was probably due to a copying error, v. below. Appendix 1, 136, n.1.

Ealdorman Æthelmær, the beneficiary of 154 who is recorded as having died in 982,¹ both documents may have been written at the same time. The grant in 154 was perhaps not formally recorded until after its beneficiary's death, when his heir arranged for a new grant to be made and recorded with himself named as beneficiary, the scribe erroneously giving both grants the same date and subscriptions.² 166 and 167 (A.D. 990 X 991) have the same unusually short layout of text as each other and probably the same beneficiary,³ although their actual wording is different. 171 (A.D. 988) has many clauses in common with a document of the previous year, ~~later~~ at Burton Abbey,⁴ and some in common with 202 also (A.D. 987).⁵ Each of these three documents has particular clauses in common with two documents of A.D. 987, one later at Glastonbury Abbey, and the other later at Rochester Cathedral.⁶ 175 (A.D. 1026),

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1. ASC (C), s.a.; his will is Whitelock, ASWills 10 (Sawyer 1498).
 2. Note that the statement, Whitelock, ASWills, p.126, that ASC was wrong as to the date of Ealdorman Æthelmær's death was rejected, *ibid.*, addendum, p.xlvii, in favour of the date of 154 being a copyist's error. The date A.D. 982 would appear to be confirmed by the document printed in LH, pp. 217-27 (Sawyer 842).
 3. A line of text, probably containing the name of the beneficiary, appears to have been omitted in 167.
 4. Sawyer, Burton Charters 25 (Sawyer 863).
 5. Cf. initium of proem, description of tenure, immunity, sanction, Latin introduction to bounds, etc.
 6. KCD 659 (Sawyer 866); Campbell, Rochester Charters 30 (Sawyer 864).

whose beneficiary was Lyfing, bishop of Crediton, has several identical clauses to a Crediton episcopal document which claims to record a grant of A.D. 1018 but ^{which} is thought to be a later forgery. ¹ 156
 (A.D. 1045) is identical, apart from the beneficiary, to +157, an original diploma of the same year recording a grant of personal bookland to Bishop Ælfwine of Winchester,² and seems to be a forgery modelled on +157.³

The above brief survey of the diplomatic provenance of texts in Cod.Wint. I illustrates the complexity of the diplomatic problems raised by a twelfth-century collection of documents drawn up at various times in the Anglo-Saxon period. While, in the present state of diplomatic knowledge, it is not possible to assign every document in Cod.Wint. I to a particular drafting-office - and perhaps it will never be so - it is at least clear that these documents were not all drawn up at Winchester. Although it is possible that most of the documents which specified either Winchester Cathedral or the bishop of Winchester as their beneficiary were both drafted and written there, this is certainly not true of those documents specifying alien beneficiaries.

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1. KCD 728 (Sawyer 951). See P. Chaplais, 'The authenticity of the royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas of Exeter', B.I.H.R. 39 (1966), pp. 21-2 (no.21).
 2. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 9 (Sawyer 1008 (1)), see (i), above; and below, Appendix 2.
 3. Cf. F. Barlow, Edward the Confessor (1970), pp. 331-2.

All the documents in Cod.Wint.I seem to be viable as either authentic or spurious diplomatic products of the Anglo-Saxon period. Most of the cathedral forgeries were probably products of the early eleventh century, while the forgeries in favour of alien beneficiaries have no apparent connection with post-conquest history. It is, above all, very unlikely that any documents were concocted in the twelfth century specifically for inclusion in Cod.Wint.I. This view, based on diplomatic content, is supported by the fact that the surviving exemplars of (cathedral) forgeries (+43, +56, +169, +190) are all written in eleventh-century hands.¹

1. See Sawyer, s.nn. 540, 443, 313, 376; below, Appendix 2.

Section 4

Editorial Principles and Practices

in

Cod. Wint.I

a) The Internal Arrangement of the Cartulary

The contents of most cartularies occur in another-than-random order.¹ Texts in such collections seem to have been transcribed, as far as possible, in a sequence governed by the over-all purpose of the compilation. Limitations on the application of the intended sequence were imposed by the nature of the sources used and the efficiency of their transcriber, who in some cases need not have been the person who had planned the cartulary's production. Where the cartulary was intended merely as an inventory of the contents of an archive, the order of the archive probably dictated that of the book; such inventories are sometimes distinguished by the inclusion of their exemplars' press-marks and are often less than a full transcription

1. For the different ways in which medieval cartularies were arranged, v. Davis, pp.xii-xiii; and D. Walker, 'The organization of material in medieval cartularies', The study of medieval records: essays in honour of Kathleen Major, edd. D. Bullough, R.L. Storey (Oxford, 1971), pp. 132-50. Cf. (iii), below.

of each document. Many cartularies are, however, more than inventories, and are editions of particularly significant documents in the archive, comprising a full transcription of individual texts arranged in a specific order for a particular purpose. If the purpose of the compilation were to illustrate the history of the endowment of the institution to which the compiler belonged, then a chronological, and often a narrative, arrangement would probably be adopted. If there were an underlying intention to have that endowment confirmed, then documents recording royal gifts would probably be segregated from those recording papal or episcopal privileges or those concerned with very small grants of property by lesser laymen; such a segregation might entail the production of separate cartularies for each type of grant or the allocation of individual sections of one cartulary to each type. A similar policy of segregation was used to isolate documents concerned with the portions of the endowment appropriated to the different obedientiaries within a monastery. The most common arrangement, however, both of cartularies as a whole and within sections of cartularies segregated by donor or beneficiary, was a topographical one of some kind. Here the full range of evidence for the tenure (and occasionally the management) of each particular estate would be transcribed, sometimes in chronological order, as a self-contained entity within the larger whole. It was such an arrangement that was chosen for the contents of Cod. Wint. I.

(i) The grouping of documents Individual documents (including wills)¹ in Cod.Wint. I were grouped in the main with other documents which related to the same estate or its dependencies. Each group of documents consisted, or was intended to consist (see below), of a miscellaneous set of evidence demonstrating the pre-conquest title to an estate. Such groups usually included documents recording the previous lay tenure of estates subsequently held (or thought to have been held) by Winchester Cathedral, as well as documents recording their acquisition by the said church; sometimes, however, they contained only documents recording the previous lay tenure. This over-all arrangement was sometimes interrupted by the influence of what appear to have been some pre-existing files (see below). Documents in Cod.Wint. I were grouped to refer to estates as follows:²

- 26-33³ restitutions and confirmations of various estates by King Eadgar
- 40-4 the hundred of Downton with Bishopstone ('at Ebbesbourne'), Wilts.

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1. The wills are 93, 102, 106, 122, 151, 162, 172, 185, 187.
 2. The groups given here agree in most, but not all, respects with those distinguished in Hart, Codex, pp. 10-11, 25-36. Those ibid., pp. 24, 36-8 (nos. 190-218), and nos. 116-17, are however part of Cod.Wint. II and III and should not be seen as part of the original arrangement of the cartulary.
 3. 34-9, written in Cod.Wint. II by scribe c, were probably copied from the same exemplar as 26-33, v. below. Scribe a had left a space for 34-9 in Cod.Wint. I and probably intended to include them therein; they are of the same type of document as 26-33.

- 45-9 estates 'at Ebbesbourne', Wilts.
50-4 Alresford, Hants
55-70 the hundred of Taunton, Somerset, with its dependencies
71-3 Pitminster, Somerset
74-9 estates 'at Clere', Hants
80-5 estates 'at Meon', Hants, etc.
86-8 Poolhampton, Hants
89-93 Moredon, Wilts.; Steeple Morden, Cambs.; and Adderbury, Oxon.
94-5 Witney, Oxon.
96-8 Brightwell, etc., Berks.
99-101 Harwell, Berks.
102 = 93
103-4 West Tisted, Hants
105-8 Rimpton and Ruishton, both Somerset
109 Mackney and Sotwell, etc., Berks.
110 Crawley and Hunton, Hants
111ab Kilmeston, Hants
112-13 Overton, etc., Hants
114-16 Farnham, Surrey, etc.
117-19 Taunton, Somerset
120 Downton, Wilts., with Calbourne (unnamed), Isle of Wight
121 Alresford, Hants
122 Candover, Hants
123ab part Bishopstone ('at Ebbesbourne'), Wilts.
124 Calbourne, Isle of Wight
125-6 Tichbourne, Hants
127 Millbrook, Hants
128-9 Stoke St. Mary, etc., Somerset
130-1 two early tenth-century exchanges of land (Hants and Wilts.)
132 South Stoneham, Hants
135-9¹ estates 'at Stoke' (Hants; Sussex; Wilts.)

1. 133-4 are in Cod.Wint.II, being added by scribe b, in a space left blank by scribe a, on fo. 67^{rv}. Neither document can be associated with any of the groupings suggested here, however, and it is unlikely that 133-4 were intended to occur in Cod.Wint.I in the position they now occupy in the Codex.

<u>140-2</u>	Hurstbourne Priors, and Stoke by Hurstbourne, Hants
<u>143-8</u>	estates 'at Easton/Aston' (Hants; Salop, etc.)
<u>149-52</u>	Alton Priors, Wilts.
<u>153-4</u>	Bushton (<u>Æt Clife</u>), Wilts.
<u>155-8</u>	Millbrook, Hants
<u>159-60</u>	estates 'at Heantun' (Hants; Staffs.)
<u>161-3</u>	estates 'at Ham' (Essex; Wilts.)
<u>164-5</u>	5 hides at Fyfield, Hants; 5 hides at Patney, Wilts.
<u>166-7</u>	?Documents in favour of the church of South Stoneham, Hants
<u>168-70</u>	estates 'at Wanborough', Wilts.
<u>171-4</u>	estates 'at, or by, Wylve', Wilts.
<u>175-80</u>	estates 'at Worthy', Hants
<u>181abc</u>	Whitchurch and Ashmansworth, Hants
<u>182</u>	Wroughton (<u>ÆT ELLENDVNE</u>), Wilts.
<u>183-4</u>	Enford, Wilts.; Chilbolton, Hants; Ashmansworth, Hants
<u>185</u>	Wroughton (<u>Æt ællandune</u>), Wilts., etc.
<u>186</u>	Sparsholt, Hants
<u>187</u>	Princes Risborough, Bucks., etc.
<u>188-90</u>	Beddington, Surrey, etc.
<u>191-2</u>	Havant, Hants
<u>193-4</u>	Hayling Island, Hants
<u>195-7</u>	Droxford, Hants
<u>198-200</u>	Woolstone (<u>Æt ASCESbyrig</u> , etc.), Berks.
<u>201-2</u>	Westwood, Wilts.
<u>203</u>	Exton, Hants
<u>204</u>	Bleadon, Somerset
<u>205</u>	Hannington, Hants
<u>206-8</u>	estates 'at Wootton' (Hants; Oxon., etc.) ²

1. The text of 167 is incomplete, lacking the beneficiary and part of the descriptio. It is closely related to that of 166 however.
2. 209 relates to an estate at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucs. It was written by scribe b however, and should be taken as part of Cod.Wint.II. It may originally have been intended to include it in Cod.Wint.I but have been omitted through lack of time. It was used by scribe b to link his continuation to the original compilation, v. below, Part C, section 2, scribe b.

The topographical groups, as listed above, consisted of between one and fifteen documents. Some estates, such as Candover, Hants (122), or Bleadon, Somerset (204), occur only once in Cod.Wint.I, perhaps due to their relatively late acquisition by Winchester Cathedral (tenth and eleventh centuries).¹ In contrast, other more ancient and important tenures - such as the estates of Downton, Wilts.; Taunton, Somerset; and Alresford, Hants - are better represented, apparently possessing larger files of evidence, including unattached boundary-surveys and memoranda as well as actual dispositions.²

While the topographical grouping is fairly consistent throughout Cod.Wint.I, it is on occasion interrupted. These interruptions had two main causes: the continuation into Cod.Wint.I of a pre-existing relationship, which was other than topographical, between certain of the exemplar texts; and what appears to have been human error due to unfamiliarity with the content of the exemplars.

Pre-existing relationships between exemplar texts may have been of more than one type. A common archival provenance shared by individual exemplars was capable of being ignored in favour of the chosen arrangement

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1. Candover was probably bequeathed to the Old Minster in the tenth century, v. 122. Bleadon is said to have been donated by Githa, wife of Earl Godwine, v. Winchester ann., s.a. 1053; it was held by the monks in 1066, v. DB i, fo. 87^v; the grant by King Eadgar (BCS 1313; Sawyer 804) is spurious.
 2. For the tenure of these three estates, v. below, Appendix 1, 40 (n.1), 119 (n.4), and 51 (n.1), respectively.

of Cod. Wint. I by estates rather than by parties.¹

Where however the relationship was a physical one, documents of the same type and date but relating to different estates being written on the same piece of parchment, there was a strong case for the preservation of the original arrangement. This appears to have been the case with 26-33, a group of confirmations and restitutions of estates to the church of Winchester which (together with 34-9, in Cod.Wint.II) were probably written on the same exemplar parchment, and which exhibit marked internal similarities. The rubric standing before 26 was probably the description of the whole group of texts which follow, as it reads: 'This is the inheritance (CLERONOMIA) of the Holy Trinity and of the apostles, Peter the principal one and his co-apostle Paul, which the venerable King Eadgar was zealous to renew with the sign of the Cross'.² The fact that this group of interrelated documents was placed at the front of Cod.Wint.I probably reflected its importance to the cartulary's compiler(s) and exempted it from the purely topographical arrangement of most of the contents of Cod.Wint. I. Elsewhere, the order of 64-70, within the group formed in the cartulary by 55-70, may have been carried over from a common file of exemplars. Here the rubric standing before 64 ('These are the English estate-boundaries pertaining to Taunton') could have

1. For example, 145, 147 and 159, which may all have belonged to an archive of Wulftric Spot or his mother, v. above, Part B, section 3, a(ii).

2. See Plate V. Note that, although this rubric was not added until later (by scribe c, as part of Cod.Wint. II), space had been left for it by scribe a who intended it to begin Cod.Wint. I. Cf. (ii), below.

covered 64, 66-70 at least, while it is not impossible that 65 was also attached to the same physical file, since it was a memorandum concerning the leasing of estates dependent on Taunton. The group 140-2 may also represent an archival file of exemplars.¹

Another type of pre-existing relationship between exemplars may have influenced the final sequence of documents in Cod.Wint. I in a minor way. The similarity of the type of transaction in 130-1 (both early tenth-century exchanges of land), which is highlighted by the formal similarity between their rubrics ('Exchange (COMMUTATIO) of land, Fonthill for Lydiard' and 'Exchange (COMMVTaTio) made of Waltham for Portchester'), may have led to their proximity in Cod.Wint. I,² although here too there may be the effect of an archival arrangement, if the exemplars were already filed together because of their similarity of type.

As well as the erroneous inclusion in Cod. Wint. I of documents relating to alien estates within groups of documents relating to ^{cathedral} estates of the same name,³ which does not affect the present discussion of the cartulary's over-all arrangement, the intended

1. See below, Appendix 1, s.nn.

2. 62 however, another early tenth-century exchange with a similar rubric, was grouped with other documents relating to Taunton.

3. See above, Part B, section 2, c(iii).

plan of arrangement seems also to have been disrupted by the misplacing of documents, either through the misassociation of places with similar names or through pure oversight. Examples of oversight may be 127, which would be better placed with 155-8 (all relating to Millbrook, Hants); 120, 123-4, which would more logically follow 40-4 (all relating to Downton, Wilts., or its dependencies); and 109, which could have been put next to 96 (both concerning Mackney, and Sotwell, etc., Berks).¹ Of these, however, 124, concerning Calbourne, a dependency of Downton, (but probably not 120, relating to the same place but not actually naming it) and 123ab, relating to 'at Ebbesbourne' (that is, Bishopstone, Wilts.), may have been placed near 125-6, which concerns Tichbourne, Hants, because of the similarity between the three names, all ending in OE burna, 'a spring, a stream'.²

Other instances of the erroneous association of unrelated documents also occur in Cod. Wint. I. 89-91, concerning Moredon, Wilts. (ÆT MORDVNE) are almost certainly grouped with 92-3 because it was thought that they related to Steeple Morden, Cambs. (Æt MORDVNE), bequeathed to the Old Minster in 93, together with the estate of Adderbury, Oxon., to which 92 relates.

1. In 96, Mackney and Sotwell, together with land near Wallingford, Berks., were apparently dependent on, or associated with, Brightwell. In 109, Mackney and Sotwell were granted together with land near Wallingford, but Brightwell was not mentioned.

2. EPN i, pp. 63-4.

107, relating to Ruishton, Somerset, was probably included in a sequence of documents relating to Rimpton, Somerset (105-6, 108), because of a palaeographical similarity between the OE spelling of Ruishton (RISCTVN) and that of Rimpton (RIMTVN).¹ 164-5 may have been put next to each other in Cod.Wint. I because of the similarity between their rubrics, both referring to 'diplomas of 5 hides', though in fact two different 5 hide estates were concerned. Finally, 182 and 185, both relating to Wroughton, Wilts., may have been placed adjacent to 183-4 because of the superficial similarity of the former name of Wroughton (ÆT ELLENDVNE, Et ællændune) to the OE spelling of Enford, Wilts. (ENEDFORÐ), which occurs in 183-4.²

Similar errors of association may also have occurred between groups of documents as a whole and have affected the order in which these groups were transcribed into Cod.Wint. I. Thus, it is probable that the group 135-9, relating to estates called 'at Stoke', was followed by 140-2 because it was thought that some at least of the documents in the former group referred to the estate of Stoke by Hurstbourne which appears in the latter. The group represented by 159-60, concerning estates 'at Heantun', may have been placed near to 155-8, concerning Millbrook, Hants, through misassociation with the Norman-influenced post-conquest name-form

1. As suggested by Hart, Codex, p.10.

2. As preceding note.

of Southampton (HANTVNE, DB i, fo. 52), which place was conterminous with Millbrook.

Similarly, it has been suggested by C.R. Hart that 166-7, documents which had probably both originally been granted in favour of the church of South Stoneham, Hants, the former of which records a grant of Hinton Ampner, Hants, may have been placed before the group 168-70, concerning estates 'at Wanborough', because the latter group included the estate later called Little Hinton, Wilts.¹ This final example of apparent misassociation of places with similar names (that is, of Hinton Ampner and Little Hinton) is, however, not so certain as the others given above.

Although PNWilts quotes the form Hynyton for Little Hinton as of the twelfth century, this form is taken from a much later endorsement (of the seventeenth century) on the manuscript of the document quoted, which is itself, in fact, fifteenth century in date.² The change of name from 'Wanborough' to 'Hinton' cannot be proven to have taken place before the latter's occurrence (Hynetone) in a document dated 1171;³ in a

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1. Hart, Codex, p.11. The text of 167 is incomplete but shows internal similarities to that of 166.
 2. PNWilts, p.286, quoting BCS 477 (Sawyer 312). The endorsement from which the spelling Hynyton was taken is on the fifteenth-century single-sheet, WCL, Library Showcase (Sawyer 312(1)), and was probably added by John Chase c. 1643, cf. WCL, Book of John Chase, fo.90^v. DEPN, p.241, quotes this form and Hynetone from BCS 477 foll. with the date A.D. 854; Hynetone is from a thirteenth-century endorsement on Edinburgh University Library, Laing Chart.18 (v. below, Appendix 2, +169; and Plate XXVI).
 3. Goodman, Chartulary 3.

document datable to c. 1127, indeed, the estate was still referred to by its earlier name (Wemberge).¹ Hart's suggestion may thus be anachronistic, if the name 'Hinton' was not yet in use for the estate in question when Cod.Wint. I was compiled.

Apart from the above errors of association, and the location of 26-33 at the front of Cod.Wint. I (see above), no reason can be suggested for the order in which the other groups of documents occur within the cartulary. They do not follow any sequence of estates contained in the presumed exemplar sub-document 26-39, nor do they follow a county or regional sequence.

(ii) The rubrics

Rubrics in red ink introduce most of the individual documents in Cod.Wint. I.² The majority of these rubrics were added by scribe b, soon after the transcription of the text by scribe a and probably near to the time that the corrections were made. They were inserted into spaces left by scribe a for the purpose, between the texts of individual documents. Only in Quire X (160-74) were the rubrics written by the scribe of the text (scribe a). The rubrics to 26-7, 30-3 were not written by either scribe a or b however, not being inserted until 34-9 had been added to the cartulary, by scribe c as part of Cod.Wint. II;³ in spite of this,

1. Goodman, Chartulary 2.

2. See above, Part B, section 1g.

3. See below, Part C, section 2, scribe c.

since these rubrics were almost certainly descriptive sub-headings to 26-7, 30-3 ^{in an} exemplar sub-document containing 26-39,¹ they have been included in the present discussion of the text of rubrics in Cod.Wint.I. A distinction may be made between documents in Cod.Wint.I introduced by a rubric in Old English; those introduced by one in Latin, or in a mixture of Latin and Old English; and those without rubrics.

A comparison of surviving exemplars to their respective cartulary copies shows that, in these cases, the OE cartulary-rubrics were copied, occasionally with some modification, from contemporary endorsements on the exemplars.² It is probable that most of the remaining OE rubrics to diplomas in Cod.Wint.I had originally been similar endorsements on their (now-lost) exemplars. Such contemporary vernacular endorsements seem to have been a regular feature of Anglo-Saxon diplomas, in Wessex at least, by the early tenth century. They were usually written by the scribe of the text of the diploma and took the form of a summary of its contents, a form which later proved convenient for use as cartulary-rubrics.³ Besides their use in this way in Cod.Wint.I,

1. See (i), above. 28-9 are without rubrics.

2. See below, Appendix 2.

3. For example, the endorsement-rubric to 59 states: 'This is the diploma of the 4 hides at Withiel which King Eadgar had granted to Coenwulf in perpetual inheritance.'

they also appear as such/^{rubrics} in the fourteenth-century Wilton Abbey cartulary¹ and in the twelfth-century Sherborne Abbey one.² In contrast, the vernacular rubrics used for each of the Latin documents 26-7, 30-3 may have already functioned as rubrics in an exemplar text, if the group of documents formed by 26-33 represents the transcription into Cod.Wint. I of part of a pre-existing textual group (see (i), above).

The only wholly-vernacular documents in Cod.Wint.I given OE rubrics were 63-4, 67-9, 162, and 172. The two latter were both wills, and have rubrics which probably represent descriptive endorsements on the (now-lost) exemplars. The rest belong to a series of administrative memoranda and boundaries concerning the estate of Taunton, Somerset, and its dependencies. While, from its form and location, it is probable that the rubric standing before 64 was intended to describe not only 64 but also 66-70 (and possibly 65) and was originally a heading

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1. BL, Harl. MS. 436; e.g., fo. 16: Pis is pare.xx. hida boc at Stantune be Eadpig cing gebocode Osulfe biscope on eche yrfe. (Sawyer 647). Unfortunately, no exemplars of the Anglo-Saxon documents in this cartulary survive for comparison to the cartulary copies, v. Sawyer, p.55.
 2. BL, Add. MS. 46487; v. F. Wormald, 'The Sherborne "Chartulary"', Fritz Saxl 1890-1948, ed. D.J. Gordon (1957), pp. 101-19. As in the preceding note, no exemplars survive for this cartulary, v. Sawyer, p.49. It is noticeable that vernacular rubrics were used in this cartulary only to introduce documents which had originally belonged to the archive of Horton Abbey (combined with Sherborne in 1122), documents from the Sherborne archive being given Latin rubrics.

or an endorsement to a file containing the texts 64-70 (see (i), above),¹ those rubrics standing before 67-9 represent sub-headings, within this pre-existing textual group, of a similar type to those described ^{above} in the group 26-33. The rubric to 63, which describes the contents of that document alone, was probably copied from an endorsement on its exemplar, which seems to have been separate from that of 64-70.²

Documents in Cod.Wint. I supplied with Latin introductory-rubrics include both vernacular boundaries, memoranda, leases and wills (53, 92-3, 122, 126ab, 142ab, 148ab, 152)³ and Latin, or Latin and OE, diplomas (26, 40-1, 50-1, 54, 60, 62, 78, 107, 117, 119, 124, 130-1, 140a). Almost all of these rubrics could have been copied from descriptive Latin endorsements on the

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1. The rubric to 64 states: 'These are the English estate-boundaries pertaining to Taunton'.
 2. The rubric to 63 states: 'This is the charter concerning the rights which pertain to Taunton', and the exemplar is said (in Latin) to be a chirograph, cf. 92-3, 122, below.
 3. The rubricated sentence on fo.25, introducing the boundary contained within 59, is omitted here. Collation to +59 (BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.2; v. below, Appendix 2) shows that this sentence is undistinguished in the exemplar. Its rubrication in Cod.Wint. I may have been due to its addition (as a correction) by scribe b during the process of adding the rubrics to the cartulary, i.e., while using red ink.

exemplars, or, in the case of the word CYROGRAPHVM in the rubrics to 92-3, 122, from a means of authentication at the head or foot of the exemplars. The rubrics to 126ab, 142ab, and 148ab each appear to have been taken from an endorsement which described only 126b, 142b, and 148b respectively, but which were probably endorsed on exemplars containing both documents in each of the pairs 126ab, 142ab, and 148ab. On the other hand, the rubric to 140a may have been taken from the heading to a file consisting of the exemplars of 140-2. In the same way, the Latin rubric before 26 was probably copied from the heading to an exemplar sub-document containing 26-39.

All of the documents in Cod. Wint. I which have Latin rubrics that could have been copied from Latin endorsements on the exemplars related to estates belonging to Winchester Cathedral by 1066. None related to alien estates. The rubrics relating to boundaries merely state: 'The boundaries of... (with the name of the estate)'.¹ Those relating to dispositions usually state the type of transaction. (Donum, Confirmatio, etc.), the name of the donor, the place granted, and, sometimes, the beneficiary (the church of Winchester, or the Old Minster).²

1. For example, the rubric to 152: Apeltunæ metæ.

2. For example, the rubric to 51: Donum Ine regis de Alresforda ad uetus cenobium.
That to 122 does not give the donor's name or the beneficiary, however.

The following documents, which have hybrid (Latin and OE) rubrics, should be taken with those discussed in the previous two paragraphs: 77, 110, 112, 114, 116, 177, 181, 183, 190.¹ Apart from 114, all of these documents had Winchester Cathedral as their beneficiary. 114 is a very early grant (A.D. 688, for 685 X 687), to three otherwise-unknown beneficiaries, of the estate of Farnham, Surrey, later owned by the bishops of Winchester; the grant was made specifically for the founding of a monastery. If genuine, 114 may represent the record of the transaction whereby the estate was first converted into bookland. It may be that the three beneficiaries made their monastery subject to Winchester Cathedral, in which case their title-deed may have passed to it with the estate in question and have been preserved with the documents relating to the cathedral endowment.

The hybrid rubrics to documents in Cod.Wint.I probably all represent the amplification, in Latin, of existing vernacular endorsements on the exemplars. These existing endorsements had been of varying length and of three types, as follows: the name of the estate preceded by the OE preposition to, 'pertaining to' (77, 110, 112, 116; cf. the rubrics to 67-9, 113, 129, 141); the name of the estate, in the OE genitive case,

1. The rubric to 26 is omitted here since the Latin part probably describes all the texts 26-39, while the OE part refers specifically to 26. For the rubric to 63, which contains the Latin word CYROGRAPHVM as well as an OE sentence, v. above, p.217, n.2.

followed by OE bōc, 'diploma' (114, 190; cf. the rubric to 221, in Cod.Wint. II); and a declaration that 'this is the diploma of.../pertaining to... (with the name, and sometimes the hidage, of the estate)' (177, 181abc, 183; cf. the rubrics to 82, 136-7¹). To each of these vernacular descriptions was later added, in Latin, the name of the donor of the grant concerned.

Both the hybrid rubrics and the purely-Latin ones appear solely in relation to documents concerning estates owned by Winchester Cathedral by 1066, although not all documents in Cod.Wint. I associated with such estates, or even all documents therein with Winchester Cathedral as beneficiary, possess such rubrics. Some documents granting estates to the cathedral (42-4, 56-8, 71, 75, 97, 118, 125, 132, 149, 168, 180, 191, 197) have full OE rubrics, all of which, it should be noted, specify the respective donors, the feature which the vernacular part of the hybrid rubrics lacked until it was supplied in Latin.

It seems likely that the hybrid rubrics in Cod.Wint. I reflect instances where the vernacular endorsements on the exemplars of documents relating to Winchester cathedral estates had been regarded as inadequate, in their lack of the donor's name, and where this deficiency had been made good in a short Latin phrase.

1. Cf. also endorsement(1) to +210 (BL, Harl. Chart. 43. C.8; v. below, Appendix 2).

Further, it may be suggested that some at least of the documents with purely-Latin rubrics represent ones relating to Winchester cathedral estates whose exemplars had once lacked any endorsement at all, a deficiency which had been made good by the composition of a full Latin description. On the other hand, others of those with purely-Latin rubrics may represent cases of Latin endorsements on the exemplars which were translations of full OE endorsements thereon, but of which only the Latin text had been used as a rubric in the cartulary.¹ This is not to say that there are no documents concerning the disposition of cathedral estates which lack a rubric of any kind in Cod.Wint. I (see below), but these are few enough to be regarded either as oversights or as uncommonly unintelligible to the composer(s) of the Latin descriptions.

The date at which the Latin rubrics, and the Latin part of hybrid rubrics, were composed is a difficult problem. Were they composed solely as cartulary-headings to individual documents after the transcription of the latter into Cod.Wint. I? Alternatively, do they represent the transcription of actual endorsements which appeared on the exemplars? None of the exemplars of documents in Cod.Wint. I with purely-Latin rubrics survives, but that of one of those with a hybrid rubric

1. Cf. the full OE endorsement (contemporary) and the Latin translation of it (?early s.xii) which occur on BL.Harl. Chart. 43 C. 6 (Sawyer 801(1)), which was at Winchester Cathedral in 1640 (v. BL, Harl. MS. 596, fos. 18^v-19^v) and whose beneficiary was Bishop Ethelwold of Winchester, in a personal capacity.

does (+190).¹ In this instance, both parts of the hybrid rubric also appear as endorsements on the exemplar.² It is significant that, while the vernacular endorsement is in a hand contemporary to that of the text of the diploma (? eleventh-century), the Latin endorsement, describing the donor of the grant, is in a hand of the early twelfth century.³ If the Latin part of all the hybrid rubrics, and the full text of all the purely-Latin ones, also appeared as early twelfth-century endorsements on the exemplars, then it is possible that the addition of these endorsements was associated with a sorting of documents in the monastic and episcopal archives at Winchester Cathedral shortly before their transcription into Cod.Wint. I, perhaps in preparation for the task of compiling such a cartulary. Alternatively, they may simply reflect an early twelfth-century investigation of the cathedral endowment, with no specific intention of compiling a cartulary, perhaps during the quarrel between the monks of the cathedral priory and Bishop William Giffard.⁴

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1. BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 1; v. below, Appendix 2.
 2. Although the form Edpeardi on the exemplar is represented as EDWARDI in the cartulary.
 3. Cf. the Latin endorsement on BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C. 6 (v. above, p.221, n.1), which is probably also of this date.
 4. See Winchester ann., s.aa. 1122, 1124. Cf. below, Part B, section 5. For the archival implications of these Latin and hybrid endorsement-rubrics, v. above, pp.132-8.

Some documents appear in Cod.Wint.I without their own descriptive rubric (28-9, 61, 64-6, 70, 102, 104b, 106, 111b, 115, 120-1, 123ab, 126a, 128, 140b, 142a, 147, 148a, 150, 158, 169-70, 174b, 181bc, 184-7, 189, 194, 203b).¹ Of these, all but five (29, 115, 128, 140b, and 147) are vernacular documents. In reality, 28-9, 64-6, 70, and 140b lack only sub-headings, being parts of the groups of texts 26-33, and 64-70, 140-2 introduced by the rubrics before 26, 64 and 140a respectively (see above). 147 relates to an alien estate. Others among the above (104b, 111b, 126a, 142a, 148a, 174b, 181bc, 203b) are documents which have been embodied in later, or associated, records and have lost their once separate identity; some of these may themselves have been in the form of endorsements on the exemplars of the documents to which they were subordinated in the cartulary.² 106 may either have been an endorsement on the exemplar of the document which precedes it in Cod.Wint.I (105), and whose surrender to the Old Minster it mentions, or have been physically attached to its foot by means of sewing.³ 184 and 189 are vernacular versions of 183 and 188 respectively and were possibly written on the same exemplar parchments as their Latin counterparts; if an exemplar parchment.

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1. The rubric to 191 (fo.98) is not included here; it is a palimpsest in which scribe g (s.xiv; v. below, Part D, section 2) has renewed a faded, or partially erased, rubric written by scribe b.92-3 have as rubric only the word CYROGRAPHVM
 2. Cf. the endorsement (s.xi) of the bounds of Godmersham and Challock, Kent, (Sawyer 1620) on BL, Stowe Chart. 14 (s.ix; Sawyer 1434), an earlier record concerning Easole, Kent.
 3. +161 and +162 appear to have been sewn together by the twelfth century, v. below, Appendix 2, +161, endorsement(2).

were shared thus between more than one record, any descriptive endorsements would probably have been assigned in the cartulary as rubrics to the first record and hence the following one would appear without a rubric.¹ The exemplars of some of the remaining documents without rubrics, listed above, may originally not have had any endorsements and their vernacular form may have defied description in Latin in the early twelfth century (all relate to cathedral estates).² Alternatively, if scribe b, the corrector of the Latin text of Cod.Wint.I and also the rubricator of most of this part of the Codex, left systematic checking of vernacular texts to scribe a, he may have forgotten to copy their endorsements into the cartulary as rubrics.³

From the above discussion of the different types of rubrics used in Cod.Wint.I, it appears that all of them were probably copied from endorsements, headings, or means of authentication (the word CYROGRAPHVM) which actually appeared on the exemplars. The more explicit endorsements and headings had probably proved useful in the process of sorting the sources of Cod.Wint.I prior to their transcription into it. A misassociation of documents at this stage may have been behind the grouping of 164 and 165 in the cartulary. The former is

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1. However, as it is also possible that 184 and 189 were written on single-sheets separate from 183 and 188, they have been assigned their own numbers in the Descriptive List (Appendix 1, below).
 2. The same perhaps applies to the exemplars of 92-3, which merely have the word CYROGRAPHVM as rubrics.
 3. See below, Part B, section 4, b(iv).

a grant of five hides of land at Fyfield, Hants (Et FIF HIDON; 'at the five hides') and the latter a grant of five hides at Patney, Wilts. The first was granted by King Eadgar to the thegn Ælfweard, the second by the same king to himself. Apart from the donor, there is no other association between these grants except for the fact that the first seven words of their respective endorsement-rubrics are identical in wording (but not in spelling), each beginning 'This is the diploma of the five hides...'. Other documents in Cod.Wint.I relating to five-hide estates (45-9, 86, 88, 105, 144, 171, 175, 180, 193) also have endorsement-rubrics which begin thus, so presumably 164 could have been put with any of them rather than with 165. The fact that it was grouped with the latter in the cartulary may stem from a decision made when sorting the exemplars by reference to their endorsements, at a very early stage in the compilation of the volume, which was never subjected to review. In contrast, it is clear that the content of both 129 and 190 was considered as well as the endorsements on their exemplars when the decision was made to put each of these records in their present respective locations in Cod.Wint.I. Although 129, relating to both Creech St. Michael and Stoke St. Mary, Somerset, mentions only Creech in its rubric, the document was placed next to 128 which deals only with Stoke St. Mary, of the two estates. The other example, 190, has a rubric which describes it solely as 'The diploma of Chilcomb, of King Edward (the Elder)'.

While the text of this document does deal principally with the estate of Chilcomb, Hants, it also refers to the hundred of Downton with Bishopstone, Wilts., and the estate of Beddington, Surrey, and 190 owes its location in Cod.Wint. I to its association with two documents, 188-9, concerning Beddington, rather than any concerning Chilcomb (or Downton). In fact, 188-9, Latin and English versions of a letter of Bishop Denewulf to King Edward the Elder, mention the same lease of Beddington as is referred to in 190, and hence, although the rubric to 190 does not make this connection clear, the three documents 188-90 are quite reasonably grouped together in the cartulary.

In spite of the limitations of a short endorsement-rubric such as that to 190, it is clear from their addition in distinctive red ink that the rubrics in Cod.Wint. I were intended to act as a running guide to the contents of the cartulary. The alteration of some endorsement-rubrics, but not of the same details in the main text of the respective documents, which scribe a effected in Quire X, implies that he, at least, thought that the rubrics might be read in preference to the full text of documents.¹ Documents possessing rubrics, however brief, were enabled thereby to retain something of their identity as individual records, both within groupings of documents (see (i), above) and within

1. See below, Part B, section 4, b (iii).

Cod.Wint. I as a whole. There were, however, no rubrics coined specifically to introduce different sections of the cartulary and no running page-headings. The nearest thing to sectional rubrics were those before the groups 26-33, 64-70, and 140-2, which had probably been carried over from headings to these pre-existing groupings on their respective exemplars. It may be, however, that 26-33 were purposely placed at the front of Cod.Wint.I so that the heading on their exemplar (the Latin rubric standing before 26) could act, implicitly at least, as a form of Incipit to the volume.

(iii) The limitations of the arrangement

The two recurring aspects of the arrangement of Cod.Wint.I discussed above, the grouping of documents and the use of rubrics, are the only discernible evidence of any plan behind the organisation of its contents into book-form. Even the latter of these two aspects probably took no invention, the rubrics being taken from descriptions already on the exemplars, while some of the groupings of documents used in the cartulary were probably also a feature of its sources. Everything else that can be said of the over-all arrangement of Cod.Wint. I is negative, it being characterized by an absence of explicit editorial explanation such as the type of prologue and commentary that is a feature of the twelfth-century Abingdon cartulary¹ and of the late eleventh-century

1. BL, Cotton MS. Claud. C. ix, fos. 105-203.

Worcester one (Tib. II, alias Hemming).¹ Unlike in Tib. II, there is no indication of the name of either scribe a or scribe b in Cod. Wint. I. There is no original table of contents or foliation.

