



Western Michigan University
ScholarWorks at WMU

Masters Theses

Graduate College

8-1980

St. Osmund of Salisbury

Michael A. Benton
Western Michigan University

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses



Part of the Medieval Studies Commons

Recommended Citation

Benton, Michael A., "St. Osmund of Salisbury" (1980). *Masters Theses*. 1852.
https://scholarworks.wmich.edu/masters_theses/1852

This Masters Thesis-Open Access is brought to you for free and open access by the Graduate College at ScholarWorks at WMU. It has been accepted for inclusion in Masters Theses by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks at WMU. For more information, please contact wmu-scholarworks@wmich.edu.



ST. OSMUND OF SALISBURY

by

Michael A. Benton

A Thesis
Submitted to the
Faculty of The Graduate College
in partial fulfillment
of the
Degree of Master of Arts
The Medieval Institute

Western Michigan University
Kalamazoo, Michigan
August 1980

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I extend my gratitude to Professors William R. Cook and Ronald B. Herzman of SUNY Geneseo who first instilled in me a love for Medieval Studies. I also extend thanks to Professors Otto Gründler, George Beech, Thomas Seiler, and Rozanne Elder of Western Michigan University for their efforts in guiding me through my master's program and this thesis. In addition, I am grateful to Rev. Athanasius Cherry, O.S.B. and Rev. and Mrs. Lee Beckes for their assistance in the final preparation of this text.

Michael A. Benton

INFORMATION TO USERS

This was produced from a copy of a document sent to us for microfilming. While the most advanced technological means to photograph and reproduce this document have been used, the quality is heavily dependent upon the quality of the material submitted.

The following explanation of techniques is provided to help you understand markings or notations which may appear on this reproduction.

1. The sign or "target" for pages apparently lacking from the document photographed is "Missing Page(s)". If it was possible to obtain the missing page(s) or section, they are spliced into the film along with adjacent pages. This may have necessitated cutting through an image and duplicating adjacent pages to assure you of complete continuity.
2. When an image on the film is obliterated with a round black mark it is an indication that the film inspector noticed either blurred copy because of movement during exposure, or duplicate copy. Unless we meant to delete copyrighted materials that should not have been filmed, you will find a good image of the page in the adjacent frame.
3. When a map, drawing or chart, etc., is part of the material being photographed the photographer has followed a definite method in "sectioning" the material. It is customary to begin filming at the upper left hand corner of a large sheet and to continue from left to right in equal sections with small overlaps. If necessary, sectioning is continued again—beginning below the first row and continuing on until complete.
4. For any illustrations that cannot be reproduced satisfactorily by xerography, photographic prints can be purchased at additional cost and tipped into your xerographic copy. Requests can be made to our Dissertations Customer Services Department.
5. Some pages in any document may have indistinct print. In all cases we have filmed the best available copy.

**University
Microfilms
International**

300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106
18 BEDFORD ROW, LONDON WC1R 4EJ, ENGLAND

1315369

**BENTON, MICHAEL ALAN
ST. OSMUND OF SALISBURY.**

WESTERN MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, M.A., 1980

COPR. 1980 BENTON, MICHAEL ALAN
University
Microfilms
International 300 N. ZEEB ROAD, ANN ARBOR, MI 48106

© 1980

MICHAEL ALAN BENTON

All Rights Reserved

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	ii
LIST OF TABLES.....	iv
Chapter	
I. THE PREMISE.....	1
A Chronological Outline.....	3
About the Sources.....	8
A Biography for Osmund.....	15
St. Osmund: Builder, Bishop, and Courtier.....	25
Osmund and the Archbishops of Canterbury.....	37
II. OSMUND AND THE CHURCH OF SALISBURY.....	42
Osmund, the Sarum Use, and the Secular Cathedral.....	43
Osmund and the Sarum Schools.....	52
Osmund's Cathedral Library.....	56
Music at Sarum.....	60
Conclusion.....	64
APPENDIX I.....	67
APPENDIX II.....	70
ENDNOTES-CHAPTER I.....	75
ENDNOTES-CHAPTER II.....	84
ENDNOTES-APPENDIX I.....	91
ENDNOTES-APPENDIX II.....	91
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	93

LIST OF TABLES

TABLE NO.		PAGE
1	A CHRONOLOGICAL OUTLINE.....	3
2	LIST OF BISHOPS.....	33
3	LIST OF BOOKS IN SARUM LIBRARY.....	58

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

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 Jumieges.
- 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)
- 25 Dec. 1093 Osmund, at Gloucester, witnesses an exchange of land in York involving Thomas, Archbishop of York, the church of St. Stephen, and St. Mary's Abbey. (Charter 338)
- 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 Alder, 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)

- 3 Dec. 1099 Osmund dies at Old Sarum. (See endnote 110.)
- 1228 The first attempt to canonize Osmund fails.
Attempts in 1387, 1406, and 1417, likewise ended
in failure. (See endnote 6.)
- 1 Jan. 1457 Osmund is canonized. (See endnote 9.)

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

Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, edited by C.H.R. Wordsworth and Douglas Maclean, (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1915). Within this work is contained the "Carta Osmundi de Prima Fundacione Ecclesie Sarum" and the "Institucio, sive Ordinaciones Osmundi," two essential documents dealing with the foundation of the secular cathedral system and chapter at Salisbury. Together they constitute about twelve 8½ by 5½ pages.

Hugh the Cantor: The History of the Church of York 1066-1127, trans. Charles Johnson, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961). This is a valuable source for one of Osmund's associates, Archbishop Thomas of York I.

Willelmi Malmesbariensis 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 Alder and his attendance at the dedication of the new cathedral at Sarum.

The Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of St. Bertin, ed. C.H. Talbot, "Anelecta Monastica," Series 3, 1955, *Studia Anselmiana*, fasc. 37. In the prologue of this work are some bitter remarks by Goscelin about Osmund.

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.

English Historical Documents, ed. D.C. Douglas and G.W. Greenaway, (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), Vol. 2, 1054-1189. Contained here is the account of the "Trial of William of St. Calais." Osmund's brief involvement is covered in the space of a paragraph.

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 Sanctae 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

Counties of England, ed. R.B. Rugh, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), lists translations of these holdings under the heading, "The Lands of the Bishop of Salisbury." Osmund also held land in Northhamptonshire as recorded in "The Northamptonshire Geld Roll," contained in the English Historical Documents series cited above.

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 11½ by 8½ 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.

In the "Hildeberti Epistolae," contained in the Parologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, (Paris: J.P. Migne, Garnier Fratres, Vol. 171, p. 219, is an early twelfth-century letter to Osmund's successor, Bishop Roger, from Bishop Hildebert of Lemans, which sheds light on the relationship between the Church of Salisbury and the Church of Lemans in regard to education.

The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, trans. Bruno Scott James, (Chicago: Henry Regency Co., 1953), contains a letter used in this thesis to establish the medieval opinions concerning chant styles.

