

EARLY HISTORIANS OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

By JOHN CROOK

ABSTRACT

The paper traces the way in which, during a period between the late twelfth and the mid-nineteenth century, Winchester's historians have sought to understand the architectural evolution of Winchester cathedral and its precinct. The often naive observations of the city's early historians still help today's students to understand the development of cathedral and close. Successive generations of historical writers gradually corrected the misconceptions of their predecessors and moved towards a more credible, and, it is to be hoped, accurate version of architectural history.

The paper begins with a reassessment of the relationship between the various annals and chronicles compiled at St Swithun's priory, Winchester, and evaluates other documents with historical implications produced within the cathedral priory, notably the writings of Thomas Rudborne, the priory's most competent medieval historian. It then traces the emergence of historical scholarship in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and attempts to identify more accurately the authors of two key eighteenth-century historical works. The contribution of John Milner is reviewed, and the survey finishes in 1845 with a discussion of the seminal paper of Professor Robert Willis, 'founder of cathedral archaeology'.

EARLY MEDIEVAL SOURCES FOR WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL

Before the fifteenth century the main historical source for Winchester cathedral is the *Annales Wintonienses* [henceforth annals], edited by Henry Richards Luard for the Rolls Series (Luard 1865, 3–125). Luard used two recensions: Corpus Christi College Cambridge MS 339, which he printed down to 1066, and BL Cotton MS

Domitian A XIII thereafter. The somewhat complicated relationship between the two manuscripts can be only briefly summarised here. CCCC 339 is the earlier, and has been identified (Appleby 1963) as the autograph text of the late twelfth-century St Swithun's monk, Richard of Devizes, author of a history of King Richard I. It comprises a series of annals down to 1139, after which it continues as a more extended chronicle down to Richard of Devizes's own day. Domitian A XIII was put together from several sources. As far as the annal for 1066 it is a copy of CCCC 339; thereafter it recycles historical material from a variety of writers, notably William of Malmesbury, down to 1202 (with a gap between 1190–96 where pages have been lost). Then from 1202 until 1277 it continues in a different hand. Noël Denham-Young (1934, 6–7) demonstrated that this part of the Domitian annals was copied directly from another Winchester historical text, Bodley MS 91, a conclusion more recently arrived at independently by the present writer. The Domitian continuator seems, in fact, to have copied – rather inexpertly at times – Bodley 91 until the end of the most recent entry, for 1277, which thus provides a precise date for the final section of that manuscript. Bodley 91 was then added to for three further years, and breaks off abruptly in 1280 at the death of Pope Nicholas III and the pregnant words *cui successit* ...

Noël Denholm-Young (1934) made a bold attempt to insert Bodley 91 into the complicated *stemma* linking the Winchester Annals with those of Waverley, Worcester, and elsewhere, and followed Francis Madan (1953, 2.i, 101–2) in suggesting that the Bodley manuscript emanated from Hyde Abbey. In the light of its close relationship with the St Swithun's manuscript Domitian A

XIII this seems to us unlikely. Most tellingly, the foundation of New Minster, the parent church, is singularly absent from Bodley 91, whereas material concerned with Old Minster and St Swithun's abounds; there is, in fact, little to link the Bodley manuscript with Hyde apart from a post-Reformation heading on the first page and the fact that it was later bound with some other Hyde Abbey documents.

More work needs to be done on the relationship between the three sets of annals, not to mention the related annals from other monastic houses. Yet Luard's edition still provides a useful framework of dates for early works on the cathedral fabric which are unknown from other sources. The other, as yet unpublished annals, add little further. There are some discrepancies with other versions. Richard of Devizes' pre-1139 annals, for example, place the start of work on Walkelin's cathedral in 1080 (CCCC 339, fo. 22v), rather than the generally accepted 1079; however, he places the death of the Conqueror in 1088 and may consistently have been a year adrift in this part of his annals. Like the Vespasian annals, Bodley 91 refers to a translation of relics of St Swithun and other local saints in 1150, stating (fo. 109r) that Henry of Blois raised them into a 'more worthy place' (*in locum decentiorem*). Without the annals many other crucial events in the cathedral's architectural development would have to be dated by style alone: the collapse of the tower in 1107 (Luard 1865, 43), the heightening of the tower parapet in 1200 (*ibid.*, 73, cf. Crook 1992), the beginning of the remodelling of the eastern arm of the cathedral three years after that (Luard 1865, 78).

Apart from the Winchester annals there is very little documentation for Winchester cathedral and its close from the high medieval period. Although it cannot qualify as an 'historical' text, the miscellany rather inaccurately called the 'Winchester Cathedral Chartulary', compiled in its present form in the early fourteenth century (WCL, *Chartulary*), contains a few pieces of information about the cathedral. Appropriately, the chartulary was first brought to the wider attention of scholars by a twentieth-century Winchester scholar, Canon Arthur W. Goodman, librarian to the dean and chapter of Winchester from 1933 to 1948

(Goodman, 1927). One important entry, which illuminates the comments of later historians (WCL *Chartulary*, fo. 1v (item 4); printed in Franklin 1993, 89), relates how in 1158 (eight years after the translation of saintly relics mentioned above) Bishop Henry of moved 'the bodies of kings and bishops' (*corpora regum et pontificum*) into a new location. These human remains appear already to have been translated from Old Minster into the 'new church', presumably in 1093–4 – the Latin is ambiguous on this point because the sequence of tenses is incorrect. The bishop is said to have removed them from 'an unworthy place' (*ab indecenti loco*), raising them up them 'around the high altar' (*circa magnum altare*) of the cathedral. It is possible that the 'unworthy place' was the Romanesque crypt of the present cathedral, which was subject to periodic flooding by the mid-twelfth century (Crook 1989, 5–8). The anonymous royal and episcopal bones mentioned in the document may be identified with reasonable probability as being amongst those still lying in the mortuary chests either side of the presbytery, and their early movements were also recorded in the lost late twelfth-century *acta* of Bishops Giffard and Henry of Blois, discussed below. Martin and Birthe Biddle (forthcoming) have argued that the bones in question were those of a group of early kings and bishops of Wessex, which in the mid-twelfth century thus rejoined a second group comprising more recent members of the Anglo-Danish royal house whose sarcophagi had been brought from Old Minster to the Romanesque choir in 1093–4.