The text of Cod. Wint. I was written in continuous prose across folios and quires, in contrast to the division of material between quires found in the early eleventh-century Worcester cartulary (Tib. I)² and in the later medieval cartulary of Winchester Cathedral itself.³ There was no segregation of different types of document in Cod. Wint. I of the type found in the Abingdon cartulary mentioned above, where boundaries were divorced from the diplomas in which they occurred into a separate boundary section at the end of the cartulary,⁴ or in Tib. I, where a large number of vernacular leases were grouped together.⁵ There was

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1. BL. Cotton MS. Tib. A. xiii, fos. 119-200; distinguished as Tib. II by N.R. Ker, 'Hemming's cartulary, a description of the two Worcester cartularies in Cotton Tiberius A. xiii', Studies in medieval history presented to Frederick Maurice Powicke, edd. R.W. Hunt, W.A. Pantin, R.W. Southern, (Oxford, 1948), pp. 55-62.
 2. BL, Cotton MS. Tib. A. xiii, fos. 1-118, v. Ker, op.cit., pp. 49-55.
 3. WCL, St. Swithun's Cartulary; calendared in Goodman, Chartulary.
 4. Fos. 196-202^v of the MS. in p. 227, n. 1.
 5. Fos. 57-101^v, 111-13 of the MS. in n. 2, above; v. Ker, op.cit., pp. 54-5.

no ordering of the topographical groupings in Cod.Wint.I into sections for different shires, as in Tib.I and Tib.II,¹ and no attempt at a chronological order within each topographical group. Similarly, documents concerning the respective estates of the bishop and the monks were not segregated from each other.

The fact that Cod.Wint.I is characterized by only a minimum of editorial organisation and a total lack of commentary may be due to a combination of three factors: the nature of its sources; the degree of editorial skill of its scribes; and the dictates of its overall purpose. The exemplars of the documents in Cod.Wint.I were numerous. They were written in an archaic script and many were, in whole or in part, composed in an archaic form of the vernacular.² These difficulties were occasionally made more complicated by the fact that some of the documents were already in pre-existing files of material which could not conveniently be broken up. Such problems would be more serious for a scribe unused to editing material, in distinction to merely transcribing it. In the Abingdon and Worcester (Tib.II) cartularies the difficulties of arranging similar sources seem to have been met with more confidence. In Tib.II the reason for this was perhaps that the scribe was also the instigator of the cartulary, whereas in Cod.Wint.I it is doubtful whether

1. Ker, *ibid.*, pp. 52,56.

2. Cf. below, Part B, section 4, b(ii).

scribe a was. It may well be that scribe b, the rubricator of all except Quire X and also the corrector, was the man responsible for the principles, few as they were, behind the over-all arrangement of Cod.Wint.I, while scribe a was merely his amanuensis. Those principles which are discernible seem to accord best with the intention to produce a collection of muniments in book-form which could stand in its own right as a source of documentary evidence for the Anglo-Saxon endowment of Winchester Cathedral, and which would reproduce the text and many of the palaeographical features of the exemplars in a form more convenient to consult and handle. The lack of archival references, unless the endorsement-rubrics — are counted as such, implies that the cartulary was to act as a substitute for the exemplars rather than as a guide to their location. The absence of narrative commentary, as also the lack of chronological order, supports the view of Cod.Wint.I as a convenient source of evidence rather than as a chronicle of the endowment.¹ Although, as such, the cartulary does not supply the historian of today with any explicit statements of intent, and this he may regret, he should reflect that, had the texts in Cod.Wint.I been more rigorously edited, rather than in most cases merely transcribed, he would have had many more difficult textual problems to contend with, to separate twelfth-century interpolation from the text of the exemplars, than is in fact the case.²

1. For a discussion of the purpose of Cod.Wint.I, v. below, Part B, section 5.

2. See following section.

b) The Copying of the Text

Nine of the documents extant as single-sheets, and described below in Appendix 2, were almost certainly used as exemplars for 43, 56, 59, 127, 157, 161, 162, 169, and 190 in Cod.Wint. I.¹ The texts of these nine single-sheets have been collated to the respective cartulary-texts, and all significant differences between the pairs of texts are shown in Appendix 3, below. The major part of all nine documents was transcribed into Cod.Wint. I by scribe a, who also wrote the rubrics to 161 and 162.

The corrections to 43, 56, 59, 127, 157, 161, and 190, and the rubrics to 43, 56, 59, 127, 157, and 190, were, however, written by scribe b.

Since the skill and editorial practices of different scribes probably varied, the material relative to each of the two scribes involved in the transcription of text into Cod.Wint.I is treated separately in the present section and in Appendix 3.

1. Respectively, BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 11, 17; BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.2; BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 12, 9, 16A, 16B; Edinburgh University Library, Laing Chart. 18; BL, Harl. Chart 43 C.1. See below, Appendix 2. In the present discussion, all the single-sheets listed in Appendix 2 have been treated as the certain exemplars of particular cartulary-texts; for a finer distinction between definite and probable exemplars, v. notes on each single-sheet in Appendix 2.

The fact that the likely exemplars have survived in a scattered distribution in relation to the contents of Cod.Wint. I allows the changes shown by the collation to have been made to these particular texts by the two scribes of Cod.Wint. I to be taken as generally representative of the character of their respective work in Cod. Wint. I with regard to documents of which no likely exemplars survive.¹ However, although the detailed results of the collation may be borne in mind when reading the remaining documents in Cod.Wint.I, none of the changes listed in Appendix 3 can be taken as standard substitutions in all occurrences of particular words or letters in them. The changes effected were not consistent enough to allow any absolute restoration of text by a modern reader. Further, it is likely that there was a diversity of script, linguistic development, and physical condition between the various exemplars which would have had some effect on the degree of accuracy with which each was copied.

Besides the results of the collation mentioned above, some additional information about the accuracy of the scribes of Cod.Wint. I may be gleaned from obvious palaeographical errors in the remainder of this part of the cartulary which reflect the misreading of certain letters in the now-lost exemplars. Similarly,

1. Scribe b's transcription of documents into Cod.Wint.II is discussed separately, below, Part C, section 2.

certain other inaccuracies in the cartulary-texts presumably represent copying errors. Such examples of subconscious error are to be distinguished from the application of a conscious editorial policy aimed at 'improving' the text of the exemplars, instances of which do occasionally occur (see below), effected by both the scribes of Cod. Wint. I.

Although it is of the utmost importance that some assessment should be made of the degree of difference between the text of the documents copied into the cartulary and that contained in their exemplars, we should perhaps beware of being over-condemnatory of changes other than those which were deliberately intended to falsify historical fact.¹ The criteria of editorial accuracy have changed since the twelfth century. The modern concept of the exact reproduction of a text letter-for-letter in an edition, except in cases of properly annotated editorial emendation, would have been anachronistic in the twelfth century. At that time it was acceptable practice to modernise and correct an exemplar without comment. Moreover, the modern concept of a standard dictionary-spelling of vernacular words was not yet current, their spelling varying according to the spoken dialect of the individual scribe. Although in the late Anglo-Saxon period there emerged some idea of a

1. For examples of the latter sort, v. (iii), below.

standard literary language based on West Saxon¹, there was never, then or in the twelfth century, any absolute conformity of spelling or inflexion, and the dialectal background of particular scribes was still distinguishable. It is not surprising therefore that the amount of linguistic change between the text of the probable exemplars and that of the cartulary is quite marked.

(i) Palaeographical errors by scribe a²

Instances of the mistaking of one letter-form in the exemplar for another occurred during the copying of text into Cod.Wint. I, as also in other parts of the Codex. The identity of some words in the exemplars was obscured by the substitution of similar-looking but different-sounding letters. Most of such purely palaeographical errors in all parts of the Codex which included Anglo-Saxon material were due to the unfamiliarity of its scribes with the insular form of script apparently used in many of the exemplars. Although in common use in England before the Benedictine Reformation, for the writing of both Latin and vernacular texts, insular minuscule script had become reserved for writing in the vernacular by the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, while caroline minuscule was used for Latin texts.³ The scribes of

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1. See Campbell, OEG 16-18, 20; and The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154, ed. C. Clark (2nd edition; Oxford, 1970), pp. xliii-v.
 2. For a full list of the errors discussed in this sub-section, v. below, Appendix 3, scribe a, sections 1,2.
 3. See N.R. Ker, Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), pp. xxv-vi.

bilingual texts used both scripts to differentiate between the two languages. The major difference between the two scripts before 1066 was the use in insular minuscule of the OE letters æ, þ, ð, ƿ, and of ~~—~~ characteristic forms of the letters a, d, e, f, g, h, r, s, y. By the mid twelfth century, however, insular minuscule had gone out of spontaneous use in most English scriptoria although it was occasionally used, as in the Codex, for the reproduction of such vernacular material as was still deemed of any worth. A close study of Quire I of Cod.Wint. I suggests that scribe a was unused to writing in insular minuscule and had to develop fluency in it especially for the copying of vernacular documents into the cartulary.¹ His use of it contrasted with his use of a protogothic bookhand for the Latin text of documents. In his writing of vernacular material he employed the OE letters æ, þ, ð, ƿ, as well as special insular forms for the letters d, f, g, h, r, s, y, and the tironian nota for OE and. It is noteworthy, however, that he used the same (caroline) form of the letter a in both Latin and vernacular texts, rather than an insular version in the latter. His use of his particular version of insular minuscule, once developed in Quire I, was regular throughout the rest of his copying of vernacular documents into Cod.Wint. I.

1. See above, Part B, section 1,h.

His writing of text was not then consciously imitative of the script of particular exemplars. He wrote all Latin text in protogothic bookhand, whether or not his exemplar had used insular minuscule for both Latin and vernacular parts of a document.¹ Also, he seems only to have consciously reproduced letter-forms peculiar to his exemplars when he did not fully understand them, for example, the y of ðyses in 79,² or the medial u (with a descender) of bearuðu and furesleáge in 177.³ Occasionally, he substituted one letter-form in the cartulary for another in his exemplar having the same phonetic value.⁴

Collation of cartulary-texts written by scribe a to their surviving exemplars (see Appendix 3) shows that he apparently misread the following insular letters in the exemplars:

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1. For example, +161 (BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 16A) and +190 (BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.1).
 2. MS. ðj.ses, fo. 34^v. BCS 674 alters to ði[s]ses.
 3. BCS 476 reads fyresleáge.
 4. See (iii), below.

- c: taken as s in OE, +56
r: taken as p in Latin, +43; as ri in OE,
 and as s in Latin, + 190
s: taken as f in Latin, +43; as r in Latin,
 +43, +161
 OE ð: taken as d, +56, +59, +161, +169, +190
 OE ƿ: taken as p, +127, +161, +190¹

Other misreadings of insular letters by scribe a can be deduced from a close study of the cartulary-text of documents whose exemplars do not survive. The following examples have been noticed during the preparation of the Descriptive List (Appendix 1):²

- a (horned or double-c): taken as ce in Latin, 191; as ci in OE, 58; as oc and as x in OE, 40
a (open-headed): taken as u in Latin, 149, 175, 180; ditto in OE, 189

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- Note, however, that scribe a made no consistent palaeographical distinction in Old English text between p and ƿ, and the two letters are often indistinguishable in Cod. Wint. I. Also, that the apparent substitution of initial P for initial ƿ in personal-names is quite frequent therein. This latter phenomenon need not imply any lack of knowledge of Old English however - two types of initial P were current in the Anglo-Saxon period, one of which was indistinguishable from initial ƿ; scribe a may have assumed that since one of the forms of initial P was identical to ƿ, then the other could also interchange with it. Both forms of P (one with an oblique serif at the base of its stem) occur in ^{Bod.}Bodley MS. 775 (e.g., fo. 18^v), the Æthelred Troper (s. xi).
 - For full details, v. notes on the text of individual documents in Appendix 1, below. For the characteristics of insular letter-forms, v. N.R. Ker, Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957) pp. xxvii-xxxiii.

- æ (representing the Latin diphthong ae): taken as (?horned) a in Latin, 181a
- c: taken as e, 180; as l, 79; as s, 159; as t, 97: all in Latin
- d (with a short oblique ascender): taken as c, 168; as t, 204: both in Latin
- e (tall): taken as i in Latin, 140a, 206-7
- f (above the line): taken as l in OE, 102, 112
- f (with a descender): taken as g in OE, 123a; as r in Latin, 97; as s in OE, 72
- g taken as qu in Latin, 192; as capital T in OE, 193
- h taken as b in OE, 123b
- p (open-headed): taken as r in Latin and in OE, 78; cf. also the reading rotantibus for optantibus, 176
- r (with long descender):¹ taken as g in Latin, 206; as s in Latin, 117, 180, 183; ditto in OE, 40, 178
- r (with short descender): taken as n in Latin, 149, 173; ditto in OE, 123a, 181b; taken as u in Latin, 83; cf. also the reading me for ire, 153
- s (long): taken as c in OE, 114; as e in Latin, 130; as f in Latin, 182; ditto in OE, 110, 143
- s (short): taken as r, 63, 69, 96, 98, 112, 116, 142a, all in OE; ditto in Latin, 79, 90, 97; cf. also the reading of -ns- as -m- in procem/eterna for procensetna, 145 (with etna erroneously taken to be a contraction of eterna)
- OE p: taken as g, 93; as k, 159; as þ, 93

1. The erroneous designation filius regis which occurs in the subscriptions to 140b, 141, 178, was caused by a misreading of insular r (with long descender) for insular (short) s, in an abbreviated form of frater regis.
The reverse mistake occurs in 181a, where (Æðelstan) frater regis is for filius regis

OE ƿ: taken as f, 74; as r, 171-2

ʏ (with both upper strokes turned to the right):
taken as f in OE, 55

At other times, scribe a mistook other letters in his exemplars for particular insular letter-forms. Instances from the collation to surviving exemplars (see Appendix 3) are as follows:

ce read in error as OE æ, +190

d read in error as OE ð, +56, +59, +157, +161, +190.

p read in error as OE ƿ, +43, +56, +59, +161, +162,
+190¹

s read in error as c in Latin, +161

u read in error as (open-headed) a in Latin, +190

Additional errors of this type can be recognized in the cartulary-text of documents whose exemplars do not survive. The following insular letters seem to have

been presumed by scribe a in the (now-lost) exemplars:²

a (open-headed): read in error for n in OE, 142b;

cf. also the reading annuere for minuere, 208

a (rounded): read in error for o in Latin, 203;

ditto in OE, 166-7

c read in error for l in OE, 104b; for t in OE, 76;
for x in Latin, 199

e (tall): read in error for i in Latin, 139, 141,
154, 159, 206

r (with short descender): read in error for h
in Latin, 41; for n in Latin, 103, 117; ditto
in OE, 95, 125, 155; cf. also the readings
ricunditatem, rides for iucunditatem, iudeis, 83

1. On the similarity of P- and ƿ- however, v. above, p. 237 n. 1.

2. For full details, v. notes on the text of individual documents in Appendix 1, below.

s (short) in combination with -n-: read in error for -m- in OE, 170

þ: read in error for -fs-, 155

The same scribe also made palaeographical errors stemming from the presence in his exemplars of features peculiar to the duct¹ of insular minuscule. In +56, he took the trailing cross-stroke of final t of extiterit with the following full point as a punctus elevatus. In +190, he took the pronounced tongue of final e of the first word of the phrase be/crapeleinga/mearce with initial c of the second word as the cross-stroke of a letter t, writing in the cartulary betrapæ/leinga/mearcæ. In this second example, the word-division in the cartulary has been affected by the same misreading. Another instance of the pronounced tongue of final e in the exemplar affecting the word-division of Cod.Wint. I occurs in +59 whose terre/dó became terredo in 59. In +161, the descender of low insular s in æðelsige was mis-associated by the cartulary-scribe with the cross-stroke of ð in þiferð in the following line, for which he wrote þiferð in 161. In the same document, the spurred e of the cartulary-form paue/ factis is due to a mistaken association of an accent on á, in the following line of the exemplar, with the letter e of paue/factis therein. Similar errors no doubt occurred in the copying of texts into the cartulary of which the exemplars do not survive, but these are impossible to isolate with certainty.

1. See below, p. 394, n. 2.

More common types of palaeographical error, not specifically associated with this copyist's unfamiliarity with insular minuscule, also occurred. He was sometimes prone to the erroneous extension of abbreviations in the exemplars. Thus u^o (standing for Latin quinto) in +161 was written as uero in 161, and ap/decessoribus (standing for a/predecessoribus) in +190 was written as apud/decessoribus in 190. The cartulary-forms predicturus and cassatos, in 154 and 180 respectively, probably stem from the copyist's ignoring of suspension-marks in the (now-lost) exemplars which probably read predictū/rus (that is, predictum /rus) and cassator̄ (that is, cassatorum; in which also insular r was misread as s). In 55, the form Indie seems to stand for an abbreviation for Indictione in the (now-lost) exemplar. In 161, the boundary-point meosh/hline is a misreading of meos/h'line of +161 and represents an erroneous doubling in the cartulary of a corrector's insertion in the exemplar.

Errors due to the misinterpretation by scribe a of groups of minims in the exemplars may be detected in cartulary texts for which no exemplars survive by the use of a knowledge of normal diplomatic formulae employed in documents of a like type, by an appreciation of the possible range of consonants in the spelling of certain words, and by a reconstruction of the wrong readings later corrected by scribe b.

From such considerations it is plain, for example, that the words minuere and uobis, written by scribe a in 117 and 188 respectively, were errors for Latin munere and nobis of his (now-lost) exemplars, to which spellings they were later corrected. Similarly, the readings Ælfhim, MIDDELTIM, nu/ne, ním, tpætitiġ of 146, 83, 61, 187, and 189 respectively, were probably errors for OE Ælfhun, MIDDELTUN, mine, hím, and tpæntiġ.

It is probable that all of the palaeographical errors described above were due to genuine mistakes by scribe a in reading the exemplars. It is likely that, had they been pointed out to him, he would have corrected them himself. In this respect, they contrast with the linguistic and textual changes described in the following sub-sections, few, if any, of which may be classed as pure error rather than as editorial emendation.

(ii) Linguistic changes by scribe a

Linguistic changes made by scribe a to the text of documents which he copied into Cod.Wint. I, as also those made by the scribes writing after him in the Codex, were of an orthographic rather than a stylistic nature. No attempt to change the literary style of the exemplars could have succeeded without destroying their validity as diplomatic products of the Anglo-Saxon period, consisting of traditional formulae in an accepted order of presentation.¹ The linguistic changes made in the cartulary by scribe a were thus

1. Cf. above, Part B, section 3b.

limited to those of spelling; word-division and word-accent; and an occasional attempt at syntactical correction.

Because of the lack of an absolutely-standard orthography in the Anglo-Saxon period for either Latin or OE texts,¹ it is impossible to recreate the spelling of now-lost exemplars from the respective cartulary-texts in the Codex. Such exemplars were of different dates, and of varied diplomatic provenance.² Only in the isolated cases of implied palaeographical error (of the sort discussed in (i), above) can the probable spelling of a few individual words in now-lost exemplars be suggested. Any discussion of the linguistic changes made by the scribes of the Codex which has a basis in demonstrable fact can only be founded on the collation of cartulary-spellings to those of respective surviving exemplars, as set out in Appendix 3, below. Because it ignores these considerations, as also because of its use of inaccurately edited texts rather than of the manuscripts themselves, the only modern treatment of the vernacular language of the Anglo-Saxon documents copied into the Codex is only usable with the utmost caution.³

1. For a summary of the dialectal inconsistencies of the surviving OE texts, v. Campbell, OEG 6-22.

2. Cf. above, Part B, section 3,b.

3. R.A. Williams, 'Die vokale der tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis', Anglia 25 (1902), pp.392-517; relying on BCS and KCD for his spellings from the Codex, and on second-hand information about its palaeography.

Scribe a made linguistically-based substitutions of individual letters, or groups of letters, in the Latin text of documents copied by him into Cod. Wint. I which affected consonants, vowels, and diphthongs.¹ None of them were carried out with total consistency however. Thus, although he often doubled the single medial consonants c, n, p, s, and t of his exemplars,² and changed acommodauit and acommodauerat in +190 to accommodauit and accommodauerat in 190, he did not effect the same change to acommodata in the same text, which appears in the cartulary still with a single c.

Besides the doubling of certain consonants, mentioned above, this scribe showed some preferred usages of nasal consonants in Latin. He sometimes alternated n and m, and changed -mm-, -mn-, -nl-, -nr- to -nn-, -mpn-, -ll-, and -rr- respectively. Some of these may be palaeographical errors (cf. (i), above), but others were probably modernisations of unfashionable spellings. The latter explanation is probably true also of such changes as -ti- to -ci-; atquieui (+43) to adquieui (43); and mihi (+43, +161) to michi (43, 161).³

The most frequent changes affecting vowels in the Latin of the texts here considered were those

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1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 3. Substitutions of letters having the same phonetic value are discussed in (iii), below.
 2. Cf. his doubling of c, p, t, in OE texts, below.
 3. Cf. the change of -h- to -ch- in OE texts, below.

affecting the letter e and diphthongs of it with a and o. Thus ae, æ were sometimes changed to e; e to æ; and both æ and oe to either e or æ. These changes again seem to have been due to a desire to modernise particular archaic spellings, although, as can be seen, they were not carried out in a totally-consistent fashion. Similar aims probably lay behind changes of iu- to io-; and of -g- and -y- to -i-. Here again in the latter of these changes there was no consistency, as the substitution of -y- for -i- also occurred. The change of nise (+56) to nisi (56) probably represents a modernisation of an archaic spelling of the Latin word for 'unless'.¹

All of his linguistically-based literal substitutions in Latin presumably reflect some attempt to change particular spellings in the exemplars to ones which conformed more to the idea of current (twelfth-century) Latin orthography held by this scribe. Sometimes, however, it seems that he was content to copy the more archaic spelling of his exemplar. For example, he retained the respective exemplar spellings abebant in 56 (corrected by scribe b to habebant) and diucesim, inretitum, inlicitum in 190 (similarly corrected to diocesim, irretitum, illicitum). A similar criticism, of rules apparently being recognized but inconsistently applied, may be made of his treatment of

1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 12, s.v.

word-division in Latin.¹ As was usual in medieval manuscripts, most of the confusion over Latin word-division concerned either the division of prepositions from the nouns they governed, or the integrity of compound nouns or verbs containing a prepositional modifier. Sometimes scribe a divided words that were written as one in his exemplar, at other times he did the opposite. Occasionally, he retained an unusual word-division from his exemplar (afryðegyþa +56 and 56).

One copying-error which occurs in 43 and 190 and which, from the evidence of corrections, seems to have been frequently committed throughout Cod.Wint. I by this scribe, was founded on a wrong word-division in the diplomatic clause concerning the reservation to the king of the trimoda necessitas of army-service, bridge-building, and fortress-building. Here arcisue of the exemplars was frequently written in Cod.Wint. I as arci/sue. This particular change implies a miscomprehension of the clause, due to mechanical copying and/or to a lack of historical knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon period, rather than to deficiency in Latin scholarship.

In places, acute accents were added above Latin vowels in Cod.Wint. I where they did not appear in the surviving exemplars. Others were omitted, perhaps in error.² Such accents added in the cartulary.

1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 5. Cf. the accents on á, ibid., section 14.

2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 14. For accents in OE text, v. ibid., section 15, and below.

sometimes indicated stress in compound words (Có/adunavi, 157; etc.), but other functions were to stress a particular word in a phrase (His limitibus hóc rus undique circumdatur, 190; etc.) or to separate neighbouring vowel sounds (méeé, 161; pro/uinciís, 56). Occasionally, they seem to have been added in order to clarify an unusual word-division copied from the exemplar (áme, 190, etc.).

In general, scribe a appears to have been used to writing Latin of a twelfth-century variety, and many of the changes he made to the documents copied into Cod.Wint. I seem to have been intended to bring their Latin orthography closer to that of contemporary (twelfth-century) texts. His substitution of suis (127) for eius (+127) seems, however, to have been an attempt to correct what looked to him to be a syntactical error in the exemplar.¹ The fact that his correction there was erroneous is perhaps of less significance than that he had the confidence to attempt it.

In contrast to his apparent familiarity with Latin texts, it is probable that scribe a was not used to writing texts in the vernacular. As mentioned in (i), above, he was unfamiliar with the special letter-forms used in writing vernacular texts and had to develop his fluency in their use during his copying of documents into Quire I of Cod.Wint. I. This does not mean, however, that he could not speak and understand

1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 12, s.v.

which was the English/current in and around twelfth-century Winchester. On the contrary, it is probable that he was of English descent but someone not usually called upon to write in English, since most of the books and records produced for the bishop or the cathedral priory at that time would have been in Latin or French, the languages of the aristocracy established in England by the Norman Conquest. The very inclusion of vernacular documents, and parts of documents, in Cod.Wint. I implies some familiarity with the English language on the part of its scribes.¹

The linguistically-based literal substitutions made by scribe a to the vernacular text of documents copied into Cod.Wint. I whose exemplars survive do not show any clear dialectal bias, apart from being generally 'southern English' of a type consistent with the date of compilation of this part of the cartulary (1129 X 1139).² The aim of such changes seems,

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1. Cf. the discussion of the languages current in post-conquest England in R.M. Wilson, 'English and French in England, 1100-1300', History, New Series 28 (1943), pp. 37-60. For the vernaculars used at Winchester in the twelfth century, cf. the review of WEMA by C. Clark in Archives 58 (1977), pp. 88-9.
 2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 4. The substitution of letters having the same phonetic value is discussed in (iii), below. For the date of Cod.Wint. I, v. below, Part B, section 5.

as with the Latin text, to have been to modernise archaic spellings, in conformity with the copyist's personal idea of late West Saxon orthography. How close his concept of it came to that held by others living in Winchester at the same period it is very difficult to say. No analogical vernacular literary texts have survived from this area of the country,¹ which, incidentally, heightens the importance of the linguistic material represented by the cartulary-spellings of documents in Cod.Wint. I whose exemplars survive for comparison. These spellings exhibit some general characteristics of early Middle English, particularly in their obscuration of vowels and diphthongs. Their lack of over-all consistency is perhaps to be explained by the fact that they were applications of an orthographic system to an existing set of texts which had not all been composed at the same time and which were not linguistically uniform. Faced with such materials, the copyist's, or editor's, reaction was probably a pragmatic one, directed at individual words or phrases.

Changes to consonants in the vernacular material under discussion were markedly less frequent than those to vowels. It is interesting to note that examples of the doubling of medial c, p, and t, occur, as in Latin texts (see above). Other

1. Cf. Dr. von Feilitzen's similar observation with regard to the personal-name material in the Winton Domesday (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 154), WEMA, p.222.

changes to consonants which may be characteristic are the group formed by final c, gc, to ch; medial h to c or ch; and final h to c. These seem to parallel the change from mihi (+43, +161) to michi (43, 161) in Latin, mentioned above.

Scribe a made several and varied changes to the vowels and diphthongs in the vernacular texts, affecting a, æ, e, ē, i, ie, o, u, and y of the exemplars. By far the most common change he made, however, was the frequent (but not continuous) substitution of both æ for e, and e for æ, in initial, medial, and final positions. This inconsistent two-way substitution probably reflected his confusion over the phonetic value of OE æ which was, already in the early twelfth century, a recessive symbol.¹ Earle's suggestion that the substitution of æ for e in the Codex was due to an attempt by its compilers 'to be as archaic as possible, and as if they had old Kentish specimens before them',² is much less likely.

The same scribe also made some less idiosyncratic modernisations to certain vernacular words in the exemplars. Thus, he modernised betst (+162) to best (162) and feoper (+169) to feor (169), both

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1. It went out of common literary use in most dialects during the twelfth century, cf. Campbell, OEG 329.3.
 2. J. Earle, A handbook to the land-charters and other Saxon documents (Oxford, 1888), p. 348.

according to more general late West Saxon usage.¹ Similarly, the examples of metathesis (the transposition of letters in a word) which occur in his cartulary text of some vernacular documents were of types common in late West Saxon; for example, the metathesis of -sc- to -cs- in ÆCSmere (162), or of -r- in the spelling Brithsige (161) instead of Biorhtsige (+161).² In his spellings Peodred and Vhtred (161), however, he reversed the metathesised spellings of his exemplar (ðeoderd, uhterd, +161).

The spellings Ældelnoð (43), ge/myndde/deg (162), piðæ/easton (190), and pulfgaran/an (162), for Æðelnoð, gemynd/dæg, pið/easton, and pulfgar/an of the respective ^{exemplars} appear to be dittographical errors³ due to self-dictation in copying.⁴

1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 13, s.vv. Also, *ibid.*, the following modernisations or standardisations: Elstan, and/lang, beara, beorge (161), gebyriad, heora, Pinta/ceastre, Pintan/ceastre.
2. Brithsige also has metathesis of -ht- to -th-. For other examples of metathesis, v. below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 3; -ls- < -sl- (in a latinised personal-name); and *ibid.*, section 4, -th- < -ht- and -th- < -ht-. On metathesis in Old English, v. Campbell, OEG 459-60.
3. That is, they are all cases where the copyist has repeated letters by mistake.
4. Cf. the textual errors due to the same process, discussed in (iii), below.

The treatment of word-division in vernacular texts by scribe a was not unlike his treatment of it in Latin (see above).¹ He sometimes disconnected prepositional adverbs and prefixes in verbal compounds (á/pende, 169; ge/rihte, 161; etc.), and the constituent elements of compound nouns (bean/stæde, 190; puðu/forda, 59; etc.), which were written as one word in the exemplars. At other times, however, he united words which were disconnected in the exemplars (cynerice, 169; etc.), or retained the word-division which he found therein. He often united the elements of estate-names (Dænforda, 162; Ciltancumbes, 190; etc.), where in the exemplars they were treated as discrete vernacular words.² Sometimes his word-division represents a semantic misunderstanding of the exemplar (se/altera/cumb, 56 instead of sealtera/cumb, +56; to/ðæmealdan/faldæ, 190 instead of to/ðæm/ealdan/falde, +190; etc.). His treatment of word-division in general in the cartulary reflects the lack of an accepted usage in this respect in the early medieval period.³ The occasional word-division which can be classed as erroneous (because it actually destroyed

1. For OE examples, v.-below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 6.

2. He usually gave these names a capital initial letter too. With EBLESBVRNAN (43) and MYLEBROCE (157), he capitalised the whole compound.

3. On OE word-division, v. Campbell, OEG 29.

the sense of a group of words) was probably due to the effect of mechanical copying of an unfamiliar text.

As in Latin (see above), the only accents used in the vernacular in the surviving exemplars and Cod.Wint. I were acute ones. Examples of both their addition and their omission occurred in the cartulary, probably all effected by scribe a.¹ The differences between exemplars and cartulary are too scattered in occurrence, however, to indicate any consistency of editing in the cartulary. Those added in the latter indicated not only diaeresis² (geáte, 161; etc.), but also stress on a particular word in a phrase (óf[hreod bricge], 157; etc.) or a particular syllable in a compound (um/beflíten, 169; etc.). The latter type was sometimes added in error due to a confusion over word-division (gé/menelice, 162; etc.).³

On three occasions, scribe a made clearly-syntactical changes to vernacular texts.⁴

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1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 15; also (iv), below. On word-accent in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, v. N.R. Ker, Catalogue of manuscripts containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957), p. xxxv; and Campbell, OEG 26.
 2. That is, the marking of the second of two adjacent vowels to indicate that they are not a diphthong.
 3. Cf. the discussion of word-division, above.
 4. For full details, v. below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 13, s.vv.

One of these changes was in fact erroneous (7 lang/ mearces, 127) and another superfluous (butan/án, 161), although neither in a philologically-impossible way. The third instance was however justified (for/minre/saple, 162). Whether such changes were made consciously or subconsciously, they reflect his confidence in using English. Like the other linguistic changes made to the vernacular by this scribe, they support the view that he himself was an English speaker.¹

(iii) Textual changes by scribe a

Changes made by scribe a to material copied by him into Cod. Wint. I, other than palaeographical errors or linguistic standardisations of the types described above, may be divided into two categories. Firstly, there are the mechanical errors and substitutions to be expected in any copyist's work. Secondly, however, there are what appear to be more deliberate changes to the text, but of which only a small proportion were made with the intention of falsifying facts.

1. Cf. also the textual changes, discussed in (iii), below, which may be ascribed to the influence of self-dictation. It is significant that in these he substituted one OE word for another, rather than writing nonsense.

Errors and substitutions caused by the process of copying affected both Latin and vernacular texts in Cod.Wint. I. Considering the volume and difficulty of the material copied, their number was remarkably small. Some misreadings were noticed and altered by scribe a himself, others were later corrected by scribe b.¹ Very few omissions of words occurred in the text of documents whose exemplars survive for comparison.² One line of text was omitted from 59.³ Another was apparently omitted from 167, whose exemplar does not survive.⁴ In general, the addition of whole words due to dittography seems to have been infrequent.⁵ However, another type of dittographical error, which occurred once in the texts whose exemplars survive but which can be shown to have occurred on several occasions elsewhere in Cod.Wint.I, was the misplacing of the

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1. See above, Part B, section 1, k; and (iv), below.
 2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, sections 8,9.
 3. Ibid., section 8.
 4. See below, Appendix 1, 167, nn. 1, 3. This omission may have been deliberate, in order to disguise a difference between the (?interpolated) rubric and the clause of disposition, but similar omissions do not occur in other texts with interpolated rubrics (161, 163-4, 166, 168, 171, 173, 174a; cf. 79).
 5. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 11, s.vv. landas, mearcæ on. See also, Appendix 1, 111ab, textual note.

names of witnesses in degrees of social rank within the subscription-clause of documents.¹ Thus, the last three abbots listed as subscribing +157 were named as ealdormen (duces) in 157, while the addition of the subscription of Elfhære minister to 127 was probably caused by the presence of Elfhære dux in the same witness-list. Other substitutions occurred whose genesis probably lay in the use of self-dictation during copying, where the scribe would memorise a short phrase from his exemplar and repeat it to himself while writing it into his copy. In this way, substitutions of one word for another with a similar sound (but a different meaning) occurred.² Thus, OE his, 'his', (169) stands for OE pis, 'this', (+169); and OE of, 'from', (127) for OE op, 'as far as', (+127).³

For the same reason, the frequent interchange of letters

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1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 12, s.v. Dux; and Appendix 1, notes to 48, 84, 95, 110, 112, 116, 121, 126a, 130, 134, 148a, 156, 159-60, 183-4, 193, 200, 202; cf. 109, 166-7, 191. A few of these errors were noted by Robertson, ASCharters, pp.276, 287, 289, 306, 338. The alternation between frater regis and filius regis in 140b, 141, 178, and 181a was probably a palaeographical error, v. above, p.238, n.1.
 2. Cf. the erroneous reading arci/sug and the ditto-graphical errors Eldelnoð, etc., discussed in (ii), above.
 3. See also, below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 12, s.v. terramque; and section 13, s.vv. Et, 7, 7land, beorge (127) for/minre, his, of, bonne. See also Appendix 1, 140a, textual note on ADELRED uno episcopo.

having the same phonetic value took place during copying. Thus, v in the cartulary often replaced u in the exemplars; w replaced u, uu, and þ; and the letters þ and ð interchanged.¹ Those 'dictational' substitutions which affected whole words (see above) were usually substitutions within the same language. The change from Latin et, 'and', (+190) to OE Æt, 'at', (190) is however a bilingual example.

In contrast to the apparently subconscious textual changes discussed above, there is some evidence of more deliberate changes having been made to texts by scribe a. Most of these were minor editorial changes made in answer to the problems of transcribing a large number of archaic documents in a variety of shapes, sizes, and internal arrangement, into a more regular and convenient book-form.

Although the arrangement of the exemplars in long lines, and their use of OE language and letter-forms (see sections (i) and (ii), above) and of columns for witnesses, were in principle retained in the cartulary, none of these features were reproduced in exact facsimile. For example, although all

1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, sections 3,4; in section 4, note also the alternation of z and and. The change from -uu- to -pu- also occurs (169), but seems comparatively rare.

witnesses were copied into the cartulary, the columns in which they had been arranged in the exemplars were often not divided in an identical way in the cartulary. There is also some evidence of attempts to regularise the appearance of these columns in the cartulary by the additions of Ego or a designation of rank which did not appear in the exemplars.¹ The omission of consensi et subscripsi after seventy-nine of the witnesses in 161 was no doubt made in order to save both time and space.² A similar reason probably lay behind the substitution in 157 of the roman numerals XLV for the exemplar's quadragessimo quinto.³ It is probable, however, that it was not the intention of scribe a that the signa crucis standing before the subscriptions of individual witnesses in the exemplars should be omitted from the bulk of the cartulary. They do not appear there, apart from in Quire X (fos. 81-88^v) which he himself rubricated, simply because he had left their rubrication to scribe b, who failed to insert them.⁴ In contrast, the omission of chrismons and signa crucis from the beginning of documents, where in the exemplars they served as pictorial invocations, may perhaps have been for

1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 10.

2. Ibid., section 8.

3. Ibid.

4. See above, Part B, section 1, g; and below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 7.

artistic reasons with which he concurred, since in that position in the cartulary they would have stood too close to its elaborately-decorated initial letters; in support of this suggestion, it is noticeable that scribe a himself did not retain these symbols there when he supplied the decorated initials to Quire X.

