St. Osmund of Salisbury

Michael A. Benton

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ST. OSMUND OF SALISBURY

by

Michael A. Benton

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Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
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Michael A. Benton
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CHAPTER I

THE PREMISE

St. Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury (1078-1099), played a significant role in the post-Conquest English Church. An appointee of William I, Osmund has been given little scholarly attention and, to date, there exists no adequate biography. What information on Osmund is available is often erroneous. The purpose of this thesis is to review the historical record, refute the errors, and write an accurate account of the life and career of St. Osmund.

The English Church underwent a remarkable change as a consequence of the Norman Conquest. The near total replacement of the native Anglo-Saxon prelates by Norman and northern European churchmen led to a period of great ecclesiastical reform. In the course of a single generation the ancient, conservative, and uniquely English Church had been forced to submit to continental customs and characteristics. In the midst of this reform movement was Osmund. He, like most of his fellow prelates, appears to have been sincerely dedicated to ecclesiastical and pastoral duties. However, as bishop he frequently served the king in certain civil pursuits. Yet unlike the bishops of Normandy prior to the Conquest,¹ his episcopacy was not a mere monetary reward for royal service or a source of revenue for continued military service. Rather, Osmund and his fellow bishops were far more spiritually oriented than the bishops of Normandy who lived in the fifty years preceding the conquest and who

¹
often served in the military of the Norman dukes. A long tradition attributes to Osmund the institution of a secular cathedral system at Old Sarum (Salisbury), the completion of a new cathedral for his diocese, and the compilation of a Consuetudinary, Customary, Missal, Ordinal—all service books for the cathedral. He is further believed to have written a saint's life, founded schools at Old Sarum, established the cathedral library, worked on the Domesday Survey, and served in other civil pursuits at the king's direction. In all, Osmund seems to have amassed a formidable list of accomplishments.

While Osmund was not as important as his magnificent contemporaries Lanfranc and Anselm, the life and career of this English churchman have been unjustly minimized. The following work is an attempt to correct that injustice.
A Chronological Outline

Birth- Osmund's date of birth is unknown but it seems to have occurred before 1055 as he is serving as a chaplain by 1070. (See endnote 25.)

Origin- The oldest available sources, which are not contemporary, point generally to Osmund being of Norman origin. (See endnotes 8 and 9.)

1066- Although some sources claim Osmund accompanied William to England there is no contemporary record that proves Osmund arrived in 1066 with William. (See endnotes 8 and 9.)

(1070-72) Osmund serves as a chaplain at the court of William the Conqueror. (See endnote 25.)

(1070-73) Osmund is appointed chancellor to William. (See endnote 32.)

27 June 1070 Osmund, as chancellor, witnesses a charter at Westminster (Charter 34) whereby the king grants rights to Westminster Abbey. The charter is spurious.

30 March 1073 Osmund, as chancellor, is at Bonneville sur Touques in Normandy to witness the confirmation charter (Charter 68) of the Abbey of St. Vincent, at LeMans.

1072-78 In a spurious charter (Charter 112) the chancellor, Osmund, is listed as a witness. The charter purports to grant land to Fecamp Abbey.

1074-78 Osmund, as chancellor, witnesses a charter (Charter 114) addressed to the Bishop of LeMans whereby the king grants land rights to the canons of St. Julian of Tours.

All dates in parentheses are subject to dispute and are discussed in the text.

All references to charters by numbers are taken from the Regesta Regnum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154, volume I, edited by H.W.C. Davis see the endnotes for full citation.

All underlined dates are ones which H.W.C. Davis determined to be ambiguous.
1078 Osmund becomes Bishop of Salisbury. (See endnote 44.)

3 June 1078 Osmund is present at the translation of St. Aldhelm's relics at Malmesbury Abbey. (See endnote 62.)

1078 Osmund dedicates a chapel at Whistley, Diocese of Salisbury. (See endnote 66.)

1078-83 Osmund is the sole witness to a precept by Queen Matilda given to Ansfrid the Dapifer (Charter 189) at Westminster. Ansfrid is ordered to return a ship and goods seized from the Abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury.

1078-83 Osmund is the sole witness to a precept by William, the king's son, given at Westminster to William, Sheriff of Kent, granting land rights to the Abbot of St. Augustine's Canterbury. (Charter 191)

1078-83 Osmund receives notice (Charter 194) that the king has granted the church of Winterbottom in Wiltshire to St. Peter's of Jumièges.

1078-84 Osmund receives notice from the king of land rights given to the Abbot of Abbotsbury in Dorset. (Charter 203)

1078-87 Osmund receives notice from William I that land has been granted to William Escudet, the king's cook, in Wiltshire. (Charter 270)

1078-99 Osmund receives notice (Charter 427) of rights granted by the king to the church of St. Peter at Westminster. The charter was given at Cricklade.

14 July 1080 Osmund witnesses the foundation charter (Charter 125) of the Abbey of Lessay, given at Caen, Normandy.

2 Jan. 1081 Osmund is a witness at Westminster to a spurious charter (Charter 144) reaffirming privileges of Westminster Abbey concerning merchants lodging on abbey lands.

Feb. 1081 Osmund is listed as a witness to a grant of land by Queen Matilda to Abbot Warin of Malmesbury, given at London. (Charter 135)
1082 Osmund witnesses a grant of land by the king to the church of St. Calais in Lindsey, Wiltshire, for his soul and for the souls of his (the king's relatives). Given at Downton in Wiltshire. (Charter 147)

1085-86 Osmund suspends the chapel at Whistley which he had dedicated in 1078. (See endnote 66.)

1078-86 Osmund witnesses a charter given at York (Charter 228) wherein the king grants land rights to Archbishop Thomas of York involving churches in his diocese.

1080-86 Osmund witnesses a charter (Charter 232) by which the king grants lands in Norfolk to the monastery of St. Pancras at Lewes.

Dec. 1085 Domesday Survey ordered by William I at Christmas Court held at Gloucester; Osmund is believed by some to have taken part in the survey. (See endnote 76.)

Aug. 1086 The Oath of Salisbury is taken whereby William I receives homage from all his vassals. (See endnote 77.)

9 Sept. 1087 William I dies. William II Rufus succeeds as king.

1087 Osmund receives notice (Charter 290) that William II has granted land at Bromham, Diocese of Salisbury, to Battle Abbey.

1088 Osmund is a witness to a grant of land (Charter 301) to the church of St. Andrew of Rochester in Berkshire.

1089 Osmund installs thirty-six canons in the Church of Salisbury.²

27 Jan. 1091 Osmund, at Dover, witnesses William II's grant of the Abbey of Bath to John, Bishop of Bath. (Charter 315)

1091 William II, at Hastings, confirms the foundation charter of Osmund by which the later had installed thirty-six canons in the Church of Salisbury. (Charter 319)

1089-Jan. 1091 William II notifies Osmund (Charter 326) that John, Bishop of Bath, will possess the city of Bath and all rights pertaining to it.
5 April 1092  Osmund dedicates the new cathedral at Sarum. (See endnote 52.)

May 1092  Osmund, at Lincoln, witnesses the installation of canons in the Church of Lincoln. Further, Osmund witnesses the king's confirmation of donors to the Church of Lincoln. (Charter 328)


Jan.–Feb. 1094  William II, at Hastings, notifies Osmund (Charter 347) that Abbot Godfrey of Malmesbury has custody of the king's woods at Malmesbury.

11 Feb. 1094  Osmund attends the dedication of Battle Abbey. (See endnote 74.)

1094  Osmund receives a letter from Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, wherein the archbishop requests Osmund's prayers for the king's safe travel abroad. (See endnote 100.)

11 March. 1095  Osmund attends the Council of Rockingham.

1095  Osmund receives two letters from Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury; one concerning abuses at Cerne Abbey, the other requesting that Osmund compel the wayward daughter of the Scottish king to return to her convent. (See endnote 102.)

1093–97  Osmund witnesses a charter (Charter 398) whereby the king grants lands and churches in London to the monks of LaCharite.

Jan. 1097  Osmund hears the confession of William of Alderi, steward of William of Eu, prior to his execution at Sarum for treason. (See endnote 94.)

1098  Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester dies and Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, recommends Osmund to Abbess Matilda of Winchester to be her spiritual overlord and protector. (See endnote 99.)

1087–99  Osmund, in York, witnesses a grant of churches in York by the king (William II) to Serlo, Prior of Whitby. (Charter 421)
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Date</th>
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<tr>
<td>3 Dec. 1099</td>
<td>Osmund dies at Old Sarum. (See endnote 110.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1228</td>
<td>The first attempt to canonize Osmund fails. Attempts in 1387, 1406, and 1417, likewise ended in failure. (See endnote 6.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1 Jan. 1457</td>
<td>Osmund is canonized. (See endnote 9.)</td>
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About the Sources

In undertaking this study of Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, I brought together a wealth of sources both ancient and modern. Listed below are the essential works which contributed to this thesis with a brief description of their relevant merit. The following sources fall into two basic groups, primary and secondary. The first lists sources contemporary with Osmund and up to the time of his canonization in the fifteenth-century. The secondary sources include those dating from 1500 to the present.

Group I
Sources contemporary with Osmund and to his canonization


Willelmi Malmesbriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, ed. N.E.S.A. Hamilton, (London: Rolls Series, 1870). This work gives brief citations of Osmund's activities as bishop and provides a description of his personal character and attributes.

William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, (London: Kraus Reprint Ltd., 1964). Here is found a half page of information on Goscelin of St. Bertin, the only recorded antagonist Osmund had. In Book IV, page 521, an account of Goscelin's musical abilities is given. Also recorded in this work are accounts of Osmund's presence at the
execution of William of Alderi and his attendance at the dedication of the new cathedral at Sarum.


Eadmer, History of Recent Events in England, ed. and trans. G. Bosanquet, London: Cresset Press, 1964. This work is the source for Osmund's role at the Council of Rockingham, his denial of obedience, and his final acquiescence to the archbishop, Anselm. The entire episode is covered in about six pages.


Regesta Regnum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154, ed. H.W.C. Davis, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), Vol. I. This volume contains many charters listing Osmund as a witness, both as chancellor and as bishop. There are also several addressed to him by the king. These charters aid in tracing Osmund's career chronologically as well as giving valuable information regarding his dealings, associates and travels.

S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, ed. F. S. Schmitt, (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1949), Vol. IV. Found in this work are the letters by Anselm written either to Osmund or about him. They all involve pastoral concerns and together total roughly four to five pages.

Many contemporary chronicles mention Osmund very briefly, in three lines or less, and they largely duplicate one another. The most useful chronicles are those mentioned above, namely, Eadmer and William of Malmesbury. The others are as follows: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, ed. Dorothy Whitelock, (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1952), Symeon of Durham, Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. T. Arnold, (London: Rolls Series, 1882), The Chronicle of Holyrood, ed. Marjorie Ogilvie Anderson, (Edinburgh: T. & A. Constable Ltd., 1938), and the Anglia Sacra Pars Prima: Chronicon Santae Crucis Edinburgensis, (London: Richard Chiswell, 1691). The most frequent entries concern Osmund's elevation to the episcopacy in 1078, his dedication of the new Sarum Cathedral in 1092, and his death in 1099. The chronicler, Orderic Vitalis also mentioned Osmund in his work but only in reference to his death.

Osmund's vast holdings are recorded in the Domesday Book under the following counties: Dorset, Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Lincoln and Cheshire. The Victoria History of the

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One final source, nearly contemporary with Osmund, pertains to Osmund's property, this in regard to chattels. The "Tenor scripture ornamentorum et Localium que Osmundus predictus dedit ecclesie sue Sarum," dates from the eleventh-century and is part of the work, Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, ed. C.H.R. Wordsworth, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901).

Excluding Domesday Book and charters, the primary sources contemporary with Osmund would constitute no more than twenty 11\(\frac{1}{2}\) by 8\(\frac{1}{4}\) typed pages. This includes basically the documents pertaining to the foundation of the secular cathedral at Sarnum, chronicle sources for Osmund, accounts of trials, and letters.

Other sources which were compiled at a date later than Osmund, up to his canonization in the fifteenth-century, are as follows:

Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury, ed. W.R. Jones and W. Dunn Macray, (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, Roll Series, 1891). This work lists charters which are slightly later than Osmund's episcopacy but which reflect back on aspects of it, particularly in regard to land holdings of the Bishop of Salisbury. Also found in this work is the "Memoranda de Osmundo," a brief document outlining Osmund's supposed lineage.


A fourteenth-century chronicle which reiterates Eadmer's and William of Malmesbury's accounts of Osmund is the Polychronicon Ranulphi.
The Vetus Registrum Sariberiense: Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi, ed. W.H. Rich Jones, (London: Longman and Co., 1883), contains the "De Officiis Ecclesiasticis Tractatus," also known as the Consuetudinary, which is a twelfth and thirteenth-century amplification of Osmund's original foundation charter and "Institucio," which outlined the cathedral personnel.

A source for materials pertaining to Osmund's canonization compiled from the thirteenth to the fifteenth-centuries is A.R. Malden's, The Canonization of St. Osmund, (Salisbury: Bennet Brothers, Printers, Journal Office, 1901). The documents in Malden's work not only are valuable for their information on the evolving legend of St. Osmund but also allow for insight into the Salisbury Cathedral Chapter in the Middle Ages.

