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978-1-108-04312-0 - *Annales Monastici*, Volume 2: *Annales Monasterii de Wintonia* (A.D. 519-1277), *Annales Monasterii de Waverlei* (A.D. 1-1291)

Edited by Henry Richards Luard

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Annales Monastici

VOLUME 2:

ANNALES MONASTERII DE WINTONIA
(A.D. 519-1277)

ANNALES MONASTERII DE WAVERLEI
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EDITED BY HENRY RICHARDS LUARD



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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI
SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN
AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
OF
GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER
THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

ON the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an *Editio Princeps*; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

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The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished ; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

*Rolls House,
December 1857.*

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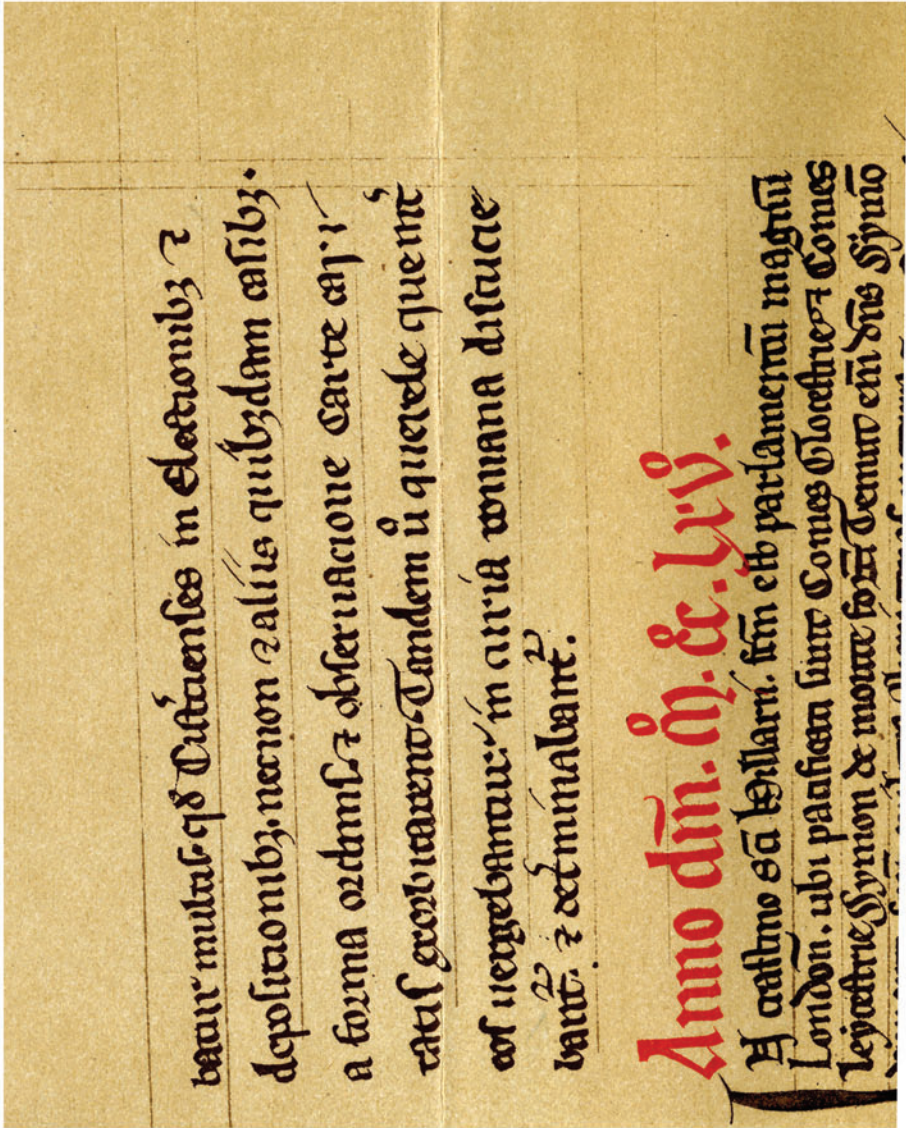
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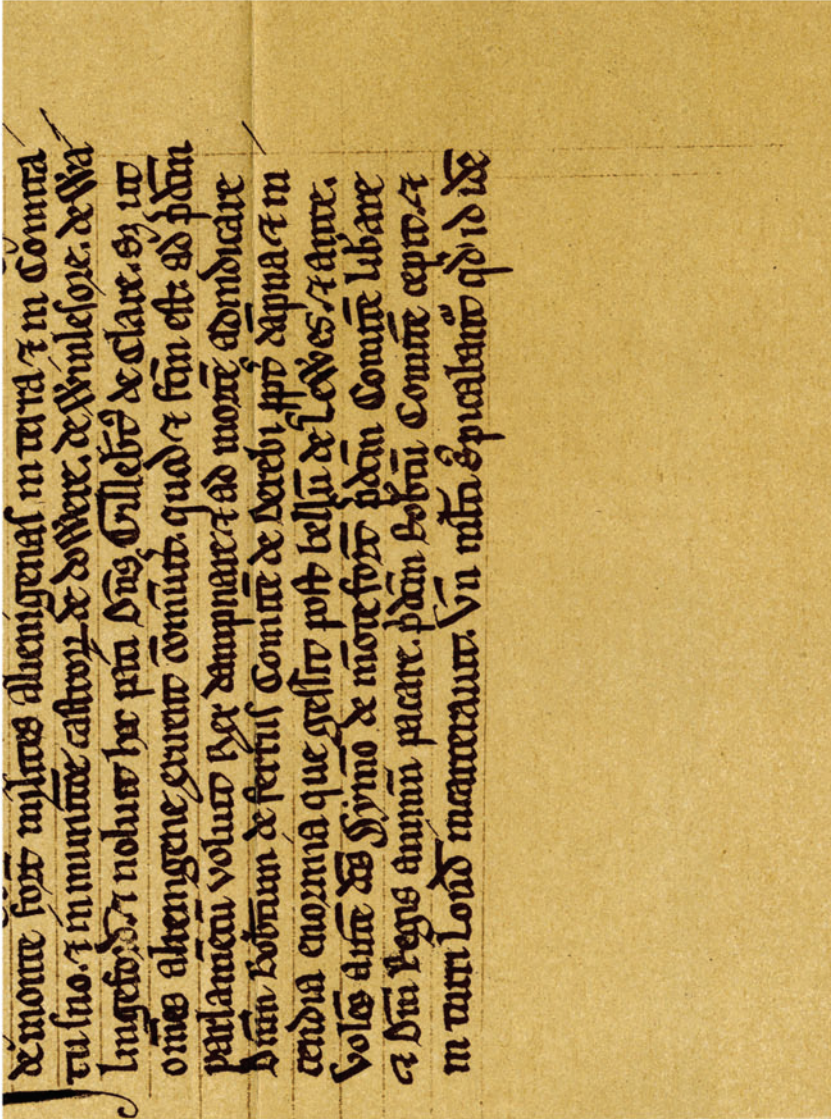
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Annales de Waverleia.