The variety of punctuation-mark found in the surviving exemplars was limited in the cartulary almost completely to the point (full and medial) and the punctus elevatus.¹ The incidence of punctuation between sentences, as also within them into clauses and phrases, was occasionally altered in Cod.Wint.I, though sometimes probably by the corrector (see (iv), below) rather than by scribe a.

The sole change brought to light by the collation of the surviving exemplars to Cod.Wint. I which can only have been a deliberate attempt to falsify the historical content of a document occurs in relation to 161. There the cartulary-rubric contains material not present in the endorsement to +161.² Since the latter can be shown to have been the actual exemplar for 161,³ the difference between the cartulary-rubric and the exemplar's

1. Ibid., section 16. On medieval punctuation in general, v. T.J.Brown, 'Punctuation', Encyclopædia Britannica (15th ed.; Chicago, 1974), pp. 274-7.

2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe a, section 11.

3. See below, Appendix 2, +161.

endorsement is almost certainly due to interpolation by scribe a, who wrote the rubric to 161. The words which he added purported to record the donor and the beneficiary associated with the estate granted in the document, details which were not included in the exemplar's endorsement. However, while the name and status of the donor (King Ethelstan) were correctly added by him to the rubric, he described the status of Wulfric, the beneficiary, as 'bishop', whereas in fact it should have been 'thegn'.

Although he did not make a corresponding change to the clause of disposition (where the designation minister remained), the alteration to the rubric would have deceived a casual reader into assuming that the document had been granted in favour of a bishop (presumably of Winchester) rather than of a layman.

Other instances of the designation given in rubrics to beneficiaries not tallying with that given to them in the body of respective cartulary-texts occur in Cod.Wint. I, all except one of them in Quire X, written by scribe a.¹ The exception, 79, with a rubric supplied by scribe b, may have been a subconscious error by the latter (the change there was apparently from 'abbot' to 'bishop'), since no other instances occur in the rubrics added by him to either Cod.Wint. I or Cod.Wint. II.² The several changes made by

1. See below, Appendix 1, 163-4, 166, 171, 173, 174a. Cf. 167; v. below, p.261, n.1.

2. Cf. however the amplifications made by him to the rubrics of 43, 127, 157, in Cod.Wint. I; v. below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), sections 11, 13.

scribe a, all in the quire in which he himself supplied the rubrics, can however hardly have been accidental. They must be taken as attempts to make the material he was copying seem of more direct relevance to the Winchester cathedral endowment than in fact it was. Besides 161, discussed above, 163-4 and 171, 173, 174a all contain episcopal beneficiaries in their rubrics and lay beneficiaries in the clauses of disposition. 166 has a rubric naming the Old Minster as the beneficiary while the body of the charter names the church of St. Peter and All Saints, South Stoneham, Hants.¹ The reference to Bishop Swithun in the rubric to 168 may also be an interpolation.

Other alterations may have been made by scribe a to the text of documents copied into Cod.Wint.I whose exemplars do not survive, but there are no further clues to them in the collated material presented in Appendix 3, below. Such changes, if they exist, may be suggested from the results of a thorough diplomatic analysis of the documents in the cartulary, but will never be able to be proven to have occurred in the same way as can those affecting documents whose exemplars survive. Deliberately deceptive changes

1. 167 also has a rubric naming the Old Minster as beneficiary, but the text of the main body of the document is defective in the cartulary and the name of the beneficiary is missing from it. This omission may have been coincidental, as similar omissions do not occur in the other documents in Cod.Wint.I whose rubrics have been altered. 167 may have had the same beneficiary as 166.

by scribe a in the cartulary-texts whose exemplars survive are remarkably few. The fact that these surviving exemplars appear to have survived by chance allows the changes made by scribe a to their respective cartulary-texts to be taken as representative of his work in Cod.Wint. I and inspires some confidence in him as a copyist who rarely attempted to deceive, and then only in a clumsy/^{and}rudimentary manner.¹

(iv) Corrections, textual changes, and rubrics by scribe b

While some errors of transcription of Latin and vernacular text seem to have been noticed almost immediately and altered by scribe a by means of erasure and re-writing, other corrections to Cod.Wint. I were the work of scribe b.² This scribe not only corrected instances where scribe a had miscopied the exemplars, but also made changes to the Latin text of documents correctly copied from the exemplars into the cartulary by the earlier scribe. These corrections and changes were probably effected at the same time that he added most of the rubrics to Cod.Wint.I, perhaps immediately after the text of a particular quire had been transcribed.³ His apparent exclusion of most of the

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1. Scribe a's freedom to alter the text of documents was in any case probably limited by his apparently subordinate position to scribe b; v. (iv), below.
 2. On the palaeographical aspects of correction in Cod.Wint.I, v. above, Part B, section 1, k. Scribe b also corrected the work of scribe a (and of other scribes) in WCL, MS. 5. 171-4
 3. The rubrics to 160-8, ¹⁷¹⁻⁴ were written by scribe a. Corrections to the text of these documents seem, however, to be by scribe b.

vernacular cartulary-texts from the correction-process should not be taken to reflect any lack of knowledge of English on his part. He did, after all, manage to write the majority of the rubrics in Cod.Wint.I, most of which were in the vernacular, and also several vernacular parts of documents in Cod.Wint. II. It would in any case have been impossible to replace the vernacular linguistic changes effected by scribe a with the spellings of the exemplars without considerable erasure. It is also probable that scribe b did not see that the cartulary needed correction in this respect, since he himself made comparable linguistic changes in the vernacular material which he copied into Cod.Wint. I-II. He may well have left the systematic checking for palaeographical errors of vernacular texts in Cod.Wint.I to scribe a himself and have concentrated on the Latin text, as that part of the cartulary which would be more intelligible to the majority of contemporary readers. The corrections of palaeographical errors in ^{vernacular} texts which he did make were very infrequent and perhaps represent those noticed by chance while correcting the Latin.¹

1. For example, 93 appears to have been corrected in a few places by scribe b. The correction to grauet (fo. 34^v, 1.2), in 79, was also probably by him. He also corrected errors in the boundary in 117, but this was written in Latin apart from the actual boundary-marks. Scribe b's less-than-systematic checking of vernacular texts in Cod.Wint.I may have caused him to forget to copy the endorsements on some of them into the cartulary as rubrics, causing them to appear there without rubrics, cf. above, Part B, section 4, a(ii).

Some obvious palaeographical and copying errors in the Latin of Cod.Wint.I were corrected by scribe b. These included misreadings of exemplar letter-forms and the omission of letters and words.¹ Very occasionally, a whole line seems to have had to be supplied, having been omitted from the cartulary.² On two occasions the sentence-order was corrected.³ These longer corrections imply checking of the cartulary's text against that of the exemplars. This process did not mean, however, that all the errors committed by scribe a in Latin texts were subsequently noticed and corrected. Some of them remained uncorrected, as for example the reading fue for suæ in 43.⁴

The same collation of cartulary-texts to surviving exemplars used in discussing changes made by scribe a (see (i-iii), above; and Appendix 3, below) also reveals instances where scribe b changed material in Cod.Wint.I which had been faithfully copied from the exemplars by scribe a. Some of these changes were corrections of Latin syntax or vocabulary.⁵

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1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (i), A; also above, Part B, section 1, k.
 2. Ibid.
 3. See above, Part B, section 1, k (ix).
 4. See also below, Appendix 3, scribe a: sections 1 (apredecessoribus, apud/decessoribus, Eaðnoðus, paue/factis, uero); 7; 8 (atauos proauos, consensi et subscripsi (X2)); 10; 12.
 5. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (i), C; s.vv. homini, presum's'erit, quodlibet, quolibet, sedi).

Others were modernisations or standardisations of the spelling of Latin words which had appeared in the exemplars in an unusual form.¹ Most can be justified on linguistic grounds of grammar and consistency. There is an instance of a miscorrection, however, in the change of clarescunt to clarescant in 190, where the exemplar's form does not seem in error.² The substitution of the verb prestare, 'to lend', for dare, 'to give', which had been omitted by scribe a from the invocation to 56, may have been the corrector's modernisation of an outdated political theory; the invocation had meant 'Christ... thus also gives kingdoms to those he wishes [to be] kings' but the substitution of 'lends' for 'gives' perhaps implies a view of royal power, current at Winchester Cathedral under Bishop Henry of Blois less total than that held by the drafters of the exemplar in the first half of the tenth century.³

Some changes to both word-division and sentence-division in Cod.Wint.I seem also to have been made by scribe b. He appears to have had his own idea of the

1. Ibid., s.vv. diocesim, h' abebant, illicitum, indēptē, ipsū, irretitum, peripsima.

2. Ibid., s.v.

3. Ibid., A, s.vv. ita etiam regna prestat. Cf. below, Part B, section 5, for Henry of Blois's probable association with Cod.Wint.I.

usage of both, since he changed not only features which were different as between the cartulary and exemplars, but also those which were identical.¹ His readiness and freedom to edit the cartulary as written by scribe a, and not merely to correct it, here, as in the case of Latin spelling and grammar (see above), may imply that he was in a senior position to the other scribe. Scribe a, as already suggested in relation to the arrangement of Cod.Wint.I,² may well have been his amanuensis, employed only to save the senior man's time. This suggestion is supported by the fact that scribe b was the rubricator of most of Cod.Wint.I (see below), in which capacity he was able to check at intervals that the cartulary was being written in accordance with a desired arrangement.³

As described earlier,⁴ most of the rubrics in Cod.Wint.I were transcriptions by scribe b of endorsements on the respective exemplars, and were

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1. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (i), B,D.
 2. See above, Part B, section 4, a(iii).
 3. Ibid. A close working relationship between scribe b as rubricator and scribe a is further suggested by the absence of marginal instructions to the rubricator, of the sort found in the Winton Domesday (London, Society of Antiquaries MS. 154) v. WEMA, pp. 524-5, and *ibid.*, Plates I, III.
 4. See above, Part B, section 1,g.

inserted in blank spaces left, for this purpose, between cartulary-texts by scribe a. A study of the rubrics written by him shows that scribe b, like scribe a, was unfamiliar with the letter-forms of insular minuscule script. This unfamiliarity seems to have caused the following misreadings by him of letters in the vernacular endorsements of now-lost exemplars:¹

d (read as ð), 130
g (read as ƿ), 63, 80, 98, 109, 119
g (+e) (read as ƿ) 83
s (read as b), 63
ð (read as d), 177
ð (read as D), 83
ƿ (read as g), 182, 196

His misreading of insular r in +157 as n in 157 was, however, realised and altered to the correct reading.

The collation of cartulary-texts to surviving exemplars shows that scribe b made both linguistic and textual changes to the endorsements which he used as rubrics in Cod. Wint. I² The linguistic changes which he made are comparable with those which he later made in Cod. Wint. II.³ They were not unlike those made by scribe a, except in one respect: the form of pre-conquest personal-names. These he modernised to a far greater^{degree} and also sometimes

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1. See notes to individual documents in Appendix 1, below.
 2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), examples whose document numbers bear the affix 'R'.
 3. Ibid., examples with the number 210.

confused.¹ The textual changes which he made seem mostly to have been conscious ones intended to clarify the meaning of the material copied,² but the omission of signa crucis from before the rubrics, as by him from the subscriptions in Cod.Wint. I in general,³ may have been for his own convenience. He did not make any attempt, in the rubrics of documents whose exemplars survive, to falsify the contents of those documents, in contrast to the actions of scribe a in Quire X.⁴ The apparent change by him of the title of the beneficiary in the rubric of 79 (whose exemplar is lost), from 'abbot' to 'bishop', may, as suggested earlier, have been a subconscious error rather than an attempt at falsification.⁵ While it is true that he misplaced the rubrics to 126b, 142b, and 148b, this does not seem to have been done with any fraudulent intent.⁶

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1. Ibid., section 13. In the subscriptions to 210 (in Cod.Wint. II), he confused two different name-elements, v. ibid.; a similar error occurs in the rubric to 208, v. Appendix 1, below.
 2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), sections 11, 13.
 3. Cf. ibid., scribe a, section 7.
 4. Ibid., section 11. See also (iii), above.
 5. See (iii), above.
 6. See above, Part B, section 4, a (ii); and below, Appendix 1, s.nn.

In his transcription of rubrics in Cod.Wint. I, as also with regard to corrections therein, it seems that scribe b was ready to change the text where it was in his opinion either unclear or inconsistent with current usage. Neither of these aspects of his contribution to Cod.Wint.I contain firm evidence of intended deception on his part. They appear instead to be the actions of an editor responsible for the supervision of the writing of the cartulary, the bulk of which was transcribed by a junior colleague.

Cod.Wint. I, the cartulary produced jointly by scribes a and b and already isolated in the present thesis on grounds of palaeography, contents, and arrangement,¹ was probably never completed according to its original plan,² although it is probable that by the time that the writing of Quire XIII had begun this had been designated as the last quire in the cartulary.³ Physical gaps were later filled by

1. See above, Part B, sections 1; 2; 4,a.

2. See below, Part B, section 5.

3. Quire XIII was made of six paired leaves rather than eight, the number in Quires I-XII. This shortening of a gathering is usually indicative of a scribe's intention of finishing his writing within, or at the end of, that gathering, v. G.S. Ivy, 'The bibliography of the manuscript book', The English library before 1700, edd. F. Wormald and C.E. Wright (1958), p.41.

parts of Cod.Wint.II,¹ but of these later additions only 34-9, which were probably copied from a sub-document (containing 26-39), already partly-transcribed into Cod.Wint.I,² can be said to have followed the same arrangement as Cod.Wint.I. Several documents which were later included in Cod.Wint.II-III, as well as others not in the Codex but later recorded at Winchester Cathedral, could probably also have been included in Cod.Wint.I, but were not.³ In spite of the apparent incompleteness of Cod.Wint.I as a collection, its text may be judged as a fully edited unit in that the transcription had been corrected and rubricated as far as it had reached.

The collation of cartulary-texts to surviving exemplars (see Appendix 3, below) reveals that certain changes were effected both during the copying of documents into Cod.Wint.I, and during the correction and rubrication of that copy. The copying errors may be seen as changes committed in a subconscious manner, without intent, but incidentally revealing something of the degree of expertise of the copyist. The more conscious changes - the modernisation of language, the correction of syntax, and the re-ordering and improvement of text - are more direct evidence of editorial principles and practice. The changes whose purpose was to improve the text, those of most concern to the historian, seem from the

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1. 34-9, 133-4. See below, Part C, section 2, scribes b,c.
 2. See above, Part B, section 4, a(i).
 3. See above, Part B, section 2, c(ii).

collation to have been mainly of a minor editorial type and not intended to falsify the transactions recorded in the exemplars except in a very small number of instances, which are in any case readily discernible. However, although the surviving exemplars seem to have survived at random, it should be borne in mind that this does not preclude the possibility that some of the documents in the cartulary whose exemplars do not survive were subjected to greater textual revision than is reflected by the collation. Similarly, the collation cannot be used to say anything about the authenticity of the exemplars copied, since as good a copy could be made in the twelfth century of a forged document as of a genuine one.

The editorial skills employed in the production of Cod.Wint.I were those of the first half of the twelfth century. As an edition of that period, it cannot be expected to conform to twentieth-century standards of editing care. In general, it is probable that the corrected text of Cod.Wint.I would have been judged in the twelfth century as preferable to that of the exemplars. It was more intelligible, and arranged in a modern and standardised format. The fact that twentieth-century editors prefer the text of the exemplars, where they survive, to that of the cartulary is a reflection of the change in the concept of textual authenticity and accuracy that has

taken place in the intervening centuries since Cod.Wint.I was produced. Compared to some other contemporary collections of similar material, Cod.Wint.I does in fact exhibit several features which are praiseworthy from the point of view of twentieth-century historians. Unlike the Liber Eliensis and the Ramsey Chronicle,¹ it retained the vernacular of exemplars (albeit in a modernised form) rather than translating such documents into Latin.² Unlike the lost (late eleventh-century) cartulary of Christ Church, Canterbury,³ it presented all documents in full rather than as an abbreviated calendar, and seems to have included all witnesses, boundary-clauses, and endorsements. In the sheer bulk of Anglo-Saxon documentary material which was transmitted to succeeding

1. See Liber Eliensis, ed. E.O. Blake (Camden Society, 3rd series, 92; 1962); Chronicon abbatiae Ramesiensis a saec. x. usque ad an. circiter 1200: in quatuor partibus, ed. W.D. Macray (Rolls Series, 83; 1886).

2. On the use of vernacular written sources by twelfth-century Latin chroniclers, v. A. Gransden, Historical writing in England, c.550-c.1307, pp. 273-4.

3. See N.P. Brooks, 'The pre-conquest charters of Christ Church, Canterbury', Oxford D.Phil., 1969, pp. 106-14.

generations through its medium, and which is now otherwise unknown, Cod.Wint.I must rank as an outstanding achievement of twelfth-century scholarship. The fact that each of its exemplars was copied in considerable detail, even though with some amount of editorial influence, has made Cod.Wint.I of even greater importance and use to an unintended audience of twentieth-century scholars.

Section 5

The Historical Background and Purpose of Cod.Wint. I

On purely palaeographical grounds, Cod.Wint.I may be dated to the second quarter of the twelfth century.¹

Since an examination of the editorial practices of its scribes (a and b) shows it to have been an original compilation from many separate exemplars, rather than a copy of an existing volume,² the date of its compilation was also within the same quarter-century.³

As Cod.Wint. I contains no explicit statement of either its exact date or its immediate purpose, these can only be postulated from the nature of its contents and their relationship to both English history in general, and the history of the church of Winchester in particular, in the period up to 1150.

Cod.Wint. I was compiled during the period of political uncertainty caused by the controversy over who was the rightful successor to King Henry I, following

1. See above, Part B, section 1.

2. Ibid., section 4,b.

3. It may, however, have drawn in part upon an existing collection of individual documents concerning Winchester cathedral endowment, v. ibid., section 4, a(ii).

the drowning of his only legitimate son William in 1120.¹ Although King Henry had designated his daughter Matilda as his heir, his nephew Stephen, count of Blois and Boulogne, seized power in England on King Henry's death in 1135.² Stephen's position was greatly strengthened by the help of his brother Henry of Blois, bishop of Winchester, who was influential in obtaining English ecclesiastical support for Stephen's coronation some three weeks after King Henry's death.³ That Bishop Henry and his fellow churchmen had demanded a price from Stephen for their support at a crucial time cannot be doubted. Almost certainly, the conditions which they imposed upon him were those recorded in the charter of liberties granted by Stephen to the English church, at Oxford, in April, 1136.⁴ This not only

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1. See H.A. Cronne, The reign of Stephen 1135-54, Anarchy in England (1970), pp. 27-9.
 2. GS, pp. 2-15.
 3. See Isabel Megaw, 'The ecclesiastical policy of Stephen 1136-1139: a reinterpretation', Essays in British and Irish history in honour of James Eadie Todd, edd. H.A. Cronne, T.W. Moody, D.B. Quinn (1949), p. 29; WMHN, p. 15. For an assessment of Bishop Henry's character, v. Voss, pp. 132-40, and D. Knowles, 'Henry of Winchester', Saints and scholars, twenty five medieval portraits (Cambridge, 1962), pp. 51-62. For Stephen's coronation, v. GS, pp. 12-13; WMHN, pp. 15-16.
 4. Regesta iii, 271. Cf. Voss, pp. 13-15; Cronne, The reign of Stephen, pp. 125-8.

confirmed the power of the church over spiritual affairs, but was also concerned very specifically with the safeguarding of the church's temporal possessions. ^{Stephen confirmed to the church both these temporal possessions} held at the death of King William I¹ and those which it had been granted since.² He also promised to give judgement on instances where temporal possessions held by the church before William I's death were now lacking to it.³

Other clauses promised the suppression of simony, the continuation of ecclesiastical courts, and the committal of church property sede vacante to clerks or law-worthy men (probi homines) of the church.

Unfortunately, the brief period of harmony between King Stephen and his leading churchmen did not last long. His brother, Bishop Henry of Winchester, was disappointed at being denied royal backing in his attempt to become archbishop of Canterbury in 1138,⁴ and the whole church was alienated by the

1. Omnes ecclesiarum possessiones et tenuras quas die illa habuerunt qua Willelmus rex Angl(or)um avus meus fuit vivus et mortuus sine omni calu(m)pniantium reclamacione eis liberas et absolutas esse concedo; Regesta iii, 271.

2. Quecumque vero post mortem ipsius regis liberalitate regum largitione principum oblatione vel comparatione vel qualibet transmutatione fidelium eis collata sunt confirmo; ibid.

3. Si quid vero de habitis vel possessis ante mortem ejusdem regis quibus modo careat ecclesia deinceps repetierit indulgentie et dispensationi mee vel restituendum vel discutiendum reservo; Ibid.

4. See A. Saltman, Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury (1956), pp. 8-9; OV, pp.478-9 and ib., n.7.

king's arrest, in June 1139, of Roger, bishop of Salisbury, and the latter's nephews, the bishops of Ely and Lincoln.¹ The ensuing years of civil war made the terms of the Oxford Charter seem a very distant ideal, and effectively prevented the execution of any consistent royal policy towards the church. However, this is not to say that churchmen did not take steps to defend their property during the civil war, and to conserve the church's privileges. Bishop Henry not only exercised his powers as papal legate (1139-43),² but also actively supported both King Stephen and the Empress Matilda at different stages of the conflict.³

Some at least of the leading English churchmen probably realised during the last years of King Henry I's reign that whoever emerged as his successor would need their support in order to have any hope of effective power in England. It is possible that individuals among them may have investigated how they themselves, or their benefices, might gain from such a favourable

1. GS, pp. 72-81; WMHN, chaps. 469-77; E.J. Kealey, Roger of Salisbury, viceroy of England (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London 1972), pp. 173-200.

2. See Voss, pp. 41-53; H. Tillmann, Die päpstlichen legaten in England bis zur beendigung der legation Gualas (1218)

3. See Voss, pp. 22-32. He had fortified his castles in 1138, v. Winchester ann., s.a. (Bonn, 1926), pp. 41-50.

situation by the eventual restoration of alienated lands and privileges. It is certainly true that the Oxford Charter, for a brief period, provided all churches with an opportunity to pursue claims to alienated possessions with some hope of success. Later on, the prolonged political uncertainty of the civil war probably made further research advisable on a broader basis, not merely for lost possessions, but for the establishment of all the existing rights and possessions of ecclesiastical institutions on a sound footing backed by documentary proof.¹

The pragmatic use of tenurial precedent implied by the arrangement of ancient muniments in a volume such as Cod.Wint. I was also a reflection of broader intellectual attitudes current in twelfth century England. Sir Richard Southern has drawn attention to the merits of the histories written in England at this time and sees them as a product of the 'twelfth-century Renaissance'.² He has also shown that an essential part of those histories was a new curiosity about pre-Norman England, often for practical purposes of safeguarding existing ecclesiastical tenures and customs.³ One result of these historical researches was to remind churchmen

1. See A. Gransden, Historical writing in England, c. 550- c. 1307 (1974), pp. 279-80.

2. 'The place of England in the twelfth-century Renaissance', Medieval humanism and other studies (Oxford, 1970), pp. 160-2.

3. Ibid.

particularly of those estates and privileges granted to their churches in perpetuity in the Anglo-Saxon period, but of which they had lost possession since the Norman Conquest.¹

One should perhaps be careful not to exaggerate the effect of the Norman Conquest on the temporal possessions of the English church, since its member institutions suffered much less deprivation in general than the major lay landowners of Anglo-Saxon England.² Most English cathedrals and monasteries did lose some estates as a result of the Conquest however and, in exceptional cases, such as that of the New Minster, Winchester, a large confiscation was made by way of punishment for active opposition to the Normans.³ Many of the alienations suffered by churches were incidental losses rather than the direct result of an anti-ecclesiastical royal policy. Instances are recorded, at the abbeys of Abingdon and Ramsey, of church estates having been lost because they had been leased to laymen in 1066 whose property was confiscated by the king, who re-granted it without

1. See Gransden, Historical writing, p.279.

2. DB i, passim.

3. See T. Rudborne, Historia major Wintoniensis in Wharton, Anglia Sacra i, pp. 248-9; LH, pp. xxxviii-ix; VCH Hants i, pp. 417-19.

reference to any reversion due the churches concerned.¹ Ecclesiastical institutions were of course in a far better position than dispossessed laymen to record all losses, however small, with some hope of their eventual recovery in the distant future. It required, however, the combination of historical skill present in twelfth-century England and the favourable political situation reflected in the Oxford Charter of 1136 before such losses were studied with any real hope of their recovery.

Surviving documentary and narrative evidence shows that up to sixty-five Winchester cathedral estates of various sizes were alienated between A.D. 683 and 1107 X 1130.² No further alienations are recorded between 1107 X 1130 and 1150. Except for thirteen of them, knowledge of all these alienations may be acquired from research into a combination of written sources, each of which is known to have been somewhere

Historical writing, p. 279

1. Gransden, / ; Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon, ed. J. Stevenson (Rolls Series 2; 1858) i, p. 484; Chronicon abbatiae Rameseiensis a saec. x. usque ad an. circiter 1200: in quatuor partibus, ed. W.D. Macray (Rolls Series 83; 1886), pp. 145-6. The Old Minster estate of Headbourne Worthy, Hants, was an example of this type of alienation, v. below, Appendix 1, 177, n.1.
2. These alienated estates are listed below in Appendix 4, q.v.

in Winchester in 1150.¹ These sources are:

Cod.Wint. I and its exemplars; the parts of Cod.Wint.II written by scribe b, and his exemplars; Domesday Book;² and the New Minster Liber Vitae.³ Of the thirteen exceptions, evidence relating to the tenure of six was at Winchester Cathedral by 1200;⁴ that for two others there, or at Wolvesey Palace, by 1300;⁵ and that for four others either at the cathedral or at Hyde Abbey by 1400.⁶ The remaining alienation was recorded in a (spurious) diploma preserved in the thirteenth-century cartulary of Chertsey Abbey.⁷

1. The thirteen exceptions are: Banewadem and Brading, Isle of Wight; Buttermere and Calne, Wilts.; Damerham, Hants; Dorkinham (unidentified); Molesey, Surrey; Muleburnam, Isle of Wight; Portland, Dorset; Ringwood, Hants; Wargrave, Berks.; Wolverton, Hants; and Yaverland, Isle of Wight. See below, nn. 5-8.
2. See Domesday rebound (Public Record Office, London, 1954), p.9, and Sir Henry Ellis, A general introduction to Domesday Book (Record Commission 1833, reprinted 1971) i, pp. 353-4. Although Domesday Book may, even at this early date, have perambulated with the royal treasurer, its permanent home was the royal treasury at Winchester. See below for Bishop Henry of Blois's knowledge of it.
3. BL, Stowe MS. 944 (fos. 29^v-33, King Alfred's will (Harmer, EHD 11; Sawyer 1507), for Chisledon. Wilts., and unspecified booklands in Kent).
4. CCCC, MS. 339, for Banewadam, Brading, Muleburnam, Portland, and Yaverland: v. Winchester ann., s.aa. 683, 735, 1043; on the author, and date, of the annals, v. J.T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', B.I.H.R. 36(1963), pp.70-5. BL, Cotton Chart. x.17 (sxii; Sawyer 1062), for Wargrave. See also 19 (scribe h) for Portland.
5. P, for Buttermere and Dorkinham (spelt Dockingeham, ibid).
6. The Liber de Hyda (The Earl of Macclesfield, Shirburn Castle 'Liber abbatiae'), for Calne, Damerham, and Ringwood. WCL, St. Swithun's cartulary, fo. 75^v, for Wolverton.
7. BL, Cotton MS. Vitell. A. xiii, fos. 41-3 (Sawyer 752).

Thirty-nine of the above alienations appear to have occurred before 1066.¹ Although it is doubtful whether any of these would have been covered by the terms of the Oxford Charter of 1136, this would depend on the interpretation of the clause promising judgement on lands held before the death of King William I but subsequently lost. Wargrave, Berks., may be an example of an estate lost before 1066 but restored by Stephen; although his charter of restoration states that it was taken by William I, it was in alien hands already in 1066, according to Domesday Book.² The cause or exact occasion of these pre-conquest alienations is rarely recorded. Most are known today, and should have been discernible in the mid twelfth century (apart from the thirteen exceptions already noted), simply because the record of a pre-conquest grant of a particular estate to the cathedral has survived and that estate was not held by the cathedral in 1066 or later.

1. Banewadam, Isle of Wight; Banwell, Somerset; Beddington, Surrey; Bedwyn, Wilts.; Brading, Isle of Wight; Brown, Somerset; Buttermere, Calne, Wilts.; Charmouth, Dorset; Chisledon, Wilts.; Compton, Somerset; Damerham, Wilts.; Dorkinham (unidentified); (part) Easton, (Æt) Eppelhyrste, Hants; Froxfield, Wilts.; booklands in Kent; Little Berkhamstead, Herts.; Lydiard, Mildenhall, Wilts.; Molesey, Surrey; Mongewell, Oxon.; Moreton, Wilts.; Muleburnam, Isle of Wight; Portchester, Hants; Portland, Dorset; Princes Risborough, Bucks.; Ringwood, Hants; Shalfleet, Isle of Wight; Sparcells, Standlynch, Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts.; Wargrave, Berks.; Whitley, Hants; Withiel Florey, Somerset; Wolverton, Hants; Wootton Rivers, Wilts.; Wroxall and Yaverland, Isle of Wight.

2. See below, Appendix 1, 2, n.2.

Some details are, however, known of a few of these alienations. Seven estates (Portchester, Hants; Banwell and Compton, Somerset; and Chisledon, Moreton, Sparcells, and Stoke by Shalbourne, Wilts.) were alienated by consent as part of exchanges made in the tenth century.¹ The estate of Molesey, Surrey, was stated, in a (spurious) diploma claiming to be a confirmation of it by King Eadgar to Chertsey Abbey in 967, to have previously been unjustly granted to the Old Minster, Winchester, by King Eadwig (955-9).² The reversion of Mongewell, Oxon, and Little Berk-hampstead, Herts., bequeathed to the Old Minster by Elfgifu in 966 X 975, may never have come to fruition.³ Part of the cathedral estate of Easton, Hants, appears to have been granted by the king to the abbot of the New Minster in 983, without any reference to its previous ownership.⁴ Finally, 2 hides of land at Standlynch, Wilts., are said in Domesday Book (i, fo. 65^v) to have been alienated from the cathedral estate of Downton, in the time of King Knut (1016-35).

From the evidence of Domesday Book, up to twenty four of the tenures held by the bishop and the monks of the Old Minster in 1066 had passed into alien

1. ^{Appendix 1,} 131, 141, 21-2, 118. Crowcombe, Somerset, was also exchanged in 118 but seems to have been re-acquired in the eleventh century, v. ibid, 118, n.2.

2. BL, Cotton MS. Vitell. A.xiii, fos. 41-3 (Sawyer 752).

3. See below, Appendix 1, 187, nn. 9, 10.

4. LH, pp. 228-31 (Sawyer 845).

hands by 1086.¹ Most of these were small parcels of a few hides of land each, amongst which the 72 hide estate of East Meon, Hants (DB i, fo. 38) stands out as an exception. One estate (Bleadon, Somerset) was probably both alienated and restored by 1086 (ib., fos. 145^{rv}, 210). Groups of estates among the twenty four seem to have been alienated for a common reason. Pieces of land at Cliff, Fawley, and Througham, Hants, were taken by King William I as part of the New Forest (ib., fo. 51; cf. fo. 41^v).² Parcels of the Chilcomb estate in Hants. (at Headbourne Worthy, Otterbourne, and Swampton; ib., fos. 46^v, 47, cf. fo. 41) were acquired by Ralph of Mortemer when he took over the estates of the thegn Cypping of Worthy who had held them from the Old Minster.³ Three

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1. ?Barton Stacey, Hants; Burghfield, Berks.; Bleadon, Bradford, Somerset; Bransbury, part Chilbolton, Cliff, Hants; Crowcombe, Somerset; part Droxford, East Meon, part Fawley, Hayling, Headbourne Worthy, Hants; Hele, Somerset; ?Ivinghoe Aston, Bucks.; Norton Fitzwarren, Somerset; Otterbourne, Swampton, Hants; two parts Taunton, Somerset; Througham, Hants; West Wycombe, Bucks.; Witnall, part Yavington, Hants.
 2. At Eppelhyrste and Whitley, Hants, now in the New Forest, may possibly have been lost at this time, although they are not named in Domesday Book.
 3. On Cypping and Ralph of Mortemer, v. VCH Hants i, p.428; WEMA, p. 54, nn.

other Old Minster estates seem to have been alienated when they were confiscated by the king because of the disfavour of their tenants. Thus, estates at Bransbury, Hants, and Burghfield, Berks., were lost c. 1070 while held by the outlawed Abbot Æthelsige of St. Augustine's, Canterbury (^{ib.} fos. 41^v, 62^v),¹ and the estate at East Meon, Hants, was lost about the same time, while in the hands of the deposed Bishop Stigand (^{ib.}, fo. 38).² Two small tenures in Bucks., at West Wycombe and Ivinghoe Aston (^{ib.}, fo. 146^{rv}), held T.R.E. respectively by one of (Arch)Bishop Stigand's sokemen and by one of his priests, and which belonged in 1086 to the count of Mortain, may also represent alienations from the Old Minster estates at those places, rather than from Stigand's personal landholding. In Somerset, the same count had acquired parts of the cathedral estate of Taunton by 1086 (Bradford, Crowcombe, Hele, Norton Fitzwarren: ^{ib.}, fos. 91^v, 92^{rv} Cf. ^{ib.}, 87^v, and DB iv, p. 163).

The only alienation of a cathedral estate recorded from between 1086 and 1107 X 1130 was that of Binstead, Isle of Wight, which King Henry I seems to have restored very soon after its disseisure.³

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1. On Æthelsige, v. VCH Berks i, p.299 (called Ælfsige); HRH, pp. 35-6.
 2. Stigand was deposed at the Council of Winchester in 1070, v. Barlow, English Church, pp. 302-10. He was said to have been imprisoned at Winchester in 1072, v. Winchester ann., s.a.; and cf. WMGP, p.37.
 3. Galbraith, 'Royal Charters' 33 (Regesta ii, 1637).

Including the estates of Bleadon and Binstead already mentioned, twelve of the sixty-five alienated cathedral estates discussed above had been restored to the cathedral by 1150, and one other had been restored by 1205.¹ Buttermere, Wilts., was confirmed to the Old Minster by King William I in 1070 X 1087, and although still recorded in alien hands in Domesday Book, was in the possession of the cathedral priory by 1110.² Portland, Dorset, and its dependencies, was confirmed to the cathedral priory by King Henry I in 1100 x 1107.³ The alienated part of Chilbolton, Hants, was restored to the cathedral priory by 1130 after a lawsuit in the royal court.⁴ Two cathedral manors which had been in the king's hands in 1086 (East Meon, Hants; and Wargrave, Berks.), together with Bradford, Crowcombe, Hele, and Norton Fitzwarren, Somerset, which the count of Mortain had appropriated by that date (see above), were restored

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1. Cf. also Hayling, Hants, which was confirmed to Winchester cathedral priory by King William II in 1096 X 1100 but was subsequently granted by King Henry I to the abbey of Jumièges, v. Galbraith, 'Royal Charters' 12; Round, France, pp. 54-5.
 2. See below, Appendix 1, 242, 247; DB i, fos. 70, 72, 74.
 3. Goodman, Chartulary 19; Galbraith, 'Royal Charters' 18.
 4. Cal Chart R 1300-26, p. 345, no. 2 (Regesta ii, 1509); Pipe R 31 Henry I, pp. 37-8.

by King Stephen in 1136.¹ Although there are no surviving charters of restoration, the estates of Headbourne Worthy and Bransbury seem also to have been restored to the cathedral during the twelfth century; the former by 1148, the latter at least by 1205.² Of the twelve estates restored by 1150, three appear to have been alienated from the cathedral in 1016 X 1066 (Buttermere, Portland, and Wargrave).³ The remainder, apart from Binstead (see above), had been alienated between 1066 and 1086.⁴ The loss of only six of these estates was specifically mentioned in Domesday Book (that of Bleadon, Chilbolton, Crowcombe, East Meon, Headbourne Worthy, and Hele), two of which (Bleadon and Chilbolton) had been restored by 1130.⁵ Documents relating to the pre-conquest tenure of all six of the restored estates whose loss was recorded in

1. DB i, fos. 38, 57; below, Appendix 1, 2-4, 7, 10 and cf. ibid., 8, 9, 11. Stephen was in a position, asking and as count of Mortain, to restore these estates from his own fief. Although the restoration of Bradford, Norton Fitzwarren, and Hele appears to have been either ineffective or short-lived (v. Regesta iii, 951n), there need be no doubt that King Stephen intended to effect it.
2. See WEMA, p. 54n; Goodman, Chartulary 45.
3. See, respectively, Appendix 1, 212, n2; 19, n.1; 2, n.2.
4. See below, Appendix 5, s.nn.
5. DB i, fos. 145^{rv}, 210 (Bleadon); Cal Chart R 1300-26, p. 345, no.2 (Regesta ii, 1509) and Pipe R 31 Henry I, pp. 37-8 (Chilbolton).

Domesday Book, as well as to that of Buttermere (restored by 1110, v. 247), were included in Cod.Wint.I.¹ The cathedral's pre-conquest tenure of Bleadon, Chilbolton, Crowcombe, Headbourne Worthy, and East Meon was also recorded in the late twelfth-century Winchester Annals.² No single surviving source however records, or could be used to discover, either all the alienations suffered by the cathedral by 1107 X 1130, or even the alienation of all twelve of the estates restored by 1150.