A fourteenth-century chronicle which reiterates Eadmer's and William of Malmesbury's accounts of Osmund is the Polychronicon Ranulphi

Higden, trans. John Trevisa, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby, (London: Longman and Co., 1879), Vol. VII, Book VII.

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

The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L.T. Smith, (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), offers a brief synopsis of Osmund's episcopacy as viewed by John Leland in the sixteenth-century. Leland noted the establishment of a secular cathedral at Sarum by Osmund and the donation of lands for the purpose. Leland also mentioned Osmund's work in the cathedral scriptorium.

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.

Edward Foss' The Judges of England, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), Vol. I, 1066-1199, and Alban Butler's The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints,

(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).

Edward R. Freeman's, The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), notes Osmund's presence at the execution of William of Alder.

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 Lives of the Saints, by S. Baring-Gould, (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914), offers a pious but fairly accurate synopsis of Osmund's life.

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.

The Dictionary of National Biography, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Fee, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1937-38), Vol. 14, contains a concise biography of Osmund along with its sources.

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.

Helpful for its consideration of the formation of the royal chancery under William I is Frank M. Stenton's, Anglo-Saxon England 550-1087, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947). Osmund is named as one of William's first chancellors.

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.

Facsimiles of English Royal Writ to 1100, by T.A.M. Bishop and P. Chaplais, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), discusses Osmund's role as chancellor and the problems involved in setting dates for it based on the writs of the period.

"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.

Appendix C of The Life of King Edward: Who Rests at Westminster, by Frank Barlow, (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1962), is a brief biography of Goscelin of St. Bertin, Osmund's only known foe.

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.

David Knowles', The Monastic Order in England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1965), sheds light on the impact on the English monastic community of the establishment of secular cathedrals by the Normans.

Frank L. Harrison's, Music in Medieval Britain, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963, and Percy M. Young's, A History of British Music, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967), are two works which mention Osmund's influence on the development of liturgical music at

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 Bischöfliche 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.

Warren C. Hollister's, The Making of England 55 B.C.-1399, (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Company, 1971), is a source for a general overview of the Norman Conquest and its impact.

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.

A Ph.D. thesis by Thomas J. Hamilton entitled, "Goscelin of Canterbury: A Critical Study of his Life, Works, and Accomplishments," (University of Virginia, 1973, contains a significant number of references to Osmund. Hamilton treats Osmund largely in terms of the musical developments at Sarum, a point of possible dispute between Osmund and Goscelin.

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.

Neil R. Ker's essay, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," published in the work, Medieval Learnings and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), provides an excellent review of Ker's study of the various scribes, the scriptorium, and the books produced under Osmund.

Margaret Gisbon's work, Lanfranc of Bec, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), cites several episodes involving Osmund in regard to Archbishop Lanfranc.

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 life³ and an early twentieth-century work of piety which relies on the former. The fifteenth-century vita was written in support of Osmund's canonization⁴ 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.⁵ 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 1228⁶--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.⁷ 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 III⁸ and also from the bull of canonization.⁹ 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.¹⁰ 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.¹¹

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 Peerage¹⁷ 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.¹⁸

The first document contained in Malden's work is the Registrum in causa Canonizationes....¹⁹ 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.²⁰

The problem involves the phrase, "Comitatus sui dorsetie" or "his own Earldom of Dorset." Osmund did hold land in Dorset,²¹ 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, 1411.²²

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."²³ Kathleen Edwards says, however, that there never was a Count of Seez; unfortunately she does not say on what evidence she based her claim.²⁴ 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.²⁵ 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 Butler²⁶ and S. Baring-Gould,²⁷ 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".²⁸ 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. . .".²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.³¹ 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 1073.³² 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 year³³); others believe he became chancellor upon the nomination of Osbern of Exeter to the bishopric of Exeter in 1072.³⁴ 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.³⁵ 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 Chaplains, in their work entitled Facsimiles of English Royal Writ to 1100, refer to Herfast, Bishop of Elmham, as having been, for example, "notoriously illiterate"³⁶ 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 intellignece and little competence in the art of letters.³⁷ 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.³⁸ 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,³⁹ 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."⁴⁰ F.M. Stenton calls Osbern, "a pattern of antique virtue."⁴¹ 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,⁴² and was also referred to in the Northamptonshire Geld Roll in which Osmund is referred to as the "king's secretary,"⁴³ 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.⁴⁴

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 Sherborne, 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.⁴⁵ 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.⁴⁶ 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 monk⁴⁷ 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.⁴⁸ The present cathedral at Salisbury, built around 1220 by Bishop Richard Poore, is 473 feet long.⁴⁹ 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.⁵⁰

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.⁵¹ 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 1092,⁵² 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.⁵³

The site on which Osmund's cathedral stood had been strategically important as a fortress since prehistoric times,⁵⁴ 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.⁵⁵ 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.⁵⁶ Both of these sites had been used as fortresses since pre-historic times.⁵⁷ 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.⁵⁸ Stone maintained that both Devizes and Old Sarum were Osmund's castles and that he had built them while he was bishop.⁵⁹

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.⁶⁰ 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.⁶¹ 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.⁶² Aldhelm was a patron saint of the diocese who had been the first abbot of Malmesbury and Bishop of Shereborne, (d.709A.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.⁶³ 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 1536.⁶⁴

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.⁶⁵ 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.⁶⁶ 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."⁶⁷

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.⁶⁸ The foundation of the priory church was due to the patronage of Geoffrey de Mandeville, sheriff of Middlesex

and London.⁶⁹

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.⁷⁰ Kathleen Edwards dates the Lincoln foundation charter at 1090,⁷¹ while the Regesta Regnum puts it at 1092.⁷² Osmund and Remigius founded their cathedral chapters at almost the same time, the foundations of Osmund's having been in 1091.⁷³

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.⁷⁴ 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.⁷⁵ 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" ⁷⁶ 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. ⁷⁷ 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, ⁷⁸ 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. ⁷⁹ It was the policy of William I to assign commissioners to circuits where they had no personal interests or influence. ⁸⁰ Also, by Eyton's account, each corps of

commissioners was headed by a bishop.⁸¹ 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.⁸²

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
nStigand,	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 Evreux	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 established 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 foundation 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 Sarum⁸⁴ and attended the Council of Rockingham with Osmund in 1095.⁸⁵ When Walkelin died in 1098, Anselm recommended to Abbess Matilda of Winchester that Osmund be her spiritual overlord and corporal protector.⁸⁶ 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.⁸⁷

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 1088.⁸⁸ 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 commissioned Osmund to serve summons on William.⁸⁹ 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."⁹⁰ 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.⁹¹ 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 portrayed 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.⁹² 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.⁹³ 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.⁹⁴ 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."⁹⁵ 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.⁹⁶ 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".⁹⁷ 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.⁹⁸ Another letter, also in the Schmitt edition, is addressed to a third party.⁹⁹ 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.¹⁰⁰ 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.¹⁰¹ 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.¹⁰² 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:

(letter 195) Anselmus, gratia dei archiepiscopus:
reverendo episcopo Osmundo salutem.