There exists a fifteenth-century vita for Osmund, (Cottonian MSS. Collection, Titus F. III. FF.262-263), which is discussed in the Appendix of William Jackson Torrence's work, The Life of Saint Osmund, an English Saint, chancellor of all England, bishop of Old Sarum, d. A.D. 1099, (London: Skeffington & Sons, 1920). The Latin text and an English translation of the life are contained in the Appendix of H.T. Armfield's, Legend of Christian Art, Illustrated in the Statues of (the West Front of) Salisbury Cathedral, (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1869). Arfield's work is unavailable in the United States and several unsuccessful attempts were made to obtain it in the preparation of this thesis.

Group II
Sources, 1500 to the present
in chronological order


Stephen Cassan's, Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury, (Salisbury: Brodie and Dowding, 1824), is a most useful source for its bibliography listing seventeenth and eighteenth-century works pertaining to the bishops of Salisbury.

(Baltimore: Metropolitan Press, 1845), Vol. IV, are two general works of the mid nineteenth-century on the saints which discuss Osmund briefly, piously, and, in part, erroneously.

The Histoire Litteraire de la France, (Paris, 1868), Tomb VIII, reviews the life and accomplishments of Osmund in several pages.

Osmund’s possible role in the Domesday Survey is discussed in Robert W. Eyton’s, Notes on Domesday, (London: Reeves & Turner, 1880).


A most profitable source for this thesis was Walter Howard Frere’s, The Use of Sarum, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898). The work gives a concise account of Osmund’s role in the foundation of the constitutional and liturgical precepts of the Church of Salisbury. Frere discussed the various service books of the cathedral and defined their respective functions.


The Complete Peerage, ed. Vicary Gibbs, (London: St. Catherine Press, 1916), Vol. 4, is the first source to discredit the claim that Osmund had been Earl of Dorset.

"The Early Norman Castle at Devizes," an article by E. Herbert Stone published in December, 1919, in the Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, Vol. 40, sheds light on the building projects undertaken during Osmund’s tenure as bishop.

"Sources for the Biography of Aldhelm," an article written by Albert S. Cook, and published in the Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 28, April 1927, is helpful in asserting that Osmund did not write a life of Aldhelm as many have contended.


Dora H. Robertson’s, Sarum Close, (London: Jonathon Cape, 1938), provides a lucid account of the Song School founded at Sarum. Robertson reviews the school’s history from Osmund’s day to the twentieth-century.
A. Hamilton Thompson's, *Song Schools in the Middle Ages*, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1942), discusses the establishment of song schools generally with specific reference to that at Sarum.


Austin Lane Poole's *From Domesday to Magna Carta: 1087-1216*, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), is a useful source for information on Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury, one of Osmund's superiors.


"Norman Episcopate Before the Conquest," an article by David C. Couglas published in the *Cambridge Historical Review*, Vol. 13, 1957, describes the men and circumstances of episcopal appointments in Normandy prior to 1066. It is a valuable source for the sake of contrast between the nature of pre and post Conquest appointees to the episcopacy.

Jean Leciercq's, *The Love of Learning and the Desire for God*, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), was used to compare the schools of medieval Europe with those established at Sarum.


Another work by Frank Barlow, *The English Church 1000-1066*, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), provides information on the development of the diocese of Salisbury.

Eric D. Mackerness', *A Social History of English Music*, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), considers the resistance of the Anglo-Saxon clergy to changes in music wrought by the Normans.


Sarum. Harrison considers the cathedral personnel instituted by Osmund and their relation to Sarum's music.

One of the books which contributed most significantly to this thesis was Kathleen Edwards', *The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages*, (New York: Manchester University Press, 1949 & 1967). This work not only outlines the history and dynamics of secular cathedrals but contains many useful details concerning Osmund as well. Edwards comments on Osmund's origin, his cathedral constitution, and his ecclesiastical associates.

An article by Walter Frohlich, "Die Bischöflichen Kollegen des hl. Erzbischofs Anselm von Canterbury," and edited by F.S. Schmitt in *Analecta Anselmiana*, 1969, summarizes Osmund's career and repeats certain errors of previous historians, such as Osmund's lineage.


A.F. Smethurst's, *Salisbury Cathedral*, (London: Pitkin Pictorials Ltd., 1972), is but a pamphlet sold to tourists visiting the cathedral. Nevertheless, Smethurst's concise comments about Osmund and his completion of a cathedral at Sarum in 1092 represents the most recent work done on the original Sarum Cathedral and its attendant circumstances.


Nicholas Orme's, *English Schools in the Middle Ages*, (London: Methuen & Co. Ltd., 1973), speaks of Osmund's contribution to the schools at Sarum. Orme notes the school officers instituted by Osmund through his cathedral constitution.


A Biography of Osmund

If one picks up any comprehensive history of the English Church in the eleventh-century and if St. Osmund of Salisbury is listed at all, the information one finds is likely to be inaccurate. Only very recently have works been published which correct long-time errors concerning Osmund. There is, however, no modern biography. The two biographies which do exist are an incomplete fifteenth-century saint's life and an early twentieth-century work of piety which relies on the former. The fifteenth-century vita was written in support of Osmund's canonization some 350 years after Osmund's death. It achieved its purpose when Osmund was canonized in 1457. William Torrance who uses the vita in his twentieth-century biography notes that the authorship of the vita is unknown. This suggests that the vita may have been a work of convenience, written that is, to vivify Osmund's life.

To reconstruct the life of Osmund now, one must begin with his canonization in the fifteenth-century and work both backward and forward from that time, in the meantime sorting the facts from the errors. Those seeking his canonization over the course of three centuries—the initial attempt having begun in 1228—were men more convinced of his sanctity and the need for a local saint than concerned with the compilation of what our contemporaries refer to as critical history. Osmund's canonization has been a two edged sword in the compilation and transmission of the life of St. Osmund.
While it provides a late medieval perspective on the saintly bishop, its attempt to bridge the gaps in Osmund's life and to present the man in the best possible light led to serious exaggerations and ill-founded assertions. These errors were then repeated from the thirteenth-century to the twentieth.

A.R. Malden's work, *The Canonization of St. Osmund*, is the chief source for the history of the canonization process. In addition to an excellent introduction concisely outlining the long process, the work contains a wealth of primary source materials such as letters, petitions, records of expenditures, accounts of miracles attributed to Osmund, and the bull of canonization itself. The work not only serves as a study of the canonization process in the fifteenth-century but also sheds light on the nature of the fifteenth-century chapter at Salisbury and its concept of Osmund. These men believed Osmund merited sainthood because of his reforming work as bishop, his reputation for virtue, and the many miracles believed to have occurred at his tomb through his intercession. Whether or not the prestige of obtaining a local saint and the revenue from pilgrims flocking to Salisbury for his blessings were factors behind the chapter's persistence can neither be established from the sources nor ruled out, given the nature of canonization in the Middle Ages. Canonization often proved to be lucrative business with the subsequent sale of relics and offerings made by those visiting shrines.

From the sources contained in Malden's work we see that the
fifteenth-century chapter believed Osmund to have been of Norman origin, though they appear to have been uncertain of any details. This uncertainty can be deduced from a letter written in June, 1457 by the bishop and dean of Salisbury to Pope Calixtus III and also from the bull of canonization. Both documents treat Osmund's origin in vague terms; the bull, for example, notes that Osmund as a youth crossed the sea with William the Conqueror from Normandy but there is today no surviving evidence from Osmund's day to substantiate that claim.

What is most curious is the appearance of two documents concerning Osmund, one contemporary with and another subsequent to his canonization in the fifteenth-century, both of which contain very specific information on Osmund not found in the documents leading up to his canonization. One has been mentioned above, the fifteenth-century vita. The other document is a very unusual piece of information called the Memoranda de Osmundo. It consists only of a short narration of Osmund's lineage. In it he is portrayed as the nephew of William the Conqueror, the son of William's sister, Isabella and her husband, Henry, Count of Seez. Kathleen Edwards, in her work, The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages, declares the document a fabrication.

The writer shows an entire ignorance of Norman history. He starts with a duke of Normandy named Robert, whom he makes father of Rollo; no such person existed. There never was a count of Seez, whether named Henry or anything else. Nor is there any evidence that Duke Robert, father of King William, had a daughter named Isabella.
Despite the discrepancies which any modern and reliable genealogical table for William the Conqueror will readily make clear, historians even down to the last decade of this century have persisted in their predecessors' errors concerning Osmund's family background. An article published in 1969 still referred to Osmund as William's nephew and the son of Isabella. 12

Osmund was most likely of Norman origin, but to whom he was related or exactly when he arrived in England has yet to be demonstrated. William Torrance, in his work, cites an article which had been published in 1822 and which purported to list Osmund's date of birth and to contain records of land ownership by Osmund and his relatives. 13 The work to which Torrance referred was the Scaccarii Normanniae, but when I examined it, I found nothing to support Torrance's claim. Perhaps a study of the records on the French side of the Channel may yet yield the answer.

Osmund has been referred to repeatedly over the centuries as the Earl of Dorset. John Leland presumed Osmund to have been such when he compiled his sixteenth-century Itinerary, 14 while William Dugdale (1675) made no mention of such a title in his Baronage of England. 15 Yet Tanner (Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica 1722), Alban Butler (1845), Edward Foss (1848), the Histoire Litteraire (1868), the Dictionary of National Biography (1937–38), all refer to Osmund as Earl of Dorset. 16 The earliest source to deny this attribution was The Complete Peerage 17 published in 1916. This work refutes the claim that Osmund was Earl of
Dorset or that such an earldom existed before the fourteenth-century. It appears that the error originated with Osmund's canonization, and The Complete Peerage points to documents contained in Malden's work as the source.

The first document contained in Malden's work is the Registrum in causa Canonizaciones.... It lists, among other things, the lands and chattels given by Osmund to his cathedral chapter when he created it. Much of the land donated for the support of his canons is there said to have been derived from his holdings in Dorset:

... and he installed thirty-four canons with prebends in that church /Salisbury/ and he gave the aforesaid church lands from his own "Earldom" of Dorset sufficient for the well being of those who serve the church.

The problem involves the phrase, "Comitatus sui dorsetie" or "his own Earldom of Dorset." Osmund did hold land in Dorset, but he could not have been Earl of Dorset as later historians and hagiographers claimed. The First Earl of Dorset was Thomas Beaufort, whose earldom was created on July 5, 1411.

In many secondary sources written between the fifteenth and the twentieth-century Osmund is also referred to as Count of Seez. This title is even more enigmatic than Osmund's designation as Earl of Dorset. The earliest connection of Osmund with Seez was made in the post canonization Memoranda, mentioned above. Stephen Cassan claimed that the first reference to Osmund as Count of Seez was made by a Bishop Godwin, in 1601, in Godwin's work, A Catalogue of the Bishops of England. Francis Godwin was Bishop of Llandaff in 1601 and was later transferred to Hereford (1617). Godwin
referred to Osmund as "Captain of Say." Kathleen Edwards says, however, that there never was a Count of Seez; unfortunately she does not say on what evidence she based her claim. The designation of Osmund as Count of Seez, in any case, seems to have originated with the mischievous Memoranda.

Osmund first appears in the record on the English side of the Channel as a chaplain in the court of William I. Hagiographers, of the not too distant past, however, appear to have been confused as to why Osmund, supposedly Count of Seez and Earl of Dorset, had become a court chaplain. They likely misunderstood the nature of an eleventh-century chaplaincy in the royal court, a position of dignity. To men like Alban Butler and S. Baring-Gould, Osmund's assumption of the position of a court chaplain would have been a step down in the social order if he was already a count and an earl. Butler and Baring-Gould account for this by suggesting that Osmund, out of religious fervor, forsook the secular world in exchange for an ecclesiastical career which, in turn, led to his elevation to the episcopacy. Butler reports Osmund as fleeing, "naked out of Egypt, caring nothing for its desires or spirit, and embracing an ecclesiastical state, he chose to become poor in the house of the Lord". Baring-Gould, in somewhat less euphoric tones relates that "as a bishop, Osmund appears to have retired much from the world, and to have lived chiefly in the society of the learned canons whom he had drawn together."

The perceptions of both Butler and Baring-Gould were faulty. The events of his life show that Osmund,
even as bishop, was neither "poor in the house of the Lord" nor "retired much from the world."

Further, one cannot merely dismiss Butler and Baring-Gould from the historical record as uncritical zealots who bent the truth for the embellishment of Osmund's sanctity. Later historians also made similar mistakes in grappling with Osmund as Count of Seez, Earl of Dorset, and a court chaplain. Edward Foss, an historian writing in the mid nineteenth-century, spoke of Osmund as Count of Seez and added that he arrived in England with William I, his uncle, as a layman. Sometime prior to his appointment as bishop, Osmund became an ecclesiastic, according to Foss, who gives a detailed account of Osmund's tenure as chancellor. Foss, like Butler and Baring-Gould before him, failed to realize that while Osmund was chancellor, an office he held subsequent to being chaplain, he was already an ecclesiastic. Butler, Baring-Gould, and Foss all mistakenly assumed that the office of chancellor was a secular post which it was not. Consequently, they cast Osmund as a layman who exchanged worldly pursuits for spiritual endeavors. The assumption that Osmund was first a count and an earl led to the further assumption that he arrived in England as a layman. There is, however, nothing in the historical record to indicate whether Osmund was in a secular or an ecclesiastical state upon his arrival in England. The real demons behind all these unfounded assertions are the Memoranda, which sought to establish a genealogy for Osmund, and those who compiled the dossier for his canonization.
They are the sources which initially made these erroneous claims of Osmund's being an earl and a count.