M. S. COTTON. VESPASIAN. A. XVI. f. 155

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(A.D. 519 —1277.)

ANNALES MONASTERII DE WAVERLEIA.

(A.D. 1 —1291.)

EDITED

BY

HENRY RICHARDS LUARD, M.A.

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REGISTRARY OF THE UNIVERSITY;
AND PERPETUAL CURATE OF GREAT SAINT MARY'S, CAMBRIDGE.

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**P R E F A C E.**  
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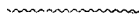
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P R E F A C E.



THE present volume contains the Annals written in the monasteries of WINCHESTER and WAVERLEY, the former of which are carried down to the year 1277, the latter to 1291. Though portions of the first, and the greater part of the second, of these chronicles have been printed, they yet appear now for the first time in their integrity.

Contents of
the present
volume.

The Annals of the church of WINCHESTER are contained in the Cotton MS. Domit. A. xiii. They extend from A.D. 519 to A.D. 1277. Prefixed is a short chronicle from the Incarnation to A.D. 594, in a different, though similar, hand to the rest of the volume. It is of no value whatever; and as it appears quite distinct from what follows, especially from its final year overlapping that at which the other commences, I have not included it with what I believe to be the real Annals of Winchester.

Annals
of Win-
chester.

What has been published of this chronicle will be found in the first volume of Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, where the portion printed occupies from p. 288 to p. 314. It is a mere collection of extracts from the MS., without any definite plan on which they are made being evident. Most of the references to Winchester itself are given, and perhaps generally the most valuable portions of the MS. But both as to what is inserted and what is omitted, Wharton seems

Extracts in
Wharton's
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Sacra*.

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to have acted according to his fancy at the moment. Sometimes he has even re-written the paragraphs himself, altering the words and form of the sentences so as to suit the method of abbreviation he adopted.¹ Words, too, and even paragraphs in the middle of the extracts he gives, have been omitted, apparently from no other reason than that they are very much abbreviated in the MS., or are difficult to read.² What he does give is generally fairly correct.

Description of the MS. Cotton. Domit. A. xiii.

The MS. is a small quarto, on parchment, the leaves very much stained, written in more than one hand, of the end of the thirteenth or beginning of the fourteenth century. The hand appears the same from the beginning down to the year 1202 (f. 42); a new hand begins also f. 49 (1248), and another f. 66 (1275). It is throughout evidently in a scribe's hand, and not written contemporaneously. The same volume contains the chronicle of Richard of Devizes, *De Rebus gestis Ricardi primi*, written in the same hand that wrote ff. 7-42 of the Winchester Annals. Of the first six leaves, which I have already mentioned as containing a chronicle from the Incarnation down to 594, one would think that they were put in to replace others formerly there.

Sources of the Winchester Annals.

I proceed to speak of the sources whence the Winchester annalist has derived his facts.

¹ Here is an example of what is stated above. In place of pp. 19, 20, Wharton, pp. 290, 291, has the following paragraph: "Edwardus filius Ethelredi rex Angliæ, post mortem Hardecnuti venit Wintoniam incognitus plebeio amictus habitu; quandoque in curia matris quandoque in domo episcopi comedens, sed ignotus, affectus eorum sedulus explorabat. *Deum agnitus, in regem electus et*

"consecratus est Wintoniæ. *Iste instituit,*" &c.

The words in italics are entirely due to Wharton; and the rest of the sentence has been transposed in a most arbitrary manner.

² *E.g.*, p. 12, ll. 7, 8. The words "cujus se personas confitebantur in propria persona Deo servituri" are omitted. (Wharton, p. 290, l. 8.) They are very much abbreviated in the MS.

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The earlier portion down to the year 1066 is an exact copy, with one or two trifling additions, which will be seen at once by the difference of type, of the chronicle contained in the MS. 339 in the library of Corpus Christi College at Cambridge. This is a small quarto, on parchment, of 24 leaves, and, like the Cotton MS., is bound up with the life of Richard I. by Richard of Devizes. It has been ascribed to Richard of Devizes by Bale, though there seems no authority beyond the fact that both these MSS. give it in the same hand with the acknowledged work of that author. The chronicle begins with a description of Britain, the early portion being chiefly taken from Geoffrey of Monmouth, and goes down to the year 1135. It is dedicated to a certain Magister Adam, but the leaf containing the dedication has been unfortunately cut by the binder, and thus affords no clue to the author. Mr. Stevenson, in his preface to Richard of Devizes (p. viii.), considers that the chronicle "differs materially in style and arrangement" from the life of Richard I. They are, however, works of such different character, that a difference of arrangement is almost to be looked for; and in one respect, their fondness for classical quotations, they are very similar. Thus, in the 24 pages which contain what the scribe of the Cotton MS. has taken from that in the Corpus Library, besides several quotations from other sources, Ovid is quoted twice, Virgil once, Horace once, and Juvenal four times. The author, whoever he was, was certainly a resident in the monastery of Winchester, as the mention of its affairs, and of the gifts made to it from time to time, is very frequent; besides which, most of the events which are related as happening at

