CIRCULATING SAINTS:

A STUDY OF THE MOVEMENT OF CORPOREAL RELICS IN THREE REGIONS OF WESTERN EUROPE, *c.* 800-1200

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Abstract

This thesis is concerned with the movement of corporeal relics in France, England and the Low Countries during the central Middle Ages. There were two types of relic movements in medieval Europe. The first of these forms a broad category termed *translationes*, and includes the theft of relics (*furta sacra*) as well as intra-site translations (the movement of relics within a specific site) and regional translations (the movement of relics from one site to another). The second type of relic movement was the *delatio*, or the tour of relics. Communities were motivated to move their relics by numerous factors, including protection from harm or theft, to claim land, to provide protection to a specific area (including from war or pestilence), or to build wealth or focus a community around a specific secular or religious identity. The latter often meant that the movement of relics was performed as part of a deliberate relic policy of the leaders of that community, and helped to promote a common identity, thus binding the people of that area together as a social group. They also could be used to build boundaries around lands that were either desired by or owned by a particular monastic community, thereby allowing the monastery to acquire new lands and endowments.

This thesis is contextually wide-ranging but topically specific. It explores one facet of medieval Christian devotional practices (the movement of relics and the erection of shrines to Christian saints) in great detail, while also investigating the economic, social, and political framework of western Europe between 800 and 1200. The dual nature of this structure emphasises the contributions made throughout this thesis to the historiography. I have developed a new interpretation of the valuation processes for relics, understanding them not as commodities or inalienable

possessions, but as 'inalienable commodities', or goods that functioned both as moveable, tradeable commodities with use-value and exchange-value, and as inalienable possessions, above the normal means of economic exchange. I also argue for a new understanding of sacred space, noting that physical shrines could be temporarily erected, not just permanent sites of the sacred. This is a spatial category that has remained unstudied in the fields of history and anthropology.

This thesis argues that the movement of relics as represented in hagiographical accounts manifested miracles as a necessary economic and social product. This product was a result of the labour of the monastic or ecclesiastical cult, the laity who gave devotion to the saint, and the work of the saint themselves through the medium of their relics. The hagiographical accounts of medieval Europe used specific literary *topoi* to illustrate how these thaumaturgic productions manifested the value and socio-economic status of relics. Once the value of the relics had been established, the relics were then used to further the political, economic, and social aims of the monastic and lay communities that surrounded them through the implementation of relic policies. It is therefore argued that the movement of medieval corporeal saints' relics in western Europe demonstrates that relics circulated within the medieval economy in myriad ways. Research into the status of relics, how they were exchanged, and the socio-economic benefits accrued through their acquisition can therefore have some bearing on the historian's understanding of the worth of the human body, as well as the tension between creating capital and promoting the sacred in medieval Christianity.

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List of Abbreviations

AASS	Bolland, J. *et al* (ed.), *Acta sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur,* 67 vols. (Antwerp and Brussels, 1643-1940; repr. Brussels, 1965).
AASSOSB	J. Mabillon (ed.), *Acta sanctorum ordinis sancti Benedicti*, 9 vols. (Paris, 1668-1701; 2nd ed., Venice, 1733-1740).
BHL	*Bibliotecha hagiographica latina antiquæ et mediæ ætatis,* Société des Bollandists (eds.), Subsidia Hagiographica 6 (Brussels, 1898-1901).
Biddle	M. Biddle, 'Archaeology, Architecture and the Cult of Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor* (Council for British Archaeology, 1986), pp. 1-31.
CCCM	*Corpus christianorum, continuatio medievalis* (Turnhout).
CSP	'Catalogus sanctorum in Anglia pausantium', (unprinted: British Library, MS Harl. 3776, fos. 118-27, and Lambeth Palace Library, MS 99 fos. 187-94).

Delatio corporis s. Juniani	Letaldus of Micy, *Delatio corporis s. Juniani ad synodem Karoffensem* [BHL 4565], *PL* 137, pp. 823-26.
EH	Bede, *Historia ecclesiastica*, in J. McClure and R. Collins (eds. and trans.), *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People, The Greater Chronicle, Bede's Letter to Egbert* (Oxford, 1994).
EHR	*English Historical Review*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
GPA	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*, in M. Winterbottom (ed. and trans.), *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum: The History of the English Bishops*, vol. 1 (Oxford, 2007).
GRA	William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum Anglorum*, in J.A. Giles (ed. and trans.), *William of Malmesbury's Chronicle of the Kings of England from the Earliest Period to the Reign of King Stephen* (London, 1866).
Handlist	J. Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), pp. 494-566.

HC	Hugh Candidus, *Chronicon*, in W.T. Mellows (ed.), *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough* (London, 1941), pp. 59-64.
Historia miraculorum s. Amandi [1]	Gilbert of Elnonensus, *Historia miraculorum s. Amandi corpore per Franciam deportato* [BHL 0345], *AASS*, Feb. VI, pp. 895-900.
Historia miraculorum s. Amandi [2]	Gunter of Elnonensus, *Historia miraculorum s. Amandi corpore per bragbantum delato* [BHL 0346], *AASS*, Feb. VI, pp. 900-02.
Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ	Drogo of Bergues, *Historia translationis sanctæ Lewinnæ* [BHL 4902], *AASS*, July V, pp. 623-627.
LE	J. Fairweather (ed. and trans.), *Liber Eliensis: A History of the Isle of Ely from the Seventh Century to the Twelfth, Compiled by a Monk of Ely in the Twelfth Century* (Woodbridge, 2005)
MGH	*Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*
Miracula s. Fides	Bernard of Angers, *Miracula s. Fides*, in P. Sheingorn (ed. and trans.), *The Book of Sainte Foy* (Philadelphia, 1995).
Miracula s. Mariæ	Harmann of Laon, *Miracula sancti Mariæ Laudunensis* [BHL 5398], *PL* 156, pp. 961-1018.

Miracula s. Ursmari	*Miracula sancti Ursmari in itinere per Flandriam* [BHL 8425], *AASS,* Apr. II, pp. 573-78. *MGH SS*, XV, pp. 849-51.
Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno	Wulfstan of Winchester, *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* in M. Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 335-552.
Peace of God	T. Head and R. Landes (eds.), *The Peace of God: Social Violence and Religious Response in France around the Year 1000* (Ithaca, 1992).
PL	J.P. Migne, et al., *Patrologia cursus completus, series Latina*, 217 vols. (Paris, 1852-1904 and 4 vols. Index and 5 vols. *Supplementum* 1958-1974).
RAC	G. Tessier, A. Giry M. Prou, and C. Brunel, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi dde France (840-877),* Book I (840-860) (Paris, 1943); Book II (861-877) (Paris, 1952); Book III (Paris, 1955).
Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni	Lantfred of Winchester, *Translatio et miracula s. Swithuni,* in M. Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003), pp. 217-334.
Translatio s. Fidis	*Translatio altera s. Fidis virg. et mart. ad monasterium conchense*, [BHL 2939, 2940], *AASS* October III, pp. 294-300.

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Introduction

In one of his memoirs, the comedic essayist David Sedaris relates how he once visited a taxidermy shop in North London to buy a stuffed owl as a gift for his partner. During his visit, Sedaris is shown a succession of body parts, beginning with skulls encased in a glass cabinet from the twentieth century. Hoping to get a sale, the taxidermist went on to show him a human skeleton, 'half hidden in the back of the room'; small and fully-articulated, the skeleton was that of a nineteenth-century 'Pygmy' from the Congo, shot for sport by British colonials. As Sedaris recounts 'it would have been disturbing to see the skeleton of a slain Pygmy in a museum, but finding him in a shop, for sale, raised certain questions, uncomfortable ones, like *How much is he*?'[1]

Sedaris' distress lies not in being shown these bodies, he writes, but in the questions that arise from seeing the body parts. These are socio-economic questions about the value of a human body and the price that they will fetch. They are also moral questions concerning whether a body should be sold, and what participating in such exchanges might mean to the rest of society. After being shown a 'man's forearm, complete with little hairs and a smudged tattoo' and a head of a 'teenage girl', Sedaris leaves without purchasing any of the bodies or body parts, but ponders why he was shown them in the first place – after all, the taxidermist had these items hidden away in bags or half-hidden in cases behind other objects:

> The taxidermist knew me for less time than it took to wipe my feet on his mat, and, with no effort whatsoever, he looked into my soul and recognized me for the person I really am: the type who'd actually love a Pygmy…Worse still I would flaunt it,

[1] D. Sedaris, *Let's Explore Diabetes with Owls* (New York: 2013), p. 179.

> hoping in the way a Porsche owner does that this would become a part of my identity. "They say he has a Pygmy," I could imagine my new neighbors whispering as I walked down the street. "Hangs him plain as day in the corner of his living room"…[2]

In his slightly self-deprecating comedic style, Sedaris highlights a deeply complex socio-economic and moral issue. The human body, even after death, serves as a complicated touchstone, as it is imbued with emotions, the personality of the spirit that had once inhabited it, and the reminder of the mortality of the viewer. In Sedaris' story, it can also serve as a moral reminder of historical and societal misdeeds, as well as economic issues of commoditization and value.

While the thought of human bodies being sold in taxidermy shops may be particularly disturbing, human bodies are often on display in western society, in museums or other public places. These bodies are brought out for viewing by tourists and citizens. They act as the medium through which these audiences can participate in the historical and cultural memories of a particular society. The experience of viewing these bodies is often far less disturbing than Sedaris' experience; we think nothing, for example, of viewing an Egyptian mummy in a museum, or even the mummified remains of a long-dead pope in a major European cathedral. For most members of the public, little thought goes into how those bodies were acquired, what they cost, and how much they are now worth. Yet these thoughts should occur to us. Money is exchanged for the privilege of viewing the bodies. Money is also given as a donation, very often for the upkeep of the remains, or to secure them in their tombs or display cases. We pay to keep the air conditioning going, to keep the remains dry; we pay for historians to put the remains into context, archaeologists to dig them up, and anthropologists to study how they died and the culture from which they came. There

[2] Sedaris, *Let's Explore Diabetes*, pp. 180-83.

are almost constant socio-economic exchanges that occur around these bodies in modern western society.

Similar economic and moral transactions occurred around the bodies of the saints in medieval western Europe, especially during their movement. It will be these transactions that this thesis will analyse. The bodies in question were special, imbued with a value and qualities not possessed by ordinary bodies. Primary saints' relics were the human remains of Christian holy people, and as such, these bodies and body parts provided a conduit to heaven for those that prayed over them, touched them, sold them, and bought them. The economic exchanges that occurred with and around these bodies were dependent on the social groups interacting with the relics; these interactions would not have occurred without the movement of the relics into unfamiliar and usually unsanctified spaces. The process of moving relics (and consequently of sanctifying space) was a sacred practice, but it was also an economic one. It will be this tension, between the sacred, the socio-political, and the economic, that will be the crux of this examination.

Relics functioned as both economic and sacred objects. As both profane and holy, relics were objects of faith in a material world, inspiring devotional acts from the laity and the religious alike. It is necessary to consider both the materiality of these relics and their role in the sacred realm. The value of relics, for example, is only of economic importance because these are sacred items. They can only create sacred spaces because they are sacred themselves and because they are highly valued commodities. The infusion of the sacred into the temporal world was of great concern to the medieval mind, and this viewpoint asserts itself throughout many of the sources used in this thesis. The movement of medieval relics in all its forms, therefore, is of

utmost importance in guiding the historian through this murky and changeable borderland between the metaphysical and physical worlds.

There were two types of relic journeys in the Middle Ages. The first type was the permanent movement of relics from one location to another, referred to as *translationes*, or translations. There are several sub-types of translations; their differences are based on the motivations behind the journeys. One of these is the *furtum sacrum*, or the sacred theft of relics. This has received significantly more attention from historians and was first addressed in detail in Patrick Geary's *Furta Sacra*.[3] In recent years, the historiography has benefited from additional work by a new generation of historians. Gina Burke supplements Geary's work by analysing the variety of justifications presented by medieval authors for relic thefts, and the literary tropes that these justifications employed.[4] Also important for our purposes is Sean Lafferty's analysis of body thieves and relic hunters in Late Antique Europe, which provides context for later developments in the early medieval period, most especially the legal precedents and ramifications for relic thefts.[5] In addition, Felice Lifshitz addresses relic thefts in early medieval Neustria, and provides a study of how relic thefts could affect a region socially and economically.[6] This thesis will complement previous works by placing the textual justifications for relic thefts in an economic context. Hagiographical accounts of the theft of relics overwhelmingly seek to present justifications for the morally ambiguous actions against both the saint and the community that held them. Thus this movement is characterized by tropes to mollify

[3] P. Geary, *Furta Sacra: Thefts of Relics in the Middle Ages* (Princeton, 1990).
[4] G.K. Burke, *Bones of Contention: The Justification for Relic Thefts in the Middle Ages*, PhD diss. (Miami University, 2004).
[5] S. Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum:* tomb raiders, body snatchers and relic hunters in Late Antiquity', *EME* 22:3 (2014), pp. 249-79.
[6] F. Lifshitz, 'The Migration of Neustrian Relics in the Viking Age: the myth of voluntary exodus, the reality of coercion and theft', *EME* 4 (1995), pp. 175-92; F. Lifshitz, *The Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria: Historiographic Discourse and Saintly Relics, 684-1090* (Toronto, 1995).

the saint. This was often done by asserting that the saint's value was not appreciated in its former community, and that in order for the saint to be properly venerated, it needed to be moved and raised to a higher standing. The emphasis would then be placed on adding value to that which already existed within the relics within these hagiographical accounts.

Permanent translations can also be categorized in other ways. The first of these are intra-site translations. Intra-site translations occurred within one site, and usually involved moving the relics from the graveyard into the church, or within the church itself into a loftier position. Complementing intra-site translations are inter-site translations, or regional translations, where the relics were moved permanently from one city to another. Previous work on translations has been divided into general trends. One of these trends, and the most important for this study, focuses on the movement of relics within the context of creating sacred space, as one of many rituals that was used in medieval Europe to sacralise locations. Studies such as that edited by Frances Andrews, Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken, and the monographs by Seeta Chaganti and Derek Rivard approach translations primarily as performative rituals.[7] These studies focus on the societal effects of moving relics, and on the interaction between the performers (the community of monks) and the audience (the lay community).

Another motivating factor in moving relics was the need to protect or safeguard those relics from theft. This often meant hiding the relics from view, either

[7] F. Andrews, (ed.), *Ritual and Space in the Middle Ages: Proceedings of the 2009 Harlaxton Symposium* (Donington, 2011); K. Ashley, and W.N.M. Hüsken (eds.), *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Rodopi, 2001); S. Chaganti, *The Medieval Poetics of the Reliquary: Enshrinement, Inscription, Performance* (New York, 2008); D. Rivard, *Blessing the World: Ritual and Lay Piety in Medieval Religion* (Washington, 2009). See also D.M. Polanichka, 'Transforming Space, (Per)forming Community: church consecration in Carolingian Europe', *Viator* 43:1 (2012), pp. 79-98.

by entombing them or by placing them underground in a croft. It could also mean moving the relics to another town or region temporarily in order to remove them from a dangerous situation. While so far not identified as a separate type of translation by other historians in the field, the hiding of relics as a sub-type of relic movement was distinct enough of a concern for medieval authors that I consider it to require its own sub-category.

In addition to *translationes*, there was another type of relic movement that was not permanent. These were the tours of relics, which occurred primarily in the northern regions of Francia after the year 1000. These tours, known alternatively as *delationes*, *circumvectiones*, and *translationes*, involved the movement of relics from and returning to their home sanctuary. They were performed for a variety of purposes (the solicitation of donations being the most common given by historians), but could also include the bringing out of relics to claim land by sanctifying it, as part of the Peace of God movement, to quell an invasion of either persons or disease, to stifle a famine or drought, or to underscore political concerns of the monastery.[8] Beginning with *delationes* within the Peace of God movement, this thesis examines how the political and economic concerns of monastic communities led them to bring out their relics numerous times in bids to claim or reclaim lands for political and economic purposes. It also looks at how these communities used popular devotional beliefs and rituals to bring about these political and economic changes, through the inclusion of the laity in the ritual itself.

[8] P. Héliot, and M.L. Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages de reliques au profit des églises françaises du Moyen-Age', *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique* 59 (1964), pp. 789-822, and 60 (1965), pp. 5-32; R. Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinérantes avec des reliques pour financer la construction des églises (XIe-XIIe siècles)', *Le Moyen Age: revue d'histoire et de philology* 101:2 (1995), pp. 205-25.

The Plan for this Thesis

Outside of a few studies, the topic of medieval relic movements is not one that has been considered much by historians. Because of this, the framework for this thesis must be broad, both geographically and temporally. It moves chronologically from the end of the eighth century to the middle of the twelfth, and covers a geographic area comprised of England and Francia. On a macro-level, it examines the movement of relics as it developed throughout the central Middle Ages in order to understand the long-term trends and position of relics in the medieval economy. However, it is also structured so as to give particular attention to specific cults throughout this period. This gives an understanding of how relics were exchanged on a micro-level within the local cult structure, especially with regard to land acquisitions, land management, and the sacralisation of space.

There are three narrative strands that bind the thesis together. The first of these strands involves the socio-economics of moving relics. This discussion will centre itself on the idea of value. When contemplating relics, the question of value underpins most of our understanding of how relics functioned and why they had such a prominent place in early and high medieval Christian devotional practices. Yet the idea of how relics were valued and how that economic value was realised has not been a point of analysis for historians. Historians have discussed the exchanges surrounding relics in detail, but few, besides Patrick Geary and some that followed him, have considered exactly how the bones of the saints themselves participated in transactions or were transacted.[9] This thesis, in part, seeks to redress this problem,

[9] P. Geary, *Living with the Dead in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1994), pp. 188-90, 195-6, and 212-13; P. Geary, 'Sacred Commodities: the circulation of medieval relics', in A. Appadurai (ed.), *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, 1986); and C. Sponsler, 'In Transit:

considering the socio-economic consequences of valuing a set of relics, both as a sacred object and as an economic object. It is a study of how relics were exchanged by medieval society.

The second thematic strand concerns the materiality of the relics themselves. In this, the primary concern should be the method of exchange, whether by gift, theft, or trade, and how the relics were transported, handled, and treated by those around them. If the first strand is concerned with 'pure' economics, then the second is concerned with the social implications of that economic transaction. How did medieval people conceive of the relics as they handled them? In this, it might befit us to consider whether relics were exchanged using existing trading networks or methods of trade, including whether they came in through major ports, and how they were treated in relation to other goods. It is also necessary to consider the logistics of the trip, the methods of travel, and the length of the journey. Because the primary records of these journeys are in hagiographical accounts, attention will be paid to the amount and type of miracles that occurred during transportation. These miracles might help to indicate the social, political, and economic concerns of the monastic communities involved in the transaction, and thereby some of the larger social implications of the movement of relics.

The final strand that binds this thesis together is the creation of sacred space through the movement of relics. It should be well-understood that the primary motivation for moving relics in this period was to create sacred space. How this space was created and what it meant to the communities surrounding the saint's relics will be one of my main concerns. What should also be of note, however, is the

theorizing cultural appropriation in Medieval Europe', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32:1 (2002), pp. 1-39, esp. pp. 26- 9.

temporality of the space, or how permanent the sense of the sacred was throughout these spaces. In most of the movements described in this thesis, the sanctification of the space was meant to be permanent. In *delationes*, however, there are numerous reports of what can only be termed 'temporary' sacred spaces. These 'temporary sacred spaces' occurred when the laity attributed miracles to specific places, usually points where the saint's relics had been placed during the journey, and then created temporary monuments to the saint's presence that had only a fleeting existence in the historical record. These temporary sacred spaces are worthy of consideration for many reasons, but the most important is that the movement of relics was usually a highly controlled process, with most of the power held in the hands of the monks and clerics who had possession of the relics. The creation of temporary sacred spaces, however, is one example of the laity exerting agency in its own devotional practices. Far from being a top-down imposition of devotional practices, the creation of temporary sacred spaces on these tours is an example of popular devotional practices of the ordinary laity in medieval western Europe.

Because of the difficulties inherent in a study of this kind, given the wide geographic and chronological period for relic movements and the lack of historiography for the subject, it was necessary to separate this thesis into two broad sections. The initial section, consisting of the first two chapters, outlines the history of relic movements, the production of their hagiography, and gives the theoretical basis for the analysis that will follow. The second chapter in particular gives a new understanding of the ways in which relics were valued as economic objects, providing a basis for later discussions of the place of relics in the medieval economy and the types of economic exchanges in which relics, and the cult of the saint, could partake.

Chapter 1 examines the history of relic movements in Late Antiquity and the early medieval period, giving a necessary background on the laws and regulations given within the church by the Pope and by Carolingian leaders that underpinned relic movements until the beginning of the ninth century. These laws, while not always followed to the letter, give us some idea of the ways in which medieval theologians conceived of the trade in relics at this time. It is therefore necessary for us to examine these in detail before analysing how the trade in relics operated within the medieval socio-economic structure in Chapters 3-6. Chapter 1 also examines the process of writing hagiographical accounts tracing relic movements and the development of the *translatio* genre.

Chapter 2 examines how saints, through the medium of their relics, participated in the socio-economic exchange system of the central Middle Ages. Tracing the historiography behind the valuation process of relics, I propose that this process was intimately entwined with the movement of medieval relics. The movement of medieval relics allowed for increased numbers of exchanges to occur with the various groups that formed the saint's cult, which subsequently increased the value of the relics. When relics were moved regionally, they were transferred to a new social context and given the opportunity to participate with different sections of their social community. In so doing, the relic could simultaneously inhabit different economic categories, behaving in some cases like luxury commodities, and in other cases like inalienable possessions. In their movement, either through the *translatio* or the *delatio*, the relic most clearly demonstrates these fluctuations in status. Examination of the movement of medieval relics therefore offers the opportunity for the historian to analyse the types of exchanges in which medieval relics participated and the effect of those exchanges on the socio-economic value of the relics.

The second section of this thesis, consisting of the next four chapters, is organised thematically by type of movement. It begins with Chapter 3, which examines the theft of relics, known to historians as *furta sacra*. I initiate this discussion with an examination of the hagiographical accounts of these thefts, especially in their structure and the type of literary tropes (specific patterns to the story) that are used by their authors. These accounts overwhelmingly seek to present justifications for what is, at best, a morally ambiguous action against both the saint and the community that held them. This movement is characterized by tropes that depict the mollification of the saint, whereby the thief was meant to seek the saint's approval for the movement. This trope specifically addresses the question of the value of the relics, through the assertion that the saint was not appreciated in their former community, or that the community was not doing enough to increase the economic power of the saint. For the saint to be properly venerated, its relics needed to be moved to a new community and raised up to a higher position. The movement itself, however, was often done in secret, and at night, with deception and lies woven into the standard narrative. This ambiguity played out in the shrine at the new community as well, where justifications for the theft included magnificent and expensive shrines to the new relics, and the performance of miracles that proved that the saint was happy in their new home. This was then proof of the value added both to the relics and the saint's cult and community at their new home.

Chapter 4 describes regional *translations*, primarily in which the relics were either hidden from view, or moved to protect them from harm or theft. This was usually done in times of political and social upheaval. Hiding relics could have serious repercussions for the cult, and took two forms. The first was to hide the relics and the reliquary within the cathedral, either by placing them in an underground tomb

or under-croft, or by placing them in a more secure above-ground tomb made of stone. The second way to hide relics was to physically move them to another site, usually in a more remote (and therefore secure) location. Both brought risks of loss, if the community could not remember where the relics had been placed, or if the relics were stolen by a new community. Hiding relics was done primarily because of concerns about the value of the relics, especially with regard to the reliquaries that housed them. One can see how these *translationes* could increase the perceived value of the relics, even after hiding them and removing them from their valuable housing, and thereby reinforced the value of the relics, even in their lowered position.

Chapter 5 is concerned with the intra-site translation of relics, which, while one of the most common types of relic movements in the Middle Ages, is not comprehensively understood by historians. These are the movements of relics within a particular place. This could be within a cathedral, or within a town. The difference between intra-site translations and other types of relic movements is that the relics did not change social contexts, i.e. they remained with the same community throughout the movement. Most often this type of movement had a clear economic goal, where the movement of the relics was tied to the construction of a building or to the construction of a new shrine. Linking with Chapter 4, intra-site translations often occurred concomitantly or subsequently as hidden relics, as the relics that had been lowered into underground tombs for protection in previous centuries could be raised up in times of peace to increase revenue for the church. Increased value in these shrines brought in more donations, which could then be used to build new, magnificent churches. Such churches were built with increasing regularity in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

Chapter 6 looks at the tours of relics, which occurred primarily in Francia after the year 1000. These tours, known alternatively as *delationes*, *circumvectiones*, and *translationes*, involved the back-and-forth movement of relics from their home sanctuary. Tours were performed for a variety of purposes (the solicitation of donations being the most common given by historians) but could also include the bringing out of relics to claim land through the sanctification process, as part of the Peace of God movement, to quell an invasion of either persons or disease, to stifle a famine or drought, or to underscore political concerns held by the monastery. Beginning with *delationes* within the Peace of God movement in the 980s, this chapter examines how the political and economic concerns of monastic communities led them to bring out their relics numerous times in bids to claim or reclaim lands.

The movement of Christian relics was a response to social and economic events occurring throughout medieval Europe. Far from being solely a religious or sacralising effort, moving medieval relics had specific political, social, and economic motivations and effects. In studying these motivations, and in particular those caused by political upheaval or social relationships, we can begin to understand the economic factors at play when relics were moved throughout Europe. It is the goal of this thesis to place the movement of medieval relics solidly within the economic structure of medieval Europe, and to fully comprehend its function within medieval society and economy.

1. The History and Hagiography of Relic Movements

In 827 CE, Einhard, the eminent Carolingian scholar and biographer of Charlemagne acquired the relics of St Marcellinus and St Peter from Rome for his new abbey at Michelstadt-Steinbach. His account of their acquisition became one of the foundational texts for the *translatio* genre, and contains many of the tropes which will become manifested later in this thesis. It relates the furtive theft of the relics by a dealer named Deusdona. In return for Einhard's two mules and funding for the journey, Deusdona led Einhard's notary, Ratleig, to Rome, and assisted him in finding and taking the relics. The trip did not go to plan. Once in Rome, Deusdona deceived them, giving them the excuse that he had left the relics with his brother who had gone to Beneventum on business, and he did not know when his brother would return. He did, however, know of where some other relics might be located. Deusdona then led them to the catacombs where they would need to 'fend for themselves' in acquiring these relics. Ratleig came first to the basilica of Tiburtius, some three miles outside of Rome, underneath which he and his companions 'first tried to open the altar below which [Tibertius'] body was believed to lie', but the tomb would not open. They went instead to the tomb of St Marcellinus and Peter, where they had more success after praying to the saints to allow their bodies to be moved. They raised the bodies out of the tomb and wrapped the first 'in a pure muslin cloth', and placed the second set of remains 'into a silken bag, which he had prepared for this purpose'.[1] They also

[1] B. Wendell (trans.) and D. Appleby (ed.), *Translation of the Relics of Sts Marcellinus and Peter*, in T. Head (ed.), *Medieval Hagiography: An Anthology* (New York: 2000), p. 206. See also Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 39; Einhard, *Translatio ss Marcelli et Petri*, *MGH SS* xv, pp. 239-64; Rudolphus, *Miracula sanctorum in Fuldenses ecclesias translatorum*, *MGH SS* xv, pp. 329-41; for more on Einhard, see P.E. Dutton (ed. and trans.), *Charlemagne's Courtier: The Complete Einhard* (Peterborough, 1997); J.M.H. Smith, 'Einhard: the sinner and the saints', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (2003), pp.

acquired dust from the bones of Tibertius, and a bag of assorted relics from Deusdona, before they returned to Michelstadt and interred them therein.

As is apparent from the account of the theft of St Marcellinus and St Peter, the movement of medieval relics is intimately bound up with the ways in which those movements were presented in written accounts of the time. This is especially important for the historian, when the only accounts of relic movements arise out of either archaeological footprints of shrines that have been moved or hagiographies of those movements. The movement of medieval relics as a broad concept is a subject that has not received much direct attention from historians, yet there are numerous examples of relics on the move in western Europe, transported from one place to another.[2] This thesis relies, for the most part, on hagiographical accounts in order to assess where and when relics were moved. This chapter will therefore analyse the rise of relic movements and the hagiographical genre that took the same name: *translationes*. I will thus begin with a short outline of relics and the cults of the saints in medieval Europe. From here, I will move on to the development of *translationes*, tracing the theological arguments for and against moving relics, and the laws that governed relic movements in the early medieval period. As the early history of relics and their movements was related to the development of the *translatio* genre, this will help to provide the groundwork for the analysis later in this thesis.

55-77; and J.P. Conant, 'Europe and the African Cult of Saints, circa 350-900: an essay in Mediterranean communications', *Speculum* 85:1 (2010), pp. 1-46.

[2] There is, however, a good introduction to the topic in R. Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead Do Such Great Things? Saints and Worshippers from the Martyrs to the Reformation* (Oxford, 2013), pp. 10-13, and pp. 282-310.

The Cults of the Saints and their Relics

The cult of the saints developed slowly alongside the emergent Christian faith in late antique society. In part, this was because of the slow pace of Christianization in the western portion of the Roman Empire in the first and second centuries after its establishment. However, as Christians were martyred, one of the ways that local groups of Christians began to validate their beliefs in this new faith was by praying at the graves of these new martyrs.[3] In the third and fourth centuries, the growth of the cults of holy saints drew on not only a new cosmological system, but also a complex understanding of the relationship between the living and the dead.[4] Saints held a unique position in late antique Christianity, and functioned primarily as intermediaries between the metaphysical and physical worlds. This position was based on two precepts of orthodox Christian theology: the belief in the resurrection of the dead, and the belief in the incarnation of the divine in the physical world. In western Christianity, the burial of the anonymous dead was superseded in the centuries following the death of Christ by ostentatious burial practices and the idea that the grave should be marked with the identity of the person buried therein. These markers formed the underlying basis for saints' cults, allowing communities to recognize the graves of those people who, while living, had led particularly holy lives. The

[3] L. Grig, *Making Martyrs in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2004); D. Frankfurter, 'Where the Spirits Dwell: possession, Christianization, and saints' shrines in Late Antiquity', *Harvard Theological Review* 103:1 (2010), pp. 27-46.

[4] É. Rebillard, E. Trapnell-Rawlings and J. Routier-Pucci (trans.), *The Care of the Dead in Late Antiquity* (Ithaca, 2009); K. Corrigan, *Evagrius and Gregory: Mind, Soul, and Body in the 4th Century* (Farnham, 2009); S.E. Bond, 'Mortuary Workers, the Church, and the Funeral Trade in Late Antiquity', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 6:1 (2013), pp. 135-51; J.L. Zecher, 'Antony's Vision of Death?: Athanasius of Alexandria, Palladius of Helenopolis, and Egyptian mortuary religion', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 7:1 (2014), pp. 159-76; R. Wisniewski, 'Lucilla and the Bone: remarks on an early testimony to the cult of relics', *Journal of Late Antiquity* 4:1 (2011), pp. 157-61.

community could then communicate with that person through the medium of their body, for while the body was on earth, the person was in heaven.[5]

The significance of the dual nature of relics as both person and object cannot be underestimated. As Peter Brown wrote, 'in a relic, the anonymity of human remains could be thought to be still heavy with the fullness of a beloved person'.[6] Historians and religious scholars have long recognized these central tenets of the belief in saints; perhaps best summarized by Patrick Geary, relics were 'symbols of divine favor continuing to operate on behalf of men, [but] they were also the reality symbolized since they referred not beyond themselves but to themselves, as the saint residing among his followers'.[7]

In early medieval Europe, relics functioned both to divide and unite society, becoming foci for communities in both urban centres and rural outposts. As relics breached the symbolic walls that separated the living from the dead, they also breached physical walls, being brought into many late antique towns and moving population centres. Issues of sacred space, and the geographical placement of relics, were thus bound up with relics from their inception. Their existence and placement in the geography of the early medieval West corresponded with differences in how communities were structured, where they lived, and how they understood their place

[5] M. Salzman, M. Sághy and R.L. Testa (eds.), *Pagans and Christians in Late Antique Rome* (Cambridge, 2015); P. Brown, 'Enjoying the Saints in Late Antiquity', *EME* 9:1 (2000), pp. 1-24; C. Rapp, *Holy Bishops in Late Antiquity: The Nature of Christian Leadership in an Age of Transition* (Berkeley, 2005); A. Sterk, *Renouncing the World Yet Leading the Church: The Monk-Bishop in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 2004).

[6] P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 1982), pp. 6-7; the field of Christianity in Late Antiquity is dominated by Peter Brown, see also: P. Rousseau and M. Papoutsakis (eds.), *Transformations of Late Antiquity: Essays for Peter Brown* (Farnham, 2009); P.A. Hayward and J.D. Howard-Johnston (eds.), *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages: Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown* (Oxford, 1999); P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1978); and P. Brown, *The Rise and Function of the Holy Man in Late Antiquity* (Cambridge, 1971).

[7] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 39.

in the world. The cult of the saints developed alongside the Christian conception of sacred space, and remained intertwined until the Reformation.[8]

As the cult of the saints developed, different types of saints emerged. It is inherently difficult to categorize saints, as the categories are necessarily nebulous. However, several historians have attempted such a feat.[9] Some of these categorizations arise out of those taken from medieval litanies, which had six categories: the Virgin Mary, the angels, apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. Vincent Ferrer identified seven categories, keeping the apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins, and adding doctors, the continent, and the penitent.[10] But also included by some historians are other categorizations, including royal saints, female royal saints, hermits (including anchorites and anchoresses), Old Testament saints, and lay saints.[11] Robert Bartlett settled on four different types of saints in medieval Christianity: apostles, martyrs, confessors, and virgins. Apostles were limited to the thirteen disciples of Jesus (including the posthumous replacement of Judas Iscariot with Mathias). Martyrs were those who had died for their faith, including those who had died in the purges of the late Roman Empire, but also those who, in their missionary work, died at the hands of pagans.[12] Included here are those 'warrior kings' and 'saintly kings' who, in the face of an invading force, died as well (including men like St Oswald and St Edmund the Martyr). In the beginning, confessor saints were almost solely men and were known as 'holy fathers' or 'desert

[8] For more on the connections between pilgrimage and sacred space, see B. Bitton-Ashkelony, *Encountering the Sacred: The Debate on Christian Pilgrimage in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley, 2005), pp. 6-7, and P.A. Hayward, "Demystifying the Role of Sanctity in Western Christendom," in Hayward and Howard-Johnston, *The Cult of the Saints in Late Antiquity and the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 121-3.
[9] See the summary of this historiography in Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead?*, pp. 137-238.
[10] See Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead?*, p. 150; V. Ferrer, Simon Berthier (ed.), *Sermones de sanctis*, (Lyons, 1539), fols. 1-148v, at fol. 51.
[11] See for example, M.A. Stouck, *Medieval Saints: A Reader* (Toronto, 1999).
[12] Some of the more famous examples, popular in the Middle Ages, include St Sebastian, St Agnes, St Marcellinus and St Peter, St Cyprian, St Alban, St Pancras; during the Middle Ages, we should also include St Edward the Martyr and St Thomas of Canterbury.

fathers' because of their propensity to practice their faith in a metaphorical or physical desert. Confessor saints include missionary saints, those who lived an exemplary holy life and sought to spread their faith amongst others. They could also become martyrs, as some were murdered during their evangelising missions. The last category of virgin saints covers a wide variety of female saints.

The relics of a saint were promoted and protected by their cult. A saint's cult was comprised of numerous social groups, which can broadly be typified into two categories. The first group was the community of monks who housed and promoted the saint. They actively contributed to the construction of the cult by housing the saints' relics and building a shrine or tomb, marking out the saint's location, promoting them through hagiographical writings, remembering the cult at strategic ritualized points of time (usually on the anniversary of the translation and/or the death date of the saint), and by receiving donations which could then be used to further build up the saint's shrine. The second group that contributed to the construction of a saints' cult was the laity who venerated the relics. They also memorialized the saint through popular devotional practices, including pilgrimage to the saint's shrine and in giving donations, but also in the act of praying to the saint for assistance. Each group, lay and ecclesiastical, was a necessary component in the establishment of a successful cult. It was the cult that, in general, participated in the rituals of moving the saint from one location to another. One of the earliest records of relic movements was the *Miracula s. Stephani*, which recorded the transfer of the relics of St Stephen the Apostle to Uzalis (modern Al 'Aliyah, Tunisia) in the 420s CE.[13] Relic movements

[13] *Miracula sancti Stephani*, *PL* 41, pp. 833-54; see also V. Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques en Afrique chrétienne aux premiers siècles* (Beauchesne, 1980), pp. 245-78.

continued to grow in frequency throughout the medieval period, until they became relatively commonplace around the year 1000.

History of Relic Movements in Late Antiquity and the Early Medieval Period

Since the death of Jesus and his burial and resurrection from the tomb, Christians have fiercely protected the bodies of their deceased holy people. In part, this may have been because the body of Jesus was thusly guarded prior to his resurrection; but it also resulted from the loss of the bodies of the martyrs, and subsequent theological questions about whether the soul alone reaches heaven or whether the dead are resurrected bodily. Early Christian theologians were divided on the subject, as was analysed in detail by Caroline Walker Bynum.[14] Over time, a consensus emerged, based on the writings of Tertullian, Augustine, Origen, and Gregory the Great, that full bodily resurrection would occur with the second coming of Christ. The impact of this theory on the expansion of a belief in the relics of the saints was profound. As Bynum notes, Gregory of Nyssa 'found it hard to relinquish the hope that every particle would be saved and in some way marked by having been the particular body it was here below'.[15] Augustine as well believed in relics and 'made them the context for discussing resurrection as the reassemblage of every bodily bit'.[16] Within this vein lies the theologian Victricius, who wrote *c*. 396 about the set of relics he had recently received at Rouen from St Ambrose. As analysed by Bynum, 'what Victricius fears is any suggestion that in receiving such a gift he has contributed to

[14] C.W. Bynum, *The Resurrection of the Body in Western Christianity, 200-1336* (New York, 1995).
[15] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 104.
[16] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 104; see also P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley, 1967), pp. 408-18; and Saxer, *Morts, martyrs, reliques*, pp. 238-58.

mutilating or disempowering the saints. He insists that the healings they perform do not drain them any more than shining dims the sun'.[17]

Based on this theological understanding of the importance of holy bodies to provide a connection with the holy saints in heaven, early Frankish law dealt harshly with the violation of a tomb and especially with the removal of the body or objects from within. The early sixth-century Breviary of Alaric, issued in 506, states that if anyone is proved to have violated a tomb 'or has despoiled the dead and stolen from it either ornaments or vestments', he should pay a significant fine if free, and if slave, should be whipped two hundred times and then 'burned by fire'.[18] According to another law code, this time the *Edictum Theoderici*, issued by Theoderic the Great (493-526) in around the year 500, 'the destruction of a tomb qualified as a capital offence and was punishable by death'; no differentiation was made between the theft of the grave-goods or the corpse and the destruction of the tomb.

Laws targeting the violation of the tombs of holy persons or saints arose towards the end of the fourth century, after the establishment of Christianity as the state religion of the Roman Empire. In a constitution dated to 381 and adopted by Gratian, Valentinian and Theodosius, one finds that 'inhumation within the city limits is also valid in the case of the martyr', meaning that the burial of holy people was legal within the city, something previously forbidden in the Roman Empire.[19] This

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[17] Bynum, *Resurrection of the Body*, p. 107; see also Victricius of Rouen, J. Mulders (ed.), *De laude sanctorum*, *CCL* 64 (Turnhout, 1985), pp. 69-93, and J.N. Hillgarth (ed.), *The Conversion of Western Europe, 350-750* (Engleweood Cliffs, 1969), pp. 22-7.

[18] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum'*, p. 257. See *Lex Romana Visigothorum* II.xi.I, in K. Zeumer (ed.), *MGH LL nationum germanicarum* I, (Hanover, 1902), pp. 33-456, at p. 403.

[19] Rebillard et al, *Care of the Dead*, p. 66. See also J. McCulloh, 'The Cult of Relics in the Letters and "Dialogue" of Pope Gregory the Great: a lexicographical study', *Traditio* 32 (1976), pp. 145-84; J. McCulloh, 'From Antiquity to the Middle Ages: continuity and change in papal relic policy from the 6th to the 8th century', in E. Dassmann and K. Suso Frank (eds.), *Pietas: Festschrift für Bernhard Kötting* (Munster, 1980), pp. 312-24; C. Leyser, 'The Temptations of Cult: Roman martyr piety in the age of Gregory the Great', *EME* 9:3 (2000), pp. 389-407; P. Brown, 'Relics and Social Status in the Age of Gregory of Tours', in Brown, *Society and the Holy*, pp. 222-50.

would allow for the burial of the laity *ad sanctatum*, or close to the saints, which was thought to quicken the soul's journey to heaven. A second edict, dated to 386, 'begins by forbidding the transfer of any buried body, the dismembering of martyrs, and the sale of relics, [and] then creates an exception to the law on tomb violation: in the case of a martyr, it is permissible to embellish a tomb in order to prepare it for the cult'.[20] The Theodosian Code of 438 also preserves some of these early Christian laws against the theft or violation of the body.[21]

Early Christians were divided on the issue of what constituted the violation of a tomb. Was the punishable offence the debasement of the tomb itself (often through using the materials of the tomb to build other structures) or the debasement of the body contained therein? Gregory of Nyssa, for example, separated the two into 'pardonable' and 'not pardonable' offences:

> If someone spares what deserves respect and leaves the interred body intact, so that the shame of our nature is not exposed to the sun, and only makes use of stones from the facing of the tomb in order to build something else, this is of course not commendable. Custom however, treats it as pardonable, and when the material has been transferred to something more important and of common benefit. But raking through the ash of the body returned to dust and shifting the bones in the hope of finding something valuable buried along with them, this is condemned with the same sentence as simple fornication...[22]

Gregory was not alone in his understanding of what was tolerable and what was intolerable. For example, the 'Edict of Nazareth' declared a difference between movements that dishonoured the soul of the dead, and other movements that honoured

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[20] Rebillard et al, *Care of the Dead*, p. 66.
[21] H. Silvestre, 'Commerce et vol de reliques au Moyen-Âge', *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 30:3-4 (1952), pp. 721-39, at p. 723.
[22] Gregory of Nyssa, *Epistola canonical*, 2nd ed., in G. Pasquali (ed.), *Gregorii Nysseni Opera* 8:2 (Leiden, 1959). English translation: *The Letters*, A.M. Silvas (trans.), *Supplements to Vigiliæ Christianæ* 83 (Leiden, 2007).

the dead, but in the end, the punishment for moving the body remained the same, regardless of intent.[23] That punishment was death. The *Sententiæ Pauli* and the Theodosian Code also differentiated between various crimes associated with opening or disturbing a tomb, although again, the punishments were the same for each crime, in this case exile.[24] In Gregory's opinion, it was the exposure of the body to daylight that was the unpardonable offence, while the use of tomb materials for building purposes was pardonable. This was backed by the Theodosian Code, which also singled out 'anyone who strips a body permanently buried, or which has been deposited temporarily in some place, and exposes it to the rays of the sun'.[25] As legal prohibitions against tomb violation developed throughout the late antique and early medieval period, the emphasis of the violation was increasingly centred on the body within the tomb, not on the tomb itself. Thus, robbing the grave goods, or even stealing the body itself, were increasingly marked out as the real issue throughout the early medieval period.

Pope John II (r. 532-535) forbade the violation of tombs in a letter to the Council of Marseille in 533 and canon 17 of the Council of Mâcon in 585 forbade the addition of bodies to existing tombs.[26] These laws and customs held well into the seventh and eighth centuries, when official church doctrine was still in denial that the separation and movement of holy bodies occurred. In 594, Gregory the Great refused to send the head of St Paul to the Empress Constantina on the grounds that the 'ancient custom of the Romans [was] to leave undisturbed the mortal remains of the

[23] Rebillard et al, *Care of the Dead,* pp. 59-60; 'Edict of Nazareth', in C. Pharr (ed. and trans.), *Ancient Roman Statutes* (Austin, 1961), p. 133.
[24] *Sententiæ Pauli*, in E. Levy (ed.), *Pauli Sententiæ: a paligenesia of the opening titles as a specimen of research in West Roman vulgar law* (Ithaca, 1945); M.B.F. Vanzetti (ed.), *Pauli Sententiæ. testo e interpretation* (Padua, 1995); Theodosian Code, 1.21.8, 9, in Rebillard et al., *Care of the Dead*, pp. 62-3; see also Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem morturoum*', pp. 249-50.
[25] Theodosian Code, 1.21.4, in Rebillard et al, *Care of the Dead*, pp. 62-3.
[26] Rebillard et al, *Care of the Dead*, p. 69: Pope John, *Letters* 3, in C. de Clercq (ed.), *Concilia Galliæ. A. 511-a.695*, CCC, Series Latina 148A (Turnhout, 1963), p. 95.

saints'. In his letter, he explained that 'unlike the Greeks, the Romans never disturbed the tombs of the saints. Rather, they placed a cloth next to the body of the saint, which then acquired sanctity and became suitable for use as a relic', although in this he was undoubtedly naïve, for while secondary relics did flourish, so did a booming trade in primary relics.[27]

There were, therefore, powerful exceptions to the decrees denying the movement of saints' bodies. The most notable of these was the translation of the relics of St Gervasius and St Protasius by Ambrose of Milan in 386.[28] Other exceptions include the relics of Sisinnius, Alexander, and Martyrius, which were moved by John Chrysostom to Constantinople from the west in the late fourth century.[29] Pope Paul I (757-767) was also known for translating a number of holy bodies from the cemeteries outside of Rome to the churches inside the city walls.[30] Lafferty notes that 'another notable purveyor of relics was Pope Symmachus (498-514), who commissioned a number of new oratories as part of his renovation of St Peter's…which commemorated and housed the relics of a number of saints and martyrs collected from all around Italy, including: the Romans Protus and Hyacinth, the Campanian martyr Sossus, Cassian of Nola, and Apollinaris of Ravenna'.[31] These movements were not condemned by the rest of the Christian community, but were

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[27] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum*', p. 263. See also Gregory the Great, *Registrum epistolarum* 4.30, in P. Ewald and L.M. Hartmann (eds.), *MGH Epistolæ* 1-2, 2 vols. (Berlin, 1887-99), I, pp. 263-66; and McCulloh, 'Cult of Relics', p. 147. Secondary relics were indeed quite popular throughout the medieval period, in large part because they were easier to obtain.

[28] For more on the relic translations of Ambrose, see G. Clark, 'Translating Relics: Victricius of Rouen and Fourth-Century Debate', *EME* 10:2 (2001), pp. 161-76, at pp. 168-71.

[29] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum'*, pp. 263-4. See Vigilus, *Ep.* 1.2, in M. Plautnauer, *Claudian*, Leob Classical Library, 2 vols., II, (Cambridge, 1972-76), pp. 174-291 and J. Vanderspoel, 'Claudian, Christ and the Cult of the Saints', *Classical Quarterly* 36 (1986), pp. 244-55.

[30] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum'*, pp. 263-4; *Liber Pontificalis* XCV.4, in L.M. Duchesne (ed.), *Liber Pontificalis. Text, introduction et commentaire*, 2 vols. (Paris, 1886-1892), I, p. 464; R. Davis (trans. and ed.), *The Lives of the Eighth-Century Popes (Liber Pontificalis): The Ancient Biographies of Nine Popes from AD 715 to AD 815*, Translated Texts for Historians 13 (Liverpool, 1992), p. 82.

[31] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum'*, pp. 263-4; K. Cooper, 'The Martyr, the Matrona and the Bishop: the matron Lucina and the politics of martyr cult in fifth- and sixth-century Rome', *EME* 8:3 (1999), pp. 297-317, esp. p. 303.

instead 'praised…as true works of Christian piety'.[32] When exactly the transition occurred in attitudes towards the movement of bodies, especially those of the saints, cannot be traced definitively. There does seem to be a transition period, however, lasting from the beginning of the eighth century through the start of the new millennium.

In part this transition period occurred because of new attitudes towards the cult of the saints and the requirement of relics for various governmental and religious purposes. New regulations appeared in the last decade of the eighth century which sought to control and regulate the number of local saints. Such regulations, while on the surface an attempt to prevent the establishment of new cults, imply that there was a burgeoning demand for relics in western Europe. The Synod of Frankfurt (794) ordered 'that no new saints might be venerated or invoked…but only those who were chosen by the authority of their passion or by the merit of their life are to be venerated in church'.[33] In essence, the edict was meant to control the manifestation of new local saints' cults, whose orthodoxy could be hard to judge and control in light of their origin among the peasantry or smaller monastic communities. The edict, however, held a larger place in the context of the role of relics in society, marking an expansion in their use within medieval Christianity. At the same time as the need for relics increased, churches and monasteries were running short of proper bodies. As Geary remarks, 'with the foundation of new monasteries, the beginnings of the establishment of a system of parishes, and the reform of places of worship that had fallen into disuse, the demand for acceptable relics must have greatly exceeded the supply'.[34]

[32] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum',* p. 265.
[33] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 39.
[34] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 39.

The regulations continued, although they increasingly began to focus on the transportation of bodies from tomb to tomb, rather than on the violation of the body within the tomb. In 811, Charlemagne ordered that all translations of relics be investigated by imperial authorities, since 'people who as if acting out of love of God and of the saints, whether martyrs or confessors, transfer the bones and remains of holy bodies from place to place and there construct new basilicas and vehemently exhort whomever they can that they should donate their goods to it'.[35] Ideally speaking, Charlemagne sought to prevent the illegal transfer of bodies from one jurisdiction to another within the Empire, in order to prevent feuds and chaos from erupting. The edict was echoed by the Synod of Mainz in 813, where ecclesiastical authorities ordered that 'bodies of saints shall not be transferred from place to place. Hence let no one take it upon himself to transfer bodies of saints from place to place without the consultation of the prince and/or of the bishops and the permission of the holy synod'.[36] In 857, Hincmar of Reims (806-882) issued a capitulary that stated that 'under no circumstances were the remains of Christians to be removed or transferred from existing sepulchres. Priests, too, were not to disturb the bodies of the faithful, even if requested to do so by the family of the deceased'.[37] Here, the edict was connected specifically to the previous regulations concerning exposure of the body, where Hincmar declared that 'it is a sacrilege to cast out a body from its sepulchre in an impious and irreligious manner on account of selfishness; that is, where someone resting in peace must await the Lord's call so that he may rise again

[35] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 40. *MGC Capit*. I.72, ca. 7, p. 163.
[36] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 40. *MGH Concil.* II, p. 272: *Ne corpora sanctorum transferantur de loco ad locum. Deinceps vero corpora sanctorum de loco ad locum nullus transferre præsumat sine consilio principis vel episcoporum sanctæque synodi licentia.*
[37] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum',* pp. 275-6. See Hincmarus archiepiscopus Rhemensis, *Capitula synodica* III.2, *PL* 125, p. 794. Hincmar was the Archbishop of Reims and a close advisor to Charles the Bald; as such, he had much influence on Carolingian church policy in the mid-ninth century; for more, see J. Devisse, *Hincmar, archevêque de Reims, 845-882* (Geneva, 1975); and R. Stone and C. West (eds.), *Hincmar of Rheims: Life and Work* (Manchester, 2015).

upon the arrival of the judgement of the just'.[38] While not explicitly linked to Gregory of Nyssa's condemnation of the exposed body, the idea contained in Hincmar's declaration seems to be similar; it is the act of exposing the body outside the tomb that is to be condemned.

That bodies were transferred *with* the permission of bishops and local church authorities in the ninth century is not in question. Indeed, the majority of the movements of bodies of saints within this chapter were either ordained by local church authorities or, at the very least, carried out by the thieves with tacit approval from the church hierarchy. Moreover, it is clear from both historical sources and the archaeological record that by the ninth century, the disturbance of tombs and the movement of bodies became, if not common, then at least an occurrence that was understood by local communities to be particularly effective in the acquisition of relics.[39] Without the relics of the saints, these communities would have felt that they had few economic resources left at their disposal to maintain their social and political survival. As Geary notes, 'the acquisition of relics was a real necessity, and, as ever, the only means of acquisition were purchase, gift, invention, or theft'.[40]

Thus, from the beginning of the ninth century, relic translations occurred with increasing frequency, especially on routes that transferred Roman relics to places within the Carolingian empire. Such translations occurred for many reasons. First, there were fewer Christian martyrs being created in western Europe. With fewer martyrs being produced, it was difficult to establish new saints' cults. Some monasteries turned to hermits and former leaders of their church for new saints. It was often preferable, however, and easier to establish a saint's cult, with older relics.

[38] Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum'*, pp. 275-6.
[39] For more on the archaeological record, see Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum*', pp. 270-1.
[40] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 57.

Consequently, during this time there was an increase in intra-site translations, where older relics might be found within the vaults of a cathedral or near a monastery, and moved within the church to a new shrine. Some monasteries, however, chose to procure their relics from other parts of Europe.[41] Many of the monasteries of the ninth and tenth centuries were newer foundations, and existing relic collections were not always available to them. Monasteries in this situation could act in one of two ways: they could go south to Spain or east to the Holy Roman Empire and beyond, where they might be able to find the relics of more recent martyrs, or they could go to Rome and search the catacombs for the bones of holy people martyred in previous centuries.[42]

While some of the translations of the early medieval period were thefts of relics, organized and arranged by relic merchants, some were translations that occurred legally, through proper, institutionalized, channels. One of the first mentions of the regulation of relic translations occurs in the Royal Frankish Annals for the year 826, when Hilduin, 'abbot of the monastery of the holy martyr Dionysius, petitioned Rome for the relics of the holy martyr Sebastian. Eugenius, who was the head of the Holy Apostolic See, granted his request.'[43] The relics of St Sebastian were translated by Hilduin, who interred them in the basilica of St Médard in Soissons, where they performed many miracles.[44] Hilduin was one of many abbots that we know of who abided by the regulations set forth by the papacy at the beginning of the ninth century. Others, however, were more than happy to turn to the more illicit relic merchants. For example, Einhard, abbot at Michelstadt, scholar at

[41] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 39-40.
[42] Both options are included as well by Geary; see *Furta Sacra*, pp. 39-40.
[43] *Royal Frankish Annals*, s.a. 826, in B. Rogers and B.W. Scholz (eds. and trans.), *Carolingian Chronicles: Royal Frankish Annals and Nithard's Histories* (Ann Arbor, 1970), pp. 120-1.
[44] *Royal Frankish Annals*, s.a. 826, pp. 120-1.

Charlemagne's court, and biographer of the Emperor, acquired the relics of St Marcellinus and St Peter in 829 through Deusdona, one of these relic merchants.[45]

The effectiveness of these regulations could be doubted. Very few of the sources record any attempt by an abbot to obtain permission to translate relics from a significant ecclesiastical authority like a pope, or even from a secular authority like a king. Certainly, a significant minority of shrine owners readily turned to theft and unregulated translations to acquire a set of relics. However, the mention of bishops and secular leaders being present at a translation could imply the permission of the same for the translation; often, in *translatio* accounts, there are long lists of these types of leaders present for both intra-site and regional translations. Like the regulations regarding the thefts of relics and the disturbing of the tomb, the proscribing of translations may have been known in name only, but readily ignored in favour of the easy acquisition of a valuable object.

Relic translations had a primary purpose: to create sacred space. This sacralisation process had clear socio-economic consequences. These include the creation of markets within the sacred and semi-sacred spaces of the immediate area surrounding the relics, and the creation of a patrimony that contributed food, money, and prestige to the community. Land formed the bedrock of the medieval economy, and while it was owned or held in tenancy by the monastic community, in the social consciousness it 'belonged' to the saint whose relics were held there. An examination of the ways in which land was exchanged for relics, and how relics created patrimonies on that land, is therefore in order.

[45] Einhard, *Translatio ss. Marcelli et Petri*, pp. 239-64. See also Ademar of Chabannes, Y. Chauvin and G. Pon (eds. and trans.), *Chronicon* (Turnhout, 2003), III.12, p. 208.

The process of sacralisation involved the movement of a sacred object into and around a space, which imbued the surrounding area with the metaphysical presence of the object and therefore made it a holy site. This could be a temporary presence, or a permanent presence. Keeping the object in the space permanently reinforced the holy atmosphere and ensured that the rules and boundaries of the space would be abided by those entering it. While this type of movement could establish the boundaries of socio-economic space and religious space, it was essentially a religious ceremony. Temporary sacralisation, however, such as that which occurred on tours of relics or during longer journeys, was primarily an economic and social act, meant to reinforce the lands that belonged to the saint and to bring further devotees to the cult of the saint.

The movement of sacred relics to create territory was often performed as a ritual, although some movements were carried out quickly for more practical reasons and thus without the attendant social customs. According to Edward Muir, ritual is a social activity composed of a 'formalised, collective, institutionalised kind of repetitive action'.[46] Rituals are also activities or events that bring a community together and define certain social relationships, usually through the relations present throughout the ritual between the active participant and the (usually) passive audience. As Frances Andrews summarises, rituals evoke the 'relationship between viewer and participants ('the gazed upon and the gazers'), [and] the engagement of emotion' between the two parties.[47] In the case of most movements, the saint's relics would either be placed in a sanctuary (usually in the altar or equally consecrated place) in order to keep the sacred fully within the space at all times, or, the remains

[46] E. Muir, *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, 1997), p. 3. See also F. Andrews, 'Ritual and Space: definitions and ways forward', in Andrews, *Ritual and Space*, pp. 5-6.
[47] Andrews, 'Ritual and Space', pp. 5-6.

could be moved about, particularly if there were still some saint's remains in place at the home sanctuary. In this case, the remains would have been removed through another ritualized process called the *elevatio*, placed in an ornate box, and then moved to another location, either permanently or temporarily. Once in that location, the relics would be placed on an altar (or in some cases on the ground) and were available for veneration to the local population; it is in this action that the placement of the bodies sacralised the local landscape, primarily through the performance of miracles, and created local sacred places which were of temporary or lasting importance.

Most of these rituals were performed with the bodies of local saints, as opposed to universal saints. This is primarily for logistical reasons (often the remains of local saints were more numerous in quantity in a sanctuary), but also because the primary reason for the movement of relics was to build a communal identity that was centred around the saint, something that would not be as successful with the remains of a universal saint. The tie to a specific place occurs primarily with local saints; this is what allows for the creation of an *axis mundi*, a place around which this communal identity and society can be built. This tension, 'between this urge to localize and the attribution of universal accessibility to the saints – the belief that they could hear and respond to the prayers of clients wherever they might be', combined with a belief in the physical remains of the saint to consecrate the landscape, led to the creation of a large number of local cults between the fourth and eighth centuries in western Europe. These cults were 'often individually confined to very restricted areas and embedded in local churches sometimes of quite humble status. Established saints, whose cults

often had multiple locations, were complemented by new martyrs and confessors whose cults in many cases remained unilocal.'[48]

However, sacred spaces could not be created without the physical remains of the saints, for while the saints themselves were in heaven, their remains were necessary to open up the theophany that created sacred space.[49] The bodies themselves were sacralising units. After all, it was the placement of relics in the altars of churches during the Carolingian period that established the concept of consecrated ground. As Alan Thacker points out, 'to function most effectively…relics had to be imbued with physicality'.[50] Cynthia Hahn echoes this, noting that 'the saint's physical body conveyed meanings emphatically different from universality. The immediate presence of the body invited intimacy, touch, and proximity, and correspondingly, saintly representations could not be remote or entirely atemporal.'[51]

The process of sacralising space during relic translations was recorded in accounts which developed into the *translatio* genre of hagiography. In part, these accounts were written to highlight the deeds of the holy person whose relics might recently have been translated into the area. As will be established in Chapter 2, they also helped to increase the value of the relics. There were certain relic movements that helped establish the practice in the ninth century as well. Hilduin's well-publicized acquisition of St Sebastian rapidly made Soissons 'an important place of pilgrimage and the abbot's success sparked envy among his fellow churchmen as they watched the crowds of pilgrims leaving their dioceses to visit Saint Médard's. They were no doubt concerned about their own loss of prestige, to say nothing of their loss

[48] A. Thacker, *'Loca Sanctorum*: the significance of place in the study of the saints', in A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002), p. 2.
[49] C. Hahn, 'Seeing and Believing: the construction of sanctity in early-medieval saints' shrines', *Speculum* 72:4 (1997), p. 1080.
[50] Thacker, '*Loca Sanctorum*', p. 2.
[51] Hahn, 'Seeing and Believing', p. 1081.

of revenue.'[52] Other late antique Italian saints made their way into the Frankish empire in the early medieval period. St Benedict's relics were transported from Monte Cassino to Fleury in the seventh century; the *translatio*, reported by Paul the Deacon, 'helped to standardize the form many *translationes* would take from the ninth century forward'.[53]

The movement of Roman relics into the Frankish empire inspired further regional translations within Francia and Anglo-Saxon England, as monastic leaders heard through their connections at the Carolingian court and their neighbours of the success of these new cults. Desiring the economic and political benefits that a powerful set of relics could bring, relics began to be translated more and more on both sides of the Channel in the ninth century. The theft of relics also increased during this time, as well as the gift exchange and sale of relics. The increase in *translationes* also influenced the rise of the hagiographical genre of the same name.

Just as the process of sacaralising a space with relics was an act of commemoration in remembrance of the holy acts or persons that had once lived or were to live in that space, so too was the writing of hagiographical texts an act of remembrance. Hagiographies are highly constructed acts of *memoria*. They are a genre that developed over hundreds of years, using fairly specific forms and *topoi* (literary tools used to convey particular messages). The primary motivation in using hagiographies is to study the placement and choice of *topoi* used by the author in their

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[52] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 41. For more, see W. Levison, *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century* (Oxford, 1946), p. 211; and Odilo of St Médard, *Translatio s. Sebastiani*, *MGH SS* xv, p. 386. Hilduin also translated the relics of St Dionysius; see A. Taylor, 'Books, Bodies, and Bones: Hilduin of St-Denis and the relics of St Dionysius', in J. Ross and S.C. Akbari (eds.), *The Ends of the Body: Identity and Community in Medieval Culture* (Toronto, 2013), pp. 25-60.

[53] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 12. Benedictus abbas Casinensis, *Translatio in Gallium, sæculo*, VII [BHL 1116], in Jean Mabillon (ed.), *Vetera Analecta* IV, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1723), cols. 211-12; *Adventus et exception in Agrum Floriacensem perperam adscripta Adrevaldo*, [BHL 1117], *AASS* Mar III, pp. 300-3; E. de Certain (ed.), *Les miracles de saint Benoit écrits par Adrevald, Aimon, André, Raoul Tortaire et Hugues de Sainte Marie, moines de Fleury* (Paris, 1858); and *Narratio Metrica auctore Aimoino Floriacensi* [BHL 1119], *PL* 139, pp. 797-802.

construction. *Topoi* are a way of remembering the story at hand and are the specific pieces that construct a communal history. Where these *topoi* are placed, and the choice of which are used can tell a modern historian much about what the author considered to be of socio-economic importance. For example, apparitions are a particular trope used in *furta sacra* narratives. When attempting to steal the bones, the saint appears to the thief and either gives consent for their bones to be moved, or rebukes the thief for their attempt. What the apparition does, and what happens next, can give the historian information about the community attempting to steal the bones, their relationship with the relic's original home, and the relative value of the cult at that particular moment, as we shall see in Chapter 3.

As highlighted by Patrick Geary, hagiographies are not histories. They are acts of power, reconstructions of a communal relationship to the past, wherein the author can (and often did) 'suppress or transform evidence' to make sense of the present.[54] With specific regard to the cults of the saints, this process of remembering the holy acts performed by the dead, or even of commemorating the holy acts of a living person who would then be sanctified shortly after death, were processes of creating a socio-economic authority within the community. This idea is further underscored by Geary, who used hagiographies as the source-base for much of his work on sacred thefts. Geary argues that even though hagiographies are 'composed of *topoi* as they are, they are nonetheless differentiated in the choice and arrangement of *topoi*; and while little can be learned from *vitae* in the way of specific factual data, changes in religious devotion and attitudes towards a great variety of activities can be inferred from differences in subject matter, types of miracles, and structure of *vitae*

[54] P. Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance: Memory and Oblivion at the End of the First Millennium* (Princeton, 1994), p. 7.

from different periods'.[55] These *topoi* served a number of purposes: symbolically, they differentiated the saint and served to connect the saint and their cult to a number of other historical or holy figures. Practically, they served to remind the audience of the sanctity of the saint, often through connections to biblical figures or sources. However, these *topoi* also served to give factual data about the cult and clues to the social context the saint's cult functioned within. Through the study of these *topoi* we can glean further information about the social and economic context of the saints' cults.

Translationes are, Geary says, 'hybrids, spanning the hiatus between the purely literary *vitae* and the more "historical" forms of medieval writing, chronicles and annals'.[56] As such they have particular detriments that can distract the historian; they can also, however, be extremely useful, in part because they are the genre form most closely tied to the set of relics. These detriments, however, arise out of the role of hagiographies not as historical writing, but as *memoria*. *Translationes,* especially, were a genre that was highly susceptible to the political motivations of the present. In writing the origin story of the relics in their community, the author had to create a new communal memory, based not on fact as the modern historian would understand it, but instead on an idealized past. This creation both of a disjuncture with the past, a radical discontinuity, and an artificial continuity, will be studied in this thesis.[57]

[55] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 10.
[56] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 10.
[57] For more on hagiographies as *memoria*, see Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance*; J. Coleman, *Ancient and Medieval Memories: Studies in the Reconstruction of the Past* (Cambridge, 1992; repr. 1995); and F. Willaert, H. Braet, T. Mertens, and T. Venckeleer (eds.), *Medieval Memory: Image and Text* (Turnhout, 2004).

Conclusion

The use of hagiographies for historical study is made difficult by the very nature of the hagiographies themselves. As acts of *memoria*, hagiographies are shaped by their authors in such a way as to act almost as propaganda; these are items which are meant to tell a specific story. The story that is told can be very different from what historians have identified, through archaeological or other historical records, as occurring in reality. The historian needs to be careful, therefore, in identifying the motivating factors behind the hagiographical record. This identification can be performed through an examination of the context in which the account was written, as well as the use of various *topoi* and their placement within the written account. It is therefore this process that I shall employ throughout the rest of this thesis. In examining the *topoi* used in the accounts mentioned above, and comparing these to archaeological and other historical records, I hope to identify the socio-economic motivations and effects of the translation and touring of relics in western Europe throughout the high medieval period.

2. The Socio-Economics of Moving Relics

When St Dunstan became the Archbishop of Canterbury in 960, he was faced with a significant problem. As he gazed on the shrines of the saints under his care, including those at Malmesbury Abbey, he reflected on the repeated Danish invasions and settlement of England. This had, in his mind, weakened the status of the saints and of their relics. Dunstan was concerned that the saints would not be appreciated as they should. After the repeated desecrations of relics and their shrines, how would the relics in Mercia fare if the worst was to happen? As William of Malmesbury would write a century and a half later, Dunstan was 'filled with a prophet's inspiration to foretell the troubles in store for England and the pillaging by the Danes that would follow his death'.[1] Dunstan, William writes, feared primarily for one of the most precious sets of relics under his command: the body of St Aldhelm.[2] 'He pondered on the savage greed and greedy savagery of the Danes, and pictured in his mind's eye the monastery falling prey to men hungry for money. He shuddered with fright at the thought that someone might be tempted by the gleam of metal to remove the shrine bodily, thrust the valuable outer casing beneath his clothing to satisfy his greed, and casually throw away the bones and exposed wood'.[3] Dunstan thought about how he could protect the body of St Aldhelm, and in the end, he removed the remains from their wooden shrine to place them instead in a large stone tomb, which although less

[1] *GPA*, v.255.4; trans. Winterbottom, p. 609. *Interea, post obitum suum futuræ in Anglia calamitatis et Danicæ depopulationis spiritu prophetico presagus…*

[2] St Aldhelm (*c.* 639-25 May 709) had been the Abbot of Malmesbury. It could be that William shows Dunstan's concern for this saint alone because of his ties to Malmesbury, although Aldhelm would certainly have been a very precious relic and had a large shrine. *GPA*; trans. Winterbottom, pp. 609-11.