DESTRUCTION AND SURVIVAL OF WINCHESTER CATHEDRAL'S MUNIMENTS

The chartulary, and other documents – above all the supremely important series of obediatory rolls (Kitchin 1892) – compensate in some measure for the lack of Winchester medieval texts which can truly be described as historical writings. It is highly likely that other early material which might fall into this category has been lost. Winchester's muniments are sadly fragmentary. Significant losses occurred at the time of the civil wars of the mid-seventeenth century. As the

pamphleteer 'Mercurius Rusticus' (Bruno Ryves, later dean of Windsor) reported (Ryves 1644, 167), during their incursion into the cathedral close in 1642 Waller's parliamentarian soldiers 'brake up the *Muniment house* [...] They teare the Evidences of their Lands, and cancell their Charter'. After this disaster the chapter clerk, John Chase, began to set the documents in order and to calendar them in the form of a 'Remembrance' (WCL, *Chase's Calendar of Muniments*). Within four years the cathedral's muniments were again ransacked, this time by Cromwell's troops, who on 1–2 October 1646 invaded 'not onlie the Chapter house & myne office but also the minumt. house' (ibid., fo. 84). After the second incursion Chase personally recovered many of the documents from the streets of Winchester, as he recorded in a wistful memorandum (ibid., fo. 84):

And all my lidger Register books [were] taken away, the Records, Charters, deeds, writings, and minum^{ts}. lost, the foundation of the Church cancelled, the common seale taken away, and divers of the writings & Charters burnt, divers thrown into the River, divers large parchments they made Kytes withall to flie in the ayre, & many other old books lost, to the utter spoyling and destruccion of the same minum^t. and Chapter House, many of which deeds & writings may be supposed to have been kept & layen there for many hundred of years ...

The cathedral's records were evidently kept in various parts of the close. The location of the 'muniment house', which was extensively repaired in the earlier seventeenth century (WCL, *TB*, 1629, p. 13; 1639, pp. 5–6), is uncertain; reference to simultaneous works on both rooms (WCL, *CA*, 25 Nov 1665) suggest that it may have adjoined the 'audit house'. The latter room was established above the deanery porch c. 1500 (Crook 1987, 131–2), and documents relating to the dean and chapter estates were kept there. In 1648, for example, John Chase was permitted by John Woodman, the parliamentary solicitor for sequestrations, to make a search for a document noting the bounds of a property at Crondall in the 'box

or cubbord' in the audit house containing the court rolls of that manor (WCL, *LB* 2, fo. 138).

The cathedral's muniments scarcely fared better in more recent times: in his edition of the former priory's obediendary rolls, Dean Kitchin (1892, 3–4) relates how those manuscripts were rejected by one of the cathedral canons as 'useless rubbish' and condemned to be burnt – a fate which they escaped only through the timely intervention of a local antiquary Francis Joseph Baigent.

Against this background the survival of fragments of any medieval historical writings from Winchester cathedral priory must be regarded as fortunate indeed. It seems probable from the writings of the fifteenth-century Winchester monk and chronicler Thomas Rudborne that various pseudo-historical texts were in his day available at the priory, including confessions attributed to 'Vigilantius' and 'Moratius' which so late as the mid-nineteenth century were still accepted as genuine by some historians. These texts have long been lost – if, indeed, they ever existed outside Rudborne's imagination.

One other lost source seems more trustworthy. In the fifteenth century Winchester cathedral priory seems to have possessed a 'little book' (*libellus*) by Robert, prior of Winchester from 1165–73 and subsequently abbot of Glastonbury, describing the deeds of Bishops William Giffard (1100–29) and Henry of Blois (1129–71). The text of these episcopal *acta* is known only from a couple of short extracts paraphrased in three works attributed by the present writer (Crook 2003) to Thomas Rudborne: the *Liber Historialis* (AS 114, fo. 5v), the *Historia Maior* (Wharton 1691, i. 177–286, at 194 and 207), and the *Chronicon Wintoniense* (CCCC 110, pp. 314–57, at 327).

Fortunately, the surviving fragments of the *libellus* shed further light on the movements of the assorted royal and episcopal bones translated by Henry of Blois in 1158. According to Prior Robert, these remains had been placed in the 'eastern crypt'. It has previously been argued that this was another example of the medieval confusion between Old Minster and the present cathedral (Crook 1994, 171–2). It now seems more likely that the crypt in question was the

eastern crypt of the Romanesque axial chapel, in which the exhumed bones may have been placed after the demolition of Old Minster in 1093–4. Prior Robert tells us, in extracts preserved in the *Historia Maior* (Wharton 1691, 194) and *Liber Historialis* (AS 114, fo. 5v), that their sarcophagi bore no epitaphs, and so, because there was no way of identifying individual bodies, Bishop Henry placed ‘kings with bishops and bishops with kings, all thus mixed up together’ (*reges cum episcopis et episcopos cum regibus sic permixtos*) in lead coffers around the high altar. These coffers would eventually be placed within wooden outer chests, of which the present mortuary chests on Bishop Fox’s screen walls either side of the presbytery are updated versions. Since the twelfth century the contents of the mortuary chests have become still more jumbled because of the activities of parliamentary soldiers in 1642, who pulled down many of the chests and rifled the contents (Ryves, 1643, Feb 24). Until that date there were certainly nine, more probably ten, mortuary chests, as appears from an important series of ‘church notes’ of c. 1600 recording the inscriptions on ‘certain monuments newly set up on high above their old positions’ (*Quaedam Monumenta noviter et in alto redacta supra Locos antiquos*) (Harley 6072, fos. 29r–v); only four chests survived the Commonwealth, and two replacement chests to the same design were built in the 1660s (Biddle 1993, 275–8).

THOMAS RUDBORNE

The beginnings of true historical writing occur in the fifteenth century, towards the end of the episcopate of Cardinal Beaufort, with the St Swithun’s monk Thomas Rudborne. His career is scantily recorded: in 1447 he was present at the election of Beaufort’s successor, Bishop Waynflete, and in December 1450 he was listed as fourth prior (Greatrex 1997, 731, citing *eandem* 1978, item 316). Rudborne was described by his fellow-historian John Rous, who visited him in Winchester, as ‘the most learned man of his times in the chronicles of the English’ (*in cronicis anglorum suis temporibus peritissimus*, Hearne 1745, 73).