Details of some of the alienated estates may have been included in the record said, in the sixteenth century, to have been drawn up by Bishop Henry of Blois concerning the state of his cathedral, but this is now lost.³

The purpose of the compilers of Cod.Wint.I cannot be said to have been the collection of documents relating only to those estates alienated from the cathedral

1. 204 (Bleadon); 162 (Buttermere); 183-4, 190 (Chilbolton); 29, 58, 60, 118 (Crowcombe); 177 (Headbourne Worthy; and cf. 39, 175-6, 178-80, all estates 'at Worthy'); 63 (Hele); 80, 82-5 (estates 'at Meon'; cf. 81). 63 also relates to Ford in Norton Fitzwarren, but does not name Norton itself.
2. Winchester ann., s.aa. 639 (Headbourne Worthy; cf. 177), 924 (Chilbolton), 1043 (East Meon), 1053 (Bleadon, Crowcombe). For the date of the annals, v. J.T. Appleby, 'Richard of Devizes and the Annals of Winchester', B.I.H.R 36 (1963), pp.70-5.
3. See below, pp. 298-9.

by 1107 X 1130, as it also included many documents concerning cathedral estates which had not been so alienated. It does, however, provide information about the pre-conquest tenure of thirty-four of the sixty-five alienated estates mentioned above,¹ within a collection of documents relating or intending to relate,² to the whole pre-conquest endowment of Winchester Cathedral (see below). It would therefore have been a very convenient source for anyone interested in the history of those alienated estates.

Cod.Wint.I does not appear to bear any direct relationship to the internal division of the cathedral estates between the bishop and the monks. Although many documents copied therein had one or the other, and sometimes both together, as their beneficiaries, the cartulary was not arranged with reference to any division of the endowment between them.³ Some such division certainly operated in the Anglo-Saxon period,⁴ but was probably extended after the deposition of Bishop Stigand in 1070. His successor, Bishop Walkelin, was remembered,

1. The thirty-four are: Banwell, Beddington, Bedwyn, Bleadon, Brown, Buttermere, Charmouth, Chilbolton, (part) Chilcomb, Chisledon, Compton, Crowcombe, (part) Downton, (part) Droxford, East Meon, (part) Easton, Froxfield, Hayling, Headbourne Worthy, Hele, Little Berkhamstead, Lydiard, Mildenhall, Mongewell, Moreton, Portchester, Princes Risborough, Sparcells, Stoke by Shalbourne, (parts) Taunton, Withiel Florey, Wootton Rivers, Wroxall, Yavington. See references s.nn. in index to Appendix 1, below. Cf. also (Ford in) Norton Fitzwarren (63), and Otterbourne (38, written in Cod.Wint.II by scribe c, but probably intended to be in Cod.Wint.I, v. Appendix 1, 26-39).
2. See above, Part B, section 2,c.
3. Ibid., section 4,a.
4. See 130, 151, 219, etc. The archive of the bishop appears to have been separate from that of the monks by 1043 X 1044, v. 92, and above, Part B, section 3,a (11).

c. 1124, as having divided the endowment in two halves between himself and the monks.¹ This division was, however, blurred c. 1079 when three hundred pounds' worth of land was borrowed by Walkelin from the monks' portion to help finance the rebuilding of the cathedral.² Domesday Book records the details of the borrowed manors in a separate part of its account of the bishop's fief in Hampshire and Wiltshire.³ The new cathedral was entered on 8 April 1093, although the nave was probably not completed until c. 1122, in the episcopate of William Giffard.⁴ The completion of the nave may have been the occasion for the monks to request the return to them of the lands borrowed by Walkelin, as well as of the patronage of certain of their churches which had been alienated to the bishop during the time that Walkelin's brother Simeon was prior (1081 or 1082).⁵ The Winchester Annals record a quarrel between Bishop Giffard and the monks in 1122-4, over nine churches rightfully belonging to the monks but which the bishop had taken from them.⁶ As the quarrel was said to be an enormis et non tam narranda quam tacenda discordia by the annalist,⁷ his account of it may be only a small part of the full story. His annal for 1124 records that the bishop gave back to the monks all that they had asked for,⁸ while a charter of 1126 X 1129 records

1. Goodman, Chartulary 1: On the date, v. WEMA, p.309, n.2.

2. Goodman, ibid.; WEMA, pp.308-9; Cf. Winchester ann., s.a. 1098; WMGP, p.172.

3. DB i, fos. 41^{rv}, 65^v. 4. WEMA, pp. 308-9.

5. Ibid.; Goodman, Chartulary 1; HRH, p.80.

6. Winchester ann., s.aa.1122, 1124.

7. Ibid., s.a. 1122.

8. redditque eis omnia interrogata.

Bishop Giffard's restoration of seventeen churches to the monks.¹ By the time that Henry of Blois succeeded Giffard as bishop in 1129, the monks had probably regained possession of all that portion of the endowment which was theirs before the loan to Bishop Walkelin.² It is possible that the quarrel encouraged an investigation into the documents concerning the cathedral endowment, and that this investigation was the cause of the addition of explanatory Latin endorsements, and parts of endorsements, to many of the cathedral records in the early twelfth century.³ The use of these endorsements as rubrics in Cod.Wint.I (and Cod.Wint.II) seems, however, to be the sole connection between the quarrel over the endowment and the arrangement of Cod.Wint.I. Finally, although Henry of Blois seems to have appropriated some of the monks' estates for his own use during his episcopate too,⁴ no connection

1. Goodman, Chartulary, 2. On the date, v. WEMA, p.309,n.2.

2. Bishop Giffard and King Henry I had already restored to the monks, in 1111 X 1114, the 3 hides of land in Alton Priors, Wilts., which had been converted in 1078 X 1086 into a knight's fief, held from the bishop, for King William I's cook William Escudet. See Regesta i, 270; DB i, fo. 65^v; Goodman, Chartulary 220; and Galbraith 'Royal Charters' 26.

3. See above, Part B, section 4, a(ii). Cf. also, pp. 132-8.

4. See Goodman, Chartulary 7, 14, 26, 42, 320.

can be made between Cod.Wint.I and his eventual restoration of them to the monks.

It is probable that the retrospective nature of the endowment dispute in 1122-4 not only underlined the importance of properly marshalled documentary records in the safeguarding of property rights, but also reminded both bishop and monks of the wealth of ancient muniments still preserved in archives under their control.¹ It is unlikely however that either during, or immediately after, such a bitter quarrel, an edition of documents relating to the cathedral endowment, such as Cod.Wint.I, would have been arranged without any reflection of it. Although one should beware of the temptation to ascribe all outstanding events or artistic products relating to Winchester in the first part of the twelfth century to the influence of Bishop Henry of Blois, rather than of his predecessor, the compilation of Cod.Wint.I certainly seems more compatible with what is known elsewhere of both his interest in administration and his defence of ecclesiastical rights against lay interference, than with Bishop Giffard's domestic conflicts.²

The contents and arrangement of Cod.Wint.I suggest that it was intended as a convenient edition of the varied and numerous separate documents of title to the whole Anglo-Saxon endowment of the cathedral.³

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1. See above, Part B, section 3, a(ii).
 2. The work of scribes b-f, and part of that of scribe g, was also effected during his episcopate, v. below, Part C, sections 2, 4; each writing in Cod.Wint. II.
 3. See above, Part B, sections 2, and 4, a.

While it included evidence of title to several estates alienated both before and since 1066 (see above), and could thus serve as a source-book during any campaign for their restoration, it also consolidated the title to estates still held. That it was seen as something more than a mere administrative memorandum is, however, suggested by the lavishness of its production, probably in the priory scriptorium. Its use of a monumental bookhand of the type found in religious books of the period, its large physical dimensions, and its fine decorated initials have been described above.¹ Not long after work on it had ceased, it was given a fine leather binding.² These features allow the supposition that Cod.Wint.I was intended to be of symbolic as well as practical use, as a solemn witness to the antiquity of the cathedral endowment. This commemorative function would be comparable to that suggested by P.H. Sawyer for the cartulary section of the Textus Roffensis after the twelfth century,³ although Cod.Wint.I may have been intended to have this function from its inception. As a transcript, its legal force would probably have been no less than that of its individual exemplars, various pre-conquest documents which in the twelfth century might, or might not, be accepted in courts

1. Part B, section 1.

2. See above, Part A, section 1, a.

3. Textus Roffensis ii (Early English Manuscripts in Facsimile 11; Copenhagen, 1962), p. 17.

of law.¹ If, as H.A.Cronne has stated, 'the important thing for a litigant, or a potential one, was not so much to possess an ancient charter as evidence, especially if it were a pre-Conquest one, as to have its contents embodied in a charter of confirmation with a current and, if possible, unconditional and non-modal warranty',² it may even be that Cod.Wint. I was intended to be the evidence on which a detailed royal confirmation of the ancient endowment of Winchester Cathedral was to be based (see below). In this case, it might further have been intended that the cartulary itself was to play some symbolic part in a ceremony during which the confirmation was granted, in the same way that individual documents were sometimes placed upon the altar by their donors as symbols of the estates granted.³

1. According to Bracton, the kings of Anglo-Norman England were not bound to warrant the donations of pre-conquest kings, unless they themselves had already confirmed them with a warranty, v. Henrici de Bracton, De legibus et consuetudinibus Angliæ, ed. Sir T. Twiss (Rolls Series 70; 1878-83), vi, pp. 74-5; and H.A.Cronne, 'Charter scholarship in England', University of Birmingham Historical Journal 8 (1961), p.32.

2. Ibid., p.33.

3. See above, Part B, section 3, a (i). For the placing of a charter on the altar of St. Swithun by Bishop William Giffard, v. Goodman, Chartulary 32 (dated to c.1122-4 in WEMA, p.309, n.3).

If not meant to be kept permanently on the altar, it may at least have been intended for the sacristy or the treasury.¹

Bishop Henry's practical interest in administration is shown not only by his appreciation of the nature of Domesday Book,² which had been made on the orders of his grandfather King William I, but also by his re-ordering of the affairs of the institutions with which he was associated. At Glastonbury, of which he was abbot from 1126, he was responsible for the restoration of alienated estates (see below). At Cluny, where he had been educated in the religious life, and with which institution he maintained a close

1. For the keeping of valuable altar-books and liturgical works in the twelfth-century treasury at Christ Church, Canterbury, v. N.P. Brooks, 'The pre-conquest charters of Christ Church, Canterbury' (Oxford D.Phil., 1969), pp. 65-6. The medieval treasury at Winchester Cathedral was built during the episcopate of Henry of Blois, v. Obed R, p. 203, n.2. While the surviving twelfth-century stamped-leather covers of the Codex are admittedly less sumptuous than the metal binding on the contemporary Sherborne cartulary (BL, Add.MS. 46487), this need not mean that Cod.Wint. I was intended 'for the library rather than the sacristy' as was the opinion of F.Wormald, 'The Sherborne "Chartulary"', Fritz Saxl 1890-1948, ed. D.J.Gordon (1957), p.106. Firstly, the binding is remarkable amongst its surviving contemporaries in that it is of a pink-stained white skin (perhaps doeskin); secondly, it is not certain that the surviving covers were added until after the addition of the extra twelfth-century leaves, fos.2-8, 111-17 in Cod.Wint. II (v. below, Part C, section 1; above, Part A, section 1,a), and hence they may not have been the ones intended for Cod.Wint. I at the time the latter was being written.
2. See De necessariis observantiis Scaccarii dialogus qui vulgo dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario, ed. and trans. C.Johnson (1950), pp. 63-4.

relationship throughout his life,¹ he was able, during his frequent visits there, to both reorganise the monastery's economy and to finance the community from his own pocket in times of need.² At St. Martin's le Grand in London, of which he was dean from 1139, a new prebendal constitution was established in 1158 with his advice and consent.³ The 1148 survey of the city of Winchester was also carried out at his command, to the benefit of both royal and ecclesiastical finances.⁴ Within his diocese, he was responsible for the foundation of the hospital of St. Cross outside Winchester in c.1136,⁵ and the re-foundation of the collegiate church at Twyneham, Hants, as a priory of Augustinian canons in 1150,⁶ as well as for a re-organisation of the parishes within Winchester in 1143.⁷ Although

1. Voss, pp. 108-19.

2. Ibid., pp. 114-18. Bishop Henry's loan to the community at Cluny in 1149 is recorded in BN, Collection de Bourgoyne 80, fo.51 (edited by Round, France 1395). For his loan to Cluny in 1155, v. Bibliotheca Cluniacensis, edd. M.Marrier, A.Duchesne (Brussels and Paris 1614, reprinted 1915), col. 1624. His survey of the abbey's economy (1149 X 1156) is printed, Recueil des chartes de l'abbaye de Cluny, edd. A.Bernard, A.Bruehl, v (Paris, 1894), no. 4143.

3. Voss, pp. 105-6, 151-2. The original record of the new constitution is WAM, 13247, and was written by scribe c of the Codex, v. below, Part C, section 2.

4. WEMA, pp. 18, 70, 492-3.

5. Ibid., p. 328; Voss, pp. 92-3, 156-9.

6. Voss, pp. 95-9, 159-64.

7. WEMA, pp. 300, 493.

for several years he apparently appropriated the monks' portion of the cathedral endowment to his own use, probably to help both finance and further his military campaigns during the civil war,¹ he eventually restored them to the monks, together with instructions for the future government of the cathedral priory.²

Henry of Blois's attitude to property rights is reflected in the statement of the purpose of Domesday Book, attributed to him in the late twelfth century, that it was made 'in order, that is, that every man may be content with his own rights, and not encroach unpunished on those of others'.³ His attitude to the invasion of church property by laymen is expressed in two letters sent by him in 1143 to the citizens of London, on behalf of the church of St. Martin's le Grand; both record how he has consigned to Satan those who seize ecclesiastical

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1. Goodman, Chartulary 42 (papal confirmation, February 1172) states that Bishop Henry had borrowed Chilcomb (which surrounded the city of Winchester) 'at a time of enmity'.
 2. Ibid. 7; cf. 14, 26. Note also the comment by Gerald of Wales on Bishop Henry's management of the cathedral estates: Terras tamen ecclesiæ suæ et maneria cuncta, tanquam bonus et fidelis dispensator, non supervacuus dissipator, posteris exemplum præbens, plena bonis et usque ad summum instaurata reliquit; Giraldi Cambrensis opera omnia, ed. J.F. Dimock (Rolls Series 21; 1877) vii, p.49.
 3. ut uidelicet quilibet iure suo contentus alienum non usurpet impune; v. De necessariis observantiis Scaccarii qui vulgo dicitur Dialogus de Scaccario, ed. and trans. C. Johnson (1950), pp. 63-4. Cf. WEMA, pp. 492-3.

possessions.¹ Earlier in his career, when first appointed abbot of Glastonbury in 1126, he had been dismayed to find his church 'widowed of many great possessions',² and set out to restore its endowment to its former state.³ He left an account of his actions at Glastonbury, a copy of which survives in the writings of a later chronicler.⁴ A similar account of his actions in restoring the endowment of Winchester Cathedral may have been extant at Winchester in the sixteenth century, if this is what was referred to by Nicholas Harpsfield (then chancellor of the see) when he said of

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1. Audistis, fratres karissimi, quoniam in concilio Sathane tradiderimus eos omnes, qui possessiones ecclesiasticas et eorum bona diripiendo invadunt; Voss, p.148 (document (e)). Et quoniam et vos satis audistis, quid de perturbatoribus pacis in communi concilio nostro statuerimus et quomodo ecclesiasticarum possessionum direptores in interitum carnis Sathane tradiderimus; ibid., pp. 148-9 (document (f)). For Henry of Blois's decanate at St. Martin's, v. ibid., pp. 100-7.
 2. ecclesiam multis possessionibus & magnis viduatam; v. Adami de Domerham Historia de rebus gestis Glastoniensibus, ed. T. Hearne (Oxford, 1727), p.305.
 3. Ibid., pp. 304-6. For financial reforms in farming the estates of Glastonbury Abbey, introduced by Henry of Blois, v. N.E. Stacy, 'The estates of Glastonbury Abbey, c. 1050-1200', (Oxford D. Phil., 1971), pp. 95, 100-2.
 4. Adami de Domerham (v. above, n.2), pp. 305-15. See also 'Uffculme', in Finberg, Lucerna, pp. 204-21. Stacy (v. preceding note), p.9, dates this memorandum after the death of Bishop Geoffrey of Durham in 1141.

Bishop Henry:

Vtcunque sit, ecclesiam certè Wintoniensem, successores suos, atque adeo monachos, amplissimis possessionibus (de quibus scriptum confecit, quod adhuc ad rei memoriam extat) partim de suo, partim recuperatis, quæ prædecessorum incuria, vel temporum iniuria interciderant, mirificè auxit.¹

Besides his connection with the granting of Stephen's Oxford Charter, Henry of Blois also obtained royal charters restoring alienated estates rightfully belonging to his benefices at Glastonbury, Winchester, and St. Martin's le Grand.² It is interesting, however, that he may have been able to contemplate the enrichment of one of his benefices at the expense of another, if the story is true about his attempt, in 1144, to buy the 'great carbuncle' from Waltham Abbey, of which he was dean, in order to give it to Winchester.³

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1. Historia Anglicana ecclesiastica a primis gentis susceptae fidei incunabulis ad nostra fere tempora deducta et in quindecim centurias distributa (Douai, 1622), p.364 (with marginal note: Rescriptum illorum extat in eodem libro). This does not appear to be a reference to the Codex itself, but rather to a narrative similar to the Glastonbury memorandum (v. preceding note).
 2. Regesta iii, 341-3, 527, 529, 534-5, 547, 549-51, 945 (document 10 in the Codex), 946 (2), 947 (3), 948 (4), 949 (2).
 3. The foundation of Waltham Abbey. The tract 'De inventione Sanctæ Crucis nostræ in Monte Acuto et de ductione ejusdem apud Waltham', ed. W.Stubbs (Oxford, 1861), p.xxii and chap. 13. Henry of Blois was not, however, dean of Waltham in 1146 X 1147, v. BL, Add.Chart. 19581 (Regesta iii, 694), where both he and Henricus, dean of Waltham, appear as witnesses.

If, as seems probable, the making of Cod.Wint.I was inspired by Henry of Blois in connection with a royal confirmation of the Winchester cathedral endowment, it is best dated to the early part of his episcopate (1129-), and before the split with his brother in 1139. If the royal restorations of estates in 1136¹ resulted from the same investigation into the endowment, then the collection of documents subsequently copied into Cod.Wint.I may have been begun before King Stephen's accession in December 1135.² The fact that no detailed royal confirmation-charter by King Stephen to Winchester Cathedral exists, or is recorded as having been granted, as well as internal details which show that Cod.Wint.I was not completed according to its original plan,³ suggest that the cartulary's compilers were overtaken by political events and that it was never used in a ceremony of confirmation of the type postulated above. In fact, the only estates recorded as being restored by Stephen were those in his own possession, either as king or as count of Mortain, and so, evidently, little progress had been made with any judicial inquiries about alienated cathedral estates held by other landowners before the quarrel with his brother.⁴ Although a royal confirmation of the

1. Regesta ii, 945-9 (Codex documents 10, 2, 3, 4, 2).

2. See above, p.291, for a possible earlier investigation into the endowment in connection with the quarrel between Bishop Giffard and the monks.

3. See above, pp. 269-70.

4. For Stephen's restorations, v. above, pp. 286-7, and p. 287, n.1.

ancient liberties, rights, and customs of the cathedral church and see, as enjoyed since the time of Edward the Confessor, was granted to Henry of Blois and the prior by King Stephen before 1141, this related to rights to the profits obtained from the cathedral estates rather than to their tenure itself.¹ That the compilation of Cod.Wint.I cannot be regarded as a complete waste of effort, however, is shown by its twelfth-century continuation (Cod.Wint.II),² its use in subsequent centuries,³ and its value today as a medium for the transmission of otherwise unknown records from the Anglo-Saxon period.

1. Regesta iii, 955. This was based on a similar confirmation by King Henry I, in 1101 X 1108; Galbraith, 'Royal Charters' 14.

2. See below, Part C.

3. Ibid., Parts D, E.

PART C

TWELFTH-CENTURY ADDITIONS OF TEXT (COD.WINT. II)

On various occasions, from soon after the time that work stopped on Cod.Wint.I (?1139)¹ until the end of the twelfth century, several textual additions were made to the earlier compilation. These additions were written both on leaves, or parts of leaves, left blank in Cod. Wint. I (fos. 9-11^v, 12-13^v, 67^{rv}, 110^v) and on ^{most of the} twelfth-century leaves added to the manuscript for the purpose (fos. 2-8, 111-17). For the sake of convenience, these twelfth-century additions have been called Cod.Wint. II in the present thesis. It should be emphasised however that, although some of these additions were certainly contemporary to each other, the section Cod.Wint.II was not a cohesive unit of composition in the manner of Cod.Wint. I,² but was a miscellaneous series of accretions added to the earlier cartulary over a period of time. The documents contained in Cod.Wint.II are listed in Appendix 1, below, as 2-19, 21-2, 24-5, 34-9, 133-4, and 209-32. They were written into the cartulary by the following twelfth-century scribes, whose characteristics are described in

1. See above, Part B, section 5.

2. Ibid, sections 1; 2; 4,a.

Section 2 below: scribe b (2-12, 17-18, 21-2, 24-5, 133-4, 209-12, 215-31); scribe c (13, 34-9; and rubrics to 26-7, 30-9; scribe d (part 213); scribe e (part 213); scribe f (214); scribe g (14-16; 232); and scribe h (19). All of these additions may be dated earlier, on palaeographical grounds, than the medieval table of contents (at fo. 2^v),¹ which interposes between Cod.Wint.II and the thirteenth and fourteenth-century additions described elsewhere as Cod.Wint. III.²

1. See above, Part A, section 1, d. 19 (scribe h) was, in any case, listed in the table (fo. 2^v, col. 1, l. 3), so must have been added earlier than it.

2. See below, Part D.

Section 1

The Additional Leaves and their Ruling

The leaves (fos. 2-8, 111-17) added to accommodate parts of Cod. Wint. II now form gatherings 1 and 15, and the first leaf of gathering 16, of the Codex Wintoniensis.¹ The addition of these leaves probably occurred in the mid twelfth century, since all of them, except one, contain, or are conjoint with leaves which contain, material written by scribe b, who was the corrector and one of the rubricators of Cod. Wint. I.² The exception, fo. 117, is similar in quality and ruling to fos. 7 and 116 and may be taken as contemporary to them. The re-binding which the addition of these leaves probably entailed may have been the occasion for the addition of the surviving stamped-leather covers to the manuscript, if these are to be dated no earlier than c. 1150.³ The present quire-numbers XI and XII at fos. 96^v and 104^v may have been added to the manuscript to facilitate this re-binding. If so, they replaced numbers, written in a different style, which had been lost when the leaves of gatherings 12 and 13 had been cut prior to the binding of Cod. Wint. I.⁴ Both of the quire-numbers XI and XII

1. See above, Part A, sections 2, 4.

2. See above, Part B, section 1, g, k.

3. They may however be earlier, if associated with Cod. Wint. I, v. above, Part A, section 1, a.

4. *Ibid.*, section 2, b.

occur in association with catchwords which are similar in style to catchwords which appear on fos. 112-14 in Cod. Wint. II. These catchwords, written in ink at the foot of the inner margin verso, are as follows:

fo. 96^v (with quire-number XI) eadlra [for ealdra, fo. 97]

fo. 104^v (with quire-number XII) bis sind þa l' [presumably for bis sind þa land gemæro, but followed on fo. 105 by ðis synd þæra. xx. hida gæmæro]

fo. 112^v regnante, ðruhha' [the first word of 217 and the name of the estate (þruhham, rubric ðruhtham) granted therein, on fo. 113]; v. Plate XI,

fo. 113^v of ceorles pylle [for of cæors pylle, fo. 114]

fo. 114^v uulgares [the first word of text, fo. 115]

The catchwords on fos. 96^v and 104^v were probably used to maintain an existing sequence of quires, associated with Cod. Wint. I, during re-binding. Those on fos. 112-14, however, appear to have been written by scribe b for his own reference during his transcription of documents on to those folios. These are unlikely to have been intended primarily as a help in the maintenance of the order of folios in the gathering, since fos. 113 and 114 are conjoint and thus the catchwords on fo. 113^v would have been otiose.

The membrane of fos. 2-8, 111-17, belonging to Cod. Wint. II, is of varying thickness and colour.

Fos. 8, 111-15 are of good quality membrane; fos. 2-6 are ^{of} medium quality, being somewhat patchy in texture; fos. 7, 116-17 are of poorer quality, having noticeably darker hair sides than flesh. There are four bifolia (fos. 2, 6; 3, 4; 112, 115; and 113, 114) and

— six half-sheets (fos. 5, 7, 8, 111, 116, and 117).

All the leaves are arranged with hair sides facing hair and flesh sides facing flesh, except for the opening at fos. 2^v-3, where flesh faces hair. Large holes, or tears, on fos. 113-15 were expertly repaired before the leaves were ruled.

Several different rulings appear on these additional leaves and reflect the various occasions on which they were prepared for the reception of text. There is some degree of regularity, however, between the rulings of the following three groups of folios: 2-6; 7-8, 116-117; and 112-15. Folio 111 seems either to have been ruled in imitation of the leaves of the preceding three gatherings (12-14), in Cod.Wint.I, or to have been a leaf originally ruled for use in Cod.Wint.I but not used in the earlier compilation. The rulings found in Cod.Wint. II may be described as follows:


fos. 2-6 (written space 300 X 190/195 mm., height X width)¹


Ruled in hard point for two columns of text. Eight vertical lines (arranged 2-4-2) ruled from head to foot: two on each side of the written space, four between the columns. Eight pricks (2-4-2) at upper and lower margins guide the vertical ruling. Forty-five horizontal lines ruled, guided, by forty-five pricks in the outer

1. Except that the written space on fo. 6^v is 300 X 185 mm.

margin.¹ On fos, 2, 5, 6, lines 1, 3, 43, 45 extend to the edges of the leaves, while lines 2 and 44 extend from the inner line of the pair of vertical bounding-lines on the left of the left-hand leaf of a bifolium to the corresponding line on the right of the right-hand leaf. On fos. 3-4, lines 1, 3, 45 extend to the edges of the leaves. Other horizontal lines are confined to the written space.

fos. 7-8, 116-17

The actual written area on these leaves is not regular: the height ranges from 160 mm. (fo. 8)² to 310 mm. (fos. 116-17); the width ranges from 200 mm. (fo. 7) to 225 mm. (fo. 8). All seem originally to have been ruled in black lead for one column of text in a somewhat similar fashion however.³ Four vertical lines (arranged 2-2) bound the written space.  Four pricks (2-2) at upper and lower margins guide the vertical ruling. Forty-eight horizontal

-
1. Two extra lines of writing occur at the foot of fos. 4^{rv}, 5, below the ruled space. 

Two extra series of twenty-one pricks appear on fos. 5, 6 (and 7), one on the lower half of the inner margin and the other about 60 mm. from the outer edge of the leaves. These are the impressions made by the pricking of fo. 8^v to guide the ruling (in point and black lead) for 23 on fo. 8, added to the Codex in the mid thirteenth century by scribe m (v. below, Part D, section 2). These pricks are slit-like and may have been made with the point of a knife, rather than with a boring tool.

2. Increased to 300 mm. in the mid thirteenth century by the addition of 23 by scribe m, v. preceding note.
3. The ruling on fos. 8 and 117 is faded, but appears to be the same as that on fos. 7 and 116 respectively.

lines ruled, guided by forty-eight pricks in the outer margin.¹ On fos. 7 and 8, lines 1, 3, 46, 48 extend to the edges of the leaves, while lines 2 and 47 cross the inner margin and presumably in a bifolium would extend as lines 2 and 44 on fos. 2, 5, 6 (see above). On fos. 116-17, lines 1, 4, 46, 48 extend to the edges of the leaves. Other horizontal lines are confined as above.

fo. 111 (written space 295 X 210 mm.)

Ruled in black lead for one column of text. Four vertical lines (arranged 2-2) guided by four pricks in upper and lower margins. Forty-two horizontal lines ruled, guided by forty-two pricks. Lines 1, 3, 40, 42 extend to the edges of the leaf. Other horizontal lines are confined as above. Compare ruling (iv) of Cod.Wint. I.²

fos. 112-15 (written space 310 X 205 mm.)

Ruled in brownish lead for two columns of text, with eight vertical lines (arranged 2-4-2) guided by eight pricks as in fos. 2-6 (see above). Forty-eight horizontal lines ruled, guided by forty-eight pricks. Lines 1 and 48 extend to the edges of the leaves. Other horizontal lines are confined as above.

The above variation in rulings should be taken into account in any consideration of the sequence in which the documents in Cod.Wint. II were added to the cartulary (see section 4, below), a sequence which is further delimited by the ascription of the various documents to different scribes (see following section).

1. For the two extra series of twenty-one pricks on fo. 7, v. p.307,n.1.

2. Above, Part B, section 1,e.

Section 2

The Scribes of Cod. Wint. II (scribes b-h)

In Cod. Wint. II, as elsewhere in the Codex, differentiation between the several scribes is of prime importance to the criticism of individual documents. Both the textual content of, and the editorial practices discernible in, Cod. Wint. II will thus be discussed in relation to the particular scribes (b-h) appearing therein.

Scribe b (2-12, 17-18, 21-2, 24-5, 133-4, 209-12, 215-31)

1) Palaeographical features (Plates IX-XII, XVI, XIX)

Scribe b wrote a good mid twelfth-century bookhand (protogothica textualis) which, though expert, was somewhat less monumental than that of scribe a.¹ Three different applications of this script are discernible in Latin texts in Cod. Wint. II, distinguished for convenience as scripts b1, b2, and b3. Of these, script b1 was of a superior grade (formata), well-spaced, and with few abbreviations; it occurs at fos. 67^{rv}, 110^v-111^v (v. Plates IX, X).

1. Scribe b also wrote corrections and rubrics in Cod. Wint. I, v. above, Part B, section 1, g, k. He also corrected WCL, MS.5, in which eleven lines of text on fo. 305 were written by him too.

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PLATE IX : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.67 (scale 1 : 2)
top, document 132, in Cod.Wint. I, scribe a ;
foot, document 133, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe b
(text in script b1, and rubric), with
associated initial.

Script b2 was of a slightly less formal grade (media), with a high degree of compression and quite frequent abbreviations; it occurs at fos. 6^v - 7, 8^{rv}, 111^v (foot), 112^v-116^v (v. Plates XI, XVI, XIX). Script b3 may also be graded as media but has very frequent abbreviations and some documentary features; it occurs at fos. 4-5^v in Cod.Wint. II (v. Plate XII) but is also similar to the script (litera glossularis) used by scribe b for some corrections in Cod.Wint. I (fos. 47, 71^v, 91^v, 92^v). Characteristic letter-forms used by scribe b are as follows:

Latin text (b1, b2, b3):

- a is usually caroline in form but occasionally insular, when perhaps influenced by the exemplar (fo. 67 (Plate IX), l.7 up, Eadpig and angul). Initial a is often high, with an ascender which finishes in a trailing, curved hairline;
- d is either round-backed or upright, with the round-backed variety being much more frequent in script b3;
- e (spurred e) usually has a closed, oval spur, but sometimes this spur is open;
- g is round-headed, and its tail is open and hook-shaped;
- s is either caroline or round, with the latter being very rare in scripts b1 and b2, but much more common in b3;
- x often has a left foot which trails below the line;

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PLATE X : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.110^v (scale 1 : 2)
top, the end of Cod.Wint. I, document 208, scribes
a (text), and b (corrections);
below, document 209, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe b
(text in script b1, rubric, and corrections),
with associated initials.

A is usually triangular;

E is either a rustic capital or an enlarged version of minuscule e, the latter being the usual form in script b3. The centre bar of rustic E intersects its stem, while the enlarged minuscule e, used as an initial capital, often has a protruding tongue;

M in rustic capitals has an inward-curving first minim;

Q usually has a tail which descends below the line;

S is tall but has well-rounded curves. It sometimes occurs in medial position in script b3.

Vernacular text

æ, Æ, þ, ð, Ð, and ƿ were used, as well as special forms of a (insular), f (with a descender), g (insular with an almost s-shaped descender), r (insular), s (long insular, and short insular, as well as caroline and round). æ is a fusion of e with insular a. Round-backed d is usual. y was not always dotted. The cross-stroke of ð is often similar to the suspension-mark added to ascenders in Latin text written by this scribe.

Abbreviations

A full range was used in script b3, of which only selections occur in b1 and b2. Four different ways of expressing the Latin final syllable -bus occur in b3 (b: / b; / b3 / b') of which only two (b: / b') occur in b1 and b2. The Latin conjunction -que was expressed as (q:). Superscript a, e, i, and o occur. The tironian nota for et was used in all three scripts; in scripts b1 and b2 it interchanged with the ampersand.

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PLATE XI : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.112^v (scale 1 : 2)
ll.1-4, document 214, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe f;
below, documents 215-16, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe
b (text in script b2, and rubrics), with
associated initials. Folio-catchwords at foot.

An overline abbreviation-mark, shaped like a figure seven occurs with great frequency in b3; in b1 and b2 the most common mark is an upturning overline, sometimes attached to an ascender. In b3 the -orum compendium was often decorated with a knot. Capital S intersected by a tick represents both Signum and Sanctus in b3; capital R in combination with a similar tick represents Rex or Regina in the same script.¹

Punctuation was usually by full point, with an occasional punctus elevatus (✓). The gibbet-like insertion mark on fo. 4^v, 1.7 from foot, in script b3, also occurs at fo. 115^v, last line, in script b2, and in the correction by scribe b at fo. 107^v, in Cod.Wint.I.

Texts by scribe b were written in single column, in spite of the two-column ruling of fos. 2-6, 112-15.² Witness-lists were given either in long lines or in up to five columns. Nearly all the texts in scripts b1 and b2 were introduced by a rubric written in red ink by scribe b himself.³ No rubrics occur with texts in script b3, although a space of one or two lines has been left between individual documents, perhaps for rubrics which were never supplied. Texts in script b1

1. Regi and regis are similarly abbreviated in the Winton Domesday (London, Society of Antiquaries, MS.154), fo. 13^v, v. WEMA, Plate II.

2. See above, section 1.

3. The exceptions are 22 and 229. The former was covered by the rubric to 21, of which 22 was a vernacular version. 229 was a memorandum which may not have had an endorsement usable as a rubric.

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PLATE XII : Codex Wintoniensis, fo. 5^v (scale 1 : 2)
documents 10-12, in Cod. Wint. II, scribe b (script
b3), with marginal headings by annotator 4.

were introduced by a decorated initial in up to three colours (red, green, and brown), often with infill or terminals of acanthus foliage. The initials which accompany texts in script b2 are a less elaborate version of the same style, one or two colours only being used from a choice of red, green, and brown. Texts in script b3 are accompanied only by small calligraphic initials in ordinary ink. None of these initials approach the artistry of those in Cod.Wint. I.¹ Texts in scripts b1 and b2 differ from those in b3 by the use of display capitals in the first line of individual documents, this practice being more extensive in script b1 than in b2.

(ii) Textual content

The texts in Cod. Wint. II which were written by scribe b may be divided into the following three groups:

- 133-4, 209-11 were copies of Anglo-Saxon diplomas (A.D. 863-1049) added to leaves associated with Cod.Wint.I, and seem to represent imitative infilling of the earlier compilation. All were written in the formal script

b1 and have quite elaborate decorated initials.

133-4 were added to fo. 67^{rv} in a space left blank by scribe a.² 209 was begun on fo. 110^v immediately

1. See above, Part B, section 1,1.

2. The offlay of ink from the subscriptions of five ministri on fo. 67^v (133) on to the facing leaf (fo. 68) shows that 133 was added to the manuscript when fos. 67 and 68 were already ordered within a gathering, perhaps, but not necessarily, after binding.

after the last document of Cod.Wint. I and, with 210-11, continued on to fo. 111^{rv}, a leaf whose ruling is the same as that of the last three quires of Cod.Wint. I. All the documents in this group recorded grants to alien beneficiaries¹ and concerned both alien estates and estates later owned by Winchester Cathedral, in Devon, Gloucs., Hants, and Wilts.

-17-18, 21-2, 24-5, 212, 215-31 were copies of Anglo-Saxon documents (A.D. 749-1046) written in script b2 and all, except 212 (on fo. 111^v), on leaves (fos. 6-8, 112-16) additional to those of Cod.Wint. I. Most of the documents in this group were in favour of Winchester Cathedral, but a few had alien beneficiaries. All but one related to estates, several of which had not been mentioned in Cod.Wint.I, later owned by the cathedral, in Hants, Somerset, Surrey, Wilts., and the Isle of Wight. The exception (215) recorded the personal grant of a fishery in Kent to Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester. Six documents related to lands in Winchester itself (17, 21-2, 24-5, 226). Five others concerned contiguous estates in east Hampshire and west Surrey (222, 224-5, 229-30).² 231 was a general confirmation of fiscal

1. 210 was a grant of personal bookland to Bishop Ælfwine of Winchester, rather than to his church.

2. The estates of Crondall, Farnham, Hoddington, and Long Sutton.

and legal privileges to the Old Minster by King Knut.¹
17, 18, and 215 each concerned the ownership of fisheries.

- 2-12 were copies of twelfth-century writ-mandates and writ-charters (A.D. 1136-1147 X 1154), written in script b3 on leaves (fos. 4-5) additional to those of Cod.Wint. I. Their beneficiary was Winchester Cathedral and See, and they related to estates in Berks., Cambs., Hants, Somerset, and Surrey.