[3] *GPA*, v.255.4-5; trans. Winterbottom, p. 609. *Iamque animo uolutans Danorum auaram seuitiam et seuam auaritiam, mente imaginabatur monasterium cupiditate pecuniarum predatum iri. Tum ne aliquis, splendore metalli raptatus, scrinium abriperet, auideque pretiosas crustas sinibus ingerens lignum nudatum cum ossibus aliquorsum proiceret, id uero maximo horrori et timori erat.*

lofty than the previous shrine, would protect the relics from any theft. This was done, William insists, 'as a precaution, not as an insult' to the saint.[4]

Dunstan's predicament poses a dilemma for historians: what exactly was the value of a set of relics, and how was that value assessed in medieval society? The processes by which primary relics were valued and by which their value changed throughout their lifespans are particularly complex. It will behove us to begin with two central tenets that will then be expanded upon throughout this chapter. First, it is clear that relics were commodities. It is also clear, however, that relics were inalienable possessions. The discrepancies between these two economic positions can be resolved through an examination of the relics throughout their lifespans, and the ways in which they interacted with various social groups and with other objects. The economic status of relics was dependent on their movement, or lack thereof. It was primarily for socio-economic reasons that relics were moved, and their lack of movement could deeply affect their value. Thus this chapter will focus on how relics were exchanged, or, how their movement affected their value.

The Process of Valuing Relics

One of the first complications that arises in the attempt to assess value in relics is the nature of value itself. Economic historians have defined value according to different

[4] For more on the theft of relics in medieval Europe, see Geary, *Furta Sacra,* and Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum*', pp. 249-79. This may have been what Crook termed a 'tomb-shrine'; see J. Crook, 'The Typology of Early Medieval Shrines – a previously misidentified 'tomb-shrine' panel from Winchester Cathedral', *The Antiquaries Journal* 70:1 (1990), pp. 49-64, at pp. 49-53; it seems that William was probably expanding on the description of this *deposito* by Faricius of Abingdon. See Faricius of Abingdon, *Vita s. Aldhelmi, PL* lxxxix, pp. 63-84, at 16.2 (col. 76D); it has been translated by M. Winterbottom in the *Journal of Medieval Latin,* xv (2005), pp. 93-147.

theoretical models, usually influenced by cultural and social anthropologists.[5] Value is a socially defined construct of meaning applied to an object based on two characteristics: exchangeability and utility. The boundaries between the two are permeable and fluid; the combination of both is the defining characteristic of a commodity. Commodities, defined for this study as objects that have 'use value and that can be exchanged in a discrete transaction for a counterpart', studied throughout their lifespan, can illuminate how things were valued by their society and how they functioned within the larger economic structure.[6]

The second complication in defining value arises out of the nature of relics themselves, and the possible confluence of relics with reliquaries. Reliquaries were among the most valuable objects held by a monastic community. Made from various combinations of wood, precious metals, and possibly gems, the reliquary could become inextricably linked with the relics held inside of it. This is especially true of the so-called 'body-part reliquaries', which were shaped to evoke certain body parts and therefore the bodily presence of the saints' relics contained within them.[7] Body-part reliquaries and other moveable feretories evoked a more visceral response in the viewer, and were thought to be able to transmit the power of the saint more effectively than other types of reliquaries.[8] And yet, in other circumstances, the

[5] P.K. Eiss and D. Pedersen, 'Introduction: values of value', *Cultural Anthropology* 17:3 (2002), pp. 283-90, at p. 283. See also A. Appadurai, 'Introduction: commodities and the politics of value', in Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, p. 3, for a fuller explanation of the construction of value by societies.
[6] I. Kopytoff, 'The Cultural Biography of Things: commoditization as process', in A. Appadurai, *The Social Life of Things*, p. 69. For more on value theory, see R. Layton, *An Introduction to Theory in Anthropology* (Cambridge, 1997), particularly pp. 1-27 and pp. 127-56. For more on medieval commodities and their circulation, see K. Robertson, 'Medieval Things: materiality, historicism, and the premodern object', *Literature Compass* 5/6 (2008), pp. 1060-80, especially in her discussion of 'thing theory' and the subjectivity of pre-modern objects; P. Grierson, 'Commerce in the Dark Ages: a critique of the evidence', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959), pp. 123-40.
[7] C.W. Bynum and P. Gerson, 'Body-Part Reliquaries and Body Parts in the Middle Ages', *Gesta* 36:1 (1997), pp. 3-7; and B.D. Boehm, 'Body-Part Reliquaries: the state of research', *Gesta* 36:1 (1997), pp. 8-19.
[8] Hahn, 'Seeing and believing', pp. 1079-110; feretories and shrines are also mentioned in B. Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines of Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2001), pp. 35-54; and Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead*, pp. 263-75 and pp. 425-32.

reliquary could be parted with, to relatively little unease on the part of the owner. How the reliquary contributed to the value of the saints' relics, or vice versa, requires further discussion by historians.

In the example concerning St Dunstan and the relics of St Aldhelm mentioned above, Dunstan is primarily concerned with the value of the relics as opposed to the value of the reliquary. While he mourns the loss of the latter if the thieves were to steal it, it is the loss of the former that would clearly cause the most economic and social devastation for his community. While the value of the shrine and the reliquaries should be noticed, they will not be of utmost importance in this thesis; instead, it is the value of the bones and the bodies, divorced from the reliquary, which will be considered. Thus, it is necessary to study the relics while they are in movement; only then, divorced from the shrine and the reliquary, can historians begin to assess the value of the relics themselves.

It would be next to impossible to establish the precise value of a set of relics in monetary terms. Likewise, even the relative value of a set of relics would be difficult to quantify in terms of other high-prestige goods. When such factors are named in hagiographical sources, it is usually not in a quantifiable way. We know, however, that money was exchanged for the performance of miracles, but this money was not exchanged for the relics themselves, and often, the amount given in return for the miracle is not clear. We also know that gifts of a certain value were given to the cults of the saints, but their relationship to the relics is fraught with difficulty.[9] Instead, examining the exchanges in which relics participated can help to determine the value

[9] For more, see S.D. White, *Custom, Kinship, and Gifts to Saints: The* Laudatio Parentum *in Western France, 1050-1150* (Durham, 1988); E. Campbell, *Medieval Saints' Lives: The Gift, Kinship and Community in Old French Hagiography* (Woodbridge, 2008); I.F. Silber, 'Gift-Giving in the Great Traditions: the case of donations to monasteries in the medieval West', *Archives Européennes de Sociologie* (1995), pp. 209-43.

of the relics. However, these exchanges occurred, as noted above, not with the relics themselves, but instead with the cult or the community surrounding them.

One of the better ways to quantify value is to examine the land exchanges that took place because of relics.[10] It is here that relics demonstrated their utility and exchangeability in the clearest way. In exchange for the rights to cross lands, use them, or in exchange for the deeds and ownership of land, relics were taken by monastic communities to these places and made to perform miracles.[11] Before this analysis can be done, however, it is necessary to understand how relics achieved value, and how they participated in the medieval economy.

Relics as Commodities: The Beginning of the Valuation Process

The argument that relics functioned as commodities was first established by Patrick Geary, who argued that relics were valued via intrinsic and extrinsic criteria. These criteria were meant to distinguish between holy bodies and the bodies of the 'ordinary' people. Intrinsic criteria often included apparitions or other supernatural events. One of the most common forms of intrinsic criteria used to identify the bodies of the holy was the appearance of the saint in metaphysical form to a supplicant or cleric involved in the cult. These visions could identify a body as belonging to a saint, and are often cited by hagiographers as the starting point for a saint's cult. When Editha, the daughter of King Edgar of England died in 984, a cult was soon established after St Dunstan had a vision of the newly deceased princess.[12]

[10] J.C. Holt, 'Politics and Property in Early Medieval England', *Past and Present* 57 (1972), pp. 3-52; B. Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbour of St Peter: The Social Meaning of Cluny's Property, 909-1049* (Ithaca, 1989).
[11] For examples, see Chapter 6 of this thesis.
[12] *GRA*, pp. 245-6.

These visions could also be more physically represented, where the body itself revealed its placement or performed a miracle to denote its sanctity, usually through appearing to talk to a person or group of people or by physically changing its appearance. Because the physicality of these visions allowed more people to witness the vision, instead of appearing inside the dreams or mind of just one person, we might understand this particular trope as an attempt by medieval hagiographers to increase the authenticity of the reported miracle. Authenticity was also increased by the social status of the person to whom the apparition appeared, or similarly, by the communal social standing of the group. These metaphysical occurrences only worked to establish value for a set of relics and to establish a cult if the person that they appeared to was in high standing within that community. Hence, William of Malmesbury notes above that the vision of St Denys that helped to establish St Editha's cult appeared to Dunstan, who was the archbishop of Canterbury and would become a saint himself upon his demise.

One supernatural effect could drastically increase the value of a set of relics, even more than the simple vision. If a body was found to be uncorrupted, or if a body decayed in an unnatural way, it was thought to be substantially more valuable than relics which were dust or bones.[13] In part, incorruptible bodies were more valuable

[13] Most studies of uncorrupted saints' relics focus on particular cults which were known to be uncorrupted, for example St Æthelthryth: see V. Blanton-Whetsell, 'Tota Integra, Tota Incorrupta: the shrine of St Æthelthryth as symbol of monastic autonomy', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 32:2 (2002), pp. 227-67; D. Bornstein, 'The Uses of the Body: the church and the cult of Santa Margherita da Cortona', *Church History: Studies in Christianity and Culture* 62:2 (1993), pp. 163-77; or for an example of a modern saint, see M. Digiovine, 'Re-Presenting a Contemporary Saint: Padre Pio of Pietrelcina', *Critical Inquiry* 35:3 (2009), pp. 481-92. There are also some studies of such bodies in Russian Orthodox Christianity: see R.H. Greene, *Bodies Like Bright Stars: Saints and Relics in Orthodox Russia* (DeKalb, 2010); G. Lenhoff, 'The Notion of "Uncorrupted Relics" in Early Russian Culture', in B. Gasparov and O. Raevsky-Hughes (eds.), *Christianity and the Eastern Slavs: Slavic Cultures in the Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 252. Some news magazines have delved into the subject as well: see J. Woodard, 'Nor Suffer Your Holy One to Decay', *Alberta Report/Newsmagazine* 23:25 (1996), pp. 30-4. There is no overall examination of uncorrupted saints or of the possible knowledge of mummification or embalming practices in northern Europe at this time.

because they defied physical laws. They were often described as white, with a sweet smell, and lacking the typical signs of decomposition. When a body was found at Wenlock in the late eleventh century, the monks attributed it to being the body of a St Milburga, who had been entombed there before the Norman Conquest and whose remains had been lost in the subsequent upheavals. This attribution occurred because when they raised the body out of the tomb, 'a balsamic odour' pervaded the church; this smell, unlike the typical smells of decomposition, meant that the body was sacred and likely to be Milburga's.[14] The unnatural decaying of the body, or the perception thereof, was interpreted as a sacred blessing of the body. Uncorrupted saints were more valuable because the sacred infused their body so fully that it did not decay like other bodies would.

Incorruptible relics were especially common in Anglo-Saxon England. William of Malmesbury boasts of six sets of relics that were uncorrupted by the mid-twelfth century: St Æthelthryth, the seventh-century founder and abbess of Ely, whose uncorrupted remains are also attested to in the *Liber Eliensis*; St Wihtburh (d. 743), a royal saint and an abbess of Ely, whose remains were first held at Dereham before being translated to Ely; King Edmund of East Anglia, held at Bury; St Ælfheah (*c.* 953-1012), Archbishop of Canterbury, who was enshrined in a grand tomb at Christ Church, Canterbury; St Edgar, king of Wessex (957-75), and father of St Edith of

[14] *GRA*; trans. Giles, p. 244. It is interesting that William of Malmesbury attributes her sanctity to the odour of the body. William based his account on that attributed to Ato of Ostia. In that account, the monks had discovered a document written in Old English 'in a drawer in the side of an altar in teh church...in which a priest called Ælfstan attested, among other things, that Mildburg was buried in this church next to an altar'. When they found the body shortly thereafter, they found '"the holy bones, beautiful and luminous, together with some iron bands now partly eaten away with rust." The next day the foundations of an altar were found, confirming that the bones were indeed those specified in Ælfstan's document'. See P.A. Hayward, 'The *Miracula Inventionis Beate Mylburge Virginis*, attributed to 'the Lord Ato, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia', *EHR* 114:457 (1999), pp. 543-73, at pp. 554-55. The Latin text is included in the appendix to the article. See also A.J.M. Edwards, 'An Early Twelfth-Century Account of the Translation of St Milburga of Much Wenlock', *Transactions of the Shropshire Archaeological Society* lxvii (1961-4), pp. 134-51.

Wilton (William notes that when his body was raised by the Abbot Æthelweard (*c.* 1024-1053) at Glastonbury it was un-decayed); and St Cuthbert (*c.* 634-687) of Lindisfarne, whose body by this point was held at Durham.[15] Other saints should also be included in this list. St Eadburga, whose remains lay at Winchester, was attested to as being incorrupt in the *vita* written by Osbert de Clare, and in the life produced by Felix, St Guthlac of Crowland's body was also said to be un-decayed.[16] We also know that St Oswald's arm, held at Gloucester, was incorrupt, even while the rest of his body had turned to bones which were 'mouldering into dust'; in addition to this, the finger, abdomen, and parts adjacent on the body of St Editha were incorrupt, even though the rest of her body 'was found resolved into dust'.[17]

It remains to be examined whether incorruptible relics were a natural phenomenon, or whether this process was helped along by human endeavours. Certainly some of the Anglo-Saxon burial processes would have helped to halt the decomposition of the body, but whether this was by chance, or whether these practices were performed specifically to create uncorrupted saints' relics, is unknown. Anglo-Saxons were more likely to inter the body in an underground stone tomb and

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[15] For the list of uncorrupted saints, see William of Malmesbury, *GRA*; trans. Giles, p. 236. For more on St Æthelthryth, especially for descriptions of her incorruption, see the *LE,* i.25-29; trans. Fairweather, pp. 56-63. For Werburga (Wihtburh), see *LE*, ii.53, pp. 145-8; ii.147, pp. 280-1; ii.148, pp. 282-3. For St Ælfheah, see Osborn of Canterbury, *Vita s. Elphegi* [BHL 2518, 2519], *AASS*, April II, pp. 631-42, and *GPA*, ii.76.7-9, p. 271. For St Edgar, see William of Malmesbury, *De antiquitate glastonie ecclesie*, in J. Scott (ed. and trans.), *The Early History of Glastonbury: An Edition, Translation and Study of William of Malmesbury's De antiquitate glastonie ecclesie* (Woodbridge, 1981), pp. 134-5. For St Cuthbert, see Symeon of Durham, *Libellus de excordio atque procursu istius, hoc est dunhelmensis ecclesie*, in D. Rollason (ed. and trans.), *Libellus de excordio atque procursu istius, hoc est dunhelmensis ecclesie: Tract on the Origins and Progress of this the Church of Durham* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 56-7; *Historia translationis sancti Cuthberti* [BHL 2029, 2030, 2031], *AASS*, March III, pp. 127-37.

[16] Osbert de Clare, *Vita Eadburga*, in S.J. Ridyard (ed. and trans.), *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England: A Study of West Saxon and East Anglian Cults* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 253-308; L. Braswell, 'Saint Edburga of Winchester: a study of her cult, A.D. 950-1500, with an edition of the fourteenth-century Middle English and Latin lives', *Mediaeval Studies* 33 (1971), pp. 292-333. For Guthlac, see Felix of Crowland, *Vita s. Guthlaci* [BHL 3723], *AASS*, April II, p. 51, in B. Colgrave (ed. and trans.), *Felix's Life of St Guthlac* (Cambridge, 1956; repr. 1985).

[17] For St Oswald, see *GRA*; trans. Giles, pp. 47-8; *GPA*; trans. Winterbottom, iv.180.3, pp. 481-3; Drogo of Bergues, *Vita sancti Oswaldi* [BHL 6362], *AASS*, August II, pp. 94-103; and Hugh Candidus, *Chronicon*, in W.T. Mellows (ed.), *The Chronicle of Hugh Candidus, a Monk of Peterborough* (London, 1941), pp. 54-6; for St Editha, see *GRA;* trans. Giles, pp. 245-6.

seal the casket with a heavy stone lid; this would prevent moisture from reaching the body and could help to naturally mummify the body in the cold, dry air. Anglo-Saxons were also more likely to bury a body for a shorter period of time, and then elevate it to inter it in a stone tomb; again, this could help to halt decomposition. There are some hints that they may have aided in the process of stopping decomposition. One of the ways to preserve a body used myrrh and aloes, which allowed it to retain a sweet smell (e.g. St Eorcengota and St Mildburgh) and the appearance of living flesh (e.g. St Æthelthryth).[18] Other Anglo-Saxon burial practices also increased the chances of mummification, whether deliberate or not; wrapping the body tightly in linen and then burying it or entombing it would help to dry out and preserve the remains. This was more likely the case with St Cuthbert's body. In the description by Reginald of Durham from the translation in 1104, the body was said to have been wrapped in cloth:

> A very finely woven cloth covers and veils his cheeks and face and the whole surface of his venerable head at every point, and because of its exact and careful arrangement it clings so closely that it is as it were glued to the hair, the skin, the

[18] Of course, Christians would never admit to embalming a body, especially that of a saint, although there are some hints as to the practice occurring from the descriptions of the bodies as well as the descriptions of the burial practices. There is a gap in the historiography. There is far more evidence for embalming in the later medieval period: see P. Charlier and P. Georges, 'Techniques de préparation du corps et d'embaumement á la fin du Moyen Âge', *Inhumations de prestige ou prestige de l'inhumation? Expressions du pouvoir dans l'au-delà (IVe-XVe siècle)*, in A. Alduc-LeBagousse (ed.), *Tables rondes du CRAHM*, 4 (Caen, 2009), pp. 405-37; G. Fornaciari and L. Capasso, 'Natural and Artificial 13th-19th Century Mummies in Italy', in K. Spindler, H. Wilfing, E. Rastbichler-Zissernig, D. zur Nedden, and H. Nothdurfter (eds.), *Human Mummies: A Global Survey of their Status and the Techniques of Conservation*, (Vienna, 1996), pp. 195-203; E. Fulcheri, 'Mummies of Saints: a particular category of Italian mummies', in Spindler et al., *Human Mummies*, pp. 219-30; B. Kaufmann, 'Mummification in the Middle Ages', in Spindler et al., *Human Mummies*, pp. 231-8. There was at least one embalmed body in the Middle Ages, that of King Edward I of England (1239-1307): see J. Ayloffe, *An Account of the Body of King Edward the First, as it Appeared on the Opening of his Tomb in the Year 1774* (London, 1775): J. Hope, 'On the Funeral Effigies of the Kings and Queens of England, with Special Reference to those in the Abbey Church of Westminster', *Archaeologia* 60 (1907), pp. 517-70, at pp. 528-30; A.T. Chamberlain and M. Parker Pearson, *Earthly Remains* (London, 2004), p. 28; and D. Westerhof, *Death and the Noble Body in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 2008), pp. 80-1.

> temples, and the beard. And in no place and by no art could it be lifted, plucked, or raised up from the skin or flesh by ever so little.[19]

As any flesh remaining on the bones meant that the body was thought to be un-decayed in some fashion, even placing the body in a secure, dry, stone coffin could induce mummification. In addition, these 'incorrupt' remains were often still slowly decaying. When the body of St Cuthbert was observed after being elevated from its tomb in the nineteenth century, it was found to have a substantial amount of flesh on the bones, but had still decayed to mostly bones and dust by that point.[20] The prevalence of certain practices within Anglo-Saxon burials and the value that they could add to a saints' cult may be a point of examination for a future study.

There were also some uncorrupted remains on the continent, although it is necessary to point out that all of these remains were associated in some way with English customs and communities. Fursa, founder of Péronne (d. 645), was thought to have been found un-decayed, as attested to by Bede in the *Ecclesiastical History*.[21] The body of St Æthelburg, daughter of King Anna of East Anglia, and abbess of Faremoutier-en-Brie was found 'as untouched by decay as it had also been immune from fleshly desires' after being translated seven and a half years after her death.[22] The body of St Eorcengota, daughter of King Eorcenberht of Kent, was buried with St Æthelburg in the church of St Stephen. After three days, the grave was opened to elevate the burial position, and 'so sweet a fragrance arose from the depths of the sepulchre that it seemed to all the brothers and sisters who were standing by as if stores of balsam had been unsealed'.[23] The martyr Bertha's grave was opened 'a

[19] C.F. Battiscombe (ed.), *Relics of St Cuthbert* (Oxford, 1956), p. 109.
[20] R.N. Bailey, 'St Cuthbert's Relics: some neglected evidence', in G. Bonner, D.W. Rollason and C. Stancliffe, *St Cuthbert, his Cult and his Community to AD 1200* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 231-46.
[21] *EH*, iii.19.
[22] *EH*, iii.8. See also D. Rollason, *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England* (Oxford, 1989), p. 50.
[23] *EH*, iii.8.

hundred years after her death and her body was found to be entirely un-decayed'.[24] St Ceolfrith, who had been buried at Langres, but was a monk of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, was also found un-decayed when he was translated from Langres back to England.[25] According to Rollason, 'the alleged phenomenon of the preservation of the dead body seems to provide a specific link between Gaul and England...No cases are known at any time in Rome and none in Ireland' and only three saints, Protasius, Gervasius, and Herculanus were known to have been uncorrupted in some way in Italy in the medieval period.[26]

It was the negation of the normal physical processes of decomposition that, for some cults, created sacred relics. This sacredness was passed on to the other materials that, normally involved in burials, were usually contaminated by the decomposition process. In some instances, especially in England, the incorruptible bodies contained within these coffins and tombs transferred their sacredness to these other materials. According to the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, when the relics of St Cuthbert were translated from Lindisfarne to Norham, they were placed at their destination in a wooden structure known to the anonymous author as the 'church of St Aidan', which had also been transported to Norham from Lindisfarne.[27] Whether this structure was more of a coffin or a church is debatable, but it is clear that the 'church' was considered to be a secondary relic because it had been the original home of the cult of St Cuthbert. When the relics of St Cuthbert were raised and examined in 1827, those present also found the 'fragmentary remains of up to four wooden coffins which

[24] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 50.
[25] Alcuin of York, *Versus de patribus, regibus et sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiæ*, in P. Godman (ed. and trans.), *Alcuin: The Bishops, Kings and Saints of York* (Oxford, 1982), lines 1299-1300; Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 50.
[26] Rollason, *Saints and Relics*, p. 51.
[27] T.J. Smith (ed. and trans.), *Historia de sancto Cuthberto: A History of Saint Cuthbert and a Record of His Patrimony* (Cambridge, 2002), par. 9, pp. 48-50; for more on Aidan's church and its movement to Norham, see R. Cramp, 'The artistic influence of Lindisfarne within Northumbria', in Bonner et al., *St Cuthbert*, pp. 213-30.

had contained the body of St Cuthbert' included in the relics, and which were subsequently also included in the relic-lists of that time.[28] Similarly, after the intra-site translation of St Æthelthryth at Ely in 695, it was reported that 'the wooden coffin in which the precious virgin had been buried has been the source of healing whereby sufferers have had eyes restored. For after they had prayed, placing their head against that same coffin, they soon put away the discomfort of pain or darkness from their eyes.'[29]

In some cases, the decomposition of the body itself could create a secondary relic. When the body of St Aldhelm was reinterred by St Dunstan, Dunstan placed within the tomb 'part of the planking from the ancient coffin, in which the flesh had melted quite away into the state to which all mortals come'.[30] More common secondary relics included the clothing which had touched the body and been infused with the decaying excretions of the corpse. Eadmer of Canterbury writes of such a relic, created through the infusion of the decayed body of St Oswald (d. 922), bishop of Worcester. Directing his remarks to the saint himself, Eadmer writes that 'although your flesh had dissolved into the soil and only your bones remained in their original state, you preserved intact and unharmed the chasuble you used to wear. It seems to me that this is a matter of greater wonder, that the other coverings of the body and even the body itself were enclosed within it and yet, when these other things had been reduced to dust, the chasuble remained completely intact and not subject to dissolution into dust.'[31] The garments which had been wrapped around St

[28] J.M. Cronyn and C.V. Horie, 'The Anglo-Saxon Coffin: further investigations', in Bonner et al., *St Cuthbert*, p. 247.
[29] *LE*, i.30, p. 63.
[30] *GPA*, v.255.6; trans. Winterbottom, p. 609. *...simulque partem asserum ex antiquissimo sarcafago, quo tota in mortalem conditionem defluxerat caro.*
[31] Eadmer of Canterbury, *Miracula s. Oswaldi*, in A.J. Turner and B.J. Muir (ed. and trans.), *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan, and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 209-307.

Æthelthryth's body were likewise turned into secondary relics after her intra-site translation in 695, when the body had been wrapped in new ones. The *Liber Eliensis* records that 'as a consequence of contact with these same garments...demons were put to flight from bodies beset by them and that sicknesses were sometimes cured. Dropsy-sufferers came and were cured, and people afflicted by diverse illnesses were freed through her merits.'[32] The same book also records that the body of St Wulfstan, when translated under Prior Alexander in the reign of King Stephen, was found with the body decayed away, 'but his chasuble and pallium [were] fixed with little gilded pins, along with a stole and maniple, and thus it was a miracle that, given such a long time had elapsed [since the burial], it had been possible for those things to last, partially at least, while subjected to the decay of the body'.[33]

Intrinsic criteria could therefore establish a sense of value in a set of relics. This value was often presented as more substantial by the authors of these *miracula* or *translationes* than the value established through written documentation. This emphasis was, however, most likely an attempt by the hagiographers to reinforce unreliable testimony and to build a more thorough case for the sanctity of the body in their possession.

Extrinsic criteria included 'the examination of the tomb or reliquary itself, or…the descriptions of the burial of saints in hagiographical texts'.[34] The weight of extrinsic criteria as opposed to intrinsic criteria (or vice versa) in establishing value in a body was dependent on the author of the text. For one medieval historian and

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[32] *LE,* i.29 ; trans. Fairweather, p. 63. *Contigit autem a tactu indumentorum eorundem et demonia ab obsessis effugata corporibus et infirmitates aliquotiens esse curatas. Hidropici veniunt et sanantur et diversis afflicti passionibus per eius merita liberantur.*

[33] *LE,* ii.87 ; trans. Fairweather, pp. 185-6. *...et corpus eius infra sepulcrum visitare, quod quidem dissolutum invenerunt, sed casulam et pallium auratis spinulis affixum cum stola et manipula illa saltem in aliqua sui parte durasse.*

[34] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 177.

theologian, the presence of extrinsic criteria was fundamental in establishing whether a set of remains was the true relics of a saint. Guibert of Nogent (*c.* 1055-1124) described in his treatise *De pignoribus sanctorum* (1120) the difficulties inherent in establishing whether a set of remains was, in fact, the bones of whom they were reported to be. Guibert believed that a set of bones could only be proven to be the relics of a saint if it was accompanied by *authenticæ* in the tomb (though there were some exceptions, most especially concerning a vision to a very socially powerful person). As he wrote:

> ...we must have truly sound evidence as to the authenticity of these relics, such that someone is called a saint only if there is a sure tradition of antiquity about his saintliness or else if true writings, not mere opinion, confirms it. How do you think a person receives sanction – if I might phrase it thus – when no memorial serves to recall his authority and neither writings nor reliable experience of miracles strengthens his case? I mean writings that actually offer proof![35]

Without proper documentation, good Christians could easily be taken in by merchants of false relics, a path that could too easily lead to heretical beliefs. Orthodox Christianity in the Middle Ages relied in part on the saints and their ability to perform miracles; attacks on this tenet were easily made, according to Guibert and his contemporaries, including Ralph Glaber, because of the significant amount of fake relics in circulation, or by the duplication of relics that defied belief. Glaber, for example, includes a dire warning in his *5 Books of Histories*, about 'a cunning pedlar' who took the 'remains of the recently dead, then put them into coffers and sold them

[35] Guibert of Nogent, *De pignoribus sanctorum*, *PL* 156, cols. 607-680, at col. 613D; trans. J. McAlhany and J. Rubenstein (eds. and trans.), *Guibert of Nogent: Monodies and On the Relics of Saints. The Autobiography and a Manifesto of a French Monk from the Time of the Crusades* (London, 2011), p. 195. *In quibus equidem ea sola authentica ratio habenda esset, ut is duntaxat diceretur sanctus, quem non opinio, sed vetustatis, aut scriptorum veracium traditio certa firmaret. Is enim quomodo putas, ut ita dicam, sancitur, cujus auctoritatis memoria ulla nescitur, nedum quod nec litteris, aut aperta miraculorum experientia solidatur? Litteris dico ad roborandum efficacibus...*

widely as the relics of holy confessors and martyrs'. After doing this in France, he went to the Alps, where Glaber reports that he brought some bones, purportedly those of St Justus the Martyr, to Susa (near Turin in present-day Italy). Present at the translation of the relics, along with many other dignitaries, 'some learned elders asked him how he had come by such knowledge' of the resting places of the saints that he had discovered. His answer is revealing of the sort of story that, without documentation, could be perceived as a lie by opposing communities:

> The pedlar said: 'An angel appears to me at night and he teaches me and tells me all that he knows I wish to learn. He stays with me until I force him to go.' When we replied by asking whether he saw all this while he was awake or asleep, he added: 'Almost every night the angel snatches me from my bed without my wife's knowing; after a long conversation he leaves, saluting and embracing me.' We knew this for a polished and cunning lie, for this creature was no frequenter of angels, but rather a minister of treachery and evil.[36]

Establishing the sanctity of a set of relics, while the first step in ascertaining the value of the bones or body, was the most important. If the body in front of a pilgrim was not providing the necessary connection to the saint in heaven, if it was not imbued with the presence of that saint who would intercede with Jesus on behalf of the penitent, then it was, for all intents and purposes, worthless. The body was only of any socio-economic value if sanctity could be established. Once the saint's personality had been attached to a set of bones, there existed the potentiality of inalienability.

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[36] Rodulfus Glaber, *Five Books of Histories*, in J. France, N. Bulst and P. Reynolds, *Rodulfus Glaber Opera* (Oxford, 1989), 4.iii.6, pp. 183-5. *Aiebat namque: 'Apparet' inquiens 'mihi noctu angelus, narratque ac docet quæcumque me uelle scire nouerit, et tamdiu apud me manet usque dum ego recedere compello.' Cum uero ad hæc respondentes sciscitaremus an uigil seu in somnis hoc cerneret, subiunxit: 'Per singulas pene noctes eripit me angelus a lectulo, uxore mea ignorante, qui post multa colloquia salutans me atque deosculans recedit'. Nos quoque expoliatum calliditatibus intelligentes mendacium, cognouimus uirum non angelicum, quin potius fraudis ac malignitatis ministrum.*

Establishing Use-Value and Exchange-Value

Once a body was proven to be holy, it could become a commodity. For it to do so, it had to have both use-value and exchange-value. Use-value is the amount of utility that the person consuming the commodity receives from the object. Exchange-value is derived from the amount (usually in monetary terms) that can be exchanged in the market for the item. It may be sold, bartered, traded, or gifted in this market.[37] Thus, if our beginning premise holds that relics were commodities, and that their value was established through their exchangeability and utility, then it follows that the historian should examine how these criteria were understood and established. Both exchangeability and utility were socially dependent traits. They could be influenced by the political and social relations with nearby church and secular leaders, the relative size and structure of the cult, and the number and relative prominence of other relics in the collection, amongst other aspects. Because value was affected by these numerous and varying factors, it is necessary for the historian to examine those points in time when the relics themselves were *actively* involved in transactions, and therefore when their value was most in flux. One such point in time would be when the relics were moved, either being entombed, translated, or toured, or when their value was manifested through other socio-economic exchanges, such as when they were actively producing miracles.

With relics, therefore, one must determine how they were used, and furthermore, how that utility was measured by medieval society. For the most part, utility was measured by medieval hagiographers in the relics' ability to perform miracles. Relics which did not perform in this way could be 'demoted', removed

[37] E. Mandel, *An Introduction to Marxist Economic Theory* (New York, 1969), pp. 9-10.

from circulation, and even ritually humiliated. Relics were also used to swear oaths or to provide authority for transactions. Such transactions could be political, where the relics would provide a link to historical leaders of the past and thereby give authority to the bearer. Another type of transaction where relics were commonly used was the land transaction, whereby relics would perform miracles or provide authority to the receiving party, usually the monastic community that owned the relics, in exchange for the land. Some land transactions also occurred in exchange for prayers or appeals to the saint whose relics were housed in the community.

The primary duty of a set of relics, outside of bringing in money and pilgrims to the community, was to heal supplicants. Examination of miracles recorded during the high medieval period by P.A. Sigal and Benedicta Ward, amongst other historians, demonstrates that the overwhelming majority were healings.[38] Healings are exemplary of the type of socio-economic exchanges that will be examined in this thesis. These were exchanges between two parties: the pilgrim or the cleric, and the saint, through the medium of the relics. Saints could also heal supplicants outside of the presence of their relics, usually by appearing to the person in an apparition, but this generally led to a pilgrimage, leading to the relics' involvement nonetheless. Because the relics were the medium of the exchange, they were *de facto* operating as one of the parties in the exchange, and not solely as the object being exchanged. This

[38] For an overview of miracles in general, see K. Cooper and J. Gregory, *Signs, Wonders, Miracles: Representations of Divine Power in the Life of the Church*, Studies in Church History 41 (Woodbridge, 2005); R.C. Finucane, 'The Use and Abuse of Medieval Miracles', *History* 60:198 (1975), pp. 1-10; M. Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders: The Development of the Concept of Miracle, 1150-1350* (Aldershot, 2007); R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate: Miracle Stories and Miracle Collecting in High Medieval England* (Philadelphia, 2011); P.A. Sigal, *L'homme et le miracle dans la France médiévale (XIe-XIIe siècle)* (Paris, 2007), J.M.H. Smith, 'Oral and Written : saints, miracles, and relics in Brittany, *c*. 850-1250', *Speculum* 65:2 (1990), pp. 309-43; B. Ward, *Signs and Wonders: Saints, Miracles and Prayers from the 4th century to the 14th* (Hampshire, 1992), and B. Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind: Theory, Record and Event, 1000-1215* (Aldershot, 1987). For healing miracles in particular, see P.J. Nugent, 'Bodily Effluvia and Liturgical Interruption in Medieval Miracle Stories', *History of Religions* 41:1 (2001), pp. 49-70; and S. Justice, 'Did the Middle Ages Believe in their Miracles?', *Representations* 103:1 (2008), pp. 1-29.

is because of their dual nature as both the medium through which the saint worked, the embodiment of the saint, and as an object. Speaking of relics as objects, then, one can analyse the exchange-value, but when one speaks of relics as the medium through which the saint works, then we should consider them as a party in the exchange, or, indeed, as an actor.

The other actors in these exchanges were the parts of the cult. The cult was comprised of the various social communities that surrounded the saints' relics, including the monastic community that held the relics, the people who lived under the saint's patrimony, and the devotees who went on pilgrimage to the relics. The cult in the form of the monastic community was responsible for assessing the economic value of the relics and contributing to that value in terms of investing donated funds to promote the relics, rehousing them in new reliquaries, or moving them to more prestigious locations in the church as their value increased. But this in no way denies the economic or social power attached to the other two communities of the cult, which, with their devotional practices, demonstrated the social value of the saint's powers, and who contributed economically by giving donations, either in the form of money or gifts in-kind.

Once the initial identification of the body or bones was completed, the relics had a limited use-value, in the sense that they were thought to have the ability to commune with the sacred and to perform miracles. They had to prove their utility to society, however, in order for that use-value to be fully recognised. This value could, after all, be easily lost or forgotten by the community. In the simplest terms, the utility of a set of relics was most often denoted in terms of the number and size of miracles at the saint's shrine. If hagiographers recorded a large number of miracles at

the tomb, then the saint consequently had a concomitantly high value.[39] The exchange-value of a set of relics can best be located in the extrinsic structures that surrounded the relics (i.e., the cult), which through their labour (i.e. the active spread of the cult through oral and written dissemination), allowed for exchanges with the relics to occur. Exchange-value was dependent on a number of factors, including:

1. The political relations with nearby monastic houses and secular leaders;
2. The number and relative commensurate value of nearby saints' relics;
3. The geographic position of the community;
4. The ability of the cult to promote miracles at the shrine, usually with liturgies, written accounts, oral dissemination, or through other means.

Exchange-value was also dependent on the use-value of the relics, or in other words, the sense that the relics were producing miracles and were fulfilling their end of the socio-economic exchange. Certain miracles, it would seem, could establish enough use-value within a set of relics to cause a cult to arise almost immediately. One such example is the cult of St Foy at Conques. Although the relics of St Foy had been at Conques since the late eighth century, the cult was still relatively unknown by the 980s. In 983, however, the relics were credited with physically replacing a man's eyeballs. According to Sheingorn, the miracle 'stimulated a great flood of donations, grants of land and churches' and 'enabled the creation of a new golden altar frontal. Gifts continued to flow unabated until the early twelfth century'.[40] While other structural components also contributed to the construction of St Foy's cult, it is true that the cult experienced extreme growth in the late tenth century and that it was one

[39] An examination of the longevity of most saints' cults and the corresponding length of the account and the repetition and type of miracles recorded on the journeys would seem to bear this out. See especially Chapter 6 for the links between length of account and types of miracles recorded to the value of the saints' relics. The production of hagiography proves to be incredibly important in the maintenance of a saint's cult, as will be proved throughout the rest of this thesis.
[40] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 10.

of the major cults of the area throughout the high Middle Ages. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that use-value alone was enough to support or continue a cult. One miracle, however impressive, does not a cult make. For this, a set of relics needed to have a high exchange-value; they needed to be thought to be as valuable as or more valuable than other relics in the region. Only then would a cult be sustained for a long period of time.

The first component necessary in establishing a high exchange-value was the existence of decent political relations with nearby monastic houses and with regional secular leaders. In the early Carolingian period, these relations were heavily influenced by local and regional monastic power-houses, which collected and traded relics through a gift-exchange system; this was especially true in Anglo-Saxon England and in the counties of Flanders and Aquitaine.[41] Steven Vanderputten has argued that in the wake of political upheaval, the population of Europe turned to relics to restore political authority.[42] The vacuum in secular leadership allowed for certain politico-religious movements, such as the Peace and Truce of God, to arise, especially when they centred themselves on the concept of relics as political tools.[43] In this way, relics functioned to establish political authority as well as to restore local authority to the monasteries that held them. One pertinent example of this is the use of the relics of St Ursmer to regain lands lost to the community that held them, the church of St

[41] See B. Meijns, 'The Policy on Relic Translations of Baldwin II of Flanders (879-918), Edward of Wessex (899-924), and Æthelflæd of Mercia (d. 924): a key to Anglo-Flemish relations?', in D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds.), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010); D. Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument of Royal Policy', *Anglo-Saxon England* 15 (1986), pp. 91-103.

[42] For their use in Flanders, see S. Vanderputten, 'Individual Experience, Collective Remembrance and the Politics of Monastic Reform in High Medieval Flanders', *EME* 20 (2012), pp. 70-89; S. Vanderputten, *Monastic Reform as Process: Realities and Representations in Medieval Flanders, 900-1100* (Ithaca, 2013); and S. Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism: abbatial leadership and monastic competition in late eleventh-century Flanders', *EHR* CXXVII, 525 (2012), pp. 259-84.

[43] The Peace of God is examined in detail in the sixth chapter of this thesis.

Peter at Lobbes in Flanders.[44] The church at St Peter's had owned a significant area of land in the Hainaut region which had been overtaken by secular authorities during a war in the 1050s. In response, the saint's relics were brought out to reinforce the concept that those lands were under the patrimony of St Ursmer. Through touring the relics around the borders of the land, as well as by targeting the Count of Flanders at his court at Bergues, the clerics involved meant to convey the sense that the lands not only belonged to the community of the saint, but that they were also protected by the saint's power. Usurpation of those lands would therefore be met with severe consequences. The clerics petitioned Baldwin IV for the restoration of their lands, and the end effect of the tour was the emergence of the Lobbes monastery as a regional power-house, somewhat at the expense of the Count and other regional powers.

Touring relics was a particularly effective way of establishing exchange-value. A successful tour played on many aspects of inter-monastic relations; it also helped to establish the commensurate value of relics nearby. In the accounts of these tours, often written by hagiographers soon after the event, if a saint was credited with performing a miracle within the patrimony of another saint, it was consequently thought that the touring saint was more powerful than the stationary relics, and thus that it had a higher relative value. When St Ursmer's body travelled through Flanders, it performed significant miracles at Bergues, including inspiring a mass peace movement.[45] Bergues, however, also held the relics of St Lewinna, St Winnoc and some of St Oswald at the monastery of Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.[46] The relics of St

[44] G. Koziol, 'Monks, Feuds, and the Making of Peace in Eleventh-Century Flanders', in *Peace of God*, pp. 239-58.
[45] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, ii.8-9, cols. 576A-B.
[46] Drogo of Bergues, *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*; Drogo of Bergues, *Liber miraculorum s. Winnoci* [BHL 8956], *AASS*, Nov. III, pp. 275-84; Drogo of Bergues, *Vita sancti Oswaldi*, pp. 94-103; Defries, 'The Making of a Minor Saint', pp. 423-44; Defries, *Constructing the Past*, *passim*.

Lewinna had themselves been brought out on a tour of Flanders only two years previously, performing some miracles of significance. It is noteworthy that the relics of Ursmer were brought almost directly to the doorstep of Saint-Winnoc, and while this part of the journey is not emphasized by the anonymous author of the *Miracula s. Ursmari*, it would seem that the point was that the relics of Ursmer were more valuable than those of St Lewinna, who had been unable to perform the same function of inspiring peace within the region.

The geographic placement of relics within a region was another integral component of the establishment of exchange-value. Relics that had shrines on popular pilgrimage routes received more visitors and consequently more donations than their peers that were not located on the well-travelled routes. This increased their relative value with regards to other nearby relics. According to Pamela Sheingorn, the cult of St Foy brought incalculable donations to the community of monks at Conques, in part because of the location of the monastery on the Via Podensis.[47] Another common way of establishing the value of a set of relics in relation to other relics in the region was the production of written material reinforcing the use-value of the relics and the sanctity of their subject. Written *memoria* not only acted as a form of advertisement, promoting the cult throughout a diverse regional area, but they also underscored and reinforced the other three components of establishing exchange-value. In this way, the production of written material was in all actuality one of the most important aspects of promoting a saint's cult. This was well-known to medieval hagiographers. Written material was most effective when it was produced from notes taken at the shrine or during the production of a miracle, and when these miracles were compiled in a written account shortly after the event

[47] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 9.

itself. When the relics of St Lewinna were translated and then taken on tour in 1058, a written account was produced by Drogo of Bergues within three years.[48] Similarly, when the relics of St Ursmer were toured through Flanders in 1060, the account recording the events was compiled no later than 1061.[49] The tour of the Virgin Mary by the Laon monks in 1112 and 1113 was reported by Guibert of Nogent in his *Monodies*, written by 1115.[50] When the monks at Canterbury thought that the newly martyred body of Thomas Becket was producing miracles, they stationed two hagiographers successively at the shrine to record events, producing a written account that began circulation only a few years after his death.[51] These accounts were widely disseminated in the medieval period, and could sometimes be read as part of the liturgies on the important dates associated with the cult.

Combined with translations and other associated rituals, written accounts revitalised the cult at regular intervals, reminding the population of the valuable set of relics in their midst. In return for miracles or the perceived protection of the saint, the pilgrim brought a donation of money or goods. These associated economic transactions allowed for additional valuable traits to be added to the shrine (precious metals or jewels, or a better placement of the relics within the cathedral). These economic transactions can be traced in some cases. The tour of the Laon monks with the secondary relics of the Virgin Mary allowed for a new roof to be built on the burned-out hull of the cathedral of Notre-Dame in Laon.[52] The successive intra-site translations of St Æthelthryth in 695, and of her, St Seaxburh and St Eormenhild in

[48] Defries, 'The Making of a Minor Saint', pp. 423-44.
[49] Koziol, 'Monks, Feuds', *passim*.
[50] Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies*, Book III, in McAlhany and Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 107-86.
[51] See M. Staunton (ed. and trans.), *The Lives of Thomas Becket* (Manchester, 2001).
[52] Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies*, Book III, in McAlhany and Rubenstein, *Guibert of Nogent*, pp. 185-6.

the 970s and 1106, kept those cults popular throughout the Ely region, making it one of the most productive monasteries in England in the high Middle Ages.[53]

Of course, charting the individual economic transactions surrounding the cults of the saints that would have contributed to their overall economic value would be next to impossible with the sources that we have. What we can tell is that relics could function as commodities, in that they allowed for economic transactions to occur through their exchange and their movement. This is to say, different groups of society bought, sold, traded, and gifted relics, and also exchanged money with the saint in exchange for prayers or a healing. This value was maintained by the cult structure. If the exchange-value of a set of relics was not maintained, that is, if regular translations made, written accounts produced, or liturgies celebrated, the cult would soon disappear from the historical record. Such was the case for the cult of St Lewinna, for which the *delatio* in 1058 (and the account produced by Drogo of Bergues in the early 1060s) is the last clue historians have to its existence in the eleventh century.

Relics as Inalienable Possessions

In *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving*, Annette Weiner argued that gift-exchange did not always mean the reciprocal exchange of goods or services.[54] While studying Oceania societies in the Pacific, Weiner noted that some objects, once gifted, retained a spirit of ownership from the gift-giver that preceded the sense of ownership of the gift-receiver (the paradox of keeping-while-giving).

[53] For the first translation in 695, see *LE*, i.25-31, pp. 53-63; for the second translation in the 970s, see *LE*, ii.52-53, pp. 143-8; for the third translation in 1106, see *LE*, ii.144-8, pp. 275-83.
[54] A. Weiner, *Inalienable Possessions: The Paradox of Keeping-While-Giving* (Berkeley, 1992).

These objects were, she wrote, 'inalienable possessions', or goods that were tied to the original owner who had once possessed them. They could not be given away in totality, as they would always 'belong' in some sense to the original owner; they were thus above normal economic exchange. Once removed from the society that had imbued them with this status, they became essentially value-less, lacking the social signifiers that would allow the objects to retain their value in the new social context.

To define a set of relics as inalienable possessions depends primarily on the method of exchange. Relics could be bought and sold, but most circulated through either theft or in a gift-exchange system.[55] This system began in the early medieval period, where relics were gifted by the Pope to rulers in Francia, with all the obligatory reciprocations that followed. In this exchange, the relics were seen as inalienable possessions of the Pope; they remained, in a social context, relics that belonged to the Pope, without that ownership being transferred to the new monastery.[56] In these gift exchanges, the relics generated socio-economic hierarchies, wherein they provided both political and cosmological authority to the parties involved.

Patrick Geary sees relics as being exchanged primarily through one of two means: gift-giving or theft.[57] Throughout *Furta Sacra*, it is implicit that Geary understands relics to be inalienable possessions. Certain points of analysis confirm this argument: 'As a physical object, divorced from a specific milieu, a relic is entirely without significance. Unlike other objects, the bare relic – a bone or a bit of dust – carries no fixed code or sign of its meaning as it moves from one community to another or from one period to a subsequent one'.[58] Geary thus understands all

[55] Geary, *Furta Sacra*.
[56] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', pp. 182-3.
[57] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 4-6; ibid., 'Sacred Commodities', pp. 170-4.
[58] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 5.

signifiers of value to be socially applied to relics. Because these signifiers do not travel when the relics change social contexts, then relics must be inalienable possessions of the places that hold them, and thus only have value when tied to a specific social context. As he writes, the signifiers of value are 'completely lacking in relics...a relic cannot itself transmit this perception from one community to another, even if these communities share identical cultural and religious values. In order to effect this transmission, something essentially extraneous to the relic itself must be provided'.[59] This would refer to the exterior criteria referenced above and in 'Sacred Commodities'. If an object's value is entirely dependent on its societal context, and it cannot retain its meaning even as it moves between two communities which 'share identical cultural and religious values', then I would suggest that the relic would not be capable of participating in normal means of economic exchange. It should thus be classed as an inalienable possession, held by the community which 'owns' it; each movement of the relic through gift or theft would therefore necessitate the re-investment of this value through the criteria described above.

Using Mauss, Geary establishes that 'ritual exchanges of goods and services formed the normal means of distributing wealth acquired either through plunder or from agriculture'.[60] In a gift-giving economy, 'the goal…was not the acquisition of commodities but the establishment of bonds between giver and receiver, bonds that had to be reaffirmed at some point by a countergift'. [61] In terms of both theft and gift-giving, 'the relationship of relative honor and status was at stake, and the property that changed hands functioned symbolically to affirm or deny that relationship'.[62]

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[59] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 6.
[60] M. Mauss, J. Cunnison (trans.), *The Gift: Forms and Functions of Exchange in Archaic Societies* (London, 1990), and Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 173.
[61] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 173.
[62] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 173.

That is, a ruler could gift a set of relics to another, reaffirming their relationship, much as would any other gift of treasure; in return, the ruler would receive a gift of commensurate value. Value is therefore established in such a system by both the status of those gifting and the relationship between the two that ensues, and by the value of the items exchanged in return. In Geary's mind, relics were just one example of a luxury good or a 'high-prestige article'. Their exchange 'did not occur primarily within a commercial structure. Moreover, even when a purchase lay at the heart of such exchanges, contemporaries were likely to look askance at such transactions or to understand them within the context of one or another of the two more significant forms of circulation of goods, theft and gift'.[63] Geary does acknowledge, however, that 'goods exchanged may have served to create bonds between giver and recipient, but they were also desired for themselves. They could be, and at times were, converted into cash or even capital, so that both a system of objectified, alienable commodity exchanges and a system of subjective, inalienable gift exchanges coexisted'.[64] It is here, in this statement, that Geary comes closest to establishing how relics' functioned in medieval society, although the rest of his article focuses on the circulation of relics as 'high-prestige articles'.

Geary has, in part, contributed to a dichotomisation of the historiography. Geary's focus on the relic-as-commodity as opposed to the relic-as-inalienable-possession (and the subsequent historiography brought about by this argument) has unintentionally created a dichotomy within said historiography over the method of exchanging relics either as gifts or by theft. The prioritization of the relic-as-commodity, given by Geary, was countered by other scholars, mentioned below; this

[63] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 174.
[64] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 173-4.

led to a strand of historiography that highlighted the relic as an inalienable possession or a prestige-good, above normal commodification, that primarily circulated in a gift-giving economic model. Archaeologists especially have pointed out the unsatisfactory explanations provided by the gift/theft economic model. Their distrust of the central idea centres on the perceived 'opposition between commodities and gifts'.[65] In such a model, commodities existed as ordinary goods that were exchanged for money or other goods, while prestige-goods like relics were 'not exchanged on a commercial basis but in other ways', i.e. as gifts.[66] This opposition belies a central misunderstanding of the medieval economy as an either/or sum value; why should relics function either as gifts or as commodities, when in reality, they probably were exchanged in both fashions?

Frans Theuws is one scholar who has argued that the saint and 'objects associated with the saint' could be regarded as inalienable possessions of their community. Theuws examined exchange in the early Carolingian period, arguing that there were essentially two types of trading centres in the early medieval period: those centred on a set of relics which functioned as inalienable possessions, anchoring economic exchanges around them, and those which did not have relics, and which relied solely on their placement along a trading route to survive. To make this argument, Theuws contrasts the two examples of Maastricht and Dorestad; Maastricht, he notes, held the relics of St Servatius, and in so doing, was included in a system of exchange with other monasteries within the Carolingian empire. Places which did not have saints' relics, like Dorestad, subsequently failed to integrate into the rest of the empire as the Viking invasions occurred. After the numerous attacks

[65] F. Theuws, 'Exchange, Religion, Identity and Central Places in the Early Middle Ages', *Archaeological Dialogues* 10:2 (2004), pp. 123-4.
[66] Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity', pp. 123-4.

on Dorestad by the Danes, it was abandoned by the Franks; Theuws attributes this to its lack of a position in the exchange system of the Frankish empire.[67] This was a system that closely associated the imaginary world of the saints and the sacred realm and the concrete world of trade and money.[68]

Theuws' explicit understanding of relics as inalienable possessions which provided a 'cosmological authentication' to trading centres is based on his understanding of the medieval economy as one characterized by both the exchange of gifts and the exchange of commodities. Relics, he argues, must be understood as objects which were 'to a degree above the common arena of exchange and social competition'.[69] Places which were centred on a set of 'valuable' relics, such as Deventer (with the relics of St Lebuinus) or Tiel (St Walburgis) 'played a key role in the exchange of commodities from the late ninth century. They had in common the presence of saints and religious communities with connections to regional rulers'.[70] Places without such connections, like Dorestad, were easily abandoned after the ninth century.

Richard Hodges disagrees with Theuws' central premise. He contends that some emporia did have some presence of the established Church within them. However, he argues that 'we should not expect the Church to be a high medieval urban presence in these places, when its role in the early Middle Ages was so emphatically strategic in terms of sustaining its place as one (with the secure nobility) of the twin pillars of society'.[71] This is as much to say that Dorestad was likely abandoned not because it did not have a saint's cult, but because its relative

[67] Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity', pp. 135-6.
[68] Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity', pp. 123-4.
[69] Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity', pp. 123-4.
[70] Theuws, 'Exchange, religion, identity', p. 136.
[71] R. Hodges, 'The Cosmology of the Early Medieval Emporia?', *Archaeological Dialogues* 10:2 (2004), p. 144.

vulnerability to the Danish invaders made it uneconomical to protect. Moreover, Hodges points out, like the emporia of Dorestad and Hamwic, which functioned primarily around monetary economic exchanges, some early and high medieval churches have been shown in recent studies to have functioned as economic centres with a large amount of consumption and exchange in occurrence. 'Defined as often as not by large numbers of coins, many of these places appear to be late sixth- to ninth-century harbingers of the archetypal Carolingian new town, the *portus*...which in turn appears to be the Frankish model for the Anglo-Saxon *burh* and the later Danish towns'.[72] Thus Theuws' argument, it would seem, mistakes two correlating factors for a cause-effect situation. The presence of saints' cults could function to 'cosmologically authenticate' a town and thus centre it within the larger medieval European structure; it could also, however, function as a catalyst for economic exchanges based on monetary transactions.

Theuws also fails to examine whether the relics held by such places were, in fact, all that valuable, or how their value functioned relative to other saints in the region, a fact which is picked up by John Moreland in his response to Theuws' article.[73] Such an omission threatens his argument; if the relics were not, in fact, all that valuable, how could they act as inalienable possessions? The underlying assumption is that *all* relics were inalienable possessions. Such an assumption is simply false. Secondary relics, especially, do not seem to have had the same value as primary relics and did not, in fact, function as inalienable possessions but were traded, bought and sold with some frequency. Moreland argues for a more thorough

[72] Hodges, 'Cosmology of…Emporia?', p. 143; T. Pestell and K. Ulmschneider, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and Productive Sites, 650-850* (Macclesfield, 2003); and A.E. Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 134.
[73] J. Moreland, 'Objects, Identities and Cosmological Authentication', *Archaeological Dialogues* 10:2 (2004), pp. 144-9.

understanding of the ways in which relics especially achieved value in the early medieval period. He believes that Theuws mistakenly thinks of 'inalienable possessions in 'vertical' terms, and thus that the links between relics and the celestial realm provide individuals or groups with cosmological authentication. In his argument, Moreland suggests that a more complete understanding of the cosmological/physical connection that was mediated through relics can be brought about by adding a horizontal axis to this 'vertical' understanding. In this way, Moreland argues, one can understand value as coming not only from the sacred, imaginary world, but also from man-made processes within the more concrete social structure.

Because the saint was inalienably tied to the places in which they had lived and worked, the relics could participate in that connection if they continued to be held in those spaces. St Æthelthryth, who had lived and founded the abbey at Ely, and whose relics continued to be held there throughout the rest of the medieval period, was ultimately tied to that location. Her relics, although moved throughout the abbey at Ely in the seventh, tenth, and twelfth centuries, were never removed from that location. Historians might also look to place-names, dedications, and the patrimony of the saint to measure the connection of the saint to specific locations. The inalienability of relics manifested itself most clearly when relics were not moved (i.e. when they did not change social context). In such cases, the relics could achieve enough value within their community to become inalienable possessions.

Relics as Inalienable Commodities

The problem that historians have in their attempt to examine how relics were exchanged and valued is their tendency to categorize relics based on one exchange. Relics participated in numerous exchanges throughout their lifespans, which could sometimes last for several hundred years. Examination of a set of relics throughout the entirety of that lifespan allows the historian to see that relics occasionally acted as alienable commodities, *and* that they could achieve a status as an inalienable possession. In so far as they held qualities of both statuses throughout other points in their lifespan, relics might thus be considered 'inalienable commodities'. This term refers to objects that have both the inalienable quality of the sacred, and the alienable quality of the commodity. Relics act as such because they are a conduit for the sacred through the person of the saint, and because they can behave in transactions like other luxury commodities.[74]

This is not a new concept, but it has not previously been applied to sacred objects like relics. Godelier accounted for objects which were 'between sacred inalienable objects and alienable goods'; he asserted that between the two categories lay gifts or prestige objects, which 'have both the inalienable aspect of sacred objects and the alienable aspect of commodities since they are both substitutes for sacred objects and for people, and are transferable'.[75] Elizabeth Ferry was one of the first to use the term 'inalienable commodities' to describe objects which can be traded but are also inalienable. She applied the term to silver produced from a Mexican mining cooperative in the twentieth century. Ferry asserts that the people of the mining

[74] Theuws, 'Exchange, Religion, Identity', p. 129.
[75] Theuws, 'Exchange, Religion, Identity', p. 129. See M. Godelier, N. Scott (trans.) *The Enigma of the Gift* (Chicago, 1999), pp. 90, 94-5, 100-1.

cooperative operate in a society 'in which alternate schemes of value shift not only according to situation but also operate simultaneously within particular processes of production and circulation'.[76] The actors within the cooperative, according to Ferry, 'locate patrimony in different places and assert a language of patrimony at different points in the process of production, circulation, and consumption. They do so to assert claims over resources based on particular notions of the social group and its legitimate boundaries. In this way patrimony acts as a language of power and authority read through practices of production, circulation, and consumption'.[77] I will examine how relics established patrimonies and how medieval social groups participated in that sense of patrimony in the next section of this chapter, but Ferry's analysis of the ways in which the mining cooperative operated are a beginning point for our analysis.

One can see where the inalienability of an object ties in with the sense of patrimony over the lands which produced it. Inalienable possessions retain the association with the group that produced them and are passed on through that group. In Ferry's assessment, the cooperative mined the silver and sold it on the market; but the money 'returns in a variety of different forms and reasserts its inalienable qualities as it does so…in the minds of many, silver money anticipates reconversion into what we might call substances of 'place making''. That is, the cooperative used the money from the silver they produced to build up their area, and to maintain the silver veins for future generations; consequently, the silver that was produced retained an identity that tied it inalienably back to the land from whence it came. This was furthered by the cooperative, which used the silver mining operation to promote its identity

[76] E.E. Ferry, 'Inalienable Commodities: the production and circulation of silver and patrimony in a Mexican mining cooperative', *Cultural Anthropology* 17:3 (2002), pp. 331-58, at p. 331.
[77] Ferry, 'Inalienable Commodities', p. 333.

through tourism efforts. This process made the patrimony itself a commodity, 'for it is the endurance of these sites that makes them valuable from the point of view of tourism'.[78]

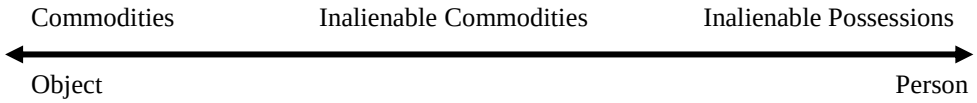
Each part of this economic system feeds into the other parts; the silver which is produced goes to market, and the monetary returns are used to mine more silver; this process is then itself commoditized by the identification of the whole process as a heritage industry, which allows for tourism to occur. Ferry declares this a "mnemonic' understanding of patrimony in which memory and its material embodiments acquire a timeless and inalienable quality' which in turn 'holds out greater possibility of sustaining the community's patrimony through time'.[79]

The question remains as to whether this theory can be applied to a completely different economic system in a completely different period of history. Relics are, of course, a different commodity to silver. The ways in which relics interacted with the patrimonies they produced, however, are quite similar to the system Ferry outlined. First, relics were produced (i.e. bones or a body were found and proven to be those of a saint) by the monastic community. Then, they were placed in a position of honour, a process that involved a fair amount of ritual and was in itself an act of production, this time of the cult of the saint. The cult worked to tie the relics to the land inalienably. As the cult grew, the relics brought in donations and people to the land. During this period, they could be bought, sold, traded or stolen. If they were, they functioned essentially as commodities, where they were valued primarily according to their exchange-value. Once in their new social group, the new monastic community needed to re-establish the value of the relics. This could be done either by asserting a

[78] Ferry, 'Inalienable Commodities', p. 347.
[79] Ferry, 'Inalienable Commodities', p. 347.

claim to the saint through their life (e.g. if the saint had once lived there) or by asserting that the value of the relics had not been understood in the previous community. Either way, the new community was participating in the inalienable rights of the former community over their new possession by tying the identity of the relics back to the former resting-place in some fashion. Moreover, the increasing recognition of the relics with the personality of the saint and the places of the saint's life corresponded with an increase in this inalienability. Thus with the scale of relics as economic objects below, we see that the corresponding position of the relics' objecthood/personhood with their status as commodities/inalienable possessions. In between, when the relics themselves were operating as the medium through which the saint can work, but were also being exchanged themselves, that is, *when they were in movement*, they are best termed 'inalienable commodities'.

Fig. 2.1 Scale of Relics as Economic Objects



To give a short example, when St Foy's relics were stolen from Agen and brought to Conques in 866, they were hidden from view and the Agenais in pursuit of the relics were 'blind' to them when found. During the journey, however, the relics revealed themselves on at least one occasion by performing miracles. The juxtaposition of the relic as object and the relic as a conduit for the sacred would suggest that here the relics are inalienable commodities, and possessed of both attributes of commodities and of inalienable possessions. This sense of the relic as an 'inalienable commodity' will be explored throughout the rest of this thesis.

Conclusion

The movement of relics in the Middle Ages throughout and between Francia and England manifests many of the socio-economic concerns held by hagiographers and their monastic communities. In the almost constant upheavals of medieval government and society, and the political machinations necessary for survival, these authors used the miracle stories of their saints to reinforce the power of God, as they believed this assertion to be necessary to gain power over their enemies. Through their hagiographies, we can see the manifestation of these issues, which range from concerns over pestilence and famine, to loss of lands, and to economic concerns about income levels in the monasteries. While this thesis is primarily concerned with the socio-economics of moving relics, it also touches on issues like literary constructs in hagiographical accounts, the veracity of certain types of sources, and issues of human and social geography, such as the creation of sacred spaces, the erection of social and geographical boundaries, and the rise of regional identities. These all play out in the choice of miracles by the hagiographer, their placement in the narrative, and the frequency of specific types of miracles within the hagiography. In analysing these aspects of the sources, I believe we can gain new insight into the socio-economic concerns of monastic communities.

3. *Furta Sacra*: The Theft of Relics

The sacred theft of relics, or *furta sacra*, was a ritualized form of movement that differed from the other types of relic journeys analysed in this thesis, primarily in the moral ambiguity of the action. Hagiographical accounts of the theft of relics overwhelmingly sought to present justifications for these thefts. They were also characterized by literary tropes that were meant to demonstrate that the community had the saint's approval for the movement. These tropes were meant to imply that the relics had been under-appreciated in their former community. Stealing the relics was meant to increase the relative value of the cult, both in terms of its sacred power and its socio-economic value, with the benefits accruing to the new community.

Within this chapter, I seek to analyse the *topoi* of theft accounts for clues as to the socio-economic status of relics during these thefts. The central research questions will focus on the economic status of relics *during* movement. How did the relic's social context change throughout a journey? Did the value of the relics shift during the theft, or did it remain relatively equal throughout the journey? Answers to these questions will help to place the theft of relics within the larger socio-economic context of the central Middle Ages.

The analysis of these hagiographies has been dominated by the work of Patrick Geary, which relied on an understanding of the value of a relic as being socially determined. In this way, Geary, and the historians who followed, reasoned that relics lost their value during movement, especially as they were often hidden from view or in a place where no one knew of their existence. Upon entering their new community, their value needed to be reassigned, and would be in doubt for a

period of time until the relics had proved their worth. This line of reasoning relied on the liminal model, first espoused by Arnold Van Gennep and Victor Turner.[1] It is the assertion of these historians that the relics, during theft, go through a liminal period where they lack the social signifiers of their status, and therefore lose their socio-economic value. I would, however, question the application of this model for accounts of relic thefts. It is my opinion that the liminal model, in the case of relics, only takes into account the status of the saint, and therefore does not fully use or comprehend the full nature of relics as both person and object. Nor does it then take into account the dual economic nature of relics as items that are both commodities and inalienable possessions of the original cult. Wrestling with these complicated ideas, I will argue that far from presenting a liminal stage, the accounts of *furta sacra* clearly define the value of their relics at all stages of the movement. It may be that they lose some of their value during movement, but they have far from the liminal status ascribed to them by previous historians.

I will begin with some of the warnings given by hagiographers in England, where sources indicate that relic thefts were slightly less common than on the continent. This is necessary to establish the historical context in which the relics of St Lewinna were stolen and also the context in which the account of her theft, the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, was written. From there, I will move on to a thorough discussion of the liminal model as it has been applied to relic thefts. In this, I will use as a case study the theft of St Lewinna's relics from Sussex to Bergues-Saint-Winnoc in Flanders in 1058. The analysis done thus far on St Lewinna's theft from Sussex and the account of her journey to Bergues, primarily by Geary and David

[1] A. Van Gennep, M.B. Vizedom and G.L. Caffee (trans.), *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago, 1960); V. Turner, *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago, 1969; repr. New York, 1995); V. Turner and E. Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage in Christian Culture: Anthropological Perspectives* (Oxford, 1978; repr. New York, 2011).

Defries, has relied overwhelmingly on the liminal model to explain the fluctuations in socio-economic value of the relics during the journey. I will seek to demonstrate that at least in this *furtum sacrum*, the relic's value was, while fluctuating, present in the relics throughout the journey, and thus that the application of the liminal model is misguided, as it does not fully explain the medieval understanding of the value of the relics during transit.

Relic Thefts in England: Hagiographical Warnings and Justifications

Relic thefts in France have been the subject of numerous studies, including the seminal account of sacred thefts by Patrick Geary.[2] As English thefts were outside the purview of that particular book, however, they remain largely unexamined in the modern historiography, and thus necessitate some comment here. Thefts of relics in England before the eleventh century were largely insular, occurring between different regions of the island. It seems likely that the island, both physically and conceptually, protected English relics from the thieves and merchants that were common on the continent during this period. From the beginning of the eleventh century, there are some examples of continental monks stealing the bones of Anglo-Saxon saints, most notably from Bergues-Saint-Winnoc, which acquired the relics of St Lewinna from Sussex in such a manner. There are also some examples of intra-island thefts, where relics were regionally translated from one part of England to another. This occurred from as early as the tenth century, as we shall see in Chapter 4.[3] It might also be possible that some of the acquisitions of secondary relics in the twelfth century by

[2] See in particular S. Lafferty, '*Ad sanctitatem mortuorum',* 249-79 and Rebillard et al., *Care of the Dead, passim*.
[3] See also Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 41-3.

Frankish communities were in fact the result of forced thefts rather than exchanges of gifts or trade. This might explain, for example, the rapid proliferation of the secondary relics of St Thomas of Canterbury, especially the vials of his blood, in the late twelfth century to far-flung continental communities, or the acquisition of some relics of St Oswald at Bergues-Saint-Winnoc.[4]

In addition to the protections offered by the English Channel, thefts of relics in England differed from those on the continent in other ways. One particular example occurs in the narratives of these thefts. As was argued so persuasively by Patrick Geary, theft narratives took on their own literary form by the ninth century, building on the narrative account produced by Einhard of the *furtum sacrum* of St Marcellinus and St Peter from Rome.[5] By the turn of the millennium, accounts of relic thefts had their own literary format with tropes particular to that form. These usually began with a justification for the acquisition due to neglect or threats from other forces, followed by a narrative of the theft itself. Here, the monk generally disguises himself or otherwise ingratiates himself to the community. Then, an *elevatio* is performed, usually at night.[6] This must be accompanied by a sign that the saint wishes to relocate, which is delivered either through a vision to the thief or in a more physical manner (as when the relics refuse to move or the tomb cannot be opened). After reaching the new home sanctuary, the relics are welcomed with the ritual *adventus* and then placed in the new tomb.