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

(letter 190) Anselmus, gratia dei archiepiscopus:
reverendo episcopo Seriberiensi
Osmundo salutem praesentem et
aeternam.

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

(letter 177) Anselmus, Cantuariensis ecclesiae
dictus archiepiscopus: Osmundo
Seriberiensi ecclesiae digno pontifici,
et laudabiliter vivere, et ad
finem quem deus laudat gloriose pervenire.

(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:

(letter 254) Anselmus, servus ecclesiae Cantuariensis:
Herberto, episcopo Thiotfordensi, salutem.

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

(letter 172) Anselmus, dei disponsitione 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 Belvacensi 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 1097.¹⁰⁹ 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.¹¹⁰ 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 preceeding chapter in relation to Osmund's role as a royal chancellor. However, the evidence for Osmund's ipiscopal 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."¹¹¹ 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 1547¹¹² 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.¹¹³

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.¹¹⁴ Jones further claimed that Osmund compiled both a Consuetudinary,

which dealt with the ecclesiastical government of the church, and an Ordinal, which regulated liturgical activity.¹¹⁵ 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".¹¹⁶ 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.¹¹⁷

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 XIIth, as Canon Rich Jones supposed.¹¹⁸

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.¹¹⁹ 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".¹²⁰ 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,¹²¹ the "Carta Osmundi de Prima Fundacione Ecclesie Sarum" and the "Institucio, Sive Ordinaciones Osmundi".¹²² 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".¹²³ 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".¹²⁴ This tractate or Consuetudinary dated, by Frere's calculations, from about

1210 and was an amplification of Osmund's "Carta" and "Institucio".¹²⁵ 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.¹²⁶ 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 bishops¹²⁷ 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.¹²⁸ 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.¹²⁹

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.¹³⁰

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."¹³¹ 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.¹³²

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.¹³³ 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.¹³⁵

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.¹³⁶ Fröhlich relied on W. H. Rich Jones¹³⁷ 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, "Consuetudinarium".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,

an old man by this time, having become a bishop initially in 1045.¹⁴¹

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.¹⁴² Other scholars have pointed to one or another cathedral in Normandy or France as models, but without convincing success.¹⁴³ 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.¹⁴⁴ Edwards listed Bayeux, Rouen, Angers, and LeMans as models which scholars previous to her had argued were models for the Anglo-Norman bishops.¹⁴⁵ 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 Avranches's De Officiis Ecclesiasticis of c.1060".¹⁴⁶ 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.¹⁵¹

Ultimately, what began as Osmund's "Institucio," 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.¹⁵²

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 "Institucio". 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,¹⁵³ 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".¹⁵⁴ The Chancellor's obligations, according to the document, consisted, "in ruling the schools, and as corrector of the books".¹⁵⁵ 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.¹⁵⁶

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 misdemeanour, 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....¹⁵⁷

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"

schools.¹⁶⁴ 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).¹⁶⁵ It was at this time that Salisbury came close to realizing a "studium generale" or university.¹⁶⁶

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 598.¹⁶⁷ 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".¹⁶⁸ There is a record of a grammar school at Sherborne under Osmund's predecessor, St. Aldhelm,¹⁶⁹ 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.¹⁷⁰ 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 Etampes from LeMans to be master of his cathedral school".¹⁷¹ 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. Robertson¹⁷⁵ and Kathleen Edwards¹⁷⁶ 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 Chancellor¹⁷⁹ or Archiscola.¹⁸⁰ 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 content 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 scriptorium. My impression is that this scriptorium was very active over a short period---the late eighties and nineties seems a likely time....¹⁸¹

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,¹⁸² and, although it appears frequently, nowhere did he copy much.¹⁸³ Scribe C may have been Osmund himself, though Ker is not certain.¹⁸⁴ Scribe A, whom Ker assumes to have been Anglo-Saxon, was the primary scribe under Osmund.¹⁸⁵ Scribe B1 was Norman, B2 Anglo-Saxon, and B3 of undetermined nationality.¹⁸⁶ 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.¹⁸⁷ 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:

Passionals¹⁸⁸
 Homiliaries
 a collection of church law by Lanfranc
 Amalarius', Liber officialis

- Cassian's, Collationes Patrum
 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 Account¹⁸⁹
 Pontifical¹⁹⁰
 Saints' Lives
Leofric Missal¹⁹¹
 Isidore's, Synonyma¹⁹²
 Alcuin on the Song of Songs
 Jerome on Jeremiah
 Victorius on the Apocalypse (in Jerome's recension)¹⁹³
 Bede on the Apocalypse
Liber Athanasii de processione Spiritus Sancti¹⁹⁴
 Ambrose's, De Spiritu Sancto
 Bede's, De Tabernaculo¹⁹⁵
 Augustine's, Questiones
 pseudo-Augustine's, De duodecim abusivis
 Bede on Luke¹⁹⁶
Excerpta ex decretis Romanorum pontificum
 Augustine's, De adulterinis coniugiis
 Origen on Exodus and Leviticus¹⁹⁷
 Augustine's, De natura boni¹⁹⁸
 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.¹⁹⁹

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.²⁰⁰

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'.²⁰¹

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.²⁰²

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.²⁰³

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.²⁰⁴ Percy M. Young, in his modern work on the period²⁰⁵ 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.²⁰⁶ 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.²⁰⁷

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.²⁰⁸ 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.²⁰⁹

Osmund, like Thomas, gathered gifted musicians about him at Sarum, according to William of Malmesbury.²¹⁰ 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.²¹¹ 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,²¹² 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.²¹³ A Cantor is known to have been active at Sarum from 1091 onward.²¹⁴

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 1163.²¹⁵ 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 Bayeux in 1092 and at Coutances, c.1090.²¹⁶ 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.²¹⁷ 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...".²¹⁸ 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".²¹⁹ 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".²²⁰ 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,²²¹ 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.²²² 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.²²³

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, Herman, 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.²²⁴ 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.²²⁵ 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.²²⁶ The reliquary is known to have survived into the fifteenth-century,²²⁷ but in the treasurer's inventory of 1536, at the outset of the Dissolution, it had disappeared from the record.²²⁸

Ranulph Higden, in his fourteenth-century Polychronicon, appears to have been the first person to mention that Osmund authored

a Life of Aldhelm.²²⁹ Stephen Cassan claims there is reference to the work by William of Malmesbury,²³⁰ but no such reference exists.²³¹ Relying on Higden's assertion, the fifteenth-century chapter which achieved Osmund's canonization believed Osmund had written the life.²³² 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."²³³ 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.²³⁴ 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,²³⁵ 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.²³⁶ 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.²³⁷ Thomas Hamilton's doctoral dissertation entitled, Goscelin of Canterbury, is the other work which focuses on Goscelin.²³⁸ Barlow's main concern is with his translation of the Vita Edwardii, 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.²³⁹

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 1058.²⁴⁰ 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.²⁴¹ 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.²⁴² As chaplain at Wilton, Goscelin became acquainted with a nun named Eve and seems to have acted as her spiritual director.²⁴³ 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."²⁴⁴ Eve, soon after Herman's death, fled to Saint-Laurent du Terte at Angers²⁴⁵ 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. 1080-82.²⁴⁶ 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.²⁴⁷

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."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.²⁴⁹ Barlow and Hamilton both suggest the possibility that Osmund and Goscelin clashed over the new Norman chant which was being introduced.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.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,²⁵² 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,²⁵³ 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,²⁵⁴ 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.²⁵⁵

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 1107,²⁵⁰ having, as he expressed it, wandered far.