(iii) Editorial practices

Apart from the twelfth-century documents 2-12, which were arranged in roughly chronological order with sub-grouping by estates, the texts in Cod.Wint. II written by scribe b are neither in chronological, nor in any over-all topographical, order. 17, 21-2, and 24-5 may have been placed near each other, however, because of their common association with lands and rights in or near Winchester.² 209, which recorded a grant of four hides at Wotton-under-Edge, Gloucs. (æt PVDETIVNE), in 940, was no doubt placed on fo. 110^v in order to continue a sequence of diplomas in Cod.Wint. I (206-8) concerning estates with similar names, which were probably taken to refer to the same place.³ No reason can be suggested for the order in which other documents were added by scribe b however, unless it

1. On its authenticity, v. Harmer, ASWrits, p.382.

2. For the possibility that their exemplars may have formed an archive group, v. below, section 3, a.

3. See above, Part B, section 2, c(iii).

reflected that of an unsorted pile of miscellaneous documents.

The rubrics used by scribe b to introduce individual documents in Cod.Wint. II were probably all copied from endorsements on the exemplars. This is certainly true of the rubric to 210, whose exemplar survives.¹ Most of these rubrics were in Latin, apart from 17, 133-4, 209-10, 216, 221, which were in Old English. All of the documents with Latin rubrics, except 215 (see (ii), above), related to estates later owned by Winchester Cathedral and their exemplars had probably been endorsed at the same time as the exemplars of documents with Latin rubrics in Cod.Wint. I.²

+210, the sole surviving exemplar of the documents copied into Cod.Wint. II by scribe b,³ has been collated to the cartulary-text 210, with the results that appear below in Appendix 3.⁴ Later medieval copies also exist of the now-lost exemplars of 3, 4, 6-8, 10, 12,²²² and 225,⁵ some of which provide

1. BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.8; v. below, Appendix 2, +210.

2. See above, Part B, section 4, a(ii). The exemplar of 215 had probably been deposited at Wolvesey Palace by Bishop Æthelwold as part of his personal archive.

3. See n.1, above.

4. Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii).

5. BL, Add. MS. 29436, fos. 18 (3,4), 18^v (12), 19^v (10), 20 (7), 20^v (6,8); BL, Cotton Chart. xii. 76 (225); and PRO, C53/103, m.4. (3, 4, 12), C53/118, m.32 (222).

additional information about the missing exemplars.¹

The collation of 210 to its exemplar reveals hardly any palaeographical errors in the cartulary-text. This may, however, have been because this particular exemplar (dated A.D. 1045) was only about a century old in the mid twelfth century and thus its script (and language) may not have been too unfamiliar to scribe b. He does seem to have committed some palaeographical errors in his transcription of other documents in Cod.Wint.II, some of which were older and probably in a more archaic script (and language) than +210. In +210, his only misreading of an insular letter-form was of D for Ð; which occurs twice, but in two occurrences of the same word.² Other misreadings of insular letters, which may be inferred from the cartulary-texts of documents whose exemplars are now lost and which have been noticed during the preparation of Appendix 1, below, are as follows:³

1. See textual notes to 3, 4, 222, 225 in Appendix 1, below. Cf. also textual notes to 5, *ibid.*
2. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), section 2.
3. For full details, v. below, Appendix 1, s.nn.

- a (open-headed): taken as n in OE, 221;
 as u in Latin, 222, 224-5
- a (rounded): taken as o in OE, 222, 226
- e (tall): taken as i in Latin, 220a, 226, 231
- f (with a descender): taken as s in OE, 218
- g taken as ȝ in OE, 226
- r (with long descender): taken as s in OE, 218;
 as ȝ in OE, 231
- OE ð: taken as t, 231; as ti, 218
- OE ȝ: taken as s in a latinised personal-name 227
- OE ȝ: taken as P, 133

In the Old English parts of both 212 and 230, he misread the letter n as an insular form of r (with short descender).¹ In the Old English parts of 219 and 226, he misinterpreted groups of minims (-m- as -in-, and ut- as it-). Several of these, and other, errors were noticed and subsequently altered by scribe b himself, using similar methods of correction to those used by him in both Cod.Wint. I² and in another surviving twelfth-century Winchester cathedral manuscript.³

The collation of 210 to its exemplar represents too small a sample for any detailed statements to be made about the linguistic changes effected by scribe b during his transcription of documents into Cod.Wint. II.⁴ These changes seem, however, to be

-
1. He made the same error in the rubric to 157, v. below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), section 2.
 2. Methods (i), (iii), (iv), (vi), (vii), and (ix), described above, Part B, section 1, k, have been noticed in his work in Cod.Wint. II.
 3. WCL, MS. 5, passim.
 4. See below, Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), sections 3-6, 13, 15.

generally compatible with those he made while writing the rubrics in Cod.Wint. I.¹ One feature which is common to both sets of material is the modernisation of pre-conquest personal names.²

Some textual changes appear to have been effected by scribe b during the copying of documents into Cod.Wint. II. The collation of 210 to its exemplar reveals instances of the interchange of letters having the same phonetic value. Thus V in the cartulary sometimes replaced U in the exemplar; w replaced uu; and ð and þ interchanged.³ These changes may be classed as subconscious ones which had no effect on the meaning or standing of the text copied. Other textual changes which were probably committed more consciously also occurred, however. Most of these were omissions and substitutions of text. As was his practice when rubricating most of Cod.Wint.I, scribe b seems to have omitted all chrismons and signa crucis from the cartulary, both from before the individual subscriptions and from the invocations.⁴ Although in 3-4, 210, and 225, he followed the arrangement of witnesses, in either columns or long lines, found in his respective exemplars, in his cartulary-text

1. Ibid., examples with document references having the suffix 'R'. See also, above, Part B, section 4, b(iv).

2. Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), section 13.

3. Ibid., sections 3, 4.

4. Cf. *ibid.*, scribe a, section 7.

of these documents, and possibly in that of others, he omitted several witnesses which were written at the foot of the exemplars.¹ In 17, he erroneously described the last three witnesses as duces rather than ministri.² In 210, he substituted roman numerals for words in the date of +210,³ thus saving space, while in 225 he appears to have omitted the details of the indiction, epact, and concurrent from the dating-clause.⁴ Again in 210, he altered the punctuation from that of +210, using only full points and puncti elevati in place of the more varied usage of the exemplar.⁵

There is no evidence to suggest that scribe b made any attempt to falsify the documents which he copied into Cod. Wint. II. Those changes which he does seem to have made were linguistic or subconscious substitutions, or stemmed from the difficulty of reading archaic exemplars and the desire to save space in the cartulary.

1. See below, Appendix 1, textual notes to 3, 4, 222, 225, etc.; Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), section 8.

2. Appendix 1, 17, nn. 3-5.

3. Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), section 12.

4. Appendix 1, 225, textual note.

5. Appendix 3, scribe b, part (ii), section 16.

Scribe c (13, 34-9; rubrics to 26-7, 30-9)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plates V, XIII, XV).

Scribe c wrote a handsome mid twelfth-century bookhand (protogothica textualis formata). It occurs at fos. 6, 12-13^v in Cod.Wint. II; probably in the rubrics on fos. 9-11^v added in front of 26-7, 30-3 (in Cod.Wint.I); and also in two separate original documents, recording transactions of 1144 X 1171 and 1158 respectively.¹

Both of these original documents were probably drawn up for Henry of Blois, one as bishop of Winchester and the other as dean of St Martin's le Grand in London,² which suggests that scribe c was a clerk in the personal service of Bishop Henry.³

Characteristic letter-forms used by scribe c are as follows:

Latin text:

a often has a high back which reaches above neighbouring minims; _

d is either round-backed or upright;

1. WCM, Muniments, Hamble, drawer 5a; WAM, 13247. For their text, v. Voss, pp. 165-6 and 151-2 respectively.

2. On his decanate of St. Martin's, v. ibid, pp. 100-7.

3. Scribe c's name is not known, nor are those of many of Bishop Henry's scribes. Two scriptores, Ralph and Walter (Galterius) occur as witnesses to an original document (dated 1151), associated with both Bishop Henry and the priory of St. Denis, near Southampton (BL, Harl. Chart. 50 A. 8), in which Bishop Henry's chancellor (Henry) also occurs, but the scriptores were not necessarily part of the bishop's chancery, and the document itself was not written by any of the scribes of the Codex.

Ralph scriba appears as a witness to a legatine writ of Bishop Henry (1139 X 1141), but this survives only in a fourteenth-century copy, v. Voss, p. 173 (document f).

- e (spurred e) often has a long, oblique, hairline descender;
- g occurs with either open or closed tail;
- h has an inward-curving right-hand minim which is sometimes elongated into a clubbed descender;
- p has a descender with a hairline serif;
- q has either a descender curving to the left or one with a hairline serif;
- r and s occasionally have long descenders curving to the left;
- x has a trailing left foot which is clubbed;
- E is either a rustic capital or an enlarged version of minuscule e. In the former, the centre-bar occasionally intersects its stem; in the latter, the tongue is sometimes protruded and clubbed.
- G is 6-shaped;
- I in rustic capitals sometimes has a clubbed descender which curves to the left;
- M in rustic capitals sometimes has its first two feet turned towards each other, while its third foot has a descender which curves to the left and is clubbed; at other times, it has two parallel hairline ascending stems and two thicker parallel descending stems;
- N in rustic capitals has a descender similar to that of the first form of M;
- P has its head on the line and a pronounced serif to its descender;
- Q sometimes sits on the line with its tail as a descender; at other times, its bowl is completed above the line and the tail is bracket-shaped;
- R often has a pronounced serif to the foot of its stem;
- U in rustic capitals has a descender similar to I;

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PLATE XIII : Codex Wintoniensis, fos. 11^v-12 (scale 3 : 8): left, documents 32-2,
text by scribe a (corrected by scribe b) in Cod. Wint. I, rubrics by scribe c
in Cod. Wint. II; right, documents 34-6, text, rubrics, and corrections by
scribe c in Cod. Wint. II; initials associated with Cod. Wint. II .

W is composed of two overlapping rustic capital letters V, but sometimes seems more exotic when one of the ascending stems is broken.

Anglo-Saxon letters

These occur only in personal and place-names in the documents under discussion.

Æ occurs but was sometimes replaced by spurred E (E);

Ð and ƿ occur.

Abbreviations

A full range of abbreviations was used by scribe c.

The Latin final syllable -bus was expressed as (b;)

and the conjunction -que as (q;); sed occurs as (s;).

Suprascript a, e, i, and o occur. Both the tironian

nota and the ampersand were used for et. The

-orum compendium has a clubbed and inward-curling descender.

Punctuation

Both the full point and the punctus elevatus were used,

the former being much the commonest. Hairline

strokes were added above the line to distinguish the

letter i from other minims.

Scribe c wrote in a similar, but not identical, style to that of the episcopal scribe who wrote the Winton Domesday.¹ These two scribes differed

1. London, Society of Antiquaries, MS. 154. On its scribe, v. T.J. Brown, 'The manuscript and the handwriting', WEMA, Appendix II, The manuscript of the Winton Domesday, pp. 520-2, and, ibid., Plates I-III.

particularly in their treatment of the following letters: e; g; E (enlarged minuscule); Q; and W. There is no doubt, however, that both worked in the same scriptorium.

13 was written in the left column of the double-column ruling of fo. 6.¹ 34-9 were, however, written in single column on fos. 12-13^v, ignoring their double-column ruling,² as had scribe a in the preceding eight documents (26-33, in Cod. Wint. I). No witnesses were given in 34-9, but those in 13 were arranged in long lines. 34-9 were each introduced by a rubric, written in red ink; these appear to have been written by scribe c, who also seems to have added rubrics to 26-7, 30-3 at the same time. 13 lacks a contemporary rubric.³ 13 has a plain green initial H to its first word, the remainder of which was written in rustic display capitals about half a line high; similar capitals were used for the saint's name PETRI (fo. 6, col. 1, l. 8; v. Plate XV). 34-9 have fine decorated initials to the first word of each document. These were depicted in up to three colours from a range of four (red, green, brown, and blue), and in a style which only occurs in these six initials and in the initial to 33 on fo. 11^v (v. Plate XIII).

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1. For this ruling, v. above, section 1.
 2. For this ruling, v. above, Part B, section 1, e(i).
 3. A descriptive heading was however added by annotator 4 in the fourteenth century, v. Appendix 1, 13.

The initial to 33 was thus probably depicted at the time that 34-9 were added to the cartulary, although the text of 33 was written by scribe a, in Cod.Wint. I. Most initials have floriate, acantho-style terminals or infill, in colours which contrast to that of the body of the letter; the G on fo. 12 was, however, decorated with scallops on the inside edge of its body. Guide-letters for these initials, written by scribe c, occur in the margin, perhaps suggesting that it was not he who painted them. Display capitals of up to one line high were used for the first word, or words, in 34-9, as well as for significant place and personal-names in the text.

(ii) Textual content

The documents copied into Cod.Wint. II by scribe c fall into the following two groups:

- The text of 34-9 and the rubrics to 26-7, 30-9 seem to represent the completion by scribe c of the transcription of an exemplar sub-document, containing 26-39, left unfinished by scribes a and b in Cod.Wint. I.¹

This sub-document contained restitutions and confirmations of estates, made by King Eadgar to the Old Minster, in ? 964.

- 13 was a writ-charter of King Henry II to Winchester Cathedral (? A.D. 1154), concerning the manors of East Meon, Hants, and Wargrave, Berks., and an extension of St. Giles's Fair at Winchester.

1. For this sub-document, v. above, Part B, section 4, a(i).

(iii) Editorial practices

The location of documents written by scribe c was dictated by the work of previous scribes. 13 followed 2-12, written by scribe b, in the first available subsequent space in gathering 1. The texts of 34-9 were added on fos. 12-13^v which had been left blank by scribe a for their eventual addition. The rubrics to 26-7, 30-3 were added in spaces left between texts, on fos. 9-11^v, written by scribe a and not subsequently filled by scribe b as rubricator of Cod.Wint. I. The rubrics used to introduce 34-9 were probably copied from those of the exemplar sub-document behind 26-39,¹ since they are similar in wording to those of 26-7, 30-3. Since neither this exemplar sub-document, nor the exemplar of 13,² survive for collation to the cartulary-texts, little can be said of the accuracy of scribe c's transcription. It is probable, however, that the insular letters ð and ð were misread as D and d in the copying of 34 and 35, which contain the spellings ADELWOLdo and adelwoldo respectively. The words comitibus in 13 may be in error for vicecomitibus.³

1. See Part B, section 4, a(ii).

2. For the relationship between 13 and the contemporary writ-charter BL, Add. Chart. 28658, v. below, Appendix 1, 13, n.6.

3. Ibid.

A few alterations occur, probably effected by scribe c himself.¹ Comparison of 34-9 to 26-33, apparently from part of the same exemplar,² suggests that the omission of dating-clauses and subscriptions from 34-9 reflects the nature of the exemplar rather than any editorial decision by scribe c, since these features are also lacking from 26-33. The large amount of abbreviation present in 34-9 was probably a textual change made by scribe c however, it being much greater than that in 26-33, written by scribe a. Its immediate purpose was no doubt to fit 34-9 into the limited amount of space available on fos. 12-13^v, but it may have been common practice to scribe c in his business as an episcopal clerk.³

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1. In 35 (fo. 12), instituens was altered to restituens by underlining of in- and writing of re overline; in 36 (ib.), peripsema was altered to peripsima by writing i overline; cf. also 38 (fo. 12^v), obli't' terata. Some alterations have also been made to the punctuation on fos. 13^{rv}, but these were probably by annotator 3 (s.xiii/xiv), v. Appendix 1, 39, n.12.
 2. See Part B, section 4, a(ii).
 3. A comparable degree of abbreviation by scribe c occurs in WAM, 13247. In the Codex, of course, he would have had more space had he begun the text of 34 directly after 33, that is, on fo. 11^v rather than on fo. 12. The fact that he did not do so threatened to lessen the textual link between 26-33 and 34-9 and it was probably in order to re-establish it that scribe c placed the rubric to 34 at the foot of fo. 11^v, rather than at the top of fo. 12; see Plate XIII.

Scribe d (part 213) (Plate XIV)

Scribe d wrote a square mid twelfth-century bookhand (protogothica textualis media). It occurs only in the rubric and first two lines of text of 213, at the top of fo. 112.¹ This is only enough material for a brief description of the palaeographical features. Characteristic letter-forms appear to be as follows:

- d is either round-backed or upright;
- e (spurred e) has a sharp spur made of two right angles;
- g has a round head and a curved open tail;
- x has both feet on the line;
- There is a ligature of s+t, but not of c+t;
- B and D have 'paunched' bowls;
- I, M, P, R, and T have pronounced curved serifs at the foot of their stems;
- N has both feet on the line;
- U has a leftward-curving descender.

Abbreviations: the Latin conjunction -que was expressed as (q:). The tironian nota was used for et.

Punctuation was by full point.

Both the rubric and _____ the letters of the first word of text after the initial are in rustic capitals about half a line high. The uncial capital D which is the initial letter of the rubric may possibly have been carried over from the (now-lost) exemplar. The text was written in single column at the top of fo. 112, in spite of the two-column ruling;² the content of 213 is described below under scribe e, who wrote the remainder of the text.

1. The word deo in the first line of text is, however, in a different-coloured ink and was probably not by scribe d.

2. For this ruling, v. above, section 1.

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PLATE XIV : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.112 (scale 1 : 2)
top, document 213, in Cod.Wint. II, ll.1-2 of text
by scribe d, rubric and ll.3-25 of text by scribe e,
marginal note by annotator 10;
below, document 214, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe f.

Scribe e (part 213)(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XIV)

Scribe e wrote a laterally-compressed bookhand of the mid twelfth century (protogothica textualis media). It occurs in the third line of text onwards of 213, on fo. 112, and has the following characteristics:

Latin text

There is a regular proportion (2:1) of the length of ascenders and descenders in the letters d, h, and p to the height of minims. This proportion is, however, irregular in the letters b, l, g, and (caroline) s. There are transverse hairline serifs on the ascenders of b, d, h, and l; on the descender of p; and on the feet of most minims.

a is usually caroline with a high straight back, but sometimes is a triangular one-compartment shape;

d is upright;

e (spurred e) does not appear;

g has an oval head and a widely-curved tail closed by an oblique hairline;

x has a left foot which trails and is clubbed;

There are ligatures of both c+t and s+t;

E in rustic capitals has a downward-curved top bar;

N has a leftward-curving descender;

Q sits with its tail on the line.

Anglo-Saxon letters

These occur only in place and personal-names, and comprise only æ and ð. æ was made by a fusion of e with the triangular-shaped a; ð was formed by the addition of an oblique line to the ascending stem of upright d.

Abbreviations

The Latin final syllable -bus was shown by (bʒ) and (b⁹), and the conjunction -que by (q;). Suprascript a, i, and o occur. Only the ampersand was used for et; the tironian nota does not appear. There are three different ways of expressing the ending -orum: -oru with a suspension-mark over the u (anglorum, fo. 112, l.6); a simple style of the -orum compendium (norðanhumborum, *ibid.*, l.14); and a more elaborate style of the same (preominatorum, *ibid.*, l.20). A rounded comma overline is a fairly-frequent abbreviation-mark, alternating with an upturning overline.

Punctuation

Full-points, colons, and semi-colons appear. Hairlines were added to the Latin preposition a, and to the letter i, to separate them from neighbouring letters.

213, including its short witness-list, was completed by scribe e in the same single-column arrangement begun by scribe d (see above). There is a large single-colour initial R (green) to the first word of the text. This initial has a floreate terminal, but no infill, and was perhaps unfinished. It may be contemporary to that of 214, on the same folio. Rustic capitals were used for the names of Archbishops Augustine and Theodore. Round display capitals were used for the initial letter of Ego in the witness-list.

(ii) Textual content

213 claims to be the record of a decree of the Council of Hatfield in 680, concerning the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York.

(iii) Editorial practices

The rubric to 213 (written by scribe d; see above) was probably an endorsement on the (now-lost) exemplar. The frequent expression of -orum by the letters -oru with a suspension-mark over the u may also have been copied from the exemplar, being common in Anglo-Saxon documents but usually replaced by the -orum compendium in those of the twelfth century. There were at least two uncorrected palaeographical errors: a misreading of an insular ligature of e+i as eg (paleg for palei; fo. 112, l.13); and the reading episcopus episcopo for archiepiscopo (ib., l.5). Another copying error (pre/discessoribus for predecessoribus; ib., l.16) was altered by scribe e himself, using a combination of subpuncting, uniting, and the transforming of i into e. That the names of only two of the five subscribers were completed by scribe e is perhaps an indication of his scrupulous editorial intentions; it is possible that he left these lacunae where his exemplar was damaged, even though he could have supplied the names of the three missing subscribers from the main part of the text. The varied range of punctuation (see (i), above) was perhaps copied from the exemplar, but its distribution in the cartulary-text need not exactly reflect that in the exemplar.

Scribe f (214)(i) Palaeographical features (Plates XI, XIV)

Scribe f wrote a mid twelfth-century bookhand (proto-gothica textualis media) which was somewhat irregular

in duct¹. It occurs on the lower half of fo. 112, and in ll. 1-4 of 112^v. It has the following characteristics:

Latin text

d is usually upright, but the round-backed form also occurs (Landwithan, fo. 112, l.2 up);
e (spurred e) has an elliptical, closed spur;
g has its tail closed by an oblique hairline;
p and q have either short, straight descenders which end in a clubbed serif or have longer, leftward-curving ones;
r and s sometimes have leftward-curving descenders;
x has a trailing, clubbed, left foot;

There are ligatures of c+t and s+t, both of which are high and curved;

H has a cross-bar which intersects the left ascending stem;

Q sits on the line with its tail as a descender;
S is elongated;

W consists of two overlapping Vs, but its right ascending stem is shorter than the left one;

There is a ligature of N+T.

Anglo-Saxon letters

These occur only in names, and comprise æ, Æ, þ and ð. Æ has a protruding tongue, while æ was formed by a fusion of e with caroline a.

Abbreviations

The Latin final syllable -bus was expressed as (b₃) containing a hairline descender; the conjunction -que does not appear. Suprascript a and i occur.²

The ampersand was used for et, except on fo. 112, l.17 up,

1. For this term, v. below, p. 394, n.2.

2. The letter o above episcopis (fo.112, l.5 up) is an overline correction and is not counted here.

where a tironian nota, with a long hairline descender, was used. The ending -orum was expressed in three ways: -oru with a suspension-mark over the u (iewissorum, fo. 112, l.14 up); the -orum compendium with a simple, transverse hairline (quorum, *ibid.*, penultimate line); and the compendium decorated with a knot (eorum, *ibid.*, last line). The insular sign for est also occurs (*ibid.*, l.10 up).

Punctuation

The full point, punctus elevatus and semi-colon were used. Word-accent marks occur on hóc and salúbre (both fo. 112^v, l.4), and on PolltúN (fo. 112, penultimate line). Hairlines were added to the letter i.

214 was written in single column on fo. 112^{rv}, ignoring the double-column ruling.¹ There is no rubric. The initial to the first word is a large single-colour (brown) letter A, with floreate terminals but no infill. It is perhaps contemporary to that of 213. Square display capitals, nearly one line high, were used for the first two words of text after the decorated initial, and for the initial letter of each clause. Rustic capitals were used for significant names and for the word Papa (fo. 112, l.12 up; fo. 112^v, l.3).

1. For this ruling, v. above, section 1.

(ii) Textual content



214 (A.D. 905, ? for 910) recorded the division of Wessex into five episcopal sees, the consecration of seven bishops in one day by Archbishop Plegmund, and the grant of three Cornish estates to the see of Crediton.

(iii) Editorial practices

Although the exemplar of 214 does not survive, one tenth-century single-sheet and four later copies of the document are extant. The single-sheet,¹ from which one of the four copies was made at Exeter,² seems to have been textually very close to the lost exemplar of 214, but was probably not identical to it.³ The three other copies (from Canterbury) represent a different textual tradition.⁴ A comparison of 214 to the certain single-sheet reveals copying errors in the Codex text. Since some of these errors were noticed and altered by

1. BL, Add. MS. 7138, probably written at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, v. below, section 3, b(iv).
2. Bod, Bodley MS. 579, fos. 2-3.
3. Most of the incidences of spurred e (e) in 214 appear to correspond to æ in BL, Add. MS. 7138; similarly, w and W in 214 often correspond to uu, Vu in the Add. MS. There are, however, some textual differences of a less compatible sort between these two MSS.
4. BL, Cotton MS. Cleo. E.i, fos. 43^v-44; Canterbury, Dean and Chapter Library, Reg. A, fos. 4^v-5; CCCO, MS. 452, pp. 322-3.

scribe f himself,¹ but others remained uncorrected,² it is possible that the latter sort were already present in the exemplar used by scribe f and may suggest that that exemplar itself was a copy rather than an original document. The exemplar of 214 may even have been an uncorrected copy made from the extant single-sheet.

In the fifth line of 214, scribe f apparently at first left a space for three words which he found difficulty in reading in the exemplar (episcopis instituisset destitutas). 
 He probably then copied them in the style of the exemplar, where they were perhaps in a very abbreviated form, into the inner margin of fo. 112 (as a mnemonic) and sought advice on the correct reading once he had transcribed the rest of the document. This is suggested by the appearance of the letters -as, the last two letters of the three words involved, in the gutter of fo. 112 (v. Plate XIV), the remainder of the phrase now being lost through damage to the leaf. Once he had acquired the correct reading, he inserted it in the space which he had left, as is obvious from the spacing of this line in the Codex.

1. Insertions of omitted text from overline: an'ti'quam (fo. 112, l. 15 up); dampna're'tur (fo. 112v, l. 4); reGio' (fo. 112, l. 14 up).
Alteration by subpuncting and writing of correct reading overline: episcopis changed to episcopos (fo. 112, l. 5 up).

2. See below, Appendix 1, textual notes to 214.

In places, the punctuation of the Codex text is the same as that of the other five surviving texts and there probably reflects that in its exemplar, but elsewhere it is different from the other five texts and may represent alterations by scribe f.

Scribe g (14-16, 232)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plates XV, XVI)

Scribe g wrote a twelfth-century bookhand (protogothica textualis) in two separate locations in Cod. Wint. II.

His script at fo. 6 is more formal, and less-developed, than that at fos. 116^v-117 and this, together with the location of both occurrences of his work in relation to the work of other scribes in Cod. Wint. II, suggests that scribe g wrote 14-16 (at fo. 6) in the mid twelfth century but wrote 232 (at fos. 116^v-117) somewhat later in his career, in the second half of the twelfth century.

Scribe g used the following insular letter-forms: a, æ, Æ, d, f, g, r, s (long, and short), b, ð, ḍ, ƿ. Of these, insular a was very rarely used, being usually replaced by the caroline form.

In general, scribe g favoured long leftward-curving descenders; wedged ascenders to b, d (upright), h, l, and p; and wedged tops to minims. The following letter-forms are characteristic of both occurrences of his work:

- æ was usually formed from a union of e with insular a, but occasionally with caroline a;
- d is usually round-backed, often with a transverse hairline at the top of the ascender;
- g has a very rounded tail;

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PLATE XV : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.6 (scale 1 : 2)
col.1, top, document 13, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe c;
below, and col.2, documents 14-16, in Cod.Wint. II,
scribe g;
marginal headings and notes by annotator 4.

A is triangular-shaped;
M has serifs on the feet of its descending stems;
N is an enlarged version of minuscule n;
T has a serif at the foot of its stem;
U has a descender.

In the more developed form of his script (at fos. 116^v-117), scribe g occasionally added notches to ascenders; used a tironian nota (for OE and) which had a much more pronounced serif to the foot of its descender than before; and occasionally used a caroline form of f.

Abbreviations

The tironian nota was used for OE and (see above). Other abbreviations were marked by an upturning overline.

Punctuation was by point (full, and medial).

14-16 were written within the two columns ruled on fo. 6, while 232 was written within the single-column ruling on fos. 116^v-117.¹ No rubrics were supplied and there was no decoration, apart from calligraphic capitular signs standing before 14 and 16. In 14-16, the initial letters of some, but not all, names, as well as the initial letters to diplomatic clauses, were written in rustic capitals. In 232, rustic capitals were used for the first three letters of the second word (the personal-name EADpine), while display capitals, three-quarters of a line high, were sometimes used for the initial letter of clauses.

1. For both these rulings, v. above, section 1.

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PLATE XVI : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.116^v (part,
scale 4 : 5):
l.1, document 231, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe b
(script b2);
below, document 232, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe g.

(ii) Textual content

The four documents copied by scribe g were all in the vernacular, and were as follows:

- 14, a writ (984X1001) of King Æthelred Unræd notifying his confirmation, to Bishop Ælfheah II of Winchester, of the beneficial hidation of Chilcomb, Hants;
- 15, a memorandum (a. 1086) listing the dependencies of Chilcomb, Hants;
- 16, a memorandum (1033X1066) listing the hidages of Winchester cathedral estates in Hampshire;
- 232, a memorandum which claims to be an eleventh-century description of how a monk of the New Minster had gone, without his abbot's permission, to the shrine of St. Cuthbert in Durham, following a vision which he had experienced; on his return, he had been reconciled with his abbot by the intercession of the monks of the Old Minster, in accordance with an old agreement which had been ratified by Bishop Æthelwold.¹

(iii) Editorial practices

The (now-lost) exemplars of 14-16 may possibly have been kept together as a file and this may have dictated the order of 14-16 in the cartulary. There are three apparent misreadings in 15-16: one of -ce as æ (hnutscillingæ); another of -cce- as -cee- (Ticeeburnan); and a third of Ce- as E- (Endefer).²

1. Although perhaps containing some elements of fact, this document as it stands is a forgery, probably fabricated in the period c.1170-1200, v. Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 393-5.

2. For full details of these, and the following, errors and changes, v. below, Appendix 1, 15, 16.

In 16, H.P.R. Finberg's suggestion is plausible that hundseofontig, 'seventy', was an error for hund 7 seofon, 'one hundred and seven', thus making the sum of the individual hidages tally with the total given (615 hides, rather than 578).¹ Three place-name spellings in the cartulary seem to have been affected by scribe g's greater familiarity with current twelfth-century name-forms. The first two of these are Ceolbandingtune (15) and Drocelesford (16), which in the Anglo-Saxon period would have appeared as Ceolbaldingtune and Drocenesford, respectively;² both of these cartulary-spellings reflect the common Norman interchange of n and l.³ The third spelling is Fearrham (16), rather than Fearnham,⁴ which probably reflects the Norman interchange of n and r.⁵ Apart from these errors and subconscious modernisations, scribe g made no other discernible textual changes to 14-16.

1. Finberg, ECW 179.

2. See DEPN, s.nn.

3. On such interchange, v. R.E. Zachrisson, 'The French element', Introduction to the Survey of English Place-Names, edd. A. Mawer, F.M. Stenton (English Place-Name Society 1, part i; Cambridge 1924, reprinted 1969), pp. 106-8.

4. DEPN, s.n., gives Fereham c.1130, Ferham 1136; both lacking the n of the OE form. Cf. the spelling Fearham, for Farnham, Surrey, in 224, written by scribe b (s.xii med.).

5. See Zachrisson, loc. cit. in n.3 above. This spelling could, however, be a palaeographical error, a misreading of r for n.

Although the exemplar of 232 has not survived, the existence of another twelfth-century copy allows some peculiarities of the Codex text to be explained.¹ There is one instance where an insular long r in the exemplar was apparently misread by scribe g as a p.² The words Sanc and Acyrhalgan dei in 232 seem to be copying errors for Sancte 'saint', and a cyrichalgan dei, 'on the day of the consecration of the church'.³ However, although both surviving texts are in early Middle English, they are linguistically quite different and neither can be proven to reflect the language of the (apparently common) exemplar better than the other.⁴ The Codex copy contains some errors which have a linguistic base and which may be explained as the product of self-dictation by scribe g.⁵ Three of these reflect a confusion of the consonants c, g, and k: gambe written for kambe; codes for godes; and hagala for hakala. The writing of hie for ge may also be classed as a 'dictational' error. Both surviving texts contain words and punctuation-marks lacking from the other and in most cases it is not possible to say

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1. BL, Stowe MS. 944, fo. 40^{rv}.
 2. For details of the following errors, v. below, Appendix 1, textual notes to 232.
 3. See Harmer, ASWrits, p. 393.
 4. For an edition of both copies, v. LVH, pp. 96-100.
 5. For such errors in the work of scribe a, v. above, Part B, section 4, b(ii).

which is the more accurate reflection of the exemplar. It is certain, however, that the Codex copy omitted the last four words of text, which completed the details of a gift of two brown copes, one to the Old Minster and one to the New Minster. The only alterations made to 232 by scribe g were overline, insertions of omitted letters (on two occasions).¹

Scribe h (19)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XVI)

Scribe h wrote (on the lower half of fo. 7) a well-spaced protogothic bookhand (protogothica textualis formata) of the late twelfth century, into which examples of the following insular letter-forms had been intruded: æ, Æ, d, f, g, h (both feet turned to the right), r, s, (short), p, ð, Ð, þ. Two of these letters occur only once, being replaced elsewhere by the respective caroline letter-forms: a (archeb', fo. 7, last line); and s (bysan, ibid., penultimate line). k was occasionally used in place of c. The characteristic letters used by this scribe are as follows:

a (caroline) has a long hairline, trailing leftwards from its head;

æ has a long hairline tongue and was formed by a union of e with caroline a;

b has a notched ascender;

d is round-backed and has an ascender which is beginning to curl at the top;

1. Age'l'pine (fo. 116^v, l. 10 up);
ea'l'den (fo. 117, l. 9).

e has a long hairline tongue;
f has its bar on the line and a descender which curves to the left;
g is compressed so that its tail almost sits on the line;
h, k, and l have notched ascenders;
p has a squarish head and a descender with a hairline serif;
r (long insular) has a similar descender to p. A 2-shaped form occurs after o in the rubric;
s (caroline) often has a slight nodule on the left of its stem;
þ has a descender similar to p;
ƿ either has a descender similar to f or one similar to p;
y has a descender which curves to the left and a right arm which turns to the left. In the word kyning (fo. 7, l. 7 up) it was not dotted;
Æ and E have hairline tongues. E is in the form of an enlarged minuscule e, and Æ was formed by a union of it with an enlarged insular a (Ænd, fo. 7, l. 7 up).
S leans backwards.

Abbreviations

The tironian nota was used for OE and;¹ it stands on the line and has a serif at its base which curls to the right. Contractions were shown by a 7-shaped mark overline, and suspensions by a clubbed transverse line attached to an ascender. A suprascript s occurs once at the end of a line (fo. 7, l. 4 up).

1. On fo. 7, l. 7 up, the word was written in full (Ænd); this appears to be a palaeographical substitution for the nota however, y. (iii), below.

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PLATE XVII : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.7 (part,
scale 3 : 5), document 19, in Cod.Wint. II,
scribe h.

Punctuation was usually by the medial point, but the punctus elevatus occurs once (fo. 7; 1.3 up, after on don). A hairline stroke to distinguish the letter i occurs once (in, ibid., 1. 6 up).

19 was written in single column at the foot of fo. 7, before the addition of the table of contents to the cartulary.¹ The ruling already present on the leaf was ignored,² and consequently the space between written lines varies and there is a slight rise and fall to the writing. There is a single-colour (red) initial, two lines high, to the first word of text, and a display initial (in ink) to the initial letter of the clause introducing the witnesses. A rubric (in red ink) was written, by scribe h himself, in the outer margin.

(ii) Textual content

19 claims to be a writ (1053 X 1066) of King Edward the Confessor, recording his bequest of Portland, Dorset, to the Old Minster, Winchester.³

1. 19 was listed in the table (fo. 2^v, col. 1, 1.3). On the table, v. above, Part A, section 1, d.

2. For this ruling, v. above, section 1.

3. On its authenticity, v. Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 385-7.

(iii) Editorial practices

The brief Latin rubric to 19 may have been copied from an endorsement on the (now-lost) exemplar.¹

Since no other copies of the exemplar exist, it is not possible to say whether scribe h modernised the language himself or merely copied a text that was already in the early Middle English in which 19 appears in the cartulary.²

Nor is it possible to accuse him of any deliberate textual changes. He himself altered both the certain palaeographical errors in 19 (Ædpart, altered to Ædward, fo. 7, l. 7 up; a misreading of round-backed d as t),³ and also the one discernible palaeographical substitution⁴ in it (the tironian nota erased before Ænd, *ibid*).

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1. For the Latin endorsements on other exemplars, v. above, Part B, section 4, a(ii).
 2. On the language, v. Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 385-7.
 3. For a possible uncorrected palaeographical error, v. Harmer, *ib.*, p. 387 (bi lyð).
 4. That is, the substitution of a letter or symbol for another having the same phonetic value.

Section 3

The Sources of Cod. Wint. II

a) The Archival Provenance of Documents in Cod. Wint. II

The number and nature of the archives in existence in Winchester at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and in the twelfth century has been fully discussed above in relation to Cod. Wint. I.¹ Since that discussion was based on the sources for the whole cartulary, only a brief account of the archival provenance of the exemplars of Cod. Wint. II will be given here.