' The passage is: "[M]agistro | " accidit ut etiam fi | placeant
 " Adæ suus de[votus servus] Meo | " sapientibus."
 " malo mirum mu . . . temporibus

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Winchester are given in very full details. Now, from Richard of Devizes' prologue to his life of Richard I. (Stevenson, p. 1), we know that for at least a portion of his life he lived at Winchester, and that he wrote this book there. I cannot, therefore, think that any more probable author for the chronicle can be found; and it is by no means impossible that Bale may have seen the MS. before it was mutilated, and that it actually contained the name of Richard of Devizes. It would of course be very natural for one monk of the house to take up and carry on what another of an earlier time had begun, beginning his own additions from so marked a point as the year 1066. The two MSS. correspond very closely, both being written in the same way, the chief portion of the text occupying the middle of the page, with ample margins on both sides, which have been frequently made use of for additional matter. There is no doubt that the Corpus Christi MS. is the older, the other having been apparently transcribed from it. The variations are very trifling between the two; the spelling of proper names is frequently changed; a simpler word is occasionally substituted for the original, *e.g.*, *episcopali* for *pontificali* (p. 5); and sometimes a word is inserted to make the sense clearer, *e.g.*, *regis* after *Ethulfi*, p. 9 (a. 862), *filia*, p. 12 (l. 28); "*sine consensu et conscientia*," p. 14, where the original has only "*sine conscientia*," p. 21, *hodie*, &c.

Richard of Devizes most probably the author of this.

Comparison of the two MSS.

Points worthy of remark in this earlier portion.

Of Richard of Devizes nothing is known but what will be found in the prologue to his life of Richard I. If he were the author of this chronicle, he had access to other authorities besides the Anglo-Saxon chronicle. For instance, p. 7, in speaking of Ethelwulf's expedition against Kent by his father's direction, he speaks of him as "*filium suum clericum*." There is no allusion to this in the Anglo-Saxon chronicle, but William of Malmesbury, *De Gestis Pontificum*, f. 137 b., l. 52 (Savile), says

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that he “ex gradu subdiaconi Wintoniensis in regem translatus est;” a passage of which our author has again made use, p. 8, in mentioning Ethelwulf’s accession to the throne, though he has avoided Malmesbury’s blunder in making pope Leo III. give the necessary dispensation. So again, in p. 9, the expedition of Hasteng against Spezia, after his defeat by Alfred, is mentioned, for which the only authority has been the Chronicon Turonense, published in Duchesne’s *Scriptores rerum Normannarum*.¹

There are two remarkable allusions by the author to events or persons living in his own times.—(1) Under the year 837, p. 8, where he is speaking of the sons of Ethelwulf, he adds, after mentioning their names, “de quibus non minus gavisus est quam quendam nostri temporis regem vidimus fuisse gavisum de filiis suis.” If the author be Richard of Devizes, this must of course refer to Henry II., and indeed he would be the king most naturally pointed out by such a statement, if we suppose it to be written before the rebellion of his sons. This would also give a good approximation as to the time when the chronicle was written. (2) The other is perhaps even more remarkable. Under the year 959 (p. 12), he is speaking of the murder of Ethelwold by Edgar, “pulchræ uxoris gratia,” and adds, “Non fuit iste primus, nec erit novissimus, qui doluit aut dolebit suæ uxoris pulchritudinem. Vidimus et nos aliquem pro pulchra uxore sua (*sua* is an addition of the Cotton MS.) aliquid pertulisse.” The circumstance here alluded to is by no means evident.

Throughout Winchester and its cathedral are the centre of everything; from the first paragraph, where the burial of Cerdic at Winchester is mentioned, down

¹ See Lappenberg’s *History of Kings*, Thorpe’s translation, ii. p. 55, note 2.