ENDNOTES

¹Douglas, David C., "Norman Episcopate Before the Conquest." Cambridge Historical Review, XIII (1957), 101-115.

²The Chronicle of Holyrood, ed. Marjorie O. Anderson (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1938), p. 110 & n.5. "MLXXXIX, Osmundus episcopus constituit canonicos XXXVI in ecclesia Salisberiensis."

³Armfield, 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.

⁴Torrance, William Jackson, The Life of Saint Osmund, an English Saint, chancellor of all England, bishop of Old Sarum, d.A.D. 1099, (London:Skeffington & Sons, 1920), p. 103 n.5.

⁵ibid.

⁶Malden, A.R., The Canonization of St. Osmund, (Salisbury: Bennet Brothers, Printers, Journal Office, 1901), p. iii.

⁷ibid.

⁸loc. cit., pp. 170-171.

⁹loc. cit., pp. 227-228.

¹⁰Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury, ed. W.H.R.Jones and W.D. Macray (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891), p. 373. "Memorandum quod Robertus qui fuit primus dux Normanorum, habuit filium Rollonem sive Robertum, Christianum, qui habuit filium Ricardum Christianum, qui quidem Robertas habuit Willelmum Bastardum, Christianum, et quasdam filias, duas Adeleyam et Isabellam, quae Isabella nupsit Henrico comite Sagiensi. Qui Henricus et Isabella habuerunt unum filium nomine Osmundum, qui fuit praefati Willelmi Conquestoris Angliae cancellarius, et postea factus est comes Dorsetiae, quem comitatem ipse dividebat in prebendas, et fundavit

ecclesiam Sarum. Et sic iste Osmundus descenebat linealiter ex nobili sanguine septem ducum Christianorum Normanniae, et nepos fuit, ut praescriptum est, Willelmi Bastardi, Angliae Conquestoris. 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.

¹¹Edwards, Kathleen, The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages, (New York: Manchester University Press, 1949), p. 13 n.5.

¹²Schmitt, Franciscus S., Analecta Anselmiani, "Die bischoflichen Killegen des hl. Erzbischofs Anselm von Canterbury." by Walter Frohlich (Frankfurt/Main: Minerva GMBH, 1969), Erster Teil 1093-1097, p. 235 & n. 76.

¹³Torrance, p. 103 n. 4.

¹⁴The Itinerary of John Leland, ed. L.T. Smith (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964), vol. II, p. 162.

¹⁵Cassan, Stephen H., Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury, (Salisbury: Brodie and Dowding, 1824), p. 110 & n.11.

¹⁶Tanner, Thomas, Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica, (London: Impensis Societatis, 1722), p. 565.
Butler, Alban, The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints, (Baltimore: Metropolitan Press, 1845), vol. IV, p. 455.
Foss, Edward, The Judges of England, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848), vol. I, p. 44.
Histoire Litteraire de la France, (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1868), Tomb VIII, p. 573.
The Dictionary of National Biography, (London: Humphrey Milford, 1937-38), vol. XIV, ed. Sir Leslie Stephen and Sir Sidney Lee, pp. 1207-1208.

¹⁷The Complete Peerage, ed Vicary Gibbs, (London: St. Catherine Press, 1916), vol. IV, pp. 416-417.

¹⁸ibid.

¹⁹Malden, pp. 2-3. "... et quatuor dignitates et trigina-duos canonicatus in totidem prebendis instituit in eadem eandemque ecclesiam pro tempore deservirent sufficienter dotavit prefate

ecclesie terras possessiones Comitatus sui dorsetie..."

²⁰ibid.

²¹The Victoria History of the Counties of England, ed. R.B. Pugh, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), vol. III Dorset, pp. 70-72.

²²The Complete Peerage, p. 417.

²³Cassan, p. 109 n.4.

²⁴Edwards, p. 13 n.5.

²⁵Regesta Regnum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154, ed. H.W.C. Davis (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913), vol. I, charter 76, p. 20.

²⁶Butler, p. 455.

²⁷Baring-Gould, Stephen, The Lives of the Saints, (Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914), vol. XV, December 4.

²⁸op. cit.

²⁹Baring-Gould, p. 48.

³⁰Foss, p. 44.

³¹loc. cit., pp. 44-45.

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

³³Bishop, T.A.M. and Chaplais, P., Facsimiles of English Royal Writ to 1100, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957), p. xiii.

³⁴The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XIV, p. 1207.

³⁵Stenton, Frank M., Anglo-Saxon England 550-1087, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), p. 642 & n. 1.

³⁶Bishop and Chaplais, p. xvi.

³⁷Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum Anglorum, ed. Nicholas E. Hamilton (London: Longman & Co., 1870), p. 151. "... parcae, ut aiunt, mentis homo et nonnulla ex partae in litteris eruditus."

³⁸The Life of King Edward: Who Rests at Westminster, ed. Frank Barlow (New York: Thomas Nelson & Sons. Ltd., 1962), p. 101 n. 2.

³⁹Barlow, Frank, The English Church 1000-1066, (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963), p. 214 n.7.

⁴⁰Stenton, p. 677 n. 2.

⁴¹ibid.

⁴²Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum ..., pp. 183-184. "Veruntamen succedente sibi Osmundo viro probatissimo, ecclesia ad summum deducta, et cetera quae competeabant adaucta. Clerici undecunque litteris insignes venientes, non solum libenter retenti, sed etiam liberaliter coacti ut remanerent. Denique emicabat ibi magis quam alias canonicorum claritas cantibus et litteratura juxta nobilium. Librorum copia conquisita, cum episcopus ipse nec scribere nec scriptos ligare fastidiret."

⁴³English Historical Documents, ed. David C. Douglas and George W. Greenaway (London: Oxford University Press, 1961), vol. II, p. 484.

⁴⁴op. 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, (Berkeley, Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1966), p. 293. Maurice was followed in the chancery by Gerard who served until the Conqueror's death. See also, Frank M. Stenton, Anglo-Saxon England 550-1087, (1943 edition), p. 634 n. 5.

⁴⁵Douglas, David C., William the Conqueror, pp. 328 n. 6.

⁴⁶The Life of King Edward ..., p. xlviil.

⁴⁷loc. cit., p. xlvii.

⁴⁸Smethurst, 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.

⁴⁹loc. cit., pp. 5-6.

⁵⁰The Victoria History of the Counties of England, vol. III Wiltshire, p. 156 n. 7.