Identifying Rudborne’s works is something of a problem, which has been addressed more fully in

Winchester Studies vol. 4.ii (Crook 2003). He was certainly the author of a *Historia Minor* (BL, Cotton Nero A XVII) whose prologue alone was published by the youthful Henry Wharton in his magisterial *Anglia Sacra* (Wharton, 1691, i. 287). Wharton also published a substantial part of a text which he attributed to Rudborne, calling it the *Historia Maior*. This survives in just one manuscript (Lambeth, MS 183) but it is incomplete at the beginning and the end, due to water damage. Wharton therefore supplemented the missing sections from the text now known as the *Liber Historialis*, which he regarded (1691, i. p. xxvi) as an ‘Epitome’ of the *Historia Maior*. The manuscript that Wharton used was the now virtually destroyed Cotton manuscript Galba A XV, a victim of the fire which devastated the Cottonian collection in 1731. Fortunately the text exists in several other recensions, notably a sixteenth-century copy, now All Souls College Oxford, MS 114, made by the Winchester monk John of Exeter. Exeter’s name, and a statement that the text was ‘written out’ (*descriptus*) by him in 1531, appears at the head of the opening page, and a colophon states that ‘he wrote these things in his own hand’ (*Hec Exeter propria scripsit manu*): his care to name himself as scribe has confused some scholars into supposing him to be the author, but the text manifestly dates from a century before 1531. Exeter appears to have entered St Swithun’s priory in or after 1528, and was still there when the monastery was dissolved in 1539 (Greatrex 1997, 690–1).

Rudborne’s output did not end there. He may well also have been responsible for a set of *Annales Breves* (also in Galba A XV, fos. 1r–51v), for a lengthy history down to the 1430s but completed on internal evidence c. 1460, known as the *Chronicon Wintoniense* (CCCC 110, pp. 314–57), and for another work on general English history which survives only as a fragmentary English translation (BL, Harley 156, fos. 185r–279r). This last is possible the only surviving fragment of what Rudborne referred to in the *Historia Minor* (BL, Cotton Nero A XVII, fos. 2r–v) as his ‘forthcoming Greater Chronicle’ (*Chronica Maiora*).

Rudborne’s writings provide a fascinating insight into the perception of the monks of fifteenth-century Winchester concerning the date of the architecture of their cathedral. They appear to

have believed that they worshipped in that same church that had originally been built by Cenwalh in the seventh century: thus in the *Chronicon Wintoniense* Rudborne noted that Cenwalh was buried 'in the aforesaid church, which he constructed, under the high altar, where he still lies buried to this day' (*in praedicta ecclesia quam construxit, sub summo altari, ubi usque in hodiernum diem adhuc iacet humatum*) (CCCC 110, p. 318). Yet he must have realised that such a view clashed with other sources, notably the *Annales Wintonienses*, which state that in 1079 'Bishop Walkelin began to rebuild the church of Winchester from the foundations' (*Walkelinus episcopus a fundamentis Wintoniae cepit reaedificare ecclesiam*) (Luard 1865, 32). In the *Liber Historialis*, an important source for the activities of Winchester's bishops, Rudborne wrote (AS 114, fo. 5r) that Walkelin 'renewed from the foundations the tower in the middle of the choir with its four columns' (*turrim in medio chori cum quatuor columpnis a fundamentis renovavit*). He presumably realised that the tower, which is recorded in the *Annales Wintonienses* as having collapsed in 1107 (Luard 1865, 43), could not have actually been built by Walkelin, who had died nine years previously. Thus, in a lengthy passage in the *Historia Maior* (Wharton 1691, i. pp. 256 and 271) Rudborne explained further that the tower was always attributed to Walkelin because it had been rebuilt using funds left by that bishop. As we shall see, the same misconception that parts of the present cathedral were 'Saxon' would linger on until the mid-nineteenth century.

Rudborne was closer to the mark when, in the *Liber Historialis*, he attributed the construction of the retrochoir vault (if not the retrochoir itself) to Bishop Godfrey de Lucy (1189–1204): 'Godfrey Lucy caused to be revaulted the [area] from the altar of Blessed Mary to the end, together with its aisles, where he was buried outside the Lady chapel' (*Godfridus Lucy ab altare beate Marie ad finem cum aliis voltari fecit, ubi extra capellam beate Virginis humatus est*) (AS 114, 5r). This early and correct identification of De Lucy's tomb did not prevent the growth of a later legend (dispelled only by John Milner in the 1790s) that the tomb was that of the mythical King Lucius, a key figure in the apocryphal, so-called 'British History' of the origins of Winchester. Lucius is said to have

written to Pope Eleutherius in the mid-second century inviting him to send Christian missionaries: a story derived from the *Liber Pontificalis* (Duchesne 1955, i. 136).

Rudborne was above all an institutional historian, and the architectural fabric of his church was of secondary importance to him. His writings are of greater use to the modern historian when he discusses the various monuments visible within the church that he knew. Amongst these observations are his important comments on the location of Winchester cathedral's prestigious collection of royal bones. In the *Chronicon Wintoniense* the inscription on both sides of the 'lead coffer' (*locellus plumbeus*) enclosing the alleged remains of Ecgbert and Cynewulf is faithfully recorded: 'Here lies King Ecgbert with King Cynewulf' (*Hic rex Egbertus pausat cum rege Kinulpho*) (CCCC 110, p. 320). In fact, the inscription that he copied was almost certainly the *titulus* on a wooden outer chest enclosing the actual lead coffer. Amazingly, this outer chest, dated to c. 1425, has survived (Hardacre 1989, 46–7) and indeed bears on both sides the very words noted by Rudborne. Furthermore the exact position of the chest is specified in the *Chronicon*: it stood on the south side of his church, 'above the tomb where the heart of Bishop Nicholas lies' (*super sepulturam ubi cor Nicholai episcopi reponitur*). The heart-burial of Bishop Nicholas of Ely (1268–80) is still in place, enclosed within the plinth of the fourteenth-century presbytery arcade, and the *Chronicon* thus indicates the exact position of the double mortuary chest of Ecgbert and Cynewulf in the fifteenth century.

Rudborne's precisely recorded information shows that, well before the remodelling of the Winchester presbytery under Bishop Fox in the early sixteenth century, predecessors of the present mortuary chests stood on screens inserted within the fourteenth-century arches of the presbytery. He mentions, furthermore, one other double mortuary chest, containing the bones of two other West Saxon kings, Cynegils and Æthelwulf. Rudborne twice (once for each king) quotes the inscription visible on the 'lead coffer' (*sarcophagus plumbeus*): 'Hic rex Kingilsus requiescit rex et Athulphus/Quorum gesta manus docet hæc nunc suscipiamus' (CCCC 110, pp. 318 and 324). Unfortunately, the second line of the couplet is

untranslatable gobbledegook. Unless the text was corrupted by the post-Reformation copyist of the only known manuscript of the *Chronicon*, we must assume that Rudborne was so bemused by the Latinity that he simply reproduced what he observed on the *sarcophagus* without attempting to correct it.