To repair the record, a fresh analysis must be made of Osmund's career prior to his becoming bishop. Osmund first appears as a court chaplain under William I. In a charter which Davis cautiously ascribes to 1074, (Charter 76), Osmund is so named. However, another charter, (70), places Osmund in the chancellorship by 1073. There is, then, some uncertainty as to the date of Osmund's appointment to the chancellorship: some scholars would have him in that office as early as 1070 (following Herfast who became Bishop of Elmham in that year); others believe he became chancellor upon the nomination of Osbern of Exeter to the bishopric of Exeter in 1072. F.M. Stenton, in his work, *Anglo-Saxon England*, refers to Osmund as the first chancellor after Herfast who can be identified with certainty. Stenton remarks in a footnote, however, that there is a spurious charter naming as chancellor Osbern, the later Bishop of Exeter. This charter is contained in the *Historia Monasterii S. Augustine*, Rolls Series, p. 350.

The development of the office of chancellor rested heavily on the person holding it during the reign of William the Conqueror, official organization having been as yet loosely defined. Bishop and Chaplais, in their work entitled *Facsimiles of English Royal Writ to 1100*, refer to Herfast, Bishop of Elmham, as having been, for example, "nortoriously illiterate" while commenting on the continuation of the vernacular Anglo-Saxon royal writs in the early years of
William I. Herfast's reputation as an illiterate, i.e. one unable to read or write Latin, is noted in William of Malmesbury's, *Gesta Pontificum*, which calls Herfast a man of little intelligence and little competence in the art of letters. The prevailing opinion among Bishop, Chaplais, and Frank Barlow is that Osmund is the one who was responsible for the introduction of the chancery's first Latin writs. Therefore, they suggest that the Anglo-Saxon writs continued into William's reign not for the sake of continuity with the policies of Edward the Confessor but rather because William's first chancellor, Herfast, was incapable of or uninterested in directing such a change.

If, however, Osbern of Exeter also preceded Osmund in the chancery, yet another reason exists for the continuation of writs in Anglo-Saxon. Osbern was literate by all indications, and there was at least a two year period, 1070-1072, when he could have been chancellor. Osbern was a conservative, according to William of Malmesbury, a dedicated adherent of the, "custom of his lord king Edward." F.M. Stenton calls Osbern, "a pattern of antique virtue." Therefore, if Osbern in addition to Herfast, served as chancellor before Osmund, the issue of literacy, or the lack of it, determining the language of the royal writs grows more debatable. The writs remaining in the vernacular may have been due to Osbern's conservatism. Whether due to illiteracy or conservatism the royal writs continue in Anglo-Saxon until the period when Osmund was chancellor when they begin to be issued in Latin.
Osmund's reputation as a writer was recorded by William of Malmesbury, and was also referred to in the Northamptonshire Geld Roll in which Osmund is referred to as the "king's secretary," which suggests a function as well as an office. As a writer Osmund was adept and for this reason he was likely one of William's more suitable chancellors. Promotion to a bishopric seems to have been the next step beyond the chancery and perhaps an examination of the Sees obtained point to one's competence. Herfast received Elmham, a See of minor importance. Osbern, if he was chancellor, obtained the then rustic See of Exeter. Osmund, however, was appointed in 1078 to the See of Salisbury with its strategic castle and cathedral at Old Sarum, a very important stage for subsequent Anglo-Norman history. As royal awards go, it was the best of the lot.

Consequently, the claims of Osmund's origin and early career can be readily traced to his fifteenth-century canonization. The erroneous details are more easily cleared away than the realities can be established. Osmund's origin remains unknown. It is highly unlikely that he held such titles as count or earl, though it remains to be studied whether he was politically connected either in the Norman county of Seez or the English county of Dorset. The first reliable evidence for Osmund is as a court chaplain after the Conquest and as William's chancellor in the years between 1070 and 1078. The evidence presented above suggests that Osmund was literate and that it was he who caused the first Latin royal writs in post-Conquest England to be written. His tenure as chancellor
ended with his appointment by William to the Bishopric of Salisbury.

St. Osmund: Builder, Bishop, and Courtier

Osmund, in the full spirit of the Norman Conquest, was an avid builder, a dedicated bishop, and a loyal agent of the king. Those three aspects of his career are set forth below, beginning with his association with the various building projects which took place in his diocese.

When Osmund became Bishop of Salisbury in 1078 he inherited from his predecessor, Herman, a newly formed diocese. The See had previously been two, Ramsbury and Shereborne, but was united in 1075 when Archbishop Lanfranc and the Council of London decreed that all Sees located in small villages be moved to more substantial locations. Although the See was newly formed upon Osmund's arrival, it had not been fully organized. The constitution of the cathedral personnel under Herman remains vague, with the exception of a monk, Goscelin of St. Bertin, who seems to have been Herman's personal secretary. Although Herman began to build a cathedral at Sarum, the episcopal seat of the Bishop of Salisbury, credit for the new edifice by most accounts, contemporary and subsequent, goes to Osmund, as noted below. Herman apparently progressed little in the organization of the new diocese and the building it required. Herman himself was a monk and his prior bishopric had been centered at the monastery of Sherborne. Had he survived longer he might well have instituted a cathedral monastery at Sarum, a prospect.
which would have significantly altered the history of the diocese.

It is not known how much, if at all, Osmund modified Herman's plan for the new cathedral. A case can be made that Osmund followed Herman's plan. Modern excavations show that the church was only 173 feet in length when completed by Osmund as compared to the 316 foot church which replaced it under Osmund's successor, Roger. The present cathedral at Salisbury, built around 1220 by Bishop Richard Poore, is 473 feet long. Osmund's church was modest in comparison to those built by his successors Roger and Richard. This would have been in keeping with the modest proportions of most Anglo-Saxon churches. The Normans, however, introduced ecclesiastical structures of much greater size than those England had theretofore seen.

Kathleen Edwards in, The Victoria History of the Counties of England, volume III, Wiltshire, states that:

The church reflected the most common Norman practice of three apses (i.e. an apsidal east end, and north and south transepts with eastern apses) and solid walls for the choir, but it was apparently not entirely Norman in conception. Excavations have shown that it can never have had provision for a central tower, and that it may have been designed for transeptal towers, which were unknown in Normandy.

This description varies greatly from that of the second church built by Roger in the early twelfth-century, for Roger's church had a central transept tower and a rectangular east end. As the church built by Osmund reflects more closely the Anglo-Saxon design, except for the triple apses, he more than likely finished Herman's church according to Herman's concept with perhaps some Norman
modifications. His successor, Roger, must be credited with the first truly Norman church at Sarum. In any event, the life of Osmund's church was short. Five days after Osmund dedicated it on 5 April 1092, it was struck by lightning and badly damaged. The dedication, coupled with the immediate calamity, must have been newsworthy as it was recorded by chroniclers far and wide.

The site on which Osmund's cathedral stood had been strategically important as a fortress since prehistoric times, but it soon proved most unpleasant for the purpose of a bishop's See. Water was scarce, the soil chalky, and the winds were a menace to the liturgical life, being so loud as to muffle the divine services. The canons were forced to live in overcrowded conditions and were often disturbed by the soldiers who staffed the castle there.

These inconveniences eventually led Bishop Richard Poore to move to New Sarum or Salisbury in the early thirteenth-century. For Osmund's purposes, however, the site of Old Sarum was adequate. Osmund was, after all, part of the Norman aristocracy which supplanted the leadership of the Anglo-Saxon Church, and, therefore, a defensible See with an adjacent royal fortress was to the advantage of his security.

Osmund is believed to have directed the building of two castles during his tenure as bishop, one at Old Sarum and another at Devizes. Both of these sites had been used as fortresses since pre-historic times. Devizes was located in Wiltshire, in the very center of that county, midway between the Abbey of Malmesbury to
the northwest and Old Sarum to the southeast. In an article published in the *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* in December, 1919, E. Herbert Stone set forth his research on the castle at Devizes. Stone maintained that both Devizes and Old Sarum were Osmund's castles and that he had built them while he was bishop.

The castle at Devizes and its attendant lands figure in two charters of a slightly later date than Osmund's episcopacy, but both charters refer to conditions of ownership when Osmund was bishop. The first dates from 13 April 1149, when Prince Henry, the later Henry II, restored the Manor of Cannings, on which the castle stood, to Bishop Jocelin of Salisbury. The second charter dates from 19 October 1157, and is again by Henry, this time as king. By it the possession of the lands of the same manor are secured to Bishop Jocelin, but the castle itself is claimed by the king. Osmund had apparently possessed both the lands and the castle. However, by Jocelin's time, the need for a bishop's defense had decreased with the solidification of the Conquest. Osmund had been a foreigner, greatly outnumbered by the hostile Anglo-Saxon population and in need of a castle's protection.

As bishop, Osmund made his first public appearance at Malmesbury Abbey in 1078 for the translation of the relics of St. Aldhelm. Aldhelm was a patron saint of the diocese who had been the first abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Shereborne, (d.709 A.D.). Of him Osmund is believed to have written a life which will be dis-
cussed in an appendix. Osmund, by William of Malmesbury's account, officiated at the ceremony and later, out of reverence for St. Aldhelm, begged Abbot Warin of Malmesbury for a share of the relics. Warin responded by bequeathing to Osmund the saint's "os brachii sinistri," a bone from the saint's left arm. Osmund enshrined the relic in a silver case at Sarum. It was lost sometime before the sixteenth-century, for it does not appear on the inventory list made at the onset of the Dissolution in 1536.

1078 also saw Osmund dedicating a wooden church at Whistley, a small village in his diocese. Before the abbot of Abingdon built this church, the villagers had been forced to travel several miles to the nearest church at Sonning. The vill of Whistley belonged to the abbey of Abingdon and its abbot, Athelm, who built the church at Whistley for convenience sake. This led in time to a dispute with the clerk of the church at Sonning as he realized the loss of revenue a church at Whistley caused. Osmund, in turn, suspended the chapel at Whistley in 1087-88. As a dispute continued, Osmund reopened the chapel in 1089 in exchange for one-half mark a year from Abingdon Abbey. Osmund further stipulated that, "all the customary rights which the church of Sonning had enjoyed in the vill in King Edward's day were to be maintained intact."

In the year 1085-86, Osmund dedicated the priory church of St. Mary of Hurley which was subject to the authority of the abbey of Westminster and Abbot Gilbert Crispin, but which lay in the diocese of Salisbury. The foundation of the priory church was due to the patronage of Geoffrey de Mandeville, sheriff of Middlesex.
Sometime between 1090 and 1092, Osmund witnessed the foundation charter for the establishment of a secular cathedral at Lincoln, at that time under the authority of Bishop Remigius. That Osmund and Remigius were in frequent contact is seen by at least fourteen charters listed in the *Regesta Regnum* where their names appear together. Kathleen Edwards dates the Lincoln foundation charter at 1090, while the *Regesta Regnum* puts it at 1092. Osmund and Remigius founded their cathedral chapters at almost the same time, the foundations of Osmund's having been in 1091.

Osmund took part in the dedication of Battle Abbey Church in 1094, according to the *Dictionary of National Biography* which cites the *Chronicon de Bello* as its source. I was unable to procure the latter (for verification) in the preparation of this study.

In 1095 Osmund attended the infamous Council of Rockingham at which the bishops of England sided with William II Rufus in withholding their obedience from Archbishop Anselm. Anselm and William were deadlocked over the investiture issue which was preoccupying papal and royal politics across Europe at that time. Osmund and Robert, Bishop of Hereford repented of their action a few weeks later, sought, and were granted Anselm's pardon. Thus they were able to support the king publicly and then, later, privately as penitents, submit to Anselm's spiritual authority. Their pardon by Anselm was sacramental and beyond the scope of royal politics. Osmund was either a pious churchman or a coward in this instance but,
in any case, he was not consistent.

Osmund's appointment to the bishopric of Salisbury did not force a halt to his royal service. Rather, having been promoted from chancellor to bishop, Osmund continued to be employed at various royal tasks, as described in the text below.

Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee in the Dictionary of National Biography assert that Osmund took part in the Domesday Survey as a royal commissioner and that he was responsible for, "the survey of Grantham, comprising the counties of Derby, Nottingham, Huntingdon, Lincoln, and York with parts of Lancashire and Westmoreland . . . ." The DNB, however cites no source for this information. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle refers to the survey, both in its inception in 1085 and in its presentation upon completion before William I at the Sarum Council of April 1086, but nowhere does it mention Osmund as having had a hand in its compilation. Osmund, as bishop of Sarum, would likely have been present at the council in 1086, but no primary source proves either his presence at the council or his direct involvement in the survey. In a work written in 1877 entitled, Notes on Domesday, Robert W. Eyton explored the role of the Legati, the king's commissioners for the Domesday Survey. According to Eyton, there were a total of, "nine Corps of Commissioners," and of those nine corps only the names of one has survived. It was the policy of William I to assign commissioners to circuits where they had no personal interests or influence. Also, by Eyton's account, each corps of
commissioners was headed by a bishop. Since Remigius de Fecamp, Bishop of Lincoln, headed the one corps, it is possible that Osmund headed another. With regard to Osmund's involvement in the survey of Lincolnshire (Grantham), Eyton maintained that such an assertion was but a guess.