⁵¹op. cit., p. 5.

⁵²William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, ed. Thomas D. Hardy (London: Kraus Reprint, Ltd., 1964), vol. II, p. 375 n. 325. "Quinto anno eadem violentia fulminis apud Salesbiriam tectum

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

⁵³Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, ed. Thomas Arnold (London: Longman & Co., 1882), vol. II, p. 219 n. 173.
The Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 111.
Anglia Sacra Pars Prima: Chronion Sanctae Crucis Edinburgensis, ed. Henry Wharton (London: Richard Chiswel, 1691), p. 159.

⁵⁴Stone, E. Herbert, "The Early Norman Castle at Devizes," Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, XL (December, 1919), p. 419.

⁵⁵Smethurst, p. 6.

⁵⁶op. cit., pp. 423-424.

⁵⁷loc. cit., pp. 417-417.

⁵⁸loc. cit., pp. 417-429.

⁵⁹loc. cit., p. 423.

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

⁶¹loc. cit., charter 35, pp. 29-30.

⁶²Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 424, 428. "Sequenti ergo Dominica, ascito viro venerabili Osmundo Serberiensis episcopo, ceptae rei manus suprema imposita, ossa in scrinio decenter immissa letitia plebi effusa." "Illud fuit tempus quo vir reverentissimae vitae Osmundus, eiusdem diocesis episcopus, reliquias Sancti flagitabat. Decere putans et praedicans, ut probatissimi antecessoris communicaret exaviis, cuius sedem impleferat. Fructuosum id sibi, gratum Sancto, qui parvo integritatis suae dispendio novos honores, magnos favores mercaretur. Sed nec abbas Warinus difficilis fuit impetratus, qui se ad consentiendum ratione duci videret. Datum itaque praesuli os brachii sinistri, quod ille maximo semper habuit et amori et honori. Denique opera sumptuosa et arte studiosa thecam paravit argenteam, qua illud induceret."

⁶³ibid.

⁶⁴Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, ed. C.H.R. Wordsworth (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901), pp. 160, 169, and 183.

⁶⁵Barlow, The English Church..., pp. 198-199 n. 9.

⁶⁶Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon, ed. J. Stevenson, (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1858), vol. II, pp. 18-19.
 "Haec est conventio habita inter Osmundum episcopum et Rainoldum Abbendoniae abbatem super ecclesia de Wisceleie, quam abbas Athelelmus construxit, et ab eodem episcopo dedicari fecit. Habebit in eadem ecclesia abbas Abbendonensis suum clericum, officiorum Dei curas agentem, omnesque oblationes, quae ad ipsam ecclesiam ab quibuslibet oblatae iuerint, recipientem, et ad usum suum deserviendo ecclesiae reservantem. Pro quo dabit abba episcopo unoquoque anno ad festivitatem Omnium Sanctorum dimidiam marcam argenti; habente nec minus ecclesia de Sunninge omnes eas consuetudines, quae habebat in diebus Eadwardi regis ex villa de uisceleia."

⁶⁷ibid.

⁶⁸Robinson, Joseph A., Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Wesminster, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), (Chronicle), pp. 32-33, 132-134. "... Osmundo episcopo Saresberiensis presente cum multis aliis magne auctoritatis viris et personis,...."

⁶⁹loc. cit., p. 32.

⁷⁰Regesta Regnum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154, charters 34, 90, 135, 136, 141, 144, 196, 220, 232, 301, 315, 318, 319, and 326.

⁷¹Edwards, p. 13.

⁷²op. cit., charter 328, p. 86.

⁷³Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, ed. C.H.R. Wordworth and D. MacLeane (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1915), pp. 16-17.

⁷⁴Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XIV, pp. 1207-1208.

⁷⁵Eadmer, 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 Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 94.
 "Ita omnes discessare, solisque duobus penitentiam antequam mare transiret petentibus benignus ignovit. Earum nomina fuerunt Osmundus Sereberiensis et Robertus Herefordensis."

⁷⁶op. cit., p. 1207.

⁷⁷Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Dorothy Whitelock (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1952), pp. 161-162.

⁷⁸Eyton, Robert W., Notes on Domesday, (London: Reeves & Turner, 1880), vol. I, pp. 99-118.

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

⁸⁰ibid.

⁸¹loc. cit., p. 109.

⁸²loc. cit., pp. 108-109.

⁸³Edwards, p. 13.

⁸⁴Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, p. 219. "Osmundus Searebyriensis episcopus, ecclesiam quam Searebyriae in castello construxerat, cum adiutorio episcoporum Walcelini Wintoniensis et Johannis Bathoniensis non. Aprilis feria ii dedicavit."

⁸⁵Eadmer, 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: 'Brethern, 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. "

⁸⁶S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, ed. Franciscus S. Schmitt (Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1949), vol. IV, letter 185, pp. 69-70. "... episcopo Osmundo omnibenignitate sanctam et Deo placitam obedientiam, sicut decet, exhibeatis, et eius dilectionem et familiarem amicitiam atque consilium et auxilium in corporalibus et in spiritualibus habere, et illi quod ex vobis est exhibere in Christi charitate studeatis,..."

⁸⁷op. cit., p. 85.

⁸⁸English Historical Documents, "The Trial of William of St. Calais, " vol. II, pp. 609-624.

⁸⁹loc. cit., p. 623.

⁹⁰ibid.

⁹¹ibid.

⁹²William 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 Salesbiriae 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."

⁹³Freeman, Edward R., The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882), vol. II, p. 372.

⁹⁴op. 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 vestibibus ad suspendium nudus ibat... ipiscopo 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 discessit, et ille appensus est."

⁹⁵Hollister, C. Warren, The Making of England 55 B.C.-1399, (Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1971), p. 106.

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

⁹⁷Gibson, 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.

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

⁹⁹loc. cit., letter 185, pp. 69-70.

¹⁰⁰ibid.

¹⁰¹loc. cit., letter 190, p. 76.

¹⁰²loc. cit., letter 195, pp. 85-86.

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

¹⁰⁴loc. cit., letter 172, pp. 53-54.

¹⁰⁵loc. cit., letter 29, pp. 29-31. See also: Southern, R.W., St. Anselm and His Biographer, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963), "The Letters of Friendship," pp. 67-76.

¹⁰⁶The Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 112.

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

¹⁰⁸The Dictionary of National Biography, vol. XIV, p. 1208.

¹⁰⁹Poole, Austin Lane, From Domesday to Magna Carta: 1087-1216, (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951), p. 176.
Southern, pp. 159-160.

¹¹⁰Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, p. 176.
The Chronicle of Holyrood, p. 112.
The Peterborough Chronicle, ed. Cecily Clark, (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 27.
Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia, p. 220.
The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis, ed. and trans.

Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975), vol. IV-V, p. 170.