For this pair of kings, too, a medieval wooden outer chest has survived, but dating from around 1500 (Hardacre 1989, 48). It bears an inscription indicating that it contained the bones of Cynegils together with Æthelwulf: 'Here the bones of Kynegils lie, together with those of Æthelwulf' (*Istic Kyngils simul ossa iacent et Adulphi*). Rudborne cannot have seen the chest of c. 1500, and the words that he records were either on an earlier version of the wooden outer chest, or on the lead coffer.

According to the *Chronicon*, the 'lead sarcophagus' containing the bones of Cynegils and Æthelwulf stood on the south side of the high altar above the door of the 'south crypt' (*meridionalis crypte*). It seems reasonable to suppose that, like the double chest of Ecgberht and Cynewulf, the coffer of Cynegils and Æthelwulf was also on the fourteenth-century screen within the south presbytery arcade; and it is likely, therefore, that the term *crypta* is here being used in its primary sense of a vault, and that it referred to the south aisle. It is improbable that at this period the aisle retained its Romanesque groin vault, as Professor Willis argued (Willis 1845, 46), but the former name of that part of the cathedral might have lingered on after the demolition of the vault in the fourteenth century and its replacement either by a wooden vault (like the main part of the presbytery) or a mere open timber roof. According to this interpretation, the door in question may have been the one between the presbytery and the south aisle; the present door, although incorporated in Bishop Fox's screens of 1525, is clearly recycled from an earlier period, probably the mid-fourteenth century.

Then, both in the *Chronicon Wintoniense* (CCCC 110, p. 327) and the *Historia Maior* (Wharton 1691, i. 207) we have the first reference to one of Winchester cathedral's most interesting features, the so-called 'Holy Hole', which partially survives in its final, early fourteenth-century form, in the centre of the retrochoir screen. As has been shown

elsewhere (Crook 2000, 218–33), this feature had its origins in the twelfth century, when Bishop Henry of Blois raised the feretory platform within the Romanesque apse and created beneath it a low passage somewhat resembling the axial passage of a ring-crypt, enabling pilgrims to approach or perhaps crawl beneath the relics of St Swithun located close to the high altar.

An extended version of the *Liber Historialis*, completed after Rudborne's death, BL Cotton MS Vespasian D IX, overlooked until quite recently, provides important confirmation of the final position of St Swithun's shrine: Beaufort had elected to be buried on the south side of the shrine (Vespasian D IX, fo. 23v), and Waynfilet on the north (*ibid.*, fos. 24v–24r). This text continues up until the death of Bishop Fox in 1528. It includes (*ibid.*, fo. 24r) the important information that Fox's chantry chapel was located near the high altar and on the south side of the 'minor altar'; the area abandoned by Swithun's reliquary had been turned into a chapel behind the great screen.

SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY HISTORIANS

We must now move on to the beginnings of true antiquarian scholarship at Winchester in the late seventeenth century. No account of the historiography of Winchester cathedral would be complete without mentioning the *Relation of a Short Survey of the Western Counties made by a Lieutenant of the Military Company in Norwich in 1635*. The lieutenant's name was Hammond, and his account of the cathedral (Wickham Legg 1936) was published in the Camden Series exactly three centuries later. Hammond provides a fascinating glimpse of the cathedral on the eve of the Civil War, with a particularly full description of the choir and its stalls, including an extended account of the biblical scenes which appear to have filled the top tier of the stall-backs behind the rear stalls, and which presumably were smashed in 1642/6.

At around the time of Hammond's visit, a local historical writer, John Trussell, was engaged in the composition of a large-scale historical work with a Winchester emphasis, entitled 'Touchstone of Tradition' (Trussell 1642). Trussell took an active part in municipal politics, and twice served

as Mayor of Winchester (*DNB* 1899, lvii, s.n.), but historical research was evidently his great passion, and in 1636 he published *A Continuation of the Collection of the History of England ...* (Trussell 1636). 'Touchstone', on the other hand, was never printed, and survives only in manuscript. An earlier version of the first three books is also extant – 'the first parte of my Collection' as Trussell called it in a note written on the fly-leaf when he lent the volume to Sir John Oglander. This manuscript (HRO W/K1/11/1) is usually referred to as 'The Origin of Cities', but the title is misleadingly restrictive, being merely that of Book I of 'Touchstone'. In fact the 'first parte' also includes Books II and III of 'Touchstone', comprising a history of the kings of England ending with Edward III, and is clearly an earlier, incomplete version of 'Touchstone of Tradition'.

For the historian of Winchester cathedral, the most useful passages are those describing the entombment there of monarchs from Cynegils of Wessex to Charles I (Books II–IV, fos. 45r–193r); and, in an appendix entitled 'A Saries of all the Bishoppes of Winchester', of bishops (fos. 206r–224r). He records in particular the inscriptions visible on several (though, regrettably, not all) of the sixteenth-century mortuary chests, thus providing a useful confirmation of the anonymous transcription in Harley MS 6072, mentioned above, compiled some 40 years previously. Trussell is, however, the first historical writer to have made the important observation that the chest containing the remains of Bishop Wini also enclosed those of Archbishop Stigand – he recorded the inscription on one side which seems to have escaped the author of the Harley manuscript: *Hic iacet Stigandus Archiepiscopus*. Fortunately there is some confirmatory evidence for Stigand's alleged presence in the mortuary chests: his name was mentioned in *Mercurius Rusticus*'s account of the smashing of the chest in question a few years later (Ryves 1644, 165). Then in 1684 Precentor Thomas Grey entered a memorandum in the cathedral's baptismal register (WCL, *baptismal register*, fo. 18) again recalling that Stigand and Wini had shared a chest – but for some reason Stigand's name was never painted on the inscription on the two chests which replaced the six that had been destroyed in 1642.

Trussell also left us (1642, fo. 79v) one of the earliest descriptions of the so-called 'Rufus tomb', now identified as that of Bishop Henry of Blois (Crook 1999A). He relates that after his death in the New Forest, Rufus's body had been brought to Winchester cathedral

And lyeth buried their before the high altare in the Quire of St. Swythins in a tombe of playne marble. But his bones are said to bee enchested with the bones of Canutus in one of the Cofers of lead, which Fox, being Bishopp of Winchester, caused to bee placed round the east end of the quyer.