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[4] See D.M. Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place in Medieval Europe, 1100-1389* (New York, 2003), for St Thomas; for St Oswald, see Defries, *Constructing the Past*, pp. 106-85. The movement of St Oswald's relics to Bergues is relatively difficult to track, but the monastery seems to have acquired some of the saint's non-corporeal relics by the beginning of the eleventh century. See also N. Huyghebaert, 'Les deux translations du roi saint Oswald à Bergues-Saint-Winnoc', *Revue bénédictine* 86 (1976), pp. 83-93.

[5] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 39-41.

[6] The *elevatio* developed out of the elevation of the host during Mass: see G.J.C. Snoek, *Medieval piety from relics to the Eucharist: a process of mutual interaction* (Brill, 1995), p. 101, 251-6; Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 178; K. Craig, *Bringing Out the Saints: Journeys of Relics in Tenth to Twelfth century Northern France and Flanders*, Ph.D. diss. (University of California: Los Angeles, 2015), pp. 11-12, 85; and Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 27, 86.

English theft narratives were not as involved as this. Instead, accounts of relic thefts in England are usually snippets contained in larger *miracula* accounts or in chronicles. Short and concise, these entries were intended as moral entreaties against theft, where the saint is often depicted punishing those who attempted to steal their relics. Whereas the moral ambiguity of relic thefts is clearly present in continental accounts, English theft narratives often take a harder line. It may be that English monasteries thought of their possession as more inalienable than their continental counterparts, who may have seen them more as commodities to be traded and exchanged. It could also be, however, simply that English monks did not take kindly to theft, especially from their own kind, after the invasions of their island in the ninth and tenth centuries. Indeed, most of the entreaties against theft are placed in this period, and feature Danish hordes attempting to make off with their relics, even though as we shall see in Chapter 4 the Scandinavians showed no interest in stealing relics.

After the Norman Conquest, hagiographers were especially concerned with these attempted or thwarted thefts of the ninth and tenth centuries. Being adept at collecting and publishing the *miracula* of pre-Conquest saints, hagiographers like William of Malmesbury gave numerous examples of attempted thefts by Danish invaders being thwarted through the efforts of the saints. The *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* gives such a warning to future potential thieves. An invading Danish force during the reign of Edward the Martyr (962-978) came to Malmesbury and tried to steal from the tomb of St Aldhelm.[7] One of the Danes, seeing the precious stones on the reliquary, 'snatched up a knife' and attempted to pry them loose from their

[7] This would have been just before its translation to Canterbury, where we encounter these particular relics in other numerous stories. See William of Malmesbury, *Vita Aldelmus, episcopus Schireburnensis in Anglia* [BHL 0258], *AASS*, May VI, pp. 79-83.

settings. 'He had put his hand to the task when the ravening pestilence of covetousness was quelled by the prompt action of the saint. The man paid for his rash attempt by the loss of his senses; and he was dashed backwards on to the floor as if he had a piercing dart, driven deep into his heart, to bewail. The penalty paid by one man brought the others to their senses' and the men fled from the scene, leaving the body of St Aldhelm untouched. William warns that the story 'ran through the enemy host, making them less inclined to pillage and more ready to fear and reverence the saints.'[8]

William is writing of an attempted theft centuries before his time, and his accounts should therefore be regarded with a fair bit of scepticism as to the intent of the invaders and their desires. However, what is reflected in his stories are concerns among monastic scholars throughout the high Middle Ages that the valuable relics under their control were vulnerable to theft. Without these relics, the shrines would not be profitable, and a monastery could quickly succumb to economic and political pressures and be destroyed or have to move locations. While William does not think that the relics of St Aldhelm were going to be stolen, as he makes it clear that it was the reliquary and its adornments that caught the eyes of the thieves, we must assume that any attempt to steal from the tomb would have been interpreted by those within the cult as an attempt to harm the relics. Moreover, since all the wealth connected to the tomb was thought to belong directly to the saint, any attempt to steal from the saint would have likely corresponded to an attempt to steal the saint themselves. The punishment above, therefore, where the thief loses his senses, is punishment for

[8] *GPA*, v.256.3-5; trans. Winterbottom, pp. 611-13. *Quorum unus, quem improba fames argenti audatiorem fecisset, arrepto cultello pretiosos lapides cassibus expedire nitebatur. Iamque manum admouerat, cum grassantem luem auaritiæ Sancti uirtus festinate compescuit. Luit ergo ausum temerarium, mente amissa, retro in pauimentum elisus, tamquam si penetrabile telum cordi suspiraret adactum. Pœna unius reduxit ad sanitatem ceteros…Huiusmodi fama, multitudinem hostium peruagata, segniorem ad predam et timidiorem ad reuerentiam sanctorum effecit.*

stealing the jewels, but also for attempting to steal the relics, as the two concerns were tangled together in the medieval mind-set.

William records another story of an attempted theft by an invading Danish cohort, this time at the shrine of St Æthelthryth in Ely. St Æthelthryth's was one of the most valuable bodies in Anglo-Saxon England, as one of the incorruptible saints prized in that society. In this instance, William writes that the thief tried to steal the altar cloth that covered the tomb, and struck the tomb with his axe, breaking off a piece of the lid. 'The surface of the stone broke apart under the blow, and the fragment, ricocheting off the ground, flew straight into the blasphemer's eye, so that he fell senseless to the floor. After this rebuff, the others left the tombs of the other sainted ladies alone, though they had intended to violate them, and vied with each other to run away as fast as they could'.[9] William draws connections between the violation of the tomb and the violation of the virginal bodies contained at Ely, including those of St Æthelthryth, but also those of her sister St Seaxburh and her niece St Eormenburga. By breaking off the lid of the tomb, the body of the virgin was violated both metaphysically and physically by the thief. This is reinforced by William's next story. Following the destruction of the church, the king had sent some new clerics to Ely to keep the services going (this was in fact the re-foundation of the abbey as a Benedictine priory, done under the auspices of Bishop Æthelwold at Winchester). One of the new priests, 'bolder than the rest, tried, from (I think) no good motive, to egg his companions on to try to establish the virgin's incorruption'.[10]

[9] *GPA*, iv.183.4; trans. Winterbottom, pp. 489-91. *Quo ictu cum crusta dissiluisset marmoris, fragmentum illud, repercusso a terra impetu, in oculum percussoris uolauit; sed et ipse in terram sine mente ruit. Ceteri certatim, illo eiecto, aliarum sanctarum sepulchral, quæ temerare meditabantur, inuiolata relinquentes in fugam proruunt.*

[10] We might assume 'incorruption' here to be of twofold meaning, both in the virginal sense and in the sense of Æthelthryth's well-documented uncorrupted body. See M. Otter, 'The Temptation of St Æthelthryth', pp. 139-163 for more on this particular miracle, and C.E. Karkov, 'The Body of St Æthelthryth', pp. 397-412, for more on the body of St Æthelthryth and its incorruption.

The other priests warned him that this was not advisable, but he ignored them. 'First he pushed a candle stuck on the end of a stick through the hole made by the Dane's blow, and examined everything so far as his prying eyes could penetrate. Then, with the split end of the stick, he tried to pull back towards him the rags in which the holy body was wrapped'. This apparently angered Æthelthryth; according to William, she was upset 'that her body should be seen naked by such a fellow', and she caused the rags covering her body to be pulled back up and the priest to be sent flying backwards in the same way as the Dane above. 'His fall left him handicapped for the rest of his life, nor was he ever again of sound mind'.[11]

Most of the post-Conquest writings on relic thefts in England can be categorised within three broad strands. First, English accounts of *furta sacra* were ultimately warnings against the unauthorised movement of the saint's body. This authorisation was not given by ecclesiastical leaders, as it was meant to be in Carolingian law codes, but instead by the personified presence of the saint. Permission for the theft had to be given by the saint themselves, and not by any earthly presence or authority. If this permission was not granted, then the thief would often fall prey to the loss of their mind, as we saw above. In this, of course, they were similar to continental *furta sacra* accounts. Secondly, English theologians wrote the violation of the tomb as the violation of the body. This underscored the connection between the body and its resting place. In Frankish accounts, a set of relics likewise had to be supernaturally freed from its tomb through the power and assent of the saint,

[11] *GPA*, iv.183.5-6; trans. Winterbottom, pp. 489-91. *Eorum aliquis procatior ceteris haud puto sincera mente ad uirginis incorruptionem certius explorandam sotios exacuere temptauit. Illis periculum rei pre se ferentibus, ipse accessit. Primoque per foramen, quod ictus Dani effecerat, appositam uirgæ candelam immittens, cuirositate oculorum quantum poterat secutus, omnia rimari. Mox summitate uirgæ fissa pannos, quibus sacrum corpus inuoluebatur, ad se trahere conari. Iamque partem attraxerat, cum uirgo, indignata nudum corpus a nebulone uideri, pannum introrsus uiolenter retraxit, adeo ut illum contra nitentem terra supinum elideret. Quo casu perpetuo debilis, etiam posterius amentia non caruit.*

but there is no sense that the violation of their tomb, i.e. the forceful theft of the relics, is anything remarkable. In English accounts, however, the tomb is part of the body of the saint; it is part of the relics. This is reinforced by descriptions of the tomb by medieval hagiographers, who describe the miraculous discovery of sarcophagi and tombs, as occurred in the burials of St Æthelthryth, St Wihtburh, and St Cuthbert.[12] In addition, the punishment of the thief differs slightly from Frankish accounts. In a thwarted theft therein, punishment is rarely described. In English sources, however, there are very few successful thefts described. Thieves are punished both physically, in being thrown away from the tomb, but also mentally through the loss of their senses. The loss of understanding could be a reflection of the perceived lack of knowledge that would have been necessary to make an attempt on the body of the saint. That is to say, the thief is left senseless because they had committed a sacred crime, and in so doing, had misunderstood the socio-economic value of the relics to their community.

All of this is not to say that English relics were not stolen with the same frequency and commonality as other relics. They may well have been. The sources, however, do not abound with descriptions of these thefts. What we have are glimpses of thefts: warnings against them, protections put in place at the shrines to prevent thefts, and small mentions of thefts of jewels or other materials from the shrines of the saints. William of Malmesbury, after the attempted theft of St Aldhelm's relics, wrote that 'while all the neighbouring monasteries were robbed and plundered, this one alone never had too serious a calamity to bewail'.[13] Other sites where relics were

[12] For Æthelthryth and Wihtburh, see the *LE*, i.25-26, pp. 56-8. For Cuthbert's tomb, which was turned into a secondary relic, see *Historia sancto Cuthberto*, par. 9, and W. Aird, *St Cuthbert and the Normans: The Church of Durham, 1071-1153* (Woodbridge, 1998), pp. 94-5.

[13] *GPA*, v.256.5; trans. Winterbottom, p. 613. *Vnde contigit ut, omnibus in circuitu monasteriis depopulatis uel expilatis, istud solum numquam adeo grauem deploraret erumnam.*

kept attempted to protect themselves from possible thefts by building reinforcements. Such was the case at the shrine of St Edmund, which was surrounded by a ditch. According to William of Malmesbury's account, 'King Cnut caused [the ditch] to be built' and it 'was designed to protect the saint's lands from all disturbance'. The ditch caused all those who threatened the site to leave, with potential thieves 'being well aware of the punishment of many who have thought fit to ignore this limit'.[14]

More accounts of English thefts exist in sources produced after the Norman Conquest. One of the most well-described of these was the theft of St Wihtburh, who was stolen by the monks of Ely in the late tenth-century from Dereham. The theft was described by the anonymous compiler of the *Liber Eliensis*. Wihtburh was a particularly valuable saint, having performed many miracles at Dereham and described as 'that most famous adornment of the church, that most splendid pearl of a virginal corpse', which was 'untouched by putrefaction'.[15] Following the pattern given in continental accounts of relic thefts, the justification given by the author was to increase the honour given to the relics. The abbot of Ely, Byrhtnoth, therefore became 'a pirate in the cause of the Faith' and is later described as 'a man well suited to holy sacrilege, to theft in furtherance of the Faith, rapine in pursuance of salvation'.[16] Byrhtnoth went to Dereham 'with a band of soldiers'; at night, they went to Wihtburh's shrine, and prayed before it. 'In the end, armed with faith, they

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[14] *GPA*, ii.74.27-29; trans. Winterbottom, p. 247. *Exactores uectigalium, qui alias bachantur, fas nefasque iuxta metientes, ibi suplices citra fossatum sancti Edmundi litigations sistunt, ex perti multorum penam qui perseuerandum putarunt. Fossatum Cnuto rex fieri precepit, patris sui Suani miserabili fine ad bonum edoctus…Sciebat hæc Cnuto, ideoque nichil non effecit ut Sancto blandiretur. Preter defenderet, denique basilicam animositate regia, quantum illius temporis usus flagitabat, super uenerabile corpus construxit, abbatem et monachos instituit, predia multa et magna contulit.* See also S. Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities: Miracle Stories in Twelfth-Century England* (Oxford, 2006), pp. 24-62 for more on St Edmund of Bury.

[15] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *...illa splendidissima margarita virginee glebe adhuc liquido intemerate ad sullimiorem thalamum transiret...*

[16] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Preveniens itaque fidelis predo faciem Domini...Illis dimittit meritoriam aulam, sibi vendicat ad vigilandum et ad adorandum secretariam ecclesiam, idoneus ad sanctum sacrilegium, ad fidele furtum, ad salutarem rapinam, ad Iacob benedictionem supplantandam.*

mounted their assault with thuribles of prayers and incense-offerings; they unsealed the sarcophagus and, finding Wihtburh fresh as Spring, with her body entire…they greeted her with appropriate trepidation and wonderment'.[17] They resealed her tomb, and then 'she was removed manually and by means of rollers and levers'.[18] This mention of exactly how she was moved is intriguing and somewhat unique – it seems likely that Byrhtnoth removed the entire sarcophagus (which was probably made of marble) and probably could not have been done in secret, as it would have made quite a bit of noise and taken some effort. It is possible that because Dereham now belonged to Ely legally, having been gifted to them by King Edgar (*c*. 943-975), the idea of it being done at night or in secret is simply an effort on the part of the author to place this story within the accepted literary pattern, and that the theft occurred somewhat more publicly, or at least with the knowledge of some in the monastery at Dereham, even if they did not approve of the movement.

Byrhtnoth and his associates then removed the body from Dereham, using wagons that had already been prepared and placed at the ready. They were met outside Dereham by 'forces in reserve', loyal to Byrhtnoth, who are described as 'soldiers and attendants' who would be 'at the ready with their arms and their courage, in case they should encounter any opposition'.[19] It must be remembered that while the majority of the Danish invasions had passed by this point, there were still hostile forces roaming about. Such a valuable object thus needed protection of both the secular and sacred kind. The force journeyed for twenty miles on land, before

[17] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Tandem fide armati cum turribulis orationum ac thimiamatum instant, tumbam reserant inventamque toto corpore vernantem, acsi dulci sopore quiescentem, iusto tremore atque admiratione salutant.*
[18] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Quam refirmato operculo lacertis lapsibus ac vectibus sullatam, paratis vehiculis excipiunt cum debita reverentia et efferunt cum assidua psalmodia, cum triumphali letitia, sicut exultant victores capta preda.*
[19] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Occurrunt et ambiunt succenturiatim milites et ministri, armis et animis, si quid obsisteret, parati.*

coming 'to the river at Brandon' where they 'went on ship-board with their life-saving cargo and then applied themselves energetically to their oars and nautical tackle'.[20]

The residents of Dereham were not pleased, and followed after the thieves and their retinue. The citizens 'divided for the march into two contingents, [and] they occupied the river-bank to the right and to the left and, as if in an ambush, strove to block every route, apart from the one by river. They flung abuse, they aimed arrows, they reproached the tricksters for perfidious sacrilege; they filled the air with shouts, menaces, threats and insults. They scarcely spared the abbot or the virginal corpse itself, which no decay had touched.'[21] But the people of Dereham were not successful in regaining their precious relics. The author attributes this to the leadership of Byrhtnoth, who essentially ignored the shouts and the clamour being raised by the townspeople, and 'with God's protection, they [Byrhtnoth and the other thieves from Ely] escaped, while their pursuers, thwarted, returned home wearily'.[22] The relics then reached Ely, where they were welcomed with an *adventus* and interred alongside Seaxburh, Eormenhild, and Æthelthryth as one of the four uncorrupted virgin royal saints that were now held there.[23]

There were perhaps other thefts of relics that were successful. It seems that the relics of Wilfrid were stolen by Ermenburga, queen of Northumbria, around 681, where they were installed at Ripon.[24] Two sets of Cornwall relics were stolen in the

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[20] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Ita per viginti miliaria terrestri via progressi, ad fluvium in Brandune devenere ingressique naves cum illo vitali ferculo, remis et armamentis navalibus certatim incubuere.*

[21] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Itaque bipartito agmine utramque ripam a dextris et a sinistris occupant et, velud obsidione, preter fluvialem viam includere decertant. Iactant convicia, intemptant spicula, exprobrant simulatoribus perfida sacrilegia; clamoribus, terroribus, minis ac probris implent æra. Vix abbati, vix ipsi, quam nulla tetigit corruptela, glebe parcunt virginali.*

[22] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8. *Qui, tanquam surdus, non audiens perstrepentes divinumque auxilium crebris optinens orationibus, impellit nautas et navim exortationibus, ut miles urget equum calcaribus, Deique protectione evadunt, fesso reditu confusis persecutoribus.*

[23] *LE*, ii.53; trans. Fairweather, pp. 145-8.

[24] *EH* iv.19, 25; for more on St Wilfrid at Ripon, see P.A. Hayward, 'St Wilfrid of Ripon and the Northern Church in Anglo-Norman Historiography', *Northern History* 49:1 (2012), pp. 11-35; R.L. Poole, 'St

central Middle Ages. St Neot was taken from Bodmin Moor to Eynesbury in Cambridgeshire in the mid-eleventh century, and St Petroc was taken to Saint-Méen in Brittany in 1177 before being returned to Bodmin after the intervention of King Henry II.[25] We also know that some relics were taken from England to the continent, as will be exemplified in detail later through the theft of St Lewinna in 1058.

Relic thefts in England did therefore occur, but the narratives of those thefts for the most part differed dramatically from those produced on the continent. Most accounts of relic thefts in English *miracula* are relatively short, and consist of warnings against stealing the bones of the saints. Exceptions can be found, of course, including the account of St Wihtburh's theft from Dereham to Ely in the late tenth century, which is modelled along the lines of the continental theft narrative. This is likely because that narrative was written sometime in the period after the Norman conquest and before the mid-twelfth century, as part of an attempt to construct the image of Ely as a Benedictine monastery under the leadership of the new Normans (and specifically the Bishop of Winchester, Æthelwold).

The focus of the majority of English theft narratives on the morality of the theft could be accounted for in many ways. Since most of these narratives were written after 1066, it could be that the authors had a stronger sense of identity as Christians, and were trying to convey a continuity into the past of that communal identity. Within that scenario, the theft of relics from fellow Christians would not be morally justifiable. Thus most of the narratives frame it in terms of the 'pagan Vikings' stealing relics or threatening the Christians, instead of other monasteries

Wilfrid and the See of Ripon', *EHR* 34:133 (1919), pp. 1-24; and Eddius Stephanus, B. Colgrave (ed.), *The Life of Bishop Wilfrid by Eddius Stephanus* (Cambridge, 1985).

[25] *De s. Neoto confessore in Anglia*, *AASS*, July VII, pp. 314-29; for more on St Neot, see M. Godden, 'The Old English Life of St Neot and the Legends of King Alfred', *Anglo-Saxon England* 39 (2011), pp. 193-225. For more on St Petroc, see K. Jankulak, *The Medieval Cult of St Petroc* (Woodbridge, 2000).

posing the same threat to their fellow monks in different communities. Likewise, the framing of the thieves in Wihtburh's theft narrative as 'soldiers' instead of monks could also be an implicit reference to the Danish threat. Their presence, necessitated by this threat, was so significant that it warranted a change to the traditional *topoi* of relic theft accounts. Regardless, this would make most English theft narratives different from their continental counterparts, which by the eleventh and twelfth centuries recounted the majority of the thefts as being performed by other monastic communities, not by 'pagans' or 'Danes'. Within these continental narratives, however, like their English counterparts, the emphasis remains on the perceived socio-economic value of the relics, and the additional socio-economic power and resources that could be brought to the monastic community by their acquisition.

Historiography of *Furta Sacra* and the Liminal Model

On the other side of the Channel, Geary's study of sacred thefts in Francia and Italy has had a vast influence on the field. Perhaps one of the most important aspects of that analysis was Geary's focus not on the motivations and justifications for relic thefts, but instead on 'the cultural and social context that gave the relic its symbolic function after the theft' and 'the mentality within that context which accorded importance to the theft narrative as a "history" of the transition from old community to new'.[26] Geary focused on the narrative of thefts, their structure, historical context, and the mentality that produced them, and built upon this foundation in further works.[27] Throughout this scholarship, Geary argues that *translatio* narratives were

[26] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 8.
[27] Geary, *Phantoms of Remembrance* and Geary, *Living with the Dead.*

used to formulate a communal identity through the construction of common memories. The narrative 'provided an appropriate memory of how and why a particular community came to be graced with the presence of a powerful new patron'.[28]

Subsequent studies have gone further in studying the place of relics in the formation of political identities. Historians have long recognised the existence of relic policies by rulers of medieval Europe, especially in Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian France. As examined by David Rollason, Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Danish kings both had substantial relic policies that were meant to increase the collection of relics within their kingdoms, and thereby solidify the protection of the saints. He argues that 'relic-collecting was actively pursued as a normal and accepted royal occupation' and that certain kings sought to obtain relics in order to demonstrate their power.[29] On the other side of the English Channel, Brigitte Meijns notes that relic policies were used by Flemish rulers to 'obtain relics in order to anchor their territorial power'.[30] The policies were comprehensive, and required the use of relics for the swearing of oaths, to gift to loyal supporters, 'to enforce judicial sentences and to stave off calamities of natural origin (epidemics, famines, etc.) or of human origin (such as invasions)'.[31] That these relics were often either acquired through theft or through gift is taken as a granted point by the authors of these two articles.

Literary historians as well have been keen to examine Geary's use of *topoi* and hagiography as a historical source. Such an analysis was performed by Kathleen Ashley and Pamela Sheingorn, who used Geary's methodology to study the

[28] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 133.
[29] Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument', p. 92.
[30] Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', p. 473.
[31] Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', p. 474.

production of the cult of St Foy at Conques.[32] In their study, the two authors used a 'tool kit of methodologies' in order to 'make sense out of the hagiographic ensemble, both as a formal structure and as a historical production. Those methodologies include the traditional literary ones of philology for close reading of the Latin language, stylistic analysis of poetry and prose narratives, identification of classical/medieval rhetorical tropes and genres, and study of sources and borrowings' from other medieval sources. It is a very similar approach to that taken by Geary in *Furta Sacra*. Samantha Herrick also notes the difficulty in using hagiography as a historical source, but writes that contextualising it, and focusing in on the 'text's reflection of its time…can prove illuminating', even when this goes against the perceived aim of the hagiographer 'to elucidate not the earthly but the heavenly'.[33]

In this way, Geary's text has been used in the decades after it was published by historians in several sub-fields of medieval history to study the impact of relic thefts and their narratives on medieval culture. Most of these studies use Geary's methodology, which relies on a mixture of literary and historical analysis. They also rely on his theoretical framework to analyse hagiographical sources, which depends on on the liminal model. The liminal model was first developed by Arnold van Gennep, and was applied to historical anthropology and Christian rituals by Victor Turner.[34] According to both Van Gennep and Turner, within ritual studies there are subcategories, one of which is the rite of passage. Rites of passage are 'the transitional rituals accompanying changes of place, state, social position, and age in a culture'.[35] These rituals have a tripartite structure, 'consisting of three phases:

[32] Ashley and Sheingorn, *Writing Faith.*
[33] S.K. Herrick, *Imagining the Sacred Past: Hagiography and Power in Early Normandy* (Boston, 2007), p. 10.
[34] Van Gennep, *Rites of Passage*; Turner, *Ritual Process*; Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*.
[35] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 249.

separation, margin or limen, and reaggregation'.[36] In the first phase, the participant separates themselves from their social and cultural context, by physically removing themselves, usually going into the woods, desert, or other remote location. In the second phase, 'the characteristics of the *liminars* (the ritual subjects in this phase) are ambiguous, for they pass through a cultural realm that has few or none of the attributes of the past or coming state...Liminars are stripped of status and authority, removed from a social structure maintained and sanctioned by power and force, and levelled to a homogeneous social state through discipline and ordeal.'[37] In a typical ritual, this is when the participant undergoes a trial or ordeal, to prove their change in status. In the final stage, re-aggregation, the participant is welcomed back into the social fold in their new role, having passed the test or ordeal and come through on the other side. Their status has changed, but they remain a part of the same social and cultural context.

Fig. 3.1: Stages and Participatory Groups in Rites of Passage

Phase of Passage	Participants
Separation	participant and audience
Margin/Limen	participant (liminar)
Reaggregation	participant and audience

The model has been applied by Victor and Edith Turner to a variety of Christian rituals, including pilgrimage, which holds a similar structure as a ritual to the *translatio*.[38] It was then taken up by Geary, who applied it to relic thefts.[39] According to Geary, the first and the third phases are marked by the same attributes as the pilgrimage, i.e. the relics leave their home through the means of theft and are reintegrated into a new home after their journey, often with 'a new and more

[36] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 249.
[37] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*, p. 249.
[38] Turner and Turner, *Image and Pilgrimage*.
[39] Other scholars followed: see R.L. Stirrat, 'Sacred Models', *Man* 19:2 (1984), pp. 199-215, n. 17, p. 214. See also Geary, *Furta Sacra*, pp. 125-6.

sumptuous reliquary...as befits their new, more elevated status'.[40] The second phase is also characterised by 'ambiguity and marginality. The relics and the thief are often in physical danger from their pursuers or from other would-be thieves; the identity of the relics may [also] be in doubt.'[41] The narrative of the theft thereby participates in the liminal model according to Geary, because the literary tropes present the relics as going through the three steps of the rite of passage.

Fig. 3.2: Stages and Participatory Groups in Ritualised Thefts-Liminal Model		
Phase of Passage	**Phase of Relic Theft**	**Participants**
Separation	Theft	thief and relics-as-saint
Margin/Limen	Journey	relics-as-object (not active)
Reaggregation	*Adventus* (*Delatio* possible)	thief, relics-as-saint, and community

There are two issues with the application of this model. The first arises out of Geary's application of the liminal model to the narrative. In one way, the application works because the narrative is already highly systematized and regulated by the hagiographer. In other words, it is easy to put into the liminal model because the author has already designed it as a story to fit into a literary pattern. In this way, the saint's personality seems to appear at the beginning, working miracles, disappearing during the journey, or becoming passive, and reappearing at the end of the journey to work miracles. Like Jesus, however, relics must always be thought of as both the saint and an object at all times, in the same way that Jesus is both human and divine, God and man. The mistake made by historians in the past has been to apply one status of the relics over another, i.e. to think of them as primarily a saint or primarily an object. The liminal model only applies to a person's rite of passage; it cannot be applied to an object. However, the relics were *still* objects being traded and used by

[40] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 127.
[41] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 127.

people in various ways. This cannot be ignored while discussing the points in which the saint's personality works through the relics.

The second issue is no less significant. The relics were not functioning within the same social context of which they had previously been a part. They were in fact changing societies and communities, sometimes in drastic ways. Separated by language, church structure, levels of lay piety and other regional differences, the status of the relics was deeply impacted upon by these changes. When applied to the historical movement of the relics, the liminal model simply does not apply. The saint, as we shall see, does not completely lose their status, even while moving through these drastic changes. When applied to the narrative of the *furtum sacrum* of St Lewinna, all of these problems will become apparent. I do not propose a significantly different way of analysing this theft theoretically. Rather, I propose that we place the theft of relics solidly within the socio-economic context of the time, in this case within cross-Channel trade and monastic relations, in order to understand how the relics moved in and out of their social contexts. In this way, I seek the same result as those who applied the liminal model, which is to answer the question of how relics were thought of by the societies that held them, and how the signifiers of their status changed while moving through different societies.

The Case of St Lewinna

The *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* forms one account of a cross-channel relic theft. As such, it forms a somewhat unique case study for use in this thesis. The relics, which were stolen from Sussex and taken to Bergues St Winnoc in Flanders, were relatively unknown at the time of their theft, and remained thus throughout the

Middle Ages. However, the author of the account, Drogo of Bergues, was a well-recognised and respected hagiographer. Written on the continent, the account also gives both contexts for the relics in a relatively fair way, indicating their social position at Sussex and their subsequent inclusion into the community of relics at Bergues. While Drogo followed the established literary pattern, his use of the tropes and their placement does much to indicate the relative value of the relics throughout their theft.

Almost nothing is known of the actual St Lewinna (Leofwynn, Lewinne) (d. *c.* 685), and little is known of her cult either. Her relics were originally held, we are told, somewhere in Sussex, possibly at Bishopstone.[42] From there they were stolen by a monk of Bergues and brought back to Flanders in 1058. They were toured throughout coastal Flanders in the summer of that same year, but after this point, they disappear from the historical record, and nothing more is known. The only account from the medieval period that records the cult of St Lewinna is the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* by Drogo of Bergues, written between 1058 and 1060.[43] The account records the *furtum sacrum* of Lewinna's relics from Sussex to Bergues, and the ensuing *delatio* that took place shortly thereafter in the summer of 1058. It is composed of two books; the first follows the genre form of the *translatio.* It is written as a wild and fantastical adventure story, and used classic literature (such as Virgil's

[42] Farmer writes that 'her relics were discovered in a Sussex church which belonged to Bergues (near Dunkirk) and translated to another church, variously identified as Seaford or Alfriston' which is almost certainly a mistake on his part. See the entry for Lewinna, in D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*, 5th ed. (New York, 2011), p. 298.

[43] See Drogo of Bergues, *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, [BHL 4902], *AASS*, July V, pp. 623-7. For a detailed analysis of the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, see D. Defries, *Constructing the Past in Eleventh-Century Flanders: Hagiography at Saint-Winnoc*, Ph.D. diss. (Ohio State University, 2004); W.H. Blaaux, 'On the Translation of St Lewinna from Seaford, in 1058', *Sussex Archaeological Collections Relating to the History and Antiquities of the County* 1 (1848), pp. 46-54; D. Defries, 'The Making of a Minor Saint in Drogo of Saint-Winnoc's *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*', *EME* 16:4 (2008), pp. 423-44; K. Povey, 'Saint Lewinna, the Sussex Martyr', *The Sussex County Magazine* 2 (1928), pp. 280-91.

Aeneid) as inspiration. The second book functions more as a *liber miraculorum*, recording the miracles that took place during the *delatio* of 1058 and four miracles that took place at her shrine in Bergues shortly thereafter. The account was analysed in some detail by David Defries for his unpublished PhD dissertation, but the account remains untranslated.[44]

There are some difficulties in using Lewinna's *translatio* as a case study. The first, and perhaps most important, of these is the fact that Lewinna's cult is almost completely unknown outside of the account written by Drogo of Bergues. The relative location of the cult's home at Sussex is still unknown.[45] In the same way, the economic status of Lewinna's cult at that home is also unknown. There are also few clues as to its economic contributions post-translation at Bergues. However, the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* provides a full story of Lewinna's translation, as well as the *delatio* that occurred immediately after her relics arrived at Bergues and an account of some miracles that occurred at her shrine there. As such, it forms a good foundation for analysis of cross-Channel relic thefts and helps to bridge the divide between narratives of relic thefts in England and on the Continent. First, I will outline the full narrative of the relic theft, and then move on to an analysis of that narrative and the historiography surrounding this theft.

The Narrative of the Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ

Balgerus, a monk from Saint-Winnoc in Bergues, Flanders, was traveling to the south of England when his ship was forced to land by a storm at a location along the coast

[44] I used the version contained in the *AASS*, and translated it for my purposes; any mistakes are therefore mine.
[45] Defries, *Constructing the Past*, pp. 225-7. See also Blaaux, 'Translation of St Lewinna', pp. 46-54; Defries, 'Making of a Minor Saint', pp. 423-44; and Povey, 'Saint Lewinna', pp. 280-91.

unknown to him. When he had disembarked from the ship, he saw a church in the distance, later named in the account as the minster of St Andrew. Balgerus realized that it was Easter, and decided to attend Mass in the church. On his way up the cliff, he came across a man, who told him that the church contained the relics of a St Lewinna, 'virgin and martyr', who was unknown to Balgerus. He was assured by the stranger that the saint's 'merit and heavenly virtue shines through her every day'.[46] After Mass, Balgerus was led to Lewinna's tomb by the obliging community, eager to show off their relics. The walls of the tomb were plastered with documents describing the miracles Lewinna had performed for supplicants throughout Sussex. Balgerus asked a priest to read the documents to him (which were written in English), and the monk gave a quick synopsis of the miracles that were reported to have occurred at Sussex, although Drogo does not recount what these miracles were in any detail.[47]

Balgerus felt that the relics would be a valuable addition to the collection at Saint-Winnoc, and made his first attempt at acquiring them. He asked the monk whether the relics were for sale; when rebuffed, he offered to barter for them, but again, he was rebuffed.[48] This left stealing the relics as the only remaining option open to Balgerus in order to acquire the relics. Balgerus debated the theft in his conscience. He arranged to be alone with the relics by taking the watch during the night, and tried twice to move the lid on the tomb, to no avail. The lid did not budge, and the reliquary 'stuck fast as if rooted to the earth; it was not able to be moved, nor

[46] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.I.12 (col. 615D) (translation mine). *Ad hæc ille respondit: Monasterium sancti Andreæ vides, cujus honori habetur quidem dedicatum. Sancta quoque Lewinna virgo et martyr ibidem corpore requiescat. Quæ quanti sit, et cujus meriti cælestis virtus per eam omni die ostendit*.
[47] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.I.13 (col. 615D-E).
[48] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.I.14 (col. 615F).

to be lifted, nor to be turned on its side in any direction'.[49] As a last resort, in supplication, he knelt before the tomb, and 'picked up a leather strap (*corrigiam*), tied it around his neck, and placed its end over the reliquary...and he said 'Take me, my venerable virgin, as your servant in perpetuity; only allow yourself to be moved, allow yourself to be led away, allow yourself to be carried to a better height and veneration of your status and to be borne to the devotion of greater service.'[50] Only then, 'trembling at these words, and kneeling in submission', was he able to place his hand 'on the tomb', and 'he immediately lifted the reliquary'.[51] Praying next to the tomb, Balgerus gave thanks to God, though he still wrestled with the idea of stealing the holy relics. As he prayed, he fell asleep next to the tomb; in a dream, Lewinna appeared to him, saying 'arise, take me up, I say, and have me as a companion for your journey'.[52] When Balgerus awoke, he finished his prayers, and again he approached the lid of Lewinna's tomb. Lifting it, he gathered the bones from inside. As he did, some of the smaller bones fell, and even though he retrieved them, they kept falling from his hands. After the third time, it became clear to Balgerus that Lewinna wanted these bones to stay where they were, where they had finished their life and had originally been buried.[53]

Balgerus wrapped the rest of the bones in a linen cloth (*linteolo*), and sent them ahead to the ship on which he had arrived in Sussex. He, however, remained in his temporary lodging, in order to allay suspicion and increase his chances of making

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[49] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ,* i.I.17 (col. 616B) (translation mine). *Sed acsi terræ radicitus hæreret, moveri non potuit, non elevari, non aliquorsum in latera flecti*.
[50] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ,* ii.I.18 (col. 616E) (translation mine). *Corrigiam unam sumit, collo suo circumligat summitatesque ejus super loculum Sanctæ Dei ponit. Suscipe ait, mi venerabilis Virgo, me perpetuo servum; tantum sine te moveri, sine abduci, sine ad melioris altitudinem ac venerationem tui honoris, atque ad amplioris servitii devotionem deferri.*
[51] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ,* i.II.19 (col. 616E) (translation mine). *Ad hæc tremens, supplexque apposuit manum, ac ilicet elevavit loculum.*
[52] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ,* i.II.19 (col. 616F) (translation mine). *Cum ecce sancta virgo Lewinna sibi apparuit. Surge ait, me me accipito, me, inquam, comitem tui itineris habeto*.
[53] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ,* i.II.20 (col. 617A).

a clean escape.[54] That night, a terrible storm hit with thunderous fury, destroying houses and terrifying the people of the town.[55] The sailors on the ship that held Lewinna's relics were frightened, because they were stuck in a fjord with high cliffs surrounding them, and the waves threatened to overtake them. They debated what to do: should they stay in the fjord, or brave the open seas where they might be safer? One of the sailors suggested throwing the contents of the ship overboard, especially Balgerus' bag (*zaberna*) containing the relics, although Drogo of Bergues makes it clear that they did not know what was in the bag.[56] Another sailor, however, stopped him, promising that God would protect them, and that they would return prosperous (with all their goods) to their homeland.[57]

The faithful thief, in the meantime, had again fallen asleep. In another dream, he was visited by Lewinna and promised that tomorrow the storm would cease and they would be able to leave.[58] And so it was: as the next day dawned, the winds were in their favour and they were able to sail away, with the relics on board. Because of all the delays, however, they lacked the appropriate amount of supplies for the rest of the journey, and so at a nearby port, known for its supplies, they stopped, and the monk went ashore to help buy some fish. When he came back to the beach, however, high seas prevented him from regaining his place, and he was forced to watch the ship sail away without him, with the relics on board.[59] Coming to another port, the sailors who held the relics now met with some friendly merchants, who took the monk's belongings, including the relics, with them to Flanders; when Balgerus rejoined the

[54] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.II.21 (col. 617A-B).
[55] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.II.21 (col. 617B).
[56] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.II.22 (col. 617B-C) (translation mine). *Nescimus quæ sancta huc noster monachus misit.*
[57] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.II.22 (col. 617C).
[58] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.II.23 (col. 617D).
[59] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.III.26 (col. 618B).

ship at the next port, the relics were already on their way back to Flanders with the other merchants.[60]

On the way to Flanders, a strange episode happened. The sea went calm, and all the sailors fell asleep, including the helmsman who was guiding the ship on its course.[61] Drogo writes that at this moment, Lewinna appeared, and guided the ship while the sailors slept. She 'held the rudder, ruled the ship, steered the oars, and was there filling all the offices of the ship'.[62] This she did until the morning, when the sailors awoke. Soon they reached their destination on the coast of Flanders. When they reached the port, the sailors entrusted the relics, along with the rest of Balgerus's belongings, to the wife of a ship's captain that they knew there.[63] 'As soon as the report reached his ears' that the ship had come into port, Balgerus, who had already arrived back in Flanders, asked the sailors on the ship which had brought him which house belonged to the merchant who captained the ship. He went to the house, but the merchant was out, and the wife refused to give Balgerus his possessions. Drogo seems to presume that the wife had been forbidden to give away any of the monk's belongings because the captain could have sold them for money. Balgerus, however, convinced the wife that she could 'keep everything else that is here as a pledge'. In return, the wife promised that she would return the rest of Balgerus's belongings when her husband gave her permission to do so. In the end, the wife 'gave him only what she held in less esteem, what she considered the least worthy among the other things. She brought out that item which was above all the precious gold, roused by

[60] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.III.27 (col. 617C).
[61] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.III.31-32 (col. 618F-619B).
[62] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.III.31 (col. 618F) (translation mine). *Tu clavum teneas, tu navim regas, tu administres rudentes, tu omnibus carinæ officiis adsis præsens*.
[63] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, i.III.32 (col. 619B).

the sign in heaven [the bag containing the relics]. Then he lifted it up...and hung it from his neck'.[64]

Shortly thereafter, Balgerus returned to Saint-Winnoc, where the relics were welcomed in an *adventus*. The relics were met outside of Bergues by the prior of Saint-Winnoc, who examined the relics and verified their authenticity. After the *adventus*, the relics were deposited in a wooden reliquary decorated with silver and gold, and a bishop, named in the text as Bovo, performed a solemn ceremony to that effect. The authentication process ended when Bovo read aloud one of the *cartula* stolen from England with the relics, which stated Lewinna had lived 'under the king of the Angles called Tubert' and had 'ended her life in martyrdom, during the lifetime of the archbishop Theodore. Whence, after the passing of much time, with God revealing [it], her body was raised from the earth by the bishop Edelmo, a great multitude of people being present, and thus with worthy honour was brought inside the minster'.[65] Lewinna's relics were welcomed with another *adventus* in Bruges, where they were 'received with the greatest jubilation of the clergy and the people' as 'the procession encountered the inhabitants on the road outside the castle'.[66]

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[64] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ,* i.III.33-34 (col. 619B-C) (translation mine). *Tradidit itaque mulier quod vilipendebat, quod vilius inter ceteras res putabat. Ille vero super omne aurum pretiosius quidem, cælitus signis exagitatus ducebat. Suscipit igitur illud, famulique sui, qui secum ierat, collo suspendit. Nam uterque pedes ierat. Amor enim et desiderium, quod erga sanctæ Virginis ossa habebat, ut pedes iret effecerat*

[65] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* i.IV.38 (col. 620B) translation by Defries, *Constructing the past*, p. 209. Tubert is likely Ecgberht of Kent (as identified by Defries), who reigned 644-73. Theodore was the archbishop of Canterbury from 669-90. The bishop Edelmo is likely Eadhelm of Selsey (956/63-979/80).

[66] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* ii.II.61 (col. 625D).

Lewinna's cult and the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* were examined in detail by historian David Defries. In his unpublished doctoral thesis and a corresponding article, Defries analyses the construction of a communal memory that was centred in part on the cult of St Lewinna at Bergues; this identity was built through the production of hagiographical writings, of which the *Historia translationis* forms one part. Defries is thus primarily concerned with Drogo of Bergues' narrative style and its impact on both the literary structure of the story of Lewinna's translation and the historical accuracy of the text.[67] The most valuable effect of this analysis is Defries' examination of the literary influences on Drogo's text; in this, Defries is quite thorough.

Defries also applies the liminal model to Lewinna's *translatio*, writing that 'both the *Historia translationis'*s account of Lewinna's *furtum sacrum* and Drogo's literary strategy become more intelligible...after the application of van Gennep's model. The model helps assess the function of major events in the narrative.'[68] While he does concede that 'there is no evidence that either Drogo or his contemporaries thought in terms of rite of passage', he nevertheless proceeds to apply the liminal model to Lewinna's translation.[69] Defries gives a long explanation of the model's significance that bears citing in full:

> According to the model, Balger initiated Lewinna's passage from the status of patron saint of the community at *Seuordt* to patron saint of the community at Bergues. Whether the account of his pleading with the saint and her subsequent permission to

[67] Defries, *Constructing the Past*, pp. 211-21, where Defries compares the *Historia translations s. Lewinnæ* to Vergil's *Aeneid* and other historical texts.
[68] Defries, *Constructing the Past*, p. 229.
[69] Defries, *Constructing the Past*, p. 229.

> remove her relics was part of his own report or Drogo's addition, it was an element that the *Historia translationis'*s audience would have expected from a *furtum sacrum*. Broadly speaking, it was a 'rite' of separation. The violent disturbance in the natural world signalled her entrance into the perilous state of liminality. The sailors' debate over whether or not they should throw the container with her relics into the sea demonstrated her change in state. The sailors would not have dared to suggest such an action had they known that the container held the relics of a saint. In the container in which Balger had hidden her, Lewinna was anonymous, no longer recognized as a patron saint because the monk could not reveal her true status for fear of being discovered… [In the final stage,] In Flanders, the saint was received by a delegation led by the prior, then honored by an *adventus* conducted by Abbot Rumold, then solemnly honored by a *depositio* presided over by the Saxon bishop Bovo. The ecclesiastical authorities who confirmed her status as saint became progressively more prestigious. Each stage was a rite of incorporation, particularly the *adventus* and *depositio*, which were traditional liturgical celebrations to greet the arrival of a new saint.[70]

In this way, the translation of Lewinna's relics were the translation of Lewinna herself as patron saint from Sussex to Bergues. It was the personality of the saint that went through the three stages of the liminal model (separation, liminality, incorporation) in much the same way that a pilgrim might. She separated herself from the community that venerated her at Sussex (either by allowing herself to be stolen or by expressing her willingness to leave in the visions that Balgerus has of her); she went through a liminal period, where the sailors seem to not know her identity and she was separated from the only person who did know her; and she was finally recognized by her new community as a patron saint with the *adventus*. As such, Defries seems to give an appropriate and accurate analysis of Lewinna's translation from one community to another, as presented by Drogo of Bergues.

[70] Defries, *Constructing the Past*, pp. 229-30.

Questions remain, however. What exactly is happening during the initial exchange between Balgerus and the monk in Sussex, when Balgerus attempts to buy the relics or trade for them and is rebuffed? Why is this included in the account and why does it not work? Why does Lewinna 'choose' to leave some of her bones behind in Sussex? Why, when Balgerus is separated from the relics on the ship, do the sailors try to throw the relics overboard? Why do they give the relics to other Flemish merchants, and how can they trust that the relics will, in fact, be returned to Balgerus? In the exchange with the captain's wife in Flanders, moreover, why does she refuse to give Balgerus the relics (or any of his belongings), and why in the end does she give him the relics alone, even though she still does not know what they are?

All of these questions point to two interrelated issues. The first is that this analysis ignores the dual nature of relics as both the personified presence of the saint, and an object.

Fig. 3.3: Changes to Status during Lewinna's *Furtum Sacrum*-Liminal Model

Phase of Passage	**Phase of Furta Sacra**	**Status of Relics (Social)**	**Status of Relics (Thing)**
Separation	Theft	known, established	person and object
Margin/Limen	Journey	in doubt	object
Reaggregation	*Adventus* (*Delatio* possible)	known, but not established	person and object

It is important, therefore, to examine those points in the narrative when Lewinna is said to appear, and when her relics are functioning more as objects. In a related way, the liminal model also ignores the status of the relics themselves as either inalienable possessions or as commodities. The status of the relics fluctuates throughout the narrative; we should therefore also pay attention to how the people in the narrative are interacting with the relics and how they perceive the status of the relics at specific points in the narrative. In so doing, we should get a fuller understanding of the ways

in which the relics were exchanged and how people interacted with relics during their movement.

Let us consider the relic trade between England and Flanders first, which might help to explain how the relics were transferred from England to Flanders through the mechanisms described in the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*. This is addressed briefly by Defries. When arguing that the account Drogo created must have been at least mostly truthful to the events as they happened (or were thought to have happened), Defries argues that 'Drogo could not have expected an entirely fabricated account to avoid detection by his contemporaries'. This is because if the relics were proved inauthentic, they would no longer be an economic draw; thus the other monasteries in the region, with rival relics and acting as alternative pilgrimage destinations, would have had a sizeable motive in ensuring the veracity of both the relics and the account of their acquisition. Ensuring the veracity of the translation's account would not, as Defries argues, have been difficult:

> Although Drogo claimed that he described the English port into which Balger's ship sailed 'since he spoke to ones unfamiliar' (*ut nescientibus loquatur*), he probably meant only that they were unfamiliar with that specific port…Also, the *Historia translationis* describes Balger as 'known there [in England] to the king, queen, and equally to several princes of the land'…This too indicates close relations. In order to ensure acceptance of Lewinna's authenticity, Drogo had to construct an account that people familiar with southern England would have found at least plausible, if not verifiable.[71]

As Defries alludes to, we might be able to infer that there were established trading networks between England and Flanders in the mid-eleventh century, and that relics

[71] Defries, *Constructing the Past*, pp. 223-5.

might have functioned as one of the commodities traded in said network. There is some evidence to support these two ideas.

While it is difficult for the historian to gauge the precise nature and extent of cross-Channel trade at this particular moment, largely because of the dearth of sources in the time immediately before and after the Norman Conquest in 1066, there is some evidence to support the idea that such trade existed. I have tried, in various ways, to piece together some ideas as to how the Church and the merchant communities on both sides of the Channel might have interacted in the mid-eleventh century. First, we must understand what the economy was like on each side of the Channel. Second, we should examine the trade networks that existed between England and Flanders leading up to and into the eleventh century. We can also examine the place of relics within this trading network, through examination of the relic policies of rulers on both sides of the channel, as well as the participation of monasteries in trading networks.

Throughout the early medieval period in western Europe, one of the most marked economic changes was the development of the market-based economy. Previously based on an institutional allocative system, the economic system until the ninth century was one in large part built on the idea of gift exchange, where regional leaders would dictate the exchange and distribution of goods. By the turn of the millennium, however, both sides of the Channel had developed a market economy based on the exchange of commodities and trade; by the twelfth and thirteenth centuries Flanders had one of the strongest economies in Europe.[72] We have seen this turn in the exchange of relics as well. What I will consider here is the wider economic changes and the influence of trade and trade networks on the development

[72] For more on the economy in early medieval Flanders, see D. Nicholas, *Medieval Flanders* (London, 1992), pp. 21-38; for the economy in high medieval Flanders, see ibid., pp. 124-79.

of the market economy. Historians and archaeologists have long argued over the basic causes behind the emergence of a market-based system in medieval Europe. Some scholars, led in part by D.C. North, have argued that markets emerged in the twelfth century due to falling transaction costs 'that made market-based exchange more attractive than other allocative systems'.[73] As S.R.H. Jones summarises, the basic idea behind North's theory is that 'transaction costs fell as property rights became more clearly specified, as governments provided a framework of law and order conducive to orderly contracting, and as the use of money became more extensive'.[74] In other words, markets arose as land ownership laws were clarified, and governments stabilized enough that trust could be placed in the hands of merchants, whom one could have the confidence in to safely and quickly transport goods from one point to another, thus producing more monetary transactions (money being more easily transported in exchange for goods) and then falling transaction costs. The problem is that such an argument does not entirely explain why certain societies, especially Anglo-Saxon England, changed from their traditional economic models to a market system.

What economists like North are missing, therefore, is the historical context behind falling transaction costs. Jones offers a more compelling argument, where successful exploitation of natural resources in England, combined with changes in institutional structures, marked the difference from an economy of gift-exchange to a market economy. This institutional change was brought about in large part by the

[73] S.R.H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs, Institutional Change, and the Emergence of a Market Economy in Later Anglo-Saxon England', *Economic History Review* XLVI:4 (1993), p. 659; see also D.C. North, 'Transaction Costs in History', *Journal of European Economic History* 14 (1985), pp. 557-76; D.C. North, *Structure and Change in Economic History* (New York, 1981); D.C. North, 'Markets and Other Allocation Systems in History: the challenge of Karl Polanyi', *Journal of European Economic History* 6 (1977), pp. 703-16; D.C. North and R.P. Thomas, 'The Rise and Fall of the Manorial System: a theoretical model', *Journal of Economic History* 31 (1971), pp. 777-803.
[74] S.R.H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs', p. 659.

invasions of foreign powers, especially the Danes. Economists refer to such relatively quick changes in institutional structures as 'emergency conversion', when 'primitive societies which normally rely on traditional means of allocation and distribution are forced to trade in the market-place in order to acquire the resources to overcome some cataclysmic event', such as the Danish invasions of the English island and the European continent.[75] Thus, as Jones argues, there occurred between the ninth and tenth centuries an 'emergency conversion' from a gift-based economy to a market-based economy, as western European rulers adapted to the high *gelds* imposed by the Danish invaders, and the high costs of defense. This 'emergency conversion' took place 'on an unprecedented scale as the population struggled to acquire the means with which to pay tribute and mount defense'. In this new system, 'transaction costs fell as institutions were modified and this acted as a further stimulus to specialization and exchange'.[76] In other words, as the Vikings invaded, the costs associated with defending existing institutions and people rose to such an extent that rulers had to turn to money and markets in order to raise enough cash.[77] This 'emergency conversion' then strengthened the governmental structures enough that trust was established in trading networks and transaction costs fell. At least on the English side of the Channel, by the turn of the millennium the English had adopted a market-based economic system that relied on trade and in no small part on money to exist.

On the other side of the channel, it has been argued that the emergence of trading networks and a market economy was encouraged by the existence and rise of emporia. These emporia were strategically planned, mostly secular, trading towns

[75] S.R.H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs', p. 660.
[76] S.R.H. Jones, 'Transaction Costs', pp. 660-1.
[77] See also S. Coupland, *Carolingian Coinage and the Vikings: Studies on Power and Trade in the Ninth Century* (London, 2007); and Verhulst, *The Carolingian Economy*.

that were built on important waterways or coastal areas.[78] In Flanders emporia functioned very well and grew substantially in the centuries leading up to the new millennium. In part this was because the Flemish produced very little, even of subsistence goods, because of the nature of their land and a rise in population at that time.[79] This is echoed by Loveluck and Tys, who argue that 'since inhabitants of coastal zones often lived in marginal landscapes, housing a limited range of crops, animals, or products, it can be expected that specialist activities would have developed for the purpose of exchange'.[80] While attempts were made throughout the eleventh century to re-claim land for use in farming, these were not always successful. At the same time, changes in the coastline would cause certain cities, most notably Bruges, Thérouanne and Cassel to become port cities, navigable by river, thus increasing the tendencies toward trading for both necessities and luxury items.

It would seem economically natural that trade would develop and blossom between Flanders and Anglo-Saxon England in the ninth and tenth centuries, as both societies independently adopted and converted to market economies, and because of their geographical proximity. This was furthered by close relations between the royal families of the two regions. Inter-marriage occurred occasionally: Ælfthryth (877-929), the daughter of Alfred the Great, married Baldwin II, Count of Flanders (d. 918), who was therefore the brother-in-law of Edward the Elder (*c*. 874-877-924) and Æthelred of Mercia (d. 911) and shared some political goals with them. Leaders of one also sheltered the leaders of the other occasionally, as happened when Emma (*c*.

[78] For more on emporia and for this particular theory of the rise of market economies in Francia, see R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economies* (1982); R. Hodges and B. Hobley (eds.), *The Rebirth of Towns in the West, A.D. 700-1050* (1988); and R. Hodges and D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe* (1983).
[79] D. Nicholas, 'Of Poverty and Primacy: demand, liquidity, and the Flemish economic miracle, 1050-1200', *The American Historical Review* 96:1 (1991), pp. 17-41, at p. 19.
[80] C. Loveluck and D. Tys, 'Coastal Societies, Exchange and Identity along the Channel and Southern North Sea Shores of Europe, AD 600-1000', *Journal of Maritime Archaeology* 1 (2006), p. 143.

985-1052), wife of Æthelred the Unready (*c*. 968 – 1016) and Cnut the Great (*c*. 985 or 995-1035), went into exile in Flanders under the protection of Count Baldwin V of Flanders (1012-1067). That relationship was mutually beneficial, as the Count of Flanders was then involved in a war in the Hainaut region with the Holy Roman Emperor Henry III, and he needed support (or at least to protect himself) from the English. Because emporia on the Flemish side were mostly royal endeavours, founded and built up by royal decree, trade between the Anglo-Saxons and the Flemish was, in some ways, part of a 'command' social economy.[81]

By the twelfth century many monasteries were directly involved in trade, either by owning ships that were used to export goods produced on monastic lands, or by importing and buying luxury goods for use in the monastery.[82] Many Flemish and French monastic communities had been granted trading privileges and tax exemptions on English rivers, as cited by R. Miller:

> The Cistercians of St Mary des Dunes, diocese of Bruges, were granted (1187) freedom from 'toll and passage [money] and pontage payment for crossing…[and] permission to make new ships, [and] sell old ones…for their own use'. The monks of Mountebourg received 'all dues wheresoever they go, or buy or sell or convey anything that their men can declare to be for the monks'. The Scottish King David offered similar privileges to the Abbey of Tiron (1124-41). The Abbey of St Peter's Ghent was given (1081) '…within London, the land which King Edward gave them, namely…the wharf [*huevo*]…and wharfage [*huervagio*]. The monks of Abingdon (1110) 'have their customs from ships passing on the river [Thames], whether in herrings or in the right to buy goods…' The monks, houses, goods, and men of

[81] C. Loveluck, *Northwest Europe in the Early Middle Ages, c. AD 600-1150* (Cambridge, 2013), pp. 17-18.

[82] For more on the economy and trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, see: A. Bell and R. Dale, 'The Medieval Pilgrimage Business', *Enterprise and Society* 12:3 (2011), pp. 601-27; N. Sussman and N. Gandal, 'Asymmetric Information and Commodity Money: tickling the tolerance in medieval France', *Journal of Money, Credit and Banking* 29:4 (1997), pp. 440-57; S. Ogilvie, 'The Economics of Guilds', *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28:4 (2014), pp. 169-92; and C. Bouchard, *Holy Entrepreneurs: Cistercians, Knights and Economic Exchange in Twelfth-Century Burgundy* (London, 1991).

> Citeaux (1131) were quit of 'toll, passage, and pontage', especially in Southampton, Hastings, Dover, Barfleur, Caen, Ouistreham, and Dieppe.[83]

Clearly many of these rights were granted in the centuries after the eleventh, but what we see in the above is a tendency, even in the eleventh century, to grant some economic rights to 'foreign' monasteries, usually because of personal ties of patronage.

Some monasteries even 'owned' the ports that were near or tied to their monasteries, from which they could land and launch ships to transport their goods and people. Ownership of ports is just one way that monasteries established themselves as integral parts of trading networks. We might therefore understand that the 'port' in which the sailors land before stealing away Lewinna's relics to have belonged to the Minster of St Andrew. In this case, the sailors might have known some of the monks in that community, or there may have been political or economic ties from that community with Flemish communities like Bergues. While Drogo of Bergues is adamant that the sailors stumbled upon the port in a storm, it is possible that they could have targeted the monastery, knowing that it held relics that were unknown elsewhere and vulnerable to theft and re-establishment in a different community. Unfortunately, we cannot be certain of any of these ideas.

It would seem, however, that by the eleventh century there were established trading networks between Flanders and England, networks that corresponded with deeply established political ties between the leaders of the two countries. Monasteries were also an integral part of these two networks, as is apparent in the *Historia*

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[83] R. Miller, 'The Early Medieval Seaman and the Church: contacts ashore', *The Mariner's Mirror* 89:2 (2003), pp. 134-5. For St Mary des Dunes, see J.H. Round (ed.), *Calendar of Documents Preserved in France*, vol. 1 (1899), p. 497, col. 1364; for Mountebourg, see ibid., p. 319, col. 896; for Tiron, see ibid., p. 357, col. 1010; for St Peter's Ghent, see ibid., p. 502, col. 1375; for Abingdon, see H.W.C. Davis (ed.), *Regesta regum Anglo-Normannorum 1066-1154* (1913), II, p. 91, col. 937 and J.E. Field, 'The Beginning of Abingdon Abbey', *EHR* XX (1905), pp. 693-7, at p. 693; and for Citeaux, see Davis, *Regesta*, II, p. 254, col. 1720.

translationis. Balgerus was said to have been known to the rulers of England; it is possible that the relics were soon known to the rulers of Flanders as well. Certainly we have evidence of the Count and Countess, Baldwin V and his wife Adela, being intimately involved with the production of relic cults in the region at the same time. During the *delatio* of St Ursmer just two years after the translation and *delatio* of Lewinna, the monks there deliberately targeted the comital court for support and received it, lodging at Veurne under the Countess's orders and receiving public support from Count Baldwin in a miraculous episode at Bergues.[84] While the evidence is circumstantial at best, we might surmise that there are some political and economic networks evidenced here that Balgerus and the other monks of Bergues are present within.

Not only is Balgerus said to have been known to the rulers of both countries, as we noted above, but in his attempts to barter with the monks of St Andrew's he was relying on the assumption that the monastery would have had economic interests in Flemish goods for which the relics could be traded. That he is rebuffed could be literary license on Drogo's part, or a customary social response dictated by tradition (that relics should not be traded as other commodities were). Certainly most medieval theologians and writers had reservations about trading relics, especially when they were bought or sold. As established in Chapter 2, most of these concerns centred on how to establish the proper value of a set of relics, without which one would not know what objects to offer in return, as they would need to be of a corresponding value. This is probably one of the reasons that Balgerus was rebuffed by the monk of St Andrews.

[84] *Miracula s. Ursmari,* ii.8-10, cols. 576A-C.

In the end, however, the socio-economic significance of the initial offer to buy the relics remains unexplained. On the one hand, Geary argued that the sale of relics only happened when there were no social relations present between the two parties, and when the parties did not inherently trust each other.[85] This is clearly not the case with Lewinna's relics, for although Drogo claims that the relics and the minster were unknown to him, it seems unlikely that the minster had *no* relations with other Flemish monasteries or that Bergues was unknown to them. Furthermore, although he is rebuffed in his initial offer, the other monks allow him to stay on and Balgerus remains there for a least a few more days to complete his theft. It is more likely that the sale of the relics does not work because of the differences between the two cultures. Certainly on the continent, it may be that the sale of relics was frowned upon culturally, as asserted by Geary. On the other hand, in England it seems significantly more difficult to justify the theft of relics to English audiences, as we saw above. A sale of the relics might have seemed like a good compromise to Balgerus and to the Sussex community, even though it did not work.

Geary also contends that theft was preferable in these situations as an economic transaction because it offered a way to acquire relics without the social ties common in gift exchange.[86] However, I would argue that this is not the case in the theft of Lewinna's relics. First, Balgerus does not make a clean break with the community. Some of Lewinna's bones are left at the Minster of St Andrews, forever tying her to that community in Sussex. This would imply that the relics were somehow thought of as inalienable possessions; she belonged to the Sussex community in a similar way as she would later belong to St Winnoc. Moreover,

[85] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', pp. 184-5.
[86] Geary, 'Sacred Commodities', p. 173.

leaving the relics behind tied the two communities together in a way that would be similar to the social ties created through gift exchange.[87] It also means that the status of Lewinna's relics, and her value, would always be affected in some way by the fact that there were still relics at her previous community, a place where she had been known to work miracles.

Secondly, clues exist during Lewinna's journey as to the economic networks that tied the two communities together. I return to the questions I asked at the beginning of this section: how did the sailors know that in leaving the relics, and the rest of Balgerus' belongings, with the other sailors in England, that the relics would reach Flanders and Balgerus safely? It would seem that the other sailors *must* have been known to them and somehow known to Balgerus as well. This could be the reason that Balgerus is able to find the merchant's wife to recover the relics towards the end of the narrative; it would also explain why the sailors trusted the merchants with the relics in the first place.

During the three phases of the *furtum sacrum*, the status of the relics (and their identity within the bag) remains known at least to someone throughout. There is no point when the object-hood of the relics is entirely separated from the person of the saint. This would account for Lewinna's appearance on the ship, for although the sailors do not see her, her presence is imbued in the relics during the journey. In addition, while the economic status of the relics does fluctuate throughout the journey, at no point is the value of the relics completely in doubt.

[87] It is unfortunately unknown what the Sussex monks thought about the relics that were left behind, as there is no further record of the cult in either Sussex or Flanders outside of the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*.

Fig. 3.4: Changes to Status during Lewinna's *Furtum Sacrum*			
Phase of Furta Sacra	**Status of Relics (Thing)**	**Status of Relics (Social)**	**Status of Relics (Economic)**
Theft	person and object	known to all at Sussex	inalienable possession of Sussex community
Journey	person and object	known to Balgerus, perhaps to merchant's wife	commodity
Adventus (*Delatio* possible)	person and object	known to Sussex and Bergues	inalienable commodity (yet to be established fully and tied to Bergues)

Even during the journey, their value is always known to Balgerus, and there is an implied sense that the merchant's wife has some idea that she holds items of value. This does not even account for the fact that their value would have been understood by their communities at Sussex and at St Winnoc. Instead of completely disappearing, the value of the relics could be understood rather as moving along the sliding scale, from an inalienable possession of Sussex (above normal economic exchange of sale or barter), through the theft (which still maintains the inalienable quality in some respect as an item of the Sussex community), where the relics functioned just as other commodities being traded, through to the establishment of the relics as a valued item at Bergues (although their status was still in doubt until Lewinna performed a miracle).

Conclusion

Relic thefts were ritual movements not unique unto themselves. Along with the other types of relic movements such as *translationes* and *delationes*, the ritual demonstrates

how relics functioned within the social economy of northwest Europe in the High Middle Ages. While relics were stolen with some frequency, once they entered the means of exchange they did so in the same ways as other relics. As inalienable commodities, they retained some of their social meaning during the movement, while also having to be re-established at their new home. In this way, the liminal model as applied by Geary and Defries does not apply to the *furta sacra* ritual, as we have seen in this chapter. This is primarily due to the fact that once stolen, the relics entered the same trading system as other relics, and were exchanged in the same ways. Relic thefts were thus also trades of relics, because they inevitably tied together the two communities, often for decades or centuries, as the two fought over who was the rightful owner of the relics. The production of hagiographies could aid in this endeavour, and often proved to decide the winner. These trades will be discussed in more detail in the following two chapters, but it is necessary here to say that by the beginning of the eleventh century, relic thefts had established in part a clear trading network that was then used by monastic communities to transport relics with increasing frequency after the turn of the millennium.

4. Hidden Relics and Translations during the Viking Age, 700-1050

In 793, a group of pirates, likely sailing from Denmark, made an audacious attack on the monastery at Lindisfarne, on the northern coast of Northumbria. The attack was so sudden, and so devastating to the small community who lived on the island, that news quickly spread throughout the rest of Europe. Alcuin (735-804), the leading theologian and scholar at the court of Charlemagne (*c.* 747-814), who was set to visit the court of Offa, king of the Mercians (r. 757-796), instead chose to remain abroad in Francia.[1] The monastery at Lindisfarne contained the relics of St Cuthbert, and was home to one of the largest saints' cults in England. Alcuin lamented about the destruction of this Christian site to other leaders of the time. To Bishop Higbald of Lindisfarne, Alcuin wrote that the 'tribulation and calamity that have afflicted you give me great sorrow, even though I am not there, seeing that the heathen have polluted the sanctuaries of God, and shed the blood of the saints around the altar, and trampled the bodies of saints in the temple like dung in the street'. He finished by questioning, 'where can the churches of Britain place their trust if St Cuthbert and so great a company of saints do not defend their own church?'[2]

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[1] *GRA*; trans. Giles, p. 66. *...nesciens quid fecissem inter eos, inter quos nullus securus esse, vel in salubri consilio proficere, potest.* This is copied directly from Alcuin's letters; for more on how William is using Alcuin's letters, see R.M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 1987; rev. 2003), pp. 154-167. Alcuin, *Epistolæ*, ed. E. Dummler, *MGH Epistolæ*, iv, pp. 1-481, 614-16; this is letter vii (p. 32, lines 7-11, 14-20, 25-8). For more on William of Malmesbury, see S.O. Sønnesyn, *William of Malmesbury and the Ethics of History* (Woodbridge, 2012); Thomson, *William of Malmesbury*; and K.A. Fenton, *Gender, Nation and Conquest in the Works of William of Malmesbury* (Woodbridge, 2008).

[2] *GPA*, iii.127; trans. Winterbottom, pp. 407-9. *Vestræ karitatis familiaritas presentem me multum letificare solebat, sed uersa uice uestre tribulationis calamitas, licet absentem, multum me contristat, quod pagani contaminauerunt sanctuaria Dei, et fuderunt sanguinem sanctorum in circuitu altaris, calcauerunt corpora sanctorum in templo quasi sterquilinium in platea. Que est fidutia æcclesiis Britanniæ, si sanctus Cuthbertus cum tanto sanctorum numero suam non defendit ecclsiam?* Alcuin, *Epist*., xx (p. 57, lines 1-8).

William's inclusion of Alcuin's letters reflects the image, common in his contemporaries' minds, of these Scandinavian armies as pagans, interested only in looting and desecrating the churches of Europe. By the time William was writing, there was little evidence to suggest that the pirates from the north had been interested in stealing the bones of the saints. William knew, however, that as the invasion had spread throughout the rest of Europe, the attacks did, however, focus on economic centres. These centres were often monasteries and cathedrals, which had been filled over the course of centuries with both economic and heavenly treasures.[3] That these two types of treasure became conflated in the minds of European writers at the time must be assumed, as there seems to be few distinctions in twelfth-century accounts between the golden gem-encrusted reliquaries and the bones within.