Chapter II

- 111 Edwards, p. 12.
- 112 Young, Percy M., A History of British Music, (New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967), p. 21.
- 113 Frere, Walter Howard, The Use of Sarum, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898), p. xxi.
- 114 Vetus Registrum Sariberiense: Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi, ed. W.H.R. Jones (London: Longman & Co., 1883), vol. I, pp. ix, xiv.
- 115 loc. cit., p. xv.
- 116 loc. cit., p. xiv.
- 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.
- 121 The Victoria County History of the Counties of England, vol. III Wiltshire, p. 157 n. 10.
- 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.

¹²⁸Frere, p. xvi.

¹²⁹op. cit. Edwards, p. 39.

¹³⁰Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, pp. 27-35. "Decanus et Cantor The-saurarius et Cancellarius duplicem percipiunt communam, reliqui canonici simplicem, sed in communam non participat nisi qui re-sidens fuerit in ecclesia."

¹³¹Frere, p. xxi.

¹³²loc. cit., p. xviii.

¹³³loc. cit., p. xii.

¹³⁴loc. cit., pp. xii-xiii.

¹³⁵loc. cit., p. xviii.

¹³⁶Schmitt, Analecta Anselmiana, "Die bischoflichen Killegen...", Walter Frohlich, p. 235. "Von der Verbreitung her am bedeutsamsten war jedoch die Aufzeichnung eines Ordinarius und Rituales für seine Diözese."

¹³⁷loc. cit., p. 235 n. 82.

¹³⁸Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis, with the English translation of John Trevisa and an unknown writer of the fifteenth-century, ed. Joseph Rawson Lumby (London: Longman & co., 1879), vol. VII, p. 294. "Hic quoque composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem Consuetudinarium vocavit, quo fere nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur et Hibernia; ..."

¹³⁹Frere, p. xiv.

¹⁴⁰ibid.

¹⁴¹The Life of King Edward..., p. xlvii.

¹⁴²Edwards, pp. 10-22.

¹⁴³ibid.

¹⁴⁴loc. cit., pp. 13-19.

¹⁴⁵ibid.

¹⁴⁶Edwards, (1967 edition only), pp. 18-19.

- ¹⁴⁷ibid.
- ¹⁴⁸Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden..., vol.VII, p. 294.
- ¹⁴⁹Frere, p. xxiii.
- ¹⁵⁰loc. cit., pp. xxix-xxxvi.
- ¹⁵¹loc. cit., p. xxxvii.
- ¹⁵²Smethurst, p. 6.
- ¹⁵³Edwards, p. 183.
- ¹⁵⁴Statutes 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."
- ¹⁵⁵loc. cit., p. 31. "Similiter et cancellarius in scolis regendis et in libris corrigendis."
- ¹⁵⁶loc. cit., p. 333. "Archiscola debet lectiones ascultare et terminare, Sigillum ecclesie portare litteras et cartas componere, et in tabula lectores notare, et Cantor similiter cantores."
- ¹⁵⁷ibid. "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."
- ¹⁵⁸Edwards, p. 181 n. 4.
- ¹⁵⁹loc. cit., p. 182.
- ¹⁶⁰loc. 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..."
- ¹⁶¹Robertson, Dora H., Sarum Close, (London: Jonathon Cape, 1938), p. 28.
- ¹⁶²Edwards, pp. 192-193.
- ¹⁶³Leclercq, Jean, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God, (New York: Fordham University Press, 1961), pp. 3-4.

- ¹⁶⁴loc. cit., p. 3.
- ¹⁶⁵Smethurst, pp. 10-11.
- ¹⁶⁶Edwards, pp. 193-194.
- ¹⁶⁷Robertson, p. 27.
- ¹⁶⁸Thompson, Alexander Hamilton, Song Schools in the Middle Ages, (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942), p. 6.
- ¹⁶⁹op. cit., pp. 27-28.
- ¹⁷⁰Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 183-184. See above, note 42.
- ¹⁷¹Edwards, p. 185.
- ¹⁷²ibid.
Patrologia Latina, ed. J.P. Migne, "Hildeberti Epistolae," (Paris: J.P. Migne, Garnier Fraters, 1878-1890), vol. CLXXI, letter 12, p. 219 and n. 25. "Unus tibi pro multis erit, quoniam illo uno multos magistros invenies."
- ¹⁷³Edwards, p. 185.
- ¹⁷⁴loc. cit., pp. 185-186 and n. 7.
- ¹⁷⁵Robertson, p. 28.
- ¹⁷⁶op. cit., pp. 185-186.
- ¹⁷⁷op. cit. Robertson, p. 28.
Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of...Salisbury, charter 19, pp. 8-9. "Sciatis me dedisset et concessisse in perpetuam elemosinam Deo ecclesiae Sarum, ecclesiam de Odiham cum ecclesia de Lys et de Bynthewrthe, et cum aliis ecclesiis et capellis ei pertinentibus."
- ¹⁷⁸Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 183-184. See above, note 42.
- ¹⁷⁹Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, p. 30. "Cancellarius in scolis regendis et in libris corrigendis."
- ¹⁸⁰Edwards, p. 183.

¹⁸¹Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard Hunt, ed. J.J.G. Alexander and M.T. Gibson, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," by Neil Ripley Ker (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976), p. 23.

¹⁸²loc. cit., pp. 33-34.

¹⁸³loc. cit., p. 44.

¹⁸⁴loc. 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..."

¹⁸⁵loc. cit., p. 34.

¹⁸⁶loc. cit., pp. 38-40.

¹⁸⁷loc. cit., pp. 47-48.

¹⁸⁸loc. cit., p. 25.

¹⁸⁹loc. cit., p. 35. The Wiltshire Geld Roll dates from 1086, the year of the Domesday Survey, and was part of the Exon Domesday. It is published in the Victoria History of the Counties of England, vol. II Wiltshire, pp. 178-215.

¹⁹⁰loc. cit., p. 36.

¹⁹¹loc. cit., p. 37.

¹⁹²loc. cit., p. 40.

¹⁹³loc. cit., p. 41.

¹⁹⁴loc. cit., p. 43.

¹⁹⁵loc. cit., p. 44.

¹⁹⁶loc. cit., p. 46.

¹⁹⁷loc. cit., p. 47.

¹⁹⁸loc. cit., p. 48.

¹⁹⁹Mackerness, Eric D., A Social History of English Music, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), p. 19. Mackerness claims Osmund drew up a Customary to regularize chant although this claim cannot be certified. Davey, Henry, History of English Music (New York: DeCapo Press, 1969), p. 15. Davey erroneously states that Osmund "established the Sarum Use in 1077".

²⁰⁰Harrison, Fränk L., Music in Medieval Britain, (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963), p. 47.

²⁰¹loc. cit., p. 5 and n. 2.

²⁰²Hamilton, Thomas J., "Goscelin of Canterbury: A Critical Study of his Life, Works, and Accomplishments," unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1973, vol. II, pp. 120-121 n. 234.

²⁰³loc. cit., vol. I, p. 172, vol. II, p. 120 n.231, 232, and 233.

²⁰⁴Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 257-258. "Illud apud clericos quam maxime agere, ut masculam in ecclesia musicam haberent, nec quiquam affeminate defringentes..."