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the events described.

to the year 1053, when the gifts of Godwine's wife Githa to the church are enumerated. Of course the author mentions the intention of Cynegils to build the church, and the accomplishment of the intention by his son Cenwalch, and their gifts to it. Then later we read of those of Ina and Egbert; the foundation of the new monastery, Hyde; the burial of St. Edburga at St. Mary's abbey (the chronicler is very angry with the monks of Malvern for asserting her remains to rest with them); the gifts of Edward the elder and Athelstan; the reforms of Edgar, and his gifts to the monastery; the gifts of Ethelred and Cnut, and afterwards those of Emma, bishop Elwin, Edward the Confessor, and Stigand. Though spaces are left in one of the MSS. for the names of the manors given by Emma and Elwin, preceded by the words "quorum hæc sunt nomina," "quæ sic nominantur" (p. 25), they are not given.¹

Events related with full details.

Some events are narrated with very full details. Among these may be mentioned the murder of Alfred, attributed as usual to Godwine, who is described as giving very minute instructions to his followers as to the horrible manner of the murder; the arrival of Edward in England and his reception by Godwine, ending with his appearance in disguise at Winchester and subsequent coronation there; and especially the accusation of queen Emma, her demand of a trial by ordeal, and the trial itself, are more fully described than in any other chronicler. The queen and her chief accuser archbishop Robert are described as making long speeches on the occasion, and both quote Juvenal more than once. The length of the account is doubtless

¹ These will be found, as stated in the note 1, p. 25, in Rudborne's *Historia major Wintoniensis*, printed in Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*: as they are omitted, it is a fair deduction to suppose that the author of the Annals did not take his matter from Rudborne's book.

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owing to the glory the church of Winchester and the name of S. Swithin obtained from the result. The mention of Siward's death (p. 26) arrayed in his arms, shews that the author had Henry of Huntingdon's chronicle as one of his authorities. The death of Godwine comes from Aelred. One more curious point may be mentioned. In giving an account of Harold's capture at Ponthieu, he states that the tempest that threw him on that shore arose while he "in scafa piscatoria non longe a terra vomitam sibi in mari provocaret" (p. 26). It is worthy of remark that the author of the Corpus MS. is one of those who mention the story of Harold's surviving the battle of Hastings.¹ There are several indications of other authorities being made use of besides what we have now. See especially the curious description of Harold's character given in the note 2 to p. 27.

On the other hand several inaccuracies, and some of them of a very careless nature, may be observed. Thus, p. 10, under the year 924, in what is evidently intended as an account of the battle of Brunanburh, Athelstan is described as depriving of life a king of Scotland (Constantine III.), who really escaped to his ships, while the seven Danish jarls slain there are increased to twelve. So again, p. 18, Alfred's murder is related as taking place in Harthacnut's reign instead of Harold's, while the blunder is made worse by the statement that Harthacnut, though aware of Godwine's being the murderer, was forced to dissimulate on account of his power. In p. 19, in the singular dialogue put into the mouths of Godwine and Edward, the former is represented as using the familiar oath of William Rufus, and swearing by the Volto Santo of Lucca.

¹ The words are: "Volunt tamen quidam quod Haroldus vivus evaserit, et adhuc vivat cum Arturo rege Britonum." This has not been copied by the Winchester annalist.

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PREFACE.

The Corpus MS. followed only to 1066.

The compiler of the Winchester annals deserts the Corpus MS. in the year 1066; the latter, though carried on to 1135, containing very little, and that of but small interest, after this date.

William of Malmesbury the next authority.

After this the author chiefly followed is William of Malmesbury. His *Gesta Regum, De Gestis Pontificum*, and especially his *Historia Novella* are all laid under contribution. There are considerable additions, however, from various sources, especially at first the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle,¹ and afterwards Matthew Paris and the Continuator of Florence of Worcester: in one instance Herbert de Bosham's life of archbishop Thomas Becket is used, p. 56. When these are copied, they are generally copied almost without alteration, excepting in the passages relating to Winchester and its bishops. See, for a good instance of this, the account of the character and habits of bishop Walkelin (p. 39), of which a considerable portion is due to Malmesbury. The extracts are frequently made with great carelessness; (see instances of this pointed out in the notes 1, p. 30, and 5, p. 31): and sometimes two different authorities are copied in the same paragraph, as for instance in the year 1156, p. 55, where within three lines, "Obiit Johannes cardinalis" occurs twice.² The authorities are given throughout in the inner margin, and the additions will be easily seen by the difference of type.