CLARENDON AND GALE

Trussell did not mention the position of many other monuments within the cathedral. This lacuna was made good in 1683, when Henry Hyde, 2nd Earl of Clarendon, completed a 'small manuscript' entitled 'Some Account of the Tombs and Monuments in the Cathedral Church of Winchester'. Samuel Gale subsequently wrote an extensive introductory section, and the combined texts were published as a pocket-sized volume in 1715 (Clarendon and Gale 1715). One or two of the cathedral's historic artefacts, such as the font, are briefly mentioned. But, as the title suggests, this is mainly an account of funerary monuments, and as such it preceded Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* of 1786–96 by three quarters of a century. It is invaluable in indicating the original position of the tombs, the positions of so many of which were altered in the early nineteenth century by Garbett and Prebendary Nott.

ROBERT LOWTH

Robert Lowth (1710–87), successively bishop of St David's, Oxford, and London, was educated at Winchester College and New College, Oxford, where he obtained a fellowship. During the latter period he began to assemble materials for his *Life of William of Wykeham*, first published in 1758. A corrected second edition was published the following year (Lowth 1759), and was reprinted in

1777 and again in 1995. As the title implies, the *Life* is mainly a biography of the bishop, but it includes some observations on Wykeham's architectural works, notably the remodelling of the cathedral nave. Furthermore, Lowth scrupulously cited his references, quoting many of them *in extenso* in a lengthy appendix, and his biography is still of value for today's historians.

Lowth may well have been the first post-medieval historian to discard the notion that parts of the present cathedral were Saxon, though it is not quite clear whether he was referring to the entire cathedral or to the nave alone when he stated (1759, 215) that in Wykeham's day 'the whole fabric then standing was erected by Bishop Walkelin, who began it in the year 1079'. Lowth recognised, too (*ibid.*, 218–9), nearly a century before Robert Willis, that Wykeham's work on the nave was a remodelling of Walkelin's fabric rather than a new construction.

THOMAS WARTON

Despite the interest in monuments shown by writers such as Lieutenant Hammond, John Trussell, and Clarendon and Gale, it was not until the mid-eighteenth century that a more comprehensive account of the architectural development of Winchester cathedral and its close was attempted. Then in 1760 an anonymous author published a brief *Description of the City, College and Cathedral of Winchester* which was reissued a number of times during the eighteenth century.

The question of the authorship and date can finally be settled. John Milner conjectured in the preface to his own *History and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester* (Milner 1798–9, i. 9–12) that the author was the Revd Thomas Warton (1728–1790), professor of poetry, then Camden professor of history at Oxford University, and poet laureate (*DNB* 1899, lix, s.n.). Milner's attribution is, fortunately, confirmed by the publication c. 1857 of Sir Thomas Phillipps's tract, 'Thomas Warton's Notes, & Corrections to his History of Winchester College, & Cathedral printed in 1750 [sic].' Phillipps was wrong in one respect. He noted (Phillipps 1857, 2) that on the title page the words 'Published 1760. By Mr. Thomas Warton'

had been added and assumed that 'the above date was probably intended for the 2nd. Edition.' However, Phillipps's careful provision of page and line references for all the annotations confirms with certainty that the volume in his possession was the earliest extant edition, which contains a reference (Warton 1760, 12) to the opening of the County Hospital 'at Michaelmas, A.D. 1759'. Thus it is highly likely that Warton's *Description* was first published in 1760 and that the annotation on the fly-leaf was intended simply to make good the lack of the author's name and date in that first edition. Some of the annotations must, indeed, have been made at a much later date than 1760: such as an account of discoveries made during the construction of the city Bridewell in 1786, only four years before Warton's death. However, any doubt that Warton was indeed the annotator is dispelled by a note (Phillipps 1857, 6) – presumably not intended for publication – concerning John Nicholas, warden of Winchester College: his 'Great Grand-Daughter is the wife of my brother, Dr Jos. Warton, the present Master of the College.' Finally, Phillipps notes (1857, 16) that 'On the inside of the last Cover Warton has written his own name 'T. Warton'.'

Warton's account of the interior of the cathedral concentrates mainly on the monuments, which are enumerated in detail, but there is some discussion of the architecture and observations on the various screens, vaults and their decoration. For the 1760 revision he was able to draw (Warton 1760, 83–8) upon the passage we have already discussed from the first edition of Lowth's *Life of Wykeham* – published only two years previously – describing Wykeham's remodelling of the nave (cf. Lowth 1759, 216–21). Finally, he rounded off his survey of the cathedral fabric with a rudimentary summary of the building phases (Warton 1760, 97–8):

it contains three Stiles of Architecture, agreeable to the Taste of the three different Ages, in the Progress of which it grew to the present Perfection. The first is the *Saxon*, of which is the Tower, the Transept, and the Eastern Isles, for the most part built, or begun, by *Walkelyne*. The second is the *Gothic*, simply so called, of which are the Western Isles and West Front, erected by *Wykeham*.

The third is the ornamental or improved *Gothic*, which began about the Reign of *Henry VI.* and of which the Presbytery, Side Iles, and outward East End of the Choir, by *Fox*, as well as our Lady's Chapel, by *Silkstede*, are elegant specimens.

This is not a bad analysis, though for 'Saxon' we would nowadays use the term 'Romanesque'; but Warton made one serious error when he was misled by what he called the 'more simple and confined Style' of the thirteenth-century retrochoir into supposing (*ibid.*, 71) that 'the low-built Iles at the East End of the Choir, existed before the Time of *Walkelyne*, and are a Part of the old Church erected by the *Saxon Kings*' – likewise he identified the Romanesque crypt below the retrochoir as 'constructed by *Ethelwold* in the Reign of King *Edgar*', believing it to be the labyrinthine crypts mentioned by Wulfstan the Cantor in a 'special letter' addressed to *Æltheah* as a preface to his *Narratio Metrica de Sancto Swithuno* (Campbell 1950, 68–9; ll. 122–3).

Despite these errors, Warton's writings are still of value to the modern historian for their description of architectural features in the cloister which have now vanished. The south wall of the great cloister is a case in point. The location of this wall is now represented simply by the grassed area south of the cathedral, and the rectilinear outline of the cloister has been modified into gentle carriage sweeps, which 'branch into one another with easy curves, like a well-planned railway junction', as a former cathedral architect, T. D. Atkinson (1941, 9) observed. In the mid-eighteenth century, however, some remains of the wall were apparently visible, for Warton writes (*ibid.*, 76): 'The opposite wall retains the Vestiges of Arches, and of a large Gateway, which probably led from the Cloisters to the Refectory ... or perhaps was the public Entrance from the Monastery into the Cloisters, and from thence to the Church.'