Osmund's involvement in royal affairs and ecclesiastical matters beyond his diocese is best observed in the many charters contained in the *Regesta Regnum* which list him. A total of thirty-seven charters mention Osmund, and of these, thirty-one list him in the capacity of bishop, while the remaining six refer to him as chaplain or chancellor. Of the charters where Osmund is listed as bishop, twenty-three name him as a witness, while eight are directed to him by the king. (These charters are listed by number with a brief synopsis in the chronological outline above.)

A curious feature of the charters contained in the *Regesta Regnum* is the names of individuals listed along with Osmund. While personal and professional associations cannot be fully explained on the basis of the charter evidence alone, noting the names mentioned in conjunction with Osmund and their frequency does help us to substantiate associations if we can combine them with additional evidence. If, for example, those persons are listed who were episcopal colleagues of Osmund, discounting Odo of Bayeux, the Conqueror's half brother, and the archbishops, either Lanfranc or Anselm and Thomas of York—all of whom were regular fixtures in most of these charters, the following list is created:
Walkelin, Bishop of Winchester 21 charters
+Geoffrey, Bishop of Coutances 17 charters
*Remigius, Bishop of Lincoln 14 charters
Robert, Bishop of Hereford 10 charters
*Maurice, Bishop of London 9 charters
Gundulf, Bishop of Rochester 8 charters
@Wulfstan, Bishop of Worcester 7 charters
William, Bishop of Durham 5 charters
Osbern, Bishop of Exeter 3 charters
Hugh, Bishop of London 3 charters
Peter, Bishop of Chester 3 charters
Robert, Bishop of Chester 3 charters
Ralph, Bishop of Chichester 3 charters
Herbert, Bishop of Thetford 3 charters
*Stigand, Bishop of Chichester 2 charters
" Bishop of Selsey 1 charter
Giso, Bishop of Wells 2 charters
Arfast, Bishop of Thetford 2 charters
John, Bishop of Somerset 2 charters
+Gilbert, Bishop of Evreus 1 charter
+Gilbert Bishop of Lisieux 1 charter
Herfast, Bishop of Elmham 1 charter
William, Bishop of Llandaff 1 charter
+Hoel, Bishop of LeMans 1 charter
John, Bishop of Bath 1 charter
Robert, Bishop of Lincoln 1 charter
Hervey, Bishop of Bangor 1 charter

* Bishops who established secular cathedrals
+ Bishops with sees in Normandy
@ Anglo-Saxon bishop
n The see of Selsey was moved to Chichester after 1075

The frequency with which certain bishops appear in the list with
Osmund is enlightening when other pertinent facts are considered.
Two bishops whose names appear often with Osmund's also estab­
lished secular cathedrals similar to that contemporary with Sarum;
this will be considered at greater length in the following chapter.
Remigius of Lincoln, one of the two, had Osmund witness his founda­
tion charter at Lincoln when he organized his chapter.83 Walkelin,
the bishop of Winchester, whose name appears with Osmund's in
twenty-one charters, was also present at the dedication of Osmund's
cathedral at Sarum and attended the Council of Rockingham with Osmund in 1095. When Walkelin died in 1098, Anselm recommended to Abbess Matilda of Winchester that Osmund be her spiritual overlord and corporal protector. Robert, Bishop of Hereford, who figures with Osmund in ten charters, was also with Osmund at the Council of Rockingham, and it was he who accompanied Osmund to seek Anselm's forgiveness for their action against him at the council.

While these charters are somewhat tedious to handle in that they deal mostly with common business transactions of lands and rights, they do aid in furthering the establishment of Osmund's episcopal associations. In service to the king as a witness Osmund was in contact with many of his fellow prelates, and these occasions must have provided opportunities for Osmund to further both personal and professional relationships, notably with Walkelin of Winchester, Remigius of Lincoln, and Robert of Hereford.

Osmund became tangentially involved in the dispute between William II Rufus and William of St. Calais, Bishop of Durham, in 1088. The bishop of Durham, implicated in the revolt which took place at the outset of Rufus' reign, was dispossessed of the lands he held as bishop and brought to trial by the king. William of St. Calais protested the king's refusal to let him be tried by his episcopal peers and, consequently, requested that he be given leave to go to Rome to present his case.

Eventually William of St. Calais was granted leave to go to
Rome, but, while the bishop waited at Southampton for favorable
seas, Rufus had an apparent change of heart. The king determined
to try the bishop in his Christmas court on new charges and commis-
sioned Osmund to serve summons on William. The new charges
accused William of responsibility for the actions of one of his monks
at Durham, Geoffrey, who, "had disposed of five hundred and thirty-
nine of the bishop's beasts and had reduced the fortifications of
the castle during the time the bishop was standing his trial." Rufus, having appropriated the bishop's property, was angry over
his loss. William of St. Calais, however, refused the summons
brought by Osmund and protested that he was innocent of these
charges. Osmund subsequently forbade William access to the ships
needed for his crossing. The episode ended finally with William's
departure for Rome, but only after further wranglings with more of
the king's emissaries. Osmund's participation in this incident
ended with his failure to succeed in summoning the bishop of Durham
to the king's court.

Absent from all records is any instance where Osmund is por-
trayed as being disloyal to the crown, either under the Conqueror
or under William II Rufus. Yet, there is at least a hint that Osmund
found William Rufus, a king who had been a friend neither to the
Church nor to the majority of his subjects, distasteful. In the case
of William of St. Calais, all that is known is that Osmund carried
out the king's business. Osmund's personal attitude in the matter
remains unknown. However, in two other instances involving Osmund's
participation in the affairs of Rufus there exists some suggestion of Osmund's tacit displeasure. In January, 1097, William of Alderi, steward of Count William of Eu, stood accused of having acted treasonably in the revolt of 1095, the second insurrection against the unpopular Rufus. Osmund heard the confession of the condemned man just prior to his hanging. Some modern sources, such as Edward Freeman's, *The Reign of William Rufus*, comment that Osmund accompanied William of Alderi to the place of execution but departed before the sentence was carried out. The *Gesta Regum Anglorum* of William of Malmesbury makes mention of the bishop's departure as does the *Eulogium Historiarum*, a work which records the comments of a fourteenth-century monk at Malmesbury. Both sources say that Osmund went to William's execution, blessed him, and then departed before the sentence was carried out. If the accounts accurately record events which transpired, then one could suggest Osmund's displeasure at the execution by Rufus of an innocent man. Both the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* and the *Eulogium Historiarum* record the frenzied protests of innocence voiced by William on his way to his death and both imply that William died a martyr to the harsh justice of the king. The reputation of St. Osmund would naturally induce one to hope that Osmund felt remorse over William of Alderi's fate.

Other, more convincing evidence of tension between Osmund and Rufus comes from the Council of Rockingham. Anselm of Canterbury, appointed archbishop by Rufus in 1093, soon disputed with the king.
over his own investiture. Anselm, in accordance with the Gregorian policy and papal custom, sought the king's permission to journey, "To Rome to receive the pallium--the symbol of his spiritual authority--from the reform pope, Urban II." The king's refusal to grant Anselm's request led to the Council of Rockingham at which the bishops of the realm, in support of the king, withdrew their obedience from the archbishop. Soon after the council, Osmund repented of his action and, together with Robert, Bishop of Hereford, made apology to Anselm. Osmund evidently saw his allegiance to spiritual authority as compelling enough to risk Rufus' disdain and its possible consequences.

Osmund and the Archbishops of Canterbury

Little is available from the record of any relationship between Osmund and Archbishop Lanfranc, and there is nothing to suggest either a warm friendship or any animosity between the two. Osmund was consecrated by Archbishop Lanfranc in 1078 and acknowledged his primacy in his profession by referring to Lanfranc as the "Britanniarum primas". As both were responsive to ecclesiastical reform and loyal servants of William I they likely had a good rapport.

Besides a professional obedience to Archbishop Anselm, Osmund seems also to have enjoyed a warm though not intimate relationship with the Archbishop. The historical record for this draws on the letters by Anselm to either Osmund himself or to a
third party concerning Osmund. Three extant letters in which Anselm requested the bishop of Salisbury to use his office for a specific purpose are found in the Schmitt edition of his works. Another letter, also in the Schmitt edition, is addressed to a third party. Of those addressed to Osmund, the first (letter 177) involves Anselm's request that Osmund effect the return of the king of Scotland's daughter to the convent from which she had fled. Editha, the wayward nun in question, had been a member of the community at Wilton within the diocese of Salisbury, Osmund's jurisdiction. Anselm further requested that Osmund inform him once the task had been completed, but I found no evidence of a reply. Perhaps a search of the records in the Salisbury Cathedral library might yield such a correspondence, although I know of no extant letters by Osmund. In another letter (letter 190) Anselm requested Osmund's prayers for the safe conduct of William Rufus, traveling at that time through Northumbria. In the third letter (letter 195) Anselm exhorted Osmund to prevent and forbid both Abbot Haimo and his monks at the Abbey of Cerne in Dorset from journeying on crusade to Jerusalem. The letter dates from 1095, the year Pope Urban II summoned the first crusade. In the letter, Anselm further requests that Osmund investigate certain abuses at Cerne. Anselm claimed that the abbot was pawning church property for the crusade, that he allowed the children of the abbey to roam throughout the house at will, and that his monks were playing dice in the company of women. Osmund was asked to
work in concert with bishops of Bath, Exeter, and Winchester in purging the abbey of these vices.

The salutation of each of these letters addresses Osmund laudably but that cannot be a basis for determining personal esteem. Rather they are more the style of the day. Note the examples below:


(Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop: to the reverend Bishop Osmund, greetings.)


(Anselm, by the grace of God archbishop: to the reverend Bishop of Salisbury, Osmund, greetings now and forever.)


(Anselm, called the archbishop of the Church of Canterbury: to Osmund, the high priest of the Church of Salisbury, That he may live laudable and come gloriously to the goal God praises.)

An examination of salutations to other bishops, contemporary with Osmund, suggests that the above salutations are formulaic. For example, note Anselm's style of addressing other bishops:

(Anselm, servant of the Church of Canterbury: to Herbert, Bishop of Thetford, greetings.) 103

(letter 172) Anselmus, dei dispositione vocatus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis: reverendo episcopo Exoniensi Osberno salutem.

(Anselm, by God's will called Archbishop of Canterbury: to the reverent Osbern, Bishop of Exeter, greetings.) 104

Not all salutations by Anselm were, however, formulas, as the address of a letter to a close friend demonstrates:

(letter 29) Dulcissimo et dilectissimo suo dilectori, episcopo Belvaciensi Bulconi: frater Anselmus aeterna dei protectione et consolatione gaudere.

(To his most dear and esteemed friend, Bishop Fulco of Beauvais: your brother Anselm, in God's eternal protection and consolation rejoice.) 105

What is there, then, to substantiate my claim of Anselm's high regard for Osmund? Although the letters by Anselm to Osmund do not exhibit the warmth of the letter to Fulco above, there is one letter (letter 185) to Abbess Matilda of Winchester in which Anselm consoled Matilda over the death of her bishop, Walkelin of Winchester who died in 1098. 106 The letter concluded with Anselm's recommendation of Osmund, a man of benevolence and sanctity, to be the spiritual director and corporal protector of Matilda and her community. 107

In October, 1097, Osmund is said to have been, 'ineffectually consulted,' by Anselm prior to the archbishop's exile the following month. 108 The Dictionary of National Biography recounts this
fact but does not make clear its evidence for such an assertion. There is no mention of this supposed consultation in two modern sources dealing with Anselm's career. Neither Austin Lane Poole nor R. W. Southern speaks of it when commenting on Anselm's activities in the autumn of 1097. I could find no primary source substantiate the claim put forth by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, and it would seem there is none.

As the eleventh-century drew to its close so did the life and career of Osmund. After an episcopacy spanning twenty-one years, Osmund died in December, 1099, an event widely noted by contemporary chroniclers. Many of his lifelong episcopal colleagues died at approximately the same time: in 1098 Walkelin of Winchester; in 1100 Thomas of York and Robert of Hereford; 1108 Gundulf of 1109 Anselm. At their deaths, a substantial number of bishoprics began long vacancies, as neither William Rufus nor Henry I was as favorably disposed toward the welfare of the Church as had been their father, William the Conqueror. Osmund's successor, Roger, was not appointed until 1107. The demise of Osmund and his episcopal associates represented the end of an era, the twilight of the Anglo-Norman Church ushered in by the Conqueror in 1066. Osmund and the other bishops appointed by William I left the English Church much changed. It is the impact of Osmund's episcopacy on the English Church and Church of Salisbury in particular that is the subject of the chapter to follow.
CHAPTER II

Osmund and the Church of Salisbury

As bishop, Osmund was a significant figure in the post-Conquest period due to his literary and administrative abilities. Such talents were suggested in the preceding chapter in relation to Osmund's role as a royal chancellor. However, the evidence for Osmund's episcopal abilities as a writer and as an administrator is more plentiful. The authorship of a secular cathedral constitution, the establishment of schools at Sarum, the renovation of Sarum's library, together with the musical and liturgical reputation of Sarum in the years following Osmund's episcopacy—all stem from Osmund's administrative competence and his literary talents. Kathleen Edwards, speaking of the establishment of secular cathedrals in England relates that, "Osmund is the only bishop known to have given a written constitution to his cathedral." This fact is essential, for it was the establishment of the secular cathedral system which served as the foundation for all the other accomplishments Osmund realized at Sarum. Yet as great and varied as these accomplishments were, the historical record of them has suffered much exaggeration and distortion. Therefore, the purpose of this chapter is to review the works of Osmund, dispel the false assertions, and render an accurate account of Osmund's accomplishments at Sarum.
Osmund, the Sarum Use, and the Secular Cathedral

The constitutional and liturgical history of Salisbury has been one of long duration and great richness. The so-called Sarum Use which was in practice until 1547 and which is still known liturgically, as the Sarum Missal, survives today in the body politic of Salisbury Cathedral, i.e. its constitutional precepts are still followed. St. Osmund has been credited with the establishment of the Sarum Use, but that claim is not wholly accurate. First, a review of the term is necessary. Walter Frere summarized the Use of Sarum by saying:

This term is a comprehensive one: cathedral life had many sides and each side had its regulations. The Use of Sarum therefore includes---(a) Regulations as to the Constitution--to define the mutual relations of Bishop, Dean, Officers, Canons, Vicars & c. (b) Ritual regulations, as to the text of the services. (c) Ceremonial regulations, as to the method of performance of the services.