The fear that the invaders might steal or destroy the bones of the saints pervades both the accounts written during the invasions and those written in subsequent centuries. The loss of a set of relics had numerous and disastrous consequences for a monastic community: the possible loss of lands that were tied to the patrimony of the saint, the certain loss of income as the pilgrim trade died in that area or was diverted elsewhere, and the probable loss of political clout with secular leaders. At the same time as this fear dictated the choices of the communities, clerics well-understood that the process of hiding relics, of removing the saint from its community and its patrimony, was very dangerous. Moving relics brought many risks, including that the relics might be stolen from the original community. Moreover, the removal of the relics also removed the security that was felt to be brought about by the presence of the saints' relics, leading some laity to complain to

[3] S. Coupland, 'Holy Ground? The plundering and burning of churches by Vikings and Franks in the ninth century', *Viator* 45:1 (2014), pp. 73-98, at pp. 81-91.

monastic communities that they were being abandoned when the relics were removed, and left to the trials and tribulations brought about by the invading forces.[4] It would seem, therefore, that only the most heinous and treacherous of invasions or attacks would have allowed for the relics to be removed, even temporarily, from their shrines.

The motivations for particular relic movements during this period can be unclear. There is some evidence to show that later Frankish and Anglo-Norman hagiographers were wont to blame the loss of a set of relics on a Viking attack, as opposed to a decline in circumstances caused by monastic mismanagement.[5] There is also an argument that some hagiographers in the eleventh and twelfth centuries were more likely to state that the church that had housed the relics had fallen into disrepair because it had been abandoned after a Viking attack; this carried with it a much less significant degree of condemnation, as it could not be blamed on 'sinful' behaviour, nor was it the fault of the community itself. Alternatively, other later hagiographers, especially after the Benedictine and Cluniac reforms, were more likely to argue the opposite, namely, that the community had not been attacked by the Vikings, but that it had been mismanaged by its former community and needed to be rescued from its 'sinful' state by incorporation into the Benedictine or Cluniac monastic fold. The written accounts of *translationes* during this period are therefore difficult to analyse, as they can contain contradictions or outline alternative realities to other accounts or to archaeological evidence.[6]

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[4] See S. Coupland, 'The Rod of God's Wrath or the People of God's Wrath? The Carolingian theology of the Viking invasions', *JEH* 42:4 (1991), pp. 535-54, at p. 551, and also *Vita sancti Gildarid*, *Analecta Bollandiana* VIII (1889), pp. 404-5; *Translatio sancti Germani* c. 8, *Analecta Bollandiana* II (1889), p. 75.

[5] See the discussion below.

[6] This is the argument made for France by A.T. Jones, 'Pitying the Desolation of Such a Place: rebuilding religious houses and constructing memory in Aquitaine in the wake of the Viking incursions', *Viator: Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 37 (2006), pp. 85-102; and for England by J. Barrow, 'Danish Ferocity and Abandoned Monasteries: the twelfth-century view', in M. Brett and D.A. Woodman (eds.), *The Long Twelfth-Century View of the Anglo-Saxon Past* (Ashgate, 2015), pp. 77-93.

This chapter will address the process of hiding relics from sight, or of moving relics for protection, primarily in the face of the Viking invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries and the subsequent land disputes that this chaos caused.[7] Relics were physically hidden by their communities in two ways. In the first type, the relics were moved temporarily, usually as an intra-site translation, and then returned to their original position through another intra-site translation once the danger had passed. In the second type, the relics were moved to another location, either temporarily or permanently, through a regional translation. Both types had different dangers associated with them. Intra-site translations could result in the relics being lost, if the knowledge of where they had been buried was not retained by members of the community. Regional translations also held some danger, as they could result in the relics being stolen by the new community.

Throughout this chapter the discussion will focus on the economic and political interests at stake in the process of hiding relics. After all, hiding relics meant the immediate (and sometimes prolonged) loss of income, protection, and political and economic authority for the monastery. It was against the monastery's own economic interest to hide the relics away from view, and to limit the amount and types of exchanges that could occur with the relics. In the end, the movement of relics to hide them from a threat, whether real or imagined, was an action that was

[7] For a good general history of the period, see R. McKitterick (ed.), *The Early Middle Ages: Europe 400-1000* (Oxford, 2001); D. Rollason, *Early Medieval Europe 300-1050: The Birth of Western Society* (Oxford, 2012); D. Power (ed.), *The Central Middle Ages: Europe 950-1320* (Oxford, 2006); and R. Bartlett, *The Making of Europe: Conquest, Colonization and Cultural Change 950-1350* (London, 1994). For general overviews of the Viking period and its historiography, see C.P. Wormald, 'Viking Studies: whence and whither?', *The Vikings* 742 (1982), pp. 128-53; D. Hadley and J. Richards (eds.), *Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries* (Turnhout, 2000); J. Renaud, *Les Vikings en France* (Rennes, 2000); J.D. Richards, *The Vikings: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford, 2005); T.D. Kendrick, *A History of the Vikings* (Mineola, 2004); P.H. Sawyer, *The Age of the Vikings* (London, 1962); and P.H. Sawyer, *Kings and Vikings: Scandinavia and Europe AD 700-1100* (London, 1982; repr. 2003).

fraught with risk, and accounts of hidden relics were highly concerned with the mitigation of that risk and with re-establishing the value of their relics.

Regional Translations in Anglo-Saxon England: Monastic and Secular Responses to the Vikings

When examining the act of hiding relics, it is necessary to consider first whether these *translationes* were deliberate acts; if they were, it is also necessary to consider whether these acts formed a policy that was used by monastic communities throughout a region. Hiding relics from view, especially in England, was often performed even before the Viking attacks to protect the relics from theft by entombing them in underground or stone tombs. Whether these tombs were visible or still available to pilgrims is debatable.[8] However, in the face of the Viking invasions of the ninth century, some communities adapted this action of entombment in order to protect their relics. This would indicate that as a response to the threat of the Vikings, monastic communities employed an existing action as part of a larger plan. These actions by monastic communities were then later co-opted by secular leaders, who moved the relics that had been hidden in previous decades to safer locations as part of their relic policies.

A relic policy is, for our purposes, a coherent, deliberate attempt on the part of a religious community or secular leader to use relics for political or economic purposes. Often, the policies involved the exchange of relics, often through gift or theft, i.e. regional translations. However, they could also involve intra-site

[8] Some of these underground shrines were in crypts; others seem to be below the altar, and thus not available for viewing. Further discussion is below; see also Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, *passim*; and Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*, *passim.*

translations, either by protecting the relics (passively added value), or by promoting the saint's relics with a new shrine (actively added value). Relic policies also functioned to foster exchanges of relics; these exchanges built and reinforced existing social relations between both strangers and neighbours. Relic policies have been given some attention by historians, usually in small studies of particular relationships between rulers in which the relics functioned as a tool of power. Brigitte Meijns analysed the exchange of relics in the familial relationships between England and Flanders in the tenth century, through an examination of the relic policies of Baldwin II of Flanders (865-918) and his brother-in-law Edward of Wessex (874-924) and Edward's sister Æthelflæd of Mercia (*c.* 870-918).[9] David Rollason performed a similar study of the political ramifications of the relic policies of Anglo-Saxon rulers in the late tenth and early eleventh centuries.[10] This section will build on the work of both scholars by examining how monastic relic policies of the ninth century, including the entombment of relics, were intertwined with later secular relic policies of the tenth century, specifically in both Anglo-Saxon and Danish Mercia.

As noted above, even before the Scandinavian invasions, the Anglo-Saxons had been entombing their relics in underground shrines. These tombs seemed to be successful in protecting the saint from immediate plunder in an attack, but could leave them vulnerable to theft or the decline of their cult if the location of the tomb was not sufficiently documented. Entombing was not the only way that Anglo-Saxons held relics; in fact, it might have been preferable not to entomb relics as it did not allow for interaction with the relics. Anglo-Saxon relics in the eighth and ninth centuries were also housed in feretories, largely made of wood, which could be quite easily moved,

[9] Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', *passim*.
[10] Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument', pp. 91-103.

as well as in visible locations like graveyards, or semi-visible locations like crypts.[11] Analysis of Anglo-Saxon saints' burials by Martin Biddle demonstrates the variety of burial practices; of those with archaeological evidence indicating a burial position, the majority of burials in Anglo-Saxon England are either under the altar inside the main church, or in a crypt; further evidence from the burials at Repton and at Derby of St Wigstan and St Alkmund, respectively, demonstrate that the sarcophagi would likely have been visible and on display (see fig. 4.1).[12]

Fig. 4.1: Burial-Locations as examined by Martin Biddle, 1986	
Type of Burial	**Incidents**
Outside, North Porticus	2
Outside, West Porticus	2
Under the Altar	4
Crypt	4
Outside, Graveyard	2
Unknown	6
Outside, East Porticus	1
Feretory or Above-Ground Shrine	2

Hagiographical records would seem to confirm that many of these burials were underground; however, most accounts indicate that these were not visible to pilgrims, but were instead entombed burials. For instance, at Ripon, William of Malmesbury reports that the relics of St Wilfrid were found and elevated by Oda, the 2nd bishop of Wiltshire; according to William, Oda 'cleared away the rubble over the tomb' that had been caused by the destruction wrought by the Danes, 'and respectfully moved the relics to Canterbury'.[13] The description would seem to indicate that St Wilfrid had been buried in an underground tomb. The saints at Whitby seem to have been

[11] Nilson acknowledges that translations were necessary into above-ground shrines because Anglo-Saxon saints relics' were canonised through the translation process: Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 16; see also *Biddle*, p. 3.
[12] *Biddle*, pp. 7-11.
[13] *GPA*, i.15.2; trans. Winterbottom, p. 29. *Vnde factum est ut, precellentissimi patris Wilfridi dirutam per Danos apud Inripum æcclesiam dolenter conspicatus, ruinis super mausoleum eruderatis, reliquias Cantuariam reuerenter transferret.*

similarly buried, because William reports that they had been moved only recently (i.e. sometime in the twelfth century), although the monastery was destroyed by a Danish invasion in the early ninth century.[14]

Both the *Liber Eliensis* and William of Malmesbury report that the body of St Felix, buried in the eighth century at Soham, near Ely, was 'long afterwards sought and found', which would seem to imply that it was very well-hidden, likely in an underground tomb; the relics were transferred to Ramsey 'in the time of King Cnut', i.e. sometime between 1016 and 1035.[15] And at nearby Ely, Æthelthryth and her sister Seaxburh were both interred in stone tombs by this time; as noted in Chapter 3, Ely suffered a Viking attack sometime in the mid-ninth century which destroyed the monastery. The story of the attempted theft of Æthelthryth's relics has already been discussed in this thesis, but it does seem to prove that the relics were interred in a marble tomb, for the hole caused by the Dane's axe in that episode was fixed in the ninth century by Bishop Æthelwold with cement and stone, when he re-founded the abbey as a Benedictine priory.

Like the entombment of St Aldhelm at Malmesbury, the underground burials of most of the above saints were 'temporary', in that the relics were later removed and brought to 'safer' locations when the monasteries had been destroyed. Permanent

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[14] *GPA*, iii.117.1-3; trans. Winterbottom, p. 387; the relics that William reports were found in the eleventh century were Bishop Trumwine, King Oswiu, his daughter Ælfflæd (abbess of Whitby after its founder Hild), and Cædmon.

[15] *GPA*, ii.74.2 ; trans. Winterbottom, pp. 235-7; *LE,* i.6 ; trans. Fairweather, p. 20. Bede says that the body was first interred at '*Dummoc'* before being translated to Soham ; see *EH*, ii.15. R.M. Thomson assumes that this passage is copying now lost material written in Old English, probably the same source used by the anonymous compiler of the *Liber Eliensis*. The translation is also recorded in the *Chronicon abbatiæ Rameseiensis* ; see W.D. Macray (ed.), *Chronicon abbatiæ Rameseiensis,* (Rolls Ser., 1886), pp. 127-8, 340. Thomson has some interesting ideas on the destruction of the burial place, writing tht the word order '*dirutæ et a Danis incensæ æcclesiæ*' 'suggests that the church was wrecked (i.e. by someone else) before being burnt by the Danes ; but then the 'inhabitants' of the vill are said to have been covered by the ruin *after* the church was burned. One can only suppose that it was dilapidated before being burnt, and that the burning completed its destruction by making the walls actually fall down'. In R.M. Thomson, *William of Malmesbury, Gesta Pontificum Anglorum : The History of the English Bishops*, vol. II : Commentary (Oxford, 2007), at p. 95.

entombment of relics would likely have meant the demise of the saints' cult, as interaction with the saint was a key part of the ongoing exchanges necessary for maintaining an active cult. The exceptions to this would be St Æthelthryth and St Seaxburh, who remained at Ely, and St Cuthbert, who was buried in an underground tomb at Durham. The reasons why these relics remained at Ely and Durham throughout the period, even though both experienced an attack or, as at Durham, were a part of the Danish settlement in England, is somewhat unclear. It may be that these locations were already deemed to be 'safe' by the Anglo-Saxons. Ely, after all, was located in a large marshland, and was difficult to reach at this time. This might also have protected the relics of St Felix at Soham for so long, before their transferral to Ramsey. The rest of the burials cited by Biddle where the relics remained *in situ* were almost all located in either Wessex or western Mercia, areas which were largely under the control of the Anglo-Saxons until the amalgamation of the island under Anglo-Danish rule at the beginning of the new millennium.[16]

It is perhaps for this reason that the entombment of St Aldhelm occurred so late in relation to other actions of this kind. When St Dunstan translated the relics in the 980s, other monasteries in the region were actively collecting new relics and building great above-ground shrines to house them. Dunstan's actions in this context may thus have looked odd to some of his compatriots. William of Malmesbury insists, however, that Dunstan's actions were proven correct. Evidence would seem to bear this out. In the 990s, and particularly in 994, Danish forces were attacking numerous locations in what is now Wiltshire, including Andover, approximately one or two day's journey south-east of Malmesbury. William also describes a Danish attack on Malmesbury itself, where a group of Danes attempted to steal the jewels off

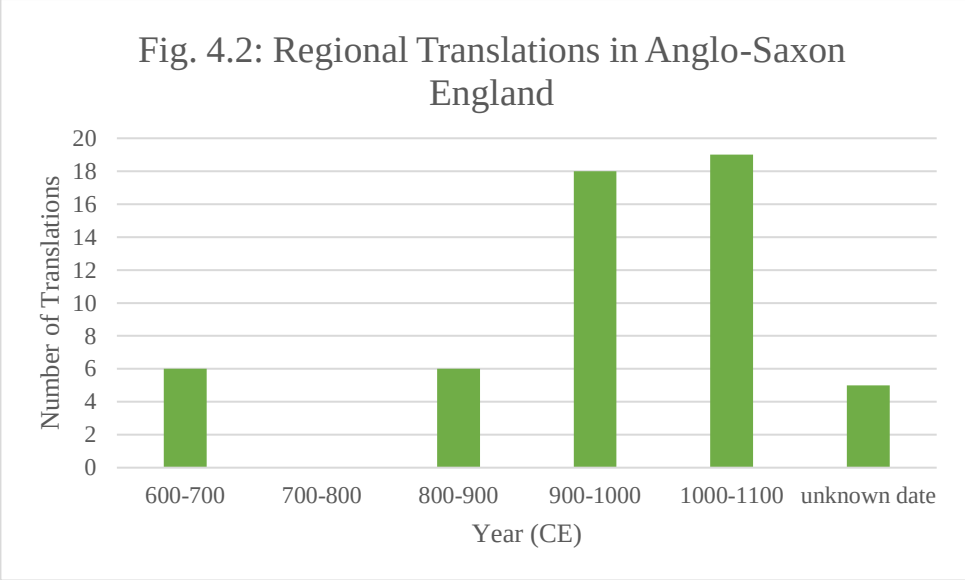
[16] *Biddle, passim.*

the shrine that had been left above ground, although the relics were now interred below it. The thief was thrown backward through the power of the saint; word spread throughout the rest of the Viking camps, according to William, and 'so it came about that, while all the neighbouring monasteries were robbed and plundered, this one alone never had too serious a calamity to bewail'.[17]

Secular Relic Policies in Response to Viking Attacks in England

It would seem, therefore, that hiding the relics by burying them underground worked as part of the various attempts to protect the relics of the saints in Anglo-Saxon England. Other actions were also employed by the laity and other monastic communities, including regional translations to safer locations. There were peak times for this type of regional translation. The first was during the mid- to late-tenth century, a period dominated by translations from the Danelaw and from Europe into Wessex and western Mercia (see fig. 4.2), while the second was in the period after the Norman Conquest, which was dominated by the removal of Anglo-Saxon saints to new Norman cathedrals and monasteries.[18]

[17] *GPA*, v.256.5; trans. Winterbottom, p. 613. *Vnde contigit ut, omnibus in circuitu monasteriis depopulatis uel expilatis, istud solum numquam adeo grauem deploraret erumnam.*
[18] The data from this chart was compiled from John Blair's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints*, in conjunction with the *GPA*, *GRA*, *HC*, *LE*, and Farmer's *Dictionary of Saints*. See Appendix B.



Building on the entombment of Anglo-Saxon saints in the eighth and ninth centuries, by the mid-tenth century, certain parts of England began to feel more secure to both secular and ecclesiastical leaders. This was in part due to the efforts of Alfred the Great (849-899), but especially his son, Edward the Elder, king of Wessex, and Alfred's daughter Æthelflæd, queen of Mercia.[19] Æthelflæd was the daughter of Alfred and his wife Ealhswith (d. 902). She had been married to Æthelred, king of Mercia in 886 or 887, and after her husband was taken ill for a significant period of time after 902, she ruled as regent of Mercia. When her husband died in 911, she ruled as Lady of the Mercians, with the help of her brother Edward the Elder, until her death in 918. Her daughter Ælfwynn then took the throne for a short period of time, but the kingdom was ultimately absorbed by Edward the Elder into Wessex. Both Æthelflæd and Edward founded a number of monasteries and endowed them with relics, often translating them from other parts of England in order to create relic collections at their new religious centres. Combined with intra-site translations also

[19] For more, see P.J. Helm, *Alfred the Great* (London, 1963); H.R. Loyn, *Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1967); P.E. Szarmach, *Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 2010); A.P. Smyth, *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995); and N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill (eds.), *Edward the Elder, 899-924)* (London, 2001).

taking place throughout Mercia and Wessex, the placement of new relics from the Danelaw and from Europe helped to centralise royal power in these regions, and functioned to protect these areas in some ways from invasions from the Danelaw and other areas of the country.

Part of their political policy against the Scandinavians, along with raiding and attempts to invade the Danelaw, was to fortify towns (called *ports* or *burhs*) within Mercia and Wessex.[20] These were places with significant populations, and were defended against attacks from outside the city walls. The establishment of *burhs* was central to the Cerdicing Viking response.[21] The Cerdicings limited trade to these cities and used them to produce money, thereby trying to protect their economy from disruption if the area was invaded. Alongside the fortifications, the Cerdicings also built or re-built the monasteries and cathedrals within these towns, often in conjunction with the Benedictine reformers.[22]

Æthelflæd founded many *burhs* throughout her kingdom during her reign (see fig. 4.3). To some of these, she was also responsible for the translation of relics in order to help fortify their economic power.

[20] See also C. Insley, 'Collapse, Reconfiguration or Renegotiation? The strange end of the Mercian kingdom, 850-924', *Reti Medievali Rivista* 17:2 (2016), pp. 231-49 and S.D. Baxter, *The Earls of Mercia: Lordship and Power in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (New York, 2007).

[21] Cerdicing is the name given to the family dynasty to which Æthelflæd and Edward belonged.

[22] Many of the regional translations that took place during this time were at the behest of either the Cerdicings or the Benedictine reformers. David Rollason explicitly links the two together, giving them similar motivations for moving relics, although I do not think this is the case, as will be argued throughout this thesis. See D. Rollason, 'The shrines of saints in later Anglo-Saxon England: distribution and significance', in Butler and Morris, *Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 32-43.

Fig. 4.3: Burhs Established by Æthelred and Æthelflæd in Mercia		
Town	**Date**	**Relics Held Within**
Gloucester	901	Cyneburh
Chester	907	Wærburh
Bridgnorth	912	
Chirbury	913	
Stafford	913	Beorhthelm
Tamworth	913	Eadgyth
Hereford	914	Æthelberht
Eddisbury	914	
Warwick	914	
Runcorn	915	possibly Beorhthelm
Derby	917	Alkmund
Leicester	918	

These include the establishment of the New Minster at Gloucester, to which she translated the relics of St Oswald, taken from Bardney, in 909.[23] Bardney had been founded in the late seventh century by Ethelred and Osthryth, king and queen of Mercia. It was Osthryth who found and brought the body of her uncle, Oswald, king of Northumbria, to Bardney after his death in 642. The head was buried at Lindisfarne and was translated with the body of St Cuthbert after 875, though it was also claimed at Hildesheim cathedral in the twelfth century. The arms were deposited at Bamburgh (one was stolen by a monk of Peterborough and subsequently transferred to Ely) and two other arms were claimed by Durham and Gloucester respectively. Another part of the body was claimed at Bergues by the monastery of St Winnoc.[24]

[23] *GRA*, pp. 48-50; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (C)*, s.a. 909; D. Hadley, *The Vikings in England: Settlement, Society and Culture* (Manchester, 2006); pp. 210-11; C. Heighway, 'Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald', in Higham and Hill, *Edward the Elder*, pp. 102-11, at p. 108; Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', pp. 475-76; Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument', p. 95; and A. Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester: early ecclesiastical organization in two Mercian burhs', *Northern History* 18 (1982), pp. 199-211, pp. 203-4 and 209-11.

[24] *EH*, iii.6, p. 118. Seventy churches were dedicated to him in England. See *EH*, iii.1-6, 9-13; iv. 14; Drogo of Bergues, *Vita sancti Oswaldi*, pp. 94-103; Reginald of Durham in T. Arnold (ed.), *Symeonis Dunelmensis Opera* (1882), i.326-85. See also C. Stancliffe and E. Cambridge (eds.), *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint* (1995).

Bardney was an exceedingly well-funded monastic site in the eighth century, enjoying support from the kings of Mercia as well as being located on the Witham River and on the road to Lincoln. Bede writes that it was 'a noble monastery, which that queen [Osthryth] and her husband Ethelred much loved, and conferred upon it many honors and ornaments'. Certainly, the gift of the body of St Oswald would have been a great honour to the community at Bardney; even at Osterfield, miracles were being reported, according to Bede, at the place where Oswald had fallen in battle. The relics were 'put into a shrine which they [the monks] had made for that purpose, and placed in the church, with due honor; and that there might be a perpetual memorial of the royal person of this holy man, they hung up over the monument his banner made of gold and purple'.[25] Bede reports later that the body had been 'buried' in the monastery at Bardney.[26]

Bardney was located in a 'no-man's land in the struggle between the various tribal areas' of Anglo-Saxon England.[27] Although a Northumbrian king, by the time that the Danes had invaded Lincolnshire in the 860s-870s, and especially by the time the Mercian's 'stole' back Oswald's body and brought it to Gloucester in 909, Oswald had been re-imagined as an icon for the Anglo-Saxons, as much as for the Northumbrians alone.[28] It seems likely that, as with other nearby relics, the body of St Oswald was buried somewhere in the abbey. When the abbey was destroyed, the community moved elsewhere to an unknown location, although it would have been easy for them to move to Lincoln. It is likewise unknown exactly when the abbey was abandoned, and theoretically, the relics could have been protected by remaining

[25] *EH*, iii.12; trans. McClure and Collins. *Lota igitur ossa intulerunt in thecam, quam in hoc præparauerant, atque in ecclesia iuxta honorem congruum posuerunt; et ut regia uiri sancti persona memoriam haberet æternam, uexillum eius super tumbam auro et purpura conpositum adposuerunt...*
[26] *EH*, iii.12.
[27] P. Clarke, *The Saxon Foundation of Bardney* (Association of Friends of Bardney Abbey, 1975).
[28] *GRA*, pp. 48-50.

members of the community or by the local population. When the Mercians came to acquire the relics, these members could have given the knowledge of where the relics were buried to them on the understanding that this was a Mercian saint who belonged on Mercian land, and would therefore be better protected by movement to Gloucester. Regardless, the relics were acquired in 909 and this acquisition was termed a *furtum sacrum* by William of Malmesbury and subsequent historians.[29] The possession of these relics made Gloucester a pilgrimage centre throughout Mercia and Wessex. Æthelflæd was also responsible for the foundation of a minster at Chester in 907, wherein she placed the relics of St Wærburh, taken from their original resting place at Hanbury.[30] She also translated the relics of St Alkmund (d. *c.* 800) from Derby to Shrewsbury, and St Guthlac (d. 714) to Hereford.[31]

Æthelflæd's brother, Edward the Elder, king of Wessex, was responsible for much of the reconquest of the Danelaw that occurred during the early tenth century. According to Molyneaux, 'between 912 and 918, Edward went most years to one or more localities in the southern East Midlands and Essex, received some sort of submission, and either took over an existing fortification or constructed a new one'.[32] Edward seems to have had a similar policy of establishing new minsters and then endowing them with relics, just as his sister did.

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[29] *GRA*, pp. 48-50; Rollason, 'Relic-cults as an Instrument', p. 95; Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester', pp. 203-4 and 209-11; Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', pp. 475-6; C. Heighway, 'Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald', pp. 102-11, at p. 108; Hadley, *The Vikings in England*, pp. 210-11; D.M. Owen, *Life at Bardney Abbey* (Bardney Branch of the Workers' Educational Association, 1974); I. Thompson, *The Saints of Bardney: Oswald, Osthryth, and Æthelred* (Ian Thompson, 2008); T. Crowder, *Bardney Abbey: Its History, Charters, Excavations, Etc.* (Horncastle, 1925).
[30] Handlist, p. 557; this is according to *HC* and *CSP*. See also *LE* i.35-7, pp. 68-70; *GPA*, iv.172.5-9 and iv.183.3; and Thacker, 'Chester and Gloucester', pp. 203-4.
[31] Alkmund: Handlist, p. 511; this is according to *Secgan A, HC, and CSP*; see also Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', pp. 474-6; D. Rollason, 'The Cult of Murdered Royal Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 11 (1983), pp. 1-22, at p. 4; and *Biddle*, pp. 7-8. St. Guthlac: Handlist, p. 537; this is according to *Secgan A*, *HC*, and *CSP* amongst others; see also Felix, *Vita Guthlaci*.
[32] G. Molyneaux, *The Formation of the English Kingdom in the Tenth Century* (Oxford, 2015), p. 27.

Fig. 4.4: Burhs Established by Edward the Elder	
Town	**Date**
Hertford	911-912
Witham	912
Bedford	915
Maldon	916
Colchester	917
Huntingdon	917
Towcester	917
Stamford	918
Manchester	919
Thelwall	919
Nottingham	920
Bakewell	920
Rhuddlan	921

His most famous establishment was that at New Minster in Winchester, which had been begun by his father Alfred the Great, and was finished in 901. It was endowed with many relics during the Anglo-Saxon period. Shortly after its completion, the relics of St Grimbald were placed within the minster, although they were translated to Hyde sometime in the eleventh century; Winchester also held the relics of St Eadburh, as well as many of the later kings and queens of Wessex.[33] Winchester New Minster's greatest shrine, however, held the relics of St Judoc, which had been translated from Ponthieu shortly after its dedication in 901; these relics were quite a valuable addition to Winchester's collection. They had been stolen from Ponthieu in the aftermath of a Viking attack, and then given to Edward by some merchants, who then gifted them to Winchester.[34] At the neighbouring Old Minster in Winchester,

[33] Grimbald: Handlist, p. 536; this is from *Secgan B* and *HC*; according to *CSP* his relics were at Hyde Abbey. See also *GPA*, ii.78.1, p. 273; P. Grierson, 'Grimbald of St Bertin's', *EHR* 55 (1940), pp. 529-61; and J. Bately, 'Grimbald of St Bertin's', *Medium Ævum* 35 (1966), pp. 1-10. Eadburh: This Eadburh was the daughter of Edward the Elder and a nun of Winchester (d. 960). Her relics are recorded at Nunnaminster by *Secgan B*, *HC*, and *CSP*. See Handlist, pp. 526-27; S.J. Ridyard, *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 96-139 and 255-310, and *Biddle*, p. 11.

[34] Handlist, p. 542: This is according to *Secgan B, HC, and CSP*; *Annales monasterii de Wintonia*, in H.R. Luard, *Annales Monastici* (London, 1865); s.a. 924, p. 10; and *Biddle*, p. 11. See also P. Grierson, 'The Relations between England and Flanders before the Norman Conquest', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 23 (1941), pp. 71-112, at p. 77; Grierson, 'Grimbald of St Bertin's', pp. 556-57; V.

Edward was also responsible for renovating the cathedral, and the intra-site translation there of the famous relics of St Swithun, as we shall see in Chapter 5. Here as well were the relics of St Frithestand, which were also translated within the minster sometime in the tenth century.[35]

Glastonbury received an influx of relics as well in the tenth century, after the monastery at Whitby was threatened in the Viking invasions. From there, the minster at Glastonbury received the relics of St Aidan, bishop of Northumbria (d. 651), Ceolfrid, abbot of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow (642-716), and Hilda, the abbess of Whitby (614-680).[36] By the end of the eleventh century, they also held the relics of St Eadgar (King of England, r. 957-975), where they claimed that his body was incorrupt.[37] His relics were contained in the same shrine as Apollinaris (first bishop of Ravenna, early martyr) and Vincent of Lérins (d. *c.* 450).[38] Together, this gave Glastonbury a collection of local saints and regional saints that drew pilgrims from throughout the surrounding area. Ramsey was also the beneficiary of endowment gifts, receiving the relics of Sts Ethelred and Ethelbert, who had been Kentish princes, martyred sometime after 664, from St Oswald, Archbishop of York (d. 992) upon his foundation of the minster there in the late tenth century; their translation was celebrated on 17 October.[39] Ramsey also held the relics of St Felix (d. 647), the first bishop of the East Angles, who had originally been buried at Dunwich before being

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Ortenberg, *The English Church and the Continent in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries: Cultural, Spiritual and Artistic Exchanges* (Oxford, 1992), p. 24; H. Bourdellès, 'Vie de St Josse avec commentaire historique et spirituel', *Studi Medievali* 34 (1993), pp. 861-958; and P. Stafford, 'Charles the Bald, Judith, and England', in M.T. Gibson and J.L. Nelson, *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Aldershot, 1990), pp. 139-53.

[35] Handlist, p. 535: This is according to *Secgan B* and *GPA*, ii.81.3, pp. 280-81.

[36] Aidan: Handlist, p. 510 and *GRA*, p. 51. The tradition for Aidan resting at Glastonbury occurs from *Secgan B* and *CSP*. Another tradition has Aidan buried in St Cuthbert's tomb at Lindisfarne. Ceolfrith: Handlist, p. 520. The tradition for Ceolfrith resting at Glastonbury occurs from *HC* and *CSP*. For Hild (Hilda), Handlist, p. 538; see also *CSP*. *GPA*, ii.91.8, p. 311 reports the translation in the 940s.

[37] Handlist, p. 527 and *GRA*, pp. 147-162; resting-place is listed in *CSP*.

[38] *GRA*, pp. 147-62.

[39] Handlist, p. 507; this is according to *Secgan B, HC, and CSP*, amongst others.

transferred to Soham and from thence to Ramsey, after his shrine at Soham had been burned by the Danes.[40] Evesham collected relics as well; they held the relics of St Wistan (d. 850), who had been a prince of Mercia and was originally buried at either Repton or Wistow.[41] They also held the relics of St Odwulf (d. 855), which had been stolen from Utrecht and then purchased by the abbot of Evesham in the 1030s.[42]

It therefore seems likely that the entombment of relics and intra-site translations were deliberate actions, understood to protect the relics from attempted theft and harm, even before the Viking invasions. It was for this reason that they were buried beneath the ground or in hard stone tombs above ground. This made them far less mobile than relics that were contained in feretories. Subsequently, in the tenth century, these relics that had been protected by entombment were elevated and removed to new locations, mostly in the western part of the island, which was still under the control of the Anglo-Saxons. This was mainly performed under the auspices of secular leaders like Æthelflæd and Edward the Elder, who, in conjunction with the Benedictine reformers like Archbishop Dunstan of Canterbury and Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, built up relic collections in their new fortified burhs. These burhs therefore not only acted to centralise royal authority, but also to centralise sacred authority. Now in ostensibly safer locations, these relics could then be displayed in large above-ground shrines. These above-ground shrines, which used precious metals and gems, added value to the saint's relics at a time when their value was greatly depreciated. Furthermore, the production of written *memoria* of the

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[40] Handlist, p. 535 and *GPA*, ii.74.2, pp. 235-7. See also *LE* i.6, p. 20, and *GPA*, iv.181.2, p. 483.
[41] *GRA*, pp. 239-40; GPA iv.161.1, p. 453. This is also according to *HC* and *CSP*, although *Secgan A* records his burial at Repton. The relics were translated in 1019. See R. Sharpe, *A Handlist of the Latin Writers of Great Britain and Ireland before 1540* (Turnhout, 1997), p. 667; D. Rollason, *The Search for St Wigstan* (Leicester, 1981); D. Rollason, 'The Cults of Murdered Royal Saints', pp. 1-22, at pp. 5-9; and J. Crook, *The Architectural Setting of the Cult of Saints in the Early Christian West* (Oxford, 2000), pp. 62-3, 128-30.
[42] Handlist, p. 548; see also Sharpe, *Handlist of the Latin Writers*, p. 100 and 667; *Chronicon Abbatiæ de Evesham*, W.D. Macray (ed.) (Rolls Ser. 29, 1863), pp. 83, 313-20.

saints, which had essentially ceased with the Viking invasions and especially with the establishment of the Danelaw, could also resume, contributing to the re-establishment of these saints' cults.[43] It seems likely, therefore, that in Anglo-Saxon England the process of elevating saints' relics that had been hidden, and then translating them to a safer location, was part of a larger relic policy, meant to build authority in the new monastic centres of Mercia and Wessex. The ways in which the Anglo-Saxons acted, moreover, seems to be a unique response to the Viking invasions, which would imply that the Anglo-Saxons were adapting existing practices in order to protect their relics. The response differed, as we shall soon see, on the Continent.

Regional Translations in Carolingian France: Monastic Responses to the Viking Invasions

Unlike their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, the Franks took to moving their relics from the beginning of the ninth century as a first response. There were many reasons for this. The first is that the bodies of the saints in Francia were contained in feretories, and were not generally entombed.[44] Their ability to be transported with ease made them vulnerable to theft or destruction; because of the form of their reliquaries it was thus necessary for regional translations to be performed for their protection. Another

[43] For example, the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, written in 1058; *Delatio corporis s. Juniani*, written in 989; the *Miracula s. Ursmari*, written *c.* 1060, amongst others in this thesis. For more, see L. Körntgen and D. Wassenhoven (eds.), *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in Tenth and Eleventh Century Western Europe* (Boston, 2011); G. Klaniczay (ed.), C. Gaspar and M. Miladinov (trans. and annot.), *Saints of the Christianization Age of Central Europe (Tenth-Eleventh Century)* (Budapest, 2013); G. Tellenbach, T. Reuter (trans.), *The Church in Western Europe from the Tenth to the Early Twelfth Century* (Cambridge, 1993); D. Rollason, C. Leyser, and H. Williams (eds.), *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876-1947)* (Turnhout, 2010); T. Head, *Hagiography and the Cult of Saints: The Diocese of Orléans, 800-1200* (Cambridge, 1990);

[44] This mobility has been proven by the rise of body-part and statue reliquaries, as well as the performance of *delationes*, as will be discussed in Chapter 6. See also Bynum and Gerson, 'Body-Part Reliquaries', pp. 3-7. See also J. Crook, *English Medieval Shrines* (Woodbridge, 2011), *passim*.

reason for the sheer number of regional translations during the period of Scandinavian attacks was the confluence of relics with their reliquaries. The overwhelming fear on the part of French monks, as presented in their written accounts, was the same as that of the Anglo-Saxon monks: that the relics would be destroyed or stolen by the Vikings. And yet, again, there is no evidence that the Scandinavians were at all interested in the relics themselves; they were, however, very interested in the golden reliquaries that housed the relics. Reliquaries, were, of course, targets for the Scandinavian invaders. A Pictish reliquary has been found in Scandinavia, and although no Frankish reliquaries have been found in Viking hordes, the fear that Frankish monks held that their reliquaries would be stolen was certainly not unfounded.[45] Because of the monks' desire, however, to house the relics in reliquaries that were appropriate for their perceived value, they refused to house the relics in anything that might demote the status of their relics. They refused, except perhaps when an attack was imminent. For example, when the monastery of St Riquier was in imminent danger from a Scandinavian force, 'the head of St Richarius was put in a wooden box ready for a rapid removal, but once the danger had passed, it was returned to its normal housing'.[46] The refusal of these monks to house the relics outside of their golden reliquaries meant that when they translated the relics, they often did so with the reliquaries, making them a further target for Scandinavian attacks.

Regional translations in Francia between 800 and 950 are relatively difficult to untangle. Like their Anglo-Saxon counterparts, the French were likely to take

[45] Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', pp. 80-81; J. Graham-Campbell, *Viking Artefacts* (London, 1980), pp. 90-91; E. Warners, 'Insular Finds in Viking Age Scandinavia and the State Formation of Norway', in H.B. Clarke, M. Ni Mhaonaigh, and R. Ó Floinn (eds.), *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age* (Dublin, 1998), pp. 42-44, 49-50.
[46] *Miracula sancti Richarii abbatis Centulensis*, *AASS* April 3, II.vii, pp. 454-55; Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', pp. 80-81.

advantage of the difficulties of their neighbours to build up relic collections in their own monasteries; thus, moving relics brought with it the danger that the relics might be stolen by the new community. This happened with some frequency throughout Francia during this period, as has been demonstrated by Patrick Geary, Felice Lifshitz, and Anna Jones.[47] Secondly, the variety of loyalties and identities present in Carolingian France makes it difficult to untangle the various experiences of relics and their communities on a wide scale.[48] Thirdly, the lack of a centralised French identity meant that each community produced their own sources recording their relics; they might be more prone to fabricate the number of relics they still possessed and how they came to acquire a set of relics.[49] Likewise, there are no centralised lists of relics in a region, unlike in late Anglo-Saxon England, which considerably eases the study of regional translations. This makes the work of the historian considerably more difficult for Carolingian France, although a few generalisations can be made at this point.[50] First, there are two main types of sources by which the historian can glean the information that relics were indeed translated with frequency in France and Flanders between 800 and 950. The first of these are annals, such as those produced at St-Bertin and Fulda, or the histories of specific monasteries or regions, such as

[47] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, *passim*; Lifshitz, 'Migration of Neustrian Relics', *passim*; and Jones, 'Pitying the Desolation', *passim*.
[48] M. Costambeys, M. Innes and S. MacLean, *The Carolingian World* (Cambridge, 2011); P. Fouracre and D. Ganz (eds.), *Frankland: The Franks and the World of Early Medieval Europe. Essays in Honour of Dame Jinty Nelson* (Manchester, 2008); M.T. Gibson and J.L. Nelson (eds.), *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom*, 2nd ed. (Aldershot, 1990); J. Dhondt, *Études sur la naissance des principautés territoriales en France (IXe-Xe siècles)* (Bruges, 1948); M. Innes, *State and Society in the Early Middle Ages: The Middle Rhine Valley, 400-1000* (Cambridge, 2000); and J. Nelson, 'The Frankish Kingdoms, 814-898: The West', in R. McKitterick (ed.), *The New Cambridge Medieval History II, c. 700-c. 900* (Cambridge, 1995), pp. 110-41.
[49] See especially the work of Patrick Geary, Felice Lifshitz, and Anna Trumbore Jones, noted above: Geary, *Furta Sacra*; Lifshitz, 'Migration of Neustrian Relics'; and Jones, 'Pitying the Desolation'.
[50] A complete analysis of the movement of relics in this period would require the historian to compile such a list of saints at each monastery, and then to study the loyalties, identities, and history of each monastery in order to complete the picture of regional politics and the role of translations in those socio-political relationships. This would take more space than this thesis allows, and requires further study by historians.

those produced at Reims and by Ademar of Chabannes.[51] Annalists often included information on the movement of relics as well as lists of assets (including relics and their reliquaries) still held by their monasteries after an attack. In this category of short lists or descriptions of relic movements we might also include charters and cartularies, which could also list the assets of the community at a particular location.[52] The second type of sources that record regional translations are *translationes* and other hagiographies, which form longer narratives of the translations of relics in this period and tend to include specific literary tropes that will be discussed later in this chapter.

Examining these movements geographically by region would allow the historian to more fully understand the dangers inherent in moving relics, including the threat of theft by either Scandinavians or by other Franks. As an exemplary case-study, I have chosen north-western Francia, including the areas of Brittany, Poitou, and Normandy.[53]

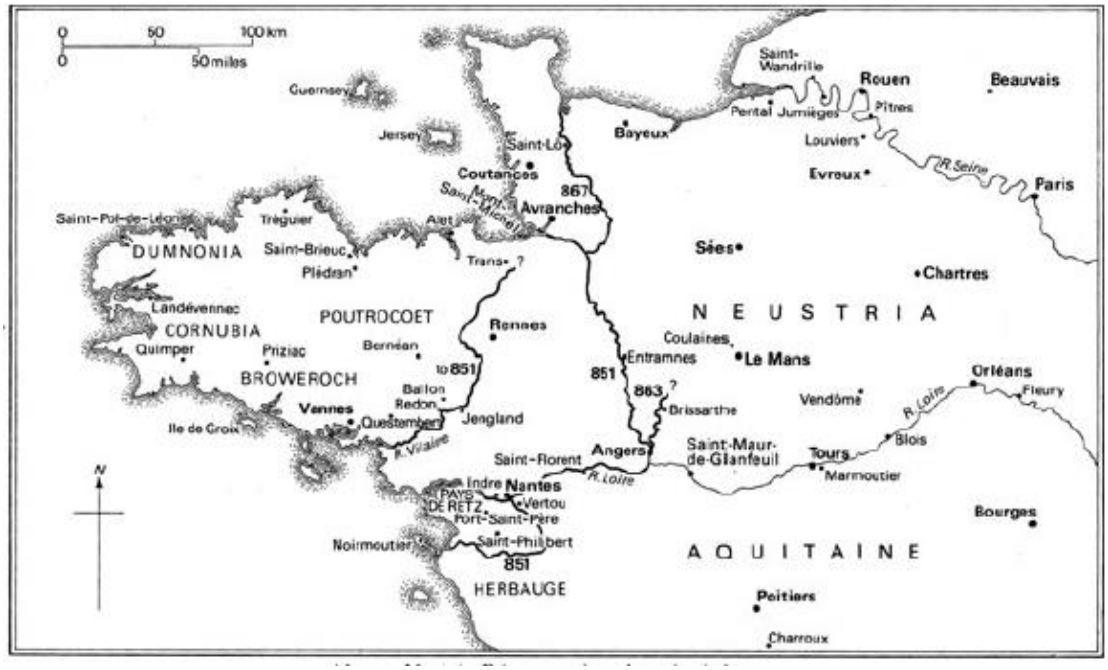
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[51] J. Nelson (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of St Bertin* (Manchester, 1991); F. Grat, J. Vielliard and S. Clémencet (eds.), *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris, 1964); T. Reuter (ed. and trans.), *The Annals of Fulda* (Manchester, 1992); S. Fanning and B.S. Bachrach (eds. and trans.), *The Annals of Flodoard of Reims, 919-966* (Peterborough, 2004); Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*.

[52] See for example, G. Tessier, A. Giry, M. Prou, and C. Brunel, *Recueil des actes de Charles II le Chauve, roi de France (840-877)*, Book I (840-860) (Paris, 1943); Book II (861-877) (Paris, 1952); Book III (Paris, 1955); and A. Richard (ed.), *Chartes et documents pour servir à l'histoire de l'abbaye de Saint-Maixent*, Archives historiques du Poitou 1, 2 vols. (Poitiers, 1886).

[53] For general histories of Brittany and its saints, see A. Chédeville and H. Guillotel, *La Bretagne des saints et des rois, Ve-Xe siècle* (Rennes, 1984); W. Davies, *Brittany in the Early Middle Ages: Texts and Societies* (Farnham, 2009); P. Galliou and M. Jones, *The Bretons* (Oxford, 1991); B. Merdrignac, *D'une Bretagne à l'autre: Les migrations bretonnes entre histoire et legendes* (Rennes, 2012); J.-C. Poulin, *L'hagiographie bretonne du haut Moyen Age* (Ostfildern, 2009); and J.M.H. Smith, *Province and Empire: Brittany and the Carolingians* (Cambridge, 1992). For general histories of Normandy and its saints, see D. Crouch and K. Thompson (eds.), *Normandy and Its Neighbours, 900-1250* (Turnhout, 2011); L.V. Hicks, *Religious Life in Normandy, 1050-1300: Space, Gender and Social Pressure* (Woodbridge, 2007); C. Potts, *Monastic Revival and Regional Identity in Early Normandy* (Woodbridge, 1997); E. Albu, *The Normans in their Histories: Propaganda, Myth and Subversion* (Woodbridge, 2001); Lifshitz, 'Migration of Neustrian Relics'; and Lifshitz, *Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*. For a general history of Poitou and Aquitaine and its saints, see R. Sanfaçon, *Défrichements, peuplement et institutions seigneuriales en Haut-Poitou du Xe au XIIIe siècle* (Quebec, 1967); M. Abel, 'Recontextualizing the Context: the dispute capital from Saint-Hilaire in Poitiers and storytelling in the Poitou around the time of the Peace of God movement' *Gesta* 47:1 (2008), pp. 51-66; G. Pon, 'Le monachisme en Poitou avant l'époque carolingienne', *Bulletin de la Société des antiquaires de l'Ouest*, 4th series, 17 (1983), pp. 91-130; J. Boussard, 'L'ouest du royaume franc aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles',

Fig. 4.5: Map of North-West France, ninth century[54]



This is for many reasons, but primarily because relic sites along the western and north-western coasts seem to have been particularly affected by political and social instability during the ninth and tenth centuries, due to their proximity to major waterways located in the region.[55] There were also several major monastic sites in north-western France during this time, and the responses of the monasteries, while similar in that they sought to remove their relics from dangerous situations, ended in a variety of ways. A selective list of monasteries in the region at this time would include establishments like St Philibert at Noirmouter, St Winwaloe at Landévennec,

Journal des Savants (1973), pp. 3-27; and R. Favreaux, 'Carolingiens et Robertiens de la fin du IXe à la fin du Xe siècle: L'avènement de la dynastie capétienne et le nord de l'Aquitaine', in O. Guillot and R. Favreau (eds.), *Pays de Loire et Aquitaine de Robert le Fort aux premiers Capétiens* (Poitiers, 1997).

[54] C. Brett, 'Brittany and the Carolingian Empire: A Historical Review', *History Compass* 11:4 (2013), pp. 268-79, at p. 270.

[55] F. Lifshitz, 'The "Exodus of Holy Bodies" Reconsidered: the date of the translation of Gildardus of Rouen to Soissons', *Analecta Bollandiana* 110 (1992), pp. 329-40; ibid., 'Migration of Neustrian Relics', pp. 175-92; ibid., 'The "Privilege of St Romanus": provincial independence and hagiographical legends at Rouen', *Analecta Bollandiana* 107 (1989), pp. 161-70; ibid., *Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*; R. McKitterick, *The Frankish Kingdoms under the Carolingians, 751-987* (London, 1983); Smith, 'Oral and written'; N.S. Price, *The Vikings in Brittany* (London, 1989); J.C. Cassard, *Le siècle des Vikings en Bretagne* (Paris, 1996); and H. Guillotel, 'L'exode du clergé Breton devant les invasions scandinaves', *Mémoires de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Bretagne* 59 (1982), pp. 269-315.

St Paul Aurelian at Léon, St Josse (Justus) at Beauvais, St Maur at Glanfeuil, St Florent, St Hilaire at Poitiers, St Martin at Tours, St Wandrille at Fontenelle, and St Ouen at Rouen, amongst others.[56]

Hagiographic writings from this period are best described as confusing, or as Felice Lifshitz and Pauline Stafford describe them, as 'crisis-led'.[57] Moreover, most of the hagiographies were produced after the beginning of the new millennium, which could often present the translations of relics as a result of Viking attacks, even when there were no apparent attacks or when the relics had in fact been stolen by another monastery. This is confirmed by Cassandra Potts, who argues that eleventh and twelfth century monastic authors may have chosen to frame their stories of destruction solely at the hands of the Vikings because it was 'simpler than untangling the confusing web of alliances and broken faith that comprised ninth- and tenth-century Frankish politics'.[58] According to Potts, 'out of approximately forty-five monasteries active in the ecclesiastical province of Rouen before the invasion period, at least twenty disappear from our sources entirely. Those that survived or were revived would later recall the loss of buildings, holy treasures, lands and rich libraries, especially at Jumièges and Fontenelle, which was later called Saint Wandrille'.[59]

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[56] Brett, 'Brittany and the Carolingian Empire', *passim*; Lifshitz, *Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, *passim*; and I. Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert. Genèse d'un réseau monastique dans la société carolingienne* (Rennes, 2010), *passim*.

[57] Lifshitz, *Norman Conquest of Pious Neustria*, p. 14; see also P. Stafford, *Unification and Conquest: A Political and Social History of England in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries* (London, 1989), pp. 4-9 and 16-23.

[58] Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 19. See her excellent discussion of the problem of blaming thefts on either the Vikings or the Franks in ft. 19, pp. 18-19.

[59] Potts, *Monastic Revival*, p. 20; see also L. Musset, 'Les abbayes normandes au moyen âge, position de quelques problèmes', in L. Andrieu (ed.), *Les Abbayes de Normandie: actes du XIIIe congrès des sociétés historiques et archéologiques de Normandie*, (Rouen, 1979), pp. 13-26, at pp. 15-16. J. Laporte, *Les origines du monachisme dans la province de Rouen* (Abbaye Saint-Martin, 1941), p. 33; and G. Nortier, *Les bibliothèques médiévales des abbayes bénédictines de Normandie* (Caen, 1966), pp. 1-3, 98-103, 143-46, 164-75.

There were repeated Scandinavian attacks in north-west France from the beginning of the ninth century until the end of the tenth century; locations were usually attacked multiple times, by various armies, and these attacks were not limited solely to Scandinavian armies, but included Frankish armies as well.[60] As noted above, monasteries were particular targets for both Scandinavian and Frankish armies.[61] An examination of a few monasteries within the region, and the case of what happened to their relics as a result of the Scandinavian invasions, should help to exemplify the various responses of Frankish monastic communities.

One set of relics to be moved as a response to repeated Scandinavian attacks were those of St Philibert, which were removed from the island of Noirmoutier in 836. Noirmoutier had first been attacked in 799, and between 814 and 819 experienced successive invasions, for while it was 'not perhaps a provokingly wealthy institution' it was 'one of some prosperity inasmuch as the island was a port of call for the barques employed in the salt-trade that was then, as now, the chief industry of the Breton marsh-lands'.[62] As time passed, and the attacks failed to decrease, the monks were forced to abandon their monastery first for an in-land, fortified position on the island itself, and eventually, a move to the mainland. The relics of St Philibert were brought first to Grand-Lieu where the community built a second monastery and dedicated it to their patron saint; this movement was recorded by Ermentaire, a monk of Noirmoutier, in the first book of his *Miracula* shortly after the movement, probably no later than 840.[63] In 862, they brought the relics to Messais in Poitou; Ermentaire

[60] Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', *passim*.
[61] Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', *passim*.
[62] Kendrick, *History of the Vikings*, p. 193. See also Nelson, *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, pp. 55-6; Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3:16-17, pp. 212-15.
[63] Ermentaire, *De translationibus et miraculis sancti Filiberti* [BHL 6808, 6809], I and II, in R. Poupardin (ed.), *Monuments de l'histoire des abbayes de Saint Philibert (Noirmoutier, Grandlieu, Tournus), publiés d'après les notes d'Arthur Giry* (Paris, 1905), I; See also Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, pp. 31-2. All translations of the Latin are mine, although Cartron has translated some sections into French.

recorded this movement in the second book of his *Miracula*, written sometime after 880.[64]

The relics were removed from Noirmoutier on 7 June, 836. Ermentaire writes that the relics were 'placed on a ship, pushed by a north-westerly wind, and after a tormented journey, he [St Philibert] was carried to the harbour 'de la Fourche'. There the priests, deacons, and monks placed him on their shoulders, and carried him to his *villa* at the Ampan, where he was placed in the church'.[65] The journey lasted approximately four days and numerous miracles were performed. On 11 June, the relics were interred at Grand-Lieu. The relics were threatened again in the 840s, however, as the Vikings began to make in-roads along the Loire river. Before the translation of the relics to Messais, the community seems to have become divided. Ermentaire writes that some of the monks fled to Cunault, which had been granted to them by Charles the Bald after 854, but that the body of Philibert remained at Grand-Lieu with another group of monks, which was nevertheless burnt in 847, as testified to in the Annals of Angoulême.[66] It is possible that the monks left at Grand-Lieu also fled, although Ermentaire is unclear on this point.[67]

In 857, the monks who had left for Cunault returned and sought their relics, in order to bring them to Cunault: 'As no refuge presented itself here and elsewhere, not being able to carry it with us on our journeys, the most holy body was carried away,

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[64] Ermentaire, *De translationibus...s. Filiberti,* I; See also Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert,* pp. 31-2.

[65] Ermentaire, *De translationibus...s. Filiberti,* I.ii, p. 26: *Suffosso igitur septimo die junii mensis sepulturæ loco, cum ipso venerabili tumulo elevatur cum laudibus sanctissimum corpus, ponitur in navi, circio flante, cursu citissimo fertur ad portum qui Furcæ vocatur. Inde vero sacerdotum, levitarum simul ac monachorum humeris elatum ad Ampennum suam defertur villam, atque in ecclesia collocatur.* Translation mine.

[66] Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert,* pp. 39-40; *Annales Engolismenses*, in O. Holder-Egger (ed.), *MGH SS,* XVI (Hanover, 1859), pp. 485-87, s.a. 847, p. 486. Cartron notes that 'La résidence d'un groupe de moines à Deas, gardant les reliques, est confirmée par un diplôme délivré pour le monastère de Deas en 856 *in quo sanctus Filibertus habetur sepultus* (*RAC,* 1, 478, no. 180), at p. 39.

[67] Cartron notes such a possibility, and notes Ermentaire's writing that the monks 'en fuyant, nous avons reçu ça et là en divers lieux, l'hospitalité'. See Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert,* p. 40.

almost snatched from the hands of the Normans rather than transported with glorious song, and was placed at the celebrated place called Cunault since it was necessary for it to be transferred to another location'.[68] From Cunault the relics were brought to Messais in 862, and from there to Tournus in 876. Charles the Bald had given the monks the abbey of Saint-Valérien, the *castrum* and the *villa* of Tournus in 875.[69] According to Cartron, the area accorded well with the political ambitions of Charles the Bald, who sought to shore up those areas loyalties to him and his rule; in addition, the area was generally more well-protected due to its in-land location, despite repeated Viking and Hungarian attacks during this period.[70] The arrival of the relics and the community at Tournus marked the end of their journey that had begun in 836, and was marked by the production of further hagiographies that firmly established the cult of St Philibert throughout Burgundy.[71]

The next few decades were marked with further threats from Scandinavian forces for the monasteries of north-western France. The annals of St Bertin record a number of attacks and translations of relics. According to the annalist, the relics of St Martin were taken from Tours to Corbie in 853 in direct response to a threat of a Viking attack (Tours and the basilica were burned shortly thereafter), and on the

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[68] Ermentaire, *De translationibus...s. Filiberti,* II, Prologue, p. 62: *Sed cum nullum alicubi vel aliunde preberetur refugium, non ferentes quin nobiscum quaquaversum circum ferretur sanctissimus corpus, de ipsis prope Nortmannorum manibus rapitur potius eleptim quam transfertur festivis cum laudibus, atque in memorato qui Conaldus dicitur collocatur loco; ita tamen, ut cum necessitas incumberet, transferri aliorsum potuisset.* Translation mine. See also Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert,* p. 39.

[69] Diplôme du 19 mars 875, *RAC*, II, p. 342, no. 378; Cartron, p. 167; G. Tessier, 'Diplôme de Charles le Chauve pour Saint-Philibert de Tournus', in *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartres*, t. 93 (1932), pp. 197-205.

[70] Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert,* p. 167: 'La Bourgogne est en effet une région continentale et plus protégé où d'autres religieux ont trouvé refuge, malgré la recrudescence des incursions normandes, puis hongroises à l'aube du Xe siècle. La donation de Charles le Chauve s'accorde aussi avec les propres ambitions du souverain et sa politique territoriale'

[71] According to Cartron, Tournus also received relics from Samson, Léonard, Vétérin, Vital, Luçon, Benoit, and Basile; see *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert,* p. 170.

coast, Luçon was burned.[72] In 865, the monastery of St-Benedict on the Loire was attacked.[73] Two years before, the church of St Hilaire had been burned at Poitiers. The city was besieged again in 865 and in 868, at which point the Poitevins won it back and 'offered to Saint Hilaire a portion of the booty which they had taken from the pagans'.[74]

According to Isabelle Cartron, the frequency and importance of Norman raids during the 860s 'is confirmed by the multiplication of refuges conceded to the monasteries of the Loire, most of which were granted by the sovereign'.[75] 'In 862, Charles the Bald gave the villa of Léré in Berry to Saint Martin of Tours to serve as a refuge for them. A few years later, he gave them the villa of Chablis, in Tonnerrois, and confirmed to them the rights over Marsat, in the Auvergne. In 866, the *cella* of Saint-Gondon in Berry was confirmed by the king to the monks of Saint-Florent'.[76] He also arranged for the relics of St Remigius, St Romanus, and St Gildardus to be transferred from Rouen to St-Médard at Soissons between 844 and 847; according to Felice Lifshitz, this effort was because King Charles was 'eager to satisfy the relic-collecting fervor of the monks of one of his favorite residences' at Soissons.[77]

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[72] Annales de Saint-Bertin, s. 853, p. 68, where the relics 'sont mises à l'abri avant l'incendie de la basilique et de la ville, le 8 novembre 853'; *Annales Engolismenses*, a. 853, p. 486. The text is identical to *Chronicon Aquitanicum*, s.a. 853, *MGH SS* ii, pp. 252-3, at p. 253.
[73] Nelson, *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 865, p. 117.
[74] Nelson, *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, s.a. 863, p. 104, s.a. 865, p. 117, and s.a. 868, p. 151; see also Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, p. 43.
[75] Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, p. 45: 'L'importance des raids normands dans les années 860 est confirmée par la multiplication des concessions de refuges aux monastères ligériens, pour la plupart octroyés par le souverain'.
[76] For the 862 grants to St Martin of Tours: Diplôme de Charles le Chauve d'avril 862, *RAC* II, p.32, no. 239; For the 866 grant to St Florent, Concession de Chablis par Charles le Chauve en 867, *RAC*, p. 179, no. 307. For the grant of Marsat to St Martin of Tours, see Confirmation de la *villa* de Marsat en 862 (*RAC*, p. 32, no. 239) and (*RAC*, p. 201, no. 319). Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, pp. 44-45: 'En 862, Charles le Chauve concède à Saint-Martin de Tours la *villa* de Léré en Berry pour leur servir de refuge. Quelques années après, il leur donne la *villa* de Chablis, en Tonnerrois, et leur confirme celle de Marsat, en Auvergne. En 866, la *cella* de Saint-Gondon en Berry est confirmée par le roi aux moines de Saint-Florent.'
[77] A. Poncelet (ed.), 'Vita sancti Gildardi episcopi Rothomagensis et eiusdem translatio Suessiones anno 838-840 facta', *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1889), p. 403; Lifshitz, *Conquest of Pious Neustria*, pp. 116-17; Lifshitz, 'The "Exodus of Holy Bodies" Reconsidered', pp. 329-40. The relics of St Remigius and St Romanus were returned to Rouen after this, and St Romanus became the patron saint of Rouen and

Apparently the monks of St Martin at Tours tried many places as refuges before going to the monastery of St-Germain in Auxerre, including Orléans, Besançon and Troyes.[78] Cartron also notes that most of the refuges sought by the monasteries in the Poitou were grouped in certain regions, specifically Berry, the Auvergne, and Burgundy.[79] The concessions granted by Charles the Bald to the Poitevan monasteries 'show the concern of the religious to prepare for a retreat but also their ability to adapt. Monasteries such as Saint-Martin de Tours and Saint-Philibert managed to obtain domains in compensation for losses or damages committed against them'.[80]

The monks of Tours eventually brought the relics of St Martin to Auxerre, and placed them there next to the shrine of St Germain.[81] William of Malmesbury reports that while the monks of St Germain were content to allow the relics and monks of the community of St Martin to reside with them, it led to some antagonistic disagreements. When supplicants came to the dual shrine, they brought with them donations 'to requite the labours of those who had borne him to this church'. 'A dispute arose about the division of the money', William writes, with 'the Turonians claiming the whole, because their patron had called the contributors together by his miracles: the natives, on the other hand, alleging that St Germain was not unequal in

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the surrounding area in the tenth century. See Lifshitz, *The Dossier of Romanus of Rouen: The Political Uses of Hagiographical Texts* (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1988); ibid., 'Dudo's Historical Narrative and the Norman Succession of 996', *Journal of Medieval History* 20 (1994), pp. 101-20; ibid., 'The Politics of Historiography: the memory of bishops in eleventh-century Rouen', *History & Memory* 10:2 (1998), pp. 118-37; ibid., 'The "Privilege of St Romanus"', pp. 161-70; and ibid., 'Saint Romain de Rouen: missionnaire franc dans la Normandie des vikings', in *La France à l'Ouest: Voix d'Ouest en Europe, Souffles d'Europe en Ouest*, Actes du Colloque International d'Angers, May 1992 (Angers, 1993), pp. 23-30.

[78] Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, p. 45.

[79] Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, p. 45.

[80] Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, pp. 45-46: 'Demandes et concessions témoignent du souci des religieux pour préparer une retraite mais aussi de leur faculté d'adaptation. Des monastères comme Saint-Martin de Tours et Saint-Philibert parviennent à obtenir des domaines, en compensation des pertes ou des dégâts commis.'

[81] *GRA*, pp. 115-16. William's source for this is Odo of Cluny, *De reversione b. Martini a Burgundia* (BHL 5653), cc. 5-6, *PL* cxxxiii, pp. 827-9.

merit, and was of equal kindness; that both indeed had the same power, but that the prerogative of their church preponderated'.[82]

At Auxerre, the adversarial monks decided to test the power of their relative saints. They found a leper and placed him between the bodies overnight. In the morning, they examined the man, and found that the skin on his body nearest to the relics of St Martin was clear, while on the side of St Germain 'it was discoloured with its customary deformity'. They repeated the experiment the next night, turning the other side of the leper's body towards the relics of St Martin, and found the next morning that the leper's skin was 'smooth, perfectly cured' and thus 'declaring the kind condescension of the resident patron, who yielded to the honour of such a welcome stranger'. As a result, William reports that the 'Auxerre monks yielded the donations received at the shrine to the Turonian community, 'till a more favourable gale of peace restored them to their former residence'.[83] It seems that the body of St Martin rested at Auxerre for approximately thirteen years.

The case of St Martin and St Germain at Auxerre is indicative of how relics, once moved, achieved value in their new homes. The relics of St Martin had to prove themselves to be valuable in their new community. As such, they were pushed by the remaining Turonian monks to perform a highly visible miracle, clearing the skin

[82] *GRA*; trans. Giles, pp. 115-16. *Cumque adventantes pro remediorum gratia plurima conferrent, quæ bajulorum onera palparent, ut fieri solet, ex pecuniæ partitione lis commissa; Turonicis totam vendicantibus, quod eorum herus oblatores mirabilibus invitasset; indigenis contra referentibus, Germanum non disparem merito, æqualem officio, et videri quidem amborum esse potentiæ, sed præponderare prærogativam ecclesiæ.*

[83] *GRA* ; trans. Giles, pp. 115-16. *Ad laxandum dubietatis nodum quæritur et ponitur inter duorum sanctorum corpora leprosus, vix solo anhelitu palpitans, cetera tabidus, et in vivo cadavere jam præmortuus; arcetur tota nocte humana custodia, vigilat tantum Martini gloria. Nam postera die apparuit cutis hominis a parte illius splendida, a parte vero Germani solita deformitate lurida. Et ne darent eventui miraculum, obvertunt Martino latus morbidum: jam vero cum prima aurora in lucem proreperet, a festinantibus ministris invenitur vir tota cute integer, tota incolumis, prædicans benivolentiam domestici præsulis, qua cessit honori gratissimi hospitis. Ita Turonici, ex tunc et deinceps, per patroni suffragium tuto familiare cumulabant marsupium, donec pacis aura elementior propriis eos penatibus invexit.*

deformity of the leper. Far from being hidden from view, the relics were displayed in an above-ground tomb and thereby exhibited to the public. This added value to the cult, which in turn received donations, including those that had seemingly been set aside for St Germain and the Auxerre community. It is likely that the only reason that the relics were not stolen by the Auxerre monks is that they were still accompanied by the Turonian community.

St Maur (Maurus) at Glanfeuil was another monastery that was granted a refuge by Charles the Bald.[84] Their movement was one that was recorded in a contemporaneous hagiographical account, written by the abbot of Glanfeuil, Odo.[85] Sometime shortly after 868, Odo wrote the *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, which recorded the translation of the community and their relics from Glanfeuil to Fossés in Paris.[86] According to Odo, they 'carried the relics of the blessed man away from the monastery with the Northmen in pursuit'.[87] They went first to the village of Scamerato, where a woman named Ratburgis was healed from 'frequent vomiting of blood'.[88] After leaving Scamerato, they travelled to Sées. Here, Odo records that Hildebrand, the bishop of Poitou, 'was occupied with a large expedition against the Northmen that had been announced to the entire population' and was thus 'unable to be present to welcome the holy man's relics or to arrange for their temporary

[84] See J.B. Wickstrom, 'Claiming St Maurus of Glanfeuil: an eleventh-century sermon on Fossés', *Revue bénédictine* 123:2 (2013), pp. 274-90; and J.B. Wickstrom, 'Cluny, Cîteaux, and Blessed Maurus of Glanfeuil', *Revue bénédictine* 113:1 (2003), pp. 124-34.
[85] He was abbot at Glanfeuil from 861 and at Fossés from 868.
[86] Hence cited as *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, in J.B. Wickstrom (ed. and trans.), *The Life and Miracles of Saint Maurus: Disciple of Benedict, Apostle to France* (Oxford, 2005). Wickstrom created his English translation from the manuscript edition BN MS Latin 3, ff, 402r-407r, which may be the autograph copy by Odo. A partial edition is contained in *Ex Odonis Miraculis s. Mauri*, in O. Holder-Egger (ed.), *Ex Adrevaldi Floriocensis miracles s. Benedicti*, *MGH SS* 15.1 (Hannover, 1887), pp. 462-72, although Wickstrom notes that it omits most of the miracle stories.
[87] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 35, p. 139.
[88] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 35-36, pp. 139-40. In her discussion of this movement, Cartron refers to Scamerato as Eschemiré, and the location in Sées as Mesles-en-Séois. See Cartron, *Les pérégrinations de Saint-Philibert*, p. 46.

housing'.[89] Hildebrand had, however, ordered his archdeacon to arrange for a refuge, and the monks of Glanfeuil were given an estate at Merolles at the suggestion of Bishop Ebroin. They stayed there for a year and a half, and according to Odo, many miracles were performed there, especially those suffering from fevers, which appeared to be a speciality of St Maur.[90] They were driven away from Sées 'through fear of unexpected and repeated pagan incursions' and 'carried the relics of the holy man to this side of the Saône River, where they were placed on the property of Count Audonis and housed with due reverence'.[91] Here they rested for another year and a half, 'and the name of the holy man spread round the area owing to the well-known cure of sixteen notables'.[92] Finally, approximately five years after they had left Glanfeuil, the monks reached Fossés and deposited the relics there on 13 November, 867. Charles the Bald then visited the shrine on 5 February, 868, and gave to the saint and his community 'two very precious coverings, with which the holy man's relics might be arrayed on procession days and for the festivities of all other solemn feasts'.[93]

The account of Maur's translation is framed within the context of the Viking invasions, but also the foundation of Glanfeuil as an independent and powerful monastery. The book begins with a history of the monastery from about 750, following its restoration under the Carolingians in the 830s, and ends with an account of Odo's abbacy from 861-868.[94] Before recounting his own abbacy, however, Odo describes at length the abbacy of Gauzlinus (845-853). Odo writes that shortly after his abbacy began, Gauzlinus had performed an intra-site translation of Maur's relics,

[89] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 38, p. 141.
[90] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 38-39, pp. 141-42.
[91] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 40, p. 142.
[92] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 40, p. 142.
[93] *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 41, pp. 142-43.
[94] Wickstrom, *Life and Miracles of Saint Maurus*, p. 103.

and had also 'uncovered relics of Saints Stephen and Peter, which associated the first deacon and martyr of the church, as well as with Peter, with whom Maurus had shared the ability to walk on water and the role of immediate successor to a great founder', in Maur's case, as successor to St Benedict.[95] This intra-site translation was performed at a time when the cult of St Benedict was being reinvigorated at Fleury, and the cult of St Scholastica (another contemporary of St Benedict) was being developed at Le Mans, placing Maur's cult firmly in the company of others in the region.