Warton also provides one of few descriptions we have of the canonry house now used as the cathedral's education centre, no. 10a, before it was substantially rebuilt in around 1800, suggesting it formed part of the medieval refectory; his observations would subsequently be copied verbatim by several historians. There was apparently much

thirteenth-century masonry visible on the outside of the house, all of which has vanished except on the west side. He writes (*ibid.*, 75–6):

The Traces of two Windows, remarkably long and narrow, discernible in the East End of the Prebendal House, now belonging to the Reverend Mr. *Letchmere*, and of three Arches on the North Side of the same, indicate one End of the Refectory: And the House itself, which has several Apartments with arched Stone-Roofs, seems to be made up of the Kitchen, Buttery, Cellars, and other Offices.

Again, Warton's description indicates that evidence for the western wall of the medieval cloister was more apparent than it is today. He notes (*ibid.*, 77) that, 'the rough End of a Wall forming the Outside of the Western Square, appears against the Church; beyond which, the Cloister ceasing, the Remainder of this side of the Church is finished with a Window lower than the rest ...'. The only indication now of the position of the rear wall of the western cloister walk is a fragment of billet-moulding over the blocked door formerly leading into the cathedral; this Romanesque fragment survived the remodelling of the exterior wall of the nave aisle c. 1400 because it was sealed by the stump of wall observed by Warton. Fortunately, the latter author's observations are corroborated by John Milner (1797–8. ii. 90), who indicates that that until the early nineteenth century there was also an archway here, which Bishop Curle must have cut through the Romanesque west wall of the cloister in 1632 when he created the short-cut (still known as Curle's Passage) around the south-west corner of the nave. Above the arch was a commemorative inscription, which was reset in the garden wall on the south side of the passage when it was widened in 1806 (WCL, CA, 23 June 1806).

THE 'ANONYMOUS HISTORY' OF 1773

Many of Warton's observations were expanded verbatim in a two-volume anonymous *History of Winchester* [henceforth *Anonymous History*], published in 1773. Volume I of this work is a

description of the city and its buildings; Volume II an account of its history. John Milner supposed (1798–9, i. 11–12) that the author was the Revd Richard Wavell (died 1779), and this testimony from only 25 years after the publication date must be taken seriously, as there would presumably have been many Winchester people alive who had known Wavell and could have verified the matter. Milner's identification of the author also finds limited support from the fact that the medieval Magdalen Hospital, on Morne Hill, east of Winchester, features prominently in the *Anonymous History* – Richard Wavell was master there. Barbara Carpenter Turner (1992, 128) called Wavell 'a noted local historian', but this assessment is presumably based on Milner's attribution and therefore begs the question of authorship. Richard Wavell's extant collection of letters to the Revd Thomas Wools, during the period 1744–1778 (Wavell Letters), give an impression of a scholarly interest in classical literature, biblical and doctrinal history, and sermons – which they enthusiastically exchanged – rather than local history and architecture. Nor does Wavell appear to have published any other books, and if the *Anonymous History* is his work, it was a one-off. It is unlikely, however, to have proceeded from the pen of Thomas Warton; as Milner scathingly observed, many of Warton's more circumspect remarks were misinterpreted by the anonymous, or taken as fact rather than conjecture. Thus in his account of St Swithun's priory (1773, i. 21) the anonymous author repeated the monastic legend of its foundation by 'Lucius, the first Christian king of Britain'; and in the opening pages of Volume II (ii. 1–6) he regurgitated the legendary British history of Winchester, going back to 'The Year of the World, 2995'. Warton, on the other hand, had been more cautious when dealing, for example, with material derived from Rudborne's *Historia Maior*: he had commented (1760, 69) that 'Some writers report, that a Monastery was founded in this city by King Lucius. [...] This, it is said, was afterwards restored.'

The *Anonymous History* is roughly five times as long as Warton's (two octavo volumes totalling 534 pages, compared with Warton's 108). Much of it is a mosaic of lengthy quotations from previous authorities: Trussell, Dugdale's

Monasticon, Leland. The descriptions of the cathedral are mostly copied from Warton with minor alterations and additions; and he copies (from Warton rather than from the original) Robert Lowth's account of Wykeham's remodelling of the nave (*Anonymous History*, i. 33–7). The book is impressive in its bulk, but adds little to our knowledge of Winchester cathedral.

JOHN MILNER

Thomas Warton's *Description* and the later *Anonymous History* pale into insignificance when compared with the contribution to the study of Winchester's history made by John Milner, who had arrived in Winchester in 1779, aged 25, as priest of the Roman Catholic community. His two-volume *History, Civil and Ecclesiastical, and Survey of the Antiquities of Winchester*, said to have been written in a mere twelve months, was published in 1798–9, and went into eleven editions between its first publication and 1839. In Volume I ('The Historical Part') Milner traced the history of the city, including the cathedral; in Volume II ('The Survey of the Antiquities') he provided a walk-round guide along the lines which would be followed in the twentieth century by Sir Nikolaus Pevsner in his *Buildings of England* series.

Milner's history is of uneven value for the historian. Without archaeological evidence, his account of Old Minster was inevitably incomplete. When discussing the early development of Winchester he repeated the old legends of the British History of the city – King Lucius, the missionary monks Faganus and Duvianus and the rest – and even justified his belief by a lengthy footnote (Milner 1798–9, i. 39, n. 3) scorning those who had through 'excess of scepticism' denied the existence of King Lucius. He did, however, recognise that Bishop de Lucy's tomb was not that of the mythical British king. But it is in the second volume of his work, the 'Survey' proper, with its description of the cathedral and close that Milner broke new ground. Here is an attempt at architectural history of the sort with which we are familiar today.

The greatest problem facing historians in this fledgling period of architectural history was deter-

mining the date of buildings. As we have seen, Winchester's history was characterised by wild conjecture, and the main error could be traced back to the belief of the monks of St Swithun's priory that their church was the Anglo-Saxon minster as remodelled by Æthelwold. A few antiquaries, notably Robert Lowth, had already correctly dated some of the Norman work, though perhaps more by luck than good judgement: Thomas Warton was also broadly correct in his chronology, as was John Carter, who, in the first volume of his *Ancient Architecture of England* (Carter 1795, i. 18) referred to 'the north transept of *Winchester* Cathedral erected by Bishop *Walkelin* after the middle of the eleventh century'.