Facts peculiar to the Chronicle.

I proceed to point out some of the more remarkable facts or points which are peculiar to this chronicle.

Under the year 1066, p. 27, the mention of the character of Harold's soldiers deserves remark, described

¹ The translations from the Saxon Chronicle are by no means always correct. Thus (p. 34) in speaking of the Æthling's sister Christina, "þæs æbelinges swuster" is turned into "regis filia." See the note on the passage.

² The allusion in this paragraph to the legend respecting "Ebronus," i.e., Ebroin, mayor of the palace in 670, is very curious. See the story in Milman's *Latin Christianity*, ii. p. 440 (ed. 3).

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as they are, as “bello proculdubio potentibus, sed in
 “exhauriendis calicibus potentioribus.” In p. 47, the
 scandalous story of the legate John of Crema, to which
 Hoveden (f. 274, Savile) alludes, is given with very
 full details. In p. 64 is a character of William Long-
 champ, bishop of Ely, king John’s chancellor. “Homo
 “quidem prudentia sæculi et gratia laborum mira
 “æstimatione insignis, et quo nemo unquam in inte-
 “gritate semel conceptæ dilectionis fidelior extitit;
 “qui et merito pater monachorum poterat appellari,”
 etc.; the only fault found in him being that he
 confirmed the ejection of the Coventry monks,—that
 instance of persecution which has excited the wrath
 of so many of the monastick chroniclers.¹ It is inter-
 esting to contrast this with the character of Long-
 champ given by Giraldus Cambrensis. (Gemma Eccle-
 siastica, p. 302, Brewer.) In p. 66 is a remarkable
 account of an outrage committed, in 1197, on Peter
 de Leia, bishop of St. David’s,² by Rees, king of Wales.
 The bishop had endeavoured to bring Rees to make
 peace with Richard I., and Rees not content with
 dismissing him with abuse and contempt, had him
 forced from his bed the following night, dressed only
 in his shirt and drawers, and dragged through the
 wood next his house. He was delivered by William
 de Braose, and at once excommunicated Rees and his
 sons: Rees died a few days after. His sons submitting

John of
Crema.William
Long-
champ.Peter de
Leia.

¹ See the strong language used by the Winchester annalist on mentioning the death of Hugo de Nonant, the bishop who expelled them, p. 67; and also William of Newburgh, iv. 36 (ii. p. 103, ed. Hamilton).

² This is the bishop of whom Giraldus Cambrensis has spoken so contemptuously in his *De Gestis Giraldi*, i. 44. &c. Mr. Brewer is

doubtless right in saying that the evidence of Giraldus as to his character must be received with caution. (Pref. p. xxxiv.) The Winchester annalist, in mentioning his death (p. 69) in 1198, calls him, “vir religionis eximie et tam vite forma quam informatione morum insignis.” This probably shows the estimation in which he was generally held.

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and praying for absolution, and promising all due obedience to king Richard, were permitted to do penance for the crime; both they and the dead body (*jam foetido*) of Rees were scourged, and both the dead and living admitted to absolution, the archbishop of Canterbury (Hubert Walter) assenting to and authorizing the proceeding. In p. 68 is a curious account of Walter, prior of Bath, who, though a man of learning and religion, and whose promotion to Bath from Hyde had been due to this, had gone to the Carthusians, *i.e.* to Witham near Frome in Somersetshire. Here one of the Hyde monks found him "who before " had been busy concerning the salvation of souls, now " very intent upon pots and cabbages," and said with some scorn, "Domine pater, Quod facis est kere, quod " tractas kirewiwere."¹ The chronicler states that on this he reflected that it was better to save many souls than only his own, and that therefore he went back to Bath, and there laboured strenuously till his death.

Walter
prior of
Bath.

In p. 71, after the account of the death of Richard I., occurs the mention of a remarkable prophecy, which is said to have been current among the Norman girls for some time previous to that event;

Prophecy
of the
death of
Richard I.