The respective exemplars of documents in Cod. Wint. II were each available for transcription at Winchester Cathedral at particular times during the period c. 1139 X 1200. It is probable that most, if not all, were there at the time of the transcription of Cod. Wint. I (1129 X 1139).² If so, some of them were perhaps omitted from the earlier compilation through lack of time to include them before work on Cod. Wint. I was brought to a halt because of the unfavourable political situation.³ There is no duplication of material between Cod. Wint. I and Cod. Wint. II, and the lack of an ordered arrangement for the documents

1. Part B, section 3, a(ii).

2. For this date, v. ibid., section 5.

3. Ibid.

transcribed by scribe b in Cod.Wint. II is suggestive of the transcription of a pile of exemplars which had been put on one side during the writing of Cod.Wint. I because they were not seen to fit into the topographical order followed in that cartulary as far as it had reached.¹

The documents 34-9, transcribed by scribe c, were almost certainly part of the same exemplar sub-document as 26-33 in Cod.Wint. I.²

It is probable that the exemplars of the following Anglo-Saxon documents in Cod.Wint. II belonged to the Old Minster's archive by A.D. 1066: 14-18, 21-2, 24-5, 34-9, 210-12, 216-31.³ The exemplars of 19 and 232 probably belonged to it by at least 1200, even if they were both spurious. The exemplars of the post-conquest documents 2-13 may have belonged in the twelfth century either to the episcopal archive at Wolvesey or to the cathedral priory archive,⁴ and those

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1. For this order, v. above, Part B, section 4, a(i).
 2. See above, section 2, scribe c; and Part B, section 4, a(i).
 3. The exemplars of 22 and 25 were parts of chirographs, but probably those parts deposited at the Old Minster rather than elsewhere. 220a, also a chirograph, concerned the episcopal tenure of Shalfleet, Isle of Wight, but dates from before the Benedictine Reformation and was probably, initially at least, kept at the Old Minster for the bishop; it is less likely to have been the part given to Kings Ecgbeorht and Æthelwulf, v. above, Part B, section 3, a(ii).
 4. 13 was transcribed into Cod.Wint. II by scribe c, who may have been in the personal service of Bishop Henry of Blois, above, section 2.

of 2-12, at least, may have been kept together as a file. Possible files among the exemplars of Anglo-Saxon documents in this group were: 14-16 (a writ and two memoranda concerning hidages); 34-9 (see above); and 17-18, 21-2, 24-5 (all relating to lands within Winchester).¹ 210-12, 216, 221, and 225-6 were surrendered title-deeds of alien beneficiaries concerning estates subsequently owned by Winchester Cathedral.² 18, 21, 24-5, 211-12, 217-20, 222-8, and 230-1 all have Latin rubrics which may have been copied from endorsements added to their exemplars in the early twelfth century, in connection with an investigation into the cathedral endowment.³

The exemplars of 213 and 215 may have belonged to an episcopal archive at Wolvesey by 1066.⁴ 213 concerned the relative power and status of the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York. 215 was a personal grant of a fishery in Kent to Bishop Ethelwold, and its exemplar probably formed part of his personal

1. On this last group, v. below, section 4, group (vii). 226 also concerned a tenement in Winchester, but was not grouped in Cod.Wint.II with the above six documents.

2. For 210, 216, 225, v. below, n.4.

3. See above, Part B, section 4, a(ii).

4. The exemplars of 210, 216, and 225 may also have belonged to personal episcopal archives at Wolvesey for a short while. Those of 210 and 225 were probably later surrendered to the Old Minster by their beneficiary, Bishop Elfwine, together with the estates concerned. 216, a lease for life of Bishopstoke, Hants, to Bishop Beorhthelm, with reversion to the Old Minster, was probably surrendered to the Old Minster with the estate after the bishop's death.

archive deposited at Wolvesey.¹ The exemplars of both documents were apparently endorsed in Latin, perhaps having been erroneously included on the early twelfth-century 'collection' of documents relating to the cathedral endowment.²

The exemplars of 134 and 209 probably belonged to alien archives deposited at the Old Minster by 1066.³ The exemplar of 133 may similarly have been deposited, either at the Old Minster or at the New Minster;⁴ if deposited at the New Minster, it seems to have been poached into the cathedral archive by the mid twelfth century, possibly during (the first four years of) the period that Bishop Henry of Blois was in control of New Minster-Hyde Abbey, 1135-42.⁵ The exemplar of 214 (or its exemplar's exemplar) may possibly have been deposited at the Old Minster by Bishop Lyfing (of Crediton and Worcester) in 1040-1, during his deposition from the see of Worcester.⁶

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1. See above, Part B, section 3, a(ii).
 2. Ibid., section 4, a(ii).
 3. For such deposits, v. above, Part B, section 3, a(ii).
 4. 133 recorded the grant of Chidden, Hants, to the thegn Æthelgeard, who had a close connection with the New Minster, v. ibid. Chidden seems, however, to have later been part of the cathedral estate of Hambledon, v. ibid.
 5. Ibid. Cf. also 23 in Cod.Wint.III, v. below, Part D, section 3, a.
 6. See above, Part B, section 3, a(ii). For the possibility that the exemplar of 214 was the copy of a copy of the surviving single-sheet (BL, Add. MS. 7138), v. above, section 2, scribe f, (iii).

b) The Diplomatic Provenance of Documents in Cod.Wint.II

While the methods and assumptions relating to the diplomatic provenance of the exemplars of documents copied into Cod.Wint.II are the same as those outlined above in relation to Cod.Wint.I,¹ the number of categories of documents, reflecting potentially-different diplomatic provenances, is larger in relation to Cod.Wint.II. The five categories in

Cod.Wint. II (contrasting to the two of Cod.Wint.I) are as follows:

(i) Anglo-Saxon documents concerning Winchester Cathedral and see;

probably drafted and written at, or by, the agents of the cathedral:

Royal diplomas to Winchester Cathedral and see
(A.D. 749-1035)

17-18, 34-9, 217-18, 220ab, 222-3, 227-8,
230-1; ?24

Royal diplomas granting personal estates to bishops of Winchester (A.D. 960-1046)

210, 215-16, 225

Royal writs to Winchester Cathedral (A.D. 984 X 1066)

14, 19

Episcopal and cathedral grants and leases

(A.D. 858-975 X 979)

21-2, 219, 224

Memoranda relating to cathedral estates (A.D.979-1033 X 1086)

15-16, 229

1. Part B, section 3,b.

The sole surviving exemplar of the documents listed above is +210,¹ which was written by the same scribe as +157,² probably in a Winchester cathedral writing-office.³ +210 has some similar features in its dating and subscription-clauses to 225, but no more than was usual in the late Anglo-Saxon period.⁴ Of the documents whose exemplars do not survive, 34-9 had the same diplomatic provenance as 26-33 in Cod.Wint.I, almost certainly being copied from the same exemplar sub-document.⁵ 14 has some phrases in common with 28. 24 concerned also the New Minster and the Nuns' Minster and so need not necessarily have been drafted at the cathedral.

(ii) Anglo-Saxon documents perhaps drafted at the New Minster (A.D. 974 X 975-?1170 X 1200):⁶

25, 232; ?24 (see (i), above)

Both 25 and 232 are vernacular records which contain details of more direct relation to the New Minster than to the Old Minster and it is therefore more probable that they were drafted and written at the New Minster, although the Old Minster subsequently acquired copies of both documents.

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1. BL, Harl. Chart. 43 C.8; v. below, Appendix 2.
 2. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 9; v. ibid.
 3. See discussion above, Part B, section 3, b.
 4. Ibid.
 5. See above, section 2, scribe c.
 6. For the latter date, v. below, section 4, group (ix).

(iii) Royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas to lay beneficiaries

(A.D. 863-1049):

133-4, 209, 211-12, 221, 226

None of the exemplars of the above documents have survived to allow palaeographical evidence of provenance to be examined. Only 212 (A.D.863) dates from before the tenth century; it has several clauses in common with 178 (A.D.868; in Cod.Wint. I),¹ but the diplomatic provenance of neither document is at present known. 133-4, and 209 come from the first half of the tenth century and each contains clauses in common with surviving single-sheet documents whose scribes have been the subject of study by Dr. Chaplais.² 133 has a few clauses in common with each of Sawyer 624 and 646 whose single-sheet texts were written by Chaplais's scribe 5,³ probably somewhere in Winchester.⁴ 134 has some clauses in common with Sawyer 649 whose single-sheet text was written

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1. Cf. part of the proem, the descriptio, the description of tenure, the dating clause, and the immunity.
 2. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', pp. 59-60.
 3. BL, Cotton MS. Aug. ii, 45; Bod., MS. Eng. hist. a.2, no.v.
 4. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

by Chaplais's scribe 7,¹ again probably in Winchester.² 209 has some clauses in common with Sawyer 464 whose single-sheet text was written by Chaplais's scribe 2,³ also apparently a Winchester scribe.⁴ Since, however, there was a large common pool of variable formulae in use in royal diplomas written in different scriptoria at this time,⁵ the partial identity of formulae mentioned here cannot be taken as proof of a Winchester diplomatic provenance for these three documents, although it is a possibility. The remaining three documents in this present group (211, 221, 226) date from A.D. 985 to 1049, a period in which the number of scriptoria functioning in England increased, and when it is consequently more difficult to tell, by comparison of formulae in the comparatively few surviving documents, where an individual diploma was drafted.⁶ Both 211 and 226, however, have historical associations with Winchester: the first mentions Stigand with some particularity as its bishop,⁷ while 226 records the grant of a tenement in the city to Queen Ælfgifu (Emma).

1. WCL, Library Showcase, Sawyer 649.

2. Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

3. BL, Cotton MS. Aug. ii. 62.

4. Chaplais, *ibid.*

5. See above, Part B, section 3, b(ii).

6. *Ibid.*

7. ...presentis testimonii carta in Wentana describitur urbe. presulante in ea dei gratia STIGANDO antistite eodemque cum ceteris meis fidelibus consignante.

(fo. 111^v). On the small value of place-dates in this context, v. above, Part B, section 3, b(i).

(iv) Memoranda concerning the Anglo-Saxon church(A.D. 680-905 or 910): 213-14

213, which claims to be the record of a decree of the Council of Hatfield in 680 concerning the relative power of the metropolitan sees of Canterbury and York, varies in its diplomatic language from the better-known record of the same council in Bede's Ecclesiastical History.¹ If, as is

likely, the exemplar of 213 was a forgery, it was probably fabricated at Canterbury, in connection with the latter's claim to primacy over York.²

214 was a memorandum recording the consecration of bishops in Wessex, but also recorded a grant of three Cornish estates to the see of Crediton in 905 (? for 910). The extant single-sheet text of the same document, probably written at St. Augustine's, Canterbury, in the second half of the tenth century,³

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1. Bede's Ecclesiastical History of the English People, edd. and trans. B. Colgrave, R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford, 1969), pp. 384-7.
 2. On other documents fabricated in connection with this claim, v. R.W. Southern, 'The Canterbury Forgeries', E.H.R. 73(1958), pp. 193-226.
 3. BL, Add. MS. 7138; written by the same scribe as St. John's College, Oxford, MS. 28 (cf. T.A.M. Eishop, English caroline minuscule, Oxford, 1971, Plate 5), v. P. Chaplais, 'The letter from Bishop Wealdhere of London to Archbishop Brihtwold of Canterbury: the earliest original "letter close" extant in the West', Medieval scribes, manuscripts, & libraries: essays presented to N.R. Ker, edd. M.B. Parkes, A.G. Watson (1978), p.16, n.24.

contains the same anachronisms as the Codex text.¹
 Whatever their diplomatic provenance, it is unlikely
 that 213, and impossible that 214, were fabricated in
 the twelfth century for inclusion in Cod.Wint. II.

(v) Royal Anglo-Norman writs concerning Winchester Cathedral
and see (A.D. 1136-54):

2-13

There are no surviving exemplars for the documents in
 this group.² Diplomatically, they can be divided
 into writ-charters(2-7, 10, 12-13) and writ-mandates
 (8-9, 11). The six writ-charters issued by King
 Stephen in 1136 (2-5, 7, 10) were almost certainly drafted
 by a clerk in the service of Bishop Henry of Blois.
 They are very similar in form to each other and to a
 charter issued in the same year by King Stephen in favour
 of Glastonbury Abbey, of which Bishop Henry was abbot.³
5 has a distinctly ecclesiastical flavour, especially
 in the inclusion of a supernatural sanction against any
 violation of its terms.⁴ 3 has an unusual spelling
teneduras (for tenuras) which also occurs in a charter
 in favour of Glastonbury issued, probably at Winchester,
 by the Empress Matilda in 1141.⁵ In view of Bishop
 Henry's efforts in obtaining the restorations of estates

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1. On this document, v. below, Appendix 1, s.n.
 2. For BL, Add. Chart. 28658, v. below, Appendix 1, 13, n.6.
 3. Regesta iii, 341. On Henry as abbot of Glastonbury, v.
Voss, pp. 70-7.
 4. See the edition in Regesta iii, 944.
 5. Ibid., 343.

which these six writ-charters recorded,¹ it would not be surprising if a member of his household were entrusted with their drafting, and even their writing, prior to their being submitted to the king for approval and sealing.² The two remaining writ-charters of King Stephen (6, 12) are much briefer than the six already discussed and were more likely drafted and written in the royal chancery.³ The address in 13 however (issued by King Henry II) may have been modelled on a writ-charter granted by King Henry I to Winchester Cathedral, and may thus have been drafted there.⁴ The three writ-mandates, two of Queen Adeliza (9, 11) and one of King Stephen (8), all seem to be common-form writs concerning service, probably drafted and written by clerks in the employment of their grantors. 9 and 11 are formally identical. 8 is very similar to another writ-mandate issued by King Stephen in favour of Winchester Cathedral.⁵

1. See above, Part B, section 5.

2. For this practice, v. Regesta iv, pp. 21-2.

3. On King Stephen's chancery, v. Regesta iii, pp. ix-xv; H.A. Cronne, The reign of Stephen 1135-54, Anarchy in England (1970), pp. 206-20.

For royal scribes in the reigns of Henry I, Stephen, and Henry II, v. T.A.M. Bishop, Scriptores regis (Oxford, 1961).

4. See below, Appendix 1, 13, n.6.

5. Regesta iii, 951.

Section 4

The Historical Background to Cod. Wint. II

The order in which the individual scribes of Cod. Wint. II first appear therein is roughly indicated by the sequence of the letters (b - h) by which they have been described in the present thesis. A more precise indication of the order of addition of individual texts is made difficult, both because scribes b - g, at least, were contemporaries of each other and because scribes b, c, and g each wrote in different parts of the cartulary, possibly over a period of years. However, taking all the available evidence into consideration, the following sequence of addition of texts may be suggested:

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| (i) <u>133-4</u> , <u>209-11</u> (scribe <u>b</u> ; script <u>b1</u>) | } mid
twelfth
cent-
ury. |
| (ii) <u>34-9</u> (text), rubrics <u>26-7</u> , <u>30-9</u> (scribe <u>c</u>) | |
| (iii) <u>213-14</u> (scribes <u>d</u> , <u>e</u> , <u>f</u>) | |
| (iv) <u>212</u> , <u>215-31</u> (scribe <u>b</u> ; script <u>b2</u>) | |
| (v) <u>2-12</u> (scribe <u>b</u> ; script <u>b3</u>) | |
| (vi) <u>13</u> (scribe <u>c</u>) | |
| (vii) <u>17-18</u> , <u>21-2</u> , <u>24-5</u> (scribe <u>b</u> ; script <u>b2</u>) | |
| (viii) <u>14-16</u> (scribe <u>g</u>) | |
| (ix) <u>232</u> (scribe <u>g</u>) ... second half of twelfth century | |
| (x) <u>19</u> (scribe <u>h</u>) ... late twelfth century | |

Groups (i) and (ii) seem to have been direct infilling and continuation of Cod. Wint. I; they used leaves either prepared for, or imitative of (?fo.111), Cod. Wint. I, and made some attempt to imitate its lavish presentation.

Group (iii) was added on the first definitely-additional leaf (112) after group (i), leaving a small space at the foot of fo. 111^v which was later infilled by 212 in group (iv); the documents in group (iii) may have come to light during the preparation of a dossier for Bishop Henry of Blois's attempts to obtain metropolitan status for the see of Winchester, in 1144-5 and 1148-50.¹ Group (iv) perhaps represents the delayed completion of copying of a pile of documents, earlier intended to be included in Cod.Wint. I and already interrupted by group (iii). Group (v) was not written before 1147 X 1154, the date of 12; this group was perhaps written soon after the death of King Stephen in 1154, to whose reign all its documents belonged. Group (vi) was added soon after (v), perhaps in December 1154, the date in which 13 was probably granted.² Group (vii) may represent the transcription of an archive group

1. Winchester ann., s.a. 1143; for the dates 1144-5 and 1148-50, v. WEMA, p.320. On Bishop Henry's two attempts to gain metropolitan status for Winchester, v. A. Morey and C.N.L. Brooke, Gilbert Foliot and his letters (Cambridge, 1965), pp. 91, 158-9 (dated 1143 and 1149-50, but v. WEMA, loc.cit.); Johannis Saresberiensis Historia pontificalis. John of Salisbury's Memoirs of the papal court, ed. and trans. M. Chibnall (1956), pp. 78-80; The letters of John of Salisbury, edd. and trans. W.J. Millor, H.E. Butler, C.N.L. Brooke, i (1955), p.254. For a statement that Pope Lucius (1144-5) actually sent a pallium to Bishop Henry and proposed to place seven bishops under him, v. Radulphi de Diceto opera historica. The historical works of Master Ralph de Diceto, dean of London, ed. W. Stubbs (Rolls Series 68; 1876) i, p.255.

2. See below, Appendix 1, 13, nn. 5,6.

of pre-conquest documents, relating to lands in Winchester, which was re-discovered during the course of the fiscal survey of the city in 1148;¹ from its position in the manuscript it seems however to have been added later than groups (v) and (vi). Group (viii) could possibly have been another archive group re-discovered at the same time, since two of its documents (14-15) related to the fiscal liability of the estate of Chilcomb, which surrounded the city, and the third (16) concerned the fiscal liability of cathedral estates in Hampshire. Group (ix) was added on leaves following group (iv), but is palaeographically later than groups (v-viii); it was suggested by Dr. Harmer that its apparent fabrication was connected with a movement, c. 1170-1200, to assert rights of mutual support by Benedictine monks of different monasteries for each other in times of dispute against their respective superiors.² Group (x) is, on palaeographical grounds, the last in Cod. Wint. II; it was, however, listed in the early thirteenth-century table of contents.³

Cod. Wint. II does not have the same palaeographical and editorial unity as Cod. Wint. I. The specific motives of its scribes in transcribing particular documents may have been several. Two more general aims behind the copying of documents into an existing cartulary were,

1. Survey II in WEMA; on its nature, v. ibid., pp. 18-28.

2. Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 393-4.

3. See above, Part A, section 1, d.

however, probably involved to some degree. These were, firstly, to complete an existing collection of reference material about both episcopal and cathedral priory estates; and, secondly, to ensure the preservation of, and even to add authenticity to, the text of individual documents by their association with an important volume of evidence. The beginning of a table of contents to the pre-conquest contents of the cartulary in the early thirteenth century, although never finished,¹ perhaps indicates that, at that time, it was thought that the first of these two aims, in regard to the Anglo-Saxon endowment at least, had been fulfilled.²

1. See above, Part A, section 1,d.

2. That this was not in fact the case is shown by the later addition of the pre-conquest documents 23, 236, 238-9, 241, in Cod.Wint. III, v.below, Part D.

PART D

LATER MEDIEVAL ADDITIONS OF TEXT (COD. WINT. III)

Additions of material were made to the composite twelfth-century cartulary represented by Cod. Wint. I-II, at various times from the first half of the thirteenth century to the second half of the fourteenth. These additions were written both in blank spaces on leaves belonging to Cod. Wint. II (on fos. 3^v, 7^v, 8, 117^{rv}) and on fourteenth-century leaves added to the manuscript for the purpose (fos. 118-20). The material added to the Codex Wintoniensis at this period of its development has been bracketed together, for convenience, under the name Cod. Wint. III in the present thesis. It should be noted, however, that this section has even less coherence than Cod. Wint. II (see Part C, above), and that documents in Cod. Wint. III have no editorial connection with other documents written therein except for those, if any, written by the same scribe. The documents contained in Cod. Wint. III are listed in Appendix 1, below, as 1, 20, 23, 235-47. They were written into the Codex by the following thirteenth and fourteenth-century scribes whose characteristics are described in section (2), below: scribe l (20, 233-5); scribe m (23); scribe n (236-7); scribe o (1);

scribe p (238-41); scribe q (242); scribe r (243-6);
and scribe s (247). All of these additions may be
dated later, on palaeographical grounds, than the
medieval table of contents (at fo. 2^v).¹

1. See above, Part A, section 1,d.

Section 1

The Additional Leaves and their Ruling

The leaves added to accommodate parts of Cod. Wint. III (fos. 118-20) now form part of gathering 16 of the Codex.¹

These leaves were added in the first half of the fourteenth century, and fos. 118^{rv} and 119 were written upon at that time by scribe p.

Fos. 119^v and 120^{rv}, left blank by scribe p, were

filled with texts copied by scribes q, r, and s by the end of the century.

The addition of fos. 118-20 to the Codex may have been the occasion for the medieval repairs to the binding.²

No more quire-numbers or catchwords were, however, added at this time.

The membrane of fos. 118-20 is parchment, but of an indifferent quality.

Fos. 118 and 119 are a bifolium, fo. 120 is a half-sheet.

These leaves were added after fo. 117, the twelfth-century leaf in gathering 16, in such a way that hair sides faced hair, and flesh sides faced flesh.

Large holes or tears on fos. 119 and 120 were repaired before the

leaves were ruled.

A smaller hole on fo. 118 (c. 5 mm. in diameter) was originally left unrepaired and scribe p

1. See above, Part A, section 2, a.

2. See above, Part A, section 1, a(ii).

had to make an awkward word-division (com/pos, fo. 118^v, line 5 up) to avoid it; it was later repaired.

The written space on fos. 118 and 119 measures 325 X 210 mm. (height X width). Fo. 120 was left blank by scribe p, although it seems to have been ruled at the same time as fos. 118-19; the outside measurements of the space occupied by the text later written on to fo. 120^{rv}, by scribes q, r, and s, is 295 X 220 mm. The ruling on fos. 118-19, and ?120 (faded), may be described as follows:

Ruled in brownish lead for two columns of material. Eight vertical lines (arranged 2-4-2) ruled as bounders of the written space. Twelve pricks (2-2-4-2-2) at upper and lower margins; the outer pairs and the four inner pricks guide the vertical ruled lines, while the remainder guide the arrangement of the subscriptions into columns.

Forty-eight horizontal lines ruled, guided by forty-eight pricks in the outer margin. The horizontal ruling is confined within the external bounders of the written space, but crosses the column dividers.

This ruling is unique to Cod. Wint. III, and is not imitative of any found in either Cod. Wint. I or Cod. Wint. II.¹

1. See above, Part B, section 1, e; Part C, section 1.

Section 2

The Scribes of Cod. Wint. III (scribes l-s)

As in Cod. Wint. II (Part C, above), both the textual content of, and editorial practices discernible in, Cod. Wint. III will be discussed in relation to the particular scribes (l-s) appearing therein.¹

1. The scripts of the following thirteenth, fourteenth, and early fifteenth-century Winchester cathedral manuscripts have been consulted for help in dating the work of scribes l-s. For fuller details, v. below, Bibliography, s.vv. Most of them are listed by N.R. Ker, Medieval libraries of Great Britain: a list of surviving books (2nd edition, 1964), pp. 199-201.

BL, Add.MSS. 29436, 57334; Cotton MS. Domit.xiii, fos.1-87; Cotton R. xiii. 16; Harl. MSS. 315 (fos. 46-7), 328; Harl. R. CC.21

^{Bodley}
Bod., MSS. 58, 767; Laud MSS. Misc. 368 (fos. 8-167), Misc. 572; Selden MS. Supra 76

Cambridge, Gonville and Caius, MS. 123
" , Trinity College, MS. B. 15.1

CUL, MS. Gg. 2.18

HRO, Eccles. 2/selected episcopal Pipe Rolls within the period 1208-9 to 1398-9 (for full list, v. below, Bibliography); Episc. 1-12

Oxford, Balliol College, MS. 15
" , University College, MS. 69

WAM, 22854

WCL, Rentale et custumale prioratus S. Swythini Wynton;
— St Swithun's Cartulary

Scribe 1 (20, 233-5)(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XVIII)

Scribe 1 wrote (on fos. 7^v, 117) a script, of the first half of the thirteenth century, which had several similarities to that found in the earliest surviving episcopal Pipe Roll (A.D. 1208-9),¹ but into which the following insular letter-forms had been intruded:

a, æ, Æ, z, r, p, ƿ, l. Of these, p occurs only in initial position; it was always replaced by the letters th in medial and final positions, and sometimes also in initial position. This script has notched (and sometimes looped) ascenders to b, h, and l; and long, right-curving, hairline descenders to h, x, and y.

The following individual letters are characteristic:

- a is usually one-compartment (insular) in form, but a two-compartment one also occurs (Crondale, fo. 7^v, 1.1; Illegatesthorne, *ibid.*, 1.3 up);
- d is round-backed and its ascender is sometimes curled forward at the top (Crondale, *ibid.*, penultimate line) or even curled in both directions (shitelanende, *ibid.*, 1.9, second word);
- f has a pronounced serif at the foot of its stem;
- g is usually 8-shaped, but occasionally has a curved open tail, ending in a hairline (forth/ryghte, *ibid.*, penultimate line, ninth word);

1. HRO, Eccles. 2/159270.

10300

370

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MUSEUM

3

Inches

þus boech þe marke brenne þe boundes of erondale and schulle þat bi folker and abeni souden
 were iuden in þrust richardes daze first on perbrot southward forþ to þe dri þat fereþer by þe
 nepleseburne þanne fram þarneplegeburne southward to Skoude me þanne fram Skoude me southward
 to farnpore fram farnpore to þe jeltare of þe brodemere by northe vpenbelhace þanne fram þe jeltare
 to erobodeletrouche fram erobodeletrouche forþ to Wydemere fram Wydemere forþ to tpenhaghe fram
 tpenhaghe forþ to penchpob þanne forþ to þe Wallhyngepoul þanne so forþ fram þe Wallhyngepoul
 to holdbedenclene fram holdbedenclene to bylegateletrouche fram bylegateletrouche northward to ganel
 fordeþole fram ganelfordeþole andlang weyes to purmorelethorne fram purmorelethorne andlang hages
 to threlanende fram threlanende andlang hages to colchache fram colchache andlang hage by southe þe he
 tepteche to couchemerget þanne andlang hage southward to colerlebrigg þanne andlang herepache to
 northdon þanne forþ by þe hage to Seuenages þanne andlang Seuenages to þe Rudefelde þanne andlang
 hages to þe herepache so forþ to þe Rudegate fram Rudegate to þe Sandpente fram þe Sandpente to tpen
 burghe fram tpenburghe forþ rishie to burebupelleade þanne fram burebupelleade forþ rishie to tpen
 and vpedene cude þanne forþ by þe Smalebene northward by þe ferlydone to þe gienedot þanne forþ
 rishie to Stlegateþorne þanne forþ rishie to poberyche northward by þe boundes of þe lordshipes of tpen
 neburst erondale and schulle forþ rishie to Scapelmene þanne forþ rishie to tpenandelmene þanne forþ
 rishie ouer the hulle of hachdone þanne forþ rishie to smaleþerelob þanne forþ rishie to duddeþnoub

PLATE XVIII : Codex Wintoniensis, fo. 7^v (part,
 scale 3 : 4), document 20, in Cod. Wint. III,
 scribe 1.

p has a squarish head, and a serif at the bottom of its descender;

r occurs in four forms - long insular, caroline, 2-shaped after o (occasionally; forth, ibid., 1.2), and a current long type lacking its shoulder (Richardes, ibid.);

s is either caroline in form, or round;

There is 'biting' of d+e (Crobrodescrouche ibid., 1.5 (X2)), and a ligature of s+t;

F was represented by ff;

I sometimes has a long, left-curving descender (icchulle, ibid., penultimate line);

R has its right foot raised to the horizontal;

S has a hairline lower arm which descends below the line.

Abbreviations

Suspensions were marked by an overline, except after g and k (Kyng', dyk', fo. 7^v, line 2) where a hairline flourish was used.

Punctuation

The point (full or medial), punctus elevatus, and a short dash were used. The letter i was distinguished by a hairline curlicue.

20 (fo. 7^v) and 233-5 (fo. 117) were written in single column, making use of the horizontal ruling already present on the (twelfth-century) leaves, but not using the full column width.¹ No rubrics or decoration were added. The initial letter of clauses and of many (but not all) place-names was written as a capital.

1. For the ruling of fos. 7 and 117, v. above, Part C, section 1.

(ii) Textual content

20, 233-5 were boundary-descriptions relating to the Winchester cathedral priory estates of Bleadon (Somerset), and Crondall and Wootton St. Lawrence (both Hants);¹

20 records a perambulation of 1189 X 1199.

(iii) Editorial practices

The exemplars of 20, 233-5 have not survived.² Three uncorrected palaeographical errors may be detected however: n for r in 233 and 235; and e for o in 234.³

In 235, an omitted word (crouche, fo. 117, line 10 up) was inserted from above the line by scribe 1.

The language of 20, 233 and 235 was Middle English, that of 234 interchanged between French, Latin and Middle English. The English used appears to be contemporary to the script, that is, of the first half of the thirteenth century.

Scribe m (23)(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XIX)

Scribe m wrote (on the lower half of fo. 8) a distinctive, but rather untidy, script which he had apparently developed for the transcription of vernacular texts. The same script was also used by him for copying vernacular texts into the mid fourteenth-century cartulary of the

1. All three manors were confirmed to the priory in 1205 by Pope Innocent III, v. Goodman, Chartulary 45.
2. For the fifteenth-century single-sheet associated with 234 (BL, Cotton Chart, viii. 18), v. below, Appendix 1, 234, n.2.
3. For details of these errors, v. ibid., 233-5.

cathedral priory, and contrasted to the more orthodox gothic bookhand which he used for Latin texts, both in the said cartulary and in another cathedral priory manuscript containing miscellaneous religious writings.¹

His transcription of 23 includes the following insular letter-forms: a, æ, d^A, f, g, h (both feet turned to the right), r (with a descender), s (long), p, ð, þ.

Insular a occurs very rarely (Ocea, fo. 8, l. 3 up), usually being replaced by the caroline form. In this script, the ascenders of b, d (straight-backed), h, and l are notched. The following letters may be taken as characteristic:

d is almost always round-backed with a very long ascender (occasionally looped: abbod, ibid., last line), but a straight-backed form does occur (Andreas, ibid., l. 14 up);

f has an upward-curving head;

g consists of a straight line with a hook-shaped tail suspended from its mid point;

h has its right foot below the line;

þ has an open-topped head;

x has a trailing left foot;

There is a ligature of s + t.

Abbreviations

The tironian nota was used for OE and; it stands on the line and has a serif at the base of its stem.

Suspension and contraction were marked by a thick overline which sometimes has transverse hairlines at either end.

1. BL, Add. MS 29436, fos. 10-38, 42 ;

Bod, Laud MS. Misc. 368, fós. 8-73^v, 88-164.

De scambio terre de morouy pro aqua wintonie.

In hac cartula declaratur qualiter Adelpoldus episcopus et familia pincantensis ecclesie mucculsto monasterio cui licentia regis Edwardi commutatione terrarum fecerunt contra Alfwinnu filium Alstize et Adelildam matrem ipsius. Hoc est quod episcopus et familia ei dederunt .xii. mansas in loco qui dicitur moctune quod sui antecessores suis posteris ad hoc designauerunt quod omni anno de illa terra partem familie daretur pro animabus illorum qui hanc saltem hereditatem adquisierant. Alstize demum genitorum illi hanc eandem cellerem familie mucculsto monasterio ubi omnes sui antecessores recesserunt pro parte designavit. et eis eodem tenore et contentis concessit in civitate Wintonie duo iugum ruris et riuum quod tertia adiacet in cuius amplitudine quoniam ipsius muro usque ad monasterium circumplectitur est usque ad murum uicium predictae civitatis. et cellerem quod Alfwinnus basileus fuit antecessoribus prescriptis dedit. Hic est ceteris huius commutationis. Ego Cadward rex. Ego Adgari abbas. Et ceteris familie in hac civitate hoc est familia mucculsto monasterio. Et familia in nouo monasterio. Et familia in monasterio monastrii. Ego Adelpoldus episcopus. Ego Ethelmer dux. Ego Ethelild. Et omnes cives istius civitatis.

Hepi speoclad hu Adelpold bilscop 7 se hined on pincealste on caldan mynste be Cadwardes cymingel lape 7e hpyrdon landa pnd alfpine alstize sunu 7 adellilde. Hec is donne hec se bilscop 7 se hined hui sealdon .xii. hida landes ac moctune he his yldran heora cetera senzan to di beceban hec hi elec 7eape of dan lande 7e formadon forda he ha ape 7e scynden 7e alstize his agen fader hec yle. m. lande afe dem hpyde on caldan mynste hec cal his forda fader hec forda forpma becebe. 7e hui on hec yle. m. lande hec to 7eame 7e sealde binnan pincanteste trefra cecepa 7e pnde landes 7e hne sciam he dæro lize binnan dem pymece he se bilscop mid pealle in to dem mynste be fanzan hafd to dan caldan forda pealle. 7 ha boe hec to afe de alstize amuz his yldran 7e bocode. Donne hec dæle 7e hpepel to 7e pincelle cadward cum 7 Adelpold bilscop 7 ethelmar caldorman 7 ethelgar abbas 7 adellild 7 da dny hpyodal on caldan mynste 7 on mpan mynste 7 on nunnan mynste 7 se bapth papi on pincealste. Donne hinc dæle 7e hpepel .iii. 7e pnyca to 7e hpaulanze. an is mid alfpine. odep in caldan mynste. hpyde on mpan mynste. fepde on nunnan mynste.

In nomine dñi. Ic eadweard episcopus beceat ac demulfe biscepe 7 ac dan hipin on pincealste paimdearu can. 7 dat starme flapein 7 dæro to dæp landes besidan dære cuman 7 dan flepein .xxviii. 7enda on lange 7 on bryde dæro hre brydest is fip 7eupda. 7 dæro hre mlyadost is anne 7eupde. to dan dære ic dæro mynste on 7e stædolode. for mine saule hælo 7 nimes dæro apyndan fader alstize cymingel. 7 ic let be calpa pest seana pincanteste hre 7eafe to biscepe 7 to pan hipin se andreas cuman. 7 done pnyca de dæro zammian pes in to dære stope. on ece episcopus. dat hre naze nan man fram dære hope 7e dælamie. done is dæp se eaca de eallra pest seana pnan dæro eacm mezeboodan on ece episcopus. Hæst sudmiche fiondan beodaru to se 7e 7eupes cuman. done fram dære sud pest hinnan se 7e 7eupes cuman. .xii. 7eupda pest miche to dære stie to done miche nord. .xii. 7eupde to dære nordstie. done eall miche .xlii. 7eupde. 7. vi. fer. to dære east stie. done sudmiche. .xx. 7eupde. 7. vi. fer. to dære sudstie. done pest miche be dære sudstie to dan licene. .vii. 7eupde. 7. vi. fer. done miche nord. .v. 7eupde. done is dæp simbzangest ealles dno fulangest. 7 dno mezeupda.

† eadweard . rex.	† . alfen . ep̄	† . pithon d . min.	† . alla . min.
† eadweard . fip . rex.	† . ysthen . ep̄	† . deymod . min.	† . heostan . min.
† plemund . archiep̄	† . eodmud . ep̄	† . beorhtize . min.	† . pulhelm . min.
† dæneulf . ep̄	† . eadgar . ep̄	† . oca . min.	† . beorstan . p̄it.
† pelfand . ep̄	† . ymund . ep̄	† . adelstan . min.	† . tæa . p̄it.
† pelfize . ep̄	† . bunnhelm . abbas.	† . pulhelm . min.	† . brythulf . p̄it.

PLATE XIX : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.8 (scale 1 : 2)
 top, documents 21-2, in Cod.Wint. II, scribe b;
 below, document 23, in Cod.Wint. III, scribe m.

Punctuation

The point (full and medial) and the punctus elevatus occur. The letter i was distinguished by a hairline stroke.

The text of 23 was written in single column with the subscriptions arranged below in four columns. A ruling in point and black lead was added to fo. 8 to facilitate the addition of 23, and was guided by the two extra series of twenty one slit-like pricks made on fo. 8^v at this time.¹ No rubric was supplied, but the initial letters of the first two clauses were written in display capitals and the document was preceded by a signum crucis, probably copied from the exemplar. Capital letters are almost entirely absent.

(ii) Textual content

23 recorded the acquisition by King Edward the Elder, 901 X 903, of land in Winchester on which to build the New Minster.

(iii) Editorial practices

23 was doubtless added on fo. 8 because of its textual association with 21-2, 24-5 (in Cod. Wint. II) which related to the creation of the three monastic precincts at Winchester later on in the tenth century. There are some obvious misreadings, in the Codex text, of insular letter-forms in the (now-lost) exemplar, and other, less-obvious, misreadings which are identifiable through

1. For the impression of these pricks on to fos. 5-7, v. above, p. 307, n.1.

collation of the Codex text with an (incomplete) eleventh-century copy of the document preserved in the New Minster Liber Vitae.¹ These misreadings are as follows:² b read as h; ce- as e-; s as r; and y as ig, ri, and si. He also mistook d as ð on several occasions, l as d, and u as n. The only alteration was the erasure of Ear before Eaðpearð (fo. 8, l.6 up). The language of the Codex text is in parts more modern than that in the fragmentary New Minster text, but shares with it an OE syntax and many OE spellings which probably represent those of the exemplar. The only textual change discernible in the Codex text is the omission of seventeen subscriptions, no doubt through lack of space to include them at the foot of fo. 8.

Scribe n (236-7)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XX)

Scribe n copied two unconnected documents on to the top half of fo. 117^v, the one (236) in an imitative insular minuscule, and the other (237) in a documentary script of the mid thirteenth century which has similarities to the script used in the episcopal Pipe Roll of 1244-5.³ 236-7 were written in the same ink and are recognizably the work of the same scribe. Features common to the

1. BL, Stowe MS. 944, fo. 57^{rv}. For a collation of the two surviving texts, v. LVH, pp. 155-7.

For the possibility that the New Minster text was from one part of a chirograph, the other part of which was at the Old Minster, v. below, p. 406, n. 3.