Milner was scarcely more accurate than his predecessors in ascribing dates to the various portions of the building. In a preliminary overview of the architectural development of the cathedral he suggested, like Thomas Warton before him, that the present crypt had survived from Æthelwold's remodelling of Old Minster in the 970s; he assumed, too, that the present tower formed part of Walkelin's work, and supposed that the tower that fell in 1107 had been located further east. On the other hand, he recognised (Milner 1798-9, ii. 30 and 73) that the transepts were Walkelin's work.

Furthermore, Milner (*ibid.*, ii. 13-15, 58-9) challenged the view expressed by Thomas Warton (1760, 71) in the *Description of Winchester* that the thirteenth-century retrochoir was a Saxon structure, and correctly attributed it to Godfrey de Lucy, pointing out the similarities of architectural style with Salisbury cathedral, thus being the first Winchester historian to employ the comparative method.

Likewise, Milner was perhaps the first scholar to realise that the remodelling of the nave took place in two phases, with a change in architectural character that is particularly obvious on the north side (Milner, 1798-9, ii. 17). He opted for a simple division into work which he attributed to Edington (the west front and the western ends of the nave aisles), and a later phase attributed to Wykeham - a misconception that lingered on until the 1990s.

Milner was, however, totally confused by the Holy Hole, supposing it (*ibid.*, ii. 71) to have been

an entrance into the crypt, a view scarcely less wide of the mark than that of Thomas Warton, for whom (1760, 103) the Holy Hole was the way down into the royal vault of the Saxon kings. Warton's view was based on a misunderstanding of a passage in Clarendon and Gale (1715, 29), for whom the whole retrochoir was the '*Resting place*, of the Saints and Kings, who were interred there ...'. Set against this, Milner claimed to be the first antiquary to have correctly identified the subject matter of the twelfth-century font as scenes from the life of St Nicholas of Myra.

Perhaps the real value of Milner to today's architectural historians is the snap-shot picture that his second volume, the 'Survey', provides of the cathedral shortly before the not inconsiderable alterations undertaken by Prebendary Nott and the architect William Garbett. These works included moving many of the tombs in order to provide a symmetrical array in the retrochoir; but Milner, like Clarendon and Gale before him, describes them in their original position - for example, the tomb of Prior Basing, now in the retrochoir, was then in the south transept (Milner 1798-9, ii. 31-2).

The cathedral known to Milner was very different from the one we know today. The choir-screen was the Inigo Jones screen, replaced by Garbett's short-lived Gothic screen in 1820. Behind the high altar, the empty space once occupied by Cardinal Beaufort's great retable was filled by a painting of the Raising of Lazarus by Benjamin West, scornfully dismissed by Milner (*ibid.*, 38-9), who comments that 'Christ himself ... appears more like a physician, prescribing a medicine for the recovery of his patient, than the great Messiah'. Above it was the Laudian canopy now displayed in the triforium gallery museum; Milner corrects an error then current concerning its date (*ibid.*, 39-40). The niches of the great screen had been filled with 'grecian urns' by Prebendary Harris at the beginning of the eighteenth century 'with more liberality than taste' (*ibid.*, 42). Immediately in front of the high altar steps stood the *dos-d'âne* tomb of Henry of Blois, then, as we have seen, attributed to William Rufus - Milner expressed surprise (1798-9, ii. 51) that Bishop Henry's memorial had seemingly been lost. On the western wall of the north

transept some wall-painting was still visible which has long vanished, including a painting of St Christopher, and the Adoration of the Magi (*ibid.*, 74). Many parts of the cathedral were in a lamentable state of repair: and Milner comments (*ibid.*, 59) that 'a horse-load' of the crocketed pinnacles of the Beaufort and Waynflete chantry chapels had fallen or been taken down, and were kept in one of the eastern chapels.

Milner includes some account of recent investigations in the cathedral; notably a report on the opening of a tomb in the retrochoir, thought by many to be that of St Swithun (*ibid.*, ii. 49–50, n. 3). This investigation was undertaken by Henry Howard of Castle Corby and others in 1797, so it was red-hot news. He was however anticipated by a very similar account in the second volume of Richard Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments* (1786–96, ii. pp. cccxxvii–cccxl). The tomb in question was almost certainly that of William Westkarre, prior of Mottisfont and bishop of Sidon. Howard also opened the tomb of Godfrey de Lucy at the same time.

Turning to the cathedral precincts, Milner described seeing a few foundation stones on the north side of the west front: all that remained of the final chapel built over the empty grave of St Swithun in around 1400. He also correctly identified the charnel chapel, which was excavated in part during the creation of the cathedral visitors' centre in 1990–3.

BRITTON'S CATHEDRAL ANTIQUITIES

The greatest advance in Winchester cathedral's architectural history occurred in 1817, with the publication of the Winchester volume of John Britton's *Cathedral Antiquities*. It was illustrated by fine engravings by Edward Blore. It is a tribute to Blore's draughtsmanship that many of them still provide the best views available of certain parts of the fabric; his section of the east end has yet to be bettered.

For Britton, the antiquities of the cathedral – i.e. its architectural development – was the main point of interest, and the institutional history of the foundation took second place. His opening chapter gives the historical background, and here

he was not afraid to dismiss completely the British History that had dogged the study of Winchester cathedral since the middle ages: 'Either the story of [king] Lucius is entirely fabulous ... or Lucius himself was a person whose situation and circumstances in life have been greatly misrepresented' (Britton 1817, 18).

Once again, the chief problem facing Britton was to determine the date of the oldest parts of the cathedral fabric. Interestingly, he introduced his discussion by quoting in full a letter from the cathedral's first architectural surveyor, William Garbett, for whom (Britton, 1817, 58) the crypt of the Romanesque axial chapel was 'the work of our pious British or Roman ancestors in the early part of the fourth century' (i.e. King Lucius), the lower part of the transepts were attributable to Cenwalh, the upper part of the transepts, the main crypt, and the Romanesque nave were all of the time of Ethelwold, and the central tower in its rebuilt form dated from the episcopate of Walkelin! Yet we should not ridicule Garbett, for despite his wildly inaccurate dating he was the first to point out various architectural features which are crucial to the understanding of the cathedral: the difference in masonry between the tower and the transepts (which Milner had overlooked), and the provision made for the support of corner towers at the transept ends (to which we shall come shortly). In these observations he prefigured the great Robert Willis by three decades.

From what has already been said about John Britton, he could not have espoused Garbett's chronology. Comparison of the earliest architectural features of the cathedral with dated examples elsewhere led him rather to the conclusion (Britton 1817, 71) that 'no architectural part of the present church is strictly Saxon', and this was a major advance in the understanding of its architecture.