The miracles which Odo includes also indicate the context in which Maur's relics were transferred from Glanfeuil to Fossés. As noted above, the first section of the *Libellus Miraculorum* is a history of the abbey. The second section records miracles that took place at Glanfeuil under Odo's abbacy. The miracles in this section are primarily 'vengeance stories', where the saint punished those who had stolen lands or goods from him (these types of miracles will be dealt with in more detail in Chapter 6). The miracles are all centred, however, on Glanfeuil or its immediate area. The last section of the book records the translation of Maur's relics from Glanfeuil to Fossés between 863 and 868, and the miracles that occurred along the journey. The miracles in this section are all healing miracles, and describe those who were healed as coming either from quite a distance to visit the relics, or as being healed along the journey in a variety of locations. According to Wickstrom, these miracles 'demonstrated that the power of the saint was not confined to his burial place'.[96] It seems that the account of Maur's translation was an attempt to establish St Maur as a powerful regional saint, able to work miracles throughout a wide area of Francia, and especially in conjunction with other regional saints associated with St Benedict. As

[95] Wickstrom, *Life and Miracles of Saint Maurus*, p. 109; *Libellus miraculorum s. Mauri*, 22-23, pp. 128-29.
[96] Wickstrom, *Life and Miracles of Saint Maurus*, p. 111.

Wickstrom concludes, 'Odo's account transformed what must have been for his community a journey of great difficulty, anxiety, and dispossession into a triumphant procession of the relics of Maurus through crowds of admiring devotees…to its culmination in the homage rendered to Maurus from the ruler of the western empire'.[97] That Odo was successful in building this image of Maur as a powerful regional saint is clear from the fact that Fossés elected Odo abbot soon after his community transplanted itself at Fossés, and that they refused to return the relics of St Maur to Glanfeuil when the danger had passed.[98] As a result, Glanfeuil was reduced to being a subsidiary house of Fossés, while the latter became a powerful monastery in the area around Paris.

Theft from both the Scandinavians and from other Frankish armies was a constant threat in France throughout the ninth and tenth centuries. At St-Germain-des-Près, after the community had decided that the threat had passed in the mid-840s and that it was safe for them to return with the body of their patron saint St Germanus, they heard 'that a large band of robbers had gathered with the intention of stealing the church's treasure and all that the brothers had with them, which presumably included the precious relics'.[99] At Fontenelle, in 833, 'robbers broke through the wall of the church of Saint Wandrille and stole a gold reliquary containing a fragment of the true cross'.[100] Such was also the case in the late ninth century, when the monks of Charroux in Poitou brought a fragment of the True Cross with them to Angoulême for safe-keeping. This did not go as planned, however, for when the threat had passed, the Charroux community had a difficult time in reclaiming their relic. Count Vulgrin of Aquitaine and his son Alduin had 'a church built for the relic and called upon his

[97] Wickstrom, *Life and Miracles of Saint Maurus*, p. 112.
[98] Wickstrom, *Life and Miracles of Saint Maurus*, p. 113.
[99] Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', p. 81.
[100] Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', p. 81.

cousin, Fredebert, who was a bishop in Francia, to perform the consecration. Fredebert came as requested, but died at the altar of the new church after performing the mass. Despite this inauspicious development, Alduin persisted in refusing to return the relic, for which error he was plagued by years of illness and his realm devastated by recurring famines'. The relic was eventually returned in 915, 'encased in a new gold reliquary encrusted with gems; the count also gave an estate to Charroux at this time'.[101]

Overall, it thus seems that the Franks moved their relics more frequently than their English counterparts. It also seems that some of the original communities thought, at least originally, that after the threat had passed they would be able to return with their relics to their original monastery, as was the case with St Martin of Tours. After the threat of invasion had lifted, some communities did return with their relics, and used the authority of their patron saint to help them rebuild. However, some of the relics never did return to their home monastery, and either moved permanently with their community to a new location, usually a dependent or mother house (such as St Philibert and St Maur respectively), or were stolen by their new communities (such as at Figeac and Charroux). The literary evidence for French relic movements during this period thus becomes extremely fraught. A community could record a movement as a *furtum sacrum* that was, in actuality, an attempt to hide the relics from a perceived or actual invasion. The opposite could also hold true. In the next section, these complicated movements are analysed through a case study of one particular relic movement: the translation of St Foy from Agen to Conques in 866.

[101] Jones, 'Pitying the Desolation', pp. 91-2. See also Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon* 3.23, pp. 144-5; J. Boussard (ed.), *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensium* (Paris, 1957), 7; and P. de Fleury (ed.), 'Petites chroniques du moine de Saint-Cybard d'Angoulême', *Bulletin de la Société archéologique et historique de la Charente*, 5th series, 4 (1881), p. 20.

The Movement of St Foy: Hidden Relics or Furtum Sacrum*?*

In Frankish relic movements of the early medieval period, there is a certain tension between possible motivating factors for moving the relics. In some cases, this means that a hagiographer will blame the Vikings and other invading forces for the destruction of a monastic house and the loss of a set of relics, in order to avoid the stigma that this could place on the monastery in question. This stigma arose primarily out of the idea that a powerful saint should protect their patrimony, and in turn, that a community should be able to protect its most precious asset. It is thus possible that some relic movements were disguised as other types of movements in order to hide the fact that the house was unable to fulfil its duties in regard to its relics.

One example of such a disjuncture between the cause of a relic movement and how it was presented in a hagiography might be the *translatio* of St Foy in 866. There are two accounts of this, the first written in verse by an anonymous author from Conques *c.* 1020-1060, and another metrical account, perhaps written by the same author (certainly produced by the same scriptorium) at Conques after 1060 and based almost entirely on the *translatio.*[102] According to the anonymous verse account, henceforth known as the *Translatio s. Fidis*, the relics of St Foy were stolen from their original resting place in Agen by a monk of Conques. They were then transferred to Conques and used to establish a popular and secure cult.

This account of a *furtum sacrum* has hardly been questioned by historians. As a whole, however, the account follows the prescribed literary form for a *furtum*

[102] The verse translation is the *Translatio altera S. Fidis virg. et mart. ad monasterium conchense* [BHL 2939, 2940], *AASS*, Oct. III, pp. 294-300. There is also a metric translation, known as the *Translatio metrica s. Fidis virg. et mart. ad monasterium conchacense* [BHL 2941], *AASS*, Oct. III, pp. 289-94. There is also a *miracula* by Bernard of Angers. All have been translated by Pamela Sheingorn. See Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 26.

sacrum. This form, as analysed by Patrick Geary, was followed by most other hagiographers by the mid-tenth century when the *Translatio s. Fidis* was written. Like other *memoria*, the *translatio* of St Foy was written with specific socio-political motivations in mind. We might question, therefore, whether these socio-political motivations hid the real motivation behind moving St Foy's relics. Could it be that the relics of St Foy were brought to Conques not as the result of a theft, but instead to protect the relics during the Viking invasions, with every intention to be returned to Agen once the threat had passed? Is the account given in the *translatio* an attempt on the part of the community at Conques to justify the theft of relics that were given to them in good faith to be hidden away? In answering these questions, it is necessary to examine the *topoi* used by the author, the structure of the account, and the places mentioned in the journey. Doing so, alongside understanding the historical context of the Garonne valley and the community at Conques, might allow us to piece together a more accurate picture of events.

The Historical Rise of the Community at Conques

Conques is located on the Dourdou de Conques and Ouche rivers, in a valley between large hillsides.[103] The community at Conques had a reputation, by the 860s, of attempting relic thefts for their own economic and political gains. In 855, the community had first decided to acquire a set of relics. They settled first on St Vincent of Saragossa, sending two monks named Hildebertus and Audaldus to steal the relics from their tomb in Valencia. The *translatio* account makes it apparent that the relics

[103] Conques would have been inaccessible by boat from the Atlantic, and although the Vikings did occasionally go over-land on raids, this was unlikely to occur at Conques.

did not belong in Valencia. St Vincent appears to Hildebertus in a dream, telling him that stealing the relics is appropriate because the church in which the relics had been housed was unworthy, having been destroyed by 'pagans'. Having the saint's apparent approval, Audaldus travelled to Valencia, found the tomb, and upon opening it, found it had a 'fragrant odour'. Taking the relics, he hid them in a sack of palm branches, but was soon captured by a member of the Spanish community, and the relics were removed from his care. Coming back home empty-handed, Audaldus was eventually forced out of the community at Conques.[104] In the wake of this misfortune, the community at Conques set their sights on another St Vincent, this time of Pompéjac, a town about eighty-five kilometres west of Agen. These relics were acquired successfully through another *furtum sacrum*, although the cult of St Vincent at Conques would quickly be overshadowed by that of St Foy.[105]

It is clear that the community at Conques felt they needed a powerful set of relics in the period. The exact reason for this pervasive feeling remains unclear. Pamela Sheingorn and Patrick Geary connect it to a dispute involving Conques and a new monastery nearby at Figeac, called New Conques.[106] New Conques was created in 838 in a diploma given by Pippin I (797-838), who thought that moving the community to 'a more accessible location at Figeac' was warranted by their 'dwindling resources'.[107] Figeac was more accessible, located approximately forty kilometres away from Conques on the Célé River, and like Conques, it was on the *Via*

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[104] Aimoinus, *Translatio b. Vincentii*, *PL* 126, pp. 1014-1026. St Vincent (d. 304) was a martyr, probably during the persecutions by Diocletian and Maximilian. See also *Acta ex plurimis veteribus* [BHL 8628], *AASS*, Jan. II, 22, pp. 394-8; *De reliquiis S. Vincentii*, *AASS*, Jan. II, pp. 398-400; *Historia translationis auctore Aimoino Monacho* [BHL 8644], *AASS*, Jan. II, pp. 401-5; *De reliquiis s. Vincentii in Lusitaniam translatis, AASS*, Jan. II, pp. 406-8; *Narratio translationis brachij s. Vincentij martyris* [BHL 8652], *AASS*, Jan. II, 22, pp. 413-14; L. de Lacger, 'Saint Vincent de Sarragosse', *Revue d'histoire de l'Eglise de France* 13: 60 (1927), pp. 307-58; and H. Delehaye, *Les origins du culte des martyrs*, Société de Bollandistes 20 (1933), pp. 367-8.
[105] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 62.
[106] See Geary's analysis of the *translatio* in *Furta Sacra*, pp. 46-9.
[107] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 8.

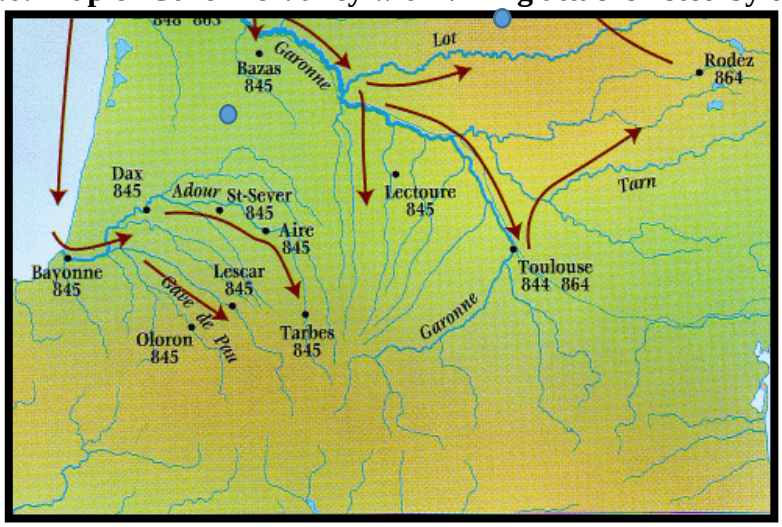
Podensis.[108] The monks of Conques, however, refused to move, leading to a centuries-long conflict between the two communities. Numerous attempts were made on the part of secular and religious authorities to mend the breach. One such attempt was made by the Figeac community between 1084 and 1096, when they issued to themselves a false diploma, said to be from 755, granting them rights to the Conques monastery (this effort was ultimately unsuccessful).[109] A final resolution came in 1096 at the council of Nîmes, where the two communities were formally separated.[110] From this dispute, it seems likely that the community at Conques thought that a powerful set of relics would greatly aid their case against Figeac. As Sheingorn asserts, 'Conques needed a power base of its own in order to maintain its independent existence, and the appropriate power base in the ninth century was a miracle-working saint. Not having such a saint, the monks determined to acquire one through theft, and eventually set their sights on Foy.'[111]

The Vikings were active in the Garonne valley in 844, 845, and 864. During one of these attacks, the monastery at Agen was destroyed, and their relics were dispersed throughout the rest of the region. One account, 'a fragment of the prologue to the account of a miracle worked at Périgueux by the relics of Bishop Phebade', cites that Agen was a city 'which once surpassed all the towns of Aquitaine in the illustrious patronage of its saints now remains widowed by almost all of them as a result of some unknown sin; some having been carried off by force, others by

[108] For more on the foundation of Figeac, see L. Levillain (ed.), *Recueil des actes de Pépin I et de Pépin II rois d'Aquitaine (814-848)* (Paris, 1926), pp. xx and 133-51.
[109] P. Wolff, 'Notes sur le faux diplome de 755 pour le monastere de Figeac', in *Figeac et le Quercy: Actes du XXIIIe Congrès d'études régionales organisé à Figeac les 2-4 juin 1967 par la Société des Études du Lot*. Fédération des Sociétés Académiques et Savantes Languedoc-Pyrénées-Gascogne, (1969), pp. 83-122.
[110] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 8.
[111] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 8. See also F. Taylor, *Miracula, Saints' Cults and Socio-Political Landscapes: Bobbio, Conques, and Post-Carolingian Society*, Ph.D. diss. (University of Nottingham, 2012), p. 117.

theft…In diverse places there are those who tell you 'Here is the body of Martyr so-and-so, translated from Agen…' and which, by the eleventh century, lay in a new location in Aquitaine.[112]

Fig. 4.6: Map of Garonne Valley with Viking attacks listed by date[113]



The movement of St Foy's relics from Agen to Conques has been dated by Ferdinand Lot and Léon Levillain to 14 January, 865 or 866.[114] According to Geary, 'Both scholars accepted the details of the *translationes*, and used these details, the cartulary of Conques, and the martyrology of Ado of Vienne to construct their arguments'.[115] Alternatively, Jean Angély argues that the translation never occurred, because the monastery at Agen would have been destroyed by 865 or 866, and thus that alternative arrangements must have already occurred, and that Arinisdus could not possibly have visited the ruined monastery.[116] He also insists that the *Translatio s.*

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[112] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 47; Bouillet, *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, pp. 268-9. *...Urbs Aginnum super omnes urbes Aquitaniæ multis olim sanctorum patrociuiis illustris emicuit, quibus pene omnibus temporum processa, ignoto quo nescio suo peccato, viduata remansit, partim vi, partim furto sublatis. Invenies, Aquitanine viator, quod ipse experimento comperi, diversis in locis, qui tibi dicant: Hoc est corpus illius martyris ab Aginno translatum...*

[113] Renaud, *Les Vikings en France*.

[114] F. Lot, 'Sur la date de la translation des reliques de sainte Foi d'Agen à Conques', *Annales du Midi*, vol. 16 (1904) and L. Levillain, 'Notes sur l'abbaye de Conques', *Revue Mabillon*, vol. 3 (1907); both come to the same date of January 14, 865 or 866, which is the date used by Sheingorn and Geary.

[115] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 95.

[116] J. Angély, 'La prétendue tumulation de Sainte Foy d'Agen à Conques', *Revue de l'Agenais: Bulletin de la Société académique d'Agen*, vol. 76 (1950), pp. 99-102, and ibid., *La passion de Sainte Foy* (Agen, 1956). The destruction of Agen is backed up in passing by Geary, who insists that the 'destruction of

Fidis was pure literary fiction, based on a previous account, the *Translatio s. Faustæ*; he 'contends that the similarity proves a direct dependence of the' one upon the other, 'negating any possible historical value in the accounts'.

Another scholar to suggest that the *furtum sacrum* was not all that it seemed is Jean-Claude Fau, in 1990.[117] Fau's theory is that the Agenais community hid the relics at Conques, 'perhaps on the advice, not devoid of ulterior motive, of one of the monks from the Rouergue abbey' in the face of repeated Norman attacks in the early and mid-860s. When the abbey at Agen was destroyed, the community was unable to retrieve their relics, and as time passed, the community at Conques failed to return the relics to their rightful owner, finally claiming their acquisition through theft and recording this in the *translatio* account.[118] Other scholars have only briefly mentioned this theory, including Sheingorn, who acknowledges it only in a brief citation.[119] Regardless, it must be concluded that by 883 Conques was widely recognised as the home of St Foy.

The question is thus: could the translation of Foy's relics in 866 have been a purposeful journey, initiated by the Agenais, to protect their relics at Conques, rather

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the town and the church of Saint Foy would have been exactly the sort of circumstances to result in a theft or a claim of a theft by more fortunate neighbors'; see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 141.

[117] J.C. Fau, *Rouergue Roman*, 3rd ed., La nuit des temps 17 (Saint-Léger-Vauban, 1990). For more on the history of the region discussed, see H. Enjalbert and G. Cholvy (eds.), *Histoire du Rouergue* (Toulouse, 1987).

[118] Fau, *Rouergue Roman*, p. 86: 'Une explication serait possible en replaçant le rapt dans son context historique, c'est-à-dire, vers 866, au plus fort des invasions normandes. Après le siege de Toulouse de 862, la vallée de la Garonne, particulièrement vulnerable, vit encore reparaître les Vikings à plusieurs reprises, en 864 notamment. L'intense terror qu'ils inspirent, déclenche l'exode des populations vers les regions montagneuses, hors d'atteinte des barques normandes. Devant la menace sans cesse renouvelée, on peut croire que les moines Agenais aient songé à metre en lieu sûr leurs précieuses reliques. S'ils choisissent Conques, ce fut peut-être sur les conseils, non dépourvus d'arrière-pensée de l'un des leurs, originaire de l'abbaye rouergate. Puis le temps passa. La persistence du danger normand pendant de longues décennies, ou même la ruine du monastère d'Agen, expliqueraient que le corps de la sainte ne soit jamais retourné à ses légitimes propriétaire'.

[119] See Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 286, n. 14, where Sheingorn writes, 'Jean-Claude Fau suggests an alternate scenario for the acquisition of Foy's relics. Pointing out that Viking raids up the Garonne River were frequent in the years around 866, he surmises that the relics of Foy may have been taken to Conques deliberately for safe-keeping (Rouergue Roman, 86). On relic thefts in general, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*'. The placement of Geary's name and the mention of furta sacra here may have been done deliberately to discredit Fau's suggestion.

than a straightforward *furtum sacrum*? We know of at least one other case where the story of a sacred theft was fabricated so as to justify the acquisition of the relics by other means: the 'theft' of St Sanctinus by the monks of Verdun in the eleventh century, which Geary asserts is 'either a fabrication or at least a highly inventive version of what actually happened'.[120] It is true that the Vikings did invade the Garonne valley; it is also apparent that the monastery at Agen was destroyed by the Normans, likely after the raids in 864. It is thus plausible that the relics of St Foy could have been placed in the hands of the monks at Conques for safe-keeping, with the intention that they would be returned once the community at Agen re-established itself.

The relics of St Foy had been interred at Agen, according to the *translatio,* in 'a precious mausoleum, carved from marble, inside the basilica. Letters briefly spelling out the title of her *Passio* were carved on it to transmit the truth of history down to the present'.[121] It is also well attested in the account that Foy had performed many miracles in her time at Agen, 'giving sight to the blind, restoring hearing to the deaf, curing those possessed by the devil, and driving out all kinds of infirmities from various invalids'.[122] In the mid-800s, the community of Conques was without a set of valuable relics. According to the *Translatio s. Fidis*, 'Often these highly honourable men spoke together about the prodigious miracles of the virgin'. Soon, 'an opportune suggestion caught their interest and unexpectedly there was a reason for them to consider how they could bring it about that the most holy martyr's body would come

[120] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 72.
[121] *Translatio s. Fidis*, i.5, col. 295D-E; trans. Sheingorn, p. 265. *…beatissimam namque virginem Fidem, quæ cæteros in palma victoriæ præcellit, in basilicam eamdem cum maxima honorificentia mausoleo precioso, marmore exciso, commendavit, in quo, ut gestæ rei usque hodie prodit veritas, litterarum anaglypha titulus passionis ejus sub fastigio brevitatis inscriptus est…*
[122] *Translatio s. Fidis*, i.6, col. 295E; trans. Sheingorn, p. 265. *Coeperat enim prælibata Christi sponsa et martyr Fides tantis miraculorum signis præfulgere, ut cæcos illuminaret, surdis auditum redderet, energumenos curaret, et omnia infirmitatum genera a variis languidis depelleret.*

into their possession'.[123] They summoned a monk named Arinisdus, a secular cleric in Conques, to go to Agen. Arinisdus was a good man, 'prudent…quick-witted, and outstanding in every aspect of his character'. Together, the community 'worked out the entire sequence of the proposed matter and, as it was necessary, they cleverly worked out how, if fate should assent, it would be accomplished openly'.[124]

In the second chapter, the reader is told about the theft of the relics. Arinisdus pretended to be a pilgrim in order to gain the trust of the Agenais monks, and stayed for some time before he was able to convince the monks of Agen to allow him to keep watch over the relics overnight.[125] In the middle of the night, he attempted to steal the relics, but was unable to open the tomb, which was covered with a large stone that was held in place by iron seals. 'Arinisdus didn't know how to lift it intact, so he struck it at the foot. The tomb partly opened and he very diligently gathered up the most sacred body. Lifting it out of the tomb very reverently, he put it into a small sack that was very clean, exalting and magnifying God'.[126] Retreating towards Conques, he was chased by the townspeople and monastic community of Agen, who pursued him, desperate to retrieve the remains of their patron saint. Arinisdus hid himself from his pursuers successfully, however, and travelled without much incident from Agen to Conques.

The first town that Arinisdus reaches in the *Translatio s. Fidis* is Lalbenque. When the Agenais who were pursuing him caught up to him, Arinisdus 'feigned an identity' while being interrogated, and then 'stretched his exhausted body on the

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[123] *Translatio s. Fidis*, p. 266.
[124] *Translatio s. Fidis*, i.8, cols. 296A-B; trans. Sheingorn, p. 266. See also footnote 133, below.
[125] One extant manuscript says as long as ten years, although the manuscript used by Sheingorn (Vatican MS Reg. lat. 467, fols. 6-14) only indicates that it was a lengthy period. *Translatio s. Fidis*, p. 267.
[126] *Translatio s. Fidis*, i.11, cols. 296C-D; trans. Sheingorn, p. 268. *Sed quia lapis coopertorius præ sigillis ferreis, quibus ad subteriorem firmiter se tenuit, immobilis mansit, et erigi ab eo integer nequiverat, ex parte pedum collisus est, tumuloque partim aperto sacratissimum corpus diligentissime collegit, indeque illud venerabillime sublevans, sacculo mundissimo, ovans Deumque magnificans, intulit.*

ground as if to rest and turned his face to the earth, so that he wouldn't be recognized'.[127] His pursuers failed to recognize him, for 'although they were staring right at him with a fixed gaze', and 'although they were looking at a fellow countryman as well as a favoured citizen whom they had seen on a daily basis at home and with whom they had spoken daily, it was as if their seeing eyes had been blinded, for they recognized him neither by inspecting his height nor by hearing his voice'.[128] Escaping detection, then, Arinisdus travels on to Figeac, where he encounters a blind man on the road. This man 'had received divine revelations in dreams that he would be cured of his blindness when the holy virgin passed by'. As the relics travelled past him, 'he reached out boldly and demanded to be healed and, when he touched the veil covering the body, he suddenly regained his sight'.[129]

The healing of the blind could be an assertion of the saint's power, and therefore, their economic status. That is to say, healing the blind, someone who could not *physically see* the sacred before them, was an assertion that the relics (and the saint therefore) were so powerful that their authority could not be hidden through physical means. Their sacred authority was so imbued in the relics that even those who did not know what was in the bag or who the bones were should be able to *sense* their power. Performing miracles while hidden, as these relics very often were, was therefore an assertion of the saint's sacred authority; this means that saints' relics

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[127] *Translatio s. Fidis*, ii.15, cols. 297E-F; trans. Sheingorn, p. 269. *De hac nempe interrogatione idem vir Dei nimio timore perterritus oppido se fessum, supra id, quod fuit, fingens, fatigata membra veluti pro quiete, ob hoc, ne dignosceretur, humo prostravit, et vultum ad terram convertit…*

[128] *Translatio s. Fidis*, ii.14, col. 297E; trans. Sheingorn, p. 269. *Ipse enimvero, quamvis infixa oculorum acie eum intuerentur, ita tamen mira Dei fortitudo affuit, quem non modo compatriotam, quin etiam civem atque clientulum indies domi conspexerant, et cui dietim consermocinaverant, quasi videntibus oculis excoecati, neque statura eum inspiciendo, neque vocis proprietatem audiendo agnoverunt.*

[129] *Translatio s. Fidis*, ii.17, col. 298A-B; trans. Sheingorn, p. 270. *Obtigit siquidem, cum vicum quemdam, Figiacum vocatum, assidua festinatione immaniter agitatus, idem pertransiret, cæcus quidam, cui jam pridem divinitus in somnis revelatum fuerat, quod in ejusdem sanctæ Virginis transmigratione illuminaretur, adventus item corporis illius, ut a Deo præsagium hoc percepit, gnarus, audacter id ipsum, lucem diei postulando, petiit, et ut velamen, quo obsitum fuit, tetigit, repente oculorum lumen recepit.*

which were credited with this particular type of healing could theoretically be argued to have been more valuable than their counterparts, because their sacred value could literally not be disguised by the profanity of their bodily form. Thus, the healing of the blind man that occurs at Figeac in the *Translatio s. Fidis* is likely an attempt on the part of the author to highlight the power of these new relics held at Conques; that it took place in Figeac might imply that the author knew of the dispute between the two communities and symbolically sought to assert the authority of Conques over that of the community of New Conques at Figeac.

There are two more motifs that occur in the *Translatio s. Fidis* that do not strictly follow the same narrative structure as other sacred thefts. The first occurs during the pursuit of Arinisdus by the Agenais. When the pursuers set off from Agen, they were immediately sent 'along the route leading from Agen to the region of Conques', before turning around and heading in the opposite direction toward Gascony.[130] It is possible that this may be a reference to a previous relationship or understanding between the communities of Conques and Agen, that if Agen were attacked, the relics would be sent to Conques. This could be reinforced by the first chapter of the book, when the anonymous author discusses how the monks might acquire St Foy's relics from Agen. The author writes that 'an opportune suggestion caught their interest and unexpectedly there was a reason for them to consider how they could bring it about that the most holy martyr's body would come into their possession'. After summoning Arinisdus, 'the monks worked out the entire sequence of the proposed matter and, as it was necessary, they cleverly worked out how, if fate should assent, it would be accomplished openly.'[131] It is the suggestion of the

[130] *Translatio s. Fidis*, ii.13, col. 297D; trans. Sheingorn, p. 268. *Missis itaque exploratoribus validis per viam, quæ ducit ab Agenno in partes Conchacensis…*
[131] *Translatio s. Fidis*, i.8, col. 296A-B; trans. Sheingorn, p. 266. *Hi tanti viri, dum sæpius de supra taxatæ Virginis prodigiis ad invicem sermones conferrent, dextra interim suggestione excitati, ex*

'openness' of the plan, and the 'opportune suggestion' for the relics' removal that is striking here. While there is no explicit mention that the monks from Agen were involved in this discussion, it is also unclear at this point in the account whether the monks were in fact planning to steal the relics or whether they were merely making plans on what they should do if the Agen community was attacked and the relics needed to be removed to a safer location.

This is only a possibility, of course, but the idea of the pursuers going directly to Conques would seem to contradict the rest of the story. The author repeatedly notes that Arinisdus disguised his identity from the Agenais community and 'lived in the garb of a pilgrim', taking 'pains to keep discreetly secret anything associated with his mission'.[132] It is possible that the pursuit was only framed as a pursuit; it could also be that the Agen community left with their relics in the face of a Viking attack and headed out towards Conques, where the relics would be better protected. In this scenario, the relics could either have been given to Arinisdus or another monk at Conques, or stolen by the Conques community on the road or once they had reached Conques.

Another hint that the *furtum sacrum* of Foy's relics might not be as it may seem occurs at the end of the *translatio.* The monks of Conques, the author writes, built a grand new basilica in which to house their new relics, where 'the sacred

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improviso causa consilii apud eos exititit, quonam modo eventus rei examinaretur, ut sanctissimæ Martyris corpus in salutem patriæ et in redemptionem multorum ad se transferretur. Accersito igitur quodam monacho, nomine Arinisdo, qui in parrochia ejusdem monasterii pro patrum communi utilitate ad cujusdam ecclesiæ curam agendam constitutus fuerat, qui in concilio providus, in prudentia strenuus et in omni morum habitudine erat præclarus; cum quo vero totius commoditatis viro omnem propositæ rei seriem disponentes, atque, prout necessitas exigebat, quomodo, si sors concederet, aperte perficeretur, artificantes, cum itineris duce post peractum consilium Agennum direxerunt.

[132] *Translatio s. Fidis*, i.9, col. 296B; trans. Sheingorn, p. 267. *Cum utique talis secreti legatus illo pervenisset, mentemque in diversa versaret, ut res postulaverat, cuncta secum solerter perspexerat, sub peregrinique habitu ibidem degens, ut proselitum decuit, se suaque cuncta caute habuit, quantum ad rem pertinuit, modeste se occultare studuit, perpetuam stationem permanendi sub specie simplicitatis finxit, bonæque conversationis studium veraciter omnibus præbuit.*

virgin's body was to be entrusted…to a tomb that would provide easier access for all those who constantly came to Conques to see it'.[133] When it came time, however, to move the relics into their new tomb, the body 'had such great weight that it remained fixed in place, staying as steadfastly immobile as a mountain'. The monks feared that they were not worthy enough to move the holy body, so they fasted and chastised themselves, trying again and again to move the body into the new tomb. 'They feared that if they exceeded a third attempt, someone would think the men of this monastery with such a famous and lofty name were stuffed with foolishness or that they would suffer some measure of punishment, not without cause. Therefore they withdrew completely from any further attempt to carry that holy body to the aforementioned place'.[134] The author then writes that the monks 'recognized that what they had tried to do was unlawful and forbidden to them by God's command'. The author ends with the suggestion that Foy herself allowed her relics to be moved after her magnificent golden reliquary had been built. This is an unusual trope for a theft account. It is not uncommon for the saint to appear to the thief and give permission for the movement from one place to another; likewise, it is not uncommon in *translationes* for the reliquary to seemingly refuse to be moved. Such explanations are often given when no other account can be found for why a set of relics ended up in a particular location.

[133] *Translatio s. Fidis*, ii.21, col. 298E; trans. Sheingorn, p. 272. *…in qua sacræ Virginis corpus tumulationi commendaretur, quo facilior aditus cunctis illuc confluentibus illudque visentibus assidue pateret.*

[134] *Translatio s. Fidis*, ii.22, col. 298F; trans. Sheingorn, p. 272. *His quoque sublimis meriti viris sollicito animo ad almificum corpus accedentibus, atque omni conamine religionis illud sublevare incipientibus, supremi opificis Christi mirificatione assistente, tanto pondere fixum permansit, ut ad montis cujusdam modum immobile persisteret. Illi profecto, non fat condigne hoc sacramentum attigisse reverentes, in jejuniorum orationumque afflictione constituti, iterumque aggredientes, nec ita operis incoeptio ad votum provenit. Adulterinum vero adhuc culpæ fragilitatis eorum, ne ad effectum perduxissent, reputantes, diuturnæ rursus parcimoniæ macerationi dediti, tertioque probantes, sed minime labor in actu peragendæ rei proficiebat. Ne autem tot famosi atque ardui nominis hujusce monasterii viri, insulsi, sive eorum scientia inepta a quoquam deputaretur, vel neu casu super hac protervia, si tertium aditum transcenderent, ex qualibet parte plecterentur, sacrificum idem ad prælibatum locum deportare ulterius tentare sese penitus desierunt.*

It is unusual, however, for the saint to apparently enforce their wishes in a refusal to move their reliquary at the end of a *translatio* when the body has already reached its final destination. The refusal may have been a necessary inclusion if the author was arguing against the idea that the relics were meant to be in Agen, and that, having been given to Conques, were appropriated by that community without the consent of the Agenais. St Foy's refusal to have her reliquary moved would seem to enforce the idea that the relics belonged in Conques instead of in Agen.

Certainly, the other plausible option is that the *furtum sacrum* was, in fact, the real story. In this case, it could be that the Viking invasion provided the monks of Conques with a propitious opening in which to steal away the relics, as Geary suggested. Indeed, this was reportedly the case when the monks of Figeac acquired the relics of St Bibanus from Saintes in the eleventh century.[135] Again, considering the dispute with Conques, the monks of Figeac sought a powerful patron to increase their political and economic standing, so the abbot of Figeac, Haigmar, sent some monks to Saintes 'to see what they could carry off. They arrived at just the right time', the author writes, 'since shortly after they arrived the Normans attacked Saintes and all of the inhabitants ran to the defence of their city. The monks were able to use this moment of panic to carry off Saint Bibanus's remains, which, after a number of miracles, arrived in Figeac.'[136]

Certainty is hardly ever an option in history, especially in cases like these. What is clear, however, is that while the *translatio* and *furtum sacrum* of St Foy were treated in the past as historical certainty, we can no longer participate in such an understanding of events. Far from being a straightforward theft, the translation of St

[135] *Translatio s. Viviani episcopi in coenobium Figiacense et eiusdem miracula*, *Analecta Bollandiana* 8 (1899), pp. 252-84; Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 49; and Coupland, 'Holy Ground?', p. 81.
[136] Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 62.

Foy's relics to Conques was shaped by a number of factors, one of which happened to be the Viking invasion of the Garonne valley, which could possibly have dictated where the relics ended their journey. The literary explanation of this movement, in the *Translatio s. Fidis*, leaves some intriguing clues as to how this theft may have occurred in reality. The structure of the account, which follows the pattern within the genre, is done in such a way as to give the reader an idealised record of the acquisition of St Foy's relics by the Conques community. In the way that Geary suggests, it seems likely that the community at Conques framed the acquisition of St Foy's relics as a *furtum sacrum* to avoid any implication of a relationship with the Agen community, and thereby to establish themselves as a primary force in monastic relations throughout the region. However, the author of the *translatio* seemingly made a few mistakes; these mistakes, when treated as clues, are just enough to make the account seem like an elaborate counterfeit. While it is clear that the relics ended up in Conques by the early tenth century, whether they were placed there by the Agen community and the relics were then retained, or whether they were stolen from Agen in the first place, may never be clearly known.

Conclusion

The movement of relics in order to hide or protect them from a perceived or actual threat was, historically, a motivating factor in the mass movements of relics in western Europe. As such, it manifested many of the socio-economic concerns held by monastic communities at the time, especially those regarding the perceived value of the items they held and the ways in which they could best protect and promote those holdings. When faced with a threat, such as the Scandinavian invasions of the ninth

and tenth centuries or the dynastic wars of the Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian monarchies, the communities surrounding these saints' cults sought primarily to protect their most valued possessions. If they managed to retain possession of the relics of their patron saint, it was thought that they might also be able to hold on to their lands and other material goods. As a consequence, they performed intra-site or regional translations, moving their relics to a safer location. It was likely the original intent was that this movement would be temporary, and that when the threat had passed, the community would return with their relics to their home and rebuild their community. Such efforts were, as we have seen, met with mixed results. Intra-site translations were more effective in England, where the entombment of relics meant that they were protected for long enough that regional translations could be performed at a later date, sometimes even centuries later. Regional translations were more immediately performed in Francia; the relics did often return to their home sanctuary after the movement, although many of the journeys were permanent there as well, potentially ending in a *furtum sacrum*.

In the hagiographical accounts of these movements, the authors explained these movements in a variety of ways. Some sought to reinforce the power of their patron saint (and therefore the strength of their community) by asserting that the relics had overcome their hidden status through the performance of a miracle. Far from being useless objects with no actual exchange-value, these saints' relics healed the blind, allowing their sacred power to literally become apparent to all, but especially to those who could not previously perceive it. This trope could be an attempt on the part of these authors to demonstrate the full value of their relics, a value that was questionable at best during the movement.

In whatever way these relics were hidden, the socio-economic consequences of that effort were of paramount importance to their community. If they did not retrieve their relics, the community stood a fair chance of losing their lands, material goods, and status, perhaps forever. Even if hidden temporarily, the community lost income, the protection of their patron saint, and their political and economic authority along with their relics. Their accounts of these movements therefore sought to represent (or perhaps, to misrepresent) that loss in different ways. Some sought to enhance prestige by citing the many miracles performed by their relics while in hiding. Others cited the ability of the community to rebuild with the aid of their patron saint as proof that their protection efforts had been both necessary and effective. Others, however, may have misrepresented their efforts as another type of movement, as might have been the case with the monks at Conques and their acquisition of the relics of St Foy. In the following chapter, a fuller explanation of why a *furtum sacrum* might be more socially or economically advantageous will be given, but here it is sufficient to note that the monks of Conques might have faced a prolonged battle for ownership of the relics if they had acknowledged that the relics had been given to them for safe-keeping, with the understanding that they be returned to Agen after the Viking threat had passed. This alone might have persuaded the anonymous author to represent the acquisition of Foy's relics as a sacred theft rather than as an effort to protect the relics from harm in a friendly community. If this is the case, then the *Translatio s. Fidis* represents a great socio-economic loss to the community at Agen and serves as a prime example of the dangers inherent in moving relics away from their sanctuary, even in an effort to protect them.

5. Intra-Site Translations in Monastic Relic Policies, *c.* 650-1200

When the body of St Cuthbert was raised from its tomb in 1104 in order to be moved to a new site within the cathedral at Durham, the abbot of Séez, Ralph, who was in charge of the translation, decided to exhibit the body first to the public.[1] According to William of Malmesbury, this was done for two reasons: first, to confirm that the body was, in fact, incorrupt, 'for some people had doubted if the long vaunted miracle of the wholeness of the body was still persisting'; and second, to raise donations for the cathedral from the crowds of pilgrims attending the event.[2] These donations would be used in part to help pay for existing renovations on the cathedral, which had allowed for the body to be elevated in the first place, but also to help pay for further restorations, especially of the tomb and shrine of St Cuthbert. When the body was elevated and the coffin had been opened, the clerics found the body to be incorrupt, as they had anticipated. The clothes that wrapped the body were likewise un-decayed, and 'shone as though new'. William describes the condition and placement of the body within the tomb before its elevation:

> On the breast was a chalice, the upper part of gold, the lower of onyx. The face was so tightly wrapped that no force the abbot applied could get the napkin off. The head of Oswald king and martyr was found between the arms. The bones of the saints Bede and King Ceolwulf, who had been monk and saint at Lindisfarne, were discovered in separate linen bags.[3]

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[1] See Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 112.

[2] *GPA*, iii.134.4; trans. Winterbottom, p. 419. *...et propalam illibatum protulit, quod quibusdam uenisset in dubium utrum olim uulgatum adhuc de integritate compaginis duraret miraculum.*

[3] *GPA*, iii.134.5; trans. Winterbottom, p. 419. *Vestes quoque omnes recenti splendore nitentes, calix super pectus, cuius superior pars aurea, inferior onichina esset. Faties tam stricte obuoluta sudario ut nullo abbatis nisu dissotiari posset. Caput Oswaldi regis et martiris inter brachia eius inuentum. Ossa sanctorum Bedæ et regis Celuulfi, qui apud Lindisfarnum monachus et sanctus fuerat, in singulis saccis lineis reperta.* See also *EH*, iv.30, and the discussion in Chapter 4 for the placement of these relics in the tomb of St Cuthbert. It may be that William is using the *Historia translationum sancti Cuthberti* as a source, or that the two may have had a source in common, as the two descriptions are quite close in content. However, the *Historia trans. s. Cuthberti* does not record the placement of the relics in the same way, although William's account would seem to be accurate, given that a Durham relic list also cites the

Ralph arranged for the laity, and not just the ecclesiastics attending the translation, to be able to view the body. It caused quite a stir amongst the local population, and 'there was a long queue of people going and coming back, and a great press of those jostling each other at the door, for they took delight in seeing over and over again what they had already seen once'.[4]

The event that Ralph had arranged was an intra-site translation of the relics of St Cuthbert. Intra-site translations, where the relics of a saint were moved within a specific site, were a combination of rituals that developed over time, including the *invention* and the *elevatio*.[5] Along with regional translations, where the relics were transferred from one site to another, by the beginning of the tenth century, the intra-site translation had become commonplace throughout western Europe. The process of translating within the church was a well-respected method for promoting the cult of a saint, especially as the event could be commemorated or even repeated annually on the anniversary of the original translation.

The dissemination of both the ritual of the *translatio* and their written accounts manifested not only political but economic relationships between the leaders of various cults, secular leaders, and the members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. As recognition grew that translations could increase donations and the prestige of a cult, church and secular leaders vied with each other to give gifts to the cults of the saints, or to acquire saints for their community. This jockeying for socio-political position was played out through the exchanges of saints' bones but also through the exchanges that surrounded the cults of the saints at this time.

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placement of the bones of Ceolwulf in the tomb with Cuthbert. See *Historia translationum sancti Cuthberti* (BHL 2029), in Battiscombe, *Relics of Saint Cuthbert*, pp. 99-107.

[4] *GPA*, iii.134.6; trans. Winterbottom, p. 419. *Longa pompa euntium et redeuntium, magnaque constipatio se ingerentium, dum semel uisum iuuat iterum iterumque uidere.*

[5] For more on *elevationes*, see above Chapter 3; for *inventiones*, see Geary, *Furta Sacra*, p. 57, and above, Chapter 3.

It was argued in the previous chapter that regional translations functioned within the relic policies of lay and monastic leaders to promote their communities and to bring in political and economic benefits. A similar argument will be made in this chapter in regard to intra-site translations in pre- and post-Conquest England.[6] Intra-site translations had two peak periods between the beginning of the ninth century and the end of the twelfth, which coincided with the Benedictine reforms of the late ninth-century and the reforms of the Norman bishops in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries. The analysis of two cults, St Swithun at Winchester and St Æthelthryth at Ely, both of which had long life-spans that covered the entirety of this period, will demonstrate how intra-site translations were used as part of the relic policies of their respective communities.[7] These two sets of relics were translated repeatedly throughout the medieval period (Æthelthryth in 695, *c.* 970 and 1106; Swithun in 971/974 and again in 1093); both also experienced translations during the peak periods mentioned above. These two case-studies will demonstrate that intra-site translations were the result of concerted, intentional policies on the parts of

[6] Francia is not included in this chapter because *translationes* on the continent were usually tied to *delationes*, and thus will be dealt with in Chapter 6.

[7] For a history of the Ely monastic site and estates in the medieval period, see S. Evans, *The Medieval Estate of the Cathedral Priory of Ely: A Preliminary Survey* (Ely, 1973); M. Bateson, 'Origin and Early History of Double Monasteries', *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 13 (1899), pp. 137-98; E. Miller, *The Abbey and Bishopric of Ely: The Social History of an Ecclesiastical Estate from the Tenth Century to the Early Fourteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1951); and D. Knowles, *The Monastic Order in England: A History of its Development from the Times of St Dunstan to the Fourth Lateran Council, 940-1216* (Cambridge, 1963). The most complete and recent summary of the cult of St Æthelthryth is that by Virginia Blanton, *Signs of Devotion: The Cult of St Æthelthryth in Medieval England, 695-1615* (University Park, 2007). For a summary of the cult, see also: M. Dockray-Miller, *Saints Edith and Æthelthryth: Princesses, Miracle Workers, and their Late Medieval Audience* (Turnhout, 2009); C. Fell, 'St Ædelpryd: a historical-hagiographical dichotomy revisited', *Nottingham Medieval Studies* XXXVIII (1994), pp. 18-34; P.A. Thompson, 'St Æthelthryth: the making of history from hagiography', in M.J. Toswell and E.M. Tyler, *Studies in English Language and Literature: 'Doubt Wisely', Papers in Honour of E.G. Stanley* (London, 1996), pp. 475-92; C.A. Lees and G.R. Overing, *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cardiff, 2009). The body of St Æthelthryth was incorrupt; for secondary literature on the incorrupt body of St Æthelthryth, see: M. Otter, 'The Temptation of St Æthelthryth', *Exemplaria* 9:1 (1997), pp. 139-63; C.E. Karkov, 'The Body of St Æthelthryth: desire, conversion and reform in Anglo-Saxon England', in M. Carver (ed.), *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300-1300* (York, 2003), pp. 397-412; and A. Thacker, 'Saint-Making and Relic Collecting by Oswald and his Communities', in N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds.), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996).

ecclesiastical and lay leaders to manipulate the placement of relics, in order to increase their own power and prestige through their association with a valuable saint's cult.

The Development of the Intra-Site Translation in Early Medieval England

Translationes were the most common type of relic movement in the Middle Ages. In spite of this, or indeed, perhaps because of this commonality, they have been somewhat overlooked by historians.[8] This is especially true for intra-site translations, which have been much neglected, likely because of the numerous difficulties in analysing them. Intra-site translations were intimately tied to a saint's shrine. This meant that a cult devoted to the saints' relics had already to be developed and that the burial place of the relics had been identified and become a focal-point for the devotional practices related to the cult before a translation could occur. Unidentified or little-known relics could be relocated relatively easily, and these relocations would not have necessarily been recorded for posterity. Only the movement of greater relics, which had an established (or even identified potential) use- and exchange-value, warranted the ritualised movements involved in a *translatio*.[9] This means that intra-site translations, although common, were likely only recorded in written accounts in relation to the greater relic shrines, thus limiting the availability of accounts. Another complication arises from the differences in the rituals themselves. Some translations, especially those which occurred immediately after an *inventio*, could be quite simple. Others were accompanied by 'extreme degrees of ceremony

[8] See above, Introduction.
[9] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 15-16.

and pageantry', which led Ben Nilson to describe *translationes* as 'among the greatest of medieval ecclesiastical celebrations'.[10] A third difficulty is the varying length and type of written material devoted to describing intra-site translations. The development of the *translatio* genre has already been discussed in detail in Chapter 1; most descriptions of regional translations, especially those which involved a theft of the relics, such as St Lewinna, St Wihtburh, and St Foy, were lengthy and followed a well-established pattern. However, the descriptions of intra-site translations could vary in length greatly.[11]

The above complications in the historical analysis of *translationes* cannot solely account for the lack of historiography on the subject. Translations have, according to Kathleen Ashley, 'been so thoroughly naturalised in our accounts of western European history that it merited little comment as a cultural performance choice over many centuries'.[12] The study of these processions evolved relatively recently, when 'a generation of cultural historians used explanatory models from anthropology and called attention to the processional mode as a privileged vehicle for articulation in its society'.[13] Most analysis of intra-site translations occurs within the context of studies of specific saints' cults, as was done by Simon Yarrow, Rebecca Browett, and Henry Mayr-Harting.[14] Mentions of intra-site translations and some analysis has also been done in the context of ritual studies, especially connected to

[10] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 15.
[11] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 15.
[12] K. Ashley, 'Introduction: the moving subjects of processional performance', in Ashley and Hüsken, *Moving Subjects*, pp. 7-34, at p. 7.
[13] Ashley, 'Introduction', p. 7
[14] See Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, for his analysis of St Frideswide and St Edmund at pp. 169-89 and pp. 24-62 respectively; R. Browett, 'The Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints after the Norman Conquest of England: St Æthelwold as a case study', *History* (2016), pp. 183-200; and H. Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine: the miracles of St Frideswide', in H. Mayr-Harting and R.I. Moore (eds.), *Studies in Medieval History Presented to R.H.C. Davis* (London, 1985), pp. 193-206.

regional translations.[15] Indeed, it could be that intra-site translations have been subsumed under the same heading as other types of translations and in this way become synonymous with regional translations.

More has been written by historians about regional translations.[16] The most in-depth study occurs in an edited collection by Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken, which examines processional performance in the medieval period, and includes within it a chapter on the tours of St Foy.[17] Again, however, translations are subsumed within other types of movement, most especially pilgrimage, and their own ritualised processes remain relatively unexamined. Moreover, these studies tend to emphasise only the ritualised and religious aspects of these relic movements, which can limit the historical understanding of the socio-economic place of the relics during this type of movement. During translations, the value of the relics would have been well-acknowledged. In fact, the use of translations within political and economic policies would imply that the value of relics held constant throughout this type of movement and was acknowledged by those moving the relics, both at their old home and especially at the new resting-place.

By the end of the twelfth century, translations had achieved a generally homogenised and ritualised form. Intra-site translations were usually one of three types: (1) the movement of a set of relics from outside of the church to a new shrine inside the church; (2) the movement of a set of relics from an unknown or overlooked shrine to a larger, more prominent shrine, closer to the altar; or (3) the movement of a

[15] See P. Nugent, *Ritual Illness and Ritual Healing: Miracle Stories and the Peace of God in Eleventh-Century Europe*, Ph.D. diss. (University of Chicago Divinity School, 1999) *passim*; Andrews, *Ritual and Space*, *passim*; and Rivard, *Blessing the World*, *passim*.
[16] Ashley and Hüsken, *Moving Subjects*.
[17] K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, 'Sainte Foy on the loose, or, the possibilities of procession', in Ashley and Hüsken, *Moving Subjects*, pp 53-68.

set of relics from an older, dilapidated church into a newer, renovated church. Each had the potential to start with an *inventio,* but always involved the *elevatio.* Finding a body within the grounds of a church was not an uncommon occurrence, and thus some *inventiones* were well-known by medieval authors and recorded alongside intra-site translations. This is likely for both practical and literary reasons. Practically, the body could very well have been lost. Many bodies were translated and re-interred after the Norman Conquest; most of these bodies were said to be former bishops, kings, abbots and abbesses, buried centuries earlier. Not all of these burials would have been clearly marked in the church itself, especially if the church had a common crypt. There are numerous accounts of the bodies of the saints being 'found' in previously unknown locations within the church structure. These would include the *inventiones* that took place before the mass intra-site translation in 1091 at St Augustine's, Canterbury, or the *inventiones* previously mentioned in this thesis at Whitby before they were translated to Glastonbury. Literarily, in identifying themselves as the only ones able to find the bodies of the saints, these monks and the authors of these accounts marked not only their right to possess the body, but also that the saint desired to remain within their community and at their sanctuary. This was meant to help prevent the loss of a set of precious relics.

The *elevatio,* which often followed an *inventio,* was the central ritual within an intra-site translation. It involved the vertical movement of the body up from the tomb and into the shrine. Strictly speaking, it did not involve the horizontal movement of the body, as this was not necessarily a part of the exhumation but was instead a part of the later ritual processes of the *translatio.* A great deal of space is devoted in *translationes* to the exhumation of the body, and one can easily see why this would be. Not only were there many strictures dictating that a body should not be moved, or

touched, but there were countless stories warning those who touched saints' bodies without their permission of the dire consequences that could result from such an action. St Æthelthryth herself gave such a warning when she shucked off an impetuous monk who wanted to see her body within its tomb and tried to remove her clothes with a stick.[18] When the monks at Durham elevated the relics of St Cuthbert in 1104, as noted above, 'the Durham monks, trembling and fearful, prostrated themselves before his tomb'. According to Nilson, the length of this description, 'the hesitations and dread they experienced', and the inclusion of a 'short speech by a bold monk urging the others on' indicates that the monks knew of these stories and dreaded the consequences of moving the relics.[19] There would have been not only the dread of heavenly consequences, but also the fear of destroying or damaging a precious object. Many of the tombs and shrines built before the eleventh century were not meant to be moved or opened, for fear that the relics would be stolen. As such, even to get into the tomb required force, both physical and of the will.

After the exhumation, the identity of the body needed to be verified, through either extrinsic or intrinsic processes, as noted in Chapter 2. In some cults, there were people present at the exhumation who had been present at the original burial (as we shall see with St Æthelthryth below). In other communities, the original burial place was clearly marked and attested to with a written monument or other *memoria*. The final option was for the body to prove itself by producing miracles or through the apparition of the saint. Once the relics had been verified, a date would be set for the translation. Setting the date was an opportunity for the cult to establish itself in relation to its neighbours, often by giving the cult a favourable time of year for

[18] See above, Chapter 3.
[19] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 27-8.

pilgrimages to occur. The anniversary of the translation often turned into a feast-day in the church calendar. As described by Ben Nilson, 'the date of a saint's death, and thus the date of his or her first feast-day, was essentially random and did not necessarily suit the convenience of the church he would be buried in. A translation, however, could be planned' to occur at a convenient date, thereby allowing it to assume more importance than the deposition or death date.[20] Because the translation was also commemorated liturgically, the date which was chosen could prove to be the primary 'holy-day' related to that saint. Thus, when medieval authors catalogued the saints, or created saints' calendars, the dates which were listed were very often both the death-date and the translation-date, and the translation-date took precedence if the other was not available.

Once the date was chosen, certain notable persons needed to be invited. An intra-site translation was an opportunity to demonstrate the alliances available to the community. In the same way that a gift-exchange reinforced positive and negative social relationships, the invitation to an intra-site translation (or the exclusion from an intra-site translation) demonstrated the political relationships between regional monasteries, as will become visible in the analysis of the intra-site translations of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth below. Then the body would be exhumed. Once the tomb was opened, the body would be removed and washed.[21] The water used in the washing would be saved and could be used for thaumaturgic functions later on; it could also be distributed to important persons who attended the translation ceremony.[22]

[20] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, pp. 23-4.
[21] See the analysis of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth in this chapter below.
[22] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 29; see also for example *Libellus dunhelmensis ecclesiæ*, p. 253.

The purpose of this type of translation was to cement the sanctity of the saint in the minds of the nearby monasteries and in the pilgrims who might come to visit the saint's shrine. Thus it was, in fact, the process of canonisation before the more concrete processes established in the thirteenth century. As Nilson notes, 'when a cult had grown up around a tomb and the occupant was commonly considered to be a saint, then the local bishop or abbot ordered his body to be moved into a shrine. This symbolic act was sufficient for canonization.'[23] Moreover, the literal act of raising the body from the ground reflected the metaphysical 'raising' of the body to that of a holy saint.[24] The movement to a higher, more exalted location (both literally and figuratively) not only allowed for the de facto canonisation of the saint but could also increase pilgrimage to that shrine. As such, the ritual of translation, both in England and in France, allowed for specific social and economic benefits to accrue to the community holding the relics. Performed with increasing frequency after the eighth century, translations were a common occurrence in western Europe until the thirteenth century, when the canonisation of saints was subsumed under a larger process after the Fourth Lateran Council.

Intra-Site Translations as a Socio-Economic Ritual in Anglo-Saxon England, *c.* 650-1050

The process of translations started with small movements of relics within the catacombs of Rome; these movements marked out the bones and bodies of the holy martyrs and allowed for small shrines to be built there. As the veneration of the holy

[23] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 16.
[24] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 18.

martyrs became more popular in Late Antiquity, the bodies were moved further and further afield: first, into above-ground shrines in churches built outside the city walls; then, into churches inside the city walls; and finally, into magnificent shrines in the cathedrals of northern Europe.[25]

The sacred landscape of pre-Conquest England was one primarily defined by small, local cults and the oral dissemination of material related to these cults. While Anglo-Saxon calendars and lists of saints' resting-places do indicate the existence of many cults in early Anglo-Saxon England, the fact remains that historians have relatively few written sources attesting to the existence and scale of pre-Norman cults. As John Blair has noted, 'Only a very small number of high-level cults produced lives or miracle-collections before about 750, after which there was a gap of three centuries until English hagiography enjoyed its second golden age between 1050 and 1200'.[26] The reasons for the reliance on oral promulgation for cults and *miracula* as opposed to written evidence remains a question to be fully explored by historians. However, it is clear that after the conquest of England by William I, there was a hagiographical boom in written materials related to the cults of the saints. Intra-site translations could also help, especially if combined with the production of written hagiography, to increase a cult's prestige in the region.

Because *miracula* and *vitæ* of these Anglo-Saxon saints were not produced with much regularity before the mid- to late-eleventh century, we must rely on other sources to understand the location of these saints' cults, their size, and the depth of

[25] For the original burial places of the saints in Anglo-Saxon England as examined by Martin Biddle, see fig. 4.1, and *Biddle*, pp. 7-11.
[26] Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster?', p. 463. For more on Anglo-Saxon saints' cults, see L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris (eds.), *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor* (London, 1986); A. Thacker and R. Sharpe (eds.), *Local Saints and Local Churches in the Early Medieval West* (Oxford, 2002); Knowles, *Monastic Order*; Ridyard, *Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*; Rollason, 'Relic-Cults as an Instrument'; Rollason, *Saints and Relics*; Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*; and Levison, *England and the Continent*.

their penetration into medieval English society. Blair began his analysis using two types of sources, the first being liturgical material, the latter being the lists of saints' resting-places.[27] It is the latter on which I rely here. Lists of saints' resting-places can be a particularly useful source, in part because they list the saints' locations and tend to group them geographically, but also because they list many saints' cults of which we have no other knowledge. The latter point, however, is also one of their pitfalls, as the lists could be 'padded out' with saints that did not really exist or had a very small cult following. Lists of saints' resting-places were produced in the Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman period by various English monasteries. Historians who have studied the lists, including John Blair and D.W. Rollason, have begun their analyses with the largest and most well-known of these lists, known as the *Secgan be þam Godes sanctum þe on Engla lande ærost reston*, or the *Tale of God's saints who first rested in England*. Written in Old-English, the list, in the form that we currently have, was compiled in the early eleventh century. Rollason, in his analysis, separates it into *Secgan A* and *Secgan B*, and this separation has been followed by subsequent historians including Blair. *Secgan A* (section 2-23) is predominately composed of pre-Viking saints whose relics were translated primarily before the end of the ninth century.[28] *Secgan B*, (sections 23b-51) is, according to Rollason, quite different in character from the first part of the list, as 'it contains several foreign saints...together with some British saints...Unlike the first half, however, it contains many saints who were active in the later Anglo-Saxon period, especially the tenth century, but also in the ninth.'[29] The two halves are also separated geographically; *Secgan A* is primarily composed of Northumbrian saints, while *Secgan B* lists saints located in Wessex and

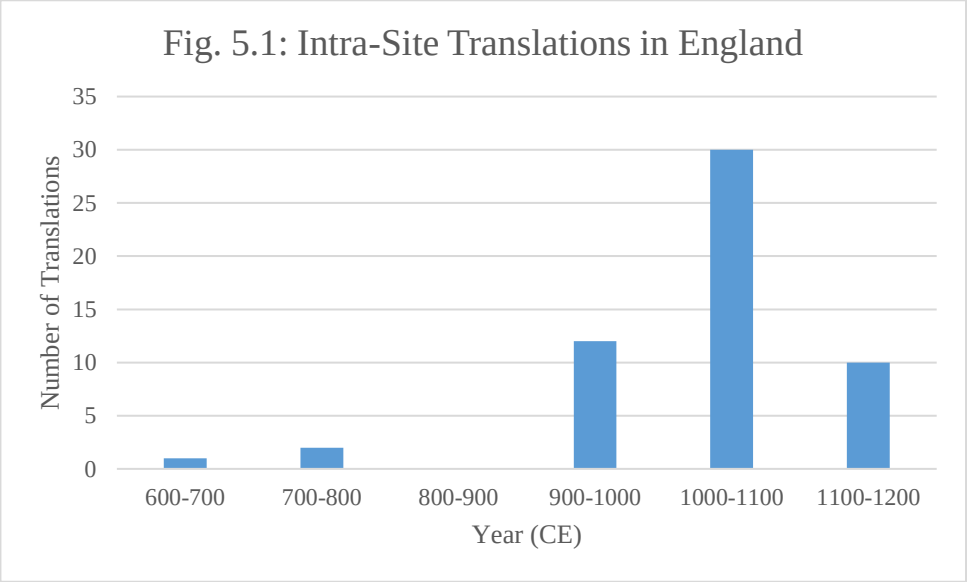
[27] Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster?', p. 463.
[28] D. Rollason, 'Lists of Saints' Resting-Places in Anglo-Saxon England', *Anglo-Saxon England* 7 (1978), pp. 61-93, at pp. 62-3.
[29] Rollason, 'Lists of Saints', pp. 64-5.

its surrounding territories.[30] *Secgan B* is also, according to Blair, biased 'towards houses of the late-tenth-century reform: more than two-thirds of the 27 places included are either reformed monasteries or cathedrals. Although a good many obscure saints are listed, they are mostly ones who had been translated by this time to major sites.'[31]

While the *Secgan* is one of the only separately compiled lists that we have, other monasteries or chronicles have their own catalogues, usually of the saints' relics lying in their own monasteries. These lists are also helpful, mostly because they allow us to chart the movements of obscure saints from their original resting-places as they were consolidated in the larger minsters, and later, reformed monastic houses. Blair consolidated many of these catalogues into a 'handlist of Anglo-Saxon saints', and his list is certainly a helpful analytical tool for any historian of Anglo-Saxon saints' cults.[32] It is not necessary then, for us to replicate such a handlist, as Blair's is quite reliable. What is perhaps more useful, however, is to rely on some of the individual catalogues as well to create a list of movements within specific regions of England and, perhaps, on the island as a whole. I analysed the *Secgan*, as well as other Anglo-Saxon lists of saints' resting places, and those lists contained in Anglo-Norman hagiographical materials. These include the list compiled by Hugh Candidus in his chronicle; information in the *Liber Eliensis* of the relics held at Ely; and information about movements of relics given in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum* and the *Gesta Regum Anglorum* by William of Malmesbury.[33] In this chapter, I examine the indications of a change in resting-place within the cathedral, often after the

[30] Rollason, 'Lists of Saints', pp. 66-7.
[31] J. Blair, 'A Saint for Every Minster? Local cults in Anglo-Saxon England', in Thacker and Sharpe, *Local Saints and Local Churches*, pp. 463-4.
[32] J. Blair, 'A Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints', in Thacker and Sharpe, *Local Saints and Local Churches*, pp. 494-566.
[33] For a fuller list of sources that could be used, see Handlist.

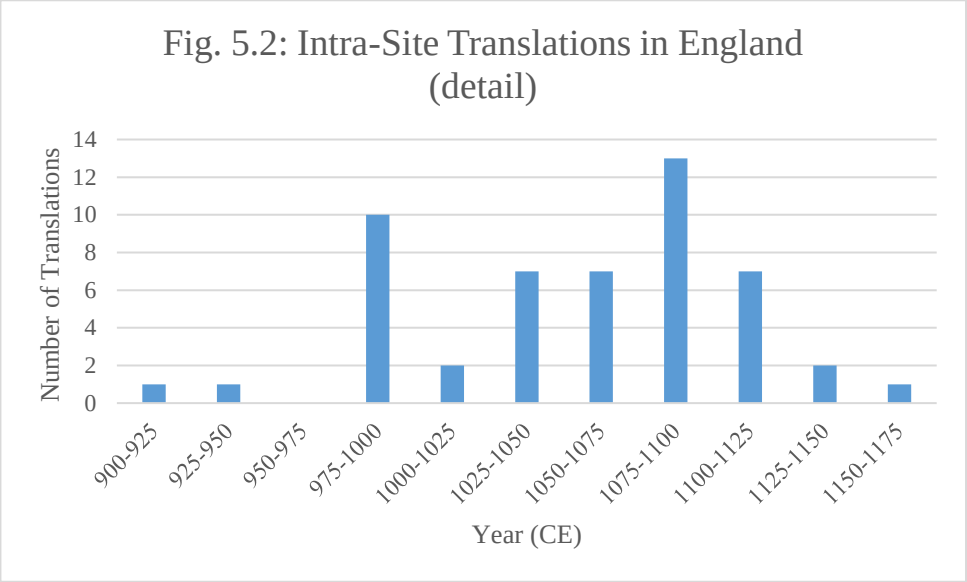
cathedral or minster had been destroyed and then rebuilt, to find evidence of intra-site translations.



An examination of intra-site translations in England shows that they peaked in the period after the Benedictine reforms hit England between 950 and 1000, and again after the Norman Conquest, although Nilson cites the 'golden age' of intra-site translations as occurring in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.[34] Translations during these two periods are, due to some of the difficulties described above, almost impossible to account for in their entirety. Martin Biddle was able to provide evidence for 85 places 'in which the bodies (or relics) of saints were believed to rest in England', based on the use of the *Secgan* and other lists of saints' resting-places.[35] Of the many saints' resting-places listed in John Blair's handlist of Anglo-Saxon saints, I have been able to find 78 intra-site translations. Obviously, such a number is not meant to be inclusive of all saints' internal movements, and is merely a starting

[34] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 33. The data from this chart and for fig. 5.2 was compiled from John Blair's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints*, in conjunction with the *GPA*, *GRA*, *HC*, *LE*, and Farmer's *Dictionary of Saints*. See Appendix C.
[35] *Biddle*, p. 6.

point for analysis. It is likely that many more saint's relics were translated within their churches or shrines.



In a more detailed analysis, one can see that the peak periods of intra-site translations coincided particularly with the activities of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, and their contemporaries (975-1000). Translations also occurred with some frequency in the periods after the Viking invasions but before the Norman Conquest (1025-1050), and in the period immediately following the Norman Conquest (1050-1075), before spiking again under the leadership of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop Walkelin of Winchester (1075-1100) (see fig. 5.2). These peak time periods have been noted by other historians. Simon Yarrow, when writing of the importance of the mass intra-site translation at St Augustine's Canterbury in 1091, noted that the movement 'marked a trend in translations at monasteries and cathedral priories that endured for at least two decades and laid the beginnings of an infrastructure supporting pilgrimage and posthumous

miracle-working in the long term'. The other notable translation that he argues was similar was that of St Swithun in 973 at Winchester.[36]

The data shows that not only did the movement of relics peak at certain times, but also that some relics were repeatedly translated within their shrines. Æthelthryth was translated three times: in 695, and then again in the 970s and in 1106; Aldhelm was translated twice at Malmesbury, first in 980 and again sometime before 1140; Earconwald was translated twice in London, first in 1087 and again in 1148; Frideswide was translated at Oxford in 1180 and in 1289; Grimbald was translated within New Minster at Winchester first in 938, and again around 1050 and in 1110; Guthlac was translated at Crowland in 715 and again in 1135; Modwyn was translated at Burton-on-Trent in the late eleventh century and again in the early twelfth century; and Seaxburh, who had translated her sister Æthelthryth in 695, was translated herself in around 971 and again in 1106.[37]

In their earliest form, translations of this kind involved the movement of relics from the surrounding area to a shrine inside the church. This will be demonstrated through the analysis of two cults, those of St Æthelthryth at Ely, and of St Swithun at Winchester Old Minster. In the case of the former, a second translation that occurred in the late Anglo-Saxon period will demonstrate the second type of intra-site translation, in the movement of a set of relics from an unknown or overlooked shrine to a larger, more prominent shrine, probably closer to the altar. In the following

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[36] Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 7-8.