2. For full details, v. below, Appendix 1, 23, textual notes.

3. HRO, Eccles. 2/159287.

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PLATE XX : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.117^v (part,
scale 3 : 4), documents 236-7, in Cod.Wint. III,
scribe n.

two scripts used by him in the Codex were: the contrast between thick, firm strokes of the pen and delicate hairlines; the letter e with a hairline tongue; and the formation of minims with pronounced feet. The following insular letter-forms were used in 236: a, æ, d, e (high, in initial and medial positions), f, g, h (both feet turned to the right), r, s (short, and long), p, ð, þ. Caroline forms of a and s also appear. In 237, the ascenders of b, d, f, h, l, s (long), and I have hairline loops. 'Biting' of d + e occurs. There are developed capitals A, B, C, G, H, M, R, S, T, V, and W, which are similar to those used in the 1244-5 Pipe Roll.

Abbreviations

The tironian nota was used for OE and in 236, and for Latin et in 237; in 236 its stem descends below the line, in 237 the stem stands on the line and has a horizontal line through its waist. Other abbreviation-marks in 237 were those one would expect to find in documents of the thirteenth century. The few used in 236 would not be out of place in a pre-conquest manuscript, except perhaps for suprascript e (Petre, fo. 117^v, l. 5, last word), which possibly owes its use to the position of the word in which it occurs at a line-end in the Codex.

Punctuation

The full point occurs in both documents. A semi-colon occurs in 236 but not in 237. Some hairline word accents appear over vowels in 236.

Both 236 and 237 were written in single column, utilising the horizontal ruling present on the (twelfth-century) leaf as a rough guide, but not using the full column width.¹ No rubrics or decoration were added, but the initial letter to the first word of both the first two lines of 236 is lacking, perhaps indicating an unfulfilled intention to supply decorative initials.² The initial to 237 is an offset display-capital (two lines high). The very infrequent use of capitals in 236 contrasts to the large number used in 237, which is a list of fourteenth-century personal-names.

(ii) Textual content

236 claims to be a vernacular record of the confirmation by King Æthelwulf of Wessex and his son Ælfred, in 853 X 855, of the beneficial hidation of Chilcomb, Hants.

237 was a Latin memorandum (c. 1230) recording the names of the knights who had perambulated the boundary between West Meon and Warnford (both Hants), and the estate of Richard de la Bere.

(iii) Editorial practices

The exemplars of both 236 and 237 are now lost. The only probable misreading that is discernible in 236 is that of e for o (twice in the same word: meder, fo. 117^v, 1.12, for modor 'mother'). The only alteration in

-
1. For the ruling of fo. 117, v. above, Part C, Section 1.
 2. Unless these gaps indicate that the top left-hand corner of the exemplar was damaged with a consequent loss of text.

236 is the overline insertion of an omitted l in si`l'fne (ibid., l.17). The language of 236 is standard Old English (West Saxon) and does not appear to have been modernised by scribe n. 237 appears to be a near contemporary entry into the Codex and probably accurately reflects its exemplar.

Scribe o (1)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XXI)

Scribe o wrote (on fo. 3^v) a rather formal bookhand of the first part of the fourteenth century, of the sort used for headings both in Winchester episcopal Registers and Pipe Rolls ¹ and in cathedral priory manuscripts² of the period. In this script, the thick, wedged ascenders of b, d, h, and l contrast to the long, curved, hairline descenders of h, m, and y. Minims and the descenders of p and q have feet turned to the right. Other characteristics are as follows:

- a is made up of two compartments;
 - d usually has a straight back, but occasionally has a round one (eadem, fo. 3^v, l.2);
 - g is either 8-shaped, or has an open, ribbon-like tail;
 - r stands on the line;
 - s is either caroline in form, or round;
 - x has a horizontal line through its waist;
- There is 'biting' of d + e, and ligatures of c + t and s + t.

Capital letters are well-developed and most consist of contrasting thick, ribbon-like strokes and more-delicate hairlines.

1. HRO, Episc. 3, part 2, headings to fos. 36, 38, 48, etc.; Episc. 4, headings to fos. A, B, 1, 9, 14, 19, 21; Episc. 5-7, headings passim. HRO, Eccles. 2/159451, headings.

2. Cambridge, Trinity College, MS. B.15.1, text; WCL, St. Swithun's Cartulary, fos. 53-64^v, headings.

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PLATE XXI : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.3^v (part,
scale 3 : 5), document 1, in Cod.Wint. III,
scribe o.

Abbreviations

The final syllable -bus was shown by (bʒ) and the Latin conjunction -que by (qʒ). Suprascript a and i occur.

The tironian nota was used for et; it stands on the line and has a horizontal line through its waist.

There is an -orum compendium. Special signs were used to indicate -er, -re, and -ur, all of which, together with a line signifying other suspensions or contractions, were made up of ribbon-like lines.

Punctuation

The point (full and medial), punctus elevatus, and comma were used. The letter i was distinguished by a hairline stroke.

1 was written in single column, ignoring the two-column vertical ruling present on fo. 3^v, but utilising the horizontal ruled lines there.¹ No rubric or coloured decoration was supplied, but the initial to the first word was an off-set calligraphic letter (two lines high).

(ii) Textual content

1 claims to be a mid thirteenth-century record of the settlement of a dispute between the prior of Winchester and the abbess of Wherwell over watercourses and a meadow in Chilbolton, Hants, but appears to be a later forgery.²

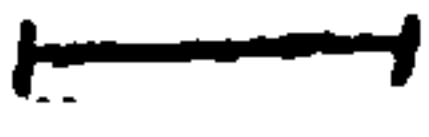
1. For the ruling on fo. 3^v, v. above, Part C, section 1.

2. See below, Appendix 1, 1, nn. 1, 2, 4.

(iii) Editorial practices

The exemplar of 1 has not been found. The one discernible copying error was made good by scribe o himself: fo. 3^v, l. 6 up, where the words cum pertinenciis were inserted from overline, aided by a sign in the shape of an inverted v at the point of insertion.

Scribe p (238-41)(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XXII)

Scribe p wrote on fos. 118-19 of the Codex, in a series of different scripts which appear to be imitative of his respective Anglo-Saxon exemplars. From its position in the manuscript, his work may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century.¹ He used large square  letters for all four documents copied into the Codex (238-41), and tapered the descenders to the left. The following insular letter-forms appear in his transcript: a, æ, Æ, d, e (high), f, g, h, r, s (long, and short), p, ð, Ð, þ, ƿ.

Abbreviations

Both the tironian nota and the ampersand occur. The nota has a descender which tapers to the left. The ampersand was also used in 240 to represent the letters et in medial and final positions within Latin words (uidelicet, fo. 118^v, l. 3 up; v. Plate XXII).

1. See below, section 4.

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PLATE XXII : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.118^v (scale 1 : 2)
documents 239-40, in Cod.Wint. III, scribe p.


Punctuation

From the evidence of the collation of 238 to its surviving exemplar (+238),¹ the punctuation in 238-41 appears to follow that of the exemplars.

238-41 were written in single column, using the two-column ruling on fos. 118-19 only as a guide for the arrangement of subscriptions.² Signa crucis were added before the subscriptions, as were the pictorial invocations (signum crucis, or chrismon) at the beginning of each document. The usage of capital letters differs between individual documents and seems to reflect the usages of the respective exemplars.³ Each document was supplied with a calligraphic initial (from one to three lines high). 238-9, 241 were introduced by a short Latin rubric in ordinary ink; the rubrics to 238-9 included vertical rows of three dots between words.⁴

(ii) Textual content

238-41 were Anglo-Saxon diplomas, A.D. 939 X 1016, all to beneficiaries other than Winchester Cathedral. 238 and 241 concerned the cathedral estates of East Overton, Wilts., and Wyke Regis, Dorset. 239-40 both related

1. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 22; v. below, Appendix 3, scribe p, section 16.
2. For the ruling of fos. 118-19, v. above,  section 1.
3. This is certainly true in the case of 238, as is shown by collation to +238 (BL, Cotton Chart. viii.22).
4. Similar word-division by means of vertical rows of dots occurs in the Winchester episcopal Pipe Rolls for 1297-8, 1307-8, 1317-18, 1327-8; HRO, Eccles. 2/159316, 159323, 159332, 159340.

to alien estates (æt ofær TWNE, probably Orton Waterville, Hunts;¹ and Fyfield, Hants) and ^{Were no doubt included in the Codex} because they were taken to refer to cathedral estates of the same name (East Overton, Wilts., as in 238; and Fyfield, Wilts).²

(iii) Editorial practices

238-41 were arranged in chronological order on fos. 118-19. Something may be said of the editorial practices of scribe p since not only does the exemplar of 238 survive,³ but also 240 may be compared to 164, a copy of the same document by scribe a in Cod.Wint. I. The rubrics to 238-9, 241 were probably specially-coined cartulary headings; that to 238 does not appear as an endorsement on +238, while the OE endorsement which does, and probably that on the exemplar to 240 (cf. the rubric to 164) were ignored.

The following misreadings of insular letter-forms occur in 238 and 240:⁴

a (open-headed): taken as n in Latin and in OE, 240; as u in OE, *ibid.*

f (with a descender): taken as s in OE, 238

s (short): taken as r in Latin and in OE, 238

r (with long descender): taken as s in Latin, 240

1. See below, Appendix 1, 239, n.1.

2. Fyfield, Wilts., was held by the sacrist of the cathedral priory in 1066, v. DB i, fo. 65^v. For the similar inclusion of documents relating to alien estates in Cod.Wint.I, v. above, Part B, section 2, c(iii); 240 was in fact a copy of the same document as 164 in Cod.Wint.I.

3. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 22; v. below, Appendix 2, +238.

4. For full details of those in 238, v. below, Appendix 3, scribe p. For 240, v. below, Appendix 1, s.n.

In the Latin part of 238, scribe p misread the letter u as an insular form of a (open-headed). In the OE part of the same document, he misread the letter t as c, and the letters -ul- as -lil-. Also in 238, he omitted an abbreviation-mark above the last letter of bon (poñ in +238; for bonne), while in 240 he misread the word transferre as trnnferre, apparently both confusing insular f (with a descender) with insular s (short) and misreading open-headed a as n. In 240, he wrote mettis for metis, using the ampersand to represent the letters -et-; his exemplar no doubt had similarly used the ampersand but had probably not also written an extra letter t following. In 241, he seems to have misread e as o and initial b as h.¹ Other copying errors were noticed and altered by scribe p, using a variety of methods.²

There are very few modernisations of language in 238 or 240 and those that do occur were probably subconscious standardisations.³ Although the vernacular

1. See below, Appendix 1, 241, textual notes.

2. Alteration of a wrong letter: Elft-altered to Elfst-, fo. 118^v, l.19 up. Insertion of an omitted letter from overline: ru*r*'i'cole, *ibid.*, l.7. Indication of the correct reading overline: sermocinatur, with s above -r, fo. 118, l.2. Subpuncting of a wrong letter and indication of the correct reading overline: to subpuncted, on overline, *ibid.*, l.25. Subpuncting of an otiose letter: habeant, with n subpuncted, fo.119, l.18 up. A combination of subpuncting and erasure: maledictionis altered to maledictioni, *ibid.*, l.13 up.

3. See below, Appendix 3, scribe p, sections 3, 4, 12.

language of the boundary in 241 appears to be Middle English, and the subscriptions are inconsistent with each other, these features may have been so in the exemplar used by scribe p. The one serious criticism that may be made of scribe p's transcription of vernacular text is that his word-division was often mishandled, but this does not present great difficulty in re-interpreting.¹

Scribe p does not appear to have made any deliberate attempt to falsify the documents he copied into Cod.Wint. III. Most of the few textual changes that can be shown to have taken place during the copying process seem to have been due to lack of concentration.² The omission of endorsements appears, however, to have been a conscious editorial decision; that on +238 is still legible today, so cannot have been left out in the fourteenth-century because of illegibility. Apart from the omission of endorsements, it is probable that 238-41 are all facsimile copies. This is certainly true of 238, whose exemplar survives for comparison. Scribe p seems to have imitated both the script and the punctuation³ of particular exemplars. In 238, he even left a gap of a few letters' width where his exemplar was damaged.⁴ Considering that he was copying exemplars that were, by then, some four hundred years old, his effort compares well with those of the twelfth-century scribes (a-h) of Cod.Wint. I and II, who were that much closer to the era in which the exemplars were written.

1. Appendix 3, scribe p, sections 5, 6.

2. Ibid., sections 8, 12, 15. The lack of a dating clause in 241 may also have been true of the exemplar, since the subscriptions given are anachronistic, v. below, Appendix 1, 241, n.2.

3. See below, Appendix 3, scribe p, section 16.

4. Ibid., section 9.

Scribe q (242; and rewriting of the rubric to 191)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XXIII)

Scribe q wrote on parts of two folios (98, 119^v) of the Codex, in an imitative insular minuscule script. He was also the writer of a single-sheet parchment, later in the Cotton collection, of the document which has been numbered 242 in the Codex.¹ His transcription of 242 in the Codex may be dated to the first half of the fourteenth century from its location between the work of scribes p and r; the rewriting of the rubric to 191 was probably done at the same time, since it is in the same script as 242. Scribe q's script is characterized by its thick strokes of the pen and short, plain, ascenders and descenders. The duct² of this script is somewhat similar to that of scribe s (see below) and it is possible that scribes q and s were the same person, writing at different times and using different alphabets.³ Scribe q used the following insular letter-forms: a, æ, d, f, g, r, s(short), p, ð.⁴ The following letters are particularly characteristic:

-
1. BL. Cotton Chart. viii. 15; see (iii), below.
 2. That is, its general appearance and its progress across the page.
 3. Note also that 242 (by scribe q) and 247 (by scribe s) both concerned Buttermere, Wilts. 191, however, related to Havant, Hants.
 4. ð in the rubric to 191 was written by scribe b and was retained by scribe p at the beginning of the rewritten rubric.

æ is formed from a fusion of e with insular a,
 and has a thick descending stem;
g is shaped like a figure 5 with a very long bar;
h is represented by two parallel lines, one of which
 has an ascender and the other a descender;
r has a 2-shaped arm which stands on the line,
 and a straight descender;

The only capital used by scribe g in 242 was an enlarged ð with a dot in its bowl. In the rubric to 191, he used an enlarged æ and a capital S.¹

Abbreviations

The tironian nota was used for OE and; it stands on the line and in 242 was made of two right-angled lines, but in the rubric to 191 their angle of meeting is more oblique. Suspensions were marked by an overline.

Punctuation was by point (both full and medial).

The rewriting of the rubric to 191 followed the single-column layout used by the rubric's first scribe (b), in Cod.Wint.I. 242 was also written in single column, ignoring the (double-column) ruling already present on the leaf,² except as a rough guide for the alignment of the beginning of lines. No rubric or decoration was supplied to 242; the rubric to 191 was rewritten in red ink, but of a different shade to that used by scribe b. The signum crucis and an individualised signum of King William I were given at the foot of 242 (see Plate XXIII).³

1. As p.394, n.4.

2. For the ruling of fo. 119, v. above, section 1.

3. On the king's signum, v. below, Appendix 1, 242, h.3.

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PLATE XXIII : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.119^v (scale 1 : 2)
top, document 242, in Cod.Wint. III, scribe q;
below, document 243, in Cod.Wint. III, scribe r.
The note at the top is by annotator 8.

(ii) Textual content

The rewritten rubric described the contents of 191 (in Cod. Wint. I), an Anglo-Saxon diploma concerning Havant, Hants. 242 claimed to be a notification by King William I of his confirmation to the Old Minster, in 1070 X 1087, of the estate of Buttermere, Wilts., as originally granted to them in the reign of King Knut.

(iii) Editorial practices

Apart from the probable substitution of æ for the letters a and e in several of its words, and a misreading of cing as cnng, the rubric to 191 appears to have been copied correctly from the faded, or partially-erased, first writing by scribe b.¹ 242 and the related single-sheet Cotton charter² contain the same wording and were both written by scribe q in the same imitative insular script (see (i), above). Collation of the two manuscripts, however, reveals too many differences of spelling for the Cotton charter to have been used as the exemplar of the Codex text, and vice versa. A more satisfactory explanation of their relationship would be that both texts were copied from the same exemplar, now lost. Whether that exemplar was merely a rough draft in a fourteenth-century hand, from which a forgery might be written, or was a genuine eleventh-century document which was damaged and was replaced by both a replica single-sheet and a cartulary copy, cannot now be

1. Some parts of the first writing are still visible on fo. 98.

2. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 15.

established with certainty.

Scribe g made two palaeographical errors in 242: misreadings of in as m, and of insular r as ri.¹ Neither was subsequently corrected.

The spelling of both the Codex text and the Cotton charter was Middle English, characterized by the frequent use of æ for both a and e, a feature which also occurs in the rubric to 191. Another feature, which occurs more frequently in the Cotton charter than in the Codex text, was the substitution of ƿ for u. Both these usages reflected some confusion over the phonetic value of the insular letters æ and ƿ, and may even suggest that they were being inserted to give an extra air of antiquity to the copied record.

There is nothing to suggest that scribe g made any textual changes while copying 242. The latter's punctuation differs to that of the Cotton charter but one cannot say which was closer to the exemplar. The signum of King William I appears on the Cotton charter in the same form and was presumably also in the exemplar.²

Scribe r (243-6)

(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XXIII)

Scribe r wrote on fos. 119^v-120^v of the Codex in script of a type (litera cursiva anglicana) which occurs frequently

1. See below, Appendix 1, 242, textual note and note a. In the Cotton charter (v. p. 397, n.2), he wrote insular s for insular r in King William's signum.

2. On this signum, v. below, Appendix 1, 242, n.3.

in both episcopal¹ and cathedral priory² records written at Winchester in the first half, and middle, of the fourteenth century. Some at least of the occurrences of this script in the priory records were probably written by scribe r. Features which distinguish scribe r from other scribes in the Codex are as follows:

a has two compartments;

b, d, h, and l have looped ascenders;

e is sometimes closed on its right side;

f, p, r, and s have long, straight descenders;

g is 8-shaped;

h, m (initial), and z have long hairline descenders which curve to the left;

q has a descender which curls upwards on the left side;

x and y have descenders which curl back to the right;

There is occasional 'biting' of d+e, and a ligature of s + t.

Capitals are quite well-developed. The right leg of R is raised to the horizontal.

Abbreviations

A comprehensive system of abbreviation was employed. The Latin conjunction que was shown as (q̄), and -bus as (b̄).^{were} The French and Latin relative pronouns que, qui shown by the letter q with an overline; this overline was sometimes formed by extending the letter's descender in a curl above the line. Superscript i occurs.

1. HRO, Episc. 3; Episc. 4, fos. A-E, 12^v-30^v; Episc. 5, especially, fos. 190-219; Episc. 6-7; Episc. 8, fos. 1-127^v, 133^v-134^v; Episc. 9, except on fo 1 (heading), 47^v-53^v, 59-60^v, 75-77^v, KK-VV^v. Ibid., Eccles. 2/159451, 159357, 159368, 159376, 159385.

2. BL, Add. MS. 29436, fo. 81^v; Harl. R. CC. 21, fo. 1^v. WAM, 22854 (dorso). WCL, Rentale et costumale prioratus S. Swythini Wynton, fos. 8-184^v, (written by John of Guildford, v. ibid. fo. 11^v); St. Swithun's Cartulary, fos. 53-64^v, text (v. Goodman, Chartulary, Plate 6).

The tironian nota was used for French and Latin et and usually has a horizontal line through its waist. The -orum compendium, and special signs for -ar/-er, con-, -e/-re, -ro, -ur, and -us occur, as well as a more general sign of abbreviation in the shape of a long overline.

Punctuation

The full point was used, and was sometimes joined to a rising, curled, hairline. The letter i was sometimes distinguished by a similar hairline.

243-6 were written in single column, ignoring the double-column vertical ruling already present on the leaves,¹ except as a guide for the alignment of the beginning of lines; the horizontal ruling was used as a rough guide to line-spacing. 243-6 were each preceded by capitular marks (cc). In 243, the diplomatic clause depar le Roy was off-set and used as a rubric, while the address was added on a separate line beneath the text. 244-6 each had descriptive rubrics. No decoration was added.

(ii) Textual content

243-6 were royal writs (A.D. 1364-5) regarding the claim of the tenants of Crondall, Hants, that the prior of Winchester was demanding unaccustomed services from them.

1. For the ruling of fos. 119-20, v. above, section 1.

(iii) Editorial practices

243-6 were entered in the Codex in chronological order of issue. The descriptive rubrics preceding 244-6 appear to be cartulary headings, but those to 244-5 may have been adapted from endorsements on the (now lost) exemplars. The address associated with 243 may well have been such an endorsement. These documents were probably written into the Codex shortly after their receipt. The only copying error by scribe r occurs in 243 (redresser for redrescer, fo. 119^v, l. 5 up; see Plate XXIII) and this was altered by subpuncting and the writing of the correct letter overline. No linguistic or textual changes are discernible in these texts, the first of which is in French and the remainder in Latin.

Scribe s (247)(i) Palaeographical features (Plate XXIV)

Scribe s wrote on fo. 120^v of the Codex in script of a type (litera cursiva anglicana, tending towards secretary script, particularly in its forms of a, d, r, and g) which occurs in both episcopal¹ and cathedral priory² records written at Winchester in the second half

1. HRO; Episc. 8, fo. 1 (heading), fos. 128-33 (text); Episc. 9, fo. 1 (heading), fos. 47^v-53^v, 59-60^v, 75-77^v, KK-VV^v; Episc. 10, fos. 1-106^v; Episc. 11, fos. 1-187^v. Ibid., Eccles 2/159394, 159403, 159403A. The script in these MSS. becomes progressively more developed into secretary script towards the end of the century.

2. WCL, St. Swithun's Cartulary, Index, first hand, v. Goodman, Chartulary, Plate 1.

of the fourteenth century. This script has several features in common with that used by scribe r, particularly in the treatment of ascenders and most descenders. In duct, however, it is reminiscent of the script of scribe q who may in fact have been the same person as scribe s, writing at an earlier time (see scribe q, above). The following letter-forms are peculiar, however, to the script used by scribe s:

- a is very occasionally one-compartment (gracia, pontearche, suthampton', fo. 120^v, 1.15 up; see Plate XXIV);
 - d has a pointed bowl;
 - e is always open-sided;
 - p has an open, u-shaped head;
 - q has a straight descender;
 - r usually stands on the line and its stem has a foot turned to the right. In the first line of text however (fo. 120^v, 1.15 up), the r in the first word (Henricus) has a descender, and has lost its shoulder, while those there in gracia and pontearche are 2-shaped;
 - s in final position is 6-shaped;
- There is no 'biting' of d + e.

Abbreviations

The final syllable -bus was represented by (b₃) and the Latin conjunction ^{que as} / (q₃). Suprascript i and d (apud, fo. 120^v, 1.5 up) occur. The tironian nota was usually used for et, although the word was written in full on two occasions (ibid., 1.14 up, first and third words). The -orum compendium was used. Apart

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PLATE XXIV : Codex Wintoniensis, fo.120^v (scale 3 : 5)
document 247, in Cod.Wint. III, scribe s; with
marginal note by annotator 4.

from special signs for -us (Henricus, *ibid.*, 1.15 up) and for -er (reuersus, *ibid.*, 1.4 up; assignauerit, assignauerint, *ibid.*, 1.10 up), other abbreviations were marked by a fairly thick overline.

Punctuation

The full point was used within diplomatic clauses, the semi-colon between clauses. The letter i was sometimes distinguished by a curved hairline.

247 was written at the foot of fo. 120^v, without reference to the double-column ruling already present on the leaf,¹ and continuing the single-column arrangement of text used by scribe r at the top of fo. 120^v. No rubric or coloured decoration was added, but the initial to the first word of text was a display capital (one line high).

(ii) Textual content

247 claimed to record the confirmation by King Henry I, in 1110, of the grant of the estate of Buttermere, Wilts., by Prior Geoffrey and the convent of Winchester to Walter de Combe, for an annual rent of 60 shillings.

(iii) Editorial practices

The exemplar of 247 has not been found. There are two discernible copying errors: the misreading and erroneous extension of Rann[ulfo] as Raymundo; and a similar wrong extension of Haim[one] as Haymundo (fo. 120^v, 1.2 up).²

1. For the ruling on fo. 120, v. above, ~~1~~ section 1.

2. The royal chancellor and the royal steward; cf. Galbraith, 'Royal Charters' 24 (? A.D. 1110).

Section 3

The Sources of Cod. Wint. III

a) The Archival Provenance of Documents in Cod. Wint. III

The respective exemplars of documents in Cod. Wint. III were each available for transcription at Winchester, probably at the cathedral priory,¹ at particular times during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

The exemplars of the pre-conquest documents (23, 236, 238-41) were probably included in the various archives in existence at Winchester at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period and in the twelfth century, which have been described above in relation to Cod. Wint. I.² Of these exemplars, that of 236 probably belonged to the Old Minster's archive in 1066, since it related to the monastic estate of Chilcomb, Hants.³ The exemplars of 238 and 241 may also have been in the Old Minster archive by 1066, as surrendered back-title to monastic estates, but would earlier have been part of private archives, possibly deposited for safety in a monastery such as the Old Minster.⁴ The exemplars

1. Cf. below, section 4; and Part E, section 1.

2. Part B, section 3, a(ii).

3. Even if spurious (cf. Finberg, ECW, p.227; Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 373-80), it was probably composed before 1066.

4. On such archives, v. above, Part B, section 3, a.

of 239-40, relating to alien estates, were probably parts of alien archives at Winchester by 1066; that of 239 may have belonged to the private archive of Bishop Æthelwold at Wolvesey in the late tenth century, since it seems to be connected with his land transactions in the east midlands;¹ that of 240, which had been copied into Cod. Wint. I as 164,^{thus} was at Winchester Cathedral by 1129 X 1139 and had earlier perhaps been deposited there as part of an alien archive.² The exemplar of 23 may, in 1066, have belonged to the New Minster archive, both since it related primarily to the foundation of that house and because it may have been the exemplar for the early eleventh-century copy of the same record in the New Minster Liber Vitae;³ if it had belonged to the New Minster archive, it may either have been surrendered to the cathedral in 1110 with the original site of the New Minster (on the latter's move to Hyde)⁴ ^{have been poached into the cathedral archive by} or the mid twelfth century, together with other documents in Cod. Wint. I and Cod. Wint. II.⁵ It seems

1. See above, Part B, section 3, a(ii). 2. Ibid.

3. BL, Stowe MS. 944, fo. 57^{rv}. A further alternative is that there were, from the beginning, two copies of the record, one kept at the Old Minster and one at the New Minster. This is feasible, since the Old Minster also gained from the transaction, but there is no mention, in the text, of the record being drawn up as a chirograph.

4. See WEMA, pp. 312, 317-18, and *ibid.*, Figure 9.

5. See above, Part B, section 3, a(ii).

that the exemplars of all the pre-conquest documents in Cod.Wint. III could have been available at Winchester Cathedral for transcription into Cod.Wint. I and II, but, apart from that of 240/164, were not copied into those twelfth-century parts of the Codex. It may be that most of them were accidentally omitted from the cartulary in the twelfth century, and that this fact was only realised with regard to particular documents at different times in the succeeding centuries, at which times the omissions were rectified.

It is likely that the post-conquest documents in Cod.Wint. III (1, 20, 233-5, 237, 242-7) were copied from exemplars which had been placed in the archive of Winchester cathedral priory soon after their production (at different times before the end of the fourteenth century), since they all related to priory estates.

No archival press-marks were entered in Cod.Wint. III and the only rubrics which may have been adapted from endorsements on the exemplars were those relating to 244-5.¹

b) The Diplomatic Provenance of Documents in Cod.Wint.III
The documents in Cod.Wint. III may be divided into the following four categories, reflecting the potentially

1. The Latin rubrics to 238-9, 241 seem to be cartulary headings, rather than Latin endorsements on the exemplars of the sort discussed above (Part B, section 4, a(ii)) in relation to an early twelfth-century 'collection' of cathedral endowment documents, v. above, Part D, section 2, scribe p, (iii).

different diplomatic provenance of their respective exemplars:¹

- (i) Documents probably drafted and written at, or by the agents of, Winchester cathedral priory (the Old Minster):

Royal Anglo-Saxon declarations (?A.D. 853 X 903):

23 (?), 236

236 was in favour of the cathedral, and, although probably a forgery written later than its claimed ninth-century date,² was very likely drafted there. 23, if it represents a contemporary record of the acquisition of land on which to build the New Minster, would very probably have been drafted at the cathedral, as presumably the only writing-centre then in Winchester; if not contemporary, then it is perhaps more likely to have been drafted at the New Minster, which was its principal beneficiary.

Post-conquest memoranda relating to priory estates

(s.xii-xiii):

1, 20, 233-5, 237

Most of these were probably drafted on the spot by the agents of the cathedral priory and later

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1. For the methods and assumptions behind the ascription of diplomatic provenance, v. above, Part B, section 3, b.
 2. See Finberg, ECW, p. 227; Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 373-80; and below, Appendix 1, s.n.

forwarded to the priory for reference, and perhaps for writing in fair copy. 1 appears to be a fabrication, but one almost certainly drafted by agents of the priory.¹

(ii) Anglo-Saxon document perhaps drafted at the New Minster:

?23 (if not contemporary; see (i), above)

(iii) Royal Anglo-Saxon diplomas to non-corporate beneficiaries (A.D. 939 X 1016):

238-41

The only surviving exemplar of the documents in this group is +238, dated A.D. 939.² This has many clauses in common with Sawyer 447, whose single-sheet text was written at Winchester by the man identified by Dr. Chaplais as scribe 2.³ +238 does not appear to have been written by the same scribe as Sawyer 447, but was probably drafted by the same draftsman, presumably at Winchester.

Two of the remaining documents (239-40) come from the period A.D. 924-75, during which there was a limited number of functioning scriptoria in England.⁴ 240⁵ has several clauses

1. See below, Appendix 1, s.n.

2. BL, Cotton Chart, viii. 22; see below, Appendix 2.

3. BL, Cotton MS. Aug. ii, 23; Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.

4. See above Part B, section 3,b(ii).

5. The same document as 164, in Cod.Wint. I.

in common with Sawyer 706 and 717, whose single-sheet texts were written at Abingdon by Chaplais's scribe 6, and it may well have been drafted there by the same draftsman.¹ 239 does not have enough diplomatic clauses in common with any of the single-sheets whose scribes have so far been identified for any conclusions to be drawn about its provenance.

241 (A.D. 978 X 1016) comes from the period in which more scriptoria were functioning, due to the refoundation of monasteries, and when diplomas were often partly modelled on those drafted a generation or two earlier, making the ascription of diplomatic provenance difficult;² nothing can at present be said about the provenance of 241.

(iv) Post-conquest royal writs concerning Winchester cathedral priory (A.D. 1070 X 1365):

242-7

Of these documents, the fourteenth-century writ-mandates (243-6) can be accepted without question as products of the royal administration: the exemplar of 243 was a writ close issued under the privy seal;³ those of 244-6 were writs close issued under the great seal.⁴ The text of 247,

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1. BL, Cotton Chart. viii. 28 and Stowe Chart. 29; Chaplais, 'Origin and authenticity', p.60.
 2. See above, Part B, section 3, b (ii).
 3. On such documents, v. P. Chaplais, English royal documents, King John - Henry VI, 1199-1461 (Oxford, 1971), pp. 28-30.
 4. Ibid., pp. 16-19.

a writ-charter of King Henry I, is probably genuine, although this is not to say it was not drafted at Winchester cathedral priory rather than by the royal chancery; it has an identical dating-clause to another grant by the same king in favour of the cathedral.¹ The text of 242, although perhaps based ultimately on a product of the royal chancery, has probably been subjected to some modification.²

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1. Goodman, Chartulary 21 (Regesta ii, 947).
 2. See below, Appendix 1, 242, n.3.

Section 4

The Historical Background to Cod. Wint. III

The order in which individual texts were added to Cod. Wint. III is represented by the sequence of letters (l-s) by which the scribes who wrote them into the cartulary have been described above. The thirteenth-century scribes (l-n) added their texts on leaves (or parts of leaves) left blank in Cod. Wint. II (fos. 7^v, 8, 117^{rv}), but avoiding the leaf (fo. 3) which was available for the completion of the table of contents already begun on fo. 2^v.¹ The first of the fourteenth-century scribes (o) ignored this consideration and placed his work on fo. 3^v, even though there were still some spaces available further on in the manuscript on leaves associated with Cod. Wint. II (fos. 7^v, foot; 117^v, foot). Neither these spaces, nor the still-blank fo. 3, were enough, however, for the next fourteenth-century scribe (p), who consequently had to add new leaves to the manuscript (fos. 118-20) to accommodate his text. The subsequent scribes (q-s) filled the space left by scribe p on these additional leaves.

Similar general motives lay behind the addition of the documents in Cod. Wint. III to the existing composite twelfth-century cartulary, represented by Cod. Wint. I-II,

1. Begun in the early thirteenth century by scribe k, but never completed, v. above, Part A, section 1, d.

as were adduced to explain the addition of Cod.Wint. II to the first compilation, Cod.Wint. I.¹ These were, firstly, the augmentation of an existing body of reference material, and, secondly, the attempt to ensure the preservation of particular documents by associating them with an important volume of evidence. The pre-conquest documents 23, 236, and 238-41 were probably added because they were obviously of the same type as those in Cod.Wint. I-II but, except for 240,² had been omitted from the earlier compilations. The remaining documents (1, 20, 233-5, 237, 242-7), all post-conquest in date, were no doubt added in order to preserve the individual texts, but the choice of the Codex Wintoniensis as the vehicle for their preservation may reflect the fact that the Codex had been consulted in relation to the earlier history of the estates which these documents concerned. A notable feature of all the texts in Cod.Wint. III, which is of importance to the location of the Codex Wintoniensis in the late medieval period,³ is that they all concerned, or appeared to concern,⁴ cathedral priory estates rather than specifically episcopal ones.

1. See above, Part C, section 4.

2. 240 was a copy of the same document as 164 in Cod.Wint.I. This fact apparently escaped the notice of scribe p.

3. Cf. below, Part E, section 1.

4. With regard to 239-40, both concerning alien estates whose names were identical to those of cathedral priory estates (Fyfield and East Overton, Wilts).

PART E

USERS AND CRITICS OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS

Section 1

Post-Medieval Users of the Codex Wintoniensis

The use of the Codex in the later medieval period, as a repository for the preservation of important documents concerning Winchester cathedral priory estates, and as a source for historians and administrators working within the cathedral priory, is illustrated both by the additions of text discussed above in Part D (Cod. Wint. III) and by the occurrence of medieval annotations passim in the manuscript.¹ In contrast, information about the use of the Codex in the period since the dissolution of the cathedral priory (1539) is almost entirely dependent upon sources external to the manuscript itself.² In the year 1550, the Codex appears to have been in the possession of Thomas Dackomb, who placed his ex libris mark on fo. 2.³ Dackomb, a canon (1542-) of the newly-established secular chapter of Winchester Cathedral, and the rector (1549-) of Tarrant Gunville, Dorset, was a book-collector on quite a large scale between c. 1540 and his death in 1572, a period when the contents of the libraries of dissolved religious houses became available.

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1. The more explicit of these annotations are given below in the Descriptive List (Appendix 1), under the particular documents to which they relate. For a short summary of the work of individual annotators, v. ibid., prefatory matter, sub Textual information.
 2. On the dissolution of the priory, v. Knowles and Hadcock, p. 8.
 3. See above, Part A, section 1, c.

to private collectors.¹ He seems to have used his position as canon at Winchester to obtain possession of some of the manuscripts previously belonging to the cathedral priory, amongst them the Codex and two other cartularies.² One of these three cartularies was later sent by him to Sheen Priory (Surrey) and subsequently became part of the Harleian collection of manuscripts.³ Another disappeared from view until 1873, when it was purchased by the British Museum at an auction at Sotheby's as part of the 'property of a gentleman deceased'.⁴ The third, the Codex, appears to have been returned to Winchester Cathedral, perhaps by Dackomb himself or his executors, and remained there until the nineteenth century (see below). It had probably already been returned thither when John Joscelyn (1529-1603), the Latin secretary to Archbishop Parker from 1559 to 1575, listed thirty-six of the documents contained in it as part of a general piece of research

1. See A.G. Watson, 'A sixteenth century collector, Thomas Dackomb, 1496-c.1572', The Library, September, 1965, pp. 204-17; C.E. Wright, 'The dispersal of the libraries in the sixteenth century', The English library before 1700, edd. F.Wormald, C.E.Wright (1958), pp. 148-75.

2. He also obtained the early eleventh-century manuscript of the lives of St. Swithun (BL, Royal MS. 15 C.vii), v. Watson, 'A sixteenth century collector', *ibid.*

3. BL, Harl. R. CC. 21; Davis 1045.

4. BL, Add. MS. 29436; Davis 1043.

on documents issued by the Anglo-Saxon kings.¹

Joscelyn does not appear, however, to have used the evidence of documents in the Codex when preparing the De antiquitate Britannicæ ecclesiæ (1572), which was published under Parker's name.²

No mention has been found of the Codex in the seventeenth century or in the first part of the eighteenth. It was not mentioned by Dean Young in his diary (1616-45),³ nor does it appear to have been brought to the notice of ^{Sir} Simonds D'Ewes when he visited the cathedral in 1640 and transcribed seven single-sheet Anglo-Saxon charters which were then there.⁴

1. BL, Cotton MS. Vesp. A. ix, fos. 116^v-120^v; a note of the donor, beneficiary, estate, date, and witnesses of Codex documents in the following order - 149, 40-2, 50, 56, 123, 24, 49, 58-9, 74, 80, 82, 90, 94, 99, 101, 137, 143-6, 163-5, 18, 17, 44, 47, 81, 100, 135-6, 153 or 154, 159. These include documents to laymen as well as to Winchester Cathedral. Cf. *ibid.*, fo. 121^v, 'this is to be put in a boke wherin be other charters of kings before the conquerors tyme'. On Joscelyn, v.E.N. Adams, Old English scholarship in England from 1566-1800 (Yale Studies in English 55 (1917); reprinted Archon Books, U.S.A. 1970), pp. 38-9.