The term Sarum Use has become all-encompassing, for it has been used to refer to liturgy, music, and ecclesiastical government at Salisbury. But when one speaks of Osmund as the originator of the Sarum Use, one must restrict the use of the term to constitutional aspects as demonstrated below.

W. H. Rich Jones clearly implied that the Sarum Use was directly and fully attributable to St. Osmund, not that Osmund created the rite, the music, and the canonical regulations it contains, rather that he was the first to compile, entitle, and disseminate it. Jones further claimed that Osmund compiled both a Consuetudianary,
which dealt with the ecclesiastical government of the church, and
an Ordinal, which regulated liturgical activity. Together these
works constituted the Use of Sarum in Jones' view, and they were so
fashioned by Osmund as to be employed not only at Salisbury but, "to
gain acceptance for the 'Use of Sarum' in other dioceses besides his
own". Within a century of Osmund's death in 1099, Jones records
that Brompton, Abbot of Jervaulx was able to write:

Osmund compiled a book, an ordinal for the church
offices which they called a Consuetudinary, and which
is now largely used throughout England, Wales, and
Ireland. This statement implies a rapid spread and acceptance of Osmund's
work beyond Sarum. It further suggests that the Use of Sarum,
compiled by Osmund, was a clearly defined liturgical system which
was readily adopted. Both implications are wrong. In his attempt
to demonstrate the rapid dissemination of the Sarum Use, Jones erred
in attributing the quotation to the wrong John Brompton. A. R.
Malden aptly pointed out in his work on Osmund's canonization that
Jones misplaced the quotation by two centuries and his abbot of
Jervaulx by three.

There were, however, two John Bromptons Abbots
of Jervaulx, and the late Mr. Henry Bradshaw was
of the opinion that the writer of Brompton's Chronicle,
from which Canon Rich Jones quoted, was the later
Brompton, who lived in the XVth century, and that
he quoted [Ranulph] Higden. In that case the authority
of the passage dates from the middle of the XIVth century,
and not from the XIIith, as Canon Rich Jones supposed.

Therefore, while the Use of Sarum was implemented in other cathedrals
throughout the British Isles, it cannot be shown to have spread as
rapidly or as completely as some, like Jones, believed. Frere claims that the very term "Sarum Use" or "Use of Sarum" was not even coined until the time of Richard Poore, Bishop of Salisbury, in the early thirteenth-century. Further, the Sarum Use, as it was known in the thirteenth and fourteenth-centuries, was not entirely from the pen of Osmund. The reputation of the man, however, led many to credit him with much of the Sarum Use for which he had no part. According to Walter Frere, at the time the Sarum Customs of 1319 were compiled, the cathedral chapter was, "prepared to ascribe anything old to St. Osmund". The Sarum Use was a set of changing liturgical and constitutional precepts governing the Church of Salisbury, much of which was subsequent to Osmund.

Given Walter Frere's broad definition of the Sarum Use above, how much credit can rightly be attributed to Osmund? Two documents are widely accepted as having originated with Osmund, the "Carta Osmundi de Prima Fundacione Ecclesie Sarum" and the "Institucio, Sive Ordinaciones Osmundi". These two documents survive as the kernel of what later developed into the Consuetudinary, or, as it is more formally known, the "Liber et ordo de personis et dignitatibus consuetudinibus et officiis singularum personarum in ecclesia Sarum". The Consuetudinary was the name, "popularly attached to the tractate from at least the time of [Ranulph] Higden, the chronicler of the early part of the XIVth century". This tractate or Consuetudinary dated, by Frere's calculations, from about
1210 and was an amplification of Osmund's "Carta" and "Institucio". But while these works deal only with constitutional matters, outlining the rudiments for his secular cathedral administration, the Consuetudinary is a much more extensive document. It contains not only constitutional precepts but liturgical and ceremonial directives as well.

The English secular cathedral system developed primarily under Norman influence, although there were some instances of similar models before the Conquest. The finest work I found in dealing with the development of the secular cathedral in England was Kathleen Edwards', *The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages*. According to Edwards, Osmund and a number of contemporary Anglo-Norman bishops envisioned a cathedral chapter served by secular canons living under a common rule but not a common roof. They devised a system where by the canons would have their individual residences close by the cathedral or near the outlying chapels they served. The canons would draw financial support from the cathedral coffers while they were in residence at the cathedral, that is, living close enough to be employed in its daily business and services. This allowance was referred to as the *communa*, while that income drawn by those serving distant chapels was termed the *prebenda*, from whence term prebend is drawn. A prebend was a parcel of land, usually with a chapel, the revenues of which could support a canon. There was no standard measure or size to medieval English prebends, which varied greatly in value.
The "Carta Osmundi" established the source of revenue for the secular plan at Salisbury, for by it Osmund donated portions of his own extensive holdings within the diocese of Salisbury, primarily in the county of Dorset. The "Institucio" established the body politic of the cathedral, defining the various officers and their respective functions. In the case of Salisbury, the officers included a dean, a cantor, a chancellor, a treasurer, two archdeacons, a subdean, a succentor, and an archiscola or school master. The "Institucio" also set down the income each office holder would receive.

If we return to Frere's definition of the Sarum Use, we see that Osmund was only responsible for," (a) Regulations as to the Constitution---to define the mutual relationship of the Bishop, Dean, Officers, Canons, Vicars, &c. It is the Consuetudinary, however, which many have believed to have been Osmund's work and which in time became known as the Sarum Use.

Of Sarum ritual and ceremonial customs Frere said:

Now there must have been liturgical customs (possibly written ones) before the tractate of 1210 was drawn up, and it is possible that some of these may have reached back to some pronouncements of S. Osmund upon the subject. But there is no evidence for this and no sign that S. Osmund left behind him any written prescriptions at all.

Accepting Frere's judgement as valid, the modern historian is still faced with the real dilemma of sifting through many works which report inaccurately on Osmund's writings. Osmund cannot be proven to have written a Consuetudinary, an Ordinal, a Customary, a
Breviary, a Missal, or any other liturgical book which authors have attributed to him over the centuries. The Church of Salisbury did come to possess all of these books, but in times subsequent to Osmund. The Consuetudinary and Customary, for example, were basically the same book in content in that both dealt with ecclesiastical government. But while the former was reserved for use in the chapter house, the latter was affixed as an appendix to the Ordinal. Salisbury, by the twelfth-century, would have possessed such books, but it is uncertain whether or not the church of Osmund's day would have.

Frere noted that with the passage of time Osmund's name came to be associated more with the liturgical traditions of Salisbury than with the constitutional. This was largely due to historians' unwarranted association of Osmund with the Consuetudinary, which contained his original constitutional precepts, in addition to many subsequent constitutional and liturgical accretions. Despite Frere's work at the turn of the century, errors have persisted to the present time. As late as 1969 Walter Fröhlich assumed Osmund's involvement in the compilation of liturgical customs. Fröhlich relied on W. H. Rich Jones who wrote toward the end of the nineteenth-century and whose date for the compilation and dissemination of the Consuetudinary was refuted by Frere. Like many others, Fröhlich seems to have been misled by a progression of errors dating, in this case, from at least Higden's *Polychronicon* in the fourteenth-century. Higden stated that
Osmund composed an Ordinal which was called the, "Consuetudinariiun". 138 Higden's assertion is misleading, for the Ordinal, as described above, and the Consuetudinary were distinct books. Between the fourteenth-century and Fröhlich are writers who have mistakenly ascribed works to Osmund based on sources such as Higden.

To complete this account of Osmund's writings and their impact on the establishment of the secular cathedrals throughout England, we must consider whence the system came and whither it subsequently spread. However, before doing that, we need to consider Salisbury prior to Osmund's episcopacy. In short, what did Osmund find by way of cathedral administration upon his arrival? There is unfortunately, no clear evidence. Osmund's predecessor, Herman, had only held his bishop's seat at Sarum for three years when he died in 1078. As I mentioned in the previous chapter, the diocese of Salisbury had been formed in 1075 by the combination of Sherborne and Ramsbury. Herman had been a monk, and before the union of the dioceses he had centered his See at the monastery at Sherborne. The administrative structure of Ramsbury cathedral, of which Herman was also bishop, remains vague during Herman's tenure. 139 The new See at Sarum, according to Frere, appears to have been administered by

clergy dependent simply upon the bishop without special constitution or independent endowments. There are no traces extant of any definite provisions... 140

Frere went on to suggest that Herman may have made some temporary arrangements for those three years at Sarum. Herman was, after all,
Since the responsibility for the secular cathedral at Salisbury seems to lie largely with Osmund, what were his models in creating it? Edwards examined this point in her work and concluded that Osmund, along with such contemporaries as Remigius of Lincoln and Thomas of York who likewise founded secular cathedrals, used no specific model in organizing their cathedral governments. Other scholars have pointed to one or another cathedral in Normandy or France as models, but without convincing success. Osmund, as Edwards suggested, most likely collaborated with his fellow prelates in formulating his system for Salisbury. Certainly he drew from his Norman background, for there are a number of parallels between the English and the Norman secular cathedrals. Yet, as Edwards pointed out, there are also too many differences to allow scholars to hold that Osmund employed a precise model. Edwards listed Bayeux, Rouen, Angers, and LeMans as models which scholars previous to her had argued were models for the Anglo-Norman bishops. The secular cathedral organization in Normandy was not, however, a settled affair in Osmund's time. Rather, such organization, on both sides of the Channel, was in a state of rapid formation and would continue to be well into the twelfth-century. Edwards does point to one possible written source which may have guided many, and that was, "Bishop John of Avranche's De Officiis Ecclesiasticis of c.1060". Nevertheless, Edwards discounted this possibility, speculating that Osmund and his associates were probably both
eclectic and practical, and that they likely devised pragmatic cathedral systems which were both efficient and economical. 147

A far more lucid account has been recovered of the spread and impact of Osmund's secular cathedral system than of its origin. However, as it has been the curse of St. Osmund to be burdened with so much more than he actually accomplished, so too the account of the adoption of his cathedral system has suffered exaggeration. Ranulph Higden is again the source of historical error, for the Polychronicon states that Osmund's cathedral system spread, "quo fere nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur et Hibernia". 148 Such a claim was not without a kernel of truth. In fact, the secular plan instituted by Osmund, through quickly altered after his death, was adopted to varying degrees at cathedrals throughout the British Isles. The process, however, was much more complex and gradual than Higden's fourteenth-century Polychronicon implies.

Many cathedrals borrowed from Sarum--some a little, others a great deal. Some drew wholly on Osmund's original "Institucio," as well as on later constitutional and liturgical regulations drawn up at Sarum. Lincoln was a notable example. In the course of its development from the eleventh through the fifteenth-centuries, Lincoln borrowed heavily from Sarum constitutionally. 149 Chichester did the same in the thirteenth-century, Wells in the twelfth-century, Exeter, Lichfield, and St. Pauls, London in the twelfth to the fourteenth-centuries. 150 Beyond England the influence of Salisbury's constitutional regulations reached St. Patricks, Dublin and, in
Scotland, Moray and Glasgow Cathedrals, all at various times in the thirteenth-century. Ultimately, what began as Osmund's "Institucion," outlining the constitutional organization for his cathedral, evolved into the Use of Sarum. But the Use of Sarum carried with it not only constitutional regulations but liturgical regulations as well. Toward the close of the Middle Ages the Sarum Use came to imply largely its liturgical aspects, and it was Salisbury's liturgical customs at that time that were readily adopted. By the time of the English Reformation, the Use of Sarum's liturgy was enforced throughout England.

Canon A. F. Smethurst notes that

in 1542, at the time of the Reformation, it was directed that until a Prayer Book in English had been drawn up, all churches in the Province must follow 'The Use of Sarum' as the forms of services and ceremonies used at Salisbury were called.

Thus, in terms of secular cathedral constitutions, Osmund's constitution had a great deal of influence on subsequent English cathedral governments, although the liturgical content of the Use of Sarum which became so popular as the centuries passed, cannot be credited to him.