²⁰⁵Young, pp. 21-22.

²⁰⁶Knowles, David, The Monastic Order in England, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), pp. 558-559.

²⁰⁷The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux, trans. Bruno Scott James (Chicago: Henry Regency Co., 1953), letter 430, pp. 501-502.

²⁰⁸Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., pp. 257-258

²⁰⁹Hugh the Cantor: The History of the Church of York 1066-1127, trans. Charles Johnson (New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961), p. 11.

²¹⁰op. cit., pp. 183-184. See above, note 42.

²¹¹Statutes 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 pertinent possidet. Si decanus defuerit ecclesie Subdecanus vices eius impleat. Succentor similiter et Cantoris."

²¹²Hugh 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."

²¹³Edwards, pp. 161-168.

²¹⁴loc. cit., p. 162 and n. 3.
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 Canonicis 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."

²¹⁵Edwards, p. 172.

²¹⁶ibid.

²¹⁷Hugh the Cantor: The History of the Church of York...., trans. Charles Johnson, p. 11.

²¹⁸Douglas, William the Conqueror, p. 367.

²¹⁹loc. cit., p. 368.

²²⁰ibid.

²²¹Osmund's one known critic was Goscelin of St. Bertin. See Appendix II for details.

²²²Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum...., p. 184. "Castitate praeminens; de dulci virtute mentiri erubesceret famae volubilitas. Unde fiebat ut penitentibus asperior aequae videretur, dum quod in se non inveniret in aliis durius vindicaret. Ambitionis immunis, sua stulte non perdere, aliena non quaerere. Abbatias intra diocesim suam sitas nulla pensione gravi emungere. Vertumtamen quaeque mundi labe contracta creditur patientia sua luisse, diuturno morbo ante mortem tabefactus."

²²³S. Anselmi Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia, vol. IV, letter 185, pp. 69-70.

Appendix I

- ²²⁴Barlow, The English Church..., pp. 220-224.
- ²²⁵Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 428. See above, note 62.
- ²²⁶loc. cit., p. 424. See above, note 62.
- ²²⁷Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury, p. 26 and n. 1. "Dictavit etiam vitam sancti Aldhelini prout in multis cronicis reperitur."
- ²²⁸Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, pp. 160, 169, and 183.
- ²²⁹Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden..., vol. VII, p. 294. "... dictavit etiam vitam sancti Aldelmi."
- ²³⁰Cassan, p. 114.
- ²³¹Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 458. No reference is made in this work to a life of Aldhelm by Osmund.
- ²³²Malden, pp. xi, 46, and 53.
- ²³³loc. cit., p. 228. "... Necnon sanctorum vitas, pro eorum gloria et cleri instructione, composuit..."
- ²³⁴Cook, Albert S., "Sources for the Biography of Aldhelm." Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XXVIII (April, 1927), 273-293.
- ²³⁵Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum..., p. 458. This is an index page of the work.
- ²³⁶ibid.

Appendix II

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

- ²³⁸Hamilton, "Goscelin of Canterbury...", See above, note 202.
- ²³⁹William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, vol. 11, p. 521. "Is, multo episcopus et abbatias perlustrans tempore, praeclarae scientiae multis locis monumento dedit, in laudibus sanctorum Angliae nulli post Bedam secundus; musicae porro palmam post Osbernum adeptus."
- ²⁴⁰The life of King Edward..., p. xlvii.
- ²⁴¹loc. cit., pp. 91-94.
- ²⁴²loc. cit., p. 97.
- ²⁴³loc. cit., p. 94.
- ²⁴⁴loc. cit., pp. 100-101.
- ²⁴⁵The Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of St. Bertin, ed. Charles H. Talbot, Analecta Monastica, Series 3, 1955, fasc. 37, p. 26 n. 3.
- ²⁴⁶op. cit., p. 101.
- ²⁴⁷op. cit. The Liber Confortatorius..., p. 29 and n. 12, 13, and 14. "Post decessum patris nostri, consolabar tecum frequentior communem orbitatem, donec surgente rege qui ignorabat Ioseph viperina invidia et vitricali barbarie devotus tuus coactus est longius peregrinari."
- ²⁴⁸The Life of King Edward..., p. 101.
- ²⁴⁹Hamilton, "Goscelin of Canterbury...", vol. I, p. 168.
- ²⁵⁰ibid. and op. cit.
- ²⁵¹Hamilton, "Goscelin of Canterbury...", vol. I, pp. 168-170.
- ²⁵²William of Malmesbury, Gesta Regum Anglorum, p. 521.
- ²⁵³The Life of King Edward..., p. xlii.
- ²⁵⁴loc. cit., pp. xlvi-xlvii.
- ²⁵⁵ibid. Osbern of Canterbury should not be confused with his contemporary, Bishop Osbern of Exeter.
- ²⁵⁶loc. cit., p. 104.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Books

Alexander, J.J.G. and Gibson, M.T. (ed.), Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard Hunt. "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library," by Neil R. Ker. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.

Anderson, Marjorie O. (ed.), The Chronicle of Holyrood. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1938.

Armfield, Henry T., Legend of Christian Art Illustrated in the Statues of (the West Front of) Salisbury Cathedral. Salisbury: Brown & Co., 1869.

Arnold, Thomas (ed.), Symeonis Monachi Opera Omnia. London: Longman & Co., 1882.

Bosanquet, Geoffrey (ed. and trans.), History of Recent Events in England by Eadmer. London: Cresset Press, 1964.

Baring-Gould, Stephen, The Lives of the Saints. Edinburgh: John Grant, 1914, Vol. XV.

Barlow, Frank, The English Church 1000-1066. Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1963.

Barlow, Frank (ed.), The Life of King Edward: Who Rests at Westminster. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons. Ltd., 1962.

Barlow, Frank, William I and the Norman Conquest. London: The English University Press, Ltd., 1965.

Bishop, T. & Chaplais, P., Facsimiles of English Royal Writ to 1100. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1957.

Bonser, W., An Anglo-Saxon Bibliography 450-1087. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957.

Butler, Alban, The Lives of the Fathers, Martyrs, and other Principal Saints. Baltimore: Metropolitan Press, 1845. Vol. IV.

Cassan, Stephen H., Lives and Memoirs of the Bishops of Sherborne and Salisbury. Salisbury: Brodie and Dowding, 1824.

Chibnall, Marjorie (ed.), The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1975. Vol. IV-V.

_____, Chronicon Monasterii de Bello. London: Anglia Christiana Societatis, 1846.

Clark, Cecily (ed.), The Peterborough Chronicle 1070-1154. London: Oxford University Press, 1958.

Davey, Henry, Music in Medieval Britain. New York: DeCapo Press, 1969.

Davis, H.W.C. (ed.), Regesta Regnum Anglo-Normanorum 1066-1154. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1913. Vol. I.

Douglas, David, and Greenaway, George W. (ed.), English Historical Documents. "The Trial of William of St. Calais." New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Vol. II.