ROBERT WILLIS AND THE WINCHESTER MEETINGS OF 1845

1845 was a critical year for the historiography of Winchester cathedral. By a curious coincidence, two learned societies decided to hold their annual conference at Winchester. Thus on 6 August 1845

members of the British Archaeological Association were addressed by Edward Cresy, architect, who, ignoring Britton's careful arguments, explained to his audience (Cresy 1846, 368) that substantial parts of the present cathedral were Saxon: 'The great crypt of Winchester cathedral is admitted to be that left by St. Athelwold ... and if this were not so well attested, its construction would satisfy the observer that it is not of a later period'. It must be remembered that the crypts were then filled with nearly a metre of infill, which certainly gave them a more primitive appearance.

Most of this infill was removed by order of Dean Kitchin in 1886. Some survived at the west end of the south aisle because it was recognised that its removal might jeopardise the obviously subsiding south aisle wall of the retrochoir; Kitchin commented (1886) that 'it did not seem well to tamper with the building on this side'. Turning to the transepts, Cresy wrote (1846, 372) that '... the *transepts*, particularly that on the south side, have an undoubted Saxon character, and formed a portion of the cathedral built by Athelwold, and finished in 980.' As for the tower, Cresy followed Thomas Rudborne in claiming (*ibid.*, 378) that it was built by funds left by Bishop Walkelin, replacing Æthelwold's tower, which had collapsed in 1107.

Just a month after the British Archaeological Association's conference, the Archaeological Institute convened at the St John's Rooms, where Professor Robert Willis, Jacksonian professor of Applied Mechanics at Cambridge, gave a lecture entitled 'The Architectural History of Winchester Cathedral' (Willis 1845), with a follow-up visit to the cathedral in the afternoon. The importance of Willis's paper can scarcely be over-emphasised. It is a indication of the depth of his intellect and analytical skills that most of Willis's findings still stand today with little need of correction.

The Reverend Professor Willis was an engineer, and as has often been remarked, his approach was to 'take the buildings apart like a machine', as in his analytical view of vaults at Peterborough cathedral. He was perhaps the first historian to adopt the archaeological approach to building studies, seeking to establish the constructional sequence by identifying the succession of stratigraphy.

The broad structure of Willis's paper consists of a first chapter presenting the documentary sources down to the end of the twelfth century, followed by three chapters providing an analysis of the physical fabric in roughly chronological order, supplemented where necessary by further documentary references. This schema, outlined in his introduction, is a flexible version of the approach used by many architectural historians today, whereby the two sorts of evidence, literary and physical, are set forth before a final synthesis; but as many have found, it is hard rigorously to separate evidence and interpretation, and most fall back on the sort of compromise scheme employed by Willis.

Willis's first chapter presenting the documentary evidence has been superseded by more recent studies. We can no longer accept, as Willis appears to, the so-called 'British History' of the early development of Winchester cathedral. The location and development of Old Minster is known following the Biddles' excavations of the 1960s, and much work has been done since Willis's day on the tenth-century monastic reform, and its architectural impact.

But it is in his analysis of the standing fabric that Willis broke new ground. He realised that the crypt provided the plan of the Norman east end, and he was not beguiled into the fancy that any part might be pre-Conquest. After a brief description of the general architecture, Willis launches straight into the kind of fabric analysis which best demonstrates his skill, with an explanation of how the corner piers of the transepts were thickened out as an afterthought during the Romanesque building works, in order to provide support for corner towers which were subsequently abandoned. Garbett had of course already noted this as we have seen, but misunderstood the chronology.

The following chapter deals with the remodeling of the eastern arm, and there is much still of relevance. One interesting question that has recently been addressed is whether the Lady chapel was originally intended to project eastwards of the flanking chapels as it does today (Crook 1999B). Some light has been cast on this question by information not available to Willis, namely details of foundation walls in the crypt

which were partially excavated during the preservation works of 1905–12, and these showed that the original design comprised an eastern arm with three chapels ending on the same line, but that this scheme was quickly modified. And indeed, if we study Robert Willis's paper, we discover that he too was 'inclined to think that the chapels of de Lucy were all of the same extent' (Willis 1845, 38–9).

There is much of value in Willis's analysis of the remaining work in the eastern arm, but his *tour de force*, perhaps because it is so easy to understand from a pair of simple drawings, is his analysis of the remodelling of the Romanesque

nave. His chronology may not be quite correct. It has recently been argued that only the triple porch is Edington's work, and that the remodelling of the west end of the nave aisles dates from a first, short-lived phase of Wykeham's work in 1371, which was resumed in a different style in the 1390s (Crook and Kusaba 1993, 227) – an idea first put forward by George Moberley (1893, 270–1) in the second edition of his *Life of Wykeham*. Nevertheless Willis's analysis of the sequence of constructional phases is impeccable. It set the standard for architectural historians of the twentieth century and indeed for those of the new millennium.

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Abbreviations

AS All Souls College Oxford
CA Winchester Cathedral chapter act books
CCCC Corpus Christi College Cambridge
DNB Dictionary of National Biography, ed. L. Stephen & S. Lee, 63 vols. (London 1885–1900)
LB Winchester Cathedral ledger books
TB Winchester Cathedral treasurers' account books
WCL Winchester Cathedral Library

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London, Lambeth Palace Library
Lambeth MS 183. *Historia Maior* attrib. Thomas Rudborne.

Oxford, All Souls College
AS 114. Sixteenth-century copy of *Liber Historialis* made by John of Exeter.

Oxford, Bodleian Library
Bodley MS 91. A set of annals possibly compiled at Hyde Abbey.
Winchester, Cathedral Library
Baptismal register 1580–1867.
Chase's Calendar of Muniments, 1623–50 (alias 'The Book of John Chase'). A transcription by Canon A.W. Goodman exists, WCL shelfmark 39.B.2.
Cartularium prioratus sancti Swithuni Wyntoniensis (Chartulary of Winchester Cathedral), Miscellaneous register, s.xiv.in, now in 3 vols.
LB[Ledger Books]. Registers of the common seal of the Dean and Chapter of Winchester.
TB. Treasurer's Account books of the dean and chapter of Winchester.

Winchester, Hampshire Record Office
Photocopy 605. Letters from the Revd Richard Wavell, rector of St Maurice's Church, Winchester, to the Revd Thomas Wools, Vicar of Fareham, 22 July 1744 – 22 March 1778. W/K1/11/1. John Trussell, 'The Origin of Cities'.

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Author: John Crook M.A., D.Phil., F.S.A., 52 Canon Street, Winchester, Hants. SO23 9JW.

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