Osmund and the Sarum Schools

Osmund's concern with the establishment of schools is clear from his "Institucion". This document defines such officers as the Cantor, who had in turn a deputy, the Succentor, both of whom were involved in the song school. The Chancellor and the Archiscola, two other
officers named, had responsibilities in the grammar school. The "Institucio" states that one of the duties of the Cantor was, "to rule the choir in respect of song; and he has the power to raise and lower the singing". The Chancellor's obligations, according to the document, consisted, "in ruling the schools, and as corrector of the books". Further on the document continues as follows:

The School Rector's (Archiscola) duty is to hear the lessons read, and to determine their length; he is to carry the seal of the church, to compose letters and documents, and to mark the reader's names upon the board or ['wax brede'], and the Cantor's duty is to do the like for the singers.

While this quotation specifically points to the involvement in education of the Chancellor and the Archiscola, evidence for the duties of the Cantor and Succentor is less direct. However, it is known that there were boy choristers at Sarum, for the document alludes to them in commenting on measures to be taken against disobedient brethren:

And if they have been found guilty of disobedience or insubordination or any other notorious misde-meanour, they ought to be deposed from their stall, and to do penance at the choir door, behind the Dean, or in the choir at the bottom of the boys' row.

Consequently, since there were boys at Sarum, and since it was the duty of the Cantor and Succentor to rule the choir, they logically might have been involved in the training of the youths in music.

Concerning the office of Chancellor and that of Archiscola at Sarum there has been some debate, as both are given charge of the schools in the "Institucio". One view is that the Archiscola served as the Chancellor's deputy, "because the description of his
duties followed on after those of the subdean and succentor, the
deputies of the dean and cantor". \(^{158}\) Another view is that the
Archiscola and Chancellor were, "the same person described by
different titles". \(^{159}\) Kathleen Edwards maintained that in the
original draft of the document there was no mention of a Chancellor
at Sarum and that the term Archiscola was used throughout, the
office of Archiscola gradually evolving over the next several
generations into that of the Chancellor. \(^{160}\) Despite the debate,
the "Institucio" did provide for personnel to administer both
song and grammar schools.

What was the distinction between the song school and the
grammar school? D. H. Robertson, in her work, Sarum Close,
explains the difference:

In all cathedrals of secular canons like Sarum there
were two distinct schools which flourished side by
side; the Song School, which served the purpose of an
elementary school but taught music as well as reading
and writing, and the Grammar School which was more
in the nature of the modern secondary school, except
that its primary function, in fact almost its sole
function, was the teaching of Latin. \(^{161}\)

These schools then, at the time of Osmund, included instruction
in the Trivium, (grammar, rhetoric, and logic), but not much of
the Quadrivium, (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and music), with
the exception of music which played a prominent role. \(^{162}\) Sarum, at
this time, did not possess the kind of "schools for clerics" of
which Jean Leclercq speaks. \(^{163}\) Rather, these schools of grammar
and song at Sarum were preparatory schools for boys and adolescents,
more in the line of what Leclercq referred to as the "parochial"
Nearly two centuries after Osmund, two schools of higher learning were founded in the town of Salisbury, the college of St. Edmund (1269) and the college of St. Nicholas de Vaux (1261). It was at this time that Salisbury came close to realizing a "studium generale" or university.

The education of young men and boys at cathedral schools was an ancient practice by the eleventh-century, going back in England to St. Augustine of Canterbury's establishment of a grammar school in 598. Also, in 796 Alcuin of York wrote to the archbishop of York that there should be, "three classes of study under separate masters, the schools of book learning or grammar, the school of song, and the school of writing". There is a record of a grammar school at Sherborne under Osmund's predecessor, St. Aldhelm, but there is no evidence to suggest that Herman made provision for a school at Sarum when he moved his See there from Sherborne in 1075. Osmund's "Institucio" provides the first evidence for schools at Sarum, and William of Malmesbury reinforces this with his statement that Osmund gathered about him at Sarum men well versed in letters and music. Part of the function of these educated men Osmund brought to Sarum must have been the sharing of their knowledge in the cathedral schools.

Shortly after Osmund's death, his successor, Bishop Roger, acquired the services of, "Master Guy of Étampes from LeMans to be master of his cathedral school". Master Guy's letter of introduction is reproduced in the Patrologia Latina, volume 171. In it,
Guy is recommended to Bishop Roger by Bishop Hildebert of LeMans as a man in whom "Roger would find many masters".\(^{172}\) Kathleen Edwards wrote that Guy came to Sarum "soon after Roger of Salisbury's appointment as bishop of Salisbury in 1107...".\(^{173}\) Since the reputation of Guy was well known,\(^{174}\) this would suggest that Salisbury had already established schools worthy of such a master.

Finally, both D. H. Robertson\(^{175}\) and Kathleen Edwards\(^{176}\) note that the actual endowment of the grammar school dates from 1139, when King Stephen granted, "the Churches of Odiham and Liss in Hampshire,"\(^{177}\) to the school master at Sarum. This grant does not signal, however, the foundation of the Sarum schools, rather, it points to the school's growth in prominence in the forty years after Osmund's death. The office of school master had become important enough to need substantial support.

Osmund's Cathedral Library

During Osmund's episcopate the cathedral library at Sarum grew rapidly as a result of a very active scriptorium. Osmund was the prime mover behind this expansion, for, as William of Malmesbury recorded, Osmund gathered gifted writers about him and personally worked side by side with his scribes, not only in the copying but also in the binding of new books.\(^{178}\) Many have seen in this account by William of Malmesbury a sign of Osmund's great humility, but we must also remember that Osmund's career prior to becoming bishop involved being a scribe. Having been a court chaplain and
then a royal chancellor, Osmund was merely continuing in a task
for which he had been trained and to which he was much accustomed.

Osmund's "Institucio" assigned the job of book correction and
maintenance at Sarum to the Chancellor or Archiscola. This
designation and the brief remarks of William of Malmesbury are all
we have, by way of a commentary, on Osmund's intention concerning
the Sarum library. However, we are fortunate in that we also have
many of the books which were produced under Osmund, and they are
able to tell us a great deal more.

The recent efforts of N. R. Ker in studying the many surviving
manuscripts at Salisbury have shed an abundance of new light on
the activity of the Sarum scriptorium under Osmund and on the con­
tent of the cathedral library that the scriptorium fed. According
to Ker, the bulk of the books which can be dated from the period of
Osmund's episcopacy were produced under his direction and supervision.

Is there any reason to suppose that these books
originated at Salisbury? A superficial view suggests
that many of them did so: one would not expect to
find such untidy writing, such poor parchment---
holes abound---and such faulty ruling in books
commissioned or given. Examination shows that thirty-
seven books contain the writing of five cooperating
scribes. At least the majority of these books, if
not all of them, must be the products of one scrip­
torium. My impression is that this scriptorium was
very active over a short period---the late eighties
and nineties seems a likely time....

Ker goes on to explain that the untidy nature of many of these books
was due not so much to a lack of skill but rather to the urgency and
speed with which they were reproduced. As the See at Sarum was newly
established upon Osmund's appointment, we may hypothesize that
Osmund was eager to see tangible progress. In view of all that was accomplished over a twenty year period, Osmund and his associates must have worked at a frenetic pace in all their endeavors, the establishment of an adequate library being but one.

Ker discerned the hand of at least eight scribes in all in the books copied under Osmund, and in his work he designated these by letter: scribe A; the principal copyist, scribe C; the director of the scriptorium; scribes B1; B2; B3; D1; D2; D3—for the sake of distinguishing among these various scribes and the books they copied. Scribe C's hand was Norman, and, although it appears frequently, nowhere did he copy much. Scribe C may have been Osmund himself, though Ker is not certain. Scribe A, whom Ker assumes to have been Anglo-Saxon, was the primary scribe under Osmund. Scribe B1 was Norman, B2 Anglo-Saxon, and B3 of undetermined nationality. Of scribes D1, D2, and D3, Ker notes that the hand of D1 was Norman but does not mention the supposed nationality of the other two. Osmund's scriptorium was not only highly productive but international in its personnel.

Ker does not elaborate on possible reasons why certain books and kinds of books were copied, and I am not in a position to judge, from Ker's listings, Osmund's precise purposes in reproducing the books he did. Based on Ker's work, however, a list of the books copied under Osmund is as follows:

Passionals
Homiliaries
a collection of church law by Lanfranc
Amalarius', Liber officialis
Cassiodorus', *Institutiones*
Origen—one volume in translation
Augustine's, *Confessions*
Augustine on St. John
Jerome on Isaiah and Ezekiel
Gregory's, *Moralia on Job*

Wiltshire Geld Account

Pontifical
Saints' Lives

Leofric Missal

Isidore's, *Synonyma*
Alcuin on the Song of Songs
Jerome on Jeremiah

Victorius on the Apocalypse (in Jerome's recension)
Bede on the Apocalypse

*Liber Athenasii de processione Spiritus Sancti*
Ambrose's, *De Spiritu Sancto*

Bede's, *De Tabernaculo*
Augustine's, *Questiones*
pseudo-Augustine's, *De duodecim abusivis*

Bede on Luke

*Excerpta ex decretis Romanorum pontificum*
Augustine's, *De adulterinis conjugiis*

Origen on Exodus and Leviticus

Augustine's, *De natura boni*
Augustine's, *Contra Faustum*
Eusebius', *Historia ecclesiastica*

works of Augustine and Jerome against Lucifer
Bede on Samuel

One observes that Osmund had books reproduced in two basic categories. First, there is an ample number of works dealing with canon law, and such works would have been basic to any cathedral library. Second, the many commentaries by Augustine, Jerome, and Bede suggest a desire for a kind of homiletic resource center on
which the canons might draw. Thus, the books which Osmund had copied would have been considered essential for the performance of church government and for the spiritual nourishment of his canons and people.

Music at Sarum

When we study Osmund's episcopate from the point of view of its musical history and achievements, we must voice an initial word of caution. Too often the great tradition of Salisbury in liturgical music is inaccurately attributed to Osmund. In regard to music, Osmund enjoys anachronistic credit on the part of some writers. The episcopate of Richard Poore, c.1210, represented the turning point in the musical prowess of Salisbury with the expansion of Osmund's "Institucio" into the Salisbury Consuetudinarium.

As we saw above, the Consuetudinary contained regulations for liturgical and ceremonial services, the "Institucio" did not. There can be little doubt that Salisbury led the way in Medieval England in the field of liturgical music. As Frank Harrison wrote:

Bishop Giles de Bridport began his statutes of c.1256... with a tribute to its [Salisbury's] pre-eminence. 'The Church of Salisbury,' he wrote, 'shines as the sun in its orb among the churches of the world in its divine service and those who minister in it, and by spreading its rays everywhere makes up for the defects of others'.

From the thirteenth-century forward to the Reformation, Salisbury was a leader in church music, but such was not the case in Osmund's day.

The Norman Conquest brought changes in liturgical music, and these changes were often met with stout resistance by the native
English. The most famous example is the conflict which took place at Glastonbury Abbey in 1082, when the Norman abbot, Thurstan of Caen, attempted to impose Norman chant on his English subordinates. The result was an armed clash between the monks at Glastonbury and a contingent of Norman soldiers. Florence of Worcester provides the best contemporary account of the struggle, also recorded by William of Malmesbury and Orderic Vitalis.

What was the change in chant which caused such a violent reaction? Thomas Hamilton summarizes it as follows:

During the monastic revival of the tenth-century Gregorian chant in all its purity was re-introduced into England from Corbie.... By the time of the Conquest authentic Gregorian chant was undoubtedly employed in the liturgical observance of every monastery and cathedral in England. During the same period the chant was being subjected to a certain amount of modification in the Norman abbeys of the continent. This modification was the result of certain innovations introduced by William of Dijon, a figure of considerable importance in the monastic and intellectual revival in Normandy in the early eleventh-century.

The dispute over chant was, however, more than the matter of differing chant styles. It was also a point of national and racial irritation between the conquerors and the conquered. William of Malmesbury, when commenting on Osmund's exact contemporary, Archbishop Thomas of York, a noted musician, said that Thomas strove to expunge certain feminine elements from the liturgical music of the English Church. Percy M. Young, in his modern work on the period mentions this point but does not clarify its meaning. It likely dealt with the Norman dislike of the use of falsetto
voice in Anglo-Saxon chant. Osmund, like Thomas, would probably have found such a practice distasteful. They would likely have agreed with the sentiments of a continental voice early in the next century, Bernard of Clairvaux, who in a letter to Guy, Abbot of Montier-Ramey on the office of St. Victor wrote:

If there is to be singing, the melody should be grave and not flippant or uncouth. It should be sweet but not frivolous; ... Not a little spiritual profit is lost when minds are distracted from the sense of the words by the frivolity of the melody, when more is conveyed by the modulations of the voice than by the variations of the meaning.

Archbishop Thomas of York is better known for his personal abilities than was Osmund, and William of Malmesbury said of him that he composed music for his church and even adapted secular songs for liturgy if they pleased him. Thomas, like Osmund, founded a secular cathedral, and, although he left no written constitution to compare with Osmund's, we do know from the account of Hugh the Cantor, Thomas' biographer, that it was similar to Osmund's.

Osmund, like Thomas, gathered gifted musicians about him at Sarum, according to William of Malmesbury. Part of their function, discussed above, would have been to teach in the song school at Sarum, but largely they were expected to provide for the proper rendering of the daily offices. Osmund's "Institucio" calls for a Cantor and his deputy, the Succentor, to regulate the liturgical music of the cathedral. They would direct the choir, select the music for the day, and appoint the daily singers. In like manner,
Thomas of York appointed a Precentor, whose function was the same as that of Osmund's Cantor, Cantor and Precentor being variant titles for the same office. This office had a long history, dating from the fourth and fifth-centuries. A Cantor is known to have been active at Sarum from 1091 onward.