Douglas, David, and Greenaway, George W. (ed.), English Historical Documents. "The Northamptonshire Geld Roll(1072-1078)." London: Oxford University Press, 1953. Vol. II.

Douglas, David, William the Conqueror: The Norman Impact on England. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1964.

Duckett, Eleanor S., Anglo-Saxon Saints and Scholars. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1947.

Edwards, Kathleen, The English Secular Cathedral in the Middle Ages. New York: Manchester University Press, 1949 and 1967.

Ellis, Henry, A General Introduction to Domesday Book. London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1833.

_____, Eulogium Historiarum Sive Temporis Rerum Britannicarum Medii Aevi Scriptores. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858, Vol. III.

Eyton, Robert W., Notes on Domesday. London: Reeves & Turner, 1880.

Foss, Edward, The Judges of England. London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1848. Vol. I.

Freeman, Edward R., The Reign of William Rufus and the Accession of Henry the First. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1882.

Frere, Walter H., The Use of Sarum. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1898.

- Gibbs, Vicary, The Complete Peerage. London: The St. Catherine Press, 1916. Vol. IV.
- Gibson, Margaret, Lanfranc of Bec. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Gransden, Antonia, Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1974.
- Hamilton, Nicholas E. (ed.), Willelmi Malmesbiriensis Monachi de Gesta Pontificum Anglorum. London: Longman & Co., 1870.
- Hardy, Thomas D. (ed.), Gesta Regum Anglorum by William of Malmesbury. London: Kraus Reprint, Ltd., 1964.
- Harrison, Frank L., Music in Medieval Britain. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- _____, Histoire Litteraire de la France. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1868. Tome VIII.
- Hoare, Richard C., History of Modern Wiltshire. London: J. Nichols, 1833-44. Vol. VI.
- Hollister, C. Warren, The Making of England 55B.C.-1399. Lexington, Mass.: D.C. Heath and Co., 1971.
- James, Bruno S. (ed. and trans.), The Letters of St. Bernard of Clairvaux. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1953.
- Johnson, Charles (trans.), Hugh the Cantor: A History of the Church of York. New York: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1961.
- Jones, W.H.R. (ed.), Vetus Registrum Sariberiense: Registrum S. Osmundi Episcopi. London: Longman & Co., 1883.. Vol. I.
- Jones, W.H.R. and Macray, W.D. (ed.), Charters and Documents Illustrating the History of the Cathedral, City, and Diocese of Salisbury. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1891.
- Knowles, David, The Monastic Order in England. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.
- Leclercq, Jean, The Love of Learning and the Desire for God. New York: Fordham University Press, 1961.
- Legg, J. Wickham (ed.), The Sarum Missal. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1969.

- LePatourel, John, Norman Empire. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Lumby, Joseph R. (ed.), Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden Monachi Cestrensis. trans. John Trevisa. London: Longman & Co., 1879. Vol. VII.
- Mackerness, Eric D., A Social History of English Music. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964.
- Malden, A.R., The Canonization of St. Osmund. Salisbury: Bennett Brothers, Printers, Journal Office, 1901.
- Migne, J.P. (ed.), Patrologia Latina. "Hildeberti Epistolae." Paris: J.P. Migne, Garnier Fratres, 1878-1890. Vol. CLXXI Letter 12.
- Milne, Alexander T. (ed.), Writings on British History 1901-1933. "The Middle Ages 450-1485." London: Jonathan Cape Co., 1968.
- Orme, Nicholas, English Schools in the Middle Ages. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1973.
- Poole, Austin L., From Domesday to Magna Carta: 1087-1216. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1951.
- Pugh, R.B. (ed.), The Victoria History of the Counties of England. London: Oxford University Press, 1968
- Robertson, Dora H., Sarum Close. London: Jonathan Cape Co., 1938.
- Robinson, Joseph A. (ed.), Gilbert Crispin, Abbot of Westminster. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911.
- Rock, Daniel, The Church of Our Fathers. London: John Murray, 1905.
- Schmitt, Franciscus S. (ed.), Analecta Anselmiana. "Die bischoflichen Killegen des hl. Erzbischofs Anselm von Canterbury," by Walter Frohlich. Frankfurt/Main: Minerva GMBH., 1969. Erster Teil 1093-1097.
- Schmitt, Franciscus S. (ed.), S. Anselme: Cantuariensis Archiepiscopi Opera Omnia. Edinburgh: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Ltd., 1949.
- Smethurst, A.F., Salisbury Cathedral. London: Pitkin Pictorials, Ltd., 1972.
- Smith, L.T. (ed.), The Itinerary of John Leland. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964. Vol. II.

Southern, R.W., St. Anselm and His Biographer. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1963.

Stapleton, Thomas (ed.), Magni rotuli Scaccarii Normanniae sub regibus Angliae. London: Society of Antiquaries, 1841-1844.

Stenton, Frank, Anglo-Saxon England 550-1087. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1947 and 1971.

Stephen, Sir Leslie and Lee, Sir Sidney (ed.), Dictionary of National Biography. London: Humphrey Milford, 1937-1938. Vol. XIV.

Stephens, W.R.W., The English Church. London: Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1901.

Stevenson, J. (ed.), Chronicon Monasterii de Abingdon. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts, 1858. Vol. II.

Tanner, Thomas, Bibliotheca Britannico Hibernica. London: Impensis Societatis, 1722.

Thompson, Alexander Hamilton, Song Schools. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, 1942.

Torrance, William J., The Life of Saint Osmund, an English Saint, chancellor of all England, bishop of Old Sarum, d. A.D. 1099. London: Skeffington & Sons, 1920.

Wharton, Henry (ed.), Anglia Sacra Pars Prima: Chronion Sanctae Crucis Edinburgensis. London: Richard Chiswel, 1691.

Whitelock, Dorothy (ed.), Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1962.

Wordworth, Christopher (ed.), Ceremonies and Processions of the Cathedral Church of Salisbury. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1901.

Wordworth, Christopher and Macleane, Douglas (ed.), Statutes and Customs of the Cathedral Church of the Blessed Virgin Mary of Salisbury. London: W. Clowes and Sons, Ltd., 1915.

Young, Percy, M. A History of British Music. New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1967.

Periodicals

Cook, Albert S., "Sources of the Biography of Aldhelm." Transactions of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, XXVIII (April 1927), 273-293.

Douglas, David C., "Companions of the Conqueror." History, XXVII (September 1943), 129-147.

Douglas, David C., "Norman Episcopate Before the Conquest." Cambridge Historical Review, XIII (1957), 101-115.

Stone, E. Herbert, "The Early Norman Castle at Devizes." Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine, XL (December 1919), 417-429.

Bulletins

Talbot, Charles H., The Liber Confortatorius of Goscelin of St. Bertin. Analecta Monastica, Series 3, 1955, Fasc. 37, pp. 1-117.

Theses

Hamilton, Thomas J., "Goscelin of Canterbury: A Critical Study of his Life, Works, and Accomplishments." Unpublished doctor's dissertation, University of Virginia, Charlottesville, Virginia, 1973.