" In Limozin sagitta fabricabitur
" Qua tyrannus morti dabitur."

The annalist states that it seems wonderful to him how the prince who seemed so pious should thus prophetically be styled a tyrant; but adds, quaintly enough, "revera, quod mirum dictu est, postremo ille " telo occubuit quod in Limozin fabricatum est."

In p. 74 begins a long and curious account of certain impostors who went about the country pretending to be saints. The impostures of two pretend-

Account of
impostors
pretending
to be saints.

¹ I do not pretend to understand this line. The words are very clear in the MS.

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ing to be S. Nicholas and S. Andrew are elaborately detailed;—the ease with which the country people were deceived and cheated of their property gives a very remarkable picture of their intellectual condition.

The latter portion of the chronicle, from 1267 to 1277, is very valuable, and contains a very full account of the transactions of the years immediately following the battle of Evesham. It has been used by certainly two other chroniclers, the Waverley and Worcester annalists, and the author of the Cotton MS. *Vespasian E. iv.* The Winchester is the prior in date, and may be the original whence the others have copied. If so, our MS. is certainly a copy made from the original, as several words and even sentences necessary for the sense are omitted in it, which are found in the other MSS. On the other hand an error respecting the earldom of Richmond (see below, p. xxviii.) is omitted by the Waverley annalist.

Value of the later portion of the Annals.

Used by the author of the Waverley Annals and of MS. Cott. *Vespasian E. iv.*

In p. 113 is a list of the articles of inquiry by the papal nuncios in 1272, who came to London chiefly to settle the question of the expenses of prince Edward and his brother in the Holy Land: in p. 122 are some curious verses on the death of Pope Adrian V., better known as the legate Ottobonus or Octobonus, on which name the versifier puns. The MS. ends soon afterwards, under the year 1277, with the account of Llewellyn's submission to Edward I., and his appearance in London, where he kept his Christmas with the king, and then returned home.

Articles of inquiry in 1272.

Pope Adrian V.

As a general chronicle these annals do not differ much in style or matter from most of the similar chronicles of the time. But as mentioning the events which chiefly concern Winchester, the city and the cathedral, and the changes in the cathedral and monasteries, it is especially valuable. The earlier portion, as has been already remarked, whether due to Richard of Devizes or not, was certainly written by a monk of S. Swithin's, and gives a very full account of all the

Especial value as relating to Winchester.

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gifts of manors &c., by royal and other persons to the monastery; and the rest of the chronicle is equally full of details relative to both city and monastery. Thus, to begin with the cathedral, a very tolerable sketch of its architectural and other history from the Conquest may be made out. In 1072 Stigand, the degraded archbishop of Canterbury, who had given the great cross, with its two figures of gold and silver, to his old cathedral, was buried there with great pomp. In 1079 bishop Walkelin began to rebuild the church from its foundations. In 1086, during the process, he obtained from William I. a gift of as much wood from the neighbouring wood of Hempage as he could get cut down in three days and nights. He managed to get the whole cut down, and carried off to Winchester. The king coming to Hempage soon afterwards, and missing the well-known wood, as soon as he found out what had become of it, burst into a furious passion. The bishop, however, made his way to the king's presence, and pacified him by offering to resign his bishoprick; and was allowed to depart, with the quiet remark, that the king had been as much too prodigal a giver, as Walkelin had shown himself too greedy an acceptor. His successor, William Rufus, is only mentioned in connexion with the cathedral as having abstracted large treasures from it (p. 36). The new monastery was soon afterwards (1093) entered under bishop Walkelin's auspices, the feretry of S. Swithin being carried in procession from the old monastery, which was at once pulled down, the whole being destroyed in a single year, excepting one doorway and an altar. Under an altar of the old monastery (probably this same one which was left) were found the next year (1094) the relics of S. Swithin and several other saints. In 1098 the bishop, to whom the church owed so much, died, wearied of life, to use the chronicler's words, through the spoliations of

Architec-
tural his-
tory of the
cathedral.Bishop
Walkelin
and the
wood of
Hempage.History
under Wil-
liam Rufus.