Hugh the Cantor mentioned no Succentor at York under Thomas, and Kathleen Edwards stated that no English cathedral had such a dignitary in the late eleventh-century. She maintained that the first known Succentor at Salisbury appeared in 1163. Osmund's "Institucio" does list this office and function, and it is difficult to say whether Edwards or the textual transmission is at fault here. As the cathedral organization grew more complex in the twelfth-century, the "Institucio" may have been amended to include this office. In Normandy, however, the office is known to have existed under the title of Succentor in the late eleventh-century—at Bayeaux in 1092 and at Coutances, c.1090. There was then a precedent contemporary with Osmund, if he chose to follow it. In light of Edward's objections it is uncertain whether or not he did.

Despite the probable resentment on the part of their Anglo-Saxon subordinates, both Osmund and Thomas had certain advantages in instituting their liturgical and musical customs in their respective Sees. The See of Sarum was as yet loosely organized when Osmund received it, while York had been so devastated by the Conqueror's campaigns that Thomas had a free hand in reestablishing his See along lines which suited him. Osmund may have encountered
musical resistance in his See from Goscelin of St. Bertin, a monk who had been Herman’s protege and with whom Osmund disputed. A study of their dispute is found in Appendix II of this thesis. Generally, however, Osmund instituted Norman customs in liturgical music and introduced the persons to execute them. There is no record that he met with the kind of resistance that his contemporary, Abbot Thurstan, did at Glastonbury. He laid the foundation for what would be a long and glorious history of music at the Church of Salisbury.

Conclusion

David C. Douglas has said that a biographer tends, "to exaggerate the importance of the man he portrays...". I began, however, with a great deal of exaggeration and no reliable biography for Osmund. Now, despite having to resort to a number of hypotheses, I have dispelled the exaggerations and provided a biography.

Certainly there remain areas of Osmund's life and career that have not yet come to light. His origin, for example, is still elusive. He was Norman, but from what city, cathedral, or family? His contrived post-canonization genealogy on which so many relied is plainly unreliable. Osmund's appearance at the court of William I as a chaplain stands as the first concrete evidence for him in the historical record. Any further study must begin in the records of Normandy prior to the Conquest.
Those who compiled the dossier from the thirteenth to the fifteenth-centuries for Osmund's canonization have created the major obstacles to recovering the facts of Osmund's life and works. In their zeal to have a local saint at Salisbury, they so embellished the record of Osmund's life as to lead subsequent writers and historians to gross errors and illogical assumptions. The biographer's task is great enough when piecing together the fragmentary evidence for an eleventh-century individual, but it becomes even more arduous when the individual has assumed legendary proportions. Such was the case with St. Osmund.

D. C. Douglas has stated that: "A man's place in history depends on the extent to which he can mould, and also respond to, the needs of his time". Osmund did both. His foundation of a secular cathedral at Sarum and its attendant institutions such as the schools, the library, and the music, responded both to a need and imposed a mould on the Church of Salisbury. Osmund came to his See at Sarum three years after its establishment. He likely found it unorganized and directed its affairs so well that within two centuries of his death it had become a model institution for church throughout the British Isles.

Osmund lived in a time, "when government was essentially personal". The persons involved directed the development of the institutions of which they were a part. Osmund not only impressed his personal stamp on the Church of Salisbury and on those churches which imitated it, but he left his mark as well on the royal chancery.
Osmund seems to have enjoyed the esteem of all of his contemporaries, save one, and the adulation of posterity. William of Malmesbury praised him highly as a man pre-eminent in chastity, a virtue often lacking among eleventh-century English clergy. He was also said by William to have been immune from ambition and freed of worldly blemish by the sufferings he underwent before his death. Anselm, his spiritual overlord, also spoke well of him, as noted in the letter to Abbess Matilda in Chapter I, referring to him as benevolent and pleasingly obedient to God.

Osmund shines as a light both in the Church of Salisbury and throughout all England for his contributions and reputation. It is hoped that he will shine even more brightly now that some of the tarnish of history has been removed by this study.
APPENDIX I

Osmund's Life of St. Aldhelm

In spite of Osmund's reputation as a writer, whether he actually wrote one work attributed to him, is questionable. A long tradition has existed that Osmund wrote a life of St. Aldhelm, first abbot of Malmesbury and bishop of Sherborne, d. 709 A.D. The diocese of Sherborne, covering the county of Dorset, was one of the two dioceses which were combined under Osmund's predecessor, Hermann, to form the new diocese of Salisbury with its See at Sarum. The other diocese was Ramsbury and included the counties of Wiltshire and Berkshire. Aldhelm was greatly venerated by Osmund, and one of Osmund's first actions as bishop was to officiate at the translation of Aldhelm's relics within the church at Malmesbury Abbey. William of Malmesbury recorded the event in his Gesta Pontificum. William stated that Osmund also beseeched Abbot Warin of Malmesbury to share his precious relics, and the abbot consented, giving Osmund a bone of Aldhelm's left arm. Osmund, upon receipt of the relic, had a silver reliquary case made for its enshrinement. The reliquary is known to have survived into the fifteenth-century, but in the treasurer's inventory of 1536, at the outset of the Dissolution, it had disappeared from the record.

Ranulph Higden, in his fourteenth-century Polychronicon, appears to have been the first person to mention that Osmund authored
Stephen Cassan claims there is reference to the work by William of Malmesbury, but no such reference exists. Relying on Higden's assertion, the fifteenth-century chapter which achieved Osmund's canonization believed Osmund had written the life. The wording of the chapter used in reference to the life suggests that they owned no copy of it but knew it only by tradition. The papal bull of canonization is still more vague. It does not mention Aldhelm specifically, rather, it states simply: "and indeed, he [Osmund] composed accounts of saints' lives for their glory and for the instruction of his clerics." The bull merely summarized the chapter's assertion that Osmund wrote a saint's life, the chapter, of course, having taken Higden's account as valid. Subsequently, many writers have stated that the life of Aldhelm by Osmund did not survive.

In an article published in 1927 entitled, "Sources of the Biography of Aldhelm," Albert Cook made no reference whatever to Osmund or to the claim that he wrote a life of St. Aldhelm. Cook did refer, however, to two biographers of Aldhelm contemporary with, but slightly later than, Osmund: a monk named Faricus from Malmesbury Abbey, later abbot of Abingdon, and an exact contemporary of Osmund and William of Malmesbury who used Faricus' account. The work of Faricus was evidently only a bare bones version, while William's was a much more amplified life of Aldhelm. William made no mention of Osmund, but did refer to
Faricus when he wrote about his sources for his version of Aldhelm's life. Perhaps the life of Aldhelm which Higden thought was Osmund's was, in fact, that by Faricus. Osmund, Faricus' bishop, may have commissioned the monk of Malmesbury to write the life of Aldhelm, given the bishop's great respect for the saint. Yet, had Osmund sought to write the life himself, he was certainly capable of rendering such a work. There remains, however, no proof that he did write the life, and all evidence currently at hand suggests that he did not.
APPENDIX II

The Dispute with Goscelin

Goscelin of St. Bertin is of interest in this study of Osmund as the bishop's only recorded foe. There are two works which consider the life and career of Goscelin, and both refer to the episode where Goscelin and Osmund crossed paths. There is no biography of Goscelin per se, but Frank Barlow's edition of The Life of King Edward touches on Goscelin as the work's probable author and gives a brief review of Goscelin's life. Thomas Hamilton's doctoral dissertation entitled, Goscelin of Canterbury, is the other work which focuses on Goscelin. Barlow's main concern is with his translation of the Vita Edwardi, and Goscelin is treated incidentally. Hamilton's work, however, is largely a critical study of Goscelin's writings. Other, minor, sources for Goscelin are certain autobiographical passages in Goscelin's works and William of Malmesbury's brief account of Goscelin in the Gesta Regum Anglorum.

Goscelin, a native of Flanders and a monk of St. Bertin, early in life made the acquaintance of Osmund's predecessor, Bishop Herman. Herman became a monk of St. Bertin at St. Omer while in voluntary exile from England between 1055 and 1058. When Herman returned from Flanders to his See at Sherborne in 1058, he was soon followed by Goscelin, who became a member of the bishop's
household. Goscelin acted as both secretary and companion to Herman on his travels. He also was made a chaplain at Wilton, a convent under Herman's jurisdiction. King Edward's widow, Edith, retired there upon the confessor's death. As chaplain at Wilton, Goscelin became acquainted with a nun named Eve and seems to have acted as her spiritual director. Eve was also a favorite of Bishop Herman, and when Herman died both she and Goscelin encountered some turbulent times. Barlow states that with Herman's death in 1078, "the effects of the Norman Conquest [were] brought home at last to Goscelin." Eve, soon after Herman's death, fled to Saint-Laurent du Terte at Angers where she became a recluse. Goscelin, dismayed over her departure and over his own troubled times following Herman's death, wrote Eve his, Liber Confortatorius, c. 1080-82. By it, Goscelin sought to comfort Eve and, in a sense, himself over their mutual loss and to encourage her in her spiritual life. In the prologue of the work, Goscelin made some very bitter remarks about Osmund, calling the new bishop a barbarous stepfather and referred to himself as, "a victim of viperine envy," who had been forced by Osmund to wander far.

What was the nature of the dispute which forced Goscelin to leave Salisbury and refer to Osmund in such a negative fashion? The answer is shrouded in mystery, and, although some have offered suggestions, none are concrete. For example, Barlow argues that
Osmund "was completely identified with the new culture and probably unsympathetic to the old."\textsuperscript{248} Therefore, by Barlow's account, regardless of any specific issue, the animosity between Osmund and Goscelin was basically cultural.

Hamilton noted that Osmund and Goscelin undoubtedly entertained divergent views about the ecclesiastical polity of the Anglo-Saxon Church, i.e. its governmental form.\textsuperscript{249} Barlow and Hamilton both suggest the possibility that Osmund and Goscelin clashed over the new Norman chant which was being introduced.\textsuperscript{250}

There is no question that Osmund was committed to the new Norman order, and when Hamilton suggests that the dispute involved divergent views on ecclesiastical government he is referring to Osmund's institution of the secular cathedral. Goscelin, being both a monk and a traditionalist, probably opposed Osmund's plan for a secular cathedral at Sarum. Goscelin, under the monk-bishop Herman, was accustomed to diocesan government whereby the bishop's cathedral was a minster and the bishop's subordinates were the cathedral's monks. With Osmund's secular system and its secular canons there would no longer be a need for monks in the administration of the diocese. Goscelin's preference for monk-bishops and monastic cathedrals is evident from the many saints' lives of Anglo-Saxon monk-bishops which he compiled.\textsuperscript{251} Although monastic cathedrals and monk-bishops continued in England until the Dissolution, Salisbury was from Osmund's time a secular cathedral and Goscelin, the odd man out.
Another possible cause for the dispute was the differing styles of chant, as mentioned above. As Goscelin was a musician, second only to Osbern of Canterbury, according to William of Malmesbury, he may have objected to the changes in chant style Osmund must have introduced at Sarum. This, at least, is the opinion of Barlow and Hamilton, as mentioned above. I am not convinced that this is a correct assumption, however. Indeed, monks in England did stoutly resist the Norman chant, as in the case of the riot at Glastonbury. But Goscelin was not an Anglo-Saxon but of either Flemish or Lotharingian origin, and he would have been acquainted with the new chant from his early days at St. Bertin on the continent. Also, since he was praised by William of Malmesbury for his music, it seems illogical that he would have been opposed to the new style of chant. On the contrary, he composed it.

Over a long period he covered the bishoprics and abbeys and left memorials of excellent skill in many places. He was after Bede second to none in his homage to English saints, and took the prize after Osbern [of Canterbury] for music.

Goscelin may have argued with Osmund over the persons employed in Sarum's chant, i.e. monks vs. canons, but over the style of chant I see no evidence of dispute.

At any rate, Goscelin's dispute with Osmund was hardly fatal, for after Goscelin departed from Salisbury his career as a writer...
and musician realized its greatest hour. He settled, in time, at the monastic cathedral of Canterbury where he died sometime after 1107, having, as he expressed it, wandered far.
ENDNOTES


3. Armfield, H. T., Legend of Christian Art Illustrated in the Statues of (the West Front of) Salisbury Cathedral, (Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1869). This work contains in an appendix both the Latin life of Osmund and a translation; however, it is unavailable in the United States. The original life is catalogued in the British Museum, (Cottonian MSS. Collection, Titus F. III. ff.262-263. Several attempts were made to procure a copy of the work but to no avail.


5. ibid.


7. ibid.


ecclesiam Sarum. Et sic iste Osmundus descenebat linealiter ex nobili sanguine septem ducum Christianorum Normanniae, et nepos fuit, ut praescriptum est, Willelmi Bastardi, Angliae Conquestorist. Item praefactus Osmundus fuit consecratus episcopus auctoritate sanctissimi in Christo patris ac domini, domini Gregorii papae VII, qui antea vocabatur Hildebrandus. Qui quidem Osmundus Sarisburiensem ecclesiam rexit cum summa devotione et vitae sanctitate XXIV, annis et tribus mensibus; cuius corpus in dicta ecclesia Sarum in Domino requiescit.


13Torrance, p. 103 n. 4.


18ibid.