[37] Æthelthryth and Seaxburh, *LE* i.22-28, pp. 53-63 (1st translation), ii.51-54, pp. 141-151 (2nd translation), and ii.144-148, pp. 275-283 (3rd translation); Aldhelm, *GPA*, v. 255.4-7, pp. 609-11; Earconwald, see Alcoid, *Miracula s. Erkenwaldi*, in E.G. Whatley (ed. and trans.), *The Saint of London: The Life and Miracles of St Erkenwald. Text and Translation* (Binghamton, 1989); Frideswide, *Frideswida, virgo Oxoniæ in Anglia, AASS* Oct. 8, pp. 533-90 and Mayr-Harting, 'Functions of a Twelfth-Century Shrine', pp. 193-206; Grimbald, *GPA*, ii.78.1, p. 273; Guthlac, Felix, *Vita s. Guthlaci*; Modwynn, Geoffrey of Burton, *Life and Miracles of St Modwenna*, in R. Bartlett (ed.), *Oxford Medieval Texts* (2002); all are in Handlist: Æthelthryth, pp. 507-508; Aldhelm, p. 512; Earconwald, p. 531; Frideswide, p. 536; Grimbald, p. 536; Guthlac, p. 537; and Modwynn, p. 546.

section, attention will turn to intra-site translations after the Norman Conquest, when the movement of a set of relics from an older, dilapidated church into a newer, renovated church was more common. We will then return to the two examples of the cults of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth, and the two translations of these relics that occurred by their new Anglo-Norman abbots.

The First Translation of St Æthelthryth at Ely

The first intra-site translation of St Æthelthryth was in 695, and was held under the authority of St Seaxburh. Æthelthryth was the daughter of Anna, king of East Anglia, who married her first to Tondberht, an ealdorman of South Gyrwas, in *c.* 652, and then to Egfrith, king of Northumbria, in 660. She was said by Bede to have remained a virgin throughout both of her marriages, despite the temptations presented by her two husbands. In 672, she retired to Coldingham, to be a nun under her aunt Æbbe, and a year later founded a double monastery at Ely. After her death she was succeeded as abbess by her sister Seaxburh (also known as Sexburg or Sexburga), who died *c.* 700. Under the abbacy of her sister Seaxburh it was decided that the relics would be more revered if they were moved inside the sanctuary from the graveyard and into a new shrine.

There were numerous hagiographical outputs related to the cult of St Æthelthryth. These include *vitæ* written by Bede (*c.* 731) (included in the *Historia Ecclesiastica)*, by Ælfric between 992 and 998, and by Goscelin of St-Bertin in the eleventh century.[38] After the Norman Conquest came further *vitæ*, including one by

[38] Bede, *EH*, iv.19-20; Ælfric, 'Of Saint Æðeldryða (June 23)', in W.W. Skeat (ed.), *Ælfric's Lives of Saints, Being a Set of Sermons on Saint's Days Formerly Observed by the English Church* (Cambridge, 1881-1900; repr. 2003); Goscelin of Saint-Bertin, *Life of St Æthelthryth*, in R.C. Love (ed. and trans.), *Goscelin of Saint-Bertin: The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely* (Oxford, 2004).

Gregory of Ely, and another by a female author known only as Marie, written in Anglo-Norman French.[39] The story of Æthelthryth's first translation was recorded in some detail in the *Liber Eliensis*. The *Liber Eliensis* was compiled by a monk at the Benedictine monastery of Ely in the twelfth century. The author of the *Liber Eliensis*, although anonymous, was a faithful collector of source material, which he used to good effect. The list of local sources available to the monk was long, and included: 'commemorations of abbesses, abbots, bishops and other benefactors to the monastery, both lay and clerical; detailed records of land transactions and legal proceedings; the wills of private individuals; title-deeds; episcopal enactments; inventories; narrative accounts of the more troubled periods of Ely's history, and a rich and varied archive of miracle stories'.[40] The anonymous compiler took some care to be judicious in his use of source-material, and some sources can be traced to Coldingham and Durham; however, the author also took care to present the events leading up to the re-foundation of Ely as a Benedictine priory in a positive light. As such, events recorded before the re-foundation, where not confirmed elsewhere, should be examined thoroughly.

Æthelthryth's first translation, as recorded in the *Liber Eliensis*, is based primarily on Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. According to Rosalind Love, the account of Æthelthryth's burial and first translation was considered adequate for Ely's

[39] P.A. Thompson and E. Stevens, 'Gregory of Ely's Verse Life and Miracles of St Æthelthryth', *Analecta Bollandiana* 106:3-4 (1988), pp. 333-90; Ö. Södergârd (ed.), *La vie seinte Audree, poème anglo-normand du XIIIe siècle* (Uppsala, 1955); J.H. McCash, 'La vie seinte Audree: a fourth text by Marie de France?', *Speculum* 77:3 (2002), pp. 744-77.

[40] *LE*, p. xv. The *Liber Eliensis* was likely completed by the early to mid-1170s, as it ends with an account of Becket's martyrdom and some of his miracles before his canonization in 1173. I used the translation methodically produced by Janet Fairweather, and the Latin edition edited by E.O. Blake.[40] There are at least two extant manuscripts, both of which were used by Blake for his Latin edition; these are Trinity College Cambridge, MS O.2.1, produced in the twelfth century, and Cambridge University Library, Dean and Chapter of Ely MS: *Liber Eliensis*, produced in the thirteenth century. Both Blake and Fairweather used the latter as the main text, before adding in extra material from the former where it was not repeated in the latter. See E.O. Blake, *Liber Eliensis* (London, 1962).

patroness until the late tenth century, when Ælfric revised the story in Old English for his *vita*.[41] The account in the *Liber Eliensis* is based both on Ælfric and Bede, in that it combines the story as recorded in the *Historia Ecclesiastica,* while also including the stories of the Viking invasion of Ely and the miracles that occurred at that time, primarily the story of the Danish invader breaking Æthelthryth's tomb open (which was later recorded in William of Malmesbury's account in the *Gesta Pontificum Anglorum*). The compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* seems to have copied the story directly from Bede, expanding in a descriptive fashion on some of the details, and in the style of his time.[42] According to the anonymous compiler, Æthelthryth's body had first been interred by her priest Huna, 'not in carved stone or with a covering of gold-bedecked arches, but, in accordance with an order received from her, in the cemetery of the church, next to her own people'.[43] This is taken almost directly from Bede, who writes that 'when she died she was buried by her own command in a wooden coffin, in the ranks of the other nuns, as her turn came.'[44] During her tenure as abbess, Seaxburh 'was moved and stimulated to action by a God-sent zeal: she thought the matter over for a long time and decided to exhume the bones of the glorious virgin Æthelthryth from the place where they had previously been entombed'.[45] It seems that Æthelthryth was already known for performing miracles, even though her burial-place was not well-known. This was sixteen years after Æthelthryth's original burial.

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[41] R.C. Love, *The Hagiography of the Female Saints of Ely* (Oxford, 2004), pp. lxvi-lxvii.
[42] Love, *Hagiography of the Female Saints*, pp. lxvi-lxvii.
[43] *LE*, i.22; trans. Fairweather, p. 53. *...eiusdem sancte matris celebravit exequias et eam non in lapide celato aut arcubus auro circumtectis sed, sicut ab ipsa mandatum acceperat, in cimiterio ecclesie iuxta suos sepelivit.*
[44] *EH*, iv.17; trans. McClure and Collins, p. 203.
[45] *LE*, i.25; trans. Fairweather, pp. 56-7. *Cumque, gregi dominico sue et sororis sue exemplo, que carne mortua apud eum viveba bonorum operum attestatione, ac magis prodesse satageret et studeret quam preesset zelo divino mota atque sollicita secum diu pertractat atque disponit levare ossa gloriose virginis de loco quo prius fuerant tumulata.*

Once the body had been found, practical arrangements needed to be made. In this case, the main concern was to find a stone coffin, fit in purity and colour for the body of the saint, and also secure enough to protect it from harm or theft.[46] After the monks miraculously found a perfect white marble sarcophagus, the author of the *Liber Eliensis* reinforces the need to move Æthelthryth's relics in order to make them more accessible to those in need.[47] Even as the sarcophagus arrived, before the relics had been exhumed, 'the people came running' to Ely to experience the miracles that Æthelthryth was performing. 'People worn out by fevers, and suffering from all manner of indisposition were overcome at her tomb by a gentle sleep, and on receiving good health through the intervention of her merits, they rejoiced. She kept coming to the relief of the various distresses of other people whose prayers were accompanied by the purity of faith.'[48]

Seaxburh chose 17 October for the translation of St Æthelthryth. Notable persons were invited, including Bishop Wilfrid of Northumbria, who the author of the *Liber Eliensis* reports was 'a very close associate of the blessed Æthelthryth all the time she was married...to Ecgfrith, King of the Northumbrians...it was he who placed the consecrated veil of a nun's habit upon her, under the magisterial authority of King Ecgfrith's aunt, the abbess Ebba, at the city of Coldingham'.[49] Also present was 'the

[46] This also appears in Bede, *EH*, iv.17; trans. McClure and Collins, p. 203.
[47] *LE*, i.26; trans. Fairweather, pp. 57-8.
[48] *LE*, i.26; trans. Fairweather, pp. 57-8. *Adcurrit populus, pars undique egrotantium maxima confluxit. Febribus fatigati et quacumque incommoditate depressi, ad tumbam illius leni sopore intercepti, eius subvenientibus meritis adepta sibi sanitate gaudebant. Aliorum diversis subveniebat incommodis, quorum vota fidei puritas comitabatur.* This seems to be an inclusion made by the author of the *LE*, as the miracles before her translation are not included by Bede.
[49] *LE*, i.27 ; trans. Fairweather, pp. 58-60. *...quoniam res talis confirmari debet testimonio plurimorum, prefatus antistes sancte memorie Wilfridus, qui beate Æðelðreðe, quamdiu Egfrido Northamnimbrorum regi solo nomine et non opere coniugali, licet in veri sacramento coniugii, desponsata fuit, familiarissimus et testis veracissimus eius perpetue virginitatis exstitit, eique velamen sanctimonialis habitus sub Ebbe abbatisse magisterio, regis Egfridi amite, aput urbem Coludi sacratum inposuit...*

medical man Cynefrith, who was at her side when she was raised from the tomb, just as he was when she was dying'.[50]

The following story is taken almost directly from Bede. In copying it, the compiler of the *Liber Eliensis* assumes the same point of view as Bede, when he says that he heard the tale directly from Cynefrith, who 'was a witness'. It was, of course, Bede who had apparently heard the story from Cynefrith, and in both accounts the story is told in the first person from Cynefrith's point of view. Cynefrith 'retained a recollection of the incision which he had once made in her body, and who had been accustomed to report that when she was ill she had a very large swelling beneath her jaw'. A large tent had been set up over the grave, and the coffin was raised from the ground. After the casket was opened, 'the holy abbess Seaxburh…went in with a few people, as if to raise the bones and shake them apart, and after there had been a short pause' they found the body to be incorrupt. 'And so that these things might be made public in the confirmatory presence of witnesses, a little while later, they called' Cynefrith inside as well, who confirmed that the 'wound of the incision which I had made, had been healed, in such a way that instead of the open, gaping wound with which she was buried, there appeared at that time the slightest traces of a scar'.[51] The story continues with numerous exclamations of the miraculous nature of Æthelthryth's undecayed corpse. Æthelthryth's body was then washed, and the water saved. The body was 'brought...into the church with great and multifarious festal

[50] *LE*, i.27 ; trans. Fairweather, pp. 58-60. *...et veritatis evidentiam medicus Kinefridus, qui sicut morienti illi ita et elevate de tumulo presentialis affuit...*

[51] *LE*, i.27; trans. Fairweather, pp. 58-60. *...memor itaque ille incisure quam quondam fecerat in eius corpore qui referre erat solitus, quod illa infirmata habuerit tumorem maximum sub maxilla...Ipsa autem abbatissa sancta Sexburga ab aperto sepulture hostio cum paucis tanquam ossa elatura et dilutura ingreditur et, facto modico intervallo...Et ut ista patefierent sub probatione et presentia testium, etiam nec multo post clamaverunt me intus, reserato papilionis hostio, vidique elevatum de tumulo et positum in lectulo corpus sacre virginis, quasi dormienti simile...Et discooperto vultus indumento, monstraverunt etiam mihi vulnus incisure, quod feceram, curatum, ita ut mirum in modum pro aperto et hianti vulnere, cum quo sepulta erat, tenuissima tunc cicatricis vestigia apparerent.*

dancing by people devoutly rejoicing, and placed...in the sarcophagus which had been brought there'.[52]

This first intra-site translation describes in the most detail how such a translation would typically have occurred in early Anglo-Saxon England, if the placement of the body was known to those involved (and thus did not necessitate an *inventio*), based as it is on Bede's description and that it follows this closely. Its inclusion in the later *Liber Eliensis* indicates that the monks who were translating their relics perhaps desired their translations to be in the style of this earlier translation. It is also one of the better descriptions of the earliest type of intra-site translation, in the movement of the body from a position in the cemetery to a shrine inside the church, and the mechanisms by which a cult could be created, including the performance of the *elevatio* and the *translatio* itself. The movement of Æthelthryth's body inside the church to a shrine was the first step in establishing her cult at Ely, a cult which was to last (in part due to subsequent translations) throughout the rest of the high medieval period.

Intra-Site Translations and Bishop Æthelwold: The First Translation of St Swithun at Winchester and the Second Translation of St Æthelthryth at Ely

Another early and well-described intra-site translation occurred in 971, when the body of St Swithun was moved within Winchester's Old Minster. Winchester was dominated by the cult of St Swithun (d. 862), who had been chaplain to Egbert, king of Wessex (r. 802-839), and was chosen to be the bishop of Winchester by Ethelwulf

[52] *LE*, i.28; trans. Fairweather, p. 63. *...intulerunt in ecclesiam cum magno et multimodo devote exultantium tripudio atque in eo, quod allatum est, sarcophago posuerunt,..*

(r. 839-?).[53] His body was originally interred in a covered tomb-structure outside the west door of the Old Minster; he was later re-interred first inside the Old Minster structure itself after some renovations in 971 and in 974, and then to the New Minster in 1093, where his body remained until the Reformation.

The earliest account of St Swithun's cult is the *Translatio et mircula s. Swithuni* by Lantfred, which describes the second translation of St Swithun in 971.[54] It was produced at Winchester no later than 975; as Lantfred himself was a witness to Swithun's translation, it serves as a reliable source for the rituals there. There were two other hagiographies of St Swithun written in Anglo-Saxon England. One was a verse account written by Wulfstan, and based on Lantfred's *Translatio*; Wulfstan was a monk at Winchester and describes in his *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno* the various building works that occurred at Old Minster in the Benedictine reforms of the late tenth century.[55] The third pre-Conquest account of St Swithun at Winchester was a life written by Ælfric and included in the *Lives of Saints*, produced sometime before 998.[56] Ælfric's account demonstrates, according to Lapidge, the extent to which Swithun's cult had grown and gained in popularity in southern and western England.[57]

After the Norman Conquest, there were two further accounts of St Swithun. The first was a *vita* written by an anonymous monk either at Sherborne or

[53] For St Swithun, see M. Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun* (Oxford, 2003). On the hagiography of St Swithun, see: C.A. Jones, 'Furies, Monks, and Folklore in the Earliest *Miracula* of Saint Swithun', *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 113:4 (2014), pp. 407-42; W.E. Bolton, '"We Ne Motan Deman Ymbe Pæt": clerical judgment in Ælfric of Eynsham's Lives of Saints Swithun, Edmund, and Æthelwold', *Viator* 46:1 (2015), pp. 21-42; E. Denton, 'Family Matters? Attitudes towards the care of kith and kin in the tenth-century Miracles of St Swithun', *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic* 11 (2010), pp. 120-68.
[54] For the description and translation, see Lantfred of Winchester, *Translatio et Miracula s. Swithuni*, pp. 217-334.
[55] For the description and translation, see Wulfstan of Winchester, *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, pp. 335-552.
[56] For the description and translation, see *Epitome translationis et miraculorum s. Swithuni*, in Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 553-74.
[57] Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 68.

Winchester.[58] Importantly, Lapidge notes that this vita 'is a work of pure fiction – the creation of a scholar who had few historical sources at his disposal, but knew how to manipulate hagiographical topoi imaginatively'.[59] The same author also produced a *miracula* which largely copied that produced by Wulfstan; thus the first two-thirds changed Wulfstan's verse into prose.[60] The last third, however, containing some sixteen miracles, records post-Conquest thaumaturgic events that occurred at the shrine in the Old Minster, and thus serves as perhaps the only reliable account of the shrine in the eleventh century. Lapidge writes that 'all medieval historians, from William of Malmesbury, John of Worcester and Henry of Huntingdon onwards, based their accounts of the saint on the two anonymous works' here described, rather than on the Anglo-Saxon accounts.[61] This perhaps colours the input of the later sources by presenting a largely fictitious picture of the early cult; thus, for the purposes of this thesis, I have relied on both the Anglo-Saxon accounts and the Anglo-Norman accounts to describe the movement of Swithun's relics within Winchester during both periods of time.

There were also extensive archaeological digs at Winchester in the twentieth century. These were led by Martin Biddle, who excavated the site between 1962 and 1969, building on digs performed by R. Quirk in 1957.[62] The archaeological evidence

[58] For the description and translation, see *Vita s. Swithuni*, in Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 611-40.
[59] Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p 69.
[60] For the description and translation, see *Miracula s. Swithuni*, in Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, pp. 641-98.
[61] Lapidge, *Cult of St Swithun*, p. 70.
[62] See R. Quirk, 'Winchester Cathedral in the Tenth Century', *The Archaeological Journal* 114 (1957), pp. 28-68; M. Biddle, I. Goodall, and D.A. Hinton, *Object and economy in medieval Winchester* (Oxford, 1990); M. Biddle, 'Archaeology, architecture, and the cult of saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in L.A.S. Butler and R.K. Morris, *The Anglo-Saxon Church: Papers on History, Architecture, and Archaeology in Honour of Dr. H.M. Taylor* (Council for British Archaeology, 1986), pp. 1-31; B. Kjölbye-Biddle, 'The 7th century minster at Winchester interpreted', in Butler and Morris, *The Anglo-Saxon Church*, pp. 196-209. See also D. Keene, *Survey of medieval Winchester* (Oxford, 1985); A.R. Rumble, *Property and Piety in Early Medieval Winchester: Documents Relating to the Topography of the Anglo-Saxon and Norman City and its Minsters* (Oxford, 2002).

complements the hagiographical testimony for the cult of St Swithun, outlining its growth throughout the Middle Ages. From these excavations, we can confirm that the typical movements of saints from older churches to newer constructions occured as they were reported in the written sources. Moreover, in conjunction with an analysis of St Æthelthryth's second translation between 970 and 975, we can place these intra-site translations in the historical context of the Benedictine reforms and examine their use in the relic policies of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, and by extension, St Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Abbot Byrhtnoth of Ely.

As both of the translations of St Swithun and St Æhelthryth were performed within this historical context, we should consider the state of English monasticism in the 970s. English monasticism before the beginning of the ninth century was strong but sporadically located in the landscape, with a large number of monasteries located in the south and west of England, and fewer north of the Tees river.[63] There were major centres at Glastonbury, Worcester, Evesham, Abingdon, Bath and Canterbury.[64] There were also major abbeys at Bardney, Ely, and Whitby.[65] By the year 900, however, most of these locations had ceased to hold monks, and were either

[63] Rollason, 'Shrines of Saints', pp. 32-43. See also B. Mitchell, 'Anglo-Saxon Double Monasteries', *History Today* 45:10 (1995), pp. 33-9; F. Barlow, *The English Church, 1000-1066: A History of the Later Anglo-Saxon Church* (London, 1979); U. Lenker, 'The Monasteries of the Benedictine Reform and the "Winchester School": model cases of social networks in Anglo-Saxon England?', *European Journal of English Studies* 4:3 (2000), pp. 225-38; S. Foot, *Monastic Life in Anglo-Saxon England, c. 600-900* (Cambridge, 2006); T. Pestell, *Landscapes of Monastic Foundation: The Establishment of Religious Houses in East Anglia, c. 650-1200* (Woodbridge, 2004); and J. Burton, 'Before the Normans', in J. Burton (ed.), *Monastic and Religious Orders in Britain, 1000-1300* (Cambridge, 1994), pp. 1-20.

[64] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 34-35. See also J.G. Clark, *The Culture of Medieval English Monasticism* (Rochester, 2007). For more on Glastonbury, see L. Abrams, *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996); for more on Evesham, see Sayers and Watkiss, *Thomas of Marlborough*; J. Sayers, *The Making of the Medieval History of Evesham Abbey* (Worcester, 2004); and D. Cox, *The Church and Vale of Evesham, 700-1215: Lordship, Landscape and Prayer* (Woodbridge, 2015); for more on Abingdon, see S.E. Kelly (ed.), *Charters of Abingdon Abbey* (Oxford, 2000); J. Hudson (ed. and trans.), *Historia ecclesia abbendonensis: The History of the Church of Abingdon* (Oxford, 2007); and J. Stevenson (ed.), *Chronicon monasterii de Abingdon* (London, 1858); and for more on Bath, see P. Sims-Williams, 'Continental Influence at Bath Monastery in the Seventh Century', *Anglo-Saxon England* 4 (1975), pp. 1-10.

[65] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 34-35; for more on Bardney, see above, Chapter 4; for more on St Albans, see M. Henig and P. Lindley (eds.), *Alban and St Albans: Roman and medieval architecture, art and archaeology* (Leeds, 2001).

served by secular clerics or had disappeared altogether. David Knowles argues that this is certainly true for Glastonbury and Evesham, both of which were held by clerics, as were Ely, Bardney, St Albans, Winchester, Milton, Chertsey, Cerne, Canterbury and Malmesbury.[66] Worcester was never a monastery before the tenth century, and Bath and Abingdon had been destroyed in the invasions of the previous century.[67]

Many of these monasteries were reformed by Benedictine monks from around the year 940, when King Edmund appointed Dunstan as abbot of Glastonbury.[68] These reforms centred on a few key issues, including the imposition of the Rule of St Benedict, the celibacy of the monks, and the claustration of the communities, although this last was debatably enforced, as we shall soon see. The central players were Dunstan (909-988), who became the archbishop of Canterbury, Æthelwold (904x9-984), who became the bishop of Winchester, and Oswald (d. 992), who was the archbishop of York and Worcester.[69] All three had been educated in the English monastic system and had either visited or studied at monasteries on the continent (Dunstan at Blandinium in Ghent, and Æthelwold at Fleury).[70] As such, the reforms that they implemented were, for the most part, heavily influenced by continental reforms taking place in Flanders and at Cluny at the same time.

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[66] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 34-5.
[67] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 34-5.
[68] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 31.
[69] For more on Dunstan, see: N. Ramsay, M. Sparks and T. Tatton-Brown (eds.), *St Dunstan: His Life, Times and Cult* (Woodbridge, 1992) and M. Winterbottom and M. Lapidge (eds. and trans.), *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford, 2012). For more on Æthelwold, see Wulfstan of Winchester, *Vita s. Æthelwoldi,* in M. Lapidge and M. Winterbottom (eds.), *The Life of St Æthelwold* (Oxford, 1991); M. Winterbottom (ed.), *Three Lives of English Saints* (Toronto, 1972); and B. Yorke (ed.), *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence* (Woodbridge, 1988). For more on Oswald, see N. Brooks and C. Cubitt (eds.), *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence* (London, 1996); A.J. Turner and B.J. Muir (eds. and trans.), *Eadmer of Canterbury: Lives and Miracles of Saints Oda, Dunstan and Oswald* (Oxford, 2006) and Cox, 'St Oswald of Worcester', pp. 269-285.
[70] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 31-8.

Dunstan was born around 909, and studied under the influence of St Ælfheah, bishop of Winchester (*c.* 934-951). He became Ælfheah's chaplain there, and was ordained a priest on the same day as Æthelwold.[71] In 939, Æthelstan, son of Edward the Elder and king of England, died, and Dunstan was appointed as a counsellor to the new king, Æthelstan's half-brother Edmund (921-946).[72] Edmund made him the abbot of Glastonbury the following year. The choice of Glastonbury was important, as since its foundation by Æthelflæd of Mercia it had been an important royal monastery, where many members of the Mercian and West Saxon royal families were buried. These connections to the Anglo-Saxon royal family would continue to be important for both Dunstan and Æthelwold, as will be discussed later.

Upon Edmund's death in 946, his brother Eadred (923-955) became king; it was under Eadred that Æthelwold was given the abbacy of Abingdon, taking with him some clerks from Glastonbury in 954.[73] After Eadred's death and the succession of his nephew, Eadwig (d. 959), Dunstan was banished; he went first to the court of Count Arnulf of Flanders (*c.* 890-965), and from there to the monastery of Blandinium at Ghent. He returned to England in 957 after Edgar (943-975) became king, where he was consecrated bishop of Worcester and London, and two years later was given the archbishopric of Canterbury.[74] Æthelwold soon became the bishop of Winchester in 963.

From these respective positions at Canterbury and Winchester, the Benedictine reforms soon began in earnest (see fig. 5.3). In 972, Æthelwold and Dunstan called together a conclave of the leading figures of ecclesiastical and monastic life in England and the ruling laity, including King Edgar, held at

[71] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 38.
[72] See Appendix D for a family tree of the Anglo-Saxon royal family after Edward the Elder.
[73] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 39.
[74] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, pp. 39-40.

Winchester. There, they produced the *Regularis Concordia Anglicæ nationis monachorum sanctimonialiumque*.[75]

Fig. 5.3: Monastic Foundations under Dunstan and Æthelwold			
Foundations under Dunstan, *c.* 943-997		**Foundations under Æthelwold, *c.* 950-975**	
St Augustine's, Canterbury	already founded	Abingdon	*c.* 954
Glastonbury	*c.* 943	Winchester Old Minster	964-965
Malmesbury	*c.* 960	Winchester New Minster	964-965
Milton	*c.* 964?	Peterborough	*c.* 966
Exeter	*c.* 965?	Croyland	*c.* 966
Muchelney	*c.* 970?	St Albans	*c.* 969
Athelney	*c.* 970?	Ely	970
Bath	*c.* 970	Chersey	*c.* 970
Westminster	*c.* 971	Thorney	972
Cranborne	*c.* 980	St Neots	*c.* 974
Tavistock	*c.* 981		
Cerne	*c.* 987		
Sherborne	*c.* 993		
Christ Church, Canterbury	*c.* 997		
Buckfast	unknown		

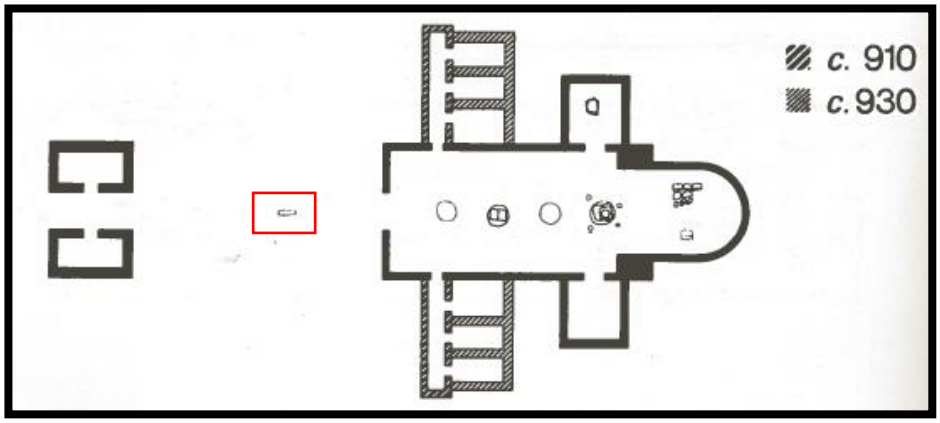
Along with expelling clerics and placing each of his new foundations under the control of the *Regularis Concordia*, Æthelwold emphasised at each of his establishments the elevation of existing relics and the accumulation of further relics to add to their collections. In so doing, he took saints that had been over-looked or smaller shrines and made them central cults in his monasteries. This is especially true of St Swithun, as we shall see, but also includes the translations of St Aldhelm at Malmesbury by Dunstan and St Æthelthryth at Ely by Abbot Byrhtnoth and Bishop Æthelwold.[76] The elevation and intra-site translations of these saints was thus one

[75] D. Parsons (ed.), *Tenth Century Studies: Essays in Commemoration of the Millennium of the Council of Winchester and 'Regularis Concordia'* (London, 1975).
[76] See the discussion of St Aldhelm's intra-site translation, above, Chapter 2, and the discussion of St Æthelthryth's intra-site translation below.

part of an overall reform policy that Bishop Æthelwold imposed in order to cement his desired Benedictine reforms.

Analysis of both the translations of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth demonstrates their place as part of the relic policy of Bishop Æthelwold. There were, as noted above, three pre-Conquest hagiographies of St Swithun produced at Winchester; all describe at some length the first translation of St Swithun on 15 July 971.[77] St Swithun's cult before this translation, indeed, before Æthelwold's re-foundation of the Old Minster as a Benedictine monastery, was small. One of the miracles that Lantfred reports before the translation involves a man who was healed at Swithun's tomb. He has to be told of its exact location and given markers, so that he will know he is praying at the right tomb. However, when he reports his healing to the clerics at the Old Minster, they instead attribute the healing to the far more well-known St Martin, as the tomb where Swithun was buried lay directly outside the tower that was dedicated to St Martin (see fig. 5.4, where the tomb is outlined in red with the church to the right and the tower to the left).[78] It takes the man quite a while to convince the monks that he has been healed by St Swithun, and not by St Martin.

Fig. 5.4: Floorplan of Winchester Old Minster, before Æthelwold[79]



[77] As Ælfric's work largely copies either Lantfred or Wulfstan, it has been left out of the analysis here. See Lapidge, *The Cult of St Swithun*, for more on the reasons why these three works are so similar.
[78] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, pp. 273-75.
[79] *Biddle*, p. 20.

According to Lantfred, it was Swithun's own wish to be buried in such an inauspicious location, and this seems to be an explanation for why the cult was so small before the body was translated. Swithun was, according to Lantfred, 'of such great humility that he would not even allow his most holy body to be buried on any account in the church after his death, nor even in the splendid cemetery of the monks'.[80] Instead, Swithun had ordered his body to be buried 'in the more lowly cemetery of common people, which is located in front of the entrance to the Lord's church', that is, between the western entrance of the minster and the detached western tower that was dedicated to St Martin.[81] This burial place was, according to Biddle, 'marked by a built tomb, like a sarcophagus with a gabled roof, which stood outside the west door'.[82] This is reinforced by Lantfred, who writes that the tomb was covered with 'a small hut built to the size of the tomb'. The tomb itself was covered with some sort of stone lid that was held in place by iron pegs.[83]

Swithun announced his desire to be translated in a dream to a lowly smith who had been made lame by his work. The saint told the smith to go to Eadsige, one of the canons who had been expelled from the Old Minster by Æthelwold. Eadsige was then to go to Bishop Æthelwold and tell him to 'exhume his body from the tomb and place it suitably within the church'.[84] After two more apparitions, the smith did as he was commanded, and reached out to Eadsige through one of his servants. Eadsige,

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[80] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, lines 101-8; trans. Lapidge, pp. 272-73.
[81] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, lines 101-8; trans. Lapidge, pp. 272-73. *Inter quam et templi regiam sanctus Dei famulus corpore humatus fuerat; nimirum uir Domini beatissimus, ut perhibent, tante fuit humilitatis ut etiam illius sacratissimum corpus post obitum nulla ratione sineret humari in basilica, sed neque in cimiterio fratrum pretioso (quod erat optimum necne sanctissimum) in orientali parte atque australi climate prepollentis ecclesiæ; uerum in uiliore rusticorum se precepit ponere, quod est situm ante fores herilis aulæ sufficienter commemoratæ, lacrimando contestans dema suum haud fore dignum sepeliri infra basilicam neque inter preclaras patrum sepulturuas priscorum.*
[82] *Biddle*, pp. 22-24, at p. 22.
[83] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, lines 28-29; trans. Lapidge, pp. 268-69. *...supra quod repperies tugurium ad quantitatem sarcofagi compositum.*
[84] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, lines 26-27; trans. Lapidge, pp. 260-63. *...quo corpus suum de monumento eleuet et digne in ecclesia collocet.*

however, was still upset at being expelled from the minster and delayed for two years in fulfilling Swithun's commands. After these two years, 'this same cleric [Eadsige] who recently had become secular, abandoned the vanities, prides and pleasures of this earthly life and became a devout monk much beloved of God' and attended Æthelwold to arrange for the translation.[85]

Lantfred frames the translation within the political context of the Benedictine reforms. He also frames it, however, in relation to the economic benefits that could accrue to the monastic community at Old Minster once the translation has been carried out. In announcing his desire to be translated, St Swithun reports that 'once they have opened my tomb, they will discover treasures so priceless and so precious, that anything anywhere made of gold or jewels will grow vile in comparison with them'. This is repeated in a slightly different form later in the account, when after the tomb had been opened, Lantfred writes that the 'sick persons obtained that treasure which the holy bishop had said to the smith in a dream would be revealed [...] a treasure so invaluable and so precious, that in comparison with it all burnished gold and whatever in the way of wealth is extracted from the hollow caverns of the earth, becomes worthless'.[86] After the translation, Lantfred reports that the miracles that occurred at the new shrine were 'innumerable' and 'countless'.[87]

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[85] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, lines 78-79; trans. Lapidge, pp. 264-65. *...idem clericus qui nuper erat biotticus, huius uitæ relictis uanitatibus, pompis ac uoluptatibus, factus est coenobita religiosus multumque Deo dilectus.*

[86] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, lines 37-39; trans. Lapidge, pp. 261-63. *Quinetiam nec hoc silendo transeas, uerum omnibus uaticinando prodas quod mox ut meam aperuerint sepulturam, repperient thesauros tam inestimabiles tamque pretiosos, ut quicquid usquam est auri et gemmarum uilescet in comparatione horum*. Ibid., lines 149-53; trans. Lapidge, pp. 285-87. *Qui confestim ut apertum est sepulchrum, illum nacti sunt thesaurum quem sanctus antistes reperturum fabro dixerat per somnium (ceu pandit huius libelli exordium) tam inestimabilem tamque pretiosum, ut in eius comparatione obrizum uilescat omne aurum et quicquid extrahitur gazarum de cauernosis foraminibus terrarum-uidelicet sancti Suuithuni corpusculum...*

[87] *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, p. 287.

Wulfstan goes further in his descriptions of both the original tomb outside the church and the translation inside the church. According to him, the Benedictine reforms initiated by Æthelwold were nothing short of extraordinary. He 'rebuilt the building of the Old Minster with lofty walls and new roofs, strengthening it on its southern and northern sides with solid side chapels and arches of various kinds. Similarly, he added numerous chapels to house holy altars' which blocked the old tomb in the western entrance.[88] This description clarifies why Swithun's body needed to be translated, as the western doorway outside of which Swithun's tomb was located was incorporated into the main body of the church, thus disguising the original burial-place.

According to Wulfstan, Æthelwold went to King Edgar to ask for monetary assistance in paying for the new construction at Old Minster. Once Edgar gave his approval, he told Æthelwold to 'hasten to translate this great, divinely-revealed patron saint from his holy tomb as you desire, and take care worthily to place him inside the church which shines bright under your pastoral care'.[89] The translation took place over a week in July 971, beginning on Sunday, 9 July 971. The account turns to the present tense. 'The bells summon the people to the holy solemnities of the mass; they rush eagerly and fill the spacious building of the holy church. The venerable priest of the Lord, Æthelwold, came forth as usual to celebrate mass, in the course of which he instructed, aroused, renewed, improved and adorned the people with his healthful discourse'.[90] After the sermon, Æthelwold completed the mass, and a fast was

[88] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, lines 45-50; trans. Lapidge, pp. 375-77. *Istius antique reparauit et atria templi moenibus excelsis culminibusque nouis, partibus hoc austri firmans et partibus arcti porticibus solidis, arcubus et uariis. Addidit et plures sacris altaribus edes; quæ retinent dubium liminis introitum…*

[89] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 835-39; trans. Lapidge, pp. 451-53. *Ergo celer remea, Christi munimine fretus et nostro simul imperio, tantumque patronum cælitus ostensum sacro transferre sepulchro, ut cupis, accelera, digne huncque locare studeto intus in ecclesia quæ te pastore coruscat.*

[90] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 850-56; trans. Lapidge, pp. 449-55. *Signa uocant plebem sacra ad sollempnia missæ; certatim properant spatiosaque moenia complent ecclesiæ sanctæ. Domini*

declared for the whole populace of Winchester. This began on Wednesday, 12 July 971 and lasted for three days.

The translation occurred in the presence of many noble dignitaries, as one would expect. St Dunstan, archbishop of Canterbury, led the roster listed by Wulfstan: following him were Bishop Æthelwold, 'seven others whom one may readily name in verse with dactylic measure: Ælfstan, Æthelgar, another Ælfstan and Æscwig, Ælfheah, Æthelsige and Æthelwulf', as well as 'many other bishops...nobles and ealdormen as well as the great majority of the English royal thegns'.[91] The translation was followed by a large feast. Wulfstan believes that there had never been 'so great and lavish a church-dedication...in all of England as that which was gloriously celebrated at Winchester'.[92]

On Friday, 14 July 971, Wulfstan reports that a blind woman was healed at the tomb of the saint. The bells rang to call the populace together. Again, the account switches to the present tense. 'They assemble happily; they hasten from here and there, and rush to the tomb of the bishop and behold the mighty works of the Lord.' Æthelwold gives another sermon, and then 'gives orders for the shrine to be lifted, which the faithful (who knew by report that the man was holy) had formerly placed on the holy tomb. Men hasten to obey his commands, and they remove the shrine from there, and quickly set up tents around the tomb so that the people would not rush from everywhere upon the very holy saint, but so that the enclosure should be accessible to a few attendants and the people should wait outside with their pressing

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uenerandus Adeluuold processit solito missam celebrare sacerdos, qua mediante suo populum sermone salubri instruit, exercet, renouat, meliorat, adornat…

[91] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, lines 75-80; trans. Lapidge, pp. 377-79. *Post alii septem quos nunc edicere promptum est carmine uersifico cum pede dactilico: Æflstan, Æpelgarus rursumque Ælfstanus et Æscuuig, Ælfeah, Æpelsinus, hic et Adulfus errant. Post alii plures aderant, proceresque ducesque gentis et Anglorum maxima pars comitum.*

[92] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, lines 107-10; trans. Lapidge, pp. 379-81. *Numquam tanta fuit talisque dicatio templi in tota Anglorum gente patrata, reor, qualis erat Wenta celebrata potenter in urbe in sancti Petri Coenobio Veteri.*

din'.[93] After Vespers, 'the first procession of monks, equipped with candles, incense, the Holy Scriptures and the Cross of Christ, began in chant to praise the excellent Swithun' and proceeded to the tomb, where they 'completed their hymns of praise and prayers with humility' before returning to the Old Minster.[94]

When Saturday morning dawned, Æthelwold, Æthelstan and Æthelgar, along with all the other ecclesiastics in attendance, dressed in their vestments. 'Both communities', that is, the communities of the Old Minster and the New Minster, 'advanced in snow-white brightness, bearing candles and burning Sabaean incense; the holy gospel-book followed along with the Cross of Christ'.[95] Æthelwold gave another short sermon. The group 'come to where the holy man rested in body; they draw nigh in fear; and, when the crowd had been removed, a few entered the tents by which that holy tomb, filled with celestial medication, was enclosed. While all present were chanting the psalms in order', Æthelwold himself began the excavation. Other attendants then 'did the digging, and they reached the place by digging at the bottom of the tomb; and when the mass of the lid had been removed with three poles, the enclosure of the holy tomb was immediately laid open, and there they found at once that treasure whose discovery the saint had predicted to the smith'.[96]

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[93] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 904-5; trans. Lapidge, p. 455. *Concurrunt alacres; properant hinc inde, ruuntque presulis ad tumulum; Domini magnalia cernunt…;* lines 907-14; trans. Lapidge, p. 455. *Tolli iubet inde sacellum quod tumulo sancto quondam posuere fideles (qui fama narrante uirum nouere beatum). Iussa citi complent, illincque tulere sacellum et circa tumulum celeries tentoria tendunt ne populus supra nimium ruat undique sanctum, peruia sed paucis pateat clausura ministris expectetque foras uallante crepidine uulgus.*

[94] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 916-21; trans. Lapidge, p. 455-57. *Qua prece completa fratrum procession prima, lumine, ture, sacro textu, cruce predita Christi, incipit egregium iubilo laudare Suuithunum, cum pastore pio pergens ad busta uerenda. Laudibus et precibus summisso corde peractis, rursus in antiquam cum laude reuertitur aulam.*

[95] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 944-46; trans. Lapidge, pp. 456-57. *Procedunt ambæ niueo candore cahortes, lumina gestantes ac tura Sabea cremantes; sanctum euangelium sequitur quoquo cum cruce Christi.*

[96] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 954-65; trans. Lapidge, pp. 456-59. *Conueniunt ubi sanctus erat uir demate pausants; accedunt propius timidi, populoque remoto intrarunt pauci tentoria quis sacer ille septus erat tumulus supero medicamine plenus. Interea cunctis psallentibus ordine psalmos, primus adest terræ fossor uenerandus Adeluuold; tum fodiunt alii (quos iusserat ille) ministri, perueniuntque locum tumuli fodiendo sub imum; stipitibusque tribus sublata mole copercli fit statim clausura sacri*

Wulfstan, like Lantfred, frames the body in terms of treasure, writing that 'at the sight of this treasure silver and gold grow cheap, as does whatsoever treasure is seen in this world, for it is the most holy body of the excellent Swithun'.[97] Wulfstan reports that 'a wonderful odour, surpassing cinnamon and balsam in its sweetness, filled the entire town' once the tomb had been opened. 'With apprehension they touched the precious body, washed it limb by limb and wrapped it in a clean shroud, and enclosed the most holy limbs in a new shrine; and when this was finished they placed them in a feretory'.[98] The body was then born on the shoulders of the abbots of the Old and New Minsters into the church 'as the crowds rejoiced'. The population of Winchester was allowed to join the procession at this point, and everyone entered the church together 'with the holy body, and the excellent bishop places it there worthily, providing it with decoration and stretching shrouds all around it'.[99] Mass was then celebrated, and feasts were held throughout the city. Miracles were then performed at the new shrine (see fig. 5.5, where the tomb is outlined again in red, now visible inside the western entrance of the church).[100]

patefacta sepulchri, inueniuntque illum thesaurum protinius illic quem fabro sanctus prædixerat inueniendum...

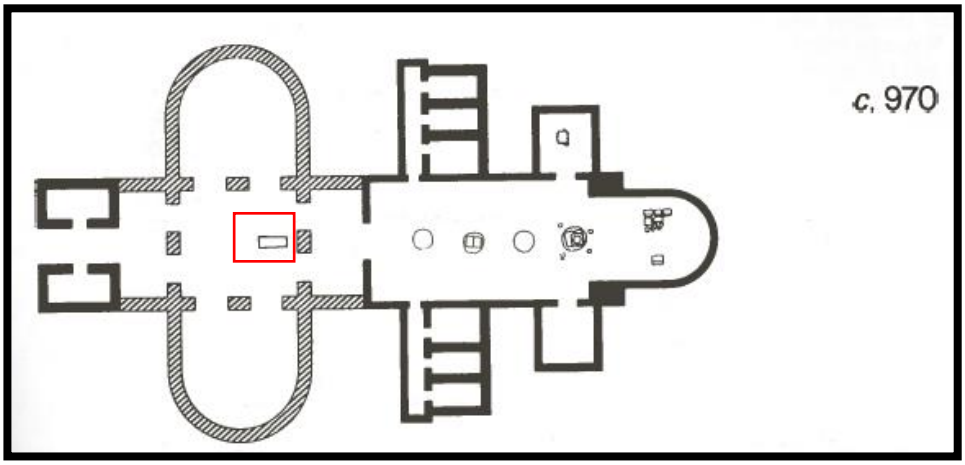
[97] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 966-68; trans. Lapidge, pp. 458-59. *Cuius in aspectu argentum uilescit et aurum, quicquid et in mundo gazarum cernitur isto, scilicet egregii sanctissima membra Suuithuni...*

[98] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, lines 973-79; trans. Lapidge, pp. 458-59. *Protinus in lucem prolato corpore sacro mirus odor redolens totam compleuerat urbem, cinnamoma premens et balsama nectare uincens. Adtingunt trepidi pretiosum corpus et illud membratim lotum mundo uelamine uoluunt, concluduntque nouo sanctissima membra locello; omnibus expletis hec imponuntque feretro.*

[99] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* lines 1029-31; trans. Lapidge, pp. 460-61. *Intrant ecclesiam sancto cum corpore læti, collocat ac digne præclarus episcopus illud, ornatum prebens, in gyra et pallia tendens.*

[100] Wulfstan for the most part records the same miracles as Lantfred; see *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno,* pp. 372-552; and *Trans. et mirac. s. Swithuni*, pp. 252-332.

Fig. 5.5: Floorplan of Winchester Old Minster, after Æthelwold, pt. 1[101]

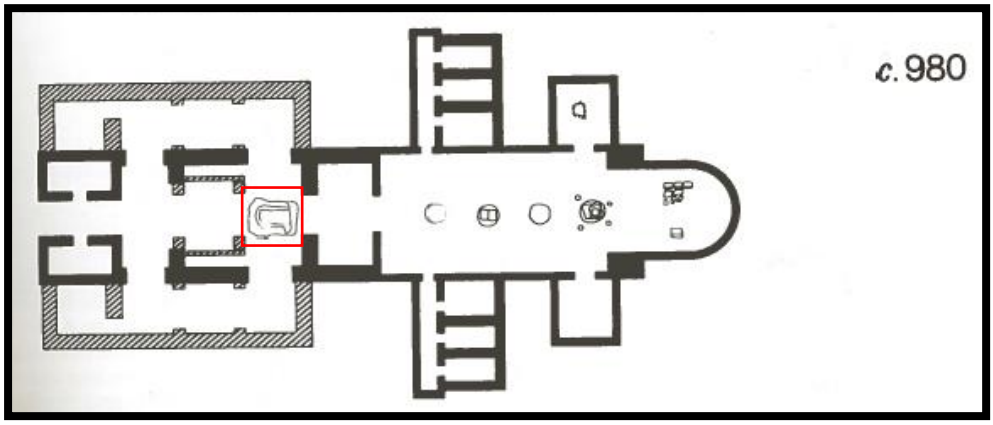


In 974 a portion of St Swithun's relics were returned to their original burial place, once the new *memorium* had been built. This is also described in detail by Wulfstan. The shrine was built by goldsmiths under the command of King Edgar, and required three hundred pounds of silver, rubies and gold.[102] On it the goldsmiths carved images of the Passion, the Resurrection, and the Ascension of Christ, amongst other scenes. At this translation, the people of Old Minster met the reliquary three miles outside of Worcester, and processed in together with the relics. At the 'entrance-doors of the western gate' a blind girl was healed, similar to the translation in 971. Æthelwold then placed the reliquary on the altar, and the whole community feasted for the remainder of the day.[103] It was only part of the relics that were contained in the reliquary that Æthelwold placed on the altar here. The other part of the body was placed in another reliquary and perhaps contained or placed near to the high altar.[104] Soon after, the *memorium* was incorporated into a new westwork (a type of entrance that was built along the west end of the church and generally incorporated a central

[101] *Biddle*, p. 20.
[102] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, pp. 493-97. See also J. Crook, 'King Edgar's Reliquary of St Swithun', *Anglo-Saxon England* 21 (1992), pp. 177-202.
[103] *Narratio metrica de s. Swithuno*, pp. 493-97.
[104] *Biddle*, pp. 24-25; Swithun's relics thus had a dual resting-place from 974, part contained in a reliquary on or near the main altar of the church, and another portion in a large shrine on the site of his original burial-place, now inside the western entrance of the church.

doorway flanked by two small towers) that was dedicated in 980 (see fig. 5.6, where one can see the considerable construction work that had been done and the location of the new shrine to St Swithun, outlined in red).

Fig 5.6: Floorplan of Winchester Old Minster, after Æthelwold, pt. 2[105]



This new entrance now contained 'a flint-walled tomb-chamber' that 'was now...sunk into the ground around the saint's grave, its walls set in mortar like that used in the construction of the westwork'. This new tomb-chamber was likely 'designed not only to make the original sarcophagus more accessible, but also to provide an enclosed chamber at ground level within which, under lock and watch, the great reliquary containing the saint's body could be displayed'.[106]

Like the first translation of St Swithun, Æthelthryth's second translation occurred sometime between 970 and 975, in the reign of King Edgar, who died in 975, and when Ely was under the abbacy of Byrhtnoth, who was abbot there from 970 to 996 or 999. Byrhtnoth was the first abbot of Ely after the Benedictine reforms, which the *Liber Eliensis* describes in detail.[107] The anonymous author writes that under the authority of Æthelwold, who had sought guidance from Dunstan, Byrhtnoth

[105] *Biddle*, p. 20.
[106] *Biddle*, p. 25.
[107] Fairweather and Blake seem to think this episode was recorded from local traditions, or perhaps from a source listing the abbots of Ely during the period. See Fairweather, pp. 143-44.

rebuilt the church at Ely, which had been 'once reduced to ruins by the Danes' and the roof of which was on the point of collapse.[108] After the church had been rebuilt, Æthelwold and Byrhtnoth 'together secured a dedication-date from the most blessed Archbishop of Canterbury, Dunstan, the time arranged being the day after the Purification of St Mary'.[109]

First, Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Byrhtnoth were joined by other notable dignitaries. After this, those present produced a written charter, 'jointly set a seal upon the place and whatever gifts had been brought there, thanks to the generosity of any of the faithful, adducing the privileges of the most excellent King Edgar, with which they confirmed them all'.[110] They then set about blessing the interior of the church, consecrating the altar, and 'establishing at the head of the church the titular altar of the blessed Peter, Prince of the Apostles, and in the southern part a memorial chapel of the Holy Mother of God, the ever-virgin Mary, and, celebrating the day of exultation with solemnity, they blessed God with hymns and professions of faith in accordance with the order for the dedication of a church'. After this, a week-long feast commenced, and with that, the dedication was over. According to the author, 'that place was purged of all the filth of squalor and neglect' by which he surely meant the expulsion of the secular clerics who had previously been in the abbey, and the body of St Æthelthryth was then elevated.[111] Æthelwold 'found the body of the

[108] *LE*, ii.52; trans. Fairweather, pp. 143-44. *...a Danis quondam subversam, ad perfectum erigere laborabat.*
[109] *LE*, ii.52; trans. Fairweather, pp. 143-44. *Tandem deprecatione fratrum tam abbas quam episcopus Æðelwoldus dedicationis diem optinuerunt a beatissimo archipresule Dorbernensi Dunstano, tempore assignato die sequenti purifcationis sancte Marie.*
[110] *LE*, ii.52; trans. Fairweather, pp. 143-44. *...inprimis officinas monasterii benedictionibus repleverunt et sua auctoritate locum et que alicuius fidelium largitione ibidem collata fuerant scripto consignantes, adhibitis excellentissimi regis Ædgari privilegiis cum quibus universa confirmaverunt.*
[111] *LE*, ii.52; trans. Fairweather, pp. 143-44. *Post hec dedicationem inceperunt in benedictionibus dulcedinis in capite ecclesie titulum beati Petri, apostolorum principis, ponentes et in australi parte memoriam sancte Dei genetricis, semper virginis, Marie, et, diem exultabilem sollempniter celebrantes, iuxta ritum dedicationis templi in ymnis et confessionibus Deum benedicebant...Emundatus est locus ille, divina operante clementia, ex omni feditatis squalore et negligentie.*

most blessed virgin Queen Æthelthryth in the church near the high altar, in the place to which St Seaxburh had translated her, and he left her with the greatest certitude unexamined and uninspected, not in concealment beneath the earth but raised up above it'.[112] It was also at this time that Byrhtnoth transferred the relics of St Wihtburh from Dereham to Ely, after a coordinated *furtum sacrum*, as we saw in Chapter 3.

The promotion of cults like that of St Swithun at Winchester during the Benedictine reforms was a conscious attempt on the part of these reformers to place themselves within the narrative trajectory of the Old Minster's monastic history. One reason for the choice of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth for the honour of an intra-site translation was proposed by Christopher Riedel, who writes that while Dunstan and Oswald relied on the continental monastic model for their ideas for reforms, Æthelwold 'drew more heavily on his interpretation of the so-called 'golden age' of English monasticism portrayed by the Venerable Bede in his famous *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Æthelwold portrayed himself re-creating the world described by Bede'.[113] This also explains his expulsion of clerics from Winchester and Ely, which Dunstan and Oswald did not go so far as to do at their establishments.[114]

The expulsion of the clerics had far-reaching consequences for English monasticism, primarily because it resulted in monastic communities having to perform all the pastoral duties for their region.[115] This was especially true of

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[112] *LE,* ii.52; trans. Fairweather, pp. 143-44. *Corpus autem beatissime virginis regine Æðelðreðe in ecclesia secus altare maius in loco, quo transtulerat illam sancta Sexburga, invenit venerandus pater Æðelwoldus, quam certissime intentatam et inconspectam, non sub terra delitescentem, sed desuper eminentem, reliquid.*

[113] C. Riedel, 'Praising God Together: monastic reformers and laypeople in tenth-century Winchester', *The Catholic Historical Review* 102:2 (2016), pp. 284-317, at p. 287.

[114] Riedel, 'Praising God Together', p. 291-92.

[115] F. Tinti, 'Benedictine Reform and Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England', *EME* 23:2 (2015), pp. 229-51; and F. Tinti (ed.), *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England* (Woodbridge, 2005).

Winchester, which now had no secular priests within the city walls to minister to the laity. The result was a 'centuries-long tradition of monastic cathedrals in England, where it was the monks who preached, ministered, staffed cathedrals, and became bishops'.[116] As argued by Riedel, Æthelwold received many endowments of land from these reforms; because there were no longer secular clerics who held private property at Old Minster, the effect of this was the endowment of the monastic community with land and material wealth. These monks were not strictly cloistered, but were responsible for all baptisms and deaths in Winchester, as well as most other pastoral duties. In addition, the charters from this time 'are primarily concerned with preserving the territorial rights of the reformed monastic communities'. This suggests that laypeople were allowed to enter the area surrounded the Old Minster, and that monks ministered both within and outside their walls, but they were not 'to live casually among the lay citizens of Winchester as the canons had'.[117]

Æthelwold's adoption of the Rule of St Benedict and his ousting of the clerics from his establishments was not purely done for economic gain. As argued by Mechthild Gretsch, Æthelwold was also motivated by a reforming zeal influenced by Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*.[118] She cites his translation of the Rule into Old English, along with its preface, commonly known as 'Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries'.[119] Æthelwold was the only known person in the Middle Ages to translate the *Regula s. Benedicti* into a vernacular language.[120] Gretsch argues that the translation made by Æthelwold 'is therefore a testimony to Æthelwold's deep

[116] Riedel, 'Praising God Together', pp. 284-87.
[117] Riedel, 'Praising God Together', pp. 297-98.
[118] M. Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 3-4.
[119] For more on these two texts, see Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, pp. 226-60.
[120] M. Gretsch, 'Æthelwold's Translation of the *Regula sancti Benedicti* and its Latin Exemplar', *Anglo-Saxon England* 3 (1974), pp. 125-51.

spirituality'.[121] Indeed, his expulsion of the clerics and his embracing of English monasticism, as he saw it, was a testament to a deep spiritual belief. This is also echoed in the translation of Anglo-Saxon saints in his establishments, especially those who, like Æthelthryth, were well-respected by Bede in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*.

It is also no coincidence that Æthelwold chose to elevate two saints within the diocese who had deep connections to the royal families of their area, and through that connection, to the royal family of his day.[122] The relationship between Æthelwold and the royal family clearly motivated, in part, his translations of both saints. While it is unclear what familial connections Æthelwold might have had to the royal family of England at the time of his birth, it is clear that he was of noble birth, and that it was possible that he had become very wealthy because of a familial inheritance.[123] This wealth allowed him to perform the translations of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth, as well as to rebuild and endow both the Old Minster in Winchester and the abbey at Ely with lands and assets.[124] Dunstan was also born into a well-connected family, and may have been related to King Æthelstan through Æthelstan's mother, Ecgwynna.[125] When Æthelstan's half-brother, Edmund, became king, he made Dunstan abbot at Glastonbury. Due to Æthelwold's long-standing connections to Dunstan and their mentor Ælfheah, it was likely these connections that brought Æthelwold further into the fold of the royal family. It was Edmund, and his half-brother Eadred, who particularly favoured Old Minster and New Minster at Winchester; both chose Dunstan as an adviser and member of the *witan*, and Eadred promoted Æthelwold to the abbacy at Abingdon.

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[121] Gretsch, *Intellectual Foundations*, p. 4.
[122] See Appendix D for a tree of the Anglo-Saxon royal family.
[123] B. Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics of the Tenth Century', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 68.
[124] Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 69.
[125] Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 66-67.

Things became more complicated once Eadred died, and was succeeded by his nephew Eadwig in 955. There were two primary reasons for this. The first was that Eadwig seems to have favoured the settlement of churches with clerics instead of monks. In 'King Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries', Æthelwold criticised Eadwig for 'the distribution of the lands of holy churches to rapacious strangers', by which he likely meant their endowment with clerical communities.[126] The second, however, was Eadwig's marriage to Ælfgifu. It was Æthelwold who had supported Eadwig's union, which had been opposed by Dunstan vociferously; this disagreement was the cause for Dunstan's exile to the continent during Eadwig's reign. Because of this support during this time, and also Æthelwold's efforts to protect her once her marriage had been annulled, Ælfgifu remembered Æthelwold and his establishments in her will, where she gave Old Minster, New Minster, and Abingdon estates, and left the rest of her assets to split between Æthelwold and the abbot of New Minster 'for the upkeep of their foundations and the relief of the poor'.[127]

Central to the translations of St Æthelthryth and St Swithun was the preferential treatment received by Æthelwold from the queens of England.[128] In addition to Ælfgifu's favour, Æthelwold had been a favourite of Queen Eadgifu, who

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[126] D. Whitelock, M. Brett and C.N.L. Brooke (eds.), *Councils and Synods, with other documents relating to the English Church, I, 871-1204* 33, Part I, 871-1066 (Oxford, 1981), pp. 142-54; D. Whitelock (ed. and trans.), *English Historical Documents, c. 500-1042* (London, 1979), p. 290; Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 79.

[127] To Old Minster went an estate at Princes Risborough, in Buckinghamshire, Mongewell in Oxfordshire, and Berkhampstead in Hertfordshire. To New Minster went an estate at Bledlow, and to Abingdon an estate at Chesham, both in Buckinghamshire. According to Barbara Yorke, Æthelwold was also granted an estate at *Tæfersceat* which remains unidentified. See D. Whitelock, *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Cambridge, 1930), 8, pp. 20-3, and Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 80.

[128] For more on these queens, see P. Stafford, 'The King's Wife in Wesex, 800-1066', *Past and Present* 91 (1981), pp. 3-27; P. Stafford, *Queens, Concubines and Dowagers: The King's Wife in the Early Middle Ages* (London, 1983), *passim*, and J.E. Abbot, *Queens and Queenship in Anglo-Saxon England, 954-1066: Holy and Unholy Alliances*, Ph.D. diss. (University of Connecticut, 1989); P. Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen: gender, religious status and reform in tenth- and eleventh-century England', *Past and Present* 163 (1999), pp. 3-35; Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, pp. 65-88.

had persuaded her son Eadred to endow Æthelwold with Abingdon.[129] Æthelwold was also preferred by Edgar's wife Ælfthryth, who 'acted as intercessor for Æthelwold with the king on a number of occasions'. These include the recovery of 'various lands and privileges of the Old Minster's estate at Taunton', 'an estate at Holland (Essex) for his monastery at Ely' as well as 'lands at Marsworth (Bucks) and Sudbourne (Suffolk)'. Ælfthryth was also present at the reform synod at Winchester where the *Regularis Concordia* was produced, and given an 'enhanced position' by Æthelwold, as noted by Pauline Stafford. Upon the succession of Ælfthryth's son Æthelred in 984, Æthelwold lent his support to the new king, and was a known adviser to the king and his mother until his death that same year.[130]

It seems likely that Eadgifu, Ælfgifu and Ælfthryth supported Æthelwold's theology of the Benedictine reforms as a return to the glorious Anglo-Saxon monastic past. Ælfthryth especially was favoured as the 'protectrix' of the nunneries of England, and therefore must have appreciated any connections between herself and St Æthelthryth. She is listed among the attendees at Æthelthryth's translation, and 'on at least one occasion, Ælfthryth and Æthelred stayed with Æthelwold at Ely and royal government was carried on from that monastery'[131]

As with Æthelwold's emphasis on Bede's vision of monasteries in the *Historia Ecclesiatica*, it seems likely that Æthelwold also had an idealised version of his relationship to the royal families that could have influenced his choice of subjects to be translated. St Swithun, we should remember, had been the tutor of King Æthelwulf (d. 858); it had been Æthelwulf who had appointed him as bishop of

[129] Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 74.
[130] Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 85. Ælfthryth's reputation suffered in the later Middle Ages, however. See Stafford, 'Queens, Nunneries and Reforming Churchmen', p. 4.
[131] Yorke, 'Æthelwold and the Politics', in Yorke, *Bishop Æthelwold*, p. 85.

Winchester, and in return, Swithun appears on a number of charters as witness to Æthelwulf's acts, indicating that he was an adviser to the king. Æthelwulf also supported Swithun's efforts to restore a number of churches within his diocese that had fallen into disrepair. The connections must have been known to Æthelwold, who, it seems, chose Swithun instead of the other saints at Winchester to hold the prominent position in the western entrance of the church as a visual connection to his own favoured position as an adviser to the royal family.

The choice of Æthelthryth is more straight-forward. Unlike Swithun, Æthelthryth's cult was still well-known at the time of her second translation. However, it seems likely that her own connections to the royal family, and her clear identity as an Anglo-Saxon royal virgin, would have helped Æthelwold in his choice to promote her shrine above those of her virginal sister Seaxburh, or her niece Eormenhild. Moreover, the story of Æthelthryth's second translation in the *Liber Eliensis* is bracketed first by an explanation of Æthelwold's efforts to reform the monasteries and expel the clerics from Winchester and Ely, and at the end with a description of the lands and benefices with which Ely was endowed by Æthelwold.[132] In connecting themselves to past abbots, or by enhancing the status of these historic cults, the new bishops like Dunstan and Æthelwold sought to enhance their own status.[133] It is perhaps for this reason as well that the first peak of intra-site translations was characterised in some ways by the intra-site translations of particularly well-known Anglo-Saxon cults, like St Swithun at Winchester, but also St Æthelthryth at Ely.

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[132] *LE*, ii.51 for Æthelwold's reforms, and ii.54 for the lands given to Ely under Abbot Byrthnoth and Bishop Æthelwold.

[133] C. Cubitt, 'Universal and Local Saints in Anglo-Saxon England', in Thacker and Sharpe, *Local Saints and Local Churches*, pp. 423-454, at p. 451; see also J. Blair, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (London, 1994), pp. 73-77.

Intra-Site Translations as a Socio-Economic Ritual in Anglo-Norman England, *c.* 1050-1200

Saints' bodies could also be translated in order to facilitate the construction of a new cathedral or monastery (i.e. to raise money to pay for the construction), or post-construction, where the body would be moved during the building project and then re-interred afterward once the new shrine was complete. These were more practical intra-site translations, as the building works often necessitated the movement of the shrines into temporary locations for a time, before the re-internment of the body. This type of intra-site translation flourished in the late-eleventh and early-twelfth centuries. In England, the Normans began a massive building project in the late eleventh century that continued throughout the twelfth century. This campaign 'resulted in the demolition of all the old cathedrals, and in the process of rebuilding most shrines had to be relocated'.[134] Most of these required intra-site translations while construction was being performed on the cathedrals.

Many of the intra-site translations after the Norman Conquest occurred as a result of the building campaign by Norman bishops and archbishops.[135] As will be shown throughout this section, these translations were attempts by the Norman ecclesiastical and monastic aristocracy to increase the political power and economic standing of their land-holdings. This is evident in certain tropes made throughout the *translationes* during this period; the insufficiency of the existing shrine, in the scope

[134] Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, p. 19.
[135] See Nilson, *Cathedral Shrines*, *passim*, and Crook, *English Medieval Shrines*, *passim*, for more on the renovation of church buildings under the Normans.

of both treasure and size; the placement of the bodies within the cathedral; and the emphasis placed on the incorruptibility of certain Anglo-Saxon saints.

At the time of the Norman Conquest, according to Knowles, there were some thirty-five monasteries in existence in England. Of these, four were cathedrals that were served by monks: Canterbury, Winchester, Worcester, and Sherborne.[136] Canterbury and Winchester were immediately given to Norman transplants from the Continent (specifically Lanfranc and Walkelin respectively); Worcester and Sherborne were ultimately taken under the control of similar continental rulers by the reign of Henry I.[137] Bury was already under the auspices of the monastery of St Denis at Paris. Of the other thirty, according to Knowles, we have little knowledge of fourteen, which were small and poor and lacked significant records. Of the sixteen that remained, twenty-four appointments were made during the reign of William I; of these, two were Normans, one came from Marmoutier, and the remaining twenty-one 'were drawn from nine different Norman monasteries, of which Jumièges supplied no less than six and Fécamp, Mont St Michel and Caen three each.'[138]

Most of these reforms came under the auspices of the first Norman archbishop of Canterbury, Lanfranc, whose tenancy ran from 1070 to 1089.[139] Lanfranc had studied and become a monk at Bec, where he worked and lived for a number of years before being appointed archbishop by William I. Bec was to become intimately tied with the monastic foundations of England into the twelfth century, supplying the next archbishop of Canterbury, Anselm (*c*. 1033-1109). They were also especially

[136] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 112.
[137] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 112.
[138] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 112.
[139] For more on Lanfranc, see H. Clover and M. Gibson (ed. and trans.), *The Letters of Lanfranc, Archbishop of Canterbury* (Oxford, 1979); J. Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History: the competing visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury', *Speculum* 74:2 (1999), pp. 279-309; H.E.J. Cowdrey, *Lanfranc: Scholar, Monk, and Archbishop* (Oxford, 2003); and M. Gibson, *Lanfranc of Bec* (Oxford, 1978).

favoured under the reign of Henry I, along with the monasteries of Caen, St Évroul and Séez. 'In all between 1066 and 1135 notices remain of over sixty overseas abbots appointed to some twenty English houses', as noted by David Knowles.[140] At the beginning of the Anglo-Norman period William benefitted from the long-standing understanding, established by the agreement made at Winchester in 972, that the king appointed monks and abbots. After Lanfranc arrived, these appointments became systematic.[141] These new abbots began a massive building campaign, spreading about a good number of 'spacious and carefully planned monastic buildings and offices together with a large church'.[142]

There has been some discussion by historians that the new Norman abbots and bishops were biased against the old Anglo-Saxon saints that were now contained in their reliquaries.[143] There is some evidence of this. Paul of St Albans referred to the 'tombs of his predecessors...as uneducated simpletons'.[144] Athelelm refused 'to allow any feast of St Ethelwold or St Edmund to be kept, on the grounds that the English were boors'.[145] Other relics were put to an ordeal by fire, including those at Evesham.[146] Norman intra-site translations, however, also offered an opportunity to reinforce the incorruptibility and inherent sanctity of certain Anglo-Saxon saints, to powerful effect. The fate of Anglo-Saxon relics after the Norman Conquest was

[140] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 112.
[141] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 111.
[142] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 119.
[143] This has been disputed in recent years. See Knowles, p. 118; H.M. Thomas, *The English and the Normans: Ethnic Hostility, Assimilation, and Identity, 1066-c. 1220* (Oxford, 2003); S.J. Ridyard, '*Condigna veneratio*: post-Conquest attitudes to the saints of the Anglo-Saxons', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 9 (1986), pp. 179-208; Rubenstein, 'Liturgy against History', pp. 279-309; P.A. Hayward, 'Translation-narratives in post-Conquest hagiography and English resistance to the Norman Conquest', *Anglo-Norman Studies* 31 (1998), pp. 67-94; idem, 'Saints and Cults', in J. Crick and E. Van Houts (eds.), *A Social History of England, 900-1200* (Cambridge, 2011), pp. 309-20, at p. 314; T. License, 'The Cult of St Edmund', in T. Licence (ed.), *Bury St Edmunds and the Norman Conquest* (Woodbridge, 2014), pp. 104-30.
[144] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 119.
[145] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 119.
[146] Knowles, *Monastic Order*, p. 119.

complex, as has been argued by Rebecca Browett.[147] Acknowledging the work of other historians such as Susan Ridyard, Jay Rubenstein, and Paul Hayward, Browett argues that some Anglo-Saxon saints were promoted by their new Norman abbots and bishops, while others were demoted and even suppressed.[148] Such was the case with the saints at Winchester and at Ely, as we shall see. When, because of the 'miracles multiplying at her tomb', it was ordered that the body of St Editha be raised from its grave at the church of St Denys, it was in order that she could be 'exalted in a shrine'. Upon raising up the body, they found that the whole of her body had 'resolved into dust, except the finger, with the abdomen and parts adjacent'.[149] And when Mildritha was translated to St Augustine's monastery at Canterbury, and underwent an intra-site translation there in 1091, she was held to be one of the most sacred saints within the monastery, according to William of Malmesbury, likely because of her uncorrupted state. 'Although almost every corner of that monastery is filled with the bodies of saints of great name and merit, any one of which would be of itself sufficient to irradiate all England, yet no one is there more revered, more loved, or more gratefully remembered; and she, turning a deaf ear to none who love her, is present to them in the salvation of their souls.'[150] When St Æthelthryth experienced her third translation in 1106, Bishop Herbert, who was responsible for her translation, led the congregation to consider in his sermon the importance of her cult and her sanctity, emphasising her incorrupted body. As the *Liber Eliensis* reports, 'with regard to the life and death and miracles of the blessed virgin and the wonderful incorruption of her sacred body, he

[147] Browett, 'Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints', pp. 183-200.
[148] Browett, 'Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints', *passim*.
[149] *GRA*; trans. Giles, pp. 245-46. *Ita crebrescentibus ad tumbam miraculis, edictum ut corpus irgineum levaretur, et altius efferretur; inventumque totum in cineres solutum præter digitum et alvum et alvo subjecta...*
[150] *GRA*; trans. Giles, p. 243. *Et quamvis ibi pene omnes monasterii anfractus pleni sint sanctorum quorum singula per se possent illustrare Angliam, nullo tamen illa colitur inferius, quin immo amatur et commemoratur dulcius. Adest illa se diligentibus, nullos surda transiens aure, saluti consulens animæ.*

urged the congregation on to a sign of the supreme joy and happiness that was brought about in the tents of the righteous'.[151] The promotion of some cults and the suppression of others is a key indicator that these new monastic leaders were implementing relic policies with regard to their new establishments, in order to reap economic and political benefits.