2. De antiquitate Britannicæ ecclesiæ & privilegiis ecclesiæ Cantuariensis, cum archiepiscopis eiusdem 70; Adams, Old English scholarship, loc.cit.

3. WCL, MS. 22.

4. BL, Harl. MS. 596, fos. 14^v-21 (Sawyer 376, 668, 697, 738, 801, 994, 1016).

Although John Chase was almost certainly annotator 14 of the Codex

it was not included in his list of the cathedral muniments made in 1643.² Remarkably, the Codex does not appear to have been known to the leading antiquaries of this period, not being mentioned in the works of Dodsworth and Dugdale; Spelman; Wharton; Madox; Wanley; or Tanner.³ The fact that these and later antiquaries had not noticed it was explained to Sir Frederick Madden in 1846 as being because the Codex was not kept in the library of the dean and chapter at this time, but in the Singing School, where Madden's informant had 'often seen it serve the purpose of a seat for the boys to sit on'.⁴

Whatever its precise location, it is probable that the Codex was within the cathedral precincts for most of the period between its use by Joscelyn in the mid sixteenth century and its appearance at an auction in Winchester in 1840 (see below). In spite of its omission from the major antiquarian works of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, it does seem to have been used, albeit in one instance at second

1. See below, Appendix 1, prefatory matter, sub Textual information.

2. WCL, Book of John Chase.

3. Respectively: Monasticon (1st edition, 1655-73); Spelman, Concilia (1639-64); Wharton, Anglia Sacra (1691), although this contains an edition of 39, its text was taken from London, Lambeth Palace, MS. 183, v. below, Appendix 1, 39; Madox, Formulare Anglicanum (1702); Wanley, Catalogus (1705); and Tanner, Notitia Monastica (ed. James Nasmyth, 1787).

4. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.159, pp. 6-7 (Madden's Journal, 5 January 1846). The Singing School was at that time in Cheyney Court (ex inf. Dr. D.J.Keene).

hand, by two different historians in the later part of the eighteenth century, at which time it was almost certainly at the cathedral. Five documents contained in the Codex (30, 50-2, 54) were mentioned by Robert Boyes in his 'History of Alresford', written in 1774.¹ Boyes's immediate source appears to have been transcripts supplied to him by the dean and chapter.² The transcript of 51, which Boyes had quoted in full in his 'History', was later acquired by Sir Frederick Madden, along with Boyes's other notes.³ A comparison of Madden's own transcript of the transcript of 51 previously owned by Boyes to the actual text of 51 in the Codex shows that Boyes had been supplied by the dean and chapter with a transcript made direct from the Codex, rather than with either a transcript of an existing transcript or a transcript from the (now-lost) exemplar of 51.⁴ At about the same time, the Codex itself ('Register of Charters - relating to the Church of Winchester') was seen by Thomas Astle, who made notes concerning

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1. The MS. of Boyes's 'History' is at present unlocated. An edition of it by A.J. Robertson was published privately in 1937, under the title A history of Alresford (republished, Laurence Oxley, Alresford 1978); in 1937, the MS. was said to be in the Winchester Public Library.
 2. According to Sir Frederick Madden, BL, Add. MS. 33285, fo. 3.
 3. Ibid., fos. 2-4^v. Cf. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.157, p.57 (Madden's Journal, 14 April 1844).
 4. Madden's transcript is BL, Add. MS. 33285, fo.2.

18 and 19 and also noted part of the content of the paste-downs.¹

At some time before 9 April 1839, the date of his death, the Codex appears to have been borrowed from the cathedral precincts for his own use by Thomas Watkins, then the canon librarian.² Watkins perhaps intended to add to his knowledge of the early history of the diocese, an interest in which he seems to have already possessed in 1827, when he was one of the subscribers to S.H. Cassan's Lives of the bishops of Winchester.³ Watkins's wife Eliza died on 8 September 1839 and, nine months later, on 15 June 1840, the contents of their

1. Astle (1735-1803) was keeper of the records at the Tower of London, and the former owner of twenty-one of the cartularies listed in Davis (q.v., p.167), amongst them the New Minster Liber Vitae (BL, Stowe MS. 944; Davis 1052). His notes on 18, 19 are now BL, Add. MS. 34712, fos. 172-3. For the paste-downs, v. above, Part A, section 1, b.
2. At his death, Watkins was librarian, sacrist, and precentor of the cathedral, and chaplain of Bishop Morley's College (for widows). He had been vicar of Minety, Wilts., since 1810; vicar of Collingbourne Kingston, Wilts., since 1833; and a minor canon of the cathedral since 1802. See memorials in N. transept of Winchester Cathedral; WCL, Chapter Book 1824-50, pp. 61, 163, 253-4; J. Foster, Alumni Oxonienses, The members of the University of Oxford 1715-1886 (4 vols; Oxford, 1888) iv, p. 1509.
3. The lives of the bishops of Winchester, from Birinus, the first bishop of the West Saxons, to the present time (2 vols., 1827) ii, p. xxi at rear. Cassan did not use the Codex or any Anglo-Saxon documents in this work.

house in High Street, Winchester, were auctioned by Mr. T. Gudgeon.¹ The Codex, 'lotted in the sale catalogue, and alluded to in some very unmeaning way, such as "an old MS.", was noticed by the bookseller John Gough Nichols at the sale-preview on the Saturday before the actual sale on the Monday.² Nichols rightly suspected that the Codex was included in the sale by mistake and managed to have it withdrawn and returned to the dean and chapter library, but not before he had made a transcript of the medieval table of contents at the front of the Codex.³ Nichols lent this transcript to Sir Frederick Madden, then keeper of the manuscripts in the British Museum, when Nichols visited him on 15 January 1842 to inform him of the existence of the Codex.⁴ Neither Nichols nor Madden realised at this time, however, that the medieval table of contents was incomplete, a fact of which Madden was informed on 18 October 1842, after the loan of the Codex to J.M. Kemble (see below).⁵

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1. Winchester City Library, Hampshire Chronicle, 9 September 1839; BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 382-3^v (letter, J.G. Nichols to Sir F. Madden, 27 [sic] November 1844).
 2. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, *ibid.*; cf. Bod, MS. Eng.hist. C. 157, pp. 335-6 (Madden's Journal, 26 [sic] November 1844).
 3. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, *ibid.* For the table of contents, v. above, Part A, section 1, d.
 4. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.155, pp. 7-8 (Madden's Journal). Nichols's transcript is now BL, Add. MS. 33285, fos. 327-9.
 5. Bod, MS. Eng.hist. C.155, p.293 (Madden's Journal).

J.M.Kemble, the editor of the Codex diplomaticus aevi Saxonici (KCD; 1839-48), was the first Old English scholar of modern times to use the Codex Wintoniensis, and was apparently the man who gave it that name, by analogy with his own published collection of Anglo-Saxon documents, which he was able to enlarge considerably with documents edited from the newly-discovered manuscript.¹ Kemble's first attempts to see and use the Codex were, however, thwarted by the cathedral clergy at Winchester. Having been informed about it by Madden on 11 March 1842, Kemble had approached the dean and chapter, both by letter and in person, in order to consult it, but was informed that no such manuscript existed.² It was not until 9 June 1842,

1. Cf. Goodman, Chartulary, p.xviii, 'the British Museum Add. MS. 15350, called by Kemble Codex Wintoniensis'. On 21 November 1844, Kemble referred to it as 'the Winton Chartulary' in a letter to Madden (BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 375-76). In the recognizance made in 1842 (v. p.422, n.3), it is termed the 'Chartulary of St Swithin'. The name Codex Wintoniensis had previously been used to refer to an alleged survey of England by King Alfred, v. W. Kennett, Parochial antiquities attempted in the history of Ambrosden, Burcester, and other adjacent parts in the counties of Oxford and Bucks. (new edition, Oxford, 1818) ii, Glossary, s.v. Domesday Book.

2. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.155 (Madden's Journal), pp. 41f (11 March 1842), 141-2 (9 June 1842), 154 (16 June 1842); BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fo. 387^{rv} (copy of letter, Madden to J.G. Nichols, 29 November, 1844).

when Madden confronted Canon William Vaux with Nichols's transcript of the table of contents (see above) that the existence of the Codex at Winchester Cathedral was conceded.¹ A search was made and the manuscript was found 'thrown into an open drawer', a circumstance which caused Madden to comment in his Journal, 'I wish to God there were an Act of Parliament to deprive these clerical people of the treasures they cannot read, and care not to preserve!',² and one which undoubtedly influenced Madden in his subsequent (successful) efforts to purchase the Codex for the British Museum (see below). Eventually, on the security of a sworn recognizance in one hundred pounds, and the guarantee of a member of the Council of the Historical Society, Kemble obtained a loan of the Codex on 16 July 1842, for a period up to 29 September following.³ This period of loan was subsequently extended to 25 March 1843, and was followed by another between April and December 1844.⁴

1. Bod. MS. Eng. hist. C.155, pp. 141-2.

2. *Ibid.*

3. WCL, Winchester Cathedral Chronicle 1800-1860, p.76; Chapter Book 1824-50, p.312. This loan also included two single-sheet documents (probably Sawyer 312(1), 649). The Winchester Cathedral ex libris mark on fo. 2 of the Codex probably belongs to this time, v. above, Part A, section 1, c.

4. WCL, Winchester Cathedral Chronicle 1800-1860, p.76, endorsement; Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.157, pp. 54-5, 67, 345 (Madden's Journal; 12, 17 April and 7 December 1844); BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 384-5 (letter, Canon Vaux to Madden, 27 November 1844).

It was during these periods of loan that Kemble accomplished most of the work needed for his edition of the documents from the Codex which he included in KCD.¹ Although this edition left much to be desired in accuracy and technique, it did at least make the existence of the Codex Wintoniensis and much of its contents generally known to scholars for the first time.²

The circumstances of the appearance of the Codex at auction in 1840, the initial difficulty experienced by Kemble in gaining access to it, and the casual way in which it was kept at Winchester Cathedral, combined to persuade Sir Frederick Madden that the Codex would be better preserved in public custody. This opinion was no doubt strengthened when Madden was informed (18 October 1842) of Kemble's discovery that the table of contents at the front of the Codex, of which Madden still had John Nichols's transcript (see above), was representative of less than half the manuscript's actual contents.³ Madden did not, however, actually inspect the manuscript himself until 12 April 1844, when

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1. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fo. 386^{rv} (copy of letter, Madden to J.G. Nichols, 29 November 1844). Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C. 157, p.345 (Madden's Journal, 7 December 1844) mentions that some of the documents to be printed from the Codex by Kemble were already in proof.
 2. On Kemble's methods of editing, cf. Stenton, LC, pp. 3-4.
 3. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C. 155, p.293.

Kemble, who had borrowed it for the second time from Winchester Cathedral, deposited it with him for five days.¹ Madden was considerably impressed by the importance of the Codex, but at that time did not expect any proposal for its cession to the British Museum to meet with success.² This did not prevent him from starting negotiations for its purchase however, and on 16 November 1844 he wrote to Canon Vaux for his help in persuading the chapter to offer the Codex to the Museum for two hundred pounds.³ Vaux took soundings from some of his fellow canons, who favoured the idea in principle but requested a valuation of the manuscript from an 'independent authority' such as Kemble.⁴ The latter agreed, on 21 November 1844, to Madden's request for his opinion of the manuscript, but proposed to limit this to a statement of its intrinsic worth as a collection of unique historical material, declining to place a monetary value upon it.⁵ Madden wrote to Vaux on 23 November 1844, explained Kemble's attitude, suggested that the manuscript might be given a monetary value by 'some respectable bookseller',

1. Ibid., C. 157, pp. 54-5, 57, 67.

2. Ibid., pp. 54-5; v. also below, section 2.

3. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C. 157, pp. 327-8.

4. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 371-2^v (letter, Vaux to Madden, 18 November 1844).

5. Ibid., fos 373-4 (copy of letter, Madden to Kemble), 375-6^v (letter, Kemble to Madden). Cf. below, section 2.

and added his own opinion that the sum of two hundred pounds was a liberal offer, being double the amount that any cartulary had ever been sold for up to that time.¹ In the same letter, Madden hinted tactfully to Vaux in what manner he should persuade the full chapter of the cathedral to agree to the sale, 'not... quite as a matter of business, but ... an arrangement on public grounds, by which a MS. of 'great' literary interest is transferred from one Body to another'. Madden's advice appears to have been heeded by Vaux, for on 27 November 1844 Vaux was able to report to Madden that the dean and chapter had agreed to cede the Codex to the British Museum for the sum of two hundred pounds (to be spent on books for the improvement of the cathedral library), in order that it might be 'deposited in a Collection, where it would be both better known to exist, and be more accessible than in the Cathedral Library'.² On December 7 1844, the Codex was deposited once more at the British Museum by Kemble, in order that Madden might prepare his recommendation to the Trustees for its purchase, and so that the Trustees might themselves inspect it.³

1. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 378^v-9 (copy).

2. Ibid., fos. 384-5. The decision to sell the Codex is not recorded in WCL, Chapter Book 1824-50.

3. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C. 157, p.345 . Cf. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 373-4 (copy of letter, Madden to Kemble, 19 November 1844), 375-76^v (letter, Kemble to Madden, 21 November 1844).

Although Madden anticipated objections to be put up by the Trustees to the purchase of the Codex, these did not materialise, or were won over, and on 21 December 1844 they agreed to its purchase for the sum of two hundred pounds.¹ The purchase of the Codex by the British Museum made it freely accessible for scholarly use for the first time in its long history. Since 1844, besides the publication of the text of many of its constituent pre-conquest documents by Kemble in KCD (-1848), most of which were probably transcribed while the Codex was on loan to him immediately before its purchase, other editions of almost all of its constituent documents have appeared, more accurate than those in KCD. Walter de Gray Birch re-edited most of the documents published by Kemble, but only those prior to the year 975 (BCS; 1885-93). Birch's editions were far superior to those of Kemble, but still included some errors of transcription and deliberate normalisations of spelling.² In so far as twentieth-century standards of editing are concerned, the Latin diplomas in the Codex still await their editor, but most of the vernacular documents have now been edited, to a very high standard, by Dr. Harmer, Professor Whitelock, and

1. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, *ibid.*; Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C. 157, pp. 332, 353.

2. Thus, in Latin texts, BCS substituted æ for g, v for u, j for (consonantal) i, and præ- for pre-.

Miss Robertson.¹ Naturally, given their terms of reference, all of these editions have been more concerned with an interpretation of each of the individual cartulary texts in terms of their representation of a particular lost exemplar, rather than primarily as samples of the work of various identifiable cartulary scribes. The Codex cannot thus be said to have yet ^{to have} been edited, or even adequately/been calendared, as a cartulary, although the majority of its individual texts have appeared in print as parts of collections of particular categories of document.

1. Harmer, EHD (1914): editions of 23, 123ab, 172. Harmer, ASWrits (1952): editions of 14, 15, 19, 61; also of BL, Stowe MS. 944, fo. 40, a MS. associated with 232. Whitelock, ASWills (1930): editions of 106, 122, 185, 187; also of BL, Stowe Chart. 37, a single-sheet associated with 93 and 102. Robertson, ASCharters (1939): editions of 22, 25, 28, 58, 92, 111b, 121, 126ab, 142a, 148ab, 150-2, 162, 184, 186, 194; also of ^{probable} Edinburgh University Library, Laing Chart. 18 (the exemplar of 169).

Section 2

The Reputation of the Codex Wintoniensis

Assessments of the Codex as a historical source have varied since its re-discovery in 1840 (see above, section 1), reflecting more general trends in the criticism of Anglo-Saxon documents over the same period. The fairly liberal and unscientific approach to diplomatic criticism of the mid nineteenth century was replaced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries with a much more rigid one, based very much on the search for historical anachronism within the documents concerned. In more recent years, a more balanced critical method has been developed, helped by considerable advances in the study of palaeographical and linguistic criteria.¹

As might be expected, the earliest assessments of the Codex stressed its value as a collection of documents, many of them previously unknown. Sir Frederick Madden's personal view, recorded in his Journal for 12 April 1844, the day on which he first saw the Codex, shows the impression which it made upon him:

1. See Stenton, LC, pp. 1-30; N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon charters: the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3(1974), pp. 211-31.

'This is, without exception, the finest and most remarkable monument of its kind I have ever seen, and the A. Saxon cartularies of Wilton in the Museum and Sherborne in the hands of Sir T. Phillipps, appear quite insignificant in comparison with it... this extraordinary volume...

Taking it altogether, this volume is the most valuable I have ever set eyes on, of the class to which it belongs, and poor as I am, I would willingly give £200 for it.'¹

As Madden explained on 23 November 1844 to Canon Vaux (of Winchester Cathedral), two hundred pounds was twice the amount that any cartulary had hitherto been sold for;² this was, however, the sum eventually agreed for its purchase by the British Museum, and Madden privately put its monetary value as high as three hundred pounds when writing in his Journal on 26 November 1844.³ J.M. Kemble, in his letter to Madden of 21 November, declined to put any price upon the Codex, but freely gave the following assessment:

1. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C. 157, pp. 54-5. The Wilton cartulary is BL, Harl. MS. 436, and the Sherborne one BL, Add. MS. 46487. On Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792-1872), v. A.N.L. Munby, Phillipps Studies (5 vols., 1951-60; re-issued in 2 vols., 1971).

2. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 378^v-9 (copy of letter).

3. Bod, MS. Eng. hist. C.157, pp.335-6.

'As to the intrinsic value of the Chartulary, I have no hesitation at all. The very excellent condition in which it is, the great extent of its contents, and the obvious genuineness of the great mass of them, render it as valuable as any that I have ever seen. It is plain that a very large proportion indeed of the documents contained in it are true copies of originals now lost: and from some of them (original covenants between the Bishops, Abbats and powerful tenants) we derive information which I do not think exists in any other collection. On the whole it may be pronounced to be one of the very finest and most valuable chartularies you have in this country, and one that the Museum ought to possess at any rate... from what I have said you will perceive that I prize this volume very highly ...' ¹

John Earle, writing in 1888, described the Codex as the 'chief monument' produced by 'an Anglosaxon [sic] Renaissance at the close of the twelfth century.' ² He was correct in stressing the importance of the manuscript (particularly Cod.Wint. I and II) to the study of written English in the twelfth century, although wrong both in his blanket dating of the Codex to 'the latter end of the 12th century', and in seeing the linguistic characteristics of its twelfth-century scribes (a-h) as reflecting an antiquarian revival of Old English spellings, rather than as genuine examples of the early Middle English used at Winchester.

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1. BL, Egerton MS. 2843, fos. 375-6^v.
 2. A handbook to the land-charters and other Saxonie documents (Oxford, 1888), pp. cix, 348.
 3. Ibid., p. 348, See above, Part B, section 4,b; Part C, section 2.

Walter de Gray Birch, in 1892, echoed the favourable assessments of the Codex by Madden and Kemble, in calling it ' a manuscript of the highest literary value, towards the correct understanding of the early history of Hampshire.'¹

A considerably less favourable view of the Codex was taken by William Stubbs in 1871, who condemned it as a cartulary 'of the lowest possible character.'² Although Stubbs did not justify this judgement in detail, referring only to the number of individual documents from the Codex which Kemble had marked in KCD as spurious or questionable,³ it was a judgement which was adopted, seemingly without question, by the most distinguished of the succeeding generation of historians.

F.W. Maitland quoted it in 1897, and W.H. Stevenson paralleled it in 1898 ('a highly suspicious source').⁴ F.M. (later Sir Frank) Stenton called the cartulary 'the fraudulent Codex Wintoniensis' in 1910 and described it as one ' of ill repute' in 1913, but later

1. LVH, p.xii.

2. In A.W. Haddan and W. Stubbs (edd.), Councils and ecclesiastical documents relating to Great Britain and Ireland (3 vols., Oxford, 1869-78) iii, p.638.

3. Ibid., p. 639n.

4. Respectively: Domesday Book and beyond (Cambridge, 1897), pp.330, 331 n.1; and 'The date of King Alfred's death', E.H.R. 13 (1898), p.73.

moderated his view.¹ Stubb's defamation of the Codex, endorsed by his immediate successors, carried such weight that, as recently as 1961, the Codex was termed 'the wholly disreputable Codex Wintoniensis' in a work on the Anglo-Saxon charters of Somerset.² These were all, however, far too rigid descriptions of the Codex, not being based on a full examination of the manuscript itself, and damning the whole content of the cartulary because of its inclusion of a (limited) number of forgeries.

The ground for a more balanced view of the Codex was only slowly regained, through a consideration of individual vernacular documents in their particular palaeographical and linguistic context within the cartulary. This consideration showed that the Codex did contain some copies of what could only have been authentic exemplars, but whose texts in the cartulary showed the respective editorial influence of a number of different scribes. As long ago as 1892, Birch noted that 23 was a later addition to the manuscript.³ An attempt in 1902 to analyse the

1. Types of manorial structure in the northern Danelaw (Oxford, 1910), p.79n; The early history of the abbey of Abingdon (Reading, 1913), p.13 and n.7; cf. below.

2. E.E. Barker, 'Somersetshire charters to A.D. 900', London M.A. thesis, 1961, p.66.

3. LVH, p.155.

vernacular of the twelfth-century parts of the cartulary (that is, Cod.Wint. I and II) failed, however, because of an inadequate palaeographical division, and because the actual text of the documents studied was taken from KCD and BCS rather than from the manuscript itself.¹

It was only when the texts of two categories of vernacular documents in the Codex were studied thoroughly and seen in their cartulary context that an idea of the complexity of the problems involved in the criticism of the Codex became clearer. In 1939, Miss Robertson noted the recurrence of some copying errors in the texts of 121, 148, 184, and 200 (all in Cod.Wint. I) which she edited.² In 1952, Dr. Harmer, who in 1914 had noted the comment made by Birch in 1892 on 23,³ drew attention to the fact that the three writs which she edited from the Codex (14, 19, 61) were in 'different hands of the twelfth century', while her discussion of the language of 232 gave a short but valuable explanation of the linguistic changes effected in the Codex by its copyist (scribe g).⁴

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1. R.A. Williams, 'Die vokale der tonsilben im Codex Wintoniensis', Anglia 25 (1902), pp. 392-517, based on a (cursory) palaeographical examination by F.G. Kenyon of the British Museum (*ibid.*, p. 397).
 2. Robertson, ASCharters, pp. xxiv, 276, 287, 289, 306. She also suggested (*ibid.*, p.338) that Elfheah dux in 48, 84, 134, 193 is in error for Elfheah minister, and that two other witnesses designated as duces in 134 were in fact ministri.
 3. Harmer, EHD, p.27.
 4. Harmer, ASWrits, pp. 373, 393. Cf. above, Part C, section 2, scribe g.

The effect of the justification of oddities in some of the vernacular texts in the Codex made a re-assessment of its Latin documents inevitable, although this was at first admitted only rather grudgingly. Stenton, writing in 1955, although drawing attention to 165, the grant of Patney, Wilts., to himself by King Eadgar, as a Codex document which he thought very unlikely to be a forgery since it did not directly benefit anyone but the said king, also included Winchester Cathedral in a list of 'centres of proved fabrication'.¹ Professor Whitelock, in the same year, while admitting that the Codex contained 'exact versions of some original charters', described it as a 'less reliable source' than 'cartularies of good repute like the Textus Roffensis or Hemming's cartulary'.² It must be added, however, that the same writer gave a valuable stimulus to closer study of the Latin documents in the Codex in 1958, when she observed, with regard to Anglo-Saxon diplomas in general, that 'much is to be gained... from a study of them cartulary by cartulary.'³ This invitation to re-examine the contents of cartularies such as the Codex was noted by H.P.R. Finberg in 1961, and partially accepted by him in 1964 in his discussion of some of its most controversial documents.⁴ Finberg

1. Stenton LC, pp. 21-2, 11.

2. Whitelock, EHD, p.338. The Textus Roffensis is Rochester, Dean and Chapter Library, MS. A.3.5; and Hemming's Cartulary is BL, Cotton MS. Tib. A. xiii., fos. 119-200.

3. 'Changing currents in Anglo-Saxon studies', (Inaugural lecture, Cambridge, 1958), p.25.

4. Finberg, ECWM, pp. 20-2; id., ECW, pp. 16-18, 214-48; id., Lucerna, pp. 131-43.

reached a much more favourable conclusion as to the general character of the Codex than had been held since the end of the nineteenth century and stated:

'The Codex gives us the text of one hundred and ninety charters and other documents, many of which survive in no other copy. Some are of doubtful authenticity; others have been condemned outright, not always justly...; but others again - and they can be numbered in scores - have never been called in question.¹

More recently, C.R. Hart has described the arrangement of texts in the Codex and attempted to relate its inclusion of alien documents to the existence at Winchester of a royal Anglo-Saxon registry of title.² However, this suggestion as to the archival provenance of the cartulary's sources is not tenable, as^{is} explained above,³ and the article in which it is contained was based neither on a palaeographical examination of the manuscript nor on a full list of its contents.⁴

1. Lucerna, p.137.

2. Hart, Codex, passim.

3. Part B, section 3, a(ii). See also N. Brooks, 'Anglo-Saxon charters: the work of the last twenty years', Anglo-Saxon England 3(1974), pp. 227-8.

4. The list of contents given as Appendix II to Hart, Codex omits 1-13, 63, 211, 213-14, 237, 242-7; of these, 63, 211, and 213-14 are pre-conquest documents.

Criticism of the Codex as a source for pre-conquest texts came full circle with Finberg's assessment of it in 1964, which was remarkably similar to that given by Kemble in 1844 (see above). Both stressed the inclusion in the cartulary of copies of many obviously-genuine documents, and its importance as a collection of much unique historical material. Neither of them, however, nor any of its critics to date based their views on either a thorough palaeographical analysis of the manuscript or a collation of its texts to all the surviving exemplars. While the Kemble-Finberg opinion of the Codex was, by its moderation, much more attractive than that propounded by Stubbs and his successors, work on the Codex as a historical manuscript in its own right, and not merely as a quarry for individual texts, was little further forward in 1964 than in 1844. Only a detailed study of the manuscript, its background, make-up, and sources, of the sort attempted in the present thesis, could move forward the argument concerning its reliability and provide new evidence by which to judge the Codex as a vehicle for the transmission of historical texts.

CONCLUSION

THE RELIABILITY AND CHARACTER OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS

Any assessment of the Codex Wintoniensis as a historical source must take into account both its inherent nature as a cartulary and the character of its exemplars. The detailed palaeographical investigation of the Codex undertaken in the present thesis has shown it to be a composite manuscript whose text was written over the course of three centuries by a succession of scribes (a-h, l-s),¹ while a consideration of the surviving exemplars and of their provenance has demonstrated the number and variety of sources behind the cartulary.

The terms on which the reliability of the Codex as a historical source is capable of being expressed are limited by its status as a copy, or series of copies, rather than as an original diplomatic instrument. Its integrity may only be criticised in relation to discernible changes (if any) made during the transcription of matter into the cartulary. Its scribes should not be held responsible for any existing errors or fabrications contained in its exemplars, unless it can be shown that those exemplars were drafted specifically for inclusion

1. Scribes i, j wrote the seventh or eighth-century paste-downs (v. above, Part A, section 1,b) and scribe k wrote the thirteenth-century table of contents (ibid., section 1,d).

in the Codex, which does not appear to be the case.¹ Because each of its many separate and varied exemplars had its own diplomatic origin, the diplomatic of the Codex cannot be judged as a single entity. Any general condemnation of the cartulary because it happens to contain copies of a number of forged documents is not therefore admissible, and designations such as 'the fraudulent Codex Wintoniensis'² are both inapplicable and meaningless.

The textual reliability of the Codex must be assessed in relation to the respective editorial principles and practices of the individual scribes who wrote its contents. The cartulary should be seen and criticised as a succession of separate transcriptions rather than as a single one, each of the successive transcriptions being the work of a particular scribe with his own skills, motives, and linguistic background governing the accuracy with which his transcription reflected the exemplar(s) before him. That accuracy may be judged under three headings - palaeographical error, linguistic change, and textual change - but the amount which is possible to be said about each scribe is limited by the number (if any) of exemplars which have survived for collation to their respective cartulary-texts, and the amount of discernible error in the cartulary-texts whose exemplars have not survived. Within these limitations, an assessment of the reliability of each of the text-scribes (a-h, l-s) has been made in

1. For the surviving exemplars, v. below, Appendix 2.

2. F.M. Stenton, Types of manorial structure in the northern Danelaw (Oxford, 1910), p.79n; see above, Part E, section 2.

the present thesis. In general, it may be said that the incidence of what may be termed subconscious changes¹ on the part of these cartulary-scribes has been found to be far greater than that of any conscious attempts to misrepresent the contents of the exemplars. Most of the discernible differences between the exemplars and the cartulary were caused by an unfamiliarity on the part of the cartulary-scribes with archaisms of grammar, vocabulary, and orthography used in the exemplars. There were also some mechanical errors of the sort one might expect from any copyist. The only deliberate misrepresentation of the contents of exemplars which can be proven to have occurred in the Codex - the alteration of the designation of the beneficiaries in the rubrics to documents in Quire X of Cod.Wint.I, to make it appear that they had a connection with the church of Winchester - was rather amateurish and probably effected by scribe a when scribe b, who appears to have been in a supervisory position to scribe a, was temporarily otherwise engaged.² To counterbalance this, one should note the actions of scribe e in Cod.Wint.II and scribe p in Cod.Wint.III who scrupulously left gaps in their copy to represent places where their exemplars were damaged; in the case of scribe e at least, he could have filled the gaps he left by referring to another part of his exemplar, but did not do so.³ Moreover, because scribe p, although writing in the Codex in the fourteenth century, attempted to produce a facsimile copy of his

1. For this term, v. above, Part B, section 4,b(iii).

2. See *ibid.*

3. See above, Part C, section 2, scribe e,(iii); Part D, section 2, scribe p, (iii).

exemplars, his copies are more accurate representations of the exemplars than are those of scribe a, a twelfth-century scribe, who was editing the exemplars to a twelfth-century standard.¹ Here, as elsewhere in the Codex, the actions of one scribe should not be used to impugn those of others who wrote in the same manuscript on a different occasion, sometimes separated by two hundred years or more.

While an investigation of the diplomatic authenticity of the various sources of the Codex is outside the scope of the present thesis, it is hoped that such an investigation will be helped by the discussions of their archival and diplomatic provenance which have been included. The diversity of both sorts of provenance in relation to the exemplars of the Codex makes it unwise to describe a pre-conquest diploma as a 'Winchester cathedral charter' simply because it happened to be preserved at Winchester Cathedral at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period: one must define whether it was a document drafted and written at Winchester Cathedral, or one merely preserved there as part of someone's archive. In the case of the latter sort, it would be most unfair to condemn a document as a forgery merely because of its archival association with a church whose members undoubtedly engaged in forging their own title-deeds,² but through whose agency a significant proportion of surviving genuine pre-conquest documents have been preserved.

1. See above, Part D, *ibid.*; and Part B, section 4, b(i-iii).

2. See below, Appendix 1, 40, 51, 56, 197, 236, etc.
Cf. Finberg, ECW, chap. 7.

Every document which has been so preserved must be assessed on its own personal merits. Even documents drafted and written at Winchester Cathedral cannot be condemned without a full trial, and most of those drafted and written there on behalf of alien beneficiaries will almost certainly be found to be genuine. Surviving single-sheets may be judged by reference to the palaeography and formulae of contemporary documents. Any diplomatic criticism of individual records which have survived only as cartulary-texts ought, however, to be preceded by an investigation of the habits and general reliability of their particular cartulary-scribe, in order to fully appreciate any palaeographical, linguistic, or textual oddities which may be due to him and thus unlikely to have been present in the (lost) exemplars. Such cartulary-content is obscured by the usual arrangement found in printed editions which draw on many different manuscripts and arrange their contents in one chronological series. A tendency to ignore such contextual considerations when using the text of documents directly from a printed edition, such as BCS or KCD, has had a deleterious effect on the quality of criticism of individual documents in cartularies such as the Codex. The need to assess all documents which survive only as cartulary-texts against the background of the physical make-up and scribal history of the cartulary concerned is extremely important: external criticism may prove as significant with regard to such texts as it is in relation to single-sheet documents.

Whatever its value as a source for individual diplomatic texts, the importance of the Codex as a historical

entity is absolute. Its personal history spans eight centuries and has been influenced by many fashions and motives. Its major part, Cod.Wint.I (1129 X 1139), constitutes an artistic and editorial achievement of a high order, and incidentally provides very rare material about the English language current in twelfth-century Winchester.¹ The compilation of Cod.Wint.I, intended as a convenient edition of the many-varied and separate documents of title to the whole Anglo-Saxon endowment of the cathedral, was very probably put in hand by Bishop Henry of Blois (1129-71); it accords well with what is known of both his general interest in administration and his actions at Glastonbury Abbey and St. Martin's le Grand in placing the respective endowments of his various benefices on a secure and ordered footing.² It is possible that Cod.Wint.I was intended to be the base for a royal confirmation of the ancient endowment of Winchester Cathedral and was to have had a symbolic function in a ceremony granting such a confirmation; this is implied by the lavishness of its palaeographical features, a lavishness normally associated with liturgical books rather than with documents, unless of a special and commemorative sort.³ A royal confirmation of the type suggested would have been closely in keeping with the spirit of the Oxford Charter, granted by King Stephen to the church in England in 1136, which promised the restitution of ecclesiastical endowments.⁴

1. See above, Part B, section 4, b (ii).

2. Ibid., section 5.

3. Cf., for example, the New Minster refoundation charter (A.D. 966), written throughout in gold and with a whole-page miniature, BL, Cotton MS. Vesp. A. viii, fos. 2-33^v.

4. Regesta iii, 271; v. above, Part B, section 5.

Bishop Henry's quarrel with King Stephen in 1139 probably explains both why a general royal confirmation of the cathedral endowment was never made by King Stephen and why Cod.Wint.I was left incomplete.¹ The additions made to the cartulary in the twelfth, thirteenth and fourteenth centuries (Cod.Wint.II and III) appear to have been made for the convenience of administrators at the cathedral, rather than for any public affirmation of ancient title. The additions made at these times both ensured the preservation of individual documents, by associating them with an existing corpus of material, and supplemented that corpus with documents earlier omitted either through lack of time or through oversight.

The compilation, use, and later criticism of the Codex all reflect a recurrent interest in the Anglo-Saxon past. From the twelfth century to the Henrician Reformation, this interest was pursued by ecclesiastics who hoped to revive or justify the tenures and privileges of their respective churches by reference to Anglo-Saxon precedents. In the immediate post-Reformation period and the early seventeenth century, such precedents were sought by politicians for the justification of ecclesiastical dogma and of secular privileges.² From the later seventeenth century to the early part of the nineteenth, interest in the Anglo-Saxon past was of a more academic nature and lacked the pragmatism of the preceding periods.³ From the middle of the nineteenth

1. For its incompleteness, v. above, pp. 105-11.

2. See E.A. Adams, Old English scholarship in England from 1566-1800 (Yale Studies in English 55, 1917; reprinted, Archon Books, U.S.A. 1970), chap. 1.

3. Ibid., chaps. 2, 3.

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century to the present, there has been a gradual development of a more scientific approach to the history of the Anglo-Saxon period, helped in particular by advances in palaeographical and linguistic studies. Against this background, it is hoped that the present thesis has been able to demonstrate that scholarly and objective use of the Codex Wintoniensis as a medium for the transmission of many otherwise-unknown texts from the Anglo-Saxon period depends very much on an appreciation of the diverse palaeographical and linguistic features of both the Codex and its sources, aspects of its history which have hitherto been insufficiently studied.

Alexander Richard Rubble, 'THE STRUCTURE AND RELIABILITY OF THE CODEX WINTONIENSIS (BRITISH MUSEUM, ADDITIONAL MS 15350; THE CARTULARY OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL PRIORY)'.
CORRIGENDA TO VOLUME ONE

p.10, l.10 up: for particulr read particular

p.56, l.13: for duct read duct⁵

" , insert n.5: 5. For this term, v. below, p.394, n.2.

p.70, n.1, l.2: delete point after Bod

p.76, l.3: for Plate VII read Plate VIII

p.93, l.14: for food rents read food-rents

p.108, n.1, l.1: insert comma after Burghfield

p.115, l.12: insert bracket before 133-4

p.118, n.1, l.7: insert inverted comma after xiii

p.123, n.2, l.6: for records read documents

p.140, l.9: for lessor read lessee

p.148, l.5: insert point after et

" , l.13: for ~~et~~ read et

p.150, l.19: for d'Ewes read D'Ewes

p.153, l.15: for records of read documents recording

p.206, l.29 } : for Tichbourne read Tichborne

p.211, l.14 }

p.264, n.5: delete bracket after sedi

p.267, l.22: for compatable read compatible

p.297, l.7: for atitude read attitude

p.349, l.9: for Plate XVI read Plate XVII

p.377, last line: for fourteenth-century read thirteenth-century

p.394, n.4, l.2: for scribe p read scribe q

p.413, l.9: underline 240

p.430, last line: for Winchester read Winchester³

p.432, l.1: for Stubb's read Stubbs's