19Malden, pp. 2-3. "... et quatuor dignitates et trigina-duos canonici in totidem prebendis instituit in eadem eandemque ecclesiam pro tempore deservirent sufficienter dotavit prefate
ecclesie terras possessiones Comitatus sui dorsetie..."

20 ibid.


22 The Complete Peerage, p. 417.

23 Cassan, p. 109 n.4.

24 Edwards, p. 13 n.5.


26 Butler, p. 455.


28 op. cit.


30 Foss, p. 44.


32 Regesta Regnum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154, charter 70, pp. 18-19.


36 Bishop and Chaplais, p. xvi.


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Stenton, p. 677 n. 2.

ibid.


op. cit., p. 145. Osmund was succeeded by Maurice who was later made Bishop of London. "Hugoni successit Mauritius regis cancellarius, ..."


Douglas, David C., William the Conqueror, pp. 328 n. 6.

The Life of King Edward ..., p. xlvii.

loc. cit., p. xlvii.

Smethurst, A. F., Salisbury Cathedral, (London: Pitkin Pictorials Ltd., 1972), p. 5. Smethurst does not give the source for his information on the measurements of Osmund's cathedral. There is no information on its recent excavation in the Smethurst text.

loc. cit., pp. 5-6.


op. cit., p. 5.

turris ecclesiae omnino disjecit, multumque maceriam labefactavit, quinta sane die postquam eam dedicaverat Osmundus, praecelarum memoriae episcopus."


The Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 111.


55 Smethurst, p. 6.

56 op. cit., pp. 423-424.


59 loc. cit., p. 423.

60 Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of ... Salisbury, charter 17, pp. 15-16.


63 ibid.


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Barlow, The English Church..., pp. 198-199 n. 9.


ibid.


loc. cit., p. 32.


op. cit., charter 328, p. 86.


Eadmer, History of Recent Events in England, ed. and trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet (London: Cresset Press, 1964), p. 75. "... as Anselm was departing from the court, two Bishops, Robert of Hereford and Osmund of Salisbury, followed him and made penitent confession to him of their wrongdoing in deserting him as in company with other bishops they had done at Rockingham."

Willelmi Malmesbriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 94. "Ita omnes diessare, solisque duobus penitentiam ante quam mare transiret petentibus benignus ignovit. Earum nomina fuerunt Osmundus Sereberiensis et Robertus Herefordensis."
81


79 loc. cit., p. 108. "The four who visited Worcestershier and supposedly Gloucestershire and Herefordshire were Remigious de Fecamp, Bishop of Lincoln, Walter Giffard, Henry de Ferrars, and Adam Fitz Hubert (a Kentish Baron)."

80 ibid.


Eadmer, History of Recent Events in England, trans. Geoffrey Bosanquet, pp. 85-86. "While the King still prolonged his deliberations and the Archbishop was sitting with his supporters, it occurred to Anselm that it was more proper that the Bishops should be advising on his side, which was God's, than on that of their earthly King. So he sent a message summoning them to come to him. The Bishops so summoned were Walchelin, Bishop of Winchester, Robert of Lincoln, Osmund of Salisbury and John of Bath. At Anselm's bidding they seated themselves on his right hand and on his left. He then said to them: 'Brethren, I have summoned you to come to me because on you especially devolves the duty of handling, dispensing and maintaining the things of God. You are bishops; you are set in authority in the Church of God; you are sons of God. If then, as for the other side with anxious thought you defend the rights and usages of a mortal man, you are willing on my side no less faithfully and unreservedly to consider and defend what is right and just in the sight of God, and you give me your promise so to do, then to you as faithful followers and sons of God I will explain to what end the whole purpose of my present course is directed and will then hear and follow the advise which your true devotion to God shall prompt you to give me on the matter.' They said, 'We will, if we may, discuss this among ourselves and, when we are agreed, we will report to you the decision of us all.'
To cut the story short, they chose one and all to follow the will of an earthly man. They returned all together to Anselm and said to him: 'My lord Father, we know that you are a man of piety and holiness...But for ourselves, encumbered as we are by our kinsfolk whom we support and by the manifold interests of this world which are dear to us, we cannot, we confess, rise to the sublime height of your life and scorn this world as you do. We owe our allegiance to the King and from the allegiance we will not depart.'


87 op. cit., p. 85.


89 loc. cit., p. 623.

90 ibid.

91 ibid.

92 William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, vol. II, pp. 372-373. "Ex his fuit Willelmus de Alderia, speciosae personae homo et compater regis. Is patibulo affigi jussus, Osmundo episcopo Salesbriae confessus, et per omnes ecclesias oppidi flagellatus est...Episcopo et populo sequente ad locum supplicii ita satisfecit: 'Sic, inquit,' adjuvet Deus animam meam et a malis liberet, ut dere de qua accusor immunis sum, et quidem sententia de me prolata non revocabitur,...Tunc dicta commendatione animae, et aspersa aqua benedicta, episcopus discessit.'


94 op. cit., pp. 372-373.

Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858), vol. III, p. 48. "Osmundo episcopo Sarum confessus et per omnes ecclesias oppidi flagellatus itaque dispersis vestibus ad suspendium nudus ibat... episcopo et populo sequenti ad locum supplicii ita satisfecit: 'Sic,' inquit, 'adjuvet Deus animam meam et a malis me liberet, ut de qua re accusor immunis sum.' Tunc..."
dicta commendatione animae et aspersa benedicta episcopus dis-
cessit, et ille appensus est."

95 Hollister, C. Warren, The Making of England 55 B.C.-1399,

96 Eadmer, History of Recent Events in England, trans. Geoffrey
Bosanquet, pp. 85-86.

97 Gibson, Margaret, Lanfranc of Bec, (Oxford: Clarendon Press,
1978), p. 121 n. 1. I was unable to obtain this text when the
thesis was compiled, therefore I was unable to verify Gibson's source.

98 S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, vol.
IV, letters 177, 190, and 195, pp. 60-61, 76, and 85-86.

99 loc. cit., letter 185, pp. 69-70.

100 ibid.

101 loc. cit., letter 190, p. 76.


103 loc. cit., letter 254, pp. 165-166.

104 loc. cit., letter 172, pp. 53-54.

105 loc. cit., letter 29, pp. 29-31. See also: Southern, R.W.,
St. Anselm and His Biographer, (Cambridge: Cambridge University

106 The Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 112.

107 S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, vol. IV,
letter 185, pp. 69-70.


109 Poole, Austin Lane, From Domesday to Magna Carta: 1087-1216,
Southern, pp. 159-160.

110 Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 176.
The Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 112.
The Peterborough Chronicle, ed. Cecily Clark, (London: Oxford
Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, p. 220.
The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. and trans.
Chapter II

111 Edwards, p. 12.


115 *loc. cit.*, p. xv.


117 *ibid.* "Osmundus composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem Consuetudinarium vocant, quo fere nunc total Anglia, Wallia, utitur et Hibernia."

118 Malden, p. xi.

119 Frere, p. xix.

120 *loc. cit.*, xviii.


122 *Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury*, pp. 16-17.

123 Frere, p. xviii.

124 *ibid.*

125 *loc. cit.*, pp. xix-xx.

126 Edwards, p. 9.

127 *loc. cit.*, pp. 12-13. Other bishops who founded secular cathedrals were Remigius of Lincoln, Thomas I of York, and Maurice of London.
Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, pp. 27-35. "Decanus et Cantor Thesaurarius et Cancellarius duplicem percipiunt communam, reliqui canonici simplicem, sed in communa non participat nisi qui residens fuerit in ecclesia."

Schmitt, Analecta Anselmiana, "Die bischoflichen Killegen...," Walter Frohlich, p. 235. "Von der Verbreitung her am bedeutsamsten war jedoch die Aufzeichnung eines Ordinariu..."
147 ibid.
149 Frere, p. xxiii.
150 loc. cit., pp. xxix-xxxvi.
151 loc. cit., p. xxxvii.
152 Smethurst, p. 6.
154 Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, p. 29. "Cantor debet chorum regere quo ad cantum et potest cantus elevare et deponere."
155 loc. cit., p. 31. "Similiter et cancellarius in scolis regendis et in libris corrigendis."
157 ibid. "Si vero de inobediencia et rebellione vel alio notorio deprehensi fuerint, debent a stallo degradari, et ad hostium chori post Decanum, vel in choro ultimi puerorum secundum quantitatem delicti penitenciam agere."
158 Edwards, p. 181 n. 4.
159 loc. cit., p. 182.
160 loc. cit., pp. 183-184 n. 1, pp. 12-13 n. 1, 2, and 3. "St. Osmund is the only bishop known to have given a written constitution to his cathedral. But there is much uncertainty about the accuracy of the earliest copies of his Institution. These were written in the early fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries..."
164 loc. cit., p. 3.
165 Smethurst, pp. 10-11.
167 Robertson, p. 27.
170 Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 183-184. See above, note 42.
171 Edwards, p. 185.
173 Edwards, p. 185.
174 loc. cit., pp. 185-186 and n. 7.
175 Robertson, p. 28.
176 op. cit., pp. 185-186.
177 op. cit. Robertson, p. 28. Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of... Salisbury, charter 19, pp. 8-9. "Sciatis me dedisset et concessisse in perpetuum elemosinam Deo ecclesiae Sarum, ecclesiis de Odiham cum ecclesiis de Lys et de Bynthewrthe, et cum aliis ecclesiis et capellis ei pertinentibus."
178 Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 183-184. See above, note 42.
180 Edwards, p. 183.
loc. cit., pp. 33-34.

loc. cit., p. 44.

loc. cit., "Possibly scribe C, who was above all a corrector, is Osmund: his work in these manuscripts is not more than we might expect from an active bishop one of whose most urgent duties was to make a collection of books. We might do so if scribe C had left more traces of his own interests in the margins. So far as I know, the only place where he writes in the first person is on a page of the Amalarius (I. 15, IV. 26) to make the point that he had not found the next ten pages..."

loc. cit., p. 34.


loc. cit., p. 25.


loc. cit., p. 36.

loc. cit., p. 37.

loc. cit., p. 40.

loc. cit., p. 41.

loc. cit., p. 43.

loc. cit., p. 44.

loc. cit., p. 44.

loc. cit., p. 46.

loc. cit., p. 47.

loc. cit., p. 48.


loc. cit., p. 5 and n. 2.


Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 257-258. "Illud apud clericos quam maxime agere, ut masculam in ecclesia musicam haberent, nec quiquam affeminate destringentes..."

Young, pp. 21-22.


Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 257-258


op. cit., pp. 183-184. See above, note 42.

Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, pp. 28, 30, and n. 3. "Cantor debet chorum regere quo ad cantum et potest cantus elevare et deponere." "Succentor a cantore que ad cantarium pertinet possidet. Si decanus defuerit ecclesie Subdecanus vices eius impleat. Succentor similiter et Cantoris."
Hugh the Cantor: The History of the Church of York...
trans. Charles Johnson, p. 11. "He then appointed a dean, treasurer, and precentor, endowing each of them as befitted the church, himself, and their individual dignities."


Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, pp. 26-27. "Hee sunt dignitates et consuetudines Saresbiriensis ecclesie quas ego Osmundus Episcopus eiusdem ecclesie In nomine sancte Trinitatis anno ab incarnatione domini millesimo xci institui simul et concessi personis et Canoniciis eiusdem ecclesie, participato dominorum Archiepiscopi et aliorum coepiscoporum nostrorum consilio, quorum nomina subscripta sunt, et domini regis Willelmi interveniente assensu, videlicet ut Decanus et Cantor Cancellarius et Thesaurarius Residentes sint assidue in ecclesia Sarum remota omni excusacionis specie."

Edwards, p. 172.

Ibid.

Hugh the Cantor: The History of the Church of York...
trans. Charles Johnson, p. 11.

Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 367.

loc. cit., p. 368.

Ibid.

Osmund's one known critic was Goscelin of St. Bertin. See Appendix II for details.


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Appendix I

224 Barlow, The English Church..., pp. 220-224.

225 Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 428. See above, note 62.


227 Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, p. 26 and n. 1. "Dictavit etiam vitam sancti Aldheleini prout in multis chronicis reperitur."

228 Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, pp. 160, 169, and 183.

229 Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden..., vol. VII, p. 294. "... dictavit etiam vitam sancti Aldelmi."

230 Cassan, p. 114.

231 Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 458. No reference is made in this work to a life of Aldhelm by Osmund.

232 Malden, pp. xi, 46, and 53.

233 loc. cit., p. 228. "... Necnon sanctorum vitas, pro corum gloria et cleri instructione, composit..."


235 Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 458. This is an index page of the work.

236 ibid.

Appendix II

237 The Life of King Edward..., pp. 91-104.


240 The Life of King Edward..., p. xlvii.

241 loc. cit., pp. 91-94.

242 loc. cit., p. 97.

243 loc. cit., p. 94.

244 loc. cit., pp. 100-101.


247 op. cit. The Liber Confortatorius..., p. 29 and n. 12, 13, and 14. "Post decessum patris nostri, consolabar tecum frequentior communem orbitatem, donee surgente rege qui ignorabat Joseph viperina invidia et vitricali barbarie devotus tuus coactus est longius peregrinari."

248 The Life of King Edward..., p. 101.


250 ibid. and op. cit.


253 The Life of King Edward..., p. xlii.

254 loc. cit., pp. xlvi-xlvii.

255 ibid. Osbern of Canterbury should not be confused with his contemporary, Bishop Osbern of Exeter.

256 loc. cit., p. 104.
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