The Second Translation of St Swithun at Winchester and the Third Translation of St Æthelthryth at Ely

The second translation of St Swithun happened on 15 July 1093, under the leadership of the new bishop of Winchester, Walkelin (d. 1098). Walkelin had been appointed by his relative, William I, and took up office in 1070. One of the first tasks he set himself was to renovate the cathedral at Winchester, beginning work in 1079. When the work began, the tomb of St Swithun was not moved. This was because the part of the Old Minster where St Swithun was buried was not actively under construction, as the newer parts of the cathedral were built. In 1093, the 'feretory of the saint was carried from the Old Minster into the new Norman cathedral, the eastern parts of which had been dedicated three months before'.[152] After it had been moved, the old burial site was demolished.

According to Martin Biddle, despite this destruction, 'the site was immediately marked by a monument placed on the precise spot and at the exact alignment, not just of the tomb-chamber, but of the stone coffin which seems to have

[151] *LE*, ii.144; trans. Fairweather, pp. 275-278. *...de vita et obitu et miraculis beate virginis sacrique corporis admirabili incorruptione populum exortante ad summe iocunditatis et letitie indicium, que facte sunt in tabernaculis iustorum...*
[152] *Biddle*, p. 25.

lain within it'.[153] This monument seemed to have been exactly the same shape as the tomb which had formerly occupied the spot, and 'was set in a carefully plastered, pink surface which covered the site of the demolished' former entrance to the church. Alongside the monument were four other stone coffins, 'left *in situ* in the demolition...[which] seems thus to have served as a memorial court beside the nave and west towers of the new cathedral'.[154] From that point on, it seems that the cult had a dual focus, between the reliquary within the new Norman cathedral, and the memorial in the former entrance, just outside the new north entrance to the nave.

The necessity of the Norman rebuilding campaign of English churches is understandable given the economic state of the country in the immediate aftermath of the Viking invasions. Many of the existing minsters were in a state of disrepair. In the *Liber Eliensis*, the description of Æthelthryth's third intra-site translation is riddled with references to the insufficient burial places that had formerly held the bodies of Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, and Eormenhild.[155] The translation was scheduled for 'the sixteenth day before the Kalends of October, so that her first translation is celebrated at the same time as the new one'. Abbot Richard applied for permission from Anselm, then Archbishop of Canterbury. Invitations were also sent 'to as many men as possible of pontifical dignity and honour, and to abbots and religious monastics and other ecclesiastical persons equal to the highest pontiffs in merits, if not in dignity, and worthy of comparison with them, not to say preference over them. There were invited by him also nobles and magnates of the kingdom.' These men

[153] *Biddle*, p. 25.
[154] *Biddle*, p. 25.
[155] The anonymous compiler is almost certainly using Goscelin of St Bertin here, chiefly the *Vita s. Withburge*, chapters 16-24; trans. and ed. Love, pp.75-83 . Fairweather acknowledges, however, that 'A separate booklet *De secunda translatione*, comprising our chapters 144-8, is included in ms. B between books i and ii of *LE*, and this may be a copy of the compiler's source-text, though Blake argues that it could have been copied from *LE'*. See Fairweather, p. 275, and Blake, pp. xxxvif.

included ‘Herbert, Bishop of Norwich...Ealdwine of Ramsey; Richard, Abbot of St Albans; Gunter of Thorney; Widow, Abbot of Pershore; Nicholas, Archdeacon of Lincoln; Geoffrey, Treasurer of Winchester and innumerable other men of great honour and authority’.[156]

This translation is described in very great detail, providing us with a good insight into what, by the twelfth century, intra-site translations were like. First, they approached the tomb of Æthelthryth. They did this with reverence, knowing the stories of how those who had opened the tomb before them had been either cursed or physically harmed.[157] This time, they decided to lift the body from the tomb without disturbing it (though how this was done exactly is unknown), before transferring it to a new shrine that was ‘full worthy of the praise of the singers’ behind the original altar.[158]

Interestingly enough, St Æthelthryth, St Seaxburh, and St Eormenhild were found to have been buried in very different types of shrines and tombs. Æthelthryth’s shrine held the place of honour, ‘opposite the high altar’. At the same time, they opened the tombs of St Seaxburh and Eormenhild, ‘which St Æthelwold had sealed with lead on both sides’. These remains were found ‘to have decomposed in the manner customary for the human condition’, with the body of Seaxburh wrapped ‘in

[156] *LE,* ii.144, pp. 275-278. *...diem statuit, videlicit xvi Kal. Octobris, quo et prima eius translatio tanquam una cum nova celebratur...Invitatis etiam quampluribus pontificalis dignitatis et ordinis viris et abbatibus et religiosis monachis aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, pontificibus summis, etsi non dignitate, tamen meritis, non immerito coequandis, ne dicam preferendis, invitati ab ipso fuerunt et regni proceres et optimates, ut ad tam iocundam festivitatem accederent et congaudentibus et ipsi gauderent...Inter quos vir laudabilis Herbertus Norwicensis episcopus, Ældewinus Rameseiensis, Ricardus Sancti Albani abbas, Gunterius Thorneiensis, Wido Persoriensis abbas, Nicholaus Lincolniensis archidiaconus, Gaufridus Wintoniensis thesaurarius et alii innumeri magne honestatis et auctoritatis viri.*

[157] The author, after mentioning the reverence with which they approached the tomb, references the miracle in which the Dane struck the tomb with his axe and the subsequent miracle in which the monk stuck a candle inside the tomb through the hole which the Dane had struck to test Æthelthryth’s incorruptibility. See *GPA*, iv.183.2-183.7, pp. 489-91.

[158] *LE*, ii.144; trans. Fairweather, pp. 275-278.

silk and clean muslin – bones and dust placed separately – and both parts in individual boxes made of wood within a stone memorial'. Seaxburh's new shrine was positioned 'to the east towards the feet of St Æthelthryth'.[159] Eormenhild's tomb seemed to have been somewhat neglected, however, because those remains had been placed by Æthelwold 'in an unadorned pavement-tomb, without covering'. Abbot Richard raised them up, placing them in 'a perfectly clean cloth, and enfolding the dust separately', before replacing them 'in their former coffin to the south and to the right of St Æthelthryth with not dissimilar care, and he resealed each mausoleum again with lead'.[160]

Along with Æthelthryth, Seaxburh, and Eormenhild, Abbot Richard also translated the remains of St Wihtburh, which had been interred by Æthelwold at the previous mass intra-site translation. This translation proved to be slightly more complicated. They had found the remains and the casket four years before, in 1102, and repositioned them due to the construction of the new areas of the church. In so doing, the sarcophagus was dropped, and it cracked down the middle. Abbot Richard arranged for a new sarcophagus to be built that was meant to be the exact dimensions of the old one. Then a strange miracle occurred, in which the new coffin was found to be too short for the body. The author asserts that it was then that they found that the body of St Wihtburh was incorrupt, including the clothes and the 'wooden casing whereby it was conveyed to Ely', although the knowledge of Wihtburh's incorruption was certainly already held by the community at Ely. In a miraculous expression of

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[159] *LE*, ii.145; trans. Fairweather, pp. 278-279. *...tot preconiorum prerogativis, quarum glebas more conditionis humane reperiunt defluxisse et terre genetrici sua persolvisse tributa. In sericis namque et sindone munda corpus beate Sexburge seorsum ossa et seorsum pulverem invenit et utramque partem in singulis scriniis ex ligno conpactis lapideo in monumento, ut beatus reliquerat Æðelwoldus, quam ad orientem versus pedes sancte Æðelðreðe sollenniter reposuerunt.*

[160] *LE*, ii.145; trans. Fairweather, pp. 278-279. *Reliquias vero sanctissimæ Ærmenilde in nudo sepulcri pavimento absque velamine invenit, a beato sic Æðelwoldo repositas, quas etiam colligens in mundissimo panno, pulverem per se involvens, in pristino reposuit mausoleo et ad austrum in dextris sancte Æðeldreðe haut dissimili locavit diligentia et utrumque plumbo iterum resignavit mausoleum.*

her supposed wishes, St Wihtburh repaired her old sarcophagus, and was thereafter buried with respect alongside St Seaxburh and St Eormenhild.[161] Her new shrine was 'facing the east' and behind St Æthelthryth's shrine; the author says later that they were in a position 'in which...they both singly and together make privileged intercession on behalf of supplicants for the benefactions of Heaven'.[162]

One motivating factor that shines through in both the translation of St Swithun and that of St Æthelthryth is that the Norman bishops were attempting to enhance their power through association with the Anglo-Saxon history of their monasteries. Specifically, with the translation of St Swithun, Bishop Walkelin sought to emphasise Swithun's status as a canon-bishop, as opposed to Æthelwold's image as a monk-bishop. Æthelwold had been sainted shortly after his death at Winchester, and in 996 he was translated into a new shrine, making him in effect the second most popular saint at Winchester Old Minster behind St Swithun. However, the fact that Swithun alone was translated in 1093 by Walkelin, and that Æthelwold is nowhere mentioned in any account of Swithun's translation, is notable. Æthelwold was not translated again until 1111, under the auspices of Walkelin's successor, Bishop William Giffard.[163] After assuming the bishopric in 1070, Walkelin 'immediately sought to oust Winchester cathedral's monastic chapter and replace them with canons. He was stopped only by the intervention of Archbishop Lanfranc of Canterbury (1070-89) and Pope Alexander II (1061-73)'.[164] Shortly after his assumption, the monks of

[161] *LE*, ii.147, pp. 280-281. *Virginea quippe gleba, que putabatur post tot secula iam olim consumpta, quamvis eam ab antiqua experientia clara defenderet fama, tota et membris et vestibus apparuit integra, sicuti primitus erat inposita. Lignea etiam theca, ferreis tantum clavis exesis, cum qua fuerat in Ely delata, servata est illesa.*

[162] *LE*, ii.147, pp. 280-281. *Inposito ergo operculo et clauso diligenter sarcofago, letissimo cum iubilo transferunt eam ad beatam sororem de veteri monasterio in novum, et componunt gratissime contra orientem ad latus suum...ubi et pariter et singule superna beneficia supplicantibus prerogant.*

[163] The translation was again a high-status event, as described by Browett, 'Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints', p. 193.

[164] Browett, 'Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints', p. 187.

Winchester Old Minster wrote to Pope Alexander II and asked that Winchester remain a monastic community. In this, they cited the work of St Swithun briefly, but chose St Æthelwold as their saintly defender, 'precisely because he had founded their community. It looks as if they sought to prove that their foundation had been a holy work of a powerful monk-saint, and that consequently their removal would be offensive to that saint'.[165] Browett suggests that Walkelin ignored Æthelwold's cult for this precise reason, not wishing to give credence to the monastic community in their attempt to foil his wishes. For this reason, he 'chose to promote St Swithun the canon-bishop, the only acceptable alternative to Æthelwold, in order to fund his building programme and increase pilgrimages to the cathedral'.[166] In a similar manner, Walkelin chose to promote St Æthelthryth and her sisters St Seaxburh and St Wihtburh because they had all been royal princesses, daughters of King Anna, and had established Ely as a double monastery. It could be that Walkelin was promoting this image of Ely as one which had (briefly) had secular clerics over its re-established image as a Benedictine priory that had been created by Æthelwold. Walkelin's dislike for Æthelwold could have influenced the anonymous author of the *Liber Eliensis*, who refers repeatedly throughout his account of this translation to the insufficiently appropriate burial places provided by Æthelwold in the 970s. It seems, therefore, that Walkelin's disapproval of Æthelwold's monastic vision extended from Winchester to Ely, as well as to other foundations, including Abingdon, and that his elevations of St Swithun and St Æthelthryth, and the endowments thereof with magnificent shrines, were meant to promote these saints over that of St Æthelwold.

[165] Browett, 'Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints', pp. 191-193, at p. 192.
[166] Browett, 'Fate of Anglo-Saxon Saints', pp. 192-193.

Conclusion

Translationes were, on the one hand, simple movements of relics from one place to another. Certainly, when they were first being regulated by the Church in the early ninth century, this is how they were conceived by church leaders. However, as I have shown here, the *translatio* came to be seen over the centuries as an effective part of a community's relic policy. The initial movement of a relic into a new community, either through the *inventio* and *elevatio* of the intra-site translations was an opportunity to flaunt the community's riches and holdings to other neighbouring communities. The annual repetition of this translation, sometimes acted out physically, other times liturgically, acted as a reminder to the entire region of the importance and power of that community's saints. More importantly, the repetition of the translation, performed when political or societal changes had occurred within and around the community, could reinforce the narrative construction of a common identity for the community. This identity, as well as the written accounts produced to help build it, were then used to reinforce the social relationships between secular and clerical leaders, as well as between monastic houses, thereby manifesting political and economic tensions but also contributing to them as well. *Translationes*, therefore, were not just simple movements from place to place, but were in fact concerted, intentional acts on the parts of leaders to manipulate the placement of relics, in order to increase their own power and prestige.

6. *Delationes*, or the Tours of Relics

At the beginning of the eleventh century, the monks of Conques attended one of the new Peace Councils that were being held throughout Aquitaine. To the council at Rodez, they brought with them the relics of their patron saint, Foy, to bear witness to the resolutions being made there. Before attending the council, they asked a warrior named Bernard Astrin for some branches from his forest with which they could build a pavilion. Bernard refused to give them the branches, saying that 'he had already given many trees *gratis* to a great many saints. Sainte Foy was infinitely richer than the others. Therefore, he was not going to give her the branches without some payment, no matter how small.'[1] Abbot Adalgerius of Conques agreed to these conditions, and paid seven sous for the work of cutting the wood. The wood was cut, and used to build the pavilion where they laid St Foy's relics during her time at Rodez. But when spring arrived and the trees began to grow again, 'Sainte Foy caused the part she had paid money for to stand unchanged. The trees whose branches had been cut showed no regrowth, although the rest of the trees all around seemed to be restored to a pristine state and displayed branches thick with sprouting twigs. And so it is up to the present day.'[2] The anonymous author of this section of the *Miracula s. Fides* provides a legal explanation for why the tree had failed to grow after being cut by the abbot's workers:

> ...according to the law the purchaser owns things sold to that person outright, but things that are loaned to another person out of reciprocal friendship should eventually be returned to their owner. Once the wood had been offered in a business

[1] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv.11, trans. Sheingorn, pp. 199-200. *Qui in avariciæ freibus exestuans, respondit se plurimis sanctis jam dedisse gratis multa robora, sanctæ vero Fidi, quia cæteris innumerum eminebat opulentia, nisi cum precio quidlibet minime se daturam ad hæc construenda.*

[2] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv.11, trans. Sheingorn, pp. 199-200. *...partem illam quam precio emit sine restitutione succisarum arborum adhuc star fecit, cum cæteræ arbores undique per condensa virgultorum brachia in pristinum statum reformari videantur.*

> deal and the money had been paid, this holy businesswoman had acquired it for her own use. If she did not want to return it, that is entirely her affair.[3]

While not one of the primary miraculous episodes reported from St Foy's visit to Rodez, the story of St Foy's tree is one example of the types of economic exchanges in which the saint, through the medium of their relics, could engage. St Foy is here depicted as a 'businesswoman' who is capable of engaging in the purchase of goods and lands through her mediators, the monks. St Foy is apparently shrewd in this capacity, and the punishment that she enforces seems to be because Bernard 'forced' a business deal to occur. If Bernard had gifted the branches to St Foy, they would have remained his, and would have been returned to him in the form of new growth in the spring. However, because St Foy was forced to purchase the branches, it was within her right to refuse to return them to Bernard. If Bernard had wanted his trees to flourish, he should have gifted them to her instead. As we shall see, this theory also applies to lands gifted to the monasteries or to the community of the saint, especially within the cult of St Foy.

The episode of St Foy's tree also exemplifies the relationship between relic tours and the Peace of God. Beginning in the late tenth century, the relics of the saints were brought out on tours of the countryside in the summer months. Over time, the tours developed into their own ritualised form of movement. Known by a variety of names, including *circumvectio, circumlatio, translatio*, and *delatio*, these tours were inherently different from other types of movement, primarily in the circular

[3] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv.11; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 199-200. *Quo in opere nichil aliud nobis perpendendum colligitur, nisi quia sancta virgo arbores quas emit in sua venditione absque restitutione permanere cogit. Res enim quæ venduntur sine reditu ab emptoribus jure possidentur. Quæ vero amicorum benivolentin mutuandi gratia ad alium transeunt, jus redeundi merito habebunt. Hæc namque sancto negociatrix ligua in astantes ingenti gaudio perfusi, Deum cunctipotentem unanimes conlaudant, qui tantam suæ militi Fidi conferre est dignatus in omni virtutum splendore potenciam.*

nature of the journey, which began and ended at the relic's home sanctuary.[4] Like *translationes*, *delationes* were motivated by the creation of the patrimony of the saint. As a result, the tours were intimately linked to the Peace of God movement from their inception. As the Peace of God movement spread throughout Francia, so did these summer tours.[5]

The *delatio* served a variety of purposes in medieval society. Relics were taken on tours to raise money; the donations raised through the performance of miracles could be used to rebuild churches or shrines in the same way as donations given after *translationes*. Relics were also toured in areas affected by disease or famine, or during battles. The primary purpose of tours, however, was to claim lands that were thought to have been stolen from the monastic community. Within this, the tours could also promote the political interests of the community, whether that was in the promotion of peace or to bring in donations. While economic concerns were thus tied intimately to the performance of tours, they were also a powerful political tool used by these communities to increase their land holdings and their political authority within a region.

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[4] The names by which these tours are called in Latin is noted here for a few reasons. First, while all the tours are called by different names, they are the same type of movement; calling them by only one name might mean that the historian misses a similar journey in their analysis, and could account for the short historiography on the subject. Second, there are slight differences in the translations of the names that are pertinent for this study. *Translatio* is defined as 'carrying or removing from one place to another; a transporting, transferring', and its derivative is the English term translation. In the case of relics, a translation is a simple movement from one place to another; there is no implication of a return movement of the relics. Both *circumvectio* and *circumlatio* imply this back and forth movement, and are thus more accurately used to describe tours. However, *delatio* is slightly more accurate, as can be seen from examining its English derivative 'delate'. Delate, a verb which comes from the participle stem 'delat-' of the Latin verb *deferre* (meaning to bear or bring away or down, to convey, deliver, report, indict, accuse, etc.) has several appropriate meanings for our purposes. It can mean one of four things: (1) to carry down or away, to convey to a particular point; (2) to tender or offer for acceptance or adoption; (3) to hand down or over, transfer; to refer; (4) to relate or report. A *delatio*, then, differs slightly in its definition from the *circumvectio*. That is to say, a *delatio* is a journey which is meant to convey information about the saint, to report on its power, to hand over the saints' relics to the laity in some fashion, so that they can be held or revered, and/or to offer the saint for acceptance in the region.

[5] See below discussion for more on *delationes* in the Peace of God movement.

This chapter begins with a discussion of the Peace of God movement and the place of relics within that movement, followed by an examination of the rise and spread of summer tours of relics through the rest of France and Flanders until the end of the twelfth century. Particular attention will be paid to the ways in which the relics were used to further political motivations and claims to land by their communities. Attention will also be paid, however, to a secondary effect of these tours: the creation of sacred space. In most of the relic movements studied in this thesis, one of the primary effects was the creation of permanent sacred spaces. On tours, however, sacred spaces were incidentally, or temporarily created. Moreover, this creation was done primarily by the laity, and backed up by the clergy, as the local populations placed certain markers and boundaries on places where the relics had rested that defined the space as being metaphysically different from the space around it. On those spots, miracles were said to have occurred, but because the presence of the relics was fleeting, so were these sacred spaces. The touring of relics, therefore, offers an intriguing glimpse at lay devotional practices in eleventh- and twelfth-century Francia.

Historical Discourses on *Delationes*

Even from the first councils, relics were brought with ecclesiastical leaders to the Peace councils for those present to swear oaths upon them, and to be 'witnesses' that would help those present to keep the faith. That relic tours and the Peace of God movement grew together and were intimately entwined is, however, a relatively recent historiographical argument. From the 1960s, most of the work on relic tours referred to them as *quêtes itinérantes*, which can best be translated as 'fund-raising

tours'. Relic tours were first studied in detail by French historians Pierre Héliot and Marie-Laure Chastang, in two related articles from 1964 and 1965.[6] They include a list of thirty-eight such tours, beginning with that of St Ursmer in 1060 and ending in the late fifteenth century.[7] For Héliot and Chastang, there were three stages of circular journeys of relics. The first stage was the tour of a small area to fend off an attack or to avoid a theft, which had been performed for centuries by the beginning of the second millennium. The second stage consisted of tours that were characterised by economic motivations, but not necessarily tours that were specifically performed to solicit donations from the laity. Over time, the tour of relics developed into the final stage, after the thirteenth century, when relics were toured solely for the purpose of soliciting donations from the laity for future construction projects. These two articles collectively influenced all other studies of *delationes*, and are invariably cited in those studies. Within this model, *delationes* are frequently referred to as fundraising tours in the vein of Héliot and Chastang.

This is how Dawn Marie Hayes refers to the 'fundraising tour' of the monks of Laon in 1112, when they toured with their relics of the Virgin Mary through France that summer.[8] This link between a desire for funds (provided primarily by a naive laity) and the touring of relics is made even more explicit by Reinhold Kaiser, who argues that relic tours were performed almost solely in order to gather donations that were used for the construction of new churches.[9] It is certainly the case that money raised on these tours did fulfil construction goals, such as the erection of a new shrine or cathedral. However, viewing them solely as 'fundraising tours' denies agency to both the laity and the clergy in their participation in the ritual. On the one hand, such

[6] Héliot and Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages', *passim*.
[7] Héliot and Chastang, 'Quêtes et voyages', p. 800.
[8] Hayes, *Body and Sacred Place*, p. 35.
[9] R. Kaiser, 'Quêtes itinerantes', pp. 204-25.

a viewpoint demonstrates a tendency to view the laity as a passive audience, 'tricked' into giving away their money or goods in exchange for miraculous interventions which may or may not have been effective. On the other, it denies any political agency to the clerics who performed these tours, which might better be analysed in light of the relic policies discussed in previous chapters.

The political benefits of relic tours and their use in the policies of ecclesiastical leaders in Flanders has been examined recently by historians. In her analysis of the representations of relics in the territorial principalities of Francia, Édina Bozoky concluded that relic translations played a central role in the political manoeuvrings of counts and dukes with each other and with the crown, especially in the peripheral areas of the Carolingian Empire.[10] Lucile Trân-Duc likewise concluded that relic policies were used in the aspirations to power of the Norman princes between the tenth and eleventh centuries.[11] However, relic tours were not performed solely for economic or political purposes; even the descriptions behind the motivations given by the authors of the medieval accounts should be understood in a more complicated light. While usually described as a way to seek donations from the laity, it is soon clear that most relic tours took place in order to gain lands. Land, in and of itself, was valuable to these monastic communities for political, economic, and religious reasons. Relic tours allowed monastic communities to add to the lands of their patron saints which could then be used to unite the laity under their patrimony, with concomitant economic and political gains.

[10] É. Bozoky, 'Les reliques et le pouvoir des princes territoriaux, IXe-XIIe siècles: politique et representation', *Hagiographica* 13 (2006), pp. 73-94, at p. 73.
[11] L. Trân-Duc, 'Les princes normands et les reliques (Xe-XIe siècles): contribution du culte des saints à la formation territorial et identitaire d'une principauté', *Pecia: ressources en medievistique* (2006), pp. 525-61.

There is one strand of historiography that made the connection between the rise of the Peace of God movement and the beginning of relic tours. The article *Les voyages de reliques* by Pierre-André Sigal is a seminal work in the history of relic tours. In that article, Sigal analysed eight journeys, most of which will be discussed in some form in this chapter. It is Sigal that first made the connection between relic tours and the Peace; it is also Sigal who first sought to analyse the relic tour as a ritual in and of itself. As he wrote, relic tours were performed for a variety of reasons, including 'liturgical processions', and also 'transportations that were meant to symbolize, with the presence of the material remains of a patron saint, the possession of a landed domain, the endorsement of a military action, the support of the prestigious saints for the councils of peace, and to obtain the money necessary for the continuation of the life of the religious communities in periods of difficulties, thanks to the offerings deposited by the faithful'.[12] Sigal later cites the two tours of St Amand in 1066 and St Urmser in 1060 through Flanders as being intimately linked to the Peace councils there. This analysis was taken up by Geoffrey Koziol, who examines the tour of St Ursmer in his translation of the *Miracula s. Ursmari* and a corresponding article, and deliberately connects the tour to the councils of Peace in Flanders in the 1030s and 1040s.[13]

This connection is also made by Patrick Nugent and Kate Craig. Nugent, in his unpublished dissertation, analysed healing miracles, both at cathedral shrines and on processional routes. He includes sections on *delationes* and the Peace of God, where he asserts that each Peace council had an attendant *delatio*. While this cannot be fully substantiated with existing evidence, it is likely true based on what we know

[12] P.A. Sigal, 'Les voyages des reliques aux XI et XII siècles: voyage, quête, pèlerinage dans la littérature et la civilisation médiévale', *Senefiance* 2 (1976), pp. 75-104, at p. 75.
[13] *Miracula s. Ursmari* and Koziol, 'Monks, Feuds', *passim*.

about these councils.[14] Nugent's study is valuable because he also uses a literary analysis to examine *delationes*; in this, he notes 'three indispensible motifs' in *delatio* narratives: '(a) an account, brief or extended, of the occasion for the procession, and the destination if the trip is not simply a tour; (b) mention of the presence and activity of crowds; and (c) the appearance and healing of the sufferer. This last motif is often a composite of other motifs of disorder and order.'[15] The connection between healings that took place at these outdoor (temporary) shrines and the rise of the Peace of God, and the narrative accounts and use of motifs to explain this connection, is therefore of utmost importance to Nugent.

Kate Craig also enforces the connection between the Peace councils and relic tours in Francia, claiming that one medieval author who described the *delatio* of St Junianus 'imagined the relics as a holy army; brought together by divine will, they were a driving force behind the success of the council. The miracles that they performed provided further evidence that divine favor was present, and thus lent support to the regulatory ambitions of the organizers'.[16] Craig notes that the descriptions of the early tours to the Peace councils take the same pattern, which demonstrates the goal of making a communal identity through bringing out the relics of the saints. This narrative pattern began with describing the start of the council and the opening statements:

> ...after introducing the main organizer of the council, its location and goals, and the rationale for the involvement of relics (which varies in emphasis between texts), the hagiographers immediately state that the relics of their saint joined the others at the

[14] Nugent, *Ritual Illness and Ritual Healing*, p. 63; the claim cannot be fully substantiated because the list of councils used by Nugent was incomplete; other councils have been found by historians to have occurred during the period, without conclusive and corresponding evidence of a *delatio* in some cases, as will be shown below. However, because relics were necessary for the swearing of peace oaths at the councils, it does seem likely that relics were brought there by the communities in attendance.
[15] Nugent, *Ritual Illness and Ritual Healing*, p. 106.
[16] Craig, *Bringing Out the Saints*, p. 92.

> council...This combination, elaborating on the worthy purposes for bringing relics together while claiming their own participation, explicitly wrote the relics and the community into the joint project of the council. Through their involvement, communities saw themselves as active members of a unified group, physically and mentally aligned with the other representatives bringing relics. The joint transportation of relics forged, if only temporarily, a sense of the saints and their keepers as a collective.[17]

This sense of solidarity, however, had its limits, as it was fundamentally at odds with some of the reasons that the relics were brought to these councils in the first place, i.e., to enforce the patrimony of the saint, sometimes at the expense of other saints and communities in the region.[18] This tension is evident throughout most of the hagiographical accounts of *delationes,* and occurred between the different communities of the saints, and between the clergy and the laity of those communities. Without the cooperation of the laity, of course, the relic tours would not have been successful; on the other hand, the clergy who toured their relics did so primarily for their own economic and political benefit. These relationships should take precedence in our analysis, as they were of utmost concern to the authors writing their accounts.

The Peace of God Movement

It is no coincidence that tours of relics occurred with increasing frequency around the turn of the first millennium. The Church was undergoing massive socio-political changes, in the various monastic reform movements led by communities like Cluny, and in the Peace of God movement. This program had different motivations and effects that were dependent on the geographical and socio-political region in which it

[17] Craig, *Bringing Out the Saints*, p. 93.
[18] This is also acknowledged by Craig, *Bringing Out the Saints*, p. 94.

was enacted. Far from being a coherent platform pursued by the church hierarchy, the Peace of God was more likely a 'number of Peace movements, regional in character, rather than a single unified movement', as was suggested by Thomas Head.[19] These regional peace movements coalesced in certain ways. The crimes that were punished by the councils of Peace tended to focus on three specific social and political problems: first, the theft of church property by secular parties; second, the assault of clerics or the unarmed *populus*; and third, the theft of property from the unarmed peasantry, especially on church manors.[20] A majority of the councils enforced a similar punishment for these crimes, using the threat of excommunication by ecclesiastical leaders and the swearing of an oath upon the relics of the saints to enforce their dictates.

It has been widely argued by historians that the Peace of God movement began in Aquitaine, with the first council held at Charroux in 989, although other councils or proto-councils were held in the Auvergne before the Council of Charroux. These proto-councils, as outlined by Christian Lauranson-Rosaz, were held for the same ultimate goals as the later councils that emulated them.[21] The first was at Clermont in 958, followed by one held at Aurillac in 972, which took advantage of the great set of relics of St Gerald (ca. 855-904) to reinforce its dictates.[22] Successive councils were held at Saint-Germain-Laprade and a place called *Coler*, which Lauranson-Rosaz locates at either Salers, Colin, or Aurillac.[23]

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[19] Head, 'Development of the Peace of God', in *Peace of God*, p. 657. See also H.W. Goetz, 'Protection of the Church, Defense of the Law, and Reform: on the purposes and character of the Peace of God, 989-1038', in *Peace of God*, pp. 259-79, at p. 264.
[20] T. Head and R. Landes, 'Introduction', in *Peace of God*, p. 4. See also Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', in *Peace of God*, pp. 264-70.
[21] C. Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains: the Auvergnat origins of the Peace of God', in *Peace of God*, pp. 106-08.
[22] Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains', in *Peace of God*, pp. 110-15.
[23] Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains', in *Peace of God*, pp. 116-23.

Claire Taylor and Christian Lauranson-Rosaz argue that by the time of the Council of Charroux in 989 the formulations for a Peace movement in the region had already begun.[24] It is Charroux, however, to which later councils turned their minds, and upon which they based their dictates. The Council of Charroux was called by Bishop Gombaud of Bordeaux, and brought together ecclesiastical leaders of the region, including Bishop Gilbert of Poitiers, Bishop Frotarius of Périgueux, Abbo of Saintes, Hugh of Angoulême, and Hildegare of Limoges. Other notable councils followed, including one at Limoges in 995, as well as one at Poitiers in 1000. Again, the declarations that were produced were similar in nature to that produced at Charroux.

These early Peace councils, and the movement as a whole, developed in two distinct phases, according to Hans-Werner Goetz. The first phase, comprising of the councils held at Charroux to those held just after the turn of the millennium, was concentrated on Aquitaine, the Berry, and the Auvergne.[25] The second phase began in the late 1010s, when it began to diffuse to other parts of Francia, spreading to 'the southern part of the ecclesiastical province of Bourges, the duchy of Burgundy to the east, and parts of the provinces of Sens and Reims to the north'.[26] In total, Goetz argues that there were numerous councils, with most held largely in Aquitaine and Bordeaux. However, to Goetz's list we should also add those councils that occurred in Flanders and others that occurred in Francia, most notably at Rodez.[27]

[24] C. Taylor, 'Reform and the Basque Dukes of Gascony: a context for the origins of the Peace of God and the murder of Abbo of Fleury', *EME* 15:1 (2007), pp. 35-52, and Lauranson-Rosaz, 'Peace from the Mountains', in *Peace of God*, *passim*.
[25] Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', in *Peace of God*, p. 261.
[26] Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', in *Peace of God*, p. 263.
[27] Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', in *Peace of God*, p. 262. His table is extensively footnoted and well-researched.

There are some historians who claim that Peace councils could not occur without the presence of the relics, and thus that a relic tour *had* to occur in order for the councils to have relics in attendance.[28] Other historians have simply noted the connection between the rise of the Peace of God movements and relic tours.[29] Whatever the case, those councils with written records note the presence of relics at their councils, some of which were local and some of which travelled a significant distance to attend.[30]

As the Peace of God moved northward in the 1020s and the 1030s, it changed into a movement less concerned with the popular motivations of the laity, but instead with the power concerns of the ecclesiastical authorities.[31] If the Peace movement in Aquitaine could be called, as it was by one historian, the first real popular religious movement of the Middle Ages, then the Peace movement in Flanders was characterized instead by the top-down implementation of a Peace by royal or ecclesiastical authority.[32] However, such a dichotomous position is unwarranted in the evidence, as sources from the north also depict the attempt by ecclesiastics to not only involve the laity in their quest for peace, but also to act on the ecclesiastical concerns for their peasantry.

Regardless, by the time the Peace movement reached Flanders, it was highly codified and partially ritualized. Councils were held at Douai, either in 1024 or in

[28] Nugent, *Ritual Illness and Ritual Healing*, pp. 59-61.
[29] Most notably Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', in *Peace of God*, pp. 261-63.
[30] See Goetz, 'Protection of the Church', in *Peace of God*, pp. 261-63.
[31] Koziol, 'Monks, Feuds', p. 239.
[32] This historian was Carl Erdmann, as quoted in R. Landes, 'La vie apostolique en Aquitaine en l'an mil. Paix de Dieu, culte des reliques, et communautés hérétiques' *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* 46:3 (1991), pp. 573-93, p. 574. For the Peace in Flanders, see: E.I. Strubbe, 'La paix de Dieu dans le Nord de la France', *Recueil de la Société Jean Bodin* 14:1 (1961), pp. 489-501; H. Platelle, 'La violence et ses remèdes en Flandre au XIe siècle', *Sacris Erudiri* 23 (1971), pp. 101-73; G. Duby, A. Goldhammer (trans.), *The Three Orders: Feudal Society Imagined* (Chicago, 1980), pp. 21-43; J.F. Lemarignier, 'Paix et réforme monastique en Flandre et en Normandie autour de l'année 1023', *Droit privé et institutions régionales: Etudes historiques offertes à Jean Yver* (Paris, 1976), pp. 443-68.

1036; at Audenaarde, called by Baldwin IV in 1030, and at Thérouanne, convened by Baldwin V sometime between 1042 and 1043.[33] These councils in Flanders were largely held under comital authority, as part of the over-arching politico-religious policy of the counts of Flanders, begun under Baldwin IV and continuing under his son Baldwin V. Monks of the area took advantage of this political interest in relics by touring their relics and targeting the count of Flanders (in this case Baldwin V) in order to address their concerns and achieve their goals, usually in asking for the restoration of monastic lands.

The Peace was, as we have seen, an attempt by monastic communities to either claim land that had been usurped from them, or to claim new lands for the spread of their monastery and cult. *Delationes* were also performed to claim lands, where the relics would be brought out to a particular piece of land whose ownership was in doubt; miracles would then be performed, and depending on the efficacy of those miracles, the land would either immediately be handed over to the monastic community, or require the performance of further miracles to ensure the switch in ownership or tenancy.

Delationes in French and Flemish Miracle Accounts

Some tours were performed with the express motivation of either enforcing an existing Peace council's dictates or to encourage a new Peace council to occur. This is especially true in the analysis of three relic cults: the numerous tours that took place in the early eleventh century with the relics of St Foy, and the tours of St Ursmer and St Lewinna through Flanders in the mid-eleventh century. These tours were not,

[33] Koziol, 'Monks, Feuds', p. 239.

however, the only ones to be performed in Francia and Flanders in this period. The *delationes* outlined by Sigal in his article will also be considered in this thesis, as they represent the best sources regarding this type of movement (see fig. 6.1). Each of the journeys selected has a dedicated description of the tour that varies in length, the shortest being the *Delatio corporis s. Juniani*, which described the journey of St Junianus to the Council of Charroux in 989 and which occupies only three paragraphs. The longest is arguably the *Miracula s. Ursmari*, which describes the *delatio* of St Ursmer in 1060 through Flanders.[34] Chronologically the journeys analysed herein begin with the *delatio* of St Junien in 989, and end with that of St Taurin in 1158. It is also necessary to note that this is a very small sample of such tours that occurred in Francia in the early years of the new millennium.

[34] It is approximately five pages in *AASS*, and eleven pages in *MGH*; see *Miracula s. Ursmari*.

Fig. 6.1: A Sample of Relic Tours in Francia and Flanders, 989-1158			
Year	**Relics**	**Stops**	**Distance**
May 28-June 1, 989	St Junien	Nouaillé, 'not very far from Nouaillé', Ruffiac, Charroux, returning to Nouaillé	~70 km.
c. 1010	St Foy	Conques, Molompize, returning to Conques	~240 km.
1058	St Lewinna	Bergues-St Winnoc, Alverinckehem, Leffinghe, Aldenburga, Walcheren, Bruges, Dodesela, Lissewege, Bruges, returning to Bergues	~570 km.
1060	St Ursmer	Lobbes, Tournai, Lille, Strazeele, Blarinhem, Cassel, Bergues, Bruges, Oostburg, Lissewege, Leffinghe, Ghent, Brussels, returning to Lobbes.	~570 km.
1066	St Amand	Saint-Amand, Verneuil-sur-Serre, Coucy-le-Chateau-Auffrique, Laon, Chauny, Noyon, and Douai, returning to Saint-Amand.	~200 km.
1107	St Amand	Saint-Amand, *Anduennium*, Mt Gerald (on the way to Herlingova), Herlingova, Ghent, Tournai, returning to Saint-Amand.	~265 km.
June 4-Sept. 21, 1112	Mary	Laon, Castle of Issoudun-Buturicensi, Beaugency, Cormery, Tours, St Lawrence de Cala, Angers, *Carnotum*, returning to Laon.	~1000 km.
Mar. 28-Sept. 6, 1113	Mary[35]	Laon, Nelle, Artois, *Audomarum*, Wissant, *Douvres*, Canterbury, Winchester, Christchurch, *Essecestra*, Wilton, *Danavexeria*, *Bannistaplum*, *Totenes*, *Begea*, returning to Laon.	~2000 km.
1158	St Taurin	Gigny, Cluny, Mascon, Balgiacum, Canariacus, Mons-Bertaldi, *Triverium*, *Lehennacus*, Lyons, Mt. Loëlli, St Christopher's (near Lyons), *Maximiacus*, Chalamont, *Curneias*, returning to Gigny.	~360 km.

[35] These two tours are also examined in detail in Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities*, pp. 63-99.

There are two *topoi* in accounts of *delationes* that are of importance here. The first of these relates to the Peace of God, where relics were used in very specific ways to promote issues related to the Peace or to promote a conference. There were numerous ways of performing this task, although only two will be analysed in this chapter. The first of these relates to the way that information was spread by the cult (the building of exchange value for a set of relics). In particular, the authors seem to attempt to use both oral and written accounts to help spread the word about the power of the saint and to enforce the wishes of the saint (and thence of the cult and its community). The healings of the deaf and mute, which occur with some frequency on *delationes*, are therefore of importance. Because the impairments left the afflicted with an inability to communicate or to interact with the rest of their community, they were considered both a particular hardship for the afflicted person, and a particularly powerful healing that could be performed by the saint. Both the performance of the miracle, and then the written accounts and potential oral dissemination of that miracle, helped to contribute to the exchange value of the saint in question. Consequently, a saint with a high value, as we have seen throughout this thesis, was more likely to be able to enforce the wishes of its community.

The first known tour that occurred within the context of the Peace of God is also the first known tour referred to as a *delatio* by medieval authors and historians. The monks of Nouaillé brought out the relics of their patron saint, Junien, to the Council of Charroux in 989. According to the author, Letaldus of Micy, there were other relics present as well, although they remained unnamed in the account.[36] Likewise undescribed was the way the relics were brought out, from which we might

[36] *Delatio corporis s. Juniani*, 2, col. 825A; trans. Head, p. 285. *Nam et multa corpora sanctorum ibi allata sunt…*

surmise that the ritualized aspects of the *delatio* were still at the very beginning of their formation. The relics were brought out to reinforce the dictates of the council at Charroux. The account therefore begins with a description of the reasons why the council was called. Letaldus writes that 'it pleased bishops, abbots, and other religious men that a council be held at which the taking of booty would be prohibited and the property of the saints, which had been unjustly stolen, would be restored'.[37] What is of interest is that Letaldus does not record any of the miracles that St Junien might have performed at the council, and only three that occurred on the journey to Charroux, including the erection of a cross and the creation of a sacred space.

The *Miracula s. Fidæ* records another early tour, where the author of the first two books, Bernard of Angers, mentions numerous times the relics of St Foy being brought out of Conques in order to punish a nobleman for encroaching on her lands or attacking her people.[38] St Foy's reliquary was first brought out in conjunction with the Peace of God movement for a council called by Arnald, bishop of Rodez, at the abbey of Saint Felix near Rodez. It was joined there by the reliquaries of St Marius, St Amans, St Saturninus, and a 'golden image of holy Mary, mother of God'.[39] One of the first miracles recorded from that council concerned the healing of a young boy, who was blind, lame, deaf and mute from birth. According to Bernard, the boy 'had been carried there by his parents and placed close beneath the image, which had been given an elevated and honourable position. After he had been left there for about an hour, he merited divine medicine.' After being healed, 'the boy stood up speaking,

[37] *Delatio corporis s. Junianis*, 2, cols. 924C-D; trans. Head, pp. 284-85. *…placuit episcopis et abbatibus et quibusque religiosis viris concilium debere fieri, in quo et prædæ prohiberentur, et res sanctorum injuste sublatæ restituerentur…*
[38] For a slightly different interpretation of these miracles, see Craig, *Bringing Out the Saints*, pp. 130-42.
[39] Saturninus (also known as Sernin) was the first bishop of Toulouse, martyred in the third century. His relics were held at the church of St Sernin in Toulouse. The other two saints (Marius and Amans) are relatively unknown. See *Miracula s. Fides*, i.28, p. 98.

hearing, seeing, and even walking around happily, for he was no longer lame. And when the common people responded to such an amazing event with uproarious joy, the important people at the council, who were seated together a little farther away, began to ask each other: 'Why are those people shouting?' to which someone responded with the story of the miracle.[40]

The laity, in this miracle, took the lead role in the recognition of the sacred event. It was not until after the popular acclamation that the clergy present were informed of the healing. This is a common theme in *delatio* accounts, and might be representative of an attempt by these ecclesiastical authors to involve the laity in the ritual of the *delatio* and therefore in the Peace itself. This could be done through the use of two literary tropes. First was to include the laity in the miracle itself through a public acclamation, as above. This could also involve a trope which we shall see below, where the lay person experiencing the miraculous healing would publicly acclaim that healing to the rest of the laity and the clergy, the latter acting merely as reporters of the event for posterity. Second, and perhaps more directly politically motivated, was to use high-ranking secular leaders within miracles or portray them as reporting the miracles to the clergy, who would then record them. In both cases, however, we must rely on a tenuous supposition to support these claims, which is that the written accounts produced by these authors had political impact on events and were a part of the ecclesiastical policy to enforce dictates of various Peace councils. In this, we shall need to explore the evidence further.

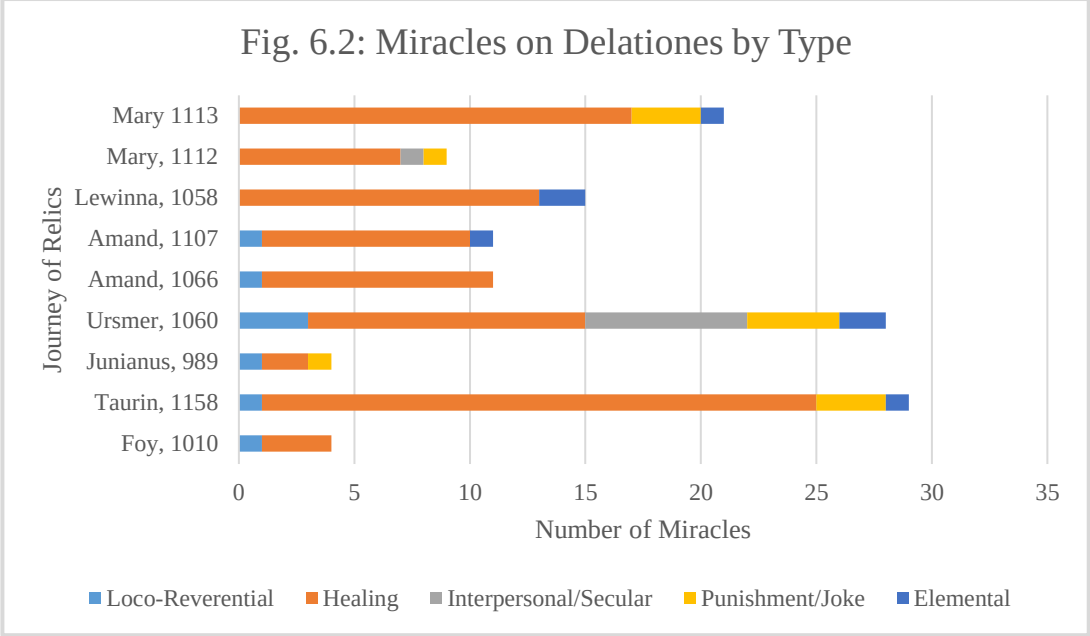
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[40] *Miracula s. Fides*, i.28; trans. Sheingorn, p. 98. *Puer a nativitate cæcus et claudus, surdus et mutus, a parentibus bajulatus, subterque imaginem quæ in sublimi honorabiliter habebatur postius, quasi horæ unius intervallo ibidem demoratus, divinam meruit medicinam. Atque integerrime sospitatis donatus gratia, exurrexit loquens, audiens, videns, et etiam inoffenso pede feliciter deambulans Cumque strepitus vulgi super tali resonaret prodigio, seniores concilii, qui considebant paulo remotiores, cæperunt inter se conquirere, dicentes:* Quod sibi vult ista popularis conclamatio? *Quibus Bertildis comitissa respondens:* Quid, *inquit*, aliud hoc esset, nisi quia sancta Fides jocatur ut solet?

Evidence of the social concerns of monastic communities and the laity might be manifested through an examination of the types of miracles that occurred on *delationes*. Attention can also be paid to who the miracles affected and who reported these miracles; from this, as above, we might glimpse lay/clerical relations through the lens of the monastic author. Within the larger category of miraculous events that occurred between 800 and 1200 in England and Francia, several sub-categories of miracles can be easily defined: elemental miracles, for example, where natural elements like fire and water were manipulated by sacred figures; miracles to solve interpersonal conflict (especially common in *miracula* produced during the Peace of God movement); miracles that created sacred spaces, or miracles that protected sacred spaces from harm; and healing miracles. Of this last sub-category (which forms the largest preponderance of miracles in the medieval period), we can again make sub-divisions: physical and mental healings can be differentiated from each other in some cases, as can be healings of a particular limb (like the head, arm, or leg) with healings of a general lameness or infirmity.[41] Likewise, healings of the blind and healings of the deaf and deaf-mute, form sub-categories of healing miracles.[42]

[41] For more on healings in medieval Christianity, see especially A. Porterfield, *Healing in the History of Christianity* (Oxford, 2005). For more on miracles in medieval Christianity, see Bartlett, *Why Can the Dead?*; R.C. Finucane, *Miracles and Pilgrims: Popular Beliefs in Medieval England* (London, 1977); Yarrow, *Saints and their Communities, passim*; Ward, *Miracles and the Medieval Mind*; Cooper and Gregory, *Signs, Wonders, Miracles;* Goodich, *Miracles and Wonders*; and R. Koopmans, *Wonderful to Relate*.

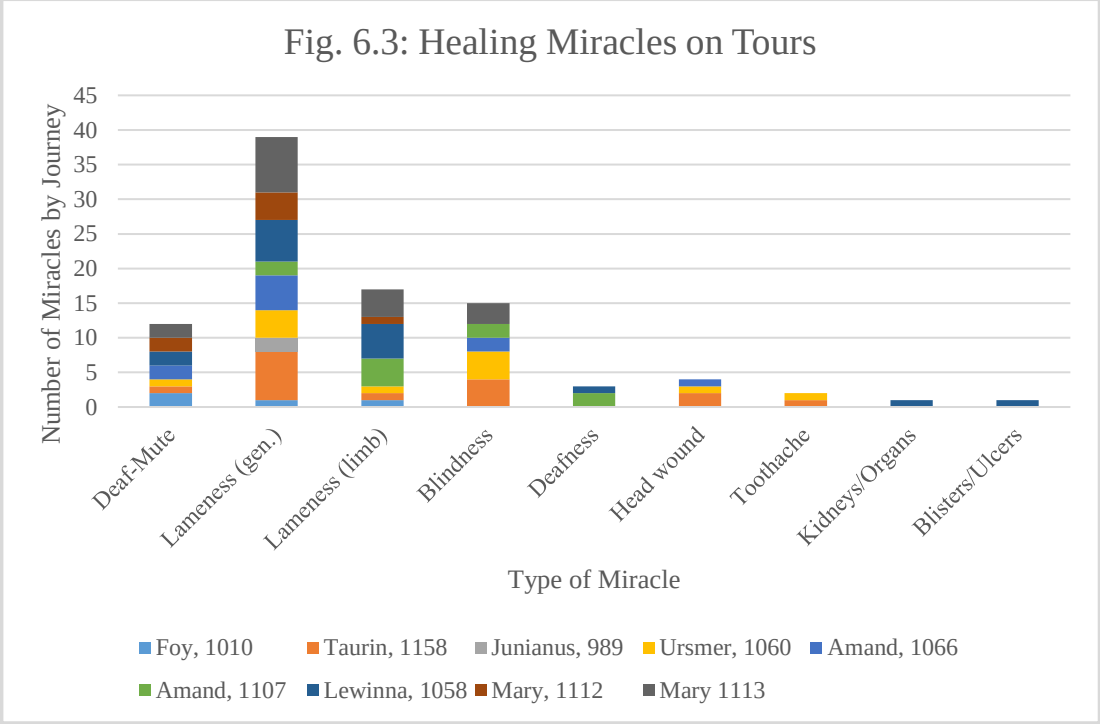
[42] The data for this set was gathered and compiled from the hagiographical accounts recording these movements. See Appendix A.



Healings of deaf-mutes were a surprisingly common minor miracle reported on tours of relics in Francia in the first few decades of the second millennium. In addition to the young boy healed above by St Foy at Rodez, that saint was also credited with healing at least two deaf-mutes on her tour through the Auvergne in *c*. 1010.[43] St Lewinna healed three such afflicted persons on her tour through Flanders in 1058.[44] St Ursmer was credited with five such miracles on his tour through Flanders two years later in 1060.[45] In 1066, St Amand was thought to have cured four deaf-mutes, and in 1107, when his relics were toured again, another two deaf-mutes were cured.[46] On the two tours of the Virgin Mary in 1112 and 1113, when the monks of Laon toured relics including the hair of the Virgin Mary, there were seven reported healings of people who were deaf, mute, and/or blind.[47] On the tour of St Taurin in 1158, five

[43] *Miracula s. Fides*, ii.4, pp. 120-21.
[44] *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*, pp. 623-27.
[45] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, pp. 573-78.
[46] *Historia miraculorum s. Amandi [1]*, pp. 895-900; *Historia miraculorum s. Amandi [2]*, pp. 900-02.
[47] *Miracula s. Mariæ*, pp. 961-1018.

healings were thought to be in this category.[48] This is a significant minority of the miracles performed on these tours (see fig. 6.3).[49]



One of those healed by St Foy was named in the text as Stephen, who had been deaf and mute from birth. As he followed the relics on their procession, 'he began to push his fingers into the passage-ways of his ears with great force and to rub them quite vigorously'. Blood soon poured out from his ears and throat, breaking 'through the obstacles that were blocking his voice and his hearing'.[50] Also on that tour, a young girl sought healing from the relics at Molompize. This girl had been 'thrust out of her mother's womb into the light blind, deaf, and mute. Also her fingers were not separated from her palms, so that her hands were perpetually closed into fists.' She had already appealed to St Foy once and been cured of all her infirmities except for

[48] *Circumvectio corporis sancti Taurini* [BHL 7996], *AASS*, August II, pp. 650-5.
[49] For the data for this chart, see Appendix A.
[50] *Miracula s. Fides*, ii.4; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 121-22. *Hic nescio quid tandem sentiscens, cepit summa vi auricularum meatibus digitos infigere, violentissimeque defricare. Moxque cruoris ebullitio ab eisdem foraminibus unaque ab ipso gutturis autro sanguineus rivus emergens, quod voci audituique obstabat, rupit offendiculum.*

her fists. She met the relics and spent the day praying next to the image of the saint, 'keeping up an outcry that all could hear'.[51] As she prayed, she loudly appealed to the saint:

> 'Sainte Foy, once you gave back to me my sight, my hearing, and my speech. If you truly did this, I beg you to add to it. My hands are still curled up and useless. Bring it about that they may also perform their proper function from now on.' And her girlish voice, repeating this incessantly, moved many to pity and compassion.[52]

This was a significant cure for the cult of St Foy, and was made all the more so by the specific use of certain motifs by the author, Bernard of Angers. Bernard begins the entire episode with the mention of the girl's previous sensory disability, thus emphasizing her inability to communicate with those around her. Once she had been cured of this, it would stand to reason that her appeals, made by one who was only able to communicate verbally through the power of the saint to whom she now appealed, would be more powerful to those around her because of her previous disability. Thus the words which begin her appeal mention the previous miracle, and call for the saint to heal her current disability, which prevent her from working and integrating fully into her community. Moreover, the supplicant is not only using her 'girlish voice', an implication of innocence and virginity, but she does so 'incessantly', 'keeping up an outcry'.

It was not only this girl who burst out in a public acclamation during her healing. Secondary relics of the Virgin Mary, toured by the monks of Laon, were

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[51] *Miracula s. Fides*, ii.4; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 122-23. *Item puella erat, Arveruici pagi indigena, quam natura ipsa a matronæ utero surdam, mutam, cecamque in lucem prodiderat. Cui etiam perpetui pugni, digitis in palma adhesis, inerant. In hac aliquando sancta Fides apud Conchas triplex miraculum gesserat, aurium sive oculorum necnon et oris officium reformans, pugnis tantum in nativo vitia relictis. Post multum vero temporis, audita fama hujus processionis, ad prefatum vicum celeravit, ibique diem integrum ante sacram imaginem ducens, hujusmodi clamorem audientibus cunctis continuabat...*

[52] *Miracula s. Fides*, ii.4; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 122-23. *...Sancta Fides, olim michi visum, auditum eloquiumque reddidisti, quod si vere fecisti, adde etiam, precor, ut et manus quæ hactenus inutiles contractæque fuerunt, amoda proprium expleant officium. Et hoc sine cessatione repetens, plures in pietatem compassionemque puellaris vox compungebat...*

credited with the healing of a young deaf-mute child at Tours, who, as he touched the reliquary, immediately began to sweat, while blood flowed copiously from his ears. The boy lost consciousness underneath the reliquary, and when he awoke, he could hear, but could not speak, because he had never learned. After his cure, he joined the monastery at Laon, where the relics were housed, to testify to his healing.[53] In another example from the tour of St Adalhard as the relics were brought out to a peace council in Amiens, a deaf-mute named Retbert 'was instructed in a dream to pray before the reliquary'. Upon reaching the relics, 'he was soaked in a shower of tears, and by groaning and nodding his head he expressed what he could not say with his voice, petitioning the saint with a heart full of words, as if he saw the saint conversing with him'.[54] Here, what happens to Retbert is hidden from those around him; the man seems to be in a parallel universe, caught up in the miracle and possessing a world only composed of him and St Adalhard. On the other hand, he is highly visible to those around him, conveying through his body what is happening in the sacred realm he is inhabiting mentally:

> Everyone's attention turned to him: he, however, paid attention to no one, but stood there beating his breast and covering the reliquary with kisses […] When after a little while he felt the power of God in himself, he stretched his mouth open for a long time and began to exercise his voice. He moved many to pious devotion, and some even to tears. Trying with all his strength to force his voice out, he began to expel a stream of blood through his nose, his mouth, and his ears, showering it all over the reliquary. Thus producing sound with his voice, he burst forth with what he had

[53] *Miracula s. Mariæ*, i.8, cols. 970A-B. *Erat in eadem civitate quidam juvenis a matris utero surdus et mutus, quem unus ex fullonibus infantulum repertum nutrierat et educatum arte sua imbuerat. Hic ergo adductus ad Dominæ nostræ reliquias, sub feretro recubuit et obdormivit. Nec mora anxiari et ex toto corpore sudorem emitter coepit, deinde, venis circa aures inflates, sanguis ubertim ex ejus auribur profluxit. Protinus surrexit et audivit, nec tamen loqui sciebat, quia non didicerat, sed quod alios loqui audiebat.* Translation mine.

[54] Gerard of Corbiens, *Miracula sancti Adelardi,* viii.17, pp. 120-21; trans. Nugent, 'Bodily Effluvia', p. 56. *Suffundebatur lacrymarum imbre, exprimebat gemitu & capitis nutu quod nequibat voce, quasi Sanctum sibi colloquentem videret ita appetens loquaci corde.*

> previously wanted to say but could not: 'God help me', he said, 'and you, St Adalhard!' This was his old voice, restored to health…[55]

Retbert's outbursts are both hidden and apparent to all at the same time; he is caught up in his world, silently praying before the reliquary, trying to emit sounds. At the same time, the miracle is profoundly physical, almost gregariously so. The expulsion of both bodily fluids and sound called much attention to Retbert's healing, thus increasing the attention drawn to the power of the saint. This miracle would have carried even more propagandistic power because of its physicality, but also because it was the healing of a deaf-mute, one who was unable to communicate verbally before his healing. Thus, the re-inclusion of Retbert into his community that would have followed the healing would have helped to spread stories of the saint's power throughout the region. Its record in the *miracula* of the saint would have helped to promote the cult in monastic circles and through liturgies to other communities.

Like the expulsion of words, the expulsion of bodily fluids is also a common motif in deaf-mute healings, and serves to increase the performative power of the miracle. Bodily effluvia during healing miracles was analysed in detail by Patrick Nugent, who notes the presence of this motif in the cures of communicative disabilities. Nugent cites its presence in miraculous healings as early as the sixth century.[56] Into the twelfth century, the garishness of the descriptions increased dramatically, but as we shall see, the presence of bodily effluvia did not dictate whether a healing had taken place, but simply called more attention to the body of the

[55] Gerard of Corbiens, *Miracula sancti Adelardi*, viii.17, pp. 120-21; trans. Nugent, 'Bodily Effluvia', p. 56. *Intendebant omnes in eum, ipse autem in neminem: sed stabat percutiens pectus, & exosculans feretrum…Cumque paullisper in se sensisset virtutem Dei, diu multumque oscitans cœpit in vocem inniti. Mouebat multos ad pietatem, plures etiam vsque ad lacrymarum effusionem. Totis autem viribus in vocem enitens iterum, per nares, per os, & per aures expectorauit sanguinis fluuium, qui totum guttatim respersit feretrum. Et sic emissa voce, erupit in hoc quod prius volebat, & non poterat proferre: Deus adiuua me, inquiens, & tu S. Adalarde. Hæc fuit prima vox recuperata salute…*

[56] Nugent, 'Bodily Effluvia', p. 51.

healed and to the healing itself with its outspoken physicality. The presence of bodily effluvia in a miraculous healing thus acted as a particularly powerful performative attention grab: 'when a miracle collector represents the moment of miraculous transformation by the seepage or expulsion of bodily fluid, he has performed a powerful act of training the attention'.[57] Combined with the propagandistic power of speech and movement, the expulsion of bodily fluid during the cures of those with sensory disabilities was one especially powerful tool of a cult's propaganda machine.

This type of lay performance during miracles happened not only at the place of healing, but could be re-performed and re-told for the remainder of the saint's journey, as the person healed by the monks would follow them on their procession. The emphasis on movement by the hagiographer often took one of two forms: either the author asserted that the healed followed the saint (for the remainder of the journey or for the rest of their lives), or, alternatively, crowds were said to have been provoked to follow the saint to the next town by the miraculous healing. The former was the case with the healing of a young deaf-mute man by the relics of the Virgin Mary at Tours, who followed the saint's relics back to their home at Laon.[58] Likewise, a woman cured of her blindness by St Ursmer followed the saint the next day 'without any attendants – a testimony to her cure'.[59] A similar occurrence happened after the healing of another blind woman by St Ursmer at the shrine of St Bavo. The woman was very old and blind in one eye, and entreated the monks to hold the saint's pastoral staff above her eye to invoke a healing. 'St Ursmer had pity on her; for when we placed the staff over her, she pointed to her eye and gave thanks, exclaiming that she had never seen so clearly.' After the healing, the author

[57] Nugent, 'Bodily Effluvia', p. 69.
[58] *Miracula s. Mariæ* 1.8 (cols. 970A-B).
[59] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, ii.8, col. 576F; trans. Koziol, p. 351. *...et in crostino sine duce secuta Sanctum, curationis suæ testis fuit.*

concluded that as the relics progressed to the next town, they were 'accompanied by a crowd of people, where we were received with such veneration that it was as if we had all been saints'.[60]

As the relics of the Virgin Mary crossed the English Channel in the summer of 1113, they found in England a man named John who was deaf and mute. John lay down underneath the bier holding the relics of the Virgin and fell asleep. His body began to sweat, and blood poured out from his ears and nose, 'and also the blood vessels, which were prominent around the throat and neck, as if he had been torn open'.[61] When he awoke, he began to cry out, making noises but not speaking, though he soon learned. After his cure, he followed the monks carrying the relics throughout England, professing his cure, until the monks left to return to France.[62] The movement of the healed brought with it connotations of oral communication and thus the spread of the cult of that saint throughout a larger region. The image of a large crowd, with the ritualistic clamour and spectacle that would have been involved in a tour of a saint's relics, was a particularly popular one used by hagiographers, and would have been a powerful tool to invoke the image of the oral spread of the miracles.

The healing of the deaf and mute was a communicative miracle because, very often, the disabilities themselves rendered the afflicted as hidden people, cut off from the rest of their communities by their inability to communicate effectively with their neighbours. This point accounts for the physicality of most of these healings. Unable

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[60] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, iii.19, cols. 578B-C; trans. Koziol, p. 354. *Sed condoluit ei S. Ursmarus. Cum enim baculum ei superposuissemus, gratias agendo oculum digito extendens, exclamat se nunquam vidisse clarius…Missarum celebratione, versus S. Bavonem processimus, frequentia populari comitante; ubi tanta veneratione suscepti sumus, quod si omnes Sancti fuissemus, non fuisset major.*

[61] *Miracula s. Mariæ* ii.1, cols. 974A-B. *Nec mora, videntibus cunctis, præ nimia anxietate toto corpore sudorem coepit emittere, sanguis etiam ex auribus et naribus atque venis, quæ circa guttur et collum prominebant, ac si ruptæ forent, ubertim profluere.* Translation mine.

[62] *Miracula s. Mariæ* ii.1, cols. 974A-B.

to express themselves vocally pre-healing, the healing becomes an outpouring of physical expressiveness and effluvia. They are often literally (and literarily) bursting at the seams to communicate what they cannot say. Because of their placement in this other realm, the sacred realm in some cases, they are also uniquely able to reveal the sacred to others.

In analysing the preponderance of communicative disabilities during *translationes* and *delationes*, it is important to consider the interplay of oral and written communication. This preponderance can be explained, in part, because the hagiographers in question understood the relative value of this interplay between the two types of communication. We know that in many cases the written narrative followed the event itself by only a couple of years; very often, the written account also includes mentions of the oral communication that led to its compilation. When the relics of St Lewinna were translated in 1058, the narrative was produced within two years. Likewise, when the *delatio* of St Ursmer was performed in 1060, the written account used notes taken during the journey and mentions that the townspeople who witnessed the miracles 'heard of this and later recounted the miracle to one of our monks who was passing through'.[63] Thus we can see, in some small way, the circular process of communication in the medieval period. Once the event had taken place, in this case a tour, it would be recorded in a written account. In turn, this written account would promote the shrine of the saint, which would encourage more pilgrims, and possibly more miracles, which would be reported orally to the monks attending the shrine. If enough miracles were recorded and the shrine was popular enough, another translation might take place, this time within the shrine itself,

[63] Koziol, *Miracula s. Ursmari*, p. 346.

to make the relics more accessible. The process could continue, theoretically, indefinitely.

It is then clear that the authors of these accounts used every literary tool at their disposal to political and economic advantage. The physicality of these miracles, with the use of literary tropes combining the expulsion of bodily effluvia, vocal outbursts, and healings of multiple debilitating disabilities at one time, would have made them particularly memorable and therefore useful tools of oral transference. When the relics were toured, their presentation to the laity was accompanied by stories of the miracles they had performed at other locations on that tour, and even on previous tours. Thus the gregarious nature of the miracles on these tours would have made them more memorable, and might have increased the amount of discussion that occurred about the power of the saint. Healings of the deaf and deaf-mute, who could finally communicate what had been hidden to others and who, in most cases, owed their very ability to talk to the saint, would have had more propagandistic power in this circular process than other types of healings. This would also explain why movement appears to be so important, both in terms of the movement of the relics and the movement of the healed. It is likely that the hagiographers who wrote these accounts felt that the news of the healings would appear to be more accurate if the people had seen the healed or heard of it themselves, either by seeing the person or by hearing it from their lips. It might be for this reason that we find numerous mentions that the healed person joined the tour, and followed the saint's relics to the next town, or that the healed person went to the next village themselves to report the miracle ahead of the monks.

The main function of the Peace of God was to ban acts of aggression and even of outright war against members of the Church and against non-combatants in the lower classes of the laity. While never entirely successful (nor even marginally successful until the end of the century after the call for the First Crusade in 1095), the Peace of God and the subsequent Truce of God did allow for the Church to assert some heavenly power over their lands and people in the face of such physical prowess. It is no coincidence, then, that the hagiographical writings produced in Francia in the eleventh century were sometimes overwhelmingly concerned with the encroachments onto their lands by enterprising nobility and attacks on their communities.

Healings of deaf-mutes are not the only manifestations of lay/clerical relations in *delatio* accounts. Because of their connection to the Peace Councils, many of the accounts make numerous mentions of the dangers inherent in the relationship between the monasteries and their secular neighbours, concerns which were also being raised at the councils. This includes the *Liber miraculorum s. Fides*, which records the miracles of St Foy at Conques and its surrounding area in the eleventh century. Alternatively known as the *Miracula s. Fidæ*, it was compiled by a succession of known and unknown authors in the early to mid-eleventh century.[64] It is comprised of

[64] I have used the English translation of this text made by Pamela Sheingorn. Sheingorn based her translation on the edition of the *Liber Miraculorum* published by Bouillet as the *Book of Miracles*. Bouillet's edition was based on a manuscript known as Bibliothèque Humaniste MS lat. 22, formerly Bibliothèque de la Ville MS lat. 95; fols. 15r-104, held at Sélestat in Alsace; it has also been published by Bouillet as the *Liber miraculorum s. Fidis*. See A. Bouillet, (ed.), *Liber miraculorum sancte Fidis*, vol. 21 (1897). St Foy has also been the subject, either directly or indirectly, of numerous monographs and articles: see K. Ashley and P. Sheingorn, *Writing Faith: Text, Sign and History in the Miracles of Sainte Foy* (Chicago, 1999); E. Campbell, 'Sacrificial Spectacle and Interpassive Vision in the Anglo-Norman Life of Saint Faith', in E. Campbell and R. Mills (eds.), *Troubled Vision: Gender, Sexuality and Sight in Medieval Text and Image* (London, 2004), pp. 97-115; A.G. Remensnyder, 'Legendary Treasure at Conques: reliquaries and imaginative memory', *Speculum* 71:4 (1996), pp. 884-906; W.C. Kao, 'The Tomboyism of Faith: spiritual tomboyism in the cult of Sainte Foy', *Journal of Lesbian Studies* 15:4 (2011), pp. 412-49. The Aquitaine and the Agenais during this period have also been studied in some

four books, the first two being written by Bernard of Angers, a monk educated at Chartres who visited Conques on a number of occasions at the beginning of the eleventh century. Bernard organized his two books by the types of miracles that took place, and then chronologically. This organizational schematic is somewhat unusual for a *miracula* text, as noted by Pamela Sheingorn.[65] It seems most likely that Bernard travelled to Conques for the first time around 1013, and returned at least once more in the years that followed before 1020. Sometime shortly after this Bernard died. The other two books of the text were then completed by a succession of anonymous authors attached to the monastic school at Conques. The third book seems to have been authored by only one monk, who likely had notations from previous manuscripts by Bernard. Sheingorn has dated this book to between 1020 and 1050, although she notes that Gournay dated it closer to 1020.[66] The fourth and final book is a mixed bag of reported miracles, compiled by a series of anonymous monks at Conques in the mid-eleventh century.[67]

In Book 2, the Abbot of Conques, Peter is attacked while on pilgrimage to Rome by some noblemen of the region. He is spared through the grace of St Foy, who was notorious at the time for freeing prisoners from their fetters and inmates from their cells.[68] In Book 3, numerous stories are related by the anonymous author of the continuation of incessant attacks by encroaching noblemen on the lands and

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detail: see C. Taylor, *Heresy in Medieval France: Dualism in Aquitaine and the Agenais, 1000-1249* (Turnhout, 2005); T. Head, 'The Development of the Peace of God in Aquitaine, 970-1005', *Speculum* 74:3 (1999), pp. 656-86; C. Taylor, 'The Letter of Héribert of Périgord as a Source for Dualist Heresy in the Society of Early Eleventh-Century Aquitaine', *Journal of Medieval History* 26:4 (2000), pp. 313-49; and A.G. Remensnyder, *Remembering Kings' Past: Monastic Foundation Legends in Medieval Southern France* (Turnhout, 1995).

[65] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 22.

[66] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 25.

[67] Sheingorn, *Book of Sainte Foy*, p. 25.

[68] *Miracula s. Fides*, ii.8, p. 132.

people under the patrimony of St Foy.[69] Two of these bear noting for their direct correlations between *delationes* and the political situation of the Rouergue at the time. By the eleventh century, Conques had acquired numerous territories directly under its control, as well as numerous subsidiary houses. These lands were generally congregated within the area around Conques in the Rouergue, but spread throughout Aquitaine. One of these was a piece of land in Quercy (a county that bordered Agenais to the west and Rouergue to the east), near to Figeac, which was already associated with Conques. According to Bernard of Angers, this piece of land 'had belonged outright to the holy martyr for a very long time' but 'because its tenants had long held it, they had come to think of themselves as its legal owners'. Seeing that these 'tenants' were trying to usurp their land, the monks at Conques decided to bring out the relics of St Foy to the region, where it was set down at Belmont, a church near to the disputed territory (now Belmont-Sainte-Foi, a small village located in the extreme south-east of Quercy).[70] The next morning the monks carried the relics to 'another of Sainte Foy's manors', named later in the text as 'La Fargue', which was being usurped by a 'warrior named Reinfroi'. After they had carried the reliquary there, they returned to Belmont. Enraged, Reinfroi went to the disputed property with fifty horsemen, but when he set foot on the land, he was blinded. Only after prostrating himself before St Foy's reliquary and promising that 'after his death possession of the manor would be relinquished to Sainte Foy and agreed that his sons would not succeed him in holding it unless the brothers of the sacred community

[69] See *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.5, where a castellan kidnaps his nephew and refuses to release him; the nephew is freed after praying to St Foy in his cell; iii.10, where the castellan at Aurouze attacks Molompize, a piece of land belonging directly to the monastery at Conques; iii.13-iii.15, which all concern attacks on the road against Foy's lands or people.

[70] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.14; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 162-64. *Caturcinensium in partibus, predium erat sanctæ martiris antiquis ex temporibus, quod pro velusta antiquitate a possessoribus jam in fundi jure omnine tenebatur.*

should wish it' was he forgiven and healed by St Foy.[71] It took another round of punishment by St Foy to hold Reinfroi to his promises; after appearing to him in a dream and threatening Reinfroi with the fires of hell, 'he relinquished without condition the possession of that manor for himself and abandoned the claims of his sons and grandsons. He handed the manor back to Abbot Girbert of blessed memory, and to the rest of the brothers, so that in the end the holy virgin who is beloved of God would allow him to have full employment of His heavenly mansions.'[72]

It is clear from the Reinfroi tale that the monks of Conques took their landed possessions seriously; after all, they relied upon the land and the production of the landed peasants for their economic power. It is therefore not surprising that linked to the story of Reinfroi is another miraculous tale of punishment. Here again the author refers to lands owned by the monks in Quercy. Near to an unnamed piece of land owned by the monks lived a noblewoman (also unnamed) who 'obsessively coveted the holy martyr's lands that adjoined her own fields.' Because she wanted the lands for herself, she began to attack the workers and undermine their productivity. 'She subjected the farm-workers plowing the monks' field to a great deal of abuse and succeeded in driving them away. The next day she arranged to have this field plowed with her own plowshare, and she dared to make it part of her own property.' In punishment, St Foy caused her whole body to shrivel and die. Her plowmen 'were terrified by her horrendous death and fled the field, leaving the plow behind. Out of breath and completely distraught, they scarcely managed to tell their lord what had

[71] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.14; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 162-64. *Cui etiam predictum fundam reliquit post ejus obitum, sine successione filiorum, nisi per voluntatem sanctæ congregationis fratrum.*
[72] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.14; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 162-64. *Quo metu nimium ille contusus, sanctæ martiris oratorium petivit festinus, omnemque rancorem gloriosæ virginis adversum se expediens, beatæ memorie Gerberto abbati cum ceteris fratribus possessionem illius hereditatis ibi reliquit penitus, sine filiorum ac nepotum repeticionibus, ut eum tandem sancta et Deo amabilis virgo supernis faciat perfrui mansionibus.*

happened.' After the woman's death became known, 'the holy martyr's land was henceforth safe from all who had designs on it and remained afterwards the property of the monks.'[73] Instead of establishing a legal claim to the land (through tenancy or through purchase) the woman instead attacked the peasants on the land, driving them away and then moving her own tenants onto the field. The direct economic implications of such an attack would have greatly concerned the monks of Conques and was a direct violation of agreements made during the Peace councils, as we saw above.

Another example of the concerns of the Conques community with regard to their nearby castellans concerned a man named Siger, who was a castellan at Conques. He is described by the anonymous author as a man who suffered from numerous sins, including pride and greed, who 'stole everything he could from the holy martyr's property. He never ceased harassing her monks with vile insults, and he mutilated the men who worked on her lands.'[74] In response, after the monks' 'gentle rebukes' failed to bring Siger to heel, they brought out the relics of St Foy and displayed them in the public square: 'They aroused all the people assembled there so that the holy virgin would be moved to stir up God's wrath against the tyrant and preserve her own territories from the violence of this cyclops.'[75] In turn, Siger was

[73] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.16; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 165-66. *...terram sanctæ martiris agris suis vicinam immoderate concupivit, arantesque monachorum bubulcos plurimis affectos contumeliis a jugeribus expulit. Sequenti vero die proprio vomere ea jugera sulcare fecit, suæque dicioni ea subjugare presumpsit. Atque ita celesti virtute actum est, ut dum illa a suis terminis agrum illum denormare juberet, æriterque insisteret, ætutum toto corpore emarcuit, ne sic horrificis stridoribus garriens, infelicem spiritum oreo demisit. Cajus terribili exitu aratores valde exterriti, relicto aratro fugerunt, ac in summo habitu vix palpitantes, domino suo rem actam retulerunt. At ille merens de mulieris interitu, pro cadavere misit, allatumque terræ condidit. Qua tali modo extincta, terra sanctæ martiris tuta ab omnibus remansit, et in monachorum postea ditione jacuit.*

[74] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.17; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 166-67. *Superbiæ enim elatione tumidus, avariciæque llammis plus equo succensus, omnin quæcumque poterat a ditione sanctæ martiris subripiebat, monachos ejus execrabilibus odiis insectari non cessabat, hominesque ejus membris diminuebat.*

[75] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.17; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 166-67. *...omnemque cætum astantium cohortantur, ut sancta virgo adversus illum tyrannum Dei incitet iram, locumque suum ab hujus ciclopis conservet insania.*

'struck with a wretched illness' and subsequently died, as did his four sons, leaving him without an heir. The castle which he had inhabited was also destroyed. The punishment may have been so terrible for Siger because his two sins (pride and greed) were also deadly; the literary trope being that he died for his sins. This is borne out in the message at the end of the story: 'Thus through the holy martyr's power all that pride collapsed; thus the root of evils was torn out and destroyed; thus divine vengeance delivered the holy monastery from the assault of the impious.'[76]

A final episode from the *Miracula s. Fides* demonstrates the almost overwhelming concern felt by monastic communities about the violence perpetrated against them at the time. In one of the final stories from the fourth book of the anonymous continuation, the author describes a local castellan at Belfort named Hector who 'preyed ruthlessly on the holy virgin's lands' and 'put the monks' servants to death by the sword'.[77] On one of the festivals celebrating the translation of St Foy to Conques, Hector travelled with his entourage there. He did so however not to give proper veneration to St Foy, but instead to prey upon and woo a lady. Blinded by his lust for the woman, he did not pay proper homage to the other nobles with higher titles also present at the festival; the other noblemen were upset by this slight, and 'together they rushed toward him and attacked him furiously'. The ensuing melee caught the attention of the monks:

> Exchanging blows of the fist, each side injured the other. In the midst of this morally offensive turmoil an uproar arose from the people, and their frenzied shouts brought disorder into the holy shrine. It occurred to one of the monks that they ought

[76] *Miracula s. Fides*, iii.17; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 166-67. *Sic virtute sanctæ martiris omnis illa superbia concidit, sic radix malorum evulsa periit, sic divina ultio sanctum locum ab impiorum infestatione eripuit.*

[77] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv. 16; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 204-06. *Belloforte municipium multis fit notum, cujus ferus incumbator nomine Hector, quia Conchacensi vico nimis inheret et sanctæ virginis terras corrodit usque ad radices, et majoris temeritatis conamine ausus, monachorum famulos gladio dimittit ad necem.*

> to carry the majesty of the holy virgin out of the sanctuary to subdue these savage evil-doings and bring down her heavy fist...When this was done, the furore subsided through the holy martyr's power and without threat of death or bodily harm to anyone the clash quieted down.[78]

Hector fled Conques, taking with him his enemies' horses. The episode shows how some relics were designed to be transient, as was the case here. St Foy's relics were able to be quickly moved around so that they could help in numerous situations, like the fighting at Conques. Similar transient reliquaries include that carrying the relics of St Ursmer, and which was used in a very similar manner to that carrying St Foy's relics. The account also relates the dangers that could arise from having such transient reliquaries, for in this case, the reliquary itself was damaged in the commotion:

> One of the combatants, who was shoved by his attackers, threw out his hand toward the sacred effigy and, unaware of what he was doing, he tore the crucifix from the neck of the image and threw it down to the ground. As soon as the bearers noticed this they immediately returned their holy burden to the sanctuary and, deeply saddened, secured it there.[79]

Eventually the cross was found, and the reliquary was repaired. Hector ended his days as an outlaw, having been thrown out of his house by his wife: 'For many years the wretch lived like Cain as a wanderer and a fugitive, enduring a life filled with afflictions and insults. Sainte Foy gave him over to the punishment he deserved for

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[78] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv. 16; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 204-06. *...pugnisque in eum deseviunt, ac mutuis colaphis vicissitudinem injuriarum reddunt. Hanc inter seditionem nefariam tumultus exoritur populi, edesque sacræ clamoribus confunduntur attonitis. Ad hæc tam crudelia mala reprimenda, monachis menti succurrit sanctæ virginis majestatem a sacrario exponere, et graviori pugna...Quod dum factum fuisset, virtutæ sanctæ martiris ille furor concidit, ac sine mortis periculo membrorumque detrimento congressus ille quievit.*

[79] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv.16; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 204-06. *Quam impulsu irruentium in sese pugnatorum quidam manum super sanctam effigiem iniciens, ipsam iconam nescius arripuit, et a collo imaginis in terram projecit. Nec mora, ut ad noticiam bajulorum venit, nimium merentes onus sanctum sacrario recondunt.*

his wickedness, for he had always acted wrongfully against her, not only in this one offense against heaven but in many other misdeeds as well.'[80]

The Peace of God in Francia was marked by concerns about monastic lands lost to the rising castellan movement. This is clearly demonstrated through these *delatio* narratives, including the *Miracula s. Fides*. The miracles that Bernard of Angers and his successors emphasized were ones that manifested the various punishments that could be enforced by the saint if her lands were stolen. In this way, Bernard used relic tours as a way of impressing on his reader both the power of St Foy, but also the social concerns of the monastery at Conques.

Similar concerns are present in Flemish accounts of *delationes*. The *Historia miraculorum in circumlatione per Flandriam*, which records the tour of St Ursmer in 1060, begins with a description of a war that had devastated the Hainaut region of Flanders and which had destroyed the monastery of Lobbes. The resulting destruction hampered the economic abilities of the monks of St Peter at Lobbes, particularly because it caused a reduction in the lands owned by the monastery. Expansion into Lotharingia and the Hainaut had been a 'keystone' in the policies of both Baldwin IV (988-1037) and Baldwin V, as Jean Dunbabin has asserted. This expansion involved, first, 'the acceptance of new feudatories; and the reorganization of their own demesne lands to reinforce control'.[81] Flemish counts, including Baldwin IV and his son Baldwin V, used relics as part of an integrative policy to increase their lands and control over those lands.[82] As it happens, monks also adopted such policies, usually for the same reasons. In Flanders, this was especially marked by the use of touring

[80] *Miracula s. Fides*, iv.16; trans. Sheingorn, pp. 204-06. *...ac per diversa regionum lustra vagum more Cain ac profugum, infelicem per multas miserias et obprobria egisse vitam. Tale conmertiam nequitiæ suæ ei sancta Fides restituit, cui non solum in hoc celesti opere, verum etiam in multis offensionibus injurius semper extitit.*
[81] J. Dunbabin, *France in the Making: 843-1180* (Oxford, 1985), p. 208.
[82] Meijns, 'Policy on Relic Translations', *passim*.

relics, bringing the relics to the various points of disputed lands in order to physically remind the counts that this land was under the patrimony of the saint.

Three sets of relics are important here. The first set of relics were those of St Lewinna, held at Saint-Winnoc in Bergues, which were toured in 1058. The second were those of St Ursmer, held at St Peter in Lobbes, toured in 1060; the last to be considered were those of St Amand, held at Saint-Amand, toured in 1066 for the first time, and again in 1107. All of these tours targeted certain parts of Flanders that were thought to be under the patrimony of that saint, in efforts to bring those lands more securely under the control of the monastery. In part, these efforts were facilitated by relatively recent changes to the comital system in Flanders and the relationship between the counts of Flanders and the monastic communities. When Arnulf I (r. 918-965) reformed the monasteries in Flanders, including Saint-Peter, Saint-Bavon in Ghent, Saint-Bertin, Saint-Vaast, and Saint-Amand in the 940s and early 950s, he began to consolidate power under the count's secular authority.[83] He did so by abolishing the lay abbacy, which consequently abolished the royal prerogative and control of abbeys within Flanders. The count was then able to appoint the abbots (instead of the king) for the monasteries within Flanders, thereby transferring economic and political control of the abbeys to himself.[84] The loss of royal power, and consequential consolidation in comital power, allowed abbeys to receive economic and political support from the counts themselves, and as a result, certain abbeys, most notably Saint-Peter in Ghent, began serving as both religious and secular centres.[85] The abbeys also served as negotiators with foreign powers, and held enormous sway as the necropoli for the comital rulers.

[83] Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism', p. 260.
[84] Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism', p. 260.
[85] Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism', pp. 260-61.

Beginning in the 1040s, however, the counts of Flanders seemed to be less interested in the economic or political advantages offered to them by these close relationships with the abbeys. Instead, the counts focused their attention 'on the patronage of secular chapters and new Benedictine houses'. As a result, the abbeys and monasteries which had previously found themselves the recipients of gifts from the counts of Flanders (especially Saint-Peter in Ghent, Saint-Bavon and Saint-Bertin) were now forced to look for other means of economic support. Such was also the case with the abbey of Saint-Amand, located on the southwestern border of the county. Their monastery had been damaged by a fire in 1066, which prompted the *delatio* in that summer of the relics of their patron saint to raise money for the construction of a new church. According to Vanderputten, the *delatio* was the only option remaining to the community of St Amand because they knew that they could not count on the financial support of the count to rebuild their church. Around that time, Vanderputten notes that 'along with the abbey's privileged political status, lay patrons' inclination to bestow the abbey with gifts evaporated. Following the death of Malbod [the abbot, 1018-1062], donations almost ceased completely, and the new abbot was unable to prevent a surge of alienations which would trouble the community for decades to come.'[86] Without political or economic strength, the monks turned to a sacred authority, authority which rested in the relics of St Amand. Implied in this devotion is the sense of the saint as their patron; the laity had to identify with the saint as their protector in order for the *delatio* to be economically successful. This communal identity under the patrimony of the saint would prove to be one of the key indicators that a tour was successful, as we shall see below.

[86] Vanderputten, 'Crises of Cenobitism', p. 270.

Tours, as noted above, allowed for increased interaction between the laity and the relics. Within this interaction, the saint (through their relics) offered prayers, healing, and miracles; in return, supplicants gave money, gifts, and devotion. They also gave land to the monastic community that held the relics. This land could be sold to the monastic community, but it could also be gifted.[87] These land transactions often occurred immediately after a *delatio*, and indeed, one of the motivating factors for performing tours of relics was, as noted above, the desire to claim a piece of land for the patrimony of the saint. To make this claim, the monastic community would bring the saints' relics to the desired piece of land, and then a miracle would occur; this miracle would then be reported as evidence that the land belonged to the saint, and therefore should be given to the monastic community, often in return for continued miracles or the sacred protective power of the saint.

However, there were also miracles on *delationes* that were not reported by monks, but were instead performed and reported back to the community by the laity. These involved the creation of temporary sacred spaces. Wherever sacred bodies were placed, the ground itself was thought to be sacralised.[88] This allowed for the construction of simultaneous markers of the sacred, perhaps all brought about by the same remains, working in tandem in different locations. In part, the simultaneity of sacred spaces was brought about by the hierarchy of Christian thought. Some spaces, while sacred, were less so than other spaces, based on the relative permanence of the placement of physical remains. Both permanent and temporary markers of the sacred

[87] For a good example of these types of exchanges with regard to the monastery of Cluny, see Rosenwein, *To be the Neighbour of St Peter*.
[88] Rivard, *Blessing the World*, pp. 48-9.

provided central places for communities to gather around, and in this way, acted as *axis mundi*. The hierarchy of space, however, meant that some of these places, usually those with permanent remains, were more effective as religious sites than other locations. Historians and anthropologists have long noticed the differentiation of space on a hierarchical level. Tim Pestell analysed this dynamic at the remains of the Bromholm Priory, and Hayes discusses 'grades of sacredness' in churches in medieval France.[89] These 'grades of sacredness' and the hierarchical nature of sacred space in the Middle Ages lend themselves to the idea that the sacred could reveal itself in space at any time, and that these spaces could increase in their sacredness through further rites and rituals of consecration, to lasting effect in some cases. The places where the saints were buried or where they rested were, just as churches and other more permanent sites, openings to the metaphysical world, where prayers could be communicated more efficiently to those who could help.

Space is physically differentiated by its landscape; this is true as well for epistemological space and metaphysical space, where each has a different landscape that is defined by its use and purpose, both social and cultural. This is what is meant by territoriality, a term which implies the cultural construction of both time and space, arising out of the work of Larry Shiner, who explains that 'fundamentally, territory is a world, the familiar habitat or homeland for a society or an individual. It has its roughly defined outer limits and varied zones within and its "center", a center which would account for the organizing strand termed...as an *axis mundi.*'[90] Territoriality is also helpful for our analysis here because it implies a sense of movement; lived space

[89] T. Pestell, 'Using Material Culture to Define Holy Space: the Bromholm project', in A. Spicer and S. Hamilton (eds.), *Defining the Holy: Sacred Space in Medieval and Early Modern Europe* (Burlington, 2005), pp. 161-86.
[90] L. Shiner, 'Sacred Space, Profane Space, Human Space', *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* XL:4 (1972), pp. 425-36, at pp. 428-29.

is a geographical and epistemological framework that allows for the movement of both people and goods.

This hierarchical, locative view of space is particularly evocative of the medieval worldview. Medieval Christians, as with other religious persons and societies, created sacred spaces through specific rituals and rites. For the purpose of this thesis, I have defined ritual as the performance of a customary rite, in this case with a specified audience and performer, that is intended to sacralise space either *for* the movement of a saint's remains (so that the saint would not rest on unsanctified land), or *through* the movement of a saint's remains (where the holiness seeps from the body onto the surrounding landscape, sacralising the immediate area, even without the presence of the remains). We saw this in practice in the movement of saints' bodies to sanctify the church with intra-site translations. Now, we will turn to the effect of moving saints' bodies on the physical landscape.

As the monks and corresponding lay audiences moved the relics of their patron saint around the region in various rituals, they were effectively sacralising the trail and the land around them, differentiating it from the surrounding space. This is a territorializing process, one that creates not only a common identity, but also a sense that the places where the relics have been and the trail that they have taken are essentially sacred and special; this allows the people in the area to orient themselves and their communal identity around those places, even if temporarily. The ritual movement of relics is also, however, a de-territorializing process. At the same time that the relics created a locus for devotion, we must remember that one of the points of moving the relics on these tours was to increase the amount of power the relics had in that particular region. Thus while we can point out specific places that were sanctified by the presence of the relics, these rituals were also meant to bring the

entire region under the patrimony of that particular saint – to make the entire region, if you will, a space in which the sacred could effectively operate. This process becomes clearer if we understand the placement of the relics on the ground to be the opening up of a hierophany. We know that the relics then continued to work miracles even after they had been removed from that particular spot; we can conclude that the relics were working multiple miracles at the same time in multiple locations throughout the region. Thus the hierophany that was created between the metaphysical and the physical through these rituals spread out from the places where the relics had rested, moving out to the place where the relics were then located at any particular moment, to the place where the relics were to be returned at the end of the ritual. At the same time that the relics are in one place, the remnants of their sacralising process were active somewhere else in the region. Once the temporary identity of the sacred place had worn off, so to speak, the sacralising process could be repeated again through the performance of another *delatio*.

Temporary sacred spaces were thus created when the relics of saints were placed in new positions. They were built by the laity in most cases (although some were created by the monks travelling with the relics), often without the monastic community knowing of the miracles until they were reported back to them later. The mentions of these sacred spaces are intriguing, but unfortunately, are all that we know of these small, sporadic creations. I have called the creation of sacred space by the laity and the miracles that were performed in these spaces loco-reverential miracles, that is, miracles that were thought to have been performed through the power of the saint in order to specifically sacralise a place and define it under the patrimony of the saint. Loco-reverential miracles did not take place with more frequency during *delationes* (after all, the same miracles created sacred space within churches and

cathedrals during *translationes*), but they did occur in different locations, usually previously profane spaces, that allowed for the laity to participate more in the creation of the miracle.

The first question that remains to be answered is how these spaces were created and who was creating them. Certainly, the spaces were openings of a hierophany and thus were essentially created by the saint; however, in order for a miracle to be recorded and for its importance to be understood in society, it needed to be witnessed and then promulgated by those witnesses. Usually this work was done within the cult structure by the monastic community, where the monks would record the miracles performed at the shrine or during translations within the cathedral, and then read the accounts of those miracles on the anniversaries of the translation, thereby promoting the cult of the saint throughout the community and neighbouring region. In the case of *delationes*, however, the main agents of promulgation are the laity, who recognize and then promote the miracles by reporting them to the monks. This is apparent in numerous examples.

On the journey of St Junien to the Council of Charroux in 989, the monks stopped first just outside of Nouaillé, where they put down the body of their patron saint: 'After the most holy relics departed, the faithful in their devotion erected a cross in order to memorialize and record the fact that the relics of the holy father had rested there.'[91] Those who visited the cross, the laity then reported to Letaldus, were cured from their ailments. The monks stopped again with the relics at Ruffiac, where they spent the night. At the spot where the relics had been, some of the laity built 'a sort of

[91] *Delatio corporis s. Juniani*, 2, col. 825A; trans. Head, p. 285. *Sed inter hæc agenda cum a coenobio sancti Patris elatæ essent reliquiæ, non multum longe a monasterio hi qui sancti vehebant sarcinam, consedereunt, et sacrum onus deposuerunt. In eo igitur loco post sanctissimarum reliquiarum evectionem devotion fidelium crucis erexit vexillum ob memoriam et recordationem, quod ibi sancti Patris reliquiæ quievissent…*

fence from twigs, so that the place where the holy body had lain might remain safe from the approach of men and animals'. When the fence was later knocked down by a bull, the bull died, thereby proving the sacred nature of the place for those in the immediate area.[92] Shortly afterwards, the laity created a little sacred pool in the same area by 'placing a gutter tile to allow runoff water to be stored up. Because of the reverence for the holy relics, this pool served as an invitation for many people to wash.' We are told that a woman was cured of elephantiasis in this pool.[93]

On the tour of St Foy's relics between 1010 and 1020 in the Auvergne region of France, it was a tree to which the people flocked, who, 'prevented by their debilities from accompanying' the procession, 'obtained cures with no further hindrance'.[94] And on the *delatio* of St Ursmer in 1060, outside of Lille, the laity, 'men and women, youth and elders' entreated the monks to 'set down the body of the saint at a crossroads outside the town'. Then, 'carefully noting the spot, they decided to set up a cross in that location'. As the laity reported to the anonymous author later, 'whatever infirm persons slept on that spot received healing by the merits in the sight of God of him who had lain there'.[95] The existence of this cross at the edge of Lille,

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[92] *Delatio corporis s. Juniani*, 3, col. 826A; trans. Head, p. 285. *Inde ergo cum ad villulam cui Ruffiacus nomen est, accessissent, mansionem inibi acceperunt, noctemque illam in Dei laudibus et hymnis pervigilem ducentes, facto mane iter arripuerunt; sed nihilominus in eodem loco quo quieverant reliquiæ, fideles Christiani ex lento vimine quasi quoddam fecere peribolum, ut locus ipse quo sacra membra locata fuerant ab accessu hominum et animalium tutus remaneret. Post multos dies taurus ferox accessit et cornibus atque costis eadem sepem ludibundus concussit; sed mox ut a sæpe recessit, corruit et exspiravit.*

[93] *Delatio corporis s. Juniani*, 3, col. 826A-B; trans. Head, p. 285. *In eodem quoque loco ex ingenti imbre lacuna succreverat, quæ susceptam aliquandiu retinens aquam, pro reverential sanctorum pignorum ad abluendam plurimos invitabat, inter quos accessit quædam mulier elephantine laborans morbo, quæ cum ex eadem se lavisset aqua, pristinæ sanitati restituta incolumis remeavit ad propria.*

[94] *Miracula s. Fides*, ii.4; trans. Sheingorn, p. 124. *Nam morbidi de longinquo accelerantes ad oppinionem processionis, quorum debilitas ad comitandum non suffecit pertingere, ad arborem illam, jam regressa domum processione, subter quam diximus sacra pignera substitisse, certatim properantes, non tardiore obtentu consecuti sunt sanitatem.*

[95] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, i.4, cols. 574C-D; trans. Koziol, p. 346. *Cumque egrederemur in crastino, totius oppidi virorum ac mulierum, juvenum et seniorum, exiit nobiscum multitudo. Quorum petitione cum in trivio corpus Sancti extra villam deposuissemus, notaverunt diligenter sibi locum, ut ibi erigerent Crucem in honorem ejus. Quam cum erexissent, ut ipsi postea retulerunt, quicumque infirmi illuc venientes in eo loco dormierunt, quanti meriti foret apud Dominum, qui ibi depositus fuerat, recepta sanitate persenserunt.*

which we might presume to be dedicated to the saint, is meant to communicate that the town identifies itself with the saint and is under his protection. If understood in this manner, and if we trust that the erection of the cross was a spontaneous act of lay piety, then we might see a connection between the motives of the clergy (in marking out the territories belonging to the monastery of St Peter in Lobbes) and the pious devotion of the laity in these situations (in the creation of sacred spaces). In other words, it seems possible that the monks of St Peter were deliberately trying to stir up piety in the region, and to direct that devotion to their patron saint, so as to create a patrimony that would belong to that saint and be under his (and therefore the monks) protection.

Lay agency in this type of miracle is also evident. In one miracle from the *delatio* of St Ursmer, in an unnamed village, the monks found a young boy, aged five, who 'had suffered from a debilitating fever for three years'. The author continues:

> …at the very hour when we were about to arrive he threw himself on the ground, deaf and mute, thrashing about in agony. When we entered the village, the poor mother took her son in her arms and carried him around the saint's reliquary three times. Returning home, she laid him on the spot where he had lain before, and then ran to us in the church to beg us for some holy water, into which she dipped the saint's pastoral staff. This she offered as a drink to her little one…When a little later we came to the house to buy some staples (for they had things to sell in the house) we found the boy playing with other boys—and the mother praising the Lord.[96]

[96] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, ii.14, cols. 577A-B; trans. Koziol, pp. 351-52. *In villa autem, cujus nomen excidit, qua ea nocte nobis erat hospitandum, mulier habebat filium vix adhuc quinque annorum: qui tribus annis febrium vexatus languore, ea hora qua venturieramus projectus in terra, surdus et mutus jacebat in agone. Cumque villa intrassemus, miseranda mater accipiens puerum in minibus, subtus scrinium Sancti deportavit tribus vicibus; et sic rediens domum projecit eu ubi jacebat prius, et currens post nos ad ecclesiam petiit a nobis benedictam aqua, cui intingens sancti confessoris pastoralem baculum, parvulo citissime detulit potum…Postea cibu interrogavit, delatum manducavit, confortatus cibo statim surrexit; ubi paulo post venientes nobis emere necessaria (errant enim in ea domo venalia) invenimus puerum cum pueris laudentem, matrem autem Deum laudantem.*

The agency displayed in the above miracle is common throughout many of the miracles on the *delationes* of St Ursmer and St Lewinna, where the laity would provoke the miracle by performing the rituals involved by themselves, or even by asking the monks to pause in their journey to perform the miracle. Here, the little boy provokes the miracle into occurring by thrashing about on the ground as if possessed by demons, and then seeing the monks and the reliquary approach, the mother initiates the miracle by carrying the boy around the reliquary and then returning him to the space where his illness had overtaken him. Then, again assuming a leading role, the mother goes to the monks and asks them for some holy water, (which she makes sacred herself by dipping the saint's staff into the water). She then cures her own son with this holy water, and the entire scene seems to play out without any clerical involvement. As we see above, the lay woman who cures her son with holy water seems to think this cure will be most effective if her son lies in a certain space, that is, the space where the sickness had overcome him as the saint entered the village.

The markers of a sacred place could be more visible and structured, as is evident in one miracle from the *delatio* of St Ursmer, where the monks left the body inside a tent with one cleric to guard it. When they returned to the tent, they found that the candle they had placed in front of the body had burned out, and the cleric had been unable to relight it due to a draft inside the tent. Being none too pleased by this, the monk who was in charge ordered the clerics to go outside and get a torch to relight the candle; as the monk reached the boundary of the flap of the tent, the candle miraculously relit itself.[97]

[97] *Miracula s. Ursmari*, ii.11, cols. 576C-D.

What differentiates these places from the space around them were the miracles that were reported on those locations. How long these spaces lasted after the relics had moved on is unclear. A timeline could be suggested by the nature of the materials used to mark the boundaries or the places themselves; in this case, we might question whether the crosses erected on the *delationes* of St Ursmer were made of wood or of stone. It seems likely that these were transient spots, and that most of the miracles were reported relatively soon after the relics had originally rested upon the spot. The spaces would then have been considered 'sacred' for a relatively short period of time; within the space of one generation (or even a shorter period), most of the nearby community would probably have forgotten where the relics had lain, and thus where the sacred had been. Legends might have arisen, this is true, perhaps giving a growing popular cult someplace to gather, but this seems unlikely, and there does not seem to be any evidence for such a conclusion.

Conclusion

Tours of relics were, in some ways, the most ritualized and formalized act of moving relics in the Middle Ages. They are also one of the few rituals involving relics that are actively performed in modern times according to the same procedures as they occurred in medieval times. Their origins were, however, firmly established in the specific socio-political spheres of the different regions of Francia in which they arose. In some ways, as we have seen, the touring of relics was an attempt on the part of ecclesiastical leaders to enforce the traditional rights and privileges of the church. In bringing out relics to Peace Councils or to tour lands belonging to (or desired by) the monastery, clerics were using them as part of a political strategy to gain economic and

political power. On the other hand, relic tours also depended on the popular sentiment of the people living under the patrimony of that saint, and can be seen as manifestations of popular fervour for the cult of the saints, as the population marked the spots where the relics had lain temporarily with sacred markers. In the long trajectory of relic movements, *delationes* function as the ultimate ritualized form of movement, combining the rituals of the *translatio*, the *elevatio*, the *inventio*, and other liturgical acts, including the acclamation and the *adventus*. They are thus far more than fundraising tours or cynical attempts to play on the beliefs of the poor, but should instead be viewed as effective political and economic tools used by the ecclesiastical leaders of Francia and Flanders to increase their patrimony socially, religiously, and geographically.

Conclusion: The Importance of Moving Relics

This thesis examined the movement of medieval relics across the English Channel and in regions along the North Sea, from the beginning of the ninth century through the end of the twelfth. Throughout, there were three inter-connecting narrative strands. On a macro-level, the thesis examined the development of relics as socio-economic objects, in an attempt to understand the long-term trends and position of relics in medieval society. In this regard, I proposed a new analytical framework for relics as socio-economic objects. This framework was based on an in-depth theoretical analysis of the ways in which relics were assigned value and how that value changed throughout their life-spans. Value, I argued, was best viewed in those moments in the relic's life-span when they were in movement, because it was at these moments that they were transitioning between social-contexts. During this transition, the value must be actively added, and thus we can see more prominently how the different groups of society (the laity, the ecclesiastical community, and the saint themselves) conceived of the value of the relics and manipulated it to serve their own ends. The material wealth that belonged to the saint and which was exchanged during or because of the movement of the relics could include the monetary donations given to the saint, but also the treasures surrounding the shrine, the reliquary itself (often highly decorated with gold and gems), the tomb, and any other goods that belonged to the community. These material goods contributed to the exchange value of the relics because they were so intimately tied in the medieval mind to the relics themselves, and were thought to belong to the saint. A saint that could bring in more of these goods (or monetary donations) had a correspondingly higher exchange value – it was

literally worth more than the other saint's relics in the church or in the nearby region. In their movement, the relics were also inhabiting many different economic categories, behaving as both luxury commodities and inalienable possessions. I therefore asserted that the examination of medieval relics during movement proves that they were in fact inalienable commodities, a status that best defines how relics functioned in the medieval economy.

The second narrative strand concerned the methods by which medieval people used and moved their relics. In the second section of this thesis, comprising the final four chapters, I examined how the movement of relics through theft, translations, and tours were used by the various elements of medieval society to further their own economic and political interests. In this, I asserted that there were three socio-economic structures that contributed to the cult of the saint: the laity, the ecclesiastical community that surrounded the saint's cult, and the saint itself, who acted through the medium of their relics. The movement of medieval relics throughout western Europe offered the laity and ecclesiastics alike the opportunity to demonstrate their devotion in a variety of locations and social contexts. This variety necessarily connoted the variability of the social and economic motivations and effects of the movement of relics. It also meant that the analysis of these socio-economic structures is necessarily complicated.

The movement of medieval relics was most often initiated by the ecclesiastical community that surrounded the saint. This community could be tied to the patrimony (in this case the lands physically surrounding the saint's shrine) but it could also travel with the saint. In expressing their devotion to the saint and in producing the written and oral documentation of the saint's miracles the monastic community often defined and promoted the exchange-value of the saint. This exchange-value then

allowed them to trade their relics for others, to promote their relics over others in the region, or to bring in donations from pilgrims and thereby erect further structures that surrounded the saint's cult. It was thus perhaps the community of the saint, by providing the social network that promoted the saint's miracles, that is the most important of the socio-economic structures discussed within this thesis.

The promotion of the saint's cult was done through the active use of relic policies, wherein the relics would be moved to add to the economic and political strength of that societal group. This could include the endowment of an ecclesiastical community with land or gifts that would be given to the saint in exchange for the performance of a miracle by that saints' relics. It could also consist of the use of relics to force a solution to a political problem, as we saw on the tours of relics during the Peace of God movement. It also comprised the movement of relics to construct a metaphysical patrimony of the saint. This included the sacred spaces established in the name of the saint, even temporarily, but also more permanent structures, including daughter-houses and subsidiary parishes dedicated to the saint. This sense of patrimony, of devotion to the particular saint, formed a socio-political identity in which both the laity and ecclesiastics could identify. It could be fostered by the ecclesiastical community through *translationes* and the repeated elevations and displays of the saint's relics. Likewise, the physical patrimony of the saint also contributed to the exchange-value of the relics. The touring of relics along the border of this patrimony, or to lands claimed by the community and therefore belonging to the saint, was one way that the community could imprint the value of the relics upon the minds of their neighbours, and thereby increase the exchange-value of the relics. The more land a community held, and the ability of the community to claim further

lands or to hold those lands in perpetuity, corresponded to an increase in the value of the relics themselves.

The final narrative strand that bound the thesis together was the use of relics to create sacred space. I asserted that the movement of relics allowed for the laity to have more interaction with the saints' relics, and furthermore, that these interactions were held in previously profane spaces. The temporary sanctification of space served in some ways to foster lay agency within the relationship between the relics and the laity and the laity and the ecclesiastical community. As we saw in the case of *delationes* and the construction of temporary sacred spaces, lay performance within the ritual touring of relics was one way in which the laity could express their devotion to a particular saint without much (or indeed any) interference from the church hierarchy. In this way, the laity formed a part of the community of the saint, who, in contributing donations to the cult and in being healed by the saint, formed one end of the socio-economic exchanges that occurred within and around the saint's relics.

In all of these ways, the various movements described in this thesis directly contributed to the use-value of the relics, in giving the saint a space to perform miracles, the laity a space in which to witness those miracles, and the ecclesiastical community a space to promote those miracles, thereby allowing the cults in question to grow into their socio-political identity. In a circular way, the various parties involved in these exchanges (the saint, the laity, and the monks) then used this identity to further contribute to the value of the saint through donating to the saint or in promoting the saint orally and in written accounts. In so doing, they ensured that the saint's cult survived. When a part of this cycle disappeared or failed to function correctly (i.e. if the relics were proved faulty, if the relics were unable to be moved or needed to be hidden for a significant period of time, or if a new cult proved more

powerful and valuable) the cult could potentially disappear from the record. The movement of medieval relics was therefore the most effective ways of building, maintaining, and ensuring the survival of a saint's cult in western Europe between 800 and 1200, and in so doing, to manifest the various socio-political identities and policies at play in medieval society.

Despite the best intentions of the author, however, there remains more work to be done on certain points of analysis. Throughout this thesis, I have identified some areas for scholars that I believe require further research. The first of these concerned incorrupt relics. These were, as noted throughout, especially produced in Anglo-Saxon England, but were also known to have occurred in Francia and in other Christian areas. Given that these were relatively common occurrences, especially in Anglo-Saxon England, they remain grossly understudied by academic historians, although some research has been done by amateur and religious historians. More needs to be performed, however, especially in regard to the theological implications of incorrupt bodies, the extent to which these bodies were preserved manually or naturally, and the difference in economic value between partially preserved bodies and fully incorrupt remains. It would also be of interest to examine how non-incorrupt relics were described in similar terms to incorrupt bodies and the theological and societal implications of this.

A second area of further research arose first in Chapter 3, where I examined how the relics of St Lewinna travelled from England to Flanders on merchant ships. The literary evidence for this method of exchange is relatively limited. One of the benefits of the *Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ* is that it explicitly outlined the use of merchant ships and trading networks to move relics. It is, however, the only account that I know of that is so unambiguous. It remains to be seen as to whether other

relics, especially those that travelled cross-regionally, also used existing trading networks and how this was represented by medieval monastic authors. For example, did numerous sets of relics travel in this way, and were the relics known to the merchants or unknown to them? If the relics were known to be travelling on the ship, but perhaps without a member of the previous or new monastic community, how would that change the value of the relics during their movement? Historians would benefit from existing and new research done on the medieval economy and trade by archaeologists and economic historians. Partaking in this work would lead to a clearer understanding of the place of medieval relics in comparison to other luxury items and inalienable possessions, and may also help to identify any other inalienable commodities that existed in medieval society.

A third area that requires further research was raised in Chapters 4 and 5. As noted therein, it was necessary to prioritize the translations of relics in England because the existing research greatly simplified the extraction of data from the sources. John Blair's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints*, as well as the existence of lists of saints' resting places made during the medieval period, meant that it is far easier to examine where and when relics were moved, especially in Anglo-Saxon England. Similar research on the placement of saints' shrines in Francia would greatly aid further studies on *translationes*. This would need a thorough analysis of the location of monastic and clerical communities in Francia and the relics held therein. Once such a database was complete, scholars could then account for any movement of the relics from one place to another with greater ease, thereby identifying how the movement of relics impacted the reforms of these monasteries and how these movements were influenced by changes in the political sphere. Most especially as

concerns this thesis, such a database would greatly help in identifying where and when relics were moved as a result of the Scandinavian invasions throughout Francia.

A final area that I identified as requiring further research by scholars concerns the type of miracles performed on the journeys of relics. The study of miracles has re-emerged in recent years as one of note for not only historians of Christianity, but also historians of the body, economic historians, archaeologists, and anthropologists. It is of interest, for example, that most descriptions of healings of deaf-mutes end with the healed person travelling along with or after the relics to help spread the news of their healing, as an example of the oral spread of thaumaturgic occurrences, as noted in Chapter 6. However, there are also quite a few miracles that end with the healed person returning to work or now described as being able to work. Further research into the miracles performed on these journeys, and the descriptions of the results of those miracles, would help us to understand how medieval society linked the ability to work with the miracles of the saints, the attitudes towards charity within medieval Christian society, or even the identification in the medieval mind of the characteristics of able-bodiedness and disability.

The movement of medieval relics is an area of study that impacts a variety of other regions of medieval studies. These include the medieval economy, lay devotional practices, the various reforms of the monasteries, the political events of the central Middle Ages, and even changes to societal norms during that period. The study of medieval relics and their movements, therefore, are of utmost importance, as we in the field seek to further our understanding of these areas. Macro-studies of the microcosms of individual cults and the movement of their relics, such as this thesis, will, it is hoped, continue to aid historians and other scholars in this quest.

Appendix A: Typology of Miracles Performed on Delationes

The data for this set was gathered and compiled from the hagiographical accounts recording these movements. In order of presentation in the chart, the sources were: Foy (*Miracula s. Fides*), Taurin (*Circumvectio s. Taurini*), Junianus (*Delatio corporis s. Juniani*), Ursmer (*Miracula s. Ursmari*), Amand (*Historia miraculorum s. Amandi [1] and [2]*), Lewinna (*Historia translationis s. Lewinnæ*), and V. Mary (*Miracula s. Mariæ* and Guibert of Nogent, *Monodies*). The typology was sorted as follows: (1) Loco-Reverential miracles; (2) Healing miracles; (3) Interpersonal/secular miracles, including the solving of disputes esp. amongst castellans and the laity; (4) Punishments or joke miracles; and (5) Elemental miracles. The category for Healing miracles (2) was further sub-divided by the type of body part healed: (2.1) healings of persons who were both deaf and mute; (2.2) healings of general lameness; (2.3) healing of a specifically lame limb (i.e. arm, leg, etc.); (2.4) healing of blindness; (2.5) healing of deafness; (2.6) healing of a head wound; (2.7) healing of a toothache; (2.8) healing of the kidneys or of other internal organs; (2.9) healing of blisters and/or ulcers. The next column indicates the relative place (where noted in the text or where it could be reasonably hypothesized) that the miracle occurred. The name of the healed is then given if noted in the text. Finally the result of the miracle is given and whether anything was specifically recorded as being exchanged for the performance of the miracle.

Saint	Year	Type	Place	Name	Result	Exchange
Foy	mid-11th	2.1	Molompize	Stephen	Healed, goes crazy	
Foy	mid-11th	2.2	Molompize	old woman	Healed, works	
Foy	mid-11th	(2.1) 2.3	Molompize	young girl	Healed, works	
Foy	mid-11th	1	Molompize	groups	shrines erected	
Taurin	1158	2.4	Cluny	woman	Healed, has to go back	
Taurin	1158	2.1	Cluny	woman	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2.6	Cluny	woman	Healed	candle
Taurin	1158	2.3	Cluny	brother Geoffrey Moret	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2	Mascon	groups	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2.2	Mascon?	woman	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2.2	Mascon?	woman	Healed	

Taurin	1158	2.2	Mascon?	woman	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2	Mascon?	groups (40)	Healed from various infirm.	candles
Taurin	1158	4		man	throat swells up	
Taurin	1158	1 (2)	Balgiacum (diocese of Lyons)	groups	healed beneath tree	
Taurin	1158	5	Balgiacum (diocese of Lyons)?		storms quieted by Taurin	
Taurin	1158	2		young boy brought by mother	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2.2	Canariacus	woman	Healed from paralysis, walks	
Taurin	1158	2.2		woman named Aula?	Healed	
Taurin	1158	2		man (rusticus)	healed from unknown illness	
Taurin	1158	2	Mons-Bertaldi	monk	not hurt in fall	
Taurin	1158	2.4	Triverium	woman	healed from blindness	
Taurin	1158	4	Lehennacus	townspeople	sent storms to punish town	
Taurin	1158	2	Lyons	baby, son of Heldinus	baby healed from sickness	
Taurin	1158	2 (.6, .7)	Mt. Loëlli	warrior	healed	
Taurin	1158	2 (4)	St. Christophers (near Lyons)	laity (cleric punished)	laity healed, cleric punished	
Taurin	1158	2	Maximiacus	woman	healed from unknown illness	
Taurin	1158	2.4 (2)	Chalamont	mother (blind) and son (ill)	both healed	
Taurin	1158	2.4	Chalamont	concubine of a cleric	healed	

Taurin	1158	2.2	Curneias	clerk from Gisiacus	healed - walks about	
Taurin	1158	2.2	Gigny	woman	healed	
Junianus	989	1 (2.2)		group	Healed in place	
Junianus	989	4	Ruffiacus	wild boar	Boar dies	
Junianus	989	2.2	Ruffiacus	old woman	Healed from elephantisis	
Ursmer	1060	2.2	Lille	group		
Ursmer	1060	1 (2.2)	Lille	group	Healed in place	
Ursmer	1060	4	Lille?	old woman	arm paralyzed	
Ursmer	1060	3	Strazeele	groups-warriors	unsuccessful - all die in war	
Ursmer	1060	3	Blaringhem	Hugh and two warriors	one dies, other repents	
Ursmer	1060	3	Blaringhem?	Boniface	saved from guilt for murder	
Ursmer	1060	2.6	Cassel	girl	Healed	candle
Ursmer	1060	2.7	Bergues	monk	Healed	prayers
Ursmer	1060	3	Bergues	nobility, count and countess	pacts for peace made	
Ursmer	1060	2.4	Veurne	son of castellan, age 5	Healed	
Ursmer	1060	1 (5)	Bruges	monks	candles remain lit	
Ursmer	1060	2	Oostburg	many groups	All healed	
Ursmer	1060	3	Oostburg	groups-warriors		
Ursmer	1060	2.4	Oostburg	old woman noble	follows the saint	
Ursmer	1060	1 (2.1)		young boy	boy plays with other children	
Ursmer	1060	4		Baldred and family	family taken ill, healed	
Ursmer	1060	3	Lissewege	young man / Robert	saved from guilt for murder	

Ursmer	1060	5	Leffinghe		makes it rain after drought	
Ursmer	1060	2.3	Ghent	young girl	healed, followed to Lobbes	tells story
Ursmer	1060	2.4	St Bavo	old woman	healed	
Ursmer	1060	4	*Finia*	priest	punished for locking out saint	
Ursmer	1060	2.2	Brussels	lame woman	follows the saint to church	
Ursmer	1060	2.4	Lobbes?	young boy	healed	
Amand	1107	2.3	Anduennium	woman	healed, praises lord	
Amand	1107	2.3	Mt. Gerald, to Herlingoua	man named Lot	healed, works	
Amand	1107	1 (2.2)	Herlingoua	woman	healed, walks	
Amand	1107	5	Herlingoua		bright light appears in sky	
Amand	1107	2.4	Herlingoua	young girl	Healed	
Amand	1107	2.3	Herlingoua, to Ghent	boy, not quite 15	healed, walks	
Amand	1107	2.4 & 2.5	Ghent	young girl	healed, soldier converted	
Amand	1107	2.5	Tournai	man/men (vulgus)	healed	pilgrimage
Amand	1107	2.2	Tournai	woman	healed	
Amand	1107	2.3		woman	healed, works	
Amand	1066	2.2	Verneuil	woman	healed, walks	
Amand	1066	2.1	Coussy	man	healed, speaks	
Amand	1066	2	Coussy	young boy	healed	
Amand	1066	2	Laon	insane man	healed, sanity returns	
Amand	1066	2.2	Laon	woman	healed, walks	
Amand	1066	1	Laon	groups	healed	
Amand	1066	2.4	Laon	two people	healed, speaks	

Amand	1066	2.1	Laon	young girl	healed, speaks languages	
Amand	1066	2.4	Chauny	young boy (baby)	healed	
Amand	1066	2.6	Noyon (Nouiomus)	woman	healed	
Amand	1066	2.2	Douai (Douay)	woman	healed, walks	
Lewinna	1058	2.8	Alverinckehem	Bodera	healed	candle
Lewinna	1058	2.3	Alverinckehem	groups	healed, walks	sticks
Lewinna	1058	5	Leffinghe		cross sweats water	
Lewinna	1058	2.3	Leffinghe	man (Baldred)	healed, walks behind the bier	
Lewinna	1058	2.3	Aldenburga	young girl	healed	
Lewinna	1058	2.5 (2.2)	Walcheren	Remboldus	healed	
Lewinna	1058	2.2	Walcheren	young girl	not healed, dies	
Lewinna	1058	5	Bruges		candles remain lit	
Lewinna	1058	2.3	Dudzeele (Dodesela)	Eremboldus		
Lewinna	1058	2.1 (2.9)	Lissewege	Ramboldus	healed	
Lewinna	1058	2.2	territory around Bruges	Obsendis	healed	
Lewinna	1058	2.2 (2.3)	Bergues	young girl (and young boy)	healed	fasting
Lewinna	1058	2	Rome	woman	healed	
Lewinna	1058	2	Bergues	woman	healed	candle
Lewinna	1058	2.1	Bergues	young girl	healed	
V. Mary	1112	2.3	C. Issoudun, Buturicensi	Lord Geoffrey	healed, walks to Laon	works
V. Mary	1112	2.1	Beaugency	young boy, aged 15	healed, talks	40 shillings

V. Mary	1112	2.2	Cormery	woman	healed, walks to next church	
V. Mary	1112	2.1	Tours	young boy	healed, goes to Laon	
V. Mary	1112	4	St. Lawrence de Cala	monk refused entry	punished for locking out saint	
V. Mary	1112	2	Angers	wife of Fulbert	healed from pain	
V. Mary	1112	2	Angers?	wife of nobleman	healed, gives birth	
V. Mary	1112	2	Carnotum?	two women	healed	
V. Mary	1112	3	Carnotum?	son of castellan	freed from fetters	40 shillings
V. Mary	1113	2.1	Nelle?	John	healed, followed to sea	
V. Mary	1113	2.4	Artois	blacksmith	healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.3	Audomarum	young girl (puella)	healed	
V. Mary	1113	5	Wissant/English Channel	sailors/pirates/monks	winds change, rescued	
V. Mary	1113	4	Douvres	man	house catches fire	
V. Mary	1113	2	Canterbury	matron	healed	confession
V. Mary	1113	2.4	Winchester	Ralph Buarius (butler to King)	healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.2	Winchester	Walter "Kiburs"	healed, many many donations	gold/silv.
V. Mary	1113	2.1	Winchester	groups of people	healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.3	Christchurch	young girl (puella parvula)	healed, walks	
V. Mary	1113	4?	a village		dragon/town/stopped	
V. Mary	1113	2	Essecestra	many people	healed	

V. Mary	1113	2.3	Essecestra (Salisbury diocese)	man	healed, walks	
V. Mary	1113	2	Wilton	nun	healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.4	Danavexeria	young girl Kenehellis	healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.3	Danavexeria	a man	not healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.2	Bannistaplum	young girl, aged 12	healed eventually	gifts
V. Mary	1113	2.2		monk	healed	
V. Mary	1113	2.2	Totenes, castle of Joellus	man	healed	40 shillings
V. Mary	1113	4		3 young men	punished for stealing money	
V. Mary	1113	2	Belga (Begea)	young boy	brought back to life?	

Appendix B: Regional Translations in England, 600-1200

The data from this chart was compiled from John Blair's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints*, in conjunction with the *GPA*, *GRA*, *HC*, *LE*, and Farmer's *Dictionary of Saints*. Where more than one translation occurred at a different date, this is indicated by the name of the saint followed by the number of that translation (see e.g. Aidan or Ceolwulf. The date of the translation is then given. City 1 is the first noted place of burial of the saint, followed by the destination of the first translation, and then, if a subsequent destination was reached within the same relative journey, the destination of that translation.

Name	**Date**	**City 1**	**City 2**	**City 3**
Ælfheah	1023	St. Paul's, London	Canterbury	
Æthelberht	before 1000	Sutton St Michael, Herefs.	Hereford	(head) Westminster
Æthelred and Æthelberht	late 10th cent	Eastry, Kent	Wakering, Essex	Ramsey, Hunts.
Æthelwald	875	Lindisfarne	Durham?	Westminster
Aidan	after 664	Lindisfarne	?	
Aidan (2)	875	Lindisfarne	Durham?	
Aidan (3)	940s	Durham?	Glastonbury	
Alchmund	9th cent?	Lilleshall, Salop	*Wythechirche*, Derby	
Balthere	11th cent	Tyningham	Durham	
Bede	mid 11th cent	Jarrow	Durham	DISPUTED
Benedict Biscop	970s	Monkwearmouth	Thorney	
Billfrith	mid 11th cent	Lindisfarne	Durham	
Birinus	end 7th cent	Dorchester	Winchester	
Boisil	mid 11th cent	Melrose	Durham	
Botwulf	late 10th cent.	Iken	(head) Ely	half/half Westminster/Thorney
Botwulf (2)	mid 11th cent	Grundisburgh	Bury St Edmunds	
Ceolfrith	940s	Langres	Monkwearmouth	Glastonbury
Ceolwulf	mid 9th cent	Lindisfarne	Norham	
Ceolwulf (2)	?	Norham	Durham	
Cissa	Æthelwold	Crowland	Thorney	

Cuthmann	late 11th cent.	Steyning, Sussex	Fécamp	
Cyneburh	963	Castor, Northants.	Peterborough	
Dunstan				
Eadberht	875	Lindisfarne	Durham?	
Eadfrith	875	Lindisfarne	Durham?	
Eadnoth	1016?	*Assandun*	Ramsey (meant to be)	Ely (ended, stolen)
Eadweard	shortly after 978	Corfe	Shaftesbury, Dorset	Wareham/Abingdon
Eadwine	late 7th cent	battlefield where killed	Whitby	York (head)
Eadwold	late 10th cent	four miles west of Cerne	Cerne	
Ecgberht	?	Iona	Ripon	
Felix	by time of Cnut	*Dommoc*	*Seham* (Soham, Cambs.)	Ramsey
Firmin	?	North Crawley, Bucks.	Thorney, Cambs.	
Florentius	1016	Bonneval	Peterborough	
Freomund	by 13th cent	Offchurch (Warw.)	Prescot near Cropredy (Oxon.)	Dunstable
Grimbald	938, c. 1050, 1110	Winchester New Minster	Hyde	
Herefrith	under Æthelwold	Louth, Lincs.	Thorney	
Hild	940s	Whitby	Glastonbury	
Hiurmine	mid 11th cent	Blythburgh, Suffolk	Bury St Edmunds	
Huna	?	Hone Hill, Chatteris, Cambs.	Thorney	
Ivo	1001-2	*Slepe* (St Ives, Hunts.)	Ramsey	
Iwig	10th cent.	Brittany	Wilton, Wilts.	
Judoc	c. 901	Brittany	Winchester New Minster	
Justus	under Æthelwold	Beauvais	Winchester Old Minster	
Juthwara	between 1042-58	*Halyngstoka* (Halstock)	Sherborne	
Melorius	late 10th cent	Brittany	Amesbury, Wilts.	
Mildthryth	1030	Thanet	St Augustine's Canterbury	

Mildthryth (2)	1085	Thanet	Lyminge	St Gregory's, Canterbury
Neot	c. 980-1013	Bodmin	Eynesbury, St Neots (Hunts)	
Odwulf	1030s	Frisia	Evesham	
Oswald	various			
Rumon	10th cent.	Ruan Lanihorne, Cornwall	Tavistock, Devon	
Samson	under Æthelstan	Brittany?	Milton Abbas	
Tibba	early 11th cent.	Ryhall, Leics.	Peterborough	
Wærburh	Æthelflæd?	Hanbury, Staffs.	Chester	
Wigstan	1019	*Wistanstowe* (Wistow, Leics.)	Evesham	
Wihtburh	late 10th cent.	East Dereham	Ely	
Wilfrid	c. 948	s. side of altar at Ripon	Canterbury	perhaps also Peterborough and Abingdon
Wynthryth	late 10th early 11th	March, Cambs.	Ely	Canterbury under Cnut

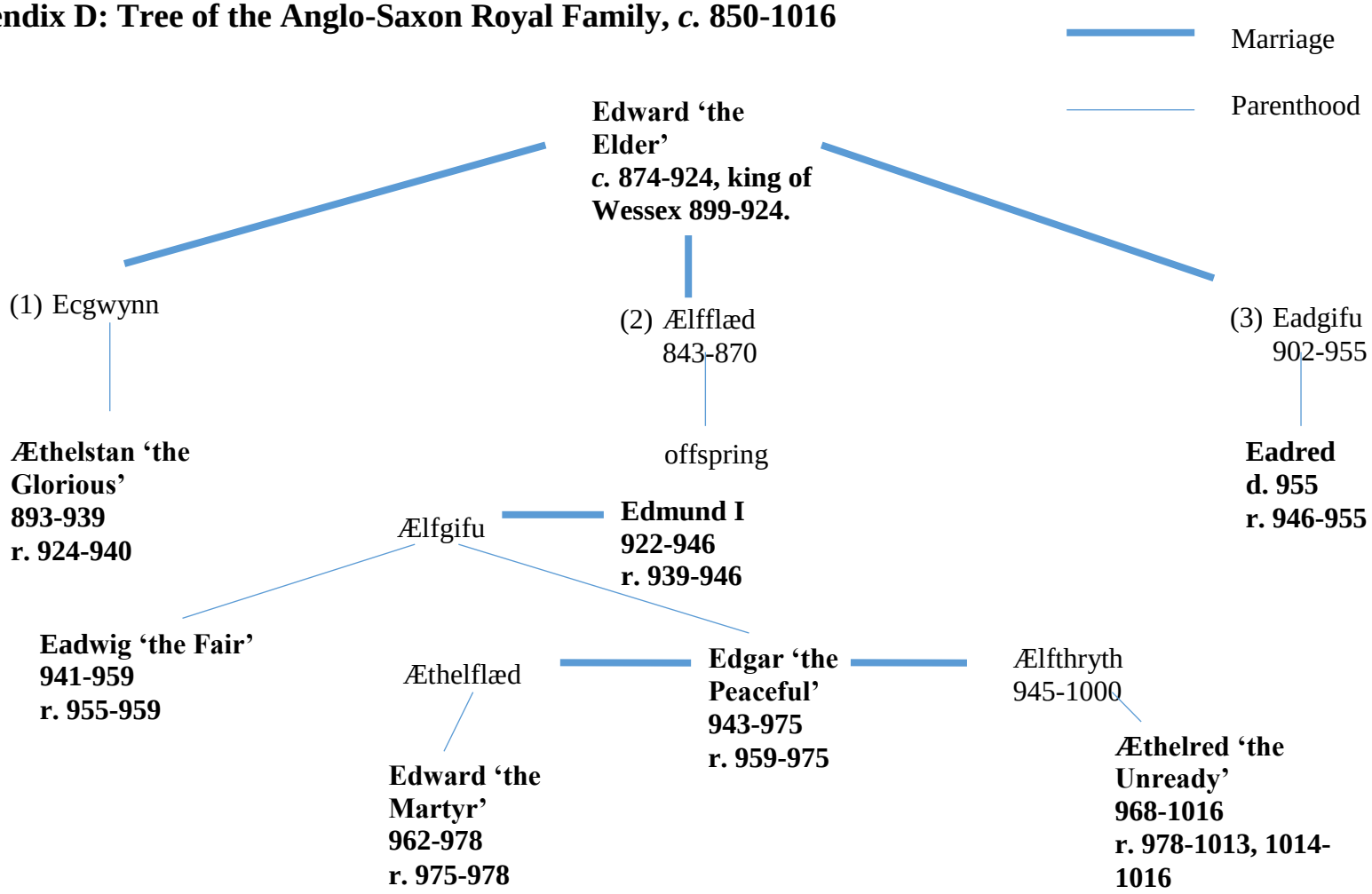
Appendix C: Intra-Site Translations in England, 600-1200

The data from this chart was compiled from John Blair's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Saints*, in conjunction with the *GPA*, *GRA*, *HC*, *LE*, and Farmer's *Dictionary of Saints*. When subsequent translations took place, this is indicated by the name of the saint followed by the number of that translation (see e.g. Æthelthryth). The date of the translation is then given. The city column indicates the original burial site of the saint.

Name	Date	City
Acca	1032	Hexham
Æbbe	mid-11th	Coldingham
Æthelburh	c. 1030	Barking
Æthelthryth (1)	695	Ely
Æthelthryth (2)	970s	
Æthelthryth (3)	1106	
Æthelwald	1111	Winchester
Æthelwald (2)	1148	Winchester
Alban	793	St Albans
Alban	1129	St Albans
Alchmund	1032	Hexham
Aldhelm	980	Malmesbury
Aldhelm (2)		
Alphege	1023	Canterbury
Alphege (2)	1180	Canterbury
Anselm	1124	Canterbury
Augustine	1091	Canterbury
Botwine	c. 971-92	Ripon
Credan	1077	Evesham
Cuthburh	?	Wimborne
Deusdedit	1091	Canterbury
Dunstan	1180	Canterbury
Eadburh	?	Winchester Nunnaminster
Eadgar	1052	Glastonbury
Eadgyth	c. 997	Wilton
Eadmund the martyr	1095	Bury St Edmunds
Ealdberht	c. 971-92	Ripon
Eanswith	?	Folkestone
Earconwald	1087	London
Earconwald (2)	1148	
Eata	mid-11th	Hexham
Ecgwine	1039	Evesham
Edward (the Confessor)	1163	Westminster
Eormengyth		Minster-in-Thanet
Eormenhild	1106	Ely
Eosterwine	716	Monkwearmouth
Frithestand	?	Winchester Old Minster

Frithuswith	1180	Oxford
Frithuswith (2)	1289	
Grimbald	938	Winchester Nunnaminster
Grimbald (2)	c. 1050	
Grimbald (3)	1110	
Guthlac	715	Crowland
Guthlac (2)	1135	
Hadrian	1091	Canterbury
Hildelith	c. 1030	Barking
Honorius	1091	Canterbury
John	1037	Beverley
Justus	1091	Canterbury
Lawrence	1091	Canterbury
Mellitus	1091	Canterbury
Mildburh	1101	Wenlock
Modwynn	late 11th	Burton-on-Trent
Modwynn (2)	early 12th	
Nectan	10th or 11th	Hartland, Devon
Oswald	1002	Worcester
Oswald	c. 1086	Worcester
Oswine	1065	Tynemouth
Oswine (2)	1103	shrine
Oswine (3)	mid-11th	Gilling
Paulinus	late 11th	Rochester
Regenhere/Ragner	mid-11th	Northampton
Sativola	?	Exeter
Seaxburh	(c. 971) perhaps	Ely
Seaxburh (2)	1106	
Sicgred	c. 971-92	Ripon
Swithhun	971	Winchester Old Minster
Swithhun (2)	1093	
Swithun (3)	1150	
Tatberht	c. 971-92	Ripon
Thancred, Torthred, and Tova	under Æthelwold (971)	Thorney, Cambs.
Theodore	1091	Canterbury
Ultan	before early 9th cent.	unknown Northumbrian minster
Wilfrid	948	Canterbury
Wilfrid (2)	late 11th	Canterbury
Wilfrid (3)	late 12th	Canterbury
Wulfhild	c. 1030	Barking
Wulfsige	before 1012	Sherborne

Appendix D: Tree of the Anglo-Saxon Royal Family, *c.* 850-